CHAPTER-II
STRUGGLE FOR JOBS AND EMERGENCE OF POLITICS OF COMMUNALISM

“I am a Hindu but as a ruler over my people, my only religion is my justice”
proclaimed Maharaja Hari Singh at his formal Coronation Ceremony that took place in Jammu in February 1926 in the presence of a large gathering of distinguished guests, including a large number of the ruling princes in the country. The sub-continental politics at the advent of Maharaja Hari Singh was abuzz with many political intricacies; even the political canvas of the state was embodying too many deep and delicate colors, it goes without exaggeration that the times would have been grossly testing for any leader, be it democratic or autocrat and Hari Singh was no exception. Soon after his accession, young and dynamic Maharaja became the victim of the politics of protests in the state.

The new Maharaja’s rule started on a very promising note soon after ascending the ‘Gaddi’ he declared eleven special benefits to his people, which included the following:

- All royal coniferous trees growing in area assessed to land revenue could be cut down and used by the landowner free of charge, provided, of course, that it was not sold.
- Dead and fallen timber could in future be removed by the village throughout the year instead of for three months in a year as followed till then.
- Over and above the nominal programs of development of education in the state, 50 additional schools in Jammu, 50 in Kashmir, 10 in Gilgit and 10 in Ladakh were specially sanctioned on the occasion. Timber for the purpose was to be granted by the state forest department to the villages free of change.
- The khalsa land was transferred to Shamlat deh.
- Three travelling dispensaries for Jammu and three for Kashmir were sanctioned.
- Facilities for technical education were extended to Baramullah, Anantnag, Leh, Kishtwar, Samba, Mirpur and Bhadarwah.
- One first class up-to-date hospital for Srinagar was sanctioned.
- Until adequate arrangement had been made for the supply of drinking water on the kandi area, a special allotment was to be included in the budget every year for this purpose.
**Social Reforms**

The enlightened Maharaja’s social reforms included:

- Infant Marriages prevention Regulation of June (1928), which raised the age of marriage for girls to 14 years and for boys to 18 years.
- Jammu and Kashmir Vaccination Regulation (1928), making vaccination against smallpox compulsory all over the state.
- Juvenile smoking Regulation, prohibiting smoking by young children.
- The compulsory Education Regulation was also passed and it was made applicable immediately to Jammu, Srinagar, Sopore, Mirpur and Udhampur, in the first instance.

As a result of this, the entire state was covered with primary schools, so, that within a very short time, there was hardly any town or village with a population of over 500 which did not have a school of its own.\(^5\)

Soon, Hindu widow’s remarriage and property regulation was passed, thereby, removing ban on the re-marriage of young Hindu Widows. This was followed shortly afterwards by the passage of the suppression of Immoral traffic in women regulation. The female infanticide ended considerably in the state when Maharaja made a proclamation that for every daughter born in a Rajput family, her parents would be granted an additional acre of state land and that substantial financial assistance would be given to the family at the time of the marriage of the Rajput girl.\(^6\) For this purpose, he set up a regular fund called the Dhandevi Memorial fund, in memory of his deceased maharani.\(^7\)

Without paying any heed to the orthodox opponents of social reforms, the Maharaja also decided to remove the curse of untouchability in the State. He ordered an end to this discriminatory treatment of the depressed classes in all Government institutions and threw open all Government wells, tanks and temples to all Hindus, irrespective of their caste or creed.

On 31\(^{st}\) October, 1932 a formal proclamation announcing the opening of all state temples to the depressed classed was made.\(^8\) Thus, Maharaja Hari Singh even became the fore-runner of Gandhi Ji’s Harijan Movement in British India as also, the first native Ruler to take such bold step for the emancipation of the depressed classes.

Keeping in view the British Indian Judicial system, Maharaja Hari Singh enacted the Jammu and Kashmir constitution of 1928. The Adalat -Ul-Alia functioning in the State from the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh was replaced by a
High Court which consisted of a Chief Justice and two Judges appointed by the Maharaja.9

He wanted to delegate all powers and functions similar to those exercised by the High Courts in British India with a few reservations and restrictions. The High Court was established on 26th March, 1928.10

**Grounds of Political Upheaval**

The demographic changes among various communities were vital in shaping the socio economic relations of the people in this area.11 Most of the Buddhists of the State, under the influence of their religious philosophy, used to enter the service of monasteries and lead a life of celibacy.12 This resulted in very slow growth in their numbers. But their neighbours, the Balti Muslims, who belonged to the same race as Buddhists of Ladakh being polygamut, added to their strength very rapidly.13 The fact is that the Muslims in the State were swelling their ranks very swiftly.14 In 1931, they constituted 77.2% percent of the total population.15 Thus, during the period between 1901 and 1931, they added thirty percent to their numbers.

If we take into consideration the figures for the same period as we did in the case of Muslims, then we see that the Hindus, who were 23.7% in the total population of the state in 1901, dwindled to 21.8% in 1911.16 Their position further deteriorated during the decades of 1911-21 and 1921-31, and reached the figure of 20.8 % and 20.1% respectively.17 By the second decade of the 20th century, the Srinagar City had begun to suffer from urban sprawl, congestion and severe sanitation problems. As people congregated in the city and its surrounding areas in search of work, not only did the pressure on food grains increased, the competition for jobs intensified as well.18 Many city inhabitants found employment in the city’s silk factory and the grain crises of the proceeding years coupled with the poor working conditions in the factory had resulted in a strike of factory workers in 1924.19

**Outsiders in Employment**

Besides, many changes were introduced in the educational system in the early nineteenth century. For instance, Persian was abolished in official correspondence in 1835 and the Government’s weight was thrown behind English - Medium education.20 Once the British had de facto taken over (1889-1927), the administration of Jammu and Kashmir, the employment system also underwent a change.
The replacement of Persian with Urdu\textsuperscript{21} in 1889 as the court language and subsequently as the language of administration, further justified the import of Punjabis both Hindu and Mohammedan, into the state administration. That the British controlled Government did not intend creating a class of people to administer the State is clear from the state council’s opinion that mere literary education without a technical component “only serves to create a class of discontented candidates for clerical duties whose aspirations the state could not afford to meet”.\textsuperscript{22} This event caused much discontent\textsuperscript{23} and a mere one change at a prima facie led to the emergence of political unrest and consequently, protests by the local youth. The local uneasiness has been described by Chanderlekha Zutshi: “As a result of the import of Punjabi’s into the state administration, there was a lack of urgency in the state’s efforts at promoting education among local Kashmiris”. The poise of affairs still, assumed a further change when English had been adopted for administrative purpose. Owing to this fact, “a very large proportion of the superior appointments in the state had necessarily to be filled by imported men”.\textsuperscript{24} The educated natives made complaints and their validity been recognized, orders were issued from time to time that claims of the state subjects for appointments should be considered superior to those of outsiders. Such injunctions were, however, not adequately effective to achieve the settled purpose of the Government and bring the local people back into their own.\textsuperscript{25} In the beginning of the 19th century, when the budget practice had come into vogue, after the Kashmir Chilki Rupee had been debased and replaced by the British rupee, and Kiernander had come as the first Accountant General to administer the accounts department of the State, where officers from outside the state had been posted and the local men were given the petty posts of clerks called auditor with the pay of Rs. 10/- to Rs. 20/- and the like.\textsuperscript{26} In these clerks, the Saraswat Pandits from Kashmir did get a share because of preliminary educational qualifications, while for the Kashmiri Muslims, the door though open, had to remain ajar for a long time until a qualified applicant put in his appearance and was admitted.\textsuperscript{27} Jammu people had no edge on the Kashmiris because the Head Office was located at Srinagar, and no branch or section thereof was working at Jammu, until the forties when some departmental work was done here.\textsuperscript{28}

The educational status of Kashmiri Muslims remained at a low level throughout, especially when compared to that of Kashmiri Pandits.\textsuperscript{29} After all the expectations of modern educational achievements from cultivators, a novel idea in
itself would not by itself ensure its success, particularly since the medium of instruction was alien. On the other hand, Kashmiri Pandits, the Hindu minority in the valley and mainly an administrative class found it imperative to gain Urdu as well as English education to retain their foothold even on the lower rungs of administration\textsuperscript{30} and to secure their rights, thus, launched ‘Kashmir for Kashmiris Movement’.\textsuperscript{31}

This was just the start of the complication of the whole issue. The difference in the educational standards of the various communities (or even sub-communities) virtually amounted to signify the cause of friction between them, the brunt of this metamorphic change being borne by Maharaja Hari Singh. Actually, the problem owes it genesis to the Britishers only. It seems that after securing the appointment of a Resident in the state, the British authorities in India wanted to increase the European and British Indian element in the State services.\textsuperscript{32} To do so, they found the pretext of supplying experienced hands for the modernization of the State administration. The usage of this pretext becomes clear from the incident, when Maharaja Partap Singh, after his accession wished to introduce a land settlement in the State.\textsuperscript{33} He had preferred a Muslim but an English man was appointed.

The cause for change of the court language from Persian to Urdu should also be studied in between the lines as well. It was with the excuse to bring about reforms in the state administration. The British Government pursued a policy of sending ‘Indian lent Officials” to man the various departments in the state.\textsuperscript{34} In 1901 their number came to 37.\textsuperscript{35} Out of them, 9 were Englishmen and the rest British Indian Subjects. Among the 28 Indians, 20 were Hindu, 5 Muslims and 3 Sikhs\textsuperscript{36} except 2, the remaining 26 were deputed after 1889.

These figures significantly reveal that even the British deputed only 5 Muslims out of 28, when they could send as many of them as they wanted to a Muslim majority area. According to the British records, these were 17 Englishmen, other Europeans and American working in deferent capacities in the State.\textsuperscript{37}

Between 1901 to 1906, eleven more officials were added to this list. Out of these eleven, seven were Englishmen and only four Muslims.\textsuperscript{38} Although the English representation was not very big, yet their appointment on the key post, made their positions felt.

By 1908, the number of Englishmen here swelled to 45\textsuperscript{39} and it was indeed very high, especially; if we keep in mind the limited employment avenues available in the State.\textsuperscript{40} And if we believe in Francis Younghusband, the Resident, the number of
European and Americans employed in number the service of the State in 1906-07 was even higher i.e., about seventy.\textsuperscript{41} The departments in which they had complete monopoly were those of sericulture, PWD mining, Horticulture, Games, Preservations, Fisheries, Forests and Electricity.\textsuperscript{42}

**Beginning of an Element of Protest**

Undoubtedly, the absorption of more and more outsiders in the various expanding departments of the state clearly signified a sheer encroachment on the rights of the natives; thus even after the spread of education, there was no let up for the locals on the employment front.

Almost simultaneously the events were set for major historical turn. The idea of communal representation propounded by the British colonialists led the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference to demand for the employment of “Muslim from Punjab in the State Services if the competent Muslims in the State itself were not available.\textsuperscript{43} Whereas the Maharaja’s Government, while declining to accede to this demand pursed the policy of preparing all of its subjects for employment, without distinction of caste and creed, by making special arrangements for the education of back ward ones\textsuperscript{44} with the Muslim standing at the top.

Undoubtedly, the Dogra state was loud and clear in vowing religious neutrality in the State, but as far as its interpretation in the Srinagar city was concerned, it was unabashedly identified with the Hindu Community, its rituals and interests by the State. This gap indeed proved very vital for the future course of action in the State politics.

As the state began to claim greater responsibility for the welfare of its subjects, it created separate categories based on community for their advancement, thereby giving sanction to a process taking place on the socio-economic level.

In 1911, the Maharaja had proclaimed the introduction of religious education in all schools and colleges. All students were to be provided with instruction in their own religion by moulvis, pundits or priests based on their sacred texts, in ‘Separate rooms.’\textsuperscript{45} Although under the same roof students were reminded each day of their day separateness from other students, based on the teacher’s monolithic version of their religion.\textsuperscript{46}

From the turn of the 20th century, religious community became thoroughly imbricated with the expression of political identities in the Kashmir Valley. Intra-
Community conflict around the issue of sacred space of shrines and the right to preach in late nineteenth century Srinagar provided key link between the changing politico-economic face of the city and the development of community identities. Further, the new Muslim leadership identified Kashmiri Muslims in oppositional terms to Kashmiri Hindu to a greater extent than earlier Kashmiri Muslims identity, which had remained focused on debating the meaning of Kashmiri Islam.

The major raise d’être behind the emergence of new Kashmiri Muslim identities in the 1920s was the great contact with British India and the impact of education, the press and publications market on the common Kashmiri. The emergence of Srinagar as the centre of competing ideologies and the general economic discontent of the valley’s inhabitants further aggravated the problem. General unrest was all pervasive as prices rose abnormally during the second half of the 20th century decade, particularly those of food stuffs, which increased by 150-200% on account of the First World war. With the integration of the valley and British India, increasing number of Muslims had begun to travel to the Punjab and Islamic centre of higher learning across state borders.

**Cry For Jobs**

Although restricted to upper-middle class urban Muslim families, education had a significant role to play in the politics of the State. Several Muslims passed the level of secondary school and went on to institution of higher learning in British India. While in British India, these men gained more than just an education. They come into contact with movements among Indian Muslims, such as the one represented by the Aligarh Muslim University, the Khilaft Movement, and, the ideologies of new sects, most prominent among which were the Ahmadiyaas. By the 1920s, the Ahmadiya presence in the Kashmir Valley had begun to assert itself. The petitions to the Government on behalf of Ahmadiyyas of the valley testify to the growth of the sect during the decade. However the newly educated class, upon returning to Kashmir infused with the fervour of new ideas and armed with academic and professional degrees, found the Dogra State unwilling and unable to accommodate their needs and aspirations. Facing the prospect of unemployment and as seemingly disintegrating community, they consolidated into a leadership that would lead Kashmir out of clutches of Dogra rule. Besides in the same year, the appointment of a committee by the State to present the definition of State Subject
meant that Kashmiri’s would be given a fair chance to enter State services. Thus this
class of Kashmiri Muslim, educated yet unemployed youth, became the natural and
willing followers of the new leadership. The Kashmiri Muslims registered the highest
increase in the number of literates between 1921 and 1931 of all the communities in
the State.

It is particularly significant that number of literates in Urdu, the official
language the State, increased by 99.2% in this decade. Unemployment, however,
had also begun to make its presence felt, particularly among the educated. That the
census Commissioner of the 1931 census chose to abandon the attempt enumerating
for fear of the consequences is proof enough that this number was high during this
decade. Moreover, the largest number of the educated - unemployed possessed
academic degrees, such as B.A., M.A., etc. These were the men with hard-earned
academic degrees and qualified in the language of administration, who, eventually,
were forced to take employment in low level, low paying positions in the State
educational system, began to question the authority of the State through un
organized political movements. It is indeed, not difficult for the student of history to
comprehend the clamour for jobs of the newly educated Kashmiri youth as the
starting point of protests and subsequent politics in these protests in the Jammu
and Kashmir State. It was a cause worth turning the tide of the future of this region, the
making of the definition of ‘State Subjects’ being its immediate consequence.

Making of the definition of the ‘State Subject’

Of all the measures so far enacted for the improvement of the administration,
perhaps the one which deserves special mention and to which great importance is
attached in the state is the definition of the term ‘State Subject’. The significance of
this step can be appreciated in the light of the fact that since the re-organisation of the
State Administration in the early nineties of the twentieth century, with change of the
court language from Persian to Urdu, state officials being dubbed as incompetent
and corrupt were thrown out of job. With three members of the council hailing from
Punjab, a very great majority of the appointments in the state service, particularly in
the superior cadre had been monopolized by outsiders, who were imported by reason
of the fact that in the early years of the reorganization sufficiently qualified local men
were not available.
Opposition to the sudden change came almost immediately from the people. Rules were framed to hold competitive examinations for appointment to state service. The rules were very stiff since no Kashmiri was even a matriculate then. Thus, to the utter dismay and discontent of the locals, Punjabis were imported in large numbers but it was a cry in the wilderness.

Before the advent of Maharaja Hari Singh, however, the percentage of literacy among persons of school going age was raised from 5.23 to 19.8 in the case of males. By 1927, there were, in the state, two first grade colleges containing up-to-date scientific laboratories (one of them had Geological Department which was the only one of its kind in the Punjab), 12 high schools 41 middle schools, nearly 800 elementary schools and 4 training institutions for teachers. As far as secondary and University education was concerned, the state occupied a very strong position as compared with even the most advanced Indian states. The steady progress of general education in the state may be estimated from the fact that in 1907, the annual grant for the purpose was Rs. 2,08,623 in 1917 it was 7,35,106 while in 1926-27, it was 11,58,561. Maharaja Hari Singh’s keenness for the spread of education among his people can be gauged from the fact that he took the very first opportunity of announcing on the occasion of his Raj Tilak, among other boons, the establishment of 120 new schools in one single year i.e. 1926-27.

With the passage of time and the establishment of high grade educational institutions in the state, the number of adequately qualified local men went on increasing rapidly, and there was a general complaint and uneasiness bordering on agitation that the claims of these men did not receive just consideration at the hands of the outsiders occupying positions of power and responsibility in the state. It was alleged and the allegations were generally correct, that the authorities who dispensed patronage usually preferred outsiders to local men when a vacancy occurred in the service. Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century, a new problem confronted the people that of facing the outsider, who had occupied every position of advantage. From those early times, the struggle for the rights of the people living in the state against outsiders took a definite shape. The feeling of resentment which was running underground for centuries found outward expression, though it was not yet directed against the ruler or his administration as such. However, representations were made to the Government of India, who in a letter to the Kashmir Durbar at the close of the 19th Century, sent instructions that in the matter of state employment,
Mulkies should be given preference over the outsiders and this principle should be strictly adhered to. The letter was circulated through all the departments of the state. But this was vague, and did not produce any effect, owing to the fact that any outsider could call himself a Mulki by simply declaring himself to be one. Though Maharaja Pratap Singh, between 1895 and 1912 had issued some orders directing his Government that the appointment to administrative departments ‘subjects of the state should be given preference,’ yet, the result was that outsiders continued to get jobs, a thing continuously opposed by the natives. This led to the “Kashmir for Kashmiris movement” for securing the rights of Kashmiri’s against outsiders, on the basis of the fact that Kashmiri Pandits were as educated and qualified as Punjabis, who formed the bulk of the administration. Such movement was not unique to the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. Similar movements for security the rights of state subjects characterized the political landscapes of several princely states at the turn of the twentieth century, including Mysore, Travancore, Hyderabad and Kolhapur.

Anyways, the efforts of the movement ultimately led to the formation of a committee for the definition of the term ‘state subject’ in 1910 in order to limit Government employment to such as fitted the category. Although the definition, finally submitted by the state council in 1912, placed Kashmiris who had been in the state for generations on the same footing as outsiders who had acquired a Rayatnama (Or Ijazat Nama) i.e. special order from the Maharaja, it did imbricate the legal definition of Kashmiri subjecthood with education, and consequently employment in Government service.

According to this definition, any person who had obtained a “Rayatnama on a stamp paper worth eight annas from the Maharaja’s Government to own land” could become a state subject.

Evidently, therefore, this was inadequate, and outsiders continued to be imported in even larger numbers by their kith and kin, who held the Minister’s jobs, besides almost all the posts of the Heads of Department. However, when the Kashmiris advanced in education, their minds were full of the ideas of the on rushing tide of democracy in the West. They read with emotion about political movements of Turkey, Ireland, Egypt and other countries as also the part young men played in these movements. They saw, what, nearer home, young Bengal did to defeat the scheme of Lord Curzon to partition that province. So much so, opines P.N. Bazaz, “Life became visible in the decayed bones of Kashmir again.”
It has already been stated that the Kashmiri Pandits were the first who took to modern education in Srinagar. With the growth of modern ideas, they began to express their opinion through associations and organizations. Educated men like Mr. Jia Lal Kilam, Mr. Shankar Lal Koul and Mr. Jia Lal Jalali, after obtaining degrees from various Universities, ushered in new life. It were they, claims J.L. Kilam who started an agitation in Kashmir “through the outside press for securing the rights of the state subjects.” Public meetings were also organized and conferences were held at Srinagar. The Residency, as per Kilam, also supported the Pandits in the struggle against the outsiders. Kashmiris for the first time in modern period, started a publicity campaign demanding recruitment of educated sons of the soil in Government services, ban on the sale of land to outsiders; freedom of the press, freedom of association and assembly, and creation of an elected legislature to voice the views of the people on all affairs of the state.

Another factor, as yet unnoticeable, was taking shape. Muslims, who formed the great majority of the population of the state and who had not taken kindly to modern education, began to feel their backwardness. The cry of ‘down with the outsider’ was raised mostly by the Hindus. Sensible Muslims did not oppose it but before taking any active part in it, they wanted to make up the deficiency in the field of education. Time and again, they approached the Government to grant them some facilities enabling them to make rapid advance in the sphere of education. The British Government, who had become defenders of the rights of the Muslim majority against a Hindu Maharaja while proposing to deprive Pratap Singh of his powers, did practically nothing to push the Muslims on the part of literacy and education during the period Kashmir administration was under the Residency Raj.

By 1921, to the annoyance of the natives, the outside influences had considerably increased in the civil administration in the state. But then, education also had greatly spread here. The development of higher English education in the state rendered acute “just uneasiness in the minds of the Maharaja’s subjects.” However, no appreciable result followed from the various orders owing to the vagueness of the term ‘state subject’ and without the legal definition of the term, it was not possible to enforce the orders of the Govt. with regard to the employment of the outsiders. Something really useful had, therefore, to be done, and the Maharaja, at the instance of Raja Hari Singh, who was then the Senior Member of a Council, on 13th May 1922 issued the following order:-

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“The Maharaja Sahib Bahadur has been pleased to direct that in future no non-state subjects shall be appointed to any position without the express orders of High Highness in council in each case...... In like manner no scholarships or training expenses of any kind should be granted to non-state subjects...... The Maharaja Sahib has been pleased to inform you that in future all grants of land for agricultural and house-building purpose and grant of houses and other state property shall be made to state subjects only........”

Encouraged by this development, Anjuman Nusarat-ul-Islamia of Srinagar, submitted a memorandum to the Maharaja, demanding concessions in the qualifications of Muslim candidates for employment and reservation of posts for them proportionate to their population. It also demanded that till the qualified Muslims came forward for the reserved posts, these might be filled up temporarily by the candidates from the other communities. Indirectly, it amounted to the rejection of the demand of All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference for the employment of Punjabi Muslims in such a case. The Maharaja’s Government was prepared to lower the qualification for the Muslim candidates from the state, and in some cases, it actually did so, but refused to accede to the demand of reservation for a particular community that is, it pursued the policy of preparing all the subjects for employment, without distinction of caste and creed.

The making of the definition of state subject made much headway under Maharaja Hari Singh. The state subject definition committee submitted its report in 1925. Its recommendations were readily accepted by the Maharaja. A definition of the term ‘Hereditary State Subjects’ was duly formed and passed into a law on the 31st of January, 1927. The order divided the subjects into three categories: Class I states Subjects, Class II State Subjects and Class III State Subjects. (For details see Annexure).

It was, indeed, a landmark legislation in the history of the Jammu and Kashmir state. In its making, Dogra Sardar Sabha had also contributed. Devoted to raise the economic standards of the people of the state, Dogra Sadar Sabha, from time to time had clamoured for the preference of the State Subjects over outsiders in the Government service, trade and industry. Even after the announcement of law, the Sabha continued to bring to the notice of the Government cases regarding ‘state subject’ certificates issued to the outsiders through fraudulent means. In fact, it succeeded in getting many of the bogus certificates cancelled.
In order to secure proper supply of trained state subjects for the superior branches of the state services, the Maharaja constituted a scholarship selection board with a grant of Rs. 100,000/- per annum to select scholars for special training in British India and European countries. A convention was subsequently established that the scholarship be divided between the Hindus and Muslims on a fifty-fifty basis; probably on representation from Muslims that they could not compete with the educationally more advanced Hindus. Consequently, many Muslims along with the Hindu stipendiary's received training in law, civil engineering etc. in foreign countries. Special scholarships were also awarded to Muslims for undergoing law courses, medical training, secretariat training and training in cooperative work and accountancy outside the state in British India with a view to bring them up to the level of the more advanced Hindus. The amount spent on scholarships between 1927 and March 1931, was Rs. 3,02,918 including Rs. 60,387 which was specially reserved for the Muslims through competitions ‘but were set apart for them so that they would not be affected.’ The prerogative of his administration was to improve the socio-economic conditions of the under-privileged classes of the society. For that Maharaja Hari Singh “granted special scholarships and accorded preferential treatment to these classes in Government seats.” The Selection Board was instructed to get from each Ministry ‘a statement of the vacancies likely to occur within the next three years.’ Seats were reserved for them in the local bodies and later in the Praja Sabha when it came to existence in October 1934. This immediately debarred non-state subjects from employment in the state.

