

## ***Unit-iv***

***Q:- When was the Jammu and Kashmir state founded? Discuss the factors which lead to its formation?***

*Ans. Maharaja Ranjit Singh conquered Kashmir and annexed it to his dominions in 1819. The first 'Akali' regiment that entered Srinagar on 15<sup>th</sup> July 1819 A.D. Sikh rule which lasted for twenty seven years. i.e. 1819-1846 A.D.*

*When Ranjit Singh died on 27<sup>th</sup> June 1839 A.D. wild anarchy all over the Punjab. Prince Kharak Singh his son born of Rani Raj Kour ascended the throne with the help of Raja Dyan Singh. After the death of Dyan Jindal. The child king was only the titular king.*

### ***First Sikh War (1845-1846A.D)***

*The Khalsa army, encouraged Lahore Darbar crossed the river Sutlej. There upon lord Hardinge (1844-1848) Governor General of india, declared war at that time the Khalsa army was without a general. Lal Singh, Tehja Singh and Gulab Singh the commanders of Sikh army, proved treacherous and they gave all vital information regarding their treriches to the English. The final battle at sabroom (Feb. 10,1846A.D) proved decisive. The English army captured Lahore.*

***Role of Gulab Singh:-*** *Gulab Singh the Commanding-in-Chief of Sikh army sent agent Shoe-Dutt met Mr. Broad foot in August 1845A.D. informed him. I am ready to revolt against Sikhs. The Battle of Sabroom known as the first Sikh war fought on 10<sup>th</sup> February 1846. Gulab Singh was a feudatory of the Darbar and was the commanding officer of two divisions of the 'Khalasa' army. But he cautiously remained aloof from the war, Khalsa army crossed the salty, he played his own game and came out in his true colours. He treacherously transmitted military intelligence to Brigadier Wheeler at Ludiana just before the Sikh war commenced Lord hardinge's private papers show him as a spy of the British and call him 'a geographical ally' and 'a great rascal in Asia'. According to G.M. Lone's book 'Interrogation of Kashmir with India' Gulab Singh as 'genius hangman on hash and dagger-lip on new enmesh' for Sikh empire.*

*The final battle at Sabraon proved decisive. The English army captured Lahore, which gave birth to treaty of Lahore on 9<sup>th</sup> March 1846. Following were the main provisions of the treaty.*

*Maharaja enounced all claims to the Sikh territories on the left bank of river Sutlej.*

*The English were given all the territories lying between the Sutlej and the Beas River.*

*Lahore Darbar was to pay an indemnity of one and half crores of rupees. The Sikhs had only 50 Lakhs of rupees. They gave the state Jammu and Kashmir to Maharaja Gulab Singh.*

### ***Role of Treaty of Amritsar, 16 March 1846 A.D:-***

*The ‘sale deed’ of Kashmir signed at Amritsar on 16 March, 1846. According to IIIrd article of the treaty of Amritsar. “In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by then provision of the foregoing articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Govt. the sum of seventy five lacks of rupees (Nanak Shahi) fifty lacks to be paid on ratification of his treaty and twenty five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year 1846 A.D”.*

*Maharaja Gulab Singh entered Srinagar on the 9<sup>th</sup> November 1846 and reached Shergarhi at 8 a.m.*

### ***Q:- Discuss briefly treaty of Amritsar?***

*Ans. The ‘sale deed’ of Kashmir signed at Amritsar on 16<sup>th</sup> March, 1846 by Mr. F-Currie, Brevet major and Henry Montgomery Lawrence, on behalf of Honorable Governor General of India Sir, Hanery hardinge and Gulab Singh.*

***Art-1.*** *The British Govt. transfer and makes over for ever in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the river Ravi including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Govt. by the Lahore state according to the provisions of Art- IV of the treaty of Lahore, dated 9<sup>th</sup> March 1846.*

**Art-2.** *The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by the commissioners appointed by the British Govt. and maharaja Gulab Singh respectively for the purpose and shall be defined in a separate agreement.*

**Art-3.** *In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Govt. the sum of 75 Lakhs of rupees (Nanak Shahi), 50 Lakhs to be paid on ratification of this treaty and 25 Lakhs on or before the 1st October of the current year 1846.*

**Art-4** *The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Govt.*

**Art-5** *Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British govt. any dispute or question that may arise between himself and the govt. of Lahore or any other neighbouring state, and will abide by the decision of the British Govt.*

**Art-6** *Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his military force, the British troops when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his possession.*

**Art-7** *Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take or retain in his services any British subject of any European or American state, without the consent of the British govt.*

**Art-8** *Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of article v, vi, and vii, of the separate engagement between the British govt. and Lahore Darbar, dated March 11, 1846.*

**Art-9** *The British govt. will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.*

**Art-10** *Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledge the supremacy of the British govt. one horse, twelve shawl goats of approved breed (6male and 6 female) and 3 pairs of Kashmiri shawls.*

**Q:-** *Debate on the causes of transfer of Jammu and Kashmir to Maharaja Gulab Singh?*

**Or**

***Debate on the treaty of Amritsar?***

*Ans:- On the 16<sup>th</sup> March 1846, Maharaja Gulab Singh signed the treaty of Amritsar by which he became the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. According to treaty of Amritsar, the 'sale of Kashmir'. Kashmir was simply sold to Gulab Singh. Different philosophers, historians gave different views regarding the transfer of Jammu and Kashmir to Gulab Singh.*

*According to Sir Richard temple says that Lord Hardinge aimed to divide the Sikh power between the Lahore court and Gulab Singh, and thus effectively weaken it, thus killing two birds with one stroke.*

***Lord Hardinge explains.***

*Gulab Singh the commanding-in-chief of the Sikh army send Shoe-Dutt met Mr. Broad foot in August 1845 A.D. informed him, I am ready to revolt against Sikhs as the east India Company was at highest climax. Gulab Singh was a feudatory of the durbar and was the commanding officer of two divisions of the 'Khalsa' army but he cautiously remained aloof from the war when the 'Khalsa' army, crossed the Sutluj, he played his own game and came out in his true colours. He treacherously transmitted military intelligence to brigadier wheeler at Ludiana just before the 'a geographically ally' and 'a great rascal-in-Asia'.*

*Sir Georage Clark, gent to the governor-general at Lahore wrote in March 1849: "I have been under the necessity on more than one occasion of testing, rather severely, Gulab Singh's loyalty to us". According to Robert Thorpe in his book Kashmir Misgovernment .*

*The Sale of Kashmir by British shall ever remain a black-bolt on their character and integrity, posterity shall never pardon the then British rulers of India for selling a nation for some pieces of silver.*

*According to Cambridge history of India .*

*It is clear the Kashmir was a reward to the traitor for his perfidy and Gulab Singh was the only man to whom it could be handed over.*

*According to Sardar Bud Singh in 'Jagir Shahi-postmortem'. Says*

*It is not a fact that only the Sikh kingdom of Punjab was destroyed through treachery but the state J&K was obtained through sale, resulting in the silver of north India.*

***Q:- Position of J&K state during British paramount?***

*Ans:- The Sikh governor of Kashmir (1835-----41) Col. Man Singh completed 6 years on 18<sup>th</sup> April-1841 A.D. A group of mutinous soldiers led by Tilk Singh. He put the Main Singh to death, Tilk Singh was killed by sweeper of Mian Singh. After the mutiny was crushed, Maharaja Sher Singh appointed sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din as governor of Kashmir who hails from Jalender. He was an able and enlightened administrator. He opened the gates of Jamia Masjid at Srinagar in 1843 A.D.*

*In 1845 A.D Sheikh Imam-Din was appointed as the governor of Kashmir. After stating that Imam-Din had about 12, 000 regulars and irregulars, 5000 to 8000 'Khakha, Bama' men, 1,000 Fiqirullh, 30 guns and 50 zumboorrucks.*

*Sheikh Imam-Din might have succeeded to improving the condition of the people but the state of anarchy at Lahore Darbar did not permit him to exercise effective control over the valley. In 1845, the Singh govt. plunged into war with British. The valour displayed by the Sikh soldiers in the four battles was rendered useless by the treachery of its commanders. The Sikhs were miserably defeated. At this time, Raja Gulab Singh acted the part of a mediator between the British and the Sikh govt. By a term of the treaty of Amritsar on 16th March 1846 A.D. Kashmir was transferred from the British to Gulab Singh for a sum of Seventy five Lakhs rupees.*

*Maharaja Gulab Singh dispatched Dewan Lakhat Rai and wazi Ratnu*

*To take possession of Kashmir but Imam-ud-din, then governor, didn't surrender and offered resistance. Hari Parbat Fort was seized by him but subsequently the General Lakhat Rai was resistance. Hari Parbat Fort was seized by him but subsequently the General Lakhat Rai was killed along with wazir Ratnu and his army was in imminent danger. Dogra army got humiliated defeat. Maharaja Gulab Singh then applied to Sir Henry Lawrence for assistance. Brigadier Sheeler Col.*

*Henry Lawrence, the resident, proceeded with troops to aid Gulab Singh. Maharaja Gulab Singh entered Srinagar on the 9<sup>th</sup> November 1846 A.D and reached Sher Garhi at 8:00 a.m.*

*According to Walter Lawrence .*

*“Gulab Singh holding a naked sword in his hand at the time of his triumphal march in the city he said, this sharp sword alone shall decide the fate of Kashmir”.*

***Q:- Discuss the British policy towards Kashmir?***

*Ans:- British were taking interest in Kashmir and its frontier regions as early as the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.*

***1. Moorcraft activities in Kashmir and Ladakh:-***

*Moorcraft was a military officer in the East India Company. He was ostensibly sent by the British to collect geographical, political and military information and to extend trade in the central Asiatic countries for British govt. in India.*

*He wrote a monumental book “Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir” in 1841.*

***2. British Reaction to Zorawar Singh’s Conquests:-***

*Zorawar Singh’s campaigns were sufficient reasons for the British to act quickly. J.D. Cunningham, assistant to George Clerk political Agent, north west frontier was immediately sent to Tibet to investigate and report on the objects of Zorawar Singh’s wandering in that area.*

*George Clerk, on instructions from the governor general, put pressure on the Lahore Darbar to order Zorawar Singh to give up his newly conquered territories in western Tibet and withdraw to his original position in Ladakh by 10<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1841. The Lahore Darbar was also warned that it would be held responsible for any harm done to British interests by it or to those owing allegiance to it.*

***3. Taylor in Kashmir:-***

*A British officer Lt. Reynell Taylor, Assistant to the resident at Lahore was deputed to Srinagar to investigate the grievances of Muslims. He was accompanied by another British officer. Mr. Melvill. According to Syeed Hassan Shah in Tarikh-e-Hassan p. 568 soon after his arrival, a meeting of the 21<sup>st</sup> June. After addressing the meeting. Taylor enquired whether they were well governed and whether they wanted Gulab Singh's rule to continue, Gulab Singh and his officer's had taken care to bribe a few leading Muslims.*

*On 9<sup>th</sup> June 1847 Col. Henry Lawrence and George Taylor wrote a letter to Gulab Singh complaining of:*

*Distress of kashmiris on account of high prices of shali and high handedness of his officials.*

*Occurrence of four cases of Sati.*

*Dispatch of forces by the Maharaja to Gilgit.*

*The imposition of taxes on Kashmiri Muslims for construction of temples and their maintenance. The 'Maddri tax' was imposed on Kashmiri Muslims for construction of temples and their maintenance.*

#### **4. Establishment of British residency:**

*After Ranbir Singh's death in 1885, British govt. had already taken a decision to appoint a resident after Ranbir Singh's death in 1885. In 1885 A.D St. John was appointed the first Resident in Srinagar. He was succeeded by C.Ploden in March 1888 A.D The new resident was an intriguing and vigorous officer of the political department of the govt. of India. He at once, set about planting the deposition of the Maharaja and even the out right annexation of the state J&K.*

#### **Q:- Discuss the impact of British intervention of Jammu & Kashmir?**

*Ans:- By a term of treaty of Amritsar on 16 March, 1846 A.D Kashmir was transferred from British to Gulab Singh. Gulab Singh sent fell ill-equipped regiments under his wazir Lakpat Rai and wazir Ratnu, to take position of Srinagar. But Sheikh Imam-ud-din offered resistance and defeated the Gulab Singh's army. Two wazirs of Gulab Singh were killed. And Dogra army got humiliated defeat.*

**British intervention:-** Maharaja Gulab Singh then applied to Sir Henry Lawrence for assistance in taking possession and when the combined forces of the Maharaja. Brigadier Sheeler with Col. Henry Lawrence the resident, proceeds with troops to aid Gulab Singh. Maharaja Gulab Singh entered Srinagar on the 9<sup>th</sup> November 1846 A.D and reached Shergarhi at 8:00 a.m.

The rule of thumb ruled the roost the British intervention policy, the Kashmir became the 'a scapegoat under the hands of Dogra rulers. The Kashmir became happiness for Gulab Singh, comedy for Kashmiris. The transfer of Kashmir to Gulab Singh was a 'open-mouthed wonder 'British take the bull by the horns. Gulab Singh was hard as nails. Gulab Singh was born in 1792 A.D. in a family of doubtful 'legitimacy'. Gulab Singh could 'neither read nor write 'but the was intelligent enough to learn the art of soldiery and develop a tricky character.

**Establishment of British residency:-** With the accession of Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1885 A.D occurred a big change. His reign saw the establishment of British residency in Srinagar. In 1885 A.D. St. John was appointed the first resident in Srinagar.

**The state of communication:-** The state of communication in the valley on the advent of the British. Bad communications with the rest of India hindered the development of the commercial resources of the valley. Under such conditions forced Labour (beggar) had to be resorted to for want of wheel traffic roads.

**Jhelum valley cart road:-** It was through Col. Nisbet's tact and energy that the Jhelum valley cart-road was cut along the mountain –sides from Domel to Baramulla. It was a magnificent piece of engineering, the work of the state engineer Mr. Atkinson, and carried through by Spedding and Co. contractors. This great work, commenced in the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1880 was completed in September 1890. The Jhelum Valley road ran 196 miles.

**Establishment of hotel and restaurants:-** Another effect was the establishment of hotels and restaurants in the city. Thus the impact of tourism on Kashmir in general and Srinagar in particular. The Nedou's Hotel as first hotel in Srinagar. On 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, the English did leave India. The British Resident Col. W.F. Web, closed the Residency in Srinagar.



***Q:- What is the meaning of word 'Dogra'?***

*Ans:- Two Lakhs, Mansar and siroinsar a little to the east of the city, have given to its inhabitants the name 'Dogra' a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Dogirth' (two lakes).*

***Q:- Discuss the policy during the Dogra Rule in J&K?***

*Ans. Gulab Singh was not coaxing the British when he, unlike a typical enlightened oriental despot, described himself as their 'Zarkhareed' the sale-deed a largely populated Muslim state under the Dogra Rule. The nature of Dogra rule (polity) which has been characterized as:*

*Despotic*

*Tyrannical*

*Sectarian*

***Bias against the Muslims:*** *According to Prem nath Bazaz, the polity of the Dogra Rulers had a strong bias against the Muslims of both middle and lower classes. The Dogra Rulers openly demonstrated their communal stance when they signalled their rule by wholesale revoking of 'Jagirs' and 'Inam' grants enjoyed by Muslims and transferred the same to their co-religionists. According to Dr. Elmslie who spend eight years in Kashmir (1865-72), there were forty five Jagirs in the valley, of which the Muslims enjoyed only five, where the rest belonged to the Hindu community.*

***Begar (Kar-i-Sarkar):***

*Begaar or the system of forced labour remained one of the most features of the Kashmir administration under Dogra Rule. Father Tyndale Biscoe, who spent almost half a century in Srinagar, has given the following account of beggar 'Kar-i-Sarkar'. These men were collected from the villages with the aid of pressgangs. The sepoy always brought in more than were required so that those who had could buy themselves off their hands.*

*At Bandipura they were collected and loaded up. The only ration allowed them was a seer of rice per day, plus the straw for making their straw shoes (grass-shoes), plus their load of food for the garrison. No provision was made for them as they crossed the snow passes, so that many died on the road, and often it happened that when they did reach Gilgit, they were sold as slaves to the wild inhabitants of that inhospitable region. The grandfather of one of my servants, who was sent there, was exchanged for a Chinese dog.*

*Even the bride-groom was not spared. He too was seized at the same time and not even allowed to accompany his bride to her new home.*

*According to Lawrence 'Men and Mules died like flies, on their way to Gilgit'.*

**Prostitution:** *According to Prop. Ishaq Khan 'The History of Srinagar', the Dogra Rule in Kashmir established the prostitution system providing them license. There were two ill-famed centers of prostitution in Srinagar e.g. Tashwan and Maisuma. The sale of young girls in Kashmir to established houses of ill-fame in Srinagar. According to Robert Thorpe the license granting permission for the purchase of a girl for this purpose, cost about 100 Chilkee rupees in Ranbir Singh's time. The traveler lamented that such sale place because the very poorest and lowest classes of the people sold their children. In 1880 the Maharaja received from 15 to 25 percent of the whole revenue of his state from the gains of his licensed prostitutes. It is also said that there were 18,175 state prostitutes in Kashmir in 1880. According to Biscoe Sb, the beauty of Kashmir girls catalyzed the nuisance. Some of these girls were sold by pimps in Delhi, Peshawar and Quetta. In outside prostitution centers, Kashmiri girls were in great demand (They call them Kashmiri Titlaya). Subhan Hajam of Maisuma Srinagar gave the clarion call against these prostitution centers. Mohmad Subhan Hajam was a great man. He made great sacrifice for having this immortal traffic stopped in 1934. When Lady Freedom became the member in the League of Nations. She takes this issue in League of Nations. Lady Freedom was the wife of Tynder Biscoe.*

**Religious Policy:-** *According to Galancy Commission Report.*

*Dogra govt. confiscated many religious places of Muslims namely.*

*Khanqah-i-Sokhta*

*Khanqah-i-Bulbul Shah*

*Pather Masjid (Sgr.)*

*Malashahi Masjid (Ganderbal Sgr.)*

*Bhu-Masjid (Jammu)*

*The rulers added insult to the injury when they converted some confiscated Muslim Shrine and Mosques into store houses for grains and ammunition.*

