

**Christian Missionaries and Emancipation of Women  
in Princely State of Jammu & Kashmir: A Case  
Study of Srinagar district (1854-1947)**

**DISSERTATION**

Submitted to  
Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University  
(A Central University)  
Lucknow

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In  
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Submitted By:

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ENROLLMENT NO: 931/19

Under the supervision of

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VIDYA VIHAR, RAEBARELI ROAD, LUCKNOW-226 025 (U.P.), INDIA

**2021**

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled **Christian Missionaries and Emancipation of Women in Princely State of Jammu & Kashmir: A Case Study of Srinagar district (1854-1947)** submitted to the Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University, Lucknow, for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** in History is an authentic record of original and independent research work carried out by me under the supervision of **Professor. S. Victor Babu**, Professor, Department of History, School of Ambedkar Studies for Social Sciences, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University (A Central University) Lucknow. I further declare that this research work has not been previously 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 acknowledgement have been made wherever the findings of others have been cited. This is also declare that the M.Phil Dissertation is free from all kinds of plagiarism.

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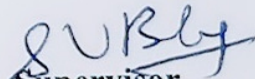
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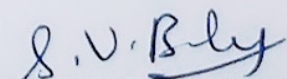
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The dissertation submitted to Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University Lucknow satisfies all the requirements as stipulated in the Master of Philosophy (M.Phil./ Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) Regulations (amended in 2019) and it is fit for submission and evaluation for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy (M. Phil.) of the University.

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**Date:**

**Owais Ismaeil**

Lucknow

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

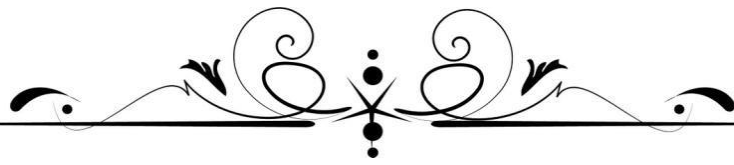
AAR	Annual Administrative report
BOR	British official Report
CEZMS	Church of England Zenana Missionary Society
CM	Christian Missionary
CMS	Church Missionary Society
EPW	Economic and Political Weekly
EZMS	England Zenanna Missionary Society
GAAR	General Annual Administrative Report
JKA	Jammu & Kashmir Archives
JKI	Jammu & Kashmir Information
KP	Kashmiri Pandits
LM	Ladies Missionary
NAI	National Archives of India

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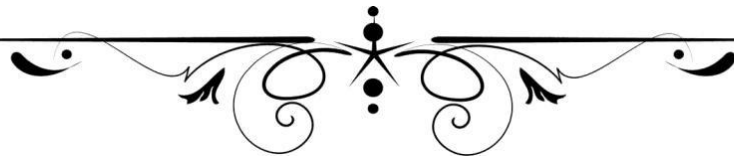
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# *CHAPTER I*

## *Introduction*



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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

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*“Emancipation is a concept that is frequently used in the context of "growth" especially in the context of women's development. Emancipation is a process of identifying, facing, and resolving challenges in one's life in order to improve one's capacity to create one's own life and climate”<sup>1</sup> - Rajammal P. Devdas*

Women represent nearly the better half of India and emancipation of this better half is to be achieved with a view that our sisters should actively participate in our entire social, political, and economic activities that are necessary for nation-building<sup>2</sup>. The term emancipation has been conceptualized differently by different writers. However, for all of them, the goal of the emancipation process is to address issues relating to women’s subordination, inequity, and inequality<sup>3</sup>. Bhasin has defines “emancipation as a means of recognizing women contribution, helping women fight their own fears, enhancing their self-respect, making women economically independent, self-reliant, controlling resources like land and property, reducing women’s burden of work especially within the home, creating and strengthening women’s groups, organizations and promoting qualities of nurturing, caring, gentleness”<sup>4</sup>. As a result, emancipation is concerned with power, especially power relations – and power distribution – between individuals and groups.

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<sup>1</sup>Devdas, R. P. (1999). University News, *The Weekly Journal*; New Delhi: Association of Indian Universities, P.1

<sup>2</sup> Sharma S.R. (1995). *Women and Education*. New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House. P. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Malhotra. (2004). *Empowerment of Women*, Vol. 1, Delhi: Insha Books, P.54.

<sup>4</sup> Sahay, S (1998). *Women and Empowerment - Approaches and Strategies*, New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House, P. 17-31.

According to the Oxford Dictionary, the term emancipation means “the act of liberating someone from legal, political, or social constraints that restrict what they can do”.

Several individuals, Social organizations are working across the globe for the emancipation of women. The present study was focused on the emancipation of women from missionaries’ perspective in the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir with Srinagar as its center. During British rule, the role of Christian missionaries was largely reflected in India. Missionaries came up with western culture and modernity wherever they went and emancipation of women was their prime concern. The Missionary movement presupposes a group of people who take it as their moral responsibility to spread their faith to other parts of the globe. The missionary movement in India was a typical example of the tension between the current and the superimposing faith, as it is still witnessed in some parts of the globe. Francis Xavier was the first person to serve as a missionary in India in 1542 AD and at that time Kashmir was a princely autonomous state that’s why the missionaries came very late in Kashmir<sup>5</sup>.

In 1819, Kashmir was annexed by Ranjit Sing who was Sikh ruler but, the British considered the existence of a hostile Sikh state in Kashmir as a threat to their authority, they were determined for outright annexation of Punjab and a war broke between the two. Sikhs were badly defeated in the first Anglo-Sikh war fought in (1845-46) as result; they were charged a huge war indemnity which they were not able to pay. In recompense of the indemnity, they offered territories of Jammu, Kashmir, Baltistan, and Ladakh to the British. However, Gulab Singh found the

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<sup>5</sup>Hopfe, L. M., & Woodward, M. R. (2009). *Religions of the World*. US: Pearson Education. P. 310.

moment opportune and offered a deal. Under the deal, Kashmir along with other provinces went to him against the sum of seventy-five lakh *Nanak Shahi* (75,00000 Rupees). A separate treaty was concluded for this transaction which is popularly known as the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846<sup>6</sup>. Treaty recognized Gulab Singh as the ‘Maharaja of Kashmir’. The Treaty restricted Maharaja Gulab Singh from making any change in his territories without the concurrence of the British. Treaty also made it mandatory for the maharaja to refer the matter to the British in case of any conflict between him and any adjacent state and to accept the decision put forward by the British government. Maharaja Gulab Singh was required to take due permission from the British government in case Maharaja wants to employ any British, American, or European in his state. British assured the maharaja of full assistance from any external threat to his territories. Last but not the least maharaja had to acknowledge the supremacy of British and maharaja was required to present annually one horse, three shawls of Kashmir, and twelve goats to the British government. In this way, Gulab Singh became the master of the valley as a result of treaty of Amritsar (1846) with the subordinate position. Soon after the Treaty of Amritsar missionaries made their historic entry into Kashmir. They had encountered Kashmir purely on behalf of the colonial Empire, the agency that endowed them with the opportunity to preach the gospel in the remotest areas of Kashmir.

An initial journey was made by R. Clark and Col Martin in 1854 only to explore Kashmir for missionary activities. They significantly contributed to the empowerment of Kashmiri women and also significantly increased the standard of family life. It is a known reality that social reform relies to a certain degree on the involvement of enlightened women with opportunities & responsibility in social

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<sup>6</sup> Shah, M. K. (2013). *Modern Kashmir*. New Delhi: Dominant Publishers & Distributors. P. 4-6.

relations for their success<sup>7</sup>. Missionaries highlighted that Kashmiri women experienced different fortunes. Often they got up as leaders in their own right, they were distinguished to the pinnacles of glory as of the mighty queens, as peace and war diplomats, as the commanders of the armies, as thriftiest kings, as builders and reformers, and as religious lore, often they were regents of the minor princes. They've achieved fame in dancing and singing when they were at home, Moreover, There was no social activity in which they did not engage with their male counterparts. However, progress did not come in a steady stream, the glory did not last, and many faces of misfortune had to be faced. They were eventually deprived of the freedoms they had previously enjoyed. They were enslaved both mentally and physically in those days. Despite the soul-shattering ignominy to which they were subjected, they fought valiantly against oppression during their time in captivity.

With the dawn of modernism in Kashmir at the end of the 19th century, in order to contribute their share to the fight for independence and the restoration of their rights, women slowly began to re-emerge in social life<sup>8</sup>. The missionaries recognized this and left no stone unturned. They came with the goals of social welfare and emphasize new and modern developments including new political consciousness among the women, expansion of modern education, the spread of cultural consciousness, and widespread social awareness have generated a situation in which women are concerned about their position especially their role and status in and outside the family<sup>9</sup>. They made extraordinary efforts to remove some of the evils

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<sup>7</sup>Clark, R. (2018). *A Brief Account of Thirty Years of Missionary Work of the Church Missionary Society in the Punjab Sindh : 1852 to 1882*. London: Forgotten Books. P.100

<sup>8</sup> Akhter, S. (2015). *Kashmir Women Empowerment and National Conference*. Srinagar: Jay Kay Books.P.60-63.

<sup>9</sup> Fakhar Bilal, F. A. (2020). Church Mission Society and Reforms in Multan. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, Volume No. 57, Issue No. 1 P. 690-697.

which women were witnessing in orthodox society. In Kashmir, Christian Missionaries acted as a catalyst in emancipating women of Srinagar in general.

The medical service rendered by missionaries had a deep influence even on the uneducated and bigoted ones who could hardly deny it. Helping people at the time of calamities and serving them with their highly advanced medicines proved fruitful. This highly needed medical service opened doors for them in the heartland of the city of Srinagar. Thus their work although difficult, in some aspects was not without its touch of humor. They opened many hospitals exclusively for women in Srinagar. It was through this kindness and skill that won them a reputation in the city. From 1864 up to 1880, it was due to these kindly and humane services of the Kashmir medical mission, good relations and understanding had been built up among the people. In this way, medical services increased the credibility of missionaries among people and prepared the ground for western education and medical aid among the women in the city of Srinagar.

It is being said that there was not a single school in the city before Christian missionaries that could have imparted modern education to women. There were two types of schools prevalent in Kashmir, Madrassa among Muslims and *Patshala* among Hindus. Madrassa's were attached with mosques and only *Quranic* education was taught. In the same way, *Patshalas* were attached with temples. Thus education based on modern lines was possible only with the advent of Christian missionaries in Kashmir<sup>10</sup>

## **STUDY AREA**

The current research was focused on Srinagar, which was once the capital of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. In the north, the princely states of Jammu and

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<sup>10</sup> Qadri, S. A (2003). *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, P.25-37

Kashmir share borders with China, Russia, and Turkistan (Afghanistan). Tibet is in the east, and the north-western provinces of India are in the west<sup>11</sup>. From 32° 17' to 36° 58' N, and 73° 26' to 80° 30' E, the state's boundaries were described<sup>12</sup>. The Rajatarangini of Kalhana contains the name of this city. According to him, ancient Kashmir had many capitals. Emperor Ashoka founded Srinagar in 250 BC, and it was the most important of these cities<sup>13</sup>.

Hindu kings have ruled the valley for over four thousand years. Kalhana briefly recounted the key episodes in the careers of hundreds of kings who ruled over Kashmir during this long period of history in his famous Sanskrit verse work Rajatarangini. Kashmir was conquered by the Sultans in 1339 when Shah Mir established the Shahmiri dynasty. The throne was held by the Sultans for more than two centuries<sup>14</sup>. Kashmir's authority came under external subjugation when it was invaded in 1586 by Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor. Kashmir was ruled by many Mughal governors appointed by them from time to time during the reign of Akbar and his successors. However, after Aurangzeb's death, the Mughal rule in Kashmir weakened as the Central Authority's influence in Delhi became weak<sup>15</sup>.

Kashmir was invaded in 1752 by Ahmad Shah Abdali of Afghanistan. In the annals of Kashmir's history, The following Afghan rule was the most brutal<sup>16</sup>. When Maharaja Ranjit Singh invaded Kashmir in 1819, the Afghans were replaced by Sikhs<sup>17</sup>. The princely state of Jammu and Kashmir was created in 1846 when the

<sup>11</sup> Ahmad P. ( 2007). *Economy and Society of Kashmir: A Study in Change and Continuity (1885-1925)*,

Srinagar: Oriental Publish House, P. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Jammu and Kashmir, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. 15, P. 72.

<sup>13</sup> Stein S. A, *Rajatarangini of Kalhana*, II, P. 439-41

<sup>14</sup> Bazaz P. N. (1941). *Inside Kashmir*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, P. 2-12.

<sup>15</sup> Bazaz P. N. (1954). *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir: Cultural and Political, From Earliest*

*Times to the Present Day*, New Delhi: Kashmir Publishing Company. P. 76-78.

<sup>16</sup> Lawrence W. (2006) *The Valley of Kashmir*, (Reprint) Srinagar: Ali Mohammad and Sons, P. 146.

<sup>17</sup> Youngusband S. F, (1911) *Kashmir*, London: Adam and Charles Black. P. 124.

Treaty of Amritsar was signed between the English and Gulab Singh<sup>18</sup>. Gulab Singh acquired all the hilly or mountainous land, including Chamba, with its dependencies east of the Indus River and west of the Ravi River, according to clause I of the Amritsar treaty. The Maharaja paid the British Government rupees seventy-five lakhs in return for this transfer. Many scholars across the globe have opposed the sale of Kashmir<sup>19</sup>.

Following his ascension to the throne of the empire, Maharaja Gulab Singh proclaimed himself an absolute monarch. He regarded the state as his purchased property, especially the Kashmir Valley. His successors have acknowledged both of these claims. Gulab Singh (1846-1857) succeeded his son Ranbir Singh (1857-1885). His rule generally reflected the overtly Hindu tenor of the emerging Dogra state<sup>20</sup>. After Ranbir Singh died in 1885, his eldest son, Pratap Singh, succeeded to the throne. From that time on, the British interfered aggressively in the affairs of Kashmir, setting up a British residence in Srinagar. In 1925, Maharaja Hari Singh, the last Dogra Maharaja, ascended the throne when a long list of new demands quickly came up with Kashmiri Muslim leadership. His dominance lasted until 1947 when India got independence<sup>21</sup>.

The present analysis concentrated primarily on the Kashmir Valley, roughly congruent with the province of Kashmir, with Srinagar as its political and economic center. Kashmiri was spoken by the people of the Kashmir Valley and consisted predominantly of Muslims, who formed the majority of the population, with a small

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<sup>18</sup> Rai, M. (2004). *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Permanent Black. P. 20.

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> Zutshi, C. (2003). *Languages of belonging: Islam, regional identity, and the making of Kashmir*. Orient Blackswan. P. 49.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

and significant Kashmiri minority Pandits, or Hindus<sup>22</sup>. It might not be out of place to note here, however, the Kashmiri Muslims and Kashmiri Pandits were not monolithic communities. Kashmiri Muslims were divided into Sheikhs, descendants of Hindu converts to Islam; Sayyids, who claim a direct connection of descent from the family of the Prophet; Mughals, rooted in central Asia; and Pathans, descendants of Afghans. These groups practiced several professions, with the single most important being agriculture and related occupations. Mughals and Sayyids were mostly Landholders and administrators of shrines. Several occupational classes, such as Doms, an inferior class, Watahs, entrusted with the janitorial task; Galwans, who were horse keepers; Hanjis, they were boatmen; Bhandas, singers of traditional folk, Gujjars and Bakarwals, usually nomadic tribes who shepherded goats and sheep for their livelihood, also fell under the category of Kashmiri Muslim<sup>23</sup>. Kashmiri Pandits were divided into several classes including astrologers (Jyotish), mainly priests (Guru or Bachbhat), and followers of secular occupations (Karkun). The vast majority of Kashmiri Pandits, especially those of the Karkun group, were low-wage government employees, while certain sections were indulged in farming as their occupation<sup>24</sup>. The Sikhs are also a small minority, most of them being Jinsi Sikhs or Panjabi Brahmans. They are predominantly located in Tral, Ranbirsingpura and, Hamal Parganas. They live by farming and personal service<sup>25</sup>.

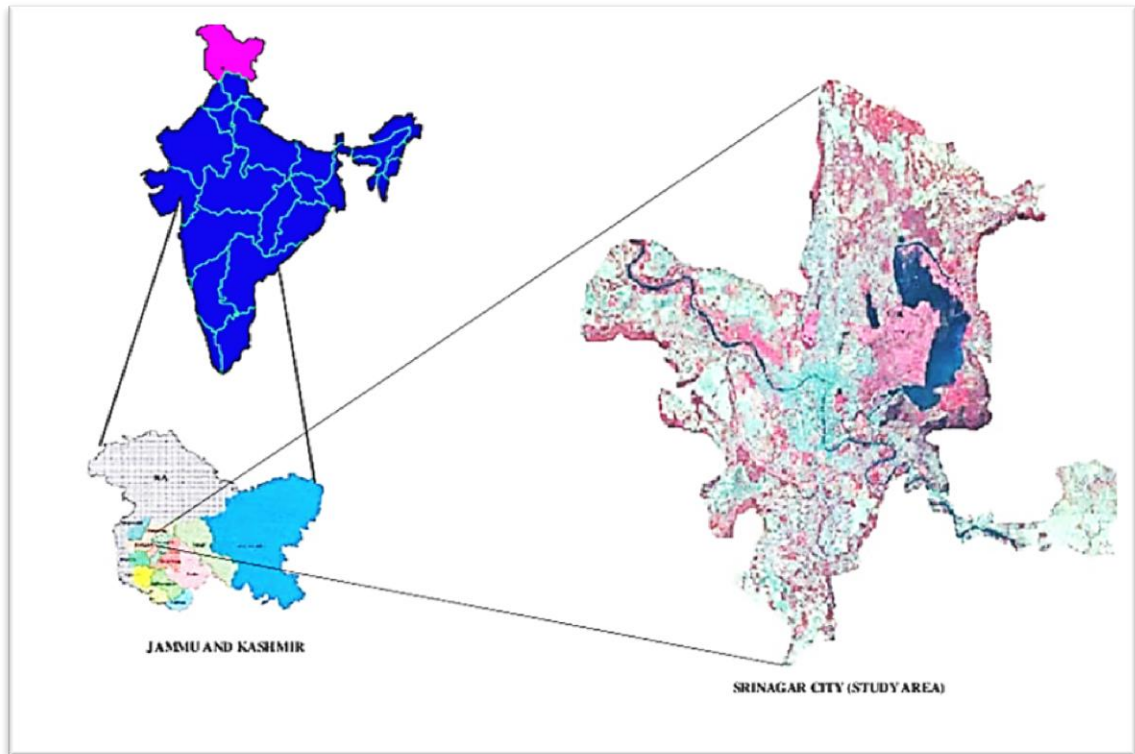
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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Zutshi, C. (2003). *Languages of belonging: Islam, regional identity, and the making of Kashmir*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan. P. 9-11.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Khan, *Census of India, 1901*, P. 83.



Source: Based on the town planning map of Srinagar City 1941/

<https://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/jammuandkashmir/srinagar.html>

**Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir with Srinagar as a center is represented  
in the Map.**

## **Review of Literature**

To the best of our knowledge, no work has been done on Christian Missionary activities concerning the emancipation of women in Srinagar or erstwhile Jammu and Kashmir. In many respects, the present work is an effort in the field of study of missionaries' zeal for women empowerment. To a large extent, we have handed down original sources, including, Gazetteers, Annual Reports, and Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, Journals, Newspapers, Archival material, Travelogues, and Books. It was worthwhile to review some of these relatively known and unknown sources.

**Prem Nath Bazaz**, *‘Daughters of Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day’ (1959)*: Has described the lives of Kashmiri Women through Different Periods of history and their past achievements, long days of adversity, and their struggle for emancipation. It’s is considered a unique study of the women of Kashmir from the earliest to the first half of the 20th century. It talks about some famous and reputed women of Kashmir who played an important role in the history of the Valley. Bazaz also highlighted that Christian Missionaries who made their entry after the treaty of Amritsar were desired to work on a humanitarian basis to serve the downtrodden people in Kashmir. Dogra rulers neglected the education and health condition of people in Kashmir. It was the Missionaries who take up this evangelic work to educate the people and provide them good health conditions.

Bazaz also tried to highlight that Kashmiri women were encouraged by western culture to come out of their homes to earn like men. They were also influenced by these shifts, like women in other countries. The author has highlighted many aspects of missionaries in Kashmir; however, no concentration was paid on to what extent they were successful in their mission.

**Gh. Rasool and Minakshi Chopra**, *‘Education in Jammu and Kashmir: Issues and Documents’ (1986)*: Deals with significant documentary material on people's educational development in general, and women's educational development in particular. The book is divided into two sections: one deal with educational problems and the other is a documentary collection of educational material divided into two categories: reports and acts. The book offers in-depth information on the progress of education in Jammu and Kashmir. On a wide scale, statistical data has been used. The authors drew heavily on archival sources such as administrative records from various

government departments, especially the Department of Education. In reality, the thesis concentrated on educational developments after 1947. It only offers a cursory overview of the Dogra period's educational progress. Although the study covers a broad range of educational issues in Jammu and Kashmir, including elementary education, secondary education, higher education, technical education, female education, underprivileged education, and educational administration, one may wonder why most of these aspects were given limited space, particularly since no attempt was made to include the colonial era. There has been no attempt to research the evolution of education in a colonial setting; as a result, the work lacks a critical eye on the subject matter.

**Bashir Dabla**, *'Working women in Kashmir'* (1991): probes into the impact of gainful employment on the attitude and lives of educated women. Dabla's study finds a significant change that has occurred in the attitudes of working women in Kashmir towards life. It shows that working women of Kashmir have increasingly adopted new kinds of activities, hobbies, and means of entertainment. This study also observes that employment provides women at least some degree of economic independence, but the author is silent on a factor that needs to emancipate a woman in Society.

**F. M. Hassnian**, *'History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtawar Volume I'* (1998): This research includes a comprehensive account of the history of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh, and Kishtawar, as well as a chapter devoted to the growth of education in Jammu and Kashmir. Minor issues about the growth and development of education among women in Kashmir have been addressed because the book covers such a large subject.

**Ishaq Khan, ‘History of Srinagar 1846-1947’ (1999):** is a remarkable work that deals with the social and cultural aspects of Kashmir's Srinagar region. The author researched Srinagar's evolving social pattern and examined it from different perspectives linked to various social activities. The contribution of Christian Missionaries to various aspects of Kashmiri society, especially the development of modern education and the provision of medical relief, has received considerable attention. Khan also noted that culture remained largely unchanged until the arrival of Christian missionaries in Kashmir in the second half of the nineteenth century when a major shift occurred. Since the author is mainly concerned with the general conditions of Srinagar, no particular space has been provided for women and a connection between Christian Missionaries and their activities for women.

**Sutinder Singh and Asha Arora, ‘Education and Women’s Empowerment’ (1999):** Has defined emancipation as a human being's mental state and attitude. An empowered woman has a positive self-image and is actively involved in decision-making about her family and the community. In turn, Education increased access to knowledge and resources, increased decision-making autonomy and the ability to overcome customs, beliefs, and practices restrictions, and constraints.

They stressed that emancipation is a working process enabling women in all spheres of life to realize their entire identity and power. Women's emancipation is a key factor in poverty eradication. Participation of women in activities that generate income would increase their status and their decision-making power. If a woman is a parasite economically, she can never claim the same status as a man. Without providing productive jobs to women, the problem of poverty cannot be tackled. Only through gender and interests can female emancipation be achieved. The only way to

achieve emancipation is through education which is the most dynamic factor of development.

On the growth front, women are allies. If they receive adequate education and training, they will play a more positive and active role in development. Tracking the genesis and growth of women's studies, the authors mentioned that the problem of women's emancipation belongs to a different category. Till recently, few people were aware that women belong to an oppressed part of humanity. Despite many laws and regulations to emancipate women, they are still living the life of misery and darkness.

**Aneesa Shafi**, *'Working Women in Kashmir, Problems and perspectives'* (2002): Reported that the role of women is changing from time to time along with changes occurring in society. Changes in the concept of women's roles have been identified from society to society and over time. The Kashmiri society which is traditionally a patriarchal society is undergoing rapid transformation. The family patterns are changing significantly and so are the traditionally defined roles of women. This, in turn, creates new problems for the family, which is the foundational institution of society, especially for women.

Muslim women of Kashmir had practically no role outside the home in traditional upper and middle class families. They had no role to play in the economic contribution of the family. The women of low castes/class and middle-class were discouraged and prevented from seeking work for pay. The economic independence of these women and opportunities to interact with men was taken as a threat to jeopardize the established normative code for women from the upper and middle social castes and classes.

In contemporary Kashmir, however, they have undergone significant changes mainly due to the impact of modernization. Modern Education acted as a catalyst for women in general in Kashmir to take significant strides in the direction of modernization. These dramatic changes have presented them with new positions and responsibilities. They must engage actively in the economic organization in addition to motherhood and domestic work. Despite all these new and modern developments in the society which has been tradition-bound for several centuries, the hold of tradition is still strong over a large part of the society. The Author has focused on the educational developments for women empowerment but failed to highlight the contribution of missionaries.

**Chitralkha Zutshi**, *'Language of Belongings: Islam, Regional Identity and the Making of Kashmir'* (2003): This study has received a lot of attention from academics. Its ground-breaking study looks at Kashmir's regional history over time to show how Kashmiri identities evolved from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries, with a glance at the medieval era thrown in for good measure.

A chapter in Zutshi's book is devoted to education, class, and identity. It makes a very clear point about how education and identity are linked. According to the study, British participation in state-led land and educational reforms brought the princely state and Kashmiris closer to the philosophies and revolutions that ruled British India at the turn of the century. The said chapter describes the shifting relationship between the existence and agenda of the Dogra state and the discourse on Kashmiri Muslim identities. It offers an outline of the government's educational strategy. The chapter goes on to say that the education system produced a small community of Muslims who spoke up not just for themselves but also for their

uneducated brethren. In terms of education, the emphasis of the book is more on conceptual terms. In Kashmir, only a passing mention has been made of girl's education, technical education, and other related aspects of education.

Zutshi also reported that education was not considered a priority or responsibility by the Dogra state. She says almost nothing about missionaries except one thing that Dogras were against the education of commoners which was visible in the context of opposition faced by Christian Missionaries.

**Qadri, Shafi Ahmad, 'Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir' (2003):** writes that Missionaries believed the people of Kashmir would be converted easily as they had first converted from Hinduism to Buddhism and vice versa and finally to Islam in 14th century. These missionaries knew the deplorable condition of the people of Kashmir in general and women in particular, their mass illiteracy, ignorance, poverty, disease, and how they were oppressed and tortured. In 1864 Robert Clark arrived in Kashmir to establish a mission in the capital city of Srinagar. However, he received stiff resistance from different corners of the city. In the city of Srinagar, his effigy was burnt down. Despite the opposition, Robert Clark went ahead with his missionary project and started a school in Srinagar.

The hostile relationship between the missionaries and the people of Indian was put down by the medical service rendered by missionaries. However, the hostile attitude of the state hardly underwent any change. Missionaries were restricted from renting any house for school in Kashmir. It was on account of this that the first CMS School in Srinagar was abandoned in 1864 when Robert Clark left from Srinagar.

The CMS School was originally founded in 1880 by Knowles, a missionary. The School was situated in the periphery of Srinagar which was in itself a problem. Soon students began to complain about the distance of the school. To overcome this problem new building was hired at Sheikh Bagh Srinagar. This was unacceptable because the government did not want missionaries to enter the heartland of the city. In 1890 state government allowed missionaries to hire a building for school at Fateh Kadal in Srinagar. With this, the numerical strength of students increased tremendously and the mission School roll was now around 300 students.

Initially, Kashmiri Brahmin students monopolized the CMS School. These Brahmin lads were the sons of those who occupy the highest position in the administration of the state. Their big houses in the city of Srinagar were in itself evidence of their status and power. While knowing the advantage of western education they send their boy to mission school to learn good English which in turn would fetch them a good job in the future. However, Muslims in Kashmir was more than 75% of the population. Muslims did not send their children to school and would often train them in the family profession. Qadri's study is mainly concerned with modern education in general for Kashmir, less space has been provided in the study for women of Srinagar particularly.

**Mridu Rai**, '*Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects*' (2004) has tried to make a critical assessment of how Kashmir and Kashmiri women particularly were represented in travel accounts by missionaries. She succeeded in this to a considerable degree.

Meanwhile, Rai gives a thorough history of the modern Kashmiri state. She argues that the Dogras had little regard for their primarily Muslim subjects, which contributed to the emergence of a distinct Muslim political consciousness within the

state. This Muslim consciousness set the stage for a series of confrontations in the aftermath of India's independence. Rai carefully documents the Dogra monarchy's increasing power over Hindu religious practices in Kashmir, especially through state-run trusts, to track this development. Rai has also shown that Dogra rulers, especially the early rulers, were unconcerned about the people's welfare. While Maharaja Ranbir Singh donated a handsome sum of Rs. 62,500.00 for the establishment of Punjab University in 1869, his donations were far (more than) those of the Maharajas, Chiefs, and citizens of Punjab, according to her. The situation was paradoxical in that the Dogra Maharajas did not finance the establishment of higher education institutions in their own state of Jammu and Kashmir until the early twentieth century. The book's structure is linked to a different theme, so it does not go into depth about the education of women.

**Shabeena Iqbal Shawl, 'Empowerment of Women in Kashmir' (2005):** Her study has revealed that education and employment both help in empowering women. A clear distinction was found among working and non-working women in all aspects. Working women were found to be guilty mainly due to the realization of the fact that proper and all-round development of children needs constant attention and the physical presence of the mother. Also, working women face conflict due to the inability to reconcile the two roles i.e. outside the home and in the home. However, employment of the women enables her to have a say in the decision-making process of the family as they supplement the family income and provides women at least some degree of economic independence.

Meanwhile, Shawl revealed that to give high priority to education, orientation, training and skill development programs to enabling women workers to improve their productivity and access to quality employment. Also, encourage women to accept jobs and promotions without any fear and hesitation. Education should be imparted to girls without any discrimination. Men should be suitably trained from the beginning of their socialization to accept women as their equal partners. Courses should be imparted in colleges and universities about different laws and rights which govern women from any sort of crime against them. Lastly, Shawl fails to point out the role of some organizations who tirelessly worked for equal rights of women in Kashmir including Christian Missionaries.

**P.N.K. Bamzai**, '*Socio -Economic History of Kashmir*' (2007): is a work that is linked to the current research subject. It's a snapshot of Kashmir's socioeconomic profile during Dogra's rule. The study delves into the intricacies of Kashmir's conventional educational framework, which involves both men and women. It also describes the Sharp Committee Report's suggestion, which mostly deals with the girl's education in Kashmir. *Socio-economic Justice in Jammu & Kashmir: A Critical Study* by Tara Singh Rekhi (1986) is a vivid depiction of Jammu and Kashmir's socioeconomic and cultural life. A chapter is dedicated to female education, but it contains little details about the education system under the Dogra rule.

**Muzamil Jan**, '*Women Development in Kashmir*' (2011): Narrates the story of how women have ceased to be a slave of man, as she is among the people on the lowest planes of culture and has become his helpmate. There is a story of the advancement of women from the lowest grade to the place she occupies among us today. The portrayal of a woman in Indian society is portrayed in various ways in Indian

sculptures, according to Jan. They portray her rise from a seeker of information, connoisseur of art, and custodian of culture to a mere object of entertainment, as well as the high regard in which she was held.

Jan also shows that according to these so-called Hindu sculptures the condition of women in Hindu society was on a whole, free ever since a Vedic period when early marriages were not in vogue and a widow could perform symbolic self-immolation and re-marry the brother of the deceased husband. Also, it will be reasonable to assume that *Purdah System* was not in vogue as the Sanskrit Classics indicate. The growing pressure of the Islamite groups including the Arabs, Turks, Afghans, and central Asians, resulting in a growing sense of insecurity and subsequent fall of the Hindu Kingdoms and subjugation of the country at the hands of the foreign Muslim groups, adversely affected women in Hindu society. The Condition of women in subsequent Muslim rule became very miserable. Under Muslim rule, the women had occupied a very inferior position in the society. They had to be confined within the four walls of the house. Women were mainly expected to live within the confines of their homes to cook, eat, and care for their children and other family members.

In 19<sup>th</sup> century, many individuals, reform societies, and Christian missionaries worked hard to spread education, especially among women, to promote widow remarriage and improve widows living conditions. It was the efforts of Missionaries and some Indian social reforms that *Sati Abolition Act* was passed by the British Government in 1829.

**Shazada Akhter**, '*Kashmir Women Empowerment & National Conference*' (2015): reported that women are an integral part of social structure. Women, on the other

hand, are the poorer segment of society and are subject to the oversight and control of men in all walks of life. They have been subjected to a great deal of socio-political violence. Chapter fourth of this book is highlighting the historical background of women's emancipation in Jammu and Kashmir also the role of the national conference in emancipating the local women.

Akhter also through light on the condition of women in Muslim rule, Although Islam was the first to raise its voice against the oppression and exploitation of women and accorded her a place of dignity and honor in the society, but most of the societies in the world are practically male-dominated. Despite a series of formal and informal efforts aimed at bringing them out of poverty, they remain in the dark and are forced to live in their deplorable state. In Jammu & Kashmir, the first secular political part "National Conference" draws special attention to ameliorate their backward status and lend them to live a life of dignity and responsibility. Akhter has scattered light on some education and health developments among women's in general but neglected the role of missionaries for the same.

### **Conceptual Frame Work of the Study**

Women, Minorities, backward castes, and scheduled tribes have long been considered to be oppressed; hence, a 'history from below' approach is an effective way to address this serious limitation of Indian social science academia. It's said that the second half of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of modernity in Kashmir, as it was during this period that Kashmir's feudal society gave way to a modern one. The most important modernizing agents were advances in the fields of education and health. This research was focused to investigate whether it was the dawn of modernism for Kashmiri women or not.

## **Objectives**

- To examine the structure of society and the role of women before the advent of Christian Missionaries.
- To investigate how Missionaries worked through different agencies i.e. Colonial Medicine & Education.
- To study the extent to which the educational institutions set up by the Christian Missionaries led to the transformation among women of Srinagar.
- To assess the impact Christian Missionaries had on the Emancipation of Women.
- To study the response of different sections of Kashmiri society to missionary initiatives.

## **Assumptions**

- Dogra state was ambivalent regarding the spread of modernity among women in Kashmir.
- Dogra rulers were against the Missionaries in Kashmir.
- Education and proper health care enhanced the status and are a major step for the emancipation of women.
- Women's work outside the home i.e. employment is the primary avenue for their empowerment.
- There is still the upper hand of men pertaining on decision-making power within and outside the family.
- Based on gender, there was overt discrimination on the part of the Dogra state.

## **Significance of the Study**

There have been a glaringly insignificant number of studies on women's emancipation in the Kashmiri Society. But there has been no serious study done till date on women Emancipation through Christian Missionaries perspective. Therefore, the study assumes great importance for analytical study of the role of women in Kashmiri society before & after arrival of Missionaries. The impact generated by Christian Missionaries on Kashmiri Society in general & Women in particular, their changing status and their role in the present day world. Meanwhile, the 19th century was a great landmark for the Kashmiri Society and more so for the women folk as the century witnessed a transitional period from traditional to modernity with the advent of Christian Missionaries. Many changes took place in this period, all these need to be studied. We believe that we are now able to present a significant amount of data regarding the impact of Mission of Missionaries and the nature of empowerment that the missionaries earned for the women in Kashmir.

## **Methodology**

This study is based on historical, descriptive and analytical methods.

## **Sources**

The study draws its sources from the National Archives of India, New Delhi; State Archives located both in Jammu & Srinagar. Various government records, General Annual Administrative Reports, Educational Administrative Reports, and other sources were reviewed. Christian missionaries such as Mr. Tyndale Biscoe, Robert Clark, and the Neve brothers also left accounts behind. Contemporary leader's writings have also been included. Several vernacular newspapers have shed light on

the social situation in Kashmir in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Folklore and folk tales have also been used to investigate the problem.

## **Chapterization of the Work**

The study is divided into five chapters; the first chapter begins with an Introduction of the study.

### **Chapter I: Introduction**

This chapter deals with the concept of emancipation of women, followed by the area of research in which concentrate was given on the city of Srinagar, which was the capital city of a princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. Besides the area of studies, review of literature, the conceptual framework of study, objectives, assumptions, the significance of study, and methodology were incorporated in it. Meanwhile, this chapter is a partial attempt to highlight the changes that took place in the condition of women from ancient to the modern period and also highlight the contribution made by Christian missionaries for the emancipation of women.

### **Chapter II: Condition of Women in Srinagar: Historical Background**

The second chapter highlights the general conditions of women in society before the coming of Christian Missionaries and throws light on how missionaries acted as a catalyst for changing the position of women in Srinagar. Missionaries highlighted that from the ancient times to Advent of missionaries women witnessed rising fortunes. They were deprived of their rights and were treated like dumb, with the arrival of Missionaries in Kashmir, they left no stone unturned for emancipating Women to live the life of dignity and responsibility.

**Chapter III: Christian Missionaries and Women Education**

The third chapter throws light on the contribution of Christian Missionaries in field of women's education. They were the real founders of modern education in Kashmir, who transformed the whole society of Kashmir. We discover that girl's education has often been viewed as inferior to that of their male counterparts. We seldom hear from writers that there was ever a girl's school. There were, without a doubt, some maktabas where girls were taught, but it was all religious. The situation changed with the arrival of Christian missionaries in the second half of the nineteenth century, and somewhere in the late 1880s, one of the Mission Ladies opened a girl's school in the premises of Srinagar City. In response, later numbers of girl's schools on modern lines have been developed in different parts of Kashmir, particularly in Srinagar. The chapter also analyses the role of various socio-religious reform movements in the reformation of Kashmir society in general and the position of women in particular. The role and position of Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam are discussed in detail. This chapter also discusses the government's response to these organizations concerning the question of educational initiatives.

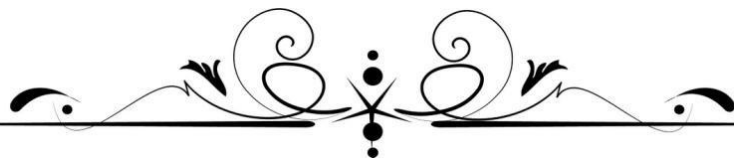
**Chapter IV: Christian Missionaries and Women in Health Care**

The fourth chapter deals with the Health condition of women in Srinagar before and after the advent of Christian Missionaries. This Chapter highlighted the missionaries tirelessly made efforts to improve the health conditions of women in Srinagar. They established many hospitals exclusively for women in Srinagar City. Moreover, it also throws light on efforts which missionaries done for the emancipation of Women including the abolition of Women trafficking and Prostitution in Srinagar city in 1934, which were the vilest practice in Srinagar and were the core factors for degrading the

health of women. Surprisingly, Dogra rulers were encouraging these evils in society. However, missionaries coupled with some reformers made good efforts to erode these practices to improve the condition of women.

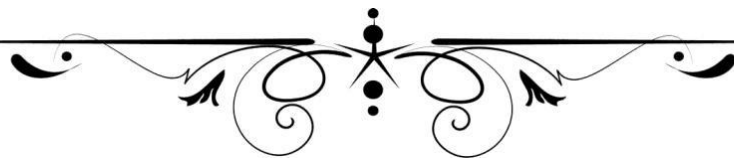
#### **Chapter IV: Conclusion**

At one level, this chapter tries to provide an overview of the analysis, while at another level; it tries to present key findings. A concerted effort has been made to highlight the most promising aspects of our research while also addressing the shortcomings and potential prospects of this field.



## *CHAPTER II*

# *Condition of Women in Srinagar: Historical Background*



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Men and women are complementary to each other. Each is said to fulfill itself by developing just those qualities lacking in the other. Women represent love, self-sacrifice, devotion, tenderness, and innocence. Man is thought to represent power, courage, will, strength, and labor. Apart from biological differences, men and women possess equal qualities. But these differences have been culturally so misused that it has resulted in large scale exploitation for centuries together.

Women's positions are almost always secondary to men's roles in almost every area of human functioning. In any field of functioning, men have more control than women. Men have more influence and access to resources and knowledge than women, as a result of cultural and legal sanctioned power. Gender disparity is reflected in many social structures, but it is often replicated regularly in families<sup>1</sup>.

Theoretically, women enjoy equal status with men but in practical terms, women are considered weaker sex. A woman is given secondary status in the family and a lower citizen of the society<sup>2</sup>. Women are more concerned with domestic affairs like household work, child-bearing and rearing, assisting males in the fields with no independent identity or freedom of expression. They are restricted to a limited number of jobs, entrusted with limited responsibility, and have a negligible representation at

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<sup>1</sup> Kishore S, Gupta K, (2004). Women's Empowerment in India and Its States: Evidence from the NFHS, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 07, Feb. 14-20, P. 696.

<sup>2</sup>Devander K, (1990). *Status and Position of Women in India*, New Delhi: Vikas Publication, P. 18.

top-level positions such as planners, administrators, managers, ignoring her advice and role in the family, society, and community at large<sup>3</sup>. They are considered passive workers who have to be protected by their father, husband, and son. They are denied all freedom and their contribution as active workers and producers is undervalued<sup>4</sup>. They are considered physically weaker and mentally incapable and are not given the right to independent thinking. They do not enjoy participation in decision-making ranging from minor issues<sup>5</sup>.

Discrimination of women from the womb to tomb is well known. Disadvantages against women are common practices in the opportunities of socio-economic development, participation in different activities, availing educational facilities, and various other development programs associated with improving the lifestyle and the quality of life, because of social and cultural backwardness<sup>6</sup>. Women's abuse is not a myth; it is a fact. It can be found all over the place. In cosmologies, mythologies, and legends, the issue of violence against women is as old as the world. Violence towards women varies in form, frequency, severity, and power from time to time and place to place, but it occurs everywhere. Owing to cultural restrictions, apathy, or indifference, many cases go unreported. These accidents can happen in the home, at work, in the fields, in industries, or even in public places. The condition of women is very shocking<sup>7</sup>. Women are thus kept out of the socio-political

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<sup>3</sup> Ali D.I, (2002), *Women And Health Problem Issues: A Report On Two Day Seminar On Women Empowerment*, Centre for Adult Continuing and Extensions Education, University Of Kashmir, P .15-16.

<sup>4</sup> Nazifa D. (2002), *Women Rights Related Problems: A Report On Two Day Seminar On Women Empowerment*, Centre for Adult Continuing and Extensions Education, University Of Kashmir, P. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Bashir, D. S, (2002) *Psychological Problems of Women: A Report On Two Day Seminar On Women Empowerment*, Centre for Adult Continuing and Extensions Education, University Of Kashmir, P.51-55.

<sup>6</sup> Panday A.K. (2002), *Emerging Issues in Empowerment of Women*, New Delhi: Anmol Publication, P. 275.

<sup>7</sup> Menon L ,(2004), *Female Exploitation and Women's Emancipation*, New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, P.107-110.

realm as a disadvantaged segment of society all over the world. They are cut off from the rest of society and subjected to different forms of discrimination. They are oppressed economically, politically, and socially, and they are left out of the nation's governance<sup>8</sup>.

Sen in 1987 claims that women's "perceived contribution," as measured by both men and women, is always less than their "real contribution" due to social expectations, the form and nature of employment, and the sense of legitimacy, e.g., household maintenance and child care are seen as a labor of love rather than gainful work. However, since they are unpaid, their contributions go largely unnoticed. Sen believes that the prominence of women's involvement in gainful economic activities reflects their reluctance to acknowledge deprivation. When it comes to organizing poor women, it's not enough to only emphasize their oppression; it's also important to emphasize their positive contributions to work processes<sup>9</sup>.

Women have been subjected to man's will, used as a means of promoting his selfish gratification, ministering to his sensual enjoyment, and being used to promote comfort, but he has never desired to raise her to the place she was made to fill. He's done everything he can to corrupt and enslave her mind<sup>10</sup>.

The overall condition of women in general and those in the Indian States especially in Kashmir has been far from satisfactory<sup>11</sup>. Christian missionary intervention into the remote areas especially Kashmir valley is being considered as an initial step of transformation towards the betterment of society in general and women

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<sup>8</sup> Kumari R. L. (2006), *Women in Politics: Participation and Governance*, Delhi: Authors Press Global Network, P. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Sen G. & Grown C. (1987). *Development Crisis and Alternative Visions*, New York: Review Press, P-42.

<sup>10</sup> Evans, J. (1986). *Feminism and Political Theory*, New Delhi: Sage, P. 47.

<sup>11</sup> Dabla B. A, Nayak S. K., & Islam K, (2001), *Gender Discrimination in the Kashmir Valley: A Survey of Budgam and Baramulla district*, New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, P. 13.

in particular. An acceptable estimate is that they were the precursors of positive change in Kashmir. Missionaries, who visited Kashmir valley keenly observed the Kashmiri Society from ancient times up to the advent of Christian Missionaries and highlighted that Women in Kashmir experienced rising fortunes. There was no area of social interaction in which they did not engage with their man folk in ancient times. But change did not proceed forever, the glory did not last indefinitely, and they were eventually stripped of the privileges they had previously enjoyed. Women had begun to re-emerge in social life as a result of the influx of missionaries, as Missionaries promoted colonial modernity among women through various agencies including Modern Medicine & Education<sup>12</sup>.

Women in Kashmir especially in Srinagar have witnessed varying fortunes. They have risen to great heights of glory, establishing themselves as rulers in their own right, regents of minor princes, strong queen consorts, negotiators in peace and battle, commanders of armies, thrifty landladies, builders, and reformers, and religious lore percepts. In managing home and in dancing and singing, they have earned fame. In reality, they have engaged in every area of social activity with their male counterparts. However, the change did not come in a steady stream, the glory did not last forever, and they had to contend with a variety of ill-fate. Times came and they were gradually stripped of the liberties that they had previously enjoyed. They were both mentally and physically enslaved during those days. Despite the soul-crushing ignominy to which they were subjected, they valiantly fought against oppression during the long period of servitude. With the arrival of modernism in Kashmir at the end of the nineteenth century, women began to re-emerge in society<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Akhter S, (2011), *Kashmir: Women Empowerment and National Conference*, Srinagar: Jay kay Books, Srinagar, P. 61.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

### Condition of women in ancient time

In general, Kashmiri women had a lot of independence, a lot of power, and a lot of obligations from the beginning of time until the thirteenth century A.D., which gave them high social status. Members of both sexes shared life's joys and sorrows equally. Women's status in Kashmir was much better than in the rest of India, it can be said. They were granted the ability to make a name for themselves in every field of social activity. In reality, they had advanced from the domestic to the political level, were free, owned land and other immovable property controlled their own estates and even fought as Generals and Commanders at the head of troops on the battlefields<sup>14</sup>. At least, some women attained enviable positions in the social or political life which enabled them to exercise enormous influence so that at times even kings and nobles had to bow before their stubborn resolve. At least, some women attained enviable positions in the social or political life which enabled them to exercise enormous influence so that at times even kings and nobles had to bow before their stubborn resolve.

In Srinagar which was the capital city of Kashmir, The queens were supposed to be present and actively participate in the coronation of a king, according to tradition. She shared the throne in the royal durbar on the auspicious occasion and the royal preceptor (rajguru) showered sacred waters of the abhisheka (coronation) over the queens in the same manner as over the king. She never ceased to take a deep interest in the administration of the kingdom. Thus, trained in the art of governance, the queens, at the demise of the king, ruled the country in her own right if, and so long

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<sup>14</sup> Pundit R.S., (1935), *River Of Kings*, Indian Express, Allahabad, P. 33.

as, she felt the necessity of doing so. As a matter of fact, the queens have done well in comparison with the kings who have preceded or succeeded them.

Although the king was *defacto* no less *de jure* the sole ruler and his words were final, he always consulted/discussed the problems of vital importance with his queen. He couldn't make important appointments without asking her. Strong-willed queens of Kashmir are said to have eventually resolved the issues of kingdom succession and the installation of a new prince on the throne. Later in history, Hindu culture became less liberal, refusing women access to higher education. By the time of Smritis around the beginning of the Christian era, Vedic knowledge was closed to women although the heterodox sets still catered for them<sup>15</sup>.

Surrounded by high mountains and aloof from the rest of the sub-continent, Kashmir appears to have remained mostly unaffected by this illiberal wave. Under Buddhism, the women of the Valley became free and received better intellectual nourishment. Girls of the poorer classes and low castes could never have been to school nor tasted any joys of intellect. But high caste women were well advanced and capable to match their intellectual attainments with the scholarships of learned men. Unfortunately, not a single book or treatise written by a Kashmiri woman has survived from the old times. One can only surmise that such productions if there were any, have been destroyed either by the vagaries of time or the cruel hands of vandals<sup>16</sup>.

In the matter of personal adornment and the ways of living, Kashmiri women of the early times were no less remarkable. On the battlefield, Kashmiri women wore red trouser uniforms like other soldiers in arms. However, it must be recognized that

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<sup>15</sup> Basham A. L. (1954). *The Wonder That Was India*, London: Sidwick and Jackson P. 178.

<sup>16</sup> Bazaz P.N. (2003) *.Daughters of Vitasta*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, P. 26.

in respects Hindu society in Kashmir as elsewhere adopted customs and enacted laws that were iniquitous to women and did not allow them the same freedom as enjoyed by men; they were treated as slaves. No education was given to them. At least in one respect, burning of widows—the custom was abominable and cannot be supported by any norm of civilization or humanity. In practice, the law that the men could marry many girls as they want but was not the case with women. There were practically no restrictions on the liberty of men on this behalf. Worse still, the widows were not allowed to remarry. Instead, they were burned alive with the dead body of their husbands on their funeral pyre, the practice known as Sati<sup>17</sup>.

But, despite the terrible custom of Sati and the ban on remarriage of widows, a Hindu woman had the right to freely choose her own partner in life. A Woman also enjoyed the right of separation and if dissatisfied with the marriage on rational grounds she could, through mutual agreement with her husband, obtain a verdict of divorce. Even kings are known to have married divorced women and the offspring of such marriages have subsequently ruled the land as monarchs in their heredity right. Birth, caste, or sex do not appear to have been insurmountable obstacles to the advancement of women in old Kashmir, even untouchability was no bar. Accomplishment in fine arts of singing and dancing, adroit manipulation of statecraft or skillfulness in mediation and negotiation, and above all, personal beauty has brought women to the front and raised them to the status of queens, army commanders, and diplomats. After having attained any exalted position many of them have generally been able to maintain balance and prove their worth. In conclusion, it can be said that in the Ancient and early Middle Ages, the Kashmiri women enjoyed sufficient freedom, though they also suffered certain unbearable disabilities.

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<sup>17</sup>Bazaz P.N. (2003) *Daughters of Vitasta*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, P. 26-28.

In the middle of the 14th century, the last of the Hindu rulers who was significantly a woman, Kotadevi, was deposed by an alien upstart Shah Mir, an influential Muslim courtier, who thereafter ascended the throne. The sensitive queen unable to endure the disgrace ended her wretched life by committing suicide. With Kota's death, not only Hindu rule comes to a close, but it also entailed the loss of the special status enjoyed by the queens and of the freedom of women in general. Women were steadily and eventually stripped of certain rights and privileges that they had gained and enjoyed for several decades, if not thousands of years, with the establishment and consolidation of Muslim rule in the Valley. In fact, with the downfall of the Hindu rule and capture of power by Shah Mir, the social fabric underwent a complete change<sup>18</sup>.

### **Condition of women under Muslim rule**

Loss of rights and privileges was but a part of the injustice that women had to suffer after the downfall and death of Kota. Under the pernicious influence of religious zealots and bigoted preachers who poured into the Valley in large numbers at the Accession of Sikander. But Shikan (1389-1413 A.D) the system of Purdah, unknown to Kashmiris was introduced, and at the behest of Mullahs and Waizes women began to be screened and secluded. The Muslim women of wealthier sections and high pedigree were first to be victimized; they went behind the veil. The women forgot all about their personal adornment; the dignity and safety of a lady lay in being secluded, veiled, and unseen by men other than the nearest kin; their sole meaning and purpose in life were to keep the homes to gratify the desire of their husbands and to procreate children. Under the Afghans, the humiliation process reached new heights. The Valley

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<sup>18</sup>Sofi G.M.D., (1974). *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from Earliest Times to Our Own*, 2 Volumes, Vol. 1, New Delhi: Light and Life Publishers, P. 23.

endured its darkest time of national depression under these barbarian rulers (1752-1819 A.D.). Even though the Afghan tyrants treated men and women fairly, women were special targets of their licentious conduct. It's no surprise that Kashmiri women were physically and spiritually broken within a few years of Afghan rule; their existence in every sphere of social life was completely eclipsed<sup>19</sup>.

### **Condition of women under Sikh & Dogra rule**

The Sikhs, who ruled the Valley for a brief period of 27 years (1819-1846 A.D.), were no less tyrannical and cruel than the Afghans. Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General of the East India Company, sold the Valley to Raja Gulab Singh Dogra for 75 lakh rupees in 1846 A.D. as a reward for his perfidy towards his Sikh Master and the people of Punjab. For many decades after the conquest of the Valley, the new masters showed little or no interest in the spiritual and social uplift of their subjects. When Maharaja Ranbir Singh came to power in 1858 A.D., Kashmiri women had lost all that had made them famous in the past. They had lost their physical beauty and intellectual refinement due to centuries of injustice and the tyranny of wicked rulers; they had been reduced to a sub-human state and existed only through misery<sup>20</sup>.

Kashmiris forgot about the past and the contributions of women in some periods of their history during the long and unrelieved era of slavery. People started to believe that the diminished status that hard times had placed on the women was normal to them as a result of habit. Women were assumed to be only fit to be domestic servants, objects of carnal gratification, or means of child procreation. Also, women's cleanliness was discouraged, unless it was for religious purposes, and was

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<sup>19</sup> Sofi G.M.D, (1949) Kashir, vol.I, University of the Punjab and Lahore, P. 262-63.

<sup>20</sup> Bazaz, P. N. (1959). *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day*. Srinagar: Pamposh Publications, P. 15-18.

never rewarded or highly praised. Sluttish appearance had been fostered first in the days of Afghans. It had a justification then-to protect young and innocent girls from being assaulted or ravished they had to look ugly and untidy. Subsequently, under Sikhs, it acquired the sanctity of a national habit.

As a result, as described by a modern historian citing an unsophisticated response of a distressed patient, “once when a zanana (women) Missionary was impelled to inquire, ‘O dear Kashmiri women, why would not you wash,’ they looked at her puzzled and responded, ‘we have been so oppressed that we cannot care to be washed.’ This explains why, during oppressive rule in Afghanistan and Sikh times, cleanliness was enforced by imposition or kidnapping, and women were forced to practice uncleanness. On the social level, cleanliness was equally ill-advised. The Kashmiri women were known for their beauty throughout India and they were often abducted and sometimes even sold. This explains why the Kashmiri women put on dirty dresses. Every Kashmiri women who had “ornaments beyond the common or clothes better than the roughest” was marked down for plunder by the rapacious officials”<sup>21</sup>.

The Dogra rulers sheltered and promoted the selling of young Kashmiri girls to build houses of ill-fame in Srinagar and India. According to Robert Thorp, in Ranbir Singh's time, the license granting permission for the purchase of a girl for the purpose cost about 100/= chilkee rupees. The Maharaja received 15 to 25% of his State's overall revenue from the gains of his licensed prostitutes in 1880. In 1880, there were also 18,715 State prostitutes in Kashmir, according to records. There was little concern for the prostitute's welfare, as shown by the fact that there were only

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<sup>21</sup> Bazaz, P. N. (1959). *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day*. Srinagar: Pamposh Publications P. 15-18.

2500 prostitutes admitted to Mission Hospital with sexually transmitted diseases. The government confiscated the property of a prostitute after she died<sup>22</sup>.

Girls used to linger at well-decorated windows in Tashwan (Srinagar) and Maisuma (Srinagar), the two major centers of prostitution. Call girls were not permitted to stop working. Despite the fact that the Maharaja made a lot of money from the prostitutes, no money was spent on their welfare. Another calamity to which these prostitutes were subjected was the fact that they were unable to marry and create themselves as respectable women<sup>23</sup>.

No one even the religious reformist did raise any voice against the houses of ill-fame and immoral traffic of women. However, Missionaries who were penetrated in Srinagar city rose against the many ill-fame houses situated in Maisuma. And it was 1934 when their selfless services ultimately bore the fruit and the State passed an Act suppressing immoral traffic of women<sup>24</sup>.

The condition of women in the Dogra rule deteriorated to such a level that they not only turned out to be suppressed and oppressed bodies, but were also included in the economic domain. They were seen as commodities and objectified in a manner that they were sold and bought like any other commodity. During a regime wherein ordinary people were debt-ridden and enslaved to the government, the treatment of women became more painful. Their bodies turned out to be sensualized, wherein their bodily form and existence were turned into a means by which people could pay their debts. This has been documented as:

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<sup>22</sup>Qadri, S. A (2003). *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, P. 22.

<sup>23</sup>Bazaz, P. N. (1959). *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day*. Srinagar: Pamposh Publications. P. 35

<sup>24</sup>Biscoe T, (2003), *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: Autobiography*, Srinagar: Jay Kay Books, P. 238.

The Dogra rule was described by an abusive tax regime, and subjects were burdened under one affliction upon another. Even the dead couldn't be buried save by authorized and advantaged grave-diggers. Coolies who were engaged to carry the baggage of travelers gave up a portion of their profit to the agents of the state. Under such a coercive system, the prostitutes couldn't be spared either. Most guardians were driven to selling their daughters under outrageous poverty for which the Dogra system and its abusive tax structure were crucially responsible<sup>25</sup>.

As indicated by the census 1921, in the brothels of Bombay, among 2995 sex workers, 41 were the locals of Kashmir. The prostitution racket at that point was not just provincial, however had by the 20th century spread to all over India<sup>26</sup>. Thus, as such, it very well may be envisioned that women during the Dogra regime were forced to enter the market-space of prostitution. Another component of this suppression and abuse of women during the Dogra rule can be seen by looking at the practice of forced labor. During the Dogra rule, average citizens of Kashmir experienced fortified slavery. The most poisonous strategy for persecution was the system of *beggar* constrained work. The authorities upheld *beggar* not exclusively to meet their own benefits, yet in addition to make sure about free work in agricultural fields<sup>27</sup>. Not only men however, women were also compelled to be a piece of this state-supported constrained labor, even kids were not saved.

Pundits and Muslims were especially fond of child marriage. Among Muslims, widow remarriage was permitted, but Hindu widow remarriage was not. These widows were in a horrible situation. Because there were no limits on early marriage, there were many child widows who were forced to live in their father-in-law houses

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<sup>25</sup> Hasnain F.M. (1980) *Kashmir misgovernment*, Robert Thorp, Srinagar: Gulshan publications, P. 06-10

<sup>26</sup> National Archives of India, File no. 469, Home Department, 16 November 1921, P. 3

<sup>27</sup> Khan G.H. (2009) *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers. P. 13.

and do what they were told, Mr. Bisco says. "I learned of the cruelties committed against these children, especially by Brahman Priests, who were frequently the fathers of drowned babies. The infants were dumped in the river or given to the pariah dogs at night so that the Hindu faith would not be tarnished"<sup>28</sup>.

But the surge of Western ideas by Missionaries that had slowly but steadily spread in the wake of British dominance of every corner of the Sub-Continent started to influence the politics and culture of the god-forsaken Kashmir as well. At the Accession of Pratab Singh, the third ruler of the Dogra Dynasty, a big change occurred. For reasons, good or bad, the Suzerain power reduced the new Maharaja to the position of a nominal prince, a figurehead of the government. The British residency took over the entire administration and economic changes of the land annals. It opened the dawn of modernism in the state; the slumbering Kashmiris reawakened, and women too began to open their eyes to recover lost ground and regain their inherent virtues. The social evils that existed in Srinagar Society did not escape the attention of Christian missionaries.

### **Beginning of change in Srinagar**

The people of Srinagar launched a number of movements of resistance against the cruelty of Dogras, and in all these efforts the presence of women was perceptible. Women with the active support of missionaries played awfully and critical part against the Dogra rule, which is frequently not acknowledged. Without a doubt, the women of Kashmir fought side by side with men, and even took up arms against the Dogra rulers<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> Neve E, (2003), *Beyond the Pir panjal: Life among the Mountains and Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Jay Kay Books, P. 240

<sup>29</sup> Bazaz P.N., (2005). *Daughters of Vitasta*, Pamposh publications, New Delhi, 1959 reprint, Gulshan publications Srinagar.

The honor of pioneering a movement for rehabilitating Kashmiri women, for initiating them into the arts of civilization, and for re-kindling in them the desire to live, must go to the foreign Christian Missionaries. In the opposition from both the tyrant government of the Dogras and the superstitious elders of the Hindu and Muslim communities, the noble Missionaries, with amazing patience, undertook the most arduous task of the emancipating girls in Srinagar.

In India, a strong movement for emancipation of women had been launched long ago through the tireless efforts of men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Ishwarchanda Vidyasagar. The evil practice of Sati was banned and widow remarriage was legalized in 1929. With the adoption of Child Marriage Restraint Act popularly known as the Sharda Act<sup>30, 31</sup>, the tireless efforts of Christian Missionaries compelled Maharaja to take certain measures to enact similar legislation in Kashmir which changed the outlook of the people and immensely helped the local reformers in their work for the emancipation of women.

Christian Missionaries provides a platform for other organizations having reforming agenda, in this response, the Pandit Community formed “Fraternity” with the conception of social reforms and included not only check on wasteful expenditure and the like but also spread of education among women and freedom for widows remarry, the revival of cultural activities, improvement in community’s health, encouragement to interdinning, rural construction, and change in National dress to make it decent, graceful, dignified and suitable for local climatic condition. In the

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<sup>30</sup> In honour of social reformer Harbilas Sharda, who introduced and piloted the bill through the Central Legislature. By its provisions, the age of consent within marriage was fixed at 18 for boys and 14 for girls and outside marriage 15 for girls. An amendment to this act in latter day finally raised the age of girls to 15 and age of consent to outside marriage to 18.

<sup>31</sup> Rahman, T. (2020). *Women Empowerment Awakening of a New Era*. 1st ed. India: Empryal Publishing House, P. 23-25.

same year 1930, the Fraternity launched a campaign to mobilize public opinion for the furtherance of the proposed social reforms. Public meetings were held in different parts of the city to explain the need and the aims of the Movement. It was for the first time after several centuries, women of Pandit Community participated in public Assemblies which were avowedly convened for non-religious and mundane purposes. In the beginning, curtain was drawn to separate men from women but as enthusiasm grew and the Movement gathered momentum, this restriction was deemed unnecessary and, indeed, at one place, the women, to the surprise of the conductors, removed the screen and set side by side with men to listen to the speakers<sup>32</sup>.

Prior to 1931, the reins of the Muslim society in Kashmir were in the hands of Mullahs two of whom, Mirwaiz Jamia Masjid and Mirwaiz Hamadani, wielded huge social and religious influence. Both of them agreed that the mind of Muslims, particularly the women, were to be saved from pollution caused by the impact of modern education and western ideas. The Study of science was forbidden in schools run by them. To keep women in bondage and ignorance was one of the main tenets of their creed. They upheld Purdah and Polygamy, opposed girl's education, and discouraged any change for the better in the demeaning social status of women. The liberation of women was a revolting ideal to the Mullahs and the Mirwaizes. However, the Muslims did not remain entirely unaffected by the changes and development which were taking place in the sister community, changes began to take place in dress and in the old habits of Muslims. Muslim women of well-to-do classes had begun to discard Purdah; more and more girls were attending schools, cleanliness was rewarded and greater attention was paid to personal comeliness, a new was

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<sup>32</sup> Tyndale Biscoe, C. E. (1993). *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: an autobiography*. London: Seeley Service, P. 97

visible in the decaying bones of the womenfolk. Such was the perspective of the struggle for freedom of women on the eve of political upheaval in July 1931.

In the contemporary history of Kashmir, 1931 stands out as a year of profound significance. It was the year; the people of Kashmir rose from their age-old slumber and took up cudgels not only against the alien rule but also against all exploiting agencies such as the jagirdas, landlords, capitalist, Mullhas and corrupt officers<sup>33</sup>. No wonder that women too came forward to bend their energies in the cause of freedom and demanded what was due to them in the New Kashmir that was rising for the ashes of the old. But, their backwardness in education and other disabilities prevented them from achieving the fame to which their earnestness and sacrifice entitled them. Women from the Muslim gentry and upper middle class, who were usually isolated, did not engage in the struggle in any way; the number of educated women was limited. Nevertheless, poor women of the working sections—those who had ever refused to be screened or confined within four walls throughout the six centuries of the foreign domination were infused with the new spirit and rose equal to the occasion and continued to be in the vanguard of the fighting forces all through. Therefore, a unique feature of Kashmir's freedom struggle was that during its first phase, the women's participation came from 'have not's section that could in no way be called as emancipated, enlightened, and educated. The instinct was inborn, the result of centuries of suffering, denial, and torture. It may also be interpreted as traditional characteristics of the Kashmiri women's yearning for independence. During this time, women precisionists, many of whom were carrying sucking babies in their arms, marched through the streets, shouting slogans condemning the repressive Dogra

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<sup>33</sup> Handa, R. L. (1968). *History of Freedom Struggle in Princely States*. New Delhi: Central News Agency. P. 249.

regime or demanding the liberation of their imprisoned leaders and the creation of a democratic structure<sup>34</sup>.

Women were present at any public meeting held by Muslim political activists, especially when the speaker was Sheikh Abdullah or another prominent leader. But unfortunately, the Muslim leaders could not canalize the enormous pent-up energy which was released by the 1931 upheaval, particularly they failed to guide the enthusiasm of women and direct it to the fruitful channels. Surely there were at least a few of the women fighters such as Jan Ded who possessed the qualities of leadership and given encouragement and opportunity should have come to the force. But, the few bold women who organized the aforementioned demonstration and led thousands of their sisters on battlefields achieved nothing and soon sank into oblivion.

As a result of the widespread disturbances of 1931 and the grim struggle for independence that followed it, the Maharaja appointed the Constitutional Reforms Conference (1932) and the Franchise Committee (1933) which, after prolonged enquires and debates, produced a constitution for the State. This was passed into law and for the first time in history, the Kashmiri people were enfranchised in 1934, a small number of women too got the vote with the advent of independence the principle of an adult franchise was fully recognized by the Constituent Assemblies of India and Pakistan and like women of the Sub-Continent, all the adult Kashmiri women secured the right irrespective of any property or educational qualifications<sup>35</sup>.

For decades, the status of women has continued to remain the same. It is assumed that from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the circumstances in Kashmir in general and

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<sup>34</sup> Yasin M, (1980), *Role of Women in the Freedom Struggle of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Light and Life Publishers, P. 202.

<sup>35</sup> Khan G.H. (2009) *Freedom Movement in Kashmir: 1931-1940*, New Delhi; Light and Life Publications, P. 79.

Kashmiri women in particular, began to improve. Open challenges to strengthen the status of women started to change the situation due to exposure to different wider viewpoints and the modernization of communities overall. Christian Missionaries who made their entry after the treaty of Amritsar were desired to work on a humanitarian basis to serve the downtrodden men & women in Kashmir<sup>36</sup>. Dogra rulers neglected the education and health condition of Women in Kashmir. It was the Missionaries who take up this evangelic work to educate the women and provide them good health conditions. Their moral and material upliftment movement was imputed when the Church of England zanana missionary society decided to land in Kashmir to assist Kashmiri women, and soon after their arrival, they opened the Rainawari hospital, which was exclusively for women<sup>37</sup>.

In general women of Kashmir played a pivotal role in the freedom struggle, but history has always silenced and ignored them, and deliberately sidelined their contribution. Even after being threatened by the oppressive Dogra forces, the women section of Kashmiri society remained in the movement for the liberation of Jammu and Kashmir. Women are usually confined to or around the family in traditional and patriarchal Kashmiri society; their world of activities is limited to the boundaries of their patriarchal household/community. They were typically subjugated, humiliated, discriminated, and maltreated in social life, despite not being considered equal inside and outside their families. As daughters, they were reliant on their fathers/male guardians; as wives, they were reliant on their husbands; and as mothers, they were reliant on their sons. The lifecycle of female dependency is always sponsored, propagated, reinforced, and supported by cultural and religious norms. The same sort

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<sup>36</sup>Bazaz, P. N. (1959). *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day*. Srinagar: Pamposh Publications.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid

of silencing, marginalization, objectification, commodification, suppression, and oppression of the women folk by the patriarchal forces happened during the Dogra rule, and unfortunately, some of these practices are taking place even in contemporary times in one form or another.

Basically, Western culture allowed Kashmiri women to leave their homes and work like men. They were also influenced by these shifts, like women in other countries. The mass shift among Kashmiri women began at the beginning of the twentieth century when missionaries penetrated deep into the state. The valiant missionaries, in the opposition of both the tyrant government of the Dogras and the superstitious elders of the Hindu and Muslim communities, performed the most arduous task of educating teenage girls with amazing patience.

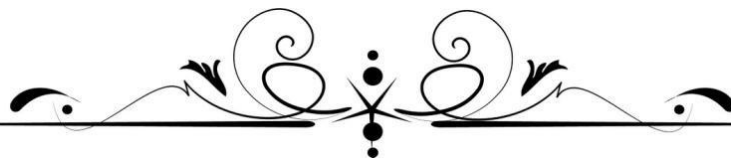
Until recently, women were treated differently, depriving them of their rights while reminding them of their obligations. However, women's positions evolved over time, evolving from purely childbearing and rearing devices to also becoming breadwinners. Not only have new roles for women arisen as a result of the work of missionaries in the fields of education and medical health, but new social norms and values have also developed. The women began to obtain training and showed interest in the political and technical sectors. In addition, they started to come from the domestic spheres in the other fields of social living and took professional positions outside their homes. Missionaries have helped them understand their ability, widen their viewpoint, and establish a new definition for themselves. The traditional position of a housewife gradually developed at the same time into the dual and more satisfying role of a competent working wife and housewife. The shift can be seen in terms of change in status, growth, and mobility, all of which point towards women's

emancipation. A new world of business opportunities for women has been opened by education, medical health, and economic liberalization. This played a major role in helping the women in Kashmir<sup>38</sup>.

In Kashmir, Christian missionaries played a crucial role in uplifting women. Many of the services given by the Missionaries to Kashmir, including education and health, have brought drastic changes in the social, cultural, and political outfit of the general people and women in particular over time. The Christian Missionarie's influence has left a long lasting-impression that many of their established structures are now reflected by the Cosmo polis of the city and suburban areas. Kashmiri women, like other women, have come out from the constraints of tradition. In today's Kashmiri society, women have gained access to general, higher, and technical education, as well as economic freedom, authority, and decision-making power both within and outside the family.

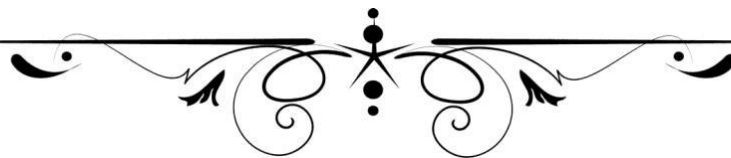
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<sup>38</sup>Manorama Year Book (2006), *Careers for women*, Kottayam: Malayala Manorama Press, P. 472.



## *CHAPTER III*

# *Christian Missionaries and Women Education*



## *Chapter III*

### *Christian Missionaries and Women Education*

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*“Education is one of the most effective ways to emancipate women with the awareness, experience, and courage to fully engage in the process of growth”<sup>1</sup> — J. Shindu*

Education was seen as an effective tool for improving women's status, and thus attempts have been made to enhance women's access to education. Education plays an important role in the life of individual nations. It is obvious that there can be no true salvation of human society, no personal growth, and no future for any individual or race without education. Education dispels superstitions and evil practices, increases the quality of home life and liberates women, promotes the productive use of natural resources, and paves the way for industrialization and trade. Most significantly, it reawakens the manhood instincts in the depressed and degraded and raises men of the public spirit who can serve society with intellect and self-respect. Clearly, education assists in the advancement of society; but, when considering the role of education in improving people's lives, one cannot neglect the role of women in the field of education. It is also clear that Christian Missionaries have always worked hand in hand with education, wherever they went to spread the gospel, women education remained their prime concern, and the two are now inextricably connected.

Missionary is a person or a group of people dedicated to teach or invite people towards their own religion. A Christian missionary is an individual or a group of

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<sup>1</sup> Shindu J. (2012). Women's Empowerment through Education. *Abhinav journal*: Vol. 1. No. 11. P. 3

people who are sent to another country to teach, preach, or invite people to become Christians. The first person who played the role of missionary in India was Francis Xavier (1506-1552) and Kashmir was an autonomous princely state at that time and that is why these missionaries entered Kashmir very late.

Kashmir is said to have been the birthplace of Sanskrit learning, and this small valley has produced works of art in history and philosophy. Abhinav Gupta, Kalhana, Jonaraja, Srivara, Kshemendra, Bilhana, Suka, and Prajyabhatta were among the great Sanskrit scholars who lived there for centuries<sup>2</sup>.

But despite of this, education in the state of Jammu and Kashmir was imparted through indigenous institutions as in other parts of the country traditionally. The indigenous schools, Pathshalas and Madrasas, housed in temples and mosques respectively, were imparting education to the masses prior to the implementation of the western form of education in the state. Muslim students were mainly taught Arabic in Madrasas so that they could read the Holy Quran. Sanskrit was also taught in Pathshalas to allow Hindus to read their scriptures<sup>3</sup>.

However, while the primary objective of these indigenous schools was to eradicate illiteracy, there is no denying that, for a number of reasons, education in general, and female education in particular, has traditionally been limited to a small segment of the population.

Women from the upper castes were educated and encouraged to engage in intellectual debates and discussions during the ancient period, while women from the lower castes

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<sup>2</sup>Bailey, T. G. (1929). *Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. 1, Part 2*. Edited by Sir George Grierson. OM 14+ 10 1/4, pp. viii+ 30+ 337+ 2. Calcutta. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 5(3), 615-618. P. 241, 251.

<sup>3</sup>Chohan A.S. (1998). *Development of Education in the J&K State*; New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers. P. 5-6.

were almost entirely excluded from the formal education system due to their economic and social status<sup>4</sup>.

The arrival of Muslim rule in the middle of the 14th century did not result in an immediate shift in women's status in society. Slowly, Purdah, or female seclusion, became a common practice among the upper classes, and a woman's rightful place was deemed to be her own home. Women in medieval Kashmir do not seem to have had any access to education. Women from well-to-do families certainly received education, as demonstrated by the professions of Sura, Hayat Khatun, Gul Khatun, Habba Khatun, Lal Ded, and others, but education was not available to poor and common women. Women's conditions have deteriorated as Kashmir has passed through the hands of Afghans, Sikhs, and finally the Dogras. They had lost their intellectual refinements due to centuries of injustice and tyranny by wicked rulers<sup>5</sup>.

Throughout the ancient and early middle ages, Kashmiri women were subjected to a number of intolerable hardships. The most heartbreaking of these disabilities were their intellectual poverty. Women were usually confined to or near the home in traditional Kashmiri society. Owing to a shortage of opportunities and an adverse climate, they were mostly denied access to education<sup>6</sup>.

During the early years of the Dogra Raj, the educational system did not improve, and the government's attitude toward education in general and female education in particular remained largely unchanged. Despite the fact that Maharaja

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<sup>4</sup> P.N Bazaz; (1959). *Daughters of the vitasta*; Srinagar: Pamposh Publications. P. 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> It was in these classes that heroines were born during the middle ages. Lalla, Habba, Gul Khatun, Hayat Khatun and Sura to name only five of the celebrities' who stand above rest in stature and who achieved undying fame in philosophy, in poetry and in politics sprang from no soil of respectability but were the progeny of poor, toiling parents. Bamzai P. N. K, (1994) *Culture and Political History of Kashmir*, Vol. II, New Delhi; MD Publications, P. 518-519.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

Gulab Singh, the founder of Dogra rule in Kashmir was a patron of learning, he did not rule as a democratic ruler in Kashmir, instead of treated the land and its people in a colonial manner. In reality, he was unconcerned about the progress of education and the physical well-being of the people, and education continued to be imparted in Madrasas and Maktabas during his rule, with no assistance or oversight given to these institutions<sup>7</sup>. Even after Maharaja Gulab Singh's death, the Dogra policy of indifference to the growth of social and economic overheads, especially education, continued, and women's conditions did not improve significantly under subsequent maharajas. It is not an exaggeration to state that the Dogras were neither effective nor intelligent, nor wise nor sympathetic to their subjects. They were social obscurantists and political reactionaries, with opinions on women that were on par with those of barbarian tribes. In reality, the condition of women became much worse<sup>8</sup>.

Kashmir, however, came under the influence of western education as the number and frequency of European missionaries visiting the valley increased after the treaty of Amritsar. Christian missionaries, not the Dogra kings, are to be credited with bringing modern education to the valley. It's not surprising, then, that at the dawn of the modern era, as symbolized by the British formal interference in Kashmir through the imposition of Resident, education continued to be imparted through schools attached to mosques and temples, operating without any financial support<sup>9</sup>. Under the pressure of the locals, more inclusive and holistic educational schemes were introduced in newly developed institutions, which provided education to citizens of all religious and caste affiliations. Because women's education was frowned upon until the late nineteenth century, and the Purdah system and early marriage were prevalent,

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<sup>7</sup> P.N Bazaz; (1959). *Daughters of the vitasta*; Srinagar: Pamposh Publications. P.209.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, P. 194-195, 215.

<sup>9</sup> Lawrence S. W; (1907). *The Valley of Kashmir*; Srinagar: Kesar Publications Residency Road. P.198.

obstructing women's advancement, the level of education of girls in comparison to boys was extremely poor<sup>10</sup>. Women's education was thus one of the top priorities of missionaries in Srinagar, which sought to improve their deplorable conditions that had previously been restricted to the four walls of their homes or working as co-workers in agricultural labor. However, the early advocates of women's education had to contend with orthodox resistance from pundits and mullas, which did not go away easily because society as a whole was superstitious and dominated and regulated by the religious elite who derived authority from a selective interpretation of the holy script. Furthermore, the Purdah observed by Kashmiri Muslim women, who made up the vast majority of the population, prevented them from enrolling in the valley's newly developed schools. It was due to the missionaries' persistent efforts and influencing zeal that the liberal parts of society, both Hindus and Muslims began to take an interest in the education of girls, starting with language learning and progressing to the study of other disciplines.<sup>11</sup>

After the Dogras became the Rulers of Kashmir, Missionaries were attracted to it. Kashmir's salubrious climate, its beauty and location promised it to become a great Christian center amid China, Tibet, Marquand, Samarkand, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Bukhara. Missionaries held the prejudice that people of Kashmir would be converted easily, as they had first converted from Hinduism to Buddhism and vice versa and finally to Islam in 14th century. These missionaries knew the deplorable condition of the people of Kashmir, their mass illiteracy, ignorance, poverty, diseases and their oppressed and tortured condition<sup>12</sup>. The missionary hoped that by converting the people of Kashmir to Christianity, they would become great evangelists in Asia.

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<sup>10</sup> Census of India, *Kashmir*, 1931; P. 251.

<sup>11</sup> Tyndale Biscoe, C. E. (1993). *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: an autobiography*. London: Seeley Service., P. 257.

<sup>12</sup> Qadri S A, (2003). *Biscoe in Kashmir*, Srinagar: Gulshan publishers and Exporters, P.21

Moorcroft expressed the same view when he visited the valley in the early 19th century. He observed: "There is no part of India, in my view, where the pure gospel faith has a better chance of succeeding than Kashmir"<sup>13</sup>. Last but not the least, the sweltering heat of many parts of India was very distressing for many Missionaries, so Kashmir was regarded as the best place for Missionary personal to recuperate.

Such were the causes that motivated Christian missionaries to come to Kashmir. Their mission was to win the country for Christ, and they believed that spreading the Gospel would provide a cure for the people's misery. Their policy was to extend the knowledge of Christianity, and they saw in Kashmir a duty and an opportunity. But to make use of this opportunity and to fulfill the duty was not an easy task. In fact, there were serious obstacles in the path of the Missionaries<sup>14</sup>.

Though Maharaja Gulab Singh was apparently on good terms with the British, but was adamantly opposed to any Western incursion into Kashmir. A special order was issued in 1854 CE by the Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, at the request of Maharaja Gulab Singh, forbidding European visitors to remain in Kashmir during winter<sup>15</sup>. He established a rule that Europeans were to be admitted to Srinagar by prescribed routes only; and from the time of their entrance to their exit, they were to be under vigilant supervision and were not to be allowed to mix with the people. They were refused permission to rent a house in Srinagar, where they could continue their activities. Guesthouse was built outside the main city for the connivance of European visitors. Thus the Europeans were completely isolated from the people of the city. This put difficulties in the way of the missionaries, whose task lay with the masses, and whose success depended upon close and constant contact with them.

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<sup>13</sup> Clark R. (1904). *The mission of C.M.S and C.E.Z.M.S in the Punjab and sindh*, London: Church Missionary Society Archive P.129

<sup>14</sup> Khan M. I, (1999). *Histry of srinagar 1846 -1947 : A study in socio Cultural change*, Srinagar: cosmos Publications, P. 138

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

It is important to note that the missionaries first appeared in 1854 when Col Martin, a retired Army officer and Rev. Robert Clark<sup>16</sup> of Punjab missionaries and another two Indian Christians entered Kashmir's Srinagar. It was in 1864 CE that a permanent mission was established in Srinagar<sup>17</sup>. In view of the attitude of the authorities and the ruling prince, the missionaries adopted the ruse of renting a house through the resident French shawl merchants of Srinagar<sup>18</sup>. In April 1864 CE, the attempt of Clark, accompanied by Mrs. Clark, to enter the rental house in the city seemed nearly impossible. From the missionary journal, we knew that on their arrival to Srinagar they were mobbed by a crowd of 1,000 to 1,500 people,<sup>19</sup> who threatened to set the house on fire, some of them coming within the compound and throwing stones<sup>20</sup>. But Robert Clark had an indomitable will. Despite the authorities' opposition, he opened a school in Srinagar on April 18, 1864<sup>21</sup>. It was a crucial moment in Kashmir's history. Parents who send their children to missionary school were subjected to police visits at their homes by Dogra rulers. They were threatened with deportation to Gilgit if their children attended school<sup>22</sup>.

Not a single school in Kashmir could import the right form of education. Maharaja established a school in 1874,<sup>23</sup> and it was the only state school but here the medium of instruction was Sanskrit and Persian. Christian Missionaries observed all this and send a letter to London for approval regarding the establishment of Schools in

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<sup>16</sup>Clark R. (1904). *The mission of C.M.S and C.E.Z.M.S in the Punjab and sindh*, London: Church Missionary Society Archive, P. 167

<sup>17</sup>Ibid, P.168

<sup>18</sup>Clark R. (1904). *The mission of C.M.S and C.E.Z.M.S in the Punjab and sindh*, London: Church Missionary Society Archive, P.192

<sup>19</sup>Khan M. I, (1999). *Histry of srinagar 1846 -1947 : A study in socio Cultural change*, Srinagar: cosmos Publications, P. 139

<sup>20</sup>Clark R. (1904). *The mission of C.M.S and C.E.Z.M.S in the Punjab and sindh*, London: Church Missionary Society Archive, P.195

<sup>21</sup>Ibid, P. 213

<sup>22</sup>Ibid, P.169

<sup>23</sup>Bamzai P. N. K. (1990). *Socio- economical history of Kashmir (1846-1925)*, Srinagar: Gulshan books, P. 254

general and girl's school in particular in Srinagar on modern lines, this proposal was later accepted by CMS of London.

The C.M.S. school had a variety of issues in its early years. The most pressing concern was the school's structure. The government orders banning the missionaries from renting a house to constructing a school building remained in place. As a result, the C.M.S. had no choice but to open the school on the hospital grounds. In 1880, only five pupils were reading in the C.M.S school<sup>24</sup>. To remove the obstacle of accommodation the missionaries obtained in 1883 a building at Sheikh Bagh. This act is said to have given rise to opposition and suspicion.

It is clear that in the beginning, the attitude of the state authorities towards the missionaries was hostile. However, the government allowed the C.M.S. to transfer the school to the city in 1890, and it was relocated from the hospital grounds to a large house and compound on the riverbank in the heart of the city (Fatah Kadal). As a result, by 1890, the number of students had risen to about 200<sup>25</sup>.

Mr. Knowles who was also a missionary to Kashmir had undertaken ten years of spadework in laying the foundation of the C.M.S School. In the work of establishing the school, he was supported by C.L.E.Burges, A.B.Tyndale, and some Kashmiri teachers<sup>26</sup>. Miss Helen Burges was the first lady in Srinagar to create a kindergarten system. It's worth noting that the kindergarten system initially sparked concerns among parents, with some of them reportedly pulling their children from the

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<sup>24</sup>Biscoe E, (1930) *Fifty years against the stream*, Mysore: Wesleyan Mission Press, P. 1

<sup>25</sup>Holmes B, (1967). *Educational policy and the mission school*, New York, London: Routledge, P. 161

<sup>26</sup>Tyndale Biscoe, C. E. (1993). *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: an autobiography*. London: Seeley Service. P. 260

school as a result, arguing that "we send our children to school to learn, not to play"<sup>27</sup>. After Knowles, C.E. Tyndale Biscoe was another towering personality who joined the school in 1891 CE<sup>28</sup> the role increased to 250, nearly all Kashmiri pundits<sup>29</sup>.

Thus, Christian missionaries were largely responsible for the introduction of modern education to Kashmir. They were the first to attempt to educate Kashmiris in the European educational model. This occurred during a time of modernism in education, which prompted Kashmiris to become conscious of their own plight and, later, to fight for their survival<sup>30</sup>. Christian missionaries faced many obstacles in their early years. However, they were able to create a number of schools based on the English public school model thanks to their pioneering efforts<sup>31</sup> and the educational institutions are known as Maktabas and Pathshalas gradually began to go into oblivion. The success of the missionaries in establishing schools on modern lines create awareness among the liberal section of the society, both Hindus and Muslims, encouraged them to take up the cause of female education in Srinagar as the girls would be the mothers of future generations<sup>32</sup>.

The honor of pioneering a movement for rehabilitating Kashmiri women, for initiating them into the arts of civilization and for re-kindling in them the desire to live, must go to the foreign Christian Missionaries. Christian Missionaries played a leading role in the development of girl's education in Kashmir. Like in the boy's education, it was no other than Christian Missionaries who started the experiment of

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<sup>27</sup>Khan M. I, (1999). *History of Srinagar 1846 -1947 : A study in socio Cultural change*, Srinagar: cosmos Publications, P.164

<sup>28</sup>Tyndale Biscoe, C. E. (1993). *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: an autobiography*. London: Seeley Service, P. 263

<sup>29</sup>Ibid, P.265

<sup>30</sup>Sofi G.M.D., (1974). *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from Earliest Times to Our Own*, 2 Volumes, Vol. 1, New Delhi: Light and Life Publishers P.801.

<sup>31</sup>Holmes B, (1967). *Educational policy and the mission school*, New York, London: Routledge, P.161.

<sup>32</sup> Tyndale Biscoe, C. E. (1993). *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: an autobiography*. London: Seeley Service, P. 257.

girl's education. The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society opened a girl's school in Fateh Kadal, Srinagar, sometime between 1893 and 1895. The people of Srinagar were taken aback by the opening of a girl's school. In the streets, there were murmurs and whispers. People claimed the missionaries were attempting to pollute the minds of young girls with impure ideas. The number of brave girls who turned up was tiny, and their parents were worried because public opinion was against them<sup>33</sup>. This school lasted until the first prize day when the lady superintendent welcomed some European lady visitors to the school in the hopes of inspiring the girls and their parents. However, when some mischief-makers in the street saw the English lady tourists, they shouted that the European had come to abduct the ladies. For a while, the first girl's school was closed as a result of this incident. The school reopened a few weeks later, and to everyone's surprise, the number of girls attending increased.

The Christian missionaries were so inspired by their success that they decided to open another girl's school at Fateh Kadal, which was linked to the boy's school. The Christian missionaries, by their courage and inexhaustible patience, overcame one challenge after another and finally triumphed in the struggle. Missionaries instilled in citizens the value of female education. Miss Churchill Taylor, Miss Robinson, Miss Fitze, and Miss Mallinson were among the courageous women who made girl education possible in Srinagar. A triumphant chapter in Kashmir's cultural revival is the story of foreign missionaries fighting against male arrogance and mistrust<sup>34</sup>.

When Miss Fitze opened her first girl's school in 1912, the bulk of the students were Muslim<sup>35</sup>. Miss Fitze was initially met with fierce resistance from a

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<sup>33</sup> Biscoe T, (2006). *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, Srinagar: (Reprint first published 1922 ) Ali Mohammad and Sons, P. 245-46.

<sup>34</sup> Bazaz P.N. (2003) *.Daughters of Vitasta*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, P. 213.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted in Khan, M. I. (1978). *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: a study in socio-cultural change*. Srinagar: Aamir Publications. P. 168

variety of quarters, but by 1914, the opposition had subsided as the city's number of girl's schools increased to three. By 1916, the girls were looking healthier than they had in the past, and their mothers were genuinely excited about their education.

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 educated, for it is they and the priests who are the great stumbling blocks on the road to light and truth at present."<sup>36</sup> The school was upgraded to middle level in 1918, and the state issued a grant of Rs. 700. The following statistical information is available regarding the number of girls in the C.M.S. Girls School, Fateh Kadal<sup>37</sup>.

**Table No. 1.1 Statistical Information of C.M.S. Girls School, Fateh Kadal from 1913-1920**

Year	No. of Girls Students
1913	70
1914	70
1915	85
1916	83
1917	91
1918	100
1919	102
1920	70

Source: Khan, *History of Srinagar*

<sup>36</sup> Quoted in Khan, M. I. (1978). *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: a study in socio-cultural change*. Srinagar: Aamir Publications.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

The table testifies to the increasing number of girl students from 1913 to 1919 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<sup>38</sup>. During Miss Mallinson's tenure as principal, the C.M.S. Girl's School underwent a drastic transformation (1922-1961). Miss Mallinson was a key figure in ensuring that Srinagar's women earned sufficient educational and cultural opportunities. The school became a cultural hotspot under her inspiring leadership.

Truly, Miss Mallinson played an important role in the educational and cultural development of Kashmiri women. Swimming, dancing, drill, picnics, hiking, and mountaineering were all brought to the school by her. During the picnic and camping trips, it was exciting to see the girls running around freely and soaking in the fresh air. 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.

Miss Mallinson dedicated her life to the empowerment of Kashmiri women; she generated respect for mothers and daughters, infused self-respect and confidence into them<sup>39</sup>. The missionaries went to great lengths to draw young women to their education. The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society will go to the girls' homes and pick them up to drive them to their schools. The physical appearance and mental attitude of women changed drastically as a result of the missionary girl's education<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Bazaz P.N. (2003) *Daughters of Vitasta*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, P. 211-213.

Through the efforts of Christian Missionaries coupled with some Non- Dogra ministers and also the assistance of enlightened patriots the more formidable difficulties were gradually overcome and an increasing number of girls sought admission in the government schools.

Meanwhile, Missionaries compelled the government to adopt certain policies regarding education of females. In response Maharaja Hari Singh, liberal in his views, created a separate department in the administration for their education. Women's uplift was one of his objectives. The girl's education was kept under the control of a Chief Inspectors, a highly educated and trained English lady, Miss E. Chawner, was appointed to the post. A number of girl's schools primary as well as high school opened not only in the city but also in the Muffassil at all important towns and big villages, in which girls of all classes and communities were admitted without any distinction. The educated ladies with proper qualifications were imported from Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and far-off Bengal to recruit the staff. The Maharaja Government granted liberal grant-in-aid to private institutions where education was imparted to girls; the grant allowed for a girl in the private schools was double than the grant for a boy in such schools. Early in 1929, an organization called the Women's Welfare Association was sponsored for the achievement of a fourfold objective:

1. The first and foremost aim of the movement was to dispel illiteracy and to spread education among women.
2. The second objective was to build a park and a gymnasium for the recreation of women and their children.

3. To liquidate poverty or at least, alleviate the condition of the destitute widows and forlorn women by teaching them handicrafts and other arts was the third aim and;
4. The last but not least objective of the movement was to look after the health of the women a large majority of whom were emaciated, haggard, sickly and pale<sup>41</sup>.

Female education made considerable progress in the final years of Dogra rule with active pressure from missionaries. The presence of numerous government-run and schools served as ample evidence of the state's educational operation. The development of a grant-in-aid scheme to promote private schools, as well as the appointment of educational committees and the organization of educational conferences, all point to a shift in the government's previous educational policy.

Emancipating women through education created awareness among some enlightened minds of Kashmir as it witnessed the rise of various socio-religious reform movements in Kashmir in the beginning of the 20th century. These movements think it the need of the hour to aware people in general & women in particular about the modern challenges and Modern education because the Muslims are gullible people and are also loyal to their superstitions and obscurantism ulama. Anjuman Nusrat al-Islam is one among these socio-religious movements, which tried to initiate such religious, social and educational activities which, later on, prepare Muslims of Kashmir to live up to their responsibility and also fight for their rights. In view of the same, the founder of Anjuman Mir Waiz Moulvi Gulam Rasul Shah has been called “Sir Syed” of Kashmir. He founded this organization in 1899. Shah argued that the Muslims of Kashmir need pragmatic educational guidance which

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<sup>41</sup> Annual Administrative Report of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir for the year, 1929-30.

could make them aware of their human and fundamental rights and also articulate and strengthen their religion and cultural values<sup>42</sup>. But the Muslims of Kashmir were less influenced by modern education than the Hindus. Because the Muslims of Kashmir had for long been caught on a vicious web created by religious superstitions and social obscurantism. The so-called religious elite exercised an overwhelming influence on the gullible and credulous people.

Molvi Rasul<sup>43</sup> Shah claimed that a western-style education, paired with sound religious guidance from the Quran, would create competent and moral young Muslims. In this outlook, he was greatly helped by some outside Muslims who were in State service. Among the outsiders who helped the Molvi was Munshi Ghulam Rasul Shah, the then-revenue Minister of Kashmir. “Anjuman-I-Nusratul Islam” was devoted to religious and educational subjects of Muslims. The Muslim officials encouraged Mirwaiz Rasul Shah but local Muslims, under the leadership of fanatic Mullahs, raised a violent agitation and even attempts were made on the life of the Molvi. Despite this opposition, the school progresses and soon became a high school, the forerunner of the present Islamia College, Srinagar. It was unfortunate that the successors of Mirwaiz dabbled in petty politics and did nothing for the social and moral uplift of the Muslim community. This narrow outlook on religion and politics did much to promote faction and rivalry.

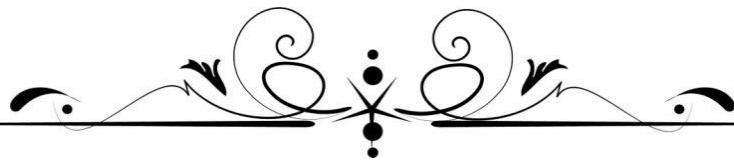
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<sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>43</sup> Molvi Rasul Shah was born in 1854. His father’s name was Mirwaiz Maulana Mohammad Yahya, who was great teacher, reputed scholar and spent his entire life in disseminating Islam- its messages, Hadith, Sunnah, and Shariah. Molvi Rasul Shah, following the steps of his ancestors, put heart and soul in the crusade for the eradication of dirty and evil ideas polluting pious spirit of Islam. He was a towering personality who rendered yeoman service to the Muslims of Kashmir by founding “Anjuman-I-Nusratul Islam”, an educational institution in 1899 which threw wide open the gates of modern education. He breathed his last on Friday, 30 July, 1909. It is for his singular services that he is remembered as Sir Syed of Kashmir.

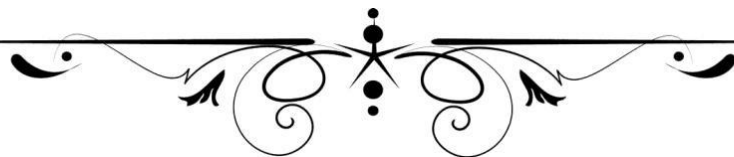
Many other prominent socio-religious reform movements existed in Kashmir, which played a significant role in creating Socio-Religious consciousness among Kashmiri Muslims were Anjuman -Ahl-I-Hadith, Ahmadiyahs, Anjuman-I-Hamdard -I-Islam, Anjuman-I-Tabligh-ul- Islam, and Jamaat-i-Islami. No doubt Religious reformation was a major concern of these movements. But it is to be noted while mobilizing the masses, the reformers did not reject modern education totally but they aimed to flourish modern education rather than western culture.

So to conclude that in terms of the foundation of modern education, the CMS did an outstanding job. Despite this, they had experienced a variety of difficulties as a result of the early Dogra rulers threatening attitude. Despite these challenges, the missionaries fought valiantly and completed their mission. In Kashmir, they initiated a host of social, cultural, and health reforms. CMS was once again responsible for the implementation of girl's education in Kashmir. In reality, in terms of educational policy, they were a role model for state schools. However, mission schools were only open to the upper crust of society, especially the Pandits. Furthermore, for a long time, missionary activities were limited to Srinagar area, ignoring a significant portion of the Valley. Nonetheless, missionary practices steadily spread across society, as demonstrated by the advent of a new perspective at the turn of the twentieth century. Before the advent of the Missionaries, there was no formal education system for women in any corner of the area now known as Srinagar. The education system in Srinagar was nurtured by the interest and efforts of the Christian missionaries.



## *CHAPTER IV*

# *Christian Missionaries and Women in Health Care*



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# *Christian Missionaries and Women in Health Care*

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By the dawn of the nineteenth century AD, medical apostolate became the mainstream of missionary methods across the globe. Medical work was recognized as an important means of evangelism from the beginning. It was the necessary embodiment of the spirit of Christianity, whose founder, Himself, was a great healer, and it was the door of approach, and often the most effective door of approach to the heart of the patient. Within decades their medical services became increasingly formalized and professionalized<sup>1</sup>. Although the pace of change varied across different mission fields, denominations and stations, the principles of expertise and efficiency became underpins of the mission's drive to modernize their health apostolate. The forms and functions of medical missions were transformed gradually into those resourced with fully qualified doctors and nurses who in turn gradually replaced the partially trained predecessors. Their missionary medical practices began to increasingly focus on highly equipped hospitals with advanced therapeutic efforts.

Medical History is increasingly attracting the mind of social scientists over the past. It is due to this academic occupation that the information gained by our ancestors over centuries of legacy, experiences and interactions is conserved and made easily reachable to a broader readership. Medicinal and health culture of a

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<sup>1</sup> Baru, R., 1999. Missionaries in Medical Care. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(9), P. 521-524.

society is reflective of receptions to exogenous influences, its intellectual status, interactions with the outer world, continuities in change and differences in the society, as medicinal culture varies among different segments of people as per their variegated financial conditions and levels of exposure. It also helps us in understanding the changes in demographic history-stable population in pre-modern times and population explosion after the scientific and technological revolution. This chapter aims to offer a holistic overview of the health condition of people in general and women in particular in Srinagar during the penetration of modern medical missionaries, and also deals with how English Medical Missionaries changed the scenario of health and medicine.

In general, the attitude of the Kashmiri community towards medical mission can be better expressed in a single word 'indifference'<sup>2</sup>. The orthodox reactions of the society hated medical missionaries. When the missionaries came to Kashmir, They saw people particularly women living a life of misery they helped them and provide medicines to peoples on some natural calamity. This made the people to look upon the medical work of missionaries.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Christian missionaries arrived in Kashmir. Education and medicine were the two important tools used by them to transform society. The people of Kashmir were totally unaware of the use of modern medicine. The method of treatment adopted by the people of Kashmir was nothing but adding fuel to the fire. Whenever and wherever there was spread of any disease, it was usually ascribed to the will of God. Instead of taking any resource or medical aid, the people the preferred use of traditional methods. The traditional methods were usually based on superstitious beliefs which debarred them from

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<sup>2</sup> Zumbro, W. M. (1905). A directory of South India mission institutions. P.163.

making use of modern medical facilities<sup>3</sup>. However, with the advent of modern medicine and education, people began to leave superstition. People came to know that diseases were caused by germs or infections and could be cured or treated by proper treatment. This transformation of mind and society was done by English medical men who came to Kashmir during the second half of the nineteenth century. This period saw a significant growth of modern medical knowledge in Kashmir.

The history of modern health care in the pre-independence era in Kashmir is synonymous with Christian missionary activities. While their motives were admittedly of a missionary nature, yet the pioneering role of the Kashmir Medical Mission cannot be denied. Rev. Robert Clark was the man who started the missionary work in Kashmir. Colonel Martin, a retired officer from Peshawar, dispatched Mr. Clark and three Indian Christians to Kashmir on a missionary tour in 1854<sup>4</sup>. Mr. Clark requested the Christian Missionary Society (C.M.S.) to promote a medical mission to Kashmir after seeing the plight of Kashmiris and contributed Rs. 14000 to this cause<sup>5</sup>. The first permanent mission in Srinagar was established in 1864. In Srinagar, Robert Clark and his wife, Mrs. Clark, established a school and a dispensary. Mrs. Clark, despite not being a doctor, knew more than a native Hakim<sup>6</sup>. The dispensary quickly attracted people from all over and a record number of patients visited the clinic, with

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<sup>3</sup> To cure the diseases people generally went to priests and *Pirs* (holy men). The *Pir* usually gave them a piece of paper with name of *Allah* written on it and the Brahman priest similarly inscribed name of *Shiva* on the paper. The patients were supposed to swallow down it with water. Moreover, Kashmiris wore charms or amulets written with short verses from *Quran* on a piece of paper. The paper was folded and stitched in cloth piece or leather and then was attached to that part of body that was affected by disease. This belief debarred them from making use of modern facilities.

<sup>4</sup> Neve E, (2003), *Beyond the Pirpanjal: Life among the Mountains and Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Jay Kay Books, P.68.

<sup>5</sup> Clark R. (1904). *The mission of C.M.S and C.E.Z.M.S in the Punjab and sindh*, London: Church Missionary Society Archive, P.149. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, op. cit., P. 228. In collecting the said amount, Mr. Clark received much support from leading civilians and military men, including Sir Robert Montgomery, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir Herbert Edwards, Colonel Martin and Colonel Urmston (about whom it is said that he had put a stop on the burning of Hindu widows in Kashmir). Ernest Neve. *Beyond the PirPanjal*. P. 68; Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* P. 239.

<sup>6</sup> Stock E, (1917). *Beginnings in India*, London: Central board of missions and Society for promoting Christian knowledge, P. 97.

100 women visiting the clinic for medical attention in a single day<sup>7</sup>. The mission was, however, met with resistance from a number of outlets. According to Ernst Neve, some of the officials, especially the governor and the police chief, were particularly hostile. The names of those who visited Mr. Clark were reported to the police, and they received domiciliary visits. Many who sent their children to the dispensary's neighboring school faced the same issue. They were warned that if their children attended school, they (the parents) would be deported to Gilgit<sup>8</sup>. In his diary, published in 1864, Robert Clark wrote about the government's hostility to missionary work, saying:

*"The house was literally surrounded by men and boisterous people. Hundreds of people assembled on the bridge and lined both sides of the river, shouting and one man hitting a gong to collect the crowds. There was no chaperone, no police officer, no soldier, and no official of any sort. The commotion grew rapidly, and no attempt was made to calm it down. People started throwing stones, and some of them ripped down the compound's and stables' walls. Our servants were alarmed to the point of threatening to burn the house down. There were between a thousand and one thousand five hundred people in attendance. It was said that when I went to the Wazir to ask for safety, he was sleeping. He kept me waiting for two hours before even offering me a seat. The police also warned that if someone rented a house to the missionaries, they would have their skin torn off."*<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Neve E, (2003), *Beyond the Pirpanjal: Life among the Mountains and Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Jay Kay Books, P. 70.

<sup>8</sup> Clark R. (1904). *The mission of C.M.S and C.E.Z.M.S in the Punjab and sindh*, London: Church Missionary Society Archive P.129 P. 150. Often the peasants were sent to Gilgit for *Begar*- a system of forced labor in which the peasants could at any time be drafted into the state service. The position of peasants was just like that of 'beasts of burden', without any hope of payment for such services. These services include carrying rations for military expeditions or any other service for the state.

<sup>9</sup> Neve E, (2003), *Beyond the Pirpanjal: Life among the Mountains and Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Jay Kay Books, P. 69.

Mr. Clark's mission was originally intended to last six months<sup>10</sup>. Mr. Clark's departure from the Maharajah's territories was pressed as winter approached<sup>11</sup>. Mr. and Mrs. Clark were forced to leave the valley on November 2, 1864, bringing their mission in Kashmir to an end<sup>12</sup>. However, the mission had left a lasting impression on the Kashmiri people<sup>13</sup>.

The vacancy left by Robert Clark and his wife was quickly filled when the CMS appointed Dr. W. J. Eimsie was the first Medical Missionary in 1865, and on May 9th of that year, he opened a dispensary in his own home. Only ten people came to his dispensary that day<sup>14</sup>. But, due to his tenacity and commitment to his practice, he became well-known, and the number of patients visiting his dispensary gradually rose to around 90 a day. Approximately 2,000 patients visited his dispensary throughout that summer<sup>15</sup>. He spent seven summers in Valley and experienced a lot of hardships. Maharaja sends him a proposal that "If he agreed to become the Maharaja's court physician, he would be paid four times as much as he was paid as a missionary (roughly 1000 rupees per month)"<sup>16</sup>. However, he rejected Maharaja's offer because he was committed to serving the people of Kashmir. This proved costly to him

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<sup>10</sup> Clark, R. (1885). *The Punjab and Sindh Missions of the Church Missionary Society: Giving an Account of Their Foundation and Progress for Thirty-three Years, from 1852 to 1884*. Church Missionary Society. P. 230.

<sup>11</sup> A special order was passed in 1854 by Lord Dalhousie, Governor General of India at that time, at the request of Maharaja Gulab Singh, forbidding the European Visitors to remain in Valley during winter. They were allowed to enter the Valley through prescribed routes only and were kept under Argus-eye. They could not even rent a house in the Srinagar City but the government for their convenience had built guest houses outside the main city. M. Ishaq Khan, op. cit., p. 138. U was a deliberate attempt from the government to keep them apart from the common masses.

<sup>12</sup> Mr. Clark revisited the Valley in 1871 along with Rev. T. V. French and a native doctor, John Williams, of Tank, a frontier town now in Pakistan. The death of Eimsie in 1872 saw the Mr. Clark in the following year as the head of mission in Kashmir. Mrs. Ashley Carus -Wilson, *A Woman's Life for Kashmir, Irene Petrie- A Biography*, London, 1901, p. 121; Martin Clark, op. cit., P. 290.

<sup>13</sup> They had made friends in Kashmir. Mrs. Clark had been asked twice by the natives to remain in Kashmir during the winter and that they would like her to remain here, Martin Clark, P. 229.

<sup>14</sup> The poor response of the people to the medical activities of missionaries during the earlier days might have been because they were projected as 'spreading Christianity' in Kashmir. But their engagement in social works especially in times of calamities won the hearts of Kashmiris.

<sup>15</sup> Ernest Neve, *Beyond the PirPanjal*, p. 70. During the next summer (of 1866), some three thousand five hundred patients were checked by Dr. W. Eimsie along with Rev. T. R. Wade. This included the first lithotomy operation for bladder stone on 23 May, 1866. He also performed thirty cases of skin epithelioma.

<sup>16</sup> Carus-Wilson, A. (1993). *Missionary to Kashmir: Irene Petrie.*, p. 120; Robert Clark, op. cit., P. 151.

because he was unable to find suitable accommodation in Srinagar and had to carry out his duties under the trees in the open air. The Maharaja even surrounded his dispensary and ordered soldiers to report anyone who came to see him. Several patients were detained for disobeying the authorities' orders, writes Tyndale Biscoe<sup>17</sup>.

A widespread outbreak of cholera in 1867 provided enough opportunity for the medical mission to serve the cholera-stricken people, gaining their confidence<sup>18</sup>. But, as Mr. Clark writes, Dr. Elmslie's efforts during extreme cholera made him exhausted and he was in no position to undertake the long, dangerous journey across the lofty mountains to British Columbia<sup>19</sup>. Elmslie left the Valley for the home in the winter of 1872, as was his custom, but his condition deteriorated drastically along the way. Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson writes, "He arrived in Gujarat dangerously sick, and three days later, on November 18th 1872, Elmslie died there"<sup>20</sup>. Elmslie will be remembered in the annals of Kashmir as it was he who awakened the government for promoting the need for vaccination and sanitation among the citizens of the Valley. The course had now been laid and it was only to be pursued with strong determination as the Maharaja had not yet acknowledged the missionary work. After 1874, the government's attitude was encouraging. On the north side of the Rustum Gaddi, under the "Takh-i-Sulaiman," the Maharaja permitted the missionaries to establish a hospital<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Biscoe T, (2006). *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, Srinagar: (Reprint first published 1922 ) Ali Mohammad and Sons, P. 240.

<sup>18</sup> A large number of people including grateful patients, friends and other people lined the Jhelum on both sides to bid the doctor farewell as he (Eimslie) left the Valley. See Martin Clark, P . 288. Dr. Eimslie also fought for the cause of education and lamented for want of schools in Srinagar.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid

<sup>20</sup> Carus-Wilson, A. (1993). *Missionary to Kashmir*: Irene Petrie. P. 132.

<sup>21</sup> Ernest Neve, *Beyond the PirPanjal*, op. cit., P.. 72; C. E. Tyndale, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, P. 242. In 1874 Dr. Theodore Maxwell was sent by the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Institution in place of Dr. Elmslie. Dr. Maxwell was the nephew of renowned General John Nicholson and exerted his Delhi influence to press the Maharaja to grant them a site for the construction of hospital in Srinagar. See Mrs. Ashley Carus - Wilson, P. 123.

There was also a small building constructed at the expense of the state. The hospital developed a reputation for being a lifeline for the Valley's poor residents<sup>22</sup>. It's worth noting that, while the Maharaja would not give the doctor an inch of land in the early days of the mission in Kashmir, the State was now giving them yearly donations and free electricity<sup>23</sup>. The Maharaja also laid the groundwork for a number of institutions and would periodically visit the hospital to evaluate the situation. In the meantime, the mission's medical and surgical work continued to increase, as did the number of patients attending the hospital<sup>24</sup>. Dr. Edmund Downes<sup>25</sup>, who joined the hospital in 1877, enlarged and consolidated it until it could handle a hundred patients. When the Valley's famine ended in 1877, he and his medical team, especially Mr. Wade, did an admirable job. The famine had reduced Srinagar's population by more than half<sup>26</sup>. The group distributed food to the needy, cleaned up the garbage, assisted in the building of new roads, dug and cleaned canals, and planted trees<sup>27</sup>. Downes also founded a mental asylum, where over 250 patients were treated as inpatients in one year<sup>28</sup>. He also established an orphanage, where 150 children were fed with wheat

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<sup>22</sup> Dr. Arthur Neve described the hospital as the 'second pilgrimage centre', the first being Hazratbal. Arthur Neve, *Thirty years in Kashmir*, op. cit., P. 301-302.

<sup>23</sup> Tyndale, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, op. cit., P. 242. The officials tried everything to obstruct the doctor in performing his duties and stopped patients receiving medical aid but now the situation had changed, they (officials) and their families gladly accept the medical help and recognized their work.

<sup>24</sup> Bamzai P. N. K. (1990). *Socio- economical history of Kashmir (1846-1925)*, Srinagar: Gulshan books, P. 295.

<sup>25</sup> E. Downes was formerly a lieutenant in the Royal Artillery and assistant engineer in the Staff Corps. He resigned from his commission in order to serve the services of missionary in Kashmir. Downes remained in the Valley for six years. During this period he was successful in obtaining the permission from the Maharaja to remain in Valley during winters by stirring public opinion on the subject through newspapers. Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson, p. 123.

<sup>26</sup> Neve E, (2003), *Beyond the Pirpanjal: Life among the Mountains and Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar: Jay Kay Books, P. 72.

<sup>27</sup> Khan, M. I. (1978). *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: a study in socio-cultural change*. Srinagar: Aamir Publications. P. 143.

<sup>28</sup> Mir, N. A., & Mir, V. C. (2008). *Inspirational people and care for the deprived: medical missionaries in Kashmir*. The journal of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, 38(1), 85-88., P. 85-88.

imported from Punjab<sup>29</sup>. Downes had to leave the Valley in 1882 due to health concerns and handed over the task to Dr. Arthur Neve<sup>30</sup>.

The Mission Hospital was raised to new heights by Arthur Neve and his brother, Dr. Ernst F. Neve. They raised a considerable amount of money from their fees and donations, which was sufficient not only to operate the hospital but also to build new structures. A sturdy masonry structure has now replaced the original mud structure, Wrote Arthur Neve:

*"The mission hospital has been fully renovated and extended to hold more than a hundred beds... Patients have made over 3,000 visits to the hospital in the last ten years, and 30,000 surgical procedures have been conducted. These statistics show that the people of Kashmir, both Muslim and Hindu, respect the work being performed by clergy and doctors"<sup>31</sup>.*

During the outbreak of cholera in 1892, the Neve brothers played a major role in alleviating the misery of the people. Arthur Neve went to almost every part of the Valley where death had occurred. Vaccination was introduced in Kashmir during his time there. Arthur Neve returned home in 1915 to join the British war effort, and four years later, in 1919, he returned to the Valley. He was unexpectedly struck by fever and died on September 5, 1919, at the age of 59. People from far-flung areas came to the Mission hospital during the holidays to learn about Neve's visit and seek care, according to Arthur Neve, who wrote about it in his book Picturesque Kashmir<sup>32</sup>. He

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<sup>29</sup> Khan, M. I. (1978). *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: a study in socio-cultural change*. Srinagar: Aamir Publications. P. 143.

<sup>30</sup> Dr. Arthur Neve was a physician as well as traveler. He undertook a number of journeys in Kashmir and Central Asian regions. See Arthur Neve "Journeys in the Himalayas and some factors of Himalayan eiosion', *The Geographical Journal*. Vol. 38, No. 4, October 1911, P. 345-355.

<sup>31</sup> Neve A, (1899). *Kashmir, Ladakh, and Tibet*, London, P.11

<sup>32</sup> Neve A, (1900). *Picturesque Kashmir*. London, P. 151.

spent nearly three decades in Kashmir, solely for the purpose of assisting the needy and sick.

When missionaries began to visit Zenanas<sup>33</sup> and the villages, they saw the dreadful neglect of women's health. They were fully aware that it was more important for a woman to be healthy. Since they realized that sick mothers were unable to provide adequately for their families due to their physical and intellectual needs, they came forward to relieve them of their sufferings. They understood that through persuasion and follow up the Kashmiri women can be conscientious on the need to be healthy. They find Women were dealt with inconsistent and unreasonably in each circle of life. They were oppressed in their own family. Their male kin delighted in each opportunity yet women were not permitted to communicate their supposition or to step out of the house. Women in customary Kashmiri society were completely relied upon the male individuals from their family, because of which they couldn't build up their very own character, and their reliance brought down their status both socially and economically.

Women in Srinagar during Dogra regime were abused in a number of ways, including prostitution and the establishment of Devdasis, women committed to temple services. Many kings and princes fell in love with beautiful dancers and singers, and they became concubines. This was a traditional occurrence in Kashmir from ancient times until the arrival of missionaries<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> Zenana literally meaning "of the women" or "pertaining to women," in Persian language contextually refers to the part of a house belonging to a Hindu or Muslim family in the Indian subcontinent which is reserved for the women of the household.

<sup>34</sup> Dar, S. A., & Shah, Y. R. *Prostitution, Traffic in Women and the Politics of Dogra Raj: The Case of Kashmir Valley (1846-1947)*. Journal of Society in Kashmir, P.5.

Prostitution existed in India since ancient times; it also existed in Kashmir, which forms a distinct social unit<sup>35</sup> references to which are also found in Kashmir's ancient literary works<sup>36</sup>. This practice, which was widespread in ancient Kashmir, appears to have continued into the medieval era, especially during the reigns of the Mughal (1586-1752 A.D.) and Pathans (1752-1819 A.D)<sup>37</sup>. The 'beautiful ladies' of Kashmir remained 'objects of desire and ownership' after the Mughal conquest of Kashmir Valley in 1586. And it was the allure of Kashmiri women that sparked a daily flow of Kashmiri women, particularly after 1586, when the valley of Kashmir's long history as a "kingdom in its own right" came to an end. In this regard, the Afghan time in Kashmir was the worst, when Kashmiri slaves, both women and men, were exported to Kabul. During the Sikh era (1819-1846 A. D.), the situation remained unchanged. Those who worked in the women's trade were paid a handsome amount in return for selling Kashmiri girls to their customers in Punjabi markets or in British India. The two major centers of this unethical trade in Punjab were Lahore and Ludhiana<sup>38</sup>.

During the Dogra maharajas' reign of ascendancy, evil flourished freely and avowedly. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was the only one in British India where prostitution was legal, promoted, and not punishable. 'The license granting permission for the purchase of a girl for this reason was around one hundred chilki rupees and it was sort of revenue to the government,' according to Robert Thorp, a British Army officer who visited the Kashmir Valley during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's

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<sup>35</sup> Mohan, K. (1981). *Early Medieval History of Kashmir: With Special Reference to the Loharas, AD 1003-1171*. New Delhi: Meharchand Lachhmandas Publications.

<sup>36</sup> Literary works such as *Kuttanimatam*, *Samayamatrika*, *Desopodesa* and the *Kalavilasa* deal with the class of prostitutes present in ancient Kashmir and these works were composed in the 8th and 11th century A. D.

<sup>37</sup> Bamzai P. N. K. (1973). *A History of Kashmir*, New Delhi: Metropolitan, P. 203

<sup>38</sup> Sharma D. C. (1983). *Kashmir under the Sikhs*, Delhi: Seema Publications, P. 64-65

reign<sup>39</sup>. Kashmiri girls used to linger at well-decorated windows in Tashwan (Srinagar) and Maisuma (Srinagar), the two major centers of prostitution<sup>40</sup>. Other shady spots in Srinagar where prostitution was prevalent were the floating houseboats, also known as the "floating houses of ill-fame," which were mostly frequented by foreign visitors, especially bachelors.

After the disastrous famine of 1877-78, the British Government became aware of the notorious sale of young girls in the Kashmir Valley to founded brothels in Srinagar. According to the British official report, 'Maharaja Ranbir Singh used 15 to 25 percent of the state's overall revenue from the profits of the registered prostitutes, who were therefore licensed by the state.' In 1880, in the territory of Kashmir, there were 18,715 'licensed prostitutes' who paid a fixed proportion of their unrepeatable 'money' in the form of taxes to the Government of India, which was unfortunately permitted by the Government of India<sup>41</sup>. The recorded prostitutes were mainly from the lower classes, with a large number of them coming from the wattal (shoemakers), bhungies (scavengers), and hanjis (fishermen)<sup>42</sup>. But being fair in complexion and attractive were considered as belonging to higher castes and sold at higher prices. An official British record also informs us that the prostitutes in the Kashmir Valley were sold usually at a tender age by their parents to brothel-keepers for 100 to 200 rupees. The children promoted for prostitution were usually wheeled into believing that they would be married off. For most of the parents, marriage was not an option as the tax imposed on marriage by Dogra regime was usually very high and thus beyond the reach of the poor classes<sup>43</sup>. The marriage tax was one rupee during Maharaja Gulab

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<sup>39</sup> Thorp R, (1870). *Cashmere Misgovernment*, London: Longmans: Green, and Co. P.55

<sup>40</sup> Sofi M, *Kashmir Mein Samaji Aur Sakafati Tabdilian*, (Urdu), P. 287; Tyndale Biscoe (2003) *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: Autography*, Srinagar: Jay Kay Books, P.38

<sup>41</sup> F. Henvey's Revised Note on the Famine in Kashmir (1877-80), NAI, Foreign Department, Secret-E, March 1883, No. 86.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>43</sup> Lawrence S.W. R, (1928). *India We Served*, London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., P.134

Singh's reign<sup>44</sup> Maharaja Ranbir Singh later increased the tax from 3 to 8 rupees, while the tax on the sale of a child for prostitution was chilki rupees 400 (Company's Rs 250). The total number of prostitutes acquired in this manner in Srinagar was estimated to be between 250 and 300.

Young English citizens were interested in helping prostitution flourish, writes F. Henvey, Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir in 1880, and the authorities did not attempt to curb it because it was a source of revenue for the state. A procuress approached the local court during the same time to prohibit one of her victims from leaving Kashmir, allegedly because the young girl was in debt, but, as F. Henvey pointed out, the owner was merely claiming her title to the girl. In a rare reversal, the court ruled against the plaintiff, but Henvey claims this was due to British government pressure<sup>45</sup>.

The prostitutes of Kashmir Valley were divided into three groups based on their 'gratifications,' which included, of course, consideration of age, wages, appearance, and cast of prostitutes, and were taxed accordingly as showed in table below:

**Table No. 1.2**

First Class	Company's Rs. 40/year
Second Class	Company's Rs. 20/year
Thirds Class	Company's Rs. 10/year

Source: National Archive of India, Foreign Department, Secret-E, March 1883, No. 86

<sup>44</sup> John B. Ireland, (1859). *From Wall Street to Kashmir: A Journal of Five Years in Asia, Africa and Europe*, London: S. A. Rollo & Co., P. 397

<sup>45</sup>F. Henvey's Revised Note on the Famine in Kashmir (1877-80), NAI, Foreign Department, Secret-E, March 1883, No. 86.

Arthur Brickman, a European missionary who visited the valley of Kashmir in 1866 and author of *The Wrongs of Kashmir* (1868), described the selling of young girls and the trafficking of women as follows:

*“A large portion of this chieftain's income comes from a trade that most countries try to cover, but which thrives freely and avowedly in Kashmiri. Others who were once in their place own the classes who participate in it [prostitution] as slaves. The latter's authority is backed by the Maharaja's entire force, to whom all of the wealth amassed by the prostitutes during their notorious life reverts at their death. If a bondwoman or dancing girl wants to escape her degrading career, she is pulled back into her mistress's control by the lash and the rod. These facts are undeniable<sup>46</sup>. The prostitutes were also used as spies by the Dogra rulers for they were licensed to move ‘freely’ for flesh trade. Called as the ‘regrettable women of improper character’ who ‘were allowed to visit freely to the English visitors,’<sup>47</sup> these women faced tremendous risk of being caught as ‘Dogra agents’ apart from being violated sexually to which effect they paid heavy tax to Dogra Maharaja. Quoting the authority of Malik Kutub-din, the source, tells us that prostitutes were used by Maharaja Ranbir Singh as spies on English visitors<sup>48</sup> On the 18th of June, 1916, E. J. Sandys, a missionary visitor to Kashmir, wrote to the British Resident in Kashmir, expressing his dissatisfaction: ‘In returning my pass for travelling in Kashmir, may I be permitted to state that our enjoyment in the beauties of Kashmir would have been much greater many shreds of evidence of the abominable custom of procuring women, who were*

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<sup>46</sup>Brinckman A, (1973). ‘*The Wrongs of Kashmir*’ in S. N. Gadru, ed., *Kashmir Papers: British Intervention in Kashmir*, Srinagar: Free thought Literature Company, P.31-32

<sup>47</sup> Ibid

<sup>48</sup>F. Henvey's Revised Note on the Famine in Kashmir (1877-80), NAI, Foreign Department, Secret-E, March 1883, No. 86

*openly offered to visitors to Kashmir<sup>49</sup>. He also expressed hope that the state government would put an end to it”.*

The tragic plight of these prostitute women is heart-touching. Dogra rulers, who displayed tremendous greed for money and, as such, tolerated anything that received income regardless of its social implications, paid little heed to the welfare of the prostitute. The tax imposed on prostitution was not spent on the benefit of women. There was scarcely any hospital in Kashmir where ill prostitutes, who had been afflicted by diseases such as syphilitic diseases, could receive adequate care. In 1877-79, a total of 1,297 patients were admitted to Srinagar Mission Hospital for care. Among them, 2516 patients had 'venereal diseases,' most of them prostitutes<sup>50</sup>. After their death, their property was taken by the Dogra government<sup>51</sup>.

The activities of Christian missionaries on women emancipation from these evils were strongly opposed by the police, government and the goons who enjoyed the vulnerability of the prostitutes and the influential people involved in this evil practice. In order to suppress their voice, several false cases were registered against them in several courts of Srinagar. But all these intimidating attacks could not succeed to bow down the crusader, some notable among them were members from the Church Mission Society and Rev Tyndale Biscoe, the doyen of education in Kashmir<sup>52</sup>. Due to their persuasion, seven hundred people from all the sections of the society supported them and submitted a memorandum seeking a ban on prostitution to then district magistrate, Srinagar.

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<sup>49</sup> Jammu and Kashmir Archives (JKA), Political department, File No. 134/K-17 of 1916. P. 106

<sup>50</sup> F. Henvey's Revised Note on the Famine in Kashmir (1877-80), NAI, Foreign Department, Secret-E, March 1883, No. 86

<sup>51</sup> Qadri S. A, (1988). *Biscoe in Kashmir*, Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, P.02

<sup>52</sup> Biscoe T, (2003). *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: Autography*, Srinagar: Jay Kay Books, P.38

Over the years, the altruistic efforts of many Missionaries and notable social reformer Subhan Hajam paid off when the State Assembly passed a law known as "The Suppressing Immoral Traffic in Women Regulation XI of 1991 in 1934 A.D"<sup>53</sup>. The act resulted in the official closure of all brothels in the Kashmir Valley. Persons who kept, operated, or permitted the use of any place as a brothel, or procured women or girls for prostitution, or lived off the earnings of prostitutes, or trafficked in women and children, were all subject to the Act's penalties. Those who solicited in public places encouraged or assisted in the seduction or prostitution of minor girls were also punished<sup>54</sup>.

The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society established a Zenana hospital in Srinagar during Neve's (Arthur's) reign. In 1887<sup>55</sup> Miss Hull and Miss Butler, the first woman medical missionary to be sent to India were two accomplished English missionary ladies sent to Kashmir<sup>56</sup>. Miss Reinsford and Miss Newman joined them a year later. They rented a small dispensary in the city, and five patients came in on the first day, August 5, 1888. Within a year, the number of patients visiting the dispensary had risen to 5,000, with up to 200 patients visiting on any given day<sup>57</sup>. As the dispensary's popularity grew, the missionaries decided to open a hospital in an adjacent house. The Bishop of Lahore opened John Bishop Memorial Hospital in Mundar Bagh in June 1890<sup>58</sup>. Mrs. Kate Knowles, Miss Irene Petrie, and Miss Robinson, all of whom contributed greatly to the cause of women's health, were also given Kashmir by the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CEZMS).

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid

<sup>54</sup> J & K Information (JKI) (issued by the Bureau of Information, His Highness's Govt. March 1947) P.10-11

<sup>55</sup> The CEZMS history in Kashmir is dated from 1886 when Mrs. Ralha Ram, daughter of a wellknown Indian clergy, entered Kashmir as an honorary worker.

<sup>56</sup> Carus-Wilson, A. (1993). *Missionary to Kashmir*: Irene Petrie.P. 125.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. P. 127.

As a result, missionaries were instrumental in alleviating women's misery and saving thousands of lives during natural disasters. People's views changed when they understood the advantages of allopathic medicine.

In Rainawari, the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society Hospital was founded in 1908. For her work at this hospital, Elizabeth Mary Newman was called the "Florence Nightingale of Kashmir" by Tyndale-Biscoe. In 1936, the CEZMS Hospital underwent substantial renovations<sup>59</sup>.

Christian missionaries not only founded many women's hospitals, but they also influenced government and private institutions to pay heed to women's health. The first Kashmir State Dispensary was established in the late 1860s, probably as an indirect result of the Kashmir Medical Mission's work. The State Medical Service was to be the forerunner of this. According to Walter Lawrence, the state had "one excellent hospital in Srinagar and six dispensaries, three of which are located in the districts" in 1895. Lawrence also stated that excellent surgical instruments were being manufactured in Kashmir in the late 19th century and that many of the instruments used in the State Hospital were made locally.

The Diamond Jubilee Zenana Hospital in Nawakadal was built in 1897 to commemorate Queen Victoria's 60th year in power. The State Hospital's Obstetrics and Gynecology Facilities were transferred here. The Govt Girls College for Women Nawakadal Srinagar is currently situated on the riverbank of the former Diamond Jubilee Zenana Hospital<sup>60</sup>.

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<sup>59</sup>Biscoe T, (2003). *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: Autography*, Srinagar: Jay Kay Books.

<sup>60</sup> Directorate of Health services Kashmir, <https://www.dhskashmir.org/history.php> Accessed on 29/11/2020.

Essentially, western culture allowed women to leave their homes to work alongside men. Women in Kashmir, like women in other parts of the world, were affected by these changes. Women were handled differently until recently, depriving them of their rights while reminding them of their obligations<sup>61</sup>. Women began to obtain education and demonstrated an interest in political and technical fields. They started to emerge from the domestic realms and take professional positions outside of their homes, in addition to other fields of social life. This assisted them in recognizing their potential, broadening their horizons, and discovering new meaning in their lives. The traditional position of a housewife gradually gave way to the dual and more satisfying role of skilled working wife and thus housewife<sup>62</sup>.

The shift can be seen in terms of advancement in rank, growth, mobility, and accomplishment, all of which point to women's emancipation. In the fields of education, career, diet, and health, women have undergone major changes. They are now seeking careers and professions that were historically dominated by men<sup>63</sup>. As a result, a growing number of women have not only moved out of their conventional positions to join the workforce but have also slowly and gradually made inroads into the predominantly male bastion<sup>64</sup>.

During Dogra period health care in Kashmir received little attention from the state and was based on traditional lines. It was only with the influx of Medical Missionaries in second half of nineteenth century, the need for separate and modern health care facilities was acknowledged. Though, ostensibly missionaries aimed to serve the suppressed masses that were caught in a vicious cycle of ignorance,

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<sup>61</sup>Dabla, B. A. (1991). *Working women in Kashmir*. Jaipur, Rawat Publications. P.27

<sup>62</sup>Ibid P. 15

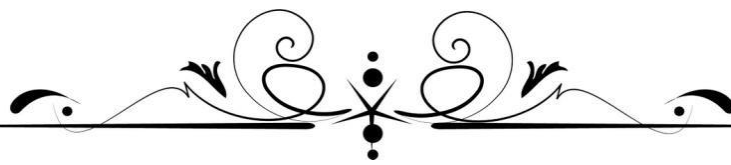
<sup>63</sup>Mir, G. Q. (2001). *Women workders and the law*. Srinagar: Valley Book House, P. 3.

<sup>64</sup>Manorama Year Book, (2006). *Careers for women*. Kottayam Malayala Manorama Press, P. 472.

backwardness, state oppression, poverty, basically aimed at evangelization of Kashmir through noble deeds like education and Medicine. No doubt, they miserably failed in conversion but they left an indelible mark in health and medicine sector and liberated the masses from the shackles of diseases and death to great extent. Therefore, it is not surprising that not only the state backed their initiatives later, but people irrespective of caste, creed and gender, thronged their dispensaries, hospitals where they received free advice, check-up, and medicine. Thus, medical missionaries did a splendid job by not only improving the condition of the common masses but also by laying the foundation of modern medicine in Kashmir which has gone a long way in shaping the future course of health in Kashmir.

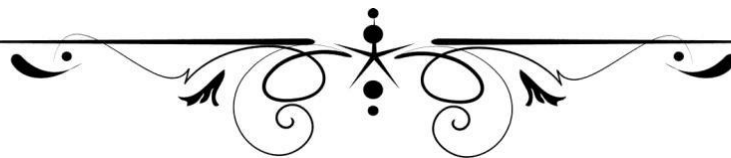
Christian Missionaries did a wonderful job to develop and consolidate the modern health care system in Kashmir and we can call them crusaders for women' in Srinagar. With time the response of the people towards modern medical care was continuously increasing day by day and the recognition of western medicine reached its climax.

In a nutshell, the study demonstrates that the Dogras treated Kashmiris, especially women, as dumb-driven cattle in all fields including political, social, educational, and health. Many people in Kashmir should be credited, especially the role played by Christian missionaries in raising awareness about prostitution centers, which eventually led to the abolition of the flesh trade in Kashmir in 1934 as a result of their tireless efforts.



# *CHAPTER V*

## *Conclusion*



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## Chapter V

### Conclusion

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*“A woman is the mother of the nation and the country where the Mother is well cultured, healthy and well-educated is bound to prosper”<sup>1</sup>*

(Mahatma Gandhi).

The research undertaken in this study has been mainly to examine the coming of the Christian missionaries into the Princely state of Jammu & Kashmir and their subsequent activities during the late nineteenth century. It is also an attempt to determine the extent to which the Christian Missionarie’s activities have influenced the Kashmiris society particularly the Kashmiri women by the introduction of colonial modernity through various agencies. This has been done by studying the pre-Christian Kashmiri society on one hand, and on the other hand researching to what extent missionaries succeeded in emancipating women of Srinagar which was the center of activities.

Christian missionary intervention into the remote areas especially Kashmir valley is being considered as an initial step of transformation towards the betterment of society in general and women in particular. An acceptable estimate is that they were the precursors of positive change in Kashmir. Missionaries, who visited Kashmir valley keenly observed the Kashmiri Society from ancient times up to the advent of Christian Missionaries and highlighted that Women in Kashmir experienced rising fortunes. They argued that, in ancient times there was no field of social activity in

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<sup>1</sup> Avinashilingam, T. S. (1960). Gandhiji's experiments in education. New Delhi : Ministry of Education, Govt. of India. P.12-15

which they have not participated with their man folk. But change did not proceed forever, the glory did not last indefinitely, and they were eventually stripped of the privileges they had previously enjoyed.

This study clearly reveals that before the coming of Christian Missionaries to Kashmir Dependency, low social status, and suffering have long been associated with women in traditional Kashmiri society. The male members have exposed them to racial discrimination and systemic exploitation. Women used to be victims of widespread illiteracy, segregation, polygamy, marriage with an inappropriate player, and total denial of individuality on a personal level. Women were subjected to economic dependency, a heavy domestic workload, a lack of career and mobility, and non-recognition of their economic contribution, as well as being assigned to degrading tasks. Women faced repression, unfair and inferior status in society, as well as deprivation of rights in their own homes. As a result, in traditional Kashmiri society, women were seen as frail and emotionally reliant on men. Meanwhile, research indicates that women are not viewed similarly to men on a social basis and are not permitted to engage fully in social life.

Women began to re-emerge in social life with the introduction of missionaries, as missionaries encouraged colonial modernity among women through various agencies such as Modern Medicine and Education. Christian Missionaries entered Kashmir valley during the reign of the very first ruler of the *Dogra* dynasty Gulab Singh. An initial journey was made by R. Clark and Col Martin in 1854 to explore Kashmir for missionary activities and gradually made Srinagar as the center of their activities. They greatly helped to the emancipation of Kashmiri Women & considerably improved the quality of family life. Missionaries enlightened Kashmiri

women to the live life of dignity & responsibility. They left no stone unturned for attracting the girls to their schools and established many hospitals exclusively for women in the premises of Srinagar. Towards the close of the Dogra rule, the impact of female education and the nature of empowerment that the missionaries earned for the women in Kashmir can be seen in different parts of the Srinagar city.

Kashmiri women had a marginalized educational status. The education they got was primarily religious in nature. There were two types of schools prevalent in Kashmir, *Madrassa* among Muslims and *Patshala* among Hindus. *Madrassa* were attached with mosques and only *Quranic* education was taught. In the same way, *Patshalas* were attached with temples where the medium of instruction was Sanskrit so that pundit boys and girls could read Hindu sacred texts. Thus education based on modern lines was possible only with the advent of Christian missionaries in Kashmir. The state of education among Kashmiri women in general, was not encouraging. There were, in reality, several particular (social and economic) factors working against women's education progressing faster and further. To begin with, the *pardah* scheme was a major impediment to female education. It prevented women, particularly those in their adolescent years, from attending school. Secondly, parents' reluctance to send their daughters to school was due to the fact that they were expected to work in the house and assist their mothers, particularly if they had a large family to care for. Parent's reluctance was also apparent when they withdrew their daughters from schools as soon as they reached a certain age. The tradition of marrying young promoted this action. The conservative mindset of the citizens, as well as their general indifference to female education, was the third and most important factor. Because of their ignorance and superstition, the women of Kashmir inhibited development more than the men. They were much more influenced by

materialist and ignorant priests than the men were. The insecurity of parents was one of the economic obstacles to women's education. Parents could not afford to spend money on their children's education, and when they had to choose between their son's education and their daughter's education, they chose to spend money on their son's education over their daughter's education, which they found more important economically. Parents claimed that a boy's job was to earn money for the family, so he needed to be educated. The girl, on the other hand, was not expected to work because her position in life was to marry, build a home, and raise a family.

Parents were opposed to girls having an education, claiming that education was not needed for a girl to fulfill her position as a wife and mother. Her mother was expected to provide her with such domestic education at home.

The selfless service rendered by the missionaries not only won the confidence of people to send their wards to school but also encouraged them to provide space for schools in Srinagar for women particularly. It is being said that there was not a single school in Kashmir prior to Christian missionaries that could have imparted modern education to women. The medical service rendered by missionaries had a deep influence even on the uneducated and bigoted ones who could hardly deny it. Helping people at the time of calamities and serving them with their highly advanced medicines proved fruitful. This highly needed medical service opened doors for them in the heartland of the city. Thus their work although difficult, in some aspects was not without its touch of humor. It was through this kindness and skill that won their reputation in Kashmir. In this way, medical services increased the credibility of missionaries among people and prepared the ground for western education among women of Srinagar. Furthermore, the role of the Christian mission ladies in making

girl's education possible in Kashmir, which had previously been completely ignored not only at the local level but also at the national level, cannot be overlooked. Finally, women from the lower strata of the Muslim community took the lead in the liberation movement, even sacrificing their lives for the greater good. In the last step, we saw a change in the women's attitudes toward life. As a result, women, like their men, played an important role in resisting the international yoke.

In the nutshell, the research shows that in all fields like political, social and educational, the successive dynasties including Mughals, Afghans, Sikhs and Dogras treated Kashmiris especially women folk as dumb driven cattle. Moreover, the condition of women further worsened during Dogra Period who not only silenced the voice of women but were actively promoting women traffic and prostitution in many parts of Srinagar. Many organizations, especially Christian missionaries, and some individuals, such as Subhan Naid (Barber), raised their voices against prostitution centers, which eventually led to the abolition of the flesh trade in Kashmir in 1934 as a result of their tireless efforts.

Due to the prevalence of social taboos and orthodoxy among the various social classes, Christian missionaries propelled by proselytizing zeal brought a remarkable change in the outlook of the elite, accompanied by the education of women, though on a very small scale. Nonetheless, pro-female education recommendations from various commissions formed from time to time, as well as government policies, played a significant role in the spread of modern education among women.

The educational advancements imparted by the missionaries have brought drastic changes in the lives of the poor people of Kashmir. Those women folk who were confined to their houses were encouraged by the missionaries to come out of the

shell. The womenfolk, who were uneducated, were given a chance to get the blessings of education. Those empowered thus continued the services of the missionaries by becoming teachers, doctors, engineers and officers. They realized their position and shot to key positions in society. The women folk who were once deprived of their rights have come to the forefront now to fight for their rights. They are now claiming almost equal rights with men in all fields. The subjugation of women and male chauvinism has been gradually waning from society. In Jammu & Kashmir tradition especially in Srinagar polygamy was a common feature. But now women have put stiff resistance against the dictatorial temper of men. All these have been questioned because of the steps taken by the Christian missionaries through their educational services. Women who studied in the schools established by the women missionaries have become highly qualified and they have begun to clamor for their rights which have been denied for a long time.

Christian Missionaries brought marked changes in the socio-economic structures of the Princely State of Jammu & Kashmir. Its impact on women's education and health system is crucial as the latter acted as a driving force behind the various lasting changes that Srinagar witnessed. Despite the fact that there is admirably growing research in the field of women empowerment in the princely state of Jammu & Kashmir, sufficient light has not been shed on women's emancipation through Missionaries.

For decades, women's position in society remained unchanged. From the early decades of the twentieth century, it is thought that the conditions in Kashmir, in general, and the conditions of Kashmiri women, in particular, began to improve. Due to exposure to various wider viewpoints and overall modernization of communities,

open challenges to strengthen the status of women began to change the situation. Essentially, western culture allowed women to leave their homes to work alongside men. Women in Kashmir, like women in other parts of the world, were affected by these changes.

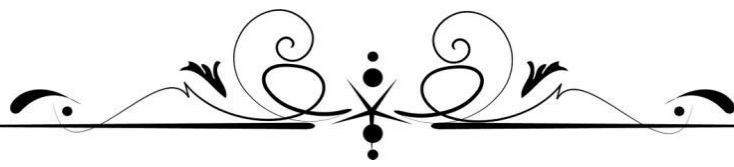
Finally, we cannot imagine an egalitarian society in the new global age, which is full of obstacles, without quality education and a proper health-care system. In reality, depriving a population of quality education, which is an essential predictor of growth, not only results in educational exclusion but also closes doors to a variety of opportunities. As a result, there is an urgent need to make education and health care available to all members of our society's underprivileged groups so that they can benefit from growth. By comparing the educational progress and health standard of Srinagar Kashmir with the rest of the states, one gets the impression that the growth, even after independence, has been sluggish for Kashmir. With the question as to what happened during these more than 70 years after India's independence and the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to the Indian union, which led to the slow growth of education and health system particularly for women's in the state in terms of both quality and quantity, needs to be thoroughly probed to arrive at reasonable solutions. I hope my dissertation would aid such a prospective researcher by providing the platform of the historical background to Women's condition and their emancipation by Missionaries in Srinagar City. Some of the major findings of the study are:

- ❖ Christian missionary intervention into the remote areas especially Kashmir valley is being considered as an initial step of transformation towards the betterment of

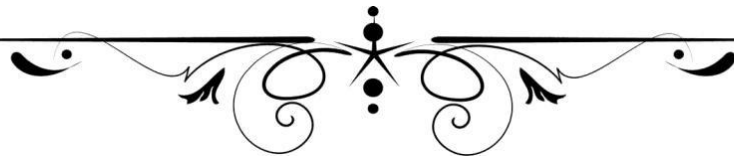
the society in general and women in particular. An acceptable estimate is that they were the precursors of positive change in Kashmir.

- ❖ The research shows that in all fields like political, social and educational, the successive dynasties including Mughlas, Afghans, Sikhs and Dogras treated Kashmiris especially women folk as dumb driven cattle. With the arrival of Christian Missionaries in Kashmir in late nineteenth century, women began to re-emerge in society as they promoted colonial modernity through various agencies (i.e. modern education and medicine) among women of Srinagar.
- ❖ Christian Missionaries were opposed initially by both Dogra rulers and orthodox community of Hindus & Muslims, the medical service rendered by missionaries had a deep influence even on the uneducated and bigoted ones who could hardly deny it. Helping people at the time of calamities and serving them with their highly advanced medicines proved fruitful. This highly needed medical service opened doors for them in the heartland of the city of Srinagar.
- ❖ Before the arrival of Christian Missionaries in Srinagar, there was not a single school for women's that could impart modern education, However, there were some indigenes schools like Pathshalas and Madrasas housed in temples, Although they were both religious in character, Missionaries opened several schools exclusively for women's on modern lines, where apart from religious knowledge their curriculum was mainly covering the subjects like, English, Mathematics, Nature study and general knowledge.
- ❖ Dogra state never considered female education as their priority it was the constant pressure of Missionaries that some grants were provided to female education in Ranbir singh's time.

- ❖ Works of Christian missionaries' influences not only the government but several other social reforming organizations took female education as their prime concern, mentioned may be Anjuman-I-Nusratul-Islam founded by Rasool Shah who was popularly known as Sir Syed of Kashmir.
- ❖ Women in Srinagar during Dogra regime were abused in number of ways including Prostitution and Devdasi; surprisingly it was legal under Dogra regime, who encouraged this evil practice because they were getting 15-25 percent of revenue from registrations of Prostitutes. Christian Missionaries strongly opposed this evil and their efforts bear fruits when the state assembly passed an act in 1934 which declared it as evil and seeks ban on it.
- ❖ Dogra rulers neglected the health care system particularly for women's in Kashmir, it was the missionaries who take this as their moral responsibility to establish many hospitals in Srinagar city exclusively for women's mentioned maybe the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society Hospital in Rainawari, Zenana Hospital in Srinagar and many more.
- ❖ Christian Missionaries brought marked changes in the socio-economic structures of the Princely State of Jammu & Kashmir. Its impact on women's education and health system is crucial as the latter acted as a driving force behind the various lasting changes that Srinagar witnessed.
- ❖ Christian Missionaries actively supported the struggle launched against the Dogra rule by women of Srinagar in first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, that is why Dogra government were against their (Christian missionaries) deep penetration into society.



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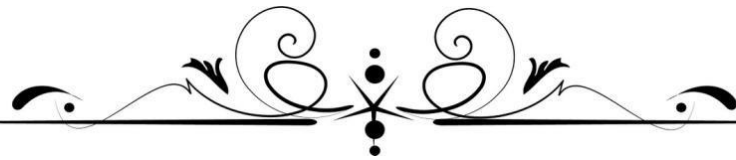
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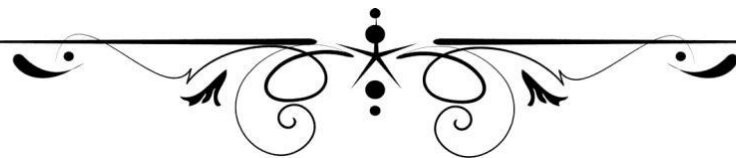
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# *APPENDIX-I*

## *List of Tables & Figures*



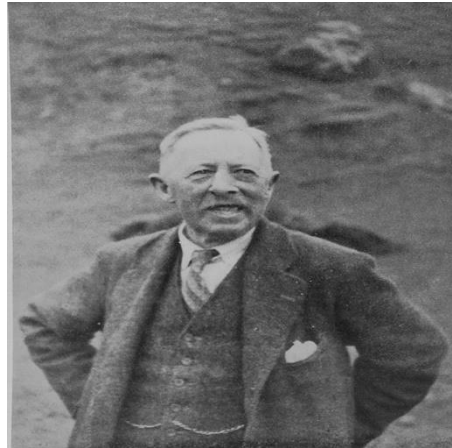
## *Appendix I*

Missionaries who visited and helped Kashmiris from 1854-1947

Year	Name
1854	Rev. R Clark and Col Martin
1864	Rev. R Clark, and Mrs. Clark
1865	Rev. W. Smith
1865	Rev. A. Brinckman
1865	Rev. W.G Cowie
1870	Rev. W.T. Storrs
1871	Rev. T.V French
1875-83	Rev. T.R. Wade
1892	Rev. H. E. Perkins
1896	Mr. G.W Tyandale- Biscoe
1899	Mr. A.B Tyndale
1899	Rev. C.I'E. Burges

Source: Missionary to Kashmir: Irene Petrie, P.No. 188

**Fig. No 1.1**



**Tyndale Biscoe**

Source: Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir, *Autobiography* by Shafi Ahmad Qadri, 2003.

Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir, who played a significant role in transforming the women of Srinagar through educational activities.

**Fig. No 1.2**



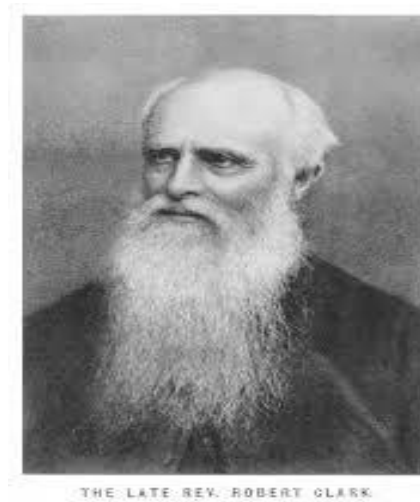
**William Elmslie**

Source: Inspirational people and care for the deprived:

Medical missionaries in Kashmir by NA Mir, V Connell Mir, Published online March 2008.

William Elmslie was a surgeon who performed surgeries under and helped Kashmiris.

**Fig. No 1.3**



**Robert Clark**

Source: Missionary to Kashmir: Irene Petrie, P.No. 188  
Robert Clark was the first Missionary to Kashmir. Who along with his wife visited Kashmir in 1854 to explore the valley for missionary activities.

**Fig. No 1.4**



**Neve brothers : Dr. Arthur Neve & Dr. Ernest F Neve**

Source: Inspirational people and care for the deprived:  
Medical missionaries in Kashmir by NA Mir, V Connell Mir, Published online March 2008.

Neve brothers were famous for medical help in Kashmir.

**Fig. No 1.5**



Source: The History of Healthcare in Kashmir,  
<https://www.dhskashmir.org/history.php>

**The Mission Hospital in Kashmir - 1912**

**Fig. No 1.6**



Source: The History of Healthcare in Kashmir,  
<https://www.dhskashmir.org/history.php>

**The Mission Hospital at Drugjan**

**Fig. No 1.7**



Source: The History of Healthcare in Kashmir,  
<https://www.dhskashmir.org/history.php>

**Boat for transferring patients**

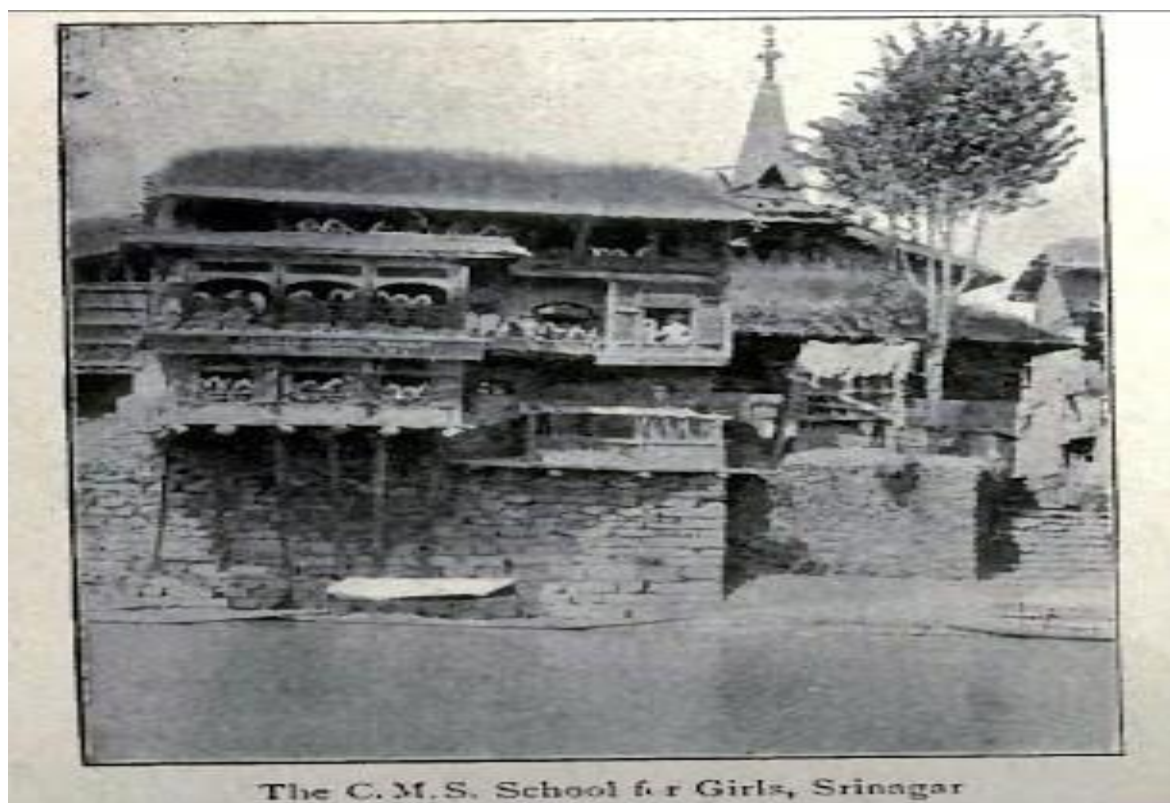
**Fig. No 1.8**



Source: The History of Healthcare in Kashmir,  
<https://www.dhskashmir.org/history.php>

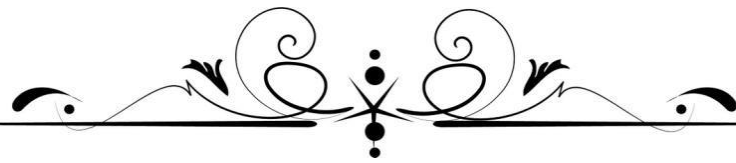
**Patients at the Mission Hospital**

Fig. No 1.9



Source: Khan, M. I. (1978). *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: a study in socio-cultural change.*

### The Christian School for Girl in Srinagar

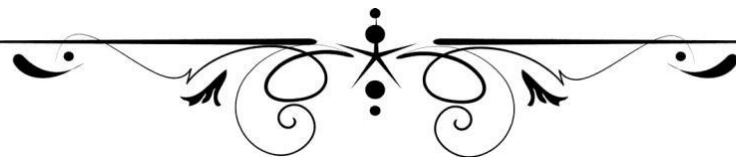


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*APPENDIX-II*

*Research Papers & Attended*

*Seminars*



# KALĀ

The Journal of Indian Art History Congress

## Certificate of Publication

Certificate of publication for the article titled:

**CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY INTERVENTION: A BOON  
FOR WOMEN'S IN KASHMIR**

Authored by

**Owais Ismaeil**

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Ambedkar University, Lucknow.*

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University Grants Commission

**Approved Journal**

## **CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY INTERVENTION: A BOON FOR WOMEN'S IN KASHMIR**

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### **Abstract**

Missionary intervention into the remote areas like Kashmir valley is being considered as an initial step of transformation towards the betterment of the society in general & women in particular. Despite of whatever their intentions were to extent the missionaries to this part of the world; there has been a significant transition recorded among the position of women in society<sup>1</sup>. Missionaries, who visited valley, keenly observed the society from ancient times up to the advent of several missionaries and highlighted that women in society experienced rising fortunes. Reports have demonstrated that during ancient period there was no field of social activity in which they have not participated with their man folk. However, the flow could not continue and there came a time when they were gradually deprived of the rights previously enjoyed by them<sup>2</sup>. With the influx of missionaries women have slowly started re-emerging in social life, as they have reportedly promoted colonial modernity among women's through various agencies<sup>3</sup>.

**Key Words:** Christian Missionaries, Women Emancipation, Modernity, Medical Health, Education.

### **Introduction**

Missionary movement presumes a group of people who take it as their moral responsibility to spread their faith to other parts of the globe. During British rule, the role of Christian missionaries was largely reflected in India. The missionary movement in India was a typical example of the tension between the current and the superimposing faith, as it is still witnessed in some parts of globe. Francis Xavier was the first person to serve as a missionary in India. Since Kashmir was a princely autonomous state, therefore missionary intrusion likely happened in later phase<sup>4</sup>. The modern state of Jammu and Kashmir was created by the Treaty of Amritsar on 16<sup>th</sup> March 1846 which was an offshoot of the Treaty of Lahore signed between British East India Company and Maharaja Gulab Singh<sup>5</sup>. Soon after the historic treaty of Amritsar, missionaries made their entrance to Kashmir during the reign of very first ruler of Dogra dynasty Gulab Singh, an initial journey by missionaries was made in 1854 to explore the Kashmir for missionary activities. They significantly contributed to the empowerment of Kashmiri women and also significantly increased the standard of family life.

It is a fact that social reforms to a certain degree are based on the involvement of progressive women with opportunities & responsibility in social relations for their success<sup>6</sup>. The Kashmiri women

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<sup>1</sup> Salam, A. (2015) *Towards the Dawn of Modernisation (Unpublished MPhil. Dissertation, University of Kashmir, Srinagar)*

<sup>2</sup> Shafi, A. (2002). *Working women in Kashmir: Problems and prospects. New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation.p.05*

<sup>3</sup> Khan, M. I. (2007). *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-cultural Change. Srinagar: Gulshan Books. p.151*

<sup>4</sup> Hopfe, L. M., & Woodward, M. R. (2009). *Religions of the World. Pearson Education. p.310*

<sup>5</sup> Shah, M. K. (2013). *Modern Kashmir. New Delhi: Dominant Publishers & Distributors.p 04-06*

<sup>6</sup> Clark, R. (2018). *A Brief Account of Thirty Years of Missionary Work of the Church Missionary Society in the Punjab Sindh : 1852 to 1882. Forgotten Books.P,100*

experienced different fortunes. Often times they got up as leaders in their own right, they were distinguished to the pinnacles of glory as the mighty queens, as peace and war diplomats, as the commanders of the armies, as builders and reformers, and as religious lore, and often they were substitutes of the minor princes. They've achieved fame in dancing and singing when they were at home, there was no field of social activity where they have not participated with their men folk. However, change did not have a steady flow, glory did not prove permanent, and many faces of ill-fate had to be met. Times came when they were slowly stripped of the privileges they had previously enjoyed and were subjected to mental and physical enslavement. Despite of all odds and during the slavery period they did not give up completely and tried to fought fearlessly against injustice.

With the dawn of modernism in Kashmir at the end of the 19th century, in order to contribute their share to the fight for independence and the restoration of their rights, women slowly began to re-emerge in social life<sup>7</sup>. The missionaries recognized this scenario and left no stone unturned. They came with the goals of social welfare and devised to put emphasis on new and modern developments including new political consciousness among the women, expansion of modern education, the spread of cultural consciousness, and widespread social awareness have generated a situation in which women are concerned about their position especially their role and status in and outside the family<sup>8</sup>.

### **The status of women in ancient Kashmir**

From the early days down to the 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Kashmiri women enjoyed remarkable independence, exercised sufficient authority and transparency, which gave them a high place in society. Members of both sexes experience the joys and sorrows of life equally. It can be said that woman's status in Kashmir was much greater than in the rest of India. Here, they had the chance to differentiate themselves in every area of social interaction. They emerged from the domestic to the political level and were free to own land and other immovable property, controlled their own estates, and even fought as generals and commanders at the head of the troops on the battlefields<sup>9</sup>. In social and political life, some women gained good positions that allowed them to exert considerable power, often forcing kings and nobles to bow before them<sup>10</sup>. As a matter of fact, the queens' political orientation began early in their lives, so that if there was no apparent heir to the throne, or the successor happened to be a minor, they might assume political positions. During the reigns of their indolent and fragile husbands, many queens, including Sughandha and the formidable Didda, were *de facto* sovereigns. Prior to assuming sovereign authority, they served as advisors of their minor sons. Once again during the critical historical era when Hindu rule came to an end and the Sultans took over, Kota Rani was the main figure<sup>11</sup>. There was a tradition that, at the moment of a king's coronation, the queens had to be present and participate actively in the ceremony<sup>12</sup>.

Although, the king was the sole ruler *de facto* no less *de jure* and his words were final, he still consulted/discussed with his queen the problems of vital importance. Without taking her advice, he could not make appointments for key roles. Even the questions of succession to the kingdom and the installation of a new prince on the throne are said to have eventually been resolved by Kashmir's strong-minded queens<sup>13</sup>.

Unfortunately, the studies are silent on the conditions of women having low social status, in the wreckage of time, their records lie frozen and unheard. It must be remembered that in Kashmir, as

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<sup>7</sup> Akhter, S. (2015). *Kashmir Women Empowerment and National Conference*. Srinagar: Jay Kay Books.P,60-63.

<sup>8</sup> Fakhar Bilal, F. A. (2020). *Church Mission Society and Reforms in Multan*. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*,p, 690-697.

<sup>9</sup> Pundit, R. (1935). *River Of Kings*. Allahabad: Indian Express.P-XXXIII.

<sup>10</sup> Bazaz, P. N. (1959). *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day*. Srinagar: Pamposh Publications. P, 2-3.

<sup>11</sup> Misri, K. (2002). *Kashmiri Women Down the Ages: A Gender Perspective*. *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies*, 6(3/4), 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>13</sup> Pundit, R. (1935). *River Of Kings*. Allahabad: Indian Express.P-XXXIII.

elsewhere, Hindu society followed customs and enacted laws that were unjust to women and did not give them the same rights as men enjoyed; they were treated as slaves. They were not given any schooling<sup>14</sup>. A legacy of the period is the unpleasant and gruesome tradition of 'sati'. Rajatarangini and other chronicles have stunning records of widowed queens.

In the midst of singing mantras, queens roast themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres<sup>15</sup>.

In ancient Hindu culture, widow remarriage was a taboo. During the years, imposed life-long widowhood continued and caused havoc with the lives of many young women. The widows lived their lives in extreme social, cultural, economic and psychological deprivation and were economically oppressed. In addition, while a man could marry as many women as he wanted. Women's violence has been expressed in many other ways, such as Prostitution and the Devdasis institution: women participating in services of the temples<sup>16</sup>. Later, Hindu culture became less liberal and rejected greater liberality. By the time of Smritis, to the beginning of the Christian period, while the unorthodox sets still accommodated for them, Vedic knowledge was closed to women<sup>17</sup>.

### **Position of Women under Muslim Rule**

In due course of time, the entire society of Kashmir underwent a significant transformation with the establishment of Muslim rule (1320-1819). Islam had a mixed package for Kashmiri women. The 'sati' elimination and adoption of widow remarriage, divorce and property rights have a positive influence on personal lives of women who have adopted Islam<sup>18</sup>. However, the public roles were withdrawn under this new privileged religion. Under Muslim rule the public sphere was constricted which made them inferior as a social being<sup>19</sup>. The Muslim queens retreated to the domestic sphere and could barely make their presence in public. The Muslim queens had no right to intervene and no authority to interfere in the affairs of the state by law, custom and tradition. They had to be contained within four walls of the house. The Purdah system was introduced in Kashmir by Muslim Rulers and women from all sections were supposed to hide their faces. The status of women was degraded, they were not able to enjoy the same position and status that men were enjoying. In addition, most women in Kashmir were denied the advantage of education and were taught to accept their subjection even to welcome it as a badge of honour<sup>20</sup>.

Although, Spread of Islam in Kashmir provided relief to the conditions of women but they were again thrown to darkness during Sikh reign. The Sikhs who succeeded the Muslims as the rulers of valley proved very tyrannical and cruel. For the brief period of almost twenty seven years (1819-1846), they impoverished the condition & position of women for their own interest<sup>21</sup>.

The primary aim of the Sikhs and Dogras was to loot the country, and to hold the Kashmiris in a state of repression and terror which deteriorated the position of women. <sup>22</sup>. The birth of a daughter was viewed as an unfortunate occurrence during the 19th century. It was considered a curse and long faces were drawn by the parents. The practice of early marriage has been widespread in the 19th century. Although, the common literature does not give us any definite clue that could enable us to determine the Kashmiri girl's actual marriageable age, but we can infer from countless folk expressions that during the

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<sup>14</sup> Qadri, S. A. (1988). *Biscoe in Kashmir*. Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers.P-85.

<sup>15</sup> Bazaz, P. N. (1959). *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day*. Srinagar: Pamposh Publications P, 208.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>17</sup> Basham, A. L., (1954). *The wonder that was India* London: Sidgwick and Jackson.P,178.

<sup>18</sup> Bazaz, P. N. (1959). *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day*. Srinagar: Pamposh Publications. P,14

<sup>19</sup> Jan, M. (2011). *Women Development in Kashmir*. Srinagar: Jay Kay Books. p,50-52.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>21</sup> Bazaz, P. N. (1959). *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day*. Srinagar: Pamposh Publications P,15-18.

<sup>22</sup> Khan, M. I. (2007). *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-cultural Change*. Srinagar: Gulshan Books

19th century, girls were getting married at the very early age. The child-marriage pattern was not only among Kashmiri Muslims, but the phenomenon was also in place among Kashmiri pundits<sup>23</sup>.

The sale of young Kashmiri girls in markets of Punjab & other British Provinces was both encouraged and protected by Dogra rulers in Kashmir. According to Robert Thorp, at the time of Ranbir Singh, the license granting permission to purchase a girl was approximately 100/= Chilkee Rupees<sup>24</sup>. Jammu and Kashmir was the only state in British India where prostitution was legally tolerated, promoted and was not declared as a criminal offense. The Maharaja received 15 to 25 percent of his state's entire revenue from the earnings of his licensed prostitutes in 1880. It is also said that in 1880, there were 18,715 government prostitutes in Kashmir. No attention was paid to the welfare of the prostitute, which was evident from the fact that 2,500 prostitutes suffering from sexually transmitted diseases were admitted to Mission Hospitals. Her property was confiscated by the government after the death<sup>25</sup>. Another suffering that these prostitutes have been exposed to such extend that they were unable to marry and establish themselves as respectable women<sup>26</sup>. F. Henvey, Kashmir's Special Duty Officer in 1880, writes that young English residents were interested in helping prostitution prosper, and the authorities made no attempt to curb it as it was a source of revenue for the state. The prostitutes of the Kashmir Valley were divided into three groups that included age, income, looks and cast contemplation of prostitutes and were taxed accordingly.

1 <sup>st</sup> Class	Company's Rs. 40 per annum
2 <sup>nd</sup> Class	Company's Rs. 20 per annum
3 <sup>rd</sup> Class	Company's Rs. 10 per annum

**Source:** *Mr. F. Henvey's Revised Note on the Famine in Kashmir (1877-80)*, NAI, Foreign Department, Secret-E, March 1883, No. 86.

Arthur Brickman, a European missionary who visited the valley of Kashmir, very sadly mentioned the selling of young girls and trafficking of women in his book *The Wrongs of Kashmir* (1868), in the following words:

*"The Maharaja of Kashmir openly backed the class involved in prostitution as revenue was generating from this offence"*

Meanwhile, Dogra state did not consider education for girls to be a priority or a liability. They were against the education of commoners, which was evident in the sense of missionary opposition<sup>27</sup>. In female literacy, there was no significant advancement until the close of the

Twentieth century. When Maharaja Hari Singh ascended the throne, a change in official policy was evident. Educational facilities for women have been expanded by the government and were upgraded & promoted by the results of missionary schools.

### **Christian Missionaries and Reform Agenda in Kashmir.**

For decades, the status of women has continued to remain the same. It is assumed that from late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the circumstances in Kashmir in general and Kashmiri women in particular began to improve. Open challenges to strengthen the status of women started to change the situation due to exposure to different wider viewpoints and the modernization of communities over all. Christian Missionaries who made their entry after treaty of Amritsar were desired to work on humanitarian basis to serve the downtrodden men & women in Kashmir<sup>28</sup>. Dogra rulers neglected the education and health condition of

<sup>23</sup> Bazaz, P. N. (1959). *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day*. Srinagar: Pamposh Publications

<sup>24</sup> Thorp, R. (1868). *Cashmere misgovernment*. Chapter Iv, P,35.

<sup>25</sup> Qadri, S. A. (1988). *Biscoe in Kashmir*. Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers.P,22.

<sup>26</sup> Bazaz, P. N. (1959). *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day*. Srinagar: Pamposh Publications

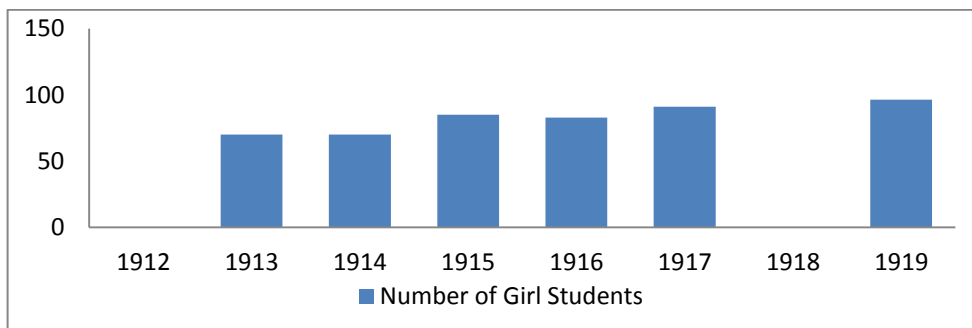
<sup>27</sup> Zutshi, C. (2003). *Languages of belonging: Islam, regional identity, and the making of Kashmir*. Delhi: Orient Blackswan.

<sup>28</sup> Bazaz, P. N. (1959). *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day*. Srinagar: Pamposh Publications

Women in Kashmir. It was the missionary who would take up this evangelic work to educate the women and provide them good health conditions. Their moral and material upliftment movement was imputed when the Church of England zanana missionary society decided to land in Kashmir to assist Kashmiri women, and soon after their arrival they opened the Rainawari hospital, which was exclusively for women. Miss Butler, Miss Erene Patric and Miss Robinson are among the female missionaries whose commitment to the cause of women's health deserves to be registered<sup>29</sup>.

Basically, Kashmiri women were encouraged by western culture to come out of their homes and start earning like men. The mass shift among Kashmiri women began at the beginning of the twentieth century, when missionaries penetrated deep into the state. The fearless missionaries, in the opposition of both the tyrant government of the Dogras and the superstitious elders of the Hindu and Muslim communities, performed the most difficult task of educating teen-age girls with amazing patience.

One of the consequences of Missionaries was encouraged to stimulate an aspect of private enterprise in education. In the advancement of girls' education in Kashmir, Christian missionaries played a leading role. As in the education of boys, it was none other than Christian Missionaries who began the girls' education experiment. It was somewhere between 1893 and 1895 that the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society opened a school for girls in Fateh Kadal, Srinagar<sup>30</sup>. Missionaries also helped individuals recognize the value of education for women. Miss Churchill Taylor, Miss Robinson, Miss Fitze, and Miss Mallinson were among the courageous personalities that made girls' education appropriate in Srinagar. A victorious chapter in the history of Kashmir's cultural revival is the tale of foreign missionaries fighting against male arrogance and mistrust<sup>31</sup>. "While commenting on the progress made by the girls' school, Mr. Biscoe said, "Girls' education is advancing far faster than that of boys at its inception, and I think the mothers of this growing generation have been educated. For the number of girls at the C.M.S. Girls School, Fateh Kadalal, the following statistical information is an indicative of success.



*Statistical Information of C.M.S. Girls School, Fateh Kadal from 1912-1920*

Year	Number of Girl Students
1912	Not Aavailable
1913	70
1914	70
1915	85
1916	83
1917	91
1918	100
1919	Not Aavailable

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>30</sup> Biscoe, C. T. (2005). *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*. Srinagar: Gulshan Books.p,245-46.

<sup>31</sup> Bazaz, P. N. (1959). *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day*. Srinagar: Pamposh Publications p. 213.

1920	70
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*Source: MI Khan, History of Srinagar*

The table testifies to the rising number of students between 1913 and 1918, but shows that in 1920 the number dropped to 70. Perhaps this was due to Miss Fitze's deteriorating health during her last years of life. During the time of Miss Mallinson as principal, the C.M.S. Girls School underwent a dramatic change (1922-1961). It was Miss Mallinson who was instrumental in fostering adequate educational and cultural development among Kashmiri women. The school became a centre of cultural events under her inspiring leadership<sup>32</sup>. Mission schools have significantly helped to emancipate Kashmiri women. The quality of family life has been greatly enhanced through the activities of missionaries.

Women have been viewed on a separate basis until recently, depriving them of their rights but reminding them of their duties. But the role of women changed with the changing times, from just a child bearing and nurturing machine to the bread earner as well. Not only have new roles for women arisen as a result of the work of missionaries in the fields of education and medical health, but new social norms and values have also developed. The women began to obtain training and showed interest in the political and technical sectors. In addition, they started to come from the domestic spheres in the other fields of social living and took professional positions outside their homes. Missionaries have helped them understand their ability, widen their viewpoint, and establish a new definition for themselves. The traditional position of a housewife gradually developed at the same time into the dual and more satisfying role of a competent working wife and housewife. The shift can be seen in terms of change in status, growth and mobility, all of which points towards women's emancipation. A new world of business opportunities for women has been opened by education, medical health and economic liberalization. This played a major role in helping the women in Kashmir<sup>33</sup>.

### **Conclusion**

In Kashmir, the status and role of woman has witnessed a drastic change from time to time. Christian missionaries played a crucial role in uplifting women. Many of the services given by the Missionaries to Kashmir, including education and health, have brought immense transformation in social, cultural and political outfit of the general people and women in particular over time. The Christian Missionaries' influence has left a long-lasting impression that many of their established structures are now reflected by the Cosmo polis of the city and suburban areas along with the idea of providing equal opportunities. The missionaries have greatly helped women folks to understand their ability, widen their viewpoint, and establish a new definition for themselves and for their emancipation.

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<sup>32</sup> Khan, M. I. (2007). *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-cultural Change*. Srinagar: Gulshan Books

<sup>33</sup> *Manorama Year Book(2006), Careers for women, Malayala Manorama Press, Kottayam P, 472.*


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