Colonialism and Modern Education in India:
A Study of Kashmir, 1880-1947

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By
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "**Colonialism and Modern Education in India: A Study of Kashmir, 1880-1947"** submitted by Fayaz Ahmad Kotay, Enrolment No. 219/11, to Department of History, School for Social Science, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University (A Central University) Lucknow, in fulfilment for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** is a bonafide record of research work carried out by him under my supervision. The thesis embodies results of original work and studies carried out by the student himself. The contents of this thesis, in full or in parts, have not been submitted to any other Institution or University for the award of any degree or diploma.

Head Department of History
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled "**Colonialism and Modern Education in India: A Study of Kashmir, 1880-1947"** submitted in fulfilment for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** is an authentic record of original work carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. Shura Darapuri, Associate Professor, Department of History, School for Social Science, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University (A Central University) Lucknow. I further declare that this research work has not been submitted before for the award of any other degree or diploma to any University or Institution. In keeping with the ethical practice in reporting research information, due acknowledgements have been made wherever the findings of others have been cited.

Fayaz Ahmad Kotay

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FAYAZ AHMAD KOTAY

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The discipline of history of education was recognised as a distinctive area of research in the 1960s in some of the Western countries.[1] At the same time, the history of education was included alongside philosophy, sociology and psychology as one of the foundational disciplines in educational studies and teacher education.[2] Since education is an important agent of social change, some individual researchers began to investigate the odd trends of education. According to S. C. Ghosh, 'history of education is no longer regarded as a matter of acts and facts, as the concept of education has broadened considerably in recent years—education being no longer just a matter of formal schooling, but of all the many influences which go to shape a person's character and intellect.' History of education is therefore concerned, not merely with institutions such as schools, colleges and universities, but with the social forces which have affected the quality of life, and with the ideas which have been put forward by theorists and practitioners of education in the past. Thus, as Ghosh rightly observed, education is an adjunct to the historical process besides being one of the chief factors conditioning peoples' outlooks and aspirations. Therefore, the study of the history of education is best considered as a part of the wider study of the history of society or what is called social history.[3]

The post-Enlightenment state in general—and the colonial state in particular—exercised power through hegemony; it exercised power not through instilling fear of punishment, but by nurturing the body and inculcating loyalty in the minds of the subjects through modern education, public health and law. Thus, modern education became a crucial legitimizing factor for the continuance of empire.[4] Education system consciously introduced by the Colonial masters in India brought a dramatic socio-political change. The initial view that education merely produced clerks for the empire has been dismissed,[5] although even clerical education was linked to the 'great moral agenda' of colonialism. Colonial education socialized many into colonial values.

[1] Catherine Manathunga, 'The Field of Educational Development: Histories and Critical Questions', *Studies in Continuing Education*, 33:3 (30. September), 2011, pp. 347-362.
[2] Rob Freathy and Stehen Parker, 'The Necessity of Historical Inquiry in Educational Research: The Case of Religious Education', *British Journal of Religious Education*, 32:3 (27 July) 2010, pp. 229-243.
[3] Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India: 1757-2012* (4th edition), New Delhi: Oriental Black Swan, 2013, p. 3.
[4] Radha Gayathri, 'Silent Voices: Women Perceptions about Self and Education in Late Nineteenth century India', in Parimala V. Rao (ed.), *New Perspective in the History of Indian Education*, New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan, 2014, p. 92.
[5] Krishna Kumar, *Politics of Education in Colonial India*, New Delhi: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2014, p. 13.

However, at the same time, it turned many of its products against those values. But, overall, the colonial system of education has wide-ranging and long-lasting impact on curriculum, pedagogy, textbooks, teachers' role and status and on the indigenous forms of knowledge. Education system in India even today remains a legacy of the two centuries of colonial rule, with still limited and uneven access to knowledge, and the added entry of more clearly defined market and consumerist ideologies, which are now activity engaged in the process of transforming education into a marketable commodity.[6]

There has been a plethora of writings on the colonial education system in India. Most of these writings have been written with what Parimala V. Rao termed as 'old perspective.'[7] These perspectives have been divided into four categories: imperialist, anti-imperialist, post-modern and nationalist. All of them begin with the basic assumption that the world consists of neatly divided categories of East/West, coloniser/colonised and European/non-European. All these categories wanted to put forward the arguments which suited their theory and ideology. For the imperialist historians, Indians were incapable of reflecting upon 'the received knowledge' or going beyond what was 'taught in the classrooms'. For the anti-imperialists and post-modernists, the East, i.e., the colonised and non-Europeans were voiceless, passive recipients of Western education imposed on them by the colonial state through 'cultural imperialism' to reinforce 'European hegemony'. For the nationalist historians, the pre-colonial education system which was inherently superior had been destroyed by the British.[8]

Picking and choosing historical data to marshal support for a specific political, social, or educational agenda is really dangerous to the craft of history. Exhibiting one's superiority over the others does not serve the purpose of history. Such a trend in historiography has the tendency to exclude a number of genuine groups which have been historically kept out from the mainstream history. So, there is a need to look beyond the theories and ideologies. Richard Aldrich perceptibly observes, 'the duty of historian of education is to rescue from oblivion those, whose voices have not yet been heard and whose stories have not yet been told'.[9]

[6] Deepak Kumar, (eds.), *Education in Colonial India: Historical Insights*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2013, p. 37.
[7] Rao, *New Perspective in the History of Indian Education*, op. cit., p. 2.
[8] Ibid., p. 3
[9] Richard Aldrich quoted in Rao, *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, p. 1.

Nevertheless, recent trends in scholarship thrust forward by a new theoretical purpose to 'write history from below'. They have brought fresh insights and attention to familiar as well as unfamiliar groups and areas within the Indian subcontinent. A number of writings of Sabyasachi Bhattacharya[10] and other scholars explore the inequalities in distribution of educational opportunities to different disadvantaged sections of the society in colonial and post-colonial India.

Despite the fact that there is admirably growing research in the field of the history of education in colonial and post-colonial India, sufficient light has not been shed on the educational developments of princely India, sometimes leading to a dangerous assumption that changes similar to that of British-India had been witnessed there also, but many times forcing an uncritical understanding that princely India was immune to such changes and therefore remained backward. Such an understanding only reinforced the imperialistic idea of Oriental Despotism in a subtle way. This omission is striking considering, firstly, that these regions covered roughly forty per cent of the sub-continent, and secondly, that accepted academic narratives locate the princes centrally in the colonial project as collaborators or what Manu Bhagavan called them 'Right Hands of Empire'.[11] Therefore, a thorough study of the princely India with new historical approach is essential. Although a small cadre of scholars has attempted to rehabilitate the princes, to argue for their importance in colonial history, their study does not focus much on social history. By undertaking a full-length study of the educational and accompanying developments in the princely state of Kashmir, the present research study attempts at filling a gap.

0.1 Area of Research: History and Geography

The present study will focus on the valley of Kashmir, which was a part of the bigger state of Jammu and Kashmir. The state of Jammu and Kashmir occupies a strategic place with its borders touching China, Russian-Turkistan (Afghanistan) in the north, Tibet in the east, the states of Punjab and the North Western provinces of India in

[10] Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, (ed.). *Education and the Disprivileged: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century India,* New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2002 and Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, (ed.). *The Contested Terrain: Perspectives on Education in India,* New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1998.

[11] Manu Bhagavan, *Sovereign Spheres: Princes, Education and Empire in Colonial India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 1.

south and west, respectively.[12] The state covers an area of 222,713 sq. km extending from 30^0, 17' to 36^0, 58'N and from 73^0, 26' to 80^O, 30'N**.** In shorter term, Kashmir also includes besides the valley, the areas of Jammu, Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilgit, Hunza, and Nagar.[13]

Hindu kings ruled over the Valley for over four thousand years. Kalhana, in his famous work in Sanskrit verse, *Rajatarangini*, briefly narrated the main episodes in the careers of hundreds of kings, who ruled over Kashmir during this long period of history. Kashmir came under the rule of Sultans in 1339, when Shah Mir laid the foundation of Shahmiri dynasty. The Sultans occupied the throne for more than two centuries.[14] The sovereignty of Kashmir came under external subjugation when Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor, conquered it in 1586. During the reign of Akbar and other Mughal Emperors who succeeded him, the Valley was ruled by Governors appointed by them from time to time. But, as soon as the influence of the central authority at Delhi declined after the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal regime became weak in Kashmir.[15]

In 1752, Ahmad Shah Abdali of Afghanistan invaded Kashmir. The Afghan rule that followed was most ferocious one in the annals of the history of Kashmir.[16] The Afghans were replaced by the Sikhs when Maharaja Ranjit Singh conquered Kashmir in 1819. The Sikh Governors deputed to administer Kashmir on behalf of Maharaja Ranjit Singh were 'hard and rough masters',[17] as Kashmir was at a considerable distance from Lahore. More significantly, they consistently followed anti-Muslim policies in Kashmir, thus subjecting the majority of the population to severe hardship, particularly with regard to the practice of their religion.[18] Lawrence argued that foreign rule placed Kashmir at the mercy of short-lived governors, ignorant of the language and customs of the people, who worked their will on the Kashmiris regardless of the policy of the courts of Delhi, Kabul

[12] Parvez Ahmad, *Economy and Society of Kashmir: A Study in Change and Continuity (1885-1925)*, Srinagar: Oriental Publish House, 2007, p. 1.

[13] However after the partition the borders of the state had under gone considerable modifications. Presently total area of Jammu and Kashmir is 138,992 sq. km, remaining part has been possessed by Pakistan and China. P. N. K. Bamzai, *Cultural and Political History of Kashmir***,** Vol. I, New Delhi: M. D. Publications, 2004, p. 1.

[14] P. N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 1941, pp. 2-12.

[15] P. N. Bazaz, *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir: Cultural and Political, From Earliest Times to the Present Day*, New Delhi: Kashmir Publishing Company, 1954, pp. 76-78.

[16] Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, (Reprint) Srinagar: Ali Mohmmad and Sons, 2006 p. 146.

[17] Sir Francis Younghusband, *Kashmir*, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1911, p. 124.

[18] Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003, p. 39.

and Lahore, and looked upon Kashmir in the same light as the Roman proconsuls regarded Africa.[19]

The princely state of Jammu and Kashmir came into being in 1846, when the Treaty of Amritsar was signed between the English and Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu. Disparate territories stripped by the English from the Sikh kingdoms of Punjab were cobbled together to bring into being state of Jammu and Kashmir.[20] According to clause I of the Treaty, the British Indian government transfers and makes over forever in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and his male heirs, all the mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi including Chamba and excluding Lahul.[21] In lieu of this transfer, the Maharaja paid the British government a sum of rupees seventy five lakhs. The sale deed of Kashmir was criticized by various scholars from Orient to Occident.[22]

After taking over as the ruler of the state, Maharaja Gulab Singh claimed to be an absolute sovereign. He considered the state, especially the valley of Kashmir, as his purchased property. His successors also carried on both these claims. Gulab Singh (1846-1857) was succeeded by his son Ranbir Singh (1857-1885). His rule in general reflected the overtly Hindu tenor of the emergent Dogra state.[23] After the death of Ranbir Singh in 1885, his eldest son Pratap Singh ascended the throne. From this period on, the British intervened actively in the affairs of Kashmir, establishing the British Residency at Srinagar. Maharaja Hari Singh, the last Dogra Maharaja ascended the throne in 1925 when Kashmiri Muslim leadership came up quickly with a long list of new demands. His rule continued up to 1947.[24]

The three main administrative entities—Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh and Baltistan, within the princely state were categorised on the basis of their geographical divisions. The province of Jammu had been the heartland of Dogra control in the Punjab;

[19] Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 203.
[20] Includes Ladakh, Hunza and Gilgit, see Mridu Rai *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004**,** p. 20.
[21] English gave Kashmir as a reward to Gulab Singh, as he played a good role in the victory of English over Sikhs. Bamzai, *Cultural and Political History of Kashmir* .Vol. III, p. 666.
[22] Lamenting on the sale deed of Kashmir, the most celebrated poet of the East Mohammad Iqbal said: *"Their fields, their crops, their streams; Even the peasants in the vale; They sold, they sold all alas! How cheap was the sale."* Mohammad Iqbal cited in Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, p. 18.
[23] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 49.
[24] Ibid.

the province of Kashmir, purchased from the British in1846; and the provinces of Ladakh and Baltistan, the former conquered by the Dogras in 1834 and latter in 1840.[25]

The present study will primarily focus on the valley of Kashmir, roughly congruent with Kashmir province, with Srinagar as its political and economic centre. The people of Kashmir Valley spoke Kashmiri, and consisted mainly of Muslims, who formed the majority of the population, with a small and significant minority of Kashmiri Hindus, or Pandits.[26] However, it may not be out of place to mention here that Kashmiri Muslims and Kashmiri Pandits were not monolithic groups. Kashmiri Muslims were divided into Sheikhs, descendants of Hindu converts to Islam;[27] Sayyids, who claim a direct link of descent from the Prophet's family; Mughals, with central Asian origins; and Pathans, the descendants of Afghans. These groups practised a variety of occupations, with agriculture and related occupations being the single most important. Mughals and Sayyids were more likely to be landholders and administrators of shrines. Several occupational groups also came under the category of Kashmiri Muslim, such as Doms, an inferior class, Watals, entrusted with janitorial task; Galwans, the horse keepers; Hanjis, boatmen; Bhands, traditional folk singers and Gujjars and Bakarwals, nomadic tribes that herded goats and sheep for their livelihood.[28]

Kashmiri Pandits were divided into the astrologer class (Jotish), the priests (Guru or Bachbhat), and followers of secular occupations (Karkun). The vast majority of Kashmiri Pandits, particularly from the Karkun category, were salaried state employees in the lower rungs of the administration, while some practised cultivation and related occupations.[29] There is also miniscule minority of Sikhs; most of them are Jinsi Sikhs or Panjabi Brahmans. They are mostly found in Parganas of Tral, Ranbisingpura and Hamal. They live by agriculture and personal service.[30]

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[25] There were other distinct political entities at the British Indian frontier, which as a result of their geographical location had to formulate some type of political relationship with the Jammu and Kashmir princely state. The most significant was the Gilgit Agency, which the British attached to Jammu and Kashmir for political convenience in 1889, and which the Dogra state leased back to them in 1935. Poonch, another important border area, came under the formal control of Jammu and Kashmir state in 1936. The governor of Kashmir was the executive head of Kashmir provinces as well as the Gilgit Agency, while the governor of Jammu was responsible for Jammu province as well Ladhak and Baltistan. Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, pp. 9-10.

[26] Ibid.

[27] They were further divide into *Pirzadas* (the descendents of *Fakirs*, holy medicates), *Babazadas* (Descendents of *Khalifas*), Bahadur Munshi Ghulam Ahmed Khan, *Census of India, 1901, Vol. XXIII, Kashmir Part*, Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1902, p. 83.

[28] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, pp. 9-11.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Khan, *Census of India, 1901*, p. 83.

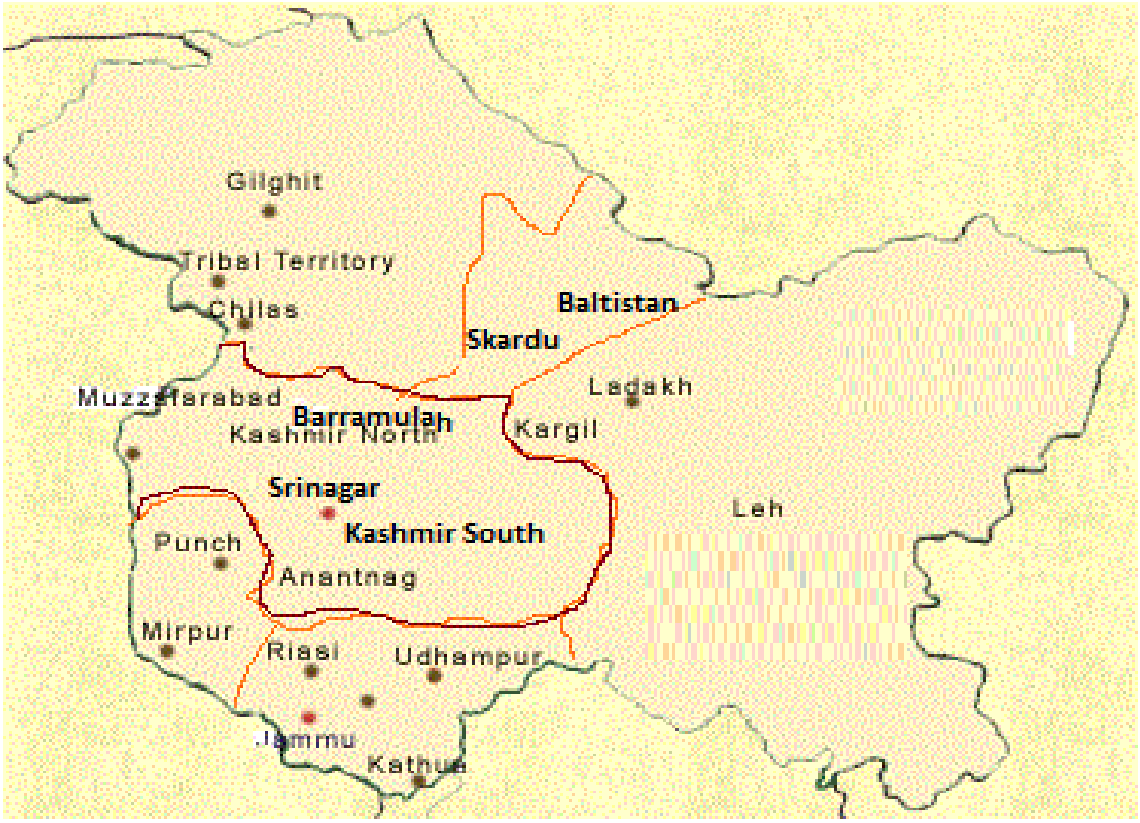

Plate 0.1 Map of Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir

0.2 Theoretical Literature Review

As mentioned above, most of the South Asian scholars confined themselves to certain aspects and consequently their studies did not serve the specific purpose of the history of education. In their book, *A Students' History of India: 1800-1737* (first published 1945, 6th Revised Edition 2011), J. P. Naik and Sayed Nurullah have clearly brought the main objective of the colonial and post-colonial educational system and its development. The authors discussed comprehensively each critical stage in educational development in colonial period and explained the rise of each important decision and the consequence thereof. They have divided the evolution of modern education in India in six stages, starting from Charter Act of 1813 to 1973. They also talk about the role of Christian missionaries in the development of education in India, who, according to them, unsuccessfully tried to become the main drivers for the spread of modern education. The authors lament that the British were unable to evolve a national system of education, as it was possible to evolve a synthesis of East and West. At the same time, they appreciated the British efforts in introducing English language in India.

In her *Essays in the History of Indian Education* Aparna Basu (1982) discusses issues such as the origins of the Indian educational system, the indigenous system, technical education, comparative colonial policies, and the education of civil servants. Her notes alone provide an exemplary reading list that cannot easily be duplicated for its breadth and scholarship. She urges the scholars of the history of education to write a meaningful history of education which will deal with the many aspects of national life.

In her other book *The Growth and Political Development in India: 1898-1920* (1974) Aparna Basu attempts to study some aspects of the educational problem in India in the period between of 1898-1920. She has discussed the impact of modern education on Indian society. She believes that new education system produced a class of people, who later led the national movement: but, at the same time, they received a limited vision by this education. Consequently, it created a number of crises in Indian society. The education system created a class which became a class in itself. She has also highlighted the education of Muslims. Further, she discussed the apprehensions of the British with the founding of Banaras Hindu University: the government suspected that the university might become a centre of religious revivalism and Hindu extremism.

Dharampal's *Beautiful Tree* (first published 1983, Reprint 2000) is an analysis of the indigenous education system of India. Based on extensive primary sources, Dhrampal offers a careful consideration of indigenous village schools in India, which according to the author, acted as a key to educational transmission till the early nineteenth century. Dharampal suggests, following Gandhi, that the British destroyed, instead of nurturing, a locally based model of indigenous education in which a village-based teacher would impart instruction, principally to boys of that village. Dharampal argues that, in terms of the content of education and the proportion of those attending institutional school education, basic education in India in 1800 was not inferior to the elementary education prevailing in England at that time. Dharampal further argues that the Indian method of school teaching was superior to European methods of instruction prevalent at the time, and that it was this very method which, in the form of the monitorial method, facilitated the introduction of popular education in Europe. Although Dhrampal's study has a nationalist tinge, it has raised significant issues concerning the system of education.

Suresh Chandra Ghosh in his work entitled *The History of Education in Modern India: 1757-2012* (first published 1995, 4th Edition 2013) delineates the history of education in colonial and post-colonial India. The study connects development of

education with the political development in a lucid manner. It examines crucial issues that have shaped India's education system, like the introduction of English education, the Despatch of 1854, the genesis of Curzon's university reforms of 1899-1905 and education policy of post-independence India. He argued as to how the Indian Universities Act of 1904 enacted by the Viceroy Curzon was intended to introduce radical changes in the functioning of the five existing universities in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore and Allahabad. The recent edition includes the latest discussions and debates around the major changes planned for and already implemented in the education sector, including the recommendations the National Knowledge Commission, the Yashpal Committee Report on the functioning of bodies in higher and technical education. The author has also elucidated the Right to Education Act (RTE) which, according to him, is one of the most extraordinary reforms in elementary education since independence. Ghosh has critically analysed the RTE and has recommended suitable amendments for the smooth functioning of the Act.

Krishna Kumar's *Politics of Education in Colonial India* (2014; first published in 1991 under the title of *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas*) is a significant contribution to the historiography of the colonial education in India. The study is a nuanced discussion of caste, gender and girls' education. Kumar showed that Gandhi's model of education critiqued key elements of colonial education such as a centralised examination system, drudge-like, clerk-like teachers who had little or no pedagogic creative autonomy, lack of local embedding of the teachers within the community where they taught, and curricula, including textbooks, prescribed from above without cognisance of the needs of millions of rural and poor learners. The book reinforces three major quests: justice as expressed in the demand for educational opportunities for the lower castes; self-identity as manifest in the urge to define India's educational needs from within its own cultural repertoire; and the idea of progress based on industrialization. Kumar argues that, even in post-Independence times, the educational system in India has been driven by Indians who assimilated the core alienating features of colonial education. He thus sees contemporary Indian education as deeply mired in its colonial origins. But, recent writings have negated most of the claims of Kumar, which will be discussed a little later.[31]

[31] Parimala V. Rao argues that Kumar's study portrays the nationalist worldview, to defend the educational philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. Rao, *New Perspective in the History of Indian Education* p. 22.

The Contested Terrain: Perspectives on Education in India (1998), a volume edited by of Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, provides a comparative and historical perspective on education in modern India. The book examines five thematic aspects of Indian education system. Each section of the book provides ample evidence to support Bhattacharya's contention that seeing Indian education through the lens of 'contested terrains' leads to rich insights into the broader question of whether, and under what conditions, educational arrangements preserve or challenge the social order of which they are a part. Two sets of essays in section I and II explore the issues contested at the interface between the evolving paradigms of colonial, national and popular education. Section III explores the diversities within the nationalist fold. This is done by examining the uniqueness of approach of leading thinkers such as Gandhi, Tagore and Azad. Section IV deals with the way the nationalists school tried to negotiate a space for science and technology, while at the same time rejecting the colonisation of the education system. Perhaps the greatest critical praise for Contested Terrain is the charge it issues for a broadened research agenda and further case studies of the educational consequence of India's intense cross-cultural educational encounters over the past three centuries.

Education and the Disprivileged: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century India (2002), another edited volume by Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, addresses the familiar issue of unequal access to education in a new perspective. In this regard, whether one looks at gender or caste or 'tribes' or class differences, the gap between the privileged and the disprivileged is a matter of everyday experience. It provides historical perspective to understand the lopsided educational opportunities of the marginalised sections such as tribals, dalits, women and backward classes. Contributors to the book are from diverse fields. Providing an interdisciplinary and integrative approach to the broad area of education and the disprivileged, the articles give a rich source of empirical evidence on educational growth among the disprivileged during colonial period. The book provides discussion on insights and understanding of the ways in which schools and other educational institutions reproduced social stratification in Indian society.

Nita Kumar's *Lessons from Schools: The History of Education in Banaras* (2000) is an important and critical study of both indigenous and colonial education in Banaras. It deals with multiple contexts of caste, occupational groups, religious communities, gender and urban life. It traces the end of Sanskrit education in Banaras. The study has also discussed the hierarchal approach of Sanskrit education, where the *guru* was above the *maharaja*: in order to justify his rule, the Maharaja was expected to bow before the

Sanskrit guru. The scheme of patron-client relationship was abolished by the new system introduced by colonial masters. It defines the concepts of learning and education and provides a detailed picture of the social history of Banaras. Finally, Kumar suggests an inclusive approach to writing of history, wherein there will be a scope for representing the marginalised.

Parna Sengupta's *Pedagogy for Religion: Missionary Education and the Fashioning of Hindus Muslims in Bengal* (2012) is an interesting study of the role of vernacular education in the making of political and social consciousness in Bengal in 19th and 20th centuries. It is an exercise in intellectual history and, therefore, primarily a discussion about the ideas that shaped educational policy and practice. Offering a new approach to the study of religion and empire, this innovative book challenges a widespread myth of modernity that Western rule has had a secularizing effect on the non-West.

Education in Colonial India: Historical Insights (2013), a book edited by Deepak Kumar and others, assesses the debates and developments of educational developments in colonial India. It addresses some of the issues and developments in the making of an inclusive knowledge society in colonial India, and the transmission of knowledge through agents and institutions of education in modern India from a historical perspective. It is argued in the book that though the pace of knowledge diffusion has increased particularly over the last century, the education system in India today is basically a legacy of the two centuries of colonial rule, with limited and uneven access to knowledge. The volume traces the growth of knowledge in India in modern times and its conflict with existing societal and religious expectations and also of the conflict between individual and institutional ideas.

New Perspective in the History of Indian Education (2014), a recently published edited volume of Parimala V. Rao, is an outstanding contribution to the historiography of colonial education in India. It offers critical readings on a wide range of themes, the debates surrounding which have shaped the contours of the educational policy of contemporary India. It argues for going beyond the existing binaries of understanding, i.e., the colonised/colonised, European/non-European and imperialist/anti-imperialists. The editor starts with arguing against Bruce T. McCully's study *English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism* (1966), which states that the rise of Indian nationalism was a result of modern education. Rao refutes this perception of McCully as, according to her, India never lacked the political tradition of stable government. She carries her

argument further that the leaders of Indian National Congress rejected the European model of nation building based on a single language or religion and supported by military might.

Rao also rebuts the thesis of Martin Carnoy who, in his work *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (1974), constructs the theory of the coloniser-colonised based on European/non-European dichotomies. He argues that it is the 'colonised knowledge' which perpetuates 'the myth' that schooling has served the poor to succeed. Rao disagree the claim of Carnoy because, according to her, in a highly caste stratified society like India, untouchables, marginalised peasants or agricultural labours do not have the control over their own time. Two papers by Eleanor Zelliot[32] and Lauura Dudley Jenkins[33] in the volume completely refutes Carnoy's arguments. Rao also criticised Gauri Viswanathan (1990) who in her study *Masks of Conquest: Literrary Study and British Rule in India,* attempts to apply Edward Said's thesis of orientalism to Indian history. Rao argues that Viswanathan in her book has misrepresented the facts.

Rao also disapproves Krishna Kumar's assertions of Indian education. 'The entire book', argued Rao 'is an attempt to construct a history to arrive at a grand justification for the Gandhian educational programme. To achieve this end, he analyses four important aspects of education—state policy, differences in educational traditions of India and Europe, changes brought in by colonial policies of India and the position of teachers.' The view that colonial state attempted to construct the colonial citizen by emphasising on the moral role of education, according to her, has problems as education was limited to small section of population. In fact, the concept was still alien to British. She further says that the position of the vernacular teachers in colonial India is contrasted by Kumar with the teachers mentioned in mythological texts composed approximately 2,000 years ago. Thus, the volume laid stress on writing new kind of educational history which will give voice to those who have been silenced by the conventional historians. Its focus is on the little known educational debates and the education of the marginalised communities and women.

There are a few works which deal with the various aspects of the princely states. Ian Copland's *The Princes of India in the Endgame of Empire* (1997) and Barbara

[32] Eleanor Zelliot, 'Dalit Initiatives in Education, 1880-1992' in Rao, *New Perspective in the History of Indian Education*, pp. 45-68.

[33] Lauura Dudley Jenkins, 'A College of One's Own: An International Perspective on the value of Historically Dalit Colleges' in Rao, *New Perspective in the History of Indian Education*, pp. 68-90.

Ramusack's *The Princes of India in the Twilight of Empire* (1978) deal with the princes at the all India level and make the case that they were central players to both the colonial and nationalist endeavours of the 20th century. Moreover, scholars like Michael Fisher, Rabin Jeffrey, John McLeod,[34] etc., have also written on the subject of princely states. However, these studies deal with in Manu Bhagavan's terms, 'high politics'.[35] Social, cultural and educational developments in princely states have not received adequate attention, though significant beginnings have been recently made, Manu Bhagavan's *Sovereign Spheres: Princes, Education and Empire in Colonial India* (2003) being a significant contribution in this direction. It looks at educational reform in the context of debates on modernity and anti-colonial nationalism in the two leading progressive princely states in the 20th century India – Baroda and Mysore. It explores the ways in which colonial authority was challenged and negotiated through both direct political action and more subtle, long-term initiatives involving social and cultural reform. It illustrates that the British often directly intervened in the affairs of princely states through legislation, though these acts were technically illegal by the standards the British themselves had set earlier. The author argues that these model-states derived their own modernity—native modernity, to counter-pose the colonial modernity.

0.3 Specific Literature Review

South Asian scholarship is more concerned with the political aspect of Kashmir. There is a plethora of writings which especially deals with the accession of the state of Kashmir. The social aspect of the valley has been given little attention. In fact, there are only three or four works which directly deal with educational development in Kashmir during the Dogra period. Most works on the area, being narratives or documental in nature, fail to provide a comprehensive picture of educational and concomitant socio-cultural developments in the princely state of Kashmir.

S.L. Seru's book *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir, 1872-1973* (1973) has two sections. Section one deals with the historical and cultural background of the region from ancient times to 1320 A.D. The second section covers the period up to the 1973. The author provided a detailed description of the evolution of

[34] Michael Fisher, *Indirect Rule in India*, Delhi: Oxford university press, 1991; Robin Jeffrey, ed., *People Princes and Paramount Power*, Delhi: Oxford university press, 1978; John MacLoed, *Sovereignty, Power, Control: Politics in the States of Western States of Western India, 1916-1947*, Boston: Brill, 1999.

[35] Bhagavan, *Sovereign Spheres*, p. 21.

educational institutions from the beginning to the period of Sultans. The first section provides information about the different educational committees and commissions. The author highlighted the role played by state in promoting education in Jammu and Kashmir. The book is a simple narration of facts, without any consideration of enquiry and objective approach.

Education in Jammu and Kashmir: *Issues and Documents* (1986) authored by Gh. Rasool and Minakshi Chopra deals with the time frame of the study. It contains valuable documentary material on educational development. The book is in two parts, one deals with the issues in education, and other is the documentary selection of material on education, grouped under two categories, i.e. Reports and Acts. The book gives detailed information about the growth of education in Jammu and Kashmir. Statistical data has been used on large scale. The authors abundantly used the archival sources like the administrative reports of different government departments, particularly of Education Department. In fact, the study has focused more on the post-1947 developments of education. It gives only a cursory reference of the educational development of Dogra period. Although the study deals with a variety of educational aspects of Jammu and Kashmir state, mention may be made of elementary education, secondary education, higher education, professional education, female education, education of under-privileged and educational administration, but one wonders that most of these aspects were given limited space so for as the colonial period is concerned, no attempt has been made to study these aspects in critical manner, devoting few lines for these aspects seems unusual. No attempt has been made to study the development of education in colonial set up; the work thus lacks the critical eye on the subject matter.

Amar Singh Chohan's (1998) *Development of Education in Jammu and Kashmir State* covers the period of 1846-1947. The study points out the details of indigenous system prevalent in Jammu and Kashmir and demonstrates that Maharaja Ranbir Singh was unable to establish a school of modern type: he rather patronised the classical system of education. The author has written little about the education of Muslims in Kashmir. The author had provided a little space to the contribution of the private agencies like Christian missionaries for promotion of modern education, who otherwise introduced the new system of education in Kashmir. Importantly, the author has dedicated one chapter for discussing the growth and development of education in frontier districts of Gilgit and Ladakh. The main aim of the introduction of the education in the frontier area, according to Chohan, was to engage the local population in the lower positions of administration.

The study also has given details about the higher education in Jammu and Kashmir; the author had shown that the college established in Jammu progressed more as compared to S. P. College of Srinagar, which was established earlier. The study has ignored the development of female education in Kashmir, only some passing reference being made concerning the same.

Michael Brecher's 'Kashmir in Transition: Social Reform and the Political'[36] (1953) throws light on the political, social and economic condition of Kashmir on the eve of partition. The paper argues that Kashmir has retained the legacy of Dogra rule. Even in 1948, the state's literacy rate was only 5% or 6%. The paper illustrates minutely the educational and economic policies and programmes of the new government.

Mohammad Isaq Khan's *History of Srinagar (1846-1947): A Study in Socio-cultural Change* (3rd Edition, 2007) is a remarkable work dealing with the social and cultural aspects of Srinagar city of Kashmir. The author has studied the changing pattern of the society of Srinagar, and analyzed its various angles related to different social activities. Considerable space has been devoted to studying the contribution of Christian Missionaries to different aspects of the Kashmiri society, especially in the development of modern education and provision of medical relief, etc. The author gives a detailed description of the development of education in Kashmir during the Dogra period. Here we get some idea about the traditional educational system of education which was prevailing during the earlier Dogra rule. Significantly, the author has briefly described the causes for the educational backwardness of Muslims in Kashmir. He highlighted the ineffective role of state in the promotion of technical and practical education. Khan pointed out that Kashmiri Pandits were the first to take the advantage of education which was introduced by the Christian missionaries. As the focus of the author is on general social and cultural change in Srinagar, naturally, it has not given a comprehensive picture about the development of education in Kashmir.

Daughters of Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day of P. N. Bazaz (1959) is a lucid study of the women of Kashmir from the earliest to the first half of the 20th century. It talks about the well-known women of Kashmir who played a significant role in the history of Kashmir. The role of Women's Welfare Trust in the development of female education has been highlighted. The

[36] Michael Brecher, 'Kashmir in Transition: Social Reform and the Political', *International Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1953), pp. 104-112

formation of different socio-religious reformation movements among the different communities has been discussed. As the theme of the study deals with the general condition of women, it did not make an exhaustive study of the development of education. However, some space has been devoted to the contribution of Christian missionaries in the development of education of men in general and women in particular.

Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir: A Study in the Development of Education and Consciousness (1857-1925) by Hari Om (1986) is an endeavour which demonstrates that Dogras were always cordial to every community of Jammu and Kashmir irrespective of caste, creed and colour. The author highlighted that the state always tried to impart education among the different communities of the state, but due to narrow mindedness, some communities remained backward in education, particularly the Muslims. But the author fails to note that the recommendations made by the various commissions and educational conferences were not taken seriously by the State government as a result which the majority of people, particularly Muslims, remained backward in modern education. The author argues that, in British India, the Muslims lately responded to modern education. The Hindus, conscious of the importance of English education in the changed political circumstances, did not fail to avail themselves of every opportunity offered. Similarly, in Kashmir, the Muslims remained out of the ambit of modern education and lead was taken up by the Kashmiri Pandits. The author highlighted the imperialist endeavors of the British to dethrone the Dogra Maharaja. The author highlighted that British exploited the upsurge of Muslims of Kashmir to fulfil their selfish motives. As the book covers the period from 1875-1925, its focus had remained confined to the period of Maharaja Pratap Singh.

History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtawar Volume I (1998) by F. M. Hassnian contains a detailed description of history of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtawar and author has dedicated one complete chapter to discuss the development of education in Jammu and Kashmir. Since the book covers a wide area, minor issues have been discussed about the growth and development of education in Kashmir.

M.L. Kapur's book *Social and Economic History of Jammu & Kashmir State: 1885-1925* (1992) is an attempt to study the socio-economic life of Jammu & Kashmir. The study deals with socio-economic condition of Jammu and Kashmir under Maharaja Pratap Singh. As the focus of the study is to present general socio-economic situation of

state, little space has been provided for the analysis of the development of education in Kashmir.

P.N.K. Bamzai's book *Socio Economic History of Kashmir (1846-1925*) (Reprint 2007) is yet another work related to the present research theme. It is a glance of the socio-economic profile of Kashmir during the eighty years of Dogra rule. The study gives minute details of traditional educational system of education in the state. It has also explained the recommendation of Sharp Committee Report. *Socio-economic Justice in Jammu & Kashmir: A Critical Study* by Tara Singh Rekhi (1986) is a vivid description of socio-economic and cultural life of Jammu & Kashmir. A chapter has been devoted to education; but, it gives little information about the education system during the Dogra rule.

Emergence of Political Awakening in Kashmir (1986) by U. K. Zutshi deals with political awakening in Kashmir. The author is of the view that the political awakening of Kashmir dates back to 1931, as this date is commonly known for the political awakening in Kashmir. According to author, the British exploited the discontent of Muslims only to have a say in state administration. However, the author seeks to give greater credit to British imperialism in the interplay of forces that appeared in conjunction in 1931. This is, in fact, 'the central concern of the book'. Meanwhile, modern education was introduced in Kashmir and its age-old isolation was broken from two sides by the construction of the Jhelum valley road and the Banihal cart road. As administration was modernised, government service became the most coveted profession. Keen competition for state services by the elite of its two principal communities aroused their communal consciousness. The more educated community, the Hindus, wanted jobs to be given on merit to state subjects alone. The Muslims, on the other hand, demanded proportional representation with shortfall in their quota to be filled by Muslims from Punjab. At that stage, the early batch of the Aligarh Muslim University alumni provided the requisite leadership to the community in its process of political awakening. The focus of the study is more on political developments and therefore the aspect education is not studied in detail.

British Paramountcy in Kashmir (1984) by Madhavi Yasin brings to light the machinations employed by the British in maintaining their paramountcy over the princely states. It mentions the problems of Maharaja Pratap Singh, which he faced after the death of his father, Ranbir Singh. By engineering court intrigues between Pratap Singh and Amar Singh for succession to the throne, they managed to depose Pratap Singh and install

Amar Singh as the President of the Council which ostensibly was working under the dictates of President through fraud and forgery. Since the focal point of study is political aspect of Kashmir, it has not mentioned anything about the education system of Kashmir.

Muhammad Yusuf Saraf's *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom, 1819-1946,* (1977) is a detailed political history of Kashmir from Sikh rule to 1947. Spread over 708 pages, the volume comprises eighteen chapters. The first chapter describes the land and the people, the subjugation of Kishtwar, Gilgit and Ladakh by the Sikhs, the meteoric rise of the Dogras, and the sale of Kashmir to Maharaja Gulab Singh for a paltry sum of Rs. 75 lakhs in 1846. Next, it discusses the nature of Dogra rule, the plight of the common masses and the Kashmiri Durbar's policy of discrimination against the Muslims which led to dissatisfaction, unrest, and sporadic attempts at articulating their grievances and formulating their demands during 1870-1930. Political awakening among the Muslims grew apace during these turbulent decades leading to the birth of the Young Men's Muslim Association in 1930 and the 13 July movement. The disastrous aftermath of the 13th July incidents directly led to the drawing up of a charter of Muslim demands by Mirwaiz Yousuf Shah, Sheikh Abdullah and others, which received extensive support from Muslim of India. The study is more written in a passionate way and only some space has been devoted to the education system of Kashmir under the discussed period.

G. H. Khan's *Freedom Movement in Kashmir* (2nd Edition, 2009) is a precise history of political movement of Kashmir during the period from 1931-9140. It has dedicated a chapter for socio-religious and political movements of Kashmir, which, according to the author, were the main force behind the political revolution of 1930s. Other works of same nature are Fida Muhammad Hassnain' *Freedom Struggle in Kashmir*, M.Y. Ganie's (2003) *Kashmir's Struggle for Independence, 1931-1939* and Ravinderjit Kaur's (1996) *Political Awakening in Kashmir.* All these studies have focused on the political developments of the 1930s. Given their declared scope, only a few references to the educational developments have been made.

Recent scholarship on Kashmir's history had moved beyond the conventional writing. R. L. Hangloo's 'Agrarian Conditions and Peasant Protest in the Princely State of Kashmir, 1846-1931' in Y. Vaikuntham's *People's Movements in the Princely States* (2004) is noteworthy. It argued that the overwhelming majority of the people in Kashmir laboured in agriculture. It has discussed about the oppressive nature of the officialdom of the state. As a result, people protested in a number of ways and one of the unique aspects

of protest was abandoning cultivation and later migration to the plains of Punjab. Later, in the 1930s, some leaders were able to give proper platform to the grievances of peasants under the banner of Muslim Conference. Since the focus of the paper is on the economic situation of Kashmir, it has, not unnaturally, not talked about the education system.

Mridu Rai's *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights and the Making of Kashmir* (2004) offers a comprehensive account of the formation of the modern Kashmiri state. She argues that Dogras showed scant regard for their predominantly Muslim subjects and thereby contributed to the growth of a distinct Muslim political consciousness within the state. This Muslim consciousness in turn set the stage for a series of confrontations in the aftermath of the independence of India. Rai maps this process by carefully documenting the Dogra monarchy's growing control of Hindu religious practice in Kashmir, notably through state-controlled trusts. Rai has also shown that Dogra rulers, particularly the early rulers, were indifferent to the welfare of the people. To quote her, "Although Maharaja Ranbir Singh donated a handsome amount of Rs, 62,500.00 in 1869 for the establishment of Punjab University; his donations were far in excess of those of the Maharajas, Chiefs and people of the Punjab."[37] The paradox of the situation was that it was not until the early twentieth century that the Dogra Maharajas would fund the establishment of institutions for higher education in their own state of Jammu and Kashmir. Since the book's framework is related to a different theme, it did not elaborate on the question of education.

Chitralekha Zutshi's *Languages of Belonging*: *Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir* has been much applauded in the academic circles. This path breaking study examines the regional history of Kashmir in the longue duree to illustrate the shifting nature of Kashmiri 'identities over the course of the late 18th to 20th centuries, with a brief look at medieval period. Zutshi's analysis suggests that notations of a homogeneous Kashmiri Muslim identity need to be tempered by an understanding of the working of caste, class and ideology. Zutshi questions the historical validity of *Kashmiriyat* and rejects this concept as stimulating cultural uniqueness. She locates and interrogates *Kashmiriyat* as a historical entity, asserting that Kashmiri regional identities have been far more ambiguous, and certainly more complex than it would lead one to

[37] Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the Making of Kashmir*. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003, p. 35.

believe. She claims that *Kashmiriyat* has series of dynamic identities that have in interaction with, and at times been overshadowed by, other forms of belonging, particularly the religious and national. By doing so, she tries to return Kashmir to the mainstream of South Asian historiography.

Zutshi has devoted a chapter to education, class and identity. It makes a very specific argument regarding the relationship between education and identity. It argues that British mediation in the processes of state-led land and educational reforms brought the princely state and Kashmiris into closer contact with the ideologies and movements prevalent in British India at the turn of the twentieth century. The evolving relationship between the nature and the agenda of Dogra state and the discourse on Kashmiri Muslim identities is explained in the said chapter. It gives a brief on the educational policy of government. The chapter further elaborates that the education system created a mini scale minority of Muslims who not only spoke for themselves but also for their uneducated brethren. The focus of the book is more on the conceptual terms as for as education concerned. Only a passing reference has been made to girls' education, technical education and some other allied aspects of education in Kashmir.

The need for a new study for the education in Kashmir arises because of the many research gaps in the above mentioned studies. Firstly, there is a need for a comprehensive account of the history of education in Kashmir, which will show the correlation between the Dogra state, education and the intervention of colonial state. The drastic changes brought in education system by colonial state can be seen in Kashmir also. However, these have not been identified yet. Thus present study will look into all those colonial complexities of education in Kashmir. Secondly, there is no study which has studied the different educational developments in critical manner; the present study will see these developments with the critical assessment. The question of backwardness of Kashmiri Muslims, as the question of Indian Muslims, has become an important issue after the appointment of Sachar Committee (2006).[38] Thus, the present study will explore all the possibilities to examine as to why the community has remained backward in education. To do it, a multi-causal approach is adopted. One of the important lacunas in the educational history has been the exclusion of marginalised sections of the society—poor, women, lower caste people and so on. This is truer of Kashmir's educational history. In

[38] Government of India, appointed a Committee in 2006 which was asked to look into social, economic and educational status of the Muslims in India, the Committee has exposed a number of myths regarding the backwardness of Muslims. Rajindar Sachar, *High Level Committee Report on Social, Economic, and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India*, Delhi: 2006.

fact, history of women's education in Kashmir, which starts lately, has been altogether ignored. Therefore, the present study will try to fill a gap in this regard.

The present research covers the period of 1880–1947. The year 1880 has an important place in the history of Kashmir for it was the time when Christian missionaries started their educational operation in a systematic way, heralding the dawn of modern education in Kashmir. Moreover, British were also able to appoint their Resident in Kashmir, which changed the politics of Kashmir. Later, in 1889, State Council took the direct control over the state administration under the guidance of Resident. Thus, British virtually took the control of the state of Jammu and Kashmir which has strong bearings on the educational system.

0.4 Conceptual Frame Work of the Study

Minorities, women, backward castes and branded untouchable castes and tribes have always been known to be educationally disadvantaged, but were overlooked in academic discourse. Therefore, the approach of 'history from below' is a proper way to overcome this serious limitation of Indian social science academia. It is said that the second half of the 19th century was the 'dawn of modernity' in Kashmir as it was the period when Kashmir's medieval society transforms into a Modern one. Among the 'modernizing agents', the most important one was the growth of modern education. This study will aim to investigate how far this was really the 'dawn of modernism' for the Muslims of Kashmir. The study will approach inequality through the terrain of education.

0.5 Objectives

- To thoroughly probe into the traditional system of education both of Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir.
- To examine and analyze the colonial intervention and its impact on the development of modern education in Kashmir.
- To explore the educational policies of Dogra government and its ambiguities.
- To enquire the aloofness of Muslims from the new educational system.
- To investigate the policy of the government with regard to girls' education.
- To look into the role of different private agencies in the development of education.

0.6 Hypothesis of Study

- Educational policies of Dogra State were more or less inspired by colonial educational policies.
- Dogra state was ambivalent regarding the spread of modern education in Kashmir.
- There was glaring discrimination on the part of state on the basis of caste/class/gender/community.
- For common masses, especially Muslims, education was a luxury due to their acute poverty.
- Poverty of Muslims and their underrepresentation in employment were the main causes of their aloofness from education.
- Negligence of mother tongue in schools increased the chances of illiteracy among masses.
- Private agencies played a vanguard role in the spread of modern education in Kashmir.

0.7 Methodology and Sources

In order to study the social history of a region, there is a need to look beyond the conventional research methods adopted in the historical research. An important approach to study the educational history is quantitative approach; so, this approach has been applied in the thesis with a comparative tilt. As George Lefebvre, a French historian has argued the quantitative approach of history makes the history more relevant and applicable. Besides historical, descriptive, analytical and critical methodology is used to explain the problems put up in the body of research.

The study draws its sources from the not-so-tapped primary material from the National Archives of India, New Delhi; Jammu State Repository, and Srinagar State Repository of Jammu and Kashmir State Archives; Central Secretariat Library, Shastri Bhawan, New Delhi; and Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Teen Murti Bawan, New Delhi. Different government documents, proceedings, commission documents, committee proceedings, General Annual Administrative reports and Educational Administrative Reports, reports of Publicity department of Jammu and Kashmir, etc. have been consulted. A number of sources are available in the form of foreign accounts. Christian missionaries like Mr Tyndale Biscoe, Robert Clark and Neve brothers have left behind their accounts. The writings of contemporary leaders like P. N. Bazaz and Sheikh

Muhammad have also been used. A number of vernacular newspapers also shed light on the social condition of the 20th century Kashmir. Important source materials of the present study are oral interviews of the lesser known persons who have been contemporary to Dogra period. The interviews are crucial as they made a comparative analysis of the educational policy of the government. Besides, folklore and folk tales have used to study the problem.

0.8 Chapterisation

The thesis has seven chapters. Using the Gramscian concept of 'hegemony', the first chapter begins with a discussion on the perceptions regarding the introduction of education in India. It describes the various educational developments and diverse decisions of the East India Company concerning education. As it is known, education policy in a colony is shaped by its needs and the ideologies of the time. The system was made often subservient to the needs and demands of the ruling classes. It is deduced that the colonial government was never serious about the education of masses, particularly the education of the disadvantageous sections of the society—lower caste and lower class people, tribal communities, minorities, women, etc. It also examines the national system of education which was introduced in the wake of colonial system of education. Due to a number of resemblances with colonial education, it was also unsuccessful to accommodate the deprived section of the Indian society. Since the area of present study is Kashmir, formerly princely state, so some space has been provided to the educational development in some princely states. The chapter ends with a discussion on the colonial legacies of education in the post-colonial India.

In the second chapter, the traditional educational system in Kashmir is discussed. This chapter traces the evolution of traditional system of education, wherein mosques, *maktab*s, *madrasa*s and *pathshala*s played a vanguard role in the promotion of education among people. It examines the different characteristics and functions of the system. It solely focuses on the contribution of Ranbir Singh in the promotion of education and shows as to how he patronised learning of classical languages––Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. It examines his intentions in promoting the classical languages, especially Sanskrit at the cost of general education.

Third chapter examines the colonial intervention in the affairs of Kashmir State and its impact on the development of education. The appointment of a Resident in 1885, in Srinagar, witnessed a number of changes in the administration of Kashmir. Although the British were not serious about the oppression of the people of Kashmir, due to the strategic importance of Kashmir, and to isolate Russia on its frontiers, they interfered in the state on the pretext of maladministration. As a result, education system got transformed. In 1889, the British deposed Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925), the successor of Ranbir Singh, and took the full control of state, gave full powers to the State Council under the Resident. But, the education of the Kashmiri people still remained backward. With the turn of century, some half-hearted reforms were introduced by the Council of State. A college was started by local Pandits, with the cooperation of Anne Besant; but, as the Government of India was apprehensive about its activities, it was taken over by State Council. The chapter throws light on the impact of Colonial state on educational policies pursued by the State Council.

The fourth chapter traces the educational policies of Maharaja Hari Singh. It was during this period that the Kashmiri society was politically vibrant. Maharaja took a number of foresighted steps as for the education system in Kashmir was concerned. It was in 1930 that Primary Education Act was passed to make it compulsory, although it was limited to certain areas and certain classes. As a result of the July 1931 event[39] Maharaja appointed the Glancy Commission, which brought to light certain facts about the Muslim community, particularly their under-representation in different socio-economic sectors. The chapter deals at length on the recommendations of Educational Reorganisation Committee appointed in 1938. The Committee scrutinized the whole system of education and found that the state education system, especially at the primary and secondary levels, needed to be overhauled. It made recommendations regarding training of teachers, grades and salaries of teachers, inspecting agency and curriculum which were no followed properly.

[39] In July 13 1931, 22 Muslims were killed by the state force, in order to pacify the public opinion Maharaja ordered for the enquiry of the events, later on in 1932 Glancy Commission, was appointed to look into the Muslim grievances. B. J. Glancy. *Report of the Commission appointed under the orders of His Highness Maharaja Bhadur, dated 12th Nov. 193, to Enquire into the Grievances and Complaints*, Jammu: Ranbir Government Press, 1932, p. 1.

Chapter five will look into the educational backwardness of Muslims of Kashmir and its causes. It explores the different dimensions of the educational backwardness of Muslims. It examines the relation between the discourse of education and employment. Glaring discrimination in the state employment acted as a demotivating factor in receiving education, especially higher education. It also analyses the problem of medium of instruction in schools. In general, the decade of 1930s and 1940s saw drastic changes in the educational development of state and among Muslims. Muslim education underwent dramatic changes, but still they were far behind the other communities. Muslims leadership first under the Muslim Conference and later National Conference demanded reforms in the education system. National Conference came out with what is called the 'Naya Kashmir Manifesto' and proposed radical changes. The chapter also examines the issue of the medium of instruction. As Kashmiri, the mother tongue of majority of Kashmiris was relegated by the government and instead a dual script––Devangri and Persian was introduced in State schools, the situation turned more complex. Surprisingly, the Hindu and Muslim leadership supported Hindi and Urdu, respectively, instead of Kashmiri, their mother tongue.

Chapter six will explore the development of girls' education, which has been ignored by earlier scholarship. It examines the state's policy towards girls' education. Earlier, government gave all control of the girls' education to advisory committees and private managing bodies composed of leading members of religious communities, and the schools themselves were connected to particular communities as the state felt that various communities might perceive state's interference in women's education as an attack on their religious sensibilities. It was only in 1928 that government took the direct control of girl's education: but, the girls were given limited education to suit their putative future domestic responsibilities. Technical and higher education for girls remained a dream only because of the absence of any institution for them. The chapter will also discuss the role played by private agencies, especially the Christian missionaries and Women Welfare Trust, in the promotion of girls' education.

The last chapter throws light on the contribution of different private agencies in reforming Kashmiri society. The leading actor was the Church Missionary Society of London. They were the real founders of modern education in Kashmir, who transformed the whole society of Kashmir. A number of schools on modern lines were introduced in different parts of Kashmir, especially in Srinagar. The chapter also analyses the role of

different socio-religious reform movements in the reformation of Kashmir society. The role of Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam will be discussed in detail. The chapter also looks at the approach of government towards these agencies as for the issue of educational efforts was concerned.

The study ends with a conclusion, which gives an outline of major findings of the study. Further, it makes some specific suggestions and it is hoped that it may open a new window of research for further investigation of the problem.

Chapter I

Development of education in a colonial society should be studied with hegemonic relationship, as Gramsci wrote that "every relationship of hegemony is necessarily an educational relationship and occurs not only within a nation, between the various forces of which the nation is composed, but in the international and world-wide field, between complex of national and continental civilizations".[1] Seen in this perspective education or school system could be considered the most important 'ideological state apparatus' devised by the colonial rulers. Education was not just a pedagogical system but the whole relationship between colonised and coloniser. To rule a new civilization, colonial rulers had to create a new order of civil society that had to be acted upon and coercion had to be replaced or supplemented by the spread of colonial education. It was a logistical necessity of coloniser that produced newly educated middle class, for it enabled the colonial state to consolidate their position in the newly colonised region.

According to Gramsci, intellectuals are the product of education system and are officers of the ruling class for the exercise of subordinate function of social hegemony and political government.[2] Likewise the process of education under the class society, therefore, embraces the process of generating and nurturing a consciousness in the interest of ruling class.[3]

Colonial administration in India had shown little interest in education before 1813 when the Charter of the East India Company was renewed and a modest provision was made for expenditure on institutions of learning. However, the interest in education which was now expressed, was conceptually consistent with the steps that had been taken earlier in the matters of general administration. The philosophy of liberalism, which dominates the scene, was to assist the civil society to fulfil its goal of ensuring individual rights, particularly the right to hold or increase property.[4]

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[1] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks* (ed.), (trans.) Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Mowell Smith, New York: International Publishers, 1972, p. 350.

[2] AntonioGramsci, *The Modern Prince and Other Writings*, New York: International Publishers, 1957, p. 124.

[3] Yechuri Sitaram, 'Educational Development in India', *Social Scientist*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 2-5, 1986, p. 5.

