

**SOME ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF
JAMMU AND KASHMIR, 1885—1940**

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

SHABNUM GREWAL

**CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067
1989**



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

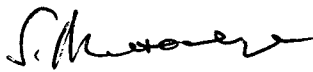
NEW DELHI-110067

Centre for Historical Studies
Chairperson

C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled "SOME ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR, 1885-1940" submitted by Ms. Shabnum Grewal, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy degree of this University, is an original work, and has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


(S. BHATTACHARYA)
SUPERVISOR


CHAIRPERSON

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to my supervisor, Prof. S.Bhattacharya, who guided and encouraged me throughout. His suggestions went a long way in making this study a little less inadequate.

I wish to thank our Chairpersons, Dr.K.N.Panikkar and Dr.R.Champaklakshmi.

I take this opportunity to thank the staff of the Jammu Archives and Ranbir Library, Jammu who helped to find the materials required.

I am grateful to my parents, brother, sister, Anto and Candy for their silent encouragement and moral and financial support.

I am thankful to all my friends, generally for everything. I wish to thank Nicholas for all those moments of light-heartedness.

I thank Mr. Arun Bhardwaj for typing my manuscript with great patience and efficiency.

I take full responsibility for the drawbacks of the study.

Shabnum Grewal
(SHABNUM GREWAL)

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1	
J & K -- A BRIEF OUTLINE	5
1.1 Ecology	5
1.2 Method of Cultivation	13
1.3 Irrigation	19
1.4 Production	27
CHAPTER 2	
AGRICULTURE	33
2.1 Land Revenue Policy of the Government	33
2.2 Land Tenure	41
2.3 Assessment : Case Study of Ranbir Singh Pura tehsil	45
2.4 Land Holdings	49
2.5 Agricultural Indebtedness	52
2.6 State Promotion of Agriculture	57
CHAPTER 3	
INDUSTRY	65
3.1 Textile Industries	66
3.2 Cottage Industries	93
3.3 New Industries	100
3.4 The Industrial Policy of the Government	101
CONCLUSION	105
BIBLIOGRAPHY	109

INTRODUCTION

The justification of undertaking 'Some Aspects of the Economic History of Jammu and Kashmir, 1885-1940', for study lies in the fact that during this period some very interesting changes were experienced in the economy of the State. It covers the reign periods of Maharaja Pratap Singh and his successor and last ruler of the State, Maharaja Hari Singh.

The economy of the State, from its very inception, was a stagnant one, continuing on the same lines as the Sikh rule. The general condition of the people was deplorable. There was no fixed land revenue settlement. This period saw the decline of one of the most flourishing industries, namely, the shawl industry. Taxation system was very heavy. It was said that everything except air and water was taxed.

Sir W.R.Lawrence's "Valley of Kashmir", has been a useful guide for studying the economic condition of the early part of the period under review. He has given a vivid account of the agricultural production, the old revenue system and the new one introduced by him, and the industries and occupations. Most of the subsequent literature is based on the information supplied by him.

A published thesis deals quite effectively with the woollen, silk and cotton textile industries of the State. It is based on personal investigations, reports of the Revenue Department and the Sericulture Department, and questionnaires issued officially to the concerned parties.

A dissertation has dealt with the agricultural production and land revenue demand from 1846-1900.

However, most of the literature and the recent research works are confined to the province of the Kashmir. Very little work has been done on the period after 1925. Thus, I had to depend on the Census Reports, the Annual Administrative Reports and the Assessment Reports.

It was after the first Sikh War that Gulab Singh offered to the pay indemnity imposed on the Sikhs and got the province of Kashmir in exchange. He had already been granted the sanad of Jammu, in 1822, by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Thus, was formed independent State of Jammu and Kashmir in 1846.

The British Government was very keen to install a British Resident in Srinagar. The Maharaja steadfastly refused. He, however, agreed to the appointment of an Officer on Special

(1) M.Ganjoo, Textile Industries in Kashmir (J & K State) (Published Ph.D thesis), Premier Publishing Co. and Publishers, Delhi, 1945.

(2) R.L.Hangloo, Agrarian System of Kashmir, unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, J.N.U., N.Delhi.

Duty for the summer months to exercise a check on the excesses committed by the British tourists. His successor, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, also thwarted the attempts of the British.

After his death, the British Government took the first opportunity of establishing a British Residency in Srinagar. Maharaja Pratap Singh was accused of being in league with Russia and Dalip Singh and wanting to murder the British Resident, his brothers and one of his queens. He signed the Irshad or Edict of Resignation in November 1889. Though his powers were restored later on, the British never ceased to interfere in the affairs of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Other than political interference, the British influence was felt in all the spheres of the economy. It would be beyond the scope of this dissertation to study all the changes brought about. I have made an attempt to study two aspects, namely, agriculture and industry.

This dissertation is divided into three main chapters.

The first chapter gives a brief outline of the State, its ecology, population, irrigation, methods of cultivation and the agricultural production.

The second chapter deals with agriculture. The focus is on the land revenue policy, the land tenure, land holdings, indebtedness and the State promotion of agriculture.

The third chapter is on industry, namely, the textile industries, cottage and large scale industries and the industrial policy of the Government.

CHAPTER 1.

J & K -- A General Outline

The territories of the Maharaja of Kashmir, known as Riasat-i-Kashmir, was bounded on the North by some petty hill chiefships and by the Karakoram mountains : on the East by Chinese Tibet, on south and west by the district of Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Gujrat, Sialkot in Punjab, and Hazara country. Lying between 32 17' and 36 58' North Latitude and 73 26' and 80 30' East Longitude, it covered an area of 84471 sq miles. It was the largest state in India about four Indian States of Mysore, Bikaner, Gwalior and Baroda put together.

1.1 Ecology

Physical Features

The Kashmir territory may be divided into north eastern section drained by the Indus and its tributaries ; and the south western section including the area drained by the Jhelum. The dividing line or watershed is formed by the great central mountain range which runs from Nanga Parbat, overhanging the Indus on north west, in a south westerly direction for about 240 miles.²

The south western section can again be divided into three sections. They are :--

- (1) Census of India, 1901, Vol XXIII, Kashmir. Part I Report, p. (i).
- (2) W.R. Lawrence, Provincial Gazetteer of Kashmir and Jammu, Rima Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985, p.12.

Outer Hills :-- Embracing a strip of the great plains from 5 to 15 miles wide, between the rivers Ravi and Jhelum, it is a tract of arid land. It is cut up by ravines which carry off the flood water of the monsoons. Bordering these plains are low hills varying from 2000 ft. to 4000 ft. running mainly in ridges parallel to the general line of the Himalayan chain. These are composed of sandstone, being a continuation of the Siwalik geological formation. In between the ridges are flat valleys called duns. Sparsely covered with scrub bushes, chir is generally found as the inner hills are reached.

Middle mountains :-- It forms the southern boundary of the Kashmir valley. It is called the Panjal range. The vegetation depends upon the altitude Himalayan oak, pine, spruce, silver fir, and deodar are the chief trees found here. Where trees do not flourish, the slopes are well covered with herbage except where rocks jut out.

Kashmir Valley :-- It is an open valley of considerable extent, surrounded by the mountains. In the north east is the great central range that divides the Indus and Jhelum drainage. In the south is the Panjal range.

North Eastern Section :- It lies between the great central chain on the south and the Karakoram range and its continuation on the north. It is drained by the Indus and its tributaries, the Shyok, the Zaskar, the Suru and the Gilgit rivers. The mountains attain a height of 16000 ft. to 20000 ft. The Karakoram

culminates in the great peak Godwin Austin. In the east are found long, open valleys bounded by comparatively low hills. In the west, the valleys deepen, while the bordering mountains are of the same height.

Central chain :-- It rises directly above the Indus and culminates in Nanga Parbat. From this point it runs in a south easterly direction, forming the watershed between the Indus and Kishanganga.³ Owing to their altitude there is perpetual snow and glaciers form in every valley.

Karokoram Chain :-- It is a continuation of the Hindu Kush. It forms the watershed between Central Asian drainage and the rivers flowing into the Arabian Sea. The head of every valley is the birth place of a glacier.⁴ The glaciers of importance are the Baltoro the Biafo, and the Hispar.

At the extreme north eastern limit lies the elevated plains of Lingzhithang. These plains, lying at an elevation of 16000 ft. to 17000 ft. above the sea level are geographically allied to the Tibetan plateau. All the rain drains into a series of salt lakes. There is little or no vegetation to be found here.

(3) *ibid*, p. 14

(4) *ibid*, p. 15

Agriculture : Local Condition

Owing to the great variations in altitude, the climate must necessarily be different for every region.

In inhabited places even, the variation is such that in the lower parts the people go about nearly unclad, in the higher, sheepskins are worn, and in some places the people are confined to their houses for seven months in the year by the snow.
5

The moisture content in the air causes much variety in the climate. Accordingly, four climatic divisions may be recognised :--

- (1) The outer hills and middle mountains where periodic rains prevail.
- (2) Kashmir, where rains do not reach, but there is rainfall enough for all crops, except rice, without irrigation.
- (3) The semi-Tibetan climate which embraces Astor, part of Gilgit and Baltistan. Here irrigation is necessary for all crops, the hill sides are bare except for a little forest.
- (4) A nearly rainless tract having a Tibetan climate. It includes the rest of Gilgit, the greater part of Baltistan, and all Ladakh. Irrigation is essential for all crops and the whole area is completely bare.
- (5) Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh together with routes in territories of Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, compiled under the direction of the Quater-Master General in India in the Intelligence Branch, Vivek Publishing House, New Delhi, 1974, p.25.

Owing to its system of rivers, Kashmir proper possesses a large area of alluvial soil, which may be divided into two classes, the new alluvial, found in the bays and deltas of the mountain rivers, and the old alluvial lying above the banks of the Jhelum, and extending as far as the karewa. The former is of great fertility as it is renewed every year by the silt from the mountains. The classes recognised are grutu (clayey soil), bahil (rich loam), sekil (light loam with sandy sub-soil), dezanland (low lying swamps), nambol (a rich peaty soil).⁶ The plateaus or the overhanging cliffs are called karewas. It is supposed that these formed the bed of the great lake once co-extensive with the present Jhelum valley.⁷ They are formed mostly of grutu, with varieties distinguished by colour. The most fertile is the dark blackish soil known as surhzamin, the red grutu is the next best, while the yellow soil is considered the worst of all.⁸

The province of Jammu may be divided into three main divisions. The hot-moist tracts of the plains and kandi hills, consist of soil which are of the same classes as exists in the tarai lands elsewhere in India. Above this tract come the

(6) Census of India, 1911, Vol XX, Kashmir. Part I Report., p.12.

(7) Marion Doughty, Afoot through the Kashmir valley, Sagar Publications, New Delhi, 1971, p.10.

(8) Provincial Gazetteer of Kashmir and Jammu, op.cit., p.45.

kandi table-lands of red loam, intermixed with shingle and stone, seamed with many channels (khadhs) which become roaring torrents for a few hours after a heavy rainfall but are otherwise dry. The slope of the land makes the drainage rapid. Rain causes a lot of erosion. The next belt includes the higher mountain surfaces with its prati lands, where the limestone beds either penetrate or are immediately beneath the surface of the soil, and cultivation is consequently precarious. ¹⁰ Too much rain causes water-logging and where there is a long spell of hot weather, the rock surface is heated which burns the roots of the crops and it withers.

Above the first limestone range lie the valleys and high hills, consisting of Basohli, Ramnagar, Udhampur, Naoshera, and a part of Reasi. The areas of prati lands are considerable. The higher uplands, including Bhadarwah, Kishtawar, ¹¹ part of Reasi, and Rampur Rajaori are cold countries and have ¹² all the character of the country beyond the Pir Panjal.

The soil of Ladakh is sandy. It needs careful manuring and nothing can be raised without irrigation.

According to the Census of 1921, about 82% of the total population was dependent on agriculture. About 7.4% were

(9) A local name for the Outer Hills. Translated it means 'edging'.

(10) Census of India, 1911, op. cit., p. 12.

(11) Provincial Gazetteer of Kashmir and Jammu, op. cit., p. 44.

(12) Census of India, 1911, op. cit., p. 12.

engaged in industry, only 3.3% were traders and public forces absorbed .7% of the population.

The proportion of earners in each occupation according to the Census of 1931 is given below :--

Proportion of earners in each occupation per 100 earners	State	Jammu Province	Kashmir Province	Frontier Districts
1. Exploitation of animals and vegetation	73.0	76	66	89
2. Exploitation of minerals	.1	-	-	-
3. Industry	9.0	8	14	1
4. Transport	1.0	1	2	-
5. Trade	4.0	4	4	1
6. Public force	1.1	1	1	1
7. Public administration	2.0	1	2	1
8. Professions of Liberal arts	2.0	1	2	2
9. Persons living on their income	.2	-	-	-
10. Domestic Service	4.1	4	5	4
11. Insufficiently Described occupation	2.5	2	3	-
12. Unproductive	1.0	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100

The Census of 1941 found very little changes.

The province of Jammu could not boast of any industrial occupations beyond the ordinary occupations of village
13
menials. The towns in this province, of which Jammu was the seat of government, carried on extensive trade in ghee, oil, grain and other necessities with the hilly tracts in the interior while Jammu answered besides, the requirements of the royal family, the civil and military establishments at the seat of the
14
government.

The province of Kashmir, mostly the urban population, was more advanced in industrial occupations chief among which were shawl weaving, blanket weaving, woollen yarn spinning and carding, gold and silver work, and carpentry. The principle occupations in the rural districts of Jammu and Kashmir were agriculture and tending of cattle and sheep.

The population of Ladakh was content with the cultivation of soil, the proceeds of which were sufficient for their immediate requirement or enjoyed seclusion from worldly affairs by being ordained as Lamas. Circumstanced by

(13) Census of India, 1891, Vol XXVIII. The Kashmir State. p.163.

(14) ibid

nature, the Ladakhis were trained in all avocations necessary for existence and personal comfort.¹⁵ The same remark applied to Skardu.

1.2 Method of Cultivation

The Kashmiris had divided the year into six seasons of two months each. The period of 15th November to 15th January was called 'Wandh'. During this period and till the end of March,¹⁶ the first ploughing for wheat and barley was done. Rice, maize and other autumn crops were threshed when the snow fell. The people wove woollen blankets, and attended to their sheep and cattle. "Sont" which fell between 15th March and 1st May was the time when the fields were ploughed and manured for rice and maize and then sown. Harvesting of wheat and barley began at the end of May and a little later linseed was harvested. The period from July to September found the peasant busy in the fields, weeding the rice, maize and cotton. The real harvest of Kashmir came in September and October, called by the Kashmiri the season of ¹⁷Hard. Rice, maize, millet, sesame, amarnath and other autumn crops were gathered in. The fruit trees were also laden. There were supposed

(15) *ibid*,

(16) Ernest F. Neve, Beyond the Pir Panjal, T. Fisher Unwin, London 1912, p. 59.

to be three harvests in the Kashmir Valley -- rabi, kimti, and kharif. Kimti was a name for crops of either harvest which possessed a money value, for example, til gogal, linseed, tobacco etc.

Agricultural implements

The agricultural implements used were few and simple. It was made of various woods, the mulberry, the ash, the apple, being perhaps the most suitable material. The plough was light, for the cattle which were yoked to it were small. According to the Census of 1921, the total number of ploughs stood at 362,710 which meant one plough for every 10 persons. The true average must have been considerably higher which could be obtained after deducting the non-agricultural population. The average cultivable area per plough (8.8 acres) varied from 6.4 in the Frontier districts and 7.9 in the outer hills of the Jammu province, to 8.6 in Kashmir. The ploughshare was tipped with iron. A wooden mallet was used to break clods. But as rule, frost, snow, water, and the process known as Khushaba were considered a sufficient agency for disintegration of clods.