Besides, non-hereditary state subjects were, hereafter, debarred from acquiring any immovable property in the state or selling it to one other than a hereditary state subjects.

A department of civil supplies was established with the object of assisting local enterprises. Standing instructions were issued that preference be accorded to indigenous products. In matters of contracts, it was decreed that state subjects be given preference over others even if “other things being equal the bid of the latter is five percent more favourable.” In another act of favouring the state subjects, it was laid down that only the sons of the soil could be the share-holders and directors of the semibank i.e. the Jammu and Kashmir Bank that was being established about then.

In such conflicting times when the definition of the state subject was passed, protests were an indispensable part. And the Law of 1927 was no exception. It did not
satisfy one and all and fell short of certain expectations. As G.H. Khan puts it, “It did not help solve the real issue as expected by the Kashmiri Pandits.” But these demands were confined to the pages of the newspapers as the Pandits failed to organize an active opposition.

This law was also resented by the Kashmir Muslim Conference on the ground that this action had been, they felt, taken deliberately by the Maharaja only to debar Muslims of the Punjab from entering the state services, besides holding immovable property in the state.

Then, there was at that time a sinister British move to make Kashmir a white colony. Whatever the criticism, the state subject definition was a turning event in shaping the history of the following years. Even Maharaja’s worst critic, Mohammad Yusuf Saraf admits, “The state nationals were divided into three categories and even if they left the state or had already done so, they were to be treated as state subjects for two generations of the same class to which their ancestor was entitled to.” It had two main advantages for the state nationals; the first one was that in all future appointments, the entry of non-state nations became difficult although it were the Kashmiri Pandits and the Mahajans who benefitted the most from the same order partly because they were far advanced in education but mainly because they were already fairly well entrenched in the administration. The major benefit gained by the Muslims in Kashmir valley was the halting of the transfer of lands by the poor peasantry into the hands of moneylenders and Mahajans from outside the state, which had assumed alarming proportions. It was indeed to the credit of Maharaja Hari Singh that most of the lands in Kashmir valley would have been otherwise sold away by the poor Muslim peasantry to the money lenders and in any case, they would have acquired these by bringing about their court-sales in execution of money decrees.

It is truly said that one cannot please everybody at all times and Maharaja Hari Singh’s condition fitted the situation well where with one stroke of his action or law, many would bless him and a lot many would raise their heads and launch their banner of protests against his administration for following the ‘policy of favouritism’. As such, the Maharaja was being alleged for what he had detested from the day one.

Causes Behind the Politics of Protests

Whatever were the occurrences by now, they were the facts, nay historical facts, ready to unfold in an unprecedented manner in the following years. But by now,
the state was set for a big scene on an even bigger canvas. E.H. Carr rightly claims that events do not speak for themselves, but the historian makes them to.\textsuperscript{99} In the case of Jammu and Kashmir, apart from the authors and writers, there were ‘many others’ who spoke about or interpreted the events to suit their politics of identity or politics of the empowerment of the ‘dominated’. Thus, there were many potent causes which played a vital role behind the politics of protests in the state:-

- **Role of the Outsiders**

  As it is, the repercussions of, the communal situations in India were bound to be felt in Kashmir, which was being ruled by a Hindu Maharaja with such a preponderance of Muslim population. But naturally it attracted the attention of the organizations of the likes of All India Muslim League. It started taking interest in Kashmir in good earnest from the start of the twenties. It had just then suffered an eclipse; the limelight having been stolen by the Indian National Congress after Non-cooperation Movement.\textsuperscript{100} Ironically, however, the Khilafat Movement which the Congress had incorporated in its Non-cooperation Movement to win over Muslim support, also gave birth to Pan-Islamism\textsuperscript{101} and, consequently, a new lease of life had been granted to the Muslim league.

  No better cause than a struggle against a Hindu Maharaja’s ‘tyranny’ over his Muslim subjects was there to win the Muslims into the fold of the Muslim League. Disruption first began in 1924. There was a strike in the silk factory at Srinagar that year and disturbances ensued. As a result of this occurrence, the Kashmir Muslims leaders submitted a representation to Lord Reading, the then Viceroy, in which they took a two-fold line. One was to formulate grievances; the other was to view that there was no hope of justice from the ruler, the late Maharaja Pratap Singh, and so, his powers should be restored to the Resident. The demands made for redress of grievances were for the creation of representative institutions; the concession of a proportion in the services to the Muslims on the basis of population; and the conferment of propriety rights over lands on tenants. The matter was referred back to the State Government, who appointed a commission of three members- a European; Mr. Glancy, a Muslim and a Hindu-to go into it. The Commission found against the demands and took particular exception to the clause in the memorial relating to an attack on the ruler. The Chief outcome of the memorial was that its originators met with punishment, Mr. Said-ud-din shawl was externed; a Muslim Tehsildsar, Mr.
Noor Shah Nakshbandi, was dismissed from service; and Mr. Hassan Shah Nakshbandi’s jagir was confiscated.102 These men were awarded pardon by Maharaja Hari Singh after his accession to the gaddi.103 With the representation, the Muslim leaders of Jammu had not associated themselves.104 The reason for this was the lack of anything in common between them and the Kashmiris.

Besides, by this time, a social organization Anjuman-A-Kashmiri, Muslman-I-Punjab was already converted into All India Kashmir Conference in 1920, to take up the cause of the Kashmiri Muslims. It was composed of the people who had no touch of any kind with Kashmir itself.105 The moving spirits behind it were Kashmiris only in the sense in which many Pandits settled in British India added to their names the distinctive appellation, ‘Kashmiri’106. Though originally the aim of that body was supposed to promote education among the Muslims of Kashmir, it gratuitously took upon itself to conduct an agitation against the State Government-apparently in the interests of the Muslim of the state. But until late 1920’s, no Muslims of Jammu or Kashmir had rallied around such organization.107 It seems that the motive was to secure for the Muslims of British India, especially of Punjab, to be employed in state service so long, as the local Muslims were not qualified for the posts.

Although certain authors have painstakingly tried to convey that the labour rising of 1924 was primarily an attempt on the part of the labourers of the Silk factory to get their economic grievances readdressed yet, it becomes quite baffling to believe, that if, such was the case, then why only Muslim labourers cause was being espoused by the All India Muslim Organisations and only Muslims were displeased with the Government why not efforts were made to procure the support and cooperation of the non-Muslim labourers to highlight the demands of the labour class in general?

The level of handiwork of the outsiders can be gauged from the fact that on receiving the information of the alleged oppression of the state Government on the Muslims, a number of Muslim organization of Punjab and elsewhere, like the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference109, the Khilafat committee, Lahore, the Anjuman Kashmiri Muslims, Amritsar, and Jamialudam, Delhi, and the Muslims of Simla and Gujranwala in the Punjab undertook a forceful propaganda through press and platform110 against the Hindu Maharaja of the State and his Government. The All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference and the Muslims of Lahore organized a ‘Kashmir Relief Committee’ to help the families of those allegedly killed or having suffered in
the course of the trouble. They also questioned the authority of the Dogras as rulers of the state.

In 1926, the Kashmir Muslim Conference at Lahore took up the cause of the Kashmiris and approached the Maharaja for permission to submit a memorial. But this request was disallowed by Hari Singh on the plea that it was made by outside Muslims. F.M. Hussnain is partial when he comments: “The Maharaja was ill-advised by his Hindu Councilors and he scumbled to it.” The author neither names any ‘Hindu Councillor’ nor talks about the reforms which the young Maharaja advocated for ‘all’ his subjects. However, in June 1929, a joint memorial was presented by the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir to the Maharaja. “This was the first time in their history that they had joined hands.” They drew attention of the Maharaja to the problems of unproportionate share in services with loss of property on conversion from Hinduism to Islam. A minister of state, Mr. P.K. Wattal, in whose fair-mindedness both the communities had faith was appointed to look into the matter and recommend further suggestions.

Dr. Mohammad Iqbal visited Kashmir in July 1921 and thereafter, became emotionally involved in Kashmir politics. He, in a speech at Allahabad aired the notion of transforming the whole of North-Western India into a Muslim state. Kashmir was to fall within ‘the line of march’ and it came to be felt from that it would be an excellent thing to make it part of the Muslim state envisaged to extend from Sind to Afghanistan. And the only hitch in Kashmir joining such a federation was the Hindu Maharaja, efforts were set afoot to dislodge him, or at least make him ineffective. The particular idea of Muslimising Kashmir had for sometime been vaguely present in the minds of the Muslim intellectuals; in 1928 articles had appeared in Lahore newspapers, ‘Muslim outlook’ and ‘Siasat’, generously proposing that Kashmir might be handed over to Afghanistan. This created an impression among the Hindus of the state that it was not the ‘sufferings or grievances’ of the Kashmiri people but the rule of Hindu Maharaja that disturbed the Punjabi Muslims. This feeling, probably led to the rise of antagonism between the majority (Muslim) and the minority (Hindus) Communities.

Anyways, contact with the Punjab and the limited spread of education had encouraged a concomitant expansion of the publications market, particularly in Srinagar. The circulation figures for newspapers in English and Urdu showed an exponential increase in the decade between 1911 and 1921. While the number of daily
or weekly newspapers in circulation in the state in 1911 had not even been recorded, by 1921, their circulation in the state had risen to a staggering 2,000, with the number of English newspapers being as high as 450. Additionally, between 1911 and 1921, the number of books in English, Urdu and even Kashmiri that circulated in the state had increased significantly, their number being 858, 266 and 30 respectively.

Most of these books, pamphlets were published at printing press in Lahore and Amritsar, further attesting to the growing relationship between Punjabi and Kashmiri politics.

The emergence of new Kashmiri Muslim leadership owes a lot to the rise and impact of the Ahmadiya movement in the Kashmir Valley. The Ahmadiya movement, founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in Qadian, a small town in Punjab, began as a rural, small town middle-class religions resurgence in the later nineteenth century, specifically since 1889. The Ahmadiyas soon found themselves frowned upon by mainstream ulema for the Mirza’s self-declaration as the much-awaited Mahdi (Messiah). The Ahmediyya Movement’s relationship to the Kashmir Valley in the later nineteenth century rested on the Mirza’s claim that Jesus was brought down alive from the cross and travelled East looking for the lost tribes of Israel, until he settled in Kashmir. The Mirza asserted that Jesus died in Kashmir and lay buried in the Khanyar quarter of Srinagar.

By the 1920s, however, the Ahmediyya presence in the Kashmir valley had begun to be felt beyond Jesus tomb in Srinagar. The petitions to the Government on behalf of Ahmadiyyas of the Kashmir valley testify to the growth of the sect during the decade.

There were several internal and external reasons for the increasing Ahmadiyya influence on the affairs of Kashmiri Muslims from the third decade of the twentieth century. The movement, which had appealed to a “literate and middle class group of followers who found the Mirza’s charismatic preaching and prophesying a much needed element in the stagnating Islam current in the Punjab at the turn of the century,” held a similar appeal for Kashmiri Muslims who came into contact with the movement while at educational institutions in the Punjab. These educated, middle class Kashmiri Muslims, mostly doctors, lawyers, publishers and teachers, played a significant role in spreading the movement in the valley, so that by 1931, the number of Muslims identifying themselves as Ahmadiyya in the Kashmir province had risen to 2,955. Furthermore, the Punjabi leaders of the movement saw Kashmir as a
perfect ground for spreading their movement. In 1928, a prominent Lahori Ahmadiyya leader, Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din, visited Srinagar with a view to publicly introducing the movement to the Kashmiri Muslim community. This was the beginning of a protected Ahmadiyya involvement in Kashmir politics, particularly in the 1930s and 1940s.

It must be borne in mind that in 1914, the Ahmadiyya movement split into Lahori and Qadiani Ahmadiyyas. While the Lahoris were more overtly political, the Qadianis preferred to declare themselves non-political. Their clearly political role in Kashmir, however, points to the contrary.¹³⁰

Indeed, individual Kashmiri Muslim Ahmadiyas like Moulvi Mohammad Abdullah Vakil (1864-1948), Moulvi Mohammad Nooruddin Qari Kashmiri (1894-1934), played vital role in popularizing the objectives of the movement, which ultimately led to the debates over the politics of Kashmiri Muslims identity; so much so, the Ahmadiyyas soon became a threat to the authority of the Mirwaiz. Since the Mirwaiz of Jama Masjid did not approve of the Ahmadiyyan philosophy, the Mirwaiz Hamdaani and his followers averted the Ahmadiyyas.¹³¹

In any case, no discussion of the 1920s in the Indian sub-continent in complete without critical analysis of the Khilafat Movement and its impact on the politics of the areas involved. The movement, started in British India under the aegis of Mahatma Gandhi, enabled the Muslims of Kashmir, almost unprecedentedly, to identify themselves with the mainstream of the Indian Freedom struggle. The slogans of ‘Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai’ were shouted by the Muslim masses for the first time.¹³² Government records make several references to the formation of Khilafat Committee, Srinagar in 1920 under the auspices of the Khilafat Committee, Lahore.

Furthermore, since the leadership that was beginning to take place in the 1920s had Ahmadiyya leanings, it followed the lead of the Ahmadiyya movement in Punjab with its staunch support and loyalty to the British Government during the Khilafat agitation. Thus, Ahmadiyya Movement led to the genesis of a new leadership among Kashmiri Muslims, which, through its association with the movement, redefined Islam as a means to a greater political end for the Kashmiri Muslim Community.
Delicate Social Fabric

The State of Jammu and Kashmir represents the picture of a multiracial society, speaking different languages, having different religions and conforming to different traditions in dress, manners and customs. As Balraj Madhok in ‘Kashmir Divided’ says, “The Jammu and Kashmir as at present constituted……. is simply a political entity. It is a conglomeration of at least six distinct peoples inhabiting well defined parts of zones of the state and each having a distinct language, culture, customs, manners and history.”

Above all, the delicate social fabric in the state adds to the problem as well. The problem of minorities in Kashmir was a difficult one, more difficult than it was in British India\(^{133}\), where the majority community was Hindu, and the principal minority was Muslim, but the rulers were Christians. This is not the case of our state, where the vast majority of the people of the state were Muslims as in Kashmir, while the minority (i.e. the Hindus) enjoyed a sense of unity of religion with the ruler of the land.\(^ {134}\)

According to the Census of 1931, out of the population of 36,46,943 in the state, Muslims were 28,17,636. In Kashmir Province, they were 14,78,287 out of a total of 15,69,218; in the Jammu Province 10,91,021 out of a total of 15,69,218; in the Jammu province 10,91,021 out of 17,88,441 and in the Frontier Districts of Gilgit and Ladakh, they are 2,48,328 out of a population of 2,88,584.

Thus they were a little over 77 percent of the total population; in the Kashmir Province, they formed an overwhelming majority as many as 92 percent, and in the Jammu province, they were 61 percent.\(^ {135}\) These figures include both the Shias were well as the Sunnis. There did exist some differences on religious grounds between them and in 1872 communal problem had risen among them. Out of these, Shias were socially very backward. Furthermore, by the end of 1930, the Muslims of the state, particularly of the Kashmir province, were divided between the politics of the two Mirwaizes. Moreover, the Muslims of the two provinces did not like each other.\(^ {136}\) The urban Muslims of Kashmir deriving, as they do, the benefits of their skill and training, and their rural co-religionists, those conferred by nature on the valley, were both economically much better placed than the Jammu Muslims.\(^ {137}\) The Muslims of Jammu, who were at this disadvantage, contributed to the State Army a third of its
strength. But not so the Kashmiri Muslims.\textsuperscript{138} And that created a great heart-burning, believed P.N. Bazaz.

Apart from the Muslims, the only other community of importance in the Kashmir Valley is that of the Pandits. These Brahmins numbered, according to the Census of 1921 over 60,000 in all. Before 1930, they were about 72,000\textsuperscript{139} or so. Their proportion to the population of the State was less than 5 percent. Mostly all the Pandits resided in towns and have, from time immemorial, followed occupations of a literary, priestly or administrative character. Muslims disliked their percentage in the State services and always expressed anger over their ‘Lion’s share’ in the jobs. On the contrary, Pandits proved before the Dalal Committee that the number of unemployed Pandits is five times as large as educated Mohammedans who may be employed in Government service.\textsuperscript{140} Pandits, therefore, insisted that while making appointment to Government jobs, superior merit alone should be counted. Laments Bazaz, “Under the present conditions, when the atmosphere is surcharged with communalism, there is not a ghost of a chance for the Pandits to get even one seat either in legislature or any municipal or town area committee if the system of communal representation is done away with.”\textsuperscript{141}

Whereas in the Jammu Province, the Hindus were in greater numbers, and were composed of Dogra Rajputs, Brahmins and others. Economically, they were in quite a favourable position.\textsuperscript{142} The Dogra Rajputs like the Jammu Muslims, contributed a third of the strength of the state Army.\textsuperscript{143} They were in the administration and the other places where either valour or the advantages derived were education of account. Among the non-Brahmins in Jammu, Mahajans as of now, were a force to be reckoned with and were true business class. Also, there were two lakhs of Harijans.\textsuperscript{144} Their poverty and illiteracy were shocking. Those who had passed the matriculation could be counted on finger tips.\textsuperscript{145} The Maharaja was good enough to open all state temples to them in 1933, long before Travancore did so.

As far as the population of the Sikhs in the state was concerned, they were 50,662. Only 13% of them were literate, mostly in Gurmukhi. The Buddhists of the state numbered 38,724. They are mostly confined to the Frontier District of Ladakh. Economically, it was claimed that they were more backward than even the Harijans.

Thus, it was the politics of identity or interest of different communities, to be precise, of different sub-communities that made the social fabric of the state all the more delicate. It was indeed a tough time for Maharaja especially in the light of the
situation when even sub-communities within communities by now were abreast with class consciousness. The social and economic imbalance led to communal and regional imbalances in the times to come. Irrespective of their allegiance to any association, caste, community or province, the easiest thing for the emerging leadership was to put blame on the Maharaja and his govt. The point to ponder over here is that could Maharaja overlook the fact that the Pandit community was keen to adopt to new system of education? Could he underplay the role of eminence the two Mirwaizes enjoyed in their community? Could he ignore the Muslims of Jammu area, who were culturally and socially more inclined towards their counterparts in Punjab? Could he downplay with the martial characteristics of the Rajputs? Sensibly, if one thinks, how could he? But the consequences of all these emerging social, economic and religious trends made the political structure extremely complex and as a result, the politics of protests was bound to be directed against the Dogra autocracy.

- **Changing Dimensions of Anglo-Dogra Relations**

After the sudden death of Amar Singh in 1908, Hari Singh, at the age of thirteen, was sent to Mayo College in Rajputana, Ajmer for his early education. After successfully completing his studies at Mayo college, Maharaja Pratap Singh “deputed colonel Milkha Singh Rajpuria Jamwal to train him initially in arms”, before sending him to Imperial Cadet Corps, Dehradun for more advance training. In the meantime Maharaja Pratap Singh “employed Major H.K. Barr as his guardian and he continued in this capacity till 1918, when the guardianship of the young prince was entrusted to another British Officer, Captain Burge when Major Barr went on leave.”

After completing his course at Imperial Cadet Corps at Dehradun in 1915, Maharaja Pratap Singh appointed his young nephew as the Commander-in-Chief of the state forces, at an early age of twenty. In this capacity, he reorganized the state Army on the modern lines and introduced the system of direct commission for the officers. What is more important is that Raja Hari Singh was responsible for making the best possible arrangements for sending the contingents of state forces to foreign War fronts because of the Great War of 1914-1918. Apparently, it looked perfectly alright. But in reality, the Anglo-Dogra relations were on the verge of great changes. The causes of the friction between the two were many and the consequences that ensured were lasting, especially when reviewed in the light of 1931 protests.
Actually in November 1919, Maharaja Bhadur had sent his young nephew to Europe to train him in managing the affairs of the state.\textsuperscript{150} During his maiden trip to England, along with his secretary Mr. Mahboob, Hari Singh ‘became the victim of a pre-planned and deep-rooted conspiracy by a group of crooks planted by the political Department of the Government of India’.\textsuperscript{151} Lord Birdwood in his book ‘Two Nations and Kashmir’ describes Hari Singh “as the victim of an unscrupulous attempt at blackmail in a big way and for a few days in December, 1919, the case of Mr. ‘A’ was to monopolise the headlines of British newspapers.” Sir John Simmons, who later headed the Simon Commission in the sub-continent in 1927, was his prosecution lawyer. John Gunther, in his book ‘Inside Asia’ also revealed the conspiracy hatched against Hari Singh. This scandal was intentionally hatched to humiliate Hari Singh in the eyes of the ruler and to debar his succession to the throne of Jammu and Kashmir state.\textsuperscript{152} Naturally, the young man somewhere deep in his heart nursed the remorse against the Britishers.

Back home, the policy of rehabilitation pursued by Maharaja Pratap Singh and resolutely quickened ever since Hari Singh began to have anything to do with the administration of the state, soon began comprehensive in its working. In scope it embraced every direction in which betterment could be effected.\textsuperscript{153} With the restoration of full powers to the Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1921, the power of the Residency continued neither in the same form nor to the same extent as before; but the state was in the unhappy position of commanding no jurisdiction over the British or British Indian subjects of the King-Emperor within its own borders which made things difficult.\textsuperscript{154} Eversince, Hari Singh used to say that the Indian Princes had treaty obligations with the British Crown, but these did not give the British Residents in their states any rights of overlordship or of intervention into the internal affairs of their state administrations, and such actions were not only presumptuous on their part but definitely derogatory to the dignity of the Indian Rulers.\textsuperscript{155} Thus, by the time of the death of Maharaja Pratap Singh in September 1925, he was perfected into State affairs and “to act for himself in administrative problems independently.”\textsuperscript{156} Hari Singh’s landing at the prime slot was marked with tumults and a series of tumultuous events which he faced stoically at the hands of the British Indian Government. The Viceroy of India, Rufus Isaac Daniel Reading created ripples of anguish for the new entrant to the throne of Jammu and Kashmir State. It is already known to us that Maharaja Hari Singh’s accession to the throne of Jammu and Kashmir state was only
confirmed after he agreed to acknowledge the established practice of non-interference in the frontier affairs,\textsuperscript{157} and the new rule had accepted the new arrangement with reluctance and since it meant the change of guards, the reluctance was from both the sides.\textsuperscript{158}

After many deliberations the hurdles in announcing the succession of Hari Singh were overcome. Besides, the new Maharaja was quite pliant and neither expressed over gratitude for receiving Kharita from the Viceroy nor made any promises. Immediately after his Coronation, when the British Resident asked for the use of the state hunting grounds of the Maharaja for the entertainment of some of his guests, permission was refused and the Resident was told point blank that the hunting grounds were meant only for the use of the Maharaja and his guests and not for the Resident.\textsuperscript{159} Similarly, when the Resident on another occasion asked for some of the state cars to be sent to him for his use, the Maharaja flatly refused to send them on the same ground that they were not for the Resident.\textsuperscript{160}

That J.B. Wood, the then Resident, however, was not able to obtain the Maharaja’s confidence and the topsy-turvy of the relationship continued between the two, is a known fact. However in November 1925, Maharaja Hari Singh had amended the constitution of October 1924, promulgated by Maharaja Pratap Singh, by a resolution in the Executive Council with new Constitutional provisions for the State Government.\textsuperscript{161} The Maharaja in the Council retained for his personal control and discretion military affairs, foreign affairs, general administration, political matters effecting the peace and good Government of the state.

Further consolidation of the power was undertaken by the young and energetic Maharaja in March 1927, when the Constitution Act of 1925 was amended.\textsuperscript{162} In accordance with the new Act, all powers of the Government were taken over by the Maharaja under his personal control.\textsuperscript{163} The Council of the Executive Members was abolished and replaced by a Council of Ministers that constituted of:

1. Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade
2. Minister for Public Works
3. Minister for Revenue
4. Minister for Home and Judicial Affairs
5. Minister for Finance
A Minister-in-waiting was appointed to function as the channel of communication between the Maharaja and his ministers. The Ministers were appointed by the Maharaja.

The two constitutional Acts of 1925 and 1927 were historical as they helped the Maharaja to “secure the centralization of authority in his person and to streamline the process of the state Government.” But in doing so, the Maharaja was actually undoing the efforts of the Political Department of the British Indian Government made so far and this, indeed, was too much to chew for them. The result of this bone of contention between the Resident and the new Ruler was that Wood had to be replaced by E.B. Howell. But the problem “was not individual but the ‘Resident qua Resident.’” Definitely, the British High Command was curious to see the consequences of this change. As secretary of state, while writing to the Viceroy had stated, “I shall be interested to hear anything you may have to tell me as to how the Maharaja of Kashmir is shaping…. But I fancy that Hari Singh has not been altogether easy about frontier questions, and the case of Col. Ward is rather disquieting.’ ……..”

In the letter, Mr. Birkenhead was referring to the case of Colonel Ward, who, as per the Government service rules, was ordered to retire in November 1927. He was also made to vacate his Government quarters. Since his coming to Kashmir in 1914, he had been holding a post described in the state list of Appointments as ‘Honorary Adviser, Agriculture and Industries.’ His duties had been the Superintendence and management of two small establishments for improving the Kashmir breeds of cattle and sheep. These had been maintained in premises adjoining Colonel Ward’s house at Pandrethan, just outside Srinagar. Both of them had been, admittedly, running at a loss for some years. With a view to reduce the expenditure, the Maharaja’s Government on the recommendations of Sir Albion Banerji had ordered Col. Ward to quit the job and thus, the official house and the motor as well. This infuriated the British Government’s officials, both in India as well as in London. The series of correspondence, that trailed, thereafter, reveal their level of fretting and fuming. At the same time, Mr. Howell was clear, when he had stated in his note, “But these, he only enjoyed on sufferance, and whatever may be thought of the Maharaja’s conduct in thus annoying and humiliating an old man of 84, who has served his family and state for many years, he was clearly within his rights in withdrawing them.” But openly, his conduct continued to be called ‘Vindicative’, and had ‘an element of
bully in him”173 and ‘his trouble at bottom is an uneasy desire to assert himself.’174 Whatever the height of pressures exerted upon him, the Maharaja was in no mood to submit or yield. Later, on 4th March, 1929, the Maharaja from Jammu, himself wrote a letter175 to Viceroy, Lord Peel, endeavouring to clear the misinterpretations and the unnecessary airs emanating after his order to retire Col. Ward, but strongly defending his decision and no where giving in any scope or indication of relenting or succumbing to the pressure.

Thus, such incidents as mentioned above, were sufficient to exclude Maharaja Hari Singh’s name in the Birthday Honour’s list by the award of the decoration (G.C.I.E) at London.176 Apparently, the last Maharaja of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir was not the person to toe the British line of administration and to hand over the strings of his state to the Crown’s Representation lest he should become a puppet in their hands. This tendency, was, what was abhorred by the Resident.

Colonel Ward’s forced retirement was not the only raison d’eter for the uneasiness that prevailed between the Durbar and the Resident. The appointment of Mr. K.M. Panikkar, B.A. (Oxon) as Secretary to the Minister-in-Waiting and Director of Records on a salary of Rs. 1200/- per month177 had also added pinch of salt to the souring relations. Mr. Pannikar was an ex-Dixon scholar of Christ Church. Later, he was Professor of History at Aligarh in 1919, and had authored the book entitled, ‘Relations of Indian states with the Government of India.’178 Lord Oliver had contributed a forward to it, in which he speaks of the author as having won academic distinction as well as experience as a journalist. However, Mr. Howell was warned against Mr. Panikkar by Mr. Glancy, in the following words, “for all that Mr. Pannikkar is apparently well known to the C.I.D. and the substance of their information about him is that in the past he has held “extremely anti British and disloyal views.”179

Mr. K.M. Panikkar had worked as Assistant Editor of ‘Swarajya’, Madras on Rs. 700/-per May 1914 to Study at Christ Church, had contributed strong nationalist articles to ‘New India’, ‘The Indian Review’ and the ‘Hindustan Review’. In 1916, he had published a pamphlet called ‘The Problems of Greater India and was suspected by the British Government of his role in the Akali Movement and propaganda.180 Indeed, the appointment of Mr. K.M. Panikkar in the Dogra Durbar had added ire to the British administration. In fact, the Maharaja was trying his best to keep the British
hand at bay in the state affairs and the Britishers were working hard to take him to
ask and bring him into the same league of other subordinate and ‘friendly’ princes.

With the British policy as it was, Maharaja Pratap Singh’s successor would
have found it extremely difficult to establish himself, but Maharaja Hari Singh, from
the initial days took upon himself the uphill task of regaining the past authority of the
Ruler of the State. He started with asking the Resident in Srinagar to remove the
Union Jack from the Residency buildings and when he failed to comply, by having it
removed by a detachment of the State forces, on 8th Mar, 1928. This jolted the British
administration severely.181

Thereafter, the Resident discussed the matter with the Viceroy at Delhi from
12th to 14th Mar. 1928. When the Resident discovered that the Maharaja undertook
such measure to bring the Kashmir Residency into the line with the rest, as other
Residencies did not have flagstaff on the ground,182 the Resident opined, “If it is true
that other Residencies do not have flagstaffs on the ground, one can sympathize with
the Maharaja’s wish, but his methods are unfortunate, indeed, intolerable.183

On 17th March, 1928 when Mr. Howell visited the Maharaja, he was explained
that the action was due to the urgent need of a proper flagstaff at Gulab Bhawan
Palace. He later ordered that a Flagstaff of the same size as the original be replaced on
the old site and the same was done on 21st March itself.184 But the amount of the ill-
will that had arisen out of this episode is clear from the opinion, the secretary of the
state rendered in writing to the Viceroy, “Even if, his trouble is at bottom an uneasy
desire to assert himself, we could not condone so pointed an insult to the Suzerain,
Even though from the psycho-analytical point of view, the bestowal of an honour,
worst held to be the best way to cure Hari Singh of this tendency to assert himself of
all costs and to bring him back to the straight path, we could not afford to expose
ourselves so openly to the oft-flung reproach that we honour those who flout us and
have no rewards for our quite well behaved friends.”185 Hence, the proposal of the
Viceroy Irwin to bestow upon the Maharaja the honour of GCIE was turned down by
Secretary of State, Mr. Birkenhead. Keeping in view the assertive personality of the
Maharaja, the relations between the maharaja and the Britishers faced many ups and
downs. The changing dimensions of Anglo-Dogra relations could hardly be eschewed
easily the then political masters of India-the Britishers.
• Maharaja’s Long Absence

On 21st May 1928, the Maharaja left Jammu for England.\(^{186}\) During the period of his absence, he had arranged the administration of the state in the hands of a cabinet consisting of the following Ministers:-

3. Waikfield, C.B.E

It may be more than mere coincidence that during almost seven months absence from the state, a number of natural calamities occurred in the various parts of the state, thereby, incurring a great loss of men and material and thus, unrest. First of all, a fire broke out in Sioir Bazar in the night of 11\(^{th}\)/12\(^{th}\) June when 236 shops and 100 houses were burnt, killing one person. The damage occurred was estimated at about 10 lakhs.\(^{187}\) Simultaneously, small-pox of a somewhat severe type had been prevalent in Srinagar City. The total number of deaths upto the 31\(^{st}\) July was 200.\(^{188}\) The epidemic was chiefly confined to the crowded portion of Srinagar City. Two cases were reported among Europeans, one of whom, a lady, had succumbed.\(^{189}\) The state authorities tackled the situation well, vaccination and disinfection were steadily and systematically carried out. The Kashmir Government on the 27\(^{th}\) July issued a compulsory vaccination Regulation for the state, which was immediately made applicable to Srinagar.\(^{190}\) As if it was not enough, intense and heavy rains at the end of August and the first few days of September caused floods in Srinagar and the tragedy of the Amarnath pilgrimage.\(^{191}\) The minimum deaths resulting from the Amarnath pilgrimage were reported to be 53. These figures recorded only the corpses picked up on the road between Pahalgam and Amarnath by the relief parties sent out by the state. It is said, however, that other pilgrims died of cold and exhaustion on the pilgrimage, whose corpses were thrown by their companions into the nearest stream as the weather did not permit the usually burning ceremony to be performed.\(^{192}\) The action of the Wazir Wazarat, who returned to Pahalgam immediately, it was decided to abandon the pilgrimage instead of staying there to help the pilgrims had become the subject of criticism.

As regards the Srinagar, death toll on account of the flood was somewhat less than 100.\(^{193}\) The maize crops in the valley which were flooded were ruined, but the rice crop had suffered almost 15%\(^{194}\) loss. The Maharaja had sanctioned Rs. 5 lakhs in
the first instance for relief works to flood sufferers and the export of all food stuffs from the province of Kashmir had been prohibited. Collection of outstanding land revenue had also been suspended. A Relief Committee had also been formed to deal with the situation.

The rain was also heavy in the Gilgit Agency. Of a party of Kashmir state troops marching from Chilas to Bandipur, four sepoys, three ponymen and seventy pack ponies had perished.\(^{195}\) The total material loss, which the state had to incur due to these floods was said to be about Rs. 20 lakhs in one way or another.\(^{196}\) The public works Department (Roads and Building Branch) alone had put in urgent supplementary estimates to the total of Rs. 7 lakhs.\(^{197}\)

However, the Maharaja arrived by a special train at Jammu, on his return from Europe, at 9 p.m. on 18\(^{th}\) December, 1928.\(^{198}\) The arrival was public and Highness was received at the station by the member of the Cabinet, the Military Board, Jagirdars, officials, notables of the Kashmir State. However, the Resident, Mr. E.B. Howell in his report to Mr. C.C. Watson, Pol. Secy. to Government of India, in the Foreign and Pol. Dept. stated “I was prevented by ill health from going to welcome him back, so Major Gillan represented the Residency.”

The non-verified speculations about Maharaja’s further visits to Delhi for the Princes conference, Horse show in February and to Europe again in the forthcoming summers were made by the Residency itself, and without any doubts, did no good to the Maharaja’s image in the eyes of his public. But in the second fortnight of August, 1929, Kashmir was once again shaken by the great Jhelum flood. This time the state organization had been beyond praise and had been subject to universal admiration.\(^{199}\) The Maharaja personally directed the operations and his influence was felt everywhere. He lived in a houseboat for three days and never returned to his palace during that period. He never rested in between and spared neither himself nor his officials and soldiers. The general feeling, thus, was that the lives and property of the people had been saved through his personal exertions.

But Maharaja’s long absence from the State’s Political scene had caused fitters and many began to doubt his intensions and his love-hate relationship with the Britishers only added the reason for the emergence of politics of communalism in the state with result, majority, community’s cry for jobs soon got diversified and assumed the shape of an agitation.
This announcement annoyed the priesthood, so much so, the head Pujari of Shri Ragunath Temple in Jammu tendered his resignation.


The 1931 census noted that castes were not following their hereditary occupations any longer, preferring jobs in labor or Government service.

Sadaat, Rozana Diary, 678.


Raghavan, G.S., op.cit., p.37.


Sir Francis Younghusband, notes on Kashmir affairs, for 1906-07, foreign - Pol, Sec-I Prog: 1-2, Crown Representative papers, Aug. 1907, Microfilm, ACC No: 292.


All India Muslim Kashmiri Conferences Resolution, No: 6, Political, F-No: 254/P-127, 1912.

Judge High Court to Chief Minister, 7th Feb. 1913, Political, F.No: 254/P-127, 1912.

Education Department, R.R./1911, Jammu State Archive.

Zutshi, Chandralakha, op.cit., p.193.


General Department 14/1923, Jammu State Archives.


Ibid

Ibid

With the constitution of the State Council in 1889, it was one of the first orders issued by the Council


Ibid

Kashmir Government Records, File No. 24, of 1891.

Bamzai, P.N.K., op.cit., p.701.


Ibid, p.81.

Ibid

The Ranbir (Weekly), Jammu, dated May 20 and 27, 1935.


Terms of Reference for the committee appointed to define the term 'state subject' 1923 (Srinagar K.M. Pres, 1923). General Department 14/1923, Jammu State Archives

Zutshi, Chandralakha, op.cit., pp.190-191.


Early in 1905 A.D., through the strenuous efforts of Mrs. Annie B. casant, some luminaries of the Theosophical society, and Pandit Bala Kaul of the Sahib family, a Hindu College was subsequently came to be known as the Sri Pratap College, had been started at Srinagar. Another college was started by the Government in the City of Jammu.

Bazaz, P.N., Inside Kashmir, op.cit., p.82.


Ibid
In 1922, a State Council of Ministers was again formed to assist Maharaja Pratap Singh in the administration of the Country. Raja Hari Singh, heir-apparent to the throne, was put in charge of it as the Senior Member of the Council. Educated young men looked to him for help in driving out the non-state subjects when they failed to receive any encouragement in this behalf from the Maharaja himself. And the Senior Member did his best to fulfill the wishes of the people.


Ibid


Ibid

Bazaz, P.N., Inside Kashmir, op.cit., p.86.

Ibid

For details see Annexure ‘B’


Ibid


Ibid


Raghavan, G.S., op.cit., p.40.

Ibid, p.41.

Khan, G.H., op.cit., p.103.


Ibid

Saraf, Mohammad Yusuf, op.cit., p.344.

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid


Singh, K. Brahma, op.cit., p.50.

Saraf, Mohammed Yusuf, op.cit., p.453.

Raghavan, G.S., op.cit., p.62.

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid

Ibid
Editors the Pioneer and Statesmen regretted to publish a false news about the killings of Muslim agitators during the agitation. (See Resident in Kashmir in Foreign Member of State Council, 26th August, 1924, General, F. No. 78/A/6-C, 1924; Also Kashmir, Amritsar, 8th August 1924; General, F. No. 96/61-G of 1924.

Kashmir Relief Committee, Poster (Urdu), General, F.No. 96/61-G, 1924.

Foreign Member, Memorandum 26th November 1926, General, F. No. 411/P-57, 1924.


Raghavan, G.S., op.cit., p.65.

The constitution of the Civil Service Board was the result.


Singh, K. Brahma, op.cit., pp.51-52

Raghavan, G.S., op.cit., the Afghan rule in Kashmir is known, by all accounts for the worst forms of oppression and repression upon the people of Kashmir.


Zutshi, Chandarlekha, op.cit., p.159.

Ibid


Zutshi, Chandarlekha, op.cit., p.159.

Ibid

Lavan, Spencer, op.cit., pp.11-50


Lavan, op.cit., pp.11-50.

Zutshi, Chandarlekha, op.cit., p.165.

Khan, G.H., op.cit., p.85.


Ibid


Raghavan, G.S., op.cit., p.49.

Ibid


Ibid, p.286.

Raghavan, G.S., op.cit. p.52.

Ibid

Bazaz, P.N., Inside Kashmir, pp.304-305.

Ibid


Raghavan, G.S. *op.cit.*, p.33.


Raghavan, G.S., *op.cit.*, p.35.

*Ibid*


F. No. 10(1)-P of 1925.


*Ibid*


*A Note on Jammu and Kashmir State*, 1927, Chapter Ii, p.4.

Order No.3, dated, 11 March, 1927.

*Ibid*


Irwin to Birkenhead 21 March 1928, Halifax Papers.

Extract from a Private letter from the Right Hon’ble the Earl of Birkenhead, P.C. his Majesty’s Secretary of State for India, to His Excellency, the Viceroy, dated the 19th January, 1928.

Detailed Note, put up by the Residency, Kashmir, Sialkot dated 1st Mar. 1928 and confidentially sent to Mr. Glancy, Deputy Secretary to GOI, Foreign and Pol. Department, New Delhi; Confidential D. no. D/38-C/28.

*Ibid*

Official and Confidential Letters, express Letters and Telegrams from the Residency, Kashmir, to Foreign and Political Dept., New Delhi and to Simla followed Vigorously to discuss the case of Mr. Ward.


Foreign and Political Dept. New Delhi, 14 Mar, 1928.

Extracts from a private letter from Secretary of State to His Excellency, the Viceroy dated 26th Apr. 1928.

*Ibid*

Private/Confidential letter from the Maharaja Hari Singh to the Hon’ble, the Viscount Peel, His Majesty’s Secretary of State for India Office, India Office, London, dated 4th Mar. 1929.

Extract from Kashmir Residency fortnightly Diary for the second half of Nov. 1928, 9th Feb. 1928; D.O.F. I-C/28.


Confidential Letter, D. No. 8, 15-C/28, To the Residency, Kashmir from Mr. B.J. Glancy, Esqr. Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign and Political Department, New Delhi.
Ibid
Reel No. 292: Document No. 114. F. No. 77-P/28, Government of India, Foreign and Political Department (Political)
Extracts from a private letter from Secretary of State to His Excellency, the Viceroy, dated 26th Apr. 1928.
Ibid
Extracts from a Private letter from Secretary of State to His Excellency, the Viceroy, dated 26th April 1928.
Ibid
Ibid
Ibid
Ibid
Ibid
Fortnightly Report for the second half of September, ‘28 dated 5th October, 1928.
Ibid
Ibid
Demi-official letter from the Resident in Kashmir No. F.9-C/28, dated the 2nd September, 1929.