*The grave of Sultan Shahbuddin was changed into Post-Office.*

**Hathi:-** *The crime of killing a cow, an ox or a buffalo was commonly as 'Hathi' (a degenerated term of the Sanskrit word Hathya) During the initial phase of the Dogra regime 'Hathia' was awarded death sentence. According to the Prof. Ishaq Khan's book 'The History of Srinagar'. The persons found guilty of killing cows. Often they were boiled in oil and then hung from a hook which was fixed on to a pole in a public place. The Fatah Kadal presented a ghastly picture. There was a pole and hook on this bridge. According to Mridu Rai in her book 'Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects'. "Rambir Singh' slit a woman's tongue for beating a cow which had torn some clothes she was dung out to dry".*

**Suppression of Crime:-** *According to Smyth, Gulab Singh offered a reward of five rupees for the head of every insurgent or any of those who connected with him, man or woman. Their dead bodies were kept suspended from the gallows for months together to create terror in the minds of law breakers.*

**Q:- Discuss the Economy during Dogra Rule in Kashmir?**

*Ans. Gulab Singh was not coaxing the British when he, unlike a typical enlightened oriental despot, described himself as their 'Zarhareed' (purchase property). According to Lawrence 'Nearly everything except air and water was taxation'.*

**Revenue:-** *Revenue and Tax was the main source of income to run the administration. This is evident from the fact that during the governorship of Sheikh Imam-ud-din, the last Sikh governor, the total Revenue of Kashmir amounted to Rs*

339,200 but during the first year of Maharaja Gulab Singh. It rose to Rs. 843,000, nearly three times more than the previous figure.

**Land Revenue:-** Besides the land Revenue, the state took in addition four 'Traks' per 'Kharwar'. The 'Patwari' and 'Qanungo' got one half of a 'trak' per 'kharwar' between them. The Non-Muslim officials not only mal-treated the Muslims masses but also fattened themselves on illegal exactions known as 'nazarana' and 'rasum' imposed on the Muslims peasantry. Similarly 'Nazarana' was lived four times a year.

The villagers had also to feed the state watchers of the grain called 'Shaqdar'. Some times the cultivators paid to the Maharaja 'Malikana' in recognition of Maharaja's being the owner of the land.

**Taxation Policy:-** The taxation was unprecedentedly heavy. According to Lawrence 'Nearly every thing save air and water was brought under taxation. These taxes are as:-

**Mandri/Ashgal:-** The tax on Muslims for construction and maintenance of temples.

**Sathrashai/Zar-i-Nikhah:-** Marriage tax Rs. 3/= for first marriage in case of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Rs. 100/=

**Rassudar:-** Tax on each house.

"Grave digger was also taxed" Lawrence, even the tailor was in chains.

**Zar-i-Chopan:-** A tax of thirteen rupees per hundred sheep and known as 'Zar-i-Chopan. As a rule the Chopan eats or sells a considerable number of sheep entrusted to his care. He is obliged to produce the head or skin of a missing sheep or he is called upon to take an oath that the sheep was destroyed by a pathar or some other wild beasts. Failing this Chaupan pays eight animals for the missing sheep.

**Tax on Chinar leaves:-** The sale of Chinar leaves brought into the coffers of the philistine, rupees twenty five.

Delivery cases were often attended by women as 'Kabulha' and govt. imposed a tax on them.

**Plough Tax:-**The plough tax was levied on ploughs of the cultivators at an uniform rate of one Anna per plough.

**Zar-i-Meva:-** Tax on fruits. Three-fourths of the annual produce of fruits was taken by the state as fruit tax. Walnuts at the rate of ten-annas per tree.

**Tax on Prostitutes:-** The extreme poverty of the people of the state forced a large section of the population to sell their young girls. In 1980 the Maharaja received from 15 to 25 percent of the whole revenue of his state from the gains of his licensed prostitutes according to young husband in his book 'Kashmir. "All prostitutes were supposed to pay tax to the govt. they were principally of the 'Watal' or lower caste and were registered with the state. They were sold at a tender age but their parents to brothel-keepers for Rs. 200/= per child. The sale was recognized and recorded on stamp paper. They estimated number of prostitutes acquired in this way". This is testified by the abolition of the tax on the prostitute in 1934 only when the State Assembly passed the act of suppression immoral traffic in women.

### **Shawl-Department:-**

This department was called 'Dag-i-Shawl' or Shawl making department. The Shawl-Weavers were thus in absolute charge of the 'Karkhandars' they became their slaves and were forced to work very hard Ram Dayal fixed 98 rupees as a tax per loom and besides gave 20 'Kharwars' of Shali per loom at Rs.2/= per Kharwar. The market being only one rupee. This together the tax, amounted to Rs. 150/= per loom. The weavers night or might not work but he had to pay. Not wonder 22-Shawl weavers are said to have cut their thumbs in order to be disabled to pursue the profession of Shawl weaving and thus be saved from the Tyrannies of their Karkandars. During Gulab Singh's rule there were 27,000 weavers working at 11,000 looms but the wages played to the workmen were miserably low. The Shawl weavers could bear the tyrannous system no longer. For once they combined and struck work on 6<sup>th</sup> June 1847 and asked for a permit to emigrate in body to the Punjab. Due to Maharaja's intervention the revolt was subdued.

Govt. Gave Shawl industry to the Rajkak Dhar on contract, pay to the state 12 lakh rupees. The weavers had thus to pay 49 rupees each and they were again kept under the charge of Kharkandars. The result was that after working from

morning to night a shawl weaver could get no more than four pisa in a wage per day. A weaver could these seven or eight rupees per month so the taxation policy was 300 percent high. Weaver could not pay to unite, to present him with a petition for the redress of their grievances. Raja Dhar however misrepresented this, convinced the govt. that the processionists would attack his house, this roused his fury and he quickly brought out a company of soldiers to disperse them on April 29, 1865 in stampede that followed a number of 28 Shawl weavers drowned into the stream of Zaldager. On the next day the Singh victims were paraded in a procession with the declared intention of placing them before Ranbir Singh to seek his justice. The organizers were arrested. Among those removed to Jammu and imprisoned there, Rasool Sheikh Ali Pal, Sona Shah died in jail.

**Q:- Discuss the Dogra administration in Kashmir?**

**Ans. Maharaja:-** Maharaja was the highest authority over state. He had full powers. All the administration of the state was controlled by Maharaja. After maharaja there was Governor.

**Governor:-** The Governor or Hakim-i-Alla were the chief revenue officers in their respective provinces. They directly controlled the assistant Governors (Wazir-i-Wazarat), Tehsildars.

**Daftar-i-Diwani:-** The provincial revenue establishment was known as 'Daftar-i-Diwani' founded by Diwan Kripa ram under Gulab Singh. All accounts belonging to the revenue department were kept, checked and adited by the office.

**Daftar-i-Nizamat:-** 'Daftar-i-Nizamat' kept the land records. Daftar-i-Nizamat was composed entirely of Pandiths. They collect information regarding the land revenue.

**Tehsildar:-** Tehsidar played important role in the revenue administration of the state. He submitted the revenue account to the 'Wazie-i-Wazarat' or 'Kakim-i-Alla'.

**Kardar:-** he was the land agent of the state with very large powers. After Kardar the 'Sazawal' worked under his command.

**Sazawal:-** Sazawal controlled the 'Shaqdars' of a village. There was one Sazawal in a large village. He received for ten months in the year Rs. 2 ½ per month. Sazawal was also giving punishment to revenue defaulters.

**Shaqdar:-** The duty of 'Shaqdar' was to sit in the village and watch the crops. The 'Shaqdar' received a 'Kharwar' of Shali from the state.

**Patwari:-** Patwari was the village accountant who kept the records of holding of each villager.

**Tarazadar:-** Taradar scalesman whose job was to weigh out the share of the state and of the cultivators. After the harvesting the crops were cut and thrashed. Mostly the 'Tarazadars' were dishonest "Who by a turn of the wrist added a considerable amount to the weighment" Walter Lawrence, and thus received more from the cultivators by fraudulent practices. As a result of it, the cultivator had to pay to the state 17-tracks as against 15 of Shali traks.

**Life of common people:-** The relation between common people and administrative authority was 'Jeopardized'.

*Kashmiris life became woe*

*Hope dumpt*

*World says 'Go'*

*Grave says come!*

According to Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal 'It is because of Kashmiri artisan's hard work that the rich people are dressed in silken-gowns. But he can hardly afford a torn rag to cover his body.

**Q:- Discuss the European impact on growth of Education in Kashmir?**

**Ans.** Christian missionaries the pioneers of modern medical and educational amenities in Kashmir. It was after facing stiff opposition from the state that Robert Clark succeeded in opening a school at Srinagar on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1864. Such parents who sent their children to the missionary school received domiciliary visits from police. They were told that if their children went to school they would be banished to Gilgit (Gilgit begaar).

*In April 1864 the attempt of Rev. Robert accompanied by Mrs. Clark to enter the rented house in the city seemed nearly impossible. On 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1864 Mrs. Clark opened a dispensary in the city which 'speedily attracted patients in crowds and the homes of the people began to open to her. It was on May 8, 1865 that Dr. Elmslie opened his dispensary in Srinagar. It was a memorable day in the history of Kashmir medical mission.*

*After Dr. Elmslie's death in 1872, the medical work was continued by Dr. Theodore Maxwell. It is also note worthy that whereas in the early days of 1860 Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Would not grant the doctor an inch of ground, in 1874 the Maharaja granted a site for the Mission Hospital on the hill called Rustum Gaddi, beneath the Takti-i-Suliman. The sate govt. constructed a building at this place at its own expense. The hospital was known as Drugion Hospital.*

*Another hospital, exclusively for women, was established at Rainwari by the Church of England Zenana Missionary society. Among the lady missionies whose dedication to the cause of women's health earned approbation were, Miss Butler a lady doctor, Miss Irene Petrie, Miss Robinson, trained nurses.*

*The education of the pattern imparted by schools and colleges in the rest of the country began late in the state. Te Mission School, the first to follow the university syllabus was originally established by the Rev. J.S. Doxey 1881 with only five boys on its roll. Ranal Naraindas belonged to a respectable family and was one of the five kashmiris to learn English from Rev. Doxy. In 1892 when he handed over the charge to rev. C. Tyndale Biscoe. The number on the roll was over 500. But the Kashmiris had by then made further advance in education. Early in 1905 a college was established at Srinagar through the efforts of Miss Annie Besant. In 1944 the Amar Singh College was set up in Srinagar.*

*2 Nov. 1948. The Jammu and Kashmir University was established. After this the govt. established the Medical, Agriculture, and Auryvedic & Engineering College.*

*Medical Relief:- Vaccination against small pox was first introduced in 1894. Dr. Mitra as its first chief medical officer.*

***Q:- Discuss the economy development during Dogra Rule?***



*Ans. Maharaja took some steps to improve the economy condition of the state.*

*The construction of the cart road between Rawalpindi and Srinagar formally (1878) opened for traffic in 1923.*

*Kacha road was built between Jammu and the valley.*

*Ranbir introduced the first printing press 'Vidya Vilas Press'.*

*The Sialkot-Jammu Railway line was thrown open to traffic in 1890.*

*1891-the first Census was conducted in the state.*

*Map of Jammu Kashmir was completed in 1861.*

*Chilki rupee was replaced and 'Kham' was established in 1862.*

*First Judicial stamp of Jammu & Kashmir – 1869*

*Ranbir weekly\_\_\_\_\_ 1861.*

*Ranbir penal code\_\_\_\_\_1873*

*High Court at Srinagar/Jammu \_\_\_\_\_ 1877*

*Mohra Power house\_\_\_\_\_ 1907*

*Leislative Assembly 'Praja Sabha' was established in 1934.*

*Radio Kashmir Srinagar first July 1948.*

*Jammu Kashmir University 2 Nov. 1948*

***Q:- Write a note on land Reforms settlement?***

***Or***

***Q:- discuss the land Reforms of Walter Lawrence?***

*Ans. Walter Lawrence found the work not only onerous but had also to face the opposition of the privileged official class. The work of settlement had in fact been started two years earlier by Mr. A. Wingate but he had to give it up in the face of bitter opposition and intrigues of the state officials. But Walter Lawrence persisted*

*in his efforts and complete the settlement work in the state was valley by 1893 A.D by the year 1912 A.D. practically every tehsil and district in the state was settled for the first time. The important features of the settlement of land, as finally affected by Walter Lawrence were s under.*

*The stand demand of the land revenue was fixed for fourteen years.*

*The Land revenue was to be paid in cash, only.*

*Forced labour or 'Begaar was abolished.*

*Coercive method in the collection of revenue was stopped.*

*Occupancy rights were conferred on the cultivators.*

*Water-lands were considered s 'Khalsa' or state property.*

*The illegal exactions like 'rasum' were abolished and the rents and liabilities of cultivators were defined.*

*An important feature was appertained to the ownership of land.*

*Lawrence classified soil in the Kashmir valley as follow.*

*Abi (Iriugated)*

*Gair Abi (Unirrigated)*

*The 'Abi' land included the following*

*Abi-I:- Land producing rice regularly.*

*Abi-II:- Land producing rice occasionally.*

*Abi-III:- Land producing crops other than rice.*

*The 'Gair Abi' land included the following*

*Wari:- Sloping manured land*

*Maidani:- Level manured*

*Labru:- Sloping unmanured*

***Q:- Discuss the causes for the emergence of political consciousness?***

*Ans. When several influence Kashmiri Muslims settled in the rest of India raised their voice against the policy of inaction followed by the state govt. Therefore, the migration was so extensive that according to the 1891, Punjab census report 1, 11, 175 Muslims born in Kashmir was counted as settled in the Punjab.*

***Labour Strike:-*** 1877, a memorandum was secretly submitted to the viceroy which contained very grave allegations against the Dogra administration. According to P.N. Bazaz the memorandum also was that boat-loads of starving people were drowned in Wular Lake to relieve food shortage. The memorandum was signed by Khawaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Mir Waiz Kashmir and Aga-Syed Hussain Shah on March 1925. Dogra army shows the order of banishment to the Saad-ud-Din Shawl. His son Khawaja Noor Shah Shawl (Tehsildar) was deserted from service. The exile of Khawaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl and his son's retirement. Meetings were held at several places, particularly, Lahore, Sialkot and Amritsar.

***Role of Press:-*** The first news paper of Kashmir was introduced by Ranbir Singh in 1871. The weekly new paper called 'Ranbir Weekly' was introduced in Kashmir. The Christians had set up in Leh a mission known as "The Moravian Mission". It started publication of news-letter in 1903 which was contained news about the activities of the mission, published in Bodhi. Its range of distribution hardly covered Ladkh, Lohoul and Darjeeling.

***Role of organization:-*** The Dogra Sabha had Muslim members as well as Muslim Ahmad Yar Kahn, advocate. After the founding of the Anjuman-e-Hmayat-e-Islam Lahore similar educational and charitable granted for the setting up of the Anjuman-e-Nusrat-ul-Islam under Mir Waiz Rashool shah.

In 1916-17, general Summander Khan applied to Maharaja Pratap Singh for permission to set up a non-political Muslim Association. After the permission was granted in 1921. A society known as 'Anjuman-e-Islmaia' was formed to look after the educational and social and welfare of Jammu Muslim.

***Forming Civil service Rules with Ulterior ends:-*** It was strong coincidence that with the return of Sheikh Abdullah and other graduates from Aligarh, the Civil service Recruitment board, which had been recently set u, framed certain rules

*which do appear to have been intended to prevent the entry of Muslims. Sixty percent vacancies were to be filled in by the Govt. without any reference to the board. The applicant to possess a 'good family back ground' & even if a Musalman was lucky enough to cross all these hurdles, the govt. reserved the right to reject him without assigning any reasons what so ever.*

### ***Role of Sheikh Mohamad Abdullah***

*It was in the back ground and at this stage the two important & epoch – making figures, Shiekh Mohamd Abdualh & Chaudry GH. Abbas appeared on the scene. Sheikh Abdullah was the first Muslim in the state with a master's degree in chemistry. Mr. Mohamed Rajab in collaboration with another zealous collegiate. Late Mr. Basher Ah, who retired as revenue assistant Muzaffarabad set up a small reading – room in the house of one Syeed Ali Akbar which was partly occupied by a post Master Sikander. It was a cover meant to camouflage the political discussions held and to ward off immediate suspicion that could have otherwise attended the coming together of dozen or more unemployed graduates.*

***Role of Mahjoor's poetry:-*** Mahjoor showed his keen awareness of the changing times in poems like “Who hao baagvano” (come, O garden) and “Gushan watab chu sonny” (our land is a garden).

### ***Question: Write a short note an Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah?***

*Ans:- Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah, the sixth son of Sheikh Mohamed Abraham, a pashmina merchant. He was born in village Soura on 15<sup>th</sup> December, 1905, his father having pre-deceased his birth by fifteen days. Village Soura is at a distance of about five miles from Srinagar. He passed his matriculation in 1922 from the state High School, Fatah Kadal. After passing his F.Sc in 1924, he sought dmission in the B.Sc class in the prince of Wales College Jammu, because science had not been introduced at degree level in Srinagar. It was refused on the ground that the seats had been already allocated. Actually one seat was still vacant which was later given to the son of an officer though not a state national. Therefore he took admission in the Islamia collage, Lahore. After graduation he sent to Aligarh in 1928, and after passing his M.Sc in chemistry, returned to Srinagar in April 1930. He was the first Muslim in the state with a master's degree in science.*

*As no political or non-political society could be formed, Mr. Mohamad Rajab in collaboration with another zealous collegiate late Mr. basher Ahmad, who retired as revenue Asstt. Muzaffarabad, so up a small room in the house of one Syeed Ali Akbar which was partly occupied by a Post master, Sikander. It was cover meant to camouflage the political discussions held. Encouraged by the response of educated Muslims and the interest shown by the uneducated the Reading Room was given a regular organizational shape. An election was held in which Shiekh Mohamed Abdullah elected as secretary and Mohamed Rajab elected as president. Reading room was now better organized and sheikh Mohamad Abdullah used to spend almost his entire free time there.*

*On September 8, 1982, he left this world. He spent 28027 days in this world.*

*Sheikh Abdullah has been gifted with a melodious vice. Deeply religious, he grew a beard during his youth. It was at this stage that Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah joined the state High School Srinagar as science teacher on a salary of Rs. 60/= per month. Later he was deserted from the post of teacher. Due to he became agitprop. At Srinagar Sheikh Abdullah's speeches on the plateform when he stood up to deliver his address. After hearing him for a few minutes, Mulana Zaffar Khan exclaimed in great joy "Sher-i-Kashmir" the slogan was beautiful.*

***Question:- Discuss the causes responsible for the 13<sup>th</sup> July 1931 event.***

*Ans. According to Mahjoor "leave toying with kettle drums. Let there be thunder storm and tempest" yes an earth quake.*

*Five important incidents which took place at the time in quick succession provided the spark needed to kindle the flames of revolt. These five causes area as*

- 1. In the first case, a leading land holder in Udhampur Jammu embraced Islam. The Hindu tehsildar sanctioned a fresh mutation of his lands, eliminated his name and mulated the same in the name of his brother.*
- 2. On 29 the April 1931 in Jammu city. The Muslims said their Eid-Prayers in a garden owned by the Municipal Committee. The prayers were led by Mufti Mohamad Ishaque. (G.A. Mahjoor)*

*After prayers, he read a few verses from the holy Quran relating to pharaoh and mosses and explained its historical significance in his Khutba. A pouce*

*sub-inspector, Babu Khem Chand, was on duty along with a posse of police men when the Imam spoke of Pharaoh as a cruel and tyrant king, the sub-inspector ordered him to stop the Khutba as in his view the Imam had transgressed the bounds of law and was guilty to treason. A young man Mir Hussain Bakih stood up to defy the ban and addressing the people told them that the govt. had been guilty of interference in their religion. The cry was taken up by the congregation. They marched in a procession to the city's main mosque where brief meeting was held condemning the incident. It was resolved to hold a protest meeting in the evening. The Muslims brought a complaint in the court of A.D. M under section 296 penal Code against the Hindu inspector for disturbing a religious assembly which was dismissed by the Hindu Magistrate. Held that Khutba was not a part of the prayer. A large crowd of Hindu who were present in the court premises raised the slogans of "Khem Chand Zindabad" and "Hindu Dharam Ki Ji".*

- 3. The third incident took place on 4<sup>th</sup> June in the central Jail Jammu. According to daily inqulab" dated 1/7/1931 one Fazal dad Khan, a police constable from Mirpur was sitting on a cot when a Head warder, Balak Ram, reprimanded him for being late on duty. In the meantime came one Labhu Ram sub-Inspector who threw away his bedding in a fit of rashness. It contained a copy of Panjsurah (five chapters from Holly Quran).*
- 4. "The fourth incident took place in Srinagar on 20<sup>th</sup> June `1931 when leaves of the Holly Quran were fought in a public latrine. No Muslim could ever dare to that"*
- 5. The Role of first Prisoner: Hundreds of copies of the posters published by the young men's Muslim association Jammu were sent to Sheikh Abdullah for distribution. In Srinagar, a volunier Mohamed Ismail was caught by the police while affixing a poster and put in jail. According to P.N. Bazaz. He was the first political prisoner of the movement.*
- 6. Immediate cause*

**Role of Abdul Qadeer:-**

*Abdul Qadeer, an employee of an English army officer major Butt of the Yorkshire Regiment then posted at Peshawar, Qadeer hailed from Amroha, a town in U.P he had come to Srinagar with his employer who was a casual visitor on leave from the army wanting to spend the hot summer in the cool climate of Kashmir. He was staying in a house boat in Naseem Bagh.*

*Abdul Qadeer had been attending the meetings and at Kanqah-i- Maulla he was unable to suppress his feelings which resulted in his impromptu address to the crowd. His speech was recording by the C.I.D and when he returned to Nasim Bagh at the dead of night, he was followed by the Gestapo and arrested on 25<sup>th</sup> June from the house-boat of his employer and charged under section 124-A (treason) and 153 of the Pennal Code. According Rashid Taseer in “Tarikh-i-Huriyat” .*

*“A Muslim brother, the time has now come when we should meet force by great force to put an end to the tyrannies and brutalities to which you are subjected, nor will they solve the issue of disrespect to holly Quran to your satisfaction. You must rely up on your own strength and wage of relentless war against oppression “pointing his finger towards the palace, he thundered raise I to the ground”.*

*When Muslims learnt of his arrest, there was wide resentment in the city. Their feelings were injured particularly because here before them a brother Muslim from outside the state who had courted arrest for their take and in vindication of their rights. The matter being sentimental the people became acutely touchy.*

*On 13<sup>th</sup> July 1931, thousands of Muslims assembled outside the Central Jail. After the entry of the session judge, they demanded permission to enter the compound. As this stage, at 1:00 P.M. Muslims began lining up for their noon prayers. In a few minutes came the governor who snubbed the police on duty for not having taken into custody those who had earlier attempted to the compound and ordered their immediate arrest. The police thereupon arrested five persons with the result that the crowd became restive and raised anti govt. and pro Abdul Qadeer slogans. The situation became extremely grave and obviously it was the natural result of the Governors reckless order. Governor lost his nervous and*

*ordered the armed police to open fire. Even according to the evidence , officially placed before the Dalal Inquiry Commission one hundred serious injuries. . Five of whom died later in the Jamia Masjid . The Hindu. Daily Tribune , dated 28<sup>th</sup> July , 1931 , admitted the loss of 21 Muslims in the firing the scene was very grim. It is recorded by Chudhari Ghulam , Abbas Khan in his autobiography that the sky became suddenly overcast with dark frightening clouds and the city witnessed an unusually dust storm , as soon as the procession reached Jamia Masjid , the government clamped martial law and handed over the city to the army . It was here that one oif the martyrs and now you proceed who had not as yet breathed his lost, told Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah . “I have done may duty and now you proceed ahead” . Another martyr , Ghulam Nabi Kalawal enquired from Mir Waiz Mohammad Yousuf Shah as to wheatear he was dying as a martyr and on being assured by him, that anyone who died in the firing or as a result of it was certainly a martyr in the truest sense of the tear, he immediately closed his eyes and reciting the Kalima Breathed his last. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> day, they were buried in the compound of Khanqah-i-Naqashband. The place has since come to be known as Mazar-i-Shuhada where, every year on 31th July Muslims from all over Kashmir assemble to enshrine either memory and rededicate themselves to the cause of freedom and dignity’s*

***Q:- Discuss the Glance Commission and its Provision’s?***

***Ans:-*** *On 21th Nov 1931 A.D. the Maharaja issued the promised proclamation appointing a commission known to students of Kashmir history as the Glance Commission . The*

*Glance Commission was appointed to look into the grievances of various sections of the people, particularly those of the Muslims. Four non-official members were nominated to assist him Khawaja Ghulam Ahmad Ashai From Kashmir Valley.*

*Chaudjri Ghulam Abbas From Kashmir Valley. Lineal Leaders.*

*Lok Nath Sharama From Jammu Province represent the Hindus of Jammu province.*

*The Commission made the following recommendations,*



*Muslim religious shrines, Khankah-i-sokhta, Khanqah-i-Bulbu Shah, Khanqah-i-Darashikvoh (Srinagar), Malshahi Bagh Mosque (Genderbal), Khanqah-Sufi Shah (Jammu city) Bahu Mosque (babu) and the Srinagar Eidgah are restored to Muslims.*

*Complete religious liberty should be enjoyed by every class and community.*

*Malikana to the state should be remitted. Proprietary rights in respect of all lands of which ownership is returned British by the state (Kashmir valley and Mirpur Tehsil) Should be granted to the occupancy tenants.*

*A special inspector for Mohammedans education should be appointed.*

*Recommendations of Mr. Sharp should be implemented and number of Muslim teacher should be increased.*

*All committee should receive a fair share in government appointments. All vacancies should properly advertised.*

*All unauthorized exactions should be stopped.*

*The rights of agriculturalists should not be impaired by privileges conferred on other classes.*

*Industrial development should receive urgent attention of the Government.*

***Q:- Discuss the Pandits agitation against Galancy Commission?***

***Ans:-*** *Kashmiri Pandiths were unhappy with the recommendations , so were Muslims because the commission had not accepted many of their important demands . The pundits represented their demands and so called grievance document. It was claimed that the Khanqah-i-Maulla was originally a Kali Mandir and that it should be made over to them. They also started the “Roti Agitation.”*

***Q:- Discuss the causes and formation of Muslim league?***

***Ans:-*** *According to Wali-Ullah-Zain-aul-Abidin the hoisting of this green flag with crescent opens a new epoch in the history of Kashmir.”*