(18) F. Younghusband, Kashmir, Sagar Publications, New Delhi, 1970, p.204.

(19) Weeding of the rice fields.

(20) W.R. Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, Kesar Publishers, Srinagar, 1967, p.325.

The spade used for digging out turf clods and for arranging the fields for irrigation, had a long handle and a narrow face, and was tipped with iron. For maize and cotton a small hand hoe was used to extract weeds. It was made out of hollowed out bole of wood.

The pestle for ~~of~~ husking rice was made of light, hard wood, hawthorn being the best. In some villages a heavy log hammer was used. It turned out clean polished grain but broke and crushed much of the rice. Sir W.R. Lawrence tried introducing a wooden mallet. Though it required less labour, it too broke the grains.

Manure All the dung of sheep, cattle and horses dropped in the winter was reserved for agriculture. The summer dung mixed with twigs and chinar leaves was used as fuel. The Kashmiri considered the turf clods to be a far more effective renovator of rice fields than farmyard manure. ²¹ These were cut from the side of water courses and were rich in silt. One application was sufficient for three years whereas farmyard manure had to be applied every year. The strongest farmyard manure, that of poultry, was kept for onions. Next came the dung of cattle and finally horse-dung.

(21) Provincial Gazetteer, op.cit., p.45.

The value of night soil was thoroughly understood.²² The garden cultivation of Srinagar used poudrette, a mixture of night soil and dust of city alleys pulverised by the action of the sun.

Agricultural operations were carefully timed so as to fall within a certain period before or after Nauroz, the spring day of Muslims and the Mezan or the commencement of autumn.

The ploughings for wheat and barley were few, at the most, three for wheat and two for barley. No labour was lost in weeding or manuring. The Kashmiri farmer devoted all his energy in cultivating rice. There were two systems of cultivation, one that was sown broadcast and the other in the nursery. There were, also, two methods of preparing the soil. In the first one, known as tao, soil was ploughed when dry, and when the clods were perfectly free from moisture, irrigation was given and the seed sown. In the second method, kenalu, soil was ploughed wet. About three ploughings were given. Soil would be half water and half mud. It was prudent to opt for the latter when the snow in the mountain pointed to a short supply of water.

(22) Lawrence, op, cit., p.322.

The system of cultivation in Kashmir was Ekfasli, that is, land gave one crop in a year, the garden lands in the neighbourhood of Srinagar and other towns being the exceptions. A stolen crop of rapeseed was obtained by sowing it in ripening rice and the nurseries where rice was sown.

Of the cultivated plants in Jammu, it had the same succession of two crops in the year. The winter crops were sown in December and harvested in April whereas the summer crop sown in June were harvested in September or October. In the lowest parts of the middle mountain two crops could be got from the same land. The times of growth of the two kinds of crops-- of wheat or barley on the one hand and of maize, rice or millet, on the other - - in most cases overlapped each other to an extent which varied with the height above the sea.²³ Hence the wheat did not ripen till it was too late to sow millets or maize. However, some land was reserved for the first kind of crop and some for the other. Thus, they had, in a way, two harvests.

As regards rotation of crops, it is of interest to note that the people understood the restorative properties of leguminous crops.²⁴ Rice in the Maidani tract of the Jammu tehsil was sometimes followed by a crop of Goji and ---barley and wheat was grown after rice in heavily manured rice

(23) Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, op., cit., p. 397.

(24) Review of the Assessment Report of the Ladakh tehsil by

fields. In the Ranbirsinghpura tehsil of the Jammu province, cotton was preceded and followed by a fallow. Maize was succeeded by wheat and sometimes Toria or barley and massar or by some fodder crops.

Cultivation in the Dal lake :--

The radhs or floating gardens were made of long strips of lake reed, with a breadth of about six feet. These strips could be towed from place to place and were moored at the four corners by poles driven into the lake bed. When the radh was sufficiently strong to bear the weight of a man, heaps of weeds and mud, extracted from the lakes, were heaped in conical shapes on the radh. These cones were called pokar. Tomatoes, cucumbers or water-melons were grown there. Cultivation was also carried on in the demb lands, that is, lands formed along the sides or in the middle of lakes where the water was shallow. The cultivator selected the site and planted willows and sometimes poplars along its four sides. He then cast boat-loads of weed and mud in that site till the land appeared above the flood level. Every year he added a fresh layer of mud. Little irrigation channels were also made on such lands. This type of cultivation was seen even in the great swamps.

(25) Lawrence, op.cit., p.344.

(26) ibid, p.345.

1.3 Irrigation

Irrigation had been in practice since the olden days. The consciousness regarding irrigation as a means to achieve an effective breakthrough in the development of agriculture is reflected in the will and eagerness with which some canals were constructed in the past as Martand canal, Old Pratap canal and Jhelum canal.²⁷ For raising paddy crops, some places in the plateaus were brought within the scope of gravity irrigation.

In the Jammu province, of the rivers proper, there were but two, the Chenab and Tawi. The silt brought down by the Chenab, made of pure sand with no fertilising, loam made cultivation impossible at many places. Land irrigated by the Tawi lay so low and the water level at so slight a depth below the surface of the soil that only a small quantity of water was sufficient. Most of the kuhls (water courses) were kept running²⁸ for some six months only in a year. In the Maidani area of the province there was a sufficiency of wells. Except in the lowland bordering on the streams deep boring was necessary the cultivators were not, as a rule, sufficiently well-to-do to undertake the expenditure necessary to sink such wells, and risk

(27) N.S.Gupta, Agricultural Development of States in India, Vol I, J & K, Seema Publications, New Delhi, 1979, p.68.

(28) Census of India, 1901, Vol XXIII, Kashmir, Part I, Report, 4.

the failure of finding water. The government did much to encourage the sinking of wells ever since the introduction of regular settlement by grant of advances on easy terms.

Agriculture in the valley practically depended upon irrigation. If there was normal snowfall water supply for the rice would be sufficient. At convenient points on the mountain streams temporary weirs or projecting snags were erected, and the water was taken off in the main channels, which passed into a network of small ducts and eventually emptied themselves into the Jhelum or into the large swamps which lay along the banks of the Jhelum. Dams were constructed where the streams flowed gently. In the olden days, it was the duty of the government to look after these channels and they took a share of the crop for it. For every channel, a Mirab was appointed. He saw to the repairs of these channels. Since the settlement in 1880, the villagers had to look after the repairs themselves. The office of the Mirab was revived after some time. The system of distribution introduced by Emperor Jehangir was still followed. The only lift irrigation took the form of the simple and inexpensive pot and lever (dhenkli) and in Srinagar and the small towns some splendid garden cultivation depended wholly on this system.

(29) Provincial Gazetteer, op.cit., p.42.

(30) Lawrence, op.cit., p.323.

(31) The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol XV, Oxford, 1908, p.112.

The Frontier districts are so mountainous that irrigation was very difficult except in the case of small kuhis taken along the contour of the hill sides. These water courses were regulated by the cultivators themselves. In most cases, rainfall was small and cultivation depended hundred per cent on irrigation. In Dras, whenever a stream came down from the snow-clad heights, there was a fan-shaped cultivation and little channels were cut along the hillsides as far as the water could be carried.

The history of irrigational works in the State may be safely divided into three definite periods :--

- (a) a period prior to 1901
- (b) 1901-1923
- (c) 1923 onwards

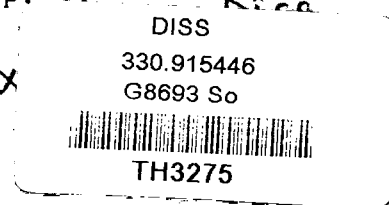
Prior to 1921, attempts were made in the reign of the Muslim king, Zain-ul-Abidin, to construct irrigational works in the valley and even as far back as five thousand years, Raja Ram Dev is said to have constructed a twenty one miles long canal from Ganeshpura to Martand temple.

(32) Census of India, 1941, Vol XXII, J & K, Parts I & II, p.22.

(33) Neve, op, cit., p. 175.

(34) Census of India, 1921, op. cit., p. 27.

(35) ibid



TH-3275

The Rajpur canal drawn from the Chenab by Maharaja Ranbir Singh failed to render any help on account of mistakes in levels. There were some nine water courses taken out from the Chenab and six from the Tawi stream all of which irrigated the Jammu district alone. The lie of the land made the project costly and difficult to execute. The Kashmir cannal taking off from the Ravi above the Madhopur weir, the Shahi nahr taking off from the left bank of the Chenab opposite Akhnur, and the Katobandi or Dalpat Nahr taking off from the Chenab on the right bank, failed to render any permanent help. There were a few Zamindari kuhls in the Kashmir valley. Two irrigation works taking off from the Tawi in the Jammu tehsil--the Jogi Darwaza canal irrigating the land below the Jammu city, and the Satwari canal irrigating the villages around Satwari cantonment ³⁶ ---were realigned and put in order. Wells were sunk in the Jammu province.

The period between 1901 and 1923 saw the expansion of irrigation on scientific lines under the Public Works Department. A regular irrigation division under a Divisional Engineer was opened in the Jammu province while in the Kashmir province it came under a Divisional Engineer Public Works in combination with Roads and Buildings. During this period a number of canals were constructed.

(36) Provincial Gazetteer, op, cit., p.43.

Pratap Cannal :-- It was originally called the Dalpat cannal. Excavated originally in 1873, it was remodelled and extended in 1903-04. It took off from the right bank of the Chenab. A perennial canal, it was more of a protective than productive irrigation work.

Ranbir Canal :-- It was started by Maharaja Ranbir Singh and was called the Shahi canal then. It was excavated as far down as Bhagiari Khud, 8 1/2 miles from the head and midway³⁷ between Jammu and Akhnur. A few years after the close of Shahi canal, another effort was made and the so called Rajpur canal was started. It too proved to be a failure. Then in 1903 the Ranbir canal was started on the line of the old Shahi canal. It proved to be a great productive work for the State.

Basantpur Canal :-- There existed a canal called "Kashmir Canal", sometimes called Basantpur Canal. Under an agreement with the British government, 120 cusecs of water could be drawn from the Ravi from six months only, from 1st April to 30th September. In order to utilize the full quantity of water the Durbar sanctioned³⁸ the extension of the canal under the scheme "Extension of Basantpur Canal".

(37) Old English Records (hereafter OER), 26/1-11, 1903, Preliminary Report on the Akhnur Canal Project by Lala Teja Ram, Divisional Engineer, Irrigation Division, Jammu Archives (hereafter JA).

(38) Annual Administrative Report (hereafter AAR) S.1971 (1914-15), p.67.

Ujh Canal :--- Started in 1915 and completed in 1923, it irrigated the area of the Jasmergarh tehsil in the Kathua district.

Upper Jhelum Canal Distributaries :--- These distributaries, eight in number, were taken out from the Jhelum canal in the area through which the canal passed in the State territory. It was expected to irrigate Bhimber and Mirpur tehsil. Martand Cannal :-

- Taking off from the Liddar river, it was constructed in 1901. It served a two fold object, one irrigating the crops and second, supplying pure drinking water to the inhabitants of the Martand plateau. When the Resident inspected the canal in 1901, he observed that one waterfall should be leased to the millers for grinding corn and "spoke of utilising that power and of canal water dropped over Bawan cliffs, in railway, mill, lighting, and other works and industry". He also asked the State Engineer to "make enquiries about rice husking and oil machinery for Islamabad to be worked by the water power referred to above." However, this scheme was shelved.

Lal Kuhl :-- This project was completed in 1903. It served the kharif crop only.

Four kuhls were constructed to help irrigation in the Gilgit Agency and the Ladakh Wazarat.

(39) OER, 21/1-3, 1902, Copy of State Engineer, Kashmir Darbar's Inspection Note, dt. 22nd Nov. 1901, JA.

(40) ibid.

Kurbathang Kuhl in Kargil tehsil :-- This was constructed to regulate the flow of the Pashkim Nullah. By this, a plateau several miles in extent, was reclaimed in Kargil.

Safed Pari Kuhl :-- A vast tract of uncultivated land near Safed Pari and Chakerkot maidan, between miles 18 and 22 of the Bandipur-Gilgit road, was thirsting for irrigational facilities. In 1913, the construction of Pari-Chakerkot Kuhl or the Safed Pari kuhl was started. The Kuhl also proved a boon for travelling public by considerably modifying the climate of the district and providing homes for numerous Yagistanis and other people.

Naupur Kuhl :-- The villages of Naupur, Naiku and Burmas used to be irrigated by the Burmas spring which was diverted for Gilgit water supply. As the old Naupur Kuhl was not sufficient, a new kuhl was constructed in 1924-25.

Harban khul :-- This was constructed in the Harmosh Illaqa in Gilgit district. It was built to ameliorate the condition of the Illaqa.

It was, however, observed that the irrigation from the State canals was very limited despite the abiana rates. The

(41) Census of India, 1931, op, cit., p.21.

Administrative Report of 1918-19 showed that the State canals showed a poor return, from 1.42% to 1.9%, on the capital invested in them and that some of them worked at a loss. The percentage of irrigation from private canals in the three administrative divisions of Jammu, Kathua and Mirpur district was 7,75 and 18⁴² respectively. Irrigation from tanks, wells and other sources were quite significant.

The period after 1923 was unique in the history of irrigational development in the State. The Public Works Department was divided into three separate departments, namely, Roads and Buildings, Irrigation, and Electricity, each under the control of a separate whole-time Chief Engineer who would be able to devote whole hearted attention to the development of his particular branch. As a result, a separate Irrigation Department came up, with two divisions in Jammu and one in Kashmir.

In Kashmir, the Zainagir canal taking off from the Madmati stream was started in 1923 and completed in 1931. The other projects were Nandi kuhl for Kulgam tehsil and the Dadi kuhl. As some villages in the Kuthar valley did not get sufficient water for irrigation from the Martand canal,⁴³ remodelling and extension of the canal became necessary. In the

(42) Census of India, 1921, op, cit., p. 11.

(43) AAR, S. 1994-95 (15th October, 1937 to 16th October 1938), p. 150.

Jammu province, the extension of the Ujh and Ranbir canal was undertaken.

The area under canal irrigation fluctuated from year to year. In 1923-24 the percentage of Rabi and Kharif area irrigated were '51 and 49'⁴⁴ and in 1925-26 '62 and 72'⁴⁵ respectively. The years of good rainfall showed a sharp decrease in canal irrigation.

1.4 Production

On account of the hilly and mountainous nature of the country, the cultivable area of the State was only about 6.8% of the total area, and, according to the Census of 1921, the net cultivated area was 4.3% of the total area and 74.5% of the cultivable area.⁴⁶ According to the Census of 1941, the percentage of the cultivable area to the total area of the State was 5.6% and 86.6%⁴⁷ of the net cultivable area.

Chief crops

Autumnal crops :-- Rice, maize, cotton, saffron, tobacco, hops, Italian millet, millet, buckwheat, amarnath, pulses, sesame.

Spring crops :-- Wheat, barley, Tibet barley, opium, poppy, rapeseed, flax, peas and beans.

(44) AAR, S. 1980 (1923-24), p.53.

(45) AAR, S. 1982 (1925-26), p.53.

(46) A Note on J & K State, Printed at Ranbir Press, 1928, p.27.

(47) 86.8% represents the gross cultivated area less the double cropped excluding fallows.

Rice occupied about one-third of the total cultivated area in Kashmir province, and was also grown in canal irrigated areas particularly Ranbirsinghpura, Jammu, Kathua, and Rajaori tehsils in Jammu province.⁴⁸ The foundation of life and prosperity in Kashmir was laid upon rice.⁴⁹ There were infinite varieties of rice. In Kashmir, Sir W.R. Lawrence saw 53 varieties in one district alone. These were of two main types, the red and the white, the former being a hardier plant and the latter tastier. The best varieties of rice were basmati and kanyun. Coarse varieties were grown even above a height of 7000 ft. Rice lands in Jammu were called pel lands.

Next in importance was maize. Maize was grown in unirrigated maidani lands and hilly tracts of both Kashmir and Jammu provinces, where it was used as a staple food.⁵⁰ In the Kashmir province two kinds were obtained, the early one a soft white grain and the ordinary with red grains. Maize stocks served as an excellent fodder.

(48) AAR S. 1994-95 (15th October 1937 to 16th October 1938), p. 60.

(49) Ernest F. Neve, Things Seen in Kashmir, Seeley Service and Limited, London, 1931, p. 59.

(50) AAR, S. 1994-95, p. 60.

In Jammu districts, wheat was a very important crop, and in the best land was sown year after year, but mostly alternated with a kharif crop. It was irrigated where ever the water was available. The cultivation of wheat in Kashmir was almost confined to the dry soils ; the fields mostly found in the karewas. They were never manured and generally choked with weeds. According to the quality of the land, the fields lay fallow for one or two years. Wheat crop suffered from two diseases, surma and sa's.

One of the spring crops of Kashmir, barley was not of a very good quality. In higher villages, a peculiar kind of barley known as grim or Tibetan barley was grown. In Jammu, it was a winter crop sown in December and ripened in April.

Bajra was met with on the low hills bordering on the plains. It was largely grown in the Jammu district.

Kangni or shor was usually grown when the snow in the mountain indicated that there would not be enough snow water for rice. There were two varieties of kangni, the smaller and the larger, the former being preferred as food. It was not much esteemed as food as it was considered to have heating properties.

(51) Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, op.cit., p.60.

(52) It turned the grains black with an offensive smell.

(53) A black smutty fungus.

China and Ping were very much like rice in appearance. Grown in the dry lands of Kashmir, it was considered neither nourishing nor pleasant.

Buckwheat could be grown in any type of the soil. There were two kinds of buckwheat, one bitter and the other sweet.

The climate of Kashmir was not suitable for the cultivation of sugarcane. In the lower hills, though not largely cultivated, it grew fairly well, and it had even been introduced in Punch. In the plains below Jammu, it thrived without irrigation.

In the former days the saffron cultivation was a large source of revenue to the State, but in the famine the people in distress ate up the bulbs. Bulbs were brought from Kishtawar but the process of reproduction was slow. The high table-land on which saffron was grown was called Sonarkund (the golden basket); the cultivation extended along the right bank of the Jhelum between the villages of Latapur and Samepur. The names of the karewas where saffron was grown were Litpura, Sambara, Avin, Ladu Chander and Bara Odar.

(54) Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, op.cit., p.55.

(55) Lawrence, op.cit., p.343.

(56) A Gazetteer of Kashmir and the adjoining districts of Kishtawar, Badrawar, Jammu, Naoshera, Punsh and the valley of Kishin Ganga by Charles Ellison Bates, Light and Life Publishers, Jammu, 1980, p.43.

Cotton was grown all over the State. Vigne states that it was formerly produced in considerable abundance and was of a good quality. The import of cotton from British India had somewhat depressed its condition.

A number of oilseeds were also grown. Rapeseed was the most important of all. Til goglu, Taruz or Sarshaf, and Sandiji were the three types of rapeseed. Linseed and sesame were the other oilseeds of importance.

Flax was cultivated all over the Kashmir valley. It was believed to exhaust the soil. Tobacco was mostly found around Srinagar.

Kashmir abounded in fruit trees. Apples, apricots, mulberries, walnuts, peaches, almonds, and pears grew in abundance. In olden days Kashmir had been famous for its grapes, but through laziness or the exorbitant exactions of officials, they had fallen out of cultivation, and only the wild plants were seen clambering over fences and throwing graceful arms around the tall poplars. Maharaja Ranbir Singh revived its cultivation.

The Gilgit Agency produced crops usually found in other parts of the Himalayas, but a good deal of rice of inferior quality was also grown, principally in Gilgilt

(57) M. Doughty, op. cit., p. 108.

itself, but some even as far north as lower Ishkoman, though it
58
was hardly worth cultivating. Imported rice was very expensive.
So the people had no choice but to cultivate rice themselves.
Fruits like apricots, apples and pears were abundant.

Skardu was uncultivated as it was a waste of
sand and stones. Cultivation was limited more by supply of water
than by barrenness of soil, for where irrigation could be applied,
59
very hopeless looking ground would yield crops. The Baltis of
the Yarkhand country and the Wakhs of Ishkoman cultivated
tobacco. Walnuts were plenty in Nagir. Buckwheat was also grown.
In Hunza, for eight miles along the river Hunza, cultivation
extended with a breadth of four to five miles. Every inch was
cultivated, the fields (sometimes barely a few feet in extent)
60
rising tier above tier. The monotony was broken by belts of
orchards or by rows of tall poplars.

(58) R.C.F. Schomberg, Between the Oxus and the Indus, Martin Hopkins Ltd., London, 1935, p.21

(59) F.Drew, The Jammu And Kashmir Territories, Oriental Publishers, New Delhi, 1971, p.361.

(60) Schomberg, op, cit., p.112.

CHAPTER 2

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture constituted the most important element of the economy of the State. More than 75% of the population was dependent on agriculture.

2.1 Land Revenue Policy of the Government

The most abominable feature of the administration of the state of Jammu and Kashmir was the system of land revenue.

During Maharaja Gulab Singh's (1846-1857) rule, the 'Sikh procedure' was followed, but some slight relaxations were made in favour of land newly cultivated for large lands were lying waste. Under the Sikh rule, grain was divided in heaps after threshing as in a regular Buttai in the presence of revenue officials. Later other demands like Trukee, abwab and kharch came up. During Gulab Singh's rule, the State took away $\frac{2}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ as the land revenue. Under Maharaja Ranbir Singh's (1857-1885) rule, circles of villages were annually farmed out to contractors called Kardars which they in turn, distributed among the cultivators. The area allotted to each family depended upon the individuals it contained. It was the duty of the kardar to get the largest amount of grains possible. When the harvest time came

(1) William Digby, Condemned Unheard, Indian Political Agency, July 1890, appendix--Preliminary Report of Settlement

a regiment known as the Nizamati paltan, always supplemented from the regular army, moved out from village to village to enforce the State's claim. The State took 3/4 of rice, maize, millets, buckwheat, and 9/16th of oilseeds, pulses and cotton.²

The period between 1860 and 1873 witnessed the system of chakladars or speculating contractors. In 1873-74 the village contracts were divided up into 'assamivar khewats' or cultivators' accounts, and either produce or cash was taken from each man. In 1877, the scarcity began and the contracts broke down, and so the State collected in kind only. In 1880, the State resolved to realise the revenue fully in cash. The revenue was collected with such severity that the cultivators left their lands. In 1882 a new system, 'Izad-Boli' or auctioning the land to the highest bidder was introduced. The purchaser in many cases bid amounts which were absurdly greater than the value of the village revenue and after wringing all they could out of the unhappy villagers they absconded without paying a single rupee.³ This brought untold miseries upon the cultivators.

(2) Provincial Gazetteer, op., cit., p.76.

(3) Neve, op.cit., p.53.

New dispensation.

In 1887, Maharaja Pratap Singh requisitioned the services of a British officer for the purpose of land settlement. The work was commenced by Mr.A.Wingate. By April 1889 ,two tehsils of Lal and Phak in Kashmir had been surveyed and assessed. Sir W.R.Lawrence took over in 1889.

For many years preceeding 1887, surveys of the
4
villages had been in progress but nothing came out of them.

The people were harassed by the presence of hungry Amins but
5
beyond a fictitious survey there was no result. A lot of indifference was shown to the settlement operations being conducted by Sir W.R.Lawrence. By 1889, the results of the first two settlements began to show and the people started showing some interest. All those who had left their lands began to return.

The assessment was fixed with due consideration to soil, irrigation, configuration,etc. Estimate of the net produce of each village based on crop experiments was made in the circle in which the village was situated and thus revenue rates were deduced from the existing revenue. He also compared the statement

(4) Lawrence, op.cit.,p.424.

(5) ibid

of revenue collections since 1880 with the figures given by the patwaris and lumbardars and arrived at some idea of the average revenue actually paid by the village. Besides other assets of the villages, for example, walnut trees, fruit tress, apricot and apricot oil, and honey were also liable to taxation.

It was the object of the new settlement to have revenue paid as much as possible in cash rather than in kind, so that the occupant of a land would be able to know for certain what he would have to pay and would not have officials hanging over his fields at harvest time ; and also so that the State on its side might know precisely what amount of revenue to expect in a year, and not have the trouble of collecting in kind with all its attendant risks acost.⁶

A full cash assessment was opposed by the official and influential classes. The collection of revenue in kind gave great opportunities for peculation and perquisites to the officals. Besides, the city people of Srinagar had a large number of poor people who received starvation wages from middlemen 'sweaters', unhusked rice at low rates prescribed by the State.

(6) Younghusband, op.cit.,p.119.

So the revenue to be taken in kind was limited to the two most important staples, namely, maize and rice. At the time of announcing the settlement, Lawrence gave the option to each village as to the amount which should be paid in cash and also gave each village the power of commuting the amount in kind agreed upon by cash payments.

The main features of the settlement were :--

- (a) The State demand was fixed for ten years.
- (b) As a first step towards substitution of payment in cash for payment in kind, the proportion of the latter was so fixed as to cause the least hardship to the cultivators and maintain the confidence of the city people.
- (c) The sepoys who attended at harvest to coerce the cultivators were removed.
- (d) Begar or forced labour was abolished. All those cultivators who had left their lands for fear of it were recalled and settled on their lands. (e) Occupancy rights of zamindars in undisputed lands were confirmed.
- (f) Careful enquiry was made into the status of privileged holders of land. The special rates were continued for the term of the first settlement, but were made subject to reassessment. Land in excess of the sanctioned area was, however, assessed at the ordinary rates, even in the case of privileged holders.
- (7) Begar was officially abolished in 1891.

(g) Permanent but non-alienable hereditary occupancy rights were granted to those who accepted the first assessment as long as the revenue was paid.

(h) All lands were carefully evaluated on the basis of the produce, previous collections and possibility of irrigation.

(i) Waste lands were entitled as khalsa lands but preferential right of occupancy on such land was given to the assamis.

(j) The Rasum and other exactions were abolished and liabilities of cultivators were defined.

The demand was fixed at 30% of the gross⁸ produce. Cesses were usually 12.5% on the revenue, consisting of⁹ lambardari 5%, school 3/4%, road 2.5%, and patwari 4.1/4%. Fixed grazing tax at the rate of 1% of the revenue was levied. But then it was realised 'the entire burden of the Kahcharai fee will fall on agriculturists, while as a matter of fact, there are people who own little land and earn their livelihood mainly by means of livestock and these will be practically free from payment of grazing fee, which are those who under ordinary circumstances¹⁰ should pay a greater part of the kahcharai demand.' It was decided to calculate the fixed grazing demand on the basis of the number of cattle.

(8) Assessment Report of Ladakh tehsil, 1921, p.6, Central Secreteriat library, N.Delhi.

(9) OER, 236/H-75, 1916, Assessment Report of Ranbir Singh Pura tehsil, p.36, JA

Water tax or abiana was charged on those areas which received irrigation from the canals. The areas irrigated by the Pratap and Akhnur canals paid abiana at the rate of Rs.3-0-0 per ghumaon and Rs.1-10-0 per ghumaon for rice gardens and sugarcane and for all other crops respectively. For one watering only followed by a crop, the rate was Rs.0-8-0 per ghumaon. The area north of Tawi paid the same as on Pratap canal where as those south of Tawi paid for areas under rice. Garden and sugarcane Rs. 3-3-0 per ghumaon, and other crops Rs.1-12-0 per ghumaon, and one watering followed by a crop Rs.0-8-0 per ghumaon. In both the canals, lift irrigation was charged at half rates of flow irrigation. In the areas irrigated by the Lal Kuhl canal, the abiana charged was Rs.3-8-0 per acre on rice and Rs.1-12-0 per acre on all other crops. These rates were fixed for five years and were subject to revision after that.

11

Malikana fee was, in the beginning, fixed on the basis of soil. Later it was assessed according to the status of the tenants.

(10) OER, 149/H-77,1914, Assessment Report of Samba tehsil, Reviews and orders, JA

(11) See OER 98/S-74,1906, His Highness sanction to the Abiana rates to be levied on Zamindars whose lands be irrigated by the Pratap and Akhnur canals, JA.

(12) Land was regarded as the property of the king, the cultivators merely tenants-at-will. This tax was charged on the basis of this fact.

The revenue would be collected in four instalments :-- " 1st to 25th Bhadaon, 1st to 25th Maghar, 1st to 25th Magh and 1st to 25th Chet." ¹³

At the end of the first settlement, a second settlement was made, and this time with much diminished troubling for not only were people and officials better disposed, but there was now available much more reliable statistics as to the produce of the fields. ¹⁴ Each occupier was then given a small book containing a copy of the entries in which he was interested, the ¹⁵ area of the field, the rate he had to pay, and so on.

In 1909, after consulting the Settlement Officers of different tehsils, it was decided to fix the settlement for a ¹⁶ period of twenty years by an order of the Maharaja. Later it was ¹⁷ 'extended to forty years'.

The standard for fixing revenue in places where the Government did not enjoy proprietary rights was the same as in Punjab, namely, 'half net assets' or half the profits of the ¹⁸ proprietors from land cultivated by tenants-at-will. 8% to 10% deductions were made from the gross produce on account of customary payments from the common harvest heap before division.

(13) AAR, S.1946 (1889-90), p.60

(14) Younghusband, op.cit., p.192.

(15) *ibid*.

(16) See DER 236/H-36, 1909, Fixation of twenty years as the term of settlement in the State, JA.

(17) A handbook of J & K State, 1945, p.41.

(18) *ibid*, p.15

The remainder, about 90% was divided. The net profit would be 45%, which left 22.5% for the State. In those places where cash rents were common, the average net cash per acre was divided between the State and the proprietor.

2.2 Land Tenure

Land in Kashmir was regarded as the absolute property of the State. Mr. A Wingate, in his Settlement Report, mentions that the Maharaja had been very firm that 'Hak Malikana' or proprietorship of the land in Kashmir belonged to the Maharaja. Once the title of Hak Malikana got metamorphosed into proprietorship, and was reserved in this form for the Maharaja its logical outcome was the ascription of the status of tenant of every landholder under it. The Settlement Commissioner's memorandum in 1901 laid down that the ruler possessed 'Haq Shahi' (ruling right) and 'Haq Milikiyat' (Proprietary right); and that these rights belonged to him by virtue of Kharid (purchase).¹⁹

The cultivator or the assami was nothing more than a tenant-at-will. He was recognised by the State as the lawful occupant of land in Kashmir. In the villages "the assami was a man in whom vested the miras or hereditary right to certain plots of good and irrigated land, within the boundaries of the village".²⁰

(19) U.K. Zutshi, Emergence of Political Awakening in Kashmir, Manohar, New Delhi, 1986, p.133.

(20) OER, 71-H-18, 1901 Settlement Commissioner's Memorandum, JA.

(21) Lawrence, op.cit., p.428.

The right of occupancy though hereditary was not alienable either by sale or mortgage. Besides the ordinary assami, or the occupant of village land, there were many privileged holders of land variously known as Chakdars or Mukararidar-- men who had acquired landed property under deeds granted by the State.²²

Thus, prior to 1933, land in Kashmir province and in the Frontier Districts were held by zamindars either in 'Hak-i-assami' or as tenants-at-will and in some cases as Occupancy Tenants.²³ The Occupancy Tenants had the right of occupation under a proprietor or an assami. He could not be ejected without special reasons, nor could the rent on the land be altered at will of the landlord. The Occupancy Tenants were of two kinds :--

- (a) Those who held land direct from land holder or the State.
- (b) Those who held land under occupancy tenants of class (a).²⁴

The Census of 1911 has given the existing land tenures classed territorially. These were :--

(I) Kashmir province and Frontier Districts.

1. Land Holders.

(1) Assamis, peculiarly so called as they were not mere tenants but used to be landowners prior to the appropriation of the

(22) *ibid*, p. 426.

(23) A Handbook of J & K State, 1944, p. 13.

(24) *ibid*

proprietary rights by the State. But for the fact that the dues they paid to the State was revenue, as distinguished from rent, they might more appropriately be called ex-proprietors; (ii) Chakdars--- who acquired under Regulation 6 assami rights by one year's cultivation ;

(iii) Absentee assami-- cultivating only by means of hired labour.

2. Tenants

(i) Holding directly from the State (Ryotwari systems) ;

(ii) Mustaqiul Kashtkars-- holding land in occupancy title from the assamis ;

(iii) Sub-tenants.

II Jammu Province

1. Land holders in milkiat-i-sarkar and land owners in milkiat-i-zamindar areas.

(i) Maliks--- enjoying full proprietary rights. They existed only in milkiat-i-zamindar areas.

(ii) Maurusi harf-i-alif--- holders of occupancy titles, class A. These existed only in milkiat-i-sarkar areas and corresponded to the maliks of milkiat-i-zamindar areas of this province and the assamis of Kashmir and Frontier Districts.

2. Tenants

(i) Occupancy tenants of class B (maurusu harf-i-bi) holding from maliks and maurisis A. They corresponded to the mustaqil kashtars of Kashmir;

kashtars of Kashmir;

(ii) Tenants-at-will holding from the land holders as well as from the State, having no rights of occupancy ;

(iii) Sub-tenants.

According to the Census of 1931, the important constituents of cultivation were :--

CLASS	TOTAL STRENGTH OF EARNERS	STRENGTH IN 1921 OF ACTUAL WORKERS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EARNERS UNDER CULTIVATION
Non-cultivating proprietors	29,099	29,466	5
Cultivating owners	324,051	< 932,040	< 58
Tenant cultivators	193,257		34
Agricultural labourers	11,846	3,862	2

In 1912 , to commemorate the coronation of His Majesty King George V, all tenants-at-will of land owned by the State were granted full occupancy rights.²⁵

At the time of the coronation of Maharaja Hari Singh in 1926, numerous concessions were granted among which was grants of State owned lands to village communities. In 1933, the Maharaja conferred proprietary rights on occupancy tenants of State land and those with assami rights. No occupancy tenants existed in Jammu and Kashmir provinces. The zamindars of the

(25) Census of India, 1941, p.15.

(26) A Handbook of J & K State, 1944, p.13.

Frontier districts were still occupancy tenants directly under the Government. Previously the zamindars of the Frontier districts were allowed to break wastelands upto twenty kanals in each individual case. By the Glancy Commission recommendations, this limit was removed.

2.3 Assessments : Case Study of Ranbir Singh Pura tehsil, Jammu province.

For this case study, the Assessment Reports of 1897 and 1916 have been consulted.

The first summary settlement was made in 1860-61. It was not based on any survey and was a cash assessment.

The first regular settlement was made in 1896. The estates were surveyed on tarmim system. The assessment was calculated on the cropping harvest of the preceeding two years.

The tehsil was divided into three circles, namely, Hardo Kandi, Bharari and Janubi Tawi.

Generally all the estates lying along the banks of the Aik, the Gror and Dhammala were grouped as Hardo Kandi and was reckoned as first class villages in the tehsil, under the impression that these streams had fertilising action on the lands of these estates, but the case was just the reverse. Practically speaking, the Hardo Kandi was poorer than Bharari.

There was quite a noticeable change in the cropping pattern. Given below is a table for the same.

Circle	Percentage in total crops sown													
	Kharif								Rabi					
	Dhan	Maize	Bajra	Cotton	Pulses	Sugarcane	Others	Total	Wheat	Barley	Goji	Others	Total	
Tawi	Last settle.	2.9	6.7	1.7	5.9	12.9	3.3	9	42.4	25.2	15.9	12.5	2.9	56.5
	Now	5.4	5.9	2.5	2.6	6.0	2.6	7.3	32.3	34.0	5.7	3.2	5.5	48.4
Nahiri	Last settle.	6.1	5.2	3.8	5.6	7.7	3.5	12.4	44.3	18.9	19.8	13.6	3.0	55.3
	Now	16.6	3.2	1.1	2.4	5.6	3.7	6.6	39.2	35.7	7.4	1.6	6.2	52.9
Bharari	Last settle.	5.3	5.9	6.8	5.9	14.0	1.5	6.4	45.8	20.4	21.3	10.5	1.6	53.8
	Now	3.4	5.8	5.7	2.9	8.6	1.1	7.5	35.0	23.0	10.4	4.1	2.6	40.1
Total	Last settle.	5.6	5.5	4.1	5.7	9.5	3.1	10.9	44.4	19.9	19.7	12.8	2.8	55.2
	Now	13.0	3.9	2.2	2.6	6.2	3.1	6.7	37.7	32.9	7.9	2.3	6.8	49.9

From the table, it is evident that the production of rice increased enormously except in Bharari. It was the most important kharif crop.

Sugarcane was an important crop in the Nahiri circle but was declining in the other two.

Wheat was the most important rabi crop and showed and increase to all the three circles.

The zamindars were inclined to sow garden crops, turmeric, potatoes, kachalu, and other profitable vegetables.

This source of profit was borne in mind in assessment, and in fixing the commutation price for half-net assets.

Given below is a table showing the proportion of landlords and tenants.

Ass. circle	Details	Khud-khast of Proprietors			Under tenants paying nominal rents			Occupancy tenants			Non-occupancy tenants		
		At rev. rates	Other cash rents	Rent in kind	At rev. rates	Other cash rents	Rent in kind	At rev. rates	Other cash rents	Rent in kind	At rev. rates	Other cash rents	Rent in kind
Tawi	Last Sett.	54.4	0.5	15.9	-	2.1	5.8	2.5	18.8				
	Current Sett.	38.0	1.6	18.8	0.1	0.3	7.7	5.9	27.6				
Nahiri	Last Sett.	56.1	0.5	24.5	0.3	1.4	6.2	3.3	7.7				
	Current Sett.	39.0	1.4	22.4	0.1	1.1	7.7	2.2	26.1				
Bharari	Last Sett.	59.4	0.2	20.1	-	1.2	6.2	4.7	15.1				
	Current Sett.	37.1	0.8	23.8	-	0.8	5.8	5.1	26.6				
Total	Last Sett.	55.2	0.5	22.7	0.2	1.4	6.2	3.5	10.3				
	Current Sett.	38.6	1.3	22.4	0.1	0.9	7.3	3.1	26.3				

There was a tendency for cash rents to be replaced by kind rents. The tenant was either a small proprietor or occupancy tenant, whose land was not sufficient for maintaining his family or he was a member of a menial tribe. He was, therefore, under the pressure of larger proprietors, who preferred to get rent-in-kind on all but the least secure lands. This accounted for the dry and poor soils being rented on cash.

The kind rents were of two kind -- lump grain rents and batai rent.

Kahcharai tax was assessed at 1% of the land revenue though "there was no grazing worth the name in this tract... the live stock being mostly stall-fed." It was recommended that no fixed kahcharai tax should be collected but pack animals could be assessed at rates in force.

The malikana would be collected according to the class of tenants and not soil.

The cesses collected were 12.5% of the land revenue. This rate remained the same in the next settlement too.

It was decided that the principles of progressive assessment laid down in the Punjab Settlement Manual would be followed. It laid down that, if the enhancement exceeded 33% of the current demand by a considerable amount ; the excess should be deferred for five years and if they exceeded by 66%, a further sum should be deferred for another five years.

Canal irrigation was commenced in kharif 1904-05. However, the effects of irrigation was not felt as yet.

2.4 Land holdings

Prior to the land settlement of 1887 there was no pressure on land.²⁷ At the time of land settlement there was plenty of land available for reclamation because the high and arbitrary rates of land revenue discouraged the people from taking up land for cultivation. The demand on land slowly started and became quite serious by 1921.

The two important reasons to which such a change can be attributed were the population growth and the increasing deindustrialisation.²⁸ The Census Commissioner of 1931 called the State a 'predominantly agricultural country'.²⁹ All these difficulties led to the fragmentation of holdings.

The Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Jammu, wrote to the Secretary to Government, Development Department, Srinagar, "---the cultivation of land which constitutes the chief occupation of the major population is seriously handicapped by smallness of holdings, but the factor which is much more

(27) Zutshi, op. cit., p.141.

(28) ibid, p.142.

(29) Census of India, 1931 op. cit., p.16.

responsible for the stagnation of agriculture in the State, here as elsewhere, than the smallness of the holdings, is its excessive fragmentation. Whilst the principle of succession by equal division among male heirs, which has been in force since centuries has resulted in small holdings, the custom of every co-sharer claiming a separate share in each quality of land has caused a wide fragmentation of such holdings till they are reduced to small strips, which besides being uneconomical are very often impossible to cultivate." A lot of time was spent by the farmer by going from one field to another. Much land was wasted in building boundaries which gave rise to quarrels and litigation. The use of improved implements and scientific husbandary was impossible. Wells could not be sunk profitably and a good deal of land went without irrigation or was scantily irrigated. Farm houses could not be built and cattle could not be kept tethered on land so that much of the manure went waste.

A Land Alienation Act was passed to control the transfer of the land by sale or mortgage to protect the thousands of newly created landholders in the Kashmir province and Frontier districts. A Pre-emption Act was also passed in order to protect family and village interest and to keep the land as much as

(30) Political Deptt., 13-Agr-14, 1938, Consideration of Agricultural Research of the question of consolidation of holdings and proceedings recorded in this connection, JA

31

possible in the possession of real cultivators. Though the status of the cultivators improved but their position was not free from difficulties and dangers. The right to alienate land upto 25% was exercised in full in hundreds of cases in liquidation of debt. These sales increased the fragmentation of holdings.

In the 1930's the average size of the holdings varied from 16 acres in Jammu district to 2.5 kanals in the Anantnag district. The average holdings were 6 kanals in Baramulla and just under 6 in Mirpur. The average size of the ordinary assami (excluding gunpas and other large land holders) was less than 3 acres ; and the bulk of the holdings averaged no more than 1.9 acres. The average area per assami holding was 4.2 acres in the Zanskar Illaqa.

The most common cause of such small holdings was debt, either inherited or accumulated, usually as a consequence of improvident habits.

(31) Census of India, 1941, op.cit., p.16.

(32) There are 8 kanals in an acre.

(33) Census of India, 1941, op.cit., p.16.

(34) Assessment Report of the Ladakh tehsil, 1909, p.4.CSL

(35) Assessment Report of Zanskar Illaqa in the Ladakh Distt., 1909, p.9.CSL

In Kashmir the desire to own land on the part of
the richer class living in Srinagar was strong. Prices soared
and land previously valued at Rs.20 per kanal was alleged to have
been sold at Rs.300 per kanal.

2.4 Agricultural Indebtedness

The practice of lending money to agriculturists had
been in vogue from time immemorial but it was not regulated by
any system. In 1889-90, the Governor of Jammu advanced only a
trifling sum of Rs.250 for agricultural implements, while grains
of the value of Rs.1 lac was said to have been advanced for seed
in the province of Kashmir."

Sir W.R.Lawrence wrote that there was no
agricultural indebtedness in the pre-settlement period. However,
he did mention the Wani or Bakal who was a muslim huckster. The
Wani sometimes lent money to his customers under the system known
as Wad. He could not take any interest but yet made a profit
varying from 24% to 36%. He would take the money back in kind,
fixing the rate of the things much lower than the market price.

(36) Census of India, 1941, op.cit.,p.16.

(37) ibid

(38) AAR S.1946 (1889-90),p.47.

(39) ibid.

(40) Lawrence, op.cit.,p.387.

By selling these things he made a nice profit. However, the cultivator very rarely needed to go to the Wani. The situation changed after the settlement and the money lender became an important figure. The development, generally the result of the need of the peasants to pay the revenue in cash worked to the detriment of their condition.⁴¹

In Jammu and Kashmir, the system of taccavi advances was not popular among villagers. In the Jammu province, the zamindars were slow to avail themselves of the concessions except in acute agricultural distress.⁴²⁴³

The taccavi advances were 'loans of cash or kind advanced to zamindars free of interest---to help them tide over bad times and purchase of implements or animals or seeds for new crops'.⁴⁴

The old system of making taccavi advances in the Kashmir province was slowly dying away. The advances were usually made when the whole produce was appropriated by the State. Experience showed that the zamindars did not need these loans. It was obvious that the subordinate officers were making⁴⁵

(41) Zutshi, op.cit., p.144.

(42) AAR S.1969 (1912-13), p.34.

(43) AAR S.1971 (1914-15), p.43.

(44) AAR S.1990-91 to 1991-92, p.16

(45) AAR S.1947 (1890-91), p.49. (41) Zutshi, op.cit., p.144.

profits out of them. The Revenue Minister suspected that the accounts abounded with imaginary items which were never received by the zamindars and yet recoveries were made from them on account of outstanding arrears in which such advances were also included.⁴⁶ This system of taccavi advances started 'showing⁴⁷ decline with the expansion of the Co-operative Credit system.'

The Co-operative Movement was inaugurated in the Jammu and Kashmir State with the enactment of the Co-operative Societies Act as far back as 1914.⁴⁸ Practical shape was given to it by establishing 93 Agricultural Banks in the different parts⁴⁹ of the Jammu province with a Central Bank at Jammu. The Bank was organised on a share basis. It was kept in the charge of an officer specially trained for this purpose in the Punjab with two assistants (sub-inspectors). A third sub-inspector was added a little later. The Co-operative Bank at Srinagar was started in 1914-15. In 1915-16 the number of Agricultural Societies in Kashmir stood at 338.

(46) *ibid*

(47) AAR S.1976 (1919-20), p.8.

(48) Political Department, 69/G1-92, 1936, Note on the administration of various Deptt. prepared for being submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy during his visit to Kashmir in 1936, JA.

(49) AAR S.1970 (1913-14), p.40.

The strength of the movement in 1935 was :--

50

Type of Societies	No. of Societies	No. of Memebers	Working Capital
Central Credit	14	3,449	3,379,302
Primary Agricultural	2,578	46,366	5,935,469
Primary Non-Agr. Credit	357	6,384	732,300
Non-Credit	414	23,646	3,715
Total	3,363	79,845	10,050,786

The movement affected 80,000 families or about 400,000 of inhabitants of the State. Besides financing agriculture and industry, there were others like Co-operative Societies for consolidation of holdings, arbitration, better living, education, experimental farming, purchase and sale, mulberry cultivation, fruit growing etc.

Free alienation of land existed in the Jammu province. The Act 10 of 1915-16 was introduced to put restrictions on it. Sale was allowed by an agriculturist to another agriculturist or an agriculturist to a non-agriculturist under certain conditions. This Act was put into shape by Act 6 of 1933-34. It was an experiment in Kashmir. If they found that the

(50) Poltical Deptt., 69/G1-92, 1936, JA.

(51) ibid

agriculturist was selling land more freely than he should, they would prohibit it except in certain cases. Right of proprietorship had always been exercised in the Jammu province while it was a novel thing in the province of Kashmir.⁵²

The principal changes brought about by the Regulations were :---

- (i) that the sale would be to a member of the agricultural class;
- (ii) that the sale was prohibited of land which was the means of support of the agriculturist, namely, his khud-khasht land.⁵³

Sanction of sale was given to :---

- (i) wealthy zamindars owing much land for commercial reasons or to improve or consolidate their properties ;
- (ii) indebted zamindars owing mortgage lands and desiring to sell a part of their land in order to raise money to redeem the whole or part of the rest;
- (iii) proposed or effected in favour of zamindars who, by their insignificant numbers, had not been classed in the particular district as members of any agricultural class; and
- (iv) bona-fide artisans who were not professional money lenders.

(52) Political Deptt., 151/RR10, 1935, Amendment of Jammu Alienation of Land Regulation No.6 of 1930 and Kashmir Alienation of Land Regulation No.7 of 1930, JA

(53) *ibid*

Sanction was refused if the alienee was not a State subject or if the alienation was clearly contrary to the intentions of the Alienation of Land Regulation.

No member of an agricultural class in the Kashmir province could alienate land, within a period of 10 years with effect from 2nd October, 1934, more than 1/4 of the area shown against his name in the Revenue Records of the said date, irrespective of the fact whether the alienee is or not a member of the agricultural class. The corresponding date for the Jammu province was 4th February, 1934.

2.6 State Promotion of Agriculture

The Agricultural Department was inaugurated in Kashmir by the then Viceroy, Lord Minto, in 1906. It was extended in the Jammu province in 1927. The main functions of the department were :--

- (1) Agricultural --- conducting experiments and discriminating improved seeds, methods of cultivation and agricultural implements and manures.
- (2) Horticulture --- experimental work on deciduous and sub-tropical fruits and raising of nursery plants and introduction of foreign varieties and selection of indigenous varieties of fruit plants.
- (3) Entomological --- to affect control against insect, pests and plant diseases.
- (4) Landscape gardening and floriculture --- maintainence of the

famous Mughal gardens and nurseries for flower seeds and
54
ornamental plants, collection of wild flowers.

It also distributed improved seeds, grafted fruit
plants and provided implements and manures, gave technical advice
to orchardists and agriculturists to fight the San Jose Scale and
55
other pests. Agricultural training was important at the
Government Farms to the bonafide sons of zamindars. Candidates
were given free board and lodging.

The Department started Lantern Slide, Cut-Film and
Movie picture Demonstration depicting improved methods of
cultivation, harvesting and protecting against pests and plants
diseases of almost all agricultural and horticultural produce,
56
and working of improved implements. Fertiliser demonstrations
were given in the zamindars' fields free of cost.

Paripatetic parties consisting of trained Beldars
went around the horticultural areas and gave practical
demonstrations in budding, grafting, pruning and planting of fruit
57
trees free of charge.

(54) Political Deptt., 69/G1-92, 1936, JA.

(55) A Handbook of J & K State, 1944, p.43.

(56) Political Deptt., 13 Agr, 1937, Note of the Director of
Agriculture of propaganda in the State, JA.

(57) *ibid*

Seed agencies were established at different centres where improved seeds of different varieties were stocked for sale among zamindars on prices fixed by the Department. In order to increase the quality of improved seed for supply the Government sanctioned establishment of Tenant farms at several places in both the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. Seeds raised on Departmental farms and imported from outside the State, were distributed annually among zamindars on rates prevalent in the local market during the season. The discrepancy due to transportation and higher actual cost in case of imported seeds were borne by the Government.

With a view to give further impetus to horticulture, His Highness Government issued orders to remit land revenue for such areas which were brought under fruit nurseries by the zamindars on the recommendation of the Director of Agriculture.⁵⁸ The entire land revenue was exempted for the first seven years and thereafter, half the amount as long as the said land was utilised for nursery plantations exclusively. To facilitate the work of the Agricultural Department in attacking and overcoming pests, the 'Crop and Plant Protection Act' was passed in 1933 by which the treatment of trees harbouring these⁵⁹ pests (San Jose Scale and Woolly Aphis) was made obligatory.

(58) Political Deptt., 69/G1-92, 1986, JA.

(59) *ibid*

Trained technical labour and machinery was provided for spraying their fruit trees. The response from the zamindars was satisfactory.

Propaganda was increased through distribution of printed leaflets in vernacular on different subjects by the Revenue, Co-operative and Education Departments, patwaris and school teachers. Instructions were issued to explain the contents to the zamindars.

Annual agriculture, fruit and flower shows were held at several places to arouse the interest of the people in improved methods of agriculture, horticulture and floriculture.

Experimental farms -- the Pratap Model Farm at Srinagar and another at Golsamandar near Jammu -- were opened. A small farm was opened in Reasi near Jammu. The experiments conducted in the Pratap Model Farm were :--

- (1) Comparative varietal tests with principal cereals, pulses, oilseeds and triecce crops-- paddy, wheat, awned and awnless barley, Indian corn, etc.
- (2) Improvement of local (predominantly grown) crops by mass selection.
- (3) Introduction and subsequent comparative trials of foreign varieties of different crops.
- (4) Manurial tests with maize, potatoes, chillies, wheat and paddy.

(5) Cultivation experiments with turnips, rice, Indian corn, pop corn, sugar corn, dufasli experiments and dry farming experiments; fall through versus spring ploughing; intermittent versus continuous irrigation, natural cross-pollination and
60
sillage.

Experiments at Golsamandar Farm :--- The experiments conducted were varietal comparative ones with wheat (irrigation and rain fed), barley, linseed, maize, paddy, bajra, cotton, sugarcane, jowar, fodder crop, and sunhemp.

There were a few tenant farms which were cultivated by the zamindars under the instructions of the Department, for example, Marh, twelve miles from Jammu which had a poultry farm ; Rakh Mangal, nineteen miles from Jammu ; Kitriteng tenant farm in Kashmir where maize, sugarcane, groundnuts, soya beans and other pulses were grown for seed purposes. It was also used as a fruit nursery.

Chain-harrow cultivation of wheat was tried in the Pratap Model Farm. The 'yield of grain was doubled by the use of
61
chain harrow'. It was tried in the neighbouring cultivation but the results were not very encouraging due to want of staff.

(60) AAR S.1994-95, p.61

(61) AAR, S.1969 (1912-13), p.37.

Experiments in saffron growing, started in 1909-10 with a view to find out if it could be extended to the other parts of the Valley besides Pampur karewa, where it was regularly grown, were a failure. The zamindars incharge got nothing out of it nor did they take sufficient care.

Experiments were conducted in manures also. It was discovered that 'farmyard manure gave satisfactory results and proved more suitable than the green manure.' It gave higher yield than manures with sweepings or Dal deposits. Gypsum was used for the first time in 1925-26. Farmyard manure mixed with gypsum seemed to be the best combination. Green manuring was tried with quick growing crops such as southy, beans, peas, sunhemp, and mung. Southy green fodder gave large yields showing that green manuring could, in case of several crops, satisfactorily replace the application of farmyard manure.

Introduction of agricultural education in the State :--

The proposal of introducing agricultural training in primary schools along with purely literary instruction came up in 1909. The Maharaja replied that, "To add one more subject to the curriculum of the Primary and Middle Schools for all students

(62) AAR, S.1970 (1913-14), p. 38.

(63) AAR, S.1980 (1923-24), p. 30.

(64) AAR, S.1982 (1925-26), p. 37.

(65) *ibid*

is sure to increase the work of the scholar and absolutely likely to have prejudicial effect on the popularity of schools for they are mainly resorted to for literary education which is considered necessary for laying foundation for raising the intellect of the people... In my opinion facilities should be provided for the spread of agricultural knowledge for those who would really benefit by their training in agriculture." It was decided that agricultural training in the Normal School would begin in 1916-17.

The teaching would at first be confined to going over the whole course to be taught in Primary Schools with them. The Director of Agriculture would provide for the practical training in the Lal Mandi garden at supplementary farm, and elsewhere in Srinagar, according to the requirements as circumstances permitted. The Maharaja sanctioned this scheme by an order in 1917.

(66) OER, 11/P-129, 1909, Proposals regarding introduction of agricultural education in the State, order of the Maharaja, dt. 28 March, 1909, JA.

(67) OER, 197/P-10, 1917, Introduction of teaching of agriculture in primary schools, JA.

(68) *ibid*

The chief drawbacks for agriculture were difficulties of communications and lack of marketing facilities together with backwardness of people who had no scientific knowledge of the subject. Despite a lot of efforts by the Government, the production was quite low. More than 75% of the population were occupied in agriculture, yet, the Government had to import food grains.

The hilly nature of the State rendered communication difficult which resulted in inadequate marketing facilities. Moreover, as the work was conducted, there were a horde of intermediaries who intercepted a major portion of the profit and while the agriculturist got very little, the consumer had to pay more.

69

(69) Census of India, 1931, op.cit., p.212.

CHAPTER 3

INDUSTRY

The arts and crafts of Kashmir have been justly renowned. Cottage industries like wood carving, wool weaving, shawl making, etc. have made Kashmir products famous all over the world. Carpets of the finest warp and woof, lovely paintings and wonderful designs ^{on} papier mache goods or on wood, deft weaving in willow wicker, superb metal work, etc. were other famous industries of Kashmir.

It is generally believed that the Jammu region lagged behind in handicrafts and other industries. However, from the various records and traditions, it appears that some branches of handicrafts had developed in the Jammu region also. Crafts like chikri wood articles, bamboo articles, woollen blankets, silverware, jewellery, pottery, naras and parandhas were common and much in demand in the neighbouring areas.

The Industrial sector absorbed only a small part of the population (9.7%, 8.7% and 7.4% in 1901, 1911 and 1921 respectively). However, it was a common occupation in cities than in villages. According to the Census of 1931, 43% of earners in the city of Srinagar were supported by industries.

(1) S. Sinha, The Playground of Asia, Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad, 1943, p. 73.

(2) N. R. Gupta, op. cit., p. 203.

3.1 Textile Industries.

1. Woollen Industry

This was the one of the most important industry of the province of Kashmir. As the country was a wool growing and not a cotton growing one, the textile industry was chiefly based on wool.

(a) Shawls

King Zain-ul-Abidin, who ruled Kashmir from about 1420-70 A.D., is said to have given encouragement to the local industry by sending presents of shawls to others of his rank and status outside Kashmir. The Mughals also extended their patronage to this industry. Jigha was a jewelled ornament worn by the Mughal Emperor on their turbans. An Andijani weaver imitated the design of the jigha in a scarf made for Emperor Babur and was so successful that the jigha became the fashionable design in all scarves and shawls. With the immigration of the Andijani weavers in India and Kashmir, the jigha design was adopted and became very popular. By the end of the eighteenth century, Kashmir had a vast

(3) S.Sinha, op.cit., p.76.

(4) F.N.Rogers, "The Silver Square Coins of Kashmir", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1885, part I, Vol 54, as quoted by M.Ganjoo in "Textile Industries in Kashmir", Premier Publishing Company, Delhi, 1945, p.35.

(5) Lawrence, op.cit., p.376.

market in India, Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan, Russia and regained even in Europe which had been earlier lost during the 18th century and even perhaps earlier. The first shawl which reached Europe was brought by Napoleon at the time of campaign in Egypt as a present to Empress Josephine.

Thus Kashmir, if cannot claim the honour of the country of the birth of their manufacture, may undoubtedly claim that of being the country where the industry was first carefully fostered and encouraged and whence it spread over the greater part of India and remote parts of the world.

Marion Doughty writing about the shawl says, "...examined many beautiful pieces of pashmina, so silky and light like the fairy wedding gowns of our childhood, they could be packed in a nutshell..."

The shawls were mostly made of pashmina wool which was brought down from Ladakh. The white variety was sold at the rate of 'Rs 4 or 5 a seer or 2 lbs., the coloured sort being somewhat cheaper'.

(6) M.Ganjoo, op.cit., p.36

(7) Lawerence, op.cit., p.376.

(8) W.Wakefield, The Happy Valley--- The History of Kashmir and the Kashmiris, Seema Publications, N.Delhi, 1975, p.142-143.

(9) M.Doughty, op.cit., p.154.

(10) Wakefield, op.cit., p.142.

The wool was cleaned and spun into thread which was dyed in different colours. A few were undyed to give the natural colour to some shawls. After dyeing the thread was dipped in rice water in order to make it stronger. The shawl was later washed to remove the stiffness. Shawls were either loom-made or handmade. The shawls were woven in pairs in very rudely-constructed looms.¹¹ The weaving took more than a year and needed three or four hands in making one of a good size and quality.

The loom made shawls entailed a lot of labour, "one man gave the names of colours to another man who worked at the looms."¹² They were woven in many pieces being afterwards joined together with great artistic skill.¹³ In the hand-made shawls the pattern was worked with needles, a separate needle being required for each colour. There was a great variety of patterns worked on the various shawls, and on their borders, but the most popular ones were the 'pine' or Kashmir pattern, and the 'fools cap' or cyprus shaped ornament.

The most beautiful of the renowned Kashmir shawls were produced by three methods :--

(11) *ibid*, p. 145.

(12) I. Collette, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

(13) Wakefield, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

- (a) by embroidering upon a plain foundation cloth ;
- (b) by weaving the pattern along with the foundation ;and
- (c) by weaving a pattern as integral part of the foundation cloth, subsequently embellishing it with embroidery.

The first method was the most expensive but did not necessarily produce the most artistic results.

Shawls woven were of two kinds, canie or woven pattern shawl, and amli or embroidered shawl, Before the 19th century, canie shawls were in great demand but the situation reversed afterwards.

The designer was the most important in the manufacture of canie shawls. He would chalk out the required design, and would then dictate to the talimguru (writer of designs) the colours and other details of pattern of a shawl, and the latter would write down the instructions in the form of heiroglyphics which would then handed over to the weaver, who would set himself to work with the help of tiyas or eye-less wooden needles, numbering 400 to 1500, the determining factor being the lightness or heaviness of the embroidery or pattern.

(14) Sinha, op.cit., p.76-77

(15) Ganjoo, op.cit.p.39.

(16) ibid, p.40

Some took to weaving alwand, or plain pashmina, or jamavars or butadars for the Persian market. Amlikar, or hand-embroidered shawls, embroidered with gold and silk thread were known as chiknakar, katankar and morsahar.¹⁷ Another type was dorikar which was silk embroidery on a plain pashmina alwand.

The labour force during the 19th century was divided into water-tight compartments. The designer only knew designing, the talimgurus only knew writing of designs in a form of signs and notations, etc. However, once the demand of shawls declined, this division came to an end. The men were crowded together in low, ill-ventilated rooms, and were usually very emaciated and ill-paid.¹⁸ The artistic perfection and material squalour were strange contrast men at a wage of a few annas a day doing work of priceless value it was a remniscent of the Italian Middle Ages.¹⁹

Manufacture of shawls took place under three systems, cottage, tsatchal and beopari. Usually the beopari²⁰ financed the other two types of producers. Some were financed by the local moneylenders.

(17) Lawrence, op.cit., p.277.

(18) I.Collette, op.cit., p.19.

(19) M.Doughty, op.cit., p.158.

(20) Ganjoo, op.cit., p.91.

Still the manufactured goods reached the beopari and the chief interest of the moneylender was the interest on the loans and not the goods produced.

The cottage weaver was very poor. He either managed with his paltry savings or borrowed capital. If he was lucky he would find a direct customer. Otherwise, it was sold to a beopari. Knowing that the cottage weaver would not be able to continue if he did not get paid for this consignment, the beopari exploited him, often giving him a price less than the cost of production.

The beopari did not directly enter into the field of production, but simply financed the industry and bought the manufactures.

The vostas, owners of tsatchals or small karkhanas, usually got a price for their products which was equal²¹ to the cost of production. However, they were at an advantage over the cottage weaver as they bought the raw materials at whole sale prices. Their products were sold to the beoparis.

The profits of beopari varied. It was 25% and sometimes even higher. In case of raffle shawls the profit was sometimes 300%. But this made the customers always wary of the beoparis. This adversely affected the market.

(21) *ibid* p.92.

The shawl industry, in the period under review, was on the decline. It flourished between 1865 and 1872, during which it had a ready market in France. The defeat of France in the Franco-German War of 1870 resulted in the loss of this market. This was a severe blow to this industry. Besides, the taxation policy of Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh tolled the death-knoll. The chief victims of the 1878-79 famine were the shawl weavers. Maharaja Ranbir Singh abolished the poll-tax but it did not boost the industry. The Europeans also contributed towards its decline by promoting the carpet industry and ignoring the shawl industry.

The allied industries of shawl like fringe-weaving (hashia bafi) and embroidery (yarmadazi and jalakdozi)²² correspondingly declined with the shawl manufacture. Embroidery on shawls was reduced to needle work on silks, woollen and cotton textiles, and to the hook work on coarser stuff and namdahs. Though a good number of weavers were drawn to other occupations, such as carpet weaving, sawing and boating yet there was still a large number unemployed.²³

(22) M.I.Khan, History of Srinagar, 1846-1947, A Study of Socio-Cultural Changes, Aamir Publications, Srinagar, 1978. p.64

(23) ibid

(b) Carpet

The carpet weaving industry was introduced during the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. When the shawl industry passed away, its place was to some extent taken up by the carpet industry. Many survivors of the famine of 1877-79 found²⁴ occupation in the manufacture of carpets.

An attempt was made during the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh to improve the industry. In 1876, Monsieur H. Danvergue set up a factory in Srinagar. It was a failure. Another European took it over but could not handle it. It was subsequently purchased by a British firm, Messrs. W. Mitchell & Co. which was carried on as East India Carpet Factory. Another factory was started by Messrs. C.H. Hadow & Co. Many of the old weavers took to carpet making and pashm, used formely for shawls,²⁵ was being increasingly used for finer kinds of carpets. The²⁶ dyes employed were indigo, safflower, madder, red and yellow.

These Europeans capitalists invested large sums, paid better wages, produced on mass scale with better raw materials, and created a vast market for Kashmir carpets not only in India, but even in America by sending beautiful carpet pieces²⁷ to be exhibited in the Chicago World Fair of 1890.

(24) Lawrence, op. cit., p. 377.

(25) F. Younghusband, op. cit., p. 212.

(26) Lawrence, op. cit., p. 377.

(27) Ganjoo, op. cit., p. 131.

The industry was most flourishing upto 1929, the year of the financial crisis in America. She raised high tariff walls and demand came to a standstill. The modern craze for cheapness, by the use of aniline dyes spoiled it also. ²⁸ By 1939, the industry showed of signs of recovery. Instead of America, Britain and other European countries became a good market. However, the demand never reached the previous level. The State granted a subsidy on the export of carpets from 1932 onwards. The rate of subsidy in 1932 was 3 1/2 annas per sq.ft. for the superior quality and 2 annas for the inferior. ²⁹ Even during the Second World War, carpets were being made and exported.

Carpets with as many as 400 knots to the square inch were made at Srinagar factories. Silk and pashmina wool was used to bring out the more delicate shadings in the designs and the switch with which the Iranian weavers used to give their carpets density was successfully adopted. ³⁰ Herati and Kerman carpets were also produced extremely well and the Yarkandi patterns were successfully imitated.

(28) Sinha, op.cit., p. 79.

(29) Ganjoo, op.cit., p.132-133.

(30) Sinha, op.cit., p. 79-80.

This industry gave employment to a considerable number of people. Women were not employed in carpet factories, but a fairly good number of them were engaged in spinning of wool for the factories in their homes under the direction of head weavers deputed by the Companies.³¹ Thus, directly or indirectly, about 12% of the population of Srinagar earned its livelihood from the carpet industry.³²

The industry could be divided into three groups, one that was financed, managed and owned by foreign capital ; second, managed and owned and mostly financed by local capital ; and the third group, consisting of cottage weavers.³³ The cottage weavers were isolated, poor, ignorant and conservative who had neither the resources nor the knowledge to take the advantage of the improvements affected by bigger manufacturers.³⁴ He was both the producers and seller. The local owners were not financially sound. They had to borrow money quite often and could not hold large stocks. The financial position of the European factory was very sound.

The marketing organisation of the industry was satisfactory only in the sector under 'factory' system.

(31) Khan, op. cit., p. 66.

(32) ibid

(33) Ganjoo, op. cit., p. 138.

(34) Khan, op. cit., p. 67.

The factory owners owned sale depots with agents in India and abroad. The cottage weaver manufactured a piece of carpet and then hunted for a customer. Very rarely did he receive an order from a local man.

(c) Namdah

A namdah is a woollen felt, a kind of a rug or a drugget. It is made by milling up or felting partly woven fabrics, then figuring them with embroideries in a most ingenious manner.³⁵ They are used as floor coverings, bed mattresses or coverings. Namdah is usually white though ochre and black namdahs are also made. Namdah may be either plain or embroidered. It seems to have originated in Central Asia. The namdahs were generally imported unembroidered from Chinese-Turkistan. It was of the inferior kind and was again felted in Srinagar. The plain namdah then underwent a set of processes-- dyeing, designing, embroidering, washing and finally baling-- before it was ready³⁶ for export and for being shipped abroad. Julie felts made of pashmina wool were chiefly manufactured till the first quarter of the 20th century. A few commercial establishments also came up. After the Wall Street collapse in 1929, America became the chief buyer of the Kashmir namdahs.

(35) *ibid*, p.54.

(36) Sinha, *op.cit.*, p.82.

The Leh road was closed by the authorities in Central Asia during the Second World War. Trade ^{at} once came to an end. The demand, however, continued to rise. This gave birth to the Kashmir namdah industry, localised in Srinagar mostly. The labour force thrown out of the carpet industry during the depression of 1929 found employment in this industry. The namdahs of Central Asia were made of pure wool but the Kashmir products were stuffed with cotton placed between two layers of wool.

The namdah industry was in the hands of a few capitalists who financed it and handled the marketing. The smaller workers manufactured it with their own resources and went about street to street to sell it.

The capitalist advanced money to head workers who were known to him as assamis, but known as vostas to workers and outsiders. ³⁷ At times, raw material was given to the vostas on credit. The vostas ususally employed the members of his own family. A few namdahs were kept for sale as plain namdahs. The rest were sent for printing outlines of designs, and then, to embroider to the asamies. The capitalists supplied raw materials ³⁸ at a fixed price to the assami, the price deducted from the money due to the assamies.

(37) Ganjoo, op. cit., p.147.

(38) ibid

The namdahs were classified into good and bad ones and the wages were determined according to it. It was difficult to ascertain how much work one worker had done as the work was done jointly by the whole family. The labour was generally classified into skilled labour, the carders and millers, and second, children who worked as pressers.

(d) Gabba

It was localised at Islamabad (Anantnag), the only one outside Srinagar. Printed gabbas were a speciality of Baramulla. Worn out loies (blankets) were usually the chief material used for its manufacture. When lined with some material, like cotton cloth, they would last for years. Anantnag, situated on the road to the sacred cave of Amarnath, had a regular flow of visitors and pilgrims who made large purchases. During the 1930's, workshops were opened in Srinagar also. It created a new class of tradesmen in the city called Zachaguru.

The weaving of pattoos and loies (coarse woollen blankets) was a well known industry of Kashmir and was largely practised as a subsidiary occupation in the villages. Raffle, ³⁹ made of German and local wool, was gaining popularity because of its cheapness and was fast replacing the plain but durable pattoo.

(39) Census of India, 1911, op. cit., p. 181.

The common arrangement was for the local shopkeeper to advance money on the produce of repayment in blankets and garden produce.

2. Silk Industry

The largest and most important industry under the control of the State was sericulture. It is first mentioned during the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin. It was, however, not so much developed in the pre-Dogra period, as the shawl industry occupied the place of importance. The province of Kashmir as it lay on the trade route between China and India, was from its early days acquainted with the silkworm.

This industry was a monopoly of the State from the production of silkworm seed to the marketing of raw silk and its by-products. It was started in a systematic way in 1870-71 under the order of Maharaja Ranbir Singh and, for eight years, it was in a flourishing condition. 127 rearing houses were built in different parts of the Kashmir valley. A new Department was set up to look after it. A guild of silk worm rearers, kirm-kush, was formed. The rearers were exempt from begar.

(40) Neve, op. cit., p. 59.

(41) Political Department, 297, 1932, Raw Silk Industry in the province of J & K.

(42) *ibid*

(43) AAR S. 1946 (1889-90), p. 63.

(44) See Ganjoo, op. cit., p. 154.

However, this success did not last long. Several causes were responsible for it. Firstly, the State had no fixed plan about the silk industry. Secondly, the kirm-kush had become a privileged class of people.⁴⁵ They were exempted from begar and were authorised to keep a watch over the mulberry trees lest they should be cut off or injured by the villagers.⁴⁶ They would use any house for breeding of silk worm. These powers were generally misused. Thus, the villagers did not take much interest in rearing silk worms. The immediate cause was the outbreak of pebrine. On or about the year 1878, the pebrine plague, which subsequently made its appearance in all parts of the world, threatening to exterminate the industry, appeared here and by the year 1878, it became so virulent that the industry had to, for all purposes, be abandoned and nothing was done till 1888.⁴⁷

A Conference on sericulture was held in Srinagar on 21st October, 1889. Mr. R.B. Mukherjee, who was incharge of the silk industry in Kashmir, said that pebrine was the chief cause of the failure of sericulture. Houses of the villagers were dirty and ill-ventilated. The Government buildings at Raghunathpura, Srinagar and Haft Chinar made arrangements for light, ventilation

(45) *ibid*, p. 157.

(46) *ibid*

(47) AAR S. 1946 (1889-90), p. 63.

and temperature. Two-third worms died and moths produced were diseased with pebrine. He said that, "...if healthy seeds were imported, the villagers would buy readily".⁴⁸ He recommended the continuation of silk growing in Chatrar, Bianwar, Haft Chinar, Raghunathpura and should grow seed at Raghunathpura, Chirpur, and Serai. The introduction of seed caused diseases in Kashmir. He was in favour of Bokhara seed. He also recorded a strong opinion that the efforts of the Darbar should be directed towards making sericulture a cottage industry. The Council agreed to send two men to Burhanpur, but observed that for some years the State should continue to actively engage in sericulture to encourage villagers until it could be left to them alone.

In October 1889, Sir Edward Buck visited Kashmir with the object of ascertaining the condition of sericulture and horticulture and advised the State as to the best means of improving the culture of silk and fruits. A Committee was appointed which examined the stock of silk worms. They observed that they were in a badly pebrinised condition and recommended that this stock should be abandoned and a fresh supply brought from Europe. Sir Edward Buck ordered seeds from Italy, France and Bokhara. The seeds from Bokhara were badly pebrinised and

(48) *ibid*, p. 42.

the European seeds hatched and died on the way. A Kashmiri Pandit was sent to Burhanpur in November, 1889 to learn microscopical examination under N.G. Mukherji.

Sir Thomas Wardle, President of the Silk Association of Great Britain and Ireland, asked for some samples of silk to be sent to the Exhibition of Silk in 1891 in London. He strongly advised to accept an improved method of coccon⁴⁹ reeling.

As a part of modernisation, the State requested the British Government for the machinery and the services of a sericultural expert for the post of Director of Sericulture in Kashmir. Mr C.B. Walton was sent for this purpose on 1st May 1897. The site selected was Rambagh, situated on the borders of Srinagar.

Babu Rishibar reported that the crop failed in consequence of laxity of supervision and the want of proper⁵⁰ arrangements for regulation of temperature. He made two proposals.

- (1) A refrigeration room should be constructed without delay.
- (2) Seeds should be imported from Europe and Bengal.

(49) Ganjoo, op. cit., p. 158-159

(50) AAR S. 1947 (1890-91), p. 51.

The seeds available were French seeds, Italian, White Chinese, Bengal and Kashmir. The three State nurseries at Lasjan, Raghunathpur and Chierpur were made over to villagers for rearing under strict supervision of the Department. Imported seeds were not as good as expected. Burhanpur seeds gave very good results.

The causes as cited by C.B.Walton which were impeding the development of sericulture operations were :--

- (1) "ignorance of those incharge, regarding sericulture and into requirements;
- (2) "industrial seeds being imported from Europe which was unexamined and, therefore, more or less diseased ;
- (3) "rearers keeping hidden seeds which simply prevented any reproduction as it was so diseased."

The changes introduced by C.B.Walton were :--

- (1) Importing of "guaranteed" seed ;
- (2) Almirahs were supplied to rearers to enable them to rear larger quantities and for cleanliness ;
- (3) The baling and despatching of silk at reasonable rates ;
- (4) Proper buildings for storing and reeling cocoons as well as ovening and on all which so much depends for the quality of silk;

(51) AAR S.1949 (1892-93), p.138.

(52) OER, 156, 1898, Note on Sericulture. Also AAR S.1954 (1897-98), p.184. JA.

(5) A system for proper reeling of silk, which was the principle fault found by the manufacturers ; and

(6) Samples of both Italian and French machinery were imported with the object of enabling Kashmir to compete with European marks.

The Director said that if Kashmir silk was to compete with Italy and France, European supervisors had to be provided for.⁵³

Thus, by the end of the 19th century, the industry after experiencing many vicissitudes, had become well established in the country, and was a great relief to the labour which had been thrown out of employment from the shawl industry.⁵⁴

Henceforth the State took greater interest among the villagers. The village heads, called lambardars, were offered a small commission varying with the amount of cocoons reared within their respective jurisdiction. The rearers were exempted from begar during this rearing season.⁵⁵ It was found that the rearers kept back a portion of the cocoons for reproduction. Monopoly laws were passed in 1907 which prohibited the rearers from doing so. In 1908, a filature was set up in Jammu also.

(53) AAR S. 1955-57, p. 282.

(54) Ganjoo, op. cit., p. 161.

(55) *ibid*, p. 163.

Owing to the adverse affect of the War there was a severe check on the growth of sericulture. In Jammu, there was a small increase in the scope of rearing operations, a marked improvement in the out-turn but a heavy decrease in the work done by the filatures due to unavoidable closures and a shortage of labour.⁵⁶ The industry made a revival in 1915-16 owing to various causes, such as War, the shortage of European crop, heavy purchases by America, etc. Despite the enormous freight, insurance rates, the department sold a large amount of silk at excellent prices. Silk rearing was extended to all the tehsils of the Jammu province, except Akhnur, Samba and Jasmergarh.⁵⁷ After the war, most modern filatures of the Italian type were built in Srinagar.

No department of the State was so adversely affected by the general economic depression as sericulture.⁵⁸ The European markets were of no use as the prices obtainable were very low. Business in India was greatly restricted by the unequal competition with cheap Japanese and Chinese silks.

(56) AAR S.1971 (1914-15), p.11.

(57) AAR S.1972 (1915-16)

(58) AAR,S.1987-90, p.46.

As a result of the loss of American markets which took increasingly to artificial silks, China turned its attention to India and began to export to this country superior as well as inferior silks.⁵⁹ In Europe also, she had to face competition from Chinese silks.

The tariff walls which were raised in India against the foreign imports of silks did not keep much. Because of its continuous losses, the State was asked by the Praja Sabha to close down the factories. But the State Government did not agree. The situation improved slightly when the war broke out. The Government of India placed an order with the Kashmir Government for parachute cloth.

There were two factories for receiving the cocoon and putting them through various processes, one at Srinagar and the other at Jammu.⁶⁰ The rearers employed were all agriculturists who took up rearing merely as a subsidiary means of livelihood. The silk factory of Srinagar was the only factory of its kind which employed a considerable number of children⁶¹ below fourteen years. Men were not drawn towards it as they could get higher rates for other works. As a result,

(59) Ganjoo, op. cit., p. 179.

(60) Census of India, 1941, op. cit., p. 20.

(61) Khan, op. cit, p. 70.

this factory employed a large number of women and children. The women employed were mostly low class muslims. The rates of wages were the same for men and women for similar kinds of work and equal output. However, the men were allowed a slightly higher wage as they were more efficient.

The handloom weaving of the silk industry was confined to the city of Srinagar. It was mostly carried on a cottage scale as well as small factory scale. Weavers who possessed only one or two handlooms did all the work by themselves. In the case of factory production, there were separate workers who did the twisting and winding, doubling and warping, dyeing and finishing.

The chief raw materials used were :--

- (1) "Imported silk yarn which was mostly spun silk obtained direct from the manufacturing agents in Bombay or through local dealers ;
- (2) "Artificial silk, direct from the manufacturer's agents ;and
- (3) "Raw silk, direct from the local Government silk factories or imported Yarkand raw silk from local dealers."

(62) Census of India, 1921, op. cit., p. 179.

(63) Political Department, 297, 1932, Raw Silk Industry in the Province of J & K, JA.

(64) ibid

Guibadan, Daryai, sarees, dupattas, suitings and shirtings, dhoties, loongies, turbans and handkerchieves were the chief products.

These products had to compete with China silk, Boski and Fugi, Crepe silk, spun silk, and artificial silk goods. It was a cheap substitute for costly silk goods.

The State handled all the three branches of the silk industry, that is, reproduction of seed, rearing and reeling.

There were two Sericulture Departments, one for Kashmir and the other for Jammu. The zones of rearing for each department were confined within the limits of the respective province. Both departments maintained separate accounts. Each department had a Director incharge of the three main branches of this industry -- (1) grainage section, (2) mulberry culture section and (3) its reeling section or silk factory. Upto 1942, these Directors were responsible to the Development Minister, but after that, they were put under a Chief Director responsible to the said Minister, independently of the Director of Industries.

The labour engaged in the sericulture industry could be divided into three groups, the rearers, the reelers and those who performed the other processes, such as, seed examiners,

(65) Ganjoo, op. cit., p.213.

knotters, cleaners, sorters, etc. There were also supervisors, inspectors, watchers and a number of categories of other workers.

The State had to make provision for the ample supply of mulberry leaves as the weight of cocoon depended a lot upon it. It was quite a difficult problem for the province of Kashmir. Mulberry leaves appeared at that time of the year when the cattle came out famished from the enforced idleness of winter, when the fodder was scarce and the average agriculturist was apt to think little of the requirements of the silk worms and, thus, gave mulberry leaves. It was to prevent this that the State had to put down on the Statute Book the Mulberry Rules which protected the mulberry trees from ruthless defoliation and preserve the leaf for the silk worm.⁶⁷ The State planted trees on State waste and village common lands as the zamindars found it a nuisance to grow them.

An intensive propaganda through the agency of the itinerant staff for instructing the villagers in the method of rearing worms was started. Advances were given to the zamindars for improving the condition of buildings devoted for the purpose of rearing and was further assisted with technical advice and free gifts of chemicals necessary for the successful rearing of the silk worms.⁶⁸

(66) *ibid*

(67) Political Department, 297, 1932, JA

(68) *ibid*

The cocoons raised by the zamindars were taken over by the Department on payment, as left to himself the zamindar would not be in position to arrange for the reeling of silk on lines that would ensure production of raw silk of high grades.

Thus, the State justified the need for monopolising the industry of the production of cocoons as well as reeling of raw silk. It could not undertake to sink considerable capital in the plant and buildings of the industry as well as provide funds for financing it unless it could ensure a regular supply of raw material to come to the factory to be worked under trained supervision. The State set up an organisation to provide for :-- (1) purchase and issue of disease-free seed free of cost; (2) adequate supply of mulberry leaves; (3) a peripatetic staff of advisers ; (4) purchase of cocoons and (5) subjecting the same to manipulative processes so as to ensure that superior quality of silk for which the Kashmir brand had earned reputation in the Indian market.

3 Cotton textile Industry

This was a more important industry of the Jammu province than of Kashmir. However, it was quite common in Kashmir before the cheap machine made manufactures from abroad made inroads into Kashmir.

(69) *ibid*

Cotton was grown in the valley and the people spun themselves without the help of machinery of any sort. Sticks about four feet long were run into the ground, placed at equal distances, two or three feet apart, according to the required length of the cloth to be manufactured. The cotton was put alternatively between these sticks by women or men and boys, walking up and down the entire length till the required width, usually about one yard, was obtained. The sticks were then removed, and the whole stretched tight and dressed with a wet comb. The whole process took a few days. It was a common sight to see in the verandah an old woman seated with masses of snow-white cotton-wool in front of her, from which, with the aid of a curious old wheel, she spun excellent thread.⁷⁰

In the Jammu province, the cotton industry was always the main subsidiary industry and for export as well. It was an important source of income for all the people and its decline produced grave repercussions on the economic life of the villagers. However, the decline did not affect Kashmir as much as Jammu. The cotton weavers of Kashmir easily shifted to other trades.⁷¹

(70) I. Collette, op.cit., p.19.

(71) Neve, op.cit., p.50.

Weaving in Jammu was mostly done in the winter months. If they found a customer on the spot, they sold it then itself. Otherwise in summer, they went to the hilly tracts, sometime even to Kashmir, to sell the cloth.

Some village weavers in Jammu wove on piece wage system. These people were mostly dependent on those who spun cotton in their own homes, and got the same manufactured with the help of hired labour. ⁷² Most of the cotton goods produced were for personal consumption.

A few traders in Jammu bought yarn from outside on wholesale basis and sold it to cottage weavers on cash or credit, often at prohibitive prices and then bought the manufactures from them at prices which often deprived them of any profits. A few establishments in Jammu manufactured cloth on their own account and sold the same through sales depot which was fairly systematic.

The important centres of cotton cloth production in the province of Jammu were Samba, Chhanni, Julahan (in the Jammu district) and a few villages in the Kathua district, Mirpur proper and a few adjoining villages of that place.

(72) Ganjoo, op. cit., p. 245.

3.2 Cottage Industries.

The wood work of Srinagar lacked the finish of the Punjab carving, but the Kashmiri carver was perhaps second to none in his skill as a designer. It received a fillip during the Dogra rule and found a ready market throughout the world. Unfortunately, the demand was so great that unseasoned wood was frequently employed, bringing about little roughness and inequality in the work. Khatambundi, and indigenous form of woodwork, was used to decorate ceilings, especially those of houseboats.

According to the Census of 1921, there were fifty factories of woodwork in Srinagar specialising in carving, pinjara or lattice work and panelling in various designs. Several innovations for example, trays like chinar leaf and other leaves, sculptures of elephants, dogs etc. and German, Egyptian and Swiss designs, were copied from foreign catalogues.

The State Technical Schools devoted much attention to it and it may be said that, under the patronage of His Highness Government, wood carving suited to modern needs such as, screens, drawing room sets, smoking cabinets, etc. had obtained perfection.

(73) Lawrence, op. cit., p. 378.

(74) J. Arbuthnot, A Trip to Kashmir, Thacker, Spinck & Co., Calcutta, 1900, p. 14.

(75) Note on J & K State, 1928, p. 33

Embroidery in Kashmir was done in four styles--

(1) Amlī, (2) Chikan (minute satin stitch), (3) Doori (knot
76
stitch), and (4) Irena. It gave employment to about 17,000
77
people in 1921.

Drapings, made of pashmina or silk, were embroidered in floral designs using the chain stitch. The more favourite patterns were :--

(1) Shawl (2) Chinar leaf (3) Irich (4) Dragon.

With the decline of the shawl industry, embroidery also suffered a decline, the embroiderers fulfilled the demand for various goods required in English and Westernised
78
households.

The silverware was renowned for its beauty and form. The indigenous patterns, the chinar and the lotus leaf were mostly used on trays, jugs, goblets, etc. The tools comprised of a hammer and a chisel. By 1921, every silversmith possessed an
79
electroplating apparatus which he employed on white metal. The silver work was boiled in apricot juice to give a white sheen but it was apt to tarnish later.

(76) Census of India, 1921, op.cit., p.178.

(77) AAR S.2000 (13th April 1943- 12th April 1944), p.49.

(78) Khan, op.cit., p.65.

(79) ibid p.43.

The metal was either imported in ingots via
80
Yarkand or was ruppee silver. There were five classes of people
working :--

(1) Smiths (kar); (2) Engravers (naqash); (3) Gilders (zarkols);
(4) Polishers (roshangars); and (5) Cleaners (charkgar)

All the five classes were exploited by the
middlemen and their wages were determined by them. There was no
labour organisation. The smiths made no effort to improve the
quality of work or introduce changes.

The copper work had a few elegant and original
designs. Brass work was also done which lent itself to
electroplating. The influx of visitors, in last the decade of the
19th century, increased the demand. Copper trays framed as
tables in carved walnut wood became popular. Enamel work was done
in brass and silver.

The modern stone work in Kashmir consisted of
81
lapidary work. Jade, imported from Yarkand, was used to make
seals and pendants. Cornelian, liverstone, moss-stone, rock
crystal, etc. were imported in small quantities through Ladakh for
82
manufacture of buttons, beads, brooches, etc. The lapidaries of
Srinagar were proficient as seal cutters.

(80) Lawrence, op.cit., p.378.

(81) Census of India, 1921, op.cit., p.184.

Papier-mache was introduced by Zain-ul-Abidin. It was on the decline in the period under review. The word, papier-mache, was somewhat of a misnomer, for practically that material made by pulping and moulding coarse country paper, was scarcely seen, but the style of painting on wood as in Persia and introduced from there centuries ago, was employed for decorating a variety of objects made of closely grained white wood, and the result was very similar. ⁸³ Kar-i-kalamdari, was one of the best specimens of the old work. The artisans tried to attract the hunters by adding a makhor's head. The old lacquer work was difficult to get.

The paper making industry was also introduced by Zain-ul-Abidin. The art continued on the same lines without any marked improvements. The most simple and indigenous methods were followed and the most ingenious appliance was used. The ink used for writing was a fine suspension of carbon in glue and water and laid down with a reed pen. As the paper was not proof against the running of modern inks and, secondly, could not compete with the cheap machine made paper, this industry was slowly declining. ⁸⁴

(82) *ibid*

(83) M. Doughty, *op. cit.*, p. 162-163.

(84) Political Department, 58/CI-32, 1929, A Note on the brief history of the art of paper making in Kashmir, JA.

The paper making industry would have died but for the encouragement extended by the Government. Large quantities of paper was purchased every year for use in government offices.

The materials used were rags, hemp, saji, lime and starch. Hemp was used for good quality paper. Saji, an impure carbonate of soda black, and lime were used for softening and cleaning the rags. Starch was a sizing agent, prepared locally with boiled rice.

The manufacturing process consisted of bleaching, washing and polishing. Polishing was done with a piece of agate stone. The polish imparted was very high, consequently very dangerous as entries could sometimes be obliterated. Paper made was rolled, each roll consisting of 24 sheets and covered with coloured paper.

Three qualities of paper were manufactured. They were :--

(a) Farmashi, also called Maharaji or Royal, a fine, highly glazed paper, made of 2 parts of hemp fibre to every 16 parts of rags.

(b) Dahmashti, made of 3 parts of hemp to every 177 parts of rags.

(c) Kalamdari, having no hemp fibre

Rangmaz was coloured paper and was used for packing purposes

(85) *ibid.*

Most of the paper was used by the Kashmir Government for vernacular correspondence and some for packing purposes. The Government tried to improve its quality but the paper makers could not be persuaded to give up their time honoured practices. All that could be done was introducing jelatine sizing side by side with starch sizing.

Boat making was an old industry of Kashmir. Barges, used for transportation of grain and wood, were of two kinds-- bahats (800-1000 maunds) and war (400 maunds). The dunga (200 maunds) was used to transport grain in winter. The shikara, a smaller version of a dunga, was used for short journeys. Other varieties were dembra'o and tsatawar. The parinda, larinao and chakwari were the vehicles of the rulers.

With the introduction of the English willow, which had longer twigs, the wicker work industry became quite common. The Technical Institute at Srinagar trained pupils. The Department of Industries encouraged workers by supplying improved material, finding suitable markets and giving instructions in improved methods.

There were other minor cottage industries like leather work, bee keeping, etc.

There was a large trade in leather in Kashmir. Hides were prepared in the villages by Watahs.

(86) A Note on J & K State, 1928, p.34.

All necessary articles for a shooting trip, such as, gun-covers,
87
cartridge bags, hold-alls, etc. could be bought very cheap. The
Sarpanch of the Neloi Panchayat helped in the establishment of
the shoe making school at Neloi by giving loans for the purchase
88
of raw material. A house, free of rent, was allotted to it.
Improved methods in honey production were tried at Bijbihara,
Achhabal and Tultamula.

The Jammu tract also had its traditional small
scale industries. The trouser tape, that is, nara weaving was an
old industry of the villages around Jammu, Sumailpur, Kot Palwal,
Bhishnah and Samba villages.

Calico printing in Samba was once a flourishing
industry. It was followed by a community called 'Chhimbas'. Lack
of knowledge of the use of aniline dyes and of varied designs was
rendering this art extinct. The Government did its best to save
it from extinction.

The farmers in the Jammu tract made baskets,
ropes, mats, etc. for their own use.

(87) Arbuthnot, op.cit., p.14.

(88) AAR S.1996-97 (17th October 1939- 15th October 1940), P.85.

3.3 New Industries

(1) Large Scale Industries

A number of large scale industries cropped up in the 20th century. The Shri Karan Singh Woollen Mills was started with Government assistance to make blankets. The Government Rosin and Turpentine Factory was set up in the middle of February 1940⁸⁹ under the control of the Chief Conservator of Forests. It produced turpentine of different varieties. Another important industry was Kashmir Pharmaceutical Works in Baramulla which prepared tinctures, tabloids and drugs. A number of agricultural industries also came up. Distillation of rose oil and other essences was tried by the Industrial Laboratory but the project⁹⁰ had to be abandoned as it was not successful. Sugarcane and beet sugar and tobacco gave rise to the sugar, and cigarette and cigar making industries respectively. Other industries were Government Silk Weaving Factory, Kashmir Willow, Kashmir Indianite Company, Kashmir Sheep Farm Ltd. and Government Sheep Breeding and Resarch Farm, Kashmir Match Factory, Jammu Tannery, Fruit Canning, etc.

