Chapter II

Governance in Jammu & Kashmir: Pre 1947 Scenario

Jammu & Kashmir is a strategically located politico-administrative entity located in the north most extremity of Indian subcontinent. The state lies between 32 degree and 37 degree north longitude and 37 degree and 80 degree east longitude. The total area of state is 222,236 sq. Kms. Bounded on northeast by Tibet and China; it is surrounded by Himachal Pardesh and Punjab on the south, on the northwest by Afganistan and on the west by Pakistan. Geographically, the state falls into four natural regions. In the south lies Jammu, the winter capital of the state, popularly known as “city of temples”. In the centre is valley of Kashmir situated in middle mountain ranges lying towards the north of Jammu region, the summer capital of state, known as “paradise on earth”. To the north is Gilgit and between Kashmir valley and Tibet is the province of Ladakh lies to the northeast of Kashmir Valley, also known as “little Tibet” renowned for its remote mountainous beauty and Buddhist culture.

The distinction of the state (more specifically the Kashmir valley) lays in its claim to be the only region in India which possesses an uninterrupted series of records of its historical background. The state can, perhaps also claim the distinction in relation to other regions of Indian in the number of invasions, the depth of anarchy and the cruel exploitation it has undergone during different periods of its history. It has a long and well recorded historical continuity of about 6000 years, intermittently ruled by outsiders. Kashmiri’s as pointed out by Walter Lawrence (a noted English civil servant famous for his revenue settlement in the state and his well-crafted
gazetteer, *The Valley of Kashmir*) divided their history into four periods: the early period of Hindu Kings chronicled in Rajtarangni, written by Kalhana; the period of Kashmir Musalmans, Known as *Salatini Kashmir*, the period of Mughals Known as *Padshah-i- Chagatai* or *Shahan-i-Mughlia*, and the period of Pathans, known as *Shahan-i-Durani*. It was however only in 1819 when 67 years Afghan rule ended and Kashmir was passed in the hands of new masters-the Sikhs. The Sikhs ruled over Kashmir for about 27 years (1819-1846) and it was Ranjit Singh who brought Kashmir under the Sikh rule in 1819. During this span of time ten governors administered the valley one after another. However, this rule did not last long as the Angola-Sikh war (10th February, 1846) led to the eclipse of Sikh Empire and the British took over the valley and its adjoining areas as part of the war indemnity inflicted of the defeated Sikhs, and immediately sold it to Gulab Singh, a Dogra warlord from Jammu and a prominent vassal of the Sikh Durbar, through an agreement known in the history of state as “*Treaty of Amritsar*”.

**Treaty of Amritsar: Formation of Jammu & Kashmir State**

The state of Jammu and Kashmir with its present boundaries owes its origin to the Treaty of Amritsar concluded on 16th March, 1846 between the British Government and the Gulab Singh, a Jammu based Dogra chieftain of the Sikh kingdom of Punjab. The Treaty was in itself a byproduct of a reasonably moderate treaty, known to history as the “*Treaty of Lahore*”, concluded on 9th March, 1846 to brought an end to the first Angola-Sikh war, which left the state of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (last ruler of Sikh Kingdom), only a shadow of its original one. By this treaty (treaty of Amritsar) Kashmir was sold to Gulab Singh for a cash payment of Rs seventy five lakh (*Nanakshahees*). The treaty gave Gulab Singh the title deed to
Kashmir. Thus was founded the state of Jammu and Kashmir with its present shape, formed through inheritance, invasion, purchase and by the British blessings.

The treaty of Amritsar was by all its standards, a sale deed—albeit conducted under shadow of politics and to secure purely political interests of the parties concerned. This sale deed as narrated by a acclaimed Kashmiri commentator, Gulam Hassan Khan “was done by the people who were known to the world for their liberalism, democratic values, fair play and sense of justice, who had abolished tyrannical and despotic monarchs in their own homeland and established in their place a democratic political system, making great Britain the mother of parliamentary system.” For the people of Kashmir who had not been consulted in any way, the treaty meant another century of slavery by the alien masters. While undertaking the sale the Britishers in India did not so much as to ascertain the views of the people of Kashmir valley on the subject. Even their leaders were not consulted. This treaty is unique in the sense that people were sold like sheep and cattle to an alien master and the whole transaction was made behind their back. This treaty consists of ten articles and makes no mention whatsoever of rights, interests and future of the people. Unlimited powers were granted to Dogra Maharaja to rule over predominantly Muslim state. Since, in the Indian native states absolute autocracy was the principal characteristic of the political life that time, no voice within was raised against this inhuman deal but outside the state this cynical deal attracted strong criticism, even at the time when rights of the people were not given priority in Britain as well as in India. Justice A S Anand, a legal constitutional expert and formerly the Chief Justice of India, in his epoch-making treatise on the constitutional history of Jammu and Kashmir, concludes after thoroughly cross examining the arguments regarding the nature of the Treaty; “when you accept money in consideration for a transfer of a material thing, the
transaction is nothing but ‘sale’. “The transaction” wrote captain Joseph Devy Cunningham, “Scarcely seems worthy of the British name and greatness”. Those in Kashmir who may have hoped that the British intervention would deliver them from Sikh oppression were intensely disappointed on finding themselves handed over to another oppressor, Maharaja Gulab Singh. This treaty was by all standards highly contemptible. The famous poet, Dr. Mohammed Iqbal, wrote the following:

“ Their fields, their crops, their streams
Even the peasants in the Vale
They sold all
Alas, how cheap was the sale”.

Dr. Iqbal also narrates;

“Oh breeze if you pass by Geneva sometimes, carry this said and gloomy message to the League of Nations, each hill each garden, each field, each farmer they sold; they sold a nation for a price that makes my blood ice cold”

Also the famous Urdu-Persian poet, Hafiz Jallendhuri lamenting the Treaty, which reads:

“The fate of Human beings was sold for Rs seventy-five lakhs
Kashmir’s paradise was sold for Rs seventy-five lakhs”

Robert Thrope, a British Army officer, who gave his life for Kashmir, wrote “towards the people of Kashmir we have committed a wanton outrage, a gross injustice, and an act of tyrannical oppression which violates every human and honorable sentiment, which is opposed to the whole spirit of modern civilization and in its direct opposition to every tenet of the religion we profess”. Sardar Dudh Singh also comments “it is not a fact that only the Kingdom of Punjab was destroyed
through treachery, but the state of Jammu and Kashmir was obtained through sale, resulting in the slavery of North-India.”

Besides paying in return to the Gulab Singh’s support in winning the Anglo-Sikh war, as mentioned by Lord Hardinge “this generosity was an reward for Gulab Singh’s duplicity in offering the help to British while still holding with the Sikhs’, the other motives behind the execution of deal were, that the bitterly fought and narrowly won Angola-Sikh wars had drained the resources of East India Company, preceded as they were by Afghan Wars, which had been even more expensive in blood and treasure. The distance to valley over the mountainous paths, was yet another disincentive. As Governor General, Lord Hardinge in a letter explained “to keep British force three hundred miles away from any possibility of support would have been an undertaking that merited a strait-waistcoat and not a peerage”. It was because of these disincentives that the Britishers preferred to place Kashmir under the possession of their proven reliability local boss, Maharaja Gulab Singh, who was anxiously waiting for such things to happen. He was an opportunist and clever man. Maharaja Gulab Singh had been working for this opportunity for a long time, using every occasion to show the Britishers that he knew they were the coming power; they would rely on him, even when he was on the other side.

The article first of the treaty (Treaty of Amritsar) fulfilled Gulab Singh heartiest desire, which reads as;

“The British Government transfers and makes over, forever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh, and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westeward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government
by the Lahore state according to the provisions of the Article IV of the treaty of Lahore, dated March 9, 1846”.

However, in the text of treaty it was made obligatory and binding upon the Maharaja to refrain from making any alteration with regard to the boundaries of the state without the due concurrence sought from the British government and any dispute that might arise between the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the other adjoining states, had to be settled down as per British arbitration and would be binding on Maharaja as well as his male heirs. Further as per the text of treaty Maharaja was also not permitted to employ or retain in his services any British, European or American subject, without the due consent sought from the British Government. However, the treaty had promised Gulab Singh (first Dogra Maharaja) the British aid and assistance in protecting his territories from external enemies. But Maharaja was expected to acknowledge and recognise at any cost the supremacy of the British Government.

The people of Kashmir valley were lacking both, the means as well as the well-representative leadership to resist the imposition of the treaty, but they were certainly not lacking the desire to protest. Thus, when last Sikh Governor to Kashmir, Sheikh Imam-u-din snubbed to submit in front of Maharaja Gulab Singh, as he was instructed by Raja Lal Singh, Wazir of Lahore, Kashmiris threw their lot behind him which sustained his revolt against the combined might of Dogra-British-Sikh forces for months together. Shiekh Imam-u-din routed the Dogra contingent with the help of Bombas. Captain Arthur Broome, who was deputed to supervise the transfer of power to first Dogra Maharaja, confirmed Sheikh Imam-u-din’s impressively wide base of support in Kashmir and suggested that he had “the chief power in the country and the popular feeling…..[was] with him.” Thus with the popular support to his side and rich
resources of the Kashmir valley at his disposal, Sheikh Imam-u-Din managed to inflict a crushing defeat to the Dogra army and Gulab Singh’s representative Lakpat Rai was killed. Gulab Singh in order to take the actual possession of the valley had to seek the assistance of new British allies. Finally Imam-u-din surrendered when he was faced by the combined might of both Gulab Singh and British government and Gulab Singh was installed as the new ruler of Kashmir. It is however pertinent to mention here that a century later, in 1946, Kashmir’s Stalwart nationalist leader Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah proudly reduced Shiekh Imam-u-Din’s revolt in the court where he was tried for sedition charges for launching the Quiet Kashmir movement which challenged the very basis of the Treaty and, hence, the moral right of the Dogras to rule over Kashmir.

In the history of Jammu and Kashmir the treaty of Amritsar occupies a prime place. During the hey days of freedom movement in the state, it was this treaty (treaty of Amritsar) that had become a strong argument in the hands of people of Kashmir to challenge the very existence of the treaty and claimed that neither the people of state nor their political freedom cold be purchased for partly sum of Rupees 75 lakhs.

**Nature of State**

State under Dogra’s remained feudalistic and secretarian in both form and spirit. The feudal character of the Dogra state is evident in the claim of its ruler that all the land in the state belonged to him, over which he had exclusive jurisdiction. The Maharaja regarded the whole state his personal purchased property, invested with himself all the sources of power-legislative, executive and the judicial, and ruled over the subjects as the master rules over his slaves. Principals of good governance were unknown to them and the state which they created remained personal, sectarian and
feudal in character. The model of governance followed by Dogras was characterized by authoritarianism and absolutism, significantly lacking democratic and representative character. The Dogra rulers were following a highly discriminative attitude towards Kashmir, as they have always considered Jammu as their home land and Kashmir as the occupied territory. The Dogra state which produced regionalism followed, however, more discriminatory policy in respect of the Muslim community of Kashmir, in every facet of life, a fact which is attested by all the contemporary sources. P. L. Lakhanpal summarized the communal stance of Dogra rulers by saying, “the sale-dead of 1846 (treaty of Amritsar) put a largely populated Muslim state under the Dogra rule which had been characterized as feudal, despotic, tyrannical and sectarian”.

**Socio-economic conditions under Dogras**

During the Dogra regime in the State of Jammu and Kashmir the people in general and non-Dogras in particular suffered miserably. There is no denying of the fact that Dogra’s gave the state a semblance of peace and to larger extent ameliorated the conditions of masses in the state but in actual practice their policies best served the interests of upper class of the state and enabled them to consolidate and stuff themselves at the expenses of masses. The poor and vulnerable people of the state remained in abject poverty.

The policies adopted by the Dogra Maharaja’s fully helped the upper class of the state in particular to consolidate and further themselves at the expenses of poor masses. The economic conditions of masses throughout the period remain deplorable. The reason behind economic backwardness of masses was due to the very “character of state, its institution of *Jagirdarism* and the system of revenue, taxation and corrupt
administration”. At the top of Jagirdars remained the Maharaja himself and other being subordinate to him. “Most of the state was divided into Jagirs (estates) and these Jagirs were granted by Maharaja to the members of royal family, to their relatives, to the persons who belonged to the same caste and religion as professed by the ruler himself, and to those persons who had proved, by services or otherwise, their loyalty to the person of ruler as well as his throne.”. However, Maharaja has retained with himself absolute powers to deprive at any time any person of the estate granted to him. The proprietary rights were granted only to the peasants of Jammu region and the peasants belonging to Kashmir valley have been deprived off these rights. The peasants were treated nothing more than procured slaves. What was more ironical regarding jagidari system was that the jagairdars regarded people as a part of their jagir and enjoyed unlimited powers over them treating them as slaves and forcibly deprived them their property. The Jagirdar within his jagir (estate) was the “judge, the administrator and the police”. Below the jagirdars were Chakdars, who were temporarily land holders. The chakdar like Jagirdar treated the cultivators in his chak with great severity. Jagirdar was titled to one half of the produce of the chak. The peasants had been virtually reduced to the state of serfs, signifying the very feudalistic character of state.

Maharaja declared himself the owner of all lands, forests and mountains and the people were deprived of their hereditary ownership and occupancy rights on their land. “The right to sell, mortgage, ownership or transfer their land was terminated and they lived as his subjects in capacity of tenants, for which they have paid revenue to him”. The resentment of people to such stroppy measures was exuberantly suppressed by the rulers.

**Revenue system**
The most repulsive feature of Dogra regine in the state was the hackneyed and fallacious system of land revenue. The revenue department which was throughout hrogged by non-Muslims (mostly pundits) and had most of its dealings with Muslim masses remained the most corrupted branch of autocratic state machinery. This system was run by a host of officials whose corrupt practices had not only brought upon the peasants moral degradation but it also had a “more momentous effect on the character and development of the people that it had in any other native state” Right from patwari to Dewan-i-Daftari they formed a “powerful corrupt ring inside which the village revenue payer lay captivated”. This corrupt and inefficient administration of the state’s revenue department had paralysed the entire peasant population of the state. The agriculture sector of the state on whose subsistence 85% population of the state stand dependent directly or indirectly, remained in a state of utter perdition, because of the absence of any well planned and well established revenue system. The state had been following one system after another and every new system were proven more clumsy and muddled than its previous one, with the result the state as well as masses suffered a lot.

The first fifty years of Dogra rule in the state were responsible for disseminating in the minds of people the seeds of resentment against its existence. The reason was the autocracy and tyranny exercised by the corrupt revenue officials on the peasants for collection of land revenue. For the collection of revenue from the peasants various methods were adopted as per the requirements of time, often provided more complex and cumbersome than the previous one. Regarding the methods used for collecting revenue Ghulam Hassan Khan a noted Kashmiri political commentator narrates as;
“During 1846-1860 revenue was collected by Chakdars, Shakdars, and Sazawols etc. all the agents of state. On the occasion they were assisted by army personnel. This method was abandoned and a new one Chakdari was adapted from 1860 to 1873. From 1873 to 1880, yet another method well Known as Assmiwar Khewat was introduced. All these methods proved unsuccessful the land continued to remain in a state of desolation. Seeing this, the state adopted another method from 1880-1891. The officers of the revenue department were made wholly responsible to collect the revenue. All these officers were extremely corrupt, they practiced such severity that cultivators who could not pay full revenue were either compelled to sell their livestock to make up the deficiency or migrate to those areas were they had the prospects of serving as farm labourers with privileged landlords. Once the futility of this method was clear, the state has to resort to another method known as Izad-boli, the method of putting land to auction. Under this method, revenue was collected by the highest bidder. But even this method did not work so it give place to another method called Nazar-did an eye surveyed method. According to it, the government’s share of revenue was determined by an eye survey. The government’s share was collected by a contractor, usually a Kashmiri Pundit, and this widened the scope for corruption”

All these methods of collecting state revenue were devices by which corrupt and rapacious revenue officials “from the highest to the lowest level combined to rob the master (the state) and ransack the people”. The state revenue was collected with such severity and harshness that the peasants in order to meet the expenses of revenue often felt the need of selling their cattles and sheep. Majority of the cultivators with meager income sources were not in a position to pay revenue in full and they were,
forced to, under the fear of third degree tortures, to leave their homes. They often migrated to other villages were they took services as farm labourers with some privileged land holders. The corrupt officials of state revenue department deprived the peasants even of their legitimate rights. The cultivators were also forced to join the conspiracy to rob the state. Those who denied to act as per the wishes of corrupt revenue officials had to suffer at their hands. The peasants were not even immune from physical torture. At the time of collecting revenue the use of nettle scourge in summer and of plugging recusant tax-payer into cold water in winter were popular devices of physical tortures carried out against the cultivators. Through these repressive methods and corrupt practices carried out by revenue officials the cultivators who formed the sheer majority of population suffered unspeakable injustice and oppression.

For about first fifty years of their rule in the state, the Dogra rulers failed to build a sound and well settled land revenue system. Many a time the British government advised the Maharaja to adopt a just and sound policy for the upliftment of the agriculture and the cultivators. Even Mr. Lawrence (Settlement Commissioner) had written a letter to Maharaja Gulab Singh suggesting “to fix a light assessment so that peasantry may be contented and rights of jagirdars may be maintained”. Since Maharaja had paid huge amount of money to purchase Kashmir from British government, his basic aim was, therefore to “see that revenue came punctually by fair or foul methods”

**Taxation Policy**

The taxation policy adopted by Dogra Maharaja’s in the state left the vulnerable poor working class half-fed and starving. Dogra’s had forcibly executed
their taxation policies, which filled the masses with antipathy towards rulers. Everything was squeezed under the clutch of taxation save water and air. Even the office of the grave digger was taxed. The Muslims were forced to pay taxes for the maintenance of temples and support of Hindu priests. These obnoxious taxes were to be paid only by penurious masses and privileged sections of the society were exempted from paying these taxes. European travelers and officials who had served in the valley during Dogra rule and who were, more conscious of the material aspect had left interesting information regarding the economic life of the people and the state policies. Lieutenant Colonel Torrens, while equating the Dogra regime with the early foreign rulers of the state had obverted the Dogra tyranny when he wrote, “this last state (Dogra State) was worse than the first, for Gulab Singh went beyond his predecessors in the gently acts of undue taxation and extortion. They had taxed heavily, it is true, but he sucked the very life blood of the people. They had laid violent hands on a large proportion of the fruits of the earth, the profits of loom and the work of men’s hands, but he skinned the very flints to fill his coffers”. Almost all types of produce and all classes attached with production process were brought under heavy taxation as had been stated by Sir Francis in the following words, “on the manufacture of shawls, parallel restriction were placed, wool was taxed as it entered Kashmir; the manufacture was taxed for every workman he employed, and also at various stages of the process according to the value of fabric. There was the enormous duty of 85% ad valor am. Butchers, Bakers, Carpenters, boatmen and even prostitutes were taxed. Poor coolies, who were affianced to shoulder load for travellers, were forced to give up half of their earnings”. Peasants were made to pay two kinds of taxes, Koul and Rasum. Kaul was a legal tax the latter being illegal. Both these taxes
were levied from the people at the same time. The *kaul* went to state treasury; the latter was collected by corrupt state officials to fill their own packets.

**Industrial Sector**

The industrial sector was in shambles. The industrial labour in the state particularly in the Kashmir valley were consisting of shawl weavers, men working as labourers and artisans in the silk factory, carpet weavers, *paper-machie* workers, wood carvers, *gabba makers* etc. However, the worth mentioning industries from the perspective of number of people engaged as workers were the shawl weaving and silk weaving industries. Despite the fact that the shawl and silk weavers in the state consists of the lowest wage earners, they were simaltenously cuddled through direct taxes. Like peasants, the shawl and silk weavers throughout the period remained the victims of the official tyranny of *Dagshali*. The monthly income of a shawl weaver did not exceed seven or at the most eight rupees. Out of this measly earning, he had to pay five rupees as tax, which left him with three rupees so to live on. In 1847, the shawl weavers of the valley in order to escape themselves from this heavy burden of taxation struck their work and about 5000 of them fled from the valley. These shawl and silk weavers were required to pay tax both on raw materials as well as on finished goods. What was more paradoxical that, apart from paying almost sixty five different kinds of taxes, a particular kind of tax for meeting the expenses of Maharaja and his family’s dress was levied from the poor peasants. Many taboos were placed on shawl weavers. The most pitiable part of a shawl weaver’s life was that he could not change his profession for the purpose of bettering his economic conditions and finding out a more lucrative job other than shawl weaving, for the fear on the part of government “that it will reduce Maharaja’s revenue……”. They were therefore deliberately forced
to remain both physically emaciated as well as economically pathetic and this uncared approach towards shawl and silk wears compelled them to remain “half-blind as many of them do from the nature of work, they may contact other diseases which the sedentary life and the foetid atmosphere of low-rooms engender and ripen……”

Because of these harsh conditions imposed by Dogra’s, shawl weavers of the state had been left with no alternative but to leave their job and if allowed to immigrate to the plains of Punjab.

Education

During the Dogra regime there was severe educational backwardness in the state particularly among the Muslim community. Although, during the Dogra rule modern education was introduced in the state, however its fruits could not reach to the common masses. The rate of illiteracy among the Muslims was highest in rural areas where they consist of nearly 85% of population. The reason behind their educational backwardness was manifold. It was because of their own ignorance, the conservative outlook of their religious leaders, un-sympathetic attitude of non-muslims towards Muslim students in government schools and more importantly because of the discriminatory policies adopted Dogra administration. Another disincentive which renounced Muslims to become educated was their worse economic conditions. The Muslims in the state were not in a position to bear the expenses required to educate their siblings. The poverty of Muslim masses in the state was really a strong impediment in the way of their education. In 1909, Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925) the successor of Maharaja Ranbir Singh had directed his Educational Minister to draw up a scheme for making primary education free and compulsory throughout the state, but the minister in-charge did not agree with the Maharaja. The Maharaja’s
concept of free and compulsory education throughout the state remained only on
papers, as it was rejected by the Education Minister on the ground that such a measure
would be looked upon by poor masses of the state as “zooloom” (act of tyranny) and
would therefore, “be dreaded by the uneducated parents rather be welcomed as a
boon”. The Education Minister under Maharaja Pratap Singh sharply pleaded that “if
the wage-earning children of the muslims were interfered with, their parents would
not take it kindly, that in the absence of public spirited men the benefits of the scheme
would not be understood by the people and the expenditure needed to implement the
scheme in the state were not sufficient.” An impartial evaluation of the arguments put
forth by the Education Minister to prove the futility of the Maharaja’s idea regarding
free and compulsory education in the state were vague and meaningless.

In the year 1916, Mr. Sharp, than Educational Commissioner with
Government of India, on the request of Kashmir Durbar paid a visit to the educational
institutions in the valley. During his visit he interacted with and interviewed officials,
educationalists, and various other people associated to the field of education both
implicitly or explicitly. In his report Mr. Sharp admitted in clear terms that Muslims
in the state particularly in the Kashmir valley had suffered from deliberate educational
disabilities and the requirement of time is to improve their conditions. He in his report
made the following recommendations to Kashmiri Drabar.

1) To increase the number of primary educational institutions in the state
so that each village with a population of more than 500 should have
atleast one school.
Students in the educational institutions should be imparted training in a typical form of calligraphy known as *Shiksta Navisi* and to village boys in learning *patwar* i.e village accountancy.

To increase the number of Arabic teachers in the state by one hundred.

To staff the village schools, as far as possible, with teachers belonging to majority population.

To grant special scholarships to Muslim teachers for their professional training so that they were appointed head-masters of the schools in villages which were entirely populated by Muslims.

The recommendations made by Mr. Sharp were “sanctioned by the Maharaja but were taken very lightly by the ministers concerned and instructions issued by Maharaja for the implementation of the recommendations were seldom followed by those in charge of State Education Department.”

**Problem of Government Services**

The Dogras deliberately followed an open policy of racial discrimination against the Muslims in particular and other non-Dogra communities in general. This discriminatory attitude towards Muslims was also followed in the area of granting government services. Muslims which constituted nearly 85% of the total population of the state had only a nominal share in government services and as per the report submitted by Riots Committee of Enquiry; the share of Muslims in the government service was not more than 15%. Between 1910 and 1930 the representation of Muslims in the state services did not exceed 10% both in gazette and non-gazette ranks. The reason for their low representation in state services was not so much due to
their educational backwardness as due to lack of patronage and encouragement. The principal of efficiency and merit in the recruitment to state services was merely a smoke screen.

The military services in the state were reserved exclusively for Dogras, more specifically, Rajputs “with more than 60% of gazetteed appointments going to them”. Every attempt was made to keep non-Dogras away from important and influential ranks including army ranks. The high positions of authority in the state were occupied by the Dogra Rajputs and the administration of the state were run by outsiders mostly Punjabis. However, few Kashmiri pundits also enjoyed the fruits of administration. The issuance of armed license was limited to Dogra’s and Rajputs. The policy adopted by Dogras regarding exclusion of Kashmiris from the army wing was commonly resented by Kashmiri’s. Commenting on the hundred year Dogra rule in the state, a Kashmiri Pandit nationalist writes:

“The direct effect of Dogra rule in Kashmir is that even at such a late hour as this when discrimination in the recruitment to the army has been totally abrogated all over the world, Kashmiris whether Hindus or Muslims, cannot enter the state army even though they pay for its maintenance in lacs of rupees. Kashmiris hold today many distinguished positions in the British Indian Army but in their own state they continue to be non-martial and therefore ineligible for recruitment to the army. By the elimination of Kashmiris, the present army in the state acquires by implication, the character of an army of occupation composed of alien nationals.”

Ban on Political Freedom
During the Dogra regime the political freedom including the freedom of press and platform and forming of political associations was totally banned in the state. The policy of curbing civil liberties including dissent voices was strictly followed by Dogra princes. In the absence of press and platform there remained hardly any public opinion in the state. As for the press, “it was practically non-existent with the result that the government could not be benefited to the extent that it could be by the impact of healthy criticism”. There existed hardly any rapport between the ruler and masses in general and Muslim subjects of the state in particular, who were made to live in abject poverty, squalor and ignorance. The state machinery running under the patronage of Dogra princes “had little or no sympathy with the people’s wants or grievances”. The state imposed strict restriction even on the formation of religious and social organisation. The state council working under the primership of Raja Hari Singh (who accessed the throne after Raja Pratap Singh) strictly imposed ban on political freedom in the state. Many resolutions were undertaken from time to time curbing the political freedom of the people. It was made that without the prior permission and approval of the Maharaja no meeting or procession would be held at any public place in the state, and “no new Sabha, society or association shall be established without the prior permission of his highness”. By denying the people their basic rights and civil liberties, the council was cutting at the very root the entire corporate endeavor for all sorts of uplift work in the state. The Dogra rule has thus “decivilized and dehumanized the people to the extent of making them so barbarous as to value their native land nothing more than a hundred rupees”

_Beggar (Forced Labour)_
Apart from such a heavy burden of taxation the state met the people of Kashmir with another inhuman Practice called Beggar (Forced Labour), resulting in untold miseries both to the individual taken out for such practice, as well as to their family. Although the institution of Beggar was framed and introduced by Afghans, revived by the Sikhs, but it was only during Dogra rule that it took alarming shape. In theory Beggar had been abolished in 1893 (after British intervention) but in practice it continued, particularly in remote districts of state, right upto 1947 in one way or the other. Under this system the villagers were dragged out of their homes and were asked to carry military provisions to the frontier and mountains places like Gilgit, Askardo and Ladhak without any remuneration. The beggar was chosen simply due to absence of any special privileged labouring class in Kashmir and the demand for beggar fell naturally, on the villagers. However, may people including Sikhs, Pirzadas, Gojars were exempted from such dangerous and inhuman practice. Every year thousands of helpless poor subjects of the valley were called by police using sheer brute force, compelled at a point of bayonet to carry military supplies on their backs to most dangerous and risky road to Gilgit and Askardo. The word Gilgit had created terror among the people of valley. Many poor villagers used to leave their home, when there was a call for it for two or three months with the prospect death from cold and starvation. In most of cases the persons forced to undertake beggar could not endure the harsh weather and hardships, as the way was through Gilgit, the precarious mountainous, so die unknown, unwept and unsung in far off places. Robert Tharp, explained the horrors which the poor peasants face while undergoing through this inhuman treaty;
“No imagination is powerful enough to realize them (the horrors), the waste hopeless aspect of the unbounded stretch of snow, the intensity keen blast of wind which strikes you through the ravines above or around you are snowy peaks and summet and precipitous slopes of rocks, upon whose age sits the avalanche waiting for its prey. Through such scenes, heavily laden peasants take their way…… Slowly the conviction fastens upon them that they shall never again see their homes, far off in the sunny valley of Kashmir”.

While leaving their home to undergo such inhuman trafficking and life costing duty “the person were hanged by his wife and children, weeping, taking it almost far granted that they will never see him again”. The most shameless part of beggar was that when these peasant-labourers who had survived, reached Gilgit “they were sold as slaves to the wild inhabitants of that inhospitable region”. Many times they were exchanged with animals. People who by their good luck survived and managed to return back to their homes after such a terrible journey where physically and mentally wrecks. The element of corruption in administration was also seen in the practice of beggar as mentioned by Walter Lawrence “the officials have regarded the system of beggar as on peculiarly device to fulfill their purse”. In order to get exemption from such inhuman practice (Beggar) the villagers were forced to pay Rs 70 to 90 rupees per head.

The institution of beggar was detrimental both on humanitarian grounds and also from economic point of view. On humanitarian grounds, the system was an outrage against the dignity of vulnerable peasants as a human being, as beggar for masses was nothing but another name of demoralization and from economic prospective this system had kept villagers out of their agricultural lands and because
of this the agricultural land remained mostly uncultivated, results in worsening the economy of the masses as well as of state.

In political, economic and social conditions such as like these created by the Dogra’s, it was no wonder for a leader to stir the nationalistic and religious sentiments of the whole community against the dictatorial and oppressive rule and to challenge its legal validity to rule over its subject population, majority of which was discriminated for on the simple ground that they adhere the faith different to his/her rulers. It required, however, some intellectual and well educated people with boiling patriotic zeal and good civic sense to carry forward their message to the masses but there was none available in the absence of a modern education system, which developed in the Jammu and Kashmir only after the Britishers, intervene during the last quarter of the 18th century.

**British Intervention**

Britishers showed their interest of interfering in the internal matters of Dogra administration immediately after the rulership of state took over by the first Maharaja of Dogra regime, Maharaja Gulab Singh. The principle reason behind their intervention in the internal matters of state administration was the complaints that British government were receiving regarding the Maharaja’s “oppressive and dictatorial rule” over the people of state. In order to know the reality behind such allegations and complaints, British government sent a chain of agents to enquire into the allegations made against the Maharaja. After the completion of investigations, many a times the Maharaja of the state was cautioned by the British government that “the British government will not permit tyranny in Cashmere… and that if you will not act for yourself some other arrangement will be made for the protection of the hill
people”. A note of warning was issued to Maharaja that if such oppression in the state continued the British government would not even hesitate to intervene in the internal administration and curtail his authority. The principal aim behind such warnings issued by British government was to enable Maharaja to bring out reforms in the administration of the state and as well as to get permanent British Resident appointed in the valley. However, after much resentment from Maharaja, the seasonal British officer, with no powers of political supervision was appointed in the state to supervise the conduct of European visitors. This arrangement however continued only till 1885.

In the year 1877, an anonymous memorandum was submitted by ‘some unknown Kashmiris’ to the viceroy of India. The complaints against the gross misrule levied in it were of gravest character, and the sternest complaint made was that “Maharaja Ranbir Singh (Successor of Maharaja Gulab Singh) in order to avoid the responsibility of feeding poor masses had preferred to drown his Muslim subjects by the boat-load in the world famous Wullar Lake. These allegations made against Dogra Maharaja had been taken by British government seriously enough to appoint a commission of enquiry. However, the allegations were dismissed because of lack of any concrete evidence, as Kashmiri were too much freighted that no one among them dared to come forward to provide corroborations. Although the Maharaja was exonerated, the outrage aroused by this advertisement of the shocking condition of the valley’s Muslims called for some measure of intervention of the colonial government. Moreover, several other charges were also been made against the Maharaja’s administration. The burden of taxation had been increased further. “There were almost prohibitative duties levied on all merchandise, imported or exported”. The devastating famine of 1877-78, by which as many as one-third of the population is
estimated to have lost their lives, also prompted a serious reconsideration of the British policy of non-intervention in the administration of state. The Kashmir Durbar’s attitude during the famine had demonstrated its unwillingness to rise above the preferential treatment of its preferential subjects to the detriment of Muslim cultivators who were the greatest sufferers.

While the allegations against the Maharaja Ranbir Singh indicated mounting dissatisfaction in the Kashmir, they were also seized upon by the Viceroy to increase pressure on him to fall in line with British imperialist policies. Lord Harding’s reason of avoiding the direct responsibility of the state proved to be no longer valid. And the threat from Czarist Russia, which had expanded its Asian Empire until it bordered Afghanistan was a favorite Victorian bugbear. In 1885, soon after the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh the British government pressure to appoint permanent resident in the state further mounted. Ultimately, a permanent British Resident was appointed in the state, before Maharaja Pratap Singh took over the reins of administration. Sir Oliver John was the first British Resident in Kashmir. The British Resident besides keeping eye on the day to day administration of the state also looked after the British Interests in the state. His two decade stay in the state was followed by Plowden, Parry Nisbet and Young Husband as British Residents in Kashmir.

Immediately after the British Resident assumed his office, the British interference in the internal matters of administrations showed its signs. The administrative setup remained the first target on intervention. The ministers and officials of the state administration were weak and corrupt. They had been financially eating the state. The main stumbling block in the way of development of the state was the presence of “so may useless and mischievous Bengalis” in state administration.
The state administration was therefore in dire need of necessary reforms. The Resident Commissioner informed Government of India about the real state of affairs and as a result in 1887, the Maharaja was forced to agree “to entrust the responsibility of running the administration of state to a council”. The state council consists of Maharaja’s two brothers and the Governor of Kashmir. However, due to some internal conflicts between Maharaja and his two brothers, the council completely failed to bring out any reforms in the state administration. The entire state administration was found in a state of chaos and anarchy, as nothing was done for the benefit of masses, the only rule was that of pure selfishness. All these and other things ultimately resulted the exit of Maharaja from the administration of state, and the responsibility of running the administration of state was entrusted to a new council whose president was appointed by British government. The new council was given full powers for an indefinite period and was placed under the overall control of British Resident Commissioner. The interference of British in the internal affairs of the state was thus complete.

The British intervention through the appointment of a Resident Commissioner in the state was thought necessary to the implementation of much awaited and wide ragging reforms in the Dogra Administration. These include the introduction of a modern and salaried bureaucracy manned by qualified persons mostly of state, system of proper financial control, improvements in the financial administration, reforms in the revenue administration, developments in the communication and modern education, besides other things. These reforms were however not enough to change feudal character of the state, but were undoubtedly,
sufficient to produce a section of society who later on spearhead an anti-feudal movement to force the state to become though reluctantly, a bit mass friendly.

Impact on Governance, Economy & Education

Of all the reforms anticipated by British government the milestone endeavor of the impearlist intervention was the appointment of Settlement Commission for Kashmir, to settle down on permanent basis a uniform scheme for the payment of land revenue. Although, land settlement received a much antipathy and opposition from the urban people and landlords who were the main beneficiaries of arbitrary procedures in vogue and the control it gave them over the peasantry. But despite such opposition Sir Walter Lawrence, a British Civil Servant (Settlement Commissioner) successfully accomplished his work and much-victimized peasant, mulcted for generations, was able to pay a known, fixed amount in cash as revenue. The work on settlement before Walter Larwance had been taken by Mr. A.Wintagae two years earlier, but could not complete it in the face of much opposition and intrigue received from vocal urban population and privileged land holders .The revenue was still 30% of the gross produce, but remained too less than collected before. Perhaps the land making venture of settlement which Larwence officiated was, that the most merciless human trafficking practice in vogue “beggar” (forced labour) was abolished. Sir Walter Lawrence completed his work on Land Settlement in the year 1893. The main features of settlement as enacted by Lawrence were.

At the apex of the Walter Lawrence’s most constructive and wonderful work, Maharaja contributed his share when he wrote off against the wishes of his courtiers, arrears of land revenue amounting to Rupees 31 lakh. After settlement Mr. Walter Lawrence stated “Kashmir is now more prosperous and more fully cultivated that it
has been before………. The agriculturalist, who used to wonder from one village to another in quest of the fair treatment and security which they never found, are now settled down on their lands and permanently attached to their ancestral villages. The more serious evil of beggar has been removed and the cultivator has ample time to look after his fields.” He further stated;

“if the conditions of settlement were fully observed there will occur a great change not only in the cultivation and development of the country, but also in the character and honesty of the people”.

One more noteworthy development which marked the period of impearlist presence in the state was the modernization of means of communication, which had its far-reaching consequences on the socio-economic and socio-political life of state. The induction of the modern system of means of communication and other services “reinforced and re-oriented the bonds between the Kashmir’s people with the rest of India ….. This had for reaching effect on the shaping of the political and economic thought of the people in the valley.” The improvement in the communications of the state with rest of British India is evident from the opening of the Jehlum Valley Cart Road to wheeled traffic in 1890, which connected the Valley to the Punjab, led to a marvelous increase in trade with Punjab. For instance, in the year 1891-92, the value of imports form the Punjab into Kashmir amounted to Rs.6,616,145 and exports to Punjab to Rs.6,405,088, the total value of the trade being greater then all preceding years and exceeding that of 1889-90, the next best year, by Rs.40,734.

The British government was also keen to overhaul the whole financial system after it assumed its control in the state through the appointment of permanent Resident Commissioner. They however, fell shocked when in 1885 they come to
know that public treasury of the state of Jammu & Kashmir is empty and more surprisingly to learn “that Maharaja (had) regularly diverted the revenue of certain district to his personal account to meet his personal and family needs. The financial bankruptcy of the state was disclosed by R. Longan, who was deputed to state in the year 1890-92 to inquire about the Kashmir Darbars finances. He found that “the Maharaja’s of the Jammu & Kashmir had spent state revenue egoistically on themselves rather than on the state and for the public good of their subjects”.

The education system of the state under the patronage of colonial intervention underwent through a dramatic shift with the deposition of Maharaja Pratap Singh from the throne in 1889 and the establishment of the British Residency and State Council to direct the affairs of the state. Education became a important component of the state’s shift toward centralization and bureaucratization along with lines of British India. The first initiative to introduce modern education was made by Christian missionaries when in 1888; the Church of Scotland settled down its first branch in Jammu where it opened two schools. It also opened one high school and few primary schools in Srinagar and two schools in Anantnag; and a high school was opened in Baramulla by another missionary society called Roman Catholic Mission. The missionary initiative was promptly responded by Kashmiri Pundits, but Muslims, due to various known reasons had shown a cold shoulder in receiving the modern education. Thus, until the beginning of the twentieth century one does not find even a single Muslim boy in the Christian missionary schools. Although the need for modern education was created by the bureaucratization of administration, the state did not however, felt any urgency to promote education among its population, since it depend on importing bureaucrats from other states mostly Punjab to run its administration.
By the early twentieth century, however, the state began to present itself as the promoter of education among its subjects. School curricula in the state were reorganized along the lines of the Punjab University syllabus and affiliated to the University. The ‘1910-11 Note on Education’ pompously mentioned the existence of 2 colleges, 5 high schools, 172 primary schools 8 girl’s schools and one teacher’s training schools in the state. At this stage state was neither willing to persuade its masses about the benefits of education and nor it had made any special provision to attract the children of under poor masses by offering them some concessions. In response to the need for compulsory and free education suggested by Maharaja Pratap Singh, the Education Minister and the Inspector of schools rejected the suggestion by saying that the scheme was not feasible because the measure would be looked up on as ‘Zoolom’ (tyranny) and would, therefore, be dreaded by the uneducated parents rather than received as a boon. The arguments put forward against the implementation of free and compulsory primary education clearly reflects the communal and feudal nature of state bureaucracy.

The apathy of the Dogra administration towards the education of Muslim masses had enabled them (Muslims) that nothing could save them except their own doings and efforts. It was fully realized that the government shirks its responsibility simply because of political considerations, apprehending that education would make them (the Muslims) conscious against their exploiters. Backed by more organizationally advanced Muslim organizations of British India, particularly the Punjab, the Muslim leaders of the state began demanding that the state play a more active role in redressing the discrepancy between the educational status of the two communities of the state. In 1905, important Muslim organisation Anjuman-i-Nusrat-


ul-Islam established a school of their own under the aegis of the which after a few years was raised to a High School. However, the establishment of one single school was not enough to solve the universal problem of their education. However, by the nineteen twenties, despite the antipathy of Dogra administration the number of the Muslim students in educational institutions rose to become equal to, if not greater than the non-Muslim students, Many Muslims students passed the level of secondary standard and went to institution of British India for pursuing higher education. While in British India, these educated people gained more than just an education. They came in the contact with movements among Indian Muslims, such as one presented by the Aligarh Muslim University, the Khilafat Movement and felt the heat of Indian National Movement led by Gandhi. The modern education acquired in Indian universities made the Muslim youth conscious about their rights and power they possessed to change the character of the irresponsible Government with the support of the oppressed masses. After returning to valley infused with the fervor of new ideas and armed with academic and professional degree, these men found the Dogra administration reluctant and incapable to accommodate their needs. The state could no longer use its previous technique of pointing to the small numbers of educated Muslims to explain away their lack of representation in government service, since Kashmiri Muslims registered the highest increase in the number of literates between 1921 and 1931 of all communities in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Facing the prospect of unemployment and a seemingly rapidly disintegrating community, these highly educated discriminated youth consolidated into a leadership that would led Kashmir out of the Dogra rule. Imbued by the modern ideas, trained through exposure to plains, influenced with the prevailing system, these young men started a Reading
Room at *Fateh Kadel* which turned to be a harbinger of national consciousness in Kashmir and the first platform to the new leadership to express its feelings.

**An Outline of the Developmental Activities during Dogra Period:**

Notwithstanding the fact that Dogra dispensation was fundamental and structurally feudal and individual centered with least concern about the welfare of the subjects, some developmental activities during the period are worth some description. Though Gulab Singh’s (first Dogra Maharaja) greed for money is well known, he was as per some reports, a kind of person who would pay attention to anyone in the crowd if he held up a rupee and shouted Maharaja a petition. However there remained a psychological background behind Gulab Singh’s greed for money. He natively believed as he has spent lakhs of rupees for the purchase of Kashmir, he had to amass this capital as well as its profit within a shorter span of time. But without doubt he was a clever ruler and produced in a methodic manner. During his regime in the state, people enjoyed the first dose of peace and order after so many decades of anarchy, disorder and lawlessness and with that the conditions of people paradoxically improved to a greater extent. Despite his severe taxations, he meted out justice expeditiously and was frequently touring the state punishing corrupt and tyrannical officials. But due to certain intrigues he failed to properly establish a stable and well-ordered regime in the state. He laid the foundation of many temples in both Srinagar and Jammu and was also the founder of new town, namely Purmandal near Jammu city.

Gulab Singh was succeeded by his son Ranbir Singh. During his tenure in the state a steadily improvement in the economic conditions of the people were witnessed, though with a slow pace. It was in his tenure that the rule of law began in
the state. Almost all the laws civil, criminal which the British had introduced in the
rest of India were made applicable to the state with some modifications. The various
State administration departments were organized on the same pattern as existed in the
rest of British India. He set up three main departments namely revenue, civil and
military with clearly defined spheres of work. Judicial system was reorganized and a
penal code was drawn up on the lines of Macaulay’s code in British India. On the
same lines appeal courts were also set up both at Jammu and Srinagar and nearly 30
sub-ordinate courts functioned in the state. During the same period a slight attempt
was also made to assess the amount of land revenue at a fixed amount.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh also took various steps to promote trade and
commerce and to ensure effective communication of the state with rest of India. Many
roads and pathways were constructed. A half of Lakh of rupees was spent on repairing
the roads and paths. The construction work on cart road between Rawalpindi and
Srinagar was initiated towards the end of his rule. Similarly a path between Jammu
and Srinagar was also constructed. On the same lines, telegraph and postal service
was also instituted. In the sphere of agriculture new steps were introduced. Money
was freely spent on vines, wine making and hops. So was the case with the
development of silk industry. Silkworm seeds imported from China were distributed
among the villagers. He also introduced the cultivation of grapes and cash crops like
hops, in order to give Kashmiri farmers additional source of income.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was a patron of learning and art. His court attracted
learned men from all over the world. He established several schools, male tabs and
path sales in both Srinagar as well as in Jammu. He took personal interest in the
progress of education. He spent substantial public funds on the development of education system

In 1885 Maharaja Pratap Singh ascended the throne and ruled over the state for period of 40 years. Its was only in the regime of Maharaja Pratap Singh that some sought of modernization in the state took place and several progressive programmes were carried out. Sir Walter Lawrence carried the first assessment of land revenue system in the state on scientific lines. Several new roads were constructed. During his tenure in 1890 Srinagar was linked with Rawalpindi by the first road capable of taking wheeled traffic. The road over Banihal Pass was completed in 1905, linking the state with the rest of India. A scheme for the drainage of valley reclaiming wasteland and preventing floods by digging flood channels was put in operation. The construction of water reservoir at Harwan, a beautiful and historical place and the establishment of electricity generating plant at Mohra was also under taken during the same period. Hospitals were opened, electricity introduced and the first Municipal Act was placed on the books.

Along with building of Jhelum Valley and Banihal roads many former mud paths in the Kashmir valley were converted into roads for cart traffic. Telegraph lines originally introduced during the regime of Ranbir Singh were extended to all the towns of valley to Gilgit and Ladhak. With all this the isolation of valley with rest of the country become now only a thing of the past and people in large quantity mostly Europeans began to visit the valley. The face of the valley, its climate and beauty spread in all parts of the world and it can truly be said that the era of tourist traffic started in the right earnest of the state. With the development of tourism, a bit relief was witnessed as there was an increases demand for greater production of artistic
articles for which the valley was famous form ancient times. It also benefitted boatman, traders and waiters who worked each summer for the tourist trade.

The Hindu college, whose foundation was laid down in Srinagar by Annie Basant, a British scholar and social reformer in the year 1905, was taken over by the Maharaja government. It was later renamed as Shri Pratap College (presently one of the premier educational institutions of the Valley). In the same way, he established the Princes of Wales College in Jammu, which was also later renamed as G. M. Science College. Besides, a technical school was also started in the Srinagar. Further to ensure that there remained sufficient water in the River Jhelum, Maharaja got the Chatabal reservoir constructed. Maharaja Pratap Singh in order to improve the literacy rate among the Muslims of state took various steps. A grant in aid amounting to Rupees 3,000 was sanctioned in favour of the famous Islamic High School Srinagar. Besides, a number of other Muslim schools were recognised and were provided with sufficient funds. Maktabs and single teacher schools were also recognised and given grants. In 1916 Maharaja Pratap Singh ordered a commission to be appointed to inquire about the causes behind the backwardness of Muslims in the state and to make recommendations for the betterment of community. Accordingly a commission of inquiry under the headship of Mr. Sharp, the educational Commissioner in British India, popularly Known as sharp commission was appointed. Maharaja accepted all the recommendations made by the commission, however state officials was not honest in implementing these recommendations. This caused a lot of frustration and resentment among the Muslims.

The language of Dogra court was changed from Persian to Urdu to attract qualified people from India. But the flood of outsiders, some of whom got very
lucrative jobs, led to fractions between Kashmiris and non-Kashmiris. He died in 1925 and was succeeded by his nephew Hari Singh who began his career as a sensational law suit in London. Maharaja Hari Singh was sensitive to the changing times. On the day of his coronation, he announced several reforms; Zamindars (big farmers and major land owners) were given greater rights to the land that they held, they could not cultivate some kinds of government lands, female infanticide and early marriage were to be discouraged and more schools, hospitals and educational institutions would be opened. He later banned polyandry in Ladakh and outlawed rum (bride-price) among the Sudans of Poonch. In 1929, Maharaja Hari Singh constructed a state high court, building on what Pratap had begun.

It was during the regime of Maharaja Hari Singh that popular elements began to be associated with the government. The most important thing that a later produced far-reaching consequence on the future political history of state was the birth of various political parties and the growth of political consciousness in the state during his tenure.

It will be in place to mention here that the above cited developmental activities during the Dogra regime were not inspired by any concern for the common good, rather most of the so called developmental/reformative acts were either elite centered, or in response to the compulsions created by the colonial state. It is interesting to note that many activities negatively impacted the common people of the state. The opening of Jehlem Valley Cart road is a case in reference. The opening of the road exposed the local craftsmen to compete the machine made goods from British India and abroad without any state protection, thus most of them found themselves jobless within a short span of time. In the same manner the
bureaucratization of administration and subsequent change of official language, led to the entry of people from outside the state to fill the administrative jobs having no concern for the welfare of the natives.

Thus, in the absence of a democratic infrastructure in the state apparatus, any reformative or developmental activity appeared inconsequential and sometimes contributed to cause more miseries to the people. Modernity in some areas was in itself fractured. Although a modern looking judicial and revenue systems were introduced, the laws in itself were feudal and sectarian in character, and revenue official’s corrupt attitude left no merit in the newly introduced revenue settlements.