[4] Krishna Kumar, 'Colonial Citizen as an Educational Ideal', *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol. 24, No. 4 (Jan. 28), 1989, pp. 45-51

The East India Company's monopoly over trade with India had come under pressure from a variety of business houses. The rapid industrial production of England was looking for larger markets of Asia. The company was now believed to be that of a custodian of English trading interests. It was required to create congenial conditions in which 'free trade' ideology of an ambitious English bourgeoisie could safely flourish. Involving the dominant groups of Indian society in the functioning of the colonial state was part of the company's new job. It implied the creation of new order in the colony, a civil society among the natives. The ethos, the rules, and the symbols of new order had to be constructed, in a manner that would not disturb the ongoing commercial enterprise. The violence which had helped to build the empire could now onwards be practised only on the outskirts of the proposed civil society. Within it, coercion had to replaced by socialisation. This is where education had a role to play.[5]

English education was introduced just to strengthen western cultural hegemony in enormously complex ways. It has certain humanist functions, for example, the shaping of character, or the development of aesthetic sense or the disciplines of ethical thinking––were considered essential to the process of socio-political control by the guardians of same tradition. Values assigned to English education such as proper development of character or the shaping of critical thought or the promotion of aesthetic judgment are only problematically located there and are more obviously serviceable to the dynamic power relations between the educator and those who are to be educated. A vital if subtle connection exists between a discourse in which those who are to be educated are represented as morally and intellectually deficient and the attribution of moral and intellectual values to the literary works they are assigned to read.[6]

Gauri Viswanathan has argued that English literary study has been used for colonial agenda. She demonstrates that if the British were unchallenged military power of India, why was the exercise of direct force discarded as a means of maintaining of social control. From Cornwallis period (1786-1793) administration was reorganised, as Cornwallis's ambition was to achieve an impersonal government of law, produced greater distance between rulers and ruled as a result of gradual removal of Indians from offices of

[5] Ibid.
[6] Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*: *Literary Study and British Rule in India,* , New Delhi: Oxford University Press1989, pp. 3-4.

responsibility. In the absence of the direct interaction with the indigenous population that characterised earlier administration, the colonial subject was reduced to a conceptual category, an object emptied of all personal identity to accommodate the knowledge already established and being circulated about the "native Indian". The strategies of British administrators, the reversals, the disavowals, the imagined successes, and the imagined failures are all part of an unstable foundation of knowledge, and the experiment in control that was born of it—the introduction of English education—was as much an effort, however feeble, at strengthening that foundation as an instrument of discipline and management.[7]

In 1811, Lord Minto, Governor General (1807-1812) of India wrote a famous note. Its purpose was to justify the reform in education. He talks about the moral rule of education in the content of civil administration. Happiness to him is that state of comfort which derives from being governed nicely. Efficiency of police helps, but the spread of education would be better. It would make the maintenance of law and order easier, as ignorance of the people was subversive to good government and conducive to crime. This was the gist of Minto's thought.[8]

There were some common stereotypes about people of India that they were irrational, inscrutable, unstable, volatile, and highly emotional and unable to control themselves. These perceptions were based on the eighteenth century differentiation between 'passions' and 'reason'. As numerous examples from eighteenth century English literature shows no success in life could be imagined unless a person controlled 'passions' with the help of 'reason'. So scientific reasoning and rationality were essential to purge the passion which would otherwise lead to certain ruin, both material and spiritual. Hence in the early nineteenth century planner of education in India, was having the notion that Indians were lacking this kind of rationality, it was necessary to pierce India's ignorance with the light of western science to enable Indians to lead a life of reason, with passion under control.[9]

Knowledge was supposed what the new education was to give, but its inner agenda was to improve the conduct. Opportunity to receive knowledge at an English

[7] Ibid. pp. 11.
[8] Kumar, "Colonial Citizen as an Educational Ideal."
[9] Ibid.

school became an excuse to become disciplined, to have one's morality improved. Education in the sense of learning became less important than the moral influence it was supposed to exercise.

1.1 Origins and Operations of the New Education System

In 1757, when the east India Company embarked upon its political career in India, there was no education system organised and supported by the state. Both Hindus and Muslims, however, had their own indigenous systems, each deeply rooted with a great tradition of learning and scholarship behind them. By the early nineteenth century, however, the indigenous school of higher learning and the village elementary schools were in a state of decline.[10]

After 1760s when company became a political power in India its educational policy underwent a change. Hitherto, the company has restricted its attention to the education of European and Anglo-Indian children. It now began to feel that it must do something for Indian people.[11] It was classical aspect of Indian education that first attracted the attention of a few high officials of East India Company after the company had stood forth as the Dewan in 1765 in the Bengal Presidency.[12] The mission to revitalise the Indian culture and learning and protect it from the oblivion to which foreign rule might doom it merged with the then current literacy vogue of "Orientalism" and formed the mainstay of that phase of British rule known as the "Oriental Phase". Orientalism was adopted as an official policy partly out of expediency and caution and partly out of an emergent political sense that an efficient administration rested on an understanding of "Indian culture".[13]

The fundamental principle of this tradition was that the conquered people were to be ruled by their own laws—British rule had to be "legitimise itself in an Indian idiom". It grew out of the concern of Warren Hastings (1774-1785), that British administrators

[10] Aparna Basu, *Essays in the History of Indian Education*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1982, p. 1.
[11] J P Naik and Sayed Nurullah, *A Students' History of Education in India, 1800-1973*, Delhi: Macmillan, 1974, p. 36.
[12] Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India: 1757-2012*, (4th Ed.). New Delhi: Oriental Black Swan, 2013, p. 9
[13] Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, p. 28.

and merchants in India were not sufficiently responsive to the Indian languages and Indian tradition. It therefore needed to produce knowledge about Indian society, a process which Viswanathan would call "reverse acculturation". It was with this political vision that a number of institutions were established mention may be made of Calcutta Madrasa (1781), Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784), Sanskrit College Banaras (1791) and later Fort William College at Calcutta (1800). The examples of classical learning by a few officials of the East India Company do not in any way indicate the attitude of the company towards education in India. For, both the Calcutta Madrasas and the Banaras Sanskrit College were individual enterprises for preservation of ancient Indian culture and were attempts at reconciliating the feeling of the two major communities in India.

This early policy of encouraging oriental education was soon questioned in England, as industrial revolution in England had created the necessity to develop and integrate the Indian markets for manufactured goods and ensured a secured supply of raw materials. While the pressure of free trade lobby at home works towards the abolition of the company's monopoly over trade, it was Evangelicalism and Utilitarianism, which brought about a fundamental change in nature of the company's administration in India. While there were numerous differences between these groups they were all agreed that Indian society had to be radically transferred.[14]

Evangelicalism started its crusade against Indian barbarism and advocated the permanence of British rule with a mission to change the very 'nature of Hindustan'. In India the spokespersons of this idea were the missionaries located at Sirampur at Calcutta, but at home its chief exponent was Charles Grant. He was the first Englishman, at least before Macaulay, to argue for the introduction of English education with a view to introducing Christianity in India.[15]

Grant believed that British had a mission of regenerating Hindu society and she must do so through the English language. Hindus erred because they were ignorant, and this darkness could be dispelled by the introduction of Christianity and the art and sciences of Europe.[16] Charles Grant's advocacy of English education to be introduced in India fell on the deaf ears before the Character Act of 1793 for the fear of political unrest.

[14] Basu, *Essays in the History of Indian Education*, p. 2.
[15] Ghosh, *History of Education in Modern India*, p.12
[16] Basu, *Essays in the History of Indian Education*, pp. 2-3.

His major concern was, however, about the misrule of the company officials. The real hegemony of the British, he thought, could be established in India through a display of the superior moral and ethical values of the west as manifested in its Christian heritage. Christian instruction was the best guarantee against the rebellion, as it would rescue the natives from polytheistic Hinduism.[17] But missionaries still remained banned from entering India for another twenty years. Despite the ban, missionaries continued to use various indigenous meanings to arrive in the country and work for the dissemination of western education, which they believed, would lead to proselytisation.

1.2 Charter Act of 1813 and Education in India

Real beginning of western education in India can be dated from the Charter Act of 1813, which not only allowed missionaries to travel to India, but provided for the allocation of one lakh rupees per annum for two specific purposes: first, "the encouragement of the learned natives of India and the revival of and improvement of literature; secondly, the promotion of the knowledge of the sciences amongst the inhabitants of the country." This was unprecedented in an age when education was not regarded as a responsibility of state even in England.[18] But this decision did not immediately decide the nature of education to be provided for Indians, as this specific clause 43 was rather vague in its language and was open to interpretation. The court of directors had initially tried to oppose the inclusion of this clause but was compelled to do so because of the company's increasing financial dependence on the government. In official thinking in India, the Orientalist thoughts were still powerful, having received strong support in a then recent Minute of Lord Minto, the Governor General. The new General Committee of Public Instruction was dominated by the Orientalists, who interpreted the clause to mean advancement of Indian classical literature and the sciences of land.[19]

In the meanwhile, however, public attention in India was steadily being drawn away from this tradition of indigenous classical learning. Christian missionaries and

[17] Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, pp. 71-74.
[18] Naik and Nurullah, *A Students' History of Education in India*, p. 56.
[19] Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India***,** New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004, p. 141.

European individuals like David Hare, started opening schools in all parts of India, where English became the medium of instruction. And then the Calcutta Book Society began to promote vernacular schools for elementary education. The tide seemed to shift decisively in the other direction when Raja Ram Mohan Roy sent a memorandum to the Governor General protesting against the founding of the Sanskrit college in Calcutta. Roy represented a generation of Indians who believed that modernisation of India would come through English education and the dissemination of western sciences. The balance finally tilted in favour of the Anglicisists when William Bentinck, a Utilitarian reformist, took over as Governor General in 1828. Just on the eve of his departure for India he had said to James Mill, "I am going to British India but I shall not be Governor General. It is you that will be Governor General."[20]

1.3 Macaulay's Minute

Thomas Babington Macaulay the law member of the council was appointed as the president of the General Committee of the Public Instruction for his intellectual attainments. He drew up a long and elaborate minute on Indian education, on 2nd Feb. 1835, which became the blueprint for the introduction of English education in India. Full of contempt for oriental learning, Macaulay's Minute asserted that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." What he advocated therefore, for the Indians was an education in European literature and sciences inculcated through the medium of English language. Such an education, he argued, would create "a class of persons between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect."[21]

On the subject of medium of instruction, Macaulay pointed out that all parties agreed, "that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be essay to translate any valuable work into them. For Sanskrit and Arabic he had no respect even if he has no knowledge of either of them. Consequently he gave preference to English, which

[20] Quoted in Ghosh, *History of Education in Modern India*, p. 29.
[21] Ibid., pp.31-32.

according to him was the language spoken by the ruling class of natives at the seats of government. He referred to the alleged prejudices of the Indian people against English education and argued that it was the duty of England to teach Indians what was good for their health, and not what was palatable to their taste.[22] Bentinck immediately endorsed his proposals in an executive order of 7th March, 1835, and did not budge from his position despite loud protests from the Orientalists.[23]

Before 1835, although English education was present in India in various forms. But while previously as a language, the new shift was towards the study of literature as a medium of knowledge. It was believed that it will inculcate appropriate training in morality, ethics and correct behaviour, and thus incorporate a group of natives in to the structure of colonial rule, which was the main political agenda of Anglicism.[24] The major feature of this new educational policy was therefore the theory of "downward filtration." It was not meant for the masses, but for "the rich, the learned, the men of business," as C. E. Trevelyan described them, as they already had a literate tradition, had eagerness as well as means to learn and above all had sufficient leisure. Once these men were trained, they could act as teachers and through them elementary education would percolate downward through regional languages, at much less public expenditure. Thus the whole indigenous society would benefit from western knowledge and superior moral and ethical ideas.[25]

Scheme did not work, due to several reasons, firstly, almost every person educated in English schools got employment under government and hence there was hardly any occasion for him to go and teach his own countrymen. Secondly, every person who was taught in English schools was cut off from his own people in sympathy and ideology. The English knowing persons became a class by themselves and refused to acknowledge kinship with, or feel sympathy for the masses who do not know English. Moreover, Indian society was caste based, the upper class English educated persons refused to intermingle with the lower ones. But it would be exaggeration that nobody took the cause of common man. Although small in number there were some noble spirits,

[22] Ibid., p. 32.
[23] Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, p. 142.
[24] Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest*, p. 93.
[25] Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, p. 142.

who devoted their lives for spreading education among the common people, subsequently, there was a kind of Indian participation in the western education development.[26]

Lord Auckland somehow made a balance between the oriental learning and western education. In his plan, he realised that the two systems of education should kept distinct and cultivated separately––and abolished the English class in the Sanskrit college. It found that Indians were not ready to sacrifice their own system of learning so it had to maintain the existing oriental college and also in certain cases to continue the stipends on the former scale as happened in the case of Madrasas. The government was convinced that it was not possible to spread education among the masses through English language and that it could be done through vernacular only. Auckland laid down a comprehensive and graduated system of education comprising of schools, to be set up in every district, and linked up by scholarships with central colleges that were established in all important stations. He was the first Governor General to set up a real and comprehensive educational policy which, with certain additions and alterations worked until 1854.[27]

1.4 Woods Despatch and Lord Dalhousie

Age of Dalhousie is the most significant age in the history of education in modern India for the foundations of a modern system of education were actually laid during the administration of Dalhousie as the Governor General of India between, 1848-1856. Dalhousie was the first Governor General who provided official support for female education in British India.[28] Wood's Despatch of 1854, drafted by Northbrook, who became later the Governor General of India, has been called as Magna Carta of Indian education. It emphasised the improvement in arts, sciences and literature of Europe, the vernacular should be improved and rendered useful. The medium of instruction should be English at higher education, vernacular should be cultivated in the Anglo-Vernacular colleges and English in the vernacular and oriental intuitions with a view so that general diffusion of English knowledge which is the main object of education in India.

[26] Naik and Nurullah, *A Students' History of Education in India*, p. 103.
[27] Ghosh, *History of Education in Modern India*, p. 47.
[28] Ibid., p. 68.

The Despatch abandoned the filtration policy. It recommended the creation of department of education in place of boards and council of education. It was to be headed by Director of Public Instructions. It also recommended the establishment of universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras on the model of University of London. The Despatch suggested grant-in-aid system to be given on completely religious neutrality to all schools imparting a good secular education and satisfactory local management and government inspection. It has paid attention to the question of providing trained teachers and suitable text books in the schools.[29]

Although Despatch did not bestow on the Indian people certain rights and privileges in education, but some of concepts of Despatch like cultivation of Indian languages, use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the school stage, introduction to profession education, concept of mass education and that of secular education in a plural society like India were the concepts which were significantly valid in independent India.

But Despatch has been criticised, as M. R. Paranjpe has observed in his progress of education in 1941, "the Despatch does not even refer to the ideal of universal literacy although it expects education to spread over a wider field through the grant-in-aid system: it does not recognise the obligation of the state to educate every child below a certain age; it does not declare that poverty shall be no bar to the education of deserving students; and while it may be admitted that employment in government offices was not object of English education as visualised in the Despatch, the authors did not aim at education for leadership, education for industrial regeneration of India, education for the defence of motherland, in short, education required by the people of a self-government nation."

But certainly the author is exaggerating the situation, since India was still under the foreign yoke, it was not possible for the Despatch to visualise all these things. Dalhousie appreciated the new scheme and implemented certain provisions of the Despatch which opened an era of Anglo-Vernacular educational epoch. Due to 1857 revolt, there was a rapid administrative reshuffle so this scheme was replaced with

[29] Ibid., pp. 78-81.

Secretary of State Stanley's idea of an education rate, in 1858; and vernacular elementary education suffered most of a result.[30]

1.5 Post Despatch Developments

Proposal for the establishment of universities in India was implemented by Lord Canning, in January 1857 the Acts' of Incorporation were passed which provided for the development of university in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. These were examination bodies, for different branches of literature, science and arts and were supposed to award academic degrees. These were affiliating universities and have no geographic limits to the areas of affiliation. Calcutta University for example, functioned not merely for Bengal, but for Burma, Assam, the Central Provinces and Ceylon, and the affiliated colleges were dispersed from Shimla and Mussorie to Indore and Jaipur and from Jaffana and Batticaloa to Sylhet and Chittagong. A large number of colleges—Government aided and unaided—were affiliated to each of the three universities. The study of modern Indian languages was neglected in these universities.[31]

Post Despatch period saw rapid growth of secondary schools in all the five provisions. Contrary to the suggestion of Despatch of 1854, English came to be adopted as the medium of instruction. There was no provision of vocational education except in one school at Bombay, where students were giving training in agriculture. The absence of trained teachers in these schools aggravated the situation−−there were only two training institutions for secondary schools teacher—one at Madras (1856) and other at Lahore (1880). In elementary education it was the missionary organisation rather the government which held the field. The indifference of the government officials to elementary education, provision of inadequate funds, and frequent diversion of money raised through local cess for educational purposes to other channels were some of the factors hindering the growth of elementary education between 1854 and 1882.[32]

1.6 Hunter Commission

A careful perusal of the developments in education in British India since 1855 reveals that many of these were not in accordance with the provisions of the educational

[30] Ibid., p. 82.
[31] Ibid., pp.78-88.
[32] Ibid., pp. 89-91.

Despatch of 1854. Contrary to the expectations of the Despatch, the government did not only withdraw from the field of education but also failed to build up a system of mass education through grant-in-aid. As a matter of fact, elementary education was much neglected at the expense of secondary and higher education. All these were certainly grounds for a review of the educational developments in the country since 1855 but matter was actually hastened by the Christian missionaries.[33]

In February 1882 Lord Ripon appointed the first Indian Education Commission with William Hunter, as a member of his Executive Council, as its chairman. Commission was asked "to enquire particularly into the principles of the Despatch of 1854, and to suggest such measures as it might think desirable with a view to further carry out the policy there in laid down". It was also asked to keep the enquiry into the primary education in the forefront. Commission made a number of noteworthy recommendations; the most important was that it freed the government from the responsibilities mass education by entrusting these to the local boards and suggested a gradual transfer of government colleges and secondary schools to efficient private bodies. Indians were thus required to raise funds for their own education and their efforts were to be assisted by a liberal grant-in-aid system. The Commission also recommended that indigenous education should be developed, patronised and assisted to fill a useful position in the state system of national education.

It emphasised the growth of elementary education with vocational overtones. The management of primary education was left to the local board introduced in India by Lord Ripon's Local Self Government Act. As for as college education is concerned, the Commission suggested the rate of aid to each college be determined by the strength of the staff, the expenditure on its maintenance, the efficiency of the institution and the wants of locality. The commission recommended special educational facilities to the Muslims for encouragement of indigenous Muslim schools like the establishment of Muslim high, middle and primary schools and normal schools as well as institution of scholarship and studentship from primary to college level. For girls it suggested liberal grants to girls' schools, establishment of normal schools, institution of a simple curriculum for the

[33] Ibid., p. 92

primary education of girls, award of grants to Zenana teachers, and a separate inspectorate for girls' education as in the case of Muslims' education.

Commission, however, threw cold water to the missionary hope of maintaining of the field of education in India after the withdrawal of government from direct involvement in it. It observed: "The private effort which it is mainly intended to evoke is that of the people themselves. Natives of India must constitute the most important of all agencies of educational means. In a country with such varied needs as India, we should deprecate any measures which would through excessive influence over higher education into the hands of any single agency; and particularly into the hands of agency which, however, benevolent and earnest, cannot on all points be in sympathy with the mass of community…. At the same time we think it well to put on record our unanimous opinion that withdrawal of direct departmental agency should not take place in favour of missionary bodies and the departmental institutions of the higher order should not be transferred to missionary management."[34]

Indian Education Commission tried unsuccessfully to resolve the problem of duality in the education system by seeking to readjust the balance between higher English literary education for a few and elementary and technical education for the masses. "It is desirable" its report said, "that the whole population of India should be literate." Although it made recommendations for education of backward communities, yet, such backward groups as the vast community of Dalits or the untouchables, continued to be excluded from the state schools, as their presence would drive away higher castes pupils, who were meant to be main target population for the educational system. This exclusion happened with the active support of the colonial bureaucracy, succumbing in the name of practically the pressures of the conservative society of the Indian elite, many of whom had by now become gross-root level functionaries of the empire. British education thus endorsed and supported differentiation in the Indian society.[35]

The years after Hunter Commission saw growth in elementary education since it was transferred to municipalities and district boards. Secondary education showed some considerable progress. It was in the field of higher education that the commission

[34] Quoted in Ghosh, *History of Education in Modern India*, p. 98.
[35] Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, p. 144.

recommendations on withdrawal of government support led to a phenomenal growth of private enterprise. Among the colleges, many which grew out of high schools, were Ferguson College at Poona founded B. G. Tilak, Ripon College at Calcutta by S. N. Banerji, Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore in 1886 by Araya Samaj. Annie Besant founded the Central Hindu College at Banaras in 1889. Missionaries set up Indian Christian College at Hapur in 1892 and Gordan College at Rawalpindi in 1893. In 1882 the Punjab University was established by a Special Act of Incorporation. It grew out of the college at Lahore. Unlike other universities it carried teaching work. The medium of instruction was Urdu. In 1887 Allahabad University was established, it also confers degrees and diplomas on candidates who have successfully gone through a prescribed course of learning in affiliated college.[36]

1.7 Towards Control of Higher Education

Expansion of higher education in India in decades following Hunter Commission recommendations aggravated the existing problem of unemployment among educated Indians. The growing unemployment among educated Indians and the latter's disillusionment with the British Raj's policy towards the problem increasingly added fuel to the nationalist sentiments that had been growing ever since the middle of the nineteenth century. Hardly, any annual session of the Indian National Congress took place without a discussion on the subject of employment—"the most important key to our material and moral advancement" as Dadabhai Naroji described it in the very first session, passing resolutions on it.

British officials were closely watching the situation. Lord Curzon addressing the Calcutta university convocation observed, "that our system of education in India is a failure; that it has sacrificed the formation of character upon the alter of cram; and that the Indian university turns out only a discontented horde of office seekers, whom we educated for places which are not in existence for them to fill."[37]

Curzon's object in attacking the education system was not merely to make it more efficient but also politically safe for the Raj. Curzon formally abandoned the doctrine that the state should not interfere in education. In fact, he urged that government could alone

[36] Ghosh, *History of Education in Modern India*, p. 102.
[37] Quoted in Ghosh, *History of Education in Modern India*, p. 107.

ensure improvements. He felt that in its desire to decentralise, government had surrendered its control to a dangerous degree with the result that Indians were now in command and showed "a mischievous independence of government."[38]

Curzon set about the task of framing a new education policy with his characteristic energy and drive. He was a man with a clear and vigorous mind, a tremendous capacity for hard work and a sense of dedication to his duty. He believed that the government would have to reassert that the responsibility which there had been a tendency to abdicate. He felt that from sheer lack of courage his predecessors had allowed university education to get out of hand, and that if left unreformed the Indian universities would develop into "nurseries of discontented characters and stunted brains."

In 1901 he summoned all the Directors of Public Instruction to a conference at Shimla. This was followed by the appointment in 1902 of the Indian Universities Commission with Sir Thomas Raleigh as its chairman. Commission proposed reduction in the size of the university senates and stricter conditions of affiliation for colleges. Recommendations of the commission led to the Indian Universities Act of 1904. Act introduced radical changes into the five existing universities at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore and Allahabad. Among these were, an enlargement of the functions of the university; reduction in size of the university senates; introduction of the principle of election; statutory recognition of the syndicates where university teachers were to be given an adequate representation; stricter conditions for the affiliation of colleges to a university; definition of the territorial limits of the universities; provision for a grant of Rs. 5 lakh as year for five years for implementing these changes to the five Indian universities and finally powers to the government to make additions and alterations while approving of the relations passed by the senates.[39]

The State Paper on Education was prepared to reform the entire system of education in India. It was formulated out of the 150 resolutions taken on the different aspects of Indian education at the conference held in Shimla in September 1901, and was issued as a resolution of the Governor General in Council on Indian education on

[38] Basu, *Essays in the History of Indian Education*, p. 11.
[39] Ghosh, *History of Education in Modern India*, p. 121.

11March 1904—a few days before the passing of the Indian Universities Act on 21 March 1904.

The resolution accepted the progressive devolution of primary, secondary and collegiate education upon private enterprise and continuous withdrawal of government from competition, as recommended by Hunter Commission. The resolution asserted that the government of India fully accepted the proposition that the active extension of primary education was one of the most important duties of the state government looked with favour upon the extension of kindergarten methods and object lesson, to discourage exclusive reliance on the memory and to develop a capacity for reasoning from observed facts. In the case of rural schools, the aim should be to impart definite agricultural teaching but to give to the children a preliminary training which would make them intelligent cultivators.

Regarding the secondary education it stressed the need for applying stringent conditions. Resolution noted "too literary" character of the courses pursued in the schools and also attempts made to introduce alternative courses, following the recommendations of Hunter Commission, in order to meet the needs of the boys who were destined for industrial or commercial pursuits that had not till then met with success, so there is need to promote the diversified type of secondary education.

Resolution made significant observation on the medium of instruction. As a general rule child should not be allowed to learn English as a language until he had some progress in primary stages of instruction and had received a thorough grounding in his mother tongue.[40] Educated Indians did not agree with the policy of control and improvement of quality. They held that a wide diffusion of English education was important even if some cases it as not up to the mark. S. N. Banerjee, Pherozshah Mehta, G. K. Gokhle and others attacked Curzon's university bill because they felt that it would increase official control and restrict the growth of higher education. It was argued that under the new Act, the universities became practically a department of the state.[41]

Notwithstanding with its criticism, Curzon did yeomen's service to the cause of education. He was author of the great movement for educational reconstruction which

[40] Ibid., pp. 125-27.
[41] Naik and Nurullah, *A Students' History of Education in India,* pp. 248-254.

started in the beginning of this century. He laid the foundations of the reforms of Indian universities which gathered such momentum in later years; his attempts to raise the standard in higher education did considerably useful service. In primary education, it was he who started a drive for expansion, although his success did not keep it up.[42]

1.8 Growth of National Education

Curzon's dynamic educational policies activated Indian intellectual attempt at generating a parallel system of education called national education, which received a shot in booster when the movement against Curzon's partition of Bengal started in 1905. National education became one of the issues in which the Swadeshi movement which grew out of the anti-partition movement was built up.

In Bengal, British crackdown on student picketers through the Carlyle Circular on 22 October 1905, which threatened to withdraw all grants, scholarships and affiliations from the nationalist dominated institutions climaxed into the urge for the boycott of government controlled education—an urge which had been growing in Bengal ever since the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission in 1902.[43] Taking a cue from Tagore's Shantiniketan, Bengal National College was founded, with Aurobindo as its principal, vernacular was to be the chief medium of instruction but foreign languages were not to be neglected. Scientific and technical education was calculated to develop the material resources of the country and to satisfy its pressing needs.[44] In August 1906, the National Council of Education was established. The council, consisting of virtually all the distinguished persons of the country at the time, defined its objectives in this way…. 'to organise a system of education literary, scientific and technical- national lines and under national control.'[45]

Popularity of national schools coupled with their political tactics made the government apprehensive of their activities. These schools became centres of political activities. Teachers were often leaders of district who had been dismissed from aided or recognised schools by their school communities. Many of the national schools taught the

[42] Ibid. p. 267.
[43] Ghosh, *History of Education in Modern India*, pp. 136-37.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Bipan Chandra (et al.), *Indian's Struggle for Independence*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1989, p. 130.

use of *lathis*, swords and daggers, and were closely linked with the secret revolutionary societies such as the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca. Before government should take any step to curb the anti-state activities of these schools, the national schools themselves died out. As political passions subsided with the reversal of the partition of Bengal in 1911, so did the enthusiasm for national education.

The existing schools brought various changes which did not make the difference from government schools. The teachers were not better qualified. The job prospects for the graduates of national schools were bleak, as neither the government nor European merchant houses would accept them. The national schools also faced financial problems as donations started dwindling, since they got no government grants and fees were too low. Due to the political ambition of national schools the purpose of education was lost in such schools as Aparna Basu called the teachers as "agitators rather than educators."[46]

Anti-partition movement which provided the framework for national education died and with that also the zeal for national education, but its spirit was kept alive by the Congress leaders like G. K. Gokhle. He believed that "an illiterate and ignorant nation can never make any progress and must fall back in the race for life." Influenced by the example in England which introduced a new era in primary education in 1902 and by the act of the Baroda state of making primary education compulsory in 1906, he moved a resolution in the imperial legislative council in March 1910. It suggested the free and compulsory education for boys between the age of six and ten. The expenditure was to be shared between the local bodies and the government in the proportion of 1:2.

After the passage of one year, when nothing tangible was done for the progress of primary education, Gokhle introduced a private Bill, "to provide for the gradual introduction of the principle of compulsion into the elementary education." Due to the official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council as well as the non-official members consisting of the landed classes were opposed to the passing of the Bill despite the eloquent pleading of Gokhle. It was argued that there was no popular demand for compulsory education.[47]

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[46] Aparna Basu, 'National Education in Bengal: 19905-1912', in Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, (ed.), *The Contested Terrain: Perspectives on Education in India*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1998, pp. 64-67.
[47] Ghosh, *History of Education in Modern India*, p. 139.

Although the project of national education was a failure due to several reasons discussed above. Nonetheless the movement created a platform for the national education of 1920s', when Gandhi started non-cooperation movement. Within a short period of time national schools and colleges were established throughout the country at Ahmadabad, Banaras, Calcutta, Lahore, Patna and Poona. Among the national universities thrown by the national education movement during this period were the Jamia Millia Islamia, the Viswa Bharti[48] and the Gurukul. However, the national school movement came to a sudden end when Mahatma Gandhi stopped non-cooperation movement on 5 February 1922. Although short lived, movement was significant in formulating the principles of national education, preparing alternative courses suited to the national needs and aspirations and in adopting modern Indian languages as the medium of instruction.

1.9 Calcutta University Commission

In 1917, Government of India appointed Calcutta Universality Commission under the chairmanship of Michal Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University. Commission was asked "to inquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta and to consider the question of a constructive policy in relation to the question it presents."[49]

The Commission first studied the problems of secondary education because it held the view that improvement of secondary education was an essential foundation for the improvement of university education. It recommended the formation of a Board of secondary and intermediate Education. It just wants to free the university from the administration, so that it can devote its full time to higher education. Although Commission investigated the problems of Calcutta University, but the problems were common to the other universities as well. The most important suggestion of the Commission was to free the university from the rigid government control imposed on it by the Curzon. It recommended the formation of a widely representative court and an executive committee in place of the senate and syndicate respectively. It stressed upon

[48] It was founded in 1921 by Tagore, without any financial support of government, with the object of understanding the diverse cultures of the east and the west and building a platform for the world fellowship, peace, and harmony. Ibid., p. 152

[49] Ibid., p. 144.

that teachers should be given more powers over academic affairs and recommended the formation of academic council.

It urged the inclusion of applied science and technology. The commission also recommends the organisation of pardah schools for Hindu and Muslim girls. Most of the recommendations of the Calcutta Commission were influenced by the Haldane commission which were related to the London University, consequently, some of the Calcutta University commission recommendations were therefore unsuitable to Indian conditions prevailing at that time. Recommendation to free Calcutta University from the burden of secondary education by creating intermediate courses and institutions a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education was excellent no doubt but was far ahead in times and such liable to failure when implemented. So also was the suggestion of transferring the control of government colleges to non-official governing bodies. Despite several limitations inherent in the recommendations of all commissions appointed in India which had always looked to the British model for guidance, there is no doubt that the recommendations of the Calcutta Commission not only reshaped the character of the existing universities in India but showed the lines on which the future universities in India would develop.

1.10 Education under Diarchy

The year which saw the Calcutta University commission submitted its report also saw the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919 by the British Parliament. It introduced the diarchy in provinces where departments with less political weight and little funds like education, health, agriculture and local bodies were transferred to ministers responsible to the provincial legislators.

In new set up the education sector suffered a lot. In the first place, the government of India stopped spending its own revenues on any transferred subject and discontinued the practice of helping the provincial governments with a part of its revenues in education. Moreover, the veto power of the Governors, the Indian ministers had to encounter stiff opposition on many an occasion from the members of Indian Education Service who were recruited in England and were responsible to the Secretary of State for India through the Governor General in council. The Indian ministers had little or no control over them and the disagreements between the two often created a lot of ill-feeling, which hampered work including education. Government of India ceased to take interest

in provincial matters including education. Finally, provincial governments not only drifted from the central subjects but also created a gulf among them in administration.

1.11 Hartog Committee

Hartog Committee an auxiliary committee, with Philip Hartog as president, submitted a comprehensive report on Indian education in September 1929. Although appreciating the previous attempts of government the Committee found that on an average, no child who has not completed a primary course of at least four years will become permanently literate. The gradual decrease in number was ascribed to wastage, that is, premature withdrawal of children from any stage before the completion of primary course and stagnation, that is, retention of a child in a class for more than a year. Its primary cause was absence of systematic organisation of adult education, lack of schools in villages with a population of 500, and uneven distribution of schools and inadequate utilisation of existing schools.

Committee made a number of recommendations in this regard like it lays stress on consolidation in primary education. In secondary schools Committee wanted to introduce more diversified curriculum in the middle vernacular schools and administration of a large number of boys in them intended for rural pursuits; and secondly, diversion of more pupils to industrial and commercial careers at the end of the middle school stage.

On university education Committee recommended that all efforts should be concentrated on improving university work, on confining university to its proper function of giving good advanced students who bare fit to receive it, and , in fact, to making university a more fruitful and less disappointing agency in the life of community.

In women's education, Committee noted a great disparity existing in the figures of school going boys and girls. It found primary education of girls in village schools inefficient and restricted and at the secondary stage it was quite inadequate. It stressed the need of prescribing a curriculum that would suite the requirements of girls. On the aspect of educational administration committee observed that the transfer of control of education from central to provincial governments was not a wise step and that the government of India could not absolve itself of the responsibilities in this manner. It pointed out the need for establishing a centralised educational agency at Delhi. Committee stressed upon a

well directed policy carried out by effective and competent agencies, determined to eliminate waste of all kinds.[50]

1.12 Education under Provincial Autonomy

Government of India Act, 1935, abolished the diarchical system of administration set up by the Act of 1919. It abolished the distinction between reserved and transferred subjects, and placed the whole field of provincial administration under a ministry responsible to the legislature which had an overwhelming majority of elected members.

Act divided all educational activities into two categories only—Federal (Central) and State (Provincial). The Imperial Library Calcutta, the Indian Museum Calcutta, the Imperial War Museum, the Victoria Memorial Calcutta, and such similar institutions controlled or financed by the federation, Banaras Hindu University, Aligarh Muslim University, Archaeology, education in the centrally administrated areas and finally education for defence forces, all these were put under federal system.

In the state or Provincial subjects the Act included all matters regarding education other than those included in the federal list. In 1935 Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) was revived and its first annual meeting was held in December 1935. The board stressed on a radical readjustment of the present educational system in schools, to be made in such a way as not only to prepare students for professional and university courses but also to enable them to be diverted to occupations or separate vocational institutions after completion of appropriate stages: primary, lower secondary and the higher secondary. While the aim of the primary stage was to ensure permanent literacy by providing at least a minimum of general education and at the lower secondary stage to prepare students for higher education or specialised practical courses by providing a self-contained course for general education, the higher secondary stage was to aim at preparing students for admission to arts and science courses of the universities.[51]

In 1937 government of India invited S. H. Wood, Director of intelligence, and A. Abbott, formerly chief inspector of technical schools of England to advise the government in connection with the CABE resolution on proposed reconstruction of

[50] Ibid., p. 157.
[51] Ibid., p. 163.

education in British India. In the first part, Wood recommended that provision should be made for trained teachers in primary schools. There was a great need for change in the curricula of elementary education─and as such it should be based more upon the natural interests and activities of children concerned than upon book-learning. In the second part, which was written by Abbott, emphasis was laid on vocational education which should keep peace with industrial development of the country to check all possibilities of unemployment.[52]

1.13 Basic Scheme of Education

Mahatma Gandhi who had spoken strongly in 1920s against the present system of education, now, having got the opportunity of influencing the ministries in seven provinces, where Congress have assumed the office, tried to change the system. He wrote a series of articles in the *Harijan* about his ideas on educational reconstruction in India suggesting a scheme of universal compulsory education for all children in the age group of 6-13 through the medium of mother-tongue which would be self-supporting, leading to all round development of the pupil. In other words, industrial vocations such as processing of cotton, wool and silk, paper making and cutting, book binding, cabinet-making etc. taught at primary schools should serve a double purpose. They should help the pupils to pay for their tuition through the products of their labours while developing the human qualities in them through the vocations learnt at these schools. This primary education which Gandhi later described as Basic Education should equip the boys and girls to earn their bread with some support from the state.[53]

A small committee of educationists under the chairmanship of Zakir Husian was asked to prepare a primary education scheme along the lines suggested in the resolution passed at the conference. In December 1937, it submitted a syllabus under the title "Basic National Education", also known as the Wardha Scheme. In its report, the Committee clarified and even changed some of the issues raised at the conference, stating that compulsory education for boys and girls were to extend from 7-14 years of age and that the state was responsible for providing education free of charge. In the report education is not only linked to a productive craft such as spinning but also to child's social and

[52] Ibid., p. 164.
[53] Naik and Nurullah, *A Students' History of Education in India,* pp. 379-88.

physical environment, with regard to self-sufficiency. It was stated that the teachers were to be paid directly by the state treasury and should not be dependent on possible sale proceeds from production of craft work done at the school.

By making mother-tongue of the children and not the another Indian or a foreign language the medium of instruction during the first years at school, basic education aimed at educating them with all basic abilities and attitudes deemed to be essential for establishing and strengthening a democratic society. On the basis of Wardha Scheme, the Indian National Congress adopted a resolution on 'National Education' at its fifty-first session in Haripura in February 1938. It was one out of twenty resolutions passed and a letter of Zakir Hussain, who was present at the conference and consulted by the congress working committee in Haripura. The congress accepted the content of the resolution passed at the Wardha conference as the principles on which basic education should be imparted on a national wide scale with exception of the self-supporting aspect. An All India Board was to be established, scheduled to work out a programme of basic education and to recommend it for acceptance to those who are in control of state or private education.

In provincial governments run by the Congress started introducing the Wardha Scheme from 1938. In 1939, governments of United Provinces, Assam, Orissa and Bombay had initiated some steps, but the other provinces did not introduce the scheme. They were all, more or less, faced with same problem, non-availability of funds and basic preconditions missing such as trained teachers, new text books and more important lack of sympathy for the commitment of basic ideas of the scheme in administration and policy. Education was not a top priority in the agenda of provincial government's policy despite the Haripura resolution, with other problems being more urgent such as the release of political prisoners, demands raised by the peasants and industrial workers, and quarrels within Congress ranks.[54]

Basic education involved direct conflict with the indigenous tradition because it introduced into the school curriculum a form of knowledge on which low caste groups had monopoly. This kind of knowledge was not just given the status of a compulsory

[54] Joachim Oesterheld, 'National Education as a Community Issue: the Muslim Response to the Wardha Scheme', in Krishna Kumar and Joachim Oesterheld (ed.), *Education and Social Change in South Asia*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2007, p. 162.

subject in the basic plan; it was announced to be core curriculum. In a school following this curriculum a low caste child would feel far more at home than an upper caste child. Both in terms of world view and functional skills, the curriculum of a basic school favoured the child belonging to the lowest stratum of the society. In place of the forms of knowledge symbolising the hegemony of upper castes, it proposed to introduce in the school curriculum the forms of knowledge symbolising the oppression of the lowest placed castes. Thus, it sought to alter the symbolic meaning of 'education' and thereby to damage the established structure of opportunities for education.[55]

Though Ghandi's basic education wanted to lay the foundation for a common citizenship, its implementation, despite its limited scale, contributed in a disproportionate manner to growing opposition to the Congress, the deepening of Hindu-Muslim divide, and to atmosphere where a feeling among Muslims gained ground that they are and have to live under a religiously coloured dominance of a Hindu majority.[56]

1.14 Post War Plan of Educational Developments

With the resignation of Congress ministries any hopes of an educational reconstruction under provincial autonomy were lost. The caretaker governments that now succeeded the popular governments in the provinces too pre-occupied sorting out the problems created by the World War second as well as by the political chaos of the country. However, in the 1944, Sir John Sargent, the then Education Advisor with the government of India asked to prepare a memorandum on post-war educational development in India. The report is popularly known as Sargent Report, entitled "post-war educational development in India". The object of the plan was to create in India, in a period of not less than forty years, the same standard of educational attainments as had already been attained in England.

The report recommended––the provision of pre-primary education for children between 3 and 6 years of age, provision of universal free and compulsory primary education for all children of 6-14 years in two stages––junior basic and senior basic, high

[55] Krishna Kumar, *Politics of Education in Colonial India*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2014, p.193.

[56] For in depth details on the issue see Oesterheld, who argues that the Gandhi's scheme did not accommodate the cultural taste of Muslims, as a result they perceive Wardha Scheme as a threat to their cultural and religion, so Muslim League took full political mileage out of this issue. Oesterheld, 'National Education as a Community Issue', pp. 188-89

school education for selected children, provision for technical, commercial and art education.

K. G. Saiyidin who was associated with the working of the Sargent appreciated it. He was of the view that that it was the first comprehensive scheme of national education. To him, it was inspired by the desire to provide equality of opportunities at different stages of education. The plan placed a very tame ideal before the country. As report itself admitted, India would reach the educational standard of England of 1939 in a period of not less than forty years! This ideal did not naturally satisfy any ardent educationist. Moreover, England as a model for India was not suitable one because of the social, political and economic conditions are vastly different from each other.

Nevertheless, it was because of this plan that the Central government asked the Provincial governments to draw up their five year programmes on the basis of the plan. In 1945 a separate education department was established at the centre. So a number of changes took place in education sector, before India ultimately took the charge of education with new enthusiasm, when it finally got rid of foreign yoke.

1.15 Education in Princely India

The study of education in India would be incomplete if we fail to assess the educational developments of princely states. About two-fifths of South Asia was ruled by princes. British colonial officials had claimed princely states as faithful allies, denounced them as autocrats, praised them as natural leaders of their subjects, chided then as profligate playboys, and taken advantage of their lavish hospitality.[57]

Once British negotiated with these states, their freedom of action in the political and economic spheres became increasingly contained by the dictates of the British colonial governance. Although a policy of non-interference was advocated, this was more a matter of colonial rhetoric that fitted in with the less explicitly aggressive and militaristic tone of governance following the rebellion of 1857. From 1870s, special education facilities were provided to princes with establishment of Rajkumar College at Rajkot and Rajpur, Mayo College at Ajmer, Aitchison College at Lahore, Daly College at Indore, which assured a supply of loyal followers for the British, once the western

[57] Barbara N. Ramusack, *The Indian Princes and Their States*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 1.

educated Indian elites involved in anti-imperialist politics. It was a conscious step to breed loyalty among princes.[58]

Generally speaking princely states have been branded as backward. Smith Sarkar argues that, 'for the most part the princely states remained social, cultural and political backwaters, petty despotisms which did not have to bother about the legal reforms and civic rights which had developed with much fanfare in British India.'[59] However there are exceptions like Baroda, Mysore and to some extent Travancore there was a different picture where the rulers tried to emulate British in socio-economic and political reforms. In these states progress was visible. But in the rest people suffered under dictatorial and autocratic governments.[60]

Before 1871 Baroda State did not have a single government school. It was only at the personal instance of the governor of Bombay that Madhava Rao agreed to open a few schools. The first high school was opened at Baroda in 1871. In 1875, Madhava Rao created the Vernacular Education Department. In 1907, primary education was made free and compulsory for boys aged seven to ten. In practice, it proved impossible to force low caste children to go school, so that the reform chiefly benefited the higher castes. The literacy figures for Baroda state showed an impressive rate of growth. Other princely states in Gujarat lagged behind badly.[61]

Princely Mysore was the second largest state in colonial India. The state was carved out of dominations of Tipu Sultan after he was defeated and killed. The first free English school in Mysore city was founded in 1833, its purpose being the creation of an educated indigenous population that would both work for and support the overall British administration. Additional schools and institutions grew into a structured educational

[58] Waltraud Ernst and Biswamoy Pati (ed.), *India's Princely States: People Princes and Colonialism,* New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2007, p. 4
[59] Smith Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885-1947*, Madras: Macmillan, 1995, pp. 64-65.
[60] Y. Vaikuntham (ed.), *People's Movements in Princely States*, Delhi: Manohar, 2004, p. 11.
[61] David Hardiman, 'Baroda: The Structure of a Progressive State', in Robin Jeffrey (ed.), *People, Princes and Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978, pp. 118-19

environment following Wood's Despatch of 1854. Urban Brahmans, who had a tradition of literacy and education, benefited most directly from the new western education.[62]

From 1860s, European Christian missionaries played an important role in spreading education in princely Travancore, Iravas––the low caste people, were also the beneficiaries of new education system. The 1875 census[63] put the male literacy among Iravas at 3.15%; by the 1891 census it has risen to 12.19%. By the end of 19th century there was lot of increase in literacy rate among caste-Hindus, Christians and even among low castes.[64]

Hyderabad princely state was educationally backward. In 1898, only 5.8% of the boys and 0.5% of girls of school going age were in schools. The staggering illiteracy was slowly transformed by inviting *non-mulkis* i.e. educated from outside, which slowly brought about intellectual awaking in the state. The establishment of Osmania University in 1917-18 and many other colleges facilitated to some extent to the educational development as well as political consciousness among the people of Hyderabad. Negligence of higher education led to the arrival of *non-mulkis* especially from Aligarh to occupy important positions in the administration. This process in a way led for *mulk*i and *non-mulki* conflict.[65]

Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal state emerged at the forefront of efforts to reform Indian's community in the early 20th century, particularly in the sphere of female education, health, veiling and women's rights. She not only produced extensive reformist tracts, advice manuals, and allegorical stories, but also established and patronised a great number of institutions for women in Bhopal. One of the distinctive features of these institutions was the Begam's attempt to reach less privileged women─for instance, by

[62] Manu Bhagawan, *Sovereign Spheres: Princes, Education and Empire in Colonial India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 70-71.
[63] The Travancore government carried out the state's first scientific census on the lines of the British India census of 1871. Robin Jeffrey, 'Travancore: Status, Class and the Growth of Radical Politics, 1860-1940', in Jeffrey, *People, Princes and Paramount Power*, op. cit., pp. 140-42.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Y. Vaikuntham, 'Ideology, Political Consciousness and Movement for Responsible Government in Hyderabad State', in Vaikuntham, *People's Movements in Princely States*, p. 28.

offering stipend to encourage attendance in her schools and designing a curriculum that recognised their dual role as house wives and wage earners.[66]

In other princely states like Central India, Orissa and Punjab, education was also spreading among the elite classes, and lower strata of society was getting fewer privileges so for as the education is concerned. Looking at princely states it becomes clear that most of the states remained backward. Baroda and Mysore, as Manu Bhagavan has argued, resisted colonial control by actively reconstituting within the inner political sphere, what he called 'native modernity', which in turn subsumed the social and local cultural realms.[67]

1.16 Legacies of Colonial Education in India

Although British left country in 1947, but they have left behind a society which inherited a number of aspects from them. Colonial rule replaced the indigenous system with the new system of education. It was formulated in such a way that suited their interests. No serious attempt was made to improvise the indigenous system of education, although it certainly had potentialities. British brought some drastic changes in the administration and finance of education. The local control over education was replaced by state control, so the autonomy of institutions and teachers itself were snatched. The concept of school teacher as an authority on child remains there and child was not allowed for questions and queries. The text book culture remained dominant, which virtually destroyed quest for rationality. The curriculum hardly had any resemblance with day to day life at home. The social position of teachers fades away, due to low salaries, and low status. Consequently, did not attract the fertile minds towards profession.

From the beginning of 20th century national schools came into being, but their popularity was short lived. Preservation of traditional social hierarchy and denial of educational equity to the under privileged castes, tribal groups, women remained the over-ridding facts of educational scene. Efforts of Ghokhle for elementary education were not taken with serious political will was displayed in the constitution and political

[66] Siobhan Lambert Hurley, 'Historicizing Debates over Women's Status in Islam: The Case of Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam of Bhopal', in Ernest and Pati, *India's Princely States*, op. cit., p. 141.
[67] Bhagavan, *Sovereign* Spheres, p. 8.

struggle. The Indian middle class had apprehension that it could destabilize their established social position.

While westernised elite emerged which pioneered social and political reform movements, education through a foreign medium helped to preserve and increase the gulf between this class and masses. Marginalisation of folk languages in northern India was another feature of colonial education. It seems that privileging the English language vis-a-vis the so called vernacular languages was accomplished by a process of disprivileging folk languages or dialects vis-a-vis Sanskritised, chaste Hindi or Shist Bhasha. This exclusion of Lok Bhasha from the elementary schools adversely affected the participation of common students.

In the forthcoming chapter, we will discuss the evolution of traditional educational system of the Kashmir which got evolved over a period of time. How the indigenous education system works, to what extent it provided education to masses and who managed the system will be some queries to be rejoined.

Chapter II

Kashmir have been fountainhead of Indian culture considering that many of the core ideas and concepts that have shaped the Indian mind over the centuries have emanated from this small valley nested in the lap of Himalayas. Whether it be Mahayana Buddhism or non-dualistic Shiva metaphysics, Tantric ritual and practice, theory of art and aesthetics or the philosophy language, communicative role of Sharda script or enrichment of Sanskrit literary genres, Kashmiri's creative innovating in almost all areas of art and thought have been so significant that the history of Indian cultural traditions will ever remain incomplete without them taking into consideration. It is not all surprising therefore, that Kashmir became a favoured place for pan-Indian intellectual community and also scholars from other countries, to converge and interact on issues related to different disciplines and fields of knowledge.[1]

Sir George Grison in his Linguistic Survey of India writes, "for upwards of the two thousand years, Kashmir had been the home of Sanskrit learning and from this small valley have issued master-pieces of history, poetry, romance, fable and philosophy. Kashmiri's are proud and justly proud of the literary glories of their land. For centuries it was the home of greatest Sanskrit scholars and at least one great Indian religion, Shaivism, has found some of its most eloquent teachers on the banks of Vitasta, some of the greatest scholars were born and wrote in the Valley, and from it has issued in the Sanskrit language a world famous folklore".[2] Scholars like Bilhana, Kalhana,[3] Damodargupta, Kshemendra, Somadeva, and even Jayanta Bhatta fall in this category, their genius having secured for them a high place in the literary history of Sanskrit.[4] Even Kalhana in his Rajatarangini emphasises the importance that people attached to learning. Learning, according to him, was one of the five things for which the Valley was

[1] S.S. Toshkhani, 'Kashmir's Role in the Development of Indian Cultural Traditions: An Overview', in G. L. Badam and K. K. Chakravarty, (eds.), *Heritage of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh*, , New Delhi: Research India Press, 2010, p. 47.
[2] Sir George Grison, quoted in Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, *1946–1947*: *A Study in Socio-Cultural Change,* Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 2006, p. 160.
[3] Kalhana the author of *Rajatarangini*, the foremost in the galaxy of chroniclers or historians of Kashmir school, who set several landmarks in the history of historical writing in ancient India. Mukesh Kumar, 'The School of Historians in Kashmir', in Badam , *Heritage of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 37.
[4] Toshkhani, *Kashmir's Role in the Development of Indian Cultural Traditions*, p. 54.

distinguished. He says, "learning, lofty homes, saffron, ice water and grapes: things that in heaven are difficult to find are common here".[5]

2.1 Education in Pre-Dogra Period/Medieval Period

During the medieval period of Kashmir, Islamic influence penetrated deep into the valley. One of the significant aspects of medieval Kashmir was the patronage expended by the Kashmiri rulers to *Sufi*s, *ulama*, artisans and traders from Central Asia and Persia.[6] Muslim rule saw promotion of learning both Persian and Sanskrit.[7] The standard of culture in Kashmir during the period discussed was very high.[8] Kashmiris were extremely witty and intelligent, and were very fond of music, and possessed great artistic sense.[9] They loved learning, and, as in olden days, they felt their homes for distant places in India, Turkistan, and Persia to seek knowledge. The court of Muslim Sultans were adorned with scholars, musicians and painters, while their capital Srinagar was embellished with magnificent palaces, mosques, monasteries and gardens.[10]

In medieval Kashmir education was diffused by the three fold means––mosques, *maktabs* and *madrasas,* typing three forms of education viz., primary education imparting elementary knowledge, secondary education and higher education respectively. But it may not be out of place to mention here that the nature of education was more or less religious.[11] It is an established fact that Islam has attached much emphasis on education. The earliest verses that revealed to the Prophet[PBUH] invited people to education:

"Read in the name of the Lord and Cherisher Who created. Created man, out of a mere clot of congealed blood. Read and thy Lord is Most Bountiful. He, Who taught (the use of) the pen. Taught man that which he knew not."[12]

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[5] Quoted in S. L. Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir:1872-1973*, Srinagar: Ali Mohammad and Sons, 1973, pp. 2-5

[6] It is because of this, that there is a glaring impact of Central Asia on the different aspects of Kashmiri society, culture and education was no exception. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under Sultans*, New Delhi: Aakar Books, (reprint), 2005, p. xv.

[7] Khan, *History of Srinagar,* p. 161.

[8] The statement of Srivara that every one enjoyed poetry and attempted to compose verses is obliviously an exaggeration, but there is ample evidence in the chronicles to suggest that there was a great appreciation of arts, letters and music by the people of valley. Hasan, *Kashmir under Sultans,* p. 274.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Nazir Ahmad Dar, *Religious Institutions of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Jay Kay Books, 2006, p. 28.

[12] *Sura Alaq, Quran,* quoted in, Mujeeb Ashraf, 'Madrasa-Rahimiah: Growth and Pattern of Educational Curriculum Origin and Character Islamic Education', *in* S. M. Azizuddun Husain (ed.), *Madrasa Education in India: Eleventh to Twenty First Century*, New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2005, p. 59.

These five verses of the Holy Quran along with many others are considered to be fountainhead of education in post-Islamic history. They created a remarkable eagerness towards education and filled the followers of Islam with a tremendous spirit that carved a new history.[13] According to Islamic standpoint, the humanity set out for its journey in the light of knowledge, not in the darkness of ignorance as many civilized people say that man is a developed form of animals. Other systems have put education in the category of necessities of life but Islam has regarded it the utmost necessity of human life.

2.1.1 Role of Mosques in Spreading Education

Mosque, in an Islamic society, is not only a place of worship but it is an important centre for education and training. Every Muslim visits mosque five times a day and learns punctuality, sense of responsibility, equality and humbleness. The Prophet[PBUH] has made mosques multi-purpose by using them as educational institutions. So, latter, every mosque served as a learning place until *madrasa* were established separately, after four centuries. The Prophet's[PBUH] action to establish *Suffa* (terrace) attached to the mosque was an ideal that was followed by Muslims. The immediate establishment of a mosque after migration indicates that it is the duty of Islamic state to arrange education first for Muslims.[14] During the early period of Islam mosques played an important role as religious centres of learning. The socio-religious and political meetings were held in the mosques. The Holy Prophet[PBUH] himself used to sit in the mosques with the circle of listeners who repeated his words three times for memorising them.[15]

Due to importance of education Islamic state, from its inception founded a mosque and *madrasa. Masjid-i-Nabvi* (Holiest mosque in Medina) was not merely a worshiping place but, in fact, it was an educational institution. The terrace that stood in front of mosque served as hostel of students. This institution, generally consisted of about 60-70 students. Some prominent companions of the Prophet[PBUH] used to be the teachers and the Prophet[PBUH] himself was a principal of this institute. The students who got education from this institution used to be sent to various places of the state.[16]

[13] Muhammadullah Khalili Qasmi, *Madrasa Education: Its Strength and Weakness*, Markazul Marrrif Education and Research Centre, 2005, p. 3.
[14] Ibid., pp. 5-7
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.

As the ages passed, mosques became centres of education. Every mosque witnessed several *Halka* (circles), every circle had a number of students, even sometimes thousands. Those who were self dependent they would satisfy their needs on their own and those who were poor they would take help from the state. The education in the period of the Prophet[PBUH] was confined to the Quran and *Hadith,* though there were some other kinds of things that were learned and taught, like arrow throwing, swimming, horse riding and so on. As the requirement of the time increased, there developed a good system.[17]

The use of mosques for the purpose of educating the Muslim masses had certain advantages. First, after a small extra construction in the mosque, the burden of the separate building for a maktab could easily be avoided. Second, the same staff that was engaged for the prayer could also perform the duties of teachers and thus educational expenditure on these institutions was reduced to the minimum. This can be one of the explanations for the network of maktabs that we find during the Mughal period. So far as the financing of these institutions was concerned they were largely dependent on the magnificence of the nobles and rich people who exhibited uncommon liberty and generosity in this matter.[18]

With the expansion of education, it was realised that mosques were inadequate to cope with the growing number of students. Moreover, the progress and diffusion of knowledge enlarged to the circle of secular education and mosques became a limited place for the purpose of education. There was also the question of residential quarters for the growing bulk of students and it was evident that mosques were insufficient to meet this requirement. In addition there was no provision in the mosques for higher education and in fact no such provision could have been made there. These inadequacies were the sufficient reasons to move education from the mosques to other places and this naturally led to the establishment of madrasas with buildings of their own where residential arrangement could be made both for teachers and the taught.[19]

Elementary education imparted in primary schools and private houses. The prescribed age to begin the education was generally four years, four months, and four days for everybody, where some sort of ceremony was also conducted, known as

[17] Ibid., pp. 7-9.
[18] Dar, *Religious Institutions of Kashmir*, p. 28.
[19] Ibid., pp. 30-31

bismillah or *tasmiya khwani*.[20] The method of teaching in vogue was very simple. A novice was first taught the alphabet with correct pronunciation and signs of accents. After learning this, he was taught their combinations most frequently occurred. He was given some exercises daily, which he read and wrote on his *takhti* (oblong board) and gradually learnt the art of reading and writing. Having thus equipped himself with the necessary means of acquiring knowledge, he could, if he would, proceed to study various arts and sciences in school.[21]

Higher education of Muslims was in the hands of men of learning who devoted themselves to the instruction of youth. Schools were attached to mosques and shrines and supported by state grants in cash or land or by private liberality. Individuals of merit were also aided by the state and land holders and nobles vied with each other in supporting scholars of repute. Several towns in India, such as Gopamau and Khairabad, in Oudh, and Jaunpur in the province of Agra have from time to time been famous seats of learning to which students flocked from all parts of India, and even from Afghanistan and Bokhara, to attend the lectures of renowned specialists.[22]

The course of study in a Muslim learning institution included grammar, rhetoric, logic, theology, metaphysics, literature, jurisprudence and science. The classes of the learned instructors have been replaced by *madrasas* or colleges of a more modern type founded by the liberality of pious persons.[23] *Qirat* (recitation of Holy Quran) and *hifz* (the complete memorisation of the Quran) art of the *tajweed*, (rules governing pronunciation during recitation of the Quran) and *tartil* (recitation of Holy Quran in proper order and with no haste) were also part of the syllabi.[24]

During Sultanate period of Kashmir a network of *maktabs* and *madrasas* were established in every nook and corner of valley[25] Sultan Shahb-ud-din (1354-73) was first Sultan who opened a number of *madrasas* in Kashmir where the Quran, *hadith* (sayings of Prophet[PBUH]) and *fiqh* (jurisprudence) were taught. Perhaps Sultan did so because of

[20] S. Z. H. Jafri, "Education and Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval India", *Intellectual Discourse*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 2012, pp. 79-102.
[21] S. M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India: Being an Enquiry into the State of Education during the Muslim Period of Indian History, 1000-1800*, Delhi: Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, 2009, p. 20.
[22] Ibid., pp. 16-18.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Mansura Haider, 'Central Asian Impact on Indian Madrasas' in Husain, *Madrasa Education in India*, p. 50.
[25] Dar, *Religious Institutions of Kashmir*, pp. 35-36.

his association with two Sufis of *Khubravi* order, Sayyid Tajuddin and Sayyid Hussian Siminani.[26] It was also in the reign of Sultan Shahb-ud-din the Persian and Turk scholars were attracted to Kashmir seven hundred *Syyids* came here along with Sayed Ali Hamadani and three hundred with his son, Sayed Muhammad Hamadani in 1379. Out of these immigrants some were appointed as teachers in *maktabs* and *madrasas*[27]

The son and successor of Sultan Shahb-ud-din Qutb-ud-din opened the first residential school at Qutubdin pora. The school existed for a long period of time till the establishment of Sikh rule in Kashmir and this seat of learning was closed during this period because of want of patronage.[28] Jamal-ud-din a scholar and companion of Sayed Ali Hamadani was induced by Qutub-ud-din to settle in Srinagar and establish a school known as "Urawatulwasqa" abbreviated into Kashmir as Aruta at Srinagar.[29] Sultan Skinder (1389-1417) also built a college near Jamia Masjid, Srinagar. Attached to this college was a hostel. For the expanse of the college and the hostel the pargana of Nagam was declared a *waqf* (endowment). Qazi Mir Muhammad Ali, a descendent of Changez Khan was appointed principal of the college on account of his erudition. Mulla Sar-ud-din Khasi was mathematics teacher. Logic and metaphysics was taught by Syed Hussian Mantiqi.[30]

So far as the socio-cultural history of Kashmir is concerned, the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1401-1470) is considered as glorious period. That is why Zain-ul-Abidin is sometimes called as "Akber of Kashmir". The reorganisation of educational system was an important aspect of Zai-ul-Abidin's scheme of reforms its merit lay not so much in its meaningful expansion as in its reorientation on a secular pattern, Sultan Shahab-ud-din, as already discussed, was the first Muslim ruler to have set up schools in Kashmir, but they were exclusively the centres of Islamic learning. So also were those of his immediate successors Qutb-ud-din and Sultan Skinder. Both Shahab-ud-din and Qutb-ud-din were tolerant rulers, and there is no reference to their interference with the institutions

[26] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam: The Role of Muslim Rishis, Fifteenth to Eighteenth Century*, New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 2002, p. 63.
[27] Nazir Ahmad Dar, *Religious Institutions of Kashmir*, p. 35.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Sayyid Mohammad Farooq Bukhari, *Kashmir main Arbi Sher wa Adab ki Tarikh*, (Urdu), [The History of Arabic Poetry and Literature in Kashmir] Srinagar: Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, 1993, p. 4.
[30] G. M. D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, Srinagar: Gulshan Books, p. 2007, 183.

of Hindu learning.[31] However, during the reign of Sultan Skinder, Hindu educational institutions were suppressed, which gave death below to Hindu learning.[32]

On the contrary, Zain-ul-Abidin granted freedom of education by throwing open to all men of merit, without distinction of caste and creed. The Islamic courses of study of the Quran, *tafsir* (interpretation of Quran), *hadith*, *fiqh ilm-ul-kalam* and *ilm-ul-tawhid* (dogmatic theology) were taught. Besides these, training in horsemanship, swordsmanship and archery was also imparted. In Zain-ul-Abidin's time a few more subjects were added to the list. Great emphasis was laid on the study of logic and grammar.[33] Facilities for the study of literature, arts, mineralogy, history and different sciences were also made available.

With the lifting the ban on Hindu learning, religion and philosophy, their studies were recommended. The liberal approach of the Sultan is further attested by the fact that he established a number of *viharas* for the Buddhist subjects; one of the influential members of the Sultan's council was a Buddhist, Tilakacharya.[34] Zain-ul-Abidin rightly understood the importance of the vernacular language and, in addition to the Persian and Sanskrit, Kashmiri was also encouraged. Arrangements were made for the preparation of the translation of existent works in the three languages. It is, indeed, remarkable that the Muslims also studied works on Hindu religion and philosophy the Persian translations, and Hindus vice-versa.[35]

One of the prestigious educational institutions which flourished under the patronage of Zain-ul-Abidin was University at Naushar, Srinagar. Maulana Kabir, a distinguished Kashmiri scholar, who received his higher education in Herat, was the head of the institution.[36] Maulana was assisted by a galaxy of eminent scholars. University at Naushar became chief centre of higher learning, and the whole literary and intellectual activity revolved round it. It was located close to the royal place, and Sultan paid frequent

[31] N. K. Zutshi, *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir: An Age of Enlightenment*, Lucknow: Nupur Prakashan, 1976, p. 192.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Nizam-ud-din Wani, *Muslim Rule in Kashmir: 1554-1586*, Jammu: Jay Kay Book House, 1987, pp. 246-48.
[34] Mohmmad Ishaq Khan, *Perspectives on Kashmir: Historical Dimensions*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 1983, p. 15.
[35] Zutshi, *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir*, pp. 192-93.
[36] Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, p. 182.

visits there to benefit from the erudition of Mualana Kabir.[37] A large endowment comprising several villages created under the trusteeship of Maulana for meeting the expenses of university. Institution is reported to have flourished till the middle of the seventeenth century.[38]

Another centre of learning was the hospice managed by Shaikh Ismail Khubraviya which became so celebrated as to attract students from such far off places as Herat and Transoxiania. A number of Islamic subjects like *hadith, fiqh* and *tafsir* were taught in this institution.[39] Sultan also set up a college at Zaingiri near the royal place for the diffusion of the learning in the kingdom. Another educational institution was established at Sir in Dachanpur, near Anantnag, with Mullah Ghazi Khan as its Principal.[40]

Zain-ul-Abidin passion for the promotion of learning is reflected in his donation of six lakhs of rupees to the chief of a neighbouring friendly principality of Sailkot for an institution named Madrasat-ul-Ulum. Equally enthusiastic was also his queen who donated her most valuable necklace for the cause of education.[41] Zain-ul-Abidin's age witnessed significant development in the field of medical and technical education. Abu Fazal tells us that Sultan often personally administrated medicinal remedies. Shirya Bhatta, royal physician, was unrivalled in the science of medicine in his age, and the special favours which he received from Sultan were a source of great encouragement to the study of medicine.[42] Zain-ul-Abidin made official arrangements for imparting training technical skills. Particular reference is to the import of expertise are available. We have testimony of Sayyid Ali that Sultan procured one or two experts from each category of technicians and artisans from Samarqand. He particularly mentions the paper makers, carpet wavers and book binding.[43]

Advancement of higher learning was greatly aided by the establishment of a big library, which Zain-ul-Abidin built with much effort. He sought learned works both in Sanskrit and in Persian where they were to be found. He resorted to the native land many of the Sanskrit works which had been taken away by Hindu scholars while fleeing from

[37] Ibid.
[38] Zutshi, *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir*, p. 193.
[39] Shafi Ahmad Qadri, *Kashmiri Sufism*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 2002, p. 289.
[40] Dar, *Religious Institutions of Kashmir*, p. 36.
[41] Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, p. 182.
[42] Zutshi, *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir*, pp. 193-94.
[43] Ibid.

Kashmir to escape the religious persecutions of Sultan Sikander.[44] Sultan extended educational facilities to all without any distinction of caste, creed or social status, a fact which would bring credit to many contemporary societies. Hostels were established for providing free accommodation of students. Education was free and the students were given stipends and books free of charge. They were also sometimes sent abroad for technical training at government expense. The result of this educational reorganisation was that even the families which never dreamt of learning, produced men, who through the favour of king, became known for their erudition. But nothing seems to have done in the field of female education. Royal ladies received some sort of education, but they too were confined to palaces.[45]

Sultan Hussian Shah (1472-84) himself a well read man[46] also founded a great college and sought company of the pious and the learned. He gave Zainpur as a *jagir* for the college which was known as Dar-ul-Shifa and was constructed in the northern corner of Koh-i-Maran near Khanqah-i-Kubravi.[47] It is stated that this college was established at the instance of the Sultan's *pir* (the spiritual guide) Baba Ismail. A library was also built and a free hostel was attached to the college. Wandhama, Haran, Darind and Birhama villages were donated for the maintenance of this college. Sultan patronised a host of Sanskrit and Persian scholars.[48]

Chak Sultans, another dynasty of medieval Kashmir, also patronised the learning activities. Hassan Shah Chak (1563-70) opened a college at Hasan Augan locally known as "Darul Shifa" the institution was locally known as Khanqh-i-Naqushbandi.[49]

Mughal governors who ruled the Kashmir also made significant contribution to the educational process. Mulla Haider Allama established a Drasgah-i-Mulla Haider during the reign of Jahangir, in Mohallah Gojwara. It was a magnificent seat of learning.[50] Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi founded the Madrasa-i-Khwaja-i-Naqsband in the reign of Shah Jahan in Khawaja Bazar near Khanqah Faiz Panah. Prince

[44] Ibid., p. 195
[45] Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, pp. 182-85.
[46] According to Srivara, a contemporary Sanskrit poet, the king acquired a great proficiency in the religious and literary books of Hindus and learnt the six schools of philosophy and different works of these schools. Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 22.
[47] Dar, *Religious Institutions of Kashmir*, p. 37.
[48] Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, pp. 183-87.
[49] Dar, *Religious Institutions of Kashmir*, p. 36.
[50] Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, op. cit., pp. 184.

Dara Shikoh will be remembered for having established the residential school of Sufism, near Zaberwan mountain higher up the Chashma-i-Shahi. The building is now in ruins and is called Pari Mahal (fairies palace).[51]Madrasa-i-Sayed Manur came into existence in 1713 under the patronage of Nawab Inayat Khan, *Nizam* (governor) of Kashmir.

Afghans who succeeded Mughals took little interest in educational development of state. They suppressed the common masses and have no interest in social and economic welfare of Kashmir.[52] Sikhs remained in power in Kashmir for a short period of only two decades. Firstly, the period during which they ruled was too short to have brought any educational change, secondly, they succeed to a regime (Afghans) which had thoroughly emasculated Kashmiris and put them under constant fright by their barbarous, cruel and usurious exactions. So in this period no worth mentioned progress was made in education.[53]

2.1.2 Aims and Objectives of Education in Medieval Kashmir

In the spiritually minded countries of East, chief aim of education has been to produce religious man. In Muslim India, it was to bring out the latent faculties of students, to discipline the forces of their intellect and to equip them with all that was essential for their moral and material improvement. It was, in other words, the formation of character.[54] Education was regarded as a preparation of life after death. Hence religion formed the basic constituent of entire course of education.[55] Every *maktab* or *madrasa* had a mosque attached to it, and in every mosque there were separate classes for the instruction of students in sciences other than religious, so that secular education might go hand in hand with religious instruction.[56]

Teacher was expected to be careful about the moral manners of the students and to educate them in the science of social manners such as obedience and respect for elders. At *maktabs*, which formed the elementary stage of religious education, children trained in the art of daily observance of formal religious practices and at *madrasas* regular subjects were taught to given religious knowledge and speak and write in Arabic language.

[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, pp. 30-32.
[54] Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, pp. 27-28.
[55] Dar, *Religious Institutions of Kashmir*, p. 36.
[56] Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, p. 28.

Students who completed their higher education prepared as jurist and *Imams* (religious preacher) besides grammarians, historians.[57]

2.1.3 Curriculum and Technique of Teaching

In the primary stage the curriculum, comprised reading, writing and elementary arithmetic and in the secondary and higher stages it included the following branches of knowledge: ethics, divinity, law, rituals, agricultural, etc. For Hindus their own national books were prescribed. In higher education subjects like mathematics was introduced. Mostly students orally solve difficult sums with utmost accuracy and facility. Astronomy and astrology were also encouraged. Besides, philosophy, history and geography were also taught in order to know the physical features of Kashmir and its neighbouring territories.[58]

Sheikh Yakub Sarfi, a renowned religious scholar of Kashmir committed the whole Quran to memory when he was just seven.[59] Of course group discussions were also organised after the usual school hours. Sometimes the assemblies of allocation were participated by teachers and students alike. Teaching courses were enriched by practical socio-religious education. For example, the practice of daily prayers was demonstrated to students. The teachers who were assigned the task of teaching at *madrasas* were known as *mualim* or *mudarris* or *ustad*. Mullah Ahmad Allama and Mullah Kabir Nahvi were *Sheik-ul-Islam* in the reign of Sultan Shahb-ud-din and Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin; it was the highest title in teaching.[60]

Selection of teachers was done on the basis of merit, as teachers were supposed to see the masters of so many subjects and familiarised with spiritual moral practices. Best teachers from foreign countries were also attracted.[61] In the normal course of education there did not exist any independent scheme of examination. However, student teacher relationship was so close that a teacher would adjudge the ability of his students over a long period of time. There was no time limit for passing certain examination and as now. Teacher in charge himself conducted the examination of his class and promoted the successful students to the next higher step in the leader of education. Apart from *sanads* (certificates) stipends or scholarships, *inams* (prizes) and *tamghas* (medals) were awarded

[57] Dar, *Religious Institutions of Kashmir*, p. 36.
[58] Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, p. 28.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid., pp. 37-38.
[61] Ibid.

to the brilliant alumni in proportion to their merits. In short, the system of examination in vogue was simple, less shown, more successful.[62]

2.1.4 Maintaining Seats of Learning

In order to meet the expenses of *maktabs* and *madrasas*, Muslim rulers endowed villages or jagirs for this purpose. The village of Soibug, Khoihama and more villages were assigned for maintenance of the *madrasas* which were established during the time of Sultan Qutub-ud-din. At the time of Sultan Sikander the *pargana* of Nagam was declared endowed for the expenses of college and hostel. As discussed, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin also endowed a number of villages for running of the university at Naushar, Srinagar.[63] Apart from this there were other sources of income both from students and teachers. Individual enterprises like charity of nobles, was also a source of income for the management of the institutions.

2.2 Education in Early Dogra Period: 1846-1885

Early Dogra rulers, placed at the head of the newly established state of Jammu and Kashmir, did not intervene in the educational system. Gulab Singh (1846-57), the first Dogra Maharaja, was too busy in consolidating his domains to pay much attention to educational status of his subjects.[64] Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-85) the son and successor of Gulab Singh, was first to take an active interest in education.[65] He was endowed with a scholarly bent of mind which found expression in lively patronage of learning and art. His personal interest in the progress of education was not confined to the state, but had a wider field. He donated liberally to Sanskrit institutions in Banaras, and established a big *Pathshala* at Kashi for which all expenses were borne by him.[66]

System of education that prevailed under his rule continued to be dictated by indigenous functional concerns, although Ranbir Singh encouraged religious education through a study of classical languages−−Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. However, in keeping in with the religious tenor of his rule, Ranbir Singh's ultimate aim was the spread

[62] Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, pp. 24-26.
[63] Dar, *Religious Institutions of Kashmir*, pp. 36-39.
[64] Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*: *Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Permanent Black 2003, p. 172; S. L. Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 32.
[65] Sukhdev Singh Charak, *Life and Times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh: 1857-1885*, Jammu: Jay Kay Book House, 1980, p. 243.
[66] Ibid.

classical Hindu learning among his Dogra subjects. Thus the shrine he consecrated to the worship of Rama, known as the Ragunath temple, became a centre of classical Sanskrit learning where several hundred Brahmin pupils were trained in various branches of Sanskrit scholarship.[67]

Ranbir Singh revived old system of education on the pattern of *madrasa* and *Pahshala. Pathshalas* for learning of Sanskrit, Hindi scriptures and law, grammar, logic, science and medicine were established at Jammu and Uttarbehani, on the principles of ancient *mathas* and *ashrams*. These institutions were residential and also admitted day scholars and were maintained by donation from the Maharaja, the royal family and well to-do-citizens.[68] Education at all levels was free and all the students were given stipends in the shape of free books and free boarding and lodging. Ranbir Singh founded a well equipped *Pathshala* in Jammu in 1857, known as Ranbir Ragunath *Pathshala*, located in the premises of Ragunath temple Jammu for the teaching of Hindi and Sanskrit. The teaching of Sanskrit was put on a special footing and in addition to the best available local talent the Maharaja went to India personally to request erudite *Pandits* to man his *Pathshala*. The instruction included the teaching of Vedas, grammar, poetics, logic etc.[69]

Dr George Buhler who visited the state in 1875 in search of Sanskrit manuscripts says in his report, "The Maharaja was good enough to take me to his *madrasa* and to allow me to examine some of the pupils in his presence. The active manner in which he took part in the examination showed that he was well acquainted with subjects taught and that he took a real interest in the work of education. This *madrasa* which is chief educational institution in Kashmir contains besides a Sanskrit college where poetry, grammar, philosophy are studied, Persian classes and a school of industry. Mathematics is also taught, according to a Dogri translation of Lilavati. I examined several classes in Sanskrit; Euclid of Algebra and most of did very fairly."[70]

Maharaja provided liberally for the growth of *Pathshalas* which functioned on the lines of ancient *ashrams*. His ambition was to make Jammu a centre of learning in Sanskrit in India just as Kashmir had been in days gone by. Under the Dharmath charter it

[67] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 172.
[68] Charak, *Life and Times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, p. 245.
[69] Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 34.
[70] George Bhular quoted in Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, pp. 34-35.

is clearly defined that in the *Pathshalas* at Ragunath temple Jammu and Uttarbani, arrangement is to be made free boarding and lodging and books for one thousand students and among the translators of books ten men should be such as can translate Arabic and Persian books in Sanskrit.[71] The *Pathshalas* were also centres of high Hindu learning. As many as 2100 boarder scholars were admitted in the institutions. These institutions were thrown open to scholars from the adjoining regions and from all over India, like Punjab, Tran-Sutlej territory and other parts of India.[72]

To keep students active in learning and to keep enable them to come up to the standard, a comprehensive system of periodical check up and examinations were framed. Examinations were held in three different periods––monthly––at the end of each month all the *adhiyapaks* and *adhishtatas* gathered together and examined scholars. At the end of the each such test, to each scholar was given a certificate showing as to how he has stood in the examination. Half-yearly examination was conducted in the presence of the members of the council. If a scholar wished to commence a new book, he was examined in the book already finished by him. Annual examinations were conducted at the Ragunath temple complex, Jammu and list of examinees, recommended by the teachers as candidates, was framed out of which a group of 25 was examined everyday on the date given to each group of students in advance.

Regulations made the *adhiyapak* responsible for any short coming of the scholar in the reading. At the time of paying stipends to the scholars a declaration in writing had to be taken from the teacher to the effect, "that he has read so much in this month, and if, at the time of examination he should not prove such as declared by me, I shall refund the stipend of the scholar."[73] Thus it was the responsibility of the teacher to point out deficiencies of his students from time to time. If a scholar proved unfit for study after a trial of six months he was turned out from the *pathshala*.

If a teacher had not disclosed the unfitness of the scholar, he had to pay the expenses that might have incurred in teaching a scholar.[74] At the end of each course degrees and medals were awarded to the successful and deserving students after the

[71] Ibid.
[72] Amar Singh Chohan, *Development of Education in Jammu and Kashmir State: 1846-1947*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1998, p. 2.
[73] Quoted in Chohan, *Development of Education in Jammu and Kashmir State.*
[74] Charak, *Life and Times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, p.254.

examination under the seals of Shri Ragunathji and the signatures of the members of the examining board. The monthly report of students was also checked and the progress report of students was sent to their guardians and parents.[75] It seems that there were seven courses of the whole syllabi which had to be mastered by a student during his full tenure of education. At the end of each course successful students were given different rewards of cash and medals of different value on the basis of merit.[76]

Syllabi taught in those *Pathshalas* were comprehensive and included all types of Indological studies. In addition to four Vedas, *vyakaran* (grammar), and *shastras*, the subjects included mathematics, astrology, demonstrative science, and occult science. Both the *mimasas* (system of philosophy) *nyay* (logic) *sankh* and *yogi*, *vedant*, *Dharamshastras* and *mantar shastra*, *jyotish* and *chikista* were included in the *shastric* studies. A number of text books were prescribed on each of these subjects according to the standard of each of the subjects according to the standard of each of the seven courses taught in the *Pathshalas*.[77] A number of teachers, specialists in each study, were appointed on good salaries. Students had to study each subject of their respective courses with the teacher specialising in the respective subjects. Teachers were placed in the five grades according to which their salaries were fixed as under−−first grade, Rs 100 p/m; second grade, Rs 80; third grade Rs 60 and fourth Rs 30.[78]

One institution of higher learning was established in Jammu and one in Srinagar with 400 and 500 scholars on rolls respectively. The institutions were affiliated to the newly established university in Punjab. The courses of study included English, *shastri* or Sanskrit, law, vernaculars, Persian and medicine, both *ayervedic* and unani system.[79]

English was taught up to matriculation. One student was sent to take his middle school examination in 1883 and he was declared successful four students were preparing to sit for the matriculation examination of Punjab University. Sanskrit was taught according to the Punjab University syllabus for *prajnya* (intuitive knowledge) course.[80] The vernacular department imparted education up to middle standard and the students of

[75] Ibid., p.251.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Chohan, *Development of Education in Jammu and Kashmir State*, p.4.
[78] Charak, *Life and Times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, p. 254.
[79] Report Majmui (Urdu), Government of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1882-83.
[80] Ibid

this department has acquired good knowledge of Persian also. The law department taught laws in force in state. In 1882 students were taught revenue and *patwar* laws. In the following year all other laws were also expected to be taught, successful students were being absorbed in the state services. During the two years, thirty successful students were given appointments.

The *ayurvedic* department imparted education in *ayurvedic* medicine. They were given practical lessons in government hospitals. Four successful students of the department were appointed as *vaids* in the *wazarats* and tehsils. The *tibia* department was imparting education in the *unani* system of medicine. They were expected to complete their course after one year and qualify themselves for appointments in the *wazarats* and tehsils. The Persian department was imparting education up to *munshi fazil* (higher Persian) standard of Punjab University. The successful students of this department were appointed in various offices. The Arabic department imparted education up to *moulvi alim* (middle Arabic) standard of Punjab University.[81]

Maharaja Ranbir Singh established the first printing press in Kashmir. It was known as Vidya Vilas press and was located at Jammu. Maharaja is credited with founding of translation bureau for the translation of books from various languages. Pandit Ishwar Kaul was appointed as head of translation department at Srinagar and Pandit Jagdhar at Jammu.[82]

The idea behind it was to prepare readymade books for scholars reading in various schools which he got opened in the state. In this way books on geography, geology, history and other subjects were translated in to Hindi and Sanskrit. Arabic books were translated in to Hindi as also in Persian. Many Sanskrit texts in *sharda* script were translated in to *devangri* script.

About the translation bureau Sir Aural Stein says, "Translation into Hindi of standard works, selected from wide range of *dharsanas*, the *dhrma* and other *sastras* was and partly printed with the object of spreading knowledge of classical Hindu learning among the Maharaja's Dogri subjects. Again Persian and Arabic works on historical philosophical and other subjects were translated into Sanskrit with the assistance of

[81] Ibid.
[82] Seru, Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 33.

competent *Moulvis*, in a spirit of true enlightenment desired to promote between the representatives of Hindu and Mohammedan scholarship."[83] Sanskrit religious texts like Mahabharata, Bhagwatgita and Upanishads were got translated into Persian. A full text of Shimad Bhagwat (12 parts) was translated by Pandit Narain Joo into Persian in 1868. The Persian poet Saadi's famous book *Gulistan* was calligraphed in original with its transliteration in *devanagri* script and translation in Hindi.[84]

The result of this brisk literary activity was piling up of large collection of manuscripts and printed works of great value, in the form of the establishment of manuscript library at Jammu by maharaja. In the first place scholars entrusted with the job were required to turn their attention chiefly to the purchase of manuscripts from other parts of India. The beginning appears to have been made by Pandit Asananda who under the Maharaja's orders preceded on successive occasion to Banaras where he spent a sum amounting to over Rs. 15,000 in procuring manuscripts. Thousands of manuscripts piled up in the library which not only provided literary materials for the teaching institutions established on the traditional lines of Indian scholarship, but also offered an incentive to the scholars for higher research and inter-linguistic translating and original completion.[85]

2.2.1 Patronising Classical Learning

Revivalism of classical learning especially the Sanskrit learning, patronising the learned Sanskrit scholars and *Pandits* and establishment of grand institutions of Sanskrit learning under Maharaja Ranbir Singh, is to be seen as a relationship between patron and client. Sanskrit as a system was ascribed a natural role of special, superior sanctity to the teacher, with a host of rituals and ideas to support this sacredness.[86]

Rulers and the elite patronised Sanskrit education because that bestowed legitimacy on them. The Brahman, the Sanskrit teachers were revered in articulation of *guru.*[87] From all written and oral accounts we may say that though (predominantly Brahmin) scholars and (chiefly Kshatriyas) rulers were interdependent in that the former depend on the latter for material support and the latter depend on the former for social legitimacy, as far as the demonstration of hierarchy went, the scholar, the *Pandit* or

[83] Stein quoted in S. L. Seru, Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*.
[84] Charak, *Life and Times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, pp. 251-60
[85] Ibid.
[86] Nita Kumar, *Lessons from Schools*: *The History of Education in Banaras*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000, p. 38.
[87] Ibid., pp. 53-55

vidwan, whether Brahman or not, was always given precedence. Whereas, the *Pandit's dharma* was simply the pursuit of knowledge, the ruler's *dharma* was to support and honour him. This involved a range of practices like inviting teachers on important occasions, seating him high symbolically, giving him gifts etc. The Maharaja of Banaras, Darbanga and Maharaja Ranbir Singh were regarded as outstanding in the fulfilling their *dharma.*[88]

There had been many changes in the relationship of *Pandit* and a *raja*. But theoretically the superiority of *Pandit* has been maintained. We have an interesting tale of the Maharaja Ranbir Singh and Pandit Shivkumar Shastri of Banaras (b.1857). The Maharaja had organised a *Sabha* of *Pandits* to the latter arrived in a palanquin (passenger conveyance). As he was about to alight the following words escaped from the *Raja's* lips: 'This place was not so far. Shastriji could well have walked. Palanquins are appropriate for Rajas and Maharajas.....'[89] As these harsh words reached Shastriji's ears, he changed his mind and returned home. The Maharaja was extremely repentant but helpless. At Shivkumar Shastri's departure all the scholars arose and left, saying, 'how can there be a learned assembly without Shastriji?' the Maharaja had to beg forgiveness the next day, and even assent to some tough conditions before Shivkumar relented.[90] So this kind of relationship between *guru* and *Raja* remained intact until the British made some drastic changes in the whole set of the learning process.[91]

2.3 Indigenous System of Education in Kashmir Valley during the Second-half of the Nineteenth Century

Indigenous system of Kashmir has always been in connection with the mosques, where boys are taught to read Arabic so that they may be able to read the Quran, but necessary to understand it.[92] The *maktabs* and *madrasas* of earlier time remained dominant, with slight changes in educational system of Kashmir.[93] Likewise the Brahmans have their schools called *Pathshalas* where Sanskrit was taught so that the

[88] Ibid.
[89] Baldev Upadhyaya, *Kashi ki Panditya Parampara*, (The Pandit Tradition of Kashi), quoted in Nita Kumar, *Lessons from Schools*, op. cit., p. 55.
[90] Ibid.
[91] British challenged the old hierarchy of upper cases, since there was a new aristocracy, an aristocracy that did not have to worry about patronising Pandits. They just need the support of colonial government.
[92] C. E. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade: A Description of the Beauties of the Country, the Life, Habits and Humour of its Inhabitants, and an Account of the Gradual but Steady Rebuilding of a Once Downtrodden People*, Srinagar: Ali Mohammad and Sons, 2006, p. 241.
[93] Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 160-61.

boys may be able to read the sacred Hindu books. To these languages, Arabic and Persian[94] was added, and a certain amount of arithmetic was taught the scholars range from the age of five years to sixteen or eighteen. They are all taught together, in a single room in winter and in the verandas in summer, but they may be divided into groups.[95]

Table 2.1 Leading Pathshalas and Madrasas in Srinagar in 1872

Madrasa/Pathshala	No. of Students	Sanskrit Readers	Vedic Readers	English Readers	Persian Readers	Arabic Readers
Pathshala of Srinagar	75	----	75	----	----	----
Madrasa of Nawakadal	192	----	----	----	192	----
Madrasa of Maharaj Gung	136	----	----	----	68	68
Madrasa of Rainawari Below Hariprabhat	71	----	----	----	71	----
Madrasa of Basantbagh	154	----	----	----	154	----
Madrasa of Aisha Kadal	51	----	----	----	51	----

Source: Khan, *History of Srinagar*

From the above description it is obvious that the city of Srinagar, which was main hub of Kashmir, was backward in education. In the above mentioned institutions no one is found as English reader. We can also infer from the above figures that Persian was dominantly read in this period, it is because of its utility, as it was the official language of the state.

Even the administrative report of 1873, which, the first of its kind in Jammu and Kashmir State, testifies to the educational backwardness of the city population, not to talk of rural population. The report makes mention of government schools only in the city and these are named as *Pathshala*, Nawakadal school, Maharajgung school and the Basant Bagh school.[96] It is further stated that the expenditure on education in Srinagar amounted

[94] Persian, introduced in Kashmir by Muslim rulers, continued to remain official language till 1907 when it was replaced by Urdu. Ibid.
[95] Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*.
[96] Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 161.

to the sum of Rs, 36,372. The breakup of expenditure for the year, 1872-73 is given below.[97]

Table 2.2 Expenditure on Education during the Year 1872-73

Item	Amount
Salary of Teachers	11,875
Inspection and Establishment	1,567
Free Ration to Students	2,268
Scholarships	18,661
Prizes	40
Miscellaneous	8,22
Cost of Books	1,138
Total	36,372

Source: Report Majmui (Urdu), Government of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1873-74

2.3.1 Characteristics of Education during this Period

Often there are not enough books to go round, so boys club together to look over one book. The books are as a rule ancient volumes belonging to the boy's parents, these books are generally much the worse for wear, torn, and smeared all over with grease and black and often mistakable signs of curry and rice are upon them. Every scholar brings with him a *takti* about 12/7 inches, which is a slate and is made of wooden, a bottle filled with chalk and water, which is his ink bottle, a pen made of a stalk of Indian corn, and lastly a piece of glass, generally the bottom part of a brandy bottle, with which to polish his wooden slate so that it may have a smooth surface on which the pen can run easily.[98]

It takes a lot of time of school hours in cleaning the chalk writing the boards and then polishing them. "It is quite hard work," observes Biscoe, "which provides exercises for them, which is the only exercise the boys ever get when at school, as athletics are not for the gentlemen, scholars are the gentlemen!"[99]

Memorising, a typical characteristics of medieval education remained a main aspect of the education system, to quote Biscoe, "when you enter the classroom you will see the thirty to fifty scholars squatting on the floor in small groups, swinging backwards

[97] Report Majmui (Urdu), Government of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1873-74.
[98] Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 241-42
[99] Ibid.

and forwards as they commit the sentences to memory by shouting them out. As every boy is learning a different word or sentence you can imagine what the babel of sounds is like. So stirring is the sight and sound that you feel inclined to join in and shout out some nursery rhyme or something in keeping with the bedlam."[100]

Commenting on the hygienic condition of class rooms, Biscoe was so distressed that he wanted the schools to add the subject of hygiene to the curriculum. "Before entering the school room", Biscoe articulates, "Your nose will have communicated to you the fact that there are plenty of dirty clothes next at hand, and on entering your eyes will corroborate this fact. The teacher has certainly been most successful in keeping his scholars from the water."[101]

If it happens to be winter time, when all the windows are fast closed, and every boy plus the teacher has *kangri* (fire pot) under his *pheran* (long gown), you will have no desire to spend unnecessary time over the inspection of school. If it is the summer time when you pay the school a visit it is not at all unlikely that you will see the teacher comfortably tucked up in the corner of the room fast asleep, and the boys not making so much noise as usual, as they are hoping that his sleep may be a very long one, with no bad dreams to disturb his dreams.[102]

For a *pandit* (Hindus in Kashmir), the education course in *tsathal* (indigenous name of *pathshala*) began with *sharda* character in which boy learnt his religious duties. A small percentage of the boys remained satisfied with this, but the large majority carried on with Persian for the advantage which they expected to gain from it. A few devoted themselves to the *sastras*.[103]

In Kashmir there was large number of private agencies for imparting instruction existing in indigenous schools. Some of schools were well attended and self-supporting, and contained as many as one hundred boys. Generally the teacher was a *pandit* with a fair knowledge of Persian, who taught under his own roof and was content with fees

[100] Ibid.
[101] Teachers were requested by the parents to keep away their children from the river, for the fear of drowning. For that purpose, a dye was printed on the legs of boys to prevent them from going into water, for boys none of them can swim they might get drowned. Ibid. pp. 242-44.
[102] Ibid.
[103] P. N. K. Bamzai, *Socio-economic History of Kashmir: 1836-1925*, Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 2007, p. 353.

varying from two to four *annas* (equal to 1/16 of rupee) per month, according to the means of parents.[104] There being no normal schools, all intending teachers had to pick up their knowledge in the same way as others. They had no method and taught only in an imperfect but in an unreasonable way. They began with the alphabet, went on to easy stories of two syllables, and after hurrying through them took up a reader like *Karima*.[105] But the student had hardly a chance of mastering the alphabet to say nothing of their ability to understand new words and phrases; so he simply learnt by ear.[106] After *Karima* he would be given the *Gulistan*[107] and *Bostan*[108] and after going through a few chapters of each, students would be called on to explain the substance in their own tongue, a process which their previous training made him equal.[109]

The *Sikandarnama*[110] was also favourite book with these books an ordinary student finished his course. Those who desired to advance further read, *Sakinama*, *Shrin Khusroo, Abul Fazal, Tahir Wahid* and books of same stamp.[111] Practice of letter writing and calligraphy and a little arithmetic were only other studies pursued in these *tsathalas*. A practical knowledge book-keeping was left to be acquired in office. Education was generally stopped at the age of sixteen years, though there were a few cases in which it was continued, a year or two longer.[112] Besides his monthly fee *akhoond* (teacher) received occasional small presents, either in cash or kind as, for instance, when a boy

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[104]Hari Om, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir: A Study in the Spread of Education and Consciousness, 1857- 1925*, New Delhi: Archives Publishers and Distributors, 1986, p.22.

[105] *Karima* is a Persian verse written by a famous thirteen century poet, Sheikh Saadi of Shiraz Iran. It is an elaborated moral description containing a range of lessons on morality. It begins with the praise of God and Prophet,[PBUH] one of the lessons in the book is about the importance of acquiring knowledge. According to Saadi, it is only true knowledge which helps us in knowing the God and shows us the way to heaven. It denounces the ignorance and injustice. Mukhtar Ali Bni Mohmmad Ali, *Karimai Saadi*, Kutub Khana Imdadiya Devband, Uttar Pradesh, pp. 2-7.

[106] Bamzai, *Socio-economic History of Kashmir*, p. 254.

[107] Also written by Saadi, during the middle of thirteen century, it was the one of the popular Persian books of the time even in western circles. The book deals with virtually every major issue faced by mankind, with both optimism and subtle satire.

[108] It was Saadi's first book, contains the fruits of Saadi's long experience and his judgments upon life, and is illustrated by a vast collection of anecdotes. It includes accounts of Saadi's travels and his analysis of human psychology. He often mentions his accounts with fervour and advice.

[109]Om, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir*, pp. 22-24.

[110] An important Persian verse written by Nizami, Ganjavi of Azerbaijan, Sikandarnama *The Book of Alexander the Great*. Offering an unusual perspective on the life of Alexander the Great Nizami's work is both biography as well as philosophical tome, a massive work written in verse.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Bamzai, *Socio -economic History of Kashmir*, p. 254.

began a new book or when he has married, or was invested with the sacred thread, or in the case of a Muslim was circumcised.[113]

Most severe punishment was *falak* that is that is say suspension by the heels from the ceiling of the classroom by a tight chord. Whipping was also administered sometimes. As regards the female education, Charles Girdlesstone, an English official in Kashmir during 1871 wrote that one or two attempts were made at Srinagar to establish schools for girls, but the experiment failed.[114]

Though the traditional education in Kashmir declined gradually, but did not fade away from the scene. In fact, it continued till the Dogra regime ended in 1947, these schools became the aided institutes by getting funds from the government. We have a number of evidences, which shows that this system of education continues for a long time.[115] Muslims, majority community of Kashmir, were the mainly getting education in these institutions even after the introduction of modern education as these types of institutions provide mainly religious education including the moral education. *Nam-i-aqq,*[116] *pandnama,*[117] *badia manzoom*[118] were other Persian texts which were taught during this period. These institutions were mostly run by individuals either having some nominal fees or free. They do not have any particular time table usually begins education at early morning up to 11 p.m.[119] Persian as not only confined to the Muslims, Pandits also were great lovers of Persian education. Pandit Ram Ukhun, a resident of Vessu Village in Anantnag has started a Persian *maktab* in the village where both Hindus and Muslims boys got education in Persian.[120]

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter we have discussed traditional educational system of education of Kashmir, which remained intact from the earliest times. Kashmir being the oldest seat of Sanskrit saw the development of number of institutions and intellectual boost up. During

[113] Ibid.
[114] Om, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir*, p.23.
[115] I have conducted interviews to a number of well read persons who have been contemporaries to the Dogra Raj in Kashmir. Almost all of them have studies in *maktabs* and *madrasas*. Interview with Mr. Bahar Shah (b. 1930). Retired as Tehsil Education Officer of Anantnag, got *maktab* education from his father and then went to a *madrasa* to a nearby place.
[116] It is a tract in verse by Saadi, dealing with the rules for the fulfilment of ritual obligations of ritual purity, or fasting and *nimaz* (prayer).
[117] Written by Faridudin Attar, is about the moral and religious aspects.
[118] Written by a anonymous author, providing a statement of different tracts of life.
[119] Interview with Mr Abdul Rashid Shah (b. 1940), himself a teacher got masters in Persian.
[120] Interview with Bahar Shah.

the medieval period, when Muslims ruled Kashmir, Persian was patronised since it became the official language of state. But that does not mean that Sanskrit was underestimated. Some of the Sultans particularly Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin gave equal status to the growth of Sanskrit learning. That is why we see in his court a number of scholars were Sanskrit luminaries.

Mosques, *maktabs*, *madrasas* and *pathshalas* played a front role in the promotion of education among people. No doubt they spread education which had a religious bias. With the passage they introduced some secular subjects in their curriculum to adjust with the new challenges. Though Sultans took personal interest in the education, but there was not any separate department of education for imparting education to the people. In fact education spread more with the individual efforts. The motives of the private persons who patronised education might be different. Some might have encouraged it just to satisfy the kings, while others have genuine love for the spread of education. Without attributing any motive, it may be said that splendid work was done by private individuals, both Muslims and Hindus, during this period. The activism in teaching learning saw a halt during the seventeenth century, when Kashmir came under the clutches of Afghans and later the Sikhs governors. Both of them did little for the aesthetic upliftment of Kashmir. Consequently, the education of the people had remained in background.

Gulab Singh founder of Jammu and Kashmir state was also least contributor to the educational process. But his son and successor, Ranbir Singh patronised learning of classical languages—Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Number of educational institutions in the entire state in 1872-73 remained at 44.[121] Apart from meagre government funding to educational institutions, there was no effort on the part of state to promote education among the masses of the population, which, far removed from the scholarly activities of the Dogra court, continued its involvement in community and cast based educational institutions. Although Maharaja Ranbir Singh donated a handsome amount of Rs, 62,500.00 in 1869 for the establishment of Punjab University, his donations were far in excess of those of the Maharajas, Chiefs and people of the Punjab.[122] The irony of the situation is that it was not until the early twentieth century that Dogra Maharajas would

[121] Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 52
[122] Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the Making of Kashmir*. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003, p. 35.

fund the establishment of institutions for higher education in their own state of Jammu and Kashmir.

In fact, the government was opposed to the school established by Christian missionary society in Srinagar in 1880, which have only five pupils.[123] It is obvious then that during this period the state did not consider education either its responsibility or a priority.

In the subsequent chapter we will see the Kashmir state witness the transition from medieval to the modern phase in terms of social, political, economic and cultural activities. So education was no exception. Christian missionaries, initially restricted, started a new system of education which really brought a drastic change in Kashmir. One of the interesting developments of the period was the intervention of British in the internal affairs of the state, which had a number of repercussions that needs a thorough discussion.

[123] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 173.

Chapter III

Relation between the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir and the colonial state was a complex and evolving one in the last few decades of the 19th century and the initial decades of 20th century. Colonial state intervened in affairs of Kashmir from time to time. In fact immediately after its sale there were active voices against this sale-deed in the metropolis, being most strategically located in the extreme north, British were always eager to control its affairs, so in this section we will discuss British intervention in Kashmir state and its impact on Kashmiri society especially on education.

3.1 Stages of British Intervention in Kashmir

Maharaja Ranbir Sing died in 1885, and he was succeeded by his eldest son Pratap Singh, unfit in character, small in stature and sickly in health, was apparently not up to the new political gymnastics required of him. Due to court intrigues[1] new Maharaja's reign saw many political upheavals. This provided an opportunity to British to intervene in Kashmir in an active manner. Ranbir Singh was reluctant to name Pratap Singh as his successor, as he was leaning towards the younger raja, Raja Amar Singh. So British were successful in forcing their terms on new ruler. Thus the intervention which was started immediately after the treaty of Amritsar culminated in 1885 when British appointed their first Resident in Kashmir.

Sale deed[2] of Kashmir draws flakes in home circles. According to critics, British should have retained with them the "happy Valley" after it had been ceded to Dogras. Writing in 1847, Dugsal, described the sale of Kashmir as "one of those political mistakes that we make in a hurry to appease the demons of economy, or of Exeter hall, and repent at our leisure, or regret the fatality of the national tradition, that we threw away by diplomacy what we won by the sword.[3] Similar remarks were expressed by Wakefield, who was disgusted with this sale deed and called the British as "Nation of

[1] Jogendra Chandra Bose, a member of Maharaja's court has elaborated the situation which the new Maharaja faced. For details see, J. C. Bose, *Cashmere and its Prince: An Authentic Exposition of the Recent Imbroglio in Cashmere*, Calcutta: The Bee Press, 1889, pp. 22-25.

[2] As mentioned earlier Kashmir Valley was sold by British to Maharaja Gulab Singh in lieu of seventy five lakhs.

[3] Dugsal, *Letters from India and Kashmir, 1874*, quoted in, M .L. Kapur, *Kashmir Sold and Snatched*, Srinagar: Jay Kay Publishers, 2009, p.9.

shopkeepers", who sold the fair province to Gulab Singh for the paltry and insignificant sum of 75 lakhs of rupees.[4]

But stake holders at the time of sale deed justified their act on certain grounds. They argued that Jammu and Kashmir taken from Lahore *Darbar* and subsequently given to Gulab Singh was not for the sake of money, but for a major political reason i.e. to weaken Sikh power. "In 1846 the East India Company", writes Francis Younghusband "had no thought or incriminations whatever to extend their possession. All they wished was to curb their powerful and aggressive neighbours, and they thought they would best do this, and at the same time reward a man who had shown his favourable disposition towards them, by depriving the Sikhs of the hilly country, and by handing over to a ruler of a different race."[5]

Governor General Lord Hardinge also was aware about the importance of sale deed. According to him the Dogra's will not only counterpoise the Sikh power but also combination of the two Hindu powers Sikhs and Dogras, would make it difficult for Muslims of the North-West to threaten the security of the Indian frontiers on that side.[6] Thus it is clear that the masters of the situation in1846 have no grounds to regret this sale of Kashmir to Maharaja. This transaction was the result of a deliberate, thoroughly discussed and well laid out policy.

The 1846 treaty gave Maharaja Gulab Singh full autonomy both in internal and external affairs. But it was seen immediately after treaty that British government of India started interfering in the internal affairs of the Maharaja. In 1852, an officer named as 'Officer on Special Duty' was appointed. Although he was to look after the European visitors to Kashmir and his stay was allowed only for six months of summer. He was expected not to indulge in the internal affairs of the state.[7] But keeping in view the real intentions of govt. this event was most significant. It amounted to the recognition of the right of British to post their officers in the state.[8]

In order to promote their commercial interests in Eastern Turkistan, British government in India proposed appointment of a temporary political agent at Leh. In 1867

[4] W. Wakefield, *The Happy Valley: Sketches of Kashmir and Kashmiris*, London: Searle and Revington, 1879, pp. 85-86
[5] Sir Francis Young husband, *Kashmir*, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1911, pp. 172-72
[6] Kapur, *Kashmir Sold and Snatched*, p. 13.
[7] Ibid., pp. 24-26.
[8] It may not be out of place to mention here that the appointment of any kind of official violates the provisions of 1846 treaty.

the agent was appointed as an experimental measure for one season. Though primarily concerned with trade, he was also asked to collect and to sift political information regarding the political events in China, Turkistan,[9] in 1869-70, the political agent became permanent with the name British Commissioner at Leh. It was a clear case of break of faith on the part of government of India. As a result of these developments British foothold in the state strengthened.

3.1.1 Russian Threat

Great Britain and Russia had conflicting interests in the Balkan region of Europe. Both of them tried to check the others extension of power and influence in that direction, Russia had, however, an alternative field to compensate the setbacks in the Balkan region, viz., Central Asia. In fact it had been advancing towards Central Asia since the beginning of the 19th century till Punjab was independent. Central Asian advance of Russia was, however, not taken very seriously by the British government of India. But with its extension in 1849, not only Indian and Russian borders moved nearer each other, a great barrier between the two countries also disappeared. Henceforth, every move in the Central Asia was, therefore, considered dangerous to the security of the British in India.

Consequently there was an urgent need to strength the British defence on the north west of India. And the strategic position of Kashmir in the defence of the North West frontiers gave it a great importance. Due to the strategic importance of Kashmir, it has been rightly described as 'the sentry state' of the British Indian Empire.[10] The appointment of the above officials were made with a view to achieve this purpose. But as these officials enjoyed almost no political status, they could do little for their govt. To make the matters worse, the pace of Russians advance in the Asia quickened at this time, these Russians acquisitions created panic in the British circles. Russia was fast marching towards India. And at the same time the Kashmir borders were also extending towards the north-west.

In 1873, the govt of India came to know from some sources that Maharaja of Kashmir has been in secret correspondence with Russia.[11] This was indeed a serious matter which aggregated the already deplorable situation. Consequently in 1873, government of India made a proposal to appoint a Resident in Kashmir. But Maharaja was quick enough for his defence and requested the British to look into the matter as he

[9] Foreign Political, Nos. 6-9 Proceedings, March, 1868, National Archives of India.
[10] Kapur, *Kashmir Sold and Snatched*, pp. 30-35.
[11] Ibid., pp. 40-42

refused to accept the changes, which latter were proved false. Thus the proposal was abandoned [12]

But British were always looking for a favourable opportunity to strength their foot hold in affairs of the state. Up to 1873, the correspondence between Maharaja and Indian Government was conducted through government of Punjab and the channel of communication was the Maharaja's maintained representative, stationed at Lahore. But now Punjab government started communication through the Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir which strengthened his political position. Even in 1877, Lord Lytton, the then Governor General of India, made direct contact with the Officer on Special Duty, thus bypassing the Punjab court. As a result the officer's political position was fully recognised although Maharaja protested but it was in vein.[13]

In 1877, Gilgit Agency was established to secure the information of Russian advance.[14] After 1877, government of India made a number of attempts to install Resident. Due to mal administration of state particularly the famine of 1877 (as a result of corruption, the famine took a heavy toll), floods, cholera, etc. made the situation as worse as ripe for intervention. But the Maharaja Ranbir Singh always persuaded the government on account of the services to the imperial government.[15]

3.1.2 Appointment of Resident

British viewed Maharaja Ranbir Singh with a mixture of admiration and distrust, particularly when the Afghan and later Russian threat on the north- western border began to occupy the British with increasing urgency in the late 1870s. In Sep. 1885, when Maharaja Ranbir Singh died, British took it an opportunity to intervene in the state administration.[16] Soon after the Pratap Singh ascended the throne in 1885, and despite his declaration in his accession speech that he would "adopt such measures only as are calculated to secure to my subjects the greatest good, and the fullest enjoyment of their

[12] Ibid., pp 54
[13] Ibid., pp 60-65
[14] Ibid., pp 95
[15] Immediately after his accession, Ranbir Singh provided a number of services to government of India. Most important among them was his support in the suppression of the revolt of 1857. Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom: 1819-1946*, Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd 1977, pp, 244-246.
[16] Besides, Ranbir Singh wanted to install his younger son, Raja Amar Singh on the throne, since British favoured Pratap Singh but not without a number of conditions imposed, one among them was the appointment of Resident in Kashmir. Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004, pp. 129-34.

rights and privileges.''[17] He was informed that a British Resident would be placed at the Kashmir Darbar. In his speech at Maharaja Pratap Singh Dastarbandi (coronation) in Sep. 1885, Oliver St. John, the Officer on Special Duty, who also became first Resident, stated, "the state of Jammu and Kashmir has fallen behind majority of states of India in progress necessary for the welfare of the people.''[18]

Maharaja protested against appointment of Resident. In his thanks to Viceroy (Lord Dufferin), for a kindly letter of condolence Maharaja said, "It has, however, pained me exceedingly to learn that exactly at the time when I had made up my mind to deserve a win of your Excellency's encouragement, by proving myself equal to the onerous and responsible duties of a good ruler , your Excellency has been changed the status of the British Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir to that of a Political Resident, and thus lowering me in the eyes of my subjects.''[19] It was, of course, stated in reply that the Resident would simply advise His Highness and in no way interfere with the administration. But it proved only sarcasm, as we can see he not only interfered in the state administration but became the virtual ruler of the country.[20]

3.1.3 Deposition of Maharaja

Besides forcing a Resident upon Maharaja Pratap Singh at the time of his accession, the government of India had impressed upon him the necessity of introducing certain specific reforms in administration. Those reforms are construction of good roads, abolition of excess taxes, appointment of respectable officers, reorganisation of army etc.[21] Although Maharaja claims to bring all reforms, but he appoints incapable officers which were not liked by Resident. In 1889, Colonel, Nisbet, Resident of Kashmir, discovered a bunch of 34 letters allegedly written by the Maharaja. Their content convinced Nisbet that Maharaja was in a treasonable correspondence with Russia. These letters were addressed to some close officials of Maharaja asking them to perform sundry jobs including killings of Resident and others in the court.[22] Although Maharaja denied

[17] Quoted in Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*: *Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003, pp. 88-89.
[18] State Department Records, 1885/ R-2, Jammu State Archives.
[19] Quoted in, William Digby, *Condemned Unheard*, (First published 1890) New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1994, p. 49.
[20] Ibid., p. 50.
[21] Kapur, *Kashmir Sold and Snatched*, p. 119.
[22] Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, pp. 306-09.

the allegations saying that the letters were forged, aiming to defame him.[23] But British were hardly to miss this opportunity, to take over the complete political control over the state.

In the meantime Maharaja was made to sign an edict of resignation. State Council was formed under the presidentship of Dewan Lachhman Das, and a year later, Raja Amar Singh became president of State Council. It should be remembered that the State Council was to work under the control of Resident. In this way British took over complete control over state. State Council almost immediately assumed all powers of governance and Maharaja was reduced to giving his approval to all measures enacted by Council. Furthermore, Council was composed entirely of Indians imported from different British India states.

3.2 Impact of Colonial Intervention on Education

Strictly speaking, growth of modern education started during reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh, but initiative was taken by Christian missionaries instead of state. In 1880, Rev. J. H. Knowles laid the foundation of Christian Missionary School (CMS) which was first modern type of school in Kashmir with five pupils on rolls.[24] In its infancy C. M. S. School had to face a number of problems, particularly hostile attitude of the state government. Missionaries were prohibited from renting a house for school building thus missionaries had no alternative but to start school on hospital premises. It was only in 1890 that government permitted them to shift the school to the middle of Srinagar city.[25] Due to his short tenure[26] Pratap Singh did little to the already fragile educational setup of Kashmir. He tried to remodel the some existing educational institutions of Jammu and Kashmir, but didn't have much success because of the volatile court environment.[27]

3.2.1 State Council and Education in Kashmir

Education system of Jammu & Kashmir underwent a dramatic shift with deposition of Maharaja Pratap Singh from the throne in 1889, and the establishment of

[23] It was latter believed that Raja Amar Singh, the younger brother of Maharaja had conspired his brother, in order to get maximum powers. In fact Maharaja himself asserted that Raja Amar Singh was his chief enemy since the days he got the thrown. Ibid., p. 307.
[24] Mohammad Isaq Khan, *History of Srinagar, 1946–1947*: *A Study in Socio-Cultural Change,* Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 2006 pp. 162- 63.
[25] Ibid.
[26] He was given some powers in 1905 by Lord Curzon.
[27] Bose, *Kashmir and its Prince*, p. 20.

British Residency and State Council to direct the affairs of the Princely State. Education became a central component of the State's drive towards centralisation and bureaucratization along the lines of British India.[28] However, before introducing reforms, State Council examined state of education prevailing in the state. It was noted that the system of teaching was extremely irregular and the teaching staff was both inefficient and insufficient. This was mainly because of the absence of proper supervision and the well organised scheme of studies.[29] The evils facing the department made the State Council admit that the time has come for a wider and liberal outlook on the matter and hence they decided to adopt some definite educational policy.[30]

3.2.2 Some Important Reforms

State Council introduced a scheme of studies, which was prevalent in Punjab University. A time table suited to the existing requirement was introduced. Staff of the two high schools, one each at Jammu and Srinagar, was strengthened by the appointment of four additional teachers.[31] Scholarships for deserving boys without reference to merit were introduced. This had the salutary effect of encouraging the students to be more punctual in attendance and be more zealous and energetic in the prosecution of their studies. Regarding the primary education State Council was determined to extend primary education by gradually setting apart funds for the establishment of village schools and accordingly made beginning by providing the sum of 5,000 for that purpose.[32]

Though State Council admitted that the time had come for large scale promotion of primary education in Jammu & Kashmir and that a very large budget allotment was required, which "it is impossible for State Council to layout, except at the sacrifice of other department whose maintenance is more essential and necessary", nothing substantial could be done. The want of proper school buildings was much felt. It may be noted that in the *moffasil* schools classes were held either under the shades of trees or in private houses or shops taken on rent.[33] Srinagar middle School had never worked up to

[28] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 173.
[29] Annual Administrative Report Jammu and Kashmir, 1889-90.
[30] Ibid
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu & Kashmir Government, 1890-91.

required standard or sent up any boys for the middle examination. In this school number on roll was 227 in 1889 and 160 in 1890 showing a dropout rate. More over the daily attendance was 100, although increased from 92 in 1889.

State Council recognized the importance of "primary education of the masses, through vernacular", and opened a few school at different places. Between 1889 and 1891 the number of such school rose from 8 to 31.[34] Since constitution of State Council, department of education had spared no pains, with funds at its disposal, spread primary education in the villages, and to raise the standard of the central school at Jammu & Srinagar. But other pressing demands on the exchequer prevented the establishment of fresh school, so that in spite of all that has been done, the village schools throughout the State, with a few exceptions, are still held in hired houses and shops.[35] In the year 1892 Srinagar middle school was raised to the status of high school. Administrative report of 1893-94, declared that educational institutions were highly appreciated by the Hindu community, but it was regretted that Main Rajputs of Jammu & Muslims as class were still indifferent.

Though State Council had earmarked in 1892-93 a sum of Rs, 37,000 for the improvement of education this proved to be a meagre amount. Home and Judicial Member in-charge of state education, Bhag Ram, expressed his unhappiness over the meagre amount at his disposal; he even went to extent, appealing to the private purses of Maharaja, Resident, rajas and other notables, to contribute to the cause. He intended to use this money for providing fee and scholarships to the poor and deserving students.[36] In 1892 Punjab University fixed a centre for matriculation examination at Srinagar, it was an important development of education in Kashmir. Since, few students managed to go to Lahore earlier for the same examination.[37]

[34] Ibid.
[35] In fact due to heavy rains a school collapsed resulting in the death of twenty student of Jammu High School, Annual Administrative Report of Jammu & Kashmir Government, 1893.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir Government, 1892.

Table 3.1 Classification of Students in Kashmir, 1890-91

Institution	Boys on Rolls	Avg. Daily Attendance	Students Learning English	Students Learning Vernacular only	Hindus	Muslims	Others
Srinagar Middle School	249	171	215	34	196	43	10
Anantnag	54	48	---	54	45	9	---
Bijbehara	43	38	---	43		20	23
Pampur	20	16	--	20	17	3	---
Shopian	15	12	---	15	12	3	---
Baramulah	36	28	---	36	16	4	---
Sopore	19	15	---	19	16	3	---
Babarpur Srinagar	109	87	---	109	102	7	---
Shishyar	80	67	---	80	75	5	---
Gurguri Mohala	92	73	---	92	89	3	---
Raianawari	81	62	---	81	80	1	---
Bulbul Lanker	75	52	---	75	65	8	2
Ban Mohala	68	54	---	68	66	2	---

Source: Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1890-91

From above figures it is clear that Kashmir is backward in education in general and in English education in particular, except Srinagar Middle school nowhere was English taught. There is also absenteeism in almost all schools. Hindu community is ahead and dominate all institutes, while Muslims are backward even in indigenous schools. Schools in Anantnag, Bijbehara, Pampur, Shopian, Baramulah and Sopore are Vernacular Upper Primary schools and rest were indigenous schools teaching vernacular up to lower primary standard and Persian to a very high one.[38]

In 1901 important reforms were introduced to place education on sound footing. A uniform standard of fees, both tuition and admission was adopted for secondary schools. Rules regarding the duties of the inspecting officers were framed. Before 1903, there was no uniform scale of salaries for teachers. In certain cases it was as low as Rs. 3

[38] Annaul Admnistrative Report, Jammu and Kashmir, 1890-91.

per mensem. It was due to this defect that good candidates could not be attracted and consequently, a large number of teachers were poorly or under-qualified. To remedy this state of affairs, a new scheme was introduced in 1903. According to new scheme minimum salary of fresh teachers be fixed at Rs. 10 per annum teachers were required to pass the teacher's examination before attaining the age of 22 years. Moreover teachers, whose services in the department extended over five years, but had not passed any examination, would be required to pass a departmental exam to be held in accordance with the rules sanctioned for the purpose.[39]

3.2.3 Commencement of Higher Education

Maharaja Pratap Singh often voiced for the reformation in education system, although it had little impact since he was not the part of State Council. In 1889 he stressed on State Council to start intermediate classes, Maharaja was anxious to establish a college at his capital teaching up to F.A. (Fellow of Arts) standard. His desire was due to the fact that such colleges existed in the sister states such as Bahawalpur, Kapurthala, Patiala etc. These colleges prepared students for the state services, Jammu and Kashmir State had none and to carry on its administration, it had to depend on the outsiders, who could not be expected to have an abiding interest in the welfare of the state.[40]

The Director of Public Instruction, Jammu and Kashmir, in his letter dated 16th March 1899 to the Judicial Member, wrote that the time has come when a college is opened at Jammu forthwith. He expressed hope that no less than eight or ten boys belonging to the state would take admission. As regards Srinagar it was stated that "the scheme of a college in Srinagar may be postponed for the present till we make ourselves sure regarding sufficient annual supply of matriculated scholars from the state high school in the city."[41] The matter was thoroughly discussed by Revenue and Judicial members, Maharaja and Resident but nothing came out. It appears that State Council was doubtful about people's response towards higher education.[42] But the claims of government were not true, people in Kashmir especially Kashmiri Pandits were eager to pursue higher

[39] Triannual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir Government, 1901-04.
[40] Hari Om, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir: A Study in the Spread of Education and Consciousness, 1857-1925*, New Delhi: Archives Publishers and Distributors, 1986, p.30.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

education. By 1905 a considerable number of students had passed the entrance examination, they could receive higher education only by joining a college at Lahore Lahore which was hot and a distant place. It was because of their efforts and with the the active support of Anne Besant that a college named as Shri Pratap Hindu College was College was established in 1905 in Srinagar.[43] The college was affiliated with Banaras Banaras Hindu Central College.[44]

Anne Besant was responsible for inducing Maharaja to donate land for a suitable college building and playground. Maharaja announced the gift of land on July 7, 1906 and on the same date foundation stone of college building was laid by him. Mrs. Besant, in her speech said "Kashmir will be future Kashi (Banaras) of north western India."[45] College though called a Hindu institution had been formed to promote secular education and was meant for all sects including Muslims. Mr. Moore, a Cambridge graduate of high attainments took over as the first principal of college.[46]

3.2.4 Progress of College upto 1910

The progress of college upto 1910 was not upto the mark. In-fact, only subjects like Sanskrit, English and later Mathematics were taught.[47] In 1908, the number of students was only ten.[48] According to Punjab University Inspection Committee, material progress of college has been practically nil, the library and the equipment are still far below standard. Its managing committee though active but faces the problem of funds to improvise college. Committee stated that compared with the optimistic outlook of the previous two years the present position of affairs is one of anxiety**.**[49]

[43] P. N. K. Bamzai, *Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 2007, p. 359.
[44] Some authors have erroneously called the college as Banaras Hindu University, but it became University only in 1915. Ibid.
[45] Amar Singh Chohan, *Development of Education in the Jammu and Kashmir State, 1846-1947*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers Publishers and Distributors, 1998, p. 92.
[46] Ibid.
[47] While as Prince of Wales College, Jammu which was established two years later was in good progress. Subjects like Persian, geography, English, Arabic, biology, mathematics, physics and chemistry were taught. Amar Singh Chohan, *Development of Education in Jammu and Kashmir State: 1846-1947*, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1998, pp. 87-89.
[48] In 1908-09 Punjab University conducted an inspection to its affiliated colleges. Since the college was affiliated to the Punjab University, so an inspection committee consisting of Dr Ewing and the Registrar visited College on 21st Sep. 1909. Old English Records, 71/P-20, 1910, Jammu State Archives.
[49] Ibid.

Table 3.2 Roll of Students in Sri Pratap Hindu College in the Year 1908-09

Class	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Sikhs
1st Year	18	17	1	---
2nd Year	19	14	5	---
3rd Year	7	7	---	---
4th Year	3	3	---	---
Total	47	41	6	---

Source: Report of Punjab University Inspection of Affiliated Colleges, 1908-09

There were forty seven students on rolls as against thirty last year. Of the forty seven students, seven were reading in B.A. class and twenty six received scholarships. Hitherto all students have been receiving free education but later on fee was charged and then only 20% of the students were getting free college education. In general the progress of college had not kept pace with the extension of affiliation in particular the staff has not been strengthened for the purpose. The syndicate calls upon Sri Pratap Hindu College Srinagar, under the Clause (3) section 23, of the Indian Universities Act to improve the equipment of College and to augment the library with books to the value of not less than 1000 by the 1st Sept. 1910. It was also recommended that a reference be made by the syndicate to His Highness Maharaja of Kashmir with reference to the financial security of college.[50]

3.2.5 Towards the Controlling of College

[50] Ibid.

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, Lord Curzon the Governor General of India was a moving force behind the enactment of the Indian Universities Act, which was intended to introduce radical changes into five existing universities at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Punjab, and Allahabad. One among these changes was the stricter conditions for the affiliated colleges of these universities. Since Sri Pratap Hindu College was affiliated to Punjab University, it was also seen in this context. Although the political atmosphere in Kashmir valley was not unfavourable to the colonial government, still Government of India was cautious of the activities of Mrs. Besant.

The Home Secretary asserted that, "Mrs Besant's influence is bound to have political consequences and her religious teachings certainly tend and I believe, is deliberately meant, to promote the idea of an Indian nation which is spreading gradually and which may in course of time assume a form of adverse to British rule." The foreign secretary, endorsing this view noted that it was, "very desirable that the Resident through Darbar should have a proper control over such teaching institutions in the state"[51]

Curzon's viceroyalty marked a turning point in government educational policy. He formally abandoned the doctrine that the state should not interfere in education.[52] Thus the deputing of inspection committee by Punjab University to Kashmir's lone college was the outcome of the above policy. In fact, the condition of college was deplorable since its funds dried up. The inspection committee found that college receives a grant of Rs. 12,000 from the state; other resources including subscriptions amounted in 1908 to Rs.7, 697, that is about Rs. 2,000 less than in 1907 and about 9,000 less than in 1906. This serious drop indicates that the external support of college was declining.[53]

In order to draw the attention of Maharaja Pratap Singh[54] to the miserable condition of college, the inspection committee reminded Maharaja that the affiliation to college was granted on account of clause (g) of section 21 of the Indian Universities Act, according to which Maharaja had guaranteed efficiency and maintenance of college. In

[51] Foreign Intelligence-A, February, 1907, Nos. 163-64

[52] Aprana Basu,*The Growth of Education and Political Development in India: 1898-1920*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 11.

[53] Old English Records, 71/P-120, 1910, Jammu State Archives.

[54] In 1905, Lord Curzon reinstated the powers of Maharaja, on the condition of responsible rule in Kashmir that is why the committee addressed the faults of college to Maharaja. Ibid.

short committee wanted Maharaja to take over college in its control, as the private funds were gradually declining.

Maharaja was swift in action, and he asserts that, "If there is no likelihood of the private subscriptions coming in why college is not entirely handed over to the state."[55] The minister of education also spoke the same language, "it is well known that college is very badly equipped and insufficiently staffed so much so that it stood in imminent danger of being disaffiliated by the Punjab University." Thus the government instead of supporting college financially under the control of private hand followed the policies of Indian government to avoid any political repercussions. On Oct. 1911, government of Kashmir took over the control of college formally under the name of Sri Pratap College thus omitting the word Hindu.[56]

3.2.6 New Educational Policy

Broadly speaking, upto 1907, State Council had no definite educational policy and work had been carried on more or less on the general lines of training as followed in the Indian universities. Though between 1889-1906 some progress had been achieved, the arrangements were far from satisfactory. Up till now there existed in the state a few schools of teaching upto middle and high school standards only. The provision made by state for the spread of primary education and Anglo-Vernacular education was quite insufficient.[57] The British Resident, Francis Younhusband, had impressed on the foreign minister the need for improving the education department of the state with a view to extend education to various classes.[58]

Ultimately in 1907, whole educational policy was reviewed. The educational system as prevailing in the Indian universities was also considered. It was admitted that "education plays the most important part in the prosperity and well being of a country and its people." However, the authorities in the state discussed in detail the suitability of education that prevailed in India and which had led to general dissatisfaction that prevailed amongst the educated classes for want of employment after several years of

[55] Ibid.
[56] The word 'Hindu' in the institutions like Banaras Hindu College has been opposed by British officials, to them it may have led to Hindu revivalism and extremism, Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India*, p. 188.
[57] Om, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 32.
[58] Old English Records, 279/1906, Jammu State Archives.

hard work in schools and colleges at serious inconvenience and risks to themselves and their families." It was concluded that "surely such is not education that cannot serve the requirements in the country." "The object of education is to adduce from mind what is in it, aiding natural development and stimulating or correcting it at need."[59]

Educational policy in 1907 emphasised the need to provide education to all the cross-sections of population and, in a statement that best exemplified the liberal British view of different types of education for different classes in society. The Maharaja proclaimed that mass education could be accomplished only if:

> "Instruction is as obviously useful and helpful as food, clothing and fresh air, and the aim should be to make every one fit for some definite calling in life, to give each the opportunity of developing himself to the fullest, to make the agricultural class better agriculturalists, the merchant class good businessmen, the artisan useful handicraftsman, the fighting class brave soldiers, the ruling class efficient governors and the intellectual class thinkers and writers. The ancient should retain the glory of ancient civilization with all the old manliness, courtliness, charity and respect for parents, for authority and add to it the thoroughness, energy and scientific, practical public spirit of the present day."[60]

Daya Kishan Kaul, Private Secretary to the Pratap Singh held it undesirable that "young men of different temperaments and mental and intellectual aptitudes" be made "to go through one uniform stereotyped course of study with the result that when they finish their education there is neither enough occupations for them all in literary pursuits or of public service for which alone this training made them fit, nor are they any better for their education with all their book information to take to the industrial or other manual work with which they can neither help themselves or their country."[61]

Keeping into consideration the defects in the education system, a committee of seven was formed to make reforms in the system. Under the instructions of Maharaja and following his ideas, an educational scheme was drawn up by the said committee. The scheme began with kindergarten training followed by primary education. Committee

[59] Note by Daya Kishan Kaul, Private Secretary to Maharaja, 1907, Private Records of His Highness, 279/1907, Jammu State Archives.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

recommended that primary education should be made compulsory−compulsory in the sense that the system laid down in the scheme "be compulsorily followed in all public schools that the state may open or allowed to be opened within the state territories.[62]

According to the scheme the boys in the kindergarten schools were to follow the then existing native methods of work as much as possible. This training was meant for small children before they were able to get to a primary school, where the course of study was more advanced than they had in the kindergarten schools, besides a certain amount of teaching in abstract and intellectual knowledge. So far as the primary education was concerned the scheme aimed at accustoming the infant minds to think originally, and follow things from nature according to their particular inclinations. After primary education, according to new scheme, it was optional for the boys to adopt for their further education either a course leading upto higher intellectual attainments qualifying then for university examination or higher technical knowledge, as their means permit, or to turn straight off to an art and technical education and in case of rural boys to agricultural schools.

Committee expressed the hope that those going to the art and technical schools would, after completing their training, be able to go out in the world as useful men quit fit to earn sufficient livelihood in whatsoever pursuit they followed. Those going to the agricultural schools will benefit state themselves as superior agriculturalists, and with the ground work of education received upto the primary standard they will be able to advance the general standard of agriculture and be richer and happier subjects of the state. Those again, who go up for higher intellectual culture shall have pass through a standard of school final to be specially laid down.[63]

Committee was of the opinion that some boys are not upto a certain age developed enough to show their special fitness, and consequently in certain cases it is a mere waste of time and energy for one who may have taken after his school final the arts university course of education and found afterwards that is intellect was not quite upto the standard required for that study without being then thrown out as a half-educated, more or less useless man, he could even at that stage turn to the art and technical school education and qualify himself perhaps to a greater advantage in that line.[64]

[62] Old English Records, F. No. 279/1907, Jammu State Archives.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Political Department, F. No. 101/P-102, 1907, Jammu State Archives.

Percy Brown, Principal of Mayo School of Arts, Lahore gave some suggestions as far as technical education is concerned. He suggested that students who might change his mind after passing the matriculation examination or who in their university college course be found incompetent for pure higher intellectual training, may go up for this test examination and then accomplish themselves on the technical side in preference to the literary or the scientific.[65] In order to facilitate matters with a view to an efficient, consideration being given to all matters of educational reform as contained in the scheme, it was suggested to constitute a Board of Education consisting of the Education Member, Governors of two provinces, principals of colleges and the educational expert or experts that were available.

The Board of Education, as proposed, met and discussed the educational scheme laid down under the instructions of Maharaja. The Board recommended the introduction of kindergarten system of education on experimental basis in two provinces, the opening of a technical school at Srinagar on the lines proposed by Percy Brown, appointment of a Secretary to the education department, the improvement of school buildings and their teaching staff in the primary, middle and high schools. Many recommendations of the board were accepted and most among them was the appointment of a secretary to the education department to assist the education member who had to perform multifarious duties.[66] After observing the recommendations of the new educational policy, Resident stressed on the better inspection of the schools, better and highly paid teachers was a pressing need. However, he argued that, due to the paucity of funds all recommendations were not to be implemented at one stroke.[67]

3.2.7 Educational Conference of 1915

During the year 1915 a conference of educational officers and headmasters of secondary schools was held under the chairmanship of minister of education. The conference highlighted a number of questions related to the existing education system, and recommended some reforms in educational system of Kashmir.[68] The conference while examining the state of primary education considered the ideals laid down by

[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] S. L. Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir, 1872-1973*, Srinagar: Ali Mohammad and Sons, 1973, p. 94.

Maharaja Pratap Singh.[69] Going through the ideals of Maharaja the conference of 1915 considered a more practical scheme of studies and thorough change in curriculum in primary schools. A scheme of studies for rural schools which was to include training in handicrafts or other hereditary occupations, vernacular was to be the medium of instruction for all subjects upto 7th standard. To remove the over crowdedness in school class, it was decided to have 1:30 teacher student ratio in the infant classes and 1:40 for other classes.[70]

In order to remove the overcrowded of curriculum the conference decided that that there is need to be only six subjects––English, Mathematics, General Knowledge, Urdu or Hindi, drawing and one other subject out of the following optional subjects: physics and chemistry, agriculture, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit.[71] Regarding the medium of instruction, vernacular[72] as the medium of instruction for thorough grasp of the subjects was recognised. It was resolved that for the present vernacular as the medium of instruction in all subjects was recognised in all classes upto 2nd middle. Special steps being taken to improve the study of English as a distinct subject in all classes. The conference regretted the lack of proper accommodation in schools. The conference found that students at college level were weak in English dictation, punctuation, calligraphy and applied grammar. It was generally believed that it was because of lack of trained teachers. All the recommendations of the conference were examined by the education department[73] but all of them were not implemented. As in 1916, while addressing an educational conference, Education Minister regretted that the recommendations were not considered.[74]

Thus the time from 1889 and 1915 the growth of education, even if among a few, achieved a good progress. One cannot expect a revolutionary change at this stage since

[69] As discussed, Maharaja wanted a class based education to make boys good agriculturalists, good artisans, good artists and good traders. Note by Daya Kishan Kaul, Private Secretary to Maharaja, 1907, Private Records of His Highness, 279/1907, Jammu State Archives.
[70] Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, pp. 94-95
[71] It was decided that a student has to pass four subjects and in one of the last two i.e., drawing or his optional. Proceedings of Educational Conference, Old English Records, 199/P-104/1915.
[72] Vernacular was identified with Urdu and Hindi rather Kashmiri the mother tongue of majority of people in Kashmir. .
[73] Department of Education in Kashmir was established in 1907, by the order, dated 28/31st Oct. 1907. Ibid., p. 42.
[74] It was believed that due to World War crisis state was undergoing a financial stringency. Old English Records, 199/P-104/1915.

this was the transition phase where traditional system of education was losing its grip and people were joining the new system of education. Even in quantitative terms a glaring change can be seen. In 1889, there were only two high schools, one at Jammu and one at Srinagar, eight village schools (seven in Jammu and one in Kashmir) and a few Sanskrit schools. While in 1915 there were two colleges (one at Jammu and one at Srinagar), nine high schools, thirty-two middle schools, one normal school, three hundred primary schools and 309 private indigenous schools.[75] However, the quality was still lacking in teacher's training and proper accommodation. Thus the intervention of British brought changes in socio-economic changes, and the impact can be seen in the education system too. What is more important is that the colonial rhetoric policies of education will be seen in every aspect of the education system.

3.2.8 Class, Caste and Technical Education

Dogra state seemed to have imported the Indian administrative structure for its educational system along with its educational content. The state's acceptance of the idea that education should be restricted to the upper tier in society is reflected in the education minster's negative response to Maharaja's directive to draw up a scheme for free and compulsory primary education in the state. The education minister rejected the idea on the grounds that, "such a measure would be seen as tyrannical by the majority of the Kashmiri population, which was not aware of the duties of citizenship, and will therefore be extremely unpopular. The motives will be misunderstood. Since parents are uneducated by which they will be greatly obstructive."[76] The minister argues that, "children in Kashmir largely help poor parents in earning livelihood. In Srinagar children and adolescents are workers in the silk factory, earn fare wages and are therefore contributing to the family earnings, if education happens to be compulsory, it would be great hardship."[77]

The Minister stated that if the wage earning children of uneducated parents were forced to go to schools, the parents would consider it *'Zulum*' (tyranny) and in the absence of public spirited men to explain the benefits of such a measure to the public, it should not be undertaken by the state. According to state, then, it was not the

[75] Old English Records, F. No. 321/E-11 part II of 1914, Jammu State Archives.
[76] Old English Records, 101/P-102, 1907, Jammu State Archives.
[77] Ibid.

responsibility of the government to educate the Kashmiri population or to inculcate in them the duties of citizenship, but for community leaders to encourage education among the members of their respective communities. Thus it was obvious that the state's education policy did not conceive of Kashmiris as citizens and did not intend to make them citizens of the state through education.[78]

Ideas of the Inspector of Schools were not different from the Education Minister. He suggested that *Megs*, *Dooms*, and other low caste Kashmiri Muslims should not for the present be required to send their boys to schools.[79] The Headmaster of Hindu High School, Srinagar, articulated the state's concern on mass education in more concrete terms. Expressing dislike for the fact of upper-caste Hindu and Muslim boys studying alongside those of lower classes, he suggested that schools ought to be classified according to classes of subjects living in Srinagar. He stated:

> "The Hindus and the high-class Mussulmans will not like to see their children learn a profession while surrounded by the other Mussulman children, at least for some time till these come up to the standard of Hindu children or the children of high class Mussalmans…It is not at all desirable that the children of the Hanjis [boatmen] and sweepers and the like should be allowed to mix with other children."[80]

The issue at hand, clearly, was one of class rather than religious affiliation, since the elite of both communities were expected to and did gain an education. Tellingly, at this stage, the state discourse on education rarely focused on the backwardness of Kashmiri Muslims in education. In the following years, however, the state was forced to recognize the fact that that there was a congruence between class and religious affiliation, since most agriculturists were uneducated Kashmiri Muslims while most administrators were educated Punjabi Hindus, and to a lesser extent, Kashmiri Pandits.[81]

The state did not intend to keep the lower classes uneducated. However, it was interested in imparting to them a different type of education. The Punjabi officials who ran the state saw no need for educated Kashmiris threatening their hold on the meticulously controlled bureaucracy. They did, however, feel the need for economic

[78] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 180.
[79] Old English Records, 101/P-102/1907, Jammu State Archives.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 181.

returns on their educational reform policies. This was possible only if technical education was imparted to the agriculturists and artisans with a view to making them more efficient at their respective occupations.[82]

By 1908, Amar Nath, the Foreign and Education Minister, gave ringing endorsement to technical education for the same reasons: "Unless," he said, "spread of technical education and study is given its proper place in the scheme of education in the state, the development will omit out of its programme of reform one of the most important items for converting the subjects of the state into useful citizens and thriving businessmen."[83]

The new policy of education was linked to the need to further the government interest by increasing the economic returns in the form of land revenue. The peasant class in Kashmir was still unaware of the new techniques and methods of agriculture, thus to acquaint the peasants' children with new means and techniques was the main reason that government was repeatedly emphasising on the introduction of technical education. In 1909 Foreign Minister submitted a memorandum to Maharaja for introduction of agriculture training in the primary schools of rural areas of Jammu and Kashmir.[84]

In 1910, Education Minister objected to this proposal on the ground of paucity of professional teachers for the agricultural schools.[85] But the concern of the state was different as the Revenue Minister sated, "the object of the new scheme is certainly not to make the students agricultural experts. It is simply to create an interest in the boys in agriculture,[86] and to impart them knowledge of its leading principles and practices by way of observation of lessons, so as to fit them better than they are under the present educational arrangement, to go in for the profession of agriculture and bring intelligence to bear on agricultural practices. This is a very useful object in a place like Kashmir

[82] In discussing the subject of technical education in 1893-94, the State Council had expressed the opinion that, "in the best interests of the country and the people" steps should be taken to "encourage technical education, because mere primary or high literary education, unattended by technical instruction was to the agriculturalist a course rather than a blessing ... lt literary incapacitates him to follow his occupation." Later on, same intentions were expressed by Maharaja Pratap Singh. Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1893-94: Private Records of His Highness, 279/1907.

[83] Old English Records, 147/W-202/1908, Jammu State Archives.

[84] Old English Records, 11/P-129/1909, Jammu State Archives.

[85] Ibid.

[86] The peasants of Kashmir had become fed up with excessive state demand and were subjected to innumerable legal and illegal exactions. Consequently, they protested in the form of abandonment of their lands and migration to Punjab. Thus the above development can be seen in this context, it was just to retain the interest of peasant's children in their occupation. R. L. Hangloo, '*Agrarian Conditions and Peasant Protest in the Princely State of Kashmir, 1846-1931'*, in Y. Vaiikuntham, (ed.), *People's Movements in the Princely State's*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2004, pp. 167-77.

where almost everybody is a *Zamindar*,[87] and it can, I believe, be attained without much trouble or expense."[88]

Headmaster of the Normal school Srinagar further stated that, "education in state cannot find favour with the general masses, I mean the agriculture class which forms the main bulk of the population unless they know that their sons after completing their school course will be in a position to turn their labours by lending them a helping hand in their ancestral occupation. So giving the students the rudimentary knowledge of agriculture would be of great benefit to them."[89] Hence, it becomes clear that state's intentions to train the peasant children in agricultural practices were to make conversant with the agricultural practices rather than to make them experts in the field.

3.2.9 Amar Singh Technical Institute

In 1913 state opened Amar Singh Technical Institute in Srinagar. F. H. Andrews, formerly Headmaster of Battersea Polytechnique School, London was appointed as its Principal.[90] The aims and objectives of this institution as at that time outline were: to arrest the decay into which the indigenous artistic production of Kashmir were falling through neglect. To introduce improvements in the conservative crafts connected with the building and furnishing of houses.[91] The curriculum which also included subjects such as carpentry, blacksmithing and pottery began with a preliminary training in drawing and designs on the most practical and common sense lines with special regard to the indigenous of the country. Every student entering into the institution was required to undergo this preliminary training side by side with training in practical constructive works, the extent and nature of his drawing course being strictly governed by the special craft he may select for his career. In view of the increasing demand of the community for labour in certain practical crafts and trades, full provision was made to turn out skilled men. The supply of such men was one of the most pressing and immediate need.

Mr. Sharp[92] who inspected the institute in 1916 observes that "Hindus enrolled themselves in large numbers out of 157 students, 115 were Hindus and 42 were Muslims. This was first time that Hindus who rarely follows the manual skill has joined

[87] In Kashmir peasants were usually called as *Zamindars*.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir Government, 1914-15.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Mr. Sharp, Educational Commissioner of the Government of India, was loaned by the Kashmir Darbar in 1916 to assess the education system of Kashmir. H. Sharp, *A Note on Education in the State of Jammu Kashmir*, Calcutta: Superintendent Press, 1916.

institution.[93] But the institution was less popular among the local people as the numbers of students fell due to the inability of some of the trainees to make headway under the weight of their general ignorance. With the passage of time a number of technical institutions were established in different parts of the state. In 1939, there were eight technical institutions in the state––two in the cities of Jammu and Srinagar, and others in Baramulah and Anantnag in the Kashmir province and Samba, Mirpur, Bhadarwah and Kishtwar in the Jammu Province.[94]

Table 3.3 Total Number of Students in Technical Institutes

Name of the Technical Institute	No. of Students
Amar Singh Technical Institute	142
Pratap Singh Technical School Jammu	49
Bhadarwah Technical Institute	22
Technical School of Kishtwar	37
Waving and Dying School, Samba	31
Technical School of Mirpur	47
Technical School of Baramulah	15
Pratap Singh Technical Institute Anantnag	23
Total	402

Source: Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939)

Each of the institutes conducts a number of courses which are usually of three year's duration to which; literate students are, as a rule, admissible. Illiterates are, as a rule, taken into preparatory class and have to put in a year longer.[95] The courses studied are carpentry, dying and weaving, smithy, calico printing, willow works, utensil making, toy making, pottery, embroidery, basket making, building construction etc.[96]

Commenting on the progress and popularity of the technical education in Kashmir, the Education Reorganisation Committee states that, "The enrolment of students, the record of old students who received training in these schools as well as the

[93] Ibid., p. 33.
[94] Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939), His Highness Government of Jammu and Kashmir, , Srinagar: Kashmir Mercantile Press, 1939
[95] Ibid., p. 89
[96] Ibid.

impression that we gathered by discussing the matter with many people show that the institutes are neither popular nor have they played their expected role in the development of crafts and cottage industries in the state. Their alumni too have been either hankering after services or suffering from unemployment and very few of them have shown the capacity to set up successful independent business of their own."[97] Thus the technical education introduced in the valley in general and Jammu and Kashmir in particular made the students more manual labourers rather than the skilled professionals.

3.2.10 Sharp Committee Report (1916) and Education in Kashmir

Educational Conference of 1915, which proposed a number of reforms in education, also recommended a more direct involvement of the government of India in the educational affairs of the state.[98] This ultimately led to the appointment of Mr H. Sharp, Educational Commissioner of the Government of India, who was loaned to the Kashmir Darbar for a period of two months, to submit report on the condition of education in Kashmir. The Sharp Committee Report, quoted widely by Kashmiri Muslim organisations inside and outside the state, contributed significantly towards crystallizing the idea of Kashmiri Muslim backwardness in education.[99]

The Sharp Committee Report went beyond the state in delving into the reasons for the low educational status among Kashmiris in general and Muslims in particular. Maintaining the colonial focus on class, the report pointed out that poverty and the agricultural class basis of Kashmiri Muslims was the reason for the lack of literacy among them.[100] After making the thorough study of education system, Sharp submitted a detailed report. The main recommendations of the Report were as under:

According to the Report, further expansion of primary education was "a prime necessity." Hence it recommended that an early attempt should be made to establish a school in every village of 500 or more inhabitants, 1,100 new schools may be established.[101]

The Report recommended institutionalisation of technical education in the state. In a colonial rhetoric, it stated that due to agriculture based economy of Kashmir modern curriculum had no value for them. Hence Sharp recommended the foundation of

[97] Ibid., pp. 89-95
[98] Political Department, 99/P-104/1915, Jammu State Archives.
[99] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 98.
[100] Sharp, *A Note on Education in the State of Jammu Kashmir*, p. 40.
[101] Ibiid., p. 14

mechanical, agricultural, horticulture, basket making, carpentry and cattle-breeding schools. Sharp regretted the absence of medical and legal education.[102]

Sharp's Report does much to valorise the category of religious community in the state organisation of education.[103] For instance, the report recommended the appointment of a Muslim teacher to Sri Pratap College, Srinagar, and State High School Srinagar, and the appointment of Muslim headmasters to some middle schools of city. Report makes it clear that in 1916 state appointed some Hindus from Punjab in offices, since it was impossible to obtain the services of Kashmiri Muslims for this purpose. So the Report, if not directly but indirectly recommended the appointment of Punjabi Muslims in the schools and colleges of Kashmir, which will encourage the educational development in Kashmir.[104] The system of appointing *Mullahs* in schools should be extended. A *Mullah* teacher should be appointed where the headmaster is a Hindu and the Muslim population of the village is considerable. This had been done in 80 out of existing 300 schools. In two thirds of new schools 800 *Mullah* teachers will have to be appointed. Stipends in normal schools should be reserved for Muslim teachers to enable them to take over primary school, thereby doing away with *Mullah* teachers.[105]

Sharp also made suggestion for reforms in college education, he recommended the addition of teaching staff. A tutorial system especially in the intermediate classes would be more beneficial than the present concentration of the energies of the staff upon lecturing. He stressed upon the Grant-in-aid, which was inadequate. The grants should be raised by Rs. 10,000 a year. Special mention was made of Islamia High School Srinagar and C.M. S. High School.[106]

Regarding teacher's training, Sharp Report, suggested the opening of a training class for Anglo-Vernacular teachers who are deputed outside at one of its colleges. Efforts must be made to find scope for trainees at other places also, other than Lahore, like Allahabad, Lucknow and Jabalpur. The intake of pupil-teacher at the normal school should be raised to 100. The Report recommended an organised attempt to open primary girl's schools at those places in Srinagar where boys high or middle schools existed.

[102] Ibid., pp. 32-36
[103] According to Sharp, Muslims were most backward in education. Only 15 per mile of male Muslim and nil per mile of female Muslims were found literate in 1911, against 38 and 1 per mile whole population. Sharp also argued that province of Jammu received more generous treatment in the education than Kashmir. Ibid., p. 40.
[104] Ibid., pp. 41-46
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.

Besides Maharaja was asked to seek the services of Christian Missionaries and other agencies. The Report also suggested some measures for the extension of education to other weaker classes like *Gujjars*, low caste people like *Dooms*. Sharp recommended a specialised school for these classes.[107]

The Sharp Committee Report was important in the sense that it was the direct involvement of Government of India in the educational affairs of the state. After submission of the Report, the government accepted most of the recommendations of the Report. However, as will be seen, they were not implemented due to the ambivalent policy of the government. The foresighted recommendation of the Report, to establish a school in every village of 500 population, remained a dream to come true even in hey days of the Dogra Raj.

3.2.11 Progress of Education Till 1925

The Sharp Committee Report suggestions were path breaking as for the history of education in Kashmir is concerned. However, government was unable to put them in practice. As in 1921, the Jammu and Kashmir with its preponderance of illiterate village folk was still very backward in education and was unable to stand in comparison with the Indian provinces and other leading Indian States. From the table shown below, it will be see from the marginal statement that with the exception of the North-Western Frontier Provinces, Kashmir was far behind the remaining provinces and sates in general literacy. Although, there was some satisfaction to think that that Kashmiris are slightly ahead of Gawaliar, Hyderabad and Rajputana and Ajmer Mewar in point of literacy in English.[108] Total literacy Rate of Jammu and Kashmir State was 2.21%, in which male literacy was 4.6% and females were far behind in literacy with only 1.2%.[109]

Among all the districts of state Jammu city was leading with 4.8%, it was because large number of schools was established in Jammu. Jammu city followed by Srinagar city and southern part of Kashmir province. These regions obviously owe its position to the presence of a large number of schools and state servants besides traders and Kashmiri Pandits in the city. The district of Baramulah in Northern Kashmir was lagging behind in comparison with Southern part. Its literacy rate was 1.5% in 1921, which had not

[107] Ibid.
[108] Bahadur Chandhri Khushi Mohammad Khan, *Census of India, 1921, Vol. XXII, Kashmir Part-I Report* Lahore : Mufid-i-Am Press, 1922, p. 110.
[109] It may not be out of place to mention hare that in these figures Frontier districts were excluded. Ibid.

increased since 1911. Punch Ilaqa with literacy rate of 1.4% was the lowest in literacy among all.[110]

Table 3.4 Rate of Literates per 1000

Province or Sate	All Languages	English
North-Western Frontier Provinces	5	1
Bihar and Orissa	51	4
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	42	4
Central India Agency	36	4
Madras	98	11
Punjab	45	7
Bombay	83	12
Mysore	84	12
Gawaliar	40	3
Hyderabad	33	3
Rajputana and Ajmer Merwar	39	2
Kashmir State	26	4

Source: Census of India, 1921, Vol. XXII, Kashmir Part-I

If examining by religion the Jains, who are essentially a trading community, occupy the foremost place, followed by Christians, who have 280 literates (75 males and 286 females) per mile.[111] The Sikhs who mostly belong to the class of permanent immigrants to this state are well represented in trades and services were at third position with 116 literates per mile. The Hindus, who preponderate in the urban population and comprise well known literate castes like Kashmiri Pandits and the urban Brahman population of cities and towns, claim 70% literates. Buddhists have 3.5% literacy rate, the reason for this may be exclusion of the Buddhists whose knowledge is limited to the ability to read the *chhus* (Buddhist scripts).[112]

The Muslims have added four persons to every 1000 of their literate population during the last ten years, but they still present a sad contrast to their Hindu brethren as 98.8% Muslims are still unable to read and write. No doubt a lot of measures were taken

[110] Ibid.
[111] But it should be borne in mind that by far the largest quota of literacy among Christians is furnished by Europeans and Anglo-Indians among whom 95.9% are literate. Ibid.
[112] Ibid., pp. 110-11.

by the government to give education to Muslims[113] but the progress was not upto the mark.

Table 3.5 Literates per mile among Different Religious Communities of Kashmir

Religion	Persons	Males	Females
Hindu	70	126	6
Arya	45	66	19
Sikh	116	189	34
Jain	412	612	129
Buddhist	3	69	2
Muslim	12	20	1
Christian	280	275	286

Source: Census of India, 1921, Vol. XXII, Kashmir Part-I

Assessing the literacy rate on the basis of the caste, the Kashmiri Pandits top the list with 30%[114] in which 51.7% were males and 1.3% females. The *Khatries* came next with 39.9% literates, but their number of female literates is six times as high as that of Kashmiri Pandits.[115] The *Mohya*l Brahmans, who are an enterprising community residing chiefly in the Mirpur and Jammu districts, are forward in education with 33.3% male 5.6% female literates. The *Meghs*, *Thakkur*s *and Jats* are mostly agriculturalists and are still cited with old notions on the subject of education. Hindu Rajputs have advanced educationally since the last census. The Muslim castes make a poor show, the highest literacy (2.1%) being recorded by the *Pathans*, followed by *Arain* and *Sheikh* with 1.8% each. The Kashmiri Muslims, who should be taken to indicate the true state of literacy among the indigenous population more than any other local caste, has 99.2% illiterates. As regards Buddhists, the number of illiterate males and females of *Mangriks* is 93.4% and 99.8% respectively.[116]

Literacy in English has been realised by particular communities, 5.9% males are literate in English while the proportion of females does not come up to even 0.1%. The

[113] These measures are—grant-in-aid to Muslim schools, provision of scholarships for them, appointment of teachers in State High Schools, training of some Muslim teachers and appointment of Muslim teachers. Ibid. p. 112.
[114] Although their literacy has reduced as it was 37% in 1911, it was because of the some technical changes in recording in literacy rate. Ibid., p. 112.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.

largest numbers of English knowing persons are naturally in areas with state offices and educational institutions. Southern part of Kashmir and Jammu districts with 17.6% and 13.5% English knowing males takes lead. So for as the percentage of female English knowing persons in these regions was concerned, it was 0.7% for Kashmir South and 0.6% for Jammu district.[117]

The prevalence of English literacy by religion is illustrated by the marginal statement. It will be observed that the relative position of the different religious in respect of English literacy is same as for general literacy, except the Sikhs who excel Hindus and Aryas in general literacy, occupy a lower position in point of English education. The Muslims and Buddhists also exchange places, although the Muslims cannot claim to posses more than the 0.1% English knowing persons, the Buddhists show a clean sheet.[118] Kashmiri Pandits, as expected, lead in the English knowing persons, with 10.45% followed by *Khatris*, *Mohayal*, *Mahajans*, and the Rajputs. The *Pathans*, the *Mughals* and the *Sheikhs* are the best represented castes among Muslims in English literacy, but they are still far below the general level attained by the advanced Hindu castes.

Table 3.6 Rate of Literates in English per 1000 across different Religions

Region	Persons	Males	Females
All	3	---	---
Hindu	12	22	---
Arya	11	20	1
Sikh	7	13	1
Jain	53	115	5
Buddhist	---	---	---
Muslim	1	1	---
Christian	212	207	207

Source: Census of India, 1921, Vol. XXII, Kashmir Part-I

Literacy in languages other than English shows relative prevalence of the six more important languages among the followers of three main religions of the state. The most

[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid. 115.

favourite language was Urdu with 28, 202 literates, owing to its position as the court language and the medium of instruction in the state schools. The proportion of Urdu knowing persons among the Hindus and Muslims was 2.2% and 0.5% respectively. There are 2.5% Urdu knowing Sikhs and this proportion is only exceeded by Gurmukhi (5.3%) which is their religious script.

Next to Urdu, Persian was cultivated by the largest number of persons both among Hindus and Muslims. The proportion of 0.5% among the former which is in excess of the correspondence proportion 0.25% among Muslims, is largely contributed by college and school students. Literacy in Arabic (0.15%) was pursued exclusively by Muslims. The number of Dogri knowing persons in a population of 3,259,527 is 5821 of whom 5,287 are Dogra Hindus of Jammu province. Out of 8,316 Hindi literates in the state, no less than 7,564 naturally hail from the Jammu province, with its preponderance of Hindu population. In Kashmir province where majority of population speaks Kashmiri does not find any person literate in their mother tongue.[119]

3.3 Conclusion

Educational development took a major leap initially under the state council, and later under Maharaja Pratap Singh, who was partially given his powers back in 1905 and full in 1922. A number of reforms and changes were brought in the education system; one important development was the establishment of education department in1907. Government took active interest in the management and control of the education system. One of the interesting reforms that the government made was to make the students especially the village folk and learn and crafts. Technical education was started just to promote the local industry, to modernise the technical education and to teach the pupil the new techniques which will support them in their careers, so the project of technical education was always limited to fulfil the local needs rather than to make it an enterprise. Efforts were made to introduce agricultural education in village schools where students came from the agricultural homes; just to realise them that they had to go with the hereditary occupation rather than to make them experts in the field. Education of depressed class remained a question mark. Female education was ignored, and trained teachers were rarely available.

The impact of Colonial state can be seen in the educational policies of State Council that can be observed when the education was to remain confined to upper

[119] Ibid., p. 116.

classes; control over higher education, suitable education to suitable boys was to make the artisans and agriculturalists boys aware of their respective occupations. A number of changes were brought by Hari Singh, the successor of Pratap Singh in the educational policy of state. What policy changes he brought in the system will be interesting to know, and how far these policies affected the educational prospects of people in Kashmir will be looked in the next chapter.

Chapter IV

The discourse on education underwent a dramatic change in 1925, when Maharaja Hari Singh succeeded to throne of Jammu and Kashmir. Although he presented himself as an enlightened ruler whose "dearest wish" was educating the subjects of even the remotest corners of his state, his reign ushered in the end of Dogra rule of Jammu and Kashmir. Educated at Mayo College, Ajmer, Hari Singh was hailed by Kashmiri Muslim organisations as a "highly enlightened ruler under whose wise and sympathetic guidance people of this great state are sure to advance in various spheres of human activity.[1] This praise was quickly followed by a long list of demands by the All India Kashmiri Conference which would set the tune for the rest of Hari Singh's rule, despite his attempts at furthering the cause of education. Dogra state defined itself and its right to rule solely based on its religious affiliation, and, much like its colonial counterpart in British India categorised its subjects singularly on the basis of their religious affiliation.[2]

Hari Singh took the initiative of opening several new schools in the *mofassil*, such as Hari Singh High School in Baramulah, and raising the standards of several others, such as the Hanfia Middle School in Anantnag which became a High School in 1926. Education Department even began to take steps to provide Muslim teachers in schools situated in localities with a predominantly Muslim population.[3] A number of bold steps were taken in the development of education; however, his rule was fraught with increasing animosity between communities, whose definition by this time had been appropriated by a new educated leadership as unified, immutable entities that could relate to each other only in appropriate terms.[4]

4.1 Expansion of Education under Hari Singh

The number of government and aided institutions in state rose from 782 in 1925 to 961 in 1926. The number of pupils attending different institutions rose from 47,792 in 1925 to 54,829. In 1926 there was an increase of 7, 037 pupils including 732 girls, out of which the primary schools recorded an increase of 5,604 including 547 girls.

[1] Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*: *Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003, p. 207.
[2] Ibid., p. 210.
[3] Education Department 222-U/1926, Jammu State Archives
[4] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, pp. 207-08.

Table 4.1 Classification of Schools according to Religion and Sex

Particulars	1925/Males	1926/Males	1925/Females	1926/Females
Rajputs	2,531	2,937	7	25
Hindus	17,099	17,741	1,893	2,313
Muslims	22,797	27,651	1,281	1,562
Sikhs	1,408	1,595	189	194
Christians	30	33	1	2
Others	515	728	32	48

Source: Annual Administrative Reports, Jammu and Kashmir, 1925-1926-27

The above statement shows that educationally backward communities viz. Muslims Rajputs and Sikhs were steadily progressing, the percentage of increases in the number of their schools being 21, 16 and 13 respectively.[5] The number of students on the rolls of Sri Pratap College at the close of 1926 was 480 out of whom 9 were Thakurs, 390 Non-Thakur Hindus, 74 Muslims and 7 Sikhs.[6]

In an educational conference held in 1929, Home Minister emphasised moral and religious content to be introduced in higher education. He argued that, "the system of college and schools instructions followed hitherto-fore has tended only to foster zeal for passing university examinations, but physical and moral sides of education have not received adequate attention." "The task before you", he added, "is thus by no means an easy one and you have to put your heads together to work out policies to set education of the state on a sounder footing." He reaffirmed that, "knowledge is power so it should be imparted in such a way as may tend towards the building of student's character that His Highness has been laying so much stress upon. In this way they will be able to discharge their duty to God, king, and country faithfully"[7]

The number of primary schools for boys rose from 593 to 738 and the attendance there in rose from 28,328 to 33,385. Twenty new schools were opened in the Frontier Districts in Gilgit and Ladakh so as to bring education within easy search of illiterate people living in the hilly tracts.[8] Administrative report of Education Department of 1929-30 reported the stagnation in the lower classes continued inspite of the repeated

[5] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1926-27.
[6] Ibid
[7] Annual Administrative Report of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir, 1929-30.
[8] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1926-27.

departmental orders that no student should continue to be in infant class for more than eighteen months. Cleanliness in the schools especially village schools was emphasised. Cleanliness parades and all possible measures were adopted to give a practical shape to the observance of cleanliness in schools.

To ensure regular work in primary schools, teachers are now required to keep diaries which are examined at every inspection to see if the teacher has been working regularly. Regarding the teaching methods the Inspector of School observes, "Teaching methods in primary schools need much attention. Though the number of trained teachers has increased and is as high as 75% in Kulgam tehsil, 70% in Awantipura and 60% in Anantnag, teaching continues to be much below the mark. Training does not necessary imply that the teacher is capable and good. For one thing the initial qualification of teacher is important and again the quality of the training course has been now increased to two years in place of one and this should ensure better training but so long the training institutions are not better housed and equipped, tangible results in this direction are difficult to achieve."[9]

The number of secondary schools for boys rose from 47 in 1925 to 49. The increase was due to opening of Shri Hari National High School at Baramulah and C.M.S. Middle School at Amirakadal Srinagar, both of which received aid from government. Out of 13 Government High schools, the overcrowding continued into those situated at headquarters of Jammu and Srinagar. High school in Jammu continued to be full especially in High classes. The need of a second High School is greatly felt and the question is under consideration. Inspector of Schools, Kashmir says, "The problem of congestion in the Srinagar High Schools has hardly been touched by the addition of a High Department to the Rainawari School. As suggested last year a liberal scheme of scholarship to divert a part of the secondary school population to technical institutions is necessary. At present quite a number of the boys go up to the Matriculation for want of anything else to do and this besides increasing unemployment leads to a deterioration of the work of instruction in the high stage."[10]

The number of *Maktabs* and *Pathshalas* rose from 74 in 1925 to 90 in 1926 and the attendance there in rose from 2,137 to 2,546. Each of these institutions receives allowances of Rs. 10 per mensum and these small seminaries are doing very useful work

[9] Annual Administrative Report of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir, 1929-30.
[10] Ibid.

in fulfilling the educational needs of different localities. Besides these there were 8 Sanskrit *Pathshalas* with 180 students on roll.[11] The number of girl's primary schools rose to 5,266. The number of girl's attending these schools increased from 3,412 to 4,144. Nine primary schools for girls which had been sanctioned could not be opened, chiefly for want of suitable female teachers.

The number of Muslim scholars attending the public institutions (state and aided) rose from 24,078 in 1925 to 29,213 in 1926.[12] There were 97 teachers and candidates receiving training in Government Normal School during the period with a view to meet increased demand for trained teachers, the course of training in the normal schools was reduced from two years to one. Scouting was made compulsory in the Junior Vernacular Normal School and extended to all schools and colleges within the state. A scout organiser was appointed for conducting the movement on right lines. As a result various Scout Camps were held in different parts of the state and a spirit of social service was infused into Scouts.[13]

At the annual prize distribution of Sri Pratap College Srinagar Maharaja stressed upon the relation between educational needs and realities of life. Maharaja added that the expenditure on education is steadily rising; nonetheless one witnessed the dismal spectacle of qualified young men going begging for employment in large numbers. In order to overcome this Maharaja laid stress upon industrial education. Maharaja further advised the students, "to cultivate breadth of vision and a spirit of courtesy and consideration towards those who happen to entertain views and feelings different from yours." To acquire the habit of discipline according to the high ethical principles and standards, Maharaja wanted the students to respect their teachers both inside and outside college.[14]

[11] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1926-27
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Civil and Military Gazette, Jammu and Kashmir, 18-11-1927.

4.2 Primary Education Act of 1930

In 1930, the Government of Jammu and Kashmir took a bold step, when Primary Education Act of 1930 was passed. By this Act, free and compulsory primary education was introduced with effect of first *Baisakh* 1930, in the Municipal towns of Jammu, Srinagar, Sopore and the notified area towns of Mirpur and Udhampur. To make application of compulsion lawful a Primary Regulation as well as rules there under for the guidance of parents or guardians of boys between 6 and 11 years were promulgated.[15]

Unlike British India, the entire funds to meet the expenditure on primary education in state would be met not by local bodies but from the government exchequer.[16] Section-I of Act made it mandatory for parents to send their boys to schools, if parents failed to do the same, without any reasonable cause, section-V of Act punishes the negligence of parents with a fine not exceeding Rs. 25. If any person other than parent of boy employs the boy in any work during the prescribed hours of attendance of school the person will be fined with Rs. 25 (Sec.-VI).[17]

The regulations of Act provided for the creation of Attendance Committees composed mainly of non-officials. The members of these committees were expected to popularise education among the masses by their personal influence and persuade parents in their localities to take advantage of the facilities provided for their children's education, and thus minimize the need for adopting penal measures.[18]

Srinagar, with its population of nearly two lakh presented a difficult problem for the organisers of compulsory education. But the appointment of a whole time attendant officer has been of a considerable help in the working of scheme. The attendance officer was ex-officio Secretary of the two attendance committees and is expected to supervise and help the teachers in attracting boys of their respective localities to school. He has also to file cases in the court against defaulting parents whose prosecution is authorised by the attendance committees.[19]

[15] Publicity Department, F. No. 19/S-120/1930, Jammu State Archives.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Gh Rasool and Minakshi Chopra, *Education in Jammu and Kashmir: Issues and Documents*, Jammu: Jay Kay Book House, 1986, p. 377.
[18] Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939), His Highness Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar: Kashmir Mercantile Press, 1939, p. 18.
[19] Ibid.

By this measure 5,132 boys were added to the rolls of primary schools in Srinagar alone.[20] Twenty-eight new primary schools were opened at Srinagar and three at Sopore.[21] The government has made general provision for the supply of free books for children in government compulsory schools.[22] The supply of free books has induced many of the poor parents to take advantage of the schooling facilities readily which they otherwise have been reluctant to do.[23]

New scheme proved successful, although with number of limitations. Firstly, main intention of the government was to educate urban classes, who have already some tradition of education. The main focus of the Act was two major cities––Jammu and Srinagar; however, poor masses who predominantly reside in villages remained out of ambit of the Act. Even the Education Reorganisation Committee of 1939 justified the exclusion of rural areas in this scheme, due to a number of reasons. Committee asserted that rural population was scattered, and distances involved are very considerable and communications difficult.[24]

As stated children between 6-11 were eligible for this scheme, but during this short period it was doubtful if permanent literacy can be attained by a pupil of average ability. It is fairly obvious that, in a four years course, which doesn't go beyond the age of about 11, it is impossible, psychologically speaking, to train the child in those social and civic attitudes, and even to impart him that knowledge of social issues and problems. For these reasons, it was largely a waste of time, money and energy to educate children for about four or five years and then let them out of schools semi-literates, half-baked in their ideas and ill-adapted to their practical and social environment.

Attendance Committees have functioned only in a perfunctory way and have not done anything appreciable in the way of propaganda or persuasion within their own sphere of influence.[25] The most important lacuna of the Act was that it exempted some classes and communities from the operation of the Act, which means a large number of lower class people did not take advantage of the scheme although they lived within the Municipal and Town areas of the state. Under this scheme only boys were included in the

[20] Triennial Administrative Report, Jammu and Kashmir, 1927-30.

[21] S. L.Seru,. *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir: 1872-1973*, Srinagar: Ali Mohammad and Sons, 1973, p. 113

[22] Annual Administrative Education Report, Jammu and Kashmir, 1929-30.

[23] Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939), p. 18.

[24] Ibid., p. 36

[25] Ibid.

schools, thus keeping a large population of girls outside the influence of Act. However, Act was an audacious step towards the popularisation of education among the people of state, since compulsion in education was rare in other states of India. But due to the financial constraints the scheme was not vigorously enforced.

4.3 Glancy Commission (1931) and Education in Kashmir

The decade of 1930s was a vibrant decade in the political history of Kashmir. It was the beginning of anti-state activities, by a middle class, who have been studying in the different universities of India. The incident of 13 July, when 22 Muslims were killed by Dogra police, gave boost to the national upsurge. In order to pacify people; Maharaja appointed a commission on 12 November, 1931.[26]

Though the Commission was not directly concerned with the issues of education, still it made some important recommendations in this regard. Recognising the demand of Kashmiri's in general and Muslims in particular, the Commission devoted a whole chapter to its redressal.[27] The Commission reported that of all complaints to Commission, the most wide spread and insistent are to the effect that certain communities, especially the Muslim community, are not given a fair chance in the matter of education and are not enlisted in sufficient numbers in the state service. As representative in the state services must depend to a very large extent on educational facilities, it is proposed to deal first with the question of education. Regretting the negligence of state on recommendations of Sharp Committee, Commission declared, "It is a frequent cause of complaint that Sharp's recommendations have not been given publicity and have been to a great extent ignored."[28]

Regarding the primary education Mr Sharp expressed his opinion that from the educational point of view an increase in the number of primary schools formed the principle requirement in the state. In its opinion the Commission entirely concurs: any educational development that may be made in other directions should not be allowed to obscure the fact that an expansion in the matter of primary schools must be regarded as

[26] It was consisting of four non-officials members presided over by a European Officer whose services were lent to the Jammu and Kashmir State by the Government of India at His Highness request. The four non-official members were made up of one Muslim and one Hindu from Jammu Province, and one Muslim and one Hindu from the Kashmir Province, each nominated by their respective communities. So the commission was presided over by B. J. Glancy. *Report of the Commission appointed under the orders of His Highness Maharaja Bhadur, dated 12th Nov. 193, to Enquire into the Grievances and Complaints*, Jammu, Ranbir Government Press, 1932, p. 1. Here after Glancy Commission.
[27] Zutshi, Languages of Belonging, p. 240.
[28] Glancy Commission, p. 9.

the main necessity.[29] In Sharp's time there were only 311 primary schools, including 36 aided schools in the state. His advice was that the number of schools should be increased by 1,100 so as to provide primary education in villages with the population of 500 or over; he suggested that this programme should be carried out within a period of ten years.[30] The existing number of primary schools was reported to be only 842 including aided schools. The state programme provides for the opening of twenty new primary schools each year. It is obvious that this programme is far from sufficient. If effect is to be given to Sharp's recommendations and the programme continues without modification, it means that some 28 years more will elapse before the state Education Department attains to a standard which should have been reached in 1926.

Thus Commission recommended that great importance should be given to the expansion of primary education to accelerate the process. A definite programme showing places in which new schools are to be established in the next years should be prepared together with a map illustrating the present state of development and the progress to be made.[31]

Commission suggested that care should be taken to see that Muslim students receive all practical encouragement in matter of receiving education. Commission emphasised the reforms in the teachers training and establishment of more Normal Schools. The technical education for the sons of craftsmen was given priority. The Kashmiri Pandits also made demand for technical education. They demanded that special treatment should be afforded to them in the matter of technical training.

It appears to the Commission to be a matter of great importance that the education imparted in village schools should as far as possible be such as to equip the pupils for the practice of that profession which they are normally expected to pursue.[32] Regarding the girl's education Commission recommended that a grant of Rs. 1000 might be provided for scholarships for girls.[33] Commission's recommendations like earlier were not implemented properly due to financial problems. The report of the Commission became a

[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid., pp. 9-10
[33] Ibid., p. 14.

much used stick with which to beat the Darbar into conceding communitarian demands for next few years. [34]

4.4 Progress of Education Till 1938

Developments suitable to the growth of education in 1930s led to the significant increase in the institutions and number of students at all stages of education. This will be amply borne out by the following table giving the number of boys in the primary, middle and high department during the last five years.[35]

Table 4.2 Number of Boys at Different Stages of Schooling

Year	Primary Department	Middle Department	High Department
1934	40,974	8,617	3,351
1935	42,423	8,991	3,419
1936	44,161	11,170	3,595
1937	43,849	11,163	3,745
1938	45,730	11,080	4,067

Source: Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939)

But unfortunately this increase in the number of students, which in itself was a matter of gratification, has resulted in undesirable congestion in many schools—particularly in the big cities and in the secondary schools—because there has not been a corresponding increase either in the number of schools or in the buildings and equipment of the existing schools. The main problem of Education Department was that schools were insufficient in number, poorly furnished and equipped, overcrowded with unmanageable classes, and often staffed with inadequate and sometimes ill-qualified teachers. These factors cannot but adversely affect the efficiency of the teaching imparted and the general physical and mental health both of teachers and students. Educational Reorganisation Committee of 1939 found 1,250 students in Sri Pratap High School Srinagar, in its five classes from 6^{th} to 10^{th} standard. Some of the sections contained as many as 80 boys, all crowded together in rooms whose area was not more than about 400sq. ft.

[34] Zutshi, Languages of Belonging, p. 240
[35] Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939), p. 12.

As in most of the larger towns there are a number of primary schools but it can safely be deduced that proportionately there are fewer schools in villages. But even if this consideration is ignored, it works out to an average of one boys school for 8 or 9 villages and one girls school for 57 villages—a state of affairs which is obviously unsatisfactory. To this depreciating picture must be added further alarming details that most of the primary schools fail to keep large majority of their pupils for the full five years and that, even in the case of those who are able to complete the full course of primary schools, it is extremely doubtful if permanent literacy is achieved. Reference may be made, in passing, to the position of girl's education in the state, although we shall discuss it in a separate chapter.

The table below gives the number of government schools for boys and girls in the different regions of state, and, considering that this was the existing provision for the education of a female population of about 20 lakhs, the figures tell their own tale.[36]

Table 4.3 Number of Government Schools for Boys and Girls

Institutions	Jammu	Kashmir	Frontier Area	Total
Colleges Boys	1	1	---	2
College Girls	---	---	---	---
High Schools (Boys)	10	5	---	15
High Schools (Girls)	1	1	---	2
Middle Schools (Boys)	47	35	3	85
Middle Schools (Girls)	11	11	---	22
Primary Schools (Boys)	408	385	45	838
Primary Schools (Girls)	78	66	---	144
Total	556	505	48	1,108

Source: Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939)

This incidentally shows that at present there are no facilities available in the Frontier Districts for the secondary students desiring to obtain high school education and have to come all the way to Kashmir for the purpose. It may, however, be pointed out that

[36] Ibid.

the government has considerably provided certain scholarship for such students. It will be seen from the above figures that there is not a single institute, primary or secondary, in Frontier Districts for girl's education. A more glaring fact is that government is giving more preference to Jammu province in educational matters.

According to Census of 1931, 1,23,386, persons were retuned as literate out of a total population of 36, 00,000. Of these 73,008 were in Jammu province, 45,751 in Kashmir province and only 4,807 in the Frontier District. During the ten years period from 1921 to 1931, Jammu province showed a rise in literacy of 95% over the figures of 1921, Kashmir of 45% and Frontier District of 41%. Of the total number of literates 1,14,807 were males out of the total population of 19, 38,338 and 9,038 were females out of total female population 17, 07,905.[37] The percentage of literacy among males thus works out to 5.92% and among females at a little over 0.53%. These figures tell their own tale and it seems unnecessary to comment on them beyond pointing out that if the present rate of progress were maintained it will take about 300 years to make the whole population literate.[38]

Since 1931 there has certainly been a somewhat more rapid expansion of education and, due to various political and other causes, public conscience has also been roused and people have come to realise the value of education more urgently than ever before. This is evidenced by the fact that the department is constantly receiving applications from rural as well as urban areas for opening of new schools. In 1930, as discussed, in some cities and towns, compulsory primary education, was introduced for the first time in the state. This fact combined with the growing interest taken by the parents in the education of their children has resulted in increasing the percentage of literacy during the last years since the last Census was taken. But it is obvious from the figures given above that the present position of literacy even amongst the males, to say nothing of females—compares unfavourably with that in British Indian provinces and many advanced Indian states as the following table will show:

[37] Rai Bhadur Pandit Anant Ram and Pandit Hira Nand Raina, *Census of India, 1931, Vol. XXIV, Jammu and Kashmir Part I Report*, Jammu: Ranbir Singh Press, 1933.
[38] Ibid.

Table 4.4 Comparative Percentage of Literacy in some States and Provinces (Census, 1931)

State/Province	Population	Literacy	Male	Female
Travancore	5095973	23.98	33.38	13.89
Mysore	6557302	8.16	15.63	2.78
Hyderabad	14436148	4.12	7.15	.96
Baroda	2079931	20.92	33.51	7.92
United Provinces	49614833	4.69	8.23	.92
Punjab	28490857	4.99	8.88	1.26
Bombay	26271784	8.63	14.31	2.41
Jammu & Kashmir	**3646243**	**3.39**	**5.92**	**.53**

Source: *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XXIV, Jammu and Kashmir Part I

It should be remembered in this connection that this position is greatly aggravated by the constant lapse into illiteracy which is taking place almost as a normal consequence of the present defective education. Even those who complete the primary school course often fail to acquire effective literacy—to say nothing of the large majority that suffer from stagnation and never go beyond the second or third class. Then, these students live in villages and towns where there are no inducements or facilities for private study or continuation of education and where reading and writing is not a normal feature of pupil's daily life at all. The result is that, within a few years, even the primary passed students become incapable for reading anything useful intelligently and of writing even ordinary everyday letters.

4.4.1 Training of Teachers

The only institution for the training of teachers in the state was the Government Normal School at Udhampur. It admits 40 teachers to the junior vernacular class and 10 teachers to the senior vernacular class every year.[39] Post-graduate training for teachers of high schools was arranged for by deputing about ten graduates annually to certain training colleges in British India, usually the training colleges affiliated to the Aligarh Muslim University and Banaras Hindu University.

[39] Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939), p. 19.

Educational Reorganization Committee of 1939 regrets that, "This small number of teachers that can train under such limitations is obviously inadequate for the needs of an expanding educational system. Even at modest rate of expansion of the department, about 50 new posts of primary school teachers are created every year. This number, however, does not include the special posts of Urdu and Hindi teachers. Moreover, additional vacancies are caused by the death or retirement of teachers already in service. Further, among the teachers actually working in primary schools about two-thirds are untrained and have, therefore, no idea of educational methods or developments except what the most intelligent of them might gain through their personal study and experience."[40]

Committee found that there are no facilities in the state for the training of teachers of aided institutions, who are greatly handicapped by the absence of such facilities. Thus Committee made it clear to the government that, "if the Education Department is anxious to improve the general quality of education in the state it should be as much concerned about the efficiency of the private as about state schools and it should make arrangements for training their teachers also."[41]

The number of untrained teachers was obviously large because of the adoption of a more liberal scheme of educational expansion. "It is not merely the quantitative inadequacy of the present arrangement" which struck the Educational Reorganisation Committee, "but also the poor quality of the training given to the teachers admitted." The Normal school was housed in a ramshackle building which was entirely unsuitable for use as a training school. It was found that it lacks the educational equipments and appliances, no up-to-date books on educational theory and methods or on school subjects, and no arrangement for any practical work or crafts except a little agriculture. Its syllabus and courses, although revised, are not sufficiently rich and significant to provide any inspiration, stimulus or guidance for teachers and the Committee was informed that sometime back there was hardly any syllabus to direct the work of the school.

Thus it was natural, that working under these depressing conditions and without the guidance of a properly qualified and enthusiastic staff with up-to-date knowledge of

[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

education. Theory and practice, education all over the state has fallen into a rut.[42] Even where trained teachers may be working in schools, they are deprived alike of expert knowledge and of any inspiring ideal or ideology. Individual enthusiasm and competence on the part of headmaster or an inspecting officer may, here and there, kindle a spark a promise but it cannot lighten the general gloom. So Educational Reorganisation Committee strongly believed that, most important problem in educational reorganisation was the improvement of the quality and the efficiency of the teaching personnel which might be adequately equipped, both professionally and with man power.[43]

4.4.2 Grades and Salaries of Teachers

In 1930 it was found that salaries in the education department were fixed in 1900, under a different set of conditions. With the change in the economic situation and the increase in the cost of living, the salaries in other departments of the state have been revised, and in many cases, the prospects of state have been bettered. In Education Department also, the college professors, who were initially in the same grade as the headmasters, were given a better grade and placed in the time scale about 12 years ago. In the case of teachers, however, there has been no revision or increment of salaries and barring two or three grades at the bottom, no time scale has so far been introduced. This naturally created an anomalous situation.

A gazetted officer in the school department who is usually a trained B. A. or M. A. may get only Rs. 150/- and not rise to the next higher grade for years. On the other hand, a non-gazetted superintendent of an office, for whom no special qualification are prescribed, starts on 150/- and goes on rising by annual increment to Rs. 240/-. A trained matriculate teacher is placed in the grade of 20-1½ -35 but a fresh inexperienced matriculate employed as a clerk gets Rs. 25-2-55 and sometimes Rs. 30-3-75,[44] thus leading to the curious but entirely untenable assumption that an office clerk does more important or more strenuous work than a teacher and deserves to be better paid. The same anomaly persists in the higher grades also.

The salaries in the lowest grades, which account for the largest number of teachers of primary schools, are too low to permit any peace of mind to teachers who

[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid., p. 21.

have often to support large families. It is possible that a teacher may put in 30 years of loyal and efficient service and never rise above the maximum of the first grade i. e., Rs, 25/-. Under these circumstances it is understandable that the teachers should be thinking of taking as much tuition as possible supporting their scanty income. Absence of time scale promotion is not only a constant source of grievance of teachers but it also affects their efficiency adversely. When they work year after year without any promotion or improvement of their prospects and have to wait for the inexorable process of time to create vacancies in the next higher grade, and to carry them to the top of their grade, they are apt—consciously or unconsciously—to lose interest.

4.4.3 Qualification and Recruitment of Teachers

The minimum qualifications prescribed for teachers of primary school was passing the middle examination, though in the lowest grade of 15-1-20 "unqualified" people—*Maulvis*, *Pandits*, primary school passed even—have also been recruited in the past.[45] But this qualification "middle passed" was rather a vague fluid term because there was no uniform public examination at the end of class VIII and the headmasters of all high and middle schools are authorised to conduct their own examinations and to issue their own certificates. However, this internal examination was having fewer positives than negatives.[46] The result of this situation was that many candidates who have passed 8th class were very far from having attained the minimum standard of knowledge and mental training which is must for a teacher.

There was no clear or well defined procedure for governing the recruitment of teachers. Inspecting officers usually filled vacancies of a temporary nature. There were no standard application forms to facilitate selection. No attempt was made to define, in general terms, what qualities, academic, and personal, are to be required in candidates, and with the result much latitude was given to personal idiosyncrasy or extraneous considerations. So there was a general feeling that the teaching personnel was of inferior quality and unequal to its great task.[47]

[45] Ibid., p. 23.
[46]Since the internal examinations depends on the teachers and headmasters conducting them being acquainted with the proper technique of examinations, and possessing a due sense of their responsibility. A number of headmasters were not able to resist the temptation of showing high pass percentage from their school and thereby acquiring cheap credit before the parents of their boys in general public. Ibid.
[47] Ibid.

4.4.4 Inspecting Agency

In 1938, the inspection staff was consisting of one Provincial Inspector for each province, one Special Inspector of Muslim Education for whole state and five Assistant Inspectors under each Provincial Inspector. In addition to that, there were two Assistant District Inspectors in the Jammu Province who are in charge of the primary schools in smaller areas, under the general control of the Assistant Inspector concerned. This staff was totally inadequate because of the growing number of institutions of all grades, the difficulties of communication which make quick travel impossible in the greater part of the state, the long distances spreading schools, the rigour of climate conditions in some areas which make touring difficult, and even impossible, in certain seasons, and finally, the inadequacy, and even impossible, in certain seasons, and finally, the scantiness of the office establishment at each divisional headquarters.[48]

As far back as 1916, Sir Henry Sharp had recommended in his report the appointment of 10 Assistant or District Inspectors when the number of all institutions of all kinds was 367.[49] But in 1938 the number of institutions has risen to 1275, the total number of inspecting officers remains only 10. It was, therefore, obvious that effective supervision and guidance of the work of teachers, most of whom are untrained, becomes difficult if not impossible. Each Assistant Inspector has only two clerks under him which, considering the large amount of accounts, administration and office routine work to be done, was totally inadequate clerical assistance. This hampers him in his touring work and also holds up quick dispatch of business which is often a great hardship on the poor village teachers. The same difficulty has been experienced in the Direction Office where the ministerial establishment is quite insufficient for the amount of work that the office has to undertake in this direction.

4.4.5 Curriculum and Education System

Foundation of education system, like in other parts of India, starts with the five year primary schooling at the age of 5. In actual practice, except in towns, boys seek admission at the age of six or more. The subjects taught are language (Urdu) arithmetic

[48] Ibid., p. 24.
[49] H. Sharp, *A Note on Education in the State of Jammu Kashmir,* Calcutta: Superintendent Press, 1916, pp. 47-48.

and geography,[50] elementary hygiene and outline history of the State have been lately introduced in the curriculum, and teaching of *Dineyat* (theology) was introduced from the third class upwards just to attract Muslim boys. For Hindu boys Hindi Teachers taught their separate class.

The teaching of English was started from 5th class.[51] Middle school generally provides teaching up to class VIII. But there is also an intermediate grade of school called lower middle school which gives education for only one or two years of the primary stage. Most of the middle schools also have primary classes attached to them. From this anomalous position of the middle school, it will be seen that it has no defined status in the educational system and it neither provides real secondary education nor primary education to its students.

In the middle classes the subjects like English was taught, importance was laid on grammar and translation. Mathematics at this stage also includes arithmetic, practical geometry and very elementary knowledge of algebra. History of India and geography of the world, were also taught at middle standard. Besides these subjects Urdu was compulsory. In addition to these subjects students have to take two elective subjects out of the following: Science, agriculture, drawing and classics (Persian, Sanskrit or Arabic).[52] The last two classes in the school stage constitute the upper secondary or High Department. These high schools also, as previously pointed out; include not only the middle classes but sometimes the primary classes also. The courses of study and the curriculum in this department are determined by the Punjab University to which high schools of the state are affiliated.[53]

At this stage students are required to study five subjects—English, mathematics, history, of England and geography, and two elective subjects out of the following: classics, physical science, physiology and hygiene, drawing, language, agriculture. There were some changes for girl's education. At the primary stage, the syllabus for both the boys and girls was very much alike. At the middle stage, some needle work and subjects

[50] Geography of World (same as in Punjab Education Department), geography of Jammu and Kashmir , it was the part of general knowledge. Old English Records, F. No. 73/P-49/1911, Jammu State Archives.
[51] Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939), p. 19.

[52] Old English Records, F. No. 73/P-49/1911, Jammu State Archives.; Ibid., p. 20.
[53] Ibid., p. 13.

relating to domestic economy find a halting recognition in girl's school. But it was open to girl candidates if they like, to take only subjects which were prescribed for the boys.[54]

4.4.6 Finance and Education

In 1938 education budget amounts to $20^{1/2}$ lakhs of rupees out of a total income of about $2^{1/2}$ crores. Education thus gets a little more than 8% of the total income of the state, which cannot be considered to be an adequate percentage, even though it does not compare very unfavourably with the expenditure on education in some of the States and Indian provinces as indicated in the following figures.

Table 4.5 Comparative Percentage of Expenditure on Education in some States and Provinces (1931-34)

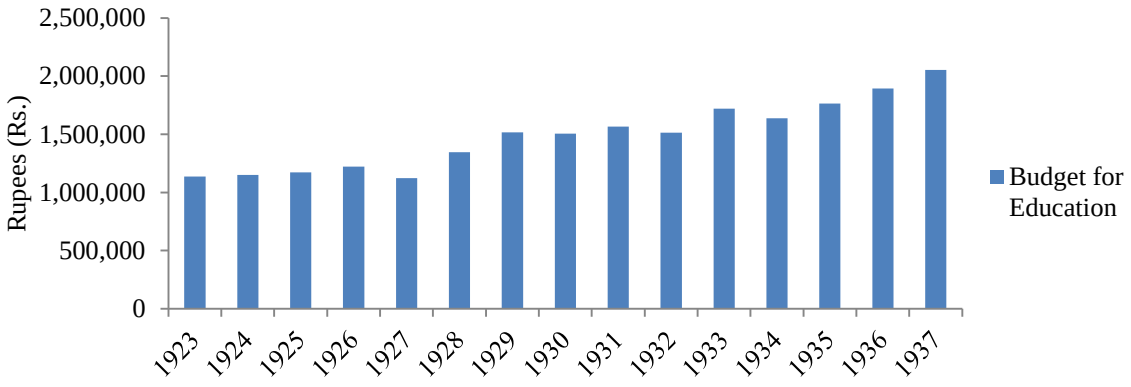
State/Province	Year	Percentage of Expenditure
Mysore	1933-34	19.5
Baroda	1931-32	14.1
United Provinces	1933-34	17.1
Punjab	1933-34	12.6
Bengal	1933-34	10.07
Jammu and Kashmir	**1933-34**	**5.59**

Source: Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939)

The fig. given below however shows that, during last ten years, the grants for education have almost doubled and that department has been expanding its scope of activities steadily.

[54] Ibid.

Fig. 4.1 Budget for Education from the Year 1923-1937



Source: Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939)

Out of the expenditure on education about $16^{1/2}$ lakhs were spent on boys education and about $3^{1/2}$ lakhs for girls education. The following table shows the distribution of the budget among various heads. The figures clearly show the disparity in the budget on the basis of gender.

Table 4.6 Distribution of the Budget among Various aspects of Education

Name of the Item	Boys	Girls
Direction	23,800	13,566
Inspection	76,100	9,934
College Education	2,38,000	---
Technical Education	82,500	---
High Schools	3,84,361	56,500
Middle Schools	3,59,888	1,25,917
Primary Schools	5,01,088	1,29,499

Source: Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939)

4.5 Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939) and Education in Kashmir

In order to give a nationalist identity to education, Mahatma Gandhi introduced the basic scheme of education. To him it was more constructive and humane and better with the needs and ideas of national life and also in harmony with the genius of Indian people. The basic idea of the scheme was that, education if sound on its principles, should be imparted through craft or productive work which should provide the nucleus of all the

other instructions provided in the school, in short it was the programme of education which emphasised "earn while learn."[55] In this back drop His Highness Maharaja appointed Educational Reorganisation Committee in June 1938 for the reorganisation of the existing system of primary and secondary education in the state, under the chairmanship of Mr K. G. Saiyidian, Director of Education and also been the member of Wardha Scheme of education. Its aim was to give a new orientation of educational policy and reorganisation of the existing educational system in the state, and to make recommendations for bringing into more vital touch with the needs of the people and the ideas of the good life.[56]

Committee attempts to deal with two inter-related aspects of the problem of educational reconstruction in the state, the expansion of educational facilities and the consolidation of the existing facilities. Committee made it clear that rapid expansion of educational facilities was imperatively called for because of alarmingly low percentage of literacy in the state, and the magnitude of the problem of providing education for a population of about 40 lakhs of people. It was equally important, in the opinion of the Committee, to think out ways and means for improving the efficiency and social significance of the existing educational system, to eliminate its wastage and stagnation, and to bring it into vital union with socio-economic as well as the cultural life of the people. Committee made a thorough survey of the education system of the state and made a number of valuable suggestions and recommendations, which are discussed under the following headings:

4.5.1 Primary Education

Regarding the primary education Committee pointed out that present four or five years of primary education are too short a period even for the attainment of mere literacy. Committee commented that, this unfortunate situation was primarily due to the fact that primary education, often inefficiently imparted, was not carried on long enough to give the children reasonable grounding even in reading, writing and arithmetic. So Committee strongly recommended the primary education should be extended to seven years that is from 7-14 years of age. It will not only ensure permanent literacy but also with the object

[55] Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, pp. 123-24.
[56] Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939), p. 3.

of keeping children, during the critical and formative period of their early adolescence, under educative influences and developing some of them valuable social and civic attitudes , which cannot be cultivated earlier.

Committee recommended a more vigorous policy of educational expansion, particularly in the rural areas. Committee suggested immediate extension of compulsion to the town of Anantnag, Shopian, Muzafferabad in Kashmir Province and Kathwa, Reasi and Bhimber in Jammu Province. Extension of compulsory education to rural areas was not easily, as according to Committee it was because of the communication problems which acted as stumbling block in this way. Committee recommended the establishment of well-staffed and equipped basic schools in Jammu and Srinagar city. So that it may serve as a practicing and demonstration centre for the provincial training schools as well as model school to demonstrate the possibilities of the extension of the new scheme to other centres.[57]

4.5.2 Training of Teachers

As discussed condition of lone training school was deplorable, Committee was dissatisfied with the existing arrangement for the training of teachers which was both insufficient and lacks inspiration. So it recommended first rate training schools should be opened without any delay. Curriculum should be overhauled and a longer period of training prescribed for the further generation of teachers. Committee suggested the shift of present Normal School at Udhampur to a more central convenient centre and remodelled in order to serve the needs of the new scheme of education.[58] For the training of primary school teachers Committee recommended the opening of two training institutions at Jammu and Srinagar each, which will train about 100 teachers every year.

Committee felt the need to overhaul and modernise the curriculum of training institutions in response to the demand of the changed and changing social and economic life of the people. It should be enriched and made more realistic by the inclusion of craft courses. In order to know the new developments in the educational theory and technique of teaching, Committee suggested the introduction of refresher courses. Regarding quality of teachers Committee recommended that the minimum qualification should be

[57] Ibid., p. 31
[58] Ibid., p. 39.

matriculate instead of middle pass.[59] For the backward communities like candidates from Frontier Districts, Harijans, the criteria should be same. Committee recommended a rise in the grade pay and the other anomalies should be abolished in promotions and increments. Besides raising the salaries the Committee felt that teacher community should be given self-respect to boost their confidence.

4.5.3 Making Secondary Schools Diversified

Needless to say that over-crowdedness in the secondary schools was the major problem especially in the towns of Srinagar and Jammu. These schools were not properly housed or staffed or equipped with necessary infrastructure. Committee recommended the maximum number of students should not exceed 40 in a class/section. Committee also proposed the engagement of aided institutions which can be done by liberalising rules governing grant-in-aid to private institutions. The most important recommendation in this section was the diversification and vocationalisation of secondary courses. Committee was against the giving purely academic education to the large masses, who falsely aim for the jobs. Committee put it, 'the state required, the services not only of clerks and administrations but also of trained and skilful artisans, craftsmen, engineers, medical workers, teachers, agriculturist and others in order to improve the existing standard, efficiency, productivity and general prosperity of the people.' After judging the occupational needs of the people Committee urged that government to take steps for gradual establishment of secondary school of the following type:[60]

I. Schools providing literacy and scientific education:- These will lead to the present matriculation of the university and their curriculum will therefore be largely determined by the requirements of the university. But it will be necessary to provide more optional subjects in the curriculum of such schools

II. The technical secondary schools:-In these schools training will be given in mechanical engineering, electric engineering, civil engineering and carpentry (furniture and house building). The object of these schools will be to train skilled artisans who would be able to take up intelligently mechanical, electrical and civil engineering and

[59] As middle pass candidates were not mature enough to deal with difficult and manifold human problems. Moreover there was no uniformity internal examination of middle grade candidates. Ibid., p.43.
[60] Ibid., p. 53.

carpentry work which is required for every day purposes and for which highly skilled scientific workers are not needed.

III. Agricultural and horticultural schools:- This type will give training in up-to-date operations of agriculture and fruit culture built on a basic foundation of general science—both physical and biological.

IV. Schools of medicine: - These would impart knowledge and training in the Unani and Ayurvedic system of medicine with up-to-date knowledge of human physiology and anatomy. Students trained in these schools will be qualified to take up health work in rural areas which is an urgently needed service.

V. Schools of arts and crafts: - From these schools teachers of arts and crafts be recruited for basic schools. These schools will also train boys of the artisan class and thus help to improve their technical efficiency.

VI. Schools of home crafts and Nursing will provide a course of education specially designed for girls to equip them to become intelligent householders and citizens.

VII. Schools for Teacher Training:- The schools with the vocational bias were designed as "schools of secondary education" which implied that "there will not be merely schools for technical and professional instruction but educational institutions whose intellectual and economic status will coeval with that of good secondary schools of an academic type.[61]

4.5.4 Direction and Inspection of Education

There was a general and perhaps inevitable tendency, in all government departments, at that time, for the clerical and file work to increase rapidly with the result that responsible officials were overburdened with clerical work and unable to attend as much to their real work as they should. Committee enquires that the Department of Education was no exception to this rule. In order to relieve the Director of Education from the purely routine work and to enable him to devote greater attention to work of guidance and supervision, Committee suggested, that he should be given a competent personal Assistant who should be a Gazetted Officer and should be duly qualified, not only to deal with office routine but also help the director in working out details of education schemes and proposals. Moreover measures should be taken to strengthen the

[61] That means arrangements should be made in these schools not only for technical instructions in the selected profession or vocation but also fro providing an adequate background of general knowledge and culture through a study of some of the important scientific and social studies as well languages which constitutes distinctively human, cultural and intellectual heritage. Ibid., pp. 54-55.

inspection staff and give them adequate clerical assistance with a view to releasing them from excessive attention to details of the office routine.

Committee expected that the inspecting staff should address themselves to the task of improving not only teacher's professional efficiency but also their social status and their sense of self-respect, instead merely a critic or a fault finder of the system. Furthermore they should keep themselves more up-to-date in their knowledge of educational methods and technique.[62]

4.4.5 Other Recommendations Relating to Miscellaneous Issues

Committee suggested that academic activity should be supplemented by regular physical education, supervised by qualified men. Teachers should be made responsible for the general physical health and development of children in their charge, provision should be made for trained and qualified physical instructors to give expert advice and guidance to teachers in this work.[63]

In order to lay stress on the manual work, Committee proposed to celebrate every year a manual week or labour week in all schools. During this period all the teachers and students should devote themselves to some kind of manual work required in school. Thrust was laid on the study of Oriental studies. Committee felt the need of an Arabic and Persian school to be established in Srinagar. Moreover, Committee suggested that there should be adequate provision for religious education in school for Muslims, Hindus and for other religious communities. Girls should be given the religious and moral education on priority bases.[64] Need was felt for establishing arts and crafts school in each province, which may not only provide higher training in these subjects for teachers but also serve as a centre of inspiration for the people of the state. Committee recommended that the existing technical school should be remodeled and recognized so as to fit in to new scheme of education.[65]

Regarding the medium of instruction Committee believed that due to the linguistic diversity of the state, it wasn't possible to select a language of mother tongue spoken in the state. Urdu being the court language was thus continued as the medium of instruction. But the Committee recommended that regional languages like Kashmiri, Balti, Dogri, Ladhaki etc. should be encouraged at the earlier stages of schooling, the

[62] Ibid., p. 77.
[63] Ibid., p. 84.
[64] Ibid., pp. 85-86.
[65] Ibid., p. 90.

student must be given instruction in their respective mother tongue up to third class, although the medium of instruction will not alter.[66] Recommendations were also made for the facilities to be provided for adult education, especially in rural areas. In this programme village teachers, students and volunteers would be main activists to promote the cause. Besides education department, Committee stressed that other departments should be involved in the propagation of adult education.[67]

The recommendations of Committee were really path breaking, although limited to secondary education. Committee for the first time investigated the complex problems of school education like the problem of inspection, pay anomaly of teachers, problem of teachers training and so on. Since the ideological foundations of scheme were off shoot of Wardha Scheme of Education, it was natural that a number of provisions of scheme were assimilated in the new scheme; the most followed aspect was the vocational bias in the secondary education which was also followed in the Wardha Scheme of Education.

The new scheme basically laid stress on the manual labour and make students more attractive to craftsmanship rather than to the academic as the Committee in the beginning declared, "In preparing the syllabus it should be presumed that about half of the time during the teaching hours would be given to academic teaching and half the time to craft work."[68]

Although with certain limitations and loopholes, the new scheme of education highlighted a number of problems, which the fragile education system of Kashmir was facing. So it was expected that the government will take serious steps to implement the maximum number of recommendations formulated by Educational Reorganization Committee of 1939, to give a new life to the education system of Kashmir.

4.5 Follow up of the Educational Reorganization Committee and Education till 1947

The state took a positive note of the educational Reorganization Committee and sanctioned Rs 1, 30,348 for the immediate establishment of teachers' training school for \ training of basic school teachers at Srinagar and opened two basic models schools one at Jammu and one at Srinagar. The teacher's training school was opened at Srinagar on 16 October, 1938 with 102 pupil teachers on roll.[69] The pupil teachers were receiving instructions in psychology, methods and principles of education in general sciences,

[66] Ibid., p. 69.
[67] Ibid., pp. 63-64.
[68] Ibid., pp. 3-5.
[69] The Udhampur Normal School was converted into a primary school. Annual Administrative Report of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir, 1938-39.

mathematics, social studies and drawing. Besides the craft work chosen from the three basic crafts of spinning and weaving, agriculture and wooden work were taught in the school. A number of adult education centers were opened. The department of education opened 764 adult education centers, by making each primary school responsible for running one center and each secondary school for running two centers.[70]

Refresher courses were held in all divisions with the object of improving the professional knowledge and skill of teaching. Courses were held at Anantnag, Baramulah, Sopore and Muzafferabad in Kashmir province. Inspection agency was strengthened with a new Assistant Inspector of Schoos for Frontier Districts with Headquarters at Kargil, it was meant for better supervision over these regions which earlier were undermined.[71] Moreover, five divisions of Kashmir province were readjusted with five headquarters at Srinagar, Anantnag, Handwara, Baramulah and Muzafferabad.

In 1940 two aided high schools were opened—Islamia School at Zadibal and New Era School, Srinagar. An important development of the year was that a 'Moving School' for Bakarwals (nomadic tribe) was opened on the representation of the community. In order to cater the educational needs of this nomadic tribe a moving school was established at Doru, Anantnag and for another six months at Reasi, in Jammu Province.[72]

Primary schools of ordinary type located at various places were converted into basic schools during the year 1940. An attempt was being made in the schools to impart literary and craft in a closely integrated manner and teachers who have received training in the teachers' training school, Srinagar were posted in them, craft work continues to be developed in all school with the help of trained teachers as well as untrained teachers who happen to possess skill in some craft or who have specially acquired it voluntarily with the object of guiding their students. Gardening, wood work, clay modeling, spinning and weaving, tat making and many other activities for which facilities were locally available—in the form of requisite skill and the requisite materials were started by various schools.[73]

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[70] The period of adult literacy was fixed at 3-4 months, during this period an adult was expected to pass a necessary test, the classes were mostly taken on evening times. Ibid., p.17.

[71] The Jurisdiction of Frontier Districts was under Assistant Inspector of School Srinagar, for whom it was difficult to supervise it effectively. Ibid.

[72] The school has met a long felt need of the Bakrawal community, who by nature of occupation and their migratory habits, were unable to send their children to any ordinary schools. Annual Administrative Report of the Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir, 1939-40.

[73] Ibid., pp.11-14.

In order to overcome the congestion of the secondary education two aided schools were established namely, National High School Shopian and D. A.V. High School Srinagar, but it was not enough as the roll in the secondary schools was increasing year by year. The existing staff and limited accommodation proved inadequate and insufficient to cope up with the swelling numbers and admission was controlled in several classes. The instructional efficiency of these institutions was also naturally impaired as it became impossible for teachers to pay individual attention to students in their classes.[74]

In order to bring reforms in higher education government appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of the Director of Education to study the position and make proposals for improving the educational efficiency of the colleges and for the diversion of students to other suitable channels. In 1941 All India Educational Conference was held at Srinagar for the first time, under the Presidentship of Prof. Amar Nath Jha. The occasion provided the educational workers of the state with valuable opportunities of establishing contact with their colleges in other parts of the country. The educational exhibition provided a particularly gratifying evidence of the fact that the movement of craft and productive work had caught on both in basic and other types of schools.

The Annual Educational Report of 1941 made it clear that although considerable educational expansion and consolidation has been going on in connection with mass education, but Education Department was also confronted with certain serious problems. So far as high schools are concerned most of them were over-crowded. It was also true of primary education. The problem of higher education, particularly in Kashmir was very acute and the education report emphasized, "Drastic steps have to be taken if the Sri Pratap College is not to become a mere factory for production of the ill-backed graduates[75]

Due to the unprecedented increase in the enrollment of Sri Pratap College, Srinagar which had become totally unmanageable, the state government bifurcated it. The degree classes were separated and new Degree College designated as Amar Singh Degree College was opened at Gogjibagh Srinagar in 1942 and Sri Pratap College was made an intermediate College.[76] In order to boost higher education further a college was opened at

[74] Annual Administrative Report of the Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir, 1940-41.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Annual Administrative Report of the Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir, 1942-43.

Mirpur during the year 1944 and it was named as Karan Sigh College after the name of Karan Sigh the heir apparent.[77] In the year 1944, compulsory education was extended at certain places in the tehsils of Reasi, Bhimber and Rajouri in Jammu Province and at Bandipur in Kashmir Province, which saw a positive response from the public.[78]

Thus the scheme of education under Mr. K.G. Saiyidan as new Director of Education was very bold experiment in the reorganization of primary and secondary education. The scheme of basic education propounded by Mahatma Gandhi and shape given by Zakir Hussain Committee was given a practical expression in the state.

Plate 4.1 (Amar Singh College, Srinagar)

The recommendation of Committee regarding the raising the age for compulsory education was accepted to make primary education a seven year course of craft-integrated education. In initial stage good work was undertaken both by teachers and authorities. But the difficulties which were experienced by making craft work compulsory in all schools make problems. The teachers have failed to master the technique of making basic craft a nucleus to correlate the teaching of other subjects with it. Finally with the exit of Mr. K.G. Saiyidan, who was the main support for the scheme, the craft integrated teaching in schools degenerated into the orthodox teaching and craft taught in a school became merely an additional school subject.

[77] Annual Administrative Report of the Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir, 1944-45.
[78] Ibid.

The political uncertainty of Kashmir state on the eve of Indian's partition shook the educational fabric of the state. A number of educational institutions came under the possession of the Pakistan Occupied Kashmir.[79] With the political transformation of Jammu and Kashmir State, education became a priority of new government. On March 1948, when Interim Government was formed, a separate Ministry of Education was organized for the first time in the history of the state. At first the Ministry's efforts were devoted primarily to the rehabilitation of educational institutions which had been severely damaged by the tribal invaders, moreover, on November 1st, 1948, the first autonomous Jammu and Kashmir University was formally established.[80] Consequently the links with Punjab University Lahore were now totally snapped.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as a leader of National Conference, the majority party took over as the first Prime Minster of the popular government. As Prime Minster he also took the portfolio of education under him.[81] In this way National Conference was able to frame its policies according to their well known document "Naya Kashmir", which was the bible of their state policies, for economic, social, political and cultural reconstruction of Kashmir. A number of changes were brought in education sector, including the promotion of education among Muslims of Kashmir, who have been backward in adopting the new education system. But the problems education inherited Dogra from period, remained intact.

4.6 Conclusion

The reign of Hari Singh saw a rapid transformation of Kashmiri society. Maharaja compared to his predecessors did a lot for the propagation of education. It was in 1930 that Primary Act Education helped in the propagation of primary education although limited to certain areas. Glancy Commission also shows the various unknown facts regarding Muslims. The appointment of Education Reorganization Committee of 1939 was a land mark development, it analysis the primary and secondary education of state, it highlighted number of complex problems of education system and therein recommended some systematic plans.

Despite all progress in education only the fringes of actual needs of the people had been touched. The quality of teaching was left wanting. Despite all the arrangements for the training of teachers, a large percentage of them were still without any training for

[79] Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 151.
[80] Rasool, *Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 379.
[81] Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 141.

their profession. The problem of accommodation remained throughout the period; consequently classes were held under trees and rented buildings. The higher education remained confined to only a small section of people. For obvious economic reasons, many a parent could not afford to send their children to Aligarh or Punjab universities for higher education.[82] Muslims, the backward community was gradually becoming aware about the new education system. What led them to keep away from the new education? Was it just their conservatism which hinders their progress in modern education or anything other than that are some of the queries which will be dealt in forth coming chapter.

[82] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Perspectives on Kashmir: Historical Dimensions*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, p. 181.

Chapter V

There is general belief that Muslims have been averse to modern education. They have been slow to take advantage of the vast educational development even during the British rule in India.[1] The attitude of Muslims in India, in the words of R.C. Majumdar "towards western education was at first one of aversion and opposition, there was among them a general aptitude and inclination towards classical studies in Arabic and Persian, and many among them did not like an exotic system introduced by an alien ruling authority which had displaced in lingering vestige of Mughal supremacy."[2]

Similarly some argue that the problem arises from the close linkage between the religious and secular spheres of life in Islam and the emphasis placed upon religious education among Muslims. proponents of this view point out that Muslims have failed to respond to secular education or to take advantage of educational development on account of their resistance to secular education, the emphasis placed among them upon sending the child to a traditional Islamic educational institutions and their strong tendency to reject secular learning for religious education. But a Government Report of 2006 has shown something different so for as the dismal representation of Indian Muslims in education is concerned.[3]

Similar assertions have been made on Muslims of Kashmir,[4] who forms the 75% of total population of whole Jammu and Kashmir State and 95% of Kashmir Province. Towards the end of 19th century administration of Kashmir brought a number of reforms in education as a result education was spreading fast after 1890s. But Muslims, like their brethren in India remained indifferent to new system of education which was laid by Christian Missionaries,

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[1] Imtiaz Ahmad, "Muslim Educational Backwardness: An Inferential Analysis." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 16 (36), 1981, pp. 1457-1465.

[2] Quoted in Hari Om, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir, A Study in the Spread of Education and Consciousness 1857-1925,* New Delhi: Archives Publishers and Distributors, 1986, p. 2.

[3] Contrary to popular perception that a large portion of Muslim children study in the Madrasas, the Sachar Committee Report (2006) found that only 4% of the Muslim children in the age group of 7-16 were enrolled in Madrasas, while NCERT Survey estimates are even lower than this percentage. However, the fact of the matter is that schools beyond the primary level are few in Muslim localities. Many a time Madrasas are the only educational option available to Muslim children, especially those belonging to the poor. Very often one finds that Madrasas have indeed provided schooling to Muslim children where the State has failed them. Many children go to Madrasas and thereby acquire some level of literacy/education when there is no school in the neighbourhood. Rajindar Sachar, *High Level Committee Report on Social, Economic, and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India*, Delhi: 2006, pp. 77-78. Link http://www.minorityaffairs.gov.in/sacha.

[4] There are number of writings who blame the educational backwardness of Muslims of Kashmir because of their conservative outlook. Hari Om argues that the under-representation of Muslims of Kashmir in education was because of their religious prejudice. Om, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir,* op. cit.

and later by state. According to Walter Lawrence, the settlement officer, Muslims of Kashmir were most backward in education. In the year 1891-92 he gives the following statistical data about the education of various communities in Kashmir.[5]

Table 5.1 Condition of Education in Kashmir in the Year 1891-92

Number of boys on roll	1,585
Average daily attendance	1,228
Number of students learning English	299
Number of students Vernacular only	1,541
Number of students Sanskrit only	44
No. of Students from Different Religions	--
Hindus	1,327
Muslims	233
Sikhs	21
Others	4

Source: Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*

These figures shows that though Hindus form less than 7% of population, they monopolize over 83% of educational facilities created by the state, while out of a population of 7,57,433 Muslims only 233 could obtain benefit from the state school. The government administrative report also gave the same facts.[6] The indifference of Muslim community towards new education system attracted immediately the attention of State Council. The Home Member, in his speech in the council in 1893, regretted this indifference displayed by Muslims. He pointed out that one of the reasons why the community did not come forward to take advantage of the new opportunities created was that the majority of them were devoted to agriculture or other occupations, for which, in their opinion no education was required.[7]

The Census Report of 1901 mention that Hindu community shows the highest percentage of literates males, who form 1.38% of total population. Literate women among them, however, are few, and form almost so small a minority of the total population as .02%. The Census report points out under-representation of Muslims, among Muslims in every one

[5] Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Ali Mohammad and Sons (First Published, 1895, Reprint), 2006, p. 229.
[6] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1892-93.
[7] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1893-94.

thousand population only 6.9 persons were literate. The female literates were .01% in one thousand population.[8]

Even at the beginning of 1910, there were only 15 educated Muslims males as compared to 453 Hindu males per thousand of population in Kashmir.[9] By the Census of 1921, this number had jumped to a mere 19 for Muslims, while going upto 508 for Hindus.[10] Even among the few literates, the largest number was of the *Babazads* or *Mullah* and *Pirs*, the traditionally educated caste among Muslims of Kashmir, who were associated with shrines and mosques across Kashmir.[11] This caste remained disgruntled because the new system of education was unable to absorb the increasing numbers of the unemployed with its ranks, resulting from a fall in the numbers of *Maktabs* in this period.[12] The second most educated caste among Kashmir Muslims was *Sheikhs*—the converts from Kashmiri Hindus at the time of the advent of Islam.[13]

Muslim agricultural caste has no representative among the educated in the Census of 1911. Kashmiri Pandits were most educated social group in the valley, and the state as a whole. The Census of 1911 explained away the lack of literary among Muslims of Kashmir by stating that education did not hold any value for Kashmiri Muslim agricultural classes, who formed the majority of this community and who "would rather retain their children for cattle grazing, crop-watching and other agricultural pursuits than send them to schools."[14]

A folk saying among Muslim agricultural castes was used to sum up their attitude towards education: "Education brings ruin; it is by plaughing that a good living can be ensured.[15] Unfortunately, the saying has been misquoted by most of the writers in its context. There is no denying the fact that Muslims of Kashmir were yet to realize the utility of the modern education. But saying that they did not like the new education system or they have religious prejudice will be a sweeping statement. For Muslims of Kashmir, majority of who were peasants, education was a distant luxury and waste of time. As they were fraught with high taxation policy of Dogra State by parting a major portion of produce with a state and

[8] Bahadur Munshi Ghulam Ahmed Khan, *Census of India*, 1901, *Vol. XXIII, Kashmir Part, Report,* Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1902, pp. 50-51.
[9] Mohammad Matin-uz-Zaman Khan, *Census of India 1911, Vol. XX, Kashmir Part I*, Lucknow: Nawal Kishore Pres, 1912, p. 169.
[10] Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Khushi Mohammad, *Census of India 1921*, Vol. XXII, *Kashmir Part I Report*, Lahore: Mufid-i-Am Press, 1922, p. 121.
[11] Khan, *Census of India 1911, Vol. XX, Kashmir Part,*, p. 163
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., p. 170.
[14] Ibid., 167.
[15] Quoted in Om, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 82.

officials, after paying legal and illegal taxes, they were left with 1/4th of their produce.[16] Thus, education, which seemingly has no immediate returns, was in vain for the peasant class.

Since education as an activity requires a definite investment of time, energy and resources. For the peasants sending their children to school was not easy as they require the services of their children in the agricultural operations to meet the excessive demand of the state. So discourse of the educational backwardness of Kashmiri Muslims needs broader outlook instead seeing from it the one angle. Addressing the grievances of Muslim educational backwardness in Kashmir to Maharaja, All India Mohammadan Educational Conference, pointed out that, "Muslim community of Kashmir, who forms the majority of your Highness standing at the lowest ring of the education ladder."[17] In English education, Conference regretted the dismal condition of Muslims, as will be clear from table.

Table 5.2 English Literates per Thousand by Religion

Religion	Persons	Males	Females
Hindu	2	4	0
Sikh	7	13	0
Jain	6	11	0
Buddhists	20	37	0
Muslim	0	0	0
Christian	258	224	317

Source: The Address of All India Mohammadan Educational Conference to His Highness Maharaja, 1913

From the above figures it is clear that there was not a single English knowing Muslim in a thousand persons. There was only 3 English knowing Muslims in every ten thousand people. It is to be seen that some communities such as Hindus, Sikhs, and Parsis have made

[16] The magnitude of the oppressive and excessive taxation policy can be realised by the fact that peasants lived most part of the year on rice gruel, vegetables, wild fruits and other substandard kind of diet. M.Y. Ganie, *Kashmir's Struggle for Independence, 1931-1939*, Srinagar: Mohsin Publishers, 2003, pp. 45-48.

[17] Address presented by the All India Mohammadan Educational Conference to His Highness Maharaja and His reply there to, F. No. 217/P-96/1913, Jammu State Archives.

great advance in the field of English education. In the stage of secondary education Conference found that there were 5 high schools, 11 English middle and 14 vernacular middle schools in the whole state. The following table shows the number of Muslims and Hindus in these schools.

Table 5.3 No. of Students at Different Stages of Schooling by Religion

Schools	No. of Hindu Scholars	No. of Muslim Scholars
High Schools	3702	804
English Middle Schools	1666	630
Vernacular Schools	1254	659
Total	6622	2093

Source: Address of All India Mohammadan Educational Conference to His Highness Maharaja

Thus the number of Hindus who are only 22% the population is more than three times that of Muslims who form 75% of the total population of the state. Among Muslim scholars, only a few studied in government schools majority of them either studied in Islamia High School Srinagar or at Mission School at Srinagar.[18]

Regarding the status of Muslims in higher education All India Muslim Educational Conference points out that in two colleges of state there were 135 scholars of whom 122 were Hindus and only 11 Muslims. In Sri Pratap College there were only 5 Muslims where as the number of Hindu students were about 140. Considering that college was situated in Srinagar the capital town of the state with a population of 12, 6344 of whom 96,914 were Muslims, these figures speaks for themselves and need no comment. It may not be out of place to mention here that ever since the establishment of the high schools the total number of Muslims, who have passed the matriculation, F.A. and B.A. examinations, are extremely small. In a population of 24 lakhs there was only one Muslim graduate who has passed from Jammu College, only 9 Muslims who have passed F.A. and there were only 17 matriculations of the Punjab University.[19]

As motioned in the earlier chapter, the government established first technical college in 1913. The aim of the college was to engage the children of handicraftsman, but these hopes soon belied, instead of a large number of the skilled workers, mostly Muslims, it were

[18] Ibid., pp. 14-15.
[19] Ibid., 17.

Hindus, dropouts from the schools who enrolled themselves in the institute. As in 1916 the total number of the students was 157 out of these 115 were Hindus and 42 were Muslims. Among all only 26 pupils were the sons of craftsman and of these 25 were Muslims.[20]

Dogra State could no longer ignore the growing intersection between religious affiliation and education. It created a separate political category for Muslims by defining its education policies[21] the Educational Conference of Jammu and Kashmir in 1915 did not dismiss the suggestion of its Muslim members that a subcommittee consisting of the Muslim religious elite of the city of Srinagar should be set up to draw up and submit a scheme for Muslim education.[22] At the same time, the President of the Conference also proclaimed the need for Sanskrit, Arabic and Hindi teachers in all Middle Schools, "these languages being critical for religious instruction." It was also at the same meeting that the Minister of Education, Dewan Bishan Das, recommended a more direct involvement of the Government of India in the educational affairs of the state.[23]

This ultimately, as discussed, led to the appointment of a Committee under the Mr. Sharp. He also found that Muslim community of Kashmir was underrepresented in the all educational stages; he recommended that wide extension should be given to the system of extension of appointing *Mullahs,* as this scheme has been signally successful. In schools where *Mullahs* have recently been appointed, he found that the enrolment had often been doubled or trebled, immediately. If *Mullah* has previously had a *Maktab* of his own, he brings all the boys along with him. This is probably a better plan than aiding the *Maktabs,* save when it was situated a place where no school exists.

Sharp recommended that Muslim headmasters may be appointed in the schools where majority of them are studying.[24] Besides that Sharp suggested the appointment of a Muslim teacher to Sri Pratab College Srinagar, and State High School Srinagar.[25] He firmly believes that poverty of Kashmiris was the main cause of their educational backwardness. In this case he strongly recommended special scholarships for Muslims even from primary stage of school.

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[20] P.N.K. Bamzai, *Socio-Economic history of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 2007, p. 336.
[21] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*: *Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003, p. 197.
[22] Political Department, 199/p-103/1915, Jammu State Archives.
[23] Ibid.
[24] He believes that it was natural that, where Muslim teachers are appointed in responsible posts Muslim parents and pupils should feel greater confidence. H. Sharp, *A Note on Education in the State of Jammu Kashmir,* Calcutta: Superintendent Press, 1916, p. 43.
[25] Ibid.

Recognising in 1916 enough Kashmiri Muslims did not exist who could be employed in these posts, Sharp observed that, "Numerous outsiders of the Hindi faith have been appointed to offices, and however laudable the desire of the Darbar to employ only subjects of the state, there seems a good case, in view of His Highness Muslim subjects, for relaxing the rule in case of Muslim teachers until there is a supply of Muslim graduates in the state itself. On the grant-in-aid policy Sharp recommended special concessions by way of grants to all Islamia schools.[26]

However, government was not able to implement the recommendations of Sharp Committee. But as regards the appointment of *Mullahs* in primary schools, 15-20 Arabic teachers were appointed in Kashmir during the year 1918-19. Besides, some of the Arabic teachers were sent to Normal school for training on modern lines.[27] Another special measure adopted by government to encourage Muslims to get education was that a provision for a special grant of Rs. 3,000/ per annum was granted for scholarship to Muslim students. But state did not change their attitude towards schools run by Muslims.

Though between 1916 and 1925, Muslim response towards the state educational institutions was encouraging and their number was increasing years by year, it was certainly not satisfactory. The vast majority of the community still remained backward and were unable to take full advantage of the new opportunities made available to them. Muslim teachers also did not get a good training on account of their ignorance. The economic inequality was most important cause of their hesitation. Since the children remained busy with the family occupations and agricultural practices.[28]

Dogra state placed the entire burden of the backwardness of Muslim community itself. In rhetoric reminiscent of provincial governments in colonial India, the Home Member stated that the real cause of Muslim backwardness was their apathy and incapacity to take advantage of the facilities of education placed before them by the government. According to him *Mullahs* were primarily responsible for fostering this attitude among Muslims. He described the Kashmiri Muslim community as community handicapped by its religion, which had much common with its "brethren community" in British India. He added that any culture

[26] Ibid.
[27] Annual Administrative Report, Jammu and Kashmir, 1918-19.
[28] Om, *The Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 109.

that is foreign to the Muslim mode of living or thinking or any education that is not based on the tradition of Quran has been regarded with disfavour by their religious heads.[29]

Maharaja Pratap Singh also declared that it was Muslim leadership and clergy which were responsible for their backwardness in education. He stated, "I have been all along impressing upon my Mohammedan subjects the supreme necessity of education and if they are lagging behind, they are themselves to blame." He then appealed to the Mohammedan gentleman to impress upon the community the need for education. Clearly, the state still did not recognise that the need to provide incentives for education to its subjects was its responsibility.[30]

Muslim clergy also in turn, discouraged their community from receiving modern education. They impressed upon their community that western system of education would turn them into apostates.[31] But this was not the only agency to be blamed for the backwardness of Kashmiri Muslims terms in modern education.

In 1922 the president of the Anjuman-Nusrat-ul-Islam,[32] Mirwaiz Ahmadullah, presented a representation to the state Council for consideration. In this representation he clearly accepted the flaws of Muslim community––such as their apathetic attitude towards the English education––as the reason for their illiteracy. However, just as clearly, he pointed to the duty of the government in alleviating this apathy by promising educated Muslims employment in government service.[33] Not satisfied with government attitude the prominent Kashmiri Muslims submitted a memorandum to Lord Reading, when he visited Kashmir in 1924 in which they requested that "A Muslim or a European expert on education be appointed to look after Muslim education. Muslims be recruited both as teachers and inspectors and sufficient number of scholarship be made available to them for higher education in India and aboard."[34]

The growing consciousness among Muslims, that the state had been adopting a non-chalant attitude towards promoting education among them, is evident from the fact that it was the educational grievances which formed the main component of the complaint of Kashmiri Muslims submitted to Glancy Commission. Glancy Commission, while enquiring about Muslims in Sri Pritap College Srinagar was told that "Hindu teachers discourage Muslim

[29] General Department, 103/1923, Jammu State Archives.
[30] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 203.
[31] P. N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 1941, p. 251.
[32] It was a socio-religious reform movemnet founded by Moulvi Gh Rasool Shah, popularly known in Kashmir as Sir Sayyid-i-Kashmir (Sir Sayyid of Kashmir) in 1905.
[33] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 200.
[34] Ganie, *Kashmir's Struggle for Independence*, p. 86.

from taking science subjects." Though on paper the government had earmarked some amount of money for the grant of scholarship for Muslim community, this too was not actually spent. Even officials figures show some variation between sanctioned and expended amount.[35]

Table 5.4 Allocation and Expenditure of Muslim Scholarship from the Year 1927-1931

Year	Budget Rs.	Amount actually spent Rs
1927-28	2,100.00	1,103.00
1928-29	4,200.00	4,072.00
1929-30	7,200.00	6,448.00
1930-31	19,400.00	16,321.00

Source: Glancy Commission Report, 1931

5.1 Education, Politics and Muslims

Hari Singh's succession was ray of hope for the new Kashmiri Muslim generation, many of whom had got high degrees from the outside universities. In 1924 the political environment was volatile as the new Muslim leadership has been demanding radical changes in the educational policies of the state. Until then state was not in a mode to make radical changes. P. N. Bazaz attributed it to the political reasons. To quote him, "The awareness that they (Dogras) were Hindus and the overwhelming majority of the Kashmiris professed Islam constantly made them apprehensive. They disliked the idea of making their subjects politically conscious and thought that imparting of education was only an effective way of awakening the people to their political and human rights"[36]

There is no doubt that Muslim education underwent dramatic changes, but still they were far behind the other communities. Thus Hari Singh took the initiative of opening several new schools in the valley and more importantly he took in account the recurrent demand of All India Kashmiri Muslim Conference and introduced free and compulsory primary education in some areas, although with certain limitations, as discussed earlier.

[35] B. J. Glancy. *Report of the Commission appointed under the orders of his Highness Maharaja Bhadur, dated 12th Nov. 193, to Enquire into the Grievances and Complaints*, Jammu: Ranbir Government Press, 1932, p. 12.
[36] P.N. Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta*: *A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to Present*, New Delhi: Pamposh Publications, 1959, p. 215.

Finally, the 1931 event[37] in Jammu and Kashmir have to be viewed in the all India political context of the period. Although Kashmir was far removed from the Purana Swaraj resolution adopted by the Indian National Congress in 1929 and the Civil Disobedience campaigns of early 1930s, the people of Kashmir, particularly their leadership, were greatly affected by the heated political atmosphere in India.[38] The full-scale impact of British Indian politics on the politics of the Kashmir Valley was evident when one analysis the interpretations of 1931 by the Maharaja's administration, the "impartial" British inquiry Committee heads investigating the incidents for the British, and the emergent Kashmiri Muslim leadership—which saw 1931 as a great political opportunity.

Thus, as discussed in earlier chapter, Glancy Commission recognising the importance of the educational demands for the Kashmiri Muslim community devoted a whole chapter to their redressal. According to the report, the state had not fulfilled Sharp's recommendations regarding the expansion of primary education or the increase in the appointment of *Mullahs* in primary schools. Accordingly it recommended that the number of *Mullahs* employed by educational authority should be increased as rapidly as possible and their transfers should be kept to a minimum as transfers have the effect of driving them out of service.[39]

The most important aspect of the chapter on education, however, was Glancy's recommendation of the appointment of a Special Mohammadan Inspector for education. According to Glancy, the post of the Assistant Inspector for Mohammadan Education already in existence was not enough because he was treated just as another Assistant Inspector in one particular division. The post of Mohammadan Inspector should not be subordinate to any provincial inspector and the incumbent's duty should be to "attend generally to the progress of Mohammadan education in all grades and to see that the policy laid down by the state authorities in duty carried out.[40]

As regards the higher education the Commission found that a compliant has been made that in the Sri Pratap College Srinagar, Muslims are not given a fair chance of admission to science classes which are restricted on account of limited amount of accommodation available; the number of Muslim students in the college were only 18 out of

[37] The date of July 13 is considered by several scholars to mark the freedom struggle waged by the Kashmiri's against the Dogra Raj. On the same date a gathering of Kashmiri Muslims openly challenged the authority of Maharaja, consequently 22 demonstrators were killed in Srinagar by the state police. P.N. Bazaz, *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir: Cultural and Political, From Earliest Times to the Present Day*, New Delhi: Kashmir Publishers Company, pp. 154-55.
[38] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 213
[39] Glancy Commission, p. 10.
[40] Ibid., p. 16.

115. In Jammu College, the proportion of Muslims availing college education in science was even lower; it was 14 out of 132. So the Commission recommended that Principal of the Srinagar College should be careful to see that Muslims are given a fair chance in this matter. Similarly the Mohammadan Inspector of schools should interest himself in the science classes at schools where any restrictions on the number of admissions have been enforced.[41]

5.1.1 Role of Muslim Conference and National Conference

It was from 1920's onwards that the Muslim leadership, especially religious leaders politicised the discourse on the educational development in Kashmir, who not only spoke for themselves but also for their brethren, were clamouring for the employment in government service. Until 1931, Muslim leadership has failed to organise them into a systematic platform.[42] It was Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the master political strategist, under whose leadership the Kashmiri educated youth organised themselves, when Reading Room Party was started. The events of July 1931 made Abdullah more popular among Kashmiris. Thus in 1932 he was able to lay the foundation of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.[43] In his Presidential address at its first session on Oct. 15, 1932, he called on Kashmiri Muslims to unite, gain education, and be prepared to serve notice to government as well as to participate in assembly elections as soon as they were called.[44]

Muslim Conference demanded the speedy implementation of the recommendations of Glancy Commission, as the Conference believed that these recommendations were not properly implemented. For instance Commission had recommended the appointment of a Muslim Inspector to look after the education of Muslim community. But he was not vested with the powers recommended by Commission.[45] The leaders were very much particular about the educational development of state.

Not surprisingly, therefore, the demand of educational reform became the refrain of demands made by the leadership. In his welcome address to third annual session held at Sopore, Khawaja Maqbool demanded the promotion of middle schools of Bandipora and Handwara to High Schools on the plea that except for towns there were no High Schools in Kamraz (North Kashmir) area where lakhs of people lived. He also demanded that one intermediate college be opened at Baramulah as the students of Muzaffarabad, Baramulah

[41] ibid., p. 12.
[42] It was partly because of the Dogra autocracy, which imposed blanket ban on the formation of political organisations and partly because of the mass illiteracy and the lack of consciousness of the people. Ganie, *Kashmir's Struggle for Independence*, p. 104.
[43] Ibid., p. 113.
[44] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 229.
[45] Ganie, *Kashmir's Struggle for Independence*, p. 130.

and Sopore had to go to Srinagar for higher education, causing a stumbling block in the growth of higher education. He also urged for opening middle schools in the parganas of Hamal (Rafiabad), Zainageer, Lolab, Trehgaam, Marwar and Titwal. The Conference was fully conscious about the importance of agricultural sector in the crippled economy of the state. Therefore, introduction of the subjects on agriculture and the opening of agricultural schools was emphasised upon.[46]

In their efforts to persuade the authorities for the rapid dissemination of education they substantiated their argument by making a comparative analysis between the state of Jammu and Kashmir and the British India particularly the neighbouring province, where the government had taken considerable measures for the spread of education. Expressing grave concern over the educational backwardness of the state in general and those of Muslims in particular because of the lukewarm attitude of the government, Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas complained:

> "In the field of education our state is most backward in the whole of India and those who can merely read and write are just four percent of the total population. Inspite of such educational backwardness the government spends very less on this sector as compared to Punjab. It spends only 5% while Punjab Government spends 14% of its total revenues o education. Moreover, the educational funds are spent in such a way that Muslims are least benefited. The scarcity of schools in Muslim populated areas, the absence of Muslim teachers in educational institutions are basic factors for the slow rate of educational development of the state. The scholarships for Muslim students have been decreased instead of being increased. The Hanfia School, Anantnag could not receive building grant so far and other Muslim educational institutions are facing severe financial crisis. So long as the education does not get popularised among the Muslims our political and economic problems will remain unsolved."[47]

The Conference stressed upon the government to realise its responsibility of promoting education among its subjects. The leaders publically declared that the dissemination of education was the duty of the state. Their statements about the indifferent attitude of the government towards education were sufficiently substantiated by facts and figures. For instance in his address to fifth annual session of the Conference President said:

[46] Ibid., p. 132.
[47] Presidential address delivered by Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas to the 4th Annual Session of Muslim Conference on Oct. 267, 1935, quoted in Ganie, *Kashmir's Struggle for Independence*, p. 132.

> "The problem of educational backwardness is the most crucial problem of the nation. The progress of nations and individuals is subservient to education. In present times the spread of education is not the responsibility of the people but, as observed in the recent past, it has been the duty of government. But the government of Kashmir had become notorious in view of its apathetic attitude towards the education of Muslim masses. For the last 25 years there has been greater realisation among Muslims in favour of modern education. However, there are many impediments but the government has never taken any step to remove them. After spending a substantial amount the government invited the Education Commissioner on India Mr. Sharp in 1916 to suggest ways and means to popularise education. One of his suggestions was that each village with a population of 500 or more should have a primary school. At that time there were 1400 such villages. Today because of increase in the population the number of such villages has reached to 2500. But during the long period of 22 years (1916-1937) the government has not even opened 1400 schools. Though according Sharp Commission Report there should have been a primary school within ten years in each village with 500 population."[48]

Muslim Conference demanded change in the curriculum to make it responsive to the needs of the time and to make agricultural education compulsory in village schools. About the poor standard of primary education and the insufficient number of middle and high schools, the President of the fifth annual session observed:

> "The drawbacks of primary education in the state indicate that the condition of middle and high schools, too, would not be upto the mark. First of all, their number is not satisfactory. In some large areas of the valley there exist no schools to cater the post primary educational needs of the people. High schools are confined only to a few major towns. The total number of the government and semi-government high schools in the state of Jammu and Kashmir is not more than twenty-two which is equivalent to the number of such schools in one district of Punjab."[49]

The leadership was very much particular about the dissemination and welfare of higher education as well. It did not only demand an increase in the facilities of college education but the need of opening a university in Kashmir, as the students had to go to Punjab and other universities of India for higher education. While expressing his concern over the inadequate facilities of college education the president of the fifth annual session remarked:

[48] Presidential address delivered by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah to the fifth annual session of Muslim Conference on May 15, 1937. Quoted in Ganie, *Kashmir's Struggle for Independence*, p. 132.
[49] Ibid.

> "For higher education there are only two colleges in the whole state of Jammu and Kashmir, though there is an urgent need to have one college at each headquarters. It is strange that in such densely populated city like Srinagar there is only one college which has not only to cater the needs of Srinagar city but also of all the districts of Kashmir and those of Ladakh, Gilgit, Muzzaffarabad and Poonch. Moreover, the same college is meant for both men as well as women."[50]

Like the Indian nationalists leaders of the Conference appreciated the importance of technical education. In order to infuse life and blood into the dead bones of the fragile economy of the state the leaders wanted the government to encourage the technical education.[51] The leadership had fully realised the significance of female education and was, therefore, very much exciting about its popularisation. In addition to mobilizing masses in favour of female education Conference also highlighted the apathy of the state towards its development:

> "For women education there should be two separate colleges both in Srinagar as well in Jammu. Co-educational colleges are not suitable for Kashmir. The people of Kashmir are not yet ready to accept it. They prefer ignorance to co-education. About female education it is pertinent to mention that there are only three girl's high schools in the whole state, which is a clear proof about the non-chalant attitude of the government."[52]

In order to widen its range, Muslim Conference invited non-Muslims of sate especially the Kashmiri Pandits to take part in the deliberations of the party. Although majority of the non-Muslims remained aloof from the party, but a section of the progressive Pandits like P. N. Bazaz, took active part in the working of the Muslim Conference. Moreover, Sheikh Abdullah's ideas were influenced by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru who stressed to former to make Muslim Conference more secular.[53]

5.1.2 Education according to New Kashmir Manifesto

Led by Sheikh Abdullah, the working committee of Muslim Conference decided to formally recognise the transition of their organisation into national body in an attempt to ensure the support of the Indian National Congress for their movement.[54] On June 11, 1939 Muslim Conference became All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference of the majoritarian nationalist ideology for the people of the state. More significantly, the formation of the

[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid., p. 135.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 252.
[54] Ibid., p. 153.

National Conference ushered in an era of anti-British politics in Kashmir valley. No longer was the Kashmir movement simply against the government of the Maharaja; it has also assumed the status of an anti-imperialist movement in favour of the larger independence of Hindustan now stood at the threshold of its final and complete inclusion into the politics of British India.

Alliance of National Conference with the Indian National Congress was viewed as a threat by British.[55] Thus the government of Maharaja was aware and cautiously watching the developments. Meanwhile, National Conference submitted comprehensive plan to Dogra state for economic, social, political and cultural reconstructions of Jammu and Kashmir state. National Conference adopted this plan which came to be known as Naya Kashmir, or 'New Kashmir Manifesto' as its September 1944 session in Srinagar as the objective of national party.[56]

The Manifesto was a move to give ideas of citizenship. Naya Kashmir was divided into two parts––The Constitution of the State and the National Economic plan. In National Economic Plan, education was an important component. The manifesto declares that, "Jammu and Kashmir National Conference stands for an active and progressive policy of education which may carry the height of knowledge to the farthest and most backward areas of state." The new policy according to National Conference was not merely liberal, but also technical, and allied to the national needs and the national economic plan it was an effort to link the child up with the actual life and works of the state.

The Manifesto further envisaged the establishment of Council for National Education, consisting of educationists of standing, to prepare a scheme of state education on the following basis.

1. The creation of a National University, laying special stress on tradition and history, and the culture of all Nationalities, residing in the State. Chairs to be created for the study of special objectives, especially, those aiming at the linking up of the State with the outside world.
2. Under the aegis of the University, research scholarships to be offered to study problems of national importance aboard, with special stress on higher technical training to forward the purpose of the State Economic Plan.

[55] The British Resident in Kashmir, Colonel Barton, noted in a report of 1943, "The National Conference undoubtedly commands greater support among Muslim populations, especially in urban areas of state particularly in large cities such as Srinagar." Ibid., p. 287

[56] Maulana Mohammad Saeed, *New Kashmir, The All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, 1944*, Lahore: Basant Printing Press, 1944.

3. A Statistical Institute to be established, to help in the work of the Planning Commission and State services.
4. The establishment of Technical Colleges and Research Institutes to prepare men and women for the higher technical work involved in the National plan.
5. An Institute of Nationalities to be established to educate and train men and women from remote areas with specific problems of language and tradition, so that they may take their rightful place in the development of the State.
6. District Colleges for men and women students to be founded in those areas where it is impracticable for students to travel to the state University. Such colleges to be both liberal and technical.
7. A network of higher, middle and primary schools, and kindergartens to be established, on a compulsory and free basis, aiming at educating every child in the State, both boys and girls. Special types of schools, such as boat schools and travelling school for the nomad tribes, to be provided for those sections of the people who find it difficult to attend the ordinary State schools.
8. In all Primary Schools, the education to be given through the mother-tongue.
9. Adult Education Night Schools to be established. Special committee of the National Educational Council to look into problems of adult literacy.
10. Library work to be followed by
    (a) A network of rural and town libraries
    (b) A supply of cheap and readily available books and writing materials
11. Special study to be made on the problems of Basic Education.
12. Special arrangements for women's education to be made in accordance with the provisions of the Women's Charter.[57]

Suffice it to say here that the New Kashmir Plan was a tall order even on paper. No doubt it was leadership rhetoric to gain popularity among the masses of Kashmir, as National Conference was not able to implement all these policies. But one cannot deny the impact of political transformation which was taking place fastly in state, especially after the events of 1931. The statistical data shows that educational development took a major leap among the common Kashmiris from beginning of 20th century.

[57] Ibid., pp. 55-57

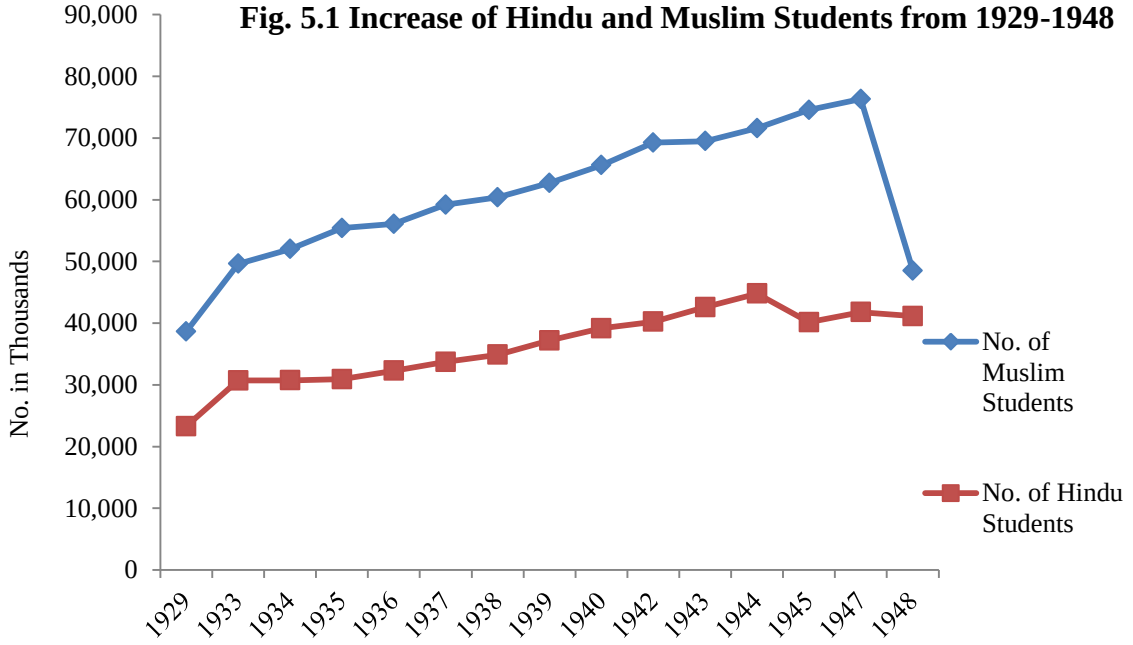
Table 5.5 Literacy Rate of Jammu and Kashmir State from 1901-1941

Census Year	%Males	%Females
1901	2.40	o.11
1911	2.67	0.13
1921	2.79	0.33
1931	**5.92**	0.53
1941	7.17	**2.31**

Source: Census Reports of India, Jammu and Kashmir Part

From the census reports it become apparent that during the 1921 onwards there was a gradual rise in the literacy rates as it jumped from 2.79% in 1921 to 5.92% in 1931 and 7.17 in 1941 for males and for females there was a tremendous rise from 0.53% in 1931 to 2.31% in 1941.

Fig. 5.1 Increase of Hindu and Muslim Students from 1929-1948



Source: Estimated from Annual Administrative Reports of Education Department, J&K State

From the above figures it becomes noticeable that the number of Muslims students increased from 1930 onwards. In 1926-27 the total number of Muslims students was 2, 0778 and it almost got doubled in 1929-30 while as for the Hindu students there were marginal changes as it was 21,476 in 1929-30. We can also infer from the above that rate of Muslims students increased especially in the decades of 1930s. The decrease in Muslim students in

1948 can be attributed to fact that Northern part of Kashmir—Muzaffarabad and other areas where taken by Pakistan, where majority of Muslims were residing, that is why there was a slight fall among Hindu students.

5.2 Education and Employment

Education opportunities provided by the state were likely to be exploited by those social strata that are oriented to employment in the professions and government services. But the employment sector in Princely Jammu and Kashmir state like other princely states[58] was predominantly appropriated by non-state subject. State Council which was created in 1889, to stream line the administration in Kashmir made the influx of outsiders inevitable as the all members of Council except President were outsiders.[59] Colonel Nisbet, the Resident of Kashmir and Raja Amar Singh, the president of State Council filled the state services with their favourites from outside state. After the protests from the local people especially Hindus,[60] Maharaja Pratap Singh had given them assurance that the state subjects will be given preference in the state services.[61] But the assurances given by the Maharaja were vague, and all those whose relatives were in government service declared themselves to be Mulkis without a legal definition of the term 'state subject' it was not possible to enforce the orders of the government with regard to the employment of outsiders.[62]

For securing the rights of Kashmiris against outsiders led to the "Kashmir for Kashmiris movement", which was organised by the Kashmiri Pandits.[63] This ultimately led to the formation of a Committee for the definition of the term "State Subject" in 1910 in order to limit the government employment to such persons as fitted the category. Although the definition, finally submitted by the State Council in 1912, placed Kashmiris who had been in the state for generations on the same footing as outsiders who had acquired a Rayatnama (special order) from the Maharaja,[64] it did imbricate the legal definition of Kashmiri subject

[58] As discussed in preceding chapter, the state of Hyderabad was also having the problems of same nature where non-Mulkis have dominated the state employment.
[59] The Council members ruthlessly turned many state subjects out of their offices, and replaces them by their own kith and kin, who shutout the local inhabitants from all ranks of civil services and other jobs. Raviderjit Kaur, *Political Awakening in Kashmir*, New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation, 1996, pp. 26-27.
[60] Because the majority of them were well educated in Urdu/English so they demanded the employment in state services. Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 190.
[61] Political Department, 40-S-18/1904, Jammu State Archives.
[62] Kaur, *Political Awakening in Kashmir*, p. 29.
[63] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 190.
[64] The 1912 definition of "State Subject" was following: (1) All the bonafide subjects of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur. (2) All persons who have tendered a duly executed Rayatnama and have acquired immovable property in the state. (3) All persons who have resided within the state territories for no less than 20 years and are subject to the laws and regulations promulgated from time to time by His Highness the Maharaja. (4) The descendants of the persons mentioned in the foregoing clauses. Ibid.

hood with education and consequently, employment in government services.[65] In 1922, at the instance of Hari Singh, who was then the senior member of Council, a Committee was appointed to define the term 'hereditary state subject' and to examine the entire question of naturalisation; but nothing came of it.[66]

Towards the beginning of Maharaj Hari Sigh's regime, the issue came up again. The Maharaja formed a Committee of six officials presided over by Major General Janak Singh, the then Revenue Minster. The Committee submitted its report in 1927, defining the term 'state subject.' This definition divided the subjects into the three categories.[67] After the establishment of this definition in 1927, every entrant into state service was required to produce a certificate of his being a heredity State Subject of Class I, as these certificates were granted by the Wazir-i-Wazarat in whose jurisdiction the candidates happen to reside. These Wazirs were mostly from outside the state. The result was that while it was most difficult and expensive for genuine people of the state to get certificates, whereas outsiders were able to get them without any difficulty.[68]

The above measures, however, improve the situation to some extent. Thus it opened the gates to Kashmiri educated class, mostly the Pandits, for the state services. However, it did not make any difference to Kashmiri Muslims, who have been totally ignored in state services from very inception. During the initial phase of the Dogra Raj, as mentioned, Maharaja handed over all the key positions to non-locals and local Pandits were appointed on clerical positions.[69] To ones utter dismay, in 1872 one does not find even a single Muslim out of population of 3, 27,700 Muslims occupying even a lowest position in state services.[70]

In 1908, a petition was forwarded by the representatives of Kashmiri Muslims to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy.[71] The petitioners complain the under-representation of Muslims in all sectors of employment. They asserted that there was no minister to represent them in His Highness court, all the private staff of His Highness consisted of Hindus.

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[65] Ibid.
[66] Kaur, *Political Awakening in Kashmir*, p. 30.
[67] These categories are: Class I: All the persons born and residing within the state before the commencement of the reign of His Highness, the late Maharaja Gulab Singh, and also the persons who settled therein before the commencement of the Samvat year 1942 (1885 AD) and have since then been permanently residing therein. Class II: All the persons, other than those belonging to Class I, who settled there in the state before the close of the Samvat year 1960 (1903 AD) and have since then permanently resided and acquired immovable property therein. Class III: All the persons, other than those belonging to Class I and Class II, permanently residing within the state who have acquired under a Rayatnama and immovable property under an Ijatnama (permission) and may execute Rayatnama after 10 years continuous residence therein. Ibid., p. 34.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, p. 83.
[70] Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 400-01.
[71] Foreign Department General-B /1909, Nos., 15-16, National Archives of India.

Moreover all the ministerial and other offices of the state were filed with Hindus and Muslims were cautiously kept out. The petitioners further regretted that peons and even coolies in the Public Works Department whose duties did not require any educational qualification were all Hindus.[72] They expressed their displeasure over the indifference or apathy which was shown by the state authorities to education of Muslims. Assistant Inspector of Schools, Headmaster of schools and primary schools were all Hindus, with a few Muslims. The Education Department has been in control of Hindu officers, who had no sympathy with Muslim cause, with the result that in rural and urban schools, where the total population consisted of Muslim Zamaindars (peasants), very few of them could send their sons to the schools on account of the unsympathetic and cruel treatment which the Muslims received at the hands of the Hindu teachers.[73]

In 1913, All India Muslim Educational Conference also presented a memorandum to Maharaja Pratap Singh regarding the under-representation of Muslims in education and state employment.[74] In their memorandum to Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, some Muslim leaders demanded the adequate representation of Muslims in the state services.[75] Time and again Muslim leadership, which was becoming more conscious of their rights, demanded their fair proportion in the employment in the state services under the organised platforms.

Finally Glancy Commission made it clear to the government that in the matter of state employment Muslims, who form the majority of the population are inadequately represented, no doubt some minor communities were also discriminated but the problem with Muslims was high in magnitude.[76] Following table gives the details of Muslims in Education Department.

[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] F. No. 217/ P-96/1913, Jammu State Archives.
[75] Kaur, *Political Awakening in Kashmir*, p. 127.
[76] Glancy Commission. p. 18

Table 5.6 Employment Proportion of Muslims in Education Department

Post	Muslims	Total
Teachers	718	2,201
Headmasters of State Middle Schools	3	49
Headmasters of State High Schools	1	15
Professors in Colleges	4	33
Demonstrators	1	8
Inspecting Staff	3	14
Gazetted Officers	4	27

Source: Glancy Commission Report, 1931

Thus it is to be seen that the number of Muslim employees is regrettably low. The Commission pointed out that, "At present in the Education Minster's Secretariat, which consists of twelve officials from the Secretary downwards, the list supplied shows that not a single Muslim is employed. This represents a distinctly undesirable condition of affairs and Mr Sharp's recommendation in this matter has not been carried out. Similarly in the offices of Inspectors of education the number of Muslims is inadequate. Steps should be taken to put this right. It is only fair to point out, however, that for the last seven years the Education Department has been in the charge of a Muslim Minster."[77]

The following tables would clearly bring out the policy of discrimination adopted by Dogra Maharajas against the overwhelmingly dominant Muslim population in the other departments of State services.

[77] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

Table 5.7 Creed wise Representation of Gazetted Positions in Various State Departments

S. No.	Department	Hindus	Muslims
1	State Department	3	-
2	Personal Department	7	2
3	Military Secretary's Department	18	-
4	Foreign and Political Secretariat	2	1
5	Police Department	35	5
6	Public Works Department	18	-
7	Irrigation Department	10	-
8	Medical and Jails	26	4
9	Forest	35	5
10	Judicial Department	37	8

Source: "Riots Enquiry Report", Srinagar 1931

Table 5.8 Creed wise Representation of Gazetted and non-Gazetted Positions in Various State Departments

S. No.	Department	Hindus	Muslims
1	Department of Revenue	113	31
2	Department of Customs	150	19
3	Department of Justice	33	3
4	Department of Health	175	32
5	Department of Police	800	626

Source: Glancy Commission Report, 1931

Thus it is amply born out that Muslim representation in different branches of administration was nominal even in 1931-32. Between 1910 and 1930 Muslim representation in State services did not exceed 15% both in gazetted and non-gazetted ranks. The government justified the poor representation of Muslims in State services on account of their backwardness in education. But Kashmiri Muslims complained that to keep them away from the State services was part of the policy of governance.[78] Glancy Commission pointed out that, "inspite of imperfections in the matter of educational facilities a large number of

[78] Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, *Aatish Chinar, An Autobiography*, New Delhi: Viking, , 1993, pp. 147-48

qualified Muslims are as fact available. A list has been supplied Commission showing the number of unemployed Muslims graduates and matriculates in Kashmir province as 12 and 133 respectively." The commission found that Muslim are found more in menial jobs. In 1936 the Department of Food Control employees 160 among them only 26 were Muslims[79]

Instead of encouraging Muslim youth, the government adopted a policy of discouraging them. It not only denied suitable positions to the highly educated Muslims, but also adopted very strict rules to forestall their entry into the administration once they started returning from different Indian universities with high academic qualifications.[80] A glaring example of the state's discouragement to Muslim educated youth is the treatment meted out to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who in spite of being M. Sc. Chemistry was appointed merely as a school teacher,[81] while as only a decade earlier (1920) an illiterate person namely Makhan Singh was holding the post of Wazir-i-Wazarat (Deputy Commissioner) of Mirpur.[82] Even after the recommendations of the Glancy Commission Muslim representation in government services remained dismal, lamenting the situation editor of *Haqeqat* asserted that non-Muslims were given preference over Muslims in every government service, although Muslims did not get their proper share in government jobs in every department, but in the Department of Customs and Excise the condition is worst.[83]

Education as an activity requires a definite investment of time, energy and resources. Even if education supposed to be free, people may still be unwilling to take to it because the expenditure, energy and time that its pursuit may require may still mean a loss of resources which one create if one were to go in for some other activity during the same time. Therefore, the question whether they are ultimately ready or willing to make the necessary investment of time, energy and resources in education is likely to depend upon whether they see this investment as commensurate with what education can give or gives them in return. So discrimination of Muslim in State services also contributed to the backwardness of Muslims in education.

5.3 Medium of Instruction and Script Controversy

The advantage of providing education (especially primary education) in the mother tongue is undisputed as it enables the child to understand and apply skills more easily.

[79] *Hidayat*, Srinagar, Oct. 19, 1937.
[80] *Government Services and Muslims*, A Press note of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, Aug. 12, 1942, Jammu State Archives.
[81] Abdullah, *Aatish Chinar* , p. 198.
[82] Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom, Vol. I, 1819-1946*, Lahore: Ferozsons Limited, 1977, pp. 575-77.
[83] *Haqeqat, Srinagar*, Dec. 16, 1937.

Countless children perish just because the schools designed for the dominant majority fail to attract minority children. They are clueless as all the fuss about going to a place where they do not understand the language. The school, the teachers, the texts and contexts speak a different language and belong to a different culture. It is an alien place––uninteresting, monotonous and incomprehensible. It makes many children turn their backs to schooling and it pushes out children who, sadly, are branded as "drop outs". Neglect of mother tongues of the dominated and minority language speakers in schools contributes to their capability deprivation and voicelessness.[84]

Since the colonial state was the Dogra state's main inspiration, the ambiguities and inconsistencies in British Education and language policies could also be noted in Kashmir. These are most comparable with the Punjab, where the script and the language of administration were far removed from regional language.[85] As mentioned Urdu became the official language of state in 1889 so became the medium of instruction in schools in 1905. However, looking at the Census report of 1901 only 369 persons of about three million population spoke Urdu, in whole Jammu and Kashmir State. The report further confirms that Kashmiri language was spoken by largest number of people, (about one million).[86] Kashmiri was followed by Panjabi,[87] Dogri, and other principle languages were Gujrati, Phari and Balti.

Even if the government knew the agony the children were facing while getting instruction in a language other than mother tongue, still it goes for it for their administrative convenience. The Educational Reorganisation Committee of 1939 made it clear that, "children especially in rural areas find it difficult to follow lessons given in Urdu during the first years of schooling, and their attention is apt to be divided between the subject matter and the difficulty of following the words in which it conveyed. This naturally results, sometimes in learning of words by rote without the formation of clear concepts." The Committee also declared that Kashmiri was spoken by about 2/5th of population of state.[88]

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[84] Tove Skutnabb Kangas, *Bilingualism or Not: The Education of Minorities*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2007, p. Xix.

[85] In Punjab majority of people spoke Punjabi but Urdu was language of administration and medium of instruction as well. See Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in the South Asia Islam since1850*, London: Routledge, pp. 103-10.

[86] Khan, *Census of India*, 1901, *Vol. XXIII, Kashmir Part*, pp. 60-64.

[87] The Census Inspectors, however, doubts the figures for Panjabi as majority of people did not make difference between Dogri and Panjabi. Ibid., p. 61.

[88] Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939), His Highness Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar: Kashmir Mercantile Press1939, p. 66.

The Committee felt that, there was psychologically sound demand that education, particularly in the primary stages, should be given through mother tongue which obviously was the easiest medium through which children can acquire knowledge. But on account of the linguistic diversity of Jammu and Kashmir State, Committee found it difficult. Besides, Committee highlighted the literary handicap of the regional languages of State, as these were undeveloped with no capacity to become media of instruction for schools. In order to find solution to the problem the Committee recommended that, teachers should be directed, particularly in rural areas, to give their oral lessons in Kashmiri in the first three classes in order to ensure that children follow clearly whatever they are being taught, technical terms should however, be the same as in Urdu and care should be taken to ensure that this permission does not prejudice the educational progress of non-Kashmiri speaking children. Same was recommended for Dogri and Phari speaking population.[89]

Instead developing the regional tongues the Dogra state boost Urdu, as Dogra state had made Urdu synonymous with Muslim education and Hindi[90] with the education of Hindus, developing parallel system of "vernacular" education, such as in North Western Provinces, ignoring the glaring fact that neither Kashmiri Hindus nor Kashmiri Muslims spoke anything other than their regional vernacular, Kashmiri, in either their homes or places of business.[91]

What is most unfortunate is the complete silence among Muslim leadership on this subject. This silence is an interesting comment on the class basis of the educational reform movements in Kashmir. Since the education in Kashmiri language would have benefited the lower classes the most, but not appreciably served the interests of the elite (since their main motivation in acquiring an education was to be conversant in the language of the administration, Urdu), the Muslim leadership was unwilling to raise the banner of Kashmiri as the medium of instruction.[92] In addition to that, Muslims have a religious bond with Urdu since much of their religious literature was available in Urdu only.[93]

Muslim Conference and later National Conference also supported Urdu to be the medium of instruction. In 1940s government made the problem more complex by introducing

[89] Ibid.
[90] It may not be out of place to mention here that there were only 23 people in whole state of Jammu and Kashmir who can speak Hindi, Khan, *Census of India*, 1901, *Vol. XXIII, Kashmir Part*.
[91] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 194.
[92] Ibid.
[93] K. Warikoo, 'Language and Politics in Jammu and Kashmir: Issues and Perspectives' in Asha Sarangi (ed.), *Language and Politics in North India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 243-45.

a dual script of Devangri and Persian.[94] In 1940 government ordered that: "The language should be common viz., simple Urdu. But for reading and writing both the Devangri and Persian scripts should have equal recognition. The text books to be used in imparting instructions in the various subjects should be same but printed in both scripts." Additionally, teachers were expected to have knowledge of both scripts and to learn it to the satisfaction of a prescribed authority within a period of one year."[95] It was decided by the government that in future, a person who is not acquainted with both the scripts, would not be recruited as a teacher, and teachers already in service, but awaiting confirmation, were not to be confirmed until they learnt the other script.[96]

The reaction of the Muslim leadership was stiff, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah including eight Praja Sabha (State Assembly) members resigned to protest against the order.[97] Mir Waiz, as a representative of the Muslim conference,[98] registered a more complex response to the government on the dual script in state schools. In a long petition to the Maharaja, Mirwaiz alleged that the introduction of Devangri was not only an attack on common nationality but also an attack on Islam in Kashmir. The imposition of Devanagri on the people of Kashmir was an attempt by the government to spread Hindi in the name of simple Hindustani, Mirwaiz noted that the government order would push Muslim masses even further back in education just they had started making progress in the field and "thus leave the unrivalled monopoly of government service, and similar to other things. The Kashmiri Muslim student was already under a heavy burden, and this order would mean he had to acquire four languages−−in addition to English, Persian according to custom, Urdu and Devanagri according to law and Arabic according to religion."[99] In Muaffarabad, Muslim students boycotted their classes and took out a procession protesting against the attitude of their Headmaster who was forcing them to read Hindi. Chaudhri Hameedullah Khan moved an adjournment motion in the assembly demanding cancellation of the script order.[100]

Some Kashmiri Pandits, who had been smarting under concessions made by the state in favour of Kashmiri Muslim, saw an opportunity to regain lost ground through this controversy. They argued that if the court language of Hyderabad—whose ruler was a

[94] *Paigam*, Srinagar, Nov. 12, 1940
[95] Annual Administrative Report of Education Department , Jammu and Kashmir,1940-41.
[96] Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, pp. 557-559.
[97] Bazaz, *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, pp. 186-88.
[98] After the conversion of Muslim Conference into National Conference, Muslim Conference was revived by the Mir Waiz, who has differences with the Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.
[99] Quoted in Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 272.
[100] Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, p. 565.

Muslim while his subjects mostly Hindus—could be Urdu, then the language of Jammu and Kashmir—whose ruler was Hindu while his subjects were mostly Muslims—should be Hindi.[101]

Thus government was able to play the communal card which weakened the national movement; the more probable reason was that it wanted to pacify Hindu opinion, which had been increasingly rancorous over the past decade against the State's so called pro-Muslim policies. Inspite of vehement Muslim opposition to dual script move, the state did not rescind the order.

Kashmiri thus became a victim of the interests of the Kashmiri leadership and complete unwillingness on the part of state and leadership, to implement the mother tongue as medium of instruction was in large part responsible for high illiteracy rate among Kashmiri Muslims and still remains till date.

5.4 Conclusion

Looking at the above discussion it is clear that developments in social sciences should be always seen from multiple angles. Muslim educational backwardness was not only because of their orthodoxy but because of their economic condition which did not allow them to think beyond them to meet their basic needs. The reign of Hari Singh witnessed Muslim outrage against his rule. Muslim leadership were becoming more conscious of their rights demanding their share in education and employment and the opportunity was provided by the event of July 13, 1931. The aftermath of development led to the formation of Muslim conference and later National Conference, which showed a stiff resistance while aliening with Indian National Congress and pressurised the Maharaja for reforms in the state. Although National Conference's New Kashmir proposed big reforms in the overall condition of the state, it was not able to materialise them. By and large, the share of Muslim proportion in education increased from 1930s onwards but not without multiple handicaps. But it should be remembered that the education of girls remained in backward condition. Initially State showed a lukewarm response to the girl's education. Later on the advisory committees of religious heads were involved for the promotion of girl's education. Why the girl's education did remained in backward condition and how state took its challenge and the other issues of the problem will be discussed in the preceding chapter.

[101] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 272.

Chapter VI

Aai Maon Bahno Betiyo,
Duniya ki zinat tumse hai,
Tum ho to gulistan hai watan,
Tum bin veran hai chaman,
Gumgin dilon ki shadain
Dukh sukh mai rahat tumse hai[1]

These versus demonstrates the importance and role of women in a patriarchal society like India. Since education has been a great source of empowerment for disadvantaged sections, in case of women education should have been immense priority. But to our disappointment as per 2011 Census female literacy in India is only 65.46% (male literacy is 82.14%), which is one of the lowest in the world. Today female education may be widely advocated as a fundamental right and matter of social justice and equality, but it is still regarded as 'consumption' and welfare expenditure, if not as a burden.[2]

However, female education occupies a special place in the history of modern India, and its development is marked with controversies, debates and immense struggles.[3] In British India, the agencies for the spread of education lay with three groups—the British rulers, Christian Missionaries and Indian male reformers and educated Indian women. In this chapter we will examine the development of girl's education in Kashmir. It is worth to be seen that the state government adopted a cautious policy in this regard, giving control to local advisory committees.

[1] (Oh mothers, sisters and daughters, this world is beautiful because of you. It is because of you that the country is like a garden, without you flowers are desolate. In marriages of poignant, you are comfort joy and sorrow). Thee verses said by Begum Zaffar Ali in responding to a question of what is the role of women in the male oriented society. An Interview with Begum Zaffar Ali, (May, 1986) in Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin, *Mysteries and Glimpses of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Raj Publications, 1996, p. 240.

[2] Radha Gayathri, Women Perceptions about Self and Education in Late Nineteenth Century India in Parimala V. Rao (ed.), *New Perspective in the History of Indian Education*, New Delhi, Orient Blackswan, 2014, p. 90.

[3] In the nineteenth century as the women's question became a part of the progress and modernity, a movement for female education started as a part of the colonised males' search for the new women. The women's question figured prominently in the discourses as Western observers like James Mill, used the low status of Indian women as a "civilizational critique." It is no wonder, therefore, that the status of women became the main focus of the reforming agenda of the modernising Indian intellectuals of the nineteenth century. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004, pp. 381-84.

As discussed in second chapter advent of Muslim rule towards the middle of the 14th century did not produce any immediate change in the position of women in the society. *Purdah* or seclusion of women became a common practice among the upper class and the women's right place was considered to be her home. Education does not seem to have been wide spread among women of medieval Kashmir. No doubt women of the well to do families were receiving education as for instance, the careers of Sura, Hayat Khatun, Gul Khatun, Habba Khatun, Lal Ded etc, would illustrate, but for the poor and common women the benefits of education were not available. The condition of women become more deplorable as Kashmir passed on into the hands of Afghans, Sikhs and lastly to the Dogras. The continued suppression for centuries and tyranny of wicked rulers had deprived them of their intellectual refinements.[4]

The traditional patriarchal definition of women solely as housewives or mothers meant an early pre-pubertal marriage for girls, an immediate post-pubertal consummation of marriage, early and frequent childbearing. In this definition there was no space for education; and even if it was imparted for a few years in childhood, it was only rudimentary––informal, religious and practical––so as to enable them to fulfil their domestic roles. Kashmiri women like other South-Asian counter parts were so secluded that they were totally ignorant of their own needs, so much so that they did not even have an identity and remained mere shadows of their men folk. Talking about the condition of women of early 20th century Begum Zafar Ali lamented:

> "In my time there were no schools for the girls, even the education of the boys was in infancy. Social conditions were totally different from present times. Women were kept in strict *Purdah.* Muslim women were taught only Quran, which they learnt like parrots. They were allowed only to recite and cram but not permitted to write even alphabets. Such was the fundamental society. Women were not allowed to go outside the four walls of the house, not even to the compound, lest they should come to the gaze of male servants and gardeners."[5]

6.1 Initial Government Policy and Role of Local Advisory Committees

There was no definite policy of government so far as the female education is concerned. Keeping into consideration the very fact that even the advanced provinces and

[4] Unpublished M. Phil Dissertation of Dildaan Manzoor, "Female Education in Rural Kashmir: A Historical Study of Block Pulwama (1947-2000)," Department of History, University of Kashmir, 2011, pp. 10-13.
[5] An Interview with Begum Zaffar Ali, op. cit.

states of India were very backward in the education of females, it was but natural that the condition in this rather backward state was very discouraging.

The people were highly conservative about *Purdah* system and the problem of girls' education was a sensitive social question. The problem in the smaller villages was even more acute. The supply of female teachers was quite inadequate for any wide expansion. Small girls did not, as they did in British India, attend the boys' schools. In Baramulah a State school and the Church Missionary Society School at Srinagar was established towards the close of the 19th century, Hindu and Muslim girls did not read together in the same institutions. Above all, the realisation that girls be educated was totally lacking.

Keeping into consideration the people's attitude and the mode of their thinking State Council adopted a very cautious policy and did not take any step towards the opening of schools for the education of girls.[6] It favoured helping private efforts and a grant of Rs. 1000 was sanctioned in 1901 for Kanya Pathshala at Jammu. This was the only aided school for girls in which needle work and embroidery were taught in addition to instructions in the ordinary line.[7]

It was in 1904, that State Council for the first time provided funds for establishing two girls' schools at Srinagar, one for Hindus and the other for Muslims, to be managed by committees of the leading men of the two communities under the management of the leading men of the two communities under the guidance of state educational authorities.[8] In the year 1905 the number of girl's schools was two and one aided middle school. The total number of students on the roll was 369, showing an increase of 51 over the figures of the preceding year. The increase occurred chiefly in state schools. During the year the total expenditure on female education was Rs. 2,540.[9]

Towards the end of 1906 a provision for female education in the towns of Srinagar and Jammu, on a scale proportionate to the limited extent of the demand of the day, was made. However, there was no initiative on the part of authorities to open girl's schools in other towns and consequently those remained absolutely neglected.[10]

Regarding the female education Narian Das, the Education member of state said, "My policy to such schools has been to let them be managed by private individuals acting

[6] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1904.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1904-05.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Old English Records F. No. 237/1906, Jammu State Archives.

under the advice and control of a local committee consisting of the leading residents of the place both official and unofficial. There is no need of official interference in the internal management of these schools, all which is necessary on the part of the inspecting officers of the educational department is to satisfy them that the aid granted by the state is being properly utilized and for purposes which have been duly approved by the Minister of Education. If interference beyond this limit is allowed there is fear that the schools will collapse. The subject is very delicate one and need careful and sympathetic handling. We have to overcome many prejudices in imparting education to girls and where the people are so jealous of interference on the part of outsiders, it behaves us to be careful how we adopt any steps which instead of fostering a desire on the part of the people to impart education to their girls are calculated to engender suspicion and thus retard the progress of female education."[11]

State Council expressed satisfaction with the small results in the beginning but expressed the opinion that when the desire for female education shall have become general throughout the country and gained intensity, there would be time enough to think of enforcing stricter rules of supervision and controlling the inner working of schools receiving grants from the state in this respect.[12] However, advancement of female education was consistently receiving the attention of State Council. The result was that the number of girl's schools increased, two of which were middle schools. The management of these schools rested with locals committees to a certain extent. These committees worked well and tried their best to popularise these institutions. Their efforts proved fruitful as even people with most orthodox ideas had commenced to recognise the advantages of female education and were sending their children to school.[13]

In the year 1911 the number of schools for females was 12. The number of pupils rose from 908 in 1910 to 1,188 in 1911. An impetus was given to female education by deputing to the Female Normal School at Lahore a lady teacher by awarding her a scholarship of Rs. 18 per month. One of the most encouraging features of the year was the appointment of a Lady Inspector on Rs. 100-10-150, per month, for Girl's Schools. The internal management of most of the schools rests with local committees. The

[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Hari Om, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir, A Study in the Spread of Education and Consciousness 1857-1925*, New Delhi: Archives Publishers and Distributors, 1986, p. 56.

Inspectress gives them help and advice on technical points concerning the schools under their charge and supervises their work.[14]

In the year 1912 secondary education for girls was first time introduced in Kashmir; two of the primary schools were raised to the middle standard. But all the girls' schools were located in hired houses.[15] The Habba Kadal Hindu Girl's school was raised to the lower secondary standard. Thus the number of secondary schools for girls increased from four to five.[16] In the year 1914, the number of girl's schools was further increased from 12 to 16. This increase was due to the opening of 4 more girl's schools two for Muslims—one at Amira Kadal, Srinagar, and the other at Jammu, and two for Hindus—one at Baramulah and other at Udhampur. The control of Baramulah Girl's School was vested with an Advisory Committee presided over by the Wazir-i-Wazarat, Baramulah. The Advisory Committee of the Girls' School, Srinagar, was reorganised.[17]

The instructions given in these schools were virtually confined to reading of literary and religious books, writing, some arithmetic, needle and other minor house hold work.[18] The practical side of education—was, however, still inadequate. It was only in some schools that special sewing mistresses were appointed and needle work was made compulsory. Thus during this period State Council's initiative was limited. With the result female education still remained far from satisfactory. It was admitted that unless more schools are opened no appreciable change will be noticed in making education popular amongst the female population.[19]

6.2 Educational Conference of 1915 and Assigning of Gendered Roles

As mentioned in Chapter III, a Conference of educational officers and headmasters of secondary schools was held in 1915 under the chairmanship of minister of education. Conference highlighted a number of questions related to the existing education system; it was in the same Conference that numbers of issues related to girl's education were highlighted. Conference members were of the opinion that existing curriculum for girls' schools needs careful revision.

Conference recommended that only such subjects should be taught which will make "girls ideal wives and good mothers." For this purpose, every girl should know

[14] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1911-12.
[15] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1912-13.
[16] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1913-14.
[17] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1914-15.
[18] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1909-10.
[19] Om, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 58.

something of arithmetic, the vernaculars and geography. Interestingly, the members recommended Kashmiri as the medium of instruction in the lower primary classes. In the first three classes, a girl may take up any two out of four languages—Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi and Kashmiri. It decided that English may be taught as an optional subject in the middle classes. Religious instruction should form an integral part of the scheme, and there should be periodical examination in theology to secure the results out-lined in one of His Highness, valuable notes on the inculcation of morality and Dharma in girls.

The education in all stages should be practical and subjects like domestic economy and cookery etc. should be taught to every child.[20] In order to frame the new curriculum a Sub-Committee was formed, it was also entrusted with the task of preparing a suitable scheme of physical education for girls. There was dearth of suitable teachers for girl's schools in the State, the Conference, after long discussion, came to the conclusion that the proposal for the establishment of a proper Normal School for lady teachers was premature and not feasible under present conditions. It was resolved that special arrangements with due regard to Purdah and Privacy be made at the existing Normal School for occasional lesson in method, school management to those lady teachers, who were sent by the Advisory Committees. Conference also highlighted the accommodation problem of girl schools. Suggestions were made for appointment of Governesses to spread education among females. It was recommended that Central Model schools, with training classes for teachers, be opened at Srinagar and Jammu. Lady superintends be appointed in each province.[21]

6.3 Sharp Committee Report and Girl's Education

Mr Sharp also believed that people were highly conservative regarding the Purdah system and girl's education was in most backward condition. During this time there were 16 girls' schools with 1,661 female pupils. The percentage of those at school to the school going female population was 0.83. At the Census 1911 it was found that 0.1% of the female population was literate.[22]

Mr Sharp recommended an organised attempt to open primary girls' schools at those places in the state where boys' high or middle schools exist and where there are as yet no girls' school. In some of these places it was possible that a girls' school will have no success whatever. Sharp found average annual cost of a state primary girls' school Rs.

[20] Proceedings of Educational Conference 1915, Old English Records, F. No. 199/P-104/1915.
[21] Ibid.
[22] H. Sharp, *A Note on Education in the State of Jammu Kashmir*, Calcutta: Superintendent Press, 1916.

860. In rural areas Sharp found the problem of female education was worse. The supply of female teachers was quite inadequate for any wide expansion.

Mr Sharp recommended that in female Muslims schools knowledge of Holy Quran may encourage girl students to attend these schools. Similar arrangements should be made for non-Muslims. He further suggests that the instruction in these schools would be very slight at first; but gradually on elementary knowledge of three R's (as imparted in the 1st and 2nd primary classes) should be made a condition of the grant. A capitation fee of Rs 2 a year for each girl who remained in reasonably regular attendance for twelve months and Rs 4 for each girl who, having attended two or three years, was able to pass a simple examination in secular subjects, would not be excessive. Mr Sharp found that there were twelve aided Pathshalas and twenty aided Maktabs, according to him, if each of these could collect an average of 20 girls and if elementary classes could be opened in connection with an equal number of state primary schools, the cost would in the first instance be only Rs 2,560 a year. Gradually some of those elementary classes might grow into regular primary schools for girls.[23]

Mr Sharp observed, "Though the facilities for educating girls are small, the system adopted has some satisfactory features. There is a separate Inspectress of Girl's Schools; and her work is well spoken of. The headmistresses are generally capable and alert. I saw some very fair needlework, though there should be more insistence on plain sewing. Good *kasida* work (embroidery work) and also cooking are taught at State School at Baramulah. The mistresses are for the most part adequately paid. I am not suggesting any separate service for mistresses at present, because the number engaged is small, and individual treatment of each case seems to be indicated."[24] Sharp made the following recommendations regarding the education of girls:-

(I) The establishment of at least 16 new primary schools at centres of boys' secondary education, at an annual cost of Rs 13,760.

(II) Additional prizes and scholarships, Rs 1,000 a year.

(III) A special curriculum for girls' schools.[25]

[23] Ibid., p. 38.
[24] Ibid., p. 39.
[25] Mr Sharp endorsed the views of the members of Educational Conference held in 1915 regarding the framework of the curriculum in girls' schools, he said that it was a move in the right direction. Ibid.

(IV) The establishment of a widows' training class at Srinagar and the grant of stipends to State subjects for attendance at training institutions in British India, an amount of Rs 15 may be allotted.

(V) He strongly recommended grant-in-aid to private players who have established schools for girls. The number of aided girl's schools at that time was four, thus liberal grants should be provided to them.

6.4 Developments After 1916

In 1915-16 the number of the girls' institutions remained same, but the attendance decreased by 81.[26] The fall in numbers was due to the removal of the girls from the schools as soon as they reached a certain age and to the fact that in some of the schools the staff was not working harmoniously.[27] In the year 1916-17 the teaching of English was commenced in the State Middle School at Jammu. In most of the girls' schools the staff was yet poor and generally unqualified, female education was still hampered by local prejudice and general indifference of parents, but it was observed that parents are gradually awakening to the fact that the education of their daughters was as much a part of their duties as the education of their sons. It is satisfactory to note that a practical proof of this awakening is to be found in the three girls' schools already started by private enterprise in the Jammu province. Moreover girls are now prepared and sent up for the Middle School Examination of the Punjab University.[28]

In the year 1919 an aided primary Hindu Girls' School was opened in Srinagar. Out of nine candidates who appeared at the Punjab Middle School Examination for the girls eight came out successful. The paucity of competent female teachers available continued to be a serious obstacle to progress in the field of female education. The Girls' School at Baramulah had to be closed for some months in the winter for want of substitutes for the female teachers absent on sick leave.[29]

According to the Census reports of 1921 on an average there was one literate female to over fifteen literate males. The proportion of literate women to the total female population aged five and over, was three per thousand. Jammu district was on top in female education with nine literate female out of every thousand, which was the highest proportion among the districts of the state. In the Valley 999 out of every 1,000 females

[26] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1915-16.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1916-17
[29] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1919-20

were illiterate. The largest proportion (286) out of female literates is possessed by Christians, with their large element of European and Anglo-Indian females, most of whom are literate. The Jains account for 129 literate females in a thousand, though the education imparted to Jain women is largely of a religious character, and the preponderance indicated by the high proportion of 534 in the age period 15-20 shows that the majority of Jain women are educated at home. Sikh females with 34 literates in every 1,000 were fairly well represented as both the Sikh girls and elderly females were generally expected to be acquainted with Gurmukhi characters, so as to be able to read the Holy Granth.

Among Hindus 994 out of every 1,000 females were still illiterate and the largest share of literacy was claimed by the Khatries (90)[30] and Mohyals (56). Among the Rajputs 996 females per thousand were unable to read and write, while the Thakur, Magh and Jat females were most ignorant of the whole lot. Female education among Muslims was negligible, and Pathans and Sheikhs with their highest proportion of three literate females in 1,000 were at the best, on the same level with most illiterate castes among Hindus.[31] Literacy in English was negligible among the girls, only Christians have good literacy other communities did not have yet made any progress. Hindus except Aryas do not have any literate female in the Census of 1921. Same is the case with Muslims, and Buddhists.[32]

Table 6.1 Literates per mile of Different Religious Communities of Kashmir in 1921

Religion	Total	Males	Females
Hindu	115	189	25
Sikh	116	189	34
Jain	412	612	129
Buddhist	3	69	2
Muslim	12	20	1
Christian	280	275	286

Source: Census of India, 1921, Vol. XXII, Kashmir Part-I

[30] The reason being that *Khatries* are mostly immigrants settled in the pursuit of service and trade, they readily avail themselves of increasing facilities for female education provided by the State girl's schools and private *Pathshalas*. They hold very liberal views on the subject of female education and it is not unusual to find *Khatri* girls of marriageable age and even married *Khatri* females in respective families learning the three R's at their houses from their male relatives. Bahadur Chandhri Khushi Mohammad Khan, *Census of India, 1921, Vol. XXII, Kashmir Part-I Report*, Lahore: Mufid-i-Am Press, 1922, p. 110.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.

In the year 1923 nine new primary schools were opened out of which only one was aided and the rest were financed by state.[33] In 1924 Normal class for training female teachers was opened in the State Kanya Pathshala Jammu, which was expected to remove the dearth of female teachers in the coming years.[34] Islamia Aided Primary School Jammu was raised to middle standard. Advisory Committees were appointed at several places, like Ranbirsingpura, Bhimber, Muzaffarabad, Anantnag and Sopore to suggest measures for the propagation of female education in the Mufassil areas.[35]

Table 6.2 Number of Pupils by Religion and Sex in 1925-26

Communities	Males		Females		Increase	
	1925	1926	1925	1926	Males	Females
Hindus	19,630	20,678	1,900	2,338	1,048	4,38
Muslims	22,797	27,651	1,281	1,562	4,854	281
Sikhs	1,408	1,595	189	194	187	−4
Christians	30	33	1	2	3	1
Others	515	728	32	48	213	16
Total	44,380	50,685	3,412	4,144	6,305	736

Source: Estimated from Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1926-27.

The above statement shows that the educationally backward communities are steadily progressing. The above figures further substantiate the fact that while the rate of increase among males are very high but at the same time female numbers were not so high, though steadily increasing.

6.5 Shift in Government Policy

Hari Singh who brought a number of reforms in education system of Kashmir brought changes in girls' education too. The first reform which Hari Singh introduced was the creation of a separate department for girls' education. Till then girls' schools were an adjunct of the Education Department primarily meant for boys. Now department was bifurcated and girls' education was kept under the control of a chief Inspectress.[36] The policy of giving Advisory Committees maximum powers for maintaining the girls' education with minimum government supervision was abolished.

[33] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1923-24.
[34] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 19124-25.
[35] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir, 1926-27.
[36] P. N. Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to Present*, New Delhi: Pamposh Publishers, 1959, p. 229.

From the year 1928 the Advisory Committees for middle schools in the cities of Srinagar and Jammu were abolished. Similarly after a year their control on primary schools in the cities of Jammu and Srinagar was also eliminated. Although government appreciated role of Advisory Committees which had done very useful work in the past, but it was found that the Department had now outgrown the need for them, and they were a cause of considerable friction.[37] With a view to efficiently control the middle and primary schools at the headquarters and to train the old teachers, on newer lines, Inspectresses were required to pay frequent visits to such schools at Jammu and Srinagar. To facilitate their work in this connection a conveyance allowance of Rs. 15 per month for the Inspectresses was sanctioned.

Table 6.3 Number of Girls' Institutions in the Year 1929-30

Institutions	Number	
	Year 1928-29	Year 1929-30
High Schools	2	2
Govt. Anglo-Vernacular Middle Schools	2	3
Govt. Vernacular Middle Schools	2	6
Aided Middle Schools	6	6
Aided Primary Schools	14	14
Govt. Primary Schools	79	97
Maktabs & Pathshalas	8	8
Total	113	136

Source: Estimated from Annual Administrative Report of Education Dep. Jammu and Kashmir, 1929-30.

The foregoing statement shows that there was an increase of 23 institutions over the last year. Moreover it can be said that the private agencies are also playing their role in the development of girls' education. As for as Maktabs and Pathshalas are concerned, Finance Department questioned the value of such institutions in consequence of the general advance in education and increase in the number of primary and other schools. But the report of Education Department made it clear that, "Although it is undoubtly true that Maktabs and Pathshalas represent very primitive type of school, yet in remote villages, where the opening of a school is not justified at present, they are much better

[37] Annual Administrative Report of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir, 1929-30.

than no school at all and they prepare the way for subsequent opening of schools. The number of schools is as yet so insignificant compared with the total number of villages, all of which are in need of education, so Maktabs and Pathshalas are really doing very useful work."[38] In order to promote the private institutions a sum of Rs. 16,235 against Rs. 10,713 during the last year was sanctioned as grant-in-aid for the recognised private schools in both the Provinces for the year 1929, in Kashmir province it was given to 15 such schools and in Jammu province it was given to 10 schools.[39]

6.6 Training of Teachers

The chief hindrance to the progress of girls' education was the lack of suitable teachers and especially the fact that those at present teaching in most of the primary schools are not trained and some of them are not even primary passed, and this was the most urgent problem faced by Department. In order to train the teachers who are already in service in Normal classes attached to Girls' high schools, beginning was made by deputing a mistress to each centre. This scheme had proved successful in Jammu Province, but a difficulty has arisen in Kashmir Province where the mistresses have refused to undergo this course. This has happened with the old stock of teachers but it was hoped that the new recruitment will be more ready to undergo the required training. In order to train the old stock and to bring old schools up to the level of the newer ones, a teachers class has been started at Srinagar, through the keen exertions of Inspectress of Girls' Schools, Srinagar. It was decided that this class will meet monthly on the last Saturday of every month. All the teachers from local schools will attend, and those who are trained and qualified will deliver useful lectures on different subjects for the benefit of those who are untrained.[40]

The number of teachers for the primary schools in both the provinces was 115 in 1929. Leaving a margin of 15 for sewing and Qurani mistresses the remaining 100 are required to teach and control 6,017 students in the primary schools. This on an average works out to 60 students per teacher. The standard of work of an educational institution having such a large number with only one teacher who is required to teach all subjects can easily be imagined. In order to improve this condition and deal with the steadily

[38] Ibid.
[39] For the Kashmir province Rs. 7,092 was sanctioned and Rs. 9,206 for the institutions of Jammu province, Ibid.
[40] Ibid., p. 24.

increasing number of pupils' provision for 15 additional teachers was made in the coming budget year.

Now there will be no schools on a denominational basis, 2 mistresses, one for Hindi and one for Urdu, will be required in each school from the very start.[41] In the year 1936, the number of teachers in the primary schools was 205, which had reduced the teacher student ratio to 1:40. The number of the single teacher primary schools was 98 out of 144. In order to give a sound education it was desirable to reduce this number as early as possible, for one teacher cannot do justice to five classes, taught at the same time.[42]

6.7 Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939) and Girls' Education

As mentioned, Educational Reorganisation Committee was appointed to improve the conditions of school education. As regards the girls' education Committee considered very carefully the position and problems of the education of girls in the state in consultation with S. W. Shaw, Officiating Chief Inspectress of Girls' Schools who had been specially co-opted on the Committee, for this purpose. The Committee examined the figures of the total number of schools, the enrolment of students, the expenditure and the number and qualifications of teachers in service. It also considered the existing facilities for the training of teachers and the implication of this situation for the quality of teaching imparted in schools. The position as revealed in consequence of this survey of existing conditions appears to the Committee to be extremely unsatisfactory and depressing, and requires the adoption of immediate and drastic measures to quicken the pace of educational expansion and improve the quality of instruction provided in schools.

Committee heartily endorses the view expressed by the Hartog Committee[43] that in all schemes of future expansion, priority must be given to the question of girls' education and this recommendation appears to be particularly applicable to this state where unfortunately 99.5% of the women were illiterate. The members of the Education Reorganisation Committee made it clear that, "it is obvious that no educational scheme can be effective or successful, so long as practically all the mothers continue to be

[41] Ibid.
[42] Annual Administrative Report of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir, 1936-37.
[43] It was the Committee of education with Philip Hartog as president, which submitted a comprehensive report on Indian education in September 1929. In women's education, the committee noted a great disparity existing in the figures of school going boys and girls. It recommended a number of measures in the girls' education. Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The History of Education in Modern India: 1757-2012*, New Delhi: (4th edition), Oriental Black Swan, 2013, p. 157.

illiterate and consequently unappreciative of the advantages of education. Nor can we expect education to become an instrument for raising their cultural status of the homes and permeating into the life of the people, so long as it continues to ignore the problem of education of girls.[44]

6.7.1 Recommendations of the Committee

In the direction of the promotion of girls' education the Committee recommended that increased facilities should be provided to women teachers. The Committee found that only 16 teachers were trained every year in the junior vernacular class in both the provinces. This number is entirely inadequate to meet the needs of the situation, particularly because a majority of the teachers in service have very poor academic qualifications and it has been represented that in their case it is doubtful if they posses even the bare minimum of literacy. In order to persuade a large number of teachers in service and outside candidates to take advantage of the extra facilities proposed and to make training effective it will be necessary to fulfil the following conditions:-

(a) Additional staff, properly qualified, should immediately be given to each of the two Training Departments in Jammu and Srinagar in order to make it possible for teachers to derive some advantage from the training received. The opinion of the Committee, the minimum qualification for the teachers on the staff of the Training Department should be the passing of the matriculation or one of the proficiency examination followed by adequate training in the Senior Vernacular Classes.

(b) Arrangements should be made for training 25 teachers in each province annually, in order to meet the needs of educational expansion. The teachers of aided schools should be eligible to join without payment of tuition fees.

(c) The provision of scholarships should be liberally increased and, in this connection, the Committee suggested that 15 scholarships of Rs. 10/- per month should be provided for each province.

(d) A hostel should be attached to each Training Department and all girls under training should be provided with necessary furniture and other requisites and no fees should be charged for their residence.

[44] Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939), His Highness Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar: Kashmir Mercantile Press, 1939, p. 71.

6.7.2 Expansion of Educational Facilities

Committee was of the opinion that the present rate of expansion, namely, the opening of two middle schools and six primary schools, in each province, is entirely inadequate to meet the pressing needs of the existing situation. Committee, therefore, recommended that 20 primary schools and 4 middle schools should be opened every year in each province. Committee was aware that even this provision was far too meagre to cope with the immense problem of the illiteracy of women in the state. But the Committee have made a reasonable and somewhat conservative recommendation because it was of the opinion that the provision of educational facilities in the case of women should not out-pace the demand for it. Committee was informed that, in some cases, attendance in existing schools was very thin and that people in certain areas have not shown sufficient keenness to avail themselves of the facilities provided.

Committee suggested that government should, for this purpose, adopt measures, similar to those which are being successfully tried by the Punjab government which has appointed local committees consisting of local Revenue Officials and other village functionaries, for the purpose of carrying out educational propaganda to increase the number of students (boys and girls) reading in schools. Committee was expecting that if the higher officials of these departments take keen personal interest in the matter, and suitably commend or censure their subordinate officials, accordingly as they do or do not take part in this propaganda work, it will be possible to give a great stimulus to the movement for the extension of primary education in backward areas, both amongst girls and boys.[45]

As a further strategy of attracting a large number of girls to schools, who are reluctant or unable to join them without scholarship, Committee was of the opinion that it was necessary to increase the provision made for the award of scholarships to girl students.[46] It should also be permissible for the department to transfer scholarships from one school to another, in order to extend the benefit of these scholarships as much as possible, and to avoid the lapse of funds which occurs at present, on account of the inadmissibility of such transfers. Moreover, in certain cases, it should be open to Headmistresses with the permission of the Inspectress, to split up the sanctioned scholarships in order to enable a larger number of girls to avail themselves of monetary

[45] Ibid.

[46] The actual amount to be sanctioned for scholarships should, however be determined after examining in detail the requirements of each province. Ibid., p.73.

help. Further, Committee recommended that in the award of these scholarships, it should be permissible for the Inspectress in the case of primary and middle schools, and the Headmistress in the case of high schools, to waive the present restriction of awarding scholarships only to those girls who have passed in all the subjects in the annual examination, by this measure, some poorer girls will be able to benefit from these scholarships.[47]

6.7.3 Inspection Staff

Committee found that the inspecting staff available for the purpose was inadequate and on the whole, not qualified. Consequently the work of educational propaganda and supervision suffers badly. The entire inspection staff on the side of the girls' education consists of the Chief Inspectress and two provincial Inspectress whose jurisdiction was so large that it was very difficult for them to inspect annually all the schools under them. So the Committee recommended that the number of Inspecting offices should be increased, as a necessary measure of immediate relief, one more Inspectress should be appointed for each province. It should be their duty not only to visit the schools more frequently but also to adopt all possible steps to increase the general efficiency of the teachers working under them. Since the academic knowledge of many teachers was extremely unsatisfactory and inadequate, and it was necessary that the Inspectress, who should be adequately qualified, be charged with the duty of conducting refresher courses for their benefit and in other ways helping them to improve their professional efficiency.[48]

6.7.4 Wastage in Schools

Committee was greatly concerned that there was a great deal of wastage in girls' educational schools due to the fact a large majority of girls do not carry on their education to the 5th class by which time they may be reasonably expected to achieve permanent literacy. In order to minimise this wastage and check the present lapse into illiteracy Committee recommended that financial provision should be made for the distribution of free books in the 4th and 5th standard of the primary school and which Committee believed that will result in retaining a much larger number of girls in the upper classes of the schools. The cost of this proposal will not exceed Rs. 10,000/ per annum. Committee also found that there was no provision for the supply of free books to

[47] Because the Committee found that scholarships awarded on merit are often annexed by well to do girls who pass the examination creditably. Ibid., p.74.
[48] Ibid.

the genuinely poor girls reading in primary or secondary schools. It will be necessary to make some provision for these girls also, similar to the provision that has already been sanctioned for boys reading in compulsory schools.[49]

6.7.5 Syllabus

Educational Reorganisation Committee recommended that the Department should undertake a careful scrutiny of the existing syllabus and courses for girls' schools and overhaul them with the object of making them more suitable and congenial for the present interests and the future occupations and responsibility of the girls. Committee observed that there was no reason whatever why the education of girls should be made unreal, mechanical and stultified under the domination of the examination system. Committee suggested that a representative and well informed committee should be appointed for reorganising the contents of the syllabus of girls' education.[50]

6.7.6 School Building Infrastructure

The problem of accommodation for the girls' schools remained throughout the period; the Annual Administrative Report of the Girls Education Department of the year 1929 complained that all the schools are located in hired buildings which are generally unsuitable having been built for other purposes.[51] Committee informed that the accommodation available for the girls' schools, particularly in the rural areas was generally very unsatisfactory, the schools being mostly housed in unsuitable rented buildings. Therefore it was suggested that government should undertake a scheme for the gradual construction of buildings for girls' schools which should provide accommodation for the classes as well as suitable accommodation for the residence of the teacher-in-charge. Thus Committee recommended that the government should construct 15 school buildings every year at a moderate cost. it was anticipated that if this recommendation is carried out, it will be possible, in the course of the next 10 years, to provide government buildings for the existing primary schools which number about 150. This recommendation was made with a view to securing reasonable conditions of work for the students and the teachers, latter being greatly handicapped on account of their inability to find suitable accommodation in the rural areas.[52]

[49] Ibid., p. 75
[50] Ibid.
[51] Annual Administrative Report of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir, 1929-30.
[52] Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939), p. 75.

6.7.7 Parental Cooperation

In the opinion of Committee it was desirable that opportunities should be provided for bringing the mothers of the girl students and other women of the locality into touch with the work of the schools. Committee, therefore, suggested that occasional functions should be arranged—in school time if necessary—to which they may be invited, and on such occasions talks should be given on useful subjects likely to be of interest to the visitors and an exhibition of the work done by girls should be organised. This will give the ladies coming from outside a better understanding of, and greater interest in, the work of the school and it would incidentally form a modest beginning for the inauguration of adult education work amongst women.[53]

6.8 Follow up of the Educational Reorganisation Committee and Developments after 1940s

After examining the recommendations of the Committee government accepted them but, as we shall see, not all of them were implemented. A number of half-hearted steps were taken during the decade of 1940s'. Mention may be made of the opening of a number of primary and middle schools. The number of primary schools rose to 270 and the number of middle schools was raised to 47 in 1945.[54] Three high schools were established in different parts of the state during this period. As for as the teachers training is concerned no systematic steps were taken to train the female teachers. Although a refresher course for the female teachers was held at Srinagar during the year 1939, which was attended by 30 teachers.[55]

In the same year a proposal for, co-education in localities where no girls' schools exist, was submitted to the government for admission of girls below 10 years of age in boys schools provided their parents or guardians were willing, which was accepted later. Moreover adult education centres were opened in many of the important towns in both the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. In the year craft work was introduced in some schools. Weaving and spinning were the two main crafts which were introduced first in Model School Shahiganj Srinagar, Baramulah Urdu School, Rainawari Middle School

[53] Ibid., pp. 75-76.
[54] Annual Administrative Report of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir, 1945-46. Therefore the recommendations of the Educational reorganizational Committee were not followed even if in opening the primary and middle schools, which has recommended that 20 primary schools and 4 middle schools should be opened every year.
[55] Annual Administrative Report of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir, 1939-40.

and at other schools.[56] During 1941-43, special attention was paid to the development of craftwork in the institutions for girl's education.

Ganga Nath Commission (1944) made a number of recommendations for the improvement of female education. It suggested introduction of Basic Education system with craft as a subject. It is recorded that due to this scheme 1851 women received literary certificates. Commission further recommended the establishment of training schools for female teachers. It recommended the establishment of a separate college for girls, so as to provide a chance to orthodox and conservative parents to send their girls for higher education as co-education was still a hurdle in the way.[57]

In 1944 a number of teachers were deputed to the Technical Institute at Jammu to receive training in drawing. Exhibitions of sewing and hand work of city schools and children's entertainments were held at Srinagar and Jammu.[58] No major change was brought in the curriculum, in fact science subjects were not introduced even up 1947. The work of inspection and supervision was still handicapped on account of insufficiency of inspection staff but two new posts of Inspectresses were sanctioned in the year 1940. The building infrastructure problem also remained there. Only one girl's institution was housed in a government building while all the others were accommodated in unsatisfactory buildings.[59]

There was no representation of girls in higher education upto 1932; it was in 1932 a Pandit lady named Vimla Kaul got enrolled in S.P. College. In 1940 there were about 40 women who were enrolled in higher education. In 1947 only six Muslim women were studying in colleges,[60] this shows the dismal representation of women in higher education. It is true that the society was averse to co-education especially at the higher stage of education. Many parents were not in favour of co-education they did not send their daughters to Sri Pratap College or Amar Singh College for the fear of public opinion.[61] State knowing the conservative nature of Kashmiri society did not try to open a women's college. Therefore, the non-existence of women's college deterred women's higher education to a great extent.

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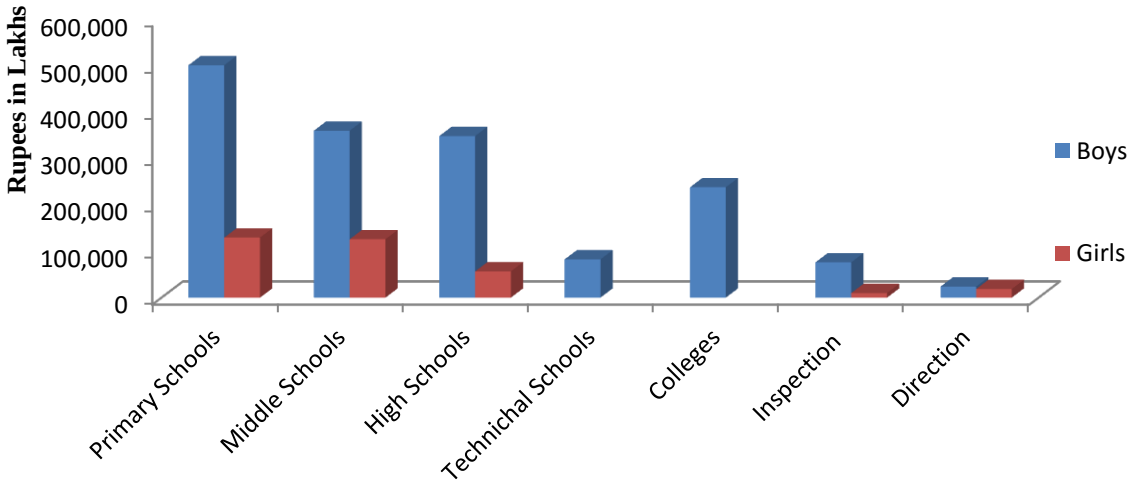
[56] Annual Administrative Report of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir, 1940-41.
[57] Unpublished Report of Sree Ganaga, 1944, State Archives, Srinagar.
[58] Annual Administrative Report t of Jammu and Kashmir, 1945-46
[59] Ibid.
[60] S. L. Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir, 1872-1973* Srinagar: Ali Mohammad and Sons, 1973, p. 269.
[61] Interview with Mr. Bahar Shah (b. 1930). Retired as Tehsil Education Officer of Anantnag: Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar, 1946–1947*: *A Study in Socio-Cultural Change,* Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 2006, p. 181.

6.9 Expenditure of Girls' Education

State Government from the very inception was not kind to female education in the matters of finance. As discussed it was not able to construct a single building for the female institutions. The other aspects of the female education received least attention of government. Although government claimed that society was not responsive to girls education, but during the decade of 1930s a number of factors have transformed Kashmiri society. Thus their perception was changing fast, but as for the budget for education is concerned government maintained the gender discrimination policies even in 1930s and 1940s. Gender disparity can be seen in the distribution of educational budget among the boys and girls in the following fig.

Fig 6.1 Distribution of Education Budget of Boys and Girls Education in 1937-38

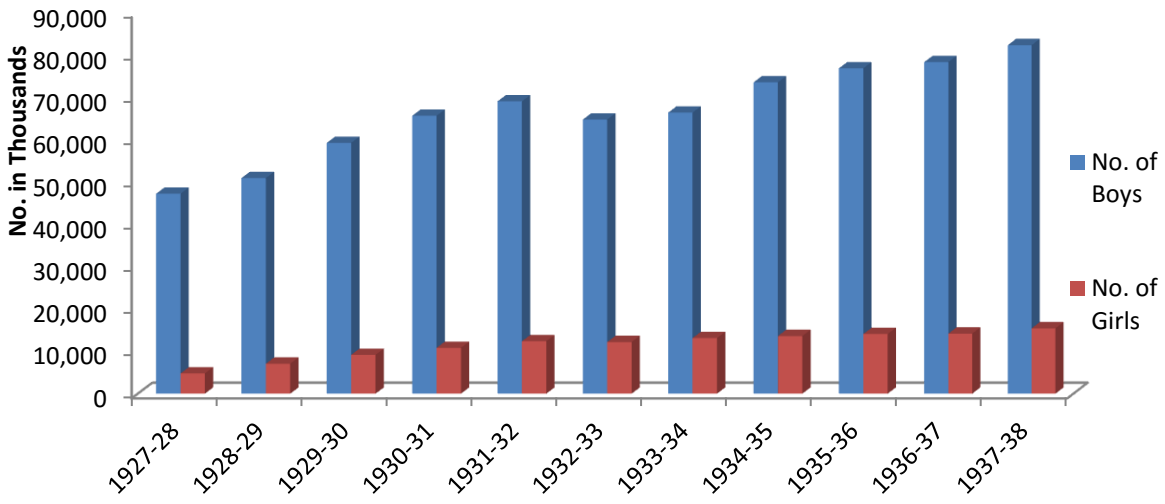


Source:Estimated from the Annual Adminitrative Reoports of Education Department Jammu and Kashmir

The above figures show the glaring discrepancy in the distribution of educational budget so for as the two genders are concerned. In the primary education there is huge difference, for the boys' education an amount of Rs. 5, 01,088 was allotted. While as for girl's primary education only Rs. 1, 29,499 was granted. Same disparity can be seen in the middle schools. While in the high school education the difference is even more than middle and primary education. Since there was no representation of girls in the technical and college education thus no amount was allotted for these items. In the inspection and direction aspects there is little disparity.

The disproportional educational budget and indifferent attitude of government towards girls' education consequently widened the gap between the number of boys and girls on rolls. As is shown in the following fig. number of boys in 1927 was 47, 201 and rose to 82, 303 in 1937. While the number of girls in 1927 was 4,763 which rose to 15,426, although their number had increased, but gap between the two widened as the time passed.

Fig.6.2 Increase in the number of Boys and Girls from the Year 1927-28 to 1937-38



Source:Estimated from the Annaul Administrative Reports of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir

6.10 Contribution of Private Agencies in Development of Girls' Education

Private agencies, particularly Christian Missionaries, played a leading role in the development of girls' education in Kashmir. Like in the boys' education, it was no other than Christian Missionaries who started the experiment of girls' education. It was somewhere between 1893 and 1895 that a girl's school was opened in Fateh Kadal, Srinagar by the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. The opening of girl's school shocked the people of Srinagar. There were murmurs and whispers in streets. The people thought that the missionaries aimed at polluting the minds of young girls with impure ideas. The girls who were brave enough to attend were very limited and their

parents were somewhat on the shake as the public opinion was against them.[62] This school continued until the first prize day, some European lady visitors were invited to the school by the lady superintendent, thinking it would be an encouragement to the girls and their parents. But on the appearance of the English lady visitors, some mischief mongers in the street shouted out that the European had come to kidnap the girls. This episode resulted in the closure of the first girl's school for some time. A few weeks later the school was re-opened and surprisingly the school registered an increase in the number of girls.

This phenomenal success emboldened the Christian missionaries to open another girl's school which was attached to the boy's school at Fateh Kadal. The Christian missionaries through brave spirit and inexhaustible patience removed one impediment after another that was placed in their path and ultimately came out with flying colours in the struggle. Missionaries made people to understand the importance of female education. Among the heroic personalities that made girl education acceptable in Srinagar were Miss Churchill Taylor, Miss Robinson, Miss Fitze, and Miss Mallinson. The story of struggle of foreign missionaries against male arrogance and distrust forms a glorious chapter in Kashmir's history of cultural renaissance [63]

When Miss Fitze started a girl's school in 1912, the majority of the girls attending her school were Muslim. In her yearly school report, Miss Fitze remarked: "Our chief trouble is that Hindu girls were taken away from us early on account of its being considered improper for them to go out after the age of 12, until they are married. I have lost a number of promising ones in this way and consequently, Hindus on the rolls were 35, while Muslims run up to 40."[64] In the beginning Miss Fitze faced a strong opposition from various quarters but by 1914 opposition seemed to have calmed down when the number of girls schools rose to three in the city. By 1916 the girls were seen coming better than ever before and mothers were actually eager about their learning.

While commenting on the progress made by the girls school, Mr. Biscoe remarked, "The education of girls is progressing much faster than that of boys did at its commencement, and I believe that the mothers of this rising generation have been

[62] Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, Srinagar: (Reprint first published 1922) Ali Mohammad and Sons, , 2006, pp. 245-46.
[63] Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta*, p. 213.
[64] Quoted in Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 168

educated, for it is they and the priests who are the great stumbling blocks on the road to light and truth at present."[65] In 1918 the school was raised to middle standard and it received a grant of Rs. 700 from the state. The following statistical information is available regarding the number of girls in the C.M.S. Girls School, Fateh Kadal.

Table 6.4 Statistical Information of C.M.S. Girls School, Fateh Kadal from 1912-1920

Year	No. of Girl Students
1912	Not Available
1913	70
1914	70
1915	85
1916	83
1917	91
1918	100
1919	Not Available
1920	70

Source: Khan, *History of Srinagar*

The table testifies to the increasing number of students from 1913 to 1918, but shows the number falling to 70 in 1920. This was perhaps due to the falling health of Miss Fitze during her last years of life.[66] The C.M.S. Girls School underwent a dramatic transformation during the period of Miss Mallinson as principal (1922-1961). It was Miss Mallinson who was instrumental in bringing about enough educational and cultural advancement among the women of Kashmir. Under her inspiring leadership the school became a hub of cultural activities.

Truly, Miss Mallinson played an important role in the educational and cultural developmental of Kashmiri women. She introduced swimming, dancing, drill, picnics, camping and mountaineering in the school. It was thrilling to see the girls moving about

[65] Quoted in Khan, *History of Srinagar*.
[66] Ibid.

freely and enjoying fresh air during the picnic and camping time. In 1938 she led 40 girl students to the Mahadev hill which is at a height of more than 1300 ft. above sea level. Besides teaching English, Urdu, Persian, general knowledge, mathematics and nature study were also taught. It is reported Hindi was introduced in 1944.

In 1947 science subjects were introduced in the school, she taught the girls embroidery on bags and cushions, basket making and cooking techniques. Miss Mallinson dedicated her life for the empowerment of Kashmiri women; she generated respect for mothers and daughters, infused self respect and confidence into them.[67] The missionaries left no stone unturned in attracting girls to their school. The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society would themselves visit the houses and pick up the girls to bring them to their schools.

Plate 6.1 Mallinson School, Srinagar

6.10.1 Role of Women's Welfare Trust

Besides Christian Missionaries who made mark in the growth and development of girl's education in Kashmir the role of Women's Welfare Trust is worth mentioning. It was established in Sep. 1926 in Srinagar, the founder members of the Trust were: Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins, Mrs. L. D. Van Gheel Gildemeester, Prof. S.K. Toshikhani, Shri.

[67] Ibid.

Shridhar Kaul Dullo and Shri. Aftab Kaul Nizamat.[68] Its objective was to advance the welfare of Kashmiri women by imparting to them the knowledge, by stimulating home industry in them and promoting physical health and well-being.[69]

The Trust made a humble beginning by starting a primary girl's school with five students on its roll and one teacher to instruct them. The venture was an act of wisdom because suitable male teachers were employed for the first time to meet the dearth of the teacheresses. In view of conservatism of people and strictness of Purdah observed in Kashmiri homes it was a daring step. However, events proved that the times had ripened and the sponsors of the movement had correctly fathomed the public mind; the immediate response to the call was by no means disappointing. Within a brief period of four years, the number of schools managed by the Trust rose to ten (six primary, three middle and one high) and the number of students on the rolls was 575.[70]

Though all the local trustees professed a particular creed, the oragnisation and its work were wisely kept free from any taint of sectrain bias. In 1929, the Trust opened the first Muslim school. In order to impart religious education to both Hindus and Muslims, the Trust appointed *purhits* and *mullahas* as instructors in respective schools. It is interesting to note that Trust made Kashmiri as medium of instruction. It was claimed by the trustees that a girl could become literate in Kashmiri only in forty days according to the syllabus chalked out for the schools.

A full fledged high school for girls was opened by the Trust in 1934 for both Hindu and Muslim girls. In the earlier days, the Trust employed only Hindu teachers in the Hindu schools and Muslim teachers in Muslim schools. The increasing popularity of the girls' schools encouraged the members to turn their attention to the problem of adult illiteracy. In summer 1930, an adult school with three young women, was opened in a room of Nizamat's own house. Within one year it had 32 women on its rolls. They were taught three R's, handicrafts and tailoring.[71] Apart from the academic activities of the schools, the Trust sponsored a Women's League with the object of holding debates and discussions on such issues as social evils, unhealthy customs, and causes of prevalent diseases, role of patriotic women in the reform movement and the methods to achieve all-round progress.

[68] Aftab Koul Nizamat was the heart and soul of the Trust. It was the passion of his life that he worked day and night for the progress of Trust. Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta*, p. 222
[69]Ibid.
[70] Ibid., p. 224.
[71] Ibid.

Presently the Women's Welfare Trust is running two high schools in Srinagar namely Vasanta Girls High Schoool, Sheetal Nath and Kashyapa Girls High School[72], Chota Bazar, Karan Nagar—both established soon after the Trust was founded.

Plate 6.2: Vasanta Girls High School, Srinagar

Plate 6.3: Kashyapa Girls High School, Srinagar

Notwithstanding the government and private efforts, female literacy did not increase much as compared to male. From the below figures it can be seen inferred that male education although low made significant progress, moreover it can deduced that from the decade of 1930s female education also made some relative progress.

[72] But now-a-days both the schools have co-education in progress.

Table 6.5 Literacy rate of Jammu and Kashmir from 1901-1941

Census Year	%Males	%Females
1901	2.40	o.11
1911	2.67	0.13
1921	2.79	0.33
1931	**5.92**	0.53
1941	7.17	**2.31**

Source: *Census Reports of India Jammu and Kashmir Part.*

6.11 Conclusion

The development of girls' education in Kashmir faced a number of problems due to indifferent attitude of the government and conservative attitude of the society. The state and representatives of the community seemed more concerned with the religious education of females rather than the efficacy of education being imparted to them. Until 1928 the management of the government girls' schools was left largely to advisory committees, private managing bodies composed of leading members of religious communities, and the schools themselves were connected to particular communities, the state recognised that communities would perceive interference in women's education as an attack on their religious sensibilities.

The religious prejudice of the people of Kashmir and their prejudice against female education were cited as reasons for the placing of the education of their girls in the hands of advisory committees. However, these committees remained in the charge of education department and conducted supervision over the general work of the schools with the rules sanctioned by the Education Minister for the purpose. This gave state sanction to overtly religious policies recommended by the advisory committees, such as closing Muslim girls' schools on Fridays instead of Sundays for the reason that "women were supposed to be more religious and moral.

Although Hari Singh brought the control of girls education under the newly girls education department, but he seems to be ambivalent when girls were excluded from the Compulsory Education Act of 1930. Moreover, girls were totally excluded from higher and technical education, due to the absence of these institutions for them. Still looking at

the pace of times the state and non-state actors were doing their job in this direction. A leading role was played by the Christian Missionaries and other private agencies in the development of girls' education. Besides, Christian Missionaries, there were number of private agencies which played an important role in the development of overall education of state. What are these agencies and how far they were successful in their endeavour will be looked in the forth coming chapter?

Chapter VII

In British India private agencies—Christian missionaries and enlightened Indians, had played a significant role in the dissemination of modern education. Obviously these agencies would have different goals for their educational involvement. Like the policy of missionaries was to convert people to Christianity, and school was used as an agency of conversion.[1] Indian private enterprise in the new education was confined to those who believed it to be an effective agent of modernising Indian society or those who had been trained in the new education and had found it to be a pass port to new jobs which at once brought money, status and power.[2] Certainly missionaries were pioneers when there were few other agencies to shoulder the responsibilities for education. Few would, therefore, doubt that the origin of the present system of English in India is to be sought in the activities of early Christian missionaries. But not just the beginning, they were largely responsible for implementing and stabilising the western institutional model of education with English as medium of instruction.[3]

In this chapter we will discuss the role of non-government agencies in the development of education in Kashmir. The Anglican missionaries particularly the Church Missionary Society London (CMS) made a significant perhaps the most lasting contribution to the modern education in Kashmir. Moreover we will look into the role of socio-religious reform movements in the proliferation of education. Pandits of Kashmir were the first who became conscious of the social degradation of their society; therefore they formed various socio-religious reform movements. Muslim who took lately to new education also established a number of social and religious reform movements, which gave stress on the expansion of modern education among Muslim community.

[1] Brain Holmes, *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools: Case Studies from British Empire*, London: Routledge 1967, p. 12.
[2] Suresh Chandra Gosh, *The History of Education in Modern India: 1757-2012*, New Delhi: (4th edition) Oriental Black Swan, 2013, pp. 60-65.
[3] Rudolf C. Heredia, 'Education and Mission: School as an Agent of Evangelisation', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 30, No. 37, Sep. 16, 1995, pp. 2332-40.

7.1 Christian Missionaries and Modern Education in Kashmir

Kashmir society was more or less static until the advent of Christian missionaries in Kashmir in second half of the 19th century, when a significant change came about.[4] Besides educational development which resulted from the activities of the missionaries in Srinagar, the different administrative methods of the British affected the social structure and social institutions of the city in particular and Kashmir in general.[5]

A number of causes attracted the missionaries to Kashmir, as Prof. Khan noted, "Kashmir was a remarkably suitable region by its geographical position, by its salubrious climate, and by its beauty and fertility, to become a great Christian missionary centre for the surrounding countries of Tibet, China, Yarqand, Afghanistan and Turkistan. Secondly from the dawn of history Kashmir had been a centre of various religions—Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam." "Thus", according to Khan, "they expected that Christianity will hold its sway in the valley."[6] More importantly, missionaries were not oblivious of deplorable condition of the people of Kashmir who had suffered a great deal at the hands of both rulers and priests. There was, in addition, ignorance, disease, poverty and deterioration of morals. It was a call, which the missionaries could not resist. Their aim was to win the country for Christ and they cherished the belief that the spread of Gospel would provide a panacea for the sufferings of the people.[7]

Church, hospital and education were the main instruments which were used by the missionaries to propagate their mission.[8] In the orthodox Kashmiri society it was impracticable to establish a church. Thus missionaries started their work with medical mission[9] by opening a dispensary in Srinagar.[10] In 1865, the CMS allocated a substantial sum for the medical work in Kashmir. Dr. Elmslie, a man of saintly nature, was deputed to found a hospital. He had to face a number of problems on account of the hostile

[4] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar, 1946–1947*: *A Study in Socio-Cultural Change*, Srinagar: (3rd edition), Gulshan Books, 2006, p. 137.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] ibid
[8] Holmes, *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools*, p. xix.
[9] It is to be noted that, before the arrival of missionaries, though the Dogra rule had been established for nearly two decades, the Maharaja had not cared to open a hospital, a dispensary or even a health centre at the government expense. Valley was often faced with epidemics, which resulted in high mortality rate. P. N. Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to Present*, New Delhi: Pamposh Publishers, 1959, p. 207.
[10] On 2nd May, 1864 Mrs Clark, the wife of Rev. Robert Clark, of Punjab missionaries, opened a dispensary in the city which speedily attracted patients in crowds. Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 139.

attitude of Dogra administration.[11] It was only in 1874 when Maharaja Ranbir Singh granted an ideal site for the mission hospital near the Dal Gate, Srinagar. For about three quaters of a century the Mission Hospital became a place of asylum to the poverty stricken men and women of the Valley.[12]

The popularity of the medical work makes the missionaries famous among Kashmiris. Therefore, they started to work with their important tool—education, which had given significant, results in other parts of India. More than twelve hundred years ago, when Britain was very slowly becoming a Christian country, a twofold work of Evangelization and education went on together, and the missionaries were teachers as well as preachers and pastors. Therefore, missionaries adopted the same things in Kashmir to get close to the society.[13] At this juncture Dogra State was unable to start a school except some *maktabs* and *Pathshalas* run by *mullahs* and *purohits* where upper class people were getting their children educated.[14]

In April 1864, Robert Clark opened a school in Srinagar despite the opposition of the authorities. It was an important event in the history of Kashmir. Such parents who sent their children to the missionary school received domiciliary visits from the police. They were told if their children went to school they would be banished to Gilgit.[15] Some conservative people goaded by the authorities strongly opposed the school established by Robert Clark. But Clark wrote in his journal that it was not the people who opposed the missionaries but the government did not like missionary activities. On Nov. 2, 1864, Clark had to leave Srinagar along with his family as the question of a winter residence in the Kashmir presented another serious problem; with his departure the school was closed.[16]

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[11] He was disallowed to have a spacious house for conducting his duties. Consequently he had to take refuge under a chinar tree to look patients. Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta*, p. 209

[12] Now-a-days hospital is known as Chest Disease Hospital Druggen, Srinagar and is one of the leading hospital of tuberculosis under the state control.

[13] Ashley Carus-Willison, *Missionaries to Kashmir: Irene Perrie***,** Delhi: (Reprint) Swati Publication, 1993, p. 246.

[14] Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta*, p. 209.

[15] Gilgit was a place where state sent people for *Begar* (forced labour) Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p.138.

[16] It was the policy of the Dogra Maharaja's to keep the outsiders especially Europeans missionaries away from the state affairs. A special order was issued, in 1854 by then Governor General Lord Dalhousie, at the request of Maharaja Gulab Singh, which forbids European visitors to remain in Kashmir during winters. Ibid.

The real beginning of the modern education in Kashmir started when Rev. J. H. Knowles laid the foundation of CMS School on the hospital premises in Srinagar in 1880.[17] The opening of the C.M.S. School was a red letter day in the history of Kashmir. It ushered in a new era by imparting scientific education on modern lines. P.N. Bazaz rightly remarks that the opening of the C.M.S. School in the Valley was next only to the introduction of Buddhism by Ashoka in the 3rd century B. C. and the acceptance of Islam by Renchan Shah in the 14th century.[18]

In its infancy the C.M.S. School had to face a number of problems. The most pressing problem was that of school building; it was owing to this difficulty that Clark`s first school was abandoned in 1864. The Government's orders prohibiting missionaries from renting a house for a school building were still in force. Thus the C.M.S. had no alternative but to start the school on the hospital premises.[19]

In 1880 there were only five pupils reading in the C.M.S. School, perhaps the problem of accommodation accounts for this small number of pupils. In those days there was no bus or *Tanga* (chariot) service in the city. As such pupil could not be attracted in large numbers on account of the hospital building being outside the city. It is said that those who attended complained of distance. To remove this obstacle the missionaries obtained in 1883 a building at Sheikh Bagh in Srinagar. This act is said to have given rise to opposition and suspicion, as Knowles wrote:

> "During the past year the mission school has been terribly opposed by the government of this country. The reason for the increased opposition was our renting a large house in the city, and transferring our mission school there. His Highness the Maharaja will not permit any person to possess a room or a stick in the Valley."[20]

It was 1890 that the government permitted the C.M.S. School to shift the school down to the city, and it was moved from the hospital promises to a large house and compound on the river bank in the middle of the city (Fateh Kadal). As a result of this the number of students increased to about 200 in 1890.[21]

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[17] Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*. Srinagar: (Reprint first published 1922), Ali Mohammad and Sons, 2006, p. 249.
[18] Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta*, p. 210.
[19] Holmes, *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools*, p. 160.
[20] Quoted in Khan, *History of Srinagar*, 163
[21] Ibid.

While discussing the future objective of the C.M.S. School Mr. Knowles wrote: "*Our desire and intention is to bind Kashmir with a girdle of mission schools. It will be a very expensive business and already we are spending from our slender store, but we are determined to go on, assured that He who has opened wide the door, will furnish us with the means. We put our trust in Him.*"[22]

Mr. Knowles had to undertake ten years of spade work in laying the foundations of the C.M.S. School. He was assisted by Rev. C. L. E. Burges, A. B. Tyndale and also by some Kashmiri teachers in the work of building up the school. Rev. C. L. E. Burges taught mathematics; A.B. Tyndale started a technical school and taught Brahman boys carpentry. Miss Helen Burges was the first lady who established the kindergarten system in Srinagar, which was useful, but for several parents it was the wastage of time so they removed their children from the school.[23]

7.1.1 Role of Tyndale Biscoe in the Reformation of Education

Within a brief period of ten years C. M. S. Primary School was, by degrees, raised to the high standard and the number of students could be counted in hundreds. The joining of the Rev. Tyndale Biscoe heralded the dawn of a new era in the development of modern education in Kashmir, when he came in 1891; there were 250 pupils on the school rolls. Mr. Biscoe, who had come to assist Mr. Knowles, was amused to find boys wearing a very dirty night-gown in the class room. The foreheads were plastered with red paint. It is also interesting to note that in the beginning the mission boys were permitted to bring *Kangri* (fire pot) with them in winter. Commenting on the existing system of education Biscoe observed:

> *Never shall I forget my feelings of surprise and amusement and, to speak the truth, disgust also: Surprise, to see those bundles of human beings squatting on the floor, most of them with their mouths open, as different from that class called boys as I had ever imagined; amusement, on account of their ungainly costumes, for everyone seemed to be wearing a very dirty nightgown, and their foreheads were plastered with red paint, numbers of them wore huge golden earrings which would have turn the lobes of their ears off, if they had not been supported with string over the tops of their heads; disgust at the offensive smell that pervaded that classroom, for*

[22] Quoted in Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 163.
[23] Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 249-53.

practically everyone of these bundles had a conceded fire pot full of hot charcoal, which was emitting fumes of carbon mixed up with unwashed bodies and dirty clothes in which they had been sleeping at night as well as wearing them at all the day. It was wintry weather, for it was the month of December the city lay deep in snow and the streets consisted of pools of black filth; hence their long garments brought much of the city mud into school. Then, as I inspected more closely, I noticed that finger nails were abnormally long.[24]

Nearly all 250 boys receiving instructions in the C.M.S. School were Kashmiri Pandits. Mr. Biscoe had to strive very hard to make his mission a success. In the beginning he found himself beset with numerous difficulties in imparting a new type of education to the Brahman boys. Although it was a herculean task but Biscoe succeeded to some extent in dispelling ignorance. He himself says that he had come to Kashmir to learn rather to teach. How and what to teach the eccentric pupils was the immediate question which perturbed the mind of Biscoe. So before embarking on any big plan, Biscoe made a thorough study of Kashmiri people. This study revealed to him that oppression, corruption, exploitation and superstition had robbed the people of their very spirit.[25]

To these oppressed and enslaved people Biscoe was determined to give an education, "which would revive their spirit, which will help them to develop character and become active citizens." To him the goal of education was to produce good citizens, imbued with spirit of serving the universal father by following the example of Christ in serving their fellows who will thus be able to help the people of their country to cast aside the reproach which has been put upon them by their neighbours, until they become in character a worthy complement of their most beautiful country.[26]

The main problem of education in Kashmir was the irregular schooling. We are told that for years the school started at 11 a.m. but students did not attend till midday. Punctuality was not insisted upon because it was not the hard and fast rule in the indigenous schools. The holidays were the holidays of Hindu calendar. Biscoe writes, "One never could tell whether all the school or only half would be present on any given

[24] Ibid.
[25] Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 164.
[26] Ibid.

day, for some boys would think one god important and some another. How could there be discipline when boys could attend or stay away at their own whim?"[27]

The first step taken by Biscoe therefore 'was to insist upon punctual attendance by pupils. For this purpose he introduced regular hours of instruction. Holidays were arranged on the western pattern. Thus started the process of westernization in C. M. S. School. At the beginning these measures were opposed by the pupils. It was a startling innovation in the city, for the government schools in Srinagar were not thus organized. To discourage absenteeism among the boys, the practice of fine was introduced. This was not enough; sometimes the boys did not come to school pretending to be sick. To check this tendency Biscoe hit on a novel scheme of visiting the houses of the boys.[28]

7.1.2 Introduction of Co-Curricular Activities

"The object of the mission school" as Ernest Neve observed, "is to train all the boys and not only those who are clever or strong, we give fewer marks to mind than body because Kashmiri boys prefer their books to their bodily exercise. Marks in sports are not given necessarily to the best cricketer or swimmer but to the boy who tries most."[29] Biscoe was of the view that, to change the orthodox nature of Brahmans who believe in gentility, there was a need to introduce athletics of all sorts. once Biscoe asled the the to play a game, they boys refused to play for them as Biscoe exclaimed, "It means we shall grow muscles on our bodies and then we shall become low caste folk like the boatmen and coolies. If we play games, we shall have to run about and be energetic and people will laugh at us for gentleman must not hurry. It is also interesting to note that the Brahman boys even refused to touch a football when it was introduced in Kashmir by Biscoe. "We cannot kick this ball" said the Brahman boys, "for it is an unholy ball and we are holy Brahmans."[30]

[27] Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 253.

[28] Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 165.

[29] Ernest F. Neve, *Beyond Pir Panjal: Life among the Mountains and Valleys of Kashmir*, Srinagar: (Reprint) Gulshan Publishers, 2003, p. 245.

[30] An example of how superstition reigned supreme is evident from a parent's letter to Mr. Biscoe, in which he requested Biscoe to grant his son exemption from joining playing teams and boating etc. for the astrologers had advised his son not to take part in games. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 263.

Plate 7.1: Boys of CMS School Playing Football

The parents also regarded the sports as waste of time. They were of the opinion that boys were sent to schools to get a degree and that seems to be their aim. Games were useless to them, whereas, passing examinations meant employment in government services.[31] But Mr. Biscoe did not budge an inch from the path he had chosen. To him school meant an institution where citizen's mind and bodies were to be trained. The great task which Mr. Biscoe addressed himself, writes Ernest Neve, "was to teach the boys manliness, loyalty, charity, manners, cleanliness, truth and other virtues."[32] For bodily development he laid stress on social service, games and sports. The boys were taught swimming which formed a special aquatic sport of the school. In the mission school it was a rule that everybody must pass the swimming test before reaching the thirteenth birthday and failing thus, his school fees was so much enhanced that it becomes impossible for him to remain in the school.[33]

Mr. Biscoe instituted a regular system of social work in the C.M.S High School. This met with marked success and induced a spirit of manliness among his pupils, who did yeomen service during floods, rescuing families which were stranded, "on the roofs of rickety houses or small patches of dry ground" His system was combined with the

[31] Ibid., p. 267.
[32] Neve, *Beyond Pir Panjal*, p. 258.
[33] Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 267.

inculcation of moral and physical courage e.g. in cholera outbreaks, fires, floods, boating etc., boys were sent to rescue the effected families.[34]

7.1.3 Curriculum

Curriculum for missionary schools was framed according to the prescribed syllabus and courses of study of the Punjab University to which they were affiliated. But, the examination system greatly disturbed the missionaries who had aimed at a total development of the students' personality rather than on fulfilling the demands of the examination. Eric Biscoe writes:

> "One of our most difficult problems is combating the unhealthy habit of cramming for the public examinations of the Punjab University. Passing of examinations kills all desire to learn of anything outside the syllabus. Provided you pass, it does not matter by what means, or whether you know anything thoroughly or not. Examinations of this kind put a premium on cheating and on parrot mentality, and are terrible handicap to the advance of true education."[35]

It therefore demanded at different levels the up-gradation, revision and of course the amendments to the prescribed syllabus of the Punjab University. Besides, General Knowledge was introduced as an additional subject to meet the requirements of the school examination. In this regard Eric Biscoe writes that "in spite of our effort, general knowledge is still looked upon as unnecessary, for it does not help them with their examination"

The curriculum of the mission school underwent a dramatic change with the joining of Mr. Biscoe. It was based on western model. The following subjects were included in the curriculum in addition to the subjects required for entrance to the Punjab University.[36]

I. Knowledge of the geography of their own country and especially of the city of Srinagar.

II. Knowledge of different kinds of boats, houses, agricultural implements etc which were in Kashmir.

[34] Neve, *Beyond Pir Panjal*, p. 253.
[35] Quoted in Unpublished Dissertation of Anayat Ali Shah, "The Role of Missionary Schools in the Development of English Language in the Kashmir Valley: A Survey", University of Kashmir, Department of English, 2013, p. 54.
[36] Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 166.

III. Knowledge of the differences between common trees by their leaves and to know their uses.

IV. Knowledge of every day events that were taking place in the world around them.

V. Compulsory Christian teaching.

For the development of English, students were not allowed to use their mother tongue during school hours and were directed to speak English with their fellow students and teachers. One of the past alumni, Shafi Ahmmad Qadri, who joined the Biscoe School as student in 1943 states:

> "We were given extra books on English and were directed by the principal Mr. Tyndale Biscoe not to speak Kashmiri in the school. During school hours, it was necessary for us o speak English with students and with teachers. We acquired English as we acquire our mother tongue."[37]

During the first decade of the mission school, the method of imparting knowledge and information was traditional; learning the text till the pupil was able to repeat it correctly. This was the prevalent mode of teaching in *madrasas* and *Pathshalas* in Srinagar city where the whole emphasis was laid on the learning of the subject matter by heart. The most important method that Biscoe came up with was called "teaching by eye", the prototype of a visual aid of today. The missionaries used a lot of pictures, post cards in various themes and used them in different forms in explaining and teaching history, geography, day to day science and even poetry.[38]

7.1.4 Teaching Staff

Rev. Marcus Wigram replaced Tyndale Biscoe during his furloughs. Rev. J. S. Dugdale, M. A. of Rugby and Oxford rendered a valuable service to the mission school. But, perhaps the most useful and important missionary who joined the chain of Mission schools as a volunteer to help his father, Tyndale Biscoe, was his son Mr. Eric Tyndale Biscoe. Eric Biscoe who had come to Kashmir to spend holidays after finishing his studies in England was so fascinated with educational work in Kashmir that he dedicated his life to it. Two more people who contributed significantly to the development of the school were Salam Din Qadri (teacher and the first Kashmiri Vice-Principal of the

[37] Shah, *The Role of Missionary Schools*, p. 55.
[38] Ibid., p. 56.

school) and Pandit Niranjan Nath Fotedar (teacher and the Head Master). Munshi Hassan Ali was the first Kashmiri teacher to serve in the C. M. S. School, about whom his grandson, Munshi Ghulam Hassan, says:

> "Munshi Hassan Ali was well versed in Arabic and Persian. He was very keen to learn English so that he could become familiar with English literature and culture. With this intention he went to Dr. Doxy and requested him to teach him English. He agreed and asked him if he could teach Kashmiri to him in return. After that both Hassan Ali and Dr. Doxy taught each other English and Kashmiri almost for two and a half years. Meanwhile, after the establishment of C. M. S. School Mr. Knowles requested him to teach in C.M.S. School and he agreed."[39]

In this way, Munshi Hassan Ali got an opportunity of being the first teacher in the Biscoe School among the natives. In addition to the missionary teachers, there were Kashmiri teachers, both Hindu and Muslims, who taught in this school. Mostly these Kashmiri teachers were the old boys of the school. Regarding the contribution of local staff, Biscoe writes:

> "Whatever we westerners may have accomplished could not have been done without the willing co-operation of the Kashmiri staff, numbering now seventy-five, who of course know the lives and characters of the students of the school in a way that we cannot. Particularly all the staff is old students, so we are like one large family bound together with many ties."[40]

Soon after Independence, Britishers left India and with that the support of missionaries ended in Kashmir. On 9 October 1947, Biscoe left Kashmir quite unwillingly. He served the C.M.S. School as its Principal for 57 years and the school was later on named after this great missionary educationist.

[39] Ibid.
[40] Quoted in Shah, *The Role of Missionary Schools*, pp. 57-59.

Plate 7.2: Tyndale-Biscoe School, Srinagar

7.2 Other Missionary Schools

Among the other primarily missionary schools St. Joseph's School occupies an important position in the history of Kashmir. In 1903 Father Braur, a Roman Catholic Missionary and J. P. Boland a teacher in Muree (presently in Punjab, Pakistan) started St. Joseph's School at Baramulah which in course of time flowered into a co-educational institution.[41]

Fr. De. Ruytor who came in 1930 began constructing a separate school block which was completed by Fr. Andrew. It was he who started the boarding there and the students from other states began to study there for the first time. In order to assist the local students to higher education, he wanted to start a college and the dream was realized in 1938, with the establishment of Saint Joseph's College. In this way Fr. Andrews became the principal of both School and College. He worked very hard, for the development of these two institutions. In 1937, Farther George Shanks came to Baramulah and took over the charge from Fr. Andrews as the principal of the College.

The college and school were closed in 1947 in wake of the disturbances all over the Indian subcontinent, particularly Kashmir, which was invaded by tribesmen from across the border.[42] With the arrival of Fr. J. Boerkamp in 1951 as a companion to Fr. Shanks things changed. After a gap of seven years both Fr. Shanks and Fr. Boerkamp

[41] S. L. Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir:1872-1973*, Srinagar: Ali Mohammad and Sons, 1973, p. 48.
[42] Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 48.

worked hard and re-opened the school and college in 1954. In 1963, owing to financial crunch, the college was handed over to the Government. Since then St. Joseph's School remained a higher secondary school.

The contribution made by St. Joseph's School in the field of education and particularly in the development of the English language is very significant. During school hours students were directed to use English language as a mode of communication with their fellow students and with teachers. Beside the text books, students were given pamphlets and other language oriented books which helped them to learn English easily.

Presentation Convent School was established in January 1936, when Maharaja Hari Singh, beseeched the Church Head of Kashmir to request the presentation sisters of Rawalpindi to open a school in Srinagar. After receiving the invitation, three missionaries sisters from Rawalpindi, Mother M. Peter Conway, Sr. M. Annunciata and Sr. Xavier arrived here. These sisters rented a bungalow on the Boulvard besides the beautiful Dal Lake and started their school on 17 March, 1936. The school was named as Presentation Convent School. Initially, most of the students were foreigners, mostly the children of British families living in Srinagar. There was co-education in school until 1945. The Presentation Convent School played a very remarkable role in the development of English language in Kashmir. For the propagation of English, students were given extra books on English which could prove supportive for the learning of English.[43]

Plate 7.3: Presentation Convent Hr. Sec. School, Srinagar

[43] Shah, *The Role of Missionary Schools*, p. 76.

A C. M. S. School was also established at Anantnag by Miss Coverdale with 100 students on roll most probably in 1904,[44] which later was taken by state government in 1947 and it renamed as Central High School, Anantnag.

Plate 7.4: Central High School, Anantnag

Modern education would not have been introduced in Kashmir even in the 20th century, but the arrival of Christian Missionaries on the scene made it possible for Kashmiris to enlighten themselves with the modern education. Missionary schools have rendered a very appreciable service not only in the field of health, but also English education, in general, and the English language, in particular, across the valley, especially in Srinagar, the summer capital of Kashmir. Despite facing a lot of difficulties, the missionaries succeeded in spreading the English language among Kashmiris. English education benefitted the people of Kashmir in more than one way. On the one hand it gave the Kashmiri intelligentsia an access to the intellectual and scientific thought of the western world and opened their mental vistas to come to terms with the fast changing world. On the other hand it benefitted them in social terms by equipping the intellectual tools to fight against the social evils inherit in the traditional society. At the present juncture, the English advantage that the Valley has, its credit goes to the missionaries.

[44] Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 48.

7.3 Role of Socio-Religious Reform Movements

The social and religious reform movements were a necessary prelude to the social and political awakening in the country. By and large, the Valley of Kashmir till the advent of Christian missionaries showed little tendency to change. People were not ready to change their traditional concepts regarding education, tradition, culture etc. Although, people were largely conservative, there were a few who were ready to challenge the old traditions and customs.

The last decade of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century saw dramatic change in society of Kashmir, which ultimately led to the birth of socio-religious reform movements. The architects of these movements were influenced by similar movements in British India, particularly in neighbouring of Punjab. These movements in State represented the nascent urge to change the prevailing social and religious frame in the preparation for a positive change. Moreover the reformers wanted lift up Kashmiri society from the abyss of superstition, obscurantism and stagnation into which it had fallen.[45] Though both the communities−−Hindus and Muslims went for social reforms, however the former took the lead.[46]

7.3.1 Reform Movements among Hindus

The Arya Samaj was the earliest organisation to start a socio-religious reform movement in Kashmir. Recognised by the State Government, it established various branches in two provinces of State. Araya Samaj had established a few branches in Kashmir at Amrakadal, Mahraj Gunj and Huzuribagh. But it had long remained confined to non-Muslim Punjabis.[47] The objectives of Samaj were—to establish a vidyala for teaching of the Vedas and ancient Sanskrit classics for the propagation of Aryapdeshak (doctrine of Samaj); to establish a library for the general public; to publish tracts and books for the purpose of reviving the teaching of the Vedas and to arrange for the preaching of the Vedic Dharma in Punjab, Kashmir, N.W.F. Provinces Sindh and other places.[48]

[45] G. H. Khan, *Freedom Movement in Kashmir: 1931-1947*, Srinagar: (2nd edition) Gulshan Books, 2009, p. 49.
[46] Since they had made rapid advance in education, achieved a bit of political power by capturing subordinate jobs in the administration and were beginning to extricate themselves from the effects of deep slumber. Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta*, p. 241.
[47] Khan, *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, p. 50.
[48] M.Y. Ganie, *Kashmir's Struggle for Independence, 1931-1939*, Srinagar: Mohsin Publishers, 2003, p. 78.

