GENDER DISCOURSES, COMMUNITY NARRATIVES: WOMEN IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY KASHMIR

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For My Parents

and

The Women of Kashmir

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Introduction

This dissertation explores different discourses on gender and the making of the Kashmiri Muslim community in the twentieth century. In other words, this dissertation will attempt to explore the different ways in which culture, religion, and social norms influenced the lives and histories of Kashmiri women as well as their relationship to the changing notions of community. This will primarily be done by an engagement with the theme of female education from the early twentieth century. The social context of the time, the debates around female education by missionaries, government, and by the pioneer educationists of the time – both men and women – will be studied. The focus will be on how Kashmiri women lived their lives in the twentieth century, which might not necessarily be resisting the prevalent patriarchal structures. How women create alternate structures of authority that feature an 'emancipatory' world for them is also an important area of study. This is contrary to the western feminists' preoccupation with the question of women's agency which sees them as either accepting or resisting male domination.

The best example of how women created alternate lives for themselves is that of a fourteenth-century mystic poetess from Kashmir, Lalla Dyad. Lalla's compositions are called *Vaakhs* translated variously as verse, saying, and utterance. The important features of Lalla Dyad's life which can be deciphered from her *Vaakhs* are her rejection of domestic life, marriage, and patriarchal structures. Condemnation of societal codes of gender, as well as orthodox religious behavior, acquires a place of prime importance in her verses. Her *Vaakhs* attest to her social transgression and the cultural scripts that informed her life. She wandered around in the countryside in a semi-nude state, singing and dancing. In one of her verses, she writes:

Let them hurl a thousand curses at me,
Pain finds no purchase in my heart.
I belong to Shiva. Can a scatter of ashes ruin a mirror?
It gleams.[1]

In a study titled *To the Other Shore: Lalla's Life and Poetry*,[2] the author Jaishree Kak Odin discusses the tensions inherent in Lalla Dyad's *Vaakhs* and her disenchantment with the

[1] Ranjit Hoskote, *I, Lalla: The Poems of Lal Dĕd*, Penguin Books, India, 2011, p. 95.

subordinate status attributed to women in the Kashmiri society in the fourteenth century. Odin writes that Lalla's verses refer to the patriarchal structures and the discrimination against women on the basis of sex. The world of female labour conducted in domestic interiors appears in five poems: through the image of the grain mill in 21, 22, 90 and 99, and of the hearth in 33.[3] However, her belief in freedom from such constraints occupies a place of prime importance in these verses.

Lalla Dyad's *Vaakhs* need to be situated in the context of women's folk song traditions. In many ways, such songs have been used by women for a long time to air social protest and their notions of self and subjectivity.[4] Lalla, in her verses, uses the metaphor of a washerman (signifying the overcoming of the conditioning that women are subject to) and the tailor (depicting the shredding of the traditional gender norms) to symbolize that a woman can break free of the socially determined roles for her – a daughter, daughter-in-law, wife and mother – in the patriarchal society through the realization of her own self. Hoskote quotes Neerja Mattoo and argues that Lalla's verses 'are drawn from a woman's world of domesticity, even though she walked out of marriage and home. Her poetry is a woman's work and in the process, she gives a voice to women'.[5]

The individual belief of a woman to challenge the social structure and religious dogmas of the time was extraordinary for a woman of the fourteenth century. Also, Lalla did not have recourse to the experiences of women who preceded her, but she did leave behind a vast corpus of literature to be used by future generations of women in Kashmir and outside. It is only unfortunate that with time, the history of women in Kashmir came to be written only through the category of 'violence'.

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[2] Jaishree Kak Odin, *To the Other Shore: Lalla's Life and Poetry*, Vitasta, Delhi, 1999.

[3] Ranjit Hoskote, *I, Lalla*, p. lxvii.

[4] See, Anshu Malhotra, *Piro and the Gulabdasis: Gender, Sect and Society in Punjab*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2017. Ramya Sreenivasan, *The Many Lives of a Rajput Queen: Heroic Pasts in India, c. 1500–1900*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2007. Parita Mukta, *Upholding the Common Life: The Community of Mirabai*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1994. Romila Thapar, Sakuntala: Texts, Readings, Histories, Columbia University Press, Columbia, 2011.

[5] Ranjit Hoskote, *I, Lalla*, p. lxv.

Women, Violence and Agency in Kashmir: A Brief Historiography

The theme of violence inflicted on women due to insurrection and conflict in Kashmir is written about by academicians, journalists, novelists. Agamben in his book *State of Exception*[6] theorizes the concept of violence in conflict zones in an interesting way. He talks about the 'bio-political state' that kills people with impunity. In other words, Agamben talks about the normalcy of violence in societies where violence is perpetrated through the law, rather than against it. The culture of institutional impunity to the perpetrators of violence is visible in Kashmir. This is documented by many human rights agencies.

Many feminist scholars in several well-researched studies have unraveled the experiences, pain and horror of women who experienced the conflict and were affected by it. These works demonstrate the multiple experiences and sites of negotiations of women during armed conflict. Some of the well-known works are Anuradha Chenoy and Kamal Mitra Chenoy *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*,[7] Rita Manchanda *Women, War and Peace in South Asia: Beyond Victimhood to Agency*,[8] Seema Kazi *Between Democracy and Nation: Gender and Militarization in Kashmir*,[9] Charu WaliKhanna *Women Silent Victims in Armed Conflict: An Area Study of Jammu and Kashmir*[10] among many others.

The works cited above provide a comprehensive study of the impact of militarization on women's lives in Kashmir. But violence is only one, if indeed a dominating factor, in shaping the lives and histories of Kashmiri women. However, very few works have attempted to fill in the knowledge lacunae on the life and histories of women in the period before the onset of armed insurgency in Kashmir. Nyla Ali Khan is one of the very few who has attempted to study the

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[6] Giorgio Agamben, trans. by Kevin Attell, *State of Exception*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2005.

[7] Anuradha M. Chenoy and Kamal A. Mitra Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2010.

[8] Rita Manchanda ed., *Women, War and Peace in South Asia: Beyond Victimhood to Agency*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2001. Rita Manchanda, 'Women's Agency in Peace Building: Gender Relations in Post-Conflict Reconstruction', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XL No. 44-45, 29 October 2005, pp. 4737-45.

[9] Seema Kazi, *Between Democracy and Nation: Gender and Militarization in Kashmir*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi, 2009.

[10] Charu WaliKhanna, *Women Silent Victims in Armed Conflict: An Area Study of Jammu and Kashmir*, Serial Publications, New Delhi, 2004.

agential roles of women in the Kashmir conflict during the period from 1947-1989 in her book *Islam, Women and Violence in Kashmir: Between India and Pakistan.*[11]

Khan focuses on the political participation of women during the upheaval in 1931, and the Quit Kashmir movement of 1946. The pioneering role of women against the tribal uprising of 1947 with the formation of the Women's Self Defence Corps and National Militia is also highlighted in her work. Using oral narratives to fill in the gaps in the archive on women,[12] Khan has reproduced her email correspondences with the women who lead the freedom struggle in Kashmir. Khan, in a small yet significant section, also highlights the role of Begam Akbar Jehan, wife of Sheikh Abdullah, during the invasion by Pakistani tribal invaders on Kashmir in 1947.[13]

In another book, *The Life of a Kashmiri Woman: Dialectic of Resistance and Accommodation,*[14] Khan places Begam Akbar Jehan Abdullah at the centre of her analysis. Effectively combining archival research, oral history, and the use of visuals, Khan successfully analyses 'the personal, political and intellectual trajectory of Akbar Jehan'. Burdened with the task of raising five children – three sons and two daughters – as well as taking forward the freedom struggle, especially during her husband's incarceration; Begam took over the mantle of political leadership in 1946.[15] She later went on to represent the Srinagar and Anantnag constituencies of Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian parliament from 1977 to 1979 and from 1984 to 1989. She was also the first president of the Jammu and Kashmir Red Cross Society from

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[11] Nyla Ali Khan, *Islam, Women and Violence in Kashmir: Between India and Pakistan*, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2011.

[12] For an engagement with oral history and archive, see Nonica Datta, *Violence, Martyrdom and Partition: A Daughter's Testimony*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2009.

[13] For a detailed study of the 1947 invasion by Pakistani tribesmen and resistance against this in Kashmir, see Christopher Snedden, *Kashmir: The Unwritten History*, Harper Collins, India, 2013.

[14] Nyla Ali Khan, *The Life of a Kashmiri Woman: Dialectic of Resistance and Accommodation*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2014.

[15] In an interview with Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin, reproduced in their book, Begam mentioned that until the year 1945 she had behaved like a 'traditional wife' looking after the children, and actually threw herself in the struggle during the Quit Kashmir movement of 1946, when her husband, Sheikh Abdullah, was arrested. She states, 'I waged a double struggle simultaneously, rejecting the veil and joining the Movement. I led the anti-government demonstrations, made speeches, and boosted the morale of my husband's followers during absence. During the tribal raid, I was in the forefront of the Women's wing of the Peace Brigade, which fought the invaders. I did my best to rehabilitate and soothe the victims of the communal frenzy', in Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin, *Mysteries and Glimpses of Kashmir*, Raj Publications, New Delhi, 1996, p. 227.

1947 to 1951. Khan in her book deals in detail with her maternal grandmother's leadership role in the Plebiscite Front, Women's Self Defense Corps, and the National Conference.

The assumption, however, that a few women like Begam Akbar Jehan, Sajida Zameer[16] whose names usually figure in the history books on Kashmir, were active in the political struggles is to misunderstand the broader political participation of women in the Kashmir conflict. The reality is that women from the lower sections of the Kashmiri society were involved in political movements and they heralded the political participation of women from the upper classes of the society.[17] Nyla Ali Khan negates the notion that women's movement was elitist and/or exclusionary, and argues that grass-root women like 'Zoon Gujjari of Nawakadal, Srinagar; Jana Begam of Amirakadal, Srinagar; and Mohuan Kaur, a refugee from Baramullah, Kashmir were early participants in the movement'.[18]

The early participation of illiterate and uneducated women in Kashmir's freedom struggle has been studied by Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin in a book titled *Mysteries and Glimpses of Kashmir*.[19] They trace the beginning of women's participation to the year 1931 when a massive demonstration was carried out against the oppressive Dogra regime. This was because the Dogra army had killed 22 Kashmiris who were protesting the persecution of Abdul Qadeer Khan Ghazi, an Afghan who was facing sedition charges for his rousing speech on Dogra atrocities on the Muslim community in Kashmir.[20] The authors list the women martyrs in the 1931 upheaval and prominent women fighters, who mostly belonged to the lower sections of the society.

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[16] Sajida Zameer was an educationist and was also associated with the freedom movement in Kashmir. She played a particularly important role as an active member of the Women's Self Defense Corps (WSDC) in 1947. Zameer had joined the state education service in 1943, was made the Principal of Teachers Training College (T.T. College) during 1961-67. In 1967, she was promoted to the rank of Joint Director, Women's Education and was the first woman of the state to become the Director of Education in 1971. She retired as the Secretary in the Department of Tourism, in Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin, *Mysteries and Glimpses of Kashmir*, p. 204.

[17] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-Cultural Change*, Aamir Publications, Srinagar, 1978, p. 115.

[18] Nyla Ali Khan, *The Life of a Kashmiri Women: Dialectic of Resistance and Accommodation*, p. 37.

[19] Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin, *Mysteries and Glimpses of Kashmir*, pp. 195-206. Also, Madhavi Yasin, 'Role of Women in Freedom Struggle of Kashmir', in Mohammad Yasin and A. Qaiyum Rafiqi eds., *History of the Freedom Struggle in Jammu and Kashmir*, Light and Life Publishers, New Delhi, 1980.

[20] See, Ian Copland, 'Islam and Political Mobilization in Kashmir, 1931-34', *Pacific Affairs,* 1981, pp. 228-259.

Other than the study of the period of insurgency in Kashmir, and a little on the political participation of women in freedom struggles in Kashmir, the theme of gender has not aroused much interest among scholars. Broadly speaking, there is an absence of scholarly discussion on the subject of gender and community among Muslims in Kashmir. The extent of the absence of scholarly engagement is evident in the silence on these themes in the three most authoritative recent books on Kashmir's history – two by Chitralekha Zutshi[21] and one by Mridu Rai.[22] My Ph.D. dissertation, therefore, attempts to fill this lacuna in the prevailing historiography on Kashmir. This is because there is a need to bring the Kashmir region into conversation with the broad South Asian historiography on gender and women.

Gender Historiography on South Asia: Some Relevant Themes

Feminist scholars globally through an investigation of a number of categories – most importantly religion, law, body-politic, violence studies – have opened a fresh discussion on the study of gender, sexuality and community with a focus on critical concepts like identity, citizenship, gender equality, social institutions, and the tools of policing women – honour, social purity, and reproduction. South Asian feminists too have taken a strong interest in these themes. Ania Loomba and Ritty A. Lukose's book *South Asian Feminisms* is a highly useful collection for researchers interested in issues of religion and feminism, labour and globalization, war and peace, sex work etc.[23] Feminist scholars of South Asia, including Lucy Carroll, Partha Chatterjee, Durba Ghosh, Rochona Majumdar, Janaki Nair, Anshu Malhotra, Rajeswari Sunder Rajan, Tanika Sarkar, Mrinalini Sinha, and Ashwini Tambe, have insightfully probed women's lives and histories in colonial India, as well as their relationship to the changing notions of community and law, the colonial state, nation and nationalism and right-wing movements.

In Muslim societies too these themes have generated many scholarly discussions and debates. Some of the well-known works being *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards:*

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[21] Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2003 and Chitralekha Zutshi, *Kashmir's Contested Pasts: Narratives, Sacred Geographies and the Historical Imagination*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2014.

[22] Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2004.

[23] Ania Loomba and Ritty A. Lukose eds., *South Asian Feminisms*, Zubaan, New Delhi, 2012.

Gender and Sexual Anxieties in Iranian Modernity,[24] *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject,*[25] *Sexuality in Muslim Contexts: Restrictions and Resistance.*[26] The unequal power relations and gender hierarchies among Muslims in India are studied in detail by Zoya Hasan, Ritu Menon, Flavia Agnes, Sylvia Vatuk, Gail Minault, Katherine Lemons, Barbara Metcalf, Sonia Nishat Amin, Shahida Lateef, and Archana Parashar. They do this by reconstructing how Muslim women are governed today in relation to their religion and gender under the Indian state and within the Muslim communities. They also explore how the contours of Muslim women's subjecthood, identity and sexuality are discursively produced by political and community organizations.

The theme of gender discourses and community narratives around the education of women in the late nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century in India has been studied extensively, with an emphasis on both the religious and regional variations. A large corpus of literature on gender in South Asia has focused on how gender discourses through education intersected with and profoundly shaped wider social and political relations.

In colonial India, the discourses on education were shaped by the objectives of various participants in the educational process. In particular, discourses on the right kind of education for women were a part of both the colonial and indigenous hegemonic enterprises.[27] Malavika Karlekar in her study of the narratives of Bengali women from the nineteenth century suggests that 'colonizers, educationalists, social reformers as well as the emergent middle class' were greatly concerned with debates on the right kind of curriculum for girls.[28] Sanjay Joshi talks about bringing together of the Indian and the European ideas by the colonial constructions of womanhood to 'create a modernity where both Manu as well as Mill and Macaulay could be

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[24] Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties in Iranian Modernity*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2005.

[25] Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2005.

[26] Anissa Hélie and Homa Hoodfar eds., *Sexuality in Muslim Contexts: Restrictions and Resistance*, Zed Books, London, 2012.

[27] Himani Bannerji, *Inventing Subjects: Studies in Hegemony, Patriarchy and Colonialism*, Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2001.

[28] Malavika Karlekar, *Voices from Within: Early Personal Narratives of Bengali Women*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1991, p. 9.

points of reference'.[29] Education as an instrument of colonial hegemony has been recognized in historical research by Aparna Basu, Gauri Viswanathan, Manu Bhagavan among many others.

Karuna Chanana writes that the demand for women's education arose as a concomitant of the social reform movement. The promotion and reinforcing of the idea of the traditional role for women through the school curricula were emphasized.[30] Sonia Nishat Amin in her study of Muslim women in Bengal argues that 'Education was the site where changing norms and notions regarding purdah, female sexuality, the "true" nature of woman, her role within the home and without…were all to be spelt out'.[31] Zoya Hasan and Ritu Menon assert that for the ruling class of Muslims in North India women were viewed as the repositories of tradition, culture and morality. Women were given a central position in the 'construction, maintenance and preservation of community identity'.[32]

Geraldine Forbes puts forth the argument that in its initial stages female education was informal and largely limited to practical matters, which would prepare them for domestic duties. Muslim girls were also expected to learn Arabic (for the recitation of the Quran) and some accounting skills (for household management).[33] In yet another study, Asiya Alam in an important article on family and *sharafat*[34] among Muslims in the late nineteenth century points to a larger problem at the centre of modernity in the *ashraf* community in India at that time, where the growing discrepancy in education between husbands and wives presented new challenges of

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[29] Sanjay Joshi, *Fractured Modernity: Making of a Middle Class in Colonial North India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 18.

[30] Karuna Chanana, *Interrogating Women's Education: Bounded Visions, Expanding Horizons*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 2001, p. 92.

[31] Sonia Nishat Amin, *The World of Muslim Women in Colonial Bengal, 1876-1939*, E.J. Brill, Leiden and New York, 1996, p. 139.

[32] Zoya Hasan and Ritu Menon, *Educating Muslim Girls: A Comparison of Five Indian Cities*, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 2005, p. 6

[33] Geraldine Forbes, 'Education for Women', in Sumit Sarkar and Tanika Sarkar eds., *Women and Social Reform in Modern India: A Reader*, Volume I, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2007, pp. 83-112.

[34] See, Faisal Devji, 'Gender and the Politics of Space: The Movement for Women's Reform, 1857-1900', in Sumit Sarkar and Tanika Sarkar eds., *Women and Social Reform in Modern India*, Volume II, pp. 99-114.

adjustment and compromise.[35] Didactic novels for women were used as textbooks in vernacular girls' schools and as gifts to young women to guide their behaviour.[36]

Gail Minault in a fascinating study on women's education and Muslim social reform in colonial India argues that the ideal of companionate marriage was a big reason for an emphasis on the education of women. The stress on women's education by men in the late half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century was to shape women who would function as better wives, better mothers, and better Muslims. Minault argues that the reform of the family and community was inextricably linked with the debates regarding the desirability of women's education and curriculum. Unlike education for boys, education for girls was portrayed as contributing to cultural continuity, not breaking from it. *Sharif* values were perpetuated through the education of women.[37]

The prevalent notion, however, that there was a denial of agency to women is contradicted by the studies which highlight the emergence of 'activism' among women in India. Studies by Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, Sumit Sarkar and Tanika Sarkar, Azra Asghar Ali, Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, Gloria Goodwin Raheja and Ann Grodzins Gold are noteworthy in this regard. Some studies have looked into the specific question of education as having a transformative potential for women, howsoever limited. Sylvia Vatuk through a study of a family in Hyderabad underlines how the cross-generational networks of women promoted education for girls in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. She explores the role of popular Urdu-language fiction in the development of a young Muslim girl's sense of self as she grew up in the 1920s and 1930s in the city of Hyderabad in India.[38] Malavika Karlekar's work on Bengali women in the nineteenth century shows the active role of women in the inner quarters, the

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[35] Asiya Alam, 'Polygyny, Family and *Sharafat*: Discourses amongst North Indian Muslims, circa 1870-1918', *Modern Asian Studies* 45 (2011), pp. 631-68.

[36] Gail Minault, 'Begamati Zuban: Women's Language and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Delhi', *India International Centre Quaterly*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Language, June 1984, pp. 155-170.

[37] Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars: Women's Education and Muslim Social Reform in Colonial India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998.

[38] Sylvia Vatuk, 'A Passion for Reading: The Role of Early Twentieth-Century Urdu Novels in the Construction of an Individual Female Identity in 1930s Hyderabad', in Siobhan Lambert-Hurley and Anshu Malhotra eds., *Speaking of the Self*: *Gender, Performance, and Autobiography in South Asia*, Zubaan, New Delhi, 2017, pp. 33-55

andarmahal.[39] Sonia Nishat Amin looks at some of the prominent women spearheading the campaigns for education for women e.g. Nawab Faizunnesa and Begam Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain.[40]

Socio-religious Reform, Gender, and Education in Kashmir: A Brief Historiography

In the context of Kashmir, the available studies have looked at the gender discourses on education mostly through a study of the Muslim socio-religious-educational reform movements in the twentieth century. In particular, historians, scholars of religion[41] and gender studies, have focussed on the role of Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam, the earliest socio-religious-educational reform organization of Kashmir.[42]

The Anjuman, a result of a private initiative, was started in 1905 by Mirwaiz Moulvi Rasool Shah. This was because he perceived the main cause of the backwardness of Muslims as the lack of education. A primary school to mitigate the backwardness was started in Rajouri Kadal, Srinagar in the year 1899. But work for *ilmi* (educational), *dini* (religious), *siyasi* (political), *islahi* (reform), *sakafati* (cultural), and *samaji* (social) issues was carried out in full swing under the auspices of the Anjuman. This was after Moulvi Rasool Shah with the guidance and co-operation of some eminent and influential Muslims of Punjab established the organisation named Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam. The schools which functioned under the aegis of the Anjuman

[39] Malavika Karlekar, *Voices from Within: Early Personal Narratives of Bengali Women*.

[40] Sonia Nishat Amin, 'The Early Muslim Bhadramahila: The Growth of Learning and Creativity, 1876 to 1939', in Bharati Ray ed., *From the Seams of History: Essays on Indian Women*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 107-148.

[41] The contribution of Mohammad Syed-ur-Rehman Shams who has extensively written on the theme is noteworthy in this regard. Mohammad Syed-ur-Rehman Shams, 'Bani Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam: Sir Syed Kashmir Mirwaiz Allama Rasool Shah Sahab Ek Abkari Shakhsiyat' [trans. mine: The Founder of Nusrat-ul-Islam: Mirwaiz Rasool Shah Sahab, A Great Personality], and Ghulam Hassan Majrooh, 'Alim wa Agahi ke Shama Farozan: Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam' [trans. mine: Lighting the Lamp of Education and Awareness: Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam], personal collection of Mohammad Syed-ur-Rehman Shams. The details about publication house, place and date are missing.

[42] The Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam was founded by Moulana Rasool Shah. Only the members of the Mirwaiz dynasty can serve as the President of the Anjuman. From the inception of the organization, six members of the family have served as its Presidents: Mirwaiz Rasool Shah, Mirwaiz Moulvi Ahmadullah Shah, Mirwaiz Moulana Atiqullah, Mirwaiz Moulana Mohammad Amin, Mirwaiz Moulana Mohammad Farooq. The present Chairman of the Anjuman and Mirwaiz of Kashmir is Mirwaiz Moulana Umar Farooq, in Nazir Ahmad Dar, *Religious Institutes of Kashmir*, Jay Kay Book Shop, Srinagar, 2007, p. 117. For a comprehensive study of the educational reform movements in Kashmir, See M.Y. Taing ed., *Hamara Adab*, Srinagar Cultural Academy, Srinagar, 1986.

were called Islamia schools. The basic fee of the membership of the Anjuman in its initial stages was four annas.[43]

The main aim behind the establishment of the Anjuman was to prevent Muslims from being drawn towards Christianity and the mission schools. Challenging the Christian missionary attempts to propagate Western education through the proliferation of missionary schools, attempts were made by Muslim religious leaders to establish schools that would provide religious as well as modern education. In the domain of education, the religious leaders felt the need 'to carry the Quran in the right hand and a book of Science in the left',[44] stressing the need to strike a balance between religious and secular education. A tendency to link religion to every domain of life could be seen. In particular, the reform of people through an emphasis on education thought to be the prime vehicle for social change was given priority.[45]

The primary school established in the year 1899 was upgraded to a high school in just a couple of years. Many branches of Islamia schools were also established in Srinagar and other towns of the Kashmir province. While education on secular lines was provided, Islamic theology was a compulsory course of study for all Muslim students.[46] The educational programme of the Anjuman included education for both males and females. The reformers in their commitment to a strict Islamic order also gradually concentrated their reform efforts to improve the position of women. A separate institution for girls was started by the name *Madras-ul-Banaat* during the reign of Mirwaiz Mohammad Farooq (January 1963 – 21 May 1990) where religious education from primary to higher classes was to be provided along with secular education.[47]

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[43] Dr. Ghulam Hassan Khan, 'Early Socio-Religious Reform Movements in Kashmir', in Mohammad Yasin and A. Qaiyum Rafiqi eds., *History of the Freedom Struggle in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 97.

[44] Mohammad Syed-ur-Rehman Shams, 'Hurriyat-e-Kashmir ke Teen Ahem Kirdaar*:* Idara-e-Tasneef wa Taleef' [trans. mine: Three Important Personalities of Hurriyat in Kashmir: An Institution for Writing and Compilation of Books], Kashmir, 2001, p. 62, personal collection of Mohammad Syed-ur-Rehman Shams. The details about publication house are missing.

[45] See David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1978. Also Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars* and *Gender, Language, and Learning: Essays in Indo-Muslim Cultural History*, Permanent Black, India, 2009.

[46] Dr. Ghulam Hassan Khan, 'Early Socio-Religious Reform Movements in Kashmir', in Mohammad Yasin and A. Qaiyum Rafiqi eds., *History of the Freedom Struggle in Jammu and Kashmir*, pp. 97-98.

[47] Mohammad Syed-ur-Rehman Shams, 'Hurriyat-e-Kashmir ke Teen Ahem Kirdaar', p. 31.

The official journal of the Anjuman, *Halat wa Rouidad,* published every year contains information about the yearly activities of the organization and also the speeches delivered at the annual sessions of the Anjuman. The emphasis on religious teachings for Muslims and their social reform was mandated in these tracts. In the year 1922, on the advice of one Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, a Social Reform Committee was formed within the Anjuman to remove social evils from among the Muslims. In a meeting of the Committee held on December 25, 1925, at the residence of Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, the social reform of marriages and the steps taken in the direction were formulated. The issues debated were: the amount of food to be cooked at marriages, the economics of gift-giving, marriage ceremonies and the role of women in marriages.[48]

Emphasis was placed on the centrality of religious teachings for Muslims in general and Muslim women in particular. The reformist tracts also laid a central emphasis on the role of women in marriages since they were seen to be the carriers of evil customs e.g. extravagant spending, belief in superstition.[49] The Anjuman even published a booklet titled *Dastoor-Amal* which clearly stated the reformist aims of the Anjuman. The control on sexuality and mobility of women and girls was given utmost importance. The early marriage of girls was mandated by these reformist tracts. The reformist precepts were also preached to the Muslims at public meetings and in shrines and mosques at the time of prayer meetings.[50]

Jamaat-i-Islami, Jammu and Kashmir, another socio-religious-educational reform organization in Kashmir, also worked incessantly for the education of Kashmiris since its establishment on 26 August 1941 by Moulana Sa'aduddin. The organisation started its work in the field of education in Kashmir at a time when only a few government schools (*Jabri* schools) and a few missionary schools were functional. The schools were started in cities as well as villages, right from lower to higher classes. The subjects taught were: Science, History, Geography, Mathematics, English, Urdu, Persian, Arabic, Hindi and Literature. However, the

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[48] Dr. Ghulam Hassan Khan, 'Early Socio-Religious Reform Movements in Kashmir', in Mohammad Yasin and A. Qaiyum Rafiqi eds., *History of the Freedom Struggle in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 101.

[49] For more on this, see Barbara D. Metcalf, *Perfecting Women: Maulana Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi's Bihishti Zewar, A Partial Translation with Commentary*, University of California Press, California, 1990.

[50] Dr. Ghulam Hassan Khan, 'Early Socio-Religious Reform Movements in Kashmir', in Mohammad Yasin and A. Qaiyum Rafiqi eds., *History of the Freedom Struggle in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 101.

main subjects taught were *Diniyat* (religious studies) and the Quran. The fee structure was nominal to enable children from poor families to get access to these schools. Named after the founder of Jamaat-i-Islami Hind, Moulana Maududi, these schools came to be commonly known as 'Maududi schools' and continued to attract students in large numbers.[51]

In the year 1967, a separate department was established by Moulana Sa'aduddin to spread the message of Islam, *Tabligh*, among women. Under this department were started *darsgahs* (institutions imparting religious education) for women in different districts where weekly *ijtimas* (Islamic congregation/religious meeting) were held. In 1977, Sa'aduddin started a formal movement for women, as opposed to its loose spread in 1967.[52] The need for imparting religious education to women, along with some secular education, for the reform of the Muslim community, was crucial to the mission of the Jamaat. For this, weekly meetings continued to be held. A big *ijtima* was held in Eidgah, Srinagar in the year 1982 which was attended by women in large numbers. The ladies wing of Jamaat was not as strong as men's but in the 1990s an institution by the name of *Banaat-ul-Islam* continued to work among women. The work of *Banaat* was suspended later.

The work of Jamaat among women, however, progressed gradually. *Ijtimas* came to be organised by the name of *Azwaj-wa-Dukhtaran*. In 2014, Mohammad Abdullah Wani united all the women associated with Islamic *tehreek* (movement) by the name of *Shobaye Khawateen* Jamaat-i-Islami, Jammu and Kashmir.[53] The mission continues to work among the women of the State. Some of the prominent schools for girls which work for the education of women in Kashmir are *Jamiat Asiya Siddiqa*, Shopian; *Jamiat Solehaat*, Bijbehara; *Jamiat-ul-Banaat*, Srinagar; *Jamiat-ul-Noor*, Budgam, *Al-Banaat Educational Institute*, Ganderbal.[54]

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[51] Faheem Mohammad Ramzan, 'Jamaat-i-Islami ke Ilmi wa Abdi Tareekh' [trans. mine: Jamaat-i-Islami's Educational and Religious History], and 'Tehreek-i-Islami ke Sathar Saal' [trans. mine: Seventy Years of the Movement for Islam], Special edition of *Momin magazine* edited by Peer Abdul Shakoor, Volume 31, Srinagar, 12 January 2018, pp. 79-80.

[52] Khaki Mohammad Farooq, *Jamaat-i-Islami Jammu wa Kashmir ke Chand Ahem Shakhsiyat* [trans. mine: Few Important Personalities of Jamaat-i-Islami Jammu and Kashmir], Chinar Publication Trust, Maisuma Srinagar, 2017, p. 48.

[53] Jawahira Baba, 'Khawateen aur Tehreek-i-Islami' [trans. mine: Women and the Movement for Islam], Special edition of *Momin magazine*, pp. 195-197.

[54] Mir Irfan, 'Aqamati Idara-e-Jaat', Special edition of *Momin magazine*, pp. 202 – 206.

Research Questions and Chapterization

This dissertation aims to go beyond the role of socio-religious-educational reform organizations and to study the gender discourses on female education in twentieth-century Kashmir – both school and higher education – through the lens of missionaries, government and women educationalists themselves. My research questions in this dissertation broadly cover the following themes: What were the prominent discourses on female education in twentieth-century Kashmir? Did they help to maintain the status quo or were they successful in enforcing the social reform of females through education? How similar or different was the education of females from that of the males? Did the community narratives on female education echo the government efforts or did they run contrary to each other? Did the discourses on female education remain the same throughout the period under study or did they change? How did women respond to the dominant male discourses about their education or make their voices heard? How did education transform the position and status of women? How central was the role of the charged political atmosphere of the state, especially the Naya Kashmir Manifesto, in the creation of a 'new woman', with a renewed role in the socio-political-economic history of the State? And how through the exercise of control and discourses on female education there was a creation of new patriarchy through which women were subjected to new controls by the paternalistic state and society?

This dissertation is divided into five chapters, which are arranged thematically. The underlying notion is that twentieth-century Kashmir was a period of social change. The ripples of change were, however, visible from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. In particular, the reform of people through an emphasis on education, thought to be the prime vehicle for social change, was given priority. The first two chapters deal with the efforts of Christian missionaries in the spread of education in Kashmir. A particular emphasis is put on the theme of female education, an area that has not received much attention in the already existing literature on the subject. The pioneer male missionaries first concentrated their efforts on the schools for boys for they did not want to offend the local population by their interaction with girls. It had become

clear to the missionaries that in India only women could speak to women.[55] Subsequently, when the missions became predominantly female-dominated, women's education was also central to the mission work. The primary sources to study the mission work for the education of boys and girls are both vast and untapped, and hence they are divided into two separate chapters. The focus of the third chapter is on the government efforts in the domain of female education in Kashmir. The fourth chapter studies the higher education of women in Kashmir through a case study of its first women's college, The Government College for Women, established in 1950 in Srinagar. The last chapter focuses on the pioneering woman educationist of Kashmir, Begam Zaffar Ali, and her autobiographical narrative *Mere Shab-o-Roz*.

The first chapter titled 'Christian Missionaries, Education and Social Change: 1840-1970' focuses on the different aims for the establishment of Christian missions in Kashmir, the mode of their operation, the difficulties they faced in their functioning, and the way forward. The institutions set up by them for the education of men are studied in great detail. A detailed study of the curriculum in these schools is the main focus of this chapter. The response of the Kashmiris and the community discourses due to the interference in their life, customs, challenges to their social norms, religious beliefs and caste hierarchies are studied in great detail. This chapter primarily relies on the old school log books to reconstruct the history of the missionary schools for boys. Archival sources (Home, Education, and Foreign Political), autobiographies of pioneer missionaries, and old school magazines of some prominent missionary schools for boys have also been utilized.

The second chapter titled 'Missionary Education for Women in Kashmir: 1895-1965' discusses the education of girls in the missionary schools with a particular focus on the ways it is similar to or different from the education of boys. However, along with a discussion on female education in Kashmir and the steps taken by the missionaries for its advancement, this chapter engages with the social milieu of the time to understand the roots of this project. This chapter

[55] The CMS started to work in India from 1814 and from the same time women started to work as missionaries. Two societies were founded to specialize in the work: the Ladies' Female Education Society (Calcutta, 1824) and the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East (1834). And even before this institutionalization, women were sent to work in India as a part of the mission work, in Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley eds., *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999*, William B. Ferdmans Publishing Company and Curzon Press Ltd, Cambridge and Surrey, 2000, p. 71.

traces the social context of the time, the conditions in which the women lived, especially the theme of prostitution in Kashmir. The most challenging task for the missionaries while imparting female education was to be cautious not to offend the sentiments of the local people. A central concern of this chapter is to study whether female education imparted in these mission schools initiated a social reform in Kashmir or merely reinforced the popular gender norms of the time. The primary sources used in this chapter are early school logbooks of the Frances-Aberigh Memorial School from 1912-1932, archival documents (Home, Education, Old English records, Vernacular and Foreign Political Department), poems, and newspaper reports.

The third chapter titled 'Government Efforts and Institutionalization: Education and its Discontents' focuses on the government efforts for the spread of education among females in Kashmir. It was primarily after the success of missionaries in the domain of education in Kashmir that the government started to intervene in the education of its masses, both males and females. This chapter studies the plan of action of the government regarding female education in Kashmir from the start of the twentieth century. The nature of education imparted to females in these schools is the main focus of this chapter. A central concern of the chapter is to study whether the discussion around female education in government schools revolved only around the 'ideal of perfect' women with the knowledge of domestic science and home affairs as an important part of the curriculum? A study of the educational statistics for a comparison of the education of males and females is also attempted. This chapter has primarily relied on the administration reports of the government from the year 1896 onwards available in the Srinagar State archives and census reports available in the Central Secretariat Library along with some archival files.

The focus of the fourth chapter 'Higher Education of Females in Kashmir: Problems and Perspectives' is on the role of the Government College for Women, Srinagar in the educational history of women. The decades from 1950 to the 1970s are generally upheld as one of upward mobility for the higher education of females in Kashmir. But what is important to underline is the nature of higher education imparted in the only girls' college established in the Valley back in 1950. What is also important to note is whether with the entry of women in higher education,

there was a change in the status and position of women? The magazines of the college, *Pamposh*, available in the college library are studied carefully.

The last chapter titled 'Begam Zaffar Ali: Pioneer Woman Educationist of Kashmir' looks at the life and work of the first female matriculate woman of Kashmir. Born in 1901 in an elite Shia Muslim family in Kashmir, Begam is the first woman matriculate of Kashmir. Despite the conservative attitude of the Kashmiri society of the time towards female education, she attained education and later occupied positions in the education department where she contributed immensely to women's education. She retired as the Chief Inspectress, *Taalim-un-Niswan* (Women's education), and then worked as Member Social Welfare Advisory Board, and also went on to become Member Legislative Assembly, Jammu and Kashmir. Begam Zaffar Ali wrote about her life (*aap-biti*), family, marriage, seclusion (purdah), education, occupation, and work among downtrodden women in her autobiography in Urdu *Mere Shab-o-Roz,* published in the year 1983 from Srinagar. This chapter has made use of her autobiography to reconstruct the social milieu of the time, the response of the society to women's education and the role of women in creating alternative frameworks to support each other.

Chapter 1

Christian Missionaries, Education and Social Change: 1840-1970

The twentieth century in Kashmir was a period of social change. The ripples of change were, however, visible from the mid-nineteenth century itself. In particular, the 'reform' of people through an emphasis on education, thought to be the prime vehicle for social change, was given priority. The Christian missionaries were the first ones in Kashmir who attempted to propagate formal education among the people through the proliferation of missionary schools. This chapter will study the different aims for the establishment of Christian missions in Kashmir, the mode of their operation, and the difficulties they faced in their functioning. The institutions set up by them for the education of men will be studied. A detailed study of the curriculum in these schools and the responses of the Kashmiri community towards them will be the main focus of this chapter. This chapter will also attempt to explore the development and impact of 'English' education, viewed as modern, upon Kashmiri society.[1]

The Kashmir Mission: Beginning, Aims and Challenges

The diocese of Lahore which was created out of the diocese of Agra included Kashmir in its territory.[2] A year after the creation of the diocese of Lahore, i.e. on 6th July 1887, a new ecclesiastical territory – Kashmir and Kafiristan – was created and handed over to the Mill Hill Missionary Society. This territory was later separated from Lahore which was under the Capuchins.[3] The role of the Mill Hill Mission/Missionaries (henceforth MHM) – a society of Catholic missionaries, and the Church Missionary Society (henceforth CMS) – a mission society working with Protestant Christians around the world – is central to the educational history of Kashmir from the late nineteenth century.

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[1] See Hayden J.A. Ballenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860-1920*, Pickering & Chatto, London, 2007.

[2] The diocese of Lahore was extensive and included Delhi, Punjab, Sindh (transferred from the diocese of Bombay), Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier and Kashmir in M.E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India: 1600-1970*, Indian S.P.C.K., New Delhi, 1972, p. 280.

[3] Kafiristan was a tribal area in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan. The inhabitants of this place were Pagan – Non-Muslims and so they were called Kafirs by the Muslims of the surrounding areas. Kashmir, ruled by the Dogra Maharajas, was part of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, in Dominic Thirunilath, *Christinanity in Jammu & Kashmir*, Vishinath Press, Kashmir, pp. 21-22. The year of the publication is missing.

Before going into a discussion of the history of Christian missions in Kashmir, it is important to dwell on the possible reasons as to why Kashmir was chosen as the focal point of the missionary work. The missionaries started to work in the domain of education and healthcare in Kashmir from the late nineteenth century, stressing on the trope of the 'white man's burden'. The travelers who had visited Kashmir in the early half of the nineteenth century reported that 'there was a vast field in Kashmir for energetic Christian missionaries who desired to take up humanitarian and evangelic work'.[4]

Scholars, however, have given various explanations for this. Mohammad Ishaq Khan, a leading historian of Kashmir, attributes this to the geographical placement of Kashmir, its suitable climate and the zeal for the evangelical mission. He writes that given the history of the propagation of Buddhism in Kashmir, it was logical for the missionaries to assume that Christianity would be given the same welcome. And lastly, he links the missionary work in Kashmir to a moral reason, as according to him, the need to elevate people from the deplorable condition that they lived in, both at the hands of priests and rulers, was central to the missionary work. He summarizes: 'Their policy was to extend the knowledge of Christianity, and they saw in Kashmir a duty and an opportunity'.[5]

Mr. Kuldip N. Thakur Das, in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis[6] submitted to the University of Kashmir in 1983, refutes the views of those who see the chief aim of the missionary education in India as the conversion of pupils to Christianity. Thereafter, narrowing his lens to that of the Kashmir region, Das writes that the primary emphasis of the missionary education was the development of the complete personality of the child and not that of conversion, as is commonly presumed. Das is of the opinion that the practicability of this primary aim of missionary education was the reason for the whole pattern of mission school education in Kashmir.

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[4] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to the Present Day*, Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, 2003, p. 206. Also see Arthur Neve ed., *The Tourist's Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh, Skardo, Etc*, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1927 and Mrs. Hervey, *The Adventures of a Lady in Tartary, Thibet, China, & Kashmir*, Volume II, Hope and Co., London, 1854.

[5] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, pp. 123-124.

[6] Mr. Kuldip N. Thakur Das, 'A Study of the ideals of Christian pioneers in Education in Kashmir', Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Education, University of Kashmir, 1983, p. 38.

Jeffrey Cox in his study on missionaries in colonial India, especially Punjab, however, puts forth an important argument about their evangelical work. He writes that confronted with the task of expansion in non-Christian lands, the missionary strategy included 'preaching the word, publishing the word, and setting forth the word through the construction of Christian institutions'.[7] Emphasising the missionary impulse to establish schools, Cox quotes the bishop of Lahore: 'It was the formation of character which they wanted to get at'.[8]

This chapter argues that in Kashmir too, the educational aims of the mission shifted away from direct evangelism towards the dissemination of Christian ideals and principles. The mission schools remained deeply committed to Christian education. However, many restrictions were placed on the work of missionaries in Kashmir. But Sir Canon Tyndale Biscoe, one of the pioneers of western education in Kashmir, notes one reason for the ease of missionaries settling into Kashmir. According to him, people thought that western education might help them find lucrative posts in government service.[9] But the restrictions placed on their work were much harder to deal with and created hurdles in the missionary work.

During the mid-nineteenth century, Maharaja Gulab Singh had placed many restrictions on the work of missionaries in Kashmir. Khan attributes the hostility of the Maharaja and his officials in restricting the work of missionaries in Kashmir to the fact that the Maharaja 'had no wish that the missionaries should take back to British India details of the treatment of a people, in whose welfare he showed very little interest'.[10] Prem Nath Bazaz adds that because the Dogra rulers were unsympathetic towards their subjects, they thought that 'imparting education was only an effective way of awakening the people to their political and human rights'. He, therefore, sees it logical for the Dogra rulers to put impediments in the work of Christian missionaries.[11] These restrictions were, however, justified on the ground of the prevention of the subjects to Christian faith.

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[7] Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818-1940*, Stanford University Press, California, 2002, p. 7.
[8] *Ibid*., p. 189.
[9] C. E. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, Seeley Service & Co. Limited, London, 1922, p. 114.
[10] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 125.
[11] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta*, p. 215.

Regarding Europeans in general and the Englishmen in particular, who wished to live or carry on any business in Kashmir, such as trade and/or missionary work, the main motive of the Dogra rulers was to exclude them from acquiring anything like permanent rights in the Kashmir territory. The 'Local Rules for the Guidance of Visitors in Kashmir'[12] (henceforth 'Rules'), approved by the Maharaja, placed many obstructions in the work of missionaries in Kashmir. The argument of the Dogra rulers regarding traders and missionaries was that the latter would not be allowed the same privileges as Kashmiri subjects so long as they were exempt from Kashmir jurisdiction. Here are some sections of the 'Rules' that demonstrate the exclusion of the Europeans from the local Kashmiris.

1. Visitors are not permitted to take up their abode (in the town) in the Dilawar Khan Bagh, or in the gardens on the Dal Lake, viz., the Nishat and Shalimar Gardens, and the Chashma Shahi. The Nasim Bagh is available for camping. The fixed camping places in Srinagar are as follows: the Ram Munshi, Munshi, Hari Singh and Chenar Baghs.
2. Servants of visitors found in the city after dark, and any servant found without a light after the evening gun has fired, will be liable to be apprehended by the Police.[13]

These rules completely isolated the Europeans and British from the people in the Srinagar city. Street-preaching at night was prohibited. They were also forbidden from living in various areas of Srinagar. A ban was placed on the missionaries to even rent a house in the city of Srinagar.[14] The police had created terror in the minds of the people by announcing that 'if any one rented a house to the missionaries, all the skin would be taken off their backs'.[15] The only area where Europeans were permitted to live were quarters on the banks of river Jhelum in Munshi Bagh called Barracks.[16]

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[12] See W. Wakefield, *The Happy Valley: Sketches of Kashmir and the Kashmiris*, London, 1879.

[13] The Kashmir Darbar's Interference with European Merchants and Missionary Societies – Mr. Russell's Case – Secret F, File No. 214-241, 1885, Foreign and Political Department, National Archives of India, New Delhi (hereafter NAI).

[14] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 124.

[15] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta*, pp. 207-208. Also see, Manzoor Ahmad Rather, 'Poverty and Health in Kashmir under Dogras (1846-1947 A.D.)', M.Phil Thesis, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, 2013, p. 98.

[16] *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: An Autobiography* with an introduction by Shafi Ahmad Qadri, Sheikh Mohammad Usman and Sons, Srinagar, 2003 edition, pp. 53-54. Also see, Robert Clark, *The Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in the Punjab and Sindh*, Church Missionary Society, London, 1904, p. 88.

The Dogra administration had also placed a check on the entry and exit of missionaries into Kashmir. The records of the Home Department in the Srinagar State archives mention 'Special Entry Permits' by which the entry of missionaries was strictly guarded in Kashmir. But the Dogra administration was unable to refuse permission to every 'white man' to visit Kashmir. In the year 1851-52, there were 126 visitors to Kashmir. Of them, only two were females. The inadvisability of permitting ladies to visit Kashmir during certain periods was justified on political grounds. However, there was no objection to the families visiting Kashmir.[17]

Maharaja Gulab Singh, the founder of the Dogra dynasty in Kashmir, had also created hurdles in the work of missionaries by forbidding them to remain in Kashmir during the winter season.[18] The records in the Foreign and Political Department of the National Archives of India testify to this. The rule of the government in Kashmir which required all European residents, not in the service of the government, to vacate the Kashmir province before October 15 each year was in force since 1865. The Committee of the CMS in Calcutta thereafter petitioned the Viceroy of India and the Governor-General in Council in August 1871, asking that this order may be relaxed in favour of the missionaries. They claimed for the missionaries the privileges to which every Englishman was entitled to and quoted the principle of religious toleration, as laid down in the Queen's Proclamation in 1858, as 'shielding the missionaries from any prejudice founded on their character as teachers of religion'.[19]

The order restricting the Europeans from residing in Kashmir for half the year enraged the colonial authorities. It was argued that 'considering the relation in which the Maharajah of Kashmir stands to the British Government, it is an outrageous thing that English gentleman, whether missionaries or others, should be excluded from his dominions at any time so long as they behave properly'. Arguing that this be done away with, the matter was referred to the Governor-General. Thus, tensions arose between the colonial state and the Maharaja's

[17] Ladies not permitted to visit Kashmir – Despatch to Secret Committee No. 15 of 1852 – F.C, File No. 76-78, 1852, Foreign and Political Department, NAI. And Inadvisability of permitting ladies to visit Cashmere – S.C., File No. 125-126, 1852, Foreign and Political Department, NAI.

[18] Robert Clark, *The Missions of C.M.S and C.E.Z.M.S in the Punjab and Sindh*, p. 172.

[19] Permission to Missionaries in Kashmir to stay after 15 October – Political A, File Nos. 420-421, 1872, Foreign and Political Department, NAI.

government on the issue.[20] After the intervention of the Governor-General and a prolonged discussion on the issue between the various stakeholders, the prohibition against all Europeans was abolished, whether officers in the service of the government or non-officials.[21]

The debates that ensued between the British officials and the Dogra authorities in Kashmir on the issue underlined a concern that while excluding foreigners from Kashmir was not possible, utmost caution was to be observed concerning their stay in Kashmir. The Governor-General in Council believed that Kashmir being a 'pleasure ground' for Europeans owing to its climate and also being close to frontiers, it was in the interests of the authorities to have some check over the movements of the travelers. It was argued that there was a need to draft fresh rules for the guidance of travellers in the Native States.[22]

The Dogra rulers perceived this as a ploy by the colonial state to interfere in the internal matters of Kashmir. The colonial state promulgated some 'principal measures of administrative reforms' for the Kashmir region in 1884. Central to them was the 'appointment of respectable officials'. The establishment of the British Resident in Kashmir in 1885 during the rule of Maharaja Pratap Singh was a deliberate move by the colonial state to interfere in the affairs of the State.[23] G.M.D. Sufi, a leading historian of Kashmir, writes that the re-organization of the administration of Kashmir on the advice and effective assistance of the British Resident and the British Indian Government was premised on the Punjab model.[24]

The colonial state's control on the affairs of Kashmir was further strengthened when in June 1886 the Resident urged that, to carry out the schemes of reforms in Kashmir, the Government of India needed to control the appointment of British subjects to offices in Kashmir. The justification provided was that the Government of India was deeply interested in the good

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[20] Question of Europeans residing in Kashmir during winter – Political A, File Nos. 122-125, 1872, Foreign Department, NAI.

[21] Withdrawal of prohibition against British Officers remaining in Kashmir after 15 October – Political A, File Nos. 188-189, 1873, Foreign Department, NAI.

[22] Rules for the guidance of travelers visiting Kashmir and Jummoo – Political A, File Nos. 150-154, 1882, Foreign Department, NAI.

[23] Manzoor Ahmad Rather, 'Poverty and Health in Kashmir under Dogras', M.Phil Thesis, 2013, p. 98.

[24] G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashīr: Being a History of Kashmīr from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Light and Life Publishers, New Delhi, 1974, p. 815.

government of its territories. The discrepancy regarding the term 'British subjects' between the English and the Persian version of the 7th Article of the Treaty of Amritsar, which regulated the employment of foreigners by the Maharaja of Kashmir, was the reason for the British interference.[25]

The interference by the British eased the work of missionaries in Kashmir. While there was strong opposition to the street-preaching by missionaries, the British authorities believed that 'no restriction should be placed on the mode of instruction they may wish to pursue in their schools'. Moreover, Kashmir was not the only Native State where restrictions were placed on the working of missionaries. The Queen's proclamation of 1858, which upheld that there will be no interference in the religious affairs of the country, was used as a check on preaching Christianity in the other Native States also.[26]

The course to be pursued by the missionaries in British territories and the Native States was different. When the missionaries carried on their work in British territories, the course to be pursued with regard to them was clear and simple. They were allowed complete freedom which was possible to grant them consistently with the maintenance of public peace. But in the Native States, the question was more complicated. The general policy was affected by the express obligation of treaties. In the case of the Native States, the powers of the Native Princes were also a consideration. Personal religious freedom in the Native States did not include 'freedom to preach or proselytize'. But there was no objection to the missionaries establishing a school within the Residency limits.[27] In the case of Kashmir, this provided a great impetus to the cause of education. The following section will engage with the role of Christian missionaries in the

[25] The English version of the Article 7 of the Treaty of Amritsar states that 'The Maharaja Golab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government'. The English version of the treaty is authoritative, but it is remarkable that the Persian version distinctly applies to 'the people of the foreign country of England or other European people or residents of America'. Punjab supplies the mass of the officials, and it seems rather straining of language to call Punjabis 'foreigners' at least in the Jammu territory, in List of foreigners and British subjects in the service of the Kashmir Durbar – Secret E, File Nos. 10-13, 1887, Foreign Department, NAI.

[26] Complaint of two Christian Missionaries against Maharaja Holkar in hindering them from carrying on mission work within the City of Indore – Secret – I – K.W., File Nos. 1-17, 1883, Foreign Department, NAI.

[27] *Ibid*,.

area of education in Kashmir during the late nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century.

Christian Missions in Kashmir: 1840-1890

During the twentieth century, the Christian mission in Kashmir had its prime focus to work in two important spheres – education and healthcare. The missionaries had, however, shown interest in Kashmir before this time as well, i.e. during the mid to late nineteenth century. In a letter from two Moravian missionaries, E. Payell and A.W. Heyde, a request was made in 1855 for a permit to travel to the northern frontiers of Maharaja Gulab Singh's territories – Ladakh, Balti and Skardu. The purpose of their travel was stated to be the pursuance of their Tibetan studies. Their request was to permit them to travel for a duration of two or three years and during that time to live for four or five months or as long as possible at Leh. The Maharaja granted them the permission without taking responsibility for their safety.[28]

Formally, the work of the Christian mission in Kashmir was started in 1849 in Srinagar.[29] It was in the year 1854 that Robert Clark, who had earlier established the Amritsar Mission, engaged in an exploration of Kashmir, Skardu, Ladakh, and other areas of Western Himalayas. Robert Clark, accompanied by Colonel Martin Clark entered the Kashmir valley on May 20, 1854, via Rajouri and Poonch. It was during this tour that Robert Clark first conceived the idea of a great chain of missions extending from Punjab and beyond the British Indian borders into Central Asia and China.[30] Miss M.E. Gibbs wrote, 'Maharaja Gulab Singh, the new ruler of Kashmir, was contemptuously tolerant. "Let be! My people are so vile, no man can make them worse. I am anxious to see whether the gentleman's preaching can do them any good"'.[31]

In 1862, an application bearing the signature of many influential Christian men in Punjab, and supported by a list of liberal subscriptions was forwarded to the CMS, requesting them to commence mission work in Kashmir. Consequently, a mission began in 1863 and was maintained in Srinagar. However, under the orders of the Kashmir government, it had to retire

[28] Grant of permission to certain missionaries of the Moravian Church to visit the Northern Districts of Maharaja Golab Singh's territory – F.C., File Nos. 260-271, 1855, Foreign and Political Department, NAI.
[29] *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: An Autobiography* with an introduction by Shafi Ahmad Qadri, p. 2.
[30] Dominic Thirunilath, *Christinanity in Jammu & Kashmir*, pp. 15-17.
[31] M.E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India*, p. 193.

for the winter months. Applications were made to the Viceroy for permission to remain permanently in Kashmir but given the Maharaja's opposition to this, the mission work was carried on by annual visits only.[32]

Despite the restrictions placed on the work of missionaries, Robert Clark opened a school in Srinagar on 18 April 1864. The establishment of schools was central to his missionary work as he recommended the principle of evangelising through education. He wrote: 'In every town a good English education should be offered; and no time or pains which the superintending Missionary may give to such a School, can be without the very best results, in the efforts to evangelise the inhabitants'.[33] But because the Maharaja was averse to the evangelical preaching by the missionaries, whether in an institutional setting or the open, the parents who sent their children to the missionary school were threatened by the police that 'if their children went to school, they would be banished to Gilgit'.[34] However, owing to the problem of winter residence, Clark and his family had to leave Kashmir on November 2, 1864, and the school got closed down.[35]

Before 1863, some officers did remain in Kashmir during the winter season. Also, many European merchants stayed in Kashmir throughout the year. Primarily, the presence of French shawl merchants, as permanent residents, was permitted by the Maharaja's Government. This rule of exclusion unequivocally enforced was seen to manifest prejudice in the eyes of the colonial state. They were of the opinion that 'our [British] agents were welcomed in Srinagar by the predecessor of the present Maharajah, and nothing has since occurred to indicate any tendency in their work to evoke or encourage any kind of hostility to the Government'.[36]

In a Punjab government order, dated August 1, 1864, it was stated that 'the grounds of the Maharaja's objections are chiefly, if not entirely political'. But in 1872, Mr. Girdlestone's report stated that some missionaries, contrary to the custom, were openly preaching in Srinagar

[32] Permission to Missionaries in Kashmir to stay after 15 October, 1872, NAI.

[33] Dominic Thirunilath, *Christinanity in Jammu & Kashmir*, pp. 15-17.

[34] Robert Clark, *The Missions of C.M.S and C.E.Z.M.S in the Punjab and Sindh*, p. 213. Also, Fayaz Ahmad Kotay and Nazir Ahmad Kotey, 'Modernisation of Education in Princely States: Role of Christian Missionaries', *International Journal of Society and Humanities*, Vol. 10, No. 1, June 2017, pp. 87- 92, p. 88.

[35] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, pp. 126-127.

[36] Permission to Missionaries in Cashmere to stay after 15 October, 1872, NAI.

and did not budge even when the Resident remonstrated. The missionaries finally desisted owing to the unfavourable reception of their preaching by the Kashmiris. Thus, Maharaja Gulab Singh passed an order requesting the missionaries not to interfere with the people in a manner that may unnecessarily cause general discontent.[37]

The mid-nineteenth century was also a period of active interference by the British in the educational affairs of territories adjoining Kashmir. The missionaries of the Church in Lahore – the Reverend John Newton and W. Forman – had applied for the grant to set up educational institutions there. A part of the estates called 'Hira Mandi' and 'Puri Mahal' in the city of Lahore was required for establishing a school and a chapel. The grant application stated that if the 'Government can bestow this property upon the Lahore mission…it will be of essential service in furthering the cause of education in this city'. The Deputy Commissioner, Lahore at the time was of the opinion that 'since the object for which the estate was required by the missionaries was a charitable one, being in aid of the cause of education in this city, their application should get a favourable consideration of the Govt.'.[38]

Encouragement to the missionary work in the territories adjoining Kashmir eventually led to their foray into the domain of education in Kashmir. The focus of the missionaries on the cause of education in Kashmir was particularly important in the wake of the indifference of the Dogra rulers for the educational uplift of the masses. The upper and the middle-class Kashmiris got their children educated in *maktabs* and *pathshalas*. The *maktabs* were linked with the mosques where the Muslim boys were taught to read Arabic so that they could then read the Quran.[39] Similarly, Sanskrit was taught to Pandit boys in the *pathshalas* to enable them to read the Hindu scriptures.[40] The study of arithmetic was also stressed upon. The students in these schools were exclusively boys. Their ages ranged from five years to 16 or 18.[41]

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[37] Permission to Missionaries in Cashmere to stay after 15 October, 1872, NAI.

[38] Application of the Prebysterian Missionaries in Lahore for the grant of a site within the city called the "Purree Muhal" for chapel and an English and vernacular school house – F.C, File Nos. 52-59, 1850, Foreign and Political Department, NAI.

[39] Biscoe, C. E. Tyndale, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 253.

[40] Mohammad Ashaf Tak, *Sheeraza (Urdu)*, Volume 46, No. 1, Special issue dedicated to P.N.K. Bamzai, Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, p. 43. The year of publication is missing.

[41] Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 253.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1856-1885) patronized the teaching of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. The education of the masses, however, remained in an extremely low state.[42] The Administration Report of 1873, the first of its kind in the Jammu and Kashmir state, testifies to the educational backwardness of the population. Maharaja Ranbir Singh's school established in 1874 was the only school in Kashmir but here the medium of instruction was Sanskrit and Persian.[43] There was not a single school in Srinagar where education in English could be imparted. The appeal of the CMS Schools was popular among the people because the knowledge of English was desired by all those who wished to seek employment in the various branches of the administration. People took interest in learning English education mainly in terms of its usefulness for social advancement.

The Christian missionaries first drew up plans for a school and forwarded them to the CMS in London. These were promptly approved and funds granted. The Mission School was started by John Smith Doxey of the CMS in 1880. He was helped in the task by two Kashmiri Pandits – Pandit Anand Koul Bamzai and Pandit Narayan Das. In fact, they were the ones who had pleaded Doxey to start a missionary school in Kashmir for teaching English and other western subjects like geometry, history, geography, physics, chemistry, and algebra. Doxey left for England in 1883 and his mission was taken forward by J. Hinton Knowles.

The school did not see much enrolment in its initial stages. But the mere existence of a Christian missionary school was a strong enough reason to evince suspicion in Maharaja Ranbir Singh about evangelism being preached in the school. He personally kept a check on the students enrolled in the school and on any suspicion of the student having changed his faith, his family would be called upon for clarification. The Maharaja once called Pandit Anand Koul's father when he became apprehensive of Koul's involvement in the mission. Bamzai was permitted to work for the school only after proving that he did not convert and was still a Hindu and connected to his roots. He did this by undertaking a Persian translation of the Mahabharata.[44]

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[42] Aashaq Hussain Lone and Ram Adhar Panday, 'Development of Education under the Dogras', *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences*, Vol. 9, Issue 3(2), March 2019, pp. 166-173, p. 167.
[43] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, pp. 144-145.
[44] P.N.K. Bamzai, 'Pandit Anand Koul Bamzai', in Mohammad Ashaf Tak, *Sheeraza (Urdu), Volume 46*, No. 1, pp. 45-49.

One of the major influences of the missionaries was that they introduced an element of private enterprise in education. In response, the Muslim educational movement, a private enterprise, was started in the 1890s, as a counter to the missionary work.[45] The State also began to take an interest in education from the late 19th century. The opening of schools, the creation of the system of grants-in-aid to encourage private schools, and, above all, the appointment of educational committees and organization of educational conferences all point to a change in the policy of the Kashmir government.[46] By the year 1922, there were two State High schools, a Mohammedan High School and the CMS High School in Srinagar, affiliated to the Punjab University. In these schools, the boys studied till the matriculation examination. On completion, they entered the Sri Pratap Singh College in Srinagar while a few went to one of the colleges in Lahore or to the Kashmir State College at Jammu. All education in the state was free, even higher education.[47]

CMS and MHM: Beginning of Missionary Education in Kashmir

The Christian missionary schools at the time of their establishment in the 1880s had to face many hurdles to disseminate knowledge among the common people. Tyndale Biscoe, one of the pioneer missionaries to work in Kashmir, regarded it as 'the problem of educational road-making'.[48] The problems faced by the pioneer missionaries were: ignorance, superstition, notions of purity and pollution, and caste prejudice. But as the missionaries conceived education as a process 'affecting the body, mind and soul of the pupil', the CMS Schools gave a prominent position, in the school curriculum, to physical exercises and social service. Whether or not this was to enforce the Victorian ideals of 'manly Christianity' on the local Kashmiri population will be seen in detail in the next section of this chapter. But this was deeply detested by the local population.

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[45] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 139.

[46] *Ibid*., p. 140. Also, Diladan Manzoor, 'Female Education in Rural Kashmir: A Historical Study of Block Pulwama (1947-2000)', M.Phil Thesis, Department of History, University of Kashmir, 2011, p. 30.

[47] Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 255-256.

[48] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Road Making in Kashmir*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1915, p. 9. Log books of Biscoe's and Frances Aberigh-Mackay Memorial school were procured from the personal collection of Peerzada Muhammad Ashraf (Retired Deputy Director of Jammu State Archives), Bemina, Srinagar, 12 April 2018.

The challenge posed to the missionary endeavours also arose from the fact that in Kashmir the schools established by the state government (commonly called the state schools) had a great advantage over the mission schools. The state schools enjoyed government grants that enabled them to offer free education and books, secure the most expensive teachers, and to offer scholarships. The disadvantage to CMS Schools was that being in a Native State, the CMS schools could not apply for the government grant that was given to the mission as well as to other schools in British India.[49] The CMS Schools in Kashmir had to meet their expenses from the subscriptions of school log books, donations, grant from the Church Missionary Society, fees charged from the students. In fact, the CMS schools were the only schools in the whole of the state which charged fees from the students. A portion of the grant was also paid by the state government. The table below shows the grant to the Central CMS School from 1913 to 1922:[50]

Year	CMS Grant	Kashmir State Grant	Subscriptions and Donations	Auxiliary Contributions from CMS	Church Offertories	Fees	Fines
1913	4,400	6,192	12,202	1,039	583	5,259	337
1914	5,000	7,466	8,319	3489	388	5,863	298
1915	5,000	7,850	4,596	1,420	471	5,144	224
1916	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1917	4,900	8,616	9,005+2,397	802	924	5,781	447
1918	5,145	11,000	12,273+2,440	1,600	1,014	6,001	407
1919	5,390	14,809	12,297+1,381	1513	619	5,595	409
1920	5,390	14,676	12,859+1,115	1,231	924	5,788	432
1921	7,900	14,676	19,512+1,549	3,225	757	5,889	476
1922	7,050	27,261	14,934+2,932	2,526	1,414	5,997	357

Adding to the already existing problems was the fact that the educational policies formulated by the Maharaja's government also put impediments in the work of the missionary schools. In February 1896, Irene Petrie, the first lady missionary to visit Kashmir in 1894 and work for the Kashmiri people, especially women, wrote:

> A sad blow to the schools has come this week, showing the jealousy and opposition of the non-Christian powers that be. The headmaster of the Maharaja's School has got an order issued by the Council at Jammu to say that only those who have been educated in the State School shall be eligible for employment in any Government office…In the end

[49] Ashley Carus Wilson, *A Woman's Life for Kashmir: Irene Petrie, A Biography*, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2014, p. 203.
[50] This table is compiled with the help of information and data given in the school log books.

> the order in Council was annulled through the intervention of the Acting Resident, Captain Chenevix Trench.[51]

In the interest of their imperial ambitions, drastic steps were taken by the colonial state to put a check on the activities of the Maharaja. The stationing of the British Resident at Srinagar 'that imperial representative [who] was to be the advisor-in-chief whose opinion was virtually a command which the Maharaja could not afford to disregard'[52] acted as a check against Maharaja's policies. This interference in the internal administration was beneficial to the people of the state against the atrocities committed by the Dogra Maharaja. Among other things, attention was paid to the neglected problem of public health and mass illiteracy.

The mission too did not give up on its efforts and the opening of the CMS School was an important day in the history of Kashmir. It ushered in a new era by imparting education on modern lines. As the principal of the CMS School in Srinagar for ten years from 1880-1890, J. Hinton Knowles was instrumental in giving the initial push to the working of the school. The school was started in 1880 with only four or five students on the rolls. This might be attributed to the fact that in the beginning because of the ban on renting any place in the city, the school was located outside the city, and hence it posed a problem for the students. In 1890 the government permitted the school to hire a building near Fateh Kadal, Srinagar, and the first school of the CMS was established there. As a result, the number of students increased to about 200 in 1890.[53]

By 1893, the school at Fateh Kadal had grown into a group of schools. In 1894, Knowles handed over the principal-ship to C.E. Tyndale Biscoe and he became the treasurer. In May 1896, Tyndale Biscoe's brother, George Tyndale, joined him as the Vice-Principal. Two more relatives of Biscoe also joined him in his work. This whole European staff[54] superintended the network of five schools in Srinagar – the Central school, the Rainawari school, the Habba Kadal

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[51] Ashley Carus Wilson, *A Woman's Life for Kashmir,* p. 208.
[52] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta,*, p. 215.
[53] *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: An Autobiography* with an introduction by Shafi Ahmad Qadri, pp. 4-6.
[54] 'The missionaries who worked in India were primarily of a shared similar social networks, educational experiences and intellectual outlook. Nearly all of them had some educational experience in either Oxford or Cambridge. Cecil Tyndale-Biscoe, one of the most famous CMS educationists who worked tirelessly in Kashmir had attended Bradfield College and later Cambridge', in Hayden J.A. Ballenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India*, 1860-1920, Pickering & Chatto, London, 2007, p. 63.

school, the Amira Kadal school and the Nawa Kadal school.[55] There was also a high school at Anantnag. This school was closed later for lack of funds.[56]

The detailed inspection report available on the CMS School Anantnag for the year 1944 describes the standard of the school in terms of teachers and the taught, curriculum, results, infrastructure, and the grant-in-aid rules. A close reading of the document suggests other reasons for the school being closed, other than the lack of funds, as suggested above. The qualification of the principal and three teachers working in the school was below average. English was taught to the boys in the 4th and 5th classes, as opposed to the rule of the government which recommended its teaching from 8th standard. The school premises were required to be 'sufficiently healthy, lighted, drained, and ventilated', which was not taken seriously by the CMS School at Anantnag. The infrastructure in the school was poor. The document states that in the absence of tables/*chowkies*, the boys had 'to assume postures while reading and writing which may do them permanent harm'. The school was also seen to be stagnant in terms of the number of students on its rolls. The strength of the school in 1944 was 303 which was the same for the years 1942 and 1943. Community wise, the strength for the year 1944 was 229 Hindus, 62 Muslims, 11 Sikhs and 1 Christian.[57]

The questionnaire submitted for remarks by the Inspecting officers to all the educational institutions year after year to keep a track of the standard of education in the schools suggests the reasons for the closure of the school:

> (1) Whether you are satisfied that there is a competent and trust-worthy manager or managing body? (2) What is the average daily attendance in the school? (3) Are the school premises sufficiently healthy, lighted, drained, and ventilated and supplied with suitable officers? (4) Do they contain the accommodation required for the scholars under these rules? (5) Is the school sufficiently supplied with appliances and furniture? (6) Is the staff of teachers of good character and capable, in point of number and attainments of performing its duties efficiently? (7) Are the organization and discipline satisfactory? (8) Are the studies conducted in accordance with a time table? (9) Are the copies of the time table hung up in conspicuous places in the school building? (10) Are all the text books in

[55] Ashley Carus Wilson, *A Woman's Life for Kashmir*, p. 200.
[56] *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: An Autobiography* with an introduction by Shafi Ahmad Qadri, pp. 7-8.
[57] Grant-in-aid forms of CMS High School Anantnag for 2001, File No. B/3/42, 1944, Education Department, Srinagar State Archives (hereafter SSA).

> use approved by Department? (11) Are the prescribed registers (including a log Book) and accounts of income from fees and expenditure duly kept in form sanctioned by the Department? (12) Are these accounts submitted annually to the Department? (13) Are the inter-school rules, as laid down by the Department duly observed throughout all Departments of school, aided or unaided? (14) Does the school maintain a file of leaving certificates received and another of leaving certificates issued? (15) Does the school send up students for the Middle school examination conducted by the State Education Department? (16) Are the students who fail to pass the above examination, promoted to the next higher class? (17) Do you consider that – (a) the school deserves a grant under the rules or, (b) the grant already sanctioned may be continued with such modifications as the rules and the Department may allow in consideration of the income and expenditure proposed by the Manager of the school.[58]

Other CMS Schools, however, did fairly well and continued to attract students. The number of students on the rolls of the CMS Schools continued to rise year after year and the schools flourished despite challenging the prevalent social norms and the government curbs on it. In these schools, the boys came from Kashmir, Punjab, Bengal, Nepal, Nagar, Dras, Tibet and Afghanistan. The students were mostly Hindus but included some Muslims and Sikhs. Socially, they were a mixed group ranging from the relatives of the Maharaja to Brahmans to 'despised' *Hanjis* (fishermen), but most of them came from the small and yet influential Pandit class.[59]

The CMS schools grew under the leadership of C.E. Tyndale Biscoe. Irene Petrie regarded him as the 'ideal missionary work among the lads'.[60] Within ten years the CMS primary school at Fateh Kadal was raised to the highest standard. The number of students on the rolls of the school also rose.[61] But before a discussion on Biscoe and his school, it is important to study the St. Joseph's mission in Baramulla in North Kashmir. This is because the missionaries initiated their work – especially in domains of education and healthcare – among the people in Kashmir from Baramulla itself.

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[58] Grant-in-aid forms of CMS High School Anantnag for 2001, 1944, SSA. Also see Recognition of CMS Girls Fateh Kadal Srinagar, File No. M-9, 1932, Education Department, SSA. And, Grant of Scholarships to girl students reading in the Presentation Convent, Srinagar, File No. C/17/1, 1938, Education Department, SSA.

[59] Ashley Carus Wilson, *A Woman's Life for Kashmir*, p. 201.

[60] Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 199.

[61] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta,* p. 210.

The Baramulla mission station initially began as a transit station for the missionaries stationed in Leh to escape its harsh sub-zero temperatures of the cold winter months. Thereafter, in the wake of the closure of the mission station at Leh in 1889, the Mill Hill Missionaries plans for the expansion of their activities were focussed on Baramulla and Srinagar. The transit house at Baramulla thus became the focal point for a fresh wave of missionary zeal. To ascertain the viability of this new missionary venture, Monsignor Brouwer travelled from Rawalpindi and arrived at Baramulla on 19 March 1891.[62] But the first Mill Hill missionary to have set foot in Kashmir was Father Daniel Kilty. However, since the trend was to keep the missionaries out, Father Daniel went to Ladakh in August 1888. He fell sick there and died on 23 April 1889.[63] Formally, Baramulla's missionary activities began with the arrival of two priests and one catechist in 1891. These two Mill Hill missionaries, Fathers Winkley and Cunningham, arrived during the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925) and the Maharaja was extremely cordial towards them.[64]

At first, the missionaries had no land and had to make do with three tents pitched on the ground. To help ease the work of the mission and to secure land, Brouwer sought to befriend the ruling authorities of the state. In a meeting with Maharaja Pratap Singh, he presented some gifts sent by Pope Leo XIII. The meeting was a success and the Maharaja officially permitted the missionaries to reside indefinitely in Kashmir. The missionaries were, however, not allowed to own land, but could rent accommodation for their activities.[65] The land was later procured by Father C.B. Simons of Baramulla. He did this by helping the Maharaja to sell the royal stamp collections to solve the problem of the depleted treasury. In return for his help, Father Simons got a piece of land in Baramulla.[66]

A tract of land was obtained in 1892 and the mission work started thereafter. Father Simons gathered eight orphans who became the first students, and later a couple of other students joined the rolls. In 1897, Father Simons decided to open the school to non-catholic pupils. Till

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[62] Suresh Britoo and Roy Mathews, *The Catholic Church in Jammu and Kashmir: 1887-2006*, The Diocese of Jammu-Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir, 2006, p. 53.
[63] *Celebrating the 100th year: 1905-2005*, A magazine of St. Joseph's Higher Secondary School, Baramulla, Kashmir, p. 10, procured from the school library. The date of publication of the document is missing.
[64] *Diocese of Jammu-Srinagar, India: Directory*, Bishop's House, Jammu, 1996, p. 28.
[65] Suresh Britoo and Roy Mathews, *The Catholic Church in Jammu and Kashmir,* p. 54.
[66] *Celebrating the 100th year: 1905-2005*, A magazine of St. Joseph's Higher Secondary School, p. 11.

then, education was given only to the catholic orphans.[67] As their strength grew, Father Simons laid the foundation of St. Joseph's school in 1903. The school, a one-storied building, was ready in May 1905.[68] The school was christened St. Joseph's for the reason that the start of the Baramulla Mission in 1891 marked the silver jubilee of the St. Joseph's society of the Mill Hill Mission established in London.[69] The school was formally inaugurated on May 9, 1909, by the then Governor of Kashmir, Pandit Manmohan Nath. Father Simons was instrumental in choosing the motto 'Manners Maketh Man'. Gradually, under the guidance of Father Simons, the school was upgraded to a middle school and by 1913 to a high school.[70]

In 1930, Father De Reuter, a dynamic educationist, arrived at Baramulla to assist in the growth of the school. In his short three-year tenure at the school, he introduced many activities such as camping, boy scouts, sports, etc. In 1933, Father Andrew was assigned to Baramulla. With the efforts of Father Andrew, the establishment of a boarding school was materialised in 1934, enrolling students from other states as well.[71] Gradually, the Mill Hill fathers felt the need to introduce higher education in the region. In 1937, Father George Shanks came to Baramulla to assist in setting up St. Joseph's college. Lovingly called 'Bud Sahib', Father George Shanks is remembered for his great contribution to the cause of education in Kashmir.[72] In 1938, a college was started and by the year 1943, the college which was hitherto an intermediate one was upgraded and raised to a degree college.[73]

But the sharp growth of the school was hampered when a major crisis struck the school in 1947. October 27, 1947, was a tragic day for Baramulla, and particularly for St. Joseph's mission. The school witnessed blood-shed and violence let loose by hordes of Pathans who entered into India, having crossed the Khyber and Malakand passes. They laid siege to the mission compound. The school property was looted and plundered. Many missionaries died in the raids. The Chief of the mission, Major Ronald Davis, was shot dead. But later through the

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[67] *Celebrating the 100th year: 1905-2005*, A magazine of St. Joseph's Higher Secondary School, pp.10-11.
[68] Suresh Britoo and. Roy Mathews, *The Catholic Church in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 56.
[69] Anayat Ali Shah, 'The Role of Missionary Schools in the Development of English Language in the Kashmir Valley: A Survey', M.Phil Thesis, Department of English, University of Kashmir, 2013, p. 66.
[70] *Celebrating the 100th year: 1905-2005*, A magazine of St. Joseph's Higher Secondary School, p. 15.
[71] Suresh Britoo and Roy Mathews, *The Catholic Church in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 57.
[72] Prof. T.N. Moza, 'A Tribute to Msgr. George Shanks', *Torch*, St. Joseph's College, Baramulla, September 17, 1958, p. 3.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

order of the tribal leaders, all Pathans entering Kashmir were required to take an oath to 'respect neutrals and Europeans and not to loot their Muslim brothers and sisters who, until now, have been impartially stripped of everything from food, money to ear rings.'[74]

After the tribal raids of 1947 and then the restoration of normalcy, the school started functioning as usual but the college remained closed. On June 28, 1954, the college was finally re-opened. But due to the inadequacy of financial resources to meet the expenses of the college, the Mill Hill missionaries officially handed over the college to the government of Kashmir for its future management in 1963. The college is presently known as the Government Degree College of Baramulla.[75] But for a long time, St. Joseph's was both a school and a college. The latter taught Science (Physics and Chemistry) up to the intermediate level and Arts courses up to bachelors. The school was an Anglo-vernacular matriculation school.[76] But after 1963, the school was left with the status of a higher secondary. A chain of priests came to take the mission forward. English as the medium of instruction was introduced in the school in 1968 by Father Bijvout and Father Jim Borst.[77]

After the College was handed over to the state government in 1963, the missionaries had plans for the expansion of the school for the education of girls. The major impediment to this was the possession of a major part of the school land by the army. About 50 canals of land situated in Baramulla town (known as Supply Command) was granted to the catholic mission by the state government (Maharaja's government) before 1947 for raising buildings for educational purposes. The mission could not raise any structure on the land till 1947 and after the Qabali raids, the land was occupied by the army. But because of the demand put forth by the people of Baramulla for the building of a primary school for girls, the Deputy Commissioner, Baramulla took up the case of de-requisitioning the Supply Command with the army authorities. But they

[74] Sydney Smith, 'English Priest who defied Loot – Mad Raiders in Baramulla', *Sunday Standard*, 16 November 1947, p. 44, procured from the School library of St. Joseph's Higher Secondary School, Baramulla.
[75] Suresh Britoo and Roy Mathews, *The Catholic Church in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 58.
[76] *Celebrating the 100th year: 1905-2005*, A magazine of St. Joseph's Higher Secondary School, p. 23.
[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

turned down the request on two grounds: (a) paucity of land in Baramulla for military purposes and (b) the heavy investment on the assets created on the land by them.[78]

The case got escalated to such an extent that the important political figures of the time also intervened in the matter. The importance of the land occupied by the army was more because it was situated in the middle of the town and was an ideal place for a girls' high school. The demand for land for the army was met by giving them an alternate site measuring 56 canals in village Ushkara, Baramulla.[79] But the fact that the army authorities had constructed some structures on the requisitioned school land, the valuation of which amounted to rupees 2,79,000 also raised a problem. They demanded an equal amount in compensation from the school authorities. However, the problem arose because the income statement of the last five years suggested that the school ran at a deficit and was unable to form a reserve capital.[80]

The derequisitioning of the land was, however, important for St. Joseph's School and the people of Baramulla. Its moderate fees, Rupees fifteen from class one to eight and Rupees sixteen from classes nine to eleven, made it a genuine 'neighbourhood school'. It was open to all sections of the local community and also personnel from outside the area. The school jointly managed and guided by the fathers and sisters of the Mission, functioned as a government grant-in-aid school, and thus also had the approval of the Education Department.[81]

The derequisitioning of land for the expansion of the school was of a particular necessity for the education of girls. Also, by the late 1950s, Kashmiri women had begun to assert their desire for education as a step towards socio-economic advancement. The educated Kashmiri community and the state government jointly approached the sisters of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary (FMM) and formally requested them to initiate educational opportunities for Kashmiri women. Some prominent citizens of Baramulla also requested the sisters to open a kindergarten for their children. Since St. Joseph's school did not have this facility, the sisters of FMM opened English medium kindergarten and primary classes by the name of St. Mary'

[78] Vacation of land of St. Joseph's Higher Secondary School Baramula under occupation of army, File No. CL-29/73 (Civil Liaison), 1973, Home Department, SSA, p. 7.
[79] *Ibid*., p. 28.
[80] *Ibid*., p. 49.
[81] *Ibid*,.

School in the year 1959.[82] The children after passing their primary classes joined St. Joseph's school as St. Mary's was a branch of St. Joseph's.

The sisters thus opened an English medium school exclusively for girls. It was a bold and defining step considering the state's predominantly patriarchal culture. But with the commencement of this school, the new workload was a strain on the sisters as they had to divide their time between their medical missionary work and the teaching in the girl's school. With their medical work being a priority missionary activity, the sisters could not continue their educational work. With the cooperation and support of the Mill Hill Fathers, the FMM sisters in 1973, integrated the girl's school with the St. Joseph's School. In the same year, at the strong insistence of the public, all classes of the school were opened for girl students.[83]

The case for the de-requisitioning of the Supply Command was taken by the civil authorities and men of public affairs more strongly after that as the present school compound could not cope up with this expansion of students. It was also stressed that the army derived considerable benefit from the educational facilities of the school as there was no other army-run school in the area.[84] The statement of the strength of the school in the year 1975 is given below:

Classes	No. of boys	No. of girls	Total	No. of sections
10	77	2	79	2
9	57	7	64	2
8	58	2	60	2
7	64	8	72	2
6	55	18	73	2
5	52	22	74	2
4	82	29	111	3
3	93	29	122	3
2	87	40	127	3
1	64	50	114	3
UKG	43	43	86	2
MKG	76	51	127	3
LKG	89	51	140	3
	897	**352**	**1249**	**32**

It is to be noted that since girls were being admitted to the middle and high classes, their numbers were increasing in primary and kindergarten classes also. The second point to be noted

[82] *Celebrating the 100th year: 1905-2005*, A magazine of St. Joseph's Higher Secondary School, p. 45.
[83] Suresh Britoo and Roy Mathews, *The Catholic Church in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 66.
[84] Vacation of land of St. Joseph's Higher Secondary School Baramula under occupation of army, 1973, SSA, p. 49.

is that the school had two sections for each class. To accommodate the influx of girls into the school, there was a need for a third section to come up from the KG and Primary classes. The third point was that the strength of the girls decreased as they moved from the lower to the higher classes. This could be attributed to the early marriage of girls. Thus, despite the active interest generated for the education of girls, their education still lagged from that of the boys.

In the end, the school authorities accepted the Defence Ministry's proposal that the school would pay Rs. 27,688, as concessional price, for the investments made on the school land by the army. This was because the school was in urgent need of the land to cope up with the increasing demands for admission to the school.[85] A letter from Sister Kathleen, Headmistress of the primary and kindergarten stream of the school, to the State Minister of Education, Jammu and Kashmir on 18 July 1977 averred that the school was 'having a population explosion, 1600 children at least!' and asked for his support to vacate the land.[86]

The school land of five acres which was army-occupied since 1947 was regained during the time of Father Ignatius.[87] In a diplomatic move to regain the lost land, Father Kim Borst of MHM personally met Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the then Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir (the former appellation for the head of the state of Jammu and Kashmir), to formally convey the request on behalf of the Mill Hill Society. Sheikh Abdullah in turn approached the President of the Indian Union who permitted the repossession of the property. On 19 December 1979, the land was officially handed back to the school authorities. Later, owing to the geopolitical sensitivity of the Kashmir region that accrued from the ongoing hostilities between Pakistan and India, and the unease of the state government over the presence of foreign missionary personnel residing and working in the area, the MHM fathers decided to transfer the management of their missionary activities to an Indian congregation.[88]

Biscoe, Christian Education and Missionary Work: 'Men in the Making'

Cecil Earle Tyndale Biscoe, a British educationist, was one of the pioneer missionaries in Kashmir who worked for the dissemination of education among the masses. Biscoe joined the

[85] Vacation of land of St. Joseph's Higher Secondary School Baramula under occupation of army, 1973, SSA, p. 98.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[87] *Celebrating the 100th year: 1905-2005*, A magazine of St. Joseph's Higher Secondary School, p. 16.
[88] Suresh Britoo and Roy Mathews, *The Catholic Church in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 59.

CMS school at Fateh Kadal in 1880 as its principal and left Kashmir on October 9, 1947. This was after the last British Resident in Kashmir, Col. W. F. Webb, closed the Residency in Srinagar after the British left India in August 1957.[89] The years Biscoe spent in Kashmir helped in the promotion of education among the downtrodden Kashmiri population, who were hitherto denied this opportunity by the Dogra rulers. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah sums up the role of Biscoe in Kashmir in these words: 'Amidst the darkness of ignorance, apathy, an unsympathetic system of administration, Biscoe set out to kindle a spark of enlightenment and liberal knowledge'.[90]

Biscoe himself sums up the vision of his school in these words:

> To my mind a school is an institution where citizens are made, for when a new boy arrives we look at him not in the light of a unit in the school as to what he is going to do for its honour in examinations or on the playing fields, but one's eye travels further, namely, when that boy is leaving the school eight or ten years hence, what sort of character will be stamped on that face!…In a day school, as opposed to a boarding school, the life of the school must include the life in and towards the city in which the boy lives, which is the *Greater* life of the school. He must be taught not only to *think* imperially, but to *act* imperially.[91]

It is difficult to comprehend the exact meaning of the terms 'to think and act imperially'. However, it seems that Biscoe's emphasis was on Christian education. Biscoe, like many of the missionaries of the period, believed that a full liberal education was only possible under Christian auspices.[92] He wrote in the school log book of 1919:

> We unhesitatingly lay down Christianity as the only channel along which the tide of education can be directed to fruitful ends. We believe that in reality Jesus Christ is "the Way, the Truth, and the Life". Hence the Bible is regularly and systematically taught in all our schools, and every boy comes on the distinct understanding that he is to be taught Christianity.[93]

The emphasis on Victorian ideals like manliness and cleanliness were central to the teaching in Biscoe's school and the curriculum was designed around these aims. The dissemination of the knowledge of Christian religion was seen to be central to that task. The

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[89] *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: An Autobiography* with an introduction by Shafi Ahmad Qadri, p. 13.
[90] *Ibid.*, 'Foreword by Sheikh S.M. Abdullah, Prime Minister of Kashmir'.
[91] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: A School in Being*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1918, p. 2.
[92] Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, p. 212.
[93] F.E. Lucey, *A School Log Book: Harnessing the Waters in Kashmir*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1919, p. 13.

institutional set-up of a Christian school was thus also to help in the evangelical mission. However, this story has an upside for the Kashmiri society of the time. The emphasis on Christian values of 'modesty, charity and service', inculcated in youth the spirit of self-help, esprit de corps and social service,[94] and produced men who challenged the social customs of the time.

Biscoe's philosophy on education embodied 'manly Christianity'.[95] Athletics and games were central to the school curriculum in the CMS School, Fateh Kadal. His overt emphasis on manliness and ultra imperialist attitude was uncharacteristic of mission schools in many parts of India, although there was a stress on physical education and sports in other mission schools as well.[96] This Victorian obsession with manliness was to indoctrinate the students into Christian and imperialist ethics. The emphasis on cleanliness was to make the students get rid of their traditional clothing, seen as both unhygienic and unmanly. The games and social service schemes were to turn the students into 'good citizens, imbued with the spirit of serving the Universal father by following the example of Christ in serving their fellows.'[97]

The school motto, 'In All Things be Men', was represented as the teaching aspiration of Biscoe and his school. The school motto and the crest glorified a man who was both strong and kind. The paddle stood for hard work and strength. The heart shape of the paddle denoted kindness. The paddles were crossed, which represented self-sacrifice.[98] On the whole, the motto symbolised the three qualities of strength, kindness and self-sacrifice.[99] It was also a humanistic emblem, in the sense that the focus was also on humankind and the human condition.[100]

Biscoe joined the school in 1890. In fact, this was his first close encounter with the Kashmiri population, approximately 250 boys studying in the CMS school. Most of them were Kashmiri Pandits and from upper-class backgrounds. In the early school log books, he refers to them as 'bundles' because of their shabby appearance and dirty looks. He wrote: 'such a dirty,

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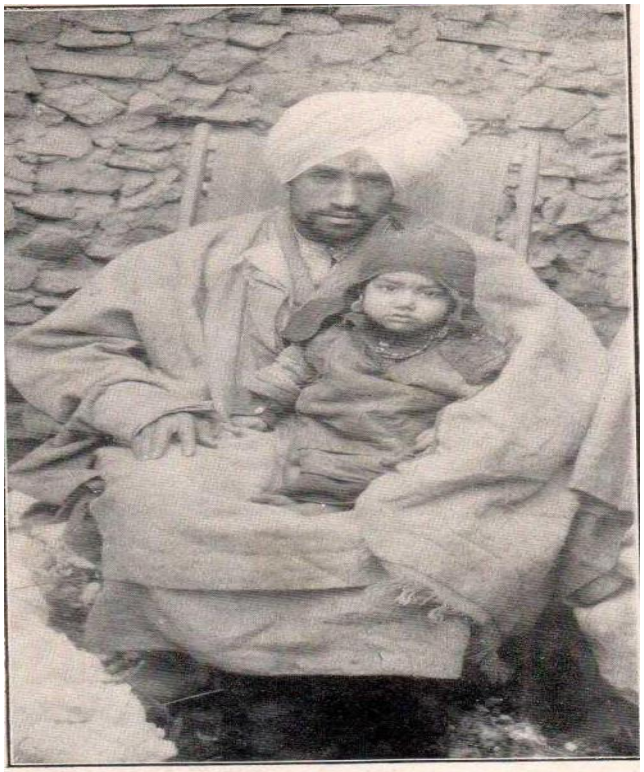
[94] Dominic Thirunilath, *Christinanity in Jammu & Kashmir*, p. 76.
[95] Hayden J.A. Ballenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India*, p. 169.
[96] Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, p. 211.
[97] *Ibid*., p. 210.
[98] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Men in the Making in Kashmir*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1914.
[99] F.E. Lucey, *A School Log Book: Harnessing the Waters in Kashmir*, 1919, p. 10.
[100] Hayden J.A. Ballenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India*, p. 186.

smelling, cowardly crew you never saw.'[101] Their dress comprised of *pheran* (a long traditional Kashmiri gown) and the students carried a *kangri* (fire-pot) underneath it to keep warm, making any physical exercise impossible. The description of their appearance in the school log books suggests that most of them were married and some were even fathers. Many of them were twenty years old or more.



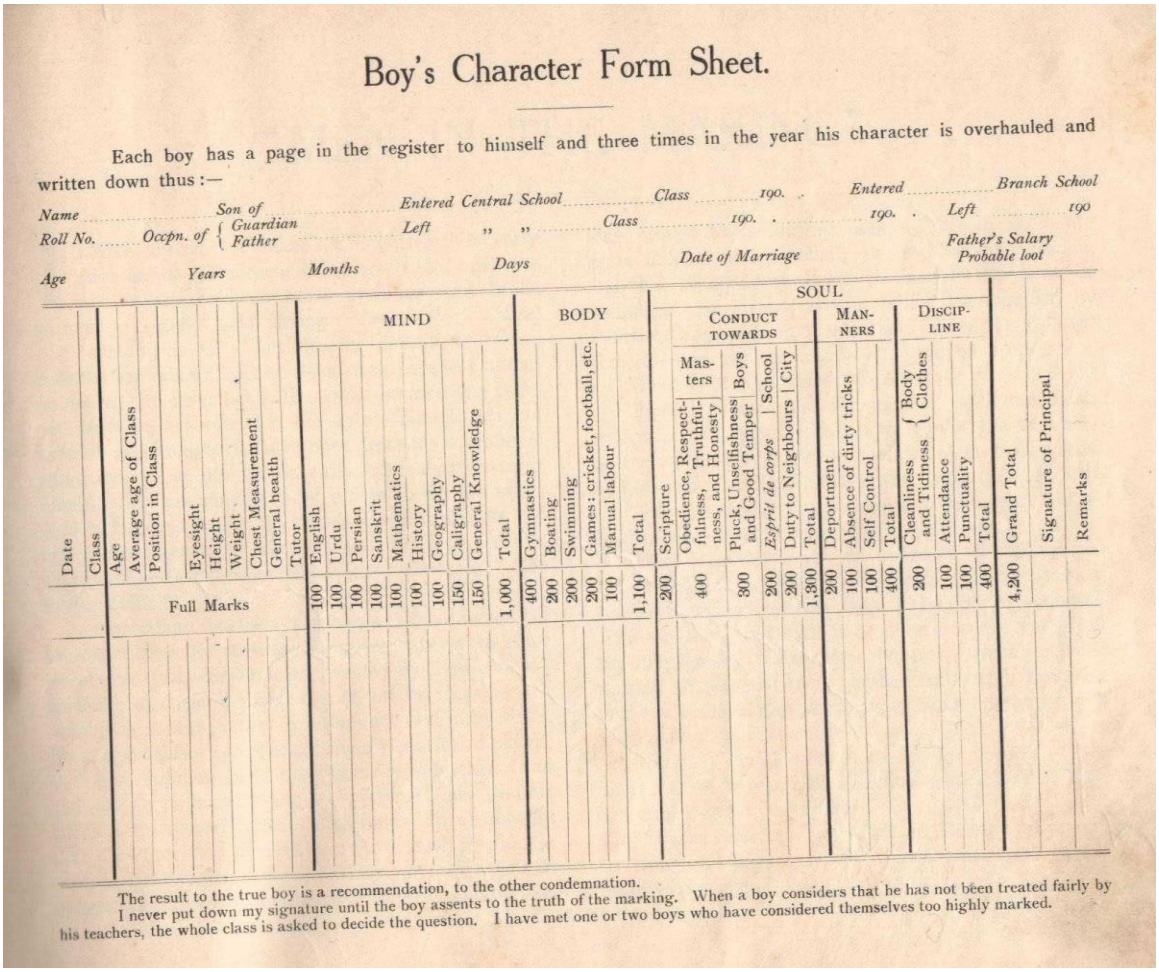
A School Boy of the Early '90s.
Many were Married and several were Papas.

[102]

Biscoe was aware that to convince such grown-ups for change was difficult. But he was determined to face all the odds as he saw the schools not as 'cramming shops, but character-building yards'.[103] The school maintained a 'Character Form' for each student on which details

[101] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Jerry Building? In Kashmir*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1913, p. 10.
[102] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[103] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Forging Up Stream in Kashmir*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1917, p. 13.

were recorded about each boy in the school. The character form was divided into three parts: mind, body and soul. The latter was again subdivided into three parts (1) conduct towards teachers, boys, school, city; (2) manners – deportment, absence of tricks, and self-control; (3) discipline – cleanliness of body and clothes, attendance, and punctuality.[104] A picture of the Character Form Sheet, which can be found in the school log books of each year, is reproduced below.



Boy's Character Form Sheet.

Each boy has a page in the register to himself and three times in the year his character is overhauled and written down thus :—

Name ..... *Son of* ..... *Entered Central School* ..... *Class* ..... *190.* . *Entered* ..... *Branch School*

Roll No. ..... *Occpn. of* { *Guardian* / *Father* ..... *Left* ,, ,, ... *Class* ..... *190.* . ..... *190.* . *Left* *190*

Age ..... *Years* ..... *Months* ..... *Days* ..... *Date of Marriage* ..... *Father's Salary* / *Probable loot*

Date	Class	Age	Average age of Class	Position in Class	Eyesight	Height	Weight	Chest Measurement	General health	Tutor	MIND: English	Urdu	Persian	Sanskrit	Mathematics	History	Geography	Caligraphy	General Knowledge	Total	BODY: Gymnastics	Boating	Swimming	Games: cricket, football, etc.	Manual labour	Total	SOUL: CONDUCT TOWARDS: Masters: Scripture	Obedience, Respectfulness, Truthfulness, and Honesty	Boys: Pluck, Unselfishness and Good Temper	School: *Esprit de corps*	City: Duty to Neighbours	Total	MANNERS: Deportment	Absence of dirty tricks	Self Control	Total	DISCIPLINE: Cleanliness { Body / Clothes	Attendance	Punctuality	Total	Grand Total	Signature of Principal	Remarks
		Full Marks									100	100	100	100	100	100	100	150	150	1,000	400	200	200	200	100	1,100	200	400	300	200	200	1,300	200	100	100	400	200	100	100	400	4,200		

The result to the true boy is a recommendation, to the other condemnation.
I never put down my signature until the boy assents to the truth of the marking. When a boy considers that he has not been treated fairly by his teachers, the whole class is asked to decide the question. I have met one or two boys who have considered themselves too highly marked.

The development of the body and soul was given greater emphasis than that of the mind, as is clear from the above picture. Physical exercises and social service were given weightage over study in the classroom. Emphasis was also placed on cleaning and washing. The students

[104] F. Ward Denys, *Our Summer in the Vale of Kashmir*, first published by James William Bryan Press, USA, 1915. Reprint Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2012, p. 104.

were taught the use of the bath, soap, and the scrubbing brush. Emphasis was also laid on wearing clean clothes. Friday was appointed as washing or *dhobi* day.[105]

The Character Form, however, does not mention the teaching of the Bible which was stressed upon in the school. This might be attested to the fact that they did not want their evangelical aims to be loud and clear. But the first period of thirty minutes of the school time was devoted to the teaching of the Scripture, where 'the life of Christ [was] unfolded to the boys with the aid of a map, describing our Lord's journeys up and down Palestine…they learn that Christianity is a practical religion, and very much to do with everyday life and everything in life.'[106] The missionaries who gave the students lessons in the Bible were: Miss Churchill Taylor, Miss Fitze, Dr. Kate Knowles, Mrs. Arthur Neve, Miss Russell, Mrs. Cecil Tyndale-Biscoe.[107]

After the Scripture class, Calligraphy, English, Geography, Mathematics, Persian, Sanskrit, and Urdu were taught to the students.[108] For general knowledge, the vernacular newspaper, The *Haq* (translation: The Truth) was widely circulated in the school.[109] The curriculum in the school placed a great emphasis on physical exercises – games, athletics, swimming. There was a custom in the school that at about mid-day, the students had to form into squads for gymnastics for twenty minutes, and then stand to attention while praying for the King, the Viceroy, and the Maharaja as the Union Jack was hoisted. This was concluded with the National Anthem and the Kashmiri Anthem being played by the school band (Picture below).[110]

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[105] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: A School in Being*, 1918, p. 11.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[107] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Jerry Building? In Kashmir*, 1913, p. 25.
[108] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: A School in Being*, 1918, p. 12.
[109] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Harnessing the Waters in Kashmir*, 1919, p. 9.
[110] C.E. Tyndale-Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Rock Shifting in Kashmir*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1916, pp. 18-19.

The Upper School Saluting the King and the Maharaja whilst the Band plays the National Anthem and the Kashmir Anthem.

All the Schools daily offer prayer for the King, the Viceroy, and the Maharaja, and then salute whilst the Anthems peal forth from their Bands.

The Boys who lead daily our Psalm of Praise.

At commencement of school they keep us cheerful, and help us to march and drill in time all through the recreation period, remind us that we are subjects of a Great Empire by playing the National Anthems of our King and of the Maharaja, while the whole School stands at attention, and after school use their band for Social Service.

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[111] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: A School in Action*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1922, p. 6.

The greatest challenge to the missionary work in the schools was to make games popular among students e.g. swimming and football. For this, some of the most hardened fanatical, religious and superstitious prejudices had to be overcome. The history of the school is rich in amusing and interesting incidents that have marked its progress.[112] Since contact with leather was seen to defile the Brahman boys, there was much resistance by the Pandit boys to touch it. When Biscoe bought a football in Kashmir in the autumn of 1991, it was the first that the school boys had seen. Despite much resistance, the boys were made to learn the rules and play the game. Biscoe wrote about the boys' trying to flee the sports ground, but adds that they 'shoved them down the streets like sheep on their way to the butcher's'.[113]

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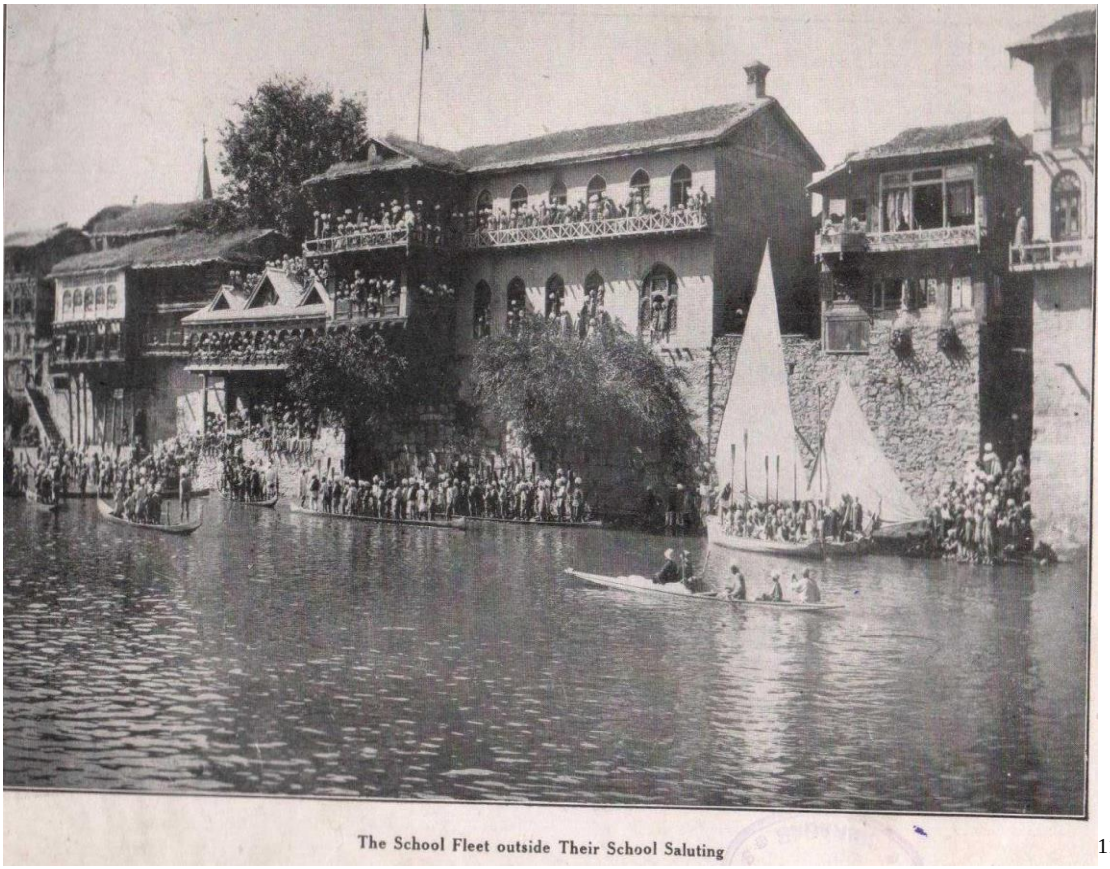
[112] F. Ward Denys, *Our Summer in the Vale of Kashmir*, p. 106.
[113] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 277. Also, C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Jerry Building? In Kashmir*, 1913, p. 10.
[114] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Jerry Building? In Kashmir*, 1913, p. 1.

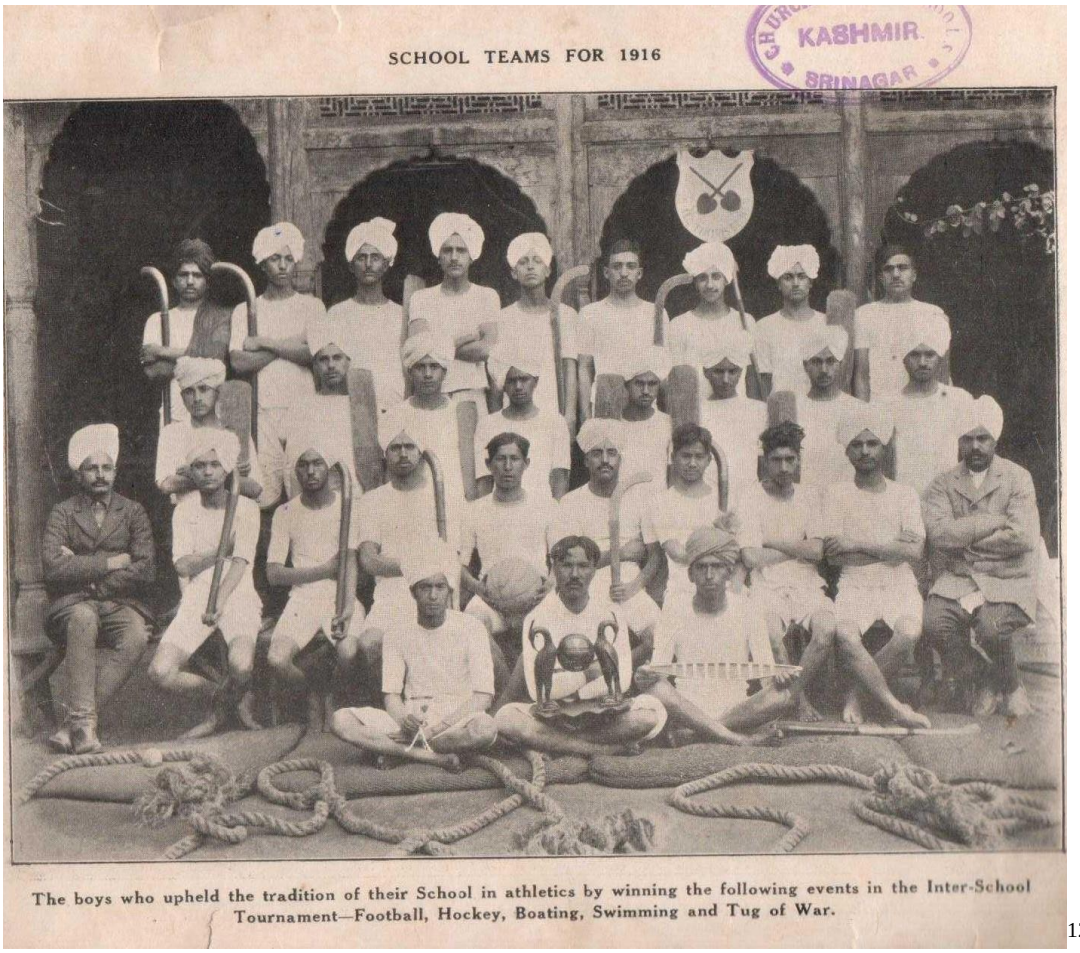
To convince the boys to learn swimming was another challenge faced by Biscoe and his staff. To swim or to touch leather was seen to abdicate caste. Pressure tactics were thus adopted to force the students to swim. There was a rule in the school that any boy who had not passed the swimming test by the age of 14 had to pay higher school fees.[115] To overcome the prejudice of parents against their sons being taught to swim, fees were doubled each year for those who persisted in their prejudice. However, there was a point in the history of the school that the regattas were performed. The Empire Day Regatta was organised every year on May 24, wherein the school boats represented British Empire countries and the '12 oared cutter a British Man of War.' Biscoe writes in his autobiography, 'When the band played "God Save the King" the crew along-with the paddles and oars stood up like the effulgence of lighting.'[116]



The School Fleet outside Their School Saluting [117]

[115] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Straighter Steering in Kashmir*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1921, p. 9.
[116] *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: An Autobiography* with an introduction by Shafi Ahmad Qadri, pp. 8-9.
[117] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Still Pegging Away in Kashmir*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1920, p. 15.

After the mission schools had introduced games and sports of all kinds, and the people had ceased jeering at those who played them without losing their caste status, other schools commenced playing the same games. The result was that after a while the educational authorities arranged a yearly tournament for various schools. But Biscoe feared for dishonesty in the school tournaments as he believed that these 'tournaments have done nothing else than make bad blood between the schools and encouraged cheating and dishonesty on a liberal scale.'[118] He, therefore, insisted on the private inter-school games every year between the CMS Schools for he reckoned that 'this country has not yet reached the standard of honesty required for school tournaments.'[119]



[120]

The system of social service was also one of the basic tenets of the CMS Schools. Social-service was seen to be important for Biscoe believed that it was to instill in the boys that:

[118] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Jerry Building? In Kashmir*, 1913, p. 11.
[119] *Ibid.*.
[120] C.E. Tyndale-Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Rock Shifting in Kashmir*, 1916, page number is not given.

> (1) self-respect, and self-respecting men cannot be dirty, liars or cowards; (2) Unselfishness, that other's wants are greater than one's own; (3) True religion, which is to love others as yourself. Teaching by life more than by words, as Christ Himself has taught us.[121]

Stress was laid on social-service so as to teach Christianity by deeds rather than books and classroom teaching. Students were encouraged 'to do the sort of things which our Lord did Himself when He walked the bazaars and lived among men.'[122] To encourage the students to undertake social service, they were briefed with the life of Christ in which every good deed was marked with an X, and then the students were to engage in activities like attending to the sick especially during the epidemics, fighting fire and saving lives and property, service towards women, and kindness to animals. The students of this school also helped in co-operative societies in the distribution of grain.[123] The missionaries, Biscoe writes 'endeavour[ed] to bring the theoretical teaching in class into the closest relationship to the life in the city. Every boy is encouraged by practical deeds of citizenship to imitate the life of our Lord, Who went about doing good, fraternizing with the despised and outcast, helping even the repulsive scum of society.'[124]

Tasks that involved a necessary contact with blood, or even feces, regarded as polluting by the Brahmans, were also compulsory. Biscoe had set up a 'sanitation corps' in the school.[125] Despite the strong opposition to the work of Biscoe from both the parents and students, they were made to clean the compounds and roadways. Biscoe writes: 'Fortunately, popularity is not one of our aims, for if it were we would not train our boys in social service.'[126] Each of the CMS schools kept a 'Citizenship Book' to record authenticated deeds of social service.[127] To encourage the students to do their best, incentives were given in the form of a prize for the best act of social service. If and when two or more students were deserving of the same prize, the student who would have helped or saved a girl in times of crisis e.g. fire, was rewarded.[128]

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[121] C.E. Tyndale-Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Rock Shifting in Kashmir*, 1916, p. 11.
[122] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Forging Up Stream in Kashmir*, 1917, p. 12.
[123] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Straighter Steering in Kashmir*, 1921, pp. 10-11.
[124] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Harnessing the Waters in Kashmir*, 1919, p. 13.
[125] Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, p. 210.
[126] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Still Pegging Away in Kashmir*, 1920, p. 12.
[127] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Harnessing the Waters in Kashmir*, 1919, p. 10.
[128] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Straighter Steering in Kashmir*, 1921, p. 17.

The mission work in the schools was not only Christian in orientation, but in fact contributed to patriotic feelings among the local Kashmiri people they worked with by encouraging social service, community-based initiatives and inculcating the spirit of esprit de corps.[129] Biscoe encouraged fraternity amongst the different pupils in his class by running a prize system that ran on the average marks of the class, rather than individuals.[130] A sum of money was given to the best class in each school and the money was mostly spent on purchasing books for their library, sometimes in buying charts and other informative tools for their classroom and sometimes in relief efforts during times of crisis, mostly fires and rescue operations during calamities.[131] Hayden J.A. Ballenoit, the author of *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860-1920,* writes that it promoted cooperation rather than what he called 'selfish individualism'. Tyndale-Biscoe's students formed a Social Service Committee & Charity Organization, which worked with Srinagar's urban poor. They also formed a Knights-Errant Society, which worked with widows by teaching basic literacy skills and vocational crafts.[132]

The basic principles of education established by the missionaries, however, posed a challenge to the 'customs' of the Kashmiri society. Their educational work was considered as direct interference in the religious and cultural life of the people, for example, their contact with the leather. Even a touch with leather was seen to defile the Brahman boys and 'unworthy of a gentleman's dignity'. Manual toil was seen as degrading.[133] As observed by the newspapers of the time, Biscoe made 'Brahman boys drag dead frogs through the city.'[134] With time, the process of westernization was also introduced in the CMS School. To give an example, the holidays were arranged on the pattern as it exists in the West. Christmas and other festivals of the Christians were deemed as the school holidays while ignoring the festivals of Hindus.

As a result, many efforts were made to get rid of the missionaries. Meetings, both in public and private, were held in the city to condemn their work, which was seen as unholy, and

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[129] Tyndale-Biscoe was frequently approached by British officials who felt that imparting education to Indians was fatal to British rule. Biscoe during his work in Kashmir reports that not even one British official was sympathetic to the idea of educating Indians, See Hayden J.A. Ballenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India*, p. 169.
[130] Hayden J.A. Ballenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India*, p. 179.
[131] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Harnessing the Waters in Kashmir*, 1919, p. 12.
[132] Hayden J.A. Ballenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India*, p. 179.
[133] Ashley Carus Wilson, *A Woman's Life for Kashmir*, p. 202.
[134] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Men in the Making in Kashmir*, 1914, p. 12.

efforts were made to damage the schools. However, some parents tactically wrote letters to Biscoe to exempt their kids from social service work and games which Biscoe mentions as 'certain winds still try to keep us off our course'. One of the letters from one parent, Makund Ram Bhan, states:

> I most humbly and respectfully beg to bring to your notice that my son Siri Ram, student of the IVth Primary, is strictly prohibited by astrologers who have examined his horoscope from joining any playing party, etc. I would request you kindly keep him exempt from joining the playing teams and boating, etc.[135]

Some people among the common Kashmiris, however, supported the work of the missionaries. One Tehsildar, or the chief magistrate of the city and a Brahman himself, whose only son attended Biscoe's school, requested him that 'to show the city that I am on your side, and that the Tehsildar is not ashamed to use a spade, will you please give orders that my son always carries a spade across his shoulder when he rides home from school'.[136] But mostly, there was widespread resentment towards the work of Biscoe and his school. Letters were written to the president of the Theosophical Society of India, Mrs. Annie Besant, and the Native Press by the telegraph office. According to one such letter:

> We, the inhabitants – Hindoo and Mohamadans of Kashmir – respectfully beg to state that … since the arrival of Mr. Biscoe, he has done nothing to improve the teaching of the boys, but has devoted him soul and heart to all sorts of athletic entertainments and above all is attracting the boys towards his Christian religion, and notwithstanding the repeated warnings from the Maharaja Sahib, he has always given a deaf ear to all such…. These all events are indeed earning a very bad reputation for the School and the Society, and a complaint has been made to the Maharaja, and a full and stern explanation has been asked … Now we want this, that if Mr. Biscoe is allowed to remain in Kashmir as a Principal of the School, not a single boy will attend it, and the Society will have to close it for good, but if a man like Mr. …. and an M.A. is put in his place, the school will flourish a great deal, and we all will do our utmost to help it in every way. Therefore, please, Sir, transfer Mr. Biscoe, for he is exceedingly a bad man, illiterate, deceitful, ill-mannered, uncultured, cunning and man too much fond of cricket.[137]

'To save the Brahmans of Srinagar', Mrs. Annie Besant inaugurated a Hindu school close to the mission High School. Tyndale-Biscoe School went into a crisis when three of its staff members and three hundred students left the school for Annie Besant's school. At the time, the student strength of the mission school dropped from 800 to 500. The common notion at the time

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[135] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Still Pegging Away in Kashmir*, 1920, p. 14.
[136] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Men in the Making in Kashmir*, 1914, p. 12.
[137] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Jerry Building? In Kashmir*, 1913, pp. 17-18.

was that the mission school would cease to exist. However, in no time, the old staff and students joined the school back and in a few months, the numbers rose to the original number of 800, and then even went up to 1500.[138]

It is hard to assign a reason as to why the Kashmiris chose to study in Biscoe's school, despite the widespread opposition to his work. This might be attested to the ascendance of English in the administration of the State. Employment in the state services might have been an incentive for the local population to attend a school that emphasised the study of English and trained the staff to teach the language. Biscoe and his school, however, did achieve what they had set to do in the first place. The notions of purity, pollution, caste prejudice were getting sidelined paving the way for a more egalitarian society and the number of students on the rolls continued to rise every year. Subsequently, in the CMS Schools, most of the staff were old students, who loved their school and its traditions. Though Biscoe had started to work with the idea to evangelize the students, and some of his students did convert to the Christian religion,[139] he did succeed in altering the social fabric of Kashmir to a large extent.

The School Staff.

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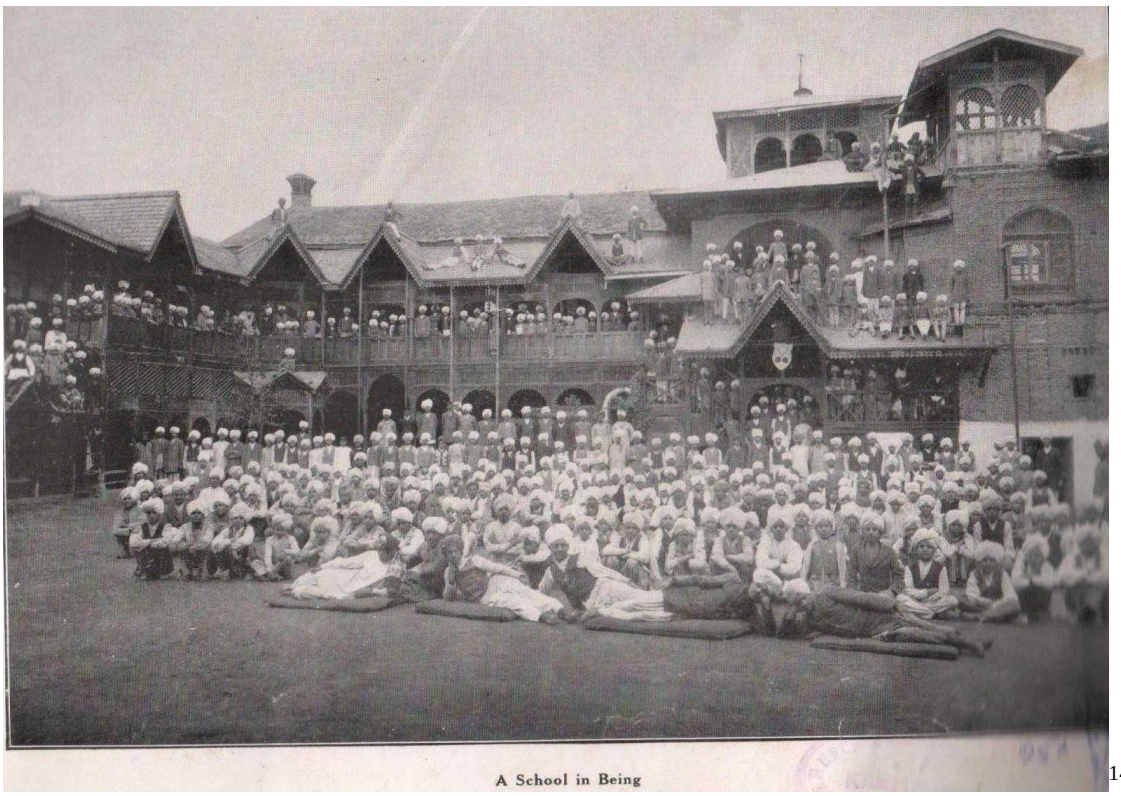
[138] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Men in the Making in Kashmir*, 1914, p. 12.
[139] Biscoe writes in the school log book of the year 1912 that 'A Srinagar boy some years ago saw a picture of Christ on the cross with these words under it – "This I have done for thee: What hast thou done for Me?" He is now a Christian citizen, and this picture and these words were the cause', in C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Jerry Building*, 1913, p. 26.
[140] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: A School in Being,* 1918, p. 1.


A School in Being [141]

The Burn Hall School in Srinagar was another school that worked tirelessly for the cause of the education of boys in Kashmir.[142] The history of Burn Hall School, the first Catholic school in Srinagar,[143] is intertwined with the Baramulla Mission, the St. Joseph's mission. Following the successful establishment of the school at Baramulla, the Mill Hill missionaries desired to open another educational institution in Srinagar. The most difficult task for the missionaries was to acquire a plot of land in Srinagar to construct the school building. This was because the local administration was hesitant of their intentions of working as an evangelical mission under the garb of their educational endeavours.

In 1946, Father S. De Jong put in an application to the Education Minister Ram Chandra Kak saying that he intended to build a 'Cambridge school for philanthropic reasons'. But Kak was of the opinion that 'You are like the Jesuits. You say that you want to open a school for

[141] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: A School in Being,* 1918, p. 12.
[142] Its' sister school is the Presentation Convent for girls which has provided a great boost to the cause of education of females in Kashmir. This will be dealt in detail in the second chapter.
[143] The first Catholic school in Kashmir is St. Josephs, Baramulla. The first missionary school in Srinagar at Fateh Kadal was established under the auspices of the CMS and hence was run by Protestant missionaries.

philanthropic reasons but your object is to make conversions.'[144] No further attempts were made till August 1947 when Minister Kak was deposed and Janak Singh was appointed the Education Minister.[145] Father Thijssen was assigned to the task of constructing the school building. Father S. De Jong assisted him. They came to Srinagar in 1942 and rented a house from Mr. Mirza at the Hotel Road (now Maulana Azad Road), Srinagar. Initially, it was started as the Senior Cambridge School, with the hostel facilities for boys and there were students from Punjab and the North West Frontier Province. Although planned for children of Indian nationality, the school also admitted Europeans.[146]

After six years, the school was shifted to Pakistan. Because of the carnage of 1947, aggravated by the tribal raids, the missionaries and the students were evacuated and the school was closed down. The missionaries went back to their headquarters in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. In 1948, Father Thijssen opened the Burn Hall School in Abbottabad, near their headquarters in Pakistan.[147]

The Burn Hall School at Srinagar was established again in the face of formidable difficulties and challenges after nine years following the tribal invasion in 1947. As the first principal of the school and also its founding father, Father Boerkamp rendered remarkable service to the cause of education in the valley. It was at the request of Monsignor Shanks that Father Boerkamp returned to Srinagar from Abbottabad in 1956. Monsignor Shanks had already rented 'The Willows' as it was known then, from Mr. M.N. Kaul, the Parliamentary Secretary in Delhi.[148]

The Burn Hall school started on April 17, 1956, with seven students. At that time Monsignor Shanks appointed two teachers on the school staff – Mr. Omkar Nath Kaul and Mr. Prahlad. With time, more teachers were added to the staff who taught English, Science, Mathematics, Social Studies, Hindi, Urdu and Moral Science. The mistake made was that the school was started from class 6th onwards. Most parents were not prepared to take away their

[144] Dominic Thirunilath, *Christinanity in Jammu & Kashmir*, p. 72.
[145] *Ibid,*.
[146] Souvenir, *Fifty Years of Excellence*: *Celebrating Golden Jubilee Year (1956-2006)*, Burn Hall School, Srinagar, 2006, p. 11, procured from the school library.
[147] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[148] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

children from their old schools and admit them to a new school. The result was that by the end of 1956, the school had only 25 students.[149] The missionaries nevertheless worked hard to bridge the gap between pre and primary divisions and by 1957 plans were underway to introduce kindergarten and primary classes. The initial enrolment of junior students began with 70 students for both divisions which more than doubled to 180 in 1958.[150]

In 1971, MHM bought 'The Willows' from Mr. M.N. Kaul. In the same year, the Jammu and Kashmir government allotted some land on a long lease for further expansion of the school. But the school was ravaged by a major fire on March 27, 1976, which put a temporary brake on its plans of expansion. Temporary sheds were provided for carrying on classes so that the schooling of hundreds of children would not be jeopardized.[151] The new school was inaugurated on 20 September 1978 by the then Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.[152] Since then, the school has continued to provide a valuable service towards the education of boys in Srinagar and has made a mark as being one of the premier schools for boys in Kashmir to this day.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the missionary endeavours towards the education of boys. The response of the Kashmiris, the community discourses, customs, and the challenges to their social norms, religious beliefs and caste hierarchies are dealt with in a great detail. However, the noteworthy aspect is how the missionaries succeeded in accomplishing their goals without completely alienating the masses. The emphasis of the next chapter will be on the education of girls in missionary schools, with a particular focus on the ways it compares and contrasts with the education of boys.

[149] Dominic Thirunilath, *Christinanity in Jammu & Kashmir,* p. 73.
[150] Suresh Britoo and Roy Mathews, *The Catholic Church in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 75.
[151] *Ibid*,.
[152] Souvenir, *Fifty Years of Excellence*: *Celebrating Golden Jubilee Year (1956-2006),* Burn Hall School, p. 14.

Chapter 2

Missionary Education for Women in Kashmir: 1895-1965

This chapter will explore the different ways in which the missionary and state government's interference with the culture and social norms influenced the lives and histories of Kashmiri women. An attempt will also be made to study how the community and society got evolved in the process. This will primarily be done through an engagement with the theme of missionary education for females from the early twentieth century. The social context, the abject conditions in which the women lived, and the issue of prostitution in Kashmir in particular, will also be studied.

Women in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Kashmir: Social Milieu and Social Change

A majority of the missionaries working in India in the late nineteenth century were females.[1] With the advent of a large number of unmarried missionary women in India in the 1880s and 1890s, the mission societies included them in their work. Many a times, the wives of missionary men, widows, and even their sisters and daughters took to missionary work.[2] These predominantly female organisations worked closely with women in Kashmir, especially in the domains of education and healthcare. The state government's interest and those of private educational societies towards the education of females developed much later. The work of Christian missionaries for females in Kashmir is best summed up in the words of Miss Muriel P. Mallinson, one of the prime architects of modern education for women in Kashmir: 'Freedom for the women and girls of this fair land, freedom from dirt, disease, and "dastur", especially the evil customs of child marriage, of the joint family system and its disastrous results'.[3]

But before a discussion on the status of female education in Kashmir and the steps taken by the missionaries for its advancement, it is important to dwell on the social milieu of the time where such a thought had to take root. Poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, conservatism, religious

[1] Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, p. 5.
[2] Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley eds., *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity*, p. 73.
[3] Madhavi Yasin, 'Perspectives of Social Change in Kashmiri Women (1900-1947)', in Balraj Puri ed., *5000 Years of Kashmir*, Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1997, p. 89.

orthodoxy, and prejudice ruled the roost in Kashmir and made the lives of women miserable. It is even argued that when a boy was born, people in Kashmir to avoid any evil eye, would give him not a boy's name but a girl's, to ward off the evil spirits, for they were seen to have no interest in the weaker sex, and thus the boy was saved from harm.[4]

Female infanticide was also in practice during the Dogra rule. But attempts were made by the Dogra rulers to put an end to this. Many meetings were held in different areas – Jammu, Multan, Sialkot, and in the Kashmir Valley – for the purpose of enacting laws for the suppression of female infanticide. The British also participated in these meetings. The scale of expenses for the weddings was seen to be the main cause of the problem and a check on it to be its only solution. Each detail was carefully scrutinized with the object of 'not merely diminishing the general extravagance of weddings, but also of saddling the bridegroom's party with a fair share of the burden'.[5] The official records state that this arrangement was agreed to by all the 'tribes' in Kashmir. However, a special mention must be made of zamindars, choudhuries, and influential landlords,[6] pointing to the fact that the high caste people were most affected by this practice.

While Dogra rulers took an interest in improving the position of women in some cases, barbarous punishments were inflicted by the rulers on its people on incidents like wounding or killing a cow, a practice detested by Hindus. One such incident is of August 1853, of a girl named Shurfee who had maimed a cow. Facts of the case go thus: The girl, 17 or 18 years of age, on a trifling provocation where the cow had bitten her and torn her clothes into pieces, wounded the cow in the tongue with a sickle. On Maharaja Gulab Singh's order, she was punished. An order was passed that her head is shaved and her throat slit with a barber's razor. Also, blood was to be smeared over her face, and she was to be conducted by two sepoys (native Indian infantry) round twelve villages. The sepoys who were to execute this punishment were given a bribe of three rupees by the girl and she escaped unharmed. This was, however, not the only case of such

[4] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Straighter Steering in Kashmir*, 1921, p. 8.
[5] Complimentary Khoreta to Golab Singh – Maharaja of Cashmere on his exertions in the suppression of female infanticide – F.C, File No. 208-211B, 1854, Foreign Political Department, NAI.
[6] *Ibid*,.

a stern punishment for such acts. The records mention that the people booked for such incidents amounted to near 150 individuals.[7]

The British intervened in cases like these. They believed that the punishments inflicted on the people should be in proportion to the act and not such as are inhumane. It was suggested that the Maharaja should show some disposition to follow the principles and practices of the British government in the administration of justice.[8] They further opined:

> While the British Government does not seek to define which acts ought or ought not to be treated as crimes by the Maharaja's Government and to interfere with his internal affairs at all, it is impossible for it to obtain the knowledge of such act of cruelty practised under his authority without remonstrating in the strongest manner against them and warning that such outrages upon justice and humanity are regarded by the British government with abhorrence and are calculated to shake the friendship felt for his state and stability of his own kingdom.[9]

The most difficult work but also the most urgent for the welfare of women was the need to break off the shackles with which they were bound. The custom of early marriage of girls was most worrying for the Christian missionaries. The practice was followed by people of all religions, especially the Hindus. The consequence of such marriages was that many of these young girls died in childbirth. Biscoe in a school logbook of 1917 speaks of a girl aged twelve years, being married to a man more than double her age. On the intervention of Biscoe boys, the man agreed to let the girl stay with her mother until she was old enough to bear a child without danger. But Biscoe later states that 'the scoundrel has broken his promise, and taken the girl to his house; and he has public opinion on his side, and we are considered to be meddlers and not "perfect gentlemen"'.[10]

Refusing to budge, Biscoe had put in place some rules in his school to stop this practice, at least among his students and staff. One such rule required the boys who married before the age of eighteen had to pay double the fees.[11] Biscoe also tried to impress upon the leaders of the city to help him alter the state of things. One of the leaders even held a meeting of the leading Hindus

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[7] Gross and barbarous cruelty practised by Golab Singh – Maharaja of Cashmere on a girl for a trivial fault – F.C, File No. 155, 1853, Foreign Political Department, NAI.
[8] *Ibid*,.
[9] *Ibid*,.
[10] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Forging Up Stream in Kashmir*, 1917, p. 18.
[11] Rekha Wazir, Once a Biscoe boy, Always a Biscoe boy, Kashmir Connected, 1 October 2019, accessed online on 4 January 2021, KashmirConnected - Articles + Reports

in the city. They promised to try and prevent girls from getting married before the age of thirteen. But the fact was that their leader immediately thereafter got his daughter of thirteen married, which that leader considered to be a 'good example to the city'.[12] The staff of Biscoe School and some of his students, however, fought against this practice, adding to the unpopularity of Biscoe and his men. Biscoe also wanted women to speak up for their rights and believed that 'We know that we shall never succeed until we have educated women who will rise and defeat the male bipeds, so we look to the girls' schools as our hope'.[13] The success of the girls' schools was, however, limited by the conservative attitude of the people towards their education. This is best summarized in the words of Miss Mallinson through an anecdote on early marriage in the school log book of 1926:

> Last year a very attractive and intelligent girl of eleven, who was in the first middle (i.e. the sixth class), was taken away most suddenly to be married. Her husband's family absolutely refused to let her come back to school, although her own relations promised she should go on with her work. This promise was evidently only given to pacify us temporarily, as the girls' own brother has a wife about sixteen or seventeen years old, who has already had three children.[14]

The ban on widow remarriage, considered as unholy among the Kashmiri Pandit community, was also the cause of much suffering to women. In Kashmiri folk tales, a widow was always portrayed as the embodiment of virtues like patience, tolerance, sacrifice, and her commitment to her dead husband is upheld.[15] The *Yender Baeth* (spinning wheel songs) depict the misery of the widow who finds her companion in the spinning wheel offering financial assistance to her and her kids. This was also to keep herself occupied and away from the harshness of the life outside.[16]

The efforts of the missionaries were focused on breaking the citadels of this gruesome practice. For this, they had to face many hurdles, ridicule, and disappointment, especially in its initial stages. In the first instance of widow remarriage in the Valley, one of the old students of Biscoe's School volunteered to marry a widow in 1922. After making all the necessary

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[12] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Forging Up Stream in Kashmir*, 1917, p. 18.
[13] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: A School in Action*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1922, p. 16.
[14] Muriel P. Mallinson, *A School Log Book: The Frances Aberigh-Mackay Memorial School*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1926.
[15] James Hinton Knowles, *Folklore of Kashmir*, first published in 1869, second reprint by Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2009, p. 189.
[16] Farooq Fayaz, *Folklore and History of Kashmir*, Nunaposh Publications, Srinagar, 2001, p. 118.

arrangements, especially the difficulty of arranging the priest who would perform the ceremony, the widow backed out under the pressure of the orthodox. Thus, the first attempt at widow-remarriage failed.[17]

In 1928, the first widow remarriage took place in Srinagar. The only priest who mustered the courage to stand against the orthodox opinion was the Sanskrit teacher of the Biscoe School, Mr. Shanker Koul. By 1947, the Mission School staff had arranged over one hundred remarriages of Brahman widows. To save the widows from penury and destitution, Biscoe also started a pension fund for them. Every teacher had to pay a portion of his monthly salary into this fund. The school treasury also contributed to this fund.[18] One party of old Biscoe school boys also opened a relief fund for the support of widows. This society for dispensing charity by proper methods was the first of its kind in Kashmir.[19] The mission schools worked towards training men in social reform even after being aware of the fact that:

> If we tried to interfere with social customs and the like, we should get ourselves into trouble and make enemies. It is true that we have made enemies, and we do not want to be anything else but enemies with scoundrels till they repent…How can we make character if we always lead our boys in soft paths – to do as others do and swim always with the stream.[20]

Biscoe desired to train young men in his school to improve the position of women in Srinagar city. Together with the daily teaching in the school, the boys were encouraged to go out into the streets to practice what they had learned in the school.[21] The acts of social service often included jobs such as protecting women. Biscoe in one of the school log books narrates an incident of a mad woman in Srinagar in 1917. He writes that the mad woman was a kind of a *tamasha* (spectacle) for the people. She was used by the men to satisfy their lust, and then to be again thrown on the streets once they were done with her. She had several children from many such encounters with men but did not have the intelligence to nourish them. Biscoe laments that 'The child dies! The mad mother laughs! and the crowds stare! The day's "tamasha" is over, and the lunatic goes her way to roam the bazaar until she again becomes a mother, with yet another

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[17] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: A School in Action*, 1922, p. 16.
[18] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 136.
[19] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Straighter Steering in Kashmir*, 1921, p. 15.
[20] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: A School in Action*, 1922, p. 16.
[21] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: A School in Being*, 1918, p. 2.

child dead to provide entertainment for the shameless ones'. The matter was then reported to the authorities and it was opined to open a proper asylum for insane women in Kashmir.[22]

Prostitution was also rampant during the rule of the Dogras. The missionaries often came across incidents of such kind. There are many instances where the missionaries were seen to help those in need even to the extent of suspending school work and reaching out to the estranged girls and their families. Small girls as young as ten years of age were rescued by the missionaries through their wit, courage, and dedication to the cause of social service.[23] The campaign against prostitution in Kashmir by certain sections of society, its modus operandi as well as the causes which pushed girls to prostitution is studied in detail in the subsequent section.

Prostitution in Kashmir: A Battle among Many Players

Shazia Malik, one of the few academicians from Kashmir to have attempted a study of prostitution in Kashmir, although briefly, calls prostitutes in Kashmir as 'marginalized women'.[24] However, I argue, that while the argument on the marginalised status of prostitutes in Kashmir can be true in some ways, it is not tenable in certain other cases. This class of women was marginalised in the sense that the state did not pay much attention to their health and living conditions and they always lived on the margins of society. But they were an important part of the society of the time in that they were central to the Dogra economy and formed an important part of the state machinery. Under the Dogra rule, prostitution was both legalised and actively encouraged by the state. Prostitutes were registered and the state derived considerable revenues from taxing them.

It would, however, be wrong to assume that Dogra rulers started the trade in women in Kashmir for the first time. Prostitution was in practice in Kashmir even before the Dogra rule. In fact, Kalhana in his much-famed *Rajatarangini* has deemed every Hindu ruler guilty of this trade. Common women and also females from the families of Wazirs and other officials were used for sexual pleasures by the rulers. In the words of Moti Chandra, 'medieval Kashmir seems

[22] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Forging Up Stream in Kashmir*, 1917, p. 17.
[23] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: A School in Action*, 1922, p. 1, 15.
[24] Shazia Malik, *Women's Development amid Conflicts in Kashmir: A Socio-Cultural Study*, Partridge, India, 2014, p. 40.

to have been a land of pleasure where courtesans plied their trade freely'.[25] Mughals, Afghan and Sikh rulers are also said to have promoted this practice. Prostitutes also acted as spies for the rulers. Afghan governors also organized dancing nights on the banks of Dal lake and even gave the *Hafizas* (dancing women) rigorous training in dances and music. Sikh rulers used *hanji* women (boat-women/fisherwomen) as dancing women.[26]

The Dogra rulers were no different from those of the ruling dynasties before them. They also promoted trade in prostitution. Trade in women was a part of the state machinery to eke out taxes from the people. The general poverty of the masses and the burden of taxation on the poor peasants, most of them Muslims, gave a great boost to the trade. Kashmiri Pandits and high caste Muslims (*Pirzadas*) were away from prostitution for it was not important for them to sell off their girls to bear the burden of heavy taxation. However, for poor people, this was a lucrative profession. This was eased by the Dogra rulers by giving the brothels a legal sanction.[27] To eke out money from the sale of licenses and the work of prostitutes also acted as an incentive for the trade. This sale and purchase of girls by Dogra rulers are recorded in official documents.[28]

The Maharaja received a substantial portion of the revenue of his state from the gains of licensed prostitutes, i.e. from 15 to 25 percent. The government inspectors were also paid a fixed proportion of their gains by the licensed prostitutes. The prostitutes were divided into three classes/tax slabs according to what the records term as 'gratification', which included considerations of age, income, looks, and caste of the prostitutes and were taxed accordingly.[29] These three classes were referred as 1st, 2nd and 3rd class prostitutes. 1st class prostitutes had to pay Company's Rupees 40 per annum, 2nd class prostitutes Rupees 20 per annum, and 3rd class prostitutes Rupees 10 per annum. On average, before the famine of 1887, Rupees 14,000 would

[25] Moti Chandra, *The World of Courtesans*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1973, p.168.
[26] Bashir Akhtar, 'Subla Naed (Subhan Hajaam)', in Yousuf Taing ed., *Humara Adab, Number - 1*, Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, 1984-85, p. 61.
[27] I was unable to trace the year the brothels were legalised by the Dogras in Kashmir. The information is missing in the official archival records as well as in the individual private collections.
[28] Bashir Akhtar, 'Subla Naed (Subhan Hajaam)', in Yousuf Taing ed., *Humara Adab, Number - 1*, p. 62.
[29] Shazia Malik, *Women's Development amid Conflicts in Kashmir*, p. 41.

represent the total profit to the state treasury from this source of revenue, while the proceeds from taxes on other trades and professions were estimated to be Rupees 70,000 or Rs. 80,000.[30]

Prostitutes were mostly destitute women, victims of domestic violence, or those deluded into a prospect of comfortable matrimony. The records name these women as 'human chattels'. Some of them were sold for cash and some others were given in marriage to people unable to find wives locally because of the inequality in the ratio of females and males. The province of Punjab was a large buyer of women and depended principally upon Kashmir. This was because of the skewed ratio in the number of males and females in Punjab.[31]

The registered prostitutes belonged to the lower sections of society, especially *Bhangis* (scavengers), *Hanjis* (fishermen), and *Watal* (leather workers). They were sold by their parents to brother-keepers at a tender age for Rupees 100 or 200 per child. This sale was recorded on stamped paper. The pretext for this was that marriage will be arranged for them, which was far from the truth. For most poor parents, the marriage of their daughters was not an option due to the taxation on marriages.[32] The Maharaja had to be paid a tax of Rupees 5000 (*Zur-i-Nikah*) for contracting the marriage. A fee was also taken by the Qazis for registration and/or celebration of marriages. The records suggest that no marriage contract could be made the subject of litigation unless it was registered before the Qazi on a stamp paper of three rupees value.[33] For such poor parents selling their daughters in prostitution was more lucrative than arranging for their marriages.

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[30] Political history of Kashmir briefly summarized [Mr. Henvey's revised notes on the famine in Kashmir] – Secret E, File No. 86, 1883, Foreign Department, NAI.

[31] Abduction of Women from the Kashmir State into British Territory for the purposes of Prostitution, File No. R-1/79 (III), 1933, Home Department, SSA, pp. 221-225. 'Given the son-preference in the region, female infanticide was practiced in Punjab and hence the inequality in the sex ratio between the number of males and females. The methods employed by the Punjabis to do away with female infants ranged from 'starving, over-feeding after a bout of starvation encouraging fatal diarrhoea, over-drugging with opium, to exposure to the cold or plain neglect' in Anshu Malhotra, 'The Quack of Patran and other stories', Paper for Symposium 'India 2006', January 2007, accessed online https://www.india-seminar.com/2007/569.htm.

[32] Shazia, 'Women in Kashmir in Post-Independence Period: A Socio-Cultural Study', Ph.D. Thesis, Centre for Women's Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, 2012, p. 45.

[33] Mr. F.D. Forsyth's notes on Cashmere and Jummoo – Political-A, File Nos. 73-75, 1863, Foreign Department, NAI.

Kashmiri girls were in demand in the brothels of Bombay, Calcutta, Punjab, Delhi, Lahore, Agra, and Hyderabad 'owing to their fair skin and comely looks'. According to one official record, the modus operandi of people engaged in the trade was that:

> After making "business connection" down country and insuring a ready market there, these traders in women periodically visit the State to collect the "goods" already procured or earmarked by their local agents who are mostly brothel-keepers, pimps and others in the same profession; or go roaming around places where, according to their information, there are reasonable prospects of picking up women "cheap and easy". In a large majority of cases, the victims, it would appear, fall willingly into the snare laid out for them. In some cases they are the victims of artifice or deception. Force is seldom used.[34]

The archival records also state that some of the hotels and restaurants in Srinagar, which held a bar license, engaged barmaids to lure customers, which was seen to have encouraged licentiousness at these places. The officials of the time thought that 'All the women employed at the cafes are with rare exception, women of loose character. The proprietors of the cafes employ them only to lure customers'. These cafes are defined in the records as being 'brothels of a refined type',[35] although what is meant by this is not clear. To prove that 'barmaids' were used to luring customers, the example was provided of an Iranian girl, Ewan Taj Khan, who it was argued did not know the language of the common people and as such was unfit to be a barmaid since she could not talk to the customers. It was further added that the sooner this 'pernicious practice' was stopped, the less chance there was of the moral of the people being corrupted.[36]

In the year 1939, there were three cafes, which were also restaurants in possession of bar licenses in Srinagar – Standard hotel, The New Café, and Wahid hotel. The upper storey of the Standard hotel was kept for lodging purposes to be hired by the visitors or customers. This hotel since its opening was seen to engage barmaids, which it was argued encouraged licentiousness at the hotel. The bar-maid engaged at the 'The New Café', Mrs. Thoream Williams, was reported to be loose. Two bar-maids brought from Lahore[37] were also engaged – Mrs. Williams and Miss Duris. Wahid Hotel (with a bar) was in the thick of the population and was seen to have an

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[34] Abduction of Women from the Kashmir State, 1933, SSA, p. 223.

[35] Engagement of Bar-Maids in Hotels and Restaurants, File No. 95-Misc, 1939, Home Department, SSA, p. 2.

[36] *Ibid*., p. 5.

[37] Hirra Mandi, the red light area in Lahore is the subject of much research among academicians, journalists and novelists alike. The dancing girls and prostitutes of this area were much famed and in demand in Pakistan and outside. See novel by Louise Brown, *The Dancing Girls of Lahore: Selling Love and Saving Dreams in Pakistan's Ancient Pleasure District*, Harper Collins, 2005.

adverse effect on the moral of the people. This hotel was opened in the year 1939. Also, a branch of this hotel was situated in a houseboat at Abi Guzar, seen as the centre of such activities.[38] Through the activities of these hotels, the police had concluded that the liquor shops were usually the abode of 'undesirable persons' to whom liquor was being sold at unusual times. Ultimately, a condition was put wherein liquor licenses were granted only under a condition involving strict prohibition on employment of barmaids.[39]

Two areas that were seen as the main centres of this trade were Maisuma and Tashwan in Srinagar. One particular feature of the houses of prostitutes was the open terrace where women would sing and dance to attract walkers by. As described by G.T. Vigne: 'Many of women are handsome enough to induce a man to exclaim, as did the Assyrian soldiers when they beheld the beauty of Judath, who would despise this people that have among them such women'.[40]

The fact that prostitutes formed an important part of the economy of the time did not prevent Dogra rulers from treating them as state wealth/property. Thus, any behaviour towards them was seen to be justified. During Gulab Singh's rule, the state could even legally lay control over the property of a prostitute on her death. Prostitutes did not even have the right to leave their profession and marry. Anyone who tried to run away without state permission was caught and made to come back. If any prostitute wanted to leave her profession, she had to pay a consolidated amount of 500 chilki rupees as security money on applying.[41]

The prostitutes also worked in very unhealthy conditions. Sexually transmitted diseases were rampant among them. In 1877-79, of a total of 12,977 patients reported for treatment at the Srinagar Mission hospital, 2516 patients suffered from venereal diseases, and most of them were prostitutes. Mr. Henvey, Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir, thought that at least half of the patients suffered from syphilis.[42] Added to this was the fact that there was no lock hospital in

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[38] Engagement of Bar-Maids in Hotels and Restaurants, 1939, SSA, p. 6.
[39] *Ibid*., p. 7.
[40] Bashir Akhtar, 'Subla Naed (Subhan Hajaam)', in Yousuf Taing ed., *Humara Adab, Number - 1*, p. 64.
[41] *Ibid*., p. 63.
[42] For a study of venereal diseases and prostitution see, Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Diseases in the British Empire*, Routledge, New York, 2003. And, Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies, 1793-1905*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1980.

Kashmir and the sick prostitutes were uncared for.[43] This also had a bearing on the health of hundreds of young military officers who would come to Kashmir every year. Seeing this evil, Mr. Henvey endeavoured to put a stop to the practice of the open system of pimping which was mostly carried on especially by the boatmen. However, some Englishmen were also suspected of being engaged in promoting this trade.[44]

The newspaper reports of the time were flooded with criticism of the Maharaja to promote the trade. The official records also suggest European disgust towards the trade. However, according to Henvey's report, some English residents were involved in helping prostitution to flourish. But there was mostly a strong criticism of Maharaja's policies towards the prostitutes. Europeans commented: (1) 'Our pleasure in the beauties of Kashmir, would have been far greater had we not had so many evidences of the abominable custom of procuration of women, who are freely offered to visitors in Kashmir'.[45] (2) 'One of our party had not been five minutes in Baramulla Dak bungalow before he was accosted with this object'. 'A boat full of women were waiting at Sopore'. The Europeans called it an 'undesirable thing' and an 'open trade'.[46]

Pleas were made to the Maharaja that 'an enlightened ruler such as the Maharaja appears to be will put an end to it'. Letters were written to the Maharaja by the Resident time and again complaining of this public nuisance and to take steps to mitigate the evil.[47] Some concerned people also saw the matter as one of social reform. The local press also issued statements in this regard. The local vernacular press especially the 'Kashmir Guardian' and the 'Kashmir Jihad' issued repeated statements concerning the curse of illicit traffic in women going on in the State.

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[43] The issue of the absence of lock hospitals from Kashmir will be the subject of my future research. I was unable to focus on this aspect of prostitution in Kashmir in my present research.

[44] Political history of Kashmir briefly summarized, 1883, NAI.

[45] Chesfeeda Akhtar, 'Sexual harassment at workplace and in educational institutions: A case study of District Srinagar, Kashmir', International NGO Journal, 2013, p. 56. accessed online on January 3, 2021, https://academicjournals.org/journal/INGOJ/article-full-text-pdf/E7BF85541168

[46] Rules regarding registration of Prostitutes, File No. 134/K-17, 1916, Political Department, Jammu State Archives (hereafter JSA), p. 3.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Some newspapers in Punjab also hinted that the state of Jammu and Kashmir is one of the feeders of the brothels in British India.[48]

The missionary women also attacked this traffic in women. A missionary woman, Dr. Kathleen Vaughan, met a medical member of the League of Nations in Geneva and told him of the sufferings of women in Kashmir. The matter was then taken up with the League, the British government, the Indian government, and finally with the Maharaja of Kashmir, asking why such activities were permitted in his state. Police was directed to make inquiries into the matter. One of the old students of Biscoe's School in the police, Abdul Karim, was ordered to visit the chief towns in India to search for Kashmiri women who were forced to work as prostitutes in brothels in India against their will. After his return, Biscoe helped him to publish a pamphlet giving an account of his adventures in tracking down these Kashmiri girls.[49] The old students of Biscoe School also worked tirelessly to end this traffic. The Inspector of Schools had even ordered the teachers of the State schools to meet the Biscoe School staff to discuss the ways they could join in social service. The state was also thinking about starting the Boy Scouts movement.[50]

The CMS was also increasingly making its disgust felt against the practice. In April 1917, the Secretary of CMS, Mr. E.J. Sandy, complained to the Resident in Kashmir of the activities of prostitutes and their agents in Kashmir. To quote him, he:

> Voice[ed] the disgust felt by many visitors to Kashmir, Europeans and Indian alike at a scandal which there seems reason to believe has lately become more brazenly practiced in public. He added that private morals lie beyond any except the indirect scope of Government action but the advertisement and pushing forward of temptations to immorality are a public nuisance which fall within the sphere of action by the police.[51]

Upon repeated requests from CMS and Resident, the authorities started to intervene in the matter by 1917. It was noted that there were no rules or instructions in force to prevent such activities. The only rules which were in force were those issued by the Governor in 1913-14

[48] Abduction of Women from the Kashmir State into British, 1933, SSA, p. 203.
[49] *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: An Autobiography* with an introduction by Shafi Ahmad Qadri, pp. 191-92.
[50] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Still Pegging away in Kashmir*, 1920, p. 12.
[51] Promulgation of a notification regarding the prevention of activities of Prostitutes and their agents in Kashmir, File No. 157/M-D-74, 1917, Political Department, JSA, p. 9.

which ordered prostitutes to approach visitors only through the Lambardars[52] and that too only between sunrise and sunset. The Lambardar had the instructions to see that no prostitute should approach a visitor independently of him.[53] Its effect was, however, confined only to Srinagar and to regular prostitutes.[54] Thereafter, in consultation with the Inspector General of Police, the Governor Kashmir, and the Judge High Court, the Home Minister issued a notification in the year 1917 for the Kashmir Valley. This order was to apply to the prostitutes as well as their agents. The order stated:

> Whoever, in any street or public place within the Kashmir Valley loiters for the purpose of prostitution or importunes any person to the commission of sexual immorality shall be punishable with fine which may extend to fifty rupees.
>
> Provided that no person shall be charged with a breach of the provisions of this order except in the complaint of the person importuned or of any police officer, not below the rank of an Officer in Charge of the Police station of the Elaqa.[55]

The Maharaja made some modifications to the notification. An order dated May 1917 required that areas be specified in the state gazette where all the public prostitutes would be duly registered. This gazette was also to contain the rules as were necessary for the registration of public prostitutes in the specified areas. It was also stated that the police may be authorized to institute proceedings under the notification only against the registered prostitutes and their agents. Proceedings against women who were not registered prostitutes or against their agents were to be instituted only on the complaint of the person importuned and not that of a police officer.[56] The Maharaja also ordered a modification in the notification which had the result of 'making loitering no offence unless it is accompanied by solicitation'.[57]

It was, however, stressed that it was necessary to concentrate attention on the particular areas in which the notification would operate. By the notification dated 12 August 1918, Srinagar and Baramulla were specified as the areas within which all public prostitutes were for the present

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[52] Lambardar is a title in India and Pakistan which applied to powerful families of zamindars of the village or town, a state-privileged status which is hereditary and has wide ranging governmental powers: the policing authority of the village, and many other governmental and administrative perks.
[53] Rules regarding registration of Prostitutes, 1916, JSA, p. 21.
[54] Promulgation of a notification regarding the prevention of activities of Prostitutes, 1917, JSA, p. 10.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 99.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

duly registered.[58] Further, a note from the Judge High Court dated 16 January 1920 argued that 'we should stop brothels and bawdy houses altogether and not be content with limiting the damage done by them…The most regrettable condition prevalent in the State at present and not altogether unknown to the Durbar are having very pernicious impact upon the young population of the State.'[59]

The authorities in Kashmir increasingly started to take an active interest in putting an end to the 'nefarious and illicit trade' of women in Kashmir, which it was argued, 'had developed into a serious menace for the society threatening to sap its very foundation'.[60] The colonial narrative at the time was that the persistent opposition to the trade by the CMS and the Resident in Kashmir was the reason for the change in attitude against the trade by the Dogra rulers. It is not, however, clear as to what was the driving force. But the Dogra rulers did work towards discouraging methods and practices which were calculated to promote immorality among the citizens. Rules provided for the control of public prostitutes were made stern in 1921 and were called 'the Public Prostitutes Registration Rules 1977'. The sections of the Rules postulate:

> (3) the 'Public Prostitute' means a woman who earns her livelihood by offering her person to lewdness for hire; (4) it was the duty of a public prostitute to have her name registered (5) A Register of public prostitutes shall be prepared and shall be kept in the office of the Wazir-i-Wazarat or other public servant; (6) (ii) The application for registration should be made in person and shall be in writing and shall state the name, parentage, caste, age, residence and business of the applicant; (8) provides for the cancellation of the registration of the public prostitute on grounds that she intends to cease her business, if the officer concerned feels that carrying on business by a registered public prostitute is undesirable on grounds of public policy; (9) prevents the transfer or lending of certificate of registration to any other person on any account or for any purpose; (14) the 'brothel keeper' – means the occupier of any house, room, tent, boat or place resorted to by persons of both sexes for the purpose of committing sexual immorality and every person managing or assisting in the management of any such house, room, tent, boat or place.[61]

The Public Prostitutes Registration Rules were brought in by the Dogra rulers to keep a strict check on the activities of prostitutes. According to the rules, the prostitute desirous of engaging in prostitution could now do so only by registering herself as a public prostitute. Many

[58] Promulgation of a notification regarding the prevention of activities of Prostitutes, 1917, JSA, p. 163.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 169.
[60] Abduction of Women from the Kashmir State, 1933, SSA, p. 39.
[61] Promulgation of a notification regarding the prevention of activities of Prostitutes, 1917, JSA.

steps, other than legislations, were also taken to prevent this trade. The village heads like Lambardars and Zaildars were made responsible and were held liable to dismissal if these offences frequently occurred in their villages. Inducement of reward and the encouragement of honour and recognition were assured for good work by the grant of *Sanads* and *Khilats* in Public Durbars.[62] Various sabhas and anjumans were also addressed to draw up pamphlets aimed at purging the society of this rapidly growing evil. This was also done to effectively supplement, on the social and moral side, the legal and administrative measures already taken by the government in this direction.[63]

Between 1920 and 1925, the state penal code was amended to bring its provisions into line with the law of British India concerning kidnapping and abduction and raising the age of consent for women.[64] The Committee appointed in 1927 to go into the question of illicit traffic in women suggested that a special branch of the C.I.D. be organized to deal with such offences and that effective and active propaganda by religious preachers (mullahs and priests) be undertaken to educate the public opinion and to arouse the social conscience of the people by distribution and publication of suitable pamphlets on the subject. An amount of Rupees 4044 was provided in the police budget for the suppression of the traffic in women.[65] Glancy commission report[66] also spoke harshly of this practice. The report states:

> This nefarious enterprise, known as "Bardafaroshi" has been for many years the subject of grave concern in various parts of the Jammu province where an organised business in abducting women and girls and removing them beyond limits of the State have been conducted. His Highness Government have been doing what they can in the matter of legislation, executive action and propaganda to discourage and prevent these deplorable activities. It has been represented that the propaganda campaign should be extended by the multiplication of pamphlets and lectures. Any further measures which the State can adopt in this direction will receive the support of all communities concerned.[67]

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[62] Abduction of Women from the Kashmir State, 1933, SSA, p. 18.
[63] *Ibid*., p. 41.
[64] *Ibid*., p. 333.
[65] *Ibid*., p. 5.
[66] Following the 1931 uprising in Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh in an appeasement move appointed a commission on 12 November 1931 headed by B.J. Glancy of the Foreign and Political Department of the British Indian Government. The function of the Glancy Commission was to enquire into the various complaints and to examine the grievances of communal and general nature (education etc.) that had caused the disturbances in the Valley.
[67] Abduction of Women from the Kashmir State, 1933, SSA, p. 209. Also check Glancy Commission report (Urdu and Kashmiri), File No. 53/5, November 1931, Education Department, SSA.

The question was also discussed in the executive committee of the Muslim Political Conference where it was resolved that the authorities be moved to redouble their efforts in the light of the Glancy Commission. Subsequently, the law was greatly stiffened and the State Penal Code was amended to raise the penalty for kidnapping and abduction from three to seven years and that for enticing away married women from two to five years. Provision was also made to empower the Courts to award whipping in place of, or in addition to, other sentences in these cases. The age of consent was raised from 12 to 13 years for marital and from 13 to 14 years for extra-marital relations. The Code of Criminal Procedure was also amended to enable Magistrates and police to take action against persons who habitually commit kidnapping or abduction.[68]

The campaign against prostitution was strengthened by 'The Suppression of Immoral Traffic Regulation 1991' (1934). This was to extend to all Town Areas and Municipalities within the state of Jammu and Kashmir. I am reproducing the relevant sections of the Regulation as are relevant to the present discussion:

> (4)(a) of this Regulation, 'Prostitution' means promiscuous sexual intercourse for hire, whether in money or kind, 4(b) 'brothel' means any place kept by any person and allowed to be used for prostitution. Section (10) defines the punishment for any person who detains any woman or girl against her will in a brothel and any other place with the intent that she may have sexual intercourse with any man other than her lawful husband, shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both, and, if a male person, shall also be liable to whipping. (11) If any person having the custody, charge or care of any girl under the age of eighteen years causes or encourages or abets the seduction or prostitution of that girl, he shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both, and, if a male person, shall also be liable to whipping.[69]

Bashir Akhtar in an article in the Urdu magazine 'Sheeraza' writes that the government passed the 1934 Act in response to a campaign carried out against prostitution by a barber named Mohammad Subhan Hajam from Maisuma. Subhan was born in a poor Muslim family in 1910. Sir Tyndale Biscoe writes about him, 'he was continually disturbed by the cries of anguish from the unfortunates recently forced into this cruel life, many of them quite young, who had been sold by their relations under the pretence that marriages had been arranged for them'.[70] Subhan

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[68] Abduction of Women from the Kashmir State, 1933, SSA, p. 109.
[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 255 - 259.
[70] Bashir Akhtar, 'Subla Naed (Subhan Hajaam)', in Yousuf Taing ed., *Humara Adab, Number - 1*, p. 66.

would stand and guard outside the brothels and would explain the ill-effects of the trade to the people who would frequent such places. He also initiated a door-to-door campaign against them. On his insistence, the children of Maisuma also rose in revolt against this practice. Mohammad Siddiq from Maisuma, a Biscoe boy, gave full support to Subhan to eradicate this evil. In 1924, Subhan took out his first pamphlet against prostitution in which he wrote against Maharaja's officials and brothel keepers. Mohammad Subhan would roam around the locality with young boys shouting slogans: *Har Bhalaye haq bene; niklo kanjaron wa shehriyar*. This meant that: every good deed done is like an open book for people to see, and he called upon both low caste as well as high caste people to raise their voice and act against the prostitution trade.[71]

In one of his pamphlets, titled *Hajam ki Fariyad*, (Appeal of a Barber) Subhan lamented that the state was not co-operating with him and vested elements were creating problems. But due to his persuasion, 700 people including Kashmiri Muslims, Pandits, and Sikhs supported him and submitted a memorandum seeking a ban on prostitution. It is argued that after intense public pressure generated by Subhan, the State Assembly passed the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act in 1934.[72] Bashir Akhtar, however, notes that this Act was just a technique to suppress the brewing discontent against the rulers. In one letter written by the Residents of Buchwara in Srinagar to District Magistrate it was stated that 'Even after the passing of the Act, the *Kanjars* of Srinagar are still safe and are carrying on their trade unhindered. We are getting threats not only from officials but also from *Kanjars*, especially from a person named Ismail 'Jaalsaaz'. The prostitutes working in his tutelage are Mukhti and Azizi'.[73]

In the opinion of the common people, the real campaign against prostitution in Kashmir was carried out by Subhan Hajam and not by the government. His powerful poems against prostitution, The *Hidayatnamas* (Directives) are an indicator of how much he detested the practice and the massive campaign carried on by him against the trade.[74] Along-with stating his displeasure through writings, Subhan started a massive campaign to stop the practice. He maintained a diary of all the people who frequented the brothels. His list even had the names of

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[71] Bashir Akhtar, 'Subla Naed (Subhan Hajaam)', in Yousuf Taing ed., *Humara Adab, Number - 1*, p. 67.
[72] Shazia Malik, *Women's Development amid Conflicts in Kashmir*, p. 48.
[73] Bashir Akhtar, 'Subla Naed (Subhan Hajaam)', in Yousuf Taing ed., *Humara Adab, Number - 1*, p. 71.
[74] Mohammad Subhan Hajam, *Hidayatnama*, Maisuma, Srinagar, from the private collection of Peerzada Mohammad Ashraf, Bemina, Srinagar The date of publication of the document is missing.

people who were the respected *shurafa* of the time. In one of his pamphlets, he appealed to the government to depute personnel to keep a watch on the activities of prostitutes, their agents, and all those who promoted prostitution. He added that the names of the people involved in promoting the trade should be recorded in the registers and then published in the state gazettes. He also requested the officers in the police department to make a list of all such brothels/places where prostitution was carried out and send out copies to Lahore, Peshawar, Bombay, Amritsar, and Karachi along-with pictures of prostitutes and their agents.[75]

His voice against prostitution (Jismfaroshi and Bardafaroshi) became more pronounced with time as did his appeal to the people to help him against this practice. He used satire to voice his problems. Subhan was lovingly called *Dugdugi wala* by people. Many people thought of him as a big *dastangoh* (story-teller). His shop 'Prince Hair Cutting Salon', located near Palladium cinema[76] in Amirakadal, Srinagar in a one-floor complex surrounded by many small restaurants, became the *adda* where many issues of social importance and evils in society were discussed.[77]

The campaign against prostitution was of central importance in these discussions. Letters were written to police officers for help to ward off the evil. Letters written by Subhan go thus: (1) Some women through utmost perfection enter posh localities in Srinagar and are trying to spread the tentacles of prostitution. In this regard, a Resident of Khrew, who acts as 272,[78] runs a brothel in Drugjan. In this centre, three prostitutes worked – Kali, Rahti, Khatji. (2) About Drugjan the news is that two residents of Drugjan, Lasa Laway, and Mohammad Buta work in the Golf course and are in no way associated with this dirty trade. However, they are being bribed and lured to undertake this work. (3) Widow Muni lives in a houseboat in Barbarshah. Her mother also lives with her. She has an illegitimate connection with a Kashmiri Pandit who bears their expenses. If the Pandit does not budge, I will announce his name in the newspapers. (4) News is that many brothel keepers have rented houses/buildings in the area of Maisuma in

[75] Bashir Akhtar, 'Subla Naed (Subhan Hajaam)', in Yousuf Taing ed., *Humara Adab, Number - 1*, p. 70.
[76] For a brief history of Palladium Cinema, check Palladium Cinema in Srinagar city, File No. 52-M, 1933, Home Department, SSA.
[77] Bashir Akhtar, 'Subla Naed (Subhan Hajaam)', in Yousuf Taing ed., *Humara Adab, Number - 1*, pp. 57-59.
[78] 272 is probably a code name for someone who acted as a pimp or ran a brothel.

Srinagar which has given a great boost to the trade. A famous prostitute, Gulabo, lived in such a house.[79]

The fact that neither Muslim religious leaders nor educated Hindu leaders raised a voice against this practice is visible in Subhan's pamphlets. He attested the silence of Muslim religious leaders to the fact that for them even a talk of brothels or its sight amounted to committing a sin. The silence of educated Hindu leaders, according to him, was because they did not have to bear the brunt of the oppressive taxation regime of the Dogras. Even the political leaders did not pay any attention to this trade and thus Subhan was critical of the silence of political leaders on the social and moral issues plaguing the society.[80]

Subhan gained many enemies on the way, while on a campaign against prostitution. This was because as the trade began to decline, it put a heavy burden on the brothel keepers, police personnel, Maharaja, and the state treasury. Goons were sent to force Subhan to budge. However, it was difficult for his opponents to stop him because Subhan had garnered the support of young children and old women alike. So, the state became helpless and tried to find means to pressurize him to give up his campaign. False cases were filed against him. The complaints against him comprised of the following: that he disrupts public order and peace; that he is unnecessarily trying to bring a bad name to *shurafa*; that he is pitting the common people against the Maharaja; and that he is trying to harm the state treasury. Many-a-times criminal charges were also pressed against him where the police gave false testimonies. But due to the support of old women to Subhan, the police were always scared to lay a hand on him. He also had the support of Biscoe.[81]

But despite all the attempts to stop it, prostitution continued to flourish in society. The evil of prostitution was in existence in the Jammu Province till the last decades of the twentieth century. A letter was written by the Residents of Gandhi Nagar Extension area in Jammu to the Chief Minister of the state in 1972 complaining that one Bimla Devi alias 'Anar Kali' had opened a prostitution centre in her house. The letter added:

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[79] Bashir Akhtar, 'Subla Naed (Subhan Hajaam)', in Yousuf Taing ed., *Humara Adab, Number - 1*, p. 72.
[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 66-69.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 68. Also Mohammad Subhan Hajam, *Hidayatnama*, p. 8.

> She does this business so darely that even in the day time queue of customers are found at his [her] residence, what happened at night can well be judged from this dareness. Almost all the customers who visit her house both in the day time and in the night are in drunken conditions. They often quarrel and make noises in the locality … All this create[s] great nuisance beside[s] having adverse affect on the characters of young and small children. We, the resident[s] of this locality beg to approach to your goodself with the request to kindly take suitable action against her.[82]

Cases of this nature, however, continued to be defended in the courts. The traffic in women was carried on in other parts of India as well. The immoral traffic of Indian women under the pretext of marriage by a section of Arab nationals in India was brought to the surface in November 1962. Girls from poor families, mostly Muslims, were married to the Arabs and then taken to other countries after their names were included in the Arab's passports. These girls were either sold after discarding their matrimonial ties or were forced to indulge in prostitution. To prevent this, instructions were issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India to certain state governments to keep a strict watch over the activities of those Qazis and foreigners, who indulged in arranging such marriages. The issuing of visas was also carefully scrutinized.[83]

The impact of all these measures in putting a stop to prostitution in Kashmir is not clear though. Girls continued to be illegally engaged in this trade till the early 21st century. The sex scandal which erupted in Kashmir in 2006 involving underage girls engaged in prostitution and providing sexual pleasure to politicians and bureaucrats engulfed the valley in a wave of public protests.[84] Women were seen to suffer voicelessly in the sex dens and rackets, whether coaxed, coerced, or lured. The insurgency in Kashmir also gave a great boost to the trade. Due to the death and disappearance of many men, the females had to take on the responsibility of providing a livelihood for their families. In the absence of any skill or education required for a job, many women took to prostitution as an easy recourse. It remains to be seen if at all the legal ban on prostitution in Kashmir has been successful in putting a stop to the practice.

It would not be wrong to argue thus that women in Kashmir were at a great disadvantage regarding their status in society. The missionaries had, however, made a beginning for female

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[82] Prostitution – House No. 22, Shamla Nagar, Jammu, File No. 487/72-PB, 1972, Home Department, SSA, p. 1.
[83] Immoral Traffic in Women under the pretext of Marriage, File No. PB-583/62-Genl, 1962, Home (Police) Department, SSA.
[84] J&K sex scandal involving politicians snowballs into explosion of public anger, *India Today*, accessed online on 23 February, 2019.

education in the state and had been successful in breaking the shackles for women, even though limited. The pioneering role of missionaries in providing for the education of females in Kashmir was particularly helpful for the masses. The social service programmes established by the missionaries was also a great boon for the Kashmiri women. Ishaq Khan writes:

> Through the activities of the Mission, the quality of family life was considerably improved. It is a recognised fact that to a certain extent, social changes hinges for its success on the participation in social affairs of enlightened women with opportunity and responsibility. The missionaries recognized this and left no stone unturned for attracting the girls to their school.[85]

Christian Missionaries: Forerunners of Female Education

Female education was a difficult problem to tackle for the Christian missionaries. To gain the trust and understanding of the people, the boundaries of race, culture, and imperial power were to be crossed.[86] The most challenging task for the missionaries was to be cautious not to offend the sentiments of the people. Considering the conservatism of the masses, even a suggestion to educate girls was sure to arouse suspicion and invite trouble. Prem Nath Bazaz, a leading historian on Kashmir, sums it well: 'To give Christian (western) education to boys was objectionable enough, though sufferable, but, to pollute the minds of virgin girls with the impure ideas from foreign lands was something beyond tolerance'.[87]

Adding to the conservative mindset of the masses was the problem of the limited financial resources available for female education. The pioneers of female education in the State had to resort to the sale of books, letting out of school property, loans, and borrowings, etc. to keep the school running, as is clear from the below. This table is based on a study of the school log books from the years 1912 to 1926. The school log books of these years provide the details for only the five years referred in the table:

[85] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 143.

[86] Reeta Grewal and Sheena Pall eds., *Precolonial and Colonial Punjab: Society, Economy, Politics and Culture*, Manohar, Delhi, 2005, p. 268.

Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta,* p. 211.

Year	CMS Grant	Kashmir State Grant	Donations, Subscriptions & Offertories	Miscellaneous
1913	186	-	540	-
1919	880	924 (including building grant of Rs. 275	996	80 (Brass Industry) + 60 (Rent for letting out cottage) + 7 (Refund) + 300 (Borrowed from CMS boys' school)
1920	880	641	1,221	156 (Rent for letting out cottage) + 200 (Gift from CMS boys' school) + 13 (Sale of pherans)
1921	857	699	727	159 (Rent for letting out cottage) + 400 (Loan from boys' school) + 514 (Sale of late Miss Fitze's books) + 311 (Proceeds of Bazaar Sale)
1922	1,000	699	656	231 (Rent for letting out cottage) + 602 (Sale of late Miss Fitze's books) + 10 (Refund) + 133 (Misc. through CMS)

(Amount in Rupees)

This is unlike that of the education for boys where funds were generously granted, both by the CMS and the state government. An anecdote in a school logbook of 1917 reflects the attitude of the Kashmiri society towards the education of females. It goes thus: 'About twenty years ago, when Biscoe first put up the school motto "In all things be Men", a missionary lady asked a little boy the meaning of the motto. He replied "In all things must not be women"'.[88] To change the atmosphere of the homes was thus of paramount importance to the missionaries. The education of girls was thought to be of much importance for they would be the mothers of the future generation. In a school logbook of 1914, Biscoe writes, 'We must begin at the bottom, and that bottom must be with our little girls, to counteract, if possible, what they are taught at home'. This was inspired by the vision of Biscoe best summarized in his words, 'I like to look ahead, say thirty years, when the girls and boys in our schools will be the children of those parents who teach purity in their homes'.[89]

The missionaries believed that it was the women who more than men hindered progress. This, they argued, was because of their ignorance and superstition and that they were far more under the power of the ignorant priests than the men.[90] The other reason for stressing on the education of girls was to find like-minded wives who would be true helpmates to their husbands,

[88] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Forging Up Stream in Kashmir*, 1917, p. 11.
[89] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Men in the Making in Kashmir*, 1914, p. 24.
[90] C.E.Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 258.

now that the education of boys was progressing.[91] I concur with the argument put forth by Sonia Nishat Amin when she writes that female education was seen as a preparation for the domestic bliss of the enlightened housewife, and those who wanted women to be educated on the same basis and the same levels as men.[92]

With these objectives in mind, the missionaries, especially women, started the schools for females in Kashmir. Commending the role of female missionaries in the spread of female education in Kashmir, P.N. Bazaz writes:

> The story of the struggle of foreign lady missionaries against male arrogance and distrust, racial and religious prejudice, deep ignorance and truculent authority, forms a glorious chapter in the history of cultural renaissance in Kashmir.[93]

The work of female missionaries in India is, however, not as linear as it appears. Their work was intertwined with the work of the colonial state in India. A brief note on western women, education, and imperialism is thus important to explicate how gender ideology (and racial ideology) was implicated in the colonial patterns of domination.[94] The western women who went to India generally subscribed to the notion of the superiority of their own culture in their association with colonized women. Janaki Nair writes, 'Gender was a constitutive element of colonial discourse but always "overdetermined" by the ideology of race, which in the Indian context also conferred a superior class position on the English *vis-à-vis* the India'.[95]

Barbara N. Ramusack in a study of five British women, who worked in India, writes that all of them viewed their work within an imperial context, the patriarchal hierarchy of imperialism. She believed that in India, British political imperialism became 'paternalistic autocracy'.[96] She refers to the British missionary women in India as 'maternal imperialists' as according to her 'in various ways these British women activists embodied a benevolent maternal

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[91] C.E. Tyndale-Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Rock Shifting in Kashmir*, 1916, p. 19.
[92] Sonia Nishat Amin, *The World of Muslim Women in Colonial Bengal*, p. 146.
[93] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta*, p. 213-214.
[94] Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel eds., *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianopolis, 1992, p. 8.
[95] Janaki Nair, 'Uncovering the *zenana*: visions of Indian womanhood in Englishwomen's writings, 1813-1940', in Catherine Hall ed., *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, Manchester United Press, UK, 2000, p. 229.
[96] This means 'preparation of child-like Indians for self-government. The Indian Civil Service (ICS) Officer was described as the *ma-bap*, or mother and father, for the people of his district' in Barbara N. Ramusack, 'Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies: British Women Activists in India, 1865-1945', in Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel eds., *Western Women and Imperialism*, p. 133.

imperialism. They were frequently referred to as mothers or saw themselves as mothering India and Indians'.[97]

Antoinette M. Burton in a chapter in Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel edited book *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* wrote that the British feminists constructed the Indian women as a foil, as passive subjects and helpless victims, as unfortunates and as examples against which to gauge their progress. Further, guided by the ideology of the liberal bourgeois feminism and by highlighting the imperial burden of Englishwoman, the British feminist 'sisters' carried a sense of special responsibility towards the colonized women. Feminism, like imperialism, was structured around the idea of moral responsibility. This was even though Indian women during this period were active in their social reform. Thus, Burton writes that the new feminist world order which late-Victorian British feminists championed was distinctively imperial as well.[98]

Leslie A. Flemming in her study of American missionaries in India from 1870-1930 sees the cult of domesticity and the vision of Christian womanhood according to Victorian ideals as being central to the work of missionaries among females in India. But despite their self-construction as agents of change, they did not offer Indian women any radically new roles but did succeed in breaking down the strong public-private dichotomy. They did this by encouraging education, physical well-being, and voluntary activities for women. Thus, neither radically innovative nor revolutionary, this new vision of Christian womanhood encouraged a partial liberation from some indigenous constraints on women.[99]

I think that the theoretical framework provided by Leslie A. Flemming is most useful to study the work of Christian missionaries among females in Kashmir. This will be further elaborated in the chapter. But what is important to note at the outset is that while the education of boys in Kashmir began with Kashmiri Pandit boys attending the schools in large numbers, the school education of females began with the Muslims. The Hindu parents needed a lot of

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[97] Barbara N. Ramusack, 'Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies: British Women Activists in India, 1865-1945', in Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel eds., *Western Women and Imperialism*, p. 133.
[98] *Ibid.*, Antoinette M. Burton, 'The White Woman's Burden: British Feminists and "The Indian Woman", pp. 137-139.
[99] *Ibid.*, Leslie A. Flemming, 'A New Humanity: American Missionaries' Ideals for Women in North India, 1870-1930', pp. 193-199.

persuasions to send their daughters to school owing to the custom of child marriage among the Pandit community. The chief trouble was that Hindu girls were taken away from the school early on account of it being improper for them to go about their education after the age of twelve years. Consequently, the Hindus on the rolls numbered always lesser than the Muslims. The staffing of the school also presented many problems. Not a single trained Kashmiri woman teacher was to be found in the city of Srinagar by 1912.[100]

Despite all the hurdles in the way, the first girls' mission school was started in a mud house at Fateh Kadal in Srinagar in the year 1895. But because the education of girls did not have the consent of the people in Srinagar as it was against the ethos of the city and something new, it was not popular. The people of Srinagar, fearing that the character of the girls would be spoiled, revolted. The girls who attended the school as well as their parents were scared as public opinion was against them. The school continued only until the first prize day. But due to the perseverance of the missionary ladies, the school was reopened a few weeks later with more girls attending than before the closing of the school.[101]

The education of girls was continued by Miss Frances Mackay in private houses until 1909. The founding of CMS Girls' school is normally taken as October 1912 when Miss Violet Fitze opened the CMS school at Fateh Kadal. It was in an annex to the boys' schools, for the sisters of the boys attended there,[102] probably making it a little less worrisome for the parents to send their daughters to school in the company of their brothers. This school later came to be known as Mallinson Girls' school owing to the deep commitment of Miss Muriel P. Mallinson to the cause of female education in the Valley.

Miss Fitze was one of the missionary ladies who promoted female education in Kashmir. With her unstinting work among the women of Kashmir, the number of girl students increased exponentially in the school over the years. To quote Miss Fitze, her mission in the cause of female education in the Valley and the hurdles in the way were:

> Educating angry or indifferent or insolent parents, and winning them round to my side, toiling in and out of dirty dwellings, striving to get them clean, climbing up and down the

[100] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Memorial School*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1913, pp. 29-31.
[101] C.E.Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 257-258.
[102] C.E. Tyndale-Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Rock Shifting in Kashmir*, 1916, p. 19.

> stairs of pitch-dark houses, wading through compounds ankle deep in filth, and struggling to be indifferent to horrible odours and unpleasant sights. These are things never taken into count as belonging to school work, but without it, in Kashmir, there could be no school – or never one worthy the name of "A Place of Education".[103]

A major problem faced by Miss Fitze, the founder principal of the girls' school, was the custom of child marriage, especially among Pandit families. There are numerous references in the school log books where she has attacked this 'monster of early marriages of girls' with much ridicule. To quote her:

> The demon comes and swallows her up as in time-worn fairy tales. We see these very tales repeated…'What of your own case?' I said, when pleading for her child. "Were you not married so young? Were you so happy? What sort of life have you led? I only plead for your child in the face of your experience…I almost dare to hope I shall keep her happy, and hold the demon at bay some years longer. There are other monsters to be met in Priest, Prestige and *Pisa* (money)…He [The Priest] has stolen many precious pupils, one with red gold curls clustering round her pink and white face…great brown eyes and a character to adore. See her in her fresh school clothes, liliac and white…and you will call her "*farishta*," as I do, which means angel.[104]

The school log books are, however, full of incidents portraying the love of the girls for the work of missionaries and eagerness to attend the school. Miss Fitze notes in school log books the joy of the girls on assembling in the courtyard of the school, dancing, and playing games. In a school logbook of 1913, Miss Fitze talks of a Hindu girl who was a student of the school for four years i.e. from 1908-1912. Even after her marriage, she came to the school as and when she could, to carry on with her reading. It was stressed that she came to the school of her own wish,[105] hinting to the fact that she took pleasure in doing so.

Due to the custom of child marriage, it was, however, difficult for most of the girls to continue schooling after a certain age. One such anecdote was of a young girl from school, Latchmi, who was sold in marriage to a man of 25 years. Miss Fitze tried to save the girl, but as Latchmi's elder sister of 16 had to be married, Latchmi was also 'sacrificed' so that the money spent on the marriage of her elder sister would suffice to get both the daughters married. Miss Fitze lamented that 'The horrid tale was told to me when it was too late to interfere, and nothing

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[103] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Memorial School*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1916, p. 21.
[104] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: Francis Mackay CMS Memorial School*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1918, p. 21.
[105] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Memorial School*, 1913, p. 31.

could save her. Now my little song bird sits in a mother-in-law's iron cage, never allowed to speak unless spoken to'.[106]

By the year 1915, the situation had somewhat begun to change. In that year, none of the girl students had been withdrawn from the school. Only one had to discontinue her schooling, but that was because of the death of her mother. She was required to remain at home and help with domestic chores. In the subsequent years, comparatively few girls had left the school and many new ones had joined. The teachers and old girls studying in the school also helped to bring students to the school. The advantage of having a school on the river was stressed for it to be easy to ferry the students across the rivers, 'Srinagar's great highway' to the 3rd bridge where the school was located.[107] A push in terms of grants and teachers was also felt to postpone the marriage of these girls to a later date.[108]

To help the girls to become capable teachers was one of the most important aims of the school since the teachers were badly needed. The school banked for this on the monitress girls – girls in middle classes who had been in the school for over a year and were capable of controlling others. To do away with the scarcity of eligible staff, it was decided that the girls studying in middle classes would make teachers for the primary classes. Some of the monitresses gave a promise of becoming good teachers.[109] By 1918, the school felt 'arriving' at a point when it will be run by girls who were taught by the missionary ladies.[110]

For this to be a success, parents had to be persuaded to delay the marriages of their daughters. A major challenge was also to assuage the fears of parents about 'anglicization, proselytization, and loss of religious faith'[111] in missionary schools. Female education, the curriculum in the schools, and observance of purdah increasingly became matters of debate and discussion. Some questions debated were: Whether the education imparted at the girls' schools

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[106] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Francis Aberigh-Mackay Memorial School*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1917, p. 24.
[107] *Ibid.*, p. 24. For a map of Srinagar city in early twentieth century and the location of the bridges, see Arthur Neve, *The Tourist's Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh, Skardo, Etc*.
[108] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Francis Aberigh-Mackay Memorial School*, CMS Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1915, p. 16.
[109] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Memorial School*, 1913, p. 29.
[110] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: Francis Mackay CMS Memorial School*, 1918, p. 21.
[111] Meena Bhargava and Kalyani Dutta, *Women, Education, and Politics: The Women's Movement and Delhi's Indraprastha College*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 7-8.

should be a basic vernacular education plus child care, needlework, and other domestic crafts, or would it include instruction in English as well? Secondly, whether education was to take a religious or secular colour?[112] The question regarding fees in the schools for girls was also central to the discussions. Since parents were reluctant to send their girls to school and preferred to teach them at home, it was difficult for the schools to attract fee-paying students. This requirement was consequently dropped for girls' schools, and sometimes students were paid a small sum per day for attending school, or given food or clothing. Besides, girls' schools had to be provided with closed transport[113] or *hurkaris* (escorts/conductresses) for girls who were not allowed to walk to school alone by their parents and guardians.[114]

These questions implied cultural and political choices that held broader implications for women's role in the domain of the familial and the political, public, and private.[115] It was widely upheld that education for girls was to be moulded along with the requirements of their traditional role expectations.[116] To prevent any retaliation from the local community, the missionaries laid focus on women teachers in girls' schools, and the curriculum was geared to a 'gender-specific socialization'. Sanjay Joshi in his book also talks about the bringing together of the Indian and the European by the colonial constructions of womanhood in the 19th and 20th centuries.[117]

The teaching in the school was such that in kindergarten the girls would start by writing on boards and reading from alphabetical sheets or letter cards. This was followed by bead-counting (elementary mathematics) and then an interval for play. Paper-plaiting and wool-picking were also taught. The latter, a home industry, was introduced to please the mothers and as an incentive for the parents to send their daughters to school. Spinning was also learned by elder girls, who were required to spin their wool before knitting into socks, gloves, etc. Another

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[112] See Geraldine Forbes, 'Education for Women', in Sumit Sarkar and Tanika Sarkar eds., *Women and Social Reform in Modern India*, pp. 83-112.

[113] The younger ones were brought to the school in wooden carts covered on all sides and pulled by men, while the older *purdanashin* girls were brought in *dolis* (palanquins), personal interview Ayesha Kochak, September 22, 2018, Anantnag. Also check Zarina Bhatty, *Purdah to Piccadilly: A Muslim Woman's Struggle for Identity*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 2016, p. 52.

[114] Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars*, p. 161.

[115] Angma Dey Jhala, *Courtly Indian Women in Late Imperial India*, Pickering and Chatto, London, 2008, p. 2.

[116] Karuna Chanana, *Interrogating Women's Education*, pp. 83-84.

[117] Sanjay Joshi, *Fractured Modernity*, p. 18.

home industry that the younger girls were encouraged to learn was straw plaiting for shoes. Straw shoes were much worn in Kashmir, and bear the name of *Palahor*.[118]

The beginners when promoted to the first primary were instructed by missionary ladies, some permanently residing in Kashmir and some who would come to teach on short terms while on holiday or work in Kashmir. Sometimes, local men and women, trained by these missionaries would also act as teachers. The teaching of arithmetic was particularly stressed upon, probably meant to educate women to better manage the household. It was argued by Miss Fitze that 'Mental calculation is a species of gymnastic exercise to which Kashmiri women are wholly alien'. A senior teacher from Mr. Tyndale Biscoe's school who was brought to the girls' school in 1917 declared that 'arithmetic cannot be taught mentally to girls – boys and men are, of course, of a different breed altogether'.[119] Girls were thus thought of as inferior to men in mental faculties when learning subjects like mathematics, a prejudice that is relevant to even this day. Sewing, knitting, needlework, and other crafts of domestic usage were also taught to the girls. It was upheld that the girls must be taught to stitch garments for them to become useful housewives. The emphasis was on teaching girls to become their *durzees* (tailors). Sewing was taught to them in a manner where they first learned to make a pocket-handkerchief, then a pocket, followed by school bags and *poots* (head gears) and then *pherans* and other clothing.[120]

For girl students in higher classes, books were given to induce them to read them at home. But Fitze lamented: 'One or two of the number received these gifts with great joy, whereas others said, "Oh! Miss Sahib, why should we have books, we shall never read them at home?" Education is to these still merely a matter of "Going to school"'. Most mothers also looked down upon books as the most useless things. Some girls were even stopped from attending school by their mothers on account of their daughters having received books from school.[121] Thus, by way of encouraging the girls to study, many other prizes were also given to reward the persevering. Prizes consisted of wooden-shoes (*palahor*) to help the girls tread through the snow, combs and shawls for the poorest, and dolls for the richer ones, who attended most regularly of all. Caps for covering their heads were also given as the girls were expected to

[118] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Francis Aberigh-Mackay Memorial School*, 1917, p. 23.
[119] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[120] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Memorial School*, 1913, p. 30.
[121] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Francis Aberigh-Mackay Memorial School*, 1917, p. 23.

dress modestly. Even the four-year-old girls had to cover their heads.[122] Mostly, Muslim girls in the school were *purdanashin.*[123]

It is widely recognized that in the period from 1857-1947, only the women of privileged and orthodox Muslim families observed purdah.[124] Fitze narrates a sordid tale of a *purdanashin* woman in the school. The eldest of all the girls in the school in the year 1916, Azizi (meaning beloved), lovingly called Az lala (lala is a term of respect) was married to the monitor in the Biscoe school. Being a *purdanashin* girl, Fitze calls her a 'caged bird'. She further writes:

> This bird hates the cage. I cannot trace whence the hatred arose. Learning must have given rise to it, I suppose, and yet I have never drawn vivid pictures for her of the life beyond her purdah veil, nor have I led her into scenes of far-off romance and tales of wonderland. But in the girls' soul there lives a yearning to spread her wings and be free, and a hunger and thirst for knowledge such as I have never met with in an Eastern before. She is full of eagerness to be learning and doing all the time, and lot casts her into a narrow life, almost entirely sedentary and very secluded, to be lived out with a mother-in-law, who adheres to strict purdah rules and shakes her head at everything progressive.

Miss Fitze contrasts this to the free life led by the English ladies and the need to set the Indian ladies free. She adds:

> I take lady friends to see her sometimes, and they delight in her beauty… Why don't more English ladies go to see Indian ladies?…What breath of brightness it brings to a bird that is caged to see a bird that is free. The gladness we gather from walks in our flowered gardens, intercourse with cultured minds, and all the glory our pure faith has won us – shall we not spare a little for India's patient women in their four-walled existence?[125]

The missionary ladies, however, never swam across the popular stream and made all possible efforts to not offend the local sentiments. They went by the local rules so long as it helped to bring more girls to the school. The annual inspection reports of the school by the State Inspectress[126] of schools from 1913 onwards showed positive growth of the school. In the year

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[122] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Francis Aberigh-Mackay Memorial School*, 1915, p.17.
[123] V.B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Memorial School*, 1913, p. 29.
[124] R.K. Parimu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir (1320-1819)*, People's Publishing House, Delhi, 1969, republished Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2009, p. 439 and Farooq Fayaz, *Folklore and History of Kashmir*, p. 114.
[125] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Memorial School*, 1916, pp. 21-22. Also check Patricia Jeffrey, *Frogs in a Well: Indian Women in Purdah*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979 and Hanna Papanek and Gail Minault, *Separate World: Studies of Purdah in South Asia*, Chanakya, Delhi, 1982.
[126] The question of inspection in the girls' school was also a matter of concern. The parents of Muslim girls were against the idea of their daughters being examined by male inspectors. Thus, female inspectresses were employed in most schools for girls, Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars,* p. 162.

1913, she reported so satisfactorily of the School, that for the first time the Kashmir state started to gave a grant-in-aid of Rupees 300 per year to the school.[127] By 1916 the girls were seen coming better than ever before and mothers eager about their learning. Mr. Biscoe remarked on the progress of girls schools in his autobiography in these words:

> The education of girls is progressing much faster than that of boys did at its commencement, and I believe that the atmosphere of the city will be changed beyond all conception, when the mothers of this rising generation have been educated, for it is they and the priests who are the great stumbling blocks on the road to light and truth at present.[128]

In the year 1916, the Inspectress announced admissions in the school at the middle standard. The year 1916 was also a good year in terms of enrolment of girls for education.[129] In the year 1917, for the first time, a girl of 17 years came to the school to train as a teacher as this was the only finishing school in the city. She had the permission of her parents for this, which was a truly revolutionary step for the school. In the same year, the school got a special grant from the state government for the upper classes.[130]

By 1918, some widows who were left destitute by their relations joined the school. The inspection report of the school for 1918 states that besides the usual Rupees 300 as grant-in-aid for the school, the state granted an additional Rupees 400. This sum was granted on the condition that the school secured a competent teacher, enlarged the building, and raised a corresponding Rupees 400 for annual expenses, all of which Miss Fitze was able to accomplish. Two large classrooms and a garden were the additions to the school where the girls were taught gardening in the recreation period.[131]

The number of girls on the rolls of the school also increased in the subsequent years. In the year 1918, the strength of the school rose to 100. A large number of girls attending were Muslims. The number of Hindu girls on the rolls of the school was only thirty-eight. There was just one Hindu girl in the school, Tulsi, who studied up to the age of fourteen. But she had to leave the school on account of the priests threatening not to visit her father's house if she

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[127] V.B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Memorial School*, 1913, p. 29.
[128] *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: An Autobiography* with an introduction by Shafi Ahmad Qadri, p. 152.
[129] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Memorial School*, 1916, p. 21.
[130] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: The Francis Aberigh-Mackay Memorial School*, 1917, p. 25.
[131] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: Francis Mackay CMS Memorial School*, 1918, p. 22.

continued coming. However, she bravely continued to study as a private student despite the abuse of all neighbours. Miss Fitze writes about her:

> If she is ever a mother, and has daughters to send to school, there will be no need for persuasion, and no saying, "I cannot send my child to mix with Muhammadans," and no expostulations against girls being turned into clerks for offices – which our present mothers connect in their minds with education. That is why I say we seem to be "arriving".[132]

During the year 1919, Miss Fitze was on a furlough as she had gone home after ten years of strenuous work, and during this time the school was under the management of one Mrs. Bose. The inspection report of the school had shown good results even during the absence of Miss Fitze from school. On December 12, 1920, Miss Fitze arrived from home, after a furlough of a year and a half. But just four days later, she died.[133] A year after Miss Fitze's death, no woman came to carry forward her work, but the school worked quietly. Mrs. Dugdale acted as the superintendent of the school till 1922. In October 1922, Neve brothers – the pioneer medical missionaries in Kashmir, got Miss Muriel P. Mallinson to take over the working of the school.[134]

By the 1920s, the efforts of the missionaries bore fruit, when the education of girls had gained some acceptance in the Kashmiri society of the time. By 1922, there was a state school, a Mohammedan school, and five Hindu schools for girls, three of which were middle schools and were soon to be high schools.[135] Five girls' schools belonged to the mission in Srinagar and one in Islamabad run by the CMS and CEZMS ladies. In Islamabad, Miss Coverdale of CMS had a school of one hundred girls by 1922. A few educated men, whom Gauri Srivastava terms 'male intelligentsia'[136] further extended the endeavours of the missionaries in this direction. One such man was the headmaster of the Islamabad school, Shruder But, who it was argued 'has developed a most independent spirit, and although he is a Brahman, and scandalizes his brother

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[132] Violet B. Fitze, *A School Log Book: Francis Mackay CMS Memorial School*, 1918, p. 22.
[133] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Still Pegging away in Kashmir*, 1920, p. 18.
[134] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: A School in Action*, 1922, p. 18.
[135] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 258.
[136] Gauri Srivastava, 'The Contribution of Male Intelligensia to Women's Education in Bombay Presidency during the Colonial Period', in Sabyasachi Bhattacharya ed., *The Contested Terrain: Perspectives on Education in India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1998, p. 275.

Brahmans by his freedom in thought and action, has won for himself a most unique position in the town'.[137] He was of great assistance to Miss Coverdale with the girls of Islamabad town.

The CMS School for girls at Fateh Kadal, however, continued to be the torch-bearer of school education for females in Kashmir, and Miss Mallinson as its most vocal proponent. She served the school for 40 years, from October 1922 to November 1962. When Miss Mallinson came to Kashmir, the girls' school at Fateh Kadal was a tiny school. It grew under her care. Sheikh Abdullah reminisced, 'Whenever I think of Miss Mallinson, I get a picture of a lady on a bicycle going towards homes in a most humble manner'.[138] Female education was, however, not the only cause dear to her. She waged a struggle against child marriage. She also fought against many prejudices afflicting the women of Kashmir. Miss Mallinson was the first woman who organised girls' camps in the state. She also arranged girl guides and was herself a Girl Guides' Commissioner. The first mountaineering camp was organised by the school under her principal-ship in 1938 when about 40 girls sought written permission of their parents for participating in the Mahadev mountaineering camp.[139] The remarkable thing about this climb was that Kashmiri girls were with the Kashmiri schoolboys during such outings. Biscoe remarks in his autobiography:

> Only a few years before, no male folk were ever permitted to enter the girls' school compound. When I myself wished to speak to the mistress of the school, notice had to be given, and all doors and windows had to be closed, so that my eyes should not fall upon the faces of the girls…And now the girls were going on an expedition together with boys.[140]

Miss Muriel P. Mallinson played an important role in the educational and cultural development of Kashmiri women. Besides teaching subjects like English, General Knowledge, Mathematics, Persian, Urdu, and the study of nature, she introduced the teaching of Hindi in the school in 1944. In 1947, science subjects were introduced in the school in the 9th class. So far the subject was not provided for in any other girls' school in the state.[141] Apart from these subjects, basket-making, weaving, and embroidery were also taught. Laundry and cooking

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[137] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *A School Log Book: Men in the Making in Kashmir*, 1914, p. 25.
[138] Dominic Thirunilath, *Christinanity in Jammu & Kashmir*, p. 3.
[139] *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: An Autobiography* with an introduction by Shafi Ahmad Qadri, p. 153.
[140] *Ibid.*, p. 261.
[141] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

received equal attention. She also introduced activities like swimming and dancing in school.[142] Among her pupils were many women who later occupied reputed positions and contributed in their way to the spread of female education. Miss Mehmooda Ahmad Ali Shah, one of the leading educationists in the state, was one of them.

Some official files available in the archives at Srinagar on the CMS School, Fateh Kadal throw light on the trajectory of the school in its later years. Inspection Report of E. Chawner, Chief Inspectress of Girls' Schools in the year 1937, puts the total strength of the school at 278. Of these, the infant classes accounted for the maximum number of girls in any class. The number of girls started to diminish after sixth class, which had a strength of 46 girls. Seventh and eighth classes each had a strength of twelve, ninth class nine had a strength of seven, and class ten that of four. The records suggest that the numbers of girls in the high classes were more than the previous years. In the year 1932, two girls appeared for the matriculation examination from the school and both passed. Ten appeared for the Punjab middle examination, and of those seven passed. Of the 278 students in the school, 39 were Hindus, two were Christians and the rest all were Muslims.[143]

One girl, Nazira, who passed the matriculation examination from this school was employed as a teacher in the same school. Also, two boys from the boys' mission school came to teach drill. This was a truly revolutionary step for male teachers. This might also be because there were no female teachers who thought it appropriate to teach the girls' drill. Gymnastics was taught twice a week and equipment for the same was procured.[144] Designing and painting were stressed upon. Courses on needlework were arranged for the girls. Special attention was paid to cutting-art. Even small children were taught to make cushions and mats for them to sit on in school. The infants had quite a varied timetable, with stories, drawing, paper cutting, and clay modeling. Strict discipline was taught to girls. The school was divided into 'Families', in charge of some of the elder girls. Wooden shoe-racks were provided for in each classroom, covered by clothes printed by the girls.[145]

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[142] *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir: An Autobiography* with an introduction by Shafi Ahmad Qadri, p. 17.
[143] Recognition of CMS Girls Fateh Kadal Srinagar, File No. M-9, 1932, Education Department, SSA.
[144] *Ibid.*
[145] *Ibid.*

Keeping in mind the importance of the school for female education in the state, a letter was sent by the authorities to the education department with a request to recognize the school up to the high standard. In that case, an extra grant of Rupees 800 per annum was to be provided to the school. But financial concerns of the state government stood in the way of the progress of the school. Considering the small number of girls in the higher classes, it was argued that 'the expenditure will be too high especially when there is a Government Girls High school at Srinagar which is not very far from the CMS Girls High School and which is not over-crowded'.[146]

The Deputy Directress in her letter, however, recommended the recognition of the high department of two schools – CMS and Vasanta Girls High school[147] at Srinagar. She argued that the inspection report on the working of these schools suggested that both the schools were fulfilling the educational needs of the localities. She added that the students for the matriculation examination were sent up by these two schools for several years past and the 'girls reading in these two schools have been showing a sort of attachment to their schools'.[148] The Deputy Directress was, however, of the opinion that the matriculation staff of the Vasanta Girls High school is replaced by women teachers. She recommended that the recognition of the high department be granted on the condition that the school replaces the male staff teaching at the matriculate level by women teachers and the male caller with a female caller within two years of the date of recognition of the school. The recognition of the high department of CMS High School for Girls, Srinagar was recommended unconditionally, for all their staff in senior classes were females.[149] It can thus be inferred that the girls' schools were required to maintain female staff for it to get recognition from the government.

The inspection report of the school for the year 1946 by S.W. Shaw, Deputy Directress, puts the total number of students at 284. The numbers of girls in high school also increased with

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[146] Recognition of CMS Girls Fateh Kadal Srinagar, 1932, SSA p. 21.
[147] Vasanta Girls School, a private institution, catered to the education of girls of all communities. However, a majority of students in the school belonged to the Hindu community. In fact, the need for financial and other government assistance to the school was needed for it was argued that 'it is from this school itself that there is the most hope of qualified women teaching the Kashmiri Pandit Community eventually becoming available in large numbers.' The school was run by the Women's Welfare Trust. Recognition of High Classes of Vasanta Girls High School, Srinagar for 3 years, B/9/2, 1945, Education Department, SSA, p. 17.
[148] Recognition of CMS Girls Fateh Kadal Srinagar, 1932, SSA, p. 21.
[149] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

21 girls in ninth class and 14 girls in class tenth. Infant class had to be divided into two sections to accommodate the great influx of girls to the school. Of the total strength of the school, 17 were Hindus, 9 Sikhs, 1 Christian, and 257 Muslims. The roll had increased by 20 since 1945.[150] But even by the year 1946, the school had not been able to get a full-time female graduate teacher for the higher classes. But there were many part-time male teachers, who were very poorly paid. The short staff of teachers was seen to be the reason for the poor matriculation result. The school was lacking even in terms of basic infrastructure for both the students and teachers. It was argued that at least the students of higher classes should get used to desks, as they are provided with these when appearing for their matriculation exams.[151]

The most interesting part of the school work was the art section. A great deal of attention was paid to this. But it was argued that arts should not be given prominence at the expense of other subjects. Arithmetic was taught only twice a week. It was argued that each class should have arithmetic daily and as far as possible in the first or second period. The emphasis on this subject was to make the girls learn accounts to manage household finances. The teaching of English was also stressed.[152]

The school, however, appeared to be in a crisis in the late 1950s when six principals took charge of the school in seven years. It seemed that Miss Mallinson had no successor in the girls' school. By the 1960s, the need for trained graduates arose and the school appeared to be about to die. At Miss Mallinson's last 'jalsa' on parent's day in 1962, three generations of ladies stayed for hours afterward, talking with Miss Mallinson, unwilling to let her go. But by 1965, enough money had been collected (in equal amounts by old students, from reserves, and CMS) for a building at Sheikh Bagh, next to the Biscoe school. There was also the promise of a successor in Miss P.S. Gregan.[153] The successors of Miss Mallinson worked hard to uphold the high educational standards of the pioneer school of girls' education in the Valley. This school continues to render exemplary service to the cause of girls' education in Kashmir to this day.

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[150] Grant-in-aid forms of CMS Girls High School Srinagar for the year 2004, File No. B/3/18, 1947, Education Department, SSA.
[151] *Ibid,*.
[152] *Ibid,*.
[153] Dominic Thirunilath, *Christinanity in Jammu & Kashmir*, pp. 63-64.

Another missionary school that has a rich history of providing education to thousands of girls in the Valley since the time of its establishment in Srinagar in 1936 is Presentation Convent. This school is a part of the Presentation Order of nuns founded by Nano Nagle at the close of 1775. The primary object of the Presentation order was 'the instruction of the poor'. Nano Nagle was instrumental in providing for the education of the poorer classes of both sexes.[154] But with time, the Presentation convents came to be associated with elite classes and that too exclusively female.

In Kashmir, the foundation of the Presentation Convent was laid by Mother M. Peter, Sister M. Annunciata, and Sister Xavier who in response to an invitation from Maharaja Hari Singh, ruler of Jammu and Kashmir in January 1936, set out from Rawalpindi by bus and arrived in Srinagar. They rented a bungalow on the Boulevard beside the Dal Lake. Several young sisters came to help on the teaching staff and classes started on 17 March 1936. The children of British and Europeans residing in Srinagar were the first students of the school.[155] Slowly, pupils increased and the land was rented on the banks of the Jhelum river for the construction of a new school building. On 19 June 1939, the new school building was inaugurated by Maharaja Hari Singh.[156] The objective was to give a boost to women's education of the state by preparing them for university education in Punjab.[157] In the absence of a women's college in the state, the school would encourage women students to take the Punjab University Inter, Arts, and B.A. Degree exams. The school thus functioned as a college for several years.[158]

The school functioned as a co-educational Institute till 1945. The success of the educational work of the school can be seen from the fact that in 1941 Dr. Karan Singh, scion of the erstwhile ruler (Maharaja) of Kashmir, joined the school as a student for a year. However, in

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[154] *Nano Nagle: Foundress of the Irish Presentation Nuns*, 3rd edition, Office of the Irish Messenger, Dublin, 1915, p. 23.
[155] Dominic Thirunilath, *Christinanity in Jammu & Kashmir*, p. 67.
[156] Anayat Ali Shah, 'The Role of Missionary Schools in the Development of English Language in the Kashmir Valley: A Survey', M.Phil Thesis, 2013, p. 72.
[157] Suresh Britoo and Roy Mathews, *The Catholic Church in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 72.
[158] Dominic Thirunilath, *Christinanity in Jammu & Kashmir*, p. 67.

the year 1945, all the boys studying in the school were asked to leave as it was going to be a girls' school. They then joined the Burn Hall School, located at Regal Chowk, Srinagar.[159]

For the initial years, all the teachers employed in the school were either Sisters from Ireland or teachers from Europe who taught English literature and French classics along-with teaching science, mathematics, social science.[160] There were also teachers for Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu, and Hindi. Ballroom dancing, western music, and theatre formed an important part of the school curriculum. The enchanting tale of Lalla Rookh immortalized by the Irish poet, Thomas Moore, who purchased the story from East India Company for 300 sterling was staged in the school in 1950-51.[161] But while offering the students the best that the world had to give, the local setting was not neglected. All the students had to wear Kashmiri silk, either in saris or in shirts and blouses. The Kashmir Silk factory, Rajbagh flourished owing to the business from the school. The state colours of maroon and amber had to be worn by every student, in ties and badges, scarves, belts, and turbans. A school blazer of Irish green was also introduced. Most girls, Muslims as well as Hindus – Gargi Mahey, Sultana Akhtar, Gogi Lal, Asha Bhagat, Usha Bhushan, Yasmin Safdar among many others – were sari-clad.[162]

To give a boost to female education in the state, it was considered important to offer scholarships to female students for higher studies.[163] In a letter from Mother M. Xavier to the Chief Inspectress of girls' schools, Jammu dated 20 December 1938, a list of state subject girls studying in the college was sent with the remark that 'it would be advisable if state subject girls reading in the Presentation Convent be granted scholarships to encourage them to undergo higher training'.[164] The names of the girls (along with their class and parentage) recommended for the scholarship are given below in a tabular form. What is important to underline is that all the girls mentioned in the list were Hindu.

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[159] *A Melody of Memories: 1936-86*, Presentation Convent, Magazine published on the Golden Jubilee Celebration of the school, Srinagar, procured from the school library.
[160] *Qandeel – The Light*, A magazine of Presentation Convent, Platinum Jubilee: 1936-2011, Srinagar, 2011, procured from the school library.
[161] *A Melody of Memories*, Presentation Convent: 1936-86.
[162] *Ibid,.*
[163] Grant of Scholarships to girl students reading in the Presentation Convent, Srinagar, File No. C/17/1, 1938, Education Department, SSA, p. 19.
[164] *Ibid*., p. 1.

S. No.	Name of Student	Class	Father's name
1.	Santosh Kashyap	4th	Chiranjit Lal Kashyap
2.	Usha Bhushan	2nd	Dr. Kul Bhushan
3.	Krishna Chopra	2nd	Chet Ram Chopra
4.	Gargi Mahey	2nd	Bhim Sahu Mahey
5.	Kamla Nanda	1st	Bansi Das Nanda
6.	Tara Bhagat	1st	Shantri Saroop Bhagat
7.	Pushpa Chopra	1st	Chet Ram Chopra
8.	Anoop Wattel	1st	Katar Kishen Wattal

The Chief Inspectress proposed eight scholarships of Rupees 15 per month each for the girls having a hereditary state subject status, who joined the school for higher studies. She remarked that this arrangement would encourage Kashmiri girls, who are at present very backward in this respect, to undergo college training. She further stated that the convent met the needs of those parents who could not afford to send their daughters to Lahore and also did not wish to send them to the boys' college.[165]

The letter of the Chief Inspectress was rejected on the ground that only five scholarships of Rupees 16 per month each had been sanctioned by the state government for girl students having the status of a hereditary state subject. Further, the five scholarships sanctioned for the year 1938 had already been awarded to five girls studying in S.P. College, Srinagar – Updesh Kour, Mohani Madan, Veer Kour, Gyan Devi and Veeran Bai.[166]

An objection in this regard was made by the Chief Inspectress of girls' schools who argued that no Muslim girl had been recommended for the award of a scholarship by the Principal, S.P. College. She also suggested that merit was not taken into account while awarding scholarships. In this regard, she cited the case of one Pushpa Chopra who had passed her matriculation examination from Government Girls High School, Jammu in 1936, and had stood first. She was now studying in Presentation Convent, Srinagar. The Inspectress appealed for a grant of the scholarship of Rupees 16 per month to her. But an application bearing merit, like

[165] Grant of Scholarships to girl students reading in the Presentation Convent, Srinagar, 1938, p. 5.
[166] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

that of Pushpa Chopra, was again rejected on the ground of the limit of five scholarships awarded by the government in one year to the girl students.[167]

The hurdles placed by the state government in the way of female education in the Presentation Convent school was escalated by the political and military disturbances that had convulsed the state following the Indian Independence struggle. The school was closed for security reasons and only commenced its formal education in 1948.[168] When the government opened a college for women in Srinagar in the year 1950, the college section at the school was closed as it was no longer necessary. The school continued to progress and the number of students increased to 800 by the end of 1964.[169] In January 1965, a fire damaged the school.[170] But within a short time, a new school building was constructed and the school was once again at the forefront of its pioneering educational activities.[171] Since then, the school has grown and has emerged as the best centre of education for girls.

Conclusion

The state government's efforts towards female education in the Valley followed the success of Christian missionaries. At a time when public opposition against female education had disappeared and the missionary schools were well established, the state government felt that the climate was favourable enough for it to start a few schools of its own in the city of Srinagar and, if possible, in the big towns. The efforts of the missionaries also roused the spirit of Muslim religious leader, Mirwaiz Moulvi Rasool Shah who opened an institution by the name of Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam which imparted both Islamic and Western education to boys. But the popular spread of education among the masses, particularly girls, was impossible to achieve without the active assistance of the state government. The focus of the next chapter will be on the state government's efforts for advancement of education among girls.

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[167] Grant of Scholarships to girl students reading in the Presentation Convent, Srinagar, 1938, p. 17.
[168] Suresh Britoo and Roy Mathews, *The Catholic Church in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 72.
[169] Dominic Thirunilath, *Christinanity in Jammu & Kashmir*, p. 67.
[170] Anayat Ali Shah, 'The Role of Missionary Schools in the Development of English Language in the Kashmir Valley: A Survey', M.Phil Thesis, 2013, p. 72.
[171] Suresh Britoo and Roy Mathews, *The Catholic Church in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 72.

Chapter 3

Government Efforts and Institutionalization: Education and its Discontents

This chapter will explore the history of female education in Kashmir in the first half of the twentieth century through the study of the state government efforts. Following the success of missionaries in the domain of education in Kashmir, the state government too started to intervene in the education of its masses, both males and females. The mass spread of education in Kashmir, especially female education, was impossible to achieve without the government assistance. This chapter intends to study the plan of action of the state government regarding female education in Kashmir from the start of the twentieth century. The main focus of this chapter is on the nature of education imparted to females in the government schools supervised by the State. A key question is whether gender was the defining element in the curriculum and did it shape modern education in Kashmir? This chapter will study the educational statistics for a comparison of the imbalance between the education of males and females.

The Dogra Rulers and Early Phase of Education: Causes and Consequences

In its early stages, the Dogra rulers hardly showed any interest in disseminating education among its subjects, a majority of whom were Muslims. This apathy of the Dogra rulers in providing education to the masses – particularly among Muslims – was covered by many local newspapers of the time. The educational backwardness of Kashmiris under Dogra rulers has also been researched by a host of scholars. This is generally attested to the indifference of the state government towards the basic aspect of social progress.[1] The government for political reasons as well did not show any interest in disseminating education among Muslims. To quote Prem Nath Bazaz, 'The awareness that they [Dogras] were Hindus and the overwhelming majority of the Kashmiris professed Islam, constantly made them apprehensive. They disliked the idea of making their subjects politically conscious and thought that imparting of education was only an effective way of awakening the people to other political and human rights'.[2]

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[1] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 156.
[2] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta*, p. 215.

The first Dogra Maharaja, Gulab Singh, was mainly interested in consolidating his power and did not pay any attention to the education of his subjects. His son Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885 A.D.) was, however, a great patron of oriental learning and stressed on the study of classical languages – Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit, and also encouraged religious and mathematical education in *maktabs* and *pathshalas*. These institutions were associated with mosques and temples and Muslim and Hindu students were imparted education by the maulvis and pandits respectively.[3] But there were no concerted efforts to promote education among the masses. Education was mostly restricted to the ruling elite.[4] By 1872, there were only five state-supported institutions in Srinagar. The total number of educational institutions in the entire state was 44 which were provided with only a meagre government funding.[5]

Education in the state began to improve after 1889 with the establishment of the British Residency in Kashmir. After the British had taken over the de facto control of the state, the Dogra state could no longer follow a policy of non-intervention in the matters of education.[6] In fact, the British intervention pushed the Dogra state to delineate an educational agenda. But because the Dogra state was unwilling to take on this responsibility, its educational policies in its initial stages i.e. from 1889 to 1915 were fraught with ambivalence towards mass education in general and Muslim education in particular.[7] The Dogra state, however, in their unwillingness too had to spurt up their activities for the promotion of education.

It was under the third Dogra ruler, Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925 A.D.) that steps were taken for the introduction of education along modern lines.[8] Modern education is used commonly to refer to the teaching of non-religious subjects i.e. subjects like science, English, Hindi, Urdu. But the emphasis on religious education continued. Also, a school inspection agency headed by an Inspector of Schools was established in 1889.[9] A separate Department of

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[3] C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 253.
[4] S. L. Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir: 1872-1973*, Ali Mohammed and Sons, Srinagar, 1977, p. 61.
[5] Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 173.
[6] Ali Mohd. Pir, 'British Policy towards Jammu & Kashmir (1846-1947)', Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, 2013, p. 120.
[7] Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 173.
[8] S. L. Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 35.
[9] G. Rasool & Minakshi Chopra eds., *Education in Jammu and Kashmir: Issues and Documents*, Jay Kay Book House, Jammu, 1986, p. 5.

Education was established in 1905.[10] Schools were also opened in different parts of the Valley and curricula was organised. A report on education in the state for the year 1910-11 mentions that 2 colleges, 5 high schools, 24 middle schools, 172 primary schools, 8 girls' schools and 1 teachers' training school existed in the state.[11]

The principal beneficiaries of the educational measures were the Kashmiri Pandits, who enjoyed greater access to the state policies due to their preponderance in the administration. The state discourse on education at this time rarely focused on the backwardness of Kashmiri Muslims. The educational statistics of Kashmiri Muslims remained dismal in comparison to the Pandits. Even when the state imparted education to the masses, most of whom were low-class Muslim agriculturalists; it imparted to them a different kind of education, mostly technical. This was done so that the monopoly of Punjabi Muslims, and to a lesser extent that of Kashmiri Pandits, was maintained in the administration.[12]

Maharaja Hari Singh (1925-1947 A.D.), like his predecessor, also introduced measures for the expansion of education. The state government started a few schools of its own in the city, big towns and the mofussils. The education of females assumed prime importance in the reforms introduced by him. He created a separate department in the administration for their education. Till then, the girls' schools were an adjunct of the Education Department primarily meant for boys. Many new schools were also opened for girls. The first government high school for girls was established in Srinagar under his tutelage.[13]

The female population in Kashmir, as in other parts of India, however, suffered a setback because of popular prejudices. Apart from the prejudice against their education, the main impediment was the lack of female trained teachers for the girls' schools. Almost all administrative reports mention this. Also, funds for female education were limited. In the year 1903, only one aided institute, Kanya Pathshala at Jammu, was functional for the education of girls in the whole of the state as opposed to 115 institutions (normal, primary, middle and high

[10] Government of India, 'Review of Education in India, 1947-1961: Jammu and Kashmir', NCERT, Ministry of Education, 1962, p. 5.
[11] Note on the State of Education of Jammu and Kashmir State, File No. 7/17EM/1906-11, Education Department, JSA quoted in Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 178.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[13] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta,* p. 229.

schools) for the education of boys. The lack of state interest in the education of females can be seen from the fact that the total expenditure incurred by the state on education in 1904 was 72,574 of which only Rupees 1,000 was earmarked for Kanya Pathshala, Jammu.[14]

It was in the year 1904-05 that the state provided funds for establishing two girls' schools in Srinagar, one for Hindus and the other for Muslims. These were to be managed separately by the committees comprising of the leading men of the two religious communities – Hindus and Muslims – under the guidance of state educational authorities.[15] It is important to note here that in the early stages of female education in Kashmir, schools were maintained according to the denominational religious identities. This can be attributed to the fact that the focus on 'community' became the generative ground for political identity in the colonial era.[16] Chitralekha Zutshi rightly argues that the Dogras reified the idea of separate religious communities through educational policies – they provided students with basic instruction in their religion and followed a sectarian policy which restricted Urdu for Muslims and Hindi for Hindus.[17] However, the first government high school for girls established in Srinagar, being the first of its kind in the Valley, was a mixed school where girls from all communities and religions were admitted.[18]

It was in the year 1909-10 that the people had somewhat begun to realise the importance of female education, especially near the capital cities of Srinagar and Jammu. In remote villages and districts, people were still apathetic to the cause. During the year, six primary schools and two middle schools existed in the state enrolling 433 and 226 girl students respectively. The management of these schools rested with the local committees who worked towards making these institutions popular among the masses. What helped to further attract the masses was that the instruction in these schools was confined to the reading of religious and literary books,

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[14] 'Triennial Administration Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State from April 1901 to April 1904', The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1908, pp. 567 – 579.

[15] 'Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1904-05', Accession Number 8756, Education Department, SSA, p. 100. Also, Fouzia Khurshid, 'A Sociological Study of Implications of Government Action and NGOs Institutions on Education of Muslim Women in Kashmir Valley', M.Phil Thesis, Department of Sociology & Social Work, Aligarh Muslim University, 2008, p. 60.

[16] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'Building a New Kashmir: Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and the Politics of State-Formation in a Disputed Territory', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 2017, accessed online on 24 September 2019, p. 106.

[17] Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, pp. 193-194.

[18] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta,* p. 229.

arithmetic, needle and other household work. The emphasis was to train them to better manage the household. This was seen to have a positive influence as even the most orthodox people had started to recognise the advantages of female education and were sending their female kin to the school.[19] Any measure that would put an impediment in the way was avoided by the state government. For example, local games and drill were gaining popularity among the boys but no such arrangements existed in the schools for girls.[20]

Emphasis was also given on the training of teachers. Teachers were sent for training to the Normal School (training schools) in Lahore. Besides this, a Normal school maintained by the state also existed at Srinagar. The effort was to annually train at least ten teachers. As an incentive to join these schools, teachers received a scholarship of Rupees ten per month each during training.[21] Incentives were also offered to female students in the form of prizes and scholarships to attend the schools.[22]

The measures introduced by the state government to give a boost to education in the state did not bear fruit. In fact, the census of Kashmir division for the year 1911 states that from the point of view of education, Kashmir was the most backward part of India. The government thus introduced a measure wherein the emphasis was on improving education in the schools at the primary levels. Education in primary schools maintained by the state was made entirely free. Also, to secure better-qualified teachers, the pay of a large number of primary school teachers was raised from Rupees ten to fifteen.[23] One of the most marked features of the year 1911-12 was the introduction of religious and moral education as a part of the curriculum in the state schools. The school work began with a prayer and the people of different religions assembled in separate groups to receive religious instruction in their own faith. Thereafter, short discourses were given on principal moral subjects.[24]

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[19] 'Administration Report of the Education Department for 1909-10', R.P. Press, Jammu, 1912, pp. 1-2.
[20] 'Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report for 1904-05', p. 101.
[21] 'Administration Report of the Education Department for 1909-10', p. 2.
[22] *Ibid*., pp. 4-5. Award of scholarships to girl students of Kashmir province in contravention of Rules, File No. C/17/15, 1938, Education Department, SSA.
[23] 'Administration Report of Education Department Jammu and Kashmir State for 1911-12 A.D.', R.P. Press, Jammu, 1913, p. 1.
[24] *Ibid*., pp. 4-5.

Special scholarships and liberal grants-in-aid to the private institutions for girls were also sanctioned to popularise education among the female population by the year 1912. Rules were framed by the educational authorities which stated that the grant allowed for a girl in a private school should be double to that granted for a boy in such a school.[25] A foundation was laid for establishing many new schools. Nine new primary schools for girls (eight state and one aided) were opened during the year 1912-13, five in Kashmir and four in Jammu province.[26] During the year, two of the primary female schools were raised to the middle standard. Even though the schools were housed in hired buildings, they were provided with sufficient funds for furniture and other necessities. Female education was entirely free in the state.[27]

The year 1913-14 was important for female education because the difficulty experienced in the past for lack of teachers was overcome by the appointment of well-paid female teachers for some of the schools. Further, a lady inspector (or inspectress) was appointed to supervise over female education. While the internal management of most of the schools rested with the local advisory committees, the inspectress advised them on various matters concerning the schools and supervised the work.[28] The very next year, four schools were opened, two for girls of each majority religious community – for Muslims one at Amira Kadal, Srinagar and the other at Jammu, and for Hindus one at Baramulla, Srinagar and the other at Udhampur. This put the total number of girls' schools to 16 as opposed to 12 in the previous year.[29] The teaching of needlework and other domestic economies still formed a predominant part of the school curriculum.[30]

In the mofussil towns, Muslims as a class were averse to educate their children, both boys and girls, on purely secular lines. To bridge over the gulf between purely religious study as given in *maktabs* and secular education as imparted in the state schools, Arabic teachers were provided for some 70 primary schools. Other important developments in this field were the appointment of

[25] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta*, p. 229.
[26] 'Administration Report of the Education Department Jammu and Kashmir State for 1912-1913 A.D.', R.P. Press, Jammu, 1915, p. 3.
[27] 'Report on the Administration of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 1912-13', R.P. Press, Jammu, 1915, p. 86.
[28] 'Annual Administration Report (henceforth AAR) of the Education Department for 1913-1914 A.D.', R.P. Press, Jammu, 1915, pp. 2-3.
[29] 'Report on the Administration of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 1914-15', R.P. Press, Jammu, 1918, p. 99.
[30] 'AAR of the Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir State for 1914-15 A.D.', R.P. Press, Jammu, 1916, p. 3.

a Muslim Assistant Inspector of schools and the further allotment of Rupees 3200 made for the grant of scholarships to the poor and deserving Muslim students.[31] Also, to give an impetus to the education of Muslim girls, in particular, a grant of Rupees 300 was sanctioned for the Islamia girls' school, Jammu in the year 1913-14.[32]

September 1915 forms an important landmark in the educational history of Kashmir for females. An educational conference was held at Srinagar under the presidency of the Minister of Education. Among many resolutions passed by the conference, the curriculum of the girls' schools was debated intensively. The members concluded that the existing curriculum for girls' schools needed careful revision to render instruction in the schools more 'practical and useful'. A Committee was thus formed to revise the curriculum. The members consisted of (1) Pandit Hargopal Koul, President Hindu girls' schools, Srinagar (2) Mohd. Nazir Ahmad, Secretary Islamia girls' schools, Srinagar (3) Mrs J.C. Humphrey, Inspectress of girls' schools, Jammu and Kashmir State (4) The Inspector of schools, Kashmir circle (5) Pandit Ram Rattan, President Punjabi Hindu girls' school, Amirakadal Srinagar. The Committee was also entrusted with the task of preparing a suitable scheme of physical education for girls.[33]

The final report of the Committee reiterated the popular notion that only such subjects would be taught as would make the girls 'good wives and good mothers'. It was also recommended that every girl should know something about arithmetic and the vernaculars. Kashmiri was recognised as a vernacular for instruction in the lower primary classes to facilitate easy mastery of the subjects in the mother tongue. Additionally, the girls were required to take up any two of the four vernaculars – Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi or Kashmiri. English was treated as an optional subject in the middle classes. Religious instruction formed an integral part of the school curriculum. The teaching of theology was recommended to 'inculcate morality in girls'. The education in all stages was designed such that subjects like the domestic economy and cooking were taught to every girl at each stage of education – whether primary, middle or higher.[34]

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[31] 'Report on the Administration of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 1914-15', 1918, p. 100.
[32] 'AAR of the Education Department for 1913-1914 A.D.', 1915.
[33] 'AAR of the Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir State for 1915-16 A.D.', R.P. Press, Jammu, 1917, pp. 8-9.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

But even the government policies where an attempt was made to bring the curriculum in girls' schools in tandem with the popular opinion of the time did not help to popularise education among the masses. It seemed that most of the policies remained on paper and there was little emphasis on translating them into practice. The custom of early marriage of girls was also responsible for the slow growth in female education as most girls were removed from schools as soon as they reached twelve years of age.[35] The disparity in the number of male and female students was such that by the year 1915-16, the literate percentage of males was 15.6 for Kashmir province and for females the percentage was 0.79.[36] The pace of growth of education among Muslim males was also remarkably slow. This created disillusionment among the Muslims of the Valley towards the government efforts in disseminating education among them.

1915 and After: Kashmiri Muslims and Education

The government involvement in the start of modern education in Kashmir was slow. Even by the second decade of the twentieth century, the figures for the literacy rate among Muslims were very low and they were growing conscious of their community's backwardness. There was an interest among people to disseminate education among the children even in rural areas. Petitions were written to the Maharaja to grant them facilities so that they could make a rapid advance in education, like the Kashmiri Pandits. A large number of applications were received by the government with the request of opening up of primary schools. There also seemed to be a growing awareness among the Muslims of Kashmir for female education. One such petition from the people of one locality goes thus:

> There is no girls' school for Mohammadan girls in the vicinity of Ameera Kadal and the want for such a school has been keenly felt by your petitioners for a long time. Proper school mistresses are not available by private and individual efforts and moreover the benefits derived from a systematic public instruction of this kind are much more in number and value as compared to private tuition arranged for girls' at their own houses.
>
> We are alive to the fact that the state is graciously lending proper impetus to the spread of female education among the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja…we hope that you will kindly…recommend the establishment of a girls' school for Mohammadan girls at Ameera Kadal. A similar institution already exists for our Hindu brethren in this part of the city and it is our earnest request that the favour may be extended to the other

[35] 'Report of the Administration of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 1915-16', R.P. Press, Jammu, 1919, p. 92.
[36] 'AAR of the Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir State for 1915-16 A.D.', 1917, p. 2.

> section of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur's subjects and others in service in His Highness' territory.[37]

Petitions like these mark a significant change in the outlook of the Muslims of Srinagar and thus point to the growth of public opinion in the city.[38] But when all the pleas and petitions of the local population went unheeded, they sought the support of their co-religionists in India, especially those in Punjab, to persuade the Maharaja. As a result, the All India Muslim Educational Conference sent a deputation headed by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan to Kashmir in 1913.[39] It was thus under the pressure of public opinion and persuasion by Indian Muslims that in 1916, Maharaja Pratap Singh invited Sir Henry Sharp, the Educational Commissioner of the Government of India, on a monthly salary of Rupees 2,750 to suggest ways to extend educational facilities for the Muslims of Kashmir. It was a one-man Committee with Sir Henry Sharp as the Chairman and sole member. The Committee carried on its deliberations between April 9 and June 1, 1916.[40]

The appointment of Sir Henry Sharp to report on education was the first major move by the government for the education of the Kashmiri people. As a general measure, Sharp recommended that an increase in the number of primary schools formed the 'principal requirement in the State' and supported the opening up of a primary school in each village with a population of 500 or over. Adequate accommodation was also to be made for middle schools throughout the state. And for high schools, he recommended that the grant-in-aid be increased. The Committee also put stress on the improvement of technical education and recommended the starting of schools for teaching medical, mechanical, electrical, agriculture, horticulture, silk-worm breeding, cattle breeding, carpentry, basket-weaving etc. To encourage the teachers, their emoluments were to be increased by the grant of allowances and the revision of pay.[41]

Highlighting the educational backwardness among Muslims, Sharp blamed the poverty and agricultural class basis of Kashmiri Muslims as the reasons for the lack of literacy among

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[37] File No. 30/P-94, 1909, Political Department, Old English Records, JSA.
[38] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 157.
[39] Muhammad Yusuf Ganai, *Kashmir's Struggle for Independence: 1931-1939*, Mohsin Publications, Srinagar, 2003, p. 68.
[40] File No. 124/F-184, 1916, Political Department, Old English Records, JSA.
[41] Glancy Commission Report, File No. 53/5, 1931, Education Department, SSA, pp. 15-16.

them. He, therefore, recommended that incentives be given to Muslims in the form of scholarships – both for schools and colleges and by the offer of teaching and administrative positions in educational institutions. He also recommended that some concession by way of a grant should be given to Islamia schools in primary, middle and high classes. To attract the Muslim students to educational institutions, he recommended that Mullahs be appointed in large numbers and their pay was fixed at Rupees eight per month. He also suggested that in areas where the population was mostly Muslim, Muslim headmasters be appointed in educational institutions. A suggestion was also made to appoint Muslim teachers of good qualification both in the state high school and Sri Pratap College in Srinagar as it would give great encouragement to the Muslim students.[42] The state's educational policies in this period were thus geared towards creating a separate political category for Muslims.

The Sharp Committee also acknowledged the backwardness of females in education. But he was unable to make any 'radical suggestions' for their improvement on account of the highly conservative character of the people. However, he recommended an organised attempt to open girls' primary schools at those places in Srinagar where boys' schools existed and where there were as yet no girls' schools. In the time of Mr Sharp, the number of girls' schools in the state stood at sixteen. He recommended that sixteen more schools should be opened. Secondly, it was suggested that the capitation grant be given to the girls who attend the schools. A capitation grant of rupees two a year for each girl in regular attendance at a *pathshala* or *maktab* and rupees four for girls passing formal examination after two or three years of study was fixed.[43] Thirdly, it was suggested that the girls be induced to accompany their small brothers to school. Fourthly, the instruction given in the girls' schools was to be very light, but gradually an elementary knowledge of three R's was to be made a condition of the grant. Fifthly, it was proposed that small prizes in money or kind be given to such girls who regularly attended schools or classes. For this, additional prizes and scholarships of rupees 1000 a year were also recommended. Lastly, the establishment of a special curriculum for girls' schools and the utilisation of private

[42] 'Sharp's Report on Education of Jammu and Kashmir State', 1916, pp. 42-45.
[43] *Ibid*., p. 39.

agencies in starting schools and colleges was also recommended. The Maharaja was asked to seek the services of Christian mission ladies and other private agencies.[44]

In localities where the overwhelming bulk of the population belonged to one community, it was seen to be desirable that the majority of female teacheres belong to that community. Special attention was placed on Muslim girls and it was stated that due to their religious prejudice, religious instruction was seen to be desirable in the schools attended by Muslim girls. In cases where any other community may desire the same facilities, similar arrangements were to be made. Besides, arrangements regarding purdah, which was seen to 'satisfy the feelings of Muslim parents', were to be provided. As regards the medium of instruction in girls' schools, it was seen to be desirable that in the case of state schools the medium of instruction should be Urdu, as Urdu was the court language.[45] Where denominational schools were justified and a separate school was started, or where separate classes could be conveniently arranged for Hindu girls, the medium was Hindi, if the local population so desired.[46]

The recommendations regarding female education put forth by the Sharp Committee report did not challenge the prevalent social norms of society. But even when the recommendations made were accepted by the Maharaja, their implementation was 'too slow and tardy'.[47] In fact, soon after its publication, the Report was kept in the archives where nobody could find out about it. This was because those in charge of the Education Department were invariably non-Kashmiris and did not want Muslims to progress in education to secure their

[44] G. Rasool & Minakshi Chopra, *Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 154.

[45] The official language of the state before 1905 was Persian. But after that time, Urdu, in both the Perso-Arabic and Devanagari scripts, was chosen as the language of the administration and the medium of instruction, despite Kashmiri being the dominant language of the people in the state. Chitralekha Zutshi writes that Kashmiri elites, both Pandit and Muslim, did not raise the issue of the Kashmiri language playing a role in both educational and administrative affairs. She argues that this is primarily due to the class-based biases of the leadership. If the language of administration or medium of instruction was Kashmiri, it would benefit the masses and the privilege of the elites in both communities would be challenged. Chitralekha Zutshi *Languages of Belonging*, pp. 194-195. This choice of Urdu being the official language was not unique as Urdu was the official language of the Punjab as well during colonial rule, despite Punjabi being the dominant language of its people. This was because Urdu was seen as the language that would integrate the province into broader structures of colonial authority in Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2010.

[46] Glancy Commission Report, 1931, p. 15. Also see Usha Sharma ed., *Social Life of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh*, Radha Publications, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 157-158.

[47] S. L. Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 37.

monopoly in government jobs and other services.[48] In this connection, the All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference had even asked for permission to call upon the Maharaja but it was denied.[49]

The female education showed some positive developments by the year 1916-17. Girls were sent up for the middle school examination of the Punjab University. Private investment for female education had also started to boost. But in most of the girls' schools, the staff was poor and generally unqualified. The dearth of trained female teachers made it difficult to make much improvement.[50] The percentage of the population of school-going age under instruction was 1.14 in the case of females in the Kashmir valley and 1.0 in Jammu in the year 1917-18. Total expenditure on education during the year was Rupees 7,02,182 of which Rupees 23,161 alone was spent on female education. It seemed that the talk of the government which suggested an inclination to improve the standard of women's education did not translate into much action. Public schools belonging to the CMS, however, continued to do good work.[51]

There was a slump the next year in the percentage of female scholars in the Kashmir valley to 0.8 and 1.1 in Jammu. The fall occurred mostly in the two secondary girls' schools in Srinagar. However, a positive feature of the year was that some of the teachers passed the middle standard examination of the Punjab University and as an encouragement were granted Khilats by the Durbar.[52] In the year 1919-20, the percentage of female scholars to the population of school-going age dropped to 0.65 in Kashmir and 1.09 in the Jammu province. A major obstacle in the way of female education in the state was the paucity of female teachers, especially in the Kashmir province. The situation was such that the girls' school at Baramulla, Kashmir had to be

[48] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, The Kashmir Publishing Co., Srinagar, 1941, p. 38.
[49] Kashmir Government Records, File No. 0-2-Misc-14, 1920, cited in Peerzada Ashraf, 'The Role of Christian Missionaries in the Spread of Modern Education Among the Muslims of Kashmir (1885-1925)', Dissertation for Diploma Degree in Archival Studies, National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1997, p. 105.
[50] 'Report on the administration of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 1916-17', R.P. Press, Jammu, 1922, pp. 85-86.
[51] 'Report on the Administration of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 1917-18', Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1922, pp. 2-3 and 52-54.
[52] 'AAR of the Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir State for 1918-19 A.D.', R. P. Press, Jammu, 1920, pp. 1-3.

closed for some months in winter for want of substitutes for the permanent incumbents who were absent on leave owing to ill health.[53]

While the number of students in the girls' schools continued to fall, the number of educational institutions continued to grow. By 1920, three mission schools, a non-denominational high school run directly by the State Education Department, a Muslim school and five Hindu schools (three of middle standard) were functioning in different parts of Srinagar alone.[54] During the year 1921, three primary schools for girls were opened. During 1922, one more primary school for girls was added. In 1923, three primary schools for girls, and three aided *maktabs* and *pathshalas* for girls were opened.[55]

Year	Higher education	Technical education	Secondary education (Boys)	Primary education (Boys)	Female education
1921	1,74,500	66,900	2,66,700	1,49,100	**30,000**
1922	1,99,400	59,506	3,55,900	2,06,100	**41,200**
1923	2,10,400	49,209	3,81,400	2,20,200	**49,100**
1924	2,20,300	41,031	4,10,800	2,39,800	**58,600**

(Amount in Rupees)

The expenditure on female education too continued to increase gradually from 1921 onwards, as given in the table above.[56] But the money spent on female education was considerably less than what was spent on the education of men. The education of women, however, continued to show an upward moving graph from 1920 onwards. The percentage of female scholars to the population of school-going age in 1922-23 was 1.2 in Kashmir province and 1.75 in Jammu province. Female education in mofussil towns too progressed. For example, the vernacular middle school at Shopian was converted into an Anglo-vernacular middle school. This was because there was a public demand for the introduction of English in vernacular schools.[57]

[53] 'AAR of the Education Department Jammu and Kashmir State for 1919-20 A.D.', R. P. Press, Jammu, 1922, p. 3.
[54] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta*, p. 219. Also, Mussaib ibni Yousuf Anznoo and Ajay Kumar Ghosh, 'Kashmiri Women Folk from Subservient to Striving Subjects during Dogra Regime in Jammu and Kashmir', *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, Volume 9, Issue 1, January 2019, pp. 547-554, p. 551.
[55] 'Administration Report for the years 1920-1923', R. P. Press, Jammu, 1924, p.98.
[56] *Ibid*., p. 99
[57] 'Administration Report of the Education Department for 1922-23', R. P. Press, Jammu, 1924, pp. 2-4.

During 1923-24, nine primary schools for girls were opened by the state in small towns alone.[58] Advisory committees were also appointed at several places to suggest measures for the propagation of female education in the mofussil areas.[59] Until 1920, the government girls' schools were managed by these committees. Zutshi rightly argues that the 'religious prejudice of the people of Kashmir and their prejudice against education, especially that of females' were the reasons for the placing of the education of their girls in the hands of advisory committees. The Muslim community was particularly concerned with the religious education of females.[60] But the Education Department supervised the work of these committees by following the rules sanctioned by the Education Minister. This, Zutshi argues, gave state sanction to overtly religious policies recommended by the advisory committees, such as closing Muslim girls' schools on Fridays instead of Sundays for the reason that 'women are supposed to be more religious and their education will suffer if Fridays, a day of Muslim Sabbath, is not a holiday in girls schools'.[61] It can thus be argued that steps were taken by the state government to promote female education by building on the local sentiments.

The year 1928-29 saw many renewed attempts for the promotion of female education. A proposal was sanctioned by the government for the reorganisation of the female normal school at Jammu and that of the opening of a normal school for women at Srinagar. 23 women teachers were under training in both institutions.[62] Two high schools for girls were started in 1928 when two middle schools for girls, one at Jammu and the other at Srinagar were raised to the status of high school. Other points of importance during the year were: (1) Two new posts of Director of Education and Chief Inspectress of girls schools were created to place the department under more efficient control than it was before, (2) One more post of Inspectress of girls schools was sanctioned and now there were two Inspectresses, one for Jammu and the other for Kashmir division (4) A scholarship was awarded for the education of the backward communities. The educational conference held during the year also resolved some important concerns in the

[58] 'Administration Report for 1923-24', R. P. Press, Jammu, 1925, pp. 78-80.
[59] 'Report on the administration of the Jammu and Kashmir State for the Samvat years 1983 and first six months of 1984', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1932, p. 97.
[60] Additional Staff for Girls school Mirpur (Creation of the post of Arabic teacher in the grade of 40-2-60), File No. Edu.B/1/13, 1943, Education Department, SSA.
[61] Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 195.
[62] 'AAR of the education department Jammu and Kashmir for 1929', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1930, pp. 3-4.

manner of female education in the state. It was argued that the curriculum is simplified, at least for the Kashmir province. Hygiene and vocational training were made an important part of the curriculum. The minimum qualification for a teacher was fixed as vernacular-middle pass supplemented by junior vernacular (J.V.) training.[63]

Female education remained under the charge of the Chief Inspectress of girls schools. There was an increase of over 34 per cent in the number of girl students in schools by the year 1930. Provision was made for the grant of thirty scholarships to hereditary state subject girls – ten scholarships of Rupees ten per month per student for the two government girls high schools, ten scholarships of Rupees twenty per month per student for the two state colleges and ten scholarships of Rupees forty per month per student for those wishing to study in colleges in British India. Many other steps were also taken for the encouragement of female education. The curriculum was widened to include kindergarten teaching, hygiene and domestic science. Funds were also provided for the free conveyance of girls to the high schools.[64]

The institutions for girls, however, continued to suffer in terms of the quality of education because of the lag in the number of trained female teachers. Efforts were thus made to provide more local facilities for training teachers. Normal schools were attached to the high schools in each province.[65] Monthly attendance for all teacheresses was made compulsory to these training schools. Provision was made in the budget for the training of four hereditary state subject females in the senior vernacular (S.V.) classes at Lahore.[66]

The most important educational measure of the year was, however, for the education of boys through the passing of the Primary Education Regulation. The Regulation made education for physically fit boys compulsory between the age groups of 6 and 11 years. The Regulation thus prohibited child labour during school hours. But to begin with, primary education for boys was made compulsory only in the municipal towns of Srinagar, Jammu and Sopore and in some

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[63] 'AAR of the Education Department Jammu and Kashmir for 1928', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1932, pp. 1-3.
[64] 'A Brief Report of the Administration of Jammu and Kashmir for the year 1930-31', Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1931, p. 25.
[65] 'Report on the administration of Jammu and Kashmir State for October 1927 – October 1930', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1935, p. 40.
[66] 'A Brief Report of the Administration of Jammu and Kashmir for the year 1930-31', 1931, p. 25.

notified area towns of Mirpur and Udhampur. It was also decided to extend the Regulation to the town of Baramulla from April 1931. To make sure that the measure was especially attractive to the Muslims, provision was made in the budget for the employment of 31 Arabic teachers.[67]

For the Regulation to be effective and for compulsory primary education to take root, the ground had to be prepared by intensive propaganda. For some weeks before, parties of students accompanied by bands were sent out into the streets. As an additional incentive, various facilities were given to the students under compulsory education: free books, stationery, *takhties* and other school necessities.[68] The regulations also provided for the setting up of Attendance Committees whose members were expected to popularise education among the masses by personal influence. The Committees did not, however, function properly and the Act soon became defunct because of inadequate machinery to enforce compulsion.[69]

The education of boys continued to prosper even though the Regulation failed. The main hurdle was the female education in the state. In addition to the government opening up primary, middle and high schools for females, the girls' schools run by the CMS were also promoted. Women's Welfare Associations were also formed by 1927, of which the Minister-in-Charge of Municipalities was the Chairman. These Associations received grants-in-aid from the Maharaja and the municipalities.[70] Under its auspices, vocational training was given to the girls of upper primary classes so that they may be able to earn a livelihood. The education of adult women was also arranged by giving lectures with the aid of slides and films. Classes were organised for instruction in general knowledge and matters of 'special utility to women'. To carry education into the homes of women, who in the majority of cases could not spare time from their household duties to visit lecture-centres; volunteers were enlisted who would teach them in their homes. Education of women was seen to be dependent upon its being imparted in the vernacular and with that object in view, the President of the educational section of the Trust published a full

[67] 'A Brief Report of the Administration of Jammu and Kashmir for the year 1930-31', 1931, pp. 22-23.
[68] 'AAR of the Education Department for 1931', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1933, p. 15.
[69] 'Review of Education in India, 1947-1961: Jammu and Kashmir', 1962, p. 5.
[70] 'Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State: Notes on the Departments of the Administration under the Political Minister', Thacker's Press and Directories, Calcutta, 1931, p. 11.

course of textbooks in the Kashmiri language for primary education. It was also intended to 'publish special literature providing women with information useful to their daily needs'.[71]

As for boys' schools, the condition of taking houses free of rent was withdrawn in the case of girls' schools also. A provision of Rupees 1000 was made in the budget for this purpose.[72] For many years past, the practice was that the villagers provided houses free of rent for the accommodation of government schools in their villages. In some places, the practice worked as a drawback in the spread of education, as some villages out of ignorance would have no school than spare a house for its accommodation. Hence, it was arranged that all village schools, male and female, everywhere in the state, should be located in rented houses.[73] Besides, the educational authorities opined that 'Buildings are to education what body is to the mind. A really good building has an educational value of its own. Its influence on the health and spirit of the girls and on their mind and character is real and lasting' and added that if 'the Department wishes to locate the schools in sanitary buildings – in a clean, decent, and desirable neighbourhood, as is essential for girls, then it must see its way to sanction in the Budget a higher rent in order to secure good, decent, and commodious buildings'. It was added that 'the girls schools must be separate from private buildings, no windows of private houses should overlook the school rooms, and compound, otherwise there will be danger of letters thrown in, and the girls molested by wicked boys'.[74] It was further advised that the girls' schools ought to be in the centre of the town and not in a corner. Locality, surroundings, safety, and hygiene were thus seen to be important parameters for establishing girls' schools. Besides, school buildings located near the main roads were provided with full purdah arrangements. The compound and the verandahs were fenced.[75]

The Annual administration report of the state for the girls' education department for the year 1930-31 stated that 24 girls primary schools were sanctioned to be opened, 12 in each province. Trained and experienced teachers were appointed to these schools. When required, non

[71] 'Administration Report of Jammu and Kashmir State: Notes...Political Minister', 1931, pp. 11-13.
[72] 'AAR of the Education Department for 1931', 1933, p. 2.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[74] Building for Girls Primary school Gojwara (Srinagar), File No. B-4, 1933, Education Department, SSA, pp. 9-13.
[75] Building for Girls Middle school Sopore, File No. B-24-Edu, 1939, Education Department, SSA. School Houses in Kashmir Province, File No. Edu-67-46, 1946, Education Department, SSA.

state- subject teachers were appointed in the higher grade in the anglo-vernacular and vernacular middle schools. To provide speedier means of transport, it was decided to provide the girls' high schools at Jammu and Srinagar with a bus at the expense of the government.[76] Additional money for *hanjis* was sanctioned and more boats constructed for the conveyance of girls. The incentive was also given to the girls' schools by participating in activities outside the school. For example, in the year 1931, the girls' education department participated in the Industrial exhibition at Srinagar and exhibited different kinds of embroidery – salma sitara, plain-sewing, crochet work and painting etc.[77]

The year 1931 witnessed some radical measures introduced for female education in the state when the local Advisory Committees for the girls' primary schools were abolished in the cities of Jammu and Srinagar. In the year 1930, this was done for middle schools. Thus, these schools were brought directly under the control of the Education Department, which it was argued would facilitate their progress. The teaching of hygiene and domestic science which was seen to be necessary for Indian girls, who were to manage a home and family, came to occupy an important place in the school time table. Drill was regularly taught in several schools and the opposition to this was dying down. The Girl Guide movement was also flourishing and a successful camp was held in 1931.[78] A separate department for the administration of female education was also created in the early thirties and a trained lady Miss E. Chawner was appointed as the first Chief Inspectress to administer female education.[79] There was also one Deputy Directress for supervising female education who reported to the Chief Inspectress. Under her were three zonal Inspectresses in Kashmir and three in Jammu.[80]

These measures were seen to be important for it was upheld that the 'education of women was essential for the regeneration of the community and renaissance of national culture'.[81] However, it seemed that the government policies for the spread of female education did not

[76] Conveyance of girls of High schools of Jammu and Srinagar, File No. C/8/24, 1945, Education Department, SSA. Provision for purchase of Motor and Buses for Girls High School at Jammu and Srinagar, File No. B.48, 1933, Education Department, SSA.
[77] 'AAR of the Education Department for 1931', 1933, pp. 19-22.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[79] G. Rasool & Minakshi Chopra, *Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 83.
[80] 'Review of Education in India, 1947-1961: Jammu and Kashmir', 1962, p. 17.
[81] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta*, p. 219.

translate into action. The recommendations of the Sharp Committee report were also not implemented. Even when the number of educational institutions for females continued to rise, there was not much increase in the number of students to these schools. The census report of Kashmir for the year 1931 states that for every hundred male literates, only 8 female literates were to be found. This was not a very good state of affairs. Even by 1935, only 6 per cent of the female population of school-going age was under instruction. This increased to 6.3 per cent by 1936. And while girls had started going to the only college in the state, Sri Pratap College by 1935-36, only Rupees 742 was awarded as female scholarship in the college.[82] This created a stir in the minds of people, especially the Muslim population in Kashmir, which lagged behind more than that of Hindus. The Muslims thus started to grow a nonchalant attitude towards the government. The decade of the 1930s further stirred the movement for the spread of education in Kashmir. This will be studied in detail in the next section.

Education after 1930: Old Demands, Fresh Challenges

After a gap of fifteen years from the appointment of Mr Henry Sharp to look into the demands of education of Kashmiris, especially Muslims, another Commission was appointed to look into the complaints plaguing the state in the 1920s and 1930s. Significantly, it was following the outbreak of the communal trouble in the state in 1931 that the Maharaja appointed a Commission with B.J. Glancy of the Political Department of the Government of India as its President. He was assisted in the work by four non-official members – one Muslim and one Hindu from the Kashmir province and one Muslim and one Hindu from the Jammu province, each nominated by their respective communities. The main purpose was to address the reasons for the political unrest in the state and to look into the religious and secular grievances of different communities.[83] Of the many complaints presented to the Commission, the main issue was that certain communities, especially Kashmiri Muslims, were not provided with adequate educational facilities and that they were not listed in sufficient numbers in the state service.[84]

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[82] Madhavi Yasin, 'Perspectives of Social Change in Kashmiri Women (1900-1947)', in Balraj Puri ed., *5000 Years of Kashmir*, Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1997, pp. 49-54.

[83] 'AAR of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 17 October 1939 – 15 October 1940', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1941, p. 41.

[84] Usha Sharma ed., *Social Life of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 148.

The Commission was specifically directed to deal with two inter-related aspects of the problem of educational reconstruction in the state, especially for Muslims. First was the expansion of educational facilities and the second that of overhauling the existing system of primary and secondary schools.[85] The Commission recommended that special care was to be taken to see that Muslim students received encouragement. For this, the Education Department set out to hire more Muslim teachers, employ more religious instructors or mullahs to teach Arabic, and provide special scholarships for Muslim students. Most importantly, at the request of the Commission, the Education Department in 1932 created a post of a 'Mohammedan Inspector' who was to attend to the progress of education of Muslims in all grades in the state and to see that the policy laid down by the state authorities was duly carried out. It was further suggested that the Inspector should work independently of the two provincial Inspectors in the Department and should not be subordinate to any of them.[86]

As a general measure for the educational uplift of all communities, the Committee recommended that the pace of educational expansion should be accelerated. The primary emphasis, as of the Sharp Committee Report, was on the expansion of primary education. Emphasis was also placed to re-organise secondary education to reduce the emphasis on only one type of schools, those imparting academic education. It was suggested that secondary schools of different types – technical, commercial and agricultural – may be established. The reason put forward for this proposal was that the 'secondary schools would otherwise be hopelessly out of touch with the socio-economic situation and needs of the people unless this principle of diversification was introduced'.[87]

Emphasis was particularly placed on female education. The recommendations put forward for improvement were: (1) More scholarships should be provided (2) Better inspection of schools and two Inspectresses be appointed, one for each province (3) Syllabus of studies in girls schools may be reorganized (4) School buildings should be constructed and efforts made to provide accommodation to women teachers (5) Training classes for women teachers should be

[85] G. Rasool & Minakshi Chopra, *Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p.164.
[86] Creation of the post of Special Inspector for Mohammadan Education as desired by H.H. on the recommendation of the Glancy Commission, File No. 2/B.A, 1931-32, Home Department, SSA, p. 14.
[87] 'AAR of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 15 October 1937 – 16 October 1938', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1939, pp. 181-183.

opened. It was further opined that a central library should be attached to the office of the Chief Inspectress and books sent to teachers working in rural primary schools. Covered motor-buses were to be engaged at places to carry girls to school and back to their homes. Technical education was also acquiring great importance as a factor in the solution of educated unemployment. Some girl students also took to this.[88] There was a demand for the provision of religious education in schools. The demand was particularly strong in the case of girls' schools mainly attended by Muslim girls.[89]

As can be seen, most of the measures suggested by the Glancy Commission report were already suggested by Henry Sharp and other educational authorities in their reports. But like Sharp's report, Glancy commission report too remained on paper. In fact, the Glancy Commission report also mentioned that 'It is a common complaint that the recommendations of Mr Sharp were not properly published and were to a large extent forgotten'. Only some token steps were taken to quell the protest of the Muslims. For example, in selecting candidates for scholarships to study abroad, the state selected one Muslim against nine Kashmiri Pandits.[90] Hafsa Kanjwal rightly suggests in her PhD dissertation that rather than viewing these developments as a shift in Dogra attitudes towards Muslim education, they should be seen at best as conciliatory efforts to quell the unrest. She writes that these opportunities were mainly given to a select number of Muslims, many from families of political influence.[91] The pace of growth of education of Muslims in general and also of Muslim females remained very slow.

Following the Glancy Commission report, the Maharaja appointed an Educational Reorganisation Committee under K.G. Saiyidain. Saiyidain was a prominent Muslim educationist who was also the Director of Education[92] under Maharaja Hari Singh. The Committee was formed to overhaul the educational system in the state. Mr Saiyidain was chosen to head it as he had served, with Dr Zakir Hussain, on the Basic Education Committee, popularly known as the Wardha Committee. The Educational Reorganisation Committee met in Srinagar

[88] 'The Administration Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 1934-35', Accession Number 2176, Education Department, SSA, p. 48.
[89] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 166.
[90] Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, pp. 258-265.
[91] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'Building a New Kashmir', Ph.D. Thesis, p. 107.
[92] He later went on to become Minister of Education and then Educational Advisor to the Government of India.

from 7 July to 25 July 1938 and submitted an interim report after a thorough consideration of various questions and problems.[93]

The interim report of the Committee, like many others before it, argued for the opening up of as many new primary schools as possible to bring facilities for teaching within the easy reach of the masses. The integration of academic and craft education was stressed upon. It was also decided that Urdu should be the medium of instruction in schools with either the Devanagari or Persian script. But in schools which had a fifteen per cent minimum strength of pupils wishing to learn each of the two scripts, the teacher had to have to knowledge of both the scripts.[94] In Kashmir, while there was little debate on the use of Urdu over Kashmiri, there were heated debