

British intervention in Kashmir its impact upon economy and society

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Abstract

In this paper Researcher try to examine the impact of British intervention in Kashmir. Although on one hand British colonialism strengthened the mechanism of exploitation; but on the other, their intervention had a utilitarian face. Thus, the colonial intervention after 1885 though motivated by British political interests that were threatened by Russian expansion in central Asia had a dramatic impact on agrarian landscape of Kashmir. The British introduced reforms in land tenure and revenue system. These reforms provided a relative relief to the peasantry by conferring upon them the occupancy rights and abolishing illegal taxes and begar. Besides agrarian reforms, modern medical facilities as well as modern education was introduced into the Kashmir valley. By the introduction of modern education in Kashmir people became politically consciousness about their sufferings.

Keywords: land settlement, beggar, occupancy rights, educational reforms etc.

Introduction

Within less than two years of Maharaja Gulab Singh's rule, the British intervention in the internal affairs of the state began to show its signs. The principal cause of this intervention was complaints which the Government of India had received about the Maharaja's "oppression on the people" [1]. In order to know facts the Government of India sent a chain of agents to Kashmir to make enquiries into the allegations against the Maharaja. The investigation done, and the truth of the complaints established, the Maharaja was warned that the British Government will not permit tyranny in Kashmir and that if he did not act for himself some other arrangements would be made for the protection of the "Hill people" [2]. The Government of India felt need to appoint an experienced officer as "an expedient measure for the purpose of making inquiries into the conditions of the people under the Maharaja's rule and reporting generally upon the state affairs of the country" [3]. Ultimately the Government of India made it clear to the Maharaja that "it never can consent to incur the reproach of becoming indirectly the instrument of oppression of the people committed to the princes charge." [4] A note of warning was issued to the Maharaja that the Government of India would not shirk to resort to interfere in his administration and curtail his authority if oppression continued [5]. The main purpose behind these warnings was to persuade the Maharaja to reform the administrative set up of the state as well as to get a permanent Resident appointed in Kashmir. The Maharaja protested almost every time such an arrangement on the ground that it would lower him "in the eyes of my subjects and in the estimation of the public [6]." But these solicitations went unheeded and the question to appoint a resident was again raised in 1851. This time it was made out that there was need to set right the unsatisfactory conduct of the European visitors in Kashmir because "the British

authorities had been frequently receiving complaints against them" [7]. In order to restrain such visitors from behaving in an unseemly manner in Kashmir the Government of India expressed its intention "to the Maharaja to appoint some responsible European at Srinagar to stay there till the return of such visitors and to supervise the conduct of European visitors to Kashmir [8]." The Maharaja was forced to accept the proposed agreement and as a result a "seasonal British officer with no powers of political supervision" was appointed [9].

Appointment of the Resident

The appointment of a British Resident with political powers in Jammu and Kashmir became an inevitable necessity for the Government of India during the eighties of the 19th century. The Government of India had been apprehending, for some time past, the possibility of an attack on India from beyond its North West frontiers. In fact the British feared a Russian attack on India. The Indian subcontinent was included in one of the plans Napoleon wanted to conquer. But after his failure in Egypt, his dream of conquering India vanished automatically, when in 1807, Napoleon made peace with Russia by the treaty of Tilsit he suggested to the Tsar Alexander I that an advance towards India would be feasible" [10]. But the Tsar had already implemented his plan of expansion in Southern Asia and had started interfering in the affairs of Persia. This design of Russia had made the British in India conscious of Russian intentions towards Indian Empire. By 1868 Russia had advanced in the Central Asia and extended its influence to Samarkand. These movements had created a great panic in the British circles in India. Simultaneously the Government of India had become suspicious of the adventurous campaigns of the Maharaja of Kashmir which had been conducting in the North-West of this state. The Maharajas policy of expansionism did not find

favour with the British. They considered that it would facilitate Kashmir intrigues both with Kabul and with Russian at Tashkent”^[11]. This fear had, for the first time, led the Government of India to the realization of the strategical importance of the Jammu and Kashmir state. The state assumed, therefore, importance from the defence point of view also. These considerations became forceful arguments with the government of India to appoint a British Resident in the state. When finally the question was again raised, this time “it was claimed for the state that it was independent and outside the Indian political system, but neither claim could possibly be deemed valid”^[12]. Moreover the Maharaja of Kashmir was alleged to have been in correspondence with Russia. This had precipitated the British desire to appoint its political agent in Kashmir. By appointing a resident the advantage of the British Government “in respect of the control of the political doings of cashmere and the information to be obtained from Central Asia will be very great”^[13]. This allegation was made the basis on which the relations between the Government of India and the Jammu and Kashmir state was to be determined for the future. This new relationship aimed at securing a “political ally with refrence to transfrontier politics”^[14] and an unchecked, uncontrolled and unwatched Kashmir ruler could not be relied upon. The only course of action open to the Government of India was therefore not to allow the Maharaja “to maintain relations with transfrontier states unbecfitting his position. Had there been a resident in Kashmir, the Maharaja’s subordinate position would have been marked out clearly. Foreign states could have considered it less worth their while to intrigue with him”^[15]. The Maharaja came to be regarded now by the Government of India as a politically weak ally^[16], “weak from every point of view”. On these grounds the Government of India strongly favoured the appointment of a resident in the state. This arrangement was ultimately given effect and on the 25th of September 1885 Maharaja Pratap Singh reluctantly accepted Sir Olive Saint John, officer on special duty, as the first Resident. The Jammu and Kashmir state was thus brought politically at par with other native states of India.

Impact of the British Ascendency

The Land Settlement and Educational Reforms

The British ascendency on the political affairs of Jammu and Kashmir was presented not merely as a strategic move to protect the British Indian Empire, but to alleviate the misery of the people of Kashmir by reforming the administration. Soon after its establishment, the Residency persuaded the Maharaja to accept a land settlement in the valley of Kashmir. In 1887, A. Wingate was appointed to carry out this much needed task. It is here that the significance of British perception of the economic structures of Kashmir becomes apparent. Following from the traditions of the colonial government in British India throughout the 19th century, Wingate made a strong argument in favor of granting occupancy rights to Kashmiri peasants. According to him, the land revenue system in place in the valley had left the coffers of the state empty because of the existence of the class of officials between the state and the peasantry. Additionally it had created an itinerant peasantry with no interest in cultivating the land. Therefore, the commission suggested, to

replenish revenue and to convert a discontented and thriftless peasantry into a contented, thriving community, peasants had to be given interest in the land they cultivated. To achieve this, Wingate argued, it was necessary to fix the state demand at a fair sum for a term of 10 years and a system of accounts established which would confine the powers of the Tehsildars to revenue collection^[17]. Another aspect of the changes suggested by Wingate, which was to have far reaching consequences for the social structure of the city of Srinagar, was the release of the grain market from the monopoly of the state. Wingate clearly disagreed with the collection of revenue in kind which allowed for the state to fix prices of grain and act as the sole grain trader in the valley. According to him, the price of *shali* (unhusked rice) had to rise and fall with the outturn of the harvest, because as soon as it got scarce, huge profits were made by the officials in charge of collection. However, although he proposed in his settlement rules for the valley that the settlement should be made in cash, Wingate allowed for the Darbar “upon report by the settlement officer to accept whole or part of the assessment in *shali* under defined conditions”. Wingate suggested that the settlement rules declare the state as ultimate proprietor and at the same time confer the right of occupancy on all persons entered as occupants at the time of settlement *jamabandhi* (assessment)^[18]. It is essential to note that Wingate’s arguments were designed to bolster the authority of the state through the foundation of a peasantry willing to pay land revenue and determined to defend their lands against encroachments.

Walter Lawrence, who took over from Wingate as Settlement Commissioner in 1890, followed the principles introduced by his predecessor in the land settlement of the valley. According to the Lawrence Settlement, as it came to be known, permanent hereditary occupancy rights were bestowed on every person who, at the time of assessment or at the time when the distribution of assessments was effected, agreed to pay the assessment fixed on the fields entered in his or her name in the settlement papers^[19] and so long as the assessment was paid, the occupant could not be ejected. However, the right to occupancy was not alienable by sale or mortgage. He argued that giving cultivators the right to alienate their land would create a class of middlemen who would procure land for themselves and rich urban individuals. He records that he “came across cases where whole villages had been sold for paltry sum of Rs 50 and Rs 60.” This persuaded him to form a strong opinion that the Kashmiri cultivators did not yet understand the value of land or rights in land and he therefore feared that the right to sell or mortgage land would be the signal for extensive alienations, and that in a few years large properties would be acquired either by the officials or by the more influential Musalman *lamabdars*^[20]. “I hold strongly”, wrote Lawrence, “that the state should avoid, as far as possible, the creation of middlemen and I regard the proposal to give the rights of sale and mortgage to ignorant and inexperienced cultivators as the surest way towards the creation of the middlemen”^[21]. He advised that the darbar should not bestow the right to sell, mortgage or transfer until it was satisfied that the occupants were capable of properly using this right^[22].

Further, the revenue assessment was fixed for a period of ten years, to be paid partly in cash and partly in kind, depending

on the produce of the village. Lawrence stressed in his assessment report that the revenue should be wholly in cash, but he faced a strong opposition by the Dogra administration. It appears that there were two reasons for the officials and the influential classes to fiercely oppose a cash settlement. The first reason was that the collection of revenue in kind gave employment to a large number of pandits (Kashmiri Hindus) and also gave them great opportunities for perquisites and speculation. The men who were responsible for the collection of revenue (at village level) took sometimes as much as one-fifth in excess of the legal state demand. Further they would adulterate the grain on its way to Srinagar ^[23]. The class of revenue officials thus had the reason to oppose the land settlement of the valley. These officials had been reduced by the new assessment from all powerful individuals with huge amounts of grain and land under their control, to mere bureaucrats in the employ of the state ^[24].

The second reason for the Dogra Darbar's opposition was the issue of the supply of grain to the city of Srinagar. The city population which was mainly associated with the shawl trade and was an important source of the state income was supplied with cheap grain by the state ^[25]. However by the time Lawrence took over as the settlement officer, the shawl trade was on the decline, but the city people who were accustomed to get the shali at cheap rates demanded the supply of cheap grains to continue. The financial crisis due to the declining shawl trade had further made them dependable on the state. This prompted the dogra administration to decline the proposal of Lawrence to accept a purely cash settlement ^[26].

Besides the actual cultivated land people possessed other assets which had always been liable to taxation by the state, such as walnut trees, fruit trees, apricots and apricot oil, and honey. Lawrence made a provision in his settlement that the taxes on all these items should be included in the land revenue, except the pony and sheep taxes. Additionally, Lawrence attempted to reform the system of collection, storage and sale of state grain ^[27]. In the first round of the settlement only the khalisa (state owned) land in Kashmir was assessed. The jagir lands came under assessment only in the mid 1890 when capt. J. L. Kaye was appointed as the settlement commissioner. He laid down the rules for governing jagir lands in Kashmir ^[28]. This resulted in the curtailment of the powers of the jagirdars and the revenue farmers (in whose hands the estates of jagirdars had fallen) ^[29]. Kaye clearly suggested the active interference of the state in jagir holdings along with specifying the status of jagirdars and the tenants on these holdings. *Sanads* or land deeds were now to be prepared for each jagir, which specified its precise area and value, the term for which and the conditions under which the grant had been made. Jagirdars, it was stated, were no more than mere assignees of state revenue and the tenants in jagir tracts were as much tenants of the darbar and entitled to protection as any of its other subjects ^[30]. Jagirdars on the other hand were not given occupancy or proprietary rights to their estates. The report argued that the jagirdar, to whom the revenue derived from certain lands had been assigned by the darbar, could not possibly be a tenant: the jagirdar stands in place of the darbar as the collector or assignee of this revenue only. Under the grant he had absolutely no connection with the land, only with the revenue derived from it ^[31]. Just as the

darbar could not be its own tenant in khalisa (state owned) villages, according to Kaye, so too jagirdars could not claim occupancy rights that belonged to peasants. Furthermore, Kaye mentioned that jagirdars had no right to collect taxes or to make the villagers pay for items of expenditure which were purely personal, thus cutting short the formidable list of taxes extracted by jagirdars from their peasants. In the same tone, the report also denied jagirdars any right to the wastelands that they had included with their original grants over the years ^[32]. Thus Capt. J. Kaye's assessment of jagirs brought all jagir land in line with the land settlement in the rest of Kashmir valley. Jagirdars had been curbed and the revenue farmers had been rendered ineffective. The conferral of occupancy rights on cultivators effectively curbed the powers of the jagirdars to evict them at will.

The significance of state intervention in jagir lands under the British ascendancy lies in the fact that it threatened the financial and social bases of the Kashmiri landed elite for the first time, replacing them with a non-Kashmiri, predominantly Hindu landholding class. Colonial records such as the 1901 census recorded that many landed families of note had lost wealth as a result of the "better administration" which had led to a loss of their power and influence, "[33] birth alone, nowadays being no qualification for employment in the civil service of the state."

The Kashmiri peasantry, on the other hand, seems to have benefited to some extent from the settlement and the village gradually claimed its position in the economy of the state. Several writings from the period note the increasing prosperity of the peasantry as a result of the settlement. Though the description given by Lawrence may be an exaggeration ^[34], the assertion that the peasantry was firmly established in this period can hardly be denied. The confidence inspired by the conferral of occupancy rights on *assamis* led to a gradual return of fugitives to their lands, not only from other villages in Kashmir but also from the Panjab ^[35]. Deserted villages were resettled as whole families returned to till their lands. A contemporary account places the number of families returning from the Panjab in a particular village to be at 23 ^[36]. More and more waste lands were cultivated, "fields fenced, orchards planted, vegetables gardens stocked and mills constructed" ^[37]. The 1901 census noted that the cultivators were better off than before and enjoyed peace and prosperity as a result of the settlement and considerable areas had been converted into flourishing fields during the last decade. Not only was the peasant not at the mercy of the revenue officials, but he was in a position to sell his surplus grain to urban grain traders, thus entering the sphere of legitimate and lucrative trade ^[38]. More importantly, peasants were now a recognizable class whose interests became the focal point of movements that were emerging in Kashmir at the turn of the 20th century.

It is essential to note, however, that the reforms initiated under the auspices of the British colonial government made the peasantry as well as the urban poor more vulnerable to the market. If the peasantry had been released from the grip of the officials, payment of revenue in cash meant that it was now connected to the larger economic system and affected by its downturns and upturns. The new settlement made the peasants the tenants of the state by officially converting their hereditary rights into occupancy rights, liable to being ejected from their

land and losing their occupancy rights if they were unable to pay revenue. Moreover the access of the shawl weavers to cheap grain was further restricted as the state began to lose control over the grain trade. The artisans, for their part, not only lost access to cheap state grain, but were now at the mercy of grain traders who now stood between the consumer and the market. The economic system of the valley had been transformed from a tightly controlled state monopoly into a market driven system which the Dogra state found impossible to direct.

The direct British interference also influenced the other aspects of the life of people in Jammu and Kashmir. The state was by no means either economically or culturally isolated from the outside world prior to the establishment of the residency and the deposition of Maharaja Pratap Singh. A brisk trade in commodities such as salt, cloth, tea, metals and tobacco was carried on by the people of Jammu and Kashmir as they migrated seasonally, particularly between the Kashmir valley and the plains of the Panjab. However, it was the opening of the Jhelum valley cart road connecting Kashmir to the Panjab to wheeled traffic in 1890 which led to an almost instantaneous increase in trade with British India. Silk, having replaced the shawls in the export economy of Kashmir, became a commodity of increasing value at the turn of the century. In 1890, the state took over the direct control of the industry to establish on a commercial footing and by 1900 it had become clear that Kashmir could produce silk on a large scale^[39]. The nature and volume of trade from Jammu and Kashmir had undergone a major transformation, leading to a period of urban growth. Trade coupled with the construction of the cart road and the Gilgit road and a steady increase in tourism to Kashmir led to an influx of money into the state.

However, these developments did not usher in a period of peace, and conflicts within and between communities escalated in this period. Despite the rhetoric of prosperity not everyone was prosperous. The landed elite, as has already been pointed out, lost economic and political influence in the wake of the land settlement. Moreover, revenue officials, mostly pandits, not only lost their traditional occupations to outsiders with the establishment of the state council and the influx of Punjabis in the state, they were also unable to profit from their positions as a result of the regulations of the revenue system^[40].

Educational reforms

The system of education in Jammu and Kashmir prior to the late 19th century was informal and indigenous. Under this system Pandits and Moulvis imparted education to local Hindu and Muslim boys in Pathshalas and Madrasas respectively^[41]. The early Dogra rulers, placed at the head of the newly established state of Jammu and Kashmir, did not interest themselves in the educational affairs of the people. Gulabsingh, the first Dogra Maharaja, was too busy in consolidating his dominions to pay much attention to the educational status of his subjects. Although, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, his successor, was first to take an active interest in education and made some feeble attempts at founding a few state supported institutions, the system of education continued to be unregulated and religious^[42]. There was no concerted effort on the part of the government to promote education

among the mass of population. In fact the government was opposed to the schools established by the Christian missionary society in Srinagar in 1880. It is obvious that in this period the state did not consider education either its responsibility or a priority^[43].

It was after the establishment of the British ascendancy in Kashmir that some reform measures were initiated in the field of education. The state government could no longer follow a policy of non-intervention in matters of education as the reigns of the administration were now in the hands of the British. There were a few attempts made by the state council- which was constituted after the deposition of Maharaja- to improve the educational system of Jammu and Kashmir. The administration report of 1890-91 noted the lack of proper school buildings and methods of teaching in the schools and the need for opening more primary schools. A few primary schools were established by the council with the number rising from 8 to 31 during 1891-92^[44]. There was a corresponding increase in the number of students in town and village schools from 836 in 1889-90 to 4214 in 1892-93^[45]. The council also took steps to encourage private enterprise to promote education. Bhag Ram, the home and judicial member in charge of the state education, went to the extent of appealing to the private purses of the Maharaja, the Resident and the members of the Council by asking them to “to prove very liberal...for subscribing to education”^[46].

Although some steps were taken following the British intervention to improve the educational standards of the people in Jammu and Kashmir, the state council, in the initial years of its rule, did not make any serious attempt to reform the educational sector of Jammu and Kashmir. The reason for this inaction was that the state did not feel the necessity to educate the local masses. The purpose for the introduction of modern education among the native subjects in British India was to create a class that could help with the task of administering the vast country. Contrarily, this urgency was not felt in Jammu and Kashmir as the state simply imported these individuals particularly from Punjab to run its growing bureaucracy^[47]. Even the state council was composed almost entirely of Indians imported from British India and it followed a policy of recruiting Dogras and other Punjabis to run all branches of the administration. The replacement of Persian with Urdu as the language of administration in 1889 further justified the importation of Punjabis into the state administration^[48]. As late as 1909, the Resident in Kashmir, Sir Francis Young husband, was to admit that there was a distinct tendency among these Punjabi officials of the state to “secure Kashmir not for the Kashmir.... but for the Punjabis and other Indians”^[49].

However, by the early twentieth century the state council under the auspices of the British residency began to present itself as the promoter of education among the local population of the state. The schools in the state were reorganized along the lines of the Punjab University syllabus and affiliated to the University. An arts college was established in Jammu in 1905 to commemorate the royal visit of the Prince of Wales. The government set up a normal school in Srinagar in 1906, and opened girl's school in several parts of the state. The government also instituted a number of college scholarships for the students of the state studying in Punjab. Dr. Annie

Besant started a Hindu college in Srinagar in 1905 which was taken over by the government in 1911 and renamed Sri Pratap College. By the second decade of the 20th century education had become one of the most expensive indicators of the greater economic and political integration of Jammu and Kashmir with British India^[50].

By the first decade of the 20th century, however, it became clear that the state failed to impart education to the vast majority of its subjects because it considered education to be the preserve of the upper class. The Dogra state seemed to have imported the colonial educational system along with its ideological content^[51]. The state did not focus much on the education of the common masses who happened to be the Muslims, while the administrative Class which largely consisted of the Punjabi Hindu and Kashmiri pandits, reaped the maximum fruits of the educational policies launched by the Dogra state under the guidance of the British Indian government^[52].

The state's focus on a class in defining the role of education in Kashmiri society meant that the majority of the Kashmiri population remained out of the state backed education system. The Kashmiri Muslim leadership recognized that the Muslim community, a majority in the state and yet forming an extremely small proportion of the educated, stood much to lose by being excluded from this state sponsored education system^[53]. The leadership recognized that the Dogra state was not interested in promoting education among the Kashmiri's because it did not desire to appoint them to government positions. The traditional system of education was no longer enough if Muslims were to be integrated into the state education department. The task of reforming society entailed in awakening people to the benefits of modern education. The first leader who took upon himself to reform the Kashmiri Muslim community through his activities on the educational front was Mirwaiz Rasool Shah, head preacher at the Jama Masjid in Srinagar. He founded the Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam, literally meaning the society for the victory of Islam. A school was soon attached to the society. Similar moves were made by the heads of various shrines to establish schools within a few years of the Anjumani-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam. Initially the aim of these schools was to provide their students traditional Islamic education. The political and economic needs of the time, however, dictated that these institutions alter their nature and project. As a result the Anjuman and other such types of schools reorganized their course of study that included a firm grounding in Islamic theology along with a study of secular subjects^[54].

Although, the leadership of the Muslim educational reform movement in Kashmir was composed entirely of the religious elite, the discourse of this movement attempted to provide for the regeneration of the Muslim community alongside its advancement in western education. There are recurrent references to Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan's model of educational advancement of the Indian Muslims. The frequent references to Sir Ayyid in the discourse of this movement are significant as unlike in British India, where the Deobandhi and Farangi Mahali ulema were launching bitter critiques of Sir Sayyid, the Kashmiri religious elite had appropriated his methods as a model for the education and ultimately the economic advancement of the Kashmiri Muslim community^[55].

The advent of the British on the political scene of Jammu and Kashmir and the simultaneous state regulation of the education system had given the Kashmiri Muslim leadership the opportunity to press its social and political demands on the state. Since the Dogra state was modeling its education system on British lines, it also followed that those who went through the system would be advantageously placed for state employment.

Thus, the informal system of indigenous education that had prevailed in Jammu and Kashmir before the ascendancy of the British on the political scene of the state was systematically converted into a state sponsored system, far more centralized and homogenous in nature. But the state's educational policies were not intended to give education to the common masses. With the result, majority of the population which consisted of the Muslims continued to be submerged in the depths of illiteracy. In the coming decades, the backwardness of Muslims in the field of education and the insistence on state recognition of Muslims as a separate category in the field became central components of the Kashmiri Muslim leadership's appeals to the residency, and after the return of powers to Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1924, directly to the colonial state.

Conclusion

By the intervention of British in Kashmir had a positive impact upon Kashmir economy as well as upon the society. Firstly we saw impact upon the agrarian economy through the land settlement in Kashmir. Through the land settlement peasants granted occupancy rights and inhuman practice beggar was abolished. By settlements large number of illegal taxes abolished which in turn improved the condition of the peasants. Second impact was, modern medical facilities and modern education introduced into the valley. By which Kashmiri common masses got politically consciousness about their sufferings. Christian missionaries played a very important role in spread of modern education in valley under the Dogras.

Acknowledgement

M.I.D. is grateful to IIE Pune for financial assistance as well as Department of History for providing good space for research.

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15. ML Kapoor, op.cit.
16. Ibid.
17. Wingate A. *Preliminary Report of settlement operations in Kashmir and Jammu, Lahore: 1888, 34*.
18. Ibid, 34.
19. The settlement entered only cultivated land as in the occupancy of the Assamis; the waste and fallow lands being recorded as khalsa, or state land. Out of this wasteland, however, 10 percent was to be left for collective usage, such as grazing. Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, 447.
20. Lambardar or the village headmen, was responsible for collecting the revenue under his control, was paid 5 percent of the total revenue collected. Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, 447.
21. Lawrence, pp. 429-30.
22. Ibid, p. 432.
23. Ibid, pp.438-39
24. Wingate had predicted the opposition of the official class to settlement rules that attached the peasantry to the land. Wingate, *preliminary report of settlement operations in Kashmir and Jammu*, 32.
25. In there were some 24,000 persons employed in the manufacture of shawls. In that year the value of the land revenue taken in kind was Rs 16,93,077 and the revenue taken in cash was only Rs 9,62,057. But the state derived revenue of 6,00,000 from taxation on shawls and Rs 1,13,916 from taxes on city shopkeepers. From a financial point of view there were some excuses for taking a large proportion of the land revenue in kind. The losses attending collections in kind were more than balanced by the handsome income so easily collected from the shawl workers. Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, 1871, 440-41.
26. From the time immemorial, the state invariably kept a reserve of grain for the town of Srinagar, making supplies at rates far below the market prices of staples. Depending on the bounty of the state, the people naturally neglected to avail themselves of the benefits of the self help and their happiness was centred in the fullness of the state godowns and the readiness with which supplies were issued from them. Lawrence, *valley of Kashmir*, 440-43.
27. Lawrence, *the valley of Kashmir*, 437-43.
28. Jagirdars formed part of the steadily declining landed elite of the Kashmir valley. There were several reasons for this decline, all of which were related to economic conditions of the pre-settlement period. The jagirdars had farmed out their lands to revenue farmers, which ultimately seems to have led to severe indebtedness and the impoverishment of the jagir lands. Additionally, the state had lost control over the parceling out of the jagir lands and over the ways in which they were inherited. This had led to the division of jagir lands among the numerous heirs of a certain Jagirdar without reference to any rule. Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, 95
29. Colonial officials in British India regarded jagir lands as most detrimental to the interests of the agriculturists, particularly when farmed out to revenue contractors, which according to them, led to an internal confusion of village tenures. Jagirdars in Kashmir had also assigned portions of their lands to revenue farmers. Additionally, the state had lost control over the parceling out of jagir lands and over the ways in which they were inherited. This had led to the division of jagir lands among the numerous heirs of a certain jagirdar without reference to any rule. According to the settlement officials, thus jagirs had been fragmented into several small holdings run by jagirdars who had no influence or respect.
30. Although the British presented this as a recent phenomenon that was ruining jagir lands, there are several instances of jagirdars farming their lands out to revenue contractors during the Mughal period. In fact in 1694, it was reported to the Mughal emperor that some of his mansabdars, who had jagirs in Kashmir, were farming them on to local men. Although the Mughal court disapproved of this practice, there was nothing to prevent a jagirdar from sub assigning part of his jagir to any of his officials or troopers. See Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay, 1556-1707*, 328-29.
31. JL Kayne. *Note on the Assessment Report on the minor Jagir Villages situated in the valley of Kashmir, Lahore, 1897, 14-17*.
32. Ibid, p.13.
33. Ibid.
34. Khan Bahadur Munshi Ghulam Ahmed Khan, *Census of India, 1901, vol.xxiii, Kashmir, part, I, Report Lahore, 1902, 9*.
35. Walter Lawrence mentions that after the settlement operations Kashmir is now prosperous and more fully cultivated. The agriculturists, who used to wander from one village to another in quest of the fair treatment and security which they never found, are now settled down to their lands and permanently attached to their ancestral villages. The revenue is often paid up before the date on which it falls due and where as in 1884 it was necessary to maintain a force of soliders for the collection of revenue of revenue, now the tehsil chaprasi (peon) rarely visits a village. Every Assami knows his revenue liabilities in cash and in kind and he quickly and successfully resists any attempt to extort more than the amount entered in his revenue book. The annual dread that sufficient food grain would not be left for the support of himself and his family has ceased and the agricultural classes of Kashmir are at present time as well off in the matter of food and clothing as any agriculturalists in the world, Lawrence, *valley of Kashmir*, pp.450-51. These statements are certainly highly exaggerated because if the settlement led to so much improvement in the condition of the peasantry, why would there be resentment among them even after the settlement restored to them their just rights? in fact we see that the

- people launched movements to redress their economic and political grievances during the late 19th century and by the turn of the 20th century, 1556-1707.
36. Ibid, p.433.
 37. DN Dhar. *Socio-Economic History of the Kashmir peasantry, from Ancient times to the present day*, Srinagar: 1989, 153.
 38. Old English records 34/189, Jammu and Kashmir State Archives, Jammu.
 39. Khan, census of India, 1901, 10
 40. Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, 101-103.
 41. Lawrence, *the valley of Kashmir*, 303.
 42. Pandit was a title given to a Brahman learned in Hindu texts; he used to teach in schools referred to as Pathshalas. A Muslim religious teacher learned in religious texts was known as Moulvi; he used to run schools known as madrasas. Tyndal Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, London, 253.
 43. The number of educational institutions in the entire state remained only 44. G. M. D. Sufi, *Kashir*, Vol.ii, pp.790-91, Hari Om, *Muslims of Jammua and Kashmir: A study in the Spread of Education and Consciousness, 1857-1925*, New Delhi, 1986, 21, 1872-73
 44. Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, 172-73.
 45. Administrative report of Jammu and Kashmir state, 1890-91, p. 99.
 46. Administrative report of Jammu and Kashmir state, 1892-93, p.72
 47. Ibid, p. 72.
 48. Commenting on the importation of the Kashmir bureaucracy, P. N. Bazaz made a scathing remark; Armies of outsiders trailed behind the officers from the plains with no more interest than to draw as much as they could and then to depart leaving behind their kindred as successors to continue the drain and thus was established a hierarchy in the services with the result that profits and wealth passed into the hands of outsiders. Bazaz, *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, p.135
 49. One of the first steps taken by the state council after its institution in 1889 was to replace Persian with Urdu as the language of administration, the language being imported alongside numerous administrative servants from neighboring British Panjab. Administration report of Jammu and Kashmir state, 1893-94, p.46.
 50. Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, pp.176-77.
 51. Ibid, pp. 178-79.
 52. The Dogra state's policies in the field education in the 19th century can only be understood in terms of the British colonial project of education. Education had become central to the project of colonialism in British India by the early 19th century. If the empire that had already been won by the urban bourgeoisie had to be preserved for profit, then the dominant groups in Indian society had to be included in the colonial enterprise. This involved a creation of a civil society among the natives and their inculcation into the ethos, rules and symbols of the new order, which could only be achieved through education. Education thus had a significant role to play in the transformation of a commercial institution into the colonial state. The changes in the educational system introduced in the early 19th were part of this process. For instance, Persian was abolished in official correspondence in 1835 and the governments weight was thrown behind English medium education. At the same time, the idea of different types of education for different classes came to decline the british educational system in India. Krishna Kumar, *Political Agenda of Education :A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*. New Delhi 1991, p.24-26, Quoted in Chitrekha Zutshi, *British Intervention in a Princely State : The Case of Jammu and Kashmir In the Late 19th Century and Early 20th centuries*, paper presented at the 18th European conference on modern south Asian studies, 2004, p.12. As propounded by J.S. Mill and Macaulay, the elite would gain western education through the English language and the rest of the population would be consigned to, if anything, studying their own languages, while receiving western ideas from the elite through downward filtration. See Gauri Vishwanathan, *Masks of Conquest,: Literary Study and British Rule in India* New York, 1989, 149.
 53. Private institutions were growing at a much faster rate than the public educational institutions in this period. For instance while the number of private institutions increased by 75 in the same period. This also shows the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the government for the mass education. See zutshi, *British Intervention in a Princely State*, p.16
 54. In the year 1891-92, out of a total population of 757, 433 Muslims, only 233 were being educated in the state run schools, while out of a population 52,576 Hindus, 1327 were receiving state instruction. The figures show that the Hindus formed less than 7 per cent of the population, they monopolized the over 83 per cent of the education bestowed by the state. See Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp.228-29. The figures given by Lawrence did not improve much in the coming years. By the census of 1921, there were only 19 educated Muslim males as compared to 508 Hindu males per thousand of population in Kashmir provine. Mohammad, census of India, p.121.
 55. Zutshi, *British Intervention in a Princely State*, 18.
 56. Zitshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p.186-87