***Role of educated Muslim Youths:-***

*Maharaja's autocratic rule and encouraged the educated Muslim youth of the valley to come out for putting up an organized fight against the policies of the Dogra Raj. Reading Room Party Wanted a platform to bring all the educated youth together for devising ways and means to fight out injustice done to the Muslim Community in general . The reading Room party members succeeded in attracting a large number of educated Muslim youth under one flag. Encouraged by the mass support, the Muslim leadership goes emboldened to launch an organized struggle by forming a political organization for the purpose.*

### ***The founding Fathers:-***

*After the release of political leaders on 4<sup>th</sup> June 1932, the move gained momentum. According Maulana Mohammad Syeed Masudi the decision to form a party and name it Muslim conference was taken in the Central Jail Srinagar in course of discussions he had with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah while both were interned together. It drafted a constitution and decided to name the organization as the "All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference." The inaugural session was held on the 14<sup>th</sup> , 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1932 in the historical Panther Masjid Srinagar under the president ship of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah . A platform fifteen feet high from the ground was constructed in the spacious ground of the Masjid on which sat about two hundred representatives and about a hundred press representatives and observers.*

*The ground adjacent to the mosque which was later utilized for the construction of Mujahid Manzil the party headquarters was converted into a part of the pandal to accommodate the unprecedented audience. The committee which made arrangements for the conference and drafted the constitution also adopted a party flag which consisted of a great cloth, representing Muslim faith, with crescent and star which was also the flag of the all India Muslim League, and which now, in addition to a piece of whole cloth representing minorities is the national flag of Pakistan . According to Taseer , the session was attended by about three lakh men women and children who turned the pandal into a place of pilgrimage. The flag hoisting ceremony was performed on 14<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1932 by Wali-Ullah-Zain-ul-Abidin a representative of the "All Kashmir Committee."*

*The conference elected the following office bearers:*

*Vice President = Sheikh Abdul Hamid advocate*

*General Secretary = Chaudari Ghulam Abas.*

*4- Secretary = Maulvi Abdur Rahin Pleader.*

***Q:- Discuss the Role of Muslim Conference?***

*Ans:- It was named as Muslim conference because the Muslim Community was mainly suffering under the Dogra regime. According to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. "Muslim conference is not a communal organization and its existence will prove beneficial to all the communities living in the state.*

***Social Welfare Programme:-***

*The Muslim conference fully realized the importance of education and worked for its dissemination among the people of the state in general and those of the Muslims in particular. The conference had also realized the significance of the female education and three fore attached considerable importance to it. Muslim conference also urged for opening middle schools in the programs of Hamal (Rafiabad) , Zaingair, Lolab, Trehgam and Titwal.*

***Peasents got properirty rights:-***

*It was because of the role of M.C that in n1933 , the peasants got proprietary rights in land (Khalasa) some privileges related to forests, exemption from tax on milk cow, Kahcharai (Grazing tax) and nazarana. Not only had this but the conference succeeded in persuading the government to accept the demand of paying land revenue of :Nautuad" (fresh broken land) in installments . Besides the confiscated religious places were also restored to the Muslims though*

*the demand that the converts to Islam should not be debarred from inheriting ancestral property was not acceded to.*

***Programme of Constitutional Reforms=***

*Constitutional reforms formed an integral. It was form the very beginning that the conference took up the demand of Constitutional reforms on priority. The Muslim conference demanded immediate establishment of the Constitue Assembly and an increase in the powers of the proposed assembly and an increased in the powers of*

*proposed assembly the Muslim conference rejected the Franchise committee report which was published in January 1934. The Report was rejected on the following grounds:*

***(Mirwaiz Yousuf Shah)***

- (a) Out of 75 members , 34 would be Muslims where as the number of the non-Muslims members would be 41. In this way 80% Muslim population had been converted into a minority.*
- (b) The Hanjis (boatman) were not included in the voter list. Muslim Backarwals (nomadic people) were also deprived of the right of vote.*
- (c) Polling took place on 4<sup>th</sup> Sep. 1934 and the Muslim conference won all the twenty one seats reserved for the Muslims had five seats and there was a contest between the Muslim conference and Azad Muslim conference. The Muslim conference captured all the five seats, which gave a shattering blow to the prestige of Mirwaiz Mohammad Yousuf Shah. The first session of the assembly was held on 17 Oct. 1934 at Shergarhi in Srinagar. The Maharaja attended the inaugural session and the Prime Minister read out a Proclamation related to the powers of the Praja Sabha (Legislative Assambly)*

***Q:- Why split of the Muslim conference?***

***Ans:-*** *While Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was in Jail for the third time, Mirwaiz Mohammad Yousuf Shah kept himself aloof from the main stream of Muslim Conference.*

*It was in 1933 that Mirwaiz parted his ways with the Muslim conference. Leadership and started a separate organization called the ‘Azad Muslim Conference’ .However as the new organization adopted a Pro-government attitude. According to Yousuf Saraf in “Kashmiris fight for freedom”.*

*“The Dogra government rewarded the Mirwaiz with a jagir worth Rs 600/= and a royal “Khilaat” consisting of two rolls of English “Makhmal” each measuring nine yards ,four rolls of China silk, a silver tray and a shawl. When the news became public the Mirwaiz was severely criticized and his action condemned as a betrayal to the movement.”*

*The Spilt of Muslim conference divided the Muslims of Srinagar and its peripheries into two Mirwaiz were called “Bakra” and those of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were called “Sher”*

*The Tissele was so intense that many persons divorced their wives because of their divided loyalties.*

***Q:- Why Muslim Conference changed into National Conference/***

***Ans:-*** *The Sixth annual session of the Muslim conference was held in Jammu on the 25<sup>th</sup> , 26<sup>th</sup> March 1938. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was elected as president . Addressing the session Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said, “We must therefore open our doors to all such Hindus and Sikhs who, like ourselves , believe in freeing the country from the shackles of an irresponsible rule.”*

*In the subjects committee meeting a resolution was introduced by Molvi Mohammad Syeed, that the name of the conference be changed to that of All Jammu and Kashmir Political Conference, Which in other words, meant to open its doors to non Muslims by dropping the word “Muslim” Raja Mohammad Akbar from Mirpur supported the resolution.*

*It was opposed by A.R. Sdagar. Sheikh Mohammad Amin and Abdul Majid Qurashi who said that the “Millat came first while politics came later.” Mr. Sagar and Sheikh Mohammad Amin introduced an amendment seeking to differ its consideration in order to elicit public opinion so that the same could be taken up again in the next session introducing the amendment. Mr. Sagar said :politics came first and religion and millat later.”*

*In May 1938 a party known as National Congress was set up in Srinagar with Khawaja Mohammad Umar Bhatt as president and Pandith Ragho Nath Veshnavi as general secretary. It merged later with the National Conference . In April 1938 an association named National Conference was formed in Jammu with Mr. Sheikh Abdullah President. On 28<sup>th</sup> June 1938, the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference met in Srinagar to consider the question of changing the name of the party. According to Mr. Rashid Taser, Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas Khan, Sheikh Ahmad Din Banihali , Mr. A.M. Qarshi and soon other leaders opposed the resolution where up on they were asked to resign from the party. In Oct. 1939*

*National Conference adopted its new flag which consists of a red cloth with the sign of a white plough inscribed in its centre.*

### **Causes :-**

- 1- Impact of freedom movement: The conversion of M.C. into national conference in 1939 was an event of far -0 reaching consequences in the freedom movement of Kashmir.*
- 2- Abdullah under Nehru spell: In 1934 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah left for India to renew contacts with leaders of political thought over there. It was during this sojourn that he had a meeting with Pt. Jaswahaar Lal Nehru which had far-reaching consequences in Kashmir politics. His fore- fathers had migrated from the state. His Kamala was also of Kashmiri descent. To Nehru thus sub-continent was like a ring in which Kashmir valley occupied the position of a gem.*
- 3- Role of Prem NAth Bazar: Early in 1935 Abdullah and Prem NAth Bazaz felt that the time had arrived to make the first move in the implementation of their scheme for re-orienting Kashmir politics on secular lines. They were however cautious not to precipitate the matters. On 1<sup>st</sup> Aug 1935 ,they jointly started a weekly Journal, “The Hamdard” in Urdu to popularize the ideology and to lay the foundation of progressive nationalism in the state. The inauguration of the first issue of the Journal was performed by Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlu. A bhg Public meeting at Hazurt Bagh Srinagar. Muslim ional Conference in 1939 A.D. Pt. Prem Nath Bazaz was one of its members and infract the brain behind it.*
- 4- Slogans of national conference: The Slogans of National Conference like “Hindu for freedom.*
- 5- Role of Mahjoor: Among the poets of the “New Kashmir” period. Mahjoor ranked as the greatest in the love of his mother land . Mahjoor sang:*
- 6- Who is the friend and who the foe of your native land?*
- 7- Let you among your selves thoughtfully make out.....*

*The race and shock of all; Kashmir is one;*

*Let us mingle milk and sugar once again.*

*Hindus will man the helm and Muslims ply the oars,*

*Let us together row (ashore) the boat of this country.*

*For all those prayers houses , I will make one door.*

*Muslims are like milk and Hindus like sugar.*

*I will mix milk and sugar and make nectar.*

***Q:- Discuss the role of National Conference?***

***Ans:-*** *The working Committee having authorized the cooperation of non-Muslim members, Sardar Budh Singh, Pandith Jia Kalim Lala Girdhari Lal Dogra. Pandit Kayshup Bandhu and Prem Nath Bazar were nominated to committee. The first session of the newly formed National Conference was held at Anantnag from Sep. 30 to Oct. 2<sup>nd</sup> , 1939. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was elected as president. The conference adopted a resolution embodying the national demands proclamation issued earlier on 29<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1938 which said:-*

*Spiritual Sympathy with Indian National Congress.*

*No wonder Jawahar Lal Nehru's visit to Kashmir in 1940 aroused widespread enthusiasm among the people of all classes.*

*The interest shown , in and sympathy expressed for the struggle of the state's people for freedom by the congress endeared it to the Kashmir Mr. Jinnah and the league. On the other hand. Scrupulously kept themselves aloof from the state's people's struggle.*

***Quit Kashmir Movement:-***

*While the national conference was holding its annual session in Srinagar in 1944 in which it adopted the program of a socialistic pattern of society and democratic government . The first public meeting was addressed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah at Maisuma bazaar Choke where it is used to be a Tonga stand , and in a forceful voice he gave the slogan of "Kashmir chod Do- bainama Amritsar Tood Do" ( Quit Kashmir and abrogation of the Amritsar Treaty).*

*The Mahajara announced his decision to include in the cabinet two popular ministers to be chosen from among the elected members of the Praja Sabha. Though meager in content the reforms were accepted by the national*

*conference as a step towards future cooperation between the ruler and the ruled and selected a nominee of its own on the cabinet . Hence on the 17<sup>th</sup> March 1946 the National Conference launched its “Quit Kashmir “ movement for the transfer of power to the people .*

#### *Constitutional Reforms of 1939 A.D.*

*In Sep. 1939, the Maharaja promulgated the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution Act. This act made some amendments in the Constitution act of 1934. The Reforms Act 1939 increased the number of elected members of the Praja Sabha from 33 to 40.*



## **Study material**

### **Subject History**

**Class: BA 3ed year**

### **Unit V**

#### **Topic: Ideological Scenario of Kashmir Politics on the eve of Partition**

Like the politico-ideological scenario in British India, Kashmir's political and ideological scenario on the eve of Indian Partition was heterogeneous in its nature. This ideological heterogeneity, represented by different political parties and organizations, was outcome of socio economic, religious, regional, historical and other such factors. Quit naturally, these ideological groups had different [and sometimes diametrically opposing] perspectives and readings on important situations including nature of Dogra State, relationship with Indian political parties and British ruling establishment, Partition and Accession and future course of Kashmir politics. The measure ideological trends were represented by the following political organizations:

#### **The Jammu and Kashmir National Conference:**

As has been mentioned in previous topics, the State's first political organization, the Muslim Conference was converted in to the National Conference in 1939 to broaden its social base and to throw it open to the cross sections of the society. The National Conference soon came very close to the Indian National Conference because of its ideological proximity with the organisation. But the closeness caused rifts within the party and many of its leaders resigned and revived the erstwhile Muslim Conference. In 1944 the organisation adopted a comprehensive socio economic programme for the state, known as New Kashmir Manifesto. Soon afterwards Sheikh Abdullah launched what is known as Quit Kashmir Movement for the ouster of Dogra Maharaja from the state. The movement was suppressed and the leadership including Sheikh tried in the court of law. Thus, on the eve of partition, National Conference was in confrontation with state and also with the Muslim League and Muslim Conference. However, because of its secular ideology it was very close to the INC. With regard to the future affiliations of the state the party stand was very ambiguous. Its leadership even failed to anticipate the partition when its prospects where as bright as the day light, and thus, were caught unprepared in 1947.

#### **The Muslim Conference**

As mentioned above some leaders of the National Conference who were not happy with the political affiliations and activities of sheikh Abdullah in alliance with others joined and revived the erstwhile Muslim Conference. They held that conversion of the Muslim conference in to the national conference was a conspiracy of the pro establishment and some

non Muslim elements of the state who under the guidance of the Congress leadership executed the conspiracy to derail the Muslim politics in the state and to cause the fissures in the movement. The Muslim conference leadership therefore, forged a strong alliance with Mohammed Ali Jinnah's Muslim League. The organisation created a strong social base among the urban middle class educated Muslims in the state. Jinnah's visit to the valley in 1944 boosted the morals of the organisation in the valley and in other non Kashmiri speaking Muslim regions of the state. On the eve of British withdrawal, the organisation pledged their support to the Maharaja if the later would work to carve out an independent Kashmir. However, later on considering Maharaja's indecisiveness, Muslim Conference asked the Maharaja to accede to the dominion of Pakistan.

### **Communist and socialist organisations**

After the world war second, many communist and socialist activists moved to the state in order to escape the persecution in British India. Many such activists started influencing the policies and programmes of the state's largest political organisation, the National Conference. Within few years of time, the socialist ideology attracted the attention of students, teachers, artists, poets and activists in the state and finally culminated in the established of organisations like Kisan Mazdor Sabha etc. like the Muslim Conference, the communists earlier pleaded for an Independent Kashmir through the right to self determination and later on supported the cause of Kashmirs accession to Pakistan.

### **Pro establishment Organisations**

In all the regions of the state, particularly in the Jammu province, few sections of the society had developed a status quist mentality for their stakes in the state. This ideological setting was represented by organisations and individuals like Hindu Dharma Sabha, jagirdars, religious groups and personalities, few traders, officials etc. since they had developed strong interests in the establishment, they would leave no stone unturned in thwarting the growth of democracy in the state. These groups were used by the state as a counter argument by the state to block the democratic voices.

Therefore, on the eve of 1947, Jammu Kashmir state was ideologically polarised both within the pro freedom camp as well as within the pro establishment dispensation. The ideological divide was visible also at inter and intra regional levels. This ideological polarisation created a very complex situation in the state at a crucial juncture of decolonisation.

## **Topic: Indian Partition, The Accession and the Birth of Kashmir Question**

While the people of the state were fighting, under different political dispensations, their battle for freedom against a feudal, sectarian and imperialistic state, the British realised the impracticality of continuing their hegemonic control over the Indian possessions following their huge economic loss during the World War II, the intensity of national movement in India and worsening of the communal situation. After protracted negotiations with Indian political leadership, the British government announced their scheme of Indian independence with partition through what is known as Mountbatten Plan on 3rd June 1947. The scheme held that Muslim majority provinces in British India be combined to form a new sovereign state, Pakistan. By all standards, the British India was proposed to be divided on communal lines, thus, vindicating the Jinnah's two nation theory and the similar proposals made earlier by some nationalists like Madan Mohan Malviya etc.

The partition scheme proposed by Mountbatten was applicable only to British India and the British Government made a simultaneous announcement along with the Partition Plan reading thus; "Her Majesty's Government wishes to make it clear that the decision announced above (about partition) relate only to British India and that their policy towards the Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of May 12<sup>th</sup> 1946, remains quite unchanged."

The relevant paragraph in the Cabinet Mission Plan vis-à-vis the Princely States is as follows:

"When a new fully self governing or independent Government or Governments came into being in British India, His Majesty's Government's influence with these governments will not be such as to enable them to carry out the obligations of paramountcy..... This means that the rights of the states, which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all arrangements between the states, on the one side, and British India on the other, will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the states entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular arrangements with it."

Thus, the Indian Independence Act recognised the right of Indian Princes to decide the future affiliation of their respective states when the country was partitioned in two Dominions. It will be important to mention that two major Indian political parties viz the Congress and the Muslim League, held divergent views with regard to the authority of the Princes to decide the future affiliation of their states. Congress considered it obligatory for the princes to consider the public opinion before making any decision, whereas the Muslim League opposed any such conditionality.

### **Kashmir's Accession to Indian Union:**

Keeping in view the strategic location and ideological significance of the J&K state, both Indian National Congress and the Muslim League had already started influencing Kashmiri nationalist leadership and officialdom. The Congress and particularly the Nehru, developed strong personal and ideological contacts with the largest single political party of the state, the

National Conference, particularly with its President, Sheikh Abdullah. In the same manner, the Muslim League would provide the organisational and moral support to the Muslim Conference. Similarly, the two parties tried to win over the Maharaja Hari Singh to their fold.

### **Maharaja's Indecision**

The Maharaja Hari Singh, keeping in view the complex nature of his state and his personal ambitions, was reluctant to join either of the two dominions. He was in no mood to join the Indian dominion for he was supported by loyal Hindu leaders in the state who argued that a Hindu state, as the state claimed to be, should not merge with secular India. Similarly, the Muslim League and the Kissan Mazdoor Sabha within the state and the Muslim League assured him their support for an independent state or failing to which they insisted him to join Pakistan for the overwhelming Muslim population of the state.

The National Conference, perceived to be ideologically very close to the Congress, pressed for 'freedom before accession'. Interestingly, the organisation had developed bitterness towards the Muslim League and the Maharaja after the Quite Kashmir Movement. The party therefore, strongly voiced its disapproval towards any proposal for Kashmir's accession to Pakistan.

After the Indian Independence and the birth of two sovereign states, both India and Pakistan engaged the Maharaja and the political leadership of the state to break the indecisiveness of the Maharaja though without any significant breakthrough.

### **Poonch Uprising and Tribal Invasion**

Meanwhile there was serious trouble in Muslim majority area of Poonch in Jammu. Although the issue began with some local demands, like the rehabilitation of the troops who participated in the World War II and the demands for the moderation of the exorbitant taxation, the situation soon became messy and the troops were used to quell the unrest resulting indiscriminate use of force and the heavy loss of life. In a surcharged atmosphere where communal passions were at its peak thanks to the mishandling of the Partition, the Poonch uprising soon attracted the attention of their co-religionists and ethnic groups in other areas including in areas within Pakistan which subsequently culminated in the full fledged Tribal invasion backed, unofficially, by the officialdom and military establishment in Pakistan.

Finding himself helpless to face the extraordinary situation, the Maharaja decided to vacate the valley and to respond to the call of the Indian political leadership. The protracted negotiations between the two through emissaries, V P Menon and Meher Chand Mahajan, resulted in the Accession of state to the Indian Union, officially on 26<sup>th</sup> October 1947. The accession agreement was fully backed by the National Conference but strongly opposed by the Muslim Conference and the Pakistan. Three important provisions associated with the accession included; its temporary character, its limited nature and the provision for installing Sheikh Abdullah as the executive head of the emergency government in the state.

## Topic: **Political Developments from 1947 to 1953**

### **A) Article 370**

As mentioned above, the State of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to the India Union under special circumstances, thus, necessitating a special constitutional position within the Union. Besides, the temporary nature of the accession and its restrictive character too made the Union to respond differently to the State. It may not be out of place to mention that the India political leadership and the National Conference justified the accession of the state, with overwhelming Muslim population, to the Union of India on the basis of Kashmir's uniqueness as a syncretic socio religious entity which was needed to be protected under special constitutional provisions.

Sheikh Abdullah was as insistent as Hari Singh had been that New Delhi had no right to extend its jurisdiction in Kashmir beyond the three areas agreed in the Instrument of Accession, namely, foreign affairs, defence and communications.

This special status was now proposed as an article in the Indian Constitution, drafted first as Article 306-A and then finalised as Article 370. To understand the nature of the Article, it will be worth to quote Gopalswamy Ayyangar, the architect of the Article:

“This Article proposes a special status for Kashmir because of its special circumstances. The State is not in a position to merge with India. We all hope that the State of Jammu and Kashmir will get over hurdles and completely merge with the Union, like the rest of the states.”

Article 370 limits the parliaments powers to make laws for J&K in “those matters in the Union List and Concurrent List which are declared by the President to correspond to the matters specifies in the Instrument of Accession and such other matters in the said Lists as, with the concurrence of the Government of the state, the President may by order specify.”

The Constituent Assembly of India or its successor parliament had no right to abrogate or modify Article 370.

## **B) Kashmir at UN**

Technically and constitutionally speaking, the Accession of Jammu and Kashmir to the Union of India was by all means final. However, the circumstances under which the accession was made and the geographic and demographic positioning of the state gave it a unique nature and forced its architects to associate with it some special conditions. First, the accession was made subject to the final ratification by the people of the state. Second, even after the accession, the Indian Union was not able to establish her control over all the areas of the state, and a war has to be waged to clear the state of the invaders. And third, the Government of India added an international dimension to it by making a reference to the United Nations in order to delegitimize the Pakistani claim over the state.

When bilateral efforts to resolve the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan failed, and no military solution was in sight, India took the issue to the United Nations Security Council. In a complaint lodged on 1 January 1948, at the advice of Lord Mountbatten, India drew the attention of the Council to the threat to international peace and security if Pakistan was not desisted from providing aid to the invaders in Kashmir.

In prolonged discussions held at United Nations both the parties, India and Pakistan, made rival claims to delegitimize one another and to justify their own positions. In an important turn of events, and to the disappointment of Indian government, the Pakistani representative, Sir Zafrullah projected Kashmir problem as an issue of the suppression of popular will in Kashmir by the government of India, rather than it being an issue of tribal invasion.

Because of the limited authority of the UN to resolve bilateral issues and the international power politics, the United Nations commission for India and Pakistan appointed by the Security Council to resolve the issue “in accordance with the will of the people”, nothing could be achieved beyond the enforcement of the ceasefire between the two warring nations on 1 January 1949 and the establishment of a ceasefire line which divided the erstwhile state of J&K in to two parts. It is worth to mention that no progress was made on many resolutions passed by the Security Council from time to time because of the reluctance shown by the parties.

## **C) Dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah**

One of the biggest political friendships in modern political history of Indian subcontinent and with far reaching political implications cemented between Jawahilal Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah in 1930s came to a halt on 8<sup>th</sup> of August 1953 when, at the behest of the former, Sheikh was dismissed from his position as Prime Minister of the state and send to the imprisonment. The event, which shocked many political observers of the time, marked the

first open rupture in Kashmir's relationship with the Union of India. There were many reasons responsible for the happening, few of which are as under:

First, it is said that Sheikh Abdullah and the Indian Government had divergent perspectives on the nature of the Kashmir's accession to India. While the government of India held that the conditionalities associated with accession were only temporary in nature, and the state would move closer to the Centre like other states of the Union, the Sheikh visualised the accession as first step to protect the state from its occupation by Pakistan and to gain unbridled powers from the Indian Union. This paradox came to surface soon during the discussions on Article 370, Delhi Agreement and on the powers of the proposed Constituent Assembly of the state and both the parties realised the delicate nature of the relationship.

Second, immediately after Sheikh Abdullah assumed the power, there was growing criticism throughout the country against special constitutional position given to the state. The criticism took the shape of a well organised agitation both within and outside the state with Sheikh becoming its main target. This agitation created doubts in Sheikh's mind with regard to the longivity of his state's relationship with India and out of frustration he made different provocative statements and started talking in equal terms about India and Pakistan.

Third, Abdullah had also become disillusioned with India's secularism. For example, in his speech at Jammu in 1952, he thus expressed his dissatisfaction: "I had told my people that their interests were safe in India, but educated unemployed Muslims look towards Pakistan, because, while their Hindu compatriots find avenues in India open for them, the Muslims are debarred from getting government services." Earlier he had seen organised massacres launched against the Muslims of Jammu at the behest of Rightist Hindu groups with support at official level.

Fourth, Sheikh Abdullah's commitment to socio economic reform in the state was viewed by feudal elements in the state as a threat to their existence. Thus, they started a vicious campaign against Sheikh to demonise him as an American Agent, communist propagandist, Pakistani sympathiser, separatist, autocrat, communal etc. etc. this negative branding created doubts among his followers and under pressure sheikh started exploring other alternatives to the dismay of Indian leadership.

However, the Sheikhs downfall was made only possible by the support given to Delhi by his most trusted associates, G M Sadiq and Bakhshi Gulam Mohammed, who had been with him since the 1930s. In the early hours of the morning on 9<sup>th</sup> August, Bakhshi was sworn in as prime minister. Abdullah came back to the mainstream politics in 1975 after spending twenty two years in Plebiscite movement.

## Topic: **Economic Developments with special reference to the abolition of landlordism**

For one reason the National Conference was distinctive among other political parties in the state's national movement, was its comprehensive economic programme, known as Naya Kashmir Manifesto, which the party adopted in 1944 under the socialist influence. It was the advertisement of this programme that the party had established a clear sway over the rural population of the state and thus, it became the corner stone of Sheikh Abdullah's mobilization strategy. After 1947 when NC came to power, the agrarian reform became the central focus of his political agenda.

Three significant goals enunciated in the Naya Kashmir, geared to the interest of the peasantry were the abolition of landlordism, land to the tiller, and cooperative association. The new state took its first concrete steps towards agrarian reform in 1948 with the abolition of *jagiri*, *muafis* and *mukarari* grants.

On 13 July 1950, the Kashmir government introduced the most sweeping land reform with no parallel in the entire subcontinent, and perhaps most radical in any non-communist state world over. To give programme a legal shape, the government enacted, on 17 October 1950, the *Big Landed Estates Abolition Act* known as *magna carta* of the peasants in the state. The Act revolutionized the social structure in Kashmir and Abdullah earned a fatherly status among the beneficiaries.

The Act set a maximum limit of 22  $\frac{3}{4}$  acres of the holdings of land owners excluding orchards, fuel and fodder resources and uncultivated waste lands. Land in excess of this amount was transferred in ownership right to the tiller without compensation to the original owner. As a result, 9000 and odd properties were appropriated from 4.5 lakh acres of land and out of this 2.3 lakh acres were transferred in ownership rights to the tillers free of all encumbrances and the remaining land vested in the state.

However, corruption in the administrative machinery and some inherent loopholes in the scheme such as exemption of the orchards from the ceiling limit wasted the effectiveness of the programme.

Despite some limitations, the Act was very progressive in nature. It gave death knell to the feudalism in the state and empowered millions of land less tillers. Politically speaking, sheikh though numerically more stronger, earned the enmity of the erstwhile feudal sections who lobbied within and outside the state to dislodge Abdullah from power.