The movement of Kashmiri Pandits 'Kashmir for Kashmiris' launched to protest against the monopoly of government services by the Punjabis and other non-Kashmiris resulted into differences between the local and non-local Hindus and ultimately culminated in the emergence of Arya Kumar Sabha. It was organised separately by the Kashmiri Pandits as an independent socio-religious movement. The Sabha established its office at Rainawari, Srinagar. It established reading rooms where young Kashmir Pandits, both educated and uneducated, were invited to read the literature or to discuss various aspects of Hindu religion and society. The Sabha also recommended widow remarriages, and propagated against child marriages and dowry system. In due course, Arya Kumar Sabha became a part and parcel of Arya Samaj.[49]

Samaj made education the chief plank of its programme of reforms. It ran a girl's school named Arya Putri Patshala of the middle standard in a building of its own at Wazir Bagh, Srinagar. It also ran a Vanita Ashram at Rainawari, where widows were given lessons and were also taught embroidery and weaving work to enable them to earn their living. Samaj, besides disseminating modern education, propagated Hindi and Sanskrit among Kashmiri Pandits.[50]

Dogra Sabha, a semi-political organisation of Jammu province, was found by Lala Hansraj in 1903. It supported dissemination of education in the state, to fight for redress of the people's grievances, to bring about mutual cooperation and unity among the different communities. The Sabha demanded the opening of high and middle schools in villages and towns, widening of roads, raising age of marriage to 18 years, hospitals, compulsory education etc.[51]

The Dharm Sabha was well known association of Kashmiri Pandits like Pandit Hargopal Koul and Pandit Vedlal Dhar. The aims of Sabha were to fight for the eradication of social evils prevalent among Kashmiri Hindus; to persuade the Pandits to favour widow remarriage; to help the spread of female education and to fight for economic betterment of Pandit community. The Sabha established an Anglo-Sanskrit School for imparting religious knowledge to the Hindus.[52]

In 1930, P. N. Bazaz formed an organisation known as Fraternity Society. The formation of the Fraternity Society was the result of continuous and unbridgeable differences between the conservatives and radicals in the Dharm Sabha. It worked for

[49] Khan, *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, p. 51.
[50] Ganie, *Kashmir's Struggle for Independence*, pp. 80- 81.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Raviderjit Kaur, *Political Awaking in Kashmir*, New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation, 1996, p. 59.

reforms which included eradication of all evils and practices connected with marriage-ceremonies; exhortations urging upon the mother-in-laws to give just and respectable treatment to their daughter-in-laws. It also worked for the propagation of female education.[53]

The Yuvak Sabha founded by Prem Nath Chikan was the most important socio-religious reform organisation of Kashmir Pandits. Its programmes were varied—looking after the cause and rights of Kashmiri Pandits; infusing the spirit of patriotism among Kashmiri Pandits and helping the Maharaja in maintaining the state; pleading the cause of female education; protecting and looking after the religious places of Hindus and fighting for the restoration of those religious places of Hindu community which had been under dispute for a long time.[54] Most probably, in 1942, a school named as Hindu High school was established by Sabha near the temple of Shital Nath Srinagar, the school is now days in a dilapidated condition under the charge of the local committee.

Plate 7.5: Hindu High School Shetal Nath Srinagar

7.3.2 Socio-Religious Reform Movements of Muslims

It was during the twenties of the 20th century that Muslims of Kashmir came into arena of socio-religious reform activities. The fundamental aim of their reform was to

[53] Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta*, p. 239.
[54] U. K. Zutshi, *Emergence of Political Awakening in Kashmir*, New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1986, pp. 199-202.

acquaint Muslims with the reasons of their stagnation that had kept them in a state of backwardness for centuries together.[55]

7.3.3 Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam and Education of Muslims

Like Pandits of Kashmir Muslims also organised the transitional reform movements[56] which took its source form the religion. Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, Srinagar was the earliest and the most important socio-religious organisation in Kashmir. Anjuman was founded by Mirwaiz Rasool Shah, also known as Sir Sayed-i-Kashmir, in 1905. The main cause of Muslim backwardness as perceived by Mirwaiz lay in their lack of education. Mirwaiz claimed the leadership of Kashmiri Muslim community through his activities on the educational front, founding the first reform association for Kashmiri Muslims, with an affiliated school. Founded in 1889 with the financial assistance of eminent Punjabi Muslims, Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam, literally meaning the Society for the Victory of Islam, sought to unite Kashmiri Muslim community around the concept of *Tawheed*, or the unity of Allah. Anjuman opened its doors to all Muslim sects, to cleanse Kashmiri Muslim community of its "un-Islamic" aspects. A *madrasa* was soon attached to Anjuman with a view to improving lot of Kashmiri Muslim population through pure Islamic education.[57]

Commenting on the nature of school, Zutshi noted that, "The aim of the school until the early years of the twentieth century was to provide its students with a traditional Islamic education to create a class of religious leaders who would guide the community on the path to pure Islam. The traditional syllabus of the school, with an emphasis on Arabic and Persian to facilitate memorization of the *Quran*, bears testament to this goal." Similar moves were made by the heads of various shrines to establish schools within a few years of the foundation of the Madrasa Anjuman Nusratul- Islam. For instance, the *Sajjadanashin* (spiritual head) of the Khanqah-i-Mualla Shrine, Pir Yusuf Shah Khanqahi, helped found a school in the courtyard of the shrine, which was also, dedicated to furthering religious education among Kashmiri Muslims.[58]

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[55] Khan, *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, p. 60.
[56] Kenneth W. Jones defines the transitional movements as the movements which had their origins in the pre-colonial world and arose from indigenous forms of socio-religious dissent, with little or no influence from the colonial milieu. Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio Religious Reform Movements in British India*, UK: (Reprint) Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 6.
[57] Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*: *Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003, pp. 183-84.
[58] Ibid.

The political and economic needs of the time, however, dictated that these institutions alter their nature and project. Although the Madrasa Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam was turning out mullahs with an ability to recite the Quran in good numbers, none of them was literate in Urdu, the language of the administration. State schools needed teachers who could teach a variety of subjects in Urdu, while the mullahs were trained in Arabic and Persian. As a result, Moulvi Rasool Shah reorganized the Madrasa along the lines of Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, and a new building was constructed for it in 1901.[59] A few years later, in 1905, the Madrasa now renamed the Islamia Higher Secondary School,[60] became a recipient of state grant-in-aid and was converted to a high school in 1912. The school provided a course of study that included a firm grounding in Islamic theology along with a study of secular subjects.[61]

Plate 7.6: Islamia Higher Secondary School Srinagar

Anjuman-i-Nusratul-Islam of Kashmir worked very hard to spread its mission i.e. general literacy as well as higher education among the Muslims of Kashmir. The

[59] Munshi Mahboob Alam, editor *Paisa Akhbar*, Lahore, and Hakim Mohammad Ali Lahori raised Rs.400 for the school and finally the Maharaja of Baroda came forward with Rs. 2000 for the repayment of the building loan.

[60] Now-a-days the institution is one the renowned Higher secondary, with a separate block for girls. In order to maintain the religious affiliation it has a College named Noor-ul-Islam Oriental College Maulvi Aalim and Maulvi Fazil, which is imparting highest religious education. Interview with Prof. G M. Khan, 12-05-2014, Principal Islamia Higher Secondary and Noor-ul-Islam Oriental College Maulvi Aalim and Maulvi Fazil, Srinagar.

[61] Ibid.

importance of education, religious as well as scientific, for the overall welfare of Muslims is reflected in the words of president of Anjuman, who said and stressed on his mission, "Science shall be in our right hand and philosophy in our left and in our head there should be crown of, there is no God but Allah and Muhammad His apostle."[62]

Anjuman felt to provide financial help to the needy and poor Muslim students, who are engaged in the pursuit of religious as well as modern education. After the death of the Gh. Rasool Shah in 1909 his younger brother Moulvi Ahmadullah assumed the charge of Presidentship of *Anjuman*. He also worked hard for progress and development of education among Muslims of Kashmir. Three middle schools and five primary schools were established in different places of Srinagar.[63]

Mirwaiz leadership subscribed to the vision of the Islamic period in Kashmiri history as the ideal, when illiteracy was allegedly unknown. It was during this period that Muslim community, united under an Islamic authority, attained the zenith of civilization and made Kashmir the envy of the world. Most speeches delivered at the annual convocations of the school hearkened back to this Islamic period in Kashmir history when it was a centre of learning and scholarship. In his speech to the annual convocation, the general secretary of Anjuman lamented the march of time that had transformed Kashmir from a land dedicated to patronizing Persian and Indian masters of art and letters, to a poor country with an illiterate population of Muslims.

The leadership had made the period of Islamic rule in Kashmir synonymous with a high level of education among Kashmiri Muslims[64] and the following periods with illiteracy and ignorance. Thus, for the members of Anjuman, the ignorance besetting Kashmiri Muslims was a symptom of the larger malaise of Islam's decline in Kashmir, caused by the loss of temporal authority. Here the goal of Anjuman was an internal regeneration of Kashmiri Muslim community, so that Muslims might recover their Islamic identify through education.[65]

The President of Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul Islam, Mirwaiz Ahmadullah, complained that the absence of Muslim teachers in state schools and meagreness of scholarships to

[62] Nazir Ahamd Dar, *Anjuma-i-Nusrat-ul Islam Jammu and Kashmir: An Overview*, Srinagar: Aar Ess Publisher House, 2005, p. 36.
[63] Ibid., 22.
[64] Needless to point out that, even in the Islamic period, education had been the preserve of the elite, regardless of denominations. Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*: *Islam*, p. 185.
[65] Ibid.

the Muslim students as the reasons for their low educational status. Albeit respectfully, he demanded that the state recruit Muslims who had taken a lead in education to responsible positions. Since the number of young Muslim men educated in English was then limited, he stated: "such of them as are well read in Urdu and Persian may be appointed in departments such as Settlement, Revenue, Police, Customs, Municipalities etc. and where Muslims with necessary qualifications for these and other departments are not available, requisition may be made from the *Anjuman*." The Mirwaiz also demanded that all primary schools have a staff of Muslim teachers and State high schools have Muslim headmasters and inspecting staff. His other demands included provision for a special Muslim advisor attached to the Education Minister and extraordinary help for Muslim students and institutions such as Islamia School.[66]

He was succeeded by Moulvi Atiqullah, who also worked day and night for the reform of Kashmiri society. Moulvi Yousuf Shah was one of the outstanding presidents of *Anjuman*, who had an ever-increasing quest for knowledge. During the thirties of 20th Century he gave a political colour to *Anjuman*. He presented Kashmiri Muslim demands to Dogra State and pressurized the government to give Muslims maximum opportunities in education; he urged the government to give Muslims attractive scholarships so that they will be able to get higher strides in education. It was the influence and impact of the Anjuman that various citizens in Kashmir established schools like Pir Yousuf Shah Khanqhahi founded a school on modern lines in Srinagar. In 1899 Hakim Ab. Gani Islambadi opened a middle school at Islamabad (Anantnag) which was later upgraded to high school by his son GH. Mohammad.[67]

[66] Ibid., p. 201.
[67] It in 1902 that the school was upgraded as high school, the school has also produced great luminaries Mirza Afzal Beg. Interview with Principal Nusrat-ul-Islam Secondary School Anantnag, 05-05-2014.

Plate 7.7: Nusrat-ul-Islam Senior Secondary School, Anantnag

Similarly a high school at Bijbehara (south Kashmir) and Islamia primary school at Kupwara (north Kashmir) and Islamia middle school at Shivpora (Srinagar) were established where Muslim students received modern education coupled with religious education.[68]

Islamia School Srinagar gave a lot to Kashmir, as it had produced personalities like, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the first Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Dr. Ali Jan, a renowned physician of the Valley, Mehjoor, the national poet of Jammu and Kashmir, Mufti Mohammad Syed, ex- chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir state and Mohammad Yousuf Buch, the first Kashmiri who passed the United Nations examination in 1950 and became the Adviser to U.N. Secretary General.[69] Inspite of its efforts, however, Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam and its educational reform movement remained elite based. As Zutshi observed that, "one of the more obvious reasons for the institution's limited sphere of activity was its links to the ruling dynasty, bureaucracy, and Muslim organisations of the Punjab."[70] The language in which its convocation sessions were conducted was Persian or Urdu, neither of which was spoken nor understood by the vast majority of Kashmiri Muslims. Moreover the medium of instruction in these schools was also Urdu like the state schools. By promoting Urdu at the expense of Kashmiri, these institutions were creating a gap between education and the public sphere.

[68] Dar, *Anjuma-i-Nusrat-ul Islam Jammu and Kashmir*, pp. 55-60.
[69] Shah, *The Role of Missionary Schools*, p. 82.
[70] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*: *Islam*, p. 189.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the contribution of Anjuman cannot be underestimated, as it was because of Anjuman-i-Nusratul-Islam that various socio-religious *Anjumans* came into existence which also contributed to the growth of education. *Anjuman-i-Maien-ul-Islam* Sopore, founded by Sayed Mirak Shah Indrabbi, established a school in Sopore. *Annjuman-i-Mazhar-ul-Haq Beerwah* (Budgam), in 1934 laid the foundation of Mazher-ul-Haq High School and enlightened the people of Beerwah with religious and secular education. Likewise *Anjuman-i-Taleem-ul-Islam Tral* (south Kashmir), also established a primary school in Tral.[71]

7.3.4 Other Reform Movements of Muslims

Anjuman-Tabligul-Islam was also a socio-religious and educational movement of Jammu and Kashmir. It was founded by a group of traditional and orthodox Muslim theologians. It started a college in 1947 known as *Darul-uloom Hanafia* at Shahi Masjid Zainakadal Srinagar. It had established a vast network of modern secular educational institutions in the same manner as the government recognized pattern.[72]

The *Jamaat-i-Islami* of Jammu and Kashmir was yet another non- governmental organization in Kashmir to enter the sphere of educational schemes. It made a tremendous contribution in the field of education in Kashmir.[73] It established a number of alternative institutions; one was established in Nawa Bazar in the heart of Srinagar where, from the first standard itself the students were taught Arabic, English, Urdu, Mathematics and Islamic Studies and the performance of the students of this school was so good that parents now preferred these schools instead of Christian Missionary schools. Such was the commitment of the teachers that even non-Muslim parents sent their children to these schools. These schools were opened for all without any regard for caste, creed and religion.[74]

Moulvi Mohammad Noor-ud-din Qari, a resident of Srinagar who studied in Punjab University, became most vociferous opponent of religious leadership of Kashmir. He accused the religious preachers, of keeping the true massage of Islam away from the

[71] Dar, *Anjuma-i-Nusrat-ul Islam Jammu and Kashmir*, pp. 60-62.

[72] Unpublished M Phil Dissertation of Younus Rashid, "Jamaat-i-Islami in Jammu and Kashmir: A Historical Perspective", Department of History, University of Kashmir, 2009, pp. 89-95.

[73] Khwaja Sanaullah Bhat, *Kashmir Testament*, Delhi: Translated by Altaf Hussain Tak, Bright Publications, 988, p. 8.

[74] Rashid, "Jamaat-i-Islami in Jammu and Kashmir".

people, thus submerging Kashmiri Muslims in ignorance. He wrote in Kashmiri language and gave importance for its growth, which was hitherto ignored by the government as well as by other Kashmiri leaders. His Kashmiri poem, *Teleem Par, Teleem Par* (Gain Education, Gain Education) clearly shows his quest for education:

You are sunk in disrespect; Fallen, hunched up.

Look at your own condition now; You are being crushed by passersby.

Knowledge is the bigger wealth; It does not fear fire or thieves.

The one who gained knowledge well, Wealth will follow him.

One who remains uneducated, Dies an ignorant death each day.

He lives like cattle, Read and become human again[75]

To Qari, education was ultimate means for the attainment of the unity of the community, which had been lost under the leadership of the religious leaders. Therefore, writings of Qari, especially in Kashmiri language, made him more popular.

Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Talim-i-Musalmanan was formed by Munshi Assadullah. Its main contribution was that it granted scholarships, out of its own funds, to Muslim students reading in various schools and colleges of Kashmir.[76]

Anjuman-i-Hamdadrd-i-Islam, Srinagar was established by a few Punjabi Muslims. The Anjuman had an orphanage for free board and lodge. It also made arrangements for their education and vocational training. The primary aim of the Anjuman was to encourage the Muslims of Kashmir in their pursuit for education; stress was laid on the learning of technical and commercial education. Anjuman also granted scholarships worth four rupees per month to those Muslim students who had passed the middle Standard but could not continue further studies due to poverty.[77]

7.4 Government Policy towards Private Agencies

Needless to say here that Government showed hostile attitude to missionary educational efforts. They were not allowed even to stay whole year in valley. The students of mission schools were harassed by the state authorities. So it is safe to say that

[75] Moulvi Mohammad Noor-ud-din Qari Qouted in Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 206.
[76] Khan, *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, p. 69.
[77] Ibid., pp. 72-72.

at the beginning the government turned no stone unturned to halt the efforts of missionaries in spreading new system of education.[78] But during the 1880s[79] there was a sea change in the government's approach to the missionary actives who were sole private players in the spread of education. If fact, government reorganised and replicated the education system of education one the lines which the missionaries had introduced.

In 1889, an aided school was established in Muzafferabad in which townsmen were contributing a sum of Rs. 25 for its maintenance, there were 36 boys on roll.[80] It may not be out of place to mention here that, government was complaining of shortage of funds, as the Home Member requested help from different quarters even for the state run schools, thus expecting government help to private schools was not possible.[81]

7.4.1 Grant-in-aid System

In order to boost the private education efforts Wood's Despatch of 1854 introduced the scheme of grant-in-aid system, which had been successfully used in England. Government was actually looking for large scale private participation in the propagation of education, while receiving aid from government.[82]

Although in Kashmir there were not the large scale private attempts in education except some schools, *maktabs* and *Pathshalas*. In 1903-04, there were only three schools—Mission School, Hanfia High School and Islamia High school, receiving grant-in-aid. Till June 1911, there were no rules for grant-in-aid to private schools within the state. The number of aided schools increased to nine including the girl's schools against 1011 such schools in the neighbouring Punjab.[83] As private educational institutions were playing an important role in the field of education, the State Council realised their utility and, consequently, offered grants to such schools. However, grants were given under certain conditions.[84] A fixed grant was allowed at the scale of Rs. 750/- for high schools, Rs 400/- for middle and 250/- for upper primary and 150/- for lower primary. The rates

[78] Gulab Singh was apparently against the western penetration in Kashmir. His successor encouraged the classical education and was not in favour of the modern education. Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 138.
[79] As mentioned in third chapter, the policy of Kashmir Government changed when the Government of India took active part in t he internal affairs of state. For details see the third chapter.
[80] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1889-90.
[81] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1892-93.
[82] J. P. Naik and Syed Nurullah, *A Student's History of Education in India: 1800-1973*, New Delhi: (6th edition) Macmillan Publishers, 1974, pp. 123-26.
[83] Hari Om, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir: A Study in the Spread of Education and Consciousness: 1857-1925*, New Delhi: Archives Publishers, Distributors, 1986, p. 65.
[84] These conditions were to agree the rules and regulations which the schools were expected to follow. A regular inspection by government officers, to levy a fee etc.

were, however, higher in case of girls schools, where the scales were Rs. 500/-, 400/-and 300/- for the middle, upper and lower primary respectively.[85]

Mr. Sharp articulated that, although Kashmir government was giving good grants to schools but it was not enough for their efficient advance. He recommended that the rules for the grants should be broadened, so as to take into consideration the attendance in the high and middle sections and the income and expenditure of the schools.[86] Sharp had given the details of some major schools which were getting the grant-in-aid.

Table 7.1 Details of Grant-in-aid to Schools in 1916

Institution	Total Cost	Annual Grant	Total No. of Pupils	No. of Passes at last Matriculation
C. M. S. High School Srinagar	30,000	4,600	500	20
Islamia High School Srinagar	6,000	3,000	283	6
R. C. High School Baramulah	12,600	4,380	244	5

Source: H. Sharp, *A Note on Education in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, 1916*

From the above figures it becomes clear that the major share of the grant-in-aid was taken by the missionary school owing to its size of educational work. Though the grant given to other schools were reasonable but it was generally insufficient.

During the reign of Maharaja Hari Singh the grant-in-aid increased to a large extent as the following table will show the grant-in-aid given to the girls' schools from Kashmir province.

[85] Since during this time Advisory Committees were the sole promoters for the female education . Om, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 124.
[86] H. Sharp, *A Note on Education in the State of Jammu and Kashmir*, Calcutta: Superintend Government Printing, 1916, p. 8.

Table 7.2 Grant –in-aid to Different Girls' Schools

Name of the Institution	Grant –in-aid Amount
C. E.M. Batyar	354
Arya Putri Pathshala Mahraj Ganj	406
C. M. S. Girls' School, Fateh Kadal	2,072
C.E.Z.M. Girls' School Alikadal	536
S. D. Kanya Pathshala	192
Arya Putri Pathshala, Srinagar	334
Pratap Girls' School	211
Maitrya Girls' School	579
Muslim Girls' School Kral Khud	419
Permeshri Devi Girls' School	395
Vasanta Girls School	510
S. D. Putri Pathshala, Sri Ranbir Ganj	360
Drabyar Girls' School	222
Islamia Grils' school, Shamaswari	228
Mohammadan Girls' School Tankipura	210
Total	7,029

Source: Annual Administrative Report of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir State, 1929-30

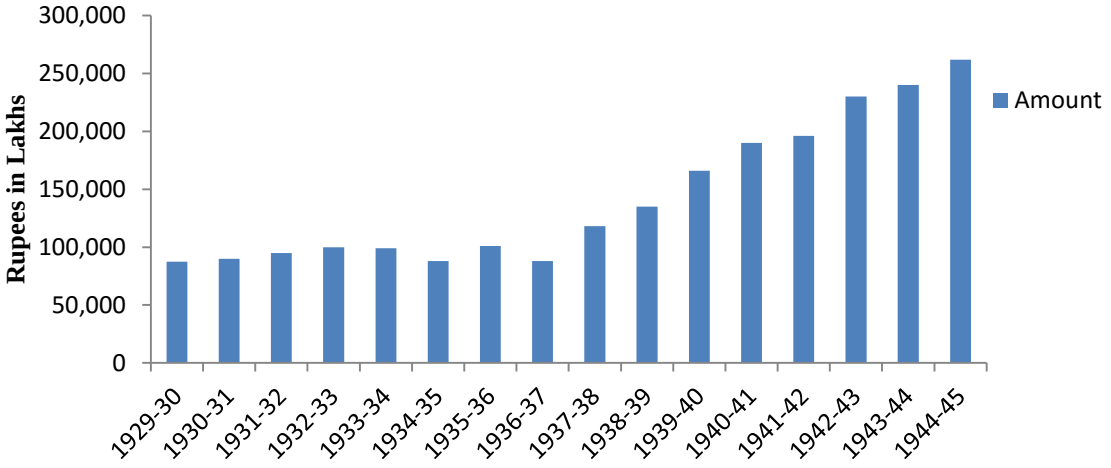
From the above list of grant-in-aid schools it becomes clear that the most of the schools were imparting only traditional education. As has been mentioned in the earlier chapter, the Director of Education had claimed that these schools were giving primitive education.

It is to be mentioned that in 1929, there were forty eight aided schools which were giving new type of education. Among them seven were high schools, five middle schools and thirty six primary schools.[87] The total number of such schools increased to 77 in 1940-41, interestingly the grant-in-aid increased largely as the number of pupils in the aided schools had increased. In 1929-30, the total amount of grant for the various kinds of aided schools was Rs. 87, 433. The amount was also meant for Maktabs and Pathshalas including the aided schools in Frontier schools. In the year 1945 the grant for these schools rose to 2, 78,000[88]

[87] Annual Administrative Report of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir State, 1929-30.

[88] Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1945-46.

Fig. 7.1 Increase in the Expenditure on Grant-in-aid to Educational Institutions in the State during the Year 1929-1945



Source: Estimated frm the Annual Adminitrative Reports of Jammu and Kashmir State

From the above chart it seems that government was liberally giving grants to the aided schools. But it may not be out of place to mention here that the number of aided schools in 1945 was near about five hundred which means that a school was normally getting a mere amount of Rs. 500[89] which seems insufficient.

7.5 Conclusion

Private agencies played a vanguard role in the development of modern education in Kashmir, the lead was taken by Christian missionaries, and in fact they became the role model for the state schools in the policies of education. They faced a number of problems[90] on account of the intimidating attitude of the early Dogra rulers. But the missionaries were strong enough to face all such odds. They brought a number of social cultural and health reforms in Kashmir. But the participation in the mission schools limited to the elite section of the society, especially the Pandits. Moreover missionary activities remained confined to Srinagar city for a long time ignoring the large part of the Valley. Nevertheless, the impact of missionary activity gradually penetrated into the whole society, which can be seen in the formation of different socio-religious reform movements among the different communities. But what was lacking in these movements was that their programme was confined to their respective communities. The main reason

[89] Ibid.

[90] In 1896 in an order of the State Council only those people were eligible for the government employment that has been educated in the State Schools. It was a jealously shown by the non-Christian schools. It was only after the intervention of Resident that the order was annulled. Ashley Carus-Willison, *Missionaries to Kashmir: Irene Perrie,* Delhi: (Reprint) Swati Publication. 1993, pp. 257-58.

behind this was their stress on the religious reform, which did not allow the other communities to take part in them. Notwithstanding their limitations they also made a tremendous contribution in the social and religious reform in Kashmir.

Although earlier government showed indifferent attitude towards the private efforts but later on government realised the need to encourage them with the grant-in-aid policy, therefore brought them under its own control.

Conclusion

Colonialism brought marked changes in the socio-economic structures of Indian subcontinent. Its impact on education system is crucial as the latter acted as a driving force behind the various lasting changes that colonial Indian witnessed. Although the literacy rate of India has jumped from 18.33% in 1951 to 74.04 in 2011, India is still below the world's average literacy rate by around 10%. India's state expenditure on education is only 3.17% of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which is also below world's average expenditure on education.[1]

There are innumerable challenges which the Indian education system is facing in the contemporary times. These challenges have been inherited from colonial educational policies of 19th century. Therefore, in this study, we started with an overview on colonial system of education wherein we found that new education system was confined to a few. So, when we look at the current situation of education, the condition does not appear different. Even after the enactment of the Right to Education Act, which made education a fundamental right and put the onus of educating children on the State, there are 8.1 million children who continue to remain out of school and there are country-wide vacancies of more than five lakh teachers under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) in 2013.[2] Lack of a systematic professional and technical education, gender discrimination in education, insufficient and inefficient manpower and similar other problems which have been inherited from the colonial masters continue to affect the Indian education system.

Diverting to the princely India, which was controlled indirectly, the situation of education was not good, although with few exceptions.[3] Kashmir, which was ruled by the autocratic Dogra rulers, did not see the ray of modern education until the advent of Christian missionaries on the scene in the 1880s. Early Maharajas, especially Maharaja Ranbir Singh, promoted classical learning, particularly Sanskrit teaching, as Chapter II

[1] 'Education Campaign Yields Dividends', *The Hindu*, January 26, 2015.
Link.http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/education-campaign-yields-dividends/article6823323.ece

[2] Ibid.

[3] The princely sates of Mysore and Baroda were the model states as for their modern structures are concerned in fact, they have given a tough chase to the colonial modernity, as Bhagavan has called it 'Native Modernity'. Manu Bhagavan, *Sovereign Spheres: Princes, Education and Empire in Colonial India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 70-71.

revealed. This was just to maintain the hierarchy of the patron-client relationship between *guru* and the Raja as elaborated in Chapter II.

Due to the strategic importance of Kashmir, British intervened actively in the internal affairs of the state, albeit against the agreement.[4] In 1885, British Resident was appointed in Srinagar. Later Maharaja Pratap Singh was deposed from the throne, leaving all the affairs in the hands of a Council of Minsters under the control of Resident.

Thus, it was during the last decade of the 19th century that the educational system of Kashmir underwent a dramatic change due to the role of Council of State coupled with strenuous efforts of Christian missionaries. Education became a central component of the State's drive towards centralisation and bureaucratization along the lines of British India. The model selected for the education system in Kashmir was of neighbouring Punjab. Therefore, as found in Chapter III, the policy of education was inspired by the colonial principles, which was based on the downward filtration theory. The bureaucracy, which was imported from the Punjab and Bengal, refused to extend education beyond some elite classes; they erroneously presumed that extension of education to poor masses would not be welcomed. The government also refused to educate the lower castes like *Meg*s, *Doom*s and *Hanji*s alongside the upper classes, arguing that the later will not bear to be with their inferiors.

The state did not intend to keep lower classes uneducated, however. It was interested in imparting to them a different type of education. The education system of any society is shaped not only by its needs at a particular point in time, but also by larger historical events and processes. The system is often made subservient to the needs and demands of the ruling classes in any historical period. Thus, state wanted to introduce education system which would improve the productive capacity and occupational skills of the poor masses. This was possible only if technical education was imparted to the agriculturists and artisans with a view to making them more efficient in their respective occupations. Consequently, technical institutes were established in different parts of state. The trades introduced in these institutes were causal in nature. Moreover, these institutes were not popular among the masses because the training infrastructure and personnel were not efficient. Thus the major aim of these institutions was to make the students more

[4] According to the treaty of Amritsar (1846), British were not supposed to interfere in the internal affairs of the state. K. M. Panikkar, *Gulab Singh (1792-1858), Founder of Kashmir.* Srinagar: (Reprint) City Book Centre, 2008.

manual labours than the skilled professionals. In the similar vein, rudimentary agriculture education was introduced in village schools to make the pupils familiar with the agricultural practices.

Higher education was altogether neglected; it was only in 1905 that some Kashmiri Pundits, with the support of Anne Besant, were able to lay the foundation of a college. But, the apprehensions of the colonial government and the Curzon's higher education policy forced the State Council to take over the college under its own control. The lone college in valley with insufficient infrastructure and inefficient staff was not able to fulfil the needs of higher education in the Valley.

In 1916, there was direct involvement of Government of India when Mr H. Sharp, Educational Commissioner of the Government of India, was appointed to look into the fragile system of education in Kashmir. In a colonial rhetoric, he stated that due to agro-based economy of Kashmir, modern curriculum had no value for them. Sharp went beyond the state in delving into the reasons for the low educational status among Kashmiris in general and Kashmiri Muslims in particular. Maintaining the colonial focus on class, the report pointed out that poverty and the agricultural basis of Kashmiri Muslims was the reason for the lack of literacy among them. Therefore, he also recommended institutionalisation of technical education in state. Sharp does much to valorise the category of religious community in the state organisation of education. The period from 1880s to 1925 saw a lot of changes in education system. It was due to the colonial intervention that this system was streamlined. But, it may not be out of place to mention here that the intervention of the colonial state was politically motivated which benefited the Valley to some extent.

Maharaja Hari Singh, the successor of Pratap Singh, came out with certain reforms in the state education system. Much applauded step in this direction was the legislation of free and compulsory primary education to be introduced in certain specific areas. Although extraordinary in relative terms, this step was based on class and gender prejudice, excluding lower castes and girls in its plan. In fact, its aim was to educate the urban elite of cities and towns, leaving all marginalised sections of both urban and rural areas including girl students. Although numerically educational facilities increased during this period, there were innumerable problems which the system faced. Problems like wastage and stagnation, unavailability of teachers' training, conjunction in schools, lack

of systematic inspection, etc., did not allow the normal literacy to develop. Even in 1939, there was only one training institute in the whole of the state, giving poor quality of the training to the admitted teachers. The low salary of teachers, a colonial principle, ensured that school jobs would not attract the kind of young men who might consciously work to develop a pedagogic creed to the changing socio-economic milieu. On one hand, teachers' status was degraded and on the other their supremacy over students was maintained which made students more feeble beings without any creative thought. The lack of proper inspection made several schools directionless in imparting quality education. Comparing expenditure on social sectors like education, the state of Kashmir was lagging behind among the other Indian States.

The appointment of the Education Reorganization Committee in 1939 was an important development in the annals of educational history of Kashmir. The Committee, for the first time, investigated the complex problems of school education like problem of inspection, pay anomaly of teachers, problem of teacher training and so on. But, the Committee basically laid stress on the manual labour and made students more attractive to craftsmanship rather than to the academics. The Committee, in the beginning, declared: "In preparing the syllabus, it should be presumed that about half of the time during the teaching hours would be given to academic teaching and half the time to craft work."[5] The framing of the Committee was actually the offshoot of the Wardha Scheme of education propounded by Mahatma Gandhi; nonetheless, the Committee thoroughly examined the feeble system of education in Kashmir.

The indifference of Muslims to secular education system has been debatable. The conventional view that Muslims were averse to modern education because of religious conservatism has been challenged. Looking in the context of Kashmiri Muslims of Dogra period, one gets the same impressions that inform most of our scholarship. However, the condition of Muslims, except a few, had been deplorable due to their acute poverty and exploitive policies of Dogra Maharajas, which did not allow them to receive education, and even religious education. There is no denying of the fact that Muslim clergy also discouraged their community towards English education. But State policies also played no less important role in the backwardness of Muslims in education. In fact, the state did not take the responsibility to educate their masses in a serious manner; different

[5] Report of the Educational Reorganisation Committee (1939) His Highness Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar: Kashmir Mercantile Press, 1939, pp. 3-5.

recommendations of the appointed committees were not implemented properly. Regretting the negligence of state on the recommendations of the Sharp Commission, the Glancy Commission declared, 'It is a frequent cause of compliant that Sharp's recommendations have not been given publicity and have been to a great extent ignored.'[6]

Towards the end of Pratap Singh's reign, a class of Muslim elite, under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, emerged which clearly framed its demands and pressurized the government for reforms. The decade of 1930s gave a push to the Muslims political awakening. As a result, the Muslim Conference, later rechristened as National Conference, emerged as the sole representative of Muslims, which politicized the discourse of education. The leaders stressed upon the government to realize its responsibility of promoting education among its subjects. No doubt, it was more a leadership rhetoric; however, it had immense impact on the education of Muslims. As statistical analysis depicts in Chapter–V, that there was a considerable increase in the number of Muslim students in the state and aided schools.

National Conference's close contact with Indian National Congress made Dogra state apprehensive as Kashmir politics took anti-British stance, made National Conference politically more important. National Conference came with a definite plan what is called the 'Naya Kashmir Manifesto' which declares that, "Jammu and Kashmir National Conference stands for an active and progressive policy of education which may carry the height of knowledge to the farthest and most backward areas of state."[7] It was only a tall claim because after coming to power, National Conference did not follow policies different from that of the Dogra Raj.

One more important variable which has correlation with education was employment. At the earlier stage, Kashmiris, irrespective of their communities, were ignored in the state services, the whole bureaucracy being imported from the British Indian states. Later, some Kashmiri Pandits were appointed in clerical positions. In order to secure their rights, a movement known as "Kashmir for Kashmiris" was organized by Kashmiri Pandits who formed the bulk of educated population.[8] After a number of

[6] B. J. Glancy. *Report of the Commission appointed under the orders of his Highness Maharaja Bhadur, dated 12th Nov. 193, to Enquire into the Grievances and Complaints*, Jammu: Ranbir Government Press, 1932, p. 9.

[7] Maulana Mohammad Saeed, *New Kashmir*, The All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, Srinagar: 1944.

[8] Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*: *Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003, p. 190.

committees appointed by the government, the situation was ameliorated to a certain extent. However, it did not make any difference to Kashmiri Muslims, who have been totally ignored in state services from the very inception.

Glancy Commission made it clear to the government that, in the matter of state employment, Muslims, who form the majority of the population, are inadequately represented. It pointed out that "inspite of imperfections in the matter of educational facilities, a large number of qualified Muslims are in fact available."[9] Thus, the underrepresentation of Muslims in state services did not support the causes of their being backward in education in general and higher education in particular.

Since the colonial state was the Dogra state's main inspiration, the ambiguities and inconsistencies in British Education and language policies could also be noted in Kashmir. Urdu, the least spoken language, was made medium of instruction which affected the expansion of education to a large extent. Even if the government knew the agony the children were facing while getting instruction in a language other than their mother tongue, still it pressed for it for its administrative convenience. Instead of developing the regional tongue, the Dogra state boosted up Urdu as it treated Urdu synonymous with Muslim education and Hindi[10] with the education of Hindus, developing parallel system of "vernacular" education, such as in North Western Provinces, ignoring the glaring fact that neither Kashmiri Hindus nor Kashmiri Muslims spoke anything other than their regional vernacular, Kashmiri, in either their homes or places of business.[11] Surprisingly, the Kashmiri leadership, both Hindu and Muslim, did not support the cause of Kashmiri because of their vested interests.

In the 1940s, government made the problem more complex by introducing a dual script of Devangri and Persian. Thus government was able to play the communal card which weakened the national movement; the more probable reason was that it wanted to pacify Hindu opinion, which had been increasingly rancorous over the past decade against the State's so called pro-Muslim policies. Kashmiri thus became a victim of the interests of the Kashmiri leadership and complete unwillingness on the part of state and leadership to implement the mother tongue as medium of instruction was in large part responsible for high illiteracy rate among Kashmiri Muslims.

[9] Glancy Commission.
[10] It may not be out of place to mention here that in 1901 there were only 23 people in whole state of Jammu and Kashmir who can speak Hindi, Bahadur Munshi Ghulam Ahmad Khan, *Census of India*, 1901, *Vol. XXIII, Kashmir Part*, Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1902.
[11] Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 194.

Discrimination on the basis of gender was a feature of colonial education policy. The Valley of Kashmir was also most backward in girls' education. Until the beginning of 20th century, there was no definite policy of government for girls' education. They have deliberately left it, owing to the public prejudice. Until 1928, management of the government girls' schools was left largely to advisory committees, private managing bodies composed of leading members of religious communities, and schools themselves were connected to particular communities. State was apprehensive that communities would perceive state's interference in women's education as an attack on their religious sensibilities. Religious prejudice of the people of Kashmir and their prejudice against education, especially of females, were cited as a reason for placing of the education of girls in the hands of advisory committees. However, these committees remained in the charge of the education department and conducted supervision over the general work of the schools with the rules sanctioned by the Education Minister for the purpose. This gave state sanction to overtly religious policies recommended by the advisory committees, such as closing Muslim girls' schools on Fridays instead of Sundays for the reason that women were supposed to be more religious and moral.

The curriculum introduced in the girls' school was aimed to inculcate the concept of home-industry among the students. Subjects like needle work, household work, tailoring, sweeping, reading of literary and religious books, besides some arithmetic were taught. Thus, by education women were tied more securely to domestic tasks by realigning patriarchal domesticity. There was a great deal of wastage in girls' educational schools due to the fact that a large majority of girls did not carry on their education to the 5th class by which time they may be reasonably expected to achieve permanent literacy. Although Hari Singh brought the control of girls' education under the newly carved girls' education department, he seems to be ambivalent when girls were excluded from the Compulsory Education Act of 1930. Moreover, girls were totally excluded from higher and technical education due to the absence of these institutions for them. The state's expenditure on education of girls was far less as compared to boys' education.

The role of private agencies had been pivotal in the dissemination of modern education in India. Among them, Christian missionaries played a significant role. In Kashmir, it was because of Church Missionary Society London (CMS) that the foundations of modern education were laid. In fact, they became the role model for the state schools in the policies of education. They had faced a number of problems on

account of the intimidating attitude of the early Dogra rulers.[12] However, the missionaries put up bold resistance to all such odds and carried their mission forward. They brought a number of social, cultural and health reforms in Kashmir. But participation in the mission schools was limited to the elite sections of society, especially the Pandits. Moreover, the missionary activities remained confined to Srinagar city for a long time, ignoring the large part of the Valley.

Nevertheless, missionary activities gradually penetrated into the whole society, which could be seen in the emergence of different socio-religious reform movements among different communities. The reform movements led by the Hindu and Muslim leaders gave a fillip to the expansion of education. These movements did not go beyond their respective communities, and often gave communal colour to their programmes of action. The government's initial approach was hostile to the private agencies, particularly towards Christian missionaries. However, latter on, they followed the colonial policy of grant-in-aid to the private institutions. In this way, government was able to execute their rules and regulations on the aided institutions. Notwithstanding the contribution of government and non-government agencies to development of education, the situation of education on the eve of partition was worse, which could be established from the fact that literacy rate of Jammu and Kashmir was just 5% or 6%.[13]

The legacy of princely Kashmir is persisting. Kashmiri people's struggle for economic and social rights is continued in post-colonial period. Kashmiri Muslims, though in majority, are the most educationally backward community in Jammu and Kashmir State. According to census 2001, their literacy rate is 47.34, which is much lower than national and state averages. Moreover, Census 2011 put Jammu and Kashmir State at the 30th place in the all India literacy ranking of all the states and union territories of Indian Union, with a literacy of 68.74%. There is a huge gap between rural urban literacy. According to Census 2001, urban literacy rate of Jammu and Kashmir among Muslims was 63%, while the rural literacy was only 43%. Women's education is also in a disappointing condition. In urban areas there is a gap of 20% between male and female

[12] Ashley Carus-Willison, *Missionaries to Kashmir: Irene Perrie,* (Reprint) Swati Publication. Delhi, 1993, pp. 257-58.

[13] Michael Brecher, 'Kashmir in Transition: Social Reform and the Political', *International Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1953), pp. 104-112.

literacy rates. Similarly, in rural areas, it is 24%. Quality is missing in every aspect of education in Kashmir.

The performance of different centrally sponsored schemes like Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Government of India's flagship programme to achieve UEE (Universalization of Elementary Education), in a time bound manner by 2012, shows flawed and sluggish implementation of the programme. The fate of Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RAMSA), Government of India`s another flagship programme to achieve USE (Universalization of Secondary Education) and Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidalaya (KGBV) to enhance the rate of girls' education in the state is not up to the mark.

Thus, to bring desirable changes, there is need to think beyond colonial mentality, so that durable changes in the system can be achieved. Firstly, there is a need to make education accessible at all stages, to everybody irrespective of caste, colour, gender, region and religion. To achieve this end, legislation of Right to Education has to be vigorously enacted. There is a need for renewed focus on improving people's access to education and skill acquisition at the elementary level, where too many remained in sub-standard educational environment. Government of India has established Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas in several districts of almost all the states. These schools have shown good results in extending quality education to the deprived sections in rural areas. Such quality and competitive schools should be opened at large scale.

Moreover, poverty has been the main cause of illiteracy. Even though government is providing free books and other things to students, education for them is a luxury. A child in a poor family is expected to contribute financially to the family; so, the poor family cannot afford to lose him/her to school. Thus these families need economic incentives first so as to enable them to think of education. Secondly, there is a need for close coordination between Central and State authorities, because it had been seen that innumerable funds had been lapsed due to the lack of organisational link between them. Thirdly, mushrooming of teacher's training colleges in Jammu and Kashmir has adversely impacted the quality of teacher's training; therefore, there is a need to improve their quality. Fourthly, there is an urgent need of rigorous teachers' recharge programme, especially for the teachers appointed under the scheme of SSA. Fifthly, technical and vocational courses should be introduced at large scale.

In order to get away with the colonial inherited education, it is high time to follow the guidelines of the National Curriculum Framework (NCF, 2005) which stressed

upon−−connecting knowledge to life outside the school; ensuring that learning shifts away from rote methods; enriching the curriculum so that it goes beyond textbooks; making examinations more flexible and integrating them with classroom life; and nurturing an overriding identity informed by caring concerns within the democratic polity of the country. Last, but not least, except Kashmir, all regions had been able to develop their regional vernaculars whether it may be Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam to name a few. No doubt, Kashmiri has been given its place in scheduled languages; however, imparting education in Kashmiri is a dream yet to be realised. Therefore, there is an urgent need for imparting education in the mother tongue of Kashmiris at least at the primary stage of education.

Finally, in the present global era, which is full of challenges, we cannot think of an inclusive society without quality education. In fact, when a community is being deprived of quality education, which is an important indicator of development, this deprivation not only leads to educational exclusion but it shuts doors for a number of opportunities. So, there is an urgent need to make education accessible to all unprivileged classes of our society so that they may be able to reap the fruits of development. By comparing the educational progress of Kashmir with rest of states, one gets the impression that the growth, even after independence, has been sluggish for the Jammu and Kashmir. With the question as to what happened during these 65 years after India's independence and the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, which led to the slow growth of education in the state in terms of both quality and quantity, needs to be thoroughly probed to arrive at reasonable solutions. I hope my thesis would aid such a prospective researcher by providing the platform of historical background to educational backwardness in Princely Kashmir.

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Rahnuma (Urdu)
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Vattan (Urdu)

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Mr. Abdul Rahim Bhat (b. 1920), resident of Issoo Anantnag Kashmir, well versed in Arabic language, interview conducted on May 9, 2014.

Mr Abdul Rashid Shah (b. 1940), a Persian retired teacher, resident of Herde Turu, Anantnag Kashmir, interview conducted on Oct. 26,2013.

Mr. Bahar Shah (b. 1930). Retired as Tehsil Education Officer of Anantnag Kashmir, resident of Akhran Anantnag, interview conducted on April 5, 2014.

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Mr. Ghulam Rasool Kutay (b. 1925), resident of Issoo Anantnag Kashmir, well versed in Persian Kashmiri language, interview conducted on May 17, 2014.

Mr. Makhan Lal (b. 1936) retired teacher, resident of Shopain Kashmir, interview conducted on May 4, 2014.

Mr. Mohammad Abdullah (b. 1939), resident of Sherpura Anantnag Kashmir, retired teacher, interview conducted on May 8, 2014.

Mr. Sayed Siraj-ud-din, (b. 1929), retired teacher, resident of Shangus Anantnag Kashmir, interview conducted on July 4, 2012.

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Glossary

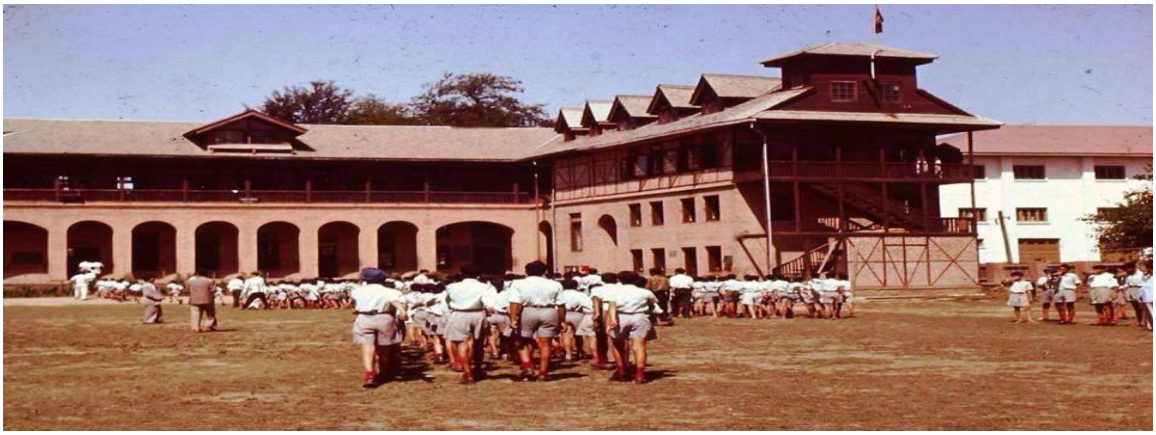
Adhiyapak	A teacher in the traditional Pathshala
Akhoond	Refers to teacher in 19th and 20th century Kashmir
Anjuman	An association or society
Anna	A currency unit formerly used in India, equal to 1/16 of rupee. The term belonged to the Muslim monetary system.
Begar	Forced labour, usually without recompense, performed by Kashmiri peasants when called upon by the State to render services such as road building carrying loads and rations for officials and tourists.
Bismillah Khwani	Muslim religious ceremony marking when a child learns about Islam. The ceremony marks how a child should read the Quran and say the prayers properly. The ceremony is named after *bismillah* (In the name of God), a recurring word in Qur'an.
Darbar	Royal audience, audience hall or court; the government of a princely state
Dargah	A Sufi Islamic shrine built over the grave of a revered religious figure, often a Sufi saint or dervish
Dharma	The ethical, the third of the four aims of life
Falak	A kind of punishment, suspension by the heels from the ceiling of the classroom by a tight chord.
Fiqh	A system of jurisprudence, the legal foundation of Islamic religious, political and civil life
Gulistan/Bostan	These are the well known Persian Classics of *Sheikh Sadi Sherazi*, famous Persian poet, which were taught in traditional system of education in Kashmir.
Gurukul	It was a type of school in ancient India, residential in nature, with pupils (*shishya*) living near the guru, often within the same house.
Hadith	Tradition of the Prophet MohammadPBUH which includes a compilation of his sayings and actions

Hifz	A person among Muslims, who has memorized whole *Holy Quran*
Jamia Masjid	A mosque at which Friday congregational prayers are held
Kangri	A portable brazier, used in winters under the *Pheran*
Karkun	Kashmiri Pandit scribes and bureaucrats
Kasida work	Refers to embroidery work
Khanqah	In the Muslim world it generally refers to a monastic complex, usually the centre or a settlement of a Sufi brotherhood.
Madrasa	A School runs by Muslim religious teacher,
Maharaja	King, ruler; under colonial rule the title 'Maharaja' was usually reserved for the rulers of the bigger states, such as Kashmir, Mysore or those of Rajputana.
Maktaba	Quranic school usually attached to a mosque
Maulvi	Title given to a Muslim religious teacher learned in religious texts, also referred as *Mullah*
Mirwaiz	Title given to the head preacher of a mosque, city, or region
Mullah	Title given to a Muslim religious teacher
Mulkis	The permanent residents of a region
Murshid	It refers to mentor particularly in Sufism it refers to Spiritual Guide.
Pandits	Title given to a Brahman learned in Hindu texts; also teacher or expert
Pathshala	A School runs by *Pandits*
Pheran	A typical Kashmiri garment, covering the body down to ankle
Pir	Spiritual guide
Prajnya	Refers to intuitive knowledge
Purdah	Veil used by women
Qirat	Literal meaning of Qirat is reading/recitation, basically the recitation of Holy Quran
Sanads	It was a kind of certificate in medieval times
Sayyid	A Muslim claiming descent from the Prophet Muhammad[PBUH]
Sharda Script	A kind of script evolved during 8th century in Kashmir
Sheikh	In the Kashmir context, descendants of a Hindu convert to Islam
Sheikh-ul-Islam	It is an honorific title used for outstanding scholars of the Islamic sciences.

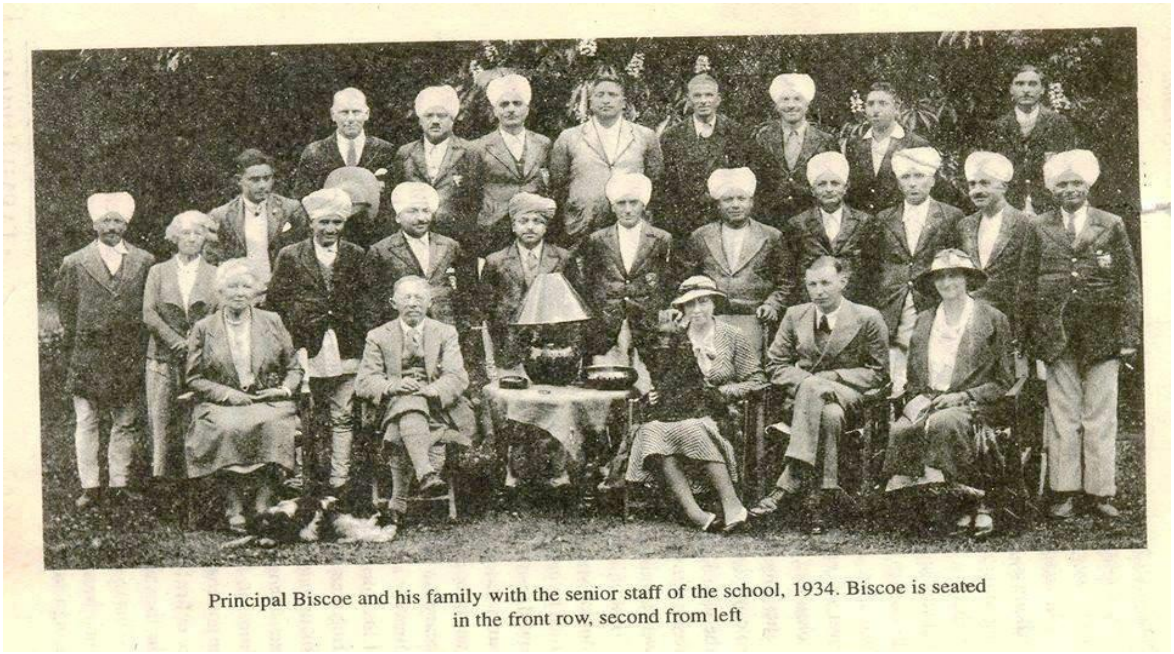
Tafsir	Interpretation of Quran by renowned scholars to explain the context of the verses
Tajweed	It refers to the rules governing the pronunciation of Holy Quran during the recitation
Takhti	It was a small thin rectangular piece of slate, usually in a wooden frame, used for writing on, especially by children.
Tartil	It is the recitation of Holy Quran in proper order, with no haste and in slow measured rhythmic tones
Tawheed	Refers to the unity of Allah
Tonga	A carriage with two wheels which is pulled by a horse
Tsathala	It is the indigenous name of Pathshala
Ulama (sig. alim)	Muslim religious elite learned in Islamic tenants and jurisprudence
Vihara	It is a Sanskrit and Pali term for a Buddhist monastery. It originally meant a secluded place for monks
Viad	A practitioner of Ayurvedic medicine
Vyakaran	It is one the six Vedangas of Vedic times and deals with grammar
Waqf	Refers to donation especially given by a Sultan
Zamindar	In the Kashmir context, a cultivator of land or peasant
Zulum	Indigenous word for oppression

Taleem-i-Balegaan (Adult Education Centre of 1950s)

Noor-ul-Islam Oriental College Srinagar



Tyndale Biscoe School in 1950s



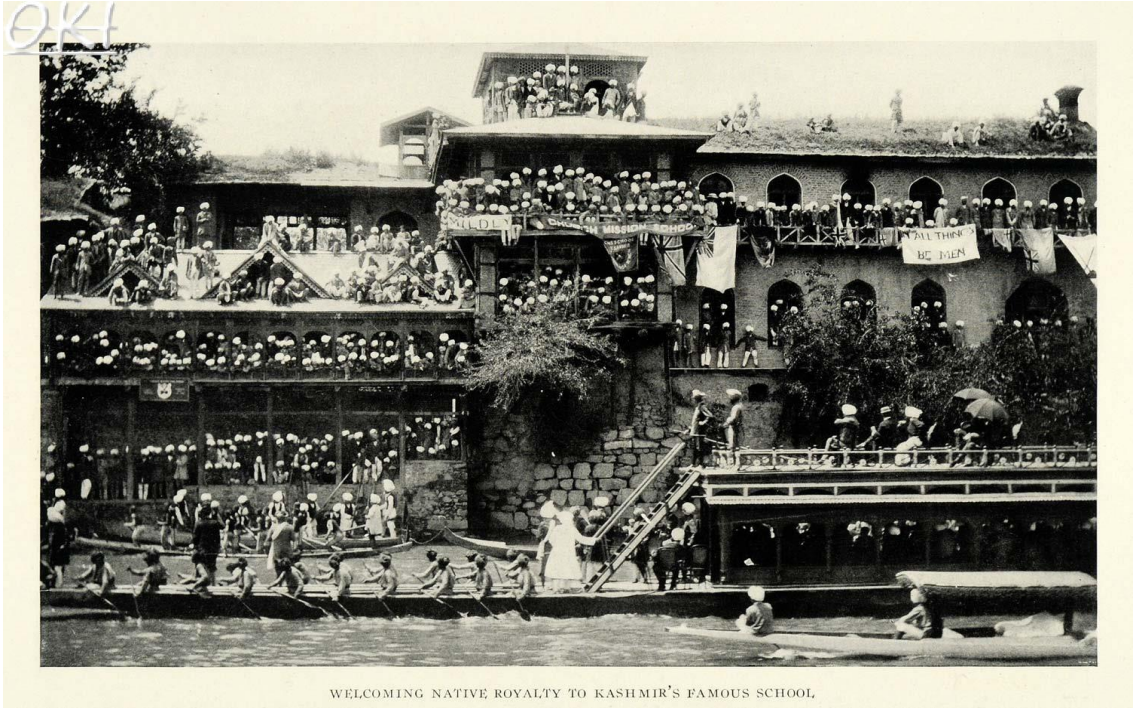
Principal Biscoe and his family with the senior staff of the school, 1934. Biscoe is seated in the front row, second from left

Sri Pratap College, Srinagar

Heritage Building of Sri Pratap College Srinagar

Franciscan Missionaries in Baramulah Kashmir

Open Air School in the Countryside Kashmir of 1950s



WELCOMING NATIVE ROYALTY TO KASHMIR'S FAMOUS SCHOOL

Swimming Competition of C.M.S. School Srinagar in 1921