THE MAHARAJA AND OTHER PRIVILEGED CLASSES

The establishment of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in 1846 saw the emergence of absolute rule of the Dogra Maharaja and the "absolute monarchy" continued to be order of the day during our period of study. People considered the Maharaja as their only master and lord; they hailed the rule of one man and felt disgusted when the power was shared by many. But the Maharaja could not govern a large state all by himself. Obviously, he had to devise and improvise a dependable mechanism to run the administration and keep the things in order. The people related to the Maharaja by blood or his kinsmen constituted the top of the ladder that came into being to share power of the state and fulfil the obligations towards the Maharaja for which they were granted sinecure jobs, lands, titles and rewards. Down the ladder were other tiers, each constituting one or the other part of this mechanism. The upper strata of this hierarchy were the privileged. An attempt is made here to deal with these privileged classes.

The Province of Jammu situated on the outer most part of the outer Himalayas lies between the plains of the Punjab and the Valley of Kashmir. From Sialkot the plain rises on gradual ascent.

2. Ibid.,
and after few miles becomes hilly. These hills rise higher and higher in the interior and cut up the country into isolated areas. The ruling classes of this province are thought to be Rajputs of the Solar race, descending from the Divine Rama of Ayodhia. Since then the dynasty remained undisturbed. Kripa Ram, Diwan, Gulab-nama, pp. 51-52, attributes the foundation of the city to Jambu-Lochan, successor of Bahu Lochan, who occupied Punjab and its frontiers. One day, while riding for the hunt, he saw on the hill royal lion and an innocent deer drinking water at a pool. The Raja was amazed at this sight; founded his dwellings at this auspicious spot and founded the city of Jammu after his name. Tarikh-i-Parishta or Gulshan-i-Ibrahim, Eng. Trans Briggs, Vol. I. Introduction; Eliot and Dowson, Vol. VI. Appendix, p. 562; writes about the foundation of Jammu that "Kaid Raj was by the sister's side of Moha-Raj, in accordance with their will and testament he ascended the throne. At this time Rustam, son of Destan, had been killed, and as Punjab had for some time had no vigorous Governor, Kaid Raj led his armies thither and easily obtained possession of the country. He dwelt for some time in one of its ancient cities named Behra and then built the fort of Jammu. In it he placed one of his adherents, a man of the Gekkar tribe, named Durg and made him Governor of it. From that time to the present the fortress has remained in the hands of possession of that tribe.

5. Kripa Ram, Diwan, Gulab-nama, p. 48.

6. Ibid., Some works have named it as Ayodhia while others as Ayodhia.

7. Hashmatullah, Tarikh-i-Jammu, pp. 3 and 12, According to him 'Raghuvansha' was an important dynasty of Ayodhia and in the fourth generation came the king Dashratha. The dynasty ruled Ayodhia till Mahabharata time. A king named Brahadbl from this dynasty took part in the Mahabharata war. Later Sudarshan from this dynasty ruled Ayodhia.
Agnigir left Ayudhia—According to one tradition nine hundred years before the setting in of Kali-yug and one thousand years according to other. After spending some time at Ajmer, he settled in Shiwalik hills, and ruled it.

In the eighth generation of Agnigir one of his descendants was Jamulochan. He was succeeded by his son Puran Karan, famous as Raja of Jammu. Then Raja Shakti Karan, known as Raja Shistri.

8. Kauyuja is the last of the four stages of a time cycle (Kalpa). It is the Age of darkness when man is least truthful and least virtuous.


10. Shiwalik hills were situated in Punjab at Nagarkota. Ibid.,


12. Almost all the works have admitted what Kripa Ram Diwan, Gulab-nama, pp. 52-53 has written that the Valley of Kashmir during this period was in a state of confusion and Raja Puran Karan was requested by the people of the Valley to relieve them from this anarchy and restore law and order in the Valley. So he sent his son Daya Karan to Kashmir who restored peace and tranquillity in the country and established his rule in the Valley and the rule of this dynasty remained for fifty-five years in Kashmir. But it does not seem historical. Even Kalhana has not mentioned anything about the fifty-two rulers, upto Gonanda, who in the Kulyug were the contemporaries of the Kuyug and of the sons of Kunti (Pandavas). Kalhana, Raj., op. cit. Vol. I, p. 10 (44) and they ruled for about 1266 years. Ibid., p. 12 (54).
became the king of Jammu. He was a learned man, and ruled the country according to Shastras and introduced the Dogri script for the first time.

This chain of Dogra rulers tried to maintain their independence but had to pay a tribute to and accept the supremacy of the rulers of Hindustan. The rulers of Jammu regained their complete independence during the first half of the eighteenth century when the great Mughal empire was in a state of disintegration. In 1703 A.D. Dhrub Dev ascended the throne and ruled for twenty-two years. He had four sons—Ranjit Dev, Ghensar Singh, Surat Singh and Balwant Singh. In 1725 Dhrub Dev was succeeded by his son Ranjit Dev, who was a good and just ruler. He had a sense of secularism too. He got some prominence in the

---


15. Kripa Ram, Diwan, Gulab-name, pp. 72-73. The author has related two stories showing the sense of justice of Maharaja Ranjit Dev— one story is concerned with the Death of a needful Sahukar of Jammu and his treasure given to an old lady. The second story is concerned with the death of a man who died after eating the bread brought by his wife. The Maharaja came out successful in imparting justice by finding that the lady was innocent and the poison of a dead snake had penetrated into the bread which had become the cause of the death of the man.


16. Ibid., p. 384; Forster writing about the secular attitude of the ruler, mentions that once a group of Hindus approached Ranjit Dev with the complaint that the Muslims were polluting the wells, so they might be prohibited to use them. But the Raja rejected it and said that the water was a pure object and could not be made impure by the touch of a Muslim.
political affairs of the Northern Punjab and also got a jagir from Ahmad Shah Abdali for having sent a small force to Kashmir to punish Raja Sukhjewan Mal, who had declared his independence. Ranjit Dev had two sons—Raja Brijraj Dev and Mian Dalel Singh. He was succeeded by Raja Brijraj Dev to the throne, who was a weak ruler and the Sikhs of Lahore began to interfere in the Jammu affairs. After the murder of Raja Brijraj, his one year old son Sampuran Dev ruled over Jammu for ten years and Mian Mota managed the affairs of the state, but after the death of Mian Mota, Jammu came directly under the Sikh rule.

17. Kripa Ram, Diwan, Gulab-name, pp. 79—80.

18. The date of Ranjit Dev's death has been given variously. Drew, Jummoo and Kashmir Territories, p. 12, has given the date of his death "about 1770 or 1780" Panikkar, The Founding of the Kashmir State, p. 11, has given the date as 1780. Even the author of Gulab-name has not clearly given the date of his death—which he gives as "22nd Chait, 1838 B." and ruled for "fifty seven years" p. 81, which corresponds to 1782 A.D., while the author (p.70) writes that Ranjit Dev came to the throne in 1785 A.D. and that means he died in 1792 A.D. or there is some error in the work.

19. Panikkar, The Founding of the Kashmir State, p. 12, writes, "The sovereignty of the House of Dhrov Deo over the surrounding country disappeared, but Brijraj was still in possession of the Jammu town and fort...."

20. Mian Mota, son of Surat Singh, was the nephew of Raja Ranjit Dev, and younger brother of Zorawar Singh.
Sampuran Dev died at the age of eleven. He was succeeded by Raja Jit Singh, son of Mian Dalel Singh. Suret Singh, who was the youngest of Dhrob Singh's sons, had three sons Mian Mota, Zorawar Singh and Dulla Bhoola. Mian Zorawar had a son namely Raja Kishore Singh, who held the jagir of Andarwah in Jammu Tehsil.

Gulab Singh and His Early Life:

Raja Kishore Singh was the father of three sons—Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh. Gulab Singh was born in October 1792 A.D. and was sent at an early age to his grandfather's house (Zorawar Singh) where he learnt the art of warfare.


22. Kripa Ram, Diwan, Gulab-nama, p. 275 Dhian Singh was born on 11 Bhados 1853 (1786).

23. Suchet Singh was born on the 8th Magh, 1858 (1801 A.D.) Ibid., p. 285.

24. Kripa Ram, Diwan, Gulab-nama, p. 87. Gulab Singh was born on 5th Kotak, 1849 B corresponding to 21st October, 1792 A.D.

Some doubt has been cast on the genealogy of Gulab Singh's family as Cunningham, J.D., History of the Sikhs, p. 178 writes that "Gulab Singh... claimed that his grandfather was the brother of the well-known Ranjit Deo, but the family was perhaps illegitimate, and had become impoverished..." But Panikkar, The Founding of Kashmir State, pp. 14–15, writes that "Kishore Singh married a Rajput lady of the Jit caste", the marriage was celebrated at the village Gan Mehta at Beqoli and by this lady were born his three sons Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh. See Appendix No: [?] genealogical table of the Family of Jemmu Rajas.

There Gulab Singh was also given some literary education to the extent that he could read and write. He could not get proper school education, but was trained in many arts. He was fond of hunting and at a very early age could ride his horse like a "cavalry trooper". He wielded his sword, very skilfully and was an excellent marksman.

The Jammu affairs were in a state of confusion. Raja Jit Singh, the nephew of Brijraj Dev was an ignorant and incompetent man so the revenue and the administration degenerated, everyone considered himself to be the ruler. His wife, Rani Sandral was an ambitious woman who used to wear "dastar" of rulership on her head and managed everything by herself so the result was misgovernment in the country. At this time, Ranjit Singh was ruling the Punjab territories. He took advantage of the deteriorating affairs and in 1808 sent Bhai Hukam Singh to

26. Ibid.,

27. Ibid., Sri Ganesh, Tarikh-i-Jammu, [f/34-a writes that Gulab Singh at the age of twelve once went to Saroin Sar (few miles from Puromandal, a lake) for hunting. At that time Mahatama Bawar Prim Dass Ji was staying there, when Gulab Singh sent to him, the spiritual Prim Dass Ji predicted that Gulab Singh would be very brave and would administer the country fearlessly. So Gulab Singh became happy and returned.


29. Ibid.,
reduce Jammu and to annex it. The Sikh General advanced with a strong and well-equipped force for the conquest of Jammu. The Dogras organized themselves under Mian Mota, incharge of Defence, Dhian Singh, Kishore Singh (their father) and the young Gulab Singh of sixteen years participated in this war. The forces met outside the Gurnet gate. Gulab Singh actively participated in the battle and earned a name for himself among the Rajputs. His bravery also attracted the attention of Bhai Hukum Singh, who withdrew his forces to Saidgarh and Jammu came under the sovereignty of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

After some time Gulab Singh left his grandfather's protection, for Peshawar, with a few attendants. His aim was

30. Kripa Ram, Diwan, Gulab-nama, p. 100.
31. Panikker, The Founding of the Kashmir State, p. 16.
32. When Gulab Singh was only sixteen years old he ran away from his grandfather's house without taking permission. Kripa Ram Diwan, Gulab-nama, pp. 100-101.
33. Ibid., See also Sri Ganesh, Tarikh-i-Jammu, f/34-b.
34. Kripa Ram, Diwan, Gulab-nama, pp. 102--103-- gives the incident to the effect that one day he took a horse from his grandfather's stable and went for ride into the plains. By careless riding he hunt the animal which became lame. His grandfather, got angry with the boy and scolded him and said that when he would buy a horse by his own effort, only then he would know its value. The boy was wounded by these words and got some ornaments from his mother and left for Peshawar.
to join the Shah Shuja's army. When he reached the Indus, his attendants refused to go to Afghanistan. Gulab Singh then approached Dewan Khushwaqt Rai, a servant of Sardar Mihal Singh Attariwalah, at his jagir Sokhu. The Dewan was disliked by the people of the jagir so there was a great distress among them and Dewan decided to raise a force for the suppression of the people. Gulab Singh offered his services which were accepted. A certain jamadar who had served his grandfather for some years, was present there who revealed to Khushwaqat Rai the identity of the new recruit. In the meanwhile a fight occurred in which the Dewan's forces were routed by the villagers, who attacked the fort itself. But it was due to Gulab Singh's efforts that the rebels were hard pressed, and Diwan was able to put down the rebellion. This action of Gulab Singh earned for him the appreciation of Diwan Khushwaqat Rai.

Marriage of Gulab Singh:

Gulab Singh was at Baiwal and Mian Hoshiara was sent by Mota Singh to bring Gulab Singh to Jammu. Mian Hashiera met Gulab Singh at Kotli but the latter refused to accompany him and went to the village of his father where both Gulab Singh and his

35. Shah Shuja, brother of Zeman Shah (1793–1800) and grandson of Ahmad Shah Durani was the ruler of Kabul, whom his uncle Shah Mahmud had expelled from Afghanistan and succeeded to the throne of Kabul with the help of the Barakzai tribe.

36. Kripa Ram, Diwan, Gulab-name, p. 103.

37. Ibid., p. 104.

38. Ibid.,
younger brother Dhian Singh were married. Only after few days Gulab Singh made up his mind to go to Lahore. So both the brothers purchased two horses and left for Lahore. They were received by the Diwan, who introduced them to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He entered the Punjab court as a trooper and soon rose to the independent command of a regiment. Gulab Singh distinguished himself in one of the hill wars when he took Aga Jan, the Raja of Rajouri, as a prisoner. He continued to rise at the court, got the jagirs from the ruler, and was allowed to maintain a regular force of his own. He played most important part in the siege of Multan in 1819 and impressed Ranjit Singh with his performance. He also participated in the campaign against the tribe of Yusuf in 1819 which enabled Ranjit Singh to obtain Peshawar. In the same year Dhiyan Singh was made the Deorhi Officer (deorhiwala) chief door-keeper, and he

40. Kripa Ram, Diwan, Gulab-name, p. 105, writes that Gulab Singh entered the Sikh camp namely Urdu-e-Mu'alla in 1809 at Daska, a village few miles from Sialkot.
42. As a reward for his efforts in 1812 in the Sikh war of Kashmir Gulab Singh was given the jagirs of Kharoti and Beyol and after the siege of Jullunder he got Chohana and Ramgarh Panikker, op. cit., pp. 22 and 24.
43. Drew, Jammu and Kashmir Territories, p. 12. The author writes, "In a native court, a place of personal government, the doorkeeper, possessing as he does the power of giving or restraining accesses to the chief, has considerable influence. This influence Dhiyan Singh now exerted in making a party, so as by this means, as well as by his own exertions with the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, to advance his family."
exercised great influence over the Maharaja. It was in 1820 that the "Chakla" of Jammu was granted to Gulab Singh at the age of thirty. His brothers Dhiyan Singh and Suchet Singh were also conferred the jagirs of Punch and Rannagar respectively.

After 1820 Gulab Singh stayed mostly at Jammu in consolidating his power and also in extending the same. He also joined the Sikh army with his forces during its military operations. The conditions at Jammu were disturbed, lawlessness, robbery and murder were the order of the day. But Gulab Singh restored peace, law and order in the country and met the robbers with a stern hand. With the passage of time Gulab Singh conquered many territories and finally in 1846 A.D. he became the full fledged ruler or Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir State.

44. Panikkar, Founding of the Kashmir State, pp. 33-34. The author has given the copy of the Sanad which Maharaja Ranjit Singh granted to Gulab Singh.


46. Drew, Jummoo and Kashmir Territories, p. 13. The author writes "... it is said that at that time a cap or a pagri that a traveller might wear was enough for a temptation to plunder and violence."

47. Dhar, Ram Joo, Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Shahi Dogra, f/23a.

48. Full details have been discussed in Chapter I of the thesis, pp. 7-15.
Characters

Gulab Singh had a distinguished appearance. He was fond of horses. Gulab Singh was a good soldier, "thoroughly brave, but always careful and prudent." There is no doubt that Gulab Singh followed the policy of intrigues in order to satisfy his desires, and on many occasions turned to treachery and lying. He was as opportunist.

Gulab Singh ruled his territories with a strong hand and he used force, to him the concept of a good government was that "in which the authority of the ruler was assured by force.

49. Symth, Reigning Family of Lahore, p. 257. He writes about the appearance of Gulab Singh that "In manner Gulab Singh is most mild and affable his features age good, nose acquiline and expression pleasing though rather heavy. Indefatiguable in business, he sees after everything himself. Hardly able to sign his name, he looks after his own account and often has the very grain for his horses weighed out before him."


51. Ibid., Drew writes that Gulab Singh "was more ready to intrigue than to employ force, but when the necessity for fighting was clear, he proved almost as much at home in it as he was in diplomacy. A great part of his success was due to the wisdom he displayed in recognising the times when each could with most advantage be brought into play."

52. Panikkar, K. M. Founding of the Kashmir State, p. 152. The author himself admits that "Gulab Singh was no saint, and where his interest required he did not hesitate to resort to tricks and stratagems which would in ordinary life be considered dishonourable. He was trained in a hard school where lying, intrigue, and treachery were all considered part and parcel of politics." Even Panikkar, Founding of the Kashmir State, p. 158 admits that Gulab Singh established peace everywhere except Kashmir.
and the revenue came punctually. His government was based on the principle of absolute monarchy and he had the sense of governing the country in such a way where his authority was to be respected by all. He was unscrupulous in attaining his motives and also exercised the cruelty, and followed the policy

53. Vigne, G.T. Travels, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 241 writes about the art of government by Gulab Singh that "An insurrection had taken place near Punch against the authority of Gulab Singh. He had gone in person to suppress it, and succeeded in doing so. Some of his prisoners were flayed alive under his own eye. The execution hesitated and Gulab Singh asked him if he was about to operate upon his father or mother, and rated him for being so chicken-hearted. He then ordered one or two of the skins to be stuffed with strew; the hands were stiffened, and tied in an altitude of supplication; the corpse was then placed erect; and the head, which had been severed from the body, was reversed as it rested on the neck. The figure was then planted on the way-side, that passes by might see it; and Gulab Singh called his sons attention to it, and told him to take a lesson in the art of governing. The author writing about this incident further states that Lord Bacon has remarked, under the head of cruelty, in his "Advancement of Learning", that "if cruelty proceed from revenge, it is justice; if from peril, it is wisdom. From all I heard of the rebellion, there was neither wisdom nor justice to dignify the actions I have related now."

54. Dugsal, Letters from India and Kashmir, p. 186 (1870) letter NO: XV.

55. Drew, Jumoo and Kashmir Territories, pp. 14—15, Chopra, Gulshan Lal, The Punjab as a Sovereign State (1928), Lahore, p. 157 writes that Gulab Singh's administration was "extremely oppressive and tyrannical. Gardner, who served under Gulab Singh for several years, characterized his rule as nothing short of "a ruthless barbarity and a system of terror. In the light of other accounts, his expressions are not too strong. His own influence with Ranjit, and more than this, the influence of his brother, allowed Gulab to practise all kinds of severe severities on the people under his charge. When summoned to Lahore to render accounts or to offer explanation, he always presented himself before his sovereign in all humility and submission. This, together with the ready payments of large sums of money always saved him from disgrace."
of tyranny while administering the country. Maharaja Gulab Singh "brought the principle of personal rule to perfection and showed the people that he could stand by himself," he claimed to have every right on his people and their labour; his administration "degraded" the people. Maharaja Gulab Singh

---

56. Singh, Bawa Satinder, The Jammu Fox— A biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh, p. 179; the author has quoted Delhausie's Minute, p. 117 and writes that "Delhousie, notwithstanding his change of heart towards Golab Singh since the wazirabad conference, typified such disillusionment on the eve of his retirement. "... in 1846, we unwillingly handed over (Kashmir) to a chief who has proved himself a veritable tyrant, and who already appears to be the founder of a race of tyrants!"

57. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 202. The author writes that "if he wanted their services he would have then without resorting to the old fashioned device of paying for them by the alienation of state-revenues. The state was Maharaja Gulab Singh, and as he spent much of his time in Kashmir and was an able, just and active ruler, and a fairly wise landlord, the conditions of the people improved and after many years some confidence was inspired in the permanence of administration."

58. Ibid., pp. 2—3. Lawrence writes that when I came to Kashmir in 1889, I found the people sullen, desperate and suspicious. They had been taught for many years that they were serfs, without any right but with many disabilities. They were called Zulum-parast or "Worshippers of tyranny!"; and every facility was afforded to their cult? Pervis Gervis, This is Kashmir, pp. 62—63 writes about Maharaja Gulab Singh that "so it was that he, who is remembered in history for his oppression and advice founded the new dynasty, one which was known as the Dogra period. The Maharaja was not a popular ruler, he left things drift in his latter years he was a complete invalid— he had gained all that he could ever have hoped for and his position as a ruler had been consolidated and made secure by the British who were at hand on the event of trouble."
had kept his subjects virtually in a state of slavery; and if their means of subsistence failed they were not allowed to emigrate to India. It was his policy of justice to the people that the latter were visited with very severe punishments for very ordinary offences. Torture was a common feature. The punishments of burning one alive in hay, or drowning, or breaking one’s bone or death sentence were imposed.

Gulab Singh had an immense greed for money, and could be compared with a bania, he was concerned only with the money which he had invested in the purchase of Kashmir, and he


60. Saif-ud-Din Mirza, Roznamcha, Vol. II, dated 31st December 1849, f. 113., refers to the punishment offered by the Tehsilder of Mir Bahri, meted out to the fourteen year old son (Anup Rai) of a shawl— weaver for stealing Rs. 3/- who perished in the burning hay.

61. Sufi, G. M. D., Kashir, Vol. II, pp. 772—778., the author writes that "It is said of Gulab Singh that when he surveyed his new purchase, the bania in him grumbled that one-third of the country was mountain, one—third water, and the remainder alienated to privileged persons."
had a vast field wherefrom to derive the profits. He enriched himself year by year, tried to get more and more money from Kashmir. In the extortion of money Gulab Singh used a hundred arts and opened new doors of tyranny. His chief concern being only money, he never looked beyond his "money-bags". His attention was caught by his subjects within no time if the latter showed only a rupee to the Maharaja for

62. Edwardes to Cowley Pownes, a friend, September 24, 1846 in Edwards Memorials, 1:73; cited Singh, Bawa Satinder, The Jammu Fox, pp. 155-166; Herbert Edward has epitomized in his gloomy rhetoric as "And now he is a king, and has a wide field wherein to reap. Every living man is to him a blade of golden coin, which he will never leave till he has gathered, and threshed, and winnowed, and garnered."

63. Torrens, Travels, p. 301; The author writes that "The last state of that country was worse than the first, for Gulab Singh went for beyond his predecessors in the gentle acts of undue taxation and extortion. They had taxed heavily, it is true, but he sucked the very life-blood of the people; but they laid violent hands on a large proportion of the fruits of earth, the profits of the loom, and the work of men's hands but he skinned the very flints to fill his coffers."

Charles Hardinge to Walter, April 3, 1847 "PPH" Vol. 7, quoted Singh Bawa Satinder, The Jammu Fox, p. 166 "He has all his life been a huckster on a large scale, is undoubtedly avaricious, and he no doubt finds great difficulty in ridding himself from habits of self-enrichment which have been year by year growing upon him."

64. Mirjanpur, Mohmad Khalil, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, (PMSI(RPD); f.331.

65. Troter, Hodson, p. 133 (1850) cited Singh, Bawa Satinder, The Jammu Fox, pp. 168-169; Hodson has recorded that the "King is avaricious... and he won't look beyond his money-bags. There is a capitation tax on every individual practising any labour, trade, profession or employment, collected daily."
getting his petition to be heard by him, Gulab Singh had himself admitted in the open court that his attraction to Kashmir was only due to its wealth. Herbert Edwardes has given a true picture of the character and role of Gulab Singh as "His was the cunning of the vulture. He sat apart in the clear atmosphere of passionless distance, and with sleepless eyes beheld the lion and the tiger contending for the deer. And when the combatants were dead, he spread his wings, sailed calmly down, and feasted where they fought."

66. Drew, Jammu and Kashmir Territories, p. 15 Drew writes that "with the customary offering of a rupee as nazar anyone could get his dar; even in a crowd one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out "Maharaja-az-hai" that is, "Maharaja's petition." He would pounce down like a hawk on the money, and having appropriated it he would patiently hear out the petitioner. Once a man after this fashion making a complaint, when the Maharaja was taking the rupee, closed his hand on it and said, "No, first hear what I have to say." Even this did not go beyond Gulab Singh's patience; he waited till the fellow had told his tale and opened his hand; then taking the money he gave orders about the case." Saif-ud-Din Mirza Roznamcha, Vol. I, f. 3, dated 3rd December, 1846 has recorded the method which Gulab Singh applied for getting that rupee from a petitioner— a rope was fastened between Gulab Singh's public hall at Shergarhi palace and a tree on the opposite side of the river Jhelum under the Basant Bagh Ghat in Srinagar. Any petitioner who put his petition and one rupee in the basket received the immediate attention of the Maharaja.


As Gulab Singh resorted to excessive taxation and policy of exaction, he tightened the reins of Government of Kashmir in his hands. Thus the condition of the people became wretched and turned from bad to worse. If there were any person having any sympathy with them on the administration of Kashmir, he would not be tolerated, but would rather be dismissed from his office with a heavy fine imposed on him.

Gulab Singh's way of justice was quite strange which is clear from the fact that in 1856 he ordered the Adalatis (justices) of the court to erect a large weighing scale in the compound of the court. Every complaint and the defendant should first be weighed and then put on the scales. He who weighed more should be declared a liar. He had no pride and was free with all

69. In November 17, 1849 Maharaja was in a fix about the chaotic conditions of Kashmir and Pandit Raj Kak Dhar (Officer-in-charge of the Department of shawl) Darog-i-Shawl, fearlessly admitted in the open court that the wretched condition of the people was due to the excessive demands and oppressive measures of the government and suggested to treat the people sympathetically. See Saif-ud-Din, Mirza, Roznamcha, Vol. II, dated Nov., 17, 1849; f. 87.

70. Khasta-Hargopal Koul, Guldast-i-Kashmir, Part II, p. 199. The author writes that Gulab Singh could not tolerate a proud person in the administration so Raj Kak Dhar was dismissed with an indemnity of eight thousand rupees. But it seems that Gulab Singh might have felt some opposition from this officer so dismissed him. Raj Kak Dhar wanted to improve the conditions of the life of people, but he was dismissed from his office. See Saif-ud-Din, Ibid.,

When Maharaja Gulab Singh entered Srinagar he had a naked sword in his hand and said "this sharp sword alone shall now decide the fate of Kashmir". Observing Gulab Singh's policy of excessive taxation and greed for money, the British Government felt compelled to interfere in the affairs of Kashmir. Henry Lawrence despatched to Srinagar a mission under Lieutenant Reynell Taylor from 14th to the 20th June, 1847, in order to recommend some important reforms for Kashmir administration after consulting the people as well as the government. But Gulab classes; always heard the complaints of the people himself.

72. Khasta, Hargopal Koul, Guldast-i-Kashmir, Part II, p. 885
The author writes that:

(You always heared the complaints and prayers of the people and never were fed up of the bas smells of the roesses of floor and of Zamindars)

73. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 64.

74. Miskeen, Mohi-ud-Din, Tarikh-i-Kabir, (PMS) (RBD), f., 111-b.
Singh very skilfully gave a warm welcome to the mission but blocked it from completing its work, tried to show the visitors that Kashmiris were happy with his rule.  

No doubt Taylor’s mission failed but Henry Lawrence was always interested in the reforms and so long as he remained in the north-west he insisted on the Maharaja to introduce the reforms, the latter always put the blame of bad and tyrannical government on his officials and avoided the future reforms. He had no inclination to introduce the reforms and to start the work of reconstruction, but always looked at his new purchase as a financial investment.

The author writes that Taylor called a general darbar in the Maisuma grounds and in a very loud voice inquired "O you, the people of Kashmir are you happy with the Maharaja’s rule or not", Some of the people who were tortured by Pandit Raj Kak Dhar, shouted back "Yes, we are" and Taylor Sahib went back to India with the disgusted heart about the character of the people.

76. Saif-ud-Din Mirza, Roznamcha, Vol. II, dated September, and October, ff. 64--87.
Inspite of his cruelty and tyranny Gulab Singh practised religious toleration.

Ranbir Singh

Ranbir Singh was the third son of Maharaja Gulab Singh. He was born in 1829 A.D. at Ramgarh. Suchet Singh, brother of Gulab Singh had no son so Ranbir Singh was adopted by him when he was a young boy and he spent most of his boyhood at Ramnagar, a jagir of Suchet Singh. Ranbir Singh's education was old-fashioned. He could read Dogri language and was trained by his father in using the arms by sending him with his soldiers to put down the occasional disturbances.

His first marriage was celebrated in 1843 A.D. to the daughter of Rajah Bijai Singh of Sika in Kangra, with great pomp and show. He used to be present at the royal meetings of

77. Vigne, Travels, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 184. The author has recorded that Jammu was the only place in Punjab where the Muslims offered prayers. "A pious Brahmin, or Sikh having complained that the Mulah's cry disturbed his devotions, Gulab Singh told him that he would order him to desist if the applicant would take the trouble to collect his flock for him."


79. Kripa Ram, Diwan, Gulab-name, pp. 268—269.
Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Jammu. Ranbir Singh took part in the political affairs and carried on the affairs of the Ramnagar district with great care. Whenever his father Maharaja Gulab Singh remained away from Kashmir or Jammu the business of the Government was conducted by Mian Ranbir Singh. In 1856 the health of Maharaja Gulab Singh began to fail so he decided to entrust the affairs of the administration to his son—Ranbir Singh.


The author has given the description of the Ranbir Singh's personality that "His Highness is in person handsome and of a complexion, I know not how to express it with a more expressive epitheton than Olive— an olive colour his face presenteth", fair for the people of his country, with features of the Grecian type, nose and forehead a straight line and short, black, curly beard. His puggery of lawn with an edge of gold tissue, was relieved in colour by one scarlet fold. On his forehead was painted the yellow symbol with green centre that indicates the followers of Siva, and he wore the brahminical cord, also a necklace of berries in laid with gold and used for the same purpose. The rest of his dress was of white cambric and a ribbon of scarlet jet and gold lace across his breast was his badge of authority. His son, dressed in the same way, wore a scimitar with a handle of embossed gold. He is shorter, stouter and fairer than his father, with features indicated of intelligence.

81. Ibid., p. 265.

82. Ibid., p. 370.
Thus it was in February 1856 A.D. that Ranbir Singh was installed on the gaddi and Gulab Singh himself remained as the Governor of Kashmir where he died in June, 1857 at the age of sixty-five.

In his life Ranbir Singh was kinder and simpler than his predecessor. As soon as he took the reins of government into his hands, Ranbir Singh made concerted effort to reorganize his army. He introduced a number of measures to enhance the process of education in the State. He also set up a separate Department for the translation of books on all subjects so as to arrange the school text-books to the students. Persian was the official language and all governmental orders were written in this language. The main object of the Maharaja was to establish

---

84. Ibid., p. 417. The author gives the date of his death as:

"The angle said that the sun has gone beyond the sight" The "Abjad" value worked out from the works in census is 19148 which correspond to 1857 A.D.
85. P. Gervis. This is Kashmir, p. 64.
86. Dugsal, Letters From India and Kashmir, pp. 186--187. The author writes about the army of Ranbir Singh. "His army is from forty to fifty thousand strong, and the revenue of Kashmir alone is estimated at fifty lacs of rupees."
the Pathshala or college and a Library of Sanskrit learning. The standard works were translated into Hindi and partly printed. He wanted to spread classical Hindu learning through Dogri language so he improved and encouraged the language. Pandit Govind Koul was appointed the incharge of translation Department. The Persian and Arabic works on philosophical, historical and other subjects were translated to Sanskrit with the help of Moulvis. The Maharaja asked Pandit Sahib Ram, famous Kashmiri Sanskrit scholar, to prepare a descriptive survey of all ancient Tirthas of Kashmir and for this purpose the scholar was provided with a staff for material collection in the country. When the Punjab University was started, the Maharaja contributed sixty-two thousand and five hundred rupees and was declared as

---

88. It was during his reign that the first printing press, Vidya Vilas Press was set up in Jammu in 1860. Sharma, B.P. Tribune, August, 1953.


90. Stein, Introduction, Catelogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, at Jammu.

91. Ibid., Kalhana, Raj. Vol. II, pp. 383—384. The scholar died in 1872 and the work was not completed but the abstract drawn up by him under the title Kashmiritirthasamgreha, gives the list of numerous tirthas, their features and position changed in topographical order of parganas.
the first fellow of the Punjab University in the Act of incorporation. The Valley was divided into Wazarats (districts) as Srinagar, Anantnag, Shopian, Patten, Kamitaj and Muzaffarabad. He opened schools and hospitals in the Valley. Stamp duty and registration fees were also introduced.

It was during the reign of Ranbir Singh that the construction of Cart Road was started between Srinagar and Jammu. He also built a track between Jammu and Srinagar. A telegraph system was introduced. He made his best efforts to improve the sericulture and the silk-worm seeds from China were distributed among the villagers.

92. Bruce, J.F. A History of the University of the Punjab, pp. 14 and 54; notes a donation of Rs. 62,500 (One lakh of Srinagar rupees) from Sir Ranbir Singh, Sufi, G. M. D., Kashmir, p. 791.


94. Ibid., See also Biscoe, C. E. Tyndale, Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p. 240. The author writes that the Medical Missionaries (Dr. Maxwell) was granted a site for the hospital by the Maharaja on the hill called Rustum Ghar (below Takht-i-Suliman) (Modern T.B. Hospital).


96. Richard Temple, Journals Kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal, Vol. II, p. 144 writes Maharaja Ranbir Singh made a great effort to introduce new staples into Kashmir, and £ 30,000 was spent on Sericulture, vines, wine-making and hops.
With a view to implementing the orders of his father Gulab Singh, Maharaja Ranbir Singh set up a trust known as Dharmarth aimed at propagation of Hinduism and drafted in Persian the Ain-i-Dharmarth\(^97\), given for the benefit of Hindu temples and also Sanskrit learning. In 1884 A.D. he appointed a Council for the management and supervision of the Dharmarth Fund and ordered that if any person from the Government side, whether the heirs of Sarkar, government officials, expended any money towards any other head, he was to incur a sin of having killed one crore of cows.

