Chapter One

Socio-Economic Condition of Kashmir
Under The Dogra Rule (1846-1930)

Beauty provoketh thieves sooner than gold.¹ The beauty of Kashmir has always become the cause of its slavery.²

The history of Kashmir is a sombre dark story. V. A. Smith has correctly judged it, “Few regions in the world can have had worse luck than Kashmir in the matters of government.”³ For many hundred years the people of Kashmir lived under a succession of foreign rules. Generally it is believed in Kashmir that the valley lost its independence in 1586, when Mughals under Akbar occupied Kashmir.⁴ Kashmir remained the part of the Mughal Empire for more than a century and a half. However, the Mughal rule was fairly just and enlightened, and their laws and ordinances were excellent in spirit.⁵ During the Mughal rule, Kashmir was on the whole, prosperous and fertile and the shawl industry first assumed importance.⁶ In 1753, with the declining power of the Mughal, Ahmad Shah Abdali, the ruler of Afghanistan occupied Kashmir and “established a brutally oppressive rule over the passive Kashmiris.”⁷ Abdali ruled Kashmir through his governors, who squeezed as much revenue as they could out of the ‘wretched people’ of Kashmir. Wealth had to be accumulated rapidly, as no one knew how many days would elapse before he was recalled to Kabul, to make room for some new needy favourite of the hour.⁸ In 1819 the cruel rule of Afghans came to an end but the miseries of Kashmiris continued. Kashmir was now occupied by Sikhs under Ranjit Singh.⁹ The rule of Sikhs was nothing more “than a new type of oppression, this time religious fanatics seeking revenge upon the helpless Kashmiri Muslims whose forefathers had once been

¹ Shakespeare, As You Like It.
² Sipasat, Lahore, November 7, 19.
⁴ See for example, F. M. Hassmain, Freedom Struggle In Kashmir, (New Delhi) p. 5-7; M. J. Akbar, Kashmir Behind The Vale, (New Delhi, 2005) pp. 37-42
Hindus.”¹⁰ Moorcraft, who visited Kashmir during the Sikh period, says that “by a Sikh is punished by a fine to the Government. From sixteen to twenty rupees, of which four rupees are paid to the family of the deceased, if a Hindu, and two rupees if he was a Muslim.”¹¹ On Ranjit Singh’s death in 1839, there was chaos in Lahore, the capital of Punjab, followed by a scramble for succession, which weakened the Sikh state. It was under this situation that the Sikhs decided to challenge British authority south of the Sutlej, this provided the golden opportunity to Gulab Singh.¹² In December 1845, war broke out between the British and the Sikhs, in which the Sikhs were defeated in the decisive battle of Sobraon on 10th February, 1846.¹³ After the defeat of the Sikhs, the British demanded an indemnity of the Sikh Government in Lahore, but since little of it could be taken in cash,¹⁴ they ceded Kashmir and the hill states situated eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi, to the British Government.¹⁵ When, after their defeat, the Sikhs surrender their hold over Kashmir, Gulab Singh “played his ace.” He offered the British 75 lakh rupees (750,000 pounds) for the possession of Kashmir.¹⁶ Consequently a treaty was signed between the British and Gulab Singh at Amritsar on 16th March, 1846, known in history as the Treaty of Amritsar,¹⁷ by which the British East India Company sold Kashmir to Gulab Singh and his male descendants.¹⁸ This treaty recognised Gulab Singh as the ruler of the area between the rivers Indus and the Ravi consisting of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Gilgit. Thus the modern State of Jammu and Kashmir, including Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit, came into existence.¹⁹ The State thus constituted was the largest of the Indian states in areas at the time of independence. Geographically, the State had four natural regions, Jammu in the south, Valley in the

---

¹⁰ J. Korbel, op. cit., p. 10; Jama Masjid in Srinagar was shut down, and aazan was forbidden.
¹¹ Quoted in E. F, Neve, op. cit., p. 22.
¹² Lord Birdwood, Two Nations and Kashmir, (Srinagar, 2005) p. 31. Gulab Singh was the important personality of the Dogra Rajput clan of Jammu. After consolidating his position in Jammu, he attacked and brought Ladakh and Sakardu under his control in 1830s and 1840 respectively. Gulab Singh though a feudatory of the Sikhs, played a treacherous role against the Sikhs in the Anglo Sikh war. Joseph Cunningham, History of The Sikhs, 1849, as quoted in Birdwood, op. cit., p. 32.
¹³ Ibid, p. 31.
¹⁴ Ibid, p. 32.
¹⁵ Lawrence, Valley, op. cit., p. 201.
¹⁶ J. Korbel, op. cit., p. 11.
¹⁸ First Article of the Treaty.
centre, Ladakh between the valley and Tibet and Gilgit to the north.\textsuperscript{20} It presented special and extraordinary features in that its borders were contiguous to that of China, Afghanistan and Tibet. It was also easily accessible from Russian Turkestan. Tibet lay to the east. Thus, Kashmir was the base of the triangle at whose apex three empires met.\textsuperscript{21} Comparing with other treaties signed by the British with other Indian states, it was a unique, as there was no mention of appointing a Resident in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{22} Also “the territories of which the Maharaja was recognised as ruler were handed over to him in independent possession. While the supremacy of the British government was acknowledged there was no agreement on the part of the company to guarantee the internal security of the state.”\textsuperscript{23} Gulab Singh was ‘obliged to govern his foreign policy according to the views of the British Government of India while in the domestic administration, he was nearly independent.\textsuperscript{24} Thus the modern State of Jammu and Kashmir was different from other Princely States in the manner that it was ‘independent in its internal affairs, there was no Resident and the British Government had no control in the State administration. Ironically, the Kashmiris were not consulted while making this treaty.\textsuperscript{25} At the time of the treaty, the British did not consider the interests of Kashmiris. It is worth to quote Bazaz: “two millions of people in the Valley and Gilgit were sold like sheep and cattle to an alien adventurer and the whole transaction was made behind their back. The Treaty consisting of ten articles makes no mention whatsoever of the rights, interests or the future of the people.”\textsuperscript{26} Since the Kashmiris were not consulted, so for them, the treaty meant nothing, but “another century of exploitation by alien rulers”.\textsuperscript{27} Thus the British sold

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} K.M. Pannikar, The Founder of the Kashmir State: A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh, (Srinagar, reprinted 1989), p. 126. But due to the sensitive nature of the state where the majority of the ruled were Muslims and the ruler Hindu and also geographical structure, it became imperative for the British to establish its resident later on in 1885. See Victoria Schofield, Kashmir in the Crossfire, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 64-65.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{27} Ajit Bhattacharjea, Kashmir The Wounded Valley, (New Delhi, 1994), p. 54.
an area of 84,471 square miles and transferred unlimited power to a “Dogra Hindu ruler to rule over the Muslim majority population by this notorious treaty.”

The hundred years of Dogra rule under the auspices of the British “brutalized and destroyed every facet of civil life in Kashmir.” Although Kashmir was under foreign rule since 1586, but the Dogras created a sort of Dogra imperialism by which the Dogras were considered “masters” as superior class and non-Dogras slaves, as inferiors. Immediately after taking over as the ruler of Kashmir, Gulab Singh determined to make his power felt through the length and breadth of his kingdom. He adopted harsh measures of punishment, which included cutting of nose, pulling off the skin, to put down rebellion. Since the Maharaja had paid to the British 75 lakhs, he considered each and every thing of Kashmir his property in which the Kashmiris had no share. He thus levied harsh taxes on the people to realize the paid amount. Hindus, as the coreligionists of the Maharaja were exempted from the taxes and the Muslims were to pay taxes. Everything was heavily taxed in Kashmir, and every person too, the artisan and manufacturer alike. The people were in a state of squalid poverty, and the country swarmed with beggars. Every trade and profession of the Muslim community, excluding tailors, was taxed. Even the boatmen whose income was 2-8 rupees per month were taxed (for making the use of lake). “Their food,” says Robert Thorpe, “is only rice, and the course vegetables the produce in their lake gardens, and the only fuel they can procure is dried house dung, and these people pay taxes.” And if a boatman was not able to pay, his boat was seized by the revenue officers. The house tax was 4 to 20 annas and the fruit tax

---

28 A.S. Anand, The Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, and Its Development and Comments, (Delhi, 1998), pp.9-10 and 110. the total population of the state according to the census of 1941 was 40, 21, 616 out of which Muslims were 31,01,247, that is more than 77%. A Hand Book of Jammu and Kashmir State, p. 11.
33 Pannikar, Biography, op. cit., p. 134.
36 Mrs Hervey, op. cit., p. 121.
39 Mrs Hervey, op. cit., p. 117.
was 3/4th of the price. Each village, yielding 500 kharvars (kharvar = 16 traks = 83 seer or 80 kgs.) of grain had to provide 2-3 animals a year as the animal tax. One-half seer of ghee for each milch cow, 1-10 fowls from each house and 2/3rd of honey wherever produced was taken as the share of the Government. Thus, the people of Kashmir (Muslims) were not able to use the milk of their own cows and the eggs of their own fowls. The right to legalise the marriage was framed out and Muslims (not Hindus) were made to pay marriage tax called as suthra-shahrt and it was an important source of income for the State. Dr Elmslie states that a tax called ashgul was levied on all the Muslims of Kashmir for the support of the Hindu priests, and were also made to pay for the Hindu temples called mandri. Everyone could not dare to wear a new or ‘better than the roughest’ dress as it was taxed. The Muslims were also to pay nazaran and even the grave digger was taxed. Heavy duties were also levied on wood, which was very important for the people not only for construction and cooking but also to protect themselves from the severe cold during the long winter. There were other unusual taxes like zar-i-nakhas, a tax on the sale of horses, which was 5 percent of the purchased money. Even circumcision was taxed and in 1871 it brought 600 rupees revenue to the State. Taxes were also levied on bricks. The tax on baked bricks was rupees 50/1000 and unbaked was rupees 2/1000. The Dogras also realised tax from the ‘immoral’ fields like prostitution. There were two ill-famed centres of prostitution in Srinagar, Teshwan and Maisuma. Abduction of women from the State by a powerful organisation was a very common offence and they were sold to established houses of ill fame in India.

42 Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, op. cit., pp. 415-17.
47 Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 415-17.
48 Robert Thorpe, op. cit., p. 80.
50 L. Bowring, Eastern experience, op. cit., p. 85.
51 Saraf thinks that this was the reason that there were no pucca houses in Kashmir, Saraf, op. cit., p. 286.
52 Ishaq Khan, History of Srinagar, Srinagar, 2007, p. 115.
53 Letter from the Resident in Kashmir, no. 5301, dated the 24th November, 1926. Foreign and Political Department, File No. 468-1 of 1926, Simla Records, National Archives of India (NAI).
The Dogra Government both protected and encouraged prostitution in Kashmir because it would get good revenue from it.\textsuperscript{54} They legalised this institution by granting licenses and permissions to purchase girls for it. A license for one girl would cast about 100 \textit{Chilkee} rupees.\textsuperscript{55} However, according to Robert Thorpe such sales took place because of ‘grasping and avaricious nature of the government’, since none but the very poorest and lowest classes of the people would sell their children.\textsuperscript{56} Thus each and everything was taxed, save water and air.\textsuperscript{57} Because of the heavy taxation the condition of people got deteriorated and they lived very poor life. Almost all the foreign travellers and British officials who visited Kashmir during this period substantiate this.\textsuperscript{58} Although the predecessors (Mughals, Afghans and Sikhs) had also levied harsh taxes and “had laid violent hands on a large population of fruits of the earth, the profits of the loom and the work of men’s hands,” but they (Dogras) “sucked the very lifeblood of the people” and “skinned the very flints to fill (its) coffers.”\textsuperscript{59} Then there were corrupt officials who would charge much more than the fixed demand, worsening the already deplorable conditions of the people. Just only after two years, when the Gulab Singh took as the Maharaja of Kashmir, in 1848, the Governor General of British India, Lord Harding wrote to Gulab Singh that the misgovernment in Kashmir had caused great anxiety in British India and if the situation did not improve they would interfere in the matter.\textsuperscript{60}

\section*{Agriculture}

Kashmir during the Dogra rule was a feudalistic state in which agriculture was the main source of economy.\textsuperscript{61} And it was in this field, that the Dogra oppression was

\textsuperscript{54} Robert Thorpe, op. cit., p. 80. It is also substantiated by Sir Albion Banerji’s criticism on the administration of the Kashmir State, Government of India, Foreign and Political Department, Political, File no. 247, p. 1929, NAI.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{56} For further details see, R. Thorpe, op. cit., pp. 80-81; A. Bringman, op. cit., p. 31.
\textsuperscript{57} Lawrence, op. cit., p. 417.
\textsuperscript{58} See for example, Mrs Harvy, op. cit.; Younghusband, op. cit.; Bates, op. cit., and R. Thorpe, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{60} However, the British were more concerned about the Europeans, who visited Kashmir and the Maharaja agreed in 1852 for the appointment of a seasonal British officer, to supervise the affairs of the European visitors. See Bazaz, \textit{Inside Kashmir}, op. cit., pp. 35-6.
\textsuperscript{61} As per the census of 1941, more than 89 per cent people were living in villages and most of them were associated with agriculture. \textit{A Hand Book of Jammu and Kashmir State} (no date), Research Library NAI.
felt more. The whole of the land in Kashmir was the property of the ruler, i.e. Dogras. About three fourth of the produce of the land was taken as the land revenue by the State. The Dogras adopted region centric approach. Since they were from Jammu they considered Jammu as homeland and Kashmir as purchased territory. The Jammu peasants were treated mostly as the owners of land while as the peasants of Kashmir were treated only as serfs with no proprietary rights in land nor to its produce. Thus for the first time in the history of Kashmir, the ‘zamindars’ lost their occupancy rights or hereditary rights during the Dogra rule. They could occupy land so long as they could pay revenue, failed which, they were ejected from the land. Mr Wingate who was made the settlement officer of Kashmir before Lawrence also substantiates this. He records that while as the Kashmiri zamindars had no occupancy rights; the cultivators of Jammu were ‘independent and comfortable.’ After taking over as the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, the Maharaja Gulab Sing confiscated the Muslim jagirs and declared them his own jagirs. Even the rent free jagirs (religious) of Muslims were confiscated. However, under the British pressure some selected and influential groups of people (Hilly Rajas, Naqshbandi family) were allowed to continue their jagirs. Even during the reign of Pratap Singh, when British resident had been there, the discrimination continued. By the order of the Maharaja Pratap Singh, dated 20th July, 1910, the Muslim jagirdars were required to pay nazrana on their succession to a jagir and the Kashmiri Pandit jagirs were exempted from similar payments. And during the reign of Hari Singh who was considered liberal, this policy

---

63 Bates, op. cit., p. 100
64 Ibid.
66 The term zamidar in Kashmir held a meaning different from the zamindars of Indian subcontinent. The zamindars of Kashmir were only cultivators and not the intermediary class, revenue collectors.
68 Younghusband, op. cit., p. 188.
69 Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, Compiled Under the Direction of the Quarter Master General in India in the Intelligence Branch, Delhi, 1974, p. 116.

70 Mridu Rai, op. cit., p. 53.
71 K. M. Pannikar, op. cit., pp. 135-36.
72 They would act as the supporting structure of the Dogra rule, M. Rai, op. cit., p. 54.
continued. In early years of his reign at least twenty jagirs worth of 500 to 1000 were snatched from the Kashmiri zamindars (likely all Muslims) and were given to twenty Dogras, out of which 18 were Rajputs (Hindus) and only two were Muslims. While as the cultivators were mostly Muslims, the officials of revenue department concerned with the land revenue were mostly Hindus. They would use all harsh measures to release land revenue from the Muslim cultivators. According to Lawrence, "In Kashmir the land revenue administration proceeds from the patwari, the village accountant, and he is a Pandit... it has been pointed out that the patwari keeps three editions of statement of holding (of each village), "one for himself, which may be supposed to be near the truth, one for the tahsildar, and another for the villagers, the two latter being prepared with a view to convincing each side of the excellent bargain he has secured." Over the patwaris was a small band of Pandits, who were employed in the tahsil in various revenue capacities, but they did not condescend to manipulate the taxation of individuals, and dealt with villages as a whole. Over the patwari and the tahsil pandit was a tahsildar and one or two naib- tahsildars, mostly 'Pandits. The districts (wazars) were presided over by officers known as Wazir Wazarat, all of whom were Pandits. These Wazirs were subordinate to the Hakim-i- Ala or Governor of Kashmir and his revenue establishment known as the Daftar-i- Diwan was composed entirely of Pandits." At the time of harvest, a regiment known as the Nizamat Palton' accompanied by sepoys from the regular army would go to the village to enforce the State's claim. They collected land revenue harshly from the cultivators and more than the actual demand, which was 3/4th of rice, maize, millets and buck wheat, and 9/16th of oil seeds, pulses and cotton. There was a part of land directly under the State, which was cultivated with begar (forced labour) from the villagers. Besides the recognised method of land revenue system, the officials enjoyed other perquisites which was known as 'rasum'. Thus the Muslim cultivator had to pay not only to the State but also to the 'whole contingent of middlemen

74 Inquilab, 29 November, 1931, Lahore.
75 Lawrence, Valley, op. cit., pp. 400-01.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid., p. 402.
78 Bazaz, Inside Kashmir, op. cit., p.61; The peasants were so frightened with the cruel behaviour that the mere visit of official would send the pulse of the village up many degrees, Lawrence, op. cit., p. 5.
79 Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 402-03.
80 Bazaz, Kashmir, op. cit., p. 61.
81 Rasum was the revenue extracted by revenue officials from each village as their personal share. See Lawrence, pp. 415-17.
between himself and the State, starting from the *shakdar*, the official in charge of watching the crops, to the *kardar*, the actual revenue collector.*82* And worse still, the soldiers would come at harvest time, and when the share of the State had been seized and “these men of war had helped themselves, there was very little grain to tide the unfortunate peasants over the cruel winter, when the snow lies deep and temperature falls below zero.”*83* Gulab Singh, also brought the grain under his control, in Government granaries in the city of Srinagar so that to pay the city population through Government officials at a fixed price.*84*

While as the State would extract as much revenue as possible it never thought of improving the agricultural sector.*85* A large part of the cultivable land was under the city dwellers, absentee land lords, etc., and the cultivators employed by them were only the tillers.*86* Instead of encouraging the jagirdars to expand the cultivation by bringing more land under cultivation, they were given the fertile lands as jagirs in Kashmir.*87* In 1866-67, Rambir Singh introduced *chak hanudi* or chaks granted to Hindus in Kashmir.*88* By this chak dari system, the Kashmiri Pandits acquired a large land in the Valley.*89* Ranbir Sing also encouraged Dogras to settle in Kashmir and granted them privileged access to Kashmiri revenues. They were given revenues of some villages as salaries, free wood to build houses, and were exempted from taxes.*90* In 1882 auctioning of villages (*izad boli*) was adopted to the highest bidder. The auctioneers (Pandits and boatmen) were from city and had no knowledge about the capacity of the villages.*91* They would extract as much as possible from the villagers.*92* With the result starvation became more or less a regular affair.*93* Because of the heavy land revenue demand and other taxes a peasant was left with only three months produce and the rest of the year he would spend on wild vegetables and

---


*83* There is an old saying in the Kashmiri language, “*Batta Batta Taah Piyada patta.*” (We cry for food and the tax collector is after us.), Walter R. Lawrence, *The India We Served*, (London, 1928), p. 127.


*85* Bazaz, *Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 229. Of the total area of the State, only 4.9 per cent was actually cultivated out of 5.6 per cent cultivable land, A Hand Book of Jammu and Kashmir State, p. 13.


*87* Ibid.


*89* Ibid.


*93* Josef Korbał, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
fruits.\textsuperscript{94} Mr Wingate\textsuperscript{95} had criticised the State Government and its revenue officials for their harsh policies, in demanding land revenue and other taxes, which had reduced the cultivators as a mere coolie, working in the property (land) of the State.\textsuperscript{96} It is necessary here to mention that Gulab Sing after taking over as the ruler of Kashmir, had declared most of the necessities of life as well as the more important articles of commerce as the State monopolies.\textsuperscript{97} The sale of grain was a state monopoly but the officials in charge of it did not always sell it to the people who most required it or in the quantity they required\textsuperscript{98} and was sold on its double price (hike from 1 to 2 rupees), with the result, hoarding and black-marketing increased.\textsuperscript{99} When the Government would collect the grain from the zamindars it was in kharwars and 1 kharwar was equal to 16 traks but when they would sell to the people, 1 kharwar was equal to 15 traks.\textsuperscript{100} The extra trak was charged as the expense of kharwar carrying the grain from the villages to city.\textsuperscript{101} Because of the high land revenue and other taxes and harsh policies of the land collecting agency, the people of Kashmir were sullen, desperate and suspicious. They had no rights but were only serfs. They rarely tasted their beloved food rice.\textsuperscript{102} Their condition has been aptly recorded by Bazaz, \textit{"Dressed in rags which can hardly hide his body and bare-footed, a Muslim peasant presents the appearance rather of a starving beggar than of one who fills the coffers of the state. He works laboriously in the field during the six months of the summer to pay the State its revenue and taxes, the officials their rasum and the moneylender his interest. Most of them are landless labourers working as serfs of the absentee landlords. They hardly earn as their share of the produce, enough for more than three months. For the rest they must earn by other means. During the six months they are unemployed and must go outside the boundaries of the State to work as labourers in big towns and cities of British India. Their lot, as such is not good, and many of them die every year, unknown, unwept and unsung outsides their homes."}\textsuperscript{103}

\textsuperscript{94} Bazaz, \textit{Freedom Struggle}, p. 138.
\textsuperscript{95} He was the settlement officer of Kashmir in 1887.
\textsuperscript{96} M Rai, op. cit., p. 148.
\textsuperscript{97} Bates, op. cit., p. 101.
\textsuperscript{98} Malik Fazal Hussain, \textit{Kashmir Aur Dogra Raj 1848-1931} (Urdu), (Srinagar, 1980), p. 132.
\textsuperscript{100} R. Thorpe, op. cit., p. 53and 59.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{102} Lawrence, \textit{Kashmir}, op. cit., p. 4.
\textsuperscript{103} Bazaz, \textit{Kashmir}, op. cit., p. 252.
They would work as labourers in Punjab and after coming back, they had to pay custom duty on the goods, worth of few rupees (these goods included clothes for family essential commodities). All the income excluding the income tax, to the State would come from the poor people, but instead of spending even a meagre part of it on their betterment, it was spent on the maharaja and his administration, army, etc. The peasants in order to save some grain for their family would hide it under ground. They also adopted passive resistance and left their lands fallow. In 1889, when Lawrence started his work as Settlement Officer in Kashmir, he found a large rich land (left) uncultivated. And the army was employed by the Government in forcing the villagers to plough and sow. It was after great persuasion of Lawrence that they returned to their lands. It was not surprising that the vitality of these people had been undermined and the country witnessed successive famines, epidemics of cholera in 1877-78 (great famine), '1888, 1892, 1900-1902, 1906-07 and 1910 and an outbreak of plague in 1903-04 which decimated the population. In 1877, there occurred a great famine in Kashmir for which neither were people prepared to meet the emergency, nor were the officials capable of mitigating its effects and ‘direful calamity was the consequences. There were heavy rains that destroyed the harvest, which was left to rot in the fields due to the rigid revenue mechanism that prevented peasants from harvesting grain until a revenue official was present at the site. Instead of helping the poor people the Government gave an order to search houses for seed grain and by this time the people were ‘utterly demoralised and rather than make their scanty stocks to greedy and unprincipled officials they hid their grain in the damp earth or sunk it in the river. In 1877 when Kashmir was in the grip of famine, some unknown Kashmiris presented a memorandum to the Viceroy at Delhi in which besides other things a grave charge was levelled against the Maharaja that in order to save the grain he had ‘drowned famine straitened people in the Wullar Lake'.

104 Bazaz, Kashmir, op. cit., p. 233.
105 Salaries of the officials and Wazirs was more than the salaries in the developed European countries. See Bazaz, Kashmir, pp. 219-28.
107 Lawrence, The India We Served, op. cit., p. 127.
111 Lawrence, Valley, op. cit., p. 214.
112 Ibid.
According to F. Hervey, officer on special duty in Kashmir, the Maharaja told him that he expected “tangi” or distress to continue, and that there might be famine for one month, har or June. The officials had an interest in prolonging the distress, whereby they were to enable to amass at the cost of both the State and the people. They closed the borders of the State so that the famine stricken people might not migrate to Punjab where the mal-administration of the state would be exposed. However, the number of the victims was so large that the Government was forced to open the borders and the high migration of the people of Kashmir, towards Punjab started. It was impossible for the Muslims to buy a sufficient quantity of food to support their life. No government relief works were in existence, although people were dying in large numbers. It is worthy to notice that not a single Pandit died from starvation during this terrible famine.

The famine of 1877-78 had exposed the harsh land revenue system of the State and the exploitation of the peasants. In 1880, following the famine, Ranbir Singh announced a fresh land settlement. However, no serious work was done until late 1880s. The preliminary survey work relating to settlement operations was conducted by A. Wingate for about two years from 1887 to 1889. He was succeeded by Walter R. Lawrence, who carried out the first land settlement in Kashmir from 1889 to 1895. The main features of Lawrence Settlement were: (1), occupancy rights were conferred on zamindars in undisputed lands, (2) payment in cash was introduced, (3) beggar in its extreme form was abolished, (4) state demand was fixed for fourteen years. However, The Lawrence settlement was not so much successful in making rights of Muslims in land in par with the privileged sections (Pandits). The privileges

---

114 Kashmir Famine, Office Memo, K. W. Political A, December 1879. Nos. 155-186, NAI. The famine of 1876-78 was directly due, according to Sir Lepel Griffin and Dr Downer, to the maladministration of the corrupt native officials. Mrs. Ashley Corus Wilson, A Woman’s Life For Kashmir, New York, 1901, p. 113.
115 According to Punjab census report, 1891, 11,775 Muslims of Kashmir were settled in Punjab in 1890's.
116 According to Lawrence the population of Kashmir was reduced from 127,400 to 60,000, Lawrence, Valley, op. cit., p. 213.
118 M. Rai, op. cit., p. 166.
120 See Bazaz, Freedom Struggle, op. cit., p. 133
of the Pandits and Dogras 'not only continued but were strengthened.\textsuperscript{121} The condition of cultivators did not improve and they continued to remain as 'saga of poverty and oppression.'\textsuperscript{122} The new settlement of the land revenue was three times as high as that of the amount demanded in British (India) districts in the Punjab.\textsuperscript{123} In the first decade of the twentieth century the land revenue increased and was more than the half as much again as it was in 1890.\textsuperscript{124} By the Lawrence settlement, the name of the owner was entered but the government continued to be the owner of the land and the zamindars had no right of alienation or mortgage.\textsuperscript{125} Due to the land revenue paid in cash the peasant having no cash would take debt from moneylender (\textit{wadder}, mostly Pandits) at high interest.\textsuperscript{126} Every year they would pay both in cash and kind but it would never end and the debt would, after the death of the father pass to his son and thus the peasants were only serfs of moneylenders (\textit{wadder}).\textsuperscript{127} There was frequent increase in the rural indebtedness, after Lawrence settlement because land revenue was now (at least part of revenue) paid in cash. More than 70\% of the village population of Kashmir were under the burden of indebtedness.\textsuperscript{128} And the problem had become such a severe that Hari Singh (the last Dogra Maharaja) promulgated, the Agriculturists Relief Act in 1926-27 to free agriculturists from moneylenders.\textsuperscript{129}

\textbf{Begar}

The system of forced labour, in which peasants could at any time be drafted the service of the state, was called as \textit{begar}.\textsuperscript{130} The Kashmiri people were also forced to work for the State especially the \textit{begar} (forced labour) from Kashmir to Gilgit.\textsuperscript{131} It is necessary to mention here that the Pandits and the city people were exempted from it. So it were the Muslim villagers who were used as beasts of burden to carry

\textsuperscript{121} M Rai, op. cit., p 174.
\textsuperscript{122} J. Korbé, op. cit., p. 13.
\textsuperscript{123} Youngusband, op. cit., p. 177.
\textsuperscript{125} Youngusband, \textit{Kashmir}, op. cit., p. 188.
\textsuperscript{126} Bazaz, Kashmir, op. cit., pp. 253-54.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{129} Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Law Department. The Agriculturists' Relief Regulations, p. 7 in General Department, 1927, file No. 1248/AG.S JKA.
\textsuperscript{130} C. Zushi, \textit{Languages of Belonging}, op. cit., p. 66.
\textsuperscript{131} Robert Thorpe, op. cit., p. 73.
ammunition and grain for Dogra soldiers, from the Valley to Gilgit.\textsuperscript{132} Gilgit is in the north east of Jammu and Kashmir. It is a mountainous area with high passes, some as high as 17000 feet. There were no roads and the Kashmiri Muslims had to pass these high passes with loads.\textsuperscript{133} The means of communication were rough and rude in the extreme so that men instead of animals had to be used as beasts of burden.\textsuperscript{134} E. F. Knight who was contemporary and eyewitness says about these begars (forced labourers): "Heavily laden with grain, toiling along the desert crags between Astor and Gilgit, on a burning summer’s day was as pitiful as any to be seen on the roads of Siberia. But these were neither convicts nor criminals but Mussalman farmers, harmless subjects of the Maharaja."\textsuperscript{135} It was a miracle if anybody returned safe and alive.\textsuperscript{136} No care was taken for the comfort and even of the lives of the unfortunate wretches who were dragged from their homes and families to spent months walking through dangerous mountains with loads\textsuperscript{137} and were never paid their labour.\textsuperscript{138} "They fall", writes Knight, "on the road to perish of hunger and thirst, and, thinly clad as they are, are destroyed in hundreds at a time by the cold on the snowy passes."\textsuperscript{139} While many would die on the way and often it happened that when they did reach Gilgit they were sold as slaves to the wild inhabitants of that inhospitable region and even were exchanged for Chinese dogs.\textsuperscript{140} Most of the begar had to be carried on in the summer months, at the very season when they were needed in their fields.\textsuperscript{141} It had a bad effect on agriculture and there was decrease in the agricultural produce, which was a loss not only for the cultivator but also for the Government.\textsuperscript{142} Gilgit for Kashmiris was a constant terror and they would pay huge sums from 70 to 90, to Wazir Panu and it came to be known as ‘Wazir Panu’s share,’\textsuperscript{143} to purchase freedom.

\textsuperscript{133} Tyndale Biscoe, \textit{Kashmir and its inhabitants}, (Delhi, 1998), p. 236; Saraf, op. cit., p. 273 also Robert Thorpe, op. cit., pp. 73-75.
\textsuperscript{134} Younghusband, \textit{Kashmir}, op. cit., p. 177.
\textsuperscript{137} Knight, op. cit., p. 68. Mrs Hervey, who was in Kashmir in the early years of Dogra rule has recorded that it was really distressing to hear nothing but mourning and lamentation in every village one entered, as the men had been dragged away for begar. Mrs. Hervey, \textit{The Adventures of A Lady In Tartary, Thibet, China and Kashmir}, vol. 2, (London, 1853), p. 229.
\textsuperscript{138} Robert Thorpe, op. cit., pp. 73-5; Bazaz, \textit{Kashmir}, op. cit., p. 63.
\textsuperscript{139} Knight, op. cit., p. 68.
\textsuperscript{140} Biscoe, op. cit., p. 236.
\textsuperscript{141} Knight, op. cit., p. 69.
\textsuperscript{142} Parveena Akhtar, op. cit., p. 304; Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 414-15.
or exemption from begar. These men were collected from the villages with the aid of press-gangs and the sepoys always brought in more than were required so that those who had money could buy themselves off their hands. Although the begar was abolished in its extreme form in 1891, but most of the ills continued till 1920, when it was abolished forever. The beggar in its extreme was abolished in 1891 because of the efforts of the Resident and they were now given five rupees per month as wages. But later on it was given the name of Kar-i- Sarkar (work of Government, which continued up to 1947) and the officials would use them to work as begar. Briefly speaking, the man liable to begar was an “outlaw” without rights of any description, and begar was looked upon by the officials as an incident serfdom which entitled them to take all things, either labour or commodities, free of payment, from the villages.

Shawl Industry

Kashmiri shawls were known for their quality world over and had a flourishing market in France. Up to 1870, the shawl industry was a well flourishing industry and was at its zenith. But when Lawrence came to Kashmir in 1889, it had become a thing of the past, because of the defeat of France in the Germo-France war of 1870 with which its European market came to an end. While as the Muslim villagers were cultivators, the city Muslims were mostly associated with small industries, in which shawl industry was the most important. When the Dogras took over as the rulers of Kashmir, the shawl industry was reorganised and heavily taxed. There was a daghshawl department and the stamp of which was necessary.

---

144 The Kashmiri Pandits purchased occupancy rights and even whole villages, in lieu of granting freedom (exemption) from begar to the poor Muslim cultivators, Lawrence, Valley, op. cit., pp. 413-14.
145 Biscoe, op. cit., p. 236; Lawrence, op. cit., p. 414.
146 Suraf, op. cit., p. 279.
148 Lawrence, Valley, op. cit., p. 415.
150 Lawrence, Valley, op. cit., p. 375.
151 See Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 376-77 ; S. Abdullah, , op. cit., p.5.
152 Lawrence, Valley, op. cit., p. 375.
153 G. M. D. Sufi, Kashmir Being a History of Kashmir, New Delhi, 1974, p. 782; S. Abdullah, op. cit., p. 3.
for the selling of shawl\textsuperscript{154} and without which no shawl could be sold and there was a complete vigilance over the kharkhandar by the Pandits.\textsuperscript{155} Although the shawl- baufs (weavers) were Muslims, the Daghshawl Department was composed of Pandits. There were kharkhandars, where the weavers worked under a kharkhanadar. The annual tax levied on each karkhanadar was rupees 47-48, (chilkee rupees, till 1867 and then less by 11) for each shawl bauf.\textsuperscript{156} Much larger revenue than that of land was realised from the shawl manufacture. Every shawl was stamped to make it legal, and the stamp duty was 26\% upon the estimated value (price of the shawl) The shawl baufs were not allowed to give up their work and were given a meagre wages of 3-5 rupees per month (it included the price of the rice).\textsuperscript{157} Because of the heavy taxation, the weavers in protest, in 1847, struck work and about 400 of them left the state and migrated to Lahore.\textsuperscript{158} Again on 29 April, 1865 they protested against the heavy taxation. But instead of redressing their genuine demands they were cordoned off by the Dogra forces and in the stampede that followed 28 fell into river and were drowned to death.\textsuperscript{159} The shawl weavers had become slaves and were not allowed to leave the country\textsuperscript{160} and if by anyway, a shawl weaver was able to fly to the Punjab; his family was fined or imprisoned.\textsuperscript{161} Some of them settled in villages and most of them cut off their fingers and thumb and made themselves unable to work.\textsuperscript{162} And due to the nature of the work many of them became blind or half blind.\textsuperscript{163} The miserable condition can be judged from the following words of Robert Thorpe: "Nothing but death can release him from his bondage, since the discharge of a shawl bauf would reduce the maharaja's revenue by 36 chilkees a year."\textsuperscript{164} The Dogra Government was only concerned with taxes and never thought in terms of developing the industry.\textsuperscript{165} The result was its decline by 1870's. From 1826-70, the export of shawls averaged 25 to 28 lakhs of rupees per annum and in 1893-94 it was only rupees 22,850.\textsuperscript{166} Because of

\textsuperscript{154} S. Abdullah, op. cit., p. 3.
\textsuperscript{155} Robert Thorpe, op. cit., pp. 63-4.
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{157} Ibid, also, p. 67.
\textsuperscript{158} K.M. Pannikar, op. cit., p. 139.
\textsuperscript{159} Rashid Taseer, op. cit., pp. 58-60.
\textsuperscript{160} Biscooe, op. cit., p. 238.
\textsuperscript{161} Robert Thorpe, op. cit., p. 70.
\textsuperscript{162} Saifuddin, Roznamacha, as quoted in Parveen Akhter, op. cit., p. 24.
\textsuperscript{163} Robert Thorpe, op. cit., p 67.
\textsuperscript{164} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{165} Patrap, 27 February, 1926.
\textsuperscript{166} Lawrence, Valley, op. cit., p. 376-77.
the decline of industry the pressure on land increased so much so that the Census Commissioner for 1931 described the State as a 'predominantly agricultural country'.

Communal Nature

The worst feature of the Dogra rule was its communal outlook. It discriminated the Muslims on the basis of their religion and also interfered in their religious affairs. The Dogra State was actually a Hindu State and its rulers tried their best to broaden its Hindu nature, with the result Kashmiri Pandits as a co-religionists' class found it easy to get associated with it and the Muslims were marginalised. Regarding the nature of the Dogra Government, P. N. Bazaz, declared in 1941: “Speaking generally and from the bourgeois point of view, the Dogra rule has been a Hindu Raj. Muslims have not been treated fairly, by which I mean as fairly as the Hindus. Firstly, because, contrary to all professions of treating all classes equally, it must be candidly admitted that Muslims were dealt with harshly in certain respects only because they were Muslims.” It is reported that Gulab Singh in 1850, made a plan to reconvert the Muslims, but, the Banaras priests did not accept it, as according to them it would dilute the purity of Hinduism. In fact, in 1846, he made it clear that he would not allow Muslims to practise all their religious practices and that as a Hindu; he would have to give priority to the religion of Hindus. The British for the good of ‘ensuring the sway of Pax Britannica’, tolerated it. Colonel Torrens, who visited Kashmir (1859-60) during the reign of Ranbir Singh, records that the Dogra rule was the Hindu ‘rule’ which was run by ‘Hindu’ faguers, detested by people, they prey upon, but supported and encouraged by the Government. In order to prove it a Hindu State it invaded Muslim places and erected temples. A large number of Muslim shrines and mosques were confiscated and declared State property, like Pather Masjid, Khanqah Sokhta, Khanqah Bulbulshah, Khanqah Darashikoh, Idgah

---

168 M. Rai, op. cit., p. 80.
170 J. Korbil, op. cit., p.13.
171 For further details see M. Rai, op. cit., pp. 86 and 93.
172 M. Rai, op. cit., p 84.
173 For example Tukht-i- Suliman was invaded there was erected a temple, Lt. Col. Torrens, Travels Through Ladakh, Tartary and Kashmir, p. 300. Cited in Saraf, pp. 259-60
and so on in Srinagar and Khanqah Sufi Shah and Bahu Mosque in Jammu. In order to check the spread of Islam, a law was promulgated by the Government by which if a Hindu converted to Islam, he was debarred from the right of inheritance and in case of vice versa, he could attain the right of inheritance. Besides they (who would convert to Islam) were subjected to various difficulties and inconveniences by local officials. For a small minority, the majority was not allowed to slaughter cow, ox etc. Cow killing was banned and those found guilty were severely punished. First the punishment was death sentence but later on it was reduced to life imprisonment and then 7 years of imprisonment it is necessary here to mention that there were frequent famines in Kashmir and scarcity of food, as has been already discussed, and they had no alternative but to slaughter their own cattle, but it was not allowed. In the second decade of twentieth century, there were 117 prisoners in Kashmir, out of which 99 were Muslims, being punished for killing cows. Maharaja Ranbir Singh banned the catching of fish because of the belief that the late maharaja’s soul had transmitted into the body of a fish. Rambir Singh also closed the Friday market in Jama Masjid, Srinagar and opened a new market called Maharaja Gunj. Even the Muslim names were not tolerated and many Muslim names were changed into Hindu names; like Islamabad into Anlatnaq, Takt-I-Sulimani into Shankaracharya. After ascending the throne in 1885, Pratap Singh assured that no discrimination would be made between his subjects. But he could not fulfil his promise and came under the influence of Hindu religion and all his functions which were participated by military and civil officials, had religious tinge. In fact, he would say, “Do not give too much to Rajputs, use Kashmiri Pandits as much as you can and see that the Muslims do not

174 Glancy Commission Report, p. 3. These were converted into granaries and ammunition centres. Malik Fazal Hussain, op. cit., p.153.
177 R. Thorpe, op. cit., pp. 77-78.
178 Tyndale Biscoe, Kashmir In Sunlight and Shade, 2006, Srinagar, p.119. Its influence was mostly felt in city and the villagers continued to eat beef, though secretly that is why in Srinagar even today the people do not take beef.
179 Knight, op. cit., p. 115.
180 Tyndale Biscoe, An Autobiography, (Srinagar, 2003), p. 188.
182 Saraf, op. cit., p. 303.
183 Sultan Famadi, op. cit., p. 52. Also G M. D. Sofi, op. cit., p.570.
184 M. Rai, op. cit., p. 175-76.
185 Ibid.
starve."186 He would not tolerate to see the face of a Muslim (till noon) and the shade of a Muslim over the water, which was brought from Cheshma Shahi for him, and the guilty was punished and imprisoned.187 Maharaja Hari Singh discouraged the business of Muslims and Muslim contractors. Instead of encouraging local contractors, the Maharaja encouraged the high contractors from outside and were given loans without any interest.

Administration

The Dogra rulers in order to have a class loyal to the State filled the State administration with the Punjabis and Dogras and also Kashmiri Pandits but not Kashmiri Muslims.188 Though the Muslims constituted the majority of the State population and the major tax payers of the State but they were not considered fit for the State business189 and very few (Muslims) were employed on high positions.190 In 1930 in the bureaucracy, Hindus and Sikhs held 78 per cent of gazetted appointments compared to the Muslim’s 22 percent.191 As regarded the existing proportion of Muslims representation in the services some of the most striking instances are quoted:192

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Non-Muslims</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Executive)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Works</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric and Mechanical</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegraph and Telephones</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs (Assistant Mahakdars and Upwards)</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue(Wazirs and Tehsildars)</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

186 G.L. Koul, op. cit., p. 123.
188 C. Zutshi, op. cit., p. 71.
190 Younghusband, Kashmir, op. cit., p. 186. The representation of the Muslims in the State services was inadequate, Glancy Commission Report, p. 18.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
<th>(Girdawars and Patwaris) Mirpur</th>
<th>131</th>
<th>31</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department</td>
<td>Revenue</td>
<td>(Girdawars and Patwaris) Reasi.</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>Finance</td>
<td></td>
<td>368</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Works</td>
<td></td>
<td>194</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Judicial</td>
<td></td>
<td>162</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menials</td>
<td>Public Works</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Customs</td>
<td></td>
<td>314</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forest</td>
<td></td>
<td>784</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stationary and Printing</td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Glancy Commission Report, p. 18)

There was no Muslim gazetted officer in most of the departments, like defence, hunting, scientific research, libraries, archaeology and agriculture. Thus the majority community of Muslims in Kashmir found themselves unrepresented under the British sponsored Dogra rule. Not to talk about the higher posts in the administration, the Muslims were even not employed in the lower posts. In early 1870's there was no Muslim occupying even a lowest position or clerk in the employ of Maharaja's Government. It is here necessary to mention that at that time Persian was the official language of Kashmir, and according to Lawrence, many villagers (Muslims) would speak and write good Persian. While as the Muslims were not employed in the administration, they were to do menial work, and were 'the hewer of wood and drawer of water.' The Kashmiri Pandits though in minority dominated the administration particularly the revenue department. Since the Pandits occupied

---

193 Presidential address by Sheikh Atta Mohammad, All India Muslim Kashmir Conference (Amritsar), published in *Siyarat*, Lahore, November 7, 8, 1923. For further details see Saraf, op. cit., pp. 326-28.
194 M. Rai, op. cit., p. 4.
195 Lawrence valley, op. cit., p. 229.
196 Bazaz, Kashmir, op. cit., p. 250.
197 As already mentioned see Lawrence, op. cit., also Bates, op. cit., pp. 96-98.
the administrative jobs, it gave them political power and authority.198 The Rajputs who being the brethren of the Maharaja, were appointed in the high posts in the administration, although, they were mostly illiterate.199 Although there were many Muslims from Punjab in the administration, they either were too much loyal to represent Muslim grievances or were not enjoying actual power.200 In 1930, a civil service recruitment board was formed for the recruitment of candidates in the state. It laid down that only those would be recruited who belonged to a notable family and were not above 20 years of age.201 It was against the Muslims because majority of them came from poor family or middle class, not notable family and they because of illiteracy would start education late of their age. The government had also veto to reject an appointment of any candidate. More over the recruitment board could appoint only 40% positions while as 60% was the monopoly of the government.202 Also in place of Persian and Urdu, Hindi and Sanskrit with which Muslims were not familiar, were introduced as optional languages.203 Even then the working of the recruitment board was not satisfactory.204 Even if some Muslims were able to get Government employment but they were never promoted. Instead the Hindus from other departments were brought to that department, where the promotion of a Muslim was due.205 Moreover they were sent to distant areas without increasing their pay.206 The Kashmiris were also disqualified for military services207 and it became the monopoly of Dogras.208 Under the State’s arms act, only Rajputs and Dogras were permitted to own and utilise fire arms,209 to use them against the Kashmiri people.210 It seemed that British too were not in favour of Muslims in the army. “One object of the Treaty of Amritsar was to establish a strong Rajput power in Jammu and Kashmir, which would achieve the British Government of the defence of a difficult country.”211

199 Bazaz, op. cit., p. 298.
201 Rashid Taseer, op. cit., pp. 79-80.
202 Ibid.
203 S. Abdullah, op. cit., p. 47.
204 Glency Commission, p. 22.
205 Inquilab, 5 October, 1930, Lahore.
206 Vakil, Amritsar, 29 November, 1923.
207 G.L. Koul, op. cit., p.106.
208 Even outsiders were recruited in the army, Bazaz, Kashmir, op. cit., p. 95.
209 Jammu and Kashmir Administrative Report, 1931, pp. 6-10, JKA.
211 Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, op. cit., p. 138, see also art 4 of the treaty of Amritsar.
Besides being, Hindu centric, the Dogra rule was also region centric. They considered Kashmir as the purchased territory and Jammu as home country. In a letter dated 13 December, 1918, to his Chief Minister, Maharaja Pratap Singh wrote, “as you are already aware the proprietary rights in all the lands of Kashmir belong to the ruling chief exclusively, for the simple reason that the territories of Kashmir were purchased by my late lamented grandfather, Maharaja Gulab Singh, and hence any sale of such land by anyone else is illegal.” Ranbir Singh made Jammu his capital and thus for the first time in the history of Kashmir, Srinagar lost its importance.

Education

In the field of education, Kashmir was lagging behind in the whole subcontinent. The modern education started in Kashmir with the coming of Christian Missionaries. In 1880, J. H. Knowles founded the first Christian Missionary School in Srinagar and the mission ladies founded the first girls’ school at Fateh Kadal in Srinagar. But it were the Kashmiri Pandits who took lead in modern education. The Pandits were advanced in education because of the facilities provided by the Government which were not provided to the Muslims. In 1891-92 the condition of education was like this. Out of a population of 52,576 Hindus, 1327 were receiving State education and out of 757,433 Muslims, only 233 obtained benefit from the State schools. That is although the Hindus formed only 7 per cent of the population, they had monopolies over 83 per cent of the education bestowed by the State. Thus Muslims were backward in education. Many causes have been put forward for this backwardness. According to Lawrence, the villagers (Muslim) preferred Masjid schools, and stressed on moral education.

---

212 Kashmir Government Records, File No. 191/H-75, block C of 1906, cited in Bamzai, p. 718. As has been already discussed in case of peasantry.
214 The Hamdard, Srinagar, 17 May, 194; Lawrence, Valley, op. cit., p. 229.
215 Ishaq Khan, op. cit., p. 162 and 167.
216 Ibid, p. 171. Muslims were cultivators whose responsibility was to feed the State and Pandits by producing food and the later had to rule over them by entering into administration, Muslim Outlook, 5 May, 1923. Cited in V. Schofield, op. cit., p. 95.
217 Bazaz, Kashmir, op. cit., p. 96; for data see Lawrence, op. cit., p 229 and Biscoe, Autobiography, op. cit., p. 52.
218 Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 228-29.
appréhension about the Christian missionary schools. But the main cause was the indifference of the government towards the education of the Muslims. As the services of the Government were closed to them, they did not send their children to schools for even after getting education they would remain unemployed. Bazaz, a Kashmiri Pandit criticised the Dogra Government for its indifference towards education among the Muslims and not working for the welfare of Kashmiri Muslims and held the Government responsible for the backwardness of Muslims. Out of 2 ½ crore income, only 15 lakh were spent on education. But mostly non Muslims were benefited from this expenditure because of their dominant presence both as teachers and students. Moreover schools were not established in those areas where Muslims were in clean majority. Ironically, the schools in the Muslim areas were shifted from there to non Muslim areas. The aid given to Muslim schools was low than given to other schools.

With the turn of the century the Muslims became conscious and started thinking about their community. They sent petitions and requested the Government to establish the schools in their areas, but were turned down. The outside Muslims also highlighted the grievances of Kashmiri Muslims and supported them through their organisations, press and other means. In September 1913-4 a deputation of the All- India Muhammadan Educational Conference presented an address to Maharaja Pratap Singh. Among other things, it demanded free and compulsory primary education, assistance to enable the Islamic school to be raised to the collegiate grade, the grant of special stipends and scholarships for Muslims, the employment of Muslim professors, teachers, inspectors, etc., and the appointment of special inspector for Muslim education. Consequently, under pressure of public opinion, Pratap

---

220 Ishaq Khan, op. cit., pp. 150-51.
221 Ibid p. 171.
224 See Bazaz, Kashmir, op. cit., pp. 251-52.
225 M. F. Hussain, op. cit., p. 112.
226 Ibid.
227 See ibid, pp. 114-16.
229 Ishaq Khan, op. cit., p. 171.
230 Akhbar Kashmiri, 21 January, 1925; Bazaz, Kashmir, op. cit., p. 238.
231 Saraf, op. cit., p. 319.
Singh, in 1916 invited Sir Henry Sharp, the Educational Commissioner, Government of India, to examine the educational system in Kashmir and to advise the future policy, and also to recommend for the development of education of the Muslims. Mr Sharp admitted that the Muslims were educationally backward. The following figures merely analyse the nature of its backwardness. "Muslims form 75.9% of the total population of the state; in the Kashmir province the proportion rises to 94%" but their proportion in the educational field was very low. "Only 15 per mile of male Muslims and nil per mile female Muslims were found literate in 1911 and, against 38 and 1 per mile for the whole population. Only 39.55 per cent of the pupils in public institutions are Muslims. "Even in primary schools the percentage of Muslim pupils [was] far below what it normally should be." The proportion of Muslim students in private schools was higher than the public schools because as per Mr. Sharp, Hindu teachers neglected and discouraged the Muslim students. In the schools where the Mullahs had been appointed as teachers the number of Muslim students was much higher than the other schools. It was no surprising thus that the first recommendation Sharp Commission made was to appoint Mullahs largely as teachers. Among the other things Sharp recommended, the expansion of the primary schools, scholarships for the Muslims. Though Pratap Singh accepted these recommendations but were given never due publicity and were to a great extent ignored. The officials who were Hindus' ignored these recommendations because they did not want Muslims to be appointed in the State services, which they considered their own monopoly. Instead of implementing the recommendations of the Sharp Commission, they did opposite. At the time of Mr Sharp there was a special Inspector for Muslim education, but he was deflected from his proper work and was deputed to discharge the general duties of an ordinary, assistant inspector in a

---

233 Ibid.
234 Ishaq Khan, op. cit., p. 172.
236 Ibid.
237 Ibid, p. 43; Report of the Srinagar Riot Enquiry Committee, 1931, Srinagar, p. 44. Therefore Glancy Commission recommended that the local teachers should be appointed in the villages, Glancy Commission, p. 13.
238 For details and figures see Sharp Commission, p. 44.
239 Ibid, p. 45.
240 Ibid.
241 Ishaq Khan, op. cit., p. 174.
242 Glancy Commission, p. 9.
particular division.\textsuperscript{244} Thus when in 1931-32, Glancy Commission was appointed, he found that the condition of Muslims had not improved. The proportion of the Muslims in the Education Department like other Departments was very low. The following figures substantiate it: \textsuperscript{245}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESIGNATON</th>
<th>MUSLIM</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>2201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headmasters of State</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headmasters of State</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professors in College</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrators</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector Staff</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazetted Officers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Glancy Commission Report, p. 15.

In the Education Minister's Secretariat, there were 12 officials from the Secretary downwards, but none of them was Muslim.\textsuperscript{246}

Hari Singh took some measures which benefited the people. Primary education for boys in the cities of Srinagar and Jammu was made compulsory.\textsuperscript{247} But after some time he changed his behaviour and came under the influence of some officials.\textsuperscript{248} For example, in 1927, a Scholarships Section Board was formed for the education of State subjects. It consisted of three members, but none of them was

\textsuperscript{244} Glancy Commission, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{245} Ibid, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{246} Ibid, p 16.
\textsuperscript{247} Saraf, op. cit., p. 344.
Muslim. They favoured their own community and thus in 1927, out of 12 scholarships, given only one was given to a Muslim. Besides there were also Orphan Scholarships and ‘Cow Protection’ Scholarships. But here again huge discrimination was made. Out of 190 students, who were given Orphanage Scholarships, only 42 of them were Muslims and 148 were Hindus. The Cow Protection Scholarship was given entirely to non-Muslims. Hari Singh also established Rajput Military School in Jammu in which only Hindus were given admission. The reason was that it was established by the funds of the Hindu religious gifts and the late Maharaja had ordered that it should be spent to ameliorate the condition of his own community only.

The doors of employment for Muslims were closed even if a qualified Muslim was there he was not employed and if employed he was given a low job and less pay as compared to his Hindu counterpart having the same qualification. Thus because of their inadequate representation in Government departments Muslims had to suffer in various ways. As Bazaz, observed: “In education department the Muslims felt that that they Hindu teachers and officials would not take as much interest in the spread of education among them as was necessary. In the medical department Muslim patients did not receive as much care as the Hindus. In the offices and courts Muslim clients were shabbily treated while the cases of Hindus were expeditiously described.” Time and again some influential Muslims would approach the British to intervene but of no avail. In 1924 when the Viceroy, Lord Reading visited Kashmir a memorandum was presented to him regarding the sufferings of Muslims by some Muslim representatives, in which they demanded, inter alia, the abolition of begar, better educational facilities, good representation of Muslims in the State services,

---

249 Riots Enquiry Committee, p. 17.
250 Ibid.
252 Ibid.
253 Riots Enquiry Committee, 48.
254 Ibid, p. 47.
255 Statement of the Muslim representatives of Kashmir to Glancy Commission, 1932, file no. 23/22-p.1, 1932, jKA.
256 Bazaz, Kashmir, op. cit., p. 205.
257 For instance when in 1924, the workers of silk industry observed hartal and protested against the heavy taxation, a telegram was sent to Viceroy by Mohammad. Usman, Srinagar, Kashmir. Foreign and Political Department, File No.-19(2) - p/ 1924-NAI.
release of religious places and buildings and the proprietary rights to the peasants. The State Government did not tolerate it and the signatories were severely punished. Saad-ud-Din Shawl was banished from Kashmir, Khawaja Hassan Shah lost his jagir, Hassan Shah Jalali was dismissed from the office of zaildar.

In the late 1920s, when Indians were preparing for the Civil Disobedience Movement and Purna Swaraj, and the British were ready to give more constitutional concessions to Indians, the Kashmiris were still labouring under many disadvantages. Officially their disadvantages were made known to the outside world by Sir Albion Bannerji. Sir Albion Bannerji, the Foreign and Political Minister of Kashmir, resigned on 15th March, 1929 and in a press statement at Lahore exposed the autocratic Dogra rule and the impoverished conditions of Muslims of Kashmir. Levelling the serious allegations against the Dogra rule, he said: “Jammu and Kashmir State is labouring under many disadvantages, with a large Muhammadan population absolutely illiterate, labouring under poverty and very low economic conditions of living in the villages and practically governed like dumb driven cattle. There is no touch between the Government and the people, no suitable opportunity for representing grievances and the administrative machinery itself requires overhauling from top to bottom to bring it up to the modern conditions of efficiency. It has at present little or no sympathy with the people’s wants and grievances.”

Thus it becomes clear that the people of Kashmir during the Dogra rule were labouring under many disadvantages. The Muslims, who constituted the sheer majority of the total population of the State, were lagging behind in every field and were governed like dumb driven cattle. They were discriminated by the Dogra Maharajas for a simple reason that they were followers of a religion different to the Dogras. It is therefore not surprising that the political movement Kashmiris launched in 1930's under Shaikh Abdullah would take the religious colour and mosques and shrines were used as platforms.

---

260 Sir Albion Bannerji, a civil servant from Bengal was senior minister of the executive council of the State.
261 Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, 18 March, 1929. Foreign and Political Department-1929, File No. 7(S)-R/1929, NAI.