(89) AAR S.1996 (17th October 1939- 15th October 1940), p.114.

(90) Political Department, 444, 1932, Note on the Kashmir Trade and Industry drawn up by Mr C.R.Kohli, JA.

(2) Small Scale Industries

The small scale industries were also numerous. There were 5 to 6 small hosiery establishments in the State. It mainly supplied its products to the army. The furniture making industry also made a lot of progress. Manufacture of shisham wood furniture made rapid strides in the Jammu province. Besides the Gold Storage Plant, Brasswares, Sugar Factory, Textile factory, Lime Manufactory, Applique work (gabba), boot polishes, wax candles, solar hats, soap powder, walking sticks, upholstery section to the Imperial Furniture Works, tapestry, silver weaving,⁹¹ also progressed

3.4 The Industrial Policy of the Government.

A Department of Industries was established in 1923 to develop and foster industries in the State.⁹² Among the important features of the work of the Industries Department were:--(a) "Industrial enquiries and consultations and advice given to prospective industrialists

(b) "Economic investigation and Trade Surveys.

(c) "Chemical experiment and research.

(d) "Examination of application for concessions.

(e) "Collection and consolidation of some statistics."⁹³

(91) AAR S.1992-93, p.31.

(92) Handbook of J & K State, 1944, p.53.

(93) AAR S.1994-95 (15th October 1937 - 16th October 1938), p.89.

To promote art and technical education, the Amar Singh Technical Institute was set up in May 1914. The machinery required was imported from England. The students were given scholarships and trained in various crafts.

Much of the research and experimental work was also carried on in the Industrial Laboratory in Srinagar, set up in 1923. As a measure of economy it had to be closed down in 1932.

A Department of Co-operative Societies was established in 1914 to encourage the cottage workers. In 1918-19, three Industrial Co-operative Credit Societies were formed on the marketing side. Exhibitions were held to popularise and promote the industries.

The Jammu and Kashmir Marketing Board was established in 1935-36. It was engaged in studying the condition under which the various products of agriculture and animal husbandry were marketed and of co-operating with the office of the Agricultural Marketing Adviser, Governemnt of India.

The Jammu and Kashmir State Aid to Industries Act (Act XI of 1999) was passed in 1942. According to it, a Board of Industries was set up. Under this Act, the State aid to

(94) Sinha, op. cit., p. 90.

(95) AAR, S. 1992-93, p. 38.

industrial business or enterprise took the form of loans ; guaranteeing by payment of loan advanced to the recipient of aid by a Bank, individual or firm ; paying a subsidy for the conduct of research or for purchase of machinery, raw materials, etc.

The State Aid to Industries Act was ammended in 1944 and put into operation in 1945. The ammended Act enhanced⁹⁶ the powers of the Advisory Board of Industries. The Jammu and Kashmir Bank Ltd., also extended financial assistance to traders and industrialists.

A Research and Commercial Sheep Breeding Farm with a Research and Commercial section was established to develop the sheep breeding and wool growing industry in the State.⁹⁷ The State granted subsidy to the Farm for the purpose of research.

The Weaving Peripatetic party held demonstrations in improved weaving appliances and designs. As a result of its efforts, about two dozen fly-shuttles in Srinagar and eight new looms in Bhadarwah and Doda were introduced.

It can be seen that there was a very small proportion of people engaged in industry. The weak fabric of industry was mainly reared by the shoemaker, potter, barber, blacksmith, carpenter, flour grinder, weaver, dyer, tailor and

(96) AAR 1945 A.D., p.52.

(97) Handbook of J & K State, 1944, p.53-54.

scavenger and others of the kind who --thanks to the caste system --were so wedded to their profession that they could not shake it off entirely. ⁹⁸ The causes of the low proportion could be found in several factors, notably from machine made goods and change in the tastes of the people due to the impact with western civilization. The artisans found it unremunerative to continue with their hereditary professions and took to agriculture.

Industry was mainly concentrated in the urban areas. While the city of Srinagar had 43% of its population engaged in industry, the city of Jammu had 20%. Agriculture predominated in the rural areas though some unorganised industry was also found here.

(98) Census of India, 1931, p.212.

CONCLUSION

In the foregone pages, I have made a study of agriculture and industry from 1885 - 1940. It was a period of quite a few changes, innovations and experiments. Visitors who had been to the State before 1885 also found many material improvements in the basic amenities like electric lights, metalled roads, etc. But these were an index to still greater reforms, namely, land revenue settlement, improvement in industries, etc.

The land revenue settlement was indeed a veritable Magna Carta for the peasantry the payment of revenue in kind was gradually substituted with payment in cash. Initially granted assami rights, they were conferred proprietary rights later on. It did away with the tyrannous interference of middlemen and assured the peasants of security of tenure and fixity of revenue demand. The remissions granted during natural calamities gave a lot of relief to the peasants.

The benefits accruing from the consolidation of the holdings were manifold. The restripping of the scattered fields into blocks of economic size rendered ploughing, sowing, irrigation, protection and harvesting much less expensive.

The Government used stringent measures to prevent usurers from preying upon the cultivators. The Agriculturist Relief Regulation was passed to check and control usurious money lenders. The agriculturist debtor could bring his creditor to

court for the settlement of an account. The Land Alienation Act was also a great boon for the peasants.

The Department of Agriculture took an active part in popularising the use of better techniques in agriculture. Cannals were laid and placed under trained overseers to see to its repairs and extension.

The Jammu and Kashmir Marketing Board studied the conditions under which various products of agriculture and animal husbandry were marketed. It also co-operated with the office of The Agricultural Marketing Advisor, Government of India.

However, due to the general apathy and lack of education, the peasants did not avail themselves of the changing modes of farming and agricultural production did not make a sufficient headway. Import of foodgrains was quite a regular features.

The woollen and silk industries were the two major industries of the State.

With the decline of the shawl industry, the artisans took to carpet making. The hand made carpet industry of Kashmir was the single largest industry of the State. The annual subsidy paid to the carpet trade by the State helped to promote this industry. Namdah production received a boost during the depression when carpets became too expensive. The war time demand for woollens greatly increased the production of pattoos, blanket , caps, jackets, gloves, etc.

The Kashmir Woollens, however, found it extremely difficult to compete with mill made woollens which found sales even in Srinagar. The prices of imported mill spun superior yarn fell whereas that of the hand spun local inferior yarn remained the same which made competition very difficult.

The silk industry, a monopoly of the State, produced high quality silk comparable with the 'Classical' of Italy and 'Petit Extra' of France. However, it had to struggle hard to maintain a footing in the market against the cheap silk goods of China and Japan. Though the Government of India enhanced the import duties, it was of no use as the rates of the Chinese and Japanese silks dropped even further. The war removed Japan from the competition and the industry had a little respite.

The inroad of the cheap machine made cotton textiles completely ruined this industry in Kashmir. It, however, continued in Jammu as the people had no other subsidiary occupation to fall back to.

During the twentieth century, the cottage industry was hit badly because of the two Great Wars and the Depression. The export trade which chiefly depended upon markets of America and Europe were first to be hit. Thus, trade in Kashmir carpets, namdahs and furs was depressed first. The trade in articles like papier-mache, carved articles, embroidery, silverware, stone jewellery, which were seasonal and always dependent on tourists,

were next to suffer.

Other than these external causes, there were some basic shortcomings in the economy of the State which retarded the progress of the industries.

The goods produced were mostly luxury items which people could hardly afford in such times. The high prices of shall had reduced the local people to a miserable condition.

The lack of facilities of road communication, faulty administration of camping site fees, garden entrance fees, short traffic road toll, etc were a great deterrent to the tourist traffic upon which all the industries depended.

The tightness of the money market also attributed to the decline of the industries. Most of the banks of the State belonged to the outside world. Under the State laws, the traders could not obtain loans against their property from these banks. Also owing to want of confidence, the money lenders, who were mostly Hindus, were not willing to advance loans to traders who were mostly Muslims. Both these factors tightened the money market.

Thus, though the State made considerable efforts in promoting agriculture and industry, the desired results could not be entirely obtained.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

1. J & K Government Records

(a) Old English Records

Reports on the reorganisation of the Agricultural Department, introduction of agricultural training in schools, fixation of twenty years as the terms of settlement in the State, canals and abiana rates and sericulture.

(b) Political Department Records

Note of the Director of Agriculture on propaganda in the State, J & K Government Aid to Agriculturists and Land Improvements Act, Land Alienation Act, notes on Trade and Industry, application for protection to the woollen and silk industries.

II.

1. Government of India

(a) Gazetteers

A Gazetteer of Kashmir and the adjoining districts of Kishtawar, Badrawar, Jammu, Naoshera, Punch, and the Valley of the Kishan Ganga, Charles Ellison Bates, Light and Life Publishers, Jammu, 1980.

Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh together with routes in the territories of Maharaja of J & K, compiled under the direction of the Quarter-Master General in India in the Intelligence Branch, Vivek Publishing House, N.Delhi, 1974.

Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol XII, Oxford, 1908

Provincial Gazetteer of Kashmir and Jammu, W.R.Lawrence, Rima Publishing House, N.Delhi, 1985.

(b) Census Reports

Census of India, 1891, Vol XVIII, The Kashmir State.

Census of India, 1901, Vol XXIII, Kashmir, Part I, Report.

Census of India, 1911, Vol XX, Kashmir, Part I, Report.

Census of India, 1921, Vol XXII, Kashmir, Part I, Report.

Census of India, 1931, Vol XXIV, J & K State, Part I, Report.

Census of India, 1941, Vol XXII, J & K State, Parts I & II.

2. J & K Government

(a) Notes

A Note on the J & K State, 1928

A Handbook of J & K State, 1944.

(b) Annual Administrative Reports

(c) Assessment Reports

Assessment Report of Astore, Old English Records (OER), 25, 1896, Jammu Archives (JA).

Assessment Report of Uttar Machipura tehsil, Kashmir province, OER, 17, 1896, JA.

Assessment Report of Ranbir Singh Pura tehsil, OER, 6, 1897, JA.

Assessment Report of the Uri tehsil, Distt. Muzaffarabad, OER, 97, 1898, JA.

Assessment Report of Kishtawar tehsil, Distt. Udhampur, OER, 150/H-50, 1914, JA.

Assessment Report of Basohli tehsil, Distt. Kathua, OER, 151/H-82, 1914, JA.

Assessment Report, Review and Orders, of Samba tehsil, OER, 149/H-77, 1914, JA.

Assessment Report of Skardu tehsil, OER, 169/H-42, 1914, JA.

Assessment Report of Chenani (Jagir), OER, 252/H-29, 1915, JA.

Assessment Report of Ranbir Singh Pura tehsil,

OER, 236/H-75, 1916, JA.

Assessment Report of Nautor Land in the Kashmir Valley, OER, 245/Rst-12, 1919, JA.

Assessment Report of Kathua tehsil, Political Department, 110/Rst-19, 1922, JA.

Assessment Report of the Chenani Estate, Political Department, 203, 1936, JA.

Assessment Report of Ladakh tehsil, 1908, Central Secreteriat Library, N, Delhi.

Assessment Report of Zanskar Illaqa, 1909, Central Secreteriat Library, N.Delhi.

Assessment Report of Kathua thehsil, 1924, Ceentral Secreteriat Library, N.Delhi.

III. Printed Books

1. Contemporary Tracts and Accounts

Arbuthnot, James, A Trip to Kashmir, Thacker, Spinck & Co., Calcutta, 1900.

Biscoe, C.E. Tyndale, Kashmir--- In Sunlight and Shade, Sagar Publications, N.Delhi, 1971.

Bose, J.C., Cashmere and its Prince, D.P.Mishra, Calcutta, 1889.

Digby, William, Condemned Unheard, Indian Political Agency, London, 1890.

Dodwell, H.H., edited by, The Cambridge History of India, Vol VI, The Indian Empire (1858-1918), S.Chand & Co. Ltd., N.Delhi, 1932.

Doughty, Marion, Afoot through the Kashmir Valley, Sagar Publications, N.Delhi, 1971.

Drew, F., The J & K Territories, Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1971.

Drew, F., The Northern Barrier of India, J & K Territories, Light and Life Publishers, Jammu, 1971.

Gadru, S.N., edited by, Kashmir Papers, Free Thought Literature & Co., Srinagar, 1973.

Hugel, Baron Charles, Kashmir and the Punjab, Light & Life Publishers, Jammu, 1972.

Knight, E.F., Where Three Empires Meet, Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., London, 1926.

Koul, Pandit Salig Ram, The Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh : Founder of J & K State, Salig Ram Press, Srinagar, 1923.

Lawrence, W.R., The India We Served, Cassell & Co.Ltd., London, 1928.

Lawrence, W.R., Valley of Kashmir, Kesar Publishers, Srinagar, 1967.

Moreland, W.H. & Chatterjee, A.C., A Short History of India, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1936.

Neve, E.F., Beyond the Pir Panjal, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1912.

Neve, E.F., Things Seen in Kashmir, Seely Service Ltd., 1931.

Schomberg, R.C.F., Between the Oxus and the Indus, Martin Hopkinson Ltd., London, 1935.

Sinha, S., The Playground of Asia, Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad, 1943.

Todhunter, C.G., Trade Report of J & K, Mufid-i-Am Press, Lahore, 1901.

Wakefield, W., History of Kashmir and the Kashmiris--- The Happy Valley, Seema Publications, N. Delhi, 1975.

Younghusband, F., Kashmir, Sagar Publications, N. Delhi, 1970.

Younghusband, F., Wonders of the Himalayas, John Murray, London, 1922.

2. Secondary Works

Bamzai, P.N.K., A History of Kashmir, Political, Social and Cultural, From the Earliest Times to the Present Day, Metropolitan Book Co. (Ltd.), N. Delhi, 1973.

Charak, S.S., Life and Times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Jay kay Book House, Jammu, 1985.

- Chitra, V.R., edited by, Cottage Industries of India, Silpi Publications, Madras, 1948.
- Fergusson, J.P., Kashmir : An Historical Introduction, Centaur Press, London, 1961.
- Ganjoo, M., Textile Industries in Kashmir (J & K State), Premier Publishing Co., Delhi, 1945.
- Gupta, N.S., Agricultural Development of States in India, Vol I, J & K, Seema Publications, Delhi, 1979.
- Gupta, S., Kashmir-- A Study in Indo-Pak Relations, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1967.
- Hassmain, F.M., British Policy towards Kashmir, Sterling Publishers, N.Delhi, 1974.
- Khan, M.I., History of Srinagar, 1846 -1947, A Study of Socio-Cultural Changes, Aamir Publications, Srinagar, 1978.
- Koul, G.L., Kashmir, Then and Now, Chronical Publishing House, Srinagar, 1972.
- Sharma, D.C., Agriculture and Land Revenue System under the Sikh Rule (1819-46 A.D), Rima Publishing House, N.Delhi, 1986.
- Sufi, G.M.D., Kashir, A History of Kashmir, Vol II, Light and Life Publishers, N.Delhi, 1974.
- Tikoo, P.N., Study of Kashmir, Light and Life Publishers, N.Delhi, 1979.

Watt, G., The Commercial Products of India, Today and Tomorrow Printers and Publishers, N, Delhi, 1966.

Zutshi, U.K., Emergence of Political Awakening in Kashmir, Manohar, N. Delhi, 1986.