Ranbir Singh was a strict hindu and built a large number of temples in the Valley\(^99\). He was bigoted as regards his religion\(^100\). He was also superstitious by nature as he forbade the Kashmiris to eat fish on the death of his father\(^101\).

\(^97\). Regulations for the Dharmarth.
\(^99\). Torrens, Travels, op. cit. p. 312, The author also writes in 1983 "Rumbeer Singh is a strict Hindoo" He constructed the Mandir-i-Rambach (called Samat), Mandir Ganpetyar, Mandir-i-Habbakadal, Mandir Dal Hassanyar, Bakhshi Dar Ram Mandir, Malik Angan, Mandir-i-Chenkral Mohal, Mandir-i-Ahilimar, Mandir-i-Sad-i-Qazi Zadah, Mandir Pokhri Bal, Mandir-i-Reinawari, Mandir Kanghan, Mandir-i-Boharikadal, Khanyari, Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh, f. 226.
\(^100\). Wilson, Andrew, The Abode of Snow, p. 394. Khasta-Guldast-i-Kashmir, p. 225; The author writes that due to the bigotry the Maharaja ordered that due to the surname of Thakur in place of Mian which was used by the Rajputs previously because the word Mian was the Muslim name and at the same time abode the Rajputs giving their daughters in marriage to the Muslim Generals.
Jawahir Singh of Punch and Miyan Hethu of Rajouri made two attempts on the life of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. However, the conspirators were caught and punished and hereafter the Maharaja employed the Afghans as his own bodyguards.  

The Maharaja maintained friendly relations with the Britishers by helping them from time to time. He had put a contingent of his army to serve the British during the uprising of 1857. In the Afghan War of 1878–80 the Maharaja sent a contingent of troops and artillery to assist the British Government. He used to give best welcome to the foreigners especially the Britishers in the Valley of Kashmir. In the Lahore Durbar held in 1858 A.D. he was made G.C.S.I. and in the Delhi Durbar held on 1st January 1877 A.D., he was given the title G.C.I.E.  

Ranbir Singh also showed the signs of a good soldier as he got back Gilgit and subdued Yasin in 1863. It was in 1865 that he annexed Darel Valley (South west of Gilgit).  

122, 132, 135.  
104. In 1877 the Maharaja's full title was:–  

(Sipar-i-Saltanate, General, Asakir-i-Inglishia, Tarafdar Shumal-i-Mushir-i-Khas-i-Qaisaran-i-Hind). Khanyari, Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh, op. cit. f. 209.)
In 1870, Ranbir Singh signed a Treaty with the Britishers aimed at extension of trade link with Central Asia. He exempted from payment of taxes the goods exported to Central Asia. In exchange the Britishers exempted some goods from payment of taxes.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was very popular with his people and remained informed by means of khufya-navis in every district who wrote confidentially to the Maharaja. No doubt, he was in many ways an enlightened man but he lacked the strong will and determination of his father. Unfortunately he had no capable officials who could join hands with him in removing the defects of the government. They were the worshippers of "ignorance and destructive age". Younghusband, the British Resident in Kashmir, says "In the early sixties cultivation was decreasing; the people were wretchedly poor, and in any other country their state would have been almost one of starvation and famine ....". The people were taught that they were "serfs"

108. Ibid.,
109. Ibid., p. 176.
without any rights but with many disabilities. "Cashmere" was "one vast slave worked plantation". Law and order had gone from bad to worse and no heed was paid to the adultration, black-marketting and inflation. Prices of essential commodities varied from shop to shop and place to place. Government made no investigation into such matters and conditions. The Vale of Kashmir in 1866 A.D. was in the hands of "grinding tyranny and oppression". Not only was the "entire land produce taxed but the people also" were heavily taxed. In every part of the Valley loot and plunder was prevalent; the people were plundered by the contractors of revenue and the latter in their turn by the government in the form of "fines for misgovernment, misconduct

110. Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom*, Vol. I, pp. 255--256. The author has quoted a contemporary newspaper, *Indian Public Opinion*, then published from North India and quoted in the Book *Kashmir Raj*, Lucullus, pp. 18--22, itself published in 1868 A.D. writes, "... Throughout the year the villagers—men, women, and children are turned out each morning at the sound of a drum to work in gangs under alien task-masters, at a husbandry of which they are not to reap the benefits. When ripe, the crops of each village are stored in open air, or granaries strictly guarded, and when, after many weeks and even months delay, the whole produce of the country has been duly calculated and valued, the grain is doled out in quantities just sufficient to keep life and soul together"-- to use the words of Colonel Markham.


113. Ibid.
and oppression" 114. The position of the peasants was worse than that of the "Tiers Etat"—(rank) before the French Revolution. The peasants ceased to work or cultivate the land but they were "forced by soldiers to plough and sow and the same soldiers attended at the harvest time" 115. Thus cultivation was neglected, revenue was not paid and villagers were moving from village to village to escape oppression 116. Not only a discontented peasant or one Kashmiri suffered but the whole society groaned under this rule that plunged the people into misery 117. They were used to hard life because they knew no better 118. The Srinagar city was dirty and its unhygienic conditions struck Sir Richard Temple in July 1859 A.D. He asked the Maharaja to clean and drain the city but the Maharaja answered "that the people did not appreciate

114a. Ibid., Lawrence has reproduced a passage from Hazlitt's Life of Nepolean Bonaparte, which gives a fair idea of the peasantry before the settlement commenced, the passage is that "the peasants were over worked, half starved treated with hardwords and hard-blows, subjected to unceasing exactions and every species of petty tyranny".
115. Ibid.,
116. Ibid.,
118. Sinha, Kashmir— The Playground of Asia, (1st Ed.), pp.255--56. These peasants were called "Zulm-Parast" (Worshippers of tyranny). Because they could not raise their voices against the tyranny exercised upon them by the government, rather they would call it only the result of their sins. If the government did not exercise tyranny on them they asked for it.
conservancy and that they would much prefer to be dirty than to be at the trouble of cleaning the place. Such is always the idea of native rulers\textsuperscript{119}. Richard Temple had also an interview, on Tuesday 25th April, 1871, with several native gentlemen regarding the condition of Kashmir and governmental policy towards them, but their accounts were contradictory. Some called Gulab Singh as a "hard ruler" and Ranbir Singh "no better", and Wazir Pannu "severe and harsh" while others hailed Ranbir Singh and Diwan Kripa Ram\textsuperscript{120}. Everything was heavily taxed. A man of honesty and public spirit had no more chance of surviving than a baby would have in a battle\textsuperscript{121}. Thus the degradation of the people took place due to governmental policy which took the hearts out of the people. Everything was on decline and liable to change at the risk of chance.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{119} Sir Richard Temple, Journals Kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir Sikkim and Nepal, Vol. II, p. 94.
\item \textsuperscript{120} Ibid., Vol. II, p.
\item \textsuperscript{121} Younghusband, Kashmir, p. 179.
\end{itemize}

Iqbal writes on this subject as:-

\begin{quote}
(\textsuperscript{120}His earnings are at the disposal of others. The fish of his streams is for others met).\end{quote}
The palace of Maharaja was situated on the left bank of the river Jhelum at Shergarhi. The temple of Shri Gadadhar Ji almost joined it. On the same side and above the limits of the city proper, was a baradurrie—a large summer palace in which dinners or entertainments to Europeans were given.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh used to hold his Durbars on Akbar's model where men of learning gathered together for discussions on religious and social matters. The most learned men of his court were Diwan Kripa Ram, Pandit Ganesh Koul Shastri, Babu Neelamber Munkerji, Dr. Baksh Ram; Dr. Suraj Bel, Pandit Sahib Ram, Pandit Himmat Ram, Razdan, Mirza Akbar Beg, Hakim Waliullah Shah Lahouri, Sayyid Ghulam Jilani, Moulvi Nasir-ud-Din, Moulvi Ghulam Hussain Tabib of Lucknow, Moulvi Galendar Ali Fanjari.


123. Aynesley, Mrs. J. C. Murray, Our Visit to Hindustan, Kashmir, and Ladakh, p. 74. The author writes "on one occasion when the Lieutenant, Governor of the Punjab went up for the summer, it was given over to him as his residence."

R. Rankin, A Tour Through the Himalayas, p. 164. The writer writes "The Maharaja's palace is a ghastly hideosity in the heavy Queen Anne style; Ionic columns bedaubed with blue and white bursting out between a stupid uniform row of staring windows; and below is a huge blank red wall with portholes rising out of the river."
Moulvi Abdullah Mujtahid-ul-Asr, Hafiz Haji Hakim, Nur-ud-Din Qadiani, Babu Nasrullah Isai. Himself Ranbir Singh was very fond of speaking pashtu. 124

Richard Temple writes in 1871 about the Maharaja's application to his duties that he "attended good deal to business himself, signed all orders authorizing expenditure, however, small sat frequently in court, and heard important criminal trials and cases relating to landed property. He had built new court rooms for the disposal of public business, and record offices also. Each year he spent part of his time in Jammu and a part in Kashmir. His private domestic life seemed to be good. He rode out daily was certainly free from many of the ties and vices which but too often disfigure the private conduct of ... princes" 125.

There used to be from fifty to hundred courtiers who sat at the distances according to their degree 126; the holding of Durbar was the every-day custom of the court., in winter at Jammu

All of them were given salary and every year. On 20th Katak they were given a feast, on which thousands of rupees were spent. This day was called Ankot Day "अंकोट दिन" Khanyeri, Gulam Nabi, Waqiz-ut-Tawarikh, f. 225. See also Saif-ud-Din Mirza, Roznamcha, Vol. IV, f. 108 dated 20th October, 1851. On this day (20th October every year) (Ankot) food was cooked and distributed on account of the Rabi and kharif produce.

and in summer at Srinagar. In the morning the Maharaja used to sit in Khilwat Khana (a lonely room) where Hakims used to check him. Then after taking a bath, he wore a Durbari dress, entered the temple for prayers. Then he came to the court along with his (Madar-ul-Maham) Chief-Minister. The court was attended by Wazirs, Amirs and Chobdars with golden or silver sticks in their hands. Some of the soldiers also attended the court. At noon the Durbar was closed and the Maharaja had his lunch with fifty or sixty persons. Then in his 'Khilwat—Khana', he used to enjoy singing till 3'O clock when Hakims again examined him. After taking some fruits and tea he used to sit at the Parinda with the selected few, who were close to him. Occasionally he would go to Sumbal, or Pampore, Sonawar and Batawara till sun-set when he resumed his Durbar and at 10 O'clock the Durbar was closed after hearing the complaints and applications of the people.

Besides, special Durbars were held occasionally, especially on Besant Panchmi, Nauroz, Sair, and Dussehra.

The festival of Basant Panchmi was held in honour of the coming of Spring; people wore yellow dress at (Jammu). The people brought nazur, (a present) to the Maharaja, the special Durbar was held in open where Maharaja and courtiers came in procession on elephants and horses from the palace in great pomp and show. Every one from Mian Sahib, Diwans, Ministers, Courtiers to the lower servants paid Nazar either in gold or rupee in odd number as 11, 21 or 101. This was true of Jammu, while in Kashmir this festival was celebrated without Maharaja's presence. The Nazar was deposited by the Government officials in front of the qadi or cushion, placed to represent the Maharaja. The Nauroz, a persian festival, was celebrated in just the same way as Basant Panchmi, but without the prevalence of yellow dresses. The third festival called Saiir, held in autumn, not only the Government servants used to be present but the heads of villages, tradesmen, workmen and others also came clad in green presents, the specimens of their work. Dussehra was also a Nazar-Durbar day, held in the beginning of the cold weather.

130. Ibid., p. 69. See also Arthur Neve, Thirty Years in Kashmir, pp. 48—49.

131. Ibid., p. 70.

132. Tarikh-i-Aurag-i-Kashmir, f. 20b.

133. Ibid., pp. 70-71; The function of Holi was performed in the court at Srinagar too. Saif-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. III dated 21st March, 1850, f. 38.
In 1881 A.D. the Maharaja asked his Hakim Ghulam Hussain that he wanted to make a Shamivana (tent) like that of the Mughals and the Hakim prepared the plan but the Maharaja, though he was happy, said that he could not stand in contest with the Mughals who were emperors. It was in 1881 that Ranbir Singh fell ill and advised his sons to remain at peace. He told Pratap Singh to complete the works started by him. On the 12th September, 1885, Ranbir Singh died of diabetes at Jammu.

During the period under review there was a large portion of the persons who were in one way or the other involved in government. They ranked from governors to the petty officials of the state. There was a large number of such privileged officials who were the worshippers of a "bygone," ignorant, and destructive age. They were mostly the Hindus and had a monopoly of all

134. Hakim Ghulam Hussain, Safar-name. Cf. Fauq, Moh-Din, Hikayat-i-Kashmir, pp. 109—110. The Hakim has given many incidents which just make clear the character of Ranbir Singh. He says that the Maharaja was humble and tried to control his anger and advised his son too to do so.


136. Knight, E.F, Where Three Empires Meet, p. 82.
the state services and were the "worst tyrants" to their own people. They often indulged in fraudulent practices. The "Hindu officials had here (in Kashmir) tyrannised over the Mussalman cultivators and had driven them to despair, to sell their lands to their oppressors for very nominal sum". These unscrupulous and corrupt officials lived free on the villagers and workers on whom they levied exactions in the form of a systematic toll. They fleeced the people and received Nazranas from them for their own personal gains. Some of these officials were wealthy land-owners, contractors and bankers. Maharaja Gulab Singh himself encouraged the oppression on the part of officials in exacting the money from the people in general and from the peasants in particular. He rewarded those who offered

137. Dr. Norris, Kashmir the Switzerland of India, pp. 8-9.
138. Knight, E. F., Where Three Empires Meet, p. 82.
139. Ibid.
141. File NO. 96/1896 (Pol. & Gen.) letter dated 15th December, 1896, from Vice-President, Kashmir State Council to the Resident in Kashmir. It was in 1896 that a resolution was passed by the State Council prohibiting the revenue officials from receiving Nazranas or making illegal recoveries from villagers.
142. File NO. 84/F-86/1913-letter from the Resident Frazer to Maharaja, 15th May, 1913.
extra sums collected as Ferohi (bribe) in addition to normal revenue tax. On January 2, 1856, Dewan Kanhaya Lal presented a huge sum of Nine thousand rupees (र. 9,000/-) which he said he had collected as Ferohi (bribe). On July 3, 1856, Colonel Bajai Singh presented large rupees eighteen thousand (र. 18,000/-) and Fandit Sahoo Ram, a kardar, rupees twelve thousand (र. 12,000/-). Wazir Zorawaroo earned his endearment when he presented eight tolas of gold which had been presented to him by the Rajas of Skardu. All the same he remained uneasy and suspicious because he realized that official corruption so authorized by him was a loss to exchequer and oppression to the tax-payer. The masses of the people had no place in the Government, no share in political power. They had no rights. Their duty principally consisted in paying heavy taxes to the state, which were usually realized through the middlemen and a staff of revenue officers, all of whom oppressed them, and managed to keep a share of the sum realized for themselves, thus becoming very wealthy. So the Maharaja was not supported by the people under such circumstances.

The Dogra kingdom was divided into several provinces, as Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh, each of them were administered by a Governor in the name of Maharaja. Every province was in turn divided into several parganas (districts). The top officials in each pargana were the Ziladar (district Officer), the Thanadar

144. Ibid.,
(the Police Officer), and the Qanungo (Revenue Officer)\textsuperscript{145}. These officers were responsible for maintaining peace and collecting revenues in the area under their jurisdiction.

The Maharaja was eager to curb the Kashmiri preponderance in the important departments of revenue which is evident from the instructions he issued to Devi Datta, on the assumption of his new duties, that he should collect revenue from every quarter and root out Kashmiri influence from every quarter and the same advice was tendered to the lesser officials\textsuperscript{146}. The appointment of Devi Datta created a bitter feeling among the Kashmiris and seven to eight hundred of the farmers protested and presented themselves before the Maharaja to express their unhappiness. But Gulab Singh dismissed their complaints by accusing them of harbouring anti-Jammu prejudices\textsuperscript{147}. Most of the higher officials came from outside and were foreigners who comprised the privileged class.


\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., f. 100/2.
When Gulab Singh got the power in 1846 A.D., he stayed in Kashmir for some time and in 1905 B(1849) left Raj Kak Dhar in charge of Kashmir and himself went to Jammu. This practice was always continued; whenever the Dogra Maharajas remained outside Kashmir, the administration was mainly conducted by the Governors. Raj Kak Dhar remained in office for six months and everyone, high and low was happy with him. No doubt, he wanted betterment of the people and suggested to the Maharaja to treat his subjects sympathetically. At the same time he wanted the firmness of the Dogra rule in Kashmir, which is clear from his tutoring the people assembled in the Maisuma on the arrival of Taylor to Kashmir for the verification of the condition prevalent in Kashmir. However, he was not tolerated in the office but was removed with a heavy fine by Gulab Singh.

148. Khanyari, Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh, op. cit. f. 195
In 1851 Gulab Singh appointed Mian Hatu as the Governor of Kashmir. In the same year the people of Dard and Hasura revolted and Gulab Singh sent a military force under Diwan Hari Chand; Wazir Zorawar Singh and Col. Bijai Singh. Ranbir Singh, the heir-apparent, himself managed the things at Sopore. Mian Ranbir Singh himself remained in Kashmir for its administration and in 1856 Moti Singh, son of Raja Dhian Singh was put in charge of Kashmir administration and Wazir Pannu was appointed as his assistant, and Ranbir Singh went back to Jammu. The residence of the Maharaja at Sherghari caught fire and all the offices of Diwani (revenue) were burnt. So Kripa Ram came from Jammu to survey the situation.

Among the principal officers of Gulab Singh were Diwan Jawala Sahai of Aminabad (West Punjab), who was mainly responsible for negotiations in connection with the transfer of Kashmir. Diwan Hari Chand was employed in military expeditions.

---

152. Gulab Singh's son from a concubine.
154. Ibid., ff. 196--97.
Wazir Zorawar Singh\textsuperscript{157} was the military commander. Colonel Basti Ram\textsuperscript{158} was one of Zorawar’s important lieutenants in military operations. Wazir Lakhpat\textsuperscript{159} of Kishtwar who was dispatched to take possession of Kashmir and to oppose Sheikh Imam—ud—Din, and died in taking Hari—Farbat. Sayyid Nathu

157. Zorawar Singh Kahluria was born in 1786 A.D. entered the service of Gulab Singh in about 1817 and served his master in various expeditions such as Baltistan and Ledakh. He died on December 12th, 1841 A.D. in the battle of To-Yo. Cunningham, Sir Alexander, \textit{Ladakh}, p. 352. Francke, A. II., \textit{A History of Western Tibet}, pp. 164-18 writes about Zorawar Singh, “For, oriental though, he was, we cannot help admiring a greatness in this man by which he by far surpassed his surroundings. In the beginning of his conquests he was extremely by cautious; but this was essentially necessary, considering the naturally protected position of western Tibet and his entire want of knowledge of the geographical conditions of the country. But as he had a keen eye for the defects of his enemy and was a great strategist, all these difficulties were overcome... He proved himself a true soldier in the endurances of the extraordinary hardships, and in setting an example of personal courage; and if he had not met an early end on the battlefield, he might have impressed his name on the pages of the great history of the world.”

158. Cunningham, Sir Alexander, \textit{Ladakh}, p. 331n, writes that Basti Ram was “a Hindu Rajput of Kishtwar. He was the Governor of Takla-kot near the source of the Sarju or Ghagra river, at the time of Zorawar Singh’s defeat and death, when he made his escape to the British province of Almora. He speaks in high terms of the kindness shown to him by the British residents.” He served as the Wazir of Leh from 1847 to 1861 A.D.

159. Wazir Lakhpat a Thakur of Kishtwar, was a small landholder. After his quarrel with his master—Raja Tegh Singh (1791-1820), Wazir Lakhpat took shelter with Gulab Singh at Jammu and held high office under Raja Gulab Singh and did him good service in campaigns in Iskardu, Zansker and Ledakh. He was killed at Munshi Bagh, close to Srinagar, in the fight between Gulab Singh’s troops and Sikh Governor of Kashmir, Sheikh Imam—ud—Din, in 1846. He was among the most trusted officers of Gulab Singh. His son Wazir Zorawar was a confidential minister of Maharaja Gulab Singh. Drew, \textit{The Jummu and Kashmir Territories} p. 120. Panikkar, K.M. \textit{Gulab Singh—Founder of Kashmir}, p.30.
Shah of Gujranwala served Gulab Singh, and later lost his life in quelling a rebellion on the Gilgit frontier.

During the reign of Gulab Singh 1846—1857 A.D. three Governors or Nazims Pandit Raj Kak Dhar, Mian Hethu, and Ranbir Singh, one after the other, were appointed in Kashmir.

After performing the funeral rites of his father Gulab Singh, Ranbir Singh went towards Jammu to meet Lord Canning, Governor-General, G. S. I. Istar of India, at Lahore. He left Wazir Punnu—1857—1866 A.D. to administer the Kashmir province. In 1857 A.D. cholera broke out in the province. Many people died in this catastrophe. With the coming of Wazir Punnu to power, a reign of terror started in the Valley. It was during his time that another famine broke out and he left the people to die and did not work for their redemption or to get them out of this

160. Nathu Shah left the Sikhs, when Kashmir along with Gilgit was transferred to Gulab Singh, and accepted the new ruler and went to take the possession of Gilgit for him. The peace which Nathu Shah had established in this frontier by his matrimonial alliances during the Sikh regime, did not continue long. After the visit of a Commission of the British Government, comprised of two English Officers, Lieut. Vans Agnew and Young, of the Bengal Engineers, sent for the purpose of ascertaining the limit of Gulab Singh’s possessions according to the Amritsar Treaty, the Hunza Raja made an attack on the Gilgit territory and plundered five villages. Nathu Shah led a force up the Valley of Hunza River to avenge this attack, but his forces were destroyed and he was killed. Drew, *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 439—440.

disaster. There was a widespread cry for food. The prisoners were left without food who escaped from the jail and begged for food. Similarly, some people, who, due to hunger, ate fish, were punished severely, some were chained, their faces rubbed black and then kept standing on Zainakadal bridge to serve as a warning for others. There was no law and order nor did people refrain from adulteration and black-marketing. Prices of essential commodities varied from place to place and shop to shop. In April 1860 A.D. Wazir Punnu went on leave and Col. Bijai Singh, the Commandant, was given the charge of Hakim-i-Ala (Governorship) of Kashmir. The latter tried to improve the conditions of the people and market rates were stabilised. All

162. Ibid., f. 199.


164. Ibid., f. 15, dated 29 January, 1860.


166. Ibid., dated 19, 22 April, 1860, ff. 35–36. Wazir Punnu left the Valley with five thousand rupees, out of the thousand rupees collected by him from excessive charges. Ibid., dated 14 July, 1860. f. 47.
the same Wazir Punnu exercised tyranny on the people and was removed from his office in 1865\(^{167}\) (1922).

**Diwan Kripa Ram --- 1865--66**

Diwan Kripa Ram, son of Jwala Sahai, was appointed the Governor of Kashmir and in that capacity he served for one and a half year\(^{168}\). The Diwan carried out some reforms in the revenue and administrative field to fight out the menace of recurring famines. He carried out census and fixed weekly rations of grain per head so that enough was made available to everyone upto the month of Asuj. A few thousand maunds of wheat was purchased from Punjab and distributed to the people of Kashmir at a much lower

---


"This man was industrious, experienced and good administrator, but was arrogant, vindictive, merciless, miserly, defiant. The people of Kashmir were sick of his cruel rule. This time he has went to the mountains of Jammu but it is on the lips of everybody that after destroying the people of Kashmir he has went to destroy the people of mountains."

The Kashmir province was divided into five Wazarats as Srinagar, Shupian, Anantnag, Kamraj and Pahar. The shali crop for each wazaret was assessed and farmed out to kardars. As a result 22 Lakhs of kharwars was produced that year.\textsuperscript{169}

In the same year misinformed by Pandit Raj Kak Dhar, Daroo-i-Shawal Bafan, the Diwan used military force to intimidate a crowd of shawl-weavers at Zaldagar. Many of them were drowned in the Kutikul.\textsuperscript{170} Diwan Kripa Ram died in 1876.\textsuperscript{171} He was dignified, of literary taste and was the author of the Gulzar-i-Kashmir, the Guleb-nama and the Radd-i-Islam. Richard Temple, who met him in


\textsuperscript{170} Ibid., p. 848. Hasan gives the number of drowned as 28 while Khanyari, Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh op. cit. f. 201 gives their number as seven.

\textsuperscript{171} Hasan Tarikh, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 860. The author sums up the qualities of Diwan Kripa Ram in these words:

"مَرْسَىٰ صَحِيْحَان وَعَالِمٌ وَخَالِصٌ وَمُكْتَفِيٌّ وَمُؤْتِرٌ وَمُهِنِّبٌ الأَاخَلَقِ يُبُوُْرِ "

"He was a great scholar, thinker, cultured and civilized person"

Hasan gives the date of his death in the words:

"اًتِحِيّرَتْ شَيْخَةٌ بِنْيَانٌ بِيْنَ قَشْرِ وَشَرْكِ دِينِ "

The Abjad value of the words in brackets is 1876, 1293 H., corresponding to 1876 A.D. After detaching the head and tails of the words in the inverted kamas we get the value from the alphabets in the middle.

"The head and the tails of the words justice mind, sincerity, mercy and grace were detached from the world i.e. those remained meaningless with his death"
1871 writes that he "was a man of considerable intelligence, and ambitious of earning a good administrative repute for his master's government."

Diwan Thakur Dess—1866—1870:

Soon after taking the reigns of governorship into his hands, a severe cholera broke out near about eight thousand people died in this calamity. Many hospitals were opened in the cities and districts and Hakims (physicians) were asked to cure the people. After ten years the fishermen were asked to catch fish in the Valley and it was declared to be legal. In 1868 Mir Hussain Qadiri and Azim-ud-Din Derabu started repairing the roof of Jamia Masjid and the Maharaj gave them two thousand and two hundred rupees for this purpose. Diwan proved lazy and harassed some kardars so Rambir Singh dismissed him after ruling for four years.

Wazir Punnu—1870—1877:

The people of Kashmir were not happy at the appointment of Wazir Punnu as the Governor of Kashmir. Wazir Punnu started a market at the land of the successors of Khaja Hassan Bandi and

named it the Maharaj-Ganj Bazar, where he constructed the shops for traders and shopkeepers. Wazir Punnu then ordered that the central market hereafter might be Maharaj-Ganj instead of (Jamia Masjid) Nowhatta bazar (which was the central market right from the Muslim rule in Kashmir). In 1872 cholera broke out and many people died. In the same year Shia—Sunni conflict took place and became a serious problem. In 1874 Wazir Punnu went to Jammu to marry his son and Diwan Badri Nath was left as Naib in Kashmir. Lord North Viceroy of India, came to Kashmir, Wazir Punnu also came back. Bahler Sahib too came and purchased some Sanskrit books from Kashmir. The Queen of England presented Ishtemar (boat) to Maharaja for his services during Yarkand tour, and was put into work at Hazratbal. In 1875 A.D. cholera broke out, it lasted for ten months and many

175. Khasta, Guldest-i-Kashmir, Part II, p. 221.
people died. In the same year fire broke out in Mohalla Tankipora (near Shergarhi), about seven hundred houses were burnt. Diwan Kripa Ram died at Jammu.

In 1877 A. D. Ranbir Singh came to Kashmir and stayed for few days at Achabal and the peasants complained about the high-handedness of their officers, but nothing came out of it. Wazir Punu continued to exercise his tyrannical measures on the people. Maharaja Ranbir Singh attended the Delhi Durbar in 1877 A. D., the same year it continued raining for three months and twenty days, and the signs of famine appeared. The scarcity of food was prevalent and people died in hunger. But Wazir Punnu remained quite unmoved by this catastrophe and continued to be tyrannical. He destroyed the villagers and wanted a complete destruction of Kashmir. The people of the

179. Ibid.

180. Five miles from Islamabad.


182. The details about this famine are dealt within the Chapter III of the thesis, pp. 174-184.


184. Ibid.
Valley especially the villagers were dealt within such inhuman and unjust manner as was unimaginable, unspeakable and inexpressible. At last due to the interference of the Government Punnu was dismissed in 1978 A.D. after running the government for seven years and two months.

"(However, a tehsildar of Zainagir named Thakur Koth stripped naked the Mukadam named Lasi Mir, tied his penis with the rope and the end of the rope was put in the hands of his daughter to parade through the city. The Mukadam of Butango and his wife were also stripped naked. An instrument, penceis was brought from the blacksmith, put into the hand of the Mukadam and was asked to insert it in womb of his wife and pull it. A lighting stick was lit and inserted into the womb of the wife of Sabir Bhat Zamindar of Lolab. A person who was Nazir raded Ram Chand urine was poured in his mouth. In this way the people were subjected to various tyrannies and difficulties, even the tongue has not the courage to explain them.)"
Diwan Anant Ram--1878:

Diwan Anant Ram, son of Kripa Ram, was given the governorship in order to cope with the famine conditions but remained in office for two and a half months. He made some arrangements for the famine-striken people and made available to them certain amount of shali. In 1878 Diwan Jawala Sahai died at Jammu so Diwan Anant Ram went to Jammu. 186

Diwan Badri Nath--1878--1884:

Diwan Badri Nath was appointed in 1878 but the conditions of the people were deplorable. Some of the people flew away and others demolished their houses and sold the material (timber) to get their living. 187 The taxes worth the value of four lakhs and ninety six thousand rupees were remitted on the shawl-bafs and also on other workers. 188 No doubt, many measures were effected to release the people from this ghastly catastrophe but there was still the cry for food and people lived on starvation line. The calamities of plague and cholera broke out in 1879 and its victims became the city population. The cases of drowning were heard of. 189 In 1880 the Maharani died at Jammu and all the work was closed for three days. 190 In the

187. Khanyari, Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh, op. cit. f.211
188. Ibid., f.211
same year some people of Gilgit revolted and the Maharaja sent three thousand soldiers to crush the revolt and Kashmiris were used for begar. However, this revolt died down but after having brought havoc to the people of Kashmir who were widely used as begaris. In 1882 due to continuous rains the villages were washed away by flood. The same year a Council of six members was established. The members were Suraj Bal, Hira-Anand, Akbar Beigh, Mirza Mohy-ud-Din, Zana Kak Dhar, Khawaja Sonullah Shawl and its President was to be Diwan Badri Nath—the purpose was to improve the administrative and revenue conditions.

Diwan Badri Nath, an old man, hard of hearing, ruled for five years and nine months.

Diwan Lachhaman Dass, 1884–85:

Diwan Lachhaman Das, was the human and just governor and the officials accustomed to exercising tyranny were severely treated. The blackmarketers were met with a stern hand.

192. Ibid., p. 871. The author writes:-

1885 A.D. earthquake occurred, first in Kamraj where thousands of people died. The process continued for forty days. The Maharaja gave aid in cash and kind to the tune of rupees three thousand to the affected people. Wazir Punnu also died the same year and only after ten days the news came that Maharaja Ranbir Singh had died too. For complete eight days the shops were closed except the milk shops and shops dealing in Karam Sac (Hak). Fishing, sealing of meet, and marriage celebrations were banned for many days. Ranbir Singh, thus ruled for twenty-eight years, eleven months and twenty one days.

**Other Officials**

**Landlords**:

The state had a feudal structure where the Dogra Maharaja was the chief feudal lord at the top of various small feudal chieftains subordinate to him. The land was granted by the Maharaja to his relatives, members of royal family and to those with whom he was pleased. It was true of Gulab Singh and

---


197. Panikkar, K.M. *The Founding of the Kashmir State*, pp. 144 and 154--155. The author writes "He (Gulab Singh) rewarded his servants liberally, the grants of jagirs, that he gave to all who served him, bear witness to this even today."
also of Ranbir Singh. The village aristocracy comprised the Hindu landowners and the Muslim peasants were "the foiling sons of the soil" who "had to pay such high taxes that economic crisis bordering on starvation became more or less a regular affair." Most of the peasants were landless "labourers working as serfs of the absentee landlords.

The system of land revenue was such as gave rise, on the one hand to landlordism and a mass of landless peasantry on the other. The peasants, after paying the revenue were left with little and when they failed in one tehsil to satisfy their needs they took themselves to another and the process of roving continued which resulted in the "unsatisfactory condition of

---

198. J. Karbel, Danger in Kashmir, pp. 13--14, Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, pp. 465-466 records the observations of Islamalisia in respect of the total population of the Valley as 402,700 in which Hindus numbered 75,000; Among the jagirdars the Musliman sunni numbered 2 and shias 3, while the Hindus were 40. See also Bates, Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 30.


agriculture. They tried to seek the protection under the influential persons who came to constitute a link between the cultivator and the state. They became landlords and rented the land to the peasants on "medieval conditions of exploitation." The land even of those emigrants who came back to the Valley were conferred, either for military purposes or for political aims, on the privileged people, these were also granted to Mian Rajputs in Kashmir by Ranbir Singh in 1871-72. His aim in inviting Rajput jagirdars was to "have certain body of his own people ready to support him in the event of any disturbance in the Valley." This privileged class was exempted from all the taxes and duties.

203. Ibid.
207. Ibid.
208. Ibid., p. 5.
Another group of privileged people included in this class were Nakshbandi Khwajas who held large chunks of land on Zar-i-Niaz grants which were made to them in the past and which they retained even during the period under study. These privileged jagirdars claimed that the peasants lived a happy life under the state. They held the jagirs on hereditary basis, though they could retain such lands till the Maharaja's pleasure. Gulab Singh relaxed and released jagirs and Dharmarth lands, but dealt with those people sternly who asked for the release of those jagirs which had been granted to them by the ex-rulers. Infact those rulers had conferred the lands on influential persons to strengthen their own position. These were above 3,115 jagirs under Dharmarth, in addition to other kinds...

209. Ibid., pp. 239—251.


211. Ibid.


213. Ibid., dated Nov., 23, 1850. f. 150.

214. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 657. N. D. Nargis, Tarikh-i-Duggar Dash, p. 630. They give the number of jagirs as 3,115. Taylor Diary, p. 16 23rd June to 3rd July 1847, mentions that "jageer and Dhurmarth lands comprise 68 wells, and about 1,531 beegars of ground barrance."
of land grants including the unregistered ones. But Gulab Singh made a general resumption of these jagirs, muafis, and Dharmarth grants made by Sheikh Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, and his son Sheikh Imam-ud-Din as governors of Kashmir under the Sikh rule. However, on the repeated objections of Lahore Durbar and the British Government, Gulab Singh released those jagirs which had been granted by Ranjit Singh and Sher Singh. He placed an enquiry of "Quo warranto" (a legal proceeding) on the existing jagirs. All this resulted in the resentment of various jagirdars against the Maharaja.

Gulab Singh divided the entire Valley for revenue purposes into four or five jagirs, the most of the jagirdars were non-Kashmiris and usually the Punjabis, who had under them a host of higher and minor officials for collecting revenue. These agents of the state gained inspite of the loss to both the state and the cultivator. These jagirdars were paid by the peasants partly in cash and partly in kind. They had to

---


216. Taylor, Punjab Political Diaries, Vol. VI, p. 60, comes to the rescue of Gulab Singh and writes "His point was that people who begun as revenue farmers should not claim the land they held in forms to be jagirs; that grants when made should be strictly adhered to that grantees who were given one acre should not be allowed to possess two on the same sanad, and that in cases of treason, rebellion, and gross misbehaviour the jagirs should be liable to resumption."


contribute towards the military campaigns a supply of a certain quota of "corvee labourers and form a regiment. These jagirdars in general remained in arrears to the state. Thus a jagirdar was in actual practice the master of "the judge, the administrator and the police" within his estate while the peasant was his "purchased slave. There was no constitution of jagirs to define the rights and privileges of the jagirdars who enjoyed unlimited powers. A code for the purpose came into existence only after 1927.

Thus this privileged class was created by the successive foreign regimes for their own benefits. It was either for subjugating or exploiting the masses, that these regimes conferred large tracts of land on this class. This system had "its immediate origin in practices inherited from the most decadent and chaotic period of rule, and changes in it were made."

220. Ibid., Vol. IX, dated August 1, 1856, f. 126.
221. Nazir-ud-Din, Munshi, Tarikh-i-Kashmir-Ki-Jang-i-Azadi, p. 32.
223. Younghusband, Northern Frontier of Kashmir, p. 17.
slowly, and not without mistakes, by men who were mostly aliens to the country and could hardly assimilate the requirements or enter into the feelings of the people.  

Chakdars:

Next to the jagirdars were the Chakdars. It was in 1863 that the fallow land was granted in allotments called "Chaks" or Narniaz Chaks for ten years. These were given to influential persons who employed "people not already cultivators or by attracting cultivators from the Punjab". These Chakdars held landed property, though temporarily, under the deeds granted by the State. They had to pay the state on easy terms. But themselves they were entitled to half the produce of the chak. They treated the cultivators in their chaks with great severity. These cultivators had also to render other services to these chakdars who treated them only as serfs. There were other kinds of chaks also. It was in 1867-68 that the Maharaja gave his consent to the allotment of chaks Hanudi in favour of

226. Ibid.
228. Wingate, op. cit. p. 28.
Hindus, which they could keep so long as they remained Hindus, and were in the state services and brought waste-land under cultivation. From 1880 Ishtihari Chaks were granted on easier terms. In the same year Halkari Chaks were granted and land was granted in lieu of wages and on lump-sum basis. When all these chaks were granted the grantee first of all ousted all the old cultivators so that he could destroy any proof of the land ever having been under cultivation before he entered it. They laid their hands on any land which was in their neighbourhood.

229. Wingate, op. cit. p. 28.
230. Ibid., p. 29.
231. Ibid., p. 30.
232. Wingate, op. cit. pp. 29—30; The Report mentions the instances of land held in excess of the grant as under:

"Diwan Badri Nath got a grant of a deserted government garden and with it was included some land he had brought from a woman and which was stated, on what authority does not appear, to be assessment free. For the lot he was to pay Rs. 48/- per annum. A few years later, he brought some more land for Rs. 100/- (imperial), which he included with the first lot but although in the position of the governor at the time did not think it necessary to add anything to his assessment. That, however, is a trifling omission far from first to last he has never paid even the Rs. 48/- and his agent says the item is adjusted in his masters pay. This, however, seems hardly likely as there is no entry in the accounts that this money is due. The land measures nearly eight kharwars, or nearly 32 acres, and is gradually converting itself by lapse of time into a muafi tenure."
Mukararidars and Muafidars:

The mukararies received cash payments from the state under various religious and non-religious titles. They enjoyed all the feudal concessions conferred on them by the Mughals, Pathans, Sikhs and also by the Dogras. They acquired the land on deeds granted by the State. There were 2,347 Mukararies in the state who were drawing 1,77,921 rupees a year. The Muafidars were the individuals as Pandits, Faqirs and institutions as mosques and temples; and were in receipt of a part of the revenue. There were 395 jagirdars and muafidars collecting 5,56,313 rupees annually. These muafidars resorted to exploitation under the cover of religion.

Thus, this element of privileged class compelled the people to suffer miserably and this system was "generally feudal marked by the problem of transaction into a week type of

233. Wingate, op. cit. p. 28.
236. Ibid.
237. Ibid.
238. Ibid.
capitalism. It degraded the “country into a mire of poverty and lowness” and was leaching the vitality of the peasants.

Judicial Officers:

The Officers connected with the courts of law also came mainly from outside and belonged to the privileged class. Most of these officers collected and amassed money and were transferred from their offices very frequently. Soon after taking the reins of government into his hands, Gulab Singh appointed Moulvi Mazhar Ali, from Delhi, as Chief Justice and Moulvi Nasir-ud-Din was appointed as Ijaradar. In 1849 A.D. Moulvi Mazhar Ali went on leave, Moulvi Nasir-ud-Din was terminated, in their place Moulvi Farkhand Ali and Mir Aziz Ullah were appointed Magistrate and Chief-Justice respectively. The position of the judiciary—civil, criminal and religious deteriorated. In 1847 A.D. Rasum-i-Nikah was fixed as one rupee and Rasum-i-Kabala (for purchasing and selling) was fixed at

242. Tarikh-i-Aurag-1-Kashmir, f. 112a. Five thousand rupees were levied as a fine (Bakaiyat) on Nasir-ud-Din and then his services were terminated.
six rupees and four annas. In 1850 A.D. the officials did not attend the court and winter was severe. Consequently, there was no income on account of Rasum-i-Nikah nor were any mortgage deeds relating to Srinagar signed. At the sametime whatever was collected was not deposited in the treasury. Raj Kak Dhar was the judicial Magistrate in the Shawl Department and after he went to Jammu Moulvi Karamat Ali took the charge of the duties of Judge for Dag-i-Shawl Department. The simple cases of beating were dealt with in this court. The important cases were disposed of by Diwan Thakur Das (General) personally after getting bribes from each party. Mir Aziz Ullah dispensed justice; collected fees and deposited these amounts in the treasury after being duly recorded and then whatever was left for the official's personal needs was kept by them. On Nov., 18, 1850 Mirza Ali Akbar of Rajouri was appointed as the Chief Magistrate. The system of stamp paper was introduced and Qazis of the city had to accept the Nikah-name (paper of Nikah) only when it was executed in the prescribed stamp paper. Moulvi Farkhand Ali was dismissed and Nur-ud-Din was appointed in his place; when the latter went on leave for some time, Nihal Singh was appointed to take his place, the latter had no


244. Ibid.,

friendly relations with the Chief-Justice, Mir Aziz-Ullah, so the latter was removed and Nihal Singh became the Chief-Justice. Even the menial acts were legalized by the officers of the court. Justice was being bought and sold. The seat of the court was established at Basant Bagh. In 1853 A.D. law was promulgated that in all the civil suits the litigant had to deposit fees at the rate of five percent of the amount before the case was decided. On 11 Feb., 1854 A.D., according to the registers of the receipts the sum of 42,000/- rupees had been collected as a tax from Muslims on account of marriages, divorces and other connected matters from 1846 to 1852 and only the amount of Rs. 25,000/- had been deposited. The remaining amount of Rs. 7,000/- had been embezzled by Moulvi Mazhar Ali, Qazi Nasir-ud-Din.

246. Ibid., Vol. IV, dated 28 Oct., 1851, f. 112. Tarikh-i-Auraq-i-Kashmir, f. 113a

247. Saif-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. IV, dated 9 March, 1851, f. 26. A certain low-caste inhabitant of Dachinpors sold his daughter to the keeper of prostitutes in Amira Kadal, Srinagar, in the month of March, 1851 for one hundred and fifty rupees, out of which he got only fifty and remaining hundred rupees were kept by Adalatis for legalising the transaction.

248. Ibid., dated 20 Feb., 1851, ff. 22 and 23.

249. Ibid., dated 28 October, 1851, f. 112.

250. Ibid., Vol. VI, dated 4 February, 1853, f. 1a.
Moulvi Farkhand Ali, Mirza Akbar Ali, and Mir Aziz-Ullah, Mian Nihal Singh and Syed Sozan Shah. In 1860 A.D. Mian Gopal Singh was appointed as the officer of the court, but was removed only after ten days, and his place was taken by Sardar Rambir Singh. Then Qazi Nasir-ud-Din was again appointed in 1871 A.E. for conducting Nikah and its rasum. The system of Panchayat was also prevalent. In 1876 A.D. Ganesh Pandit was given the contract of stamps. Zar-i-Nikah which had been fixed at three rupees was now raised to six rupees including Arzi tax (application fee), Rasum-i-Mandi and Mahaldar, Kharchi-i-Adalat (expenditure on court). In 1876 A.D. Panchayat system was abolished and Munshi Jwala Singh was transferred from the court to Kamraj for administration while Lala Jagar Nath became the Officer of the Court. In 1878-79 A.D. Sadr-i-Adalat was Pandit Janki Nath. He was removed and Radha Krishan was appointed in his place. Again in 1880 A.D. Dr. Suraj Bal was appointed in place of Radha Krishan who remained only the Secretary.

253. Ibid., f. 206.
254. Ibid., f. 208.
255. Ibid.,
256. Ibid., f. 215.
257. Ibid., f. 216.
In 1883 A.D. Shanker Dass went on leave and Lala Jai Krishen was appointed the Officer of the Court. Buzarag Shah son of Mir Aziz-Ullah was transferred from the Nayabat-i-Adalat to Khadmat-i-Nigaran-i-Akhbarat and Shiv Nath, a relative of Badri Nath became the Nayabat-i-Adalat. In 1885 A.D. Munshi Karim-ud-Din was appointed the Officer of the court and Diwan S. Dass as Sadr-i-Nayabat. The latter remained on this post for two days. Suraj Bal was removed and Janki Nath appointed as the Sadr-i-Adalat (Officer of the Court). In 1886 A.D. Sheikh Wahab was appointed as the Officer of the court, but he left when Diwan S. Dass joined again his services after availing of the leave.

From the above mentioned facts it is clear that there was no certainty of tenure in the judicial service, the Officers incharge of justice were accustomed to frequent transfers and terminations so their main aim during their service tenure was to amass as much money as they could at the cost of the state and the people. They had the privilege to exploit the people, to harass them and to secure benefits to themselves. They were mostly the foreigners, either from Punjab, Delhi or Jammu.

258. Ibid., ff. 219—221.


260. Ibid., f. 223.
Hinor Privileged Officers:

Right from the commencement of the Dogra rule in Kashmir, the Maharaja, as a matter of practice, left the Valley at the end of every summer for his winter capital at Jammu, and it was during this interval that the official-dom, worked its own will on the people, unchecked by the Durbar. The official class was corrupt, and oppressive. There were just a few good and considerate officers who came from Jammu.

The structure of administration under Maharaja Gulab Singh remained as he found it. Infact in ancient times the province of North Kashmir was divided into two divisions (Kamaraj and Maraj) (south) which were again divided into perganahs. During the period under study the Valley was divided into six wazarats or districts, which were split up into tehsils, under (Tehsildars) and Naib-Tehsildars.  

261. Wakefield, Kashmir The Happy Valley, p. 89.

262. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 222. Lawrence writes that when he commenced the work Kashmir was divided into three wazarats and fifteen Tehsils:


However, the boundaries of the tehsils were not well defined so there was confusions defrauding. Lawrence, p. 419.

The Tehsildar was vested with a "good deal of civic responsibility." He had the civil and criminal jurisdiction over his tehsil, and had the powers to punish up to a fortnight's imprisonment and a fine of ten rupees. All kinds of disputes, complaints, and disputes which occurred in his tehsil were referred to him. Some Tehsildars without criminal powers enriched themselves by charging false fines from the people without registering their cases and procedure. These officers awarded severe punishments to the people, for minor offences using nettle scourages in summer and plunging them in cold water during the winter. They enjoyed unequalled


*Saif-ud-Din, Roznamcha*, Vol. III, dated 31st December, 1849, f. 113, refers to the punishment ordered by the Tehsildar of Mir Bahri, meted out to a fourteen year old son (Anup Rai) of a shawl weaver for steeling Rs. 3/- who perished in the burning hay.
opportunities for enriching themselves at the expense of state and the people. He had under him 200 to 400 sepoys for the collection of revenue, who lived freely on the forced hospitality of the villagers. These tehsildars received a small pay of thirty rupees a month but their life style suggested an income of rupees 300 to 500 per mensum, which they earned by all foul means. The Tehsildar never lacked society and while enjoying the company he had always around him in the tehsil a number of relatives and friends called mutabir.

268. Knight, Where Three Empires Meet, p. 64.

Qamar-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. XII, dated 5 Sept., 1860, f. 110. The author gives the names of certain specified tehsildars who employed military power in 1860 for the realization of revenue as:

1. Dewan Hari Singh Dayal, Tehsildar (Naqdi) --- 100 mer
2. Mohanand Pandit (Dhar) Tehsildar (Jinsi) --- 75 Men
3. Four Tehsildars of Shali, each assisted by --- 5 Men
4. Sahaz Ram, Naib Tehsildar (Naqdi) --- 11 Men
5. Tehsildar, Mir Bahari (Dali Lake) --- 11 Men
6. Tehsildars of Parganahs, for each tehsil --- 14 Men


271. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 419; while as Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. XII, f. 120, dated 13th Dec., 1860; writes that Maharaja Ranbir Singh appointed Punjabi Tehsildars with a站点 salary of Rs. 100/- p.m. while as Kashmiri tehsildars Rs. 80/- p. m. It thus becomes clear that in the first place discrimination was made between the Punjabi and Kashmiri officials and secondly the rate of the pay differed with the data furnished by Lawrence. See Appendix No. . Appointment of Specified Tehsildars on 27th Sept., 1860 A.D.

272. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 419.
who received no pay from the state but squeezed money out of the villagers. His post was not hereditary and he received no pension in his old age. He was usually corrupt, lazy, disloyal and illiterate. The Tehsildar enjoyed very little dignity or respect, he usually remained absent from his duties and his staff also did likewise, but Maharaja Ranbir Singh ordered in 1861 that a strict watch might be kept on them and if found absent from their duties, action might be taken against them. On the whole, Tehsildar was a "bird of passage, and he lived in a state of constant terror, caused partly by the rough way in which he was treated by his superiors and partly by the knowledge that he was assailed on all sides by charge, some true and some false."

274. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 412.
276. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 420--21. The author writes that "on behalf of the Tehsildars of Kashmir it is is fair to remark that the small pay of their office, the uncertainty of tenure, the absence of any system of pensions for old age (inglishi) and the want of honour attaching to the post, from some excuse for the peculation which used to be carried on."
278. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 422.
Thanadar:

He was the chief officer in each pargah having 40 to 50 sepoys under him. He was called the "guardian of peace" and administered justice without his jurisdiction. He served as an agent to collect begaris and coolies, and his chief duty was to make inspections throughout his pargah, to make reports concerning the crops and general matters to his Tehsildar. He acted as a "medium between the Sarkar and the Raiyat to supply grain, wood and other necessaries or the state services." The Thanadar harassed the people who were quitting the Valley out of oppression, and also compelled many people of other professions to take agriculture as a means of their livelihood.

284. Saif-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. III dated March 14, 1850, f. 9. Due to the tyrannies of Mian Ameer Singh, Thanadar of Phak, the agriculturists were quitting the villages at the rate of one in ten.
285. Saif-ud-Din Roznamcha, Vol. IV, dated 20 April 1851, f. 40. Mian Ameer Singh, Thanadar of Phak, had been compelling fishermen of Dal Lake to give up their ancestral profession and instead plough one kharwar of land but they got exemption because they offered to pay double the tax which was levied on them.
Kardar:

The ancient thirty-six pergannahs of the Valley induced Gulab Singh to appoint in each pergannah a Kardar for purpose of revenue collection. Since there was no settlement department during the period under study, it was the first duty of Kardar who acted as revenue collector, "to assess the standing crops" and then to get the largest possible quantity of grains for the state. He had under him a certain number of villages. Kardar divided his entire charge into three belts. Thus he was the chief and the absolute authority in charge of collection of revenue and the cultivation of land. He was usually, an illiterate cheat both for peasant and the state whom he bullied with "Zabani Jama-O-Karch" and made the state to believe that "he was doing


287. Ibid., p. 226.

Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 402. The author writes that "In the lower belt he would allow nothing to be grown but rice, in the middle belt he allowed some rice to be grown, and in the highest belt he permitted no rice."

Taylor, *Diary 23rd June to 3rd July, 1847*, p. 23.
Robert Thorp writes that he had certain number of villages under him, "of whose crops he has to keep a strict accounts, and to each of which he goes in person at the time when the different crops ripen, in order to superintend the different distribution of each. He reports to his Thanadar, and causes the government shares of the crops to be despatched to the city, or elsewhere, according to the orders he may receive in lieu of some or the inferior kinds of grain, the government will occasionally take an
his best to fill her coffers and also creating a "Zakhira" to depend on in times of need or dearth. He served also as the lowest court within his jurisdiction.

The Government was harsh on these Kardars, who were charged with a levy Resum-i-Deohri for the maintenance of the place, at varied rates of two to three hundred rupees. These Kardars in turn exacted it from the peasants both in cash and kind. These officials were being punished severely by the government if they happened to be its "bagider." The salary equivalent in money from the Kardar. The zamindars do not, however, benefit by this arrangement since in these cases the Kardar takes from them the full amount of produce, and sells the amount, for which the government have taken money, to his own advantage; and since this arrangement is greatly preferred by the Kardars, there must be a large demand for these grains among the people; since in order to make their own profits, they are, of course, obliged to sell them at a higher rate than the very high prices demanded by government.

290. Ibid., p. 38.
292. Ibid., Vol. I, dated July 7, 1847, f. 9, Vol. IX dated Oct. 4, 1856, ff. 201, 188. The author gives an instance of a Kardar, Suliman Khan of Machihama who had failed to liquidate state balances of revenue and committed suicide. Maharaja Gulab Singh ordered that Suliam Khan's children should be arrested and made to pay the balances otherwise all balance holders shall also commit suicide and state will lose its revenue. See also Roznamcha, Vol. IX, dated Feb., 15, 1856, f. 22. A Pandit Kardar of Chinab Zarardan was arrested alongwith his family for being in arrears to the state, but was released on the request of Raja Kak Dh'ar.
for Kardars and his subordinates was fixed as twenty-seven kharwars per thousand kharwars and on every thousand kharwars (cash) Rs. thirty seven. The property of the Kardars was confiscated by the state on their death at the same time titles 'Khilats' were bestowed on them by the government on several occasions for their performance. The Kardar had the privilege to live a luxurious life and to oppress the people.

**Fatwari:**

Fatwari was the ancient official in the revenue administration of the Valley of Kashmir. There was one Fatwari for each village and his main duty was "to keep a separate account with each house of the zamindars of his village of the different crops belonging to it". The Fatwari used to

---

298. It is evident from the instance which happened on August 10, 1852 when the peasants of Kolhar carried the dead body of a Dom who had been beaten severely by the agents of Kardar and had died. The compensation paid to them was merely rupees two for the burial of the deceased. Saif-ud-Din, Roznamcha, Vol. V, dated August 10, 1852, f. 69.
300. Robert Thorp, Kashmir Misgovernment, p. 51. Saliq Ram, The Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh, pp. 229–230. The Fatwari was "to prepare reports giving in full the details of daily rations, fire-wood, or other things of necessity."
keep three editions of the statement regarding the holdings of the peasants, true one for himself and the other two for the Tehsildar and for the peasant\textsuperscript{301} to convince them of the excellent bargain he had secured. The Patwari turacd to frauds while preparing the reports of the peasant's holdings because the land was not ascertained by measurement, but was calculated by the amount of seed required for each field, as such the villagers cultivated their land with much less seeds than shown in the paper\textsuperscript{302}. The government asked these Patwaris to keep the registers of revenue accounts for ensuring the payment of revenue\textsuperscript{303}. In 1852 A.D. they were asked to keep Assamiwar pocket books of cultivators. They failed to do so and Mian Ranbir Singh punished them severely\textsuperscript{304}. They got their salaries from the peasants\textsuperscript{305}.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{301} Lawrence, \textit{The Valley of Kashmir}, p. 400.
  \item \textsuperscript{302} Ibid.,
  \item \textsuperscript{303} Saif-ud-Din, \textit{Roznamcha}, Vol. VI, dated Feb., 20, 1853 ff. 17–18.
  \item \textsuperscript{304} Saif-ud-Din \textit{Roznamcha}, Vol. VI dated May 27, 1853 f. 62.
  \item \textsuperscript{305} Lawrence, \textit{The Valley of Kashmir}, p. 446. Robert Thorp, \textit{Kashmir Misgovernment}, op. cit. p. 51. Saif-ud-Din, \textit{Roznamcha}, Vol. X, dated June 20, 1857, f. 153; Ranbir Singh asked Wazir Punnu to appoint one Patwari in each village for raising ten thousand kharwars as revenue and Patwari was to be paid forty kharwars as his salary annually.
\end{itemize}
Lambardar

Every village had its Lambardar who was an official for the collection of revenue in the village under his charge. He had also to provide the travellers with coolies and other necessaries usually he was found to be corrupt in performing these duties. He got the pay but it is not clear whether he gave anything to the coolies and farmers who were the worst sufferers. The Lambardar got two percent of the revenue as the reward for its collection. He was the person on whom depended the prosperity of the village, if he happened to be a strong person he tried to bribe his higher officials and he with his village was left free, the village would flourish, yet would remain in arrears but under the weak Lambardar "payments will be heavier, arrears fewer, and assamis will groan beneath extortionate demands", and himself would be dirty and not better than the village "scape goat", running away leaving the village. But there were the instances when these Lambardars snatched from the peasants on whatever they could lay their hands.

306. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 45.
307. Knight, Where Three Empires Meet, p. 64.
308. Knight, Where Three Empires Meet, p. 64.
309. Ibid., p. 65.
310. Ibid.,
311. Anesley, Our Visits to Hindustan, op. cit. p. 90.