CHAPTER VI
DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON LOCAL ECONOMY

From the remote past, Kashmir achieved reputation for various cottage industries.\(^1\) The most important factor behind their progress was mainly her geographical environment, which compelled people to confine themselves within the four walls of their homes. They failed to provide themselves adequate means of livelihood because of their exclusive dependence on agriculture. So a considerable number of the inhabitants took up arts and crafts as their vocation during the off season but particularly urban population adopted them as their means of sustenance. Secondly, the extensive pasture lands of the country enabled the people to take up livestock-breeding as their allied profession and thereby they produced raw material for the fabrication of the woollen garments, so as to defend themselves from the severities of the cold winter.

Apart from geographical conditions, adequate care taken by various rulers of Kashmir was instrumental in the development of different arts and crafts of Kashmir. The establishment of

\(^1\) Ray, S.C. *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p.125.
Saltanat in 1339, gave a fillip to the industrial sector of Kashmir. During this period a large number of people including artisans and craftsmen arrived in Kashmir from Central Asia and Persia, which were considered, at that time, the home of arts and crafts. Secondly, her trade relations with Central Asia enabled its people to import pashmina\(^2\) from there which helped to improve the texture of the already available woollen garments of the rough indigenous fleece.

The Sultans of Kashmir in general and Zainu'l Abidin, the enlightened ruler, in particular, took keen interest in the industrial development of the country. Zainu'l Abidin not only revived some old industries but introduced some new ones.\(^3\) He was keen enough about the economic upliftment of his subjects and wanted to utilise all possible resources for raising their standard of living. For this very purpose, craftsmen were invited from Samarqand, Balkh,\(^4\) and Turkistan.\(^5\) They were provided with all the necessary facilities. It were these trained and celebrated artisans who popularized arts and crafts among the local craftsmen. The high rate of industrial development and technical perfection puzzled the people who came to Kashmir.


\(^3\) For instance the art of paper-making and book-binding of which Kashmiris were totally ignorant were introduced in Kashmir for the first time by Zainu'l Abidin. (Haidar Malik Chadura, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, p.74. (Baharistan-i-Shahi (anonymous)ff.22a-22b. Hasan, op.cit., II, pp.197-198.)


\(^5\) John Irwin, Shawls, p.2.
from time to time. Among them Mirza Haidar Dughlat, Abul Fazl, Jahangir and Bernier are worth mentioning. Reviewing the artistic development of those times Mirza Haidar Dughlat wrote, "In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are, in most cities, uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window-cutting (tabdan-turash), gold beating, etc. In the whole of Naraun-Nahr, except in Samarqand and Bokhara, these are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant. This is all due to Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin." Likewise some travellers who visited Kashmir during the period under study have all praised Kashmiris for their arts and crafts and their "deligence and unparalleled ... skill in handicraft works." This prompted some European nationals to make not only a minute and deep study of the manufacturing techniques of these arts but also made every possible effort to introduce some of them in their own countries. In fact the range of industry was very wide, an idea of which can be had from the fact that according

9. Mirza Mohammad Haidar Dughlat, Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p.434. G.M.D.Sufi assessed this industrial development in these words: "Just as Europe was in slumber when the saracens had reached the height of their glory, Northern India lacked even the elements of stable government when Kashmir was the Centre of learning and the home of arts and crafts that made it so famous in the world." (Islamic Culture in Kashmir, p.232.)
10. Lala Ganeshi Lal,op.cit., p.32.
11. The primary object of Moorcroft's visit to Kashmir in 1822-23 was to study every aspect of its shawl industry and to collect information accordingly, so as to enable those engaged in similar manufactures at paisley and Norwich to imitate successfully the shawls of Kashmir. He, in order to make British shawls supreme all over the world, thought it not only enough to naturalize shawl-goats in England. He even wrote to Mr C.M.Metcalfe (East India Company's Resident at Leelhi), to ask Ranjit Singh to allow me (Moorcroft) to take some families of Kashmiri spinners, weavers and pattern-drawers to England. (An excerpt from Moorcroft to Mr Metcalfe, the East India Company's Resident at Leelhi, written in Amritsar, 21st May 1820 (MSS. EUR. 38).
to a contemporary source, shawl industry alone employed 120,000 people and provided them means of livelihood. This perfection and industrial development do testify that arts and crafts played a role of paramount importance in the country's economy. To understand the development of shawl and other industries in their broader perspective an account of these may be found in the following pages.

Shawl Industry

Kashmir achieved a world wide name and fame for its delicate and elegant shawls from quite early times. Ghulam Nabi Khanyari is of the opinion that this lucrative industry was innovated in Kashmir by Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani.\(^\text{12}\) His statement is not substantiated by sources. However, Hindu scriptures contain several valuable references about this industry which lead us to its antiquity in Kashmir. It is said that during the epic age, shawl

\(^{12}\) There is an anecdote according to which Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani, the Shah-i-Hamadan of Kashmiris, who revolutionised the then society and culture of Kashmir, was considered to be the innovator of this very shawl industry in Kashmir. He brought with him a very little quantity of fine shawl wood of Tibet during his visit to Kashmir in 1383 and prepared a chaddari (locally woven blanket) from it and presented the name to Sultan Outubu'd-Din (1374-89) the then ruler of Kashmir. He liked it very much for its warmth and softness and ordered for the importation of pashmina from Tibet and prepared woollen garments for the royal household. One hundred and sixty seven years later Naghz Beg, an accomplished weaver from Khoqand (town in Russian Turkistan) who was in the service of Mirza Haider Dughlat (ruler of Kashmir from 1540-1550) prepared a feeble piece of pashmina and presented it to his master. He liked it very much and enquired from him what it was? His reply was "shawl" because the inhabitants of Khoqand called blanket a shawl in their language. Even today a kind of blanket manufactured in Central Asia is called by the name of "shawlki". Since that time if not earlier this woollen garment came to be known by this very name. (Khanyari, Ghulam Nabi, op.cit., f.16; Hasan, op.cit., I, pp. 354-55).
industry was well established in Kashmir because "tradition has it that when Krishna went to the Kurus as a delegate from the Pandavas, the present of Dhritarashtra to him included ten thousand shawls of Kashmir." Heerene was almost of the same opinion that the fine and soft woollen garments given in dowry by Janaka to his daughters especially to Sita were nothing but Kashmiri shawls. Martine, while praising the greatness of India as an industrial country in her historical past, states, "The gossamer muslin of Dacca, the beautiful shawls of Kashmir... adorned the proudest beauties at the Court of Caesars when the barbarians of Britain were painted savages." Likewise some recognised authorities on the subject strongly claimed Kashmir to be the birth-place of shawls. One of them was Gadgil and according to him "Shawl industry was originally confined to Kashmir." But so far as its subsequent development is concerned no authentic information is available until we reach Saltanat period.

Like many other industries, Zainu'l Abidin (1420-70) gave every possible encouragement to shawl industry and extended its market value by sending the presents of shawls to many contemporary rulers of the world. It goes to his credit to invite artists from

15. Banerjea Framathanath, A Study of Indian Economics, p.100, original from M. Martins' Indian Empire.
17. Gadgil, D.R. Industrial Evolution of India, p.34.
Central Asia to introduce, for the first time, the technique of pictorial design of loom-woven shawls. He stressed on craftsmen to study and absorb the beauty of nature so as to reproduce it in shawls. The shawls thus manufactured looked into the paintings of tree-forms and human figures. The weavers brush, of which Kashmiris were grossly ignorant, was introduced in Kashmir during his reign after being brought from Central Asia.

The Mughal rulers of India who were famous for being great lovers and patrons of art, showed extraordinary interest in the design perfection and technical improvement of this industry, with the result that shawls came to be woven not only with floral ornament of various colours and measurements but a unique innovation subsequently expressed itself in the manufacture of du-shawl (double-shawl), stitched back to back with such subtlety and fineness that it was very much difficult to discern their union with naked eye. Similarly shawl-weaving reached such a perfection and delicacy that a shawl of one and a half yard in length could be drawn twisted through a finger ring.

21. According to the statement of Moorcroft three hundred tints were in regular use during the Mughal period, but their number decreased to sixty four during the early phase of the Sikh rule in Kashmir. (Moorcroft, MSS, EUR.E 113, p.7). But Vigne, who visited Kashmir in 1835 enumerated as many as forty but according to the information contained in Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, there were only twenty four different colours in use in the year 1838. But most of them were vegetable dyes. Some of them were zamroil, gulabi, gulnar, firozi and zangari. Vigne, op.cit., II, p.127. (Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, ff.90-100, Schonberg, op.cit., II, p.132.
23. Mancucci, Niccolao, Storia do Mogor or Mogul India (tr; by William Irvine), II, p.341.
During the Mughal subjugation of Kashmir forty thousand shawl looms were in operation and India was a ready and vast market for shawls as they became an unavoidable article of luxury of the Mughal nobility and aristocracy. Bernier, who accompanied emperor Aurangzeb to Kashmir states, "But what may be considered peculiar to Kachemire, and the staple commodity which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture and which gives occupation even to the little children." 25

When the Afghans came to rule Kashmir, shawl industry received a great stimulus as they showed much liking for the shawls. The Afghan monarchs who were very fond of this stuff long before their subjugation of Kashmir, directed its governors to pay a portion of the state revenue in shawl goods. 26 The Afghan governors sent a large quantity of the fabric to Afghanistan where it was re-exported to various countries at fabulous prices. 27 It was one of the reasons that Kashmiri shawls were in great demand in Persia, Afghanistan and Russia. Forster George who visited Kashmir in 1783, wrote, "In Kashmir are seen merchants and commercial agents of most of the principal cities of Northern India, also of Tartary, Persia and Turkey, who at the same time,

27. Mohan Lal Kashmiri, Travels in the Punjab, Afghanistan and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara and Herat and a visit to Great Britain and Germany, pp. 318-19.
advance their fortunes, and enjoy the pleasure of a fine climate and a country over which are profusely spread the various beauties of nature." Haji Karim Dad Khan, the Afghan governor of Kashmir (1777-1783), realized thirteen lakhs of rupees exclusively from shawl industry as yearly income.  

The chief contribution of the Afghans with regard to the development of shawl industry was that they established shawl trade with Europe, which gave a tremendous boost to this industry. But the condition of shawl weavers was much miserable and pitiable. To quote Mir Izzatullah, "The shawl weavers are in a most poverty-striken condition, and receive only from two to four pice (paisa) daily as wages; their employers on the other hand, who find them in wool and silk, paying their daily wages, are very wealthy." The main reason for this was that Afghans fleeced the

29. Birbal Kachru, op.cit., f.258. But according to the Census of 1921, government derived only four lakh rupees annually(p.180).
30. During the governorship of Abdullah Khan (1796), Saiyid Yahya a blind man paid a visit to Kashmir from Egypt. On his return the said governor presented him an orange coloured shawl and he presented it to the then Khedive of Egypt. The shawl finally passed to the emperor Napoleon Bonaparte at the time of his Egyptian campaign Napoleon offered it to his empress Josephine and from that time Kashmiri shawls became a fashionable piece of dress first in France and then all over Europe (Hasan, op.cit., I, pp.359-60).
31. During Afghan regime sixteen thousand looms were manufacturing shawls. (Forster George, op.cit., II, p.22).
But according to the estimation of Birbal Kachru the number of shawl looms reached twenty thousand. Majma'u't-Tawarikh, f. 276a.
32. Mir Izzatullah, op.cit., p.4.
weavers through the department of Dagh Shawl and when the torture became unbearable for them, they migrated to other parts of India.

As the Afghan governors earned enormous profits from this industry, they always tried to maintain cordial relations with shawl wool producing countries of Central Asia. It would not be without interest to quote the actual words of Mir Izzatullah who visited Kashmir in 1612-13, about this historical reality. "The ruler of Cashmere (governor Azim Khan 1813-19) is careful not to make any hostile demonstration against Tibet form fear of the loss of revenue he would suffer from any disturbance of the trade in shawl wool which would cause the stoppage of the manufacture of shawls and deprive him of the yearly revenue of ten lakhs of rupees that he derives from this source."35

The Amlikar-shawl, which was introduced in 1803 and was ornamented entirely with the needle on a plain woven stuff, was

33. This department was one of the Afghan innovations and its function was to collect the taxes imposed on Shawl manufacturers and their employees. In addition to this, one could neither sell nor export a piece of shawl which did not bear the stamp of this department. In short it enjoyed absolute authority on the sale of shawls and the purchase of raw material required for them. (Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit.,p.33. Hasan, op.cit., l, pp.36-37).
34. Moorcroft, op.cit., I, pp.100-111.
one of the important innovations of the Afghans. The Kani-shawl (loom woven shawl), which was a great source of income to the state government and shawl karkhanadars (factory owners), lost its ground to Amlikar-shawl as the cost of production and capital investment on the latter was comparatively less. In addition to enormous savings in production costs and time, Amlikar-shawls escaped at the beginning the government duty levied on the traditional Kani-shawls which in 1823 amounted to 26 per cent of the estimated value of the shawl. But in 1803, the number of embroidery workers, darners with the required necessary skill for the art was very limited. However, this branch of shawl industry progressed rapidly and the number of embroiders reached five thousand as many of them have been drawn from the ranks of jagirdars who were dispossessed of their landed property and reduced to beggary by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

36. It is believed that embroidered shawls were introduced at the instance of an Armenian named Khawaja Yusuf with the help of a native darter Ali Baba. He had been deputed to Kashmir in 1803 as the agent of a Constantinople trading firm (John Irwin, Shaws, p.3). But it is surprising to know how a merchant, ignorant of the process of shawl manufacturing could have invented the needle work shawl. There is possibility that the said merchant would have been helpful to Kashmirian artists in acquainting them with the changing taste of foreign markets. So the invention of Amlikar-shawls, was the outcome of creative genius of Kashmiri craftsmen and not of the foreigner as claimed by Moorcroft. Thus to attribute this innovation of needlework shawls to a foreign merchant is to under estimate the creative thinking of Kashmiri talented craftsmen and to underrate true characteristic of their industry as dynamic craft adaptable to changing conditions.

37. See infra, p.
With the passage of time artists evolved an improved method of art which expressed itself in landscape romantic scenes, human figures, legends and victories. It enhanced the popularity of Amlikar-shawls and aroused strong feelings and emotions in monarchs, queens, nobles, etc. Mohan Lal Kashmiri the 19th century traveller, while passing through Persia came to know that Abas Mirza, prince of that country was eagerly aspiring to conquer Kashmir mainly for its embroidered shawls. Maharaja Ranjit Singh not only decorated his Darbar with needle worked shawls but ordered for two more much shawls depicting his victories in richest embroidery. One of these shawls alone involved the manufactured cost to five thousand rupees excluding the government duties. A French national, Mr Ventura, the military general of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, took active interest in the shawl trade and sent his agent to Kashmir to purchase embroidered shawls in conformity with the taste of French market.

The shawl industry in point of production reached its peak both qualitatively as well quantitatively during the early period of the Sikh rule. The total volume of the shawl production in

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41. Vigne, op.cit., II, p.124. In the Srinagar Museum there is an Amlikar-shawl (scaraf of 1840), which contains in addition to Persian poems, figures of animals, birds, men and women.
42. Mohan Lal, op.cit., p.XVI
43. Ibid.
46.
terms of money reached thirty five lakhs of rupees in the year 1822-23.\textsuperscript{46} The factory owners who amassed handsome fortunes turned so affluent and luxuries that "they poured milk instead of water in their hubble-bubbles."

But the non-availability of raw material and natural calamities such as epidemics, earthquakes and famines (especially during the year 1832-33), gave such a terrible setback to this industry that its revival was thought to be impossible.\textsuperscript{48} Most of the craftsmen including the shawl-weavers fled to different parts of India due to acute scarcity of food-grains.\textsuperscript{49} With the result that "large firms had become bankrupt, and thousands of people who derived their income from the shawl trade had no business to pursue."\textsuperscript{50} Shii-Sunni riots were also responsible for the decadence of this industry. Most of the weavers were Shiis who in order to get rid of these sectarian feuds left the valley.\textsuperscript{51}

The conquest of Ladakh, the chief entrepot of shawl wool, by Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1834, had adverse effect on the shawl

\begin{enumerate}
\item Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.194. In the year 1835, shawl industry manufactured 1200 Jamwars and 3000 thousand shawls and scarfs (Hugel, Kashmir, p.11.)
\item Hasan, op.cit., I, p.360.
\item Birbal Kachru, op.cit., ff. 274a-276a.
\item Ibid.
\item Latif,S.M., op.cit., p.464.
\item Birbal Kachru, op.cit., ff. 255b-256a.
\end{enumerate}
industry. He directed a considerable quantity of shawl wool to Jammu via Vardwan and Kishtwar, which adversely affected the shawl industry of Kashmir. Lastly the price of shawl wool which was Rs 25 per 
\textit{truk} (six seers) in 1817, reached Rs 40 in 1822-23, partly due to an epidemic disease among the wool bearing cattle and partly its rising demand from British India.\textsuperscript{53} The industry suffered great loss and the condition of already impoverished shawl weavers further deteriorated and their position was no better than beggars.\textsuperscript{54}

However governor Colonel Mian Singh (1834-41), attempted to give a fresh lease of life to this sagging industry. He informed Ranjit Singh, who highly patronized this industry, of the grave consequences of Gulab Singh's policy by writing "that the shawl wool was going from Tibet to Jammu and, on account of the inattention of the Maharaja, Kashmir had become absolutely deserted and its affairs had gone from bad to worse."\textsuperscript{55} Gulab Singh was compelled by Maharaja Ranjit Singh to restore the supply

\begin{footnotes}
\item[53] Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.167.
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Like Kabul monarchs, Maharaja Ranjit Singh also used to receive a great portion of the revenue of Kashmir in the shape of excellent garments of \textit{pashmina} stuff. When in 1828, Jiwan Kirpra Ram was appointed governor of Kashmir, its revenue assigned to him was of a value of forty lakhs of rupees on the basis of \textit{Ijarah}. Out of this amount of money, he had to pay twenty six lakhs in cash and the rest in the shape of shawl goods.
of shawl wool to Kashmir, when the latter realized the adverse effects of the former's policy on the said industry. It is also said that Mehan Singh instigated Ladakhis to rise in revolt against Dogra domination. Thus under these circumstances no other alternative was left with Gulab Singh but to allow shawl wool to go to Kashmir without any hindrance. Mehan Singh also fixed the wages of the shawl-weavers, mitigated middle man's charges and abolished, for the time being, other taxes. He not only provided them sufficient food stuffs but also loans both in cash and kind. By these inducements he helped to raise the morale of shawl-weavers and those who had left Kashmir returned once again. Some of these emigrants who had settled down in Ludhiana on the Sutlej, were provided every facility of life by the East India Company. But when these home-sick Kashmiris came to know that things had changed for the better in Kashmir, they returned quickly to their motherland. They were not swayed by the facilities and inducement offered to them by the British authorities, as pointed out by Schonberg: "Many efforts have been made to induce them to form colonies, away from the valley in

58. According to Birbal Kachru, "food-grains were available everywhere on cheap rates. For instance, one seer of rice cost 1/2 misqal and a kharwar of paddy cost one rupee. Other cereals were so much in abundance that even their right satisfied the stomach." Birbal Kachru, op.cit., p.267b.
60. Birbal Kachru, op.cit., f.268.
which they were born, but, rather than break that mysterious tie, that filial bond which bind them to "Fatherland," they endure oppression and injustice, they toil, and are unpaid, but they still behold the blue sky reflected in their own unfilled lake, they inhale the balmy air, cooled and purified in its passage over the snow-topped mountains. Their oppressors cannot deprive them of these enjoyments, and they live on, slaves in their native land, unallured by the temptations held out to them to settle elsewhere."  

The industry once again started to progress and 4200 shawl looms instead of 2200 started working in full swing. The appreciable progress that the industry made can be judged by the fact that in 1835-37 revenue realised by the government from this industry amounted to 12 lakhs of rupees which was equivalent to 35% of the total revenue of Kashmir. However, it is to be noted that the industry did not achieve the same progress as it had witnessed in the initial days of the period under study, because the government continued to levy heavy taxes on shawls at the

   But Khanyari, Ghulam Nabi, the author of Wajeezu'l-Tawarikh writes that 102200 shawl looms were manufacturing shawls during the governorship of Colonel Mehan Singh (f.60) Miskeen Mohiu'd-Din gives the same statistical figures of the shawl looms manufacturing shawls during his tenure of governorship. (Tarikh-i-Kabeer, II, ff.103a-b).
63. Major Leech's Statement, For.Sec.Cons. (C) 18 Nov,1843,Nos.13-17
64. Hugel, Kashmir and the Punjab, p.167.
various stages of production and distribution. Lala Ganeshi Lal, who visited Kashmir in 1646, was pained to see the adverse effects of this policy of the Sikh rulers and remarked "The heavy taxes levied by the government are the greatest drawback on the trade having a tendency daily to thin the number of the workmen in the country." With the result, the shawl industry, a chief source of income to the government and means of subsistence to the bulk of the population, was weighed down by the heavy and capricious taxation.

**Economic Value of Shawl Industry**

As already pointed out that during the Sikh rule, shawl trade was established with Europe and the demand for Kashmiri shawls increased greatly. Thus the industry directly or indirectly provided employment to thousands of men, women and children of Kashmir.

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65. Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.33.
66. Those Europeans who visited the Sikh dominion from 1619 to 1846 received Kashmiri shawls as presents. Victor Jacquemont writes, "I am truly ashamed of the enormous bale of Cashmere shawls with which my baggage has been increased during the last seven months; though if my money should happen to run short during the remainder of my journey, they would prove an important source. If I should like to be able to take them with me to Europe, with my animals, plants and minerals; they would serve as presents which I should like to make to the wives of my friends." (Victor Jacquemont, op.cit., II,p.173)
From 1828 onwards, a brisk trade had been carried on between France and Kashmir, thus bringing enormous amounts of wealth to the government as well as to karkhanadars. This international demand of Kashmiri shawls shot up the price of an embroidered (Amlikar) shawl from Rs 150 to Rs 5000.

So the principal item of import which directly affected the economy of Kashmir was shawl wool, required for the manufacture of shawls. Upon it depended not only the livelihood of its weavers and the prosperity of trading merchants but government also earned large revenue from its import duty.

Shawl wool was derived both from domesticated as well as wild animals. The under fleece of wild animals, famous for its extreme fineness, was better known as slitus. It was collected from the rocks and shrubs against which the animals rubbed themselves at the approach of summer months.

Formerly its supply used to come from western provinces of Lhasa and Ladakh. But due to an epidemic disease which visited

68. Forster George, op.cit., II, p.18. During the Afghan rule the price of an embroidered shawl did not go beyond Rs 150.
70. Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.166.
71. John Irwin, Shawls, p.5.

By an ancient agreement, shawl wool of Tibet was exported to Ladakh and from the latter country, its export was confined to Kashmir only. Any attempt at its exportation to other countries was punished by confiscation (Moorcroft, op.cit., I, p.347).

To quote Dr. Gerard "The silky fleece of a species of goats that pastured on the plains of Tibet from which the magnificent shawl tissues are constructed that supply the whole world, is exclusively an export of that state (Ladakh) while Kashmere has an equal individuality in its favour, as beyond the limits of that beautiful valley, the softness of the fabric ceases." (Surgeon Gerard's note dated 15 Oct., 1833; For. Sec. Cons. 30 May 1833, No. 6).
the wool bearing cattle of these provinces, it was later on imported from the neighbourhood of Yarkand and Khotan. In 1822-23, the total quantity of the shawl wool imported varied between five hundred and one thousand horse-loads, each weighing 300 lbs. The expenses of transport from Ladakh to Kashmir was, per horse-load, thirty three rupees; the duties collected at various places, both in Ladakh and Kashmir, amounted to ninety five rupees. The merchants of Central Asia brought it here and exchanged it for manufactured shawls and paddy. But shawl wool of wild animals was imported in small proportions, in comparison with the shawl wool of domesticated animals, because of its scarcity, the high import duty and the greater time it required for cleaning and spinning. In 1822-23, the total import of aslitis did not exceed 1200 lbs and throughout the valley only two looms were exclusively specialised in the weaving of pure aslitis.

It is interesting to note that the Sikh Government for the first time assumed the monopoly right over the shawl wool transaction. So in order to prevent the smuggling of shawl wool into Kashmir, government established a thana at Gagangir, on the road which linked Kashmir with the shawl wool producing countries of Central Asia. To quote Vigne, "When it (shawl wool) arrives in

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73. Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.166.
74. Ibid. During the Afghan regime eight hundred horse-loads of shawl wool, each weighing 25 trunks, were exported from Central Asia to Kashmir. (Mir Izzatullah, op.cit., p.4).
75. Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.166.
76. Ibid.
77. Hugel, Kashmir, p.
78. Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.166.
Kashmir the governor (Mehan Singh 1634-41) takes possession of it, and sells it again to merchants, at 20 per cent profit.  

But from 1843, onwards government entered into the field of shawl production and assumed the virtual monopoly of the shawl trade. The motivating force of the government behind this policy was the betterment of the groaning shawl industry and also to provide some sort of relief to the dejected karkhanadars and their shawl-weavers. To fulfil this aim, government increased the price of shawls by one quarter over the prevailing market rates. With the result all the manufactured shawls were to be purchased by the government and then the latter sold them to the merchants. This policy also directly benefited the government because when the prices of the shawls shot up, taxes were levied according to the increased rates from the shawl manufacturers.

Karkhanadars (Factory owners)

Two classes of shawl karkhanadars were prevalent in Kashmir during the period under study. One of them was known as Nukdee-karkhanadars. Nukdee-karkhanadars were possessors of sufficient

82. Schonberg, op.cit., II, p.31.
84. Saifu'd-Din Diaries, Vol.I, p.3.
85. Lahore Political Diaries, VI, p.64.
resources and property. They started a factory of their own and opened shawl looms according to their means. Some of them laid out ten, or twenty, while others hundred looms. They supplied the material, paid the wages to shawl weavers and government dues from their own pockets. They manufactured Amlikan shawls of different patterns and colours.

In 1846, the total number of these karkhanadars was 3500 and government derived an income of rupees 607500 as baj (poll-tax) from the shawl weavers and rupees 5082 as the cost of grains supplied to them. These karkhanadars were either Afghans or Bengalis, but the latter were the nominees of rich Kashmiri Pandits.

The other class of karkhanadars comprised those who had no capital of their own to invest and therefore depended upon the government or third party for money. Their number did not exceed 200 in 1846 and government earned rupees 200000 from them as tax.

The karkhanadars were allowed to manufacture shawls according to the prescribed rules and regulation as were laid down in Ain-i-Mahal-i-Daghshawl. When they prepared a shawl, the Larogh-i-

86. Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.34.
87. They manufactured shawls of different patterns such as du-shawl-i-dhourdar, du-shawl-i-paladar, du-shawl-i-hashidar, du-shawl-i-butadar, jama-war-i-butadar, alwan-i-zinjirdar, qusab-i-jaldar (scraf) etc; The words like dhour, pala, hashia, buta, zinjir and jaldar were the ornament of shawls distinguished by different names. For instance du-shawl-i-dhourdar was the shawl having ornament running all round the shawl between the border and the field. (Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, ff.90-104, Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.35.
88. These shawls were of different colours such as gulnar, zangari, firozi, etc; (Ibid.)
89. Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.34.
91. Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.34.
92. Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, ff.90-104.
Dagh Shawl was informed and no body dared remove a shawl from the loom except in his presence. Whosoever tried to deceive the government was imprisoned and punished severely. Then the manufactured shawl was carried to the Kacherya-i-Dagh Shawl (custom-house), stamped and priced thereupon by the government agents appointed for the purpose. In 1822-23, government collected twenty six per cent of the estimated value of the shawl, as a tax from the karkhanadars. But after the disastrous famine of 1832-33, it was reduced to twenty five per cent, mainly to give some sort of relief to the famine striken karkhanadars. However, it was enhanced to forty per cent in 1838 when the devastated economy of Kashmir was stabilised and remained unaltered till the eclipse of Sikh rule in Kashmir. But it is to be noted that it also included the tax known as mahlatana, which was charged at the rate of two per cent on the cost price of the shawl including manufacturing tax. For instance in 1838, an embroidered du-shawl with buta-i-kalan and dhourdar floral ornaments was priced at eight

94. Ibid.
97. Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, ff. 90-104.
98. Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.34.
99. The two months cessation (mahlat) allowed to the karkhanadars, for making good the yearly poll tax of the shawl-weavers working in his karkhana was mahlat. It can be explained like this that the completion of the payment of the baj of the year was realized in the 14th month.
100. Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, ff.90-104.
hundred and fifty rupees, a surcharge of three hundred and forty rupees, was levied by the government as manufacturing tax, according to the regulations of Dagh Shawl Department. In addition to this another twenty four rupees were charged on the enhanced price and credited to government on account of mahlatana. Thereby the factory price of the said shawl amounted to one thousand, two hundred and fourteen rupees.¹⁰¹

The karkhanadars who were short of funds used to borrow money from money-lenders or merchants at the high rate of interest as they had to pay the government levies in advance. The latter who came to be known as khwurdi,¹⁰² affiliated himself with this lucrative shawl industry and became the share-holder in its earnings.

Taxation Policy and the Shawl-weavers

The Afghans had monopolised the sale of grains and saffron and they used to sell it at higher than market rates to the masses against their wishes. Thus the loss that this system caused to the people was much ruinous and destructive. Afghan governor,

¹⁰¹ Ibid., f.94b.
¹⁰² Khwurdi was a system by which a karkhanadar was enabled to dispose of his manufactured shawl, by receiving in advance the amount of tax payable to the government, from a merchant or third party, who retained the piece of the work as security. When the shawl was sold, he received his money from the manufacturer, together with a certain portion of Chautyana.
Haji Karimdad Khan (1776-83), realised the adverse effects of this iniquitous grain monopoly and therefore, demonopolised it. So to compensate this monetary deficiency, imposed tax on the shawl industry at the rate of an anna per rupee of the assessed price of the pashmina stuff.\textsuperscript{104} For the realization of this newly levied tax, created a new Department known as Dagh Shawl and appointed Darogh as its chief administrative officer. Governor Azim Khan (1813-19), went a step further and provided ten kharwars of paddy per shawl loom for the facility of shawl weavers.\textsuperscript{105} The price of the paddy was recovered from the wages of the shawl weavers from the karkhanadars after the sale of production.

During the early period of the Sikh rule the duty on shawls was taken "according to the number made and stamped in the year at the rate of 3 annas in the rupee, every hundred rupees being first reckoned arbitrarily at 144. Besides these two duties there were many others, such as chuttianah, russoom dewanee, hakamee, nuzzuranah, etc."\textsuperscript{106} But when it is calculated in per centage it becomes 18.75 per cent and it reached 40 per cent in 1838, as has already been pointed out.

But in 1836, during the governorship of Mehan Singh(1834-41) a new tax known as baj (poll-tax) was imposed on the shawl-weavers.

\textsuperscript{104} Birbal Kachru, op.cit., f.220a.
\textsuperscript{105} Hasan, op.cit., I, p.362.
\textsuperscript{106} Lahore Political Diaries, op.cit., II, p.44.
It amounted to ninety six rupees and was charged from each shawl loom having three weavers. But in 1838, every shawl loom was reduced to two men and a half i.e. two men and a minor and was required to pay one hundred and twenty rupees. In addition to this, every shop was provided with a quantity of twenty kharwars of paddy at the rate of two rupees per kharwar and another five kharwars were sold to the weavers at the actual market rate of one rupee and eleven annas. This system of furnishing paddy to shawl weavers came to be known as qusur-i-shali.

During the governorship of Sheikh Ghulam Mohiu'd-Din (1841-46) both the baj and qusur-i-shali were increased to one hundred and seventeen rupees and twenty seven kharwars of paddy and a half respectively. Out of this quantity of paddy, twenty kharwars were sold at the rate of two rupees and three annas per kharwar, five kharwars at the rate of one rupee and eleven annas and the rest for one rupee and thirteen annas per kharwar. However in 1845, all the twenty seven and a half kharwar of paddy were disposed of at the uniform rate of two rupees per kharwar but the rate of taxation was increased to one hundred and twenty three rupees. These twenty seven and half kharwar of grains, which were provided

107. Lahore Political Diaries, VI, p.45.
108. Ibid.
110. Lahore Political Diaries, VI, p.45. Safu'd-Din Diaries, I,p.3.
111. Lahore Political Diaries, VI, p.45. Miskeen Mohiuddin, op.cit., II, ff.103a-b.
112. But due to pestilence, the rate of taxation was reduced to one hundred and twenty rupees in the very same year. (Ibid.)
by the government, consisted by three kharwars of water-nuts, five of old grains and the rest of fresh stock of good grains.  

During the governorship of Shaikh Imamuddin (1846) the last Sikh governor of Kashmir, a sum of one hundred forty eight rupees and two annas were imposed on each shawl loom having two and a half labourer.  

The baj was realized from the factory owners. But forty rupees for the twenty kharwars of paddy were recovered from the shawl-weavers, who, of course, received their proportionate amount of grains. Thus taking into consideration the manner in which the factory owners and weavers were taxed and provisions sold to them, one agrees without objection with the opinion of Schonberg, who remarked "I have no hesitation in saying that two shawls sold for some hundreds, do not cost the seller more than a few rupees worth of Singara."  

Before the imposition of baj, shawl weavers were free to  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poll-tax of shawl-weaver</th>
<th>Cost of the quaşur-i-shali</th>
<th>Customary dues</th>
<th>Total shoptax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One hundred and seventeen rupees</td>
<td>A load consisting of twenty five kharwars of paddy, bazar rate of which was one rupee per kharwar, was charged at the rate of two rupees and two annas. Then there were surcharge to make up the loss of twenty eight rupees and two annas on the load of kharwars.</td>
<td>Three rupees</td>
<td>One hundred and forty eight rupees &amp; two annas</td>
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</table>

113. Lahore Political Diaries, VI, p.45.  
114. Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.33.  
115. Lahore Political Diaries, VI, p.45.  
work wherever they liked or as they liked. But now, karkhanadars were bound to pay the tax imposed on shawl weavers to the government whether they worked or did not for their employers. Now it became obligatory for the government to bind them by law to work for their respective masters, so that they did not suffer by their running away or going to work for others. Secondly, karkhanadars complained before the State government that as soon as the newly inducted weavers learnt their work and some trade secrets of their employers, then every effort was made by their masters' rival to secure their services. Now the regulation, under which weavers were constrained to serve only their respective masters with whom they had been working from the very first day of their distribution, was known as qaid or bandi.

It was a sort of bonded labour. Like serfs who were tied to the land and could not leave the land on their own, similarly the weavers were tied to work in the factory of a factory owner. They were neither free to change their master nor were allowed to leave the profession without providing substitutes. They were forced to work day and night and strictly watched to prevent their emigration. However, it had been customary to provide them each Friday as general holiday with the purpose of offering

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117. Lahore Political Diaries, VI, p.47.
118. Ibid., p.106.
prayers. Karkhanadars paid them very low wages as they had to pay taxes to the government which were quite heavy. The regulation, which was enforced with great severity, badly told upon the condition of the weavers. The weavers were so much tied by the unsympathetic and untold atrocities of their master that during Sheikh Ghulam Mohiu'd-Din's governorship (1834-41) twenty two of them chopped off their fingers so as to escape from this bondaged labour.

Secondly, paddy was not given directly to karkhanadars but orders were issued to the kardars, who often exacted something more per kharwar and it "not unfrequently happened that the karkhanadar failed altogether in getting the grain, though he had paid government double the bazar nerrikh (rates) for it, which was always one rupee per kharwar."

Like every tide had its ebb, so the tyrannies of shawl-weavers came to an end. Sheikh Imamu'd-Din (1846) the last Sikh governor, swerved from the practice of his predecessor Sikh governors, when he lifted the bandi and restored the liberty of the bonded shawl weavers. He even ordered the karkhanadars to increase their wages and pay one-third of the price of the grain.

120. Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, ff. 90-104.
123. Lahore Political Diaries, VI, p.48.
124. Ibid.
grains supplied to them by government.⁸²⁵ In short, they took a sigh of relief, when they were relieved of the atrocities inflicted upon them from quite early times.

Condition of Shawl Weavers

During the first phase of Sikh rule, shawls were manufactured under four different systems. Moorcroft has classified them as, work, for wages, upon contract, on partnership basis and on the equal distribution of proceeds.⁸²⁶ Under the first system shawl-weavers were absolutely dependent on the factory-owners, as they paid them money in advance and bought their entire output. As a result the workmen were highly indebted to their employers and consequently turned to be their bondslaves and serfs.⁸²⁷

Under the second system the karkhanadars provided everything required for the manufacture of shawl. The wages of shawl-weavers were reckoned on the basis of the number of the sticks, they worked in the wool and warp. So the wages of the workmen depended upon the skill and expertise they displayed in their work. Some expert shawl-weavers even worked fifty thousand times the stick up and down in a day. Under this system the daily wages of the shawl-weavers generally ranged from two to six annas in 1846.⁸²⁸

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⁸²⁵ Hasan, op.cit., I, p.364.
⁸²⁶ Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.178.
⁸²⁷ Ibid.
⁸²⁸ Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.38.
Under the partnership basis system the karkhanadars procured the raw material necessary for the fabrication of the shawls and the weavers sold their labour. When shawls were prepared and sold, the outlay of the karkhanadar was deducted from the price and from the remainder, one-fifth went to him and the rest to the weavers. \(^{129}\)

Under the fourth system, which was based on equal distribution of the proceeds, the karkhanadar did not only furnish raw materials but also fed the workmen. \(^{130}\)

The shawl weavers were in most abject condition as they were heavily taxed compared to other workmen. \(^{131}\) Secondly, they were provided with provisions at rates which were higher than the prevailing market rates. \(^{132}\) Without the subsidiary earnings of their wives and children, they were not in a position to support their families. To quote Schonberg, "the poverty of the family must be extreme, for which reason the children are set to work almost as soon as they are able to use their limbs. The son, at five years of age, enters on the business of weaving, and his wages are proportioned to his baby exertions. As he advances in growth and skill, his pay is raised, subject to the usual taxation; and thus another human being enters on a career of wretchedness and rears children, who in turn, became heirs to his misery." \(^{133}\)

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130. Ibid., p. 179.
131. For. Sec. Con. 18 Nov. 1843, Nos. 13-17.
Likewise the contemporary sources speak vehemently about the unhygienic condition of shawl karkhanas. According to Moorcroft, who visited Kashmir in 1822-23, fifty shawl looms were housed in a single dwelling.\(^{134}\) We know it well that two and a half men were engaged with a loom. So it can be estimated that one hundred and twenty five weavers were huddled together in a small workshop which "was so dirty as to poison a dog."\(^{135}\) The shawl-karkhanas were small, narrow and ill-ventilated, and never heated in the winter lest dust or smoke might injure the shawl stuff.\(^{136}\) In 1835, Hugel visited one of the shawl-karkhanas, which he found in absolute wretched condition. He witnessed sixteen workmen huddled together at work in a small room of a workshop.\(^{137}\)

Decline of Shawl Industry

The shawl industry reached its zenith during the first phase (1819-1831) of the Sikh rule and proved to be a great source of sustenance to a considerable number of populace. But by the end of 1870, it declined to such an extent that it was considered, a tradition - a memory of the past.\(^{138}\) Since the disintegration of the Mughal rule in Kashmir, many factors had been working against its development and the only factor that had helped in

\(^{134}\) Moorcroft (MS) vide John Irwin's, Marg, VII, March 1955, p.126.
\(^{135}\) Wakefield, The Happy Valley, p.146.
\(^{136}\) Hugel, op.cit., p.120.
\(^{137}\) Ibid.
\(^{138}\) Lawrence, op.cit., p.375.
its survival was the increasing demand of Kashmir shawls in the foreign markets.

One of the principal causes responsible for its decline was the attitude of the 18th and 19th century rulers towards their ruled. The people of Kashmir particularly shawl-weavers became dejected and desperate because of the Afghan oppression and atrocities and consequently their psychological disturbances did not allow them to be zealously attached with arts and crafts.

Secondly, the shawl-merchants of the different quarters of the world were tortured and plundered mercilessly of their belongings on their way from valley to Hindustan (India). Likewise, to quote Moorcroft "Political events had largely reduced the trade with Persia, Turkey and the Punjab, and that with Hindustan had sustained much detriment from the prevalence of British rule, and the loss of wealth by native Courts, in which costly shawls were formerly a principal article of attire."  

These factors manifested themselves in the decrease in the number of the shawl looms. During the Mughal rule forty thousand looms were manufacturing shawls but these decreased to twenty two thousand during the Afghan domination of Kashmir and finally

139. George Forster, op.cit., II, p.73.
reached four thousand and two hundred during the Sikh rule. Similarly, the quantity of imported shawl wool decreased considerably. The Mughals imported fifteen thousand horse-loads annually but it did not exceed eight hundred horse-loads under the Afghans. Evidently this tremendous decrease in the number of the shawl looms and quantity of shawl wool imports speak of the declining position of the industry.

In 1819, when Sikhs became the masters of Kashmir, conditions further deteriorated, as the people were heavily oppressed and taxed under their despotic and capricious subjugation. The short-sighted Sikh governors with rapacity had so completely wrung capital from the merchants and manufacturers that they were destitutes of means to carry on the process of production. Moorcroft states "Ranjeet Singh slackens not his impositions, but rackrents the unfortunate Cashmerians to the last farthing he can extort. Rapacious as were the Duranis, they were irregular in their oppression and many escaped through a careless scrutiny, mixed with something like feeling; but the raja (Maharaja Ranjit Singh) is a systematic grinder, oppressing most mechanically."

The Sikh oppression and natural calamities compelled a

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143. Mr Izzatullah, op. cit., p. 12.
sizeable number of shawl weavers to abandon their homeland to seek sustenance in other parts of the world. Vigne, while traversing through Kishtwar and Badhrawah observed that "A great portion of the population of all these mountain towns are Kashmirians, who have fled hither to avoid the exactions of the Sikh governors of their native country." Similarly, Lala Ganeshi Lal who visited Kashmir in 1846, remarked, "Lodah, a town of the Kishtwar District, consisting of about 100 shops of the Mohammedan Kashmiris and a few of the Hindus, all speaking the Kashmiri language. Many of them manufactured shawls." Many of them settled down in various parts of Punjab. Maharaja Ranjit Singh kept a strict watch on their movement so that none of them could return to Kashmir. But at the same time, he offered them, every facility and encouragement to establish shawl industry at Amritsar. As a result, the shawls prepared there, offered a severe competition to Kashmiri shawls. In this way Amritsar not only proved a great rival of Kashmiri shawls but also turned to be fatal for its reputation achieved for beautiful shawls. The weavers at Amritsar utilised inferior raw material with poor workmanship, but sold the products under the cover of genuine Kashmiri shawls. The French Agents who formerly used to purchase shawls only from

147. Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.41.
Kashmir now turned to Amritsar where they purchased shawls at cheap rates.\textsuperscript{148}

Another reason which contributed to the downfall of this industry was the change in the customs and habits of the people of India.\textsuperscript{149} From quite earlier times the tradition of giving and receiving presents was an endless process among the natives of India. Every audience used to honour every great man with the presentation of a shawl as khilat. The greater the status of the recipient, the more beautiful and costly, was the present. But this system underwent a drastic change, as the government of the East India Company issued orders to all its civil and military officials not to accept the presents.\textsuperscript{150} Thus this change in custom affected adversely the demand for Kashmiri shawls. This need hardly be emphasised.

\textsuperscript{148} Schonberg, op.cit., II, p.137.

It would not be out of place to mention that the shawls of Kashmir had never been equalled by the colonies of Kashmiri shawl-weavers, who had settled down in the Punjab and other parts of India. (Hugel, Kashmir, pp.14-15.) The reason why the shawls manufactured in Kashmir were soft and pure in thread than those woven at Amritsar, Nipper, Ludhiana, is an inexplicable mystery. They were the same people who spun the thread, the same material for colouring was used and the same patterns were copied but the shawls prepared in these colonies were coarse and seemed to be old. Vigne and many contemporary writers attributed the fineness of Kashmiri shawl to water of the valley. Definitely there is something peculiar in the nature of the air and the water of Kashmir which communicated softness to the shawl stuff and also lent brightness and purity in dyeing to its thread. Likewise the process of shawl washing was quite an art itself and was always better done in Kashmir. These factors contributed a lot to the softness of the shawls. Presumably the heat and dust of India would have contributed to make the colour of the shawls produced there dull which must have also lost its freshness (Vigne, op.cit., II, p.130; Lasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, f.18 Baden Powell, Handbook of the Economic Products of Punjab, p.35)

\textsuperscript{149} Hugel, Kashmir, pp.13-14.

\textsuperscript{150} Ibid. But Punjab retained this custom as it did not fall within the territorial jurisdiction of the said Company.
Another cause responsible for the decline of the industry was the dishonesty of the shawl merchant. When the shawl production of Kashmir failed to cater to the demand of Europe, the merchant started to export second-hand shawls. These disfigured shawls were purchased at normal rates but then sold at the rates fixed for new ones. No doubt for sometime these unfair business tactics remained hidden from the customers but later on earned a bad name to the industry.

The foreign competition of Kashmiri shawl from the second quarter of the 19th century proved a decisive factor in the decline of shawl industry. The ruling East India Company, was very eager to shift the industry, from Kashmir to Paisley, left no stone un-turned to do so. Kashmiri shawls were sent to England as specimens and the Scottish weavers at Faisley imitated them successfully. Now they started to manufacture their own machine-made shawls on Kashmiri designs with advanced production techniques. With the result that the demand for Kashmiri shawls came to a stand-still. The Britishers also bought these cheap machine-made shawls of Indian markets. The natives of India preferred them to the costly shawls of Kashmir. In addition to this, there came about a change in the taste of Europeans and they began to think in terms of if he or she could spend one hundred pounds more.

153. Ibid.
profitably on tweeds, broad cloth and similar other textile
items than one embroidered Kashmiri shawl. The last blow
came from the tremendous drop in the demand for Kashmiri shawls
from the impoverished Turkish and Persian kingdoms.

Carpet Industry

Like many other arts of Kashmir, the carpet industry was
also introduced in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zainul-
Abidin. However, it seems that carpet industry had declined
to such an extent in the valley that till the reign of Mughal empero Jahangir we do not find any reference to it. It is said
that during his reign a Kashmiri named Akhun Rahnuma "visited Persia after his return from Haj pilgrimage, where he learnt the art of carpet weaving and brought back with him the tools and got the local men trained in the art of carpet weaving." From that time onwards carpets especially of pile ones with floral design of mosques, wild animals and gliding fish, were manufactured in Kashmir.

But the carpet industry reached its apex during the period under study and weavers attained mastery in reproducing Nature's lovely sights on their carpets. Governor Colonel Mehan Singh

154. Torrens, Travels, pp.263-64.

It was the time when Ahmad Beg Khan was governor of Kashmir (1614-19).
got prepared a green coloured carpet, presenting therein the natural beauty of Kashmir. When this master-piece of Kashmiri art was presented to the Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore "he was so much struck with its beauty of design executed in such artistic excellence that he rolled himself there on in ecstasy feigning to be rolling on the real Kashmir turf." 158

But the carpets manufactured were not like the modern ones with different colour patterns but of the uniform colour. They were small sized and entirely prepared from pure shawl wool with silken embroidery worked over them. But sometimes the embroidery was carried out with gold zari and coloured silk threads. 159

These carpets were not suitable for European people, as they were habitual of moving around on them. It would be harmful for the durability of the carpets as they were prepared from fine shawl wool of which shawl were manufactured. 160

No doubt the art of carpet weaving reached its heights but we lack statistical information about the people who were associated with the industry. Secondly, no information is available on the income, government received from this industry. Lastly, when we enumerate the articles of export from Kashmir, carpets found no place in them. The carpet presented to Maharaja Ranjit Singh would

159. Hugel, Kashmir, p.17.
160. Ibid.
have fascinated Sikh nobility and aristocracy and in turn created a regular demand for Kashmiri carpets. It is interesting to observe that the Sikh monarchs used to receive a portion of their monthly and yearly instalments of the revenue of Kashmir in the shape of shawl goods, carpets and other fine manufactures.161

Woollen Industry

During the Sikh rule gabbas162 saddle-cloth and rugs were mainly manufactured at Anantnag district. According to R.K.Bhan, a refugee from Kabul prepared a saddle-piece for his host, Kamal Bhat of Ratson village of the parganah of Tral163 and this proved the origin of this industry. Later on the latter's decendants migrated to Anantnag and carried the art of gabbas manufacturing with them.164 The inhabitants of Anantnag adopted and patronized it, as almost all other arts had already been concentrated in Srinagar city. Similarly village Memandar of the parganah of Batu (Shopian) was famous for the manufacture of blankets165 locally known as chadris166 and khashis.167 These outer garments were woven from coarse indigenous wool but very rarely from imported fine shawl wool of Tibet. Besides, the above woollen stuffs, socks, gloves, gul-badan (silken cloth for lady trousers)

Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, f.100.
Gabbas are thick woollen cloth prepared by beating together fibres with adhesive material.
However, according to Barker the "Gabba rug industry is one almost peculiar to Kashmir. The Cottage Textile Industries of Kashmir, p.76.
167. Ibid.
saddle-cloth, dupatas (head dress of women), chikun (cotton cloth with silken embroidery), lungis (waist-cloth), sashes and trouser-strings were also manufactured from wool, cotton and silk. In addition to this, a light and most beautiful fabric of pure wool known as urmuk was also manufactured. It resembled with nankeen and was one-half of the thickness of common shawl and was specially invented for the Sikh turbans. But like shawls and carpets not a single fabric was exempted from the manufacturing tax. For instance, an urmuk, which cost fifty seven rupees, carried a surcharge of twenty three rupees by the government as its duty and thereby raising its factory price to eighty rupees. Similarly every fabric whether of wool, cotton or silk was taxed according to the durability of texture and its market value. All these taxes were collected through the department of Daghshawal.

So the manufacturing of woollen garment was well-organised during the sikh rule and a considerable quantity of it was exported to the Punjab. The total volume of its trade with the Punjab in the year 1848 was about forty thousand rupees. So it was the means of livelihood for a good number of people and it played an important role in raising their standard of life.

170. Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, f.106.
Silk Industry

The abundance of *tut* (mulberry trees) in Kashmir, the only food for feeding the silk worms, made silk rearing possible in the valley. But the method of managing silk-worms was very primeval and slovenly. For the production of silk so much care was not taken as in many parts of India viz., Bengal. New mulberry trees were not planted but silk worms were generally kept on the leaves of old trees, planted long before, by the ancestors.

The industry continued to progress up to the Mughal rule but during the Afghan regime it declined to the extent that it was abandoned in most of the villages. The main reason for this was that Afghan governors did not show any inclination towards the development of this industry and they were least bothered about the cultivation of new and preservation of the old mulberry trees. It is substantiated by the fact that by the orders of Afghan governor Haji Karimdad Khan (1776-83), a large number of mulberry trees were cut off in Maisuma Srinagar to clear the field for horse-racing. The said governor also collected forty-thousand rupees from the silk growers as tax.

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173. The best mulberry trees which produced the best silk was called Tochee and small leaves are its main peculiarity. But according to Baden-Powell it is male or fruitless mulberry tree. (Baden Powell; *A Handbook of the Economic Products of the Punjab*, Vol; 1, p.174.

174. Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.36.


176. Moorcroft, MS. EUR D 264, p.54.
Besides the exorbitant taxation policy, the political instability which ravaged the country during the most part of the Afghan rule, also proved detrimental to the development of the industry. In order to escape the oppression of Afghan rule, people left the valley in large numbers which naturally had adverse effects on the industry.\textsuperscript{177} This set-back to the development of the industry had an impact on the early phase of the Sikh rule in Kashmir, which is quite clear from the statement of Moorcroft who visited valley only four years after the establishment of the Sikh rule. He writes that the total "quantity (of silk) produced is insufficient for domestic consumption."\textsuperscript{178} This was mainly because industry was confined only to fifteen or sixteen cottages and their total out-put was only six ass-loads and government realized an income of three hundred rupees from this industry.\textsuperscript{179} So in order to cater to the demand of shawl industry fifty maund of silk was imported from Bokhara and other parts of India.\textsuperscript{180}

But governor Colonel Mehan Singh (1834-41) paid great attention towards its development and organised it on sound footing. It showed signs of progress, with the result that in

\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{177} Ganju Madhusudan, \textit{Textile Industries in Kashmir}, p.193.
\item\textsuperscript{178} Moorcroft, MS EUR D 264, p.54.
\item\textsuperscript{179} Ibid., p.125.
\item\textsuperscript{180} Ibid., pp.52-53.
\end{enumerate}

Silk was generally used for the warp of the border of shawl which was separately woven and afterwards sewn on the edge of the shawl by rafugar (fine-darner) with such nicety that the union could scarcely be detected (Moorcroft, \textit{op.cit.}, II, p.177). It had the advantage of showing the darker colours of the dyed wool more prominently than a warp of yarn. It hardened, strengthened and gave more body to the edge of the shawl. (Moorcroft, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.177).
After fulfilling local consumption, two-thirds of raw silk was exported to Punjab. This tempo of progress continued and in 1646 government earned one lakh rupees as its duty on silk trade alone. Thus one can estimate the magnitude of its trade, which, as is obvious, became the backbone of the economy of Kashmir.

According to Vigne, Kotihar parganah was producing the best silk in the valley at that time. It seems that the best variety of mulberry trees were found in that area, which made the good cocoons possible, as a result of which the thread it gave had strength. Without giving the statistical information, Vigne, satisfied himself by saying that a considerable quantity of silk was produced in the country. It is known that the industry was allowed to grow on cottage basis but government had established its monopolistic control on the silk production and its trade. Government took the possession of all the silk production and remunerated its producers in rice.

A separate regulation known as *Ain-i-Abrisham Kashan* was drafted, according to which for every seer of incubated silk-worm seed provided by the government, *kirmkashan* (silk-worm rearers) were obliged to produce seventeen seers of silk cocoon. Government who had established its monopoly on silk production and trade, purchased per seer of silk cocoons at the rate of ten rupees.

162. Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.36.
164. Ibid., p.380.
But government used to deduct three rupees per seer as rasum and six rupees as nazrana which means that they were paid only one rupee per seer.

**Paper Industry**

Zainu'll-Abidin introduced the paper industry in Kashmir and established it at his official residence at Nacshera, Srinagar. But during the period under review Harwan near the Shalimar was the chief centre of mills, where the pulp was prepared. This was because of the fact that a special kind of reed, which was of the thickness of a common bell-wire, from which the dipping frame of the paper industry was made, grew only in the Dal lake near Shalimar, Srinagar.

It befits the occasion to write down few lines on the prevalent process and technique of paper manufacturing. The rags of cotton, ropes and san-hemp were first meshed in the mills at Shalimar and then mixed up with colour at the manufactory of Naoshera. Then the pulp made from rags and hemp was pounded with the help of a pedal on the shaft worked with the help of water wheel. Then every sheet of paper was smeared with rice paste. This was done with hand and paste was usually encased in goats-hair for its preservation. Afterwards it was spread upon a board of wild

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Zainu'll-Abidin sent two of his intelligent subjects to Samarqand at government expenses for training in the art of paper making and book-binding. They, after staying there for few years, returned to their home-land and got the local men trained in these arts. *(Baharistan-i-Shahi, ff.22a-22b.)*


pear-tree and polished with agate to smoothen the surface.\textsuperscript{189} But the best paper which was usually used for transcribing the holy book Quran, was made with wild hemp which grew abundantly in Kashmir. This was mixed up with rags in equal proportion. It was because of the fact that among the five different kinds of paper manufactured in Kashmir, the best one known as farmayishi, was better than and superior to any other paper produced throughout India.\textsuperscript{191} Victor Jacquemont, while writing a letter to one of his friends, unconsciously appreciates the glossy texture of Kashmiri paper. To quote him "curse my infamous writing if you like; I will allow you to do so. However, you must excuse it, as well as this Cashmere paper, because in writing so badly on this slippery paper the pen follows the thought, and never remains behind."\textsuperscript{192}

Because of this peculiar quality of Kashmiri paper that it earned name and fame in the foreign markets. So a considerable quantity of it was exported to Punjab, Ladakh and many other parts.

\textsuperscript{189} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{191} Vigne, op.cit., II, p.121.
\textsuperscript{192} Victor Jacquemont, op.cit., II, p.30.
of Central Asia. Naturally, its price was very high and per quire of twenty sheets of paper was sold at the rate of three rupees. The Government derived an income of three thousand rupees from the paper manufacturers in 1822-23.

But the paper industry received a serious setback due to the cessation of the purchase of the Kashmiri paper by East India Company. On 16th of June, 1835, the Government of East India Company imposed ban on the use of Kashmiri paper. The court of Directors of the said company informed its Agents, Residents and Commissioners "the expediency of discontinuing, as far as practicable, the use of Cashmere paper for Persian writing." The reason for its discontinuance was that the writing on kashmir paper could be easily rubbed off and interpolated. The recurrent occurrences of famines made the progress of the industry further bleak. To avoid the distress and adversity of the famine of 1832, many craftsmen migrated to Sialkot and settled down there. They rendered the place famous for the manufacturing of paper which was generally used throughout the Punjab.

Papier-maché Industry

The origin of this industry is obscure. However, it is known

194. Moorcroft, M.S. EUR.D., 264, p. 16.
196. For. Pol. Cons. 21 December 1835, No. 11.
197. In 1835, two hundred shops of such nature were engaged in manufacturing paper in Sialkot and the Sikh Govt earned from them an amount of 1400 rupees annually as tax at the rate of two annas per quire. (Vigné, op.cit., p. ).
198. It is said that like other handicrafts, the art of papier-maché was also introduced in Kashmir by the art-loving king Zainul-Abidin. He invited the craftsmen of this art from Persia, who trained the local people in this art.
that this art remained confined to the Shii community of Kashmir. Curiously enough, not a single reference is available to explain why it was restricted to this community only. The probable reason of this peculiar phenomenon of the economic history of Kashmir seems to have been narrow community consciousness of Kashmir and the failure of the government to remove the religious barriers from this art which had narrowed down the organisational diversity of this industry. Probably this art, unlike the other arts, was introduced in Kashmir by some private Shii individual, who due to religious bias did not disclose its secret to any person, other than a Shii, who later on followed the footsteps of his teacher. With the result, the art remained circumscribed to Shii community only - the fact which still holds good in spite of the efforts of the State Government to import technical education among the common people without any consideration of cast, creed or colour.

The material required for the manufacture of papier-mache articles was paper, light and soft wood, gold\textsuperscript{199} and silver leaves glue, gypsum, rice-paste, gum and sheep leather, only in case of superior pen-cases. Many sheets of used paper were laid over in a wooden-encasement and then gummed together. The layers of gummed paper were plastered with gypsum and afterwards used for the manufacture of variety of articles such as trays, boxes, planquins, chairs, ceilings, doors and windows.\textsuperscript{200} The implements used for

\textsuperscript{199} Moorcroft, op.cit., Il, p.215.
\textsuperscript{200} Ibid., p.216.

During the Afghan regime two hundred Kashmiris of the well-to-do families travelled in planquins all worked in papier-mache art.
manufacturing papier-mache articles were sharp knife, a small cutting chisel (awl), stocks of wood, earthen pots, sheel (for mixing colours), agate (to smoothen the surface), stone-slab, muller, brushes and pencils made from the fur of cats hair.

It was during the period under study that Kashmir achieved reputation for its papier-mache articles especially for decorated and ornamented pen-cases. They were classified into two main categories, masnadi (royal) and Parsi (Persian). The former was an article of table furniture and was large in size. Some shallow boxes were kept in it, for the purpose of keeping inkpot, pen-knives, money, jewellery, etc. They were so much bulky that trays (wheel) were fitted to it for its movement. The latter were portable and could be carried easily under the arm. Kashmiri pandits carried this very variety of pen-cases under their arms till recent past.

These were remarkable for the variety and elegance of the patterns with which they were painted, mostly for the brilliance of their colours and the beauty of the varnish. Vigne writes, "the painting on the pen-cases and work-boxes is alike curious and elegant in pattern." Because of these qualities the pen-cases found ready market in Kabul, France and other European countries and a considerable quantity of them was exported annually.

203. Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.34.
Papier-boxes in which shawls were packed and sent to France, were sold there separately at high prices. The painting was of two kinds raised as well as flat but the former was of several diversities. The elevation of the embossed part was given by forming the ground of the ornament with white-lead with a solution of glue. Then the surface was spotted with dots of white paint. After drying, these were trimmed with the help of a knife and then the colour of the ornament was laid upon them. Sometimes birds, butter-flies and flowers were raised on the surface.

The colours employed were cochineal, ultra-marine, white-lead, verdigris, etc; some of them were imported and others were found in Kashmir. Varnishes were obtained from the resin of the aloe or the storax but the best was that of the Kahrubá. The abundance and cheapness of the latter certainly indicated its being the produce of some living plant.

The painters of Kashmir were much talented and under the fostering care of the government these painters would be employed successfully to loftier objects other than articles of furniture. Maharaja Ranjit Singh took some of them to Lahore, to work there on the ceiling of the Baradari buildings of Shalimar. However, in 1822-23, the number of these artists was reduced to forty only.

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206. Ibid.
207. Ibid. According to Vigne the painters had no oil colours. But the flowers and other ornaments were raised on the surface with the help of a composition paste. Then they were painted and oiled twice or thrice, until they had the appearance of being varnished (Vigne, op.cit., II, p.122).
206. Moorcroft, MS. EUR. D. 266 f.32, MS.EUR.D.264
Their annual production did not exceed one thousand pen-cases. According to Moorcroft, one thousand pen-cases and an embroidered pair of shawls were of equal value.209

**Wood Carving and Pottery**

During the Sikh rule, wood carving also earned a great name and fame. The Kashmirians were very expert in the manufacture of wooden toys, turnery, ornamental carving in wood (especially on window frames) ivory and mother-of-pearl.210

Earthen vessels in various styles and sizes of fine clay were made to serve all the purposes of copper and brass utensils. Receptacles of larger sized were prepared for storing grains211 and wine,212 and cylindrical pots for bee-framing. Interior parts of *kangris* (kondal) were also made of clay. Potters were also taxed and in 1846, the tax was levied at one to two rupees per mensem per head.213

**Arms**

Kashmir, also enjoyed considerable reputation for the manufacture of arms such as muskets, pistol-barrels, sword-blades, daggers, etc.214 But their bellows were ancient, coarse and uneconomical. The pistol barrels were of two varieties; plain and

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209. Ibid.
211. Various Trades in Kashmir, Add. or. 1662.
212. Ibid., 1716.
213. Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.35.
damasked (twisted). The lines on the barrels were wrought with the help of sulphate of iron. This process of corroding the barrels required twenty days and sometimes even a month. The swords usually having two blades were elaborately ornamented with human and animal figures. Sometimes even the outlines were brilliantly brightened with gold. The shields were made from locally tanned buffaloe-skin. They were highly ornamented with the cone of shawls and other flowers.

The artisans of other parts of the Sikh kingdom did not surpass the craftsmanship of the Kashmiri artists in the manufacture of these weapons. It was because of the fact that guns, pistol-barrels, shields and words were exported to Ladakh, Punjab, and Afghanistan. Not only this but those Kashmiri artisans who were employed in other parts of the Sikh dominion for the same purpose, produced superior quality of tools and apparatus, than their counter-parts in Punjab and Lahore. The Kashmirian ingenuity was not confined to these works alone. Their lacquered ware and jewellery, polished paper and aromatic oil were also famous for their peculiar beauty and superior quality.

The iron used for the manufacture of pistol barrels and muskets was imported from Punjab and Bajour (Afghanistan), as the indigenous one, which was used for agricultural implements.

was not considered good. According to the information of Vigne, veins of iron, lead, copper, silver and even gold existed in Kashmir but the iron alone was worked. But his statement is too vague to be relied on in completeness. Jacquemont and Hegel, who too visited Kashmir, had informed that neither gold nor silver was found nor did the streams bear down gold dust as in the neighbouring countries of Kashmir. In the time of Afghans four to five hundred miners were working on the iron-mines but their number was reduced to two hundred in 1835. They took out three hundred and thirty kharwars of iron yearly and two-thirds of it was kept for domestic consumption and the remainder was exported to Kishtwar and other hilly states adjacent to Kashmir. During the governorship of Sheikh Ghulam Mohiuddin (1841-46), the miners employed, produced two hundred and seventy five kharwars of iron. But this quantity reached four hundred and eleven kharwars during the governorship of Sheikh Imamiuddin (1846) as he encouraged and paid reasonable wages to all kinds of labourers. Government took the whole quantity of iron from the workers in exchange for equal amount of paddy. These miners were obliged to carry the iron from the mines to the city of Srinagar but without mazduri (wages).

222. Ibid.
223. Ibid. The copper used in Kashmir was Russian and was imported from Lahore and Yarkand. (Moorcroft,op.cit.,II,p.163)
224. Diary of F.S. Melvill, Lahore Political Diaries,VI,p.196
225. Ibid. The mines of iron were found in the village of Sof-Ahun of the parganah of Brang.
The reason for the reduction of the number of the miners and why the existence of the mines was kept secret was mainly due to the arbitrary and the oppressive nature of the sikh rule. The unfortunate Kashmirians were quite aware that if the mines were explored and worked out, they would not be paid adequate remuneration for their labour. They also knew that it would prove an additional subject of exaction as the display of a little of it would be the sure incentive to a demand for more. 226

Leather Industry

There in Kashmir, like in most other agricultural countries, there was no shortage of hides and skins due to the abundance of livestock. These were separated from the body of dead animal by a tribe known as watalis 227 who moved from place to place in search of them. Then they were placed in a vat of clean water, with a layer of pounded galls between each skin and the next. Afterwards a man was employed to tread them down daily from morning to evening for a period of twenty five days but fresh galls were added to it after every fifth day. The skin was then kept for drying and its side with grain was well-rubbed with the paste of Armenian bole. When it completely dried, the flesh side was rubbed with mutton-suet until it was completely saturated. It was then exposed to the sun for several days. Thereafter it was

once again put into water, trodden and rubbed until all greasiness disappeared. Then it was polished by being well-rubbed with a blunt iron instrument.\textsuperscript{226}

The leather was largely consumed during the Afghan rule because they preferred cavalry to infantry which necessitated the establishment of saddle industry in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{229} But the Sikh administrators banned the curing of cattle mainly for religious reasons but the same was lifted during the governorship of Sheikh Ghulam Mohiuddin.\textsuperscript{230} However, leather goods continued to be manufactured from the leather which was imported from Ladakh and Khorasan at the rate of fifteen rupees per seer.\textsuperscript{231} It was known as Virak and was best suited for saddlery.\textsuperscript{232} Moorcroft describes it as "strong, solid, heavy and pliable, without any disposition to crack." Some of the pieces had been in use eighteen or twenty years, and were none the worse for constant wear."\textsuperscript{233} But the country made leather was not qualitatively good, so was sold at the rate of one rupee per seer.\textsuperscript{234} The indigenous hides also included those of the otter and fox skin. But in case of the latter animal, the parts of skin, covering the legs was taken, as it was extremely soft and most valued and was, therefore, used for making fur coats.\textsuperscript{235} Large quantity of finished leather goods such as shoes were exported to Ladakh.\textsuperscript{236} In 1622-23, government

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{226} Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.214.
\item \textsuperscript{229} Moorcroft, MS. EUR. D265, p.58.
\item \textsuperscript{230} Ibid, MS. EUR.D264, p.116.
\item \textsuperscript{231} Moorcroft, MS. EUR. D265, p.56.
\item \textsuperscript{232} Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.213.
\item \textsuperscript{233} Ibid., p.214.
\item \textsuperscript{234} Moorcroft, MS. EIR.D.265, p.56.
\item \textsuperscript{235} Hugel, Kashmir, p.33.
\item \textsuperscript{236} Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, ff.117,127.
\end{itemize}
collected two thousand rupees from the leather-workers as poll-tax.\textsuperscript{237}

**Distilled waters and Scents**

Distilled waters, like \textit{Atar-i-gulab} and \textit{Atar-i-bedmushk} were extracted from the roses and \textit{bedmushk} flowers respectively.\textsuperscript{238} This source of income provided one lakh rupees to the \textit{atar} producers during the Mughal rule.\textsuperscript{239} But during the period under study rose-water of Kashmir was very excellent because of its excellent fragrance of roses. It was extracted from trebly-distilled rose-water, which was boiled and poured into an open basin. Then the basin was placed two-thirds deep in the running stream over-night and in the morning \textit{atar} appeared like oil on the surface of the water. Then it was carefully scraped off with a blade of grass bent in the shape of \textit{V}.\textsuperscript{240} The specie of rose used for its distillation was the \textit{Rosa biflora}. Seven to eight hundred rose-leaves were required to produce a small bottle of \textit{atar}.\textsuperscript{241} Similarly from \textit{bedmushk} flowers best water was distilled, which was the luxury of the rich people and also an article of export. For unknown reasons the water of Gagribal was mostly used for the distillation of the \textit{atars}.\textsuperscript{243} Some other fragrant scents were also extracted from many other flowers\textsuperscript{244} to meet the local demand especially of the Sikh officials stationed in

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{237} Moorcroft, MS. EUR. D265, p.58.
  \item \textsuperscript{238} Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, ff.138.
  \item \textsuperscript{239} Birbal Kachru, op.cit., f.217a.
  \item \textsuperscript{240} Vigne, op.cit., II, p.122.
  \item \textsuperscript{241} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{243} Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, f.138.
  \item \textsuperscript{244} Moorcroft, MS EUR. D265, p.25n.
\end{itemize}
Kashmir. The walnut oil which is free from smell was used as medium for extracting the perfume of the jasmine, the tuberose, narcissus, chamomile and that of yellow rose. One weight of flowers was added with three weights of oil in a bottle and then corked. The mixture was then exposed to the rays of sun for forty days and then the oil was impregnated for use. Government used to receive one to two rupees per mensem from every scent and atar producer.

Wine Making

Kashmir was the only part of Indian subcontinent where wine was made from the juice of grapes. In addition to this excellent quality of spirituous liquor, vinegar and brandy were also distilled. It was not mainly because the fruits like grapes, apples, quinces, mulberries and pomegranates were in abundance but these were also suitable for the preparation of these liquors. It can be attributed to the proper radiation of the heat of Kashmir and its vicinity to the lofty mountains of Tibet, which retained the acidic properties of its fruits necessary for the manufacture of wine. Secondly temperature of Kashmir allowed the due control of the process of fermentation and probable production of wines of good quality.

246. Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.35.
Wine was prepared in Kashmir upto the first half of the Afghan rule and all kinds of people freely indulged in it. But governor Atta Mohammad Khan (1600-1605) discouraged its manufacture for religious reasons. But its distillation was revived under the Sikh rule because the soldiers of said regime liked it very much. Governor Colonel Mehan Singh ordered that all grapes should be brought to Srinagar. Then they were preserved in shallow earthen vessels till March and then different kinds of wine were distilled. Fresh horse-dung was mainly used for the fermentation of wine. In 1822-23, government earned five hundred rupees from spirit sellers as tax and in 1836-37, the amount came to three thousand and six hundred rupees.

But the wine prepared in Kashmir was dark in colour and inferior in quality to that of Europe. After the distillation, wine was kept in bottles plugged with wood, paper or birch bark, which was not air tight so it often discoloured. It was because of this fact that Forster George and Moorcroft suggested that if it be distilled with proper treatment and care, the beverage would resemble and also be at par with the liquor of Europe.

252. Moorcroft, MS. EUR. D265, p.150.
256. Moorcroft, MS. EUR. D266, f.36.
257. Ibid., MS. EUR. D264, p.113.
259. Moorcroft, MS. EUR. D265, p.150.
Oil and Soap Industry

Walnuts, an article of horticulture was cultivated on large scale on the foot of the hills. So nuts were produced in larger quantities than in any part of Europe.²⁶² Hundred nuts were sold at the rate of two to three paisa but the same quantity of the best quality for four paisa.²⁶³ The villagers used to break the nuts at their homes and then sold their kernel in the town markets to oil pressers at the rate of seven rupees per kharwar.²⁶⁴ In the year 1822-23, twenty thousand kharwars of walnut kernel were sold to the indigenous oil-pressers who worked their mills with the help of oxen,²⁶⁵ for extracting oil and oil cakes. The average yield per kharwar of kernel was eight pajis or forty eight seers of oil.²⁶⁶ The price per paji of oil was one rupee to one rupee eight annas.²⁶⁷ The oil cakes used for feeding the cows were sold at the rate of one rupee per kharwar in spring and two rupees in winter.²⁶⁸ These were also exchanged for equal quantity of paddy or the price of the latter in the market.²⁶⁹

²⁶² Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.150. From a single walnut tree, the average annual number of nuts brought to maturity, amounted to about twenty five thousand. (Moorcroft, op.cit.,II, p.146).
²⁶³ Ibid., II,p.147.
²⁶⁴ Ibid., II, p.148.
²⁶⁵ Various Trades in Kashmir, Add. Or. 1675. The author of this manuscript had discussed in detail the functioning of this indigenous oil pressure.
²⁶⁶ Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.148. The seers differed considerably at Lodiana and Kashmir. Six seers of Kashmir and four and a half seer of Lodiana was equal to one truk (Vigne, op.cit., II, p.429)
²⁶⁷ Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.148. But during the governorship of Mehan Singh the price per paji of oil was only two annas. (Gh. Nabi Khanyari,op.cit.,f.50a (vide note in the margin)
²⁶⁹ Ibid.
Walnut oil contributed a lot to the economy of Kashmir as it was exported in considerable quantity to India and Central Asia.\(^\text{270}\) In 1822-23, the total earnings from the whole production of nuts amounted to one hundred and thirteen thousand rupees.\(^\text{271}\) In 1836-37, government collected one thousand rupees from oil dealers as its tax.\(^\text{272}\)

Two kinds of soap, one from vegetable oils and another from animal fat, were prepared in Kashmir. The former was known as \textit{Tilla Sabun} and the latter \textit{Safed Sabun}.\(^\text{273}\) It was not manufactured to such an extent as to fulfill the needs of domestic consumption, so soap was imported also from Hindustan, as is quite obvious from its name that was \textit{Sabun Hindustan}.\(^\text{274}\)

**Feather Industry**

The herons of Kashmir were strictly guarded and protected and none was allowed to molest them.\(^\text{275}\) A fine of five hundred rupees was inflicted for killing one.\(^\text{276}\) It was because of the fact that the long feather-tufts of their necks, which they shed in moulting-season, were picked up by the watchmen, who were always in attendance under the plane-trees, these birds inhabited.\(^\text{277}\) They were also netted and set free after the

\(^{270}\) Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, ff.115,118 and 125.
\(^{271}\) Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.146.
\(^{272}\) Major Leech, op.cit., Nos. 13-17.
\(^{274}\) Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, f.113.
\(^{276}\) The herons of Kashmir were of the same species as were common in England.
required feathers had been plucked from their body. The heronries were found upon huge chinar trees in the twenty villages of the parganahs of Zainagir, Fatuttara, Kruhin, Bangil, Khuhama, Divasar, Sairu'l-Mawaza Payin, Brang, Martand and Nagam within the valley. Their feathers were used for making plumes, worn by high Sikh officials and important personalities, on their turbans as fashion of the day. No Sikh officer of any rank and great-man were ever seen without one in their turbans.

The feathers with perfect ends were mainly sent to Punjab, where they were made into plumes, but the feathers with worn edges were converted into plumes within the valley. The feathers generally in between ten and twenty were fastened into a funnel-shaped stem, entirely covered with gold wire or thread or sometimes richly ornamented with pearls, emeralds and rubies. The plumes of inferior description were made from the feathers of Indian water-hen found abundantly in the lakes of Kashmir and other parts of Northern India.

Bee-keeping

Bee-keeping was an age-old cottage industry of Kashmir and an important subject of her rural economy. It was managed

278. Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, f.135.
280. Ibid., Lawrence Henry, Some Passages in the life of adventure in the Punjab, p.476.
283. The painters of Rainawari Srinagar had been following this profession for the last one hundred and fifty years. Ghulam Rasool who was one of their descendants explained the various ways of bee-keeping to Moorcroft.
skilfully throughout the valley of Kashmir as supplementary means of sustenance.

The method of preserving bees was very simple and easy. The earthen concave plates were fixed horizontally in the cavities of the walls of the dwelling-houses with their mouths facing the exterior. These were then covered with the coating of mud-plaster with perforated centre. The average size of a hive was about fourteen inches in diameter and about twenty to twenty two in length. Every cottage was having some hives and in certain cases their number had reached ten. The tube was first rubbed with milk to induce the bees to build their hive within it.

The bees generally derived their food from flowers but during the time of scarcity of flowers and bad weather, kangri (a variety of millet) vegetable marrow, mulberry fruits and melons served as substitute. The comb was filled with honey in October and the average output of a single hive was eight seers of honey per annum. Its total annual production towards the closing years of the Sikh rule was one hundred and twenty five kharwars, equivalent to two hundred and twenty five maunds. But its real producers were unacquainted with the

285. Ibid., II, p.156.
286. Ibid.
288. Moorcroft, MS. EUR. D266, f16.
289. Diary of P.S.Melvill, Lahore Political Diaries, VI, p.201.
employment of it as the basis of a fermented liquor but they ate it raw or mixed with various articles of food.\textsuperscript{292} Physicians used it in the preparation of medicine. It was a common item of export from Kashmir to Punjab and many parts of Central Asia,\textsuperscript{293} because it was a pure and sweet as that of Narbone. Government used to take one half of the honey as its share and thereby earned two thousand rupees in 1846.\textsuperscript{294}

\textsuperscript{292} Moorcroft, op.cit., II, p.161.
\textsuperscript{293} Dasturul Amal-i-Kashmir, ff.118, 121, 122 and 127.
\textsuperscript{294} Lala Ganeshi Lal, op.cit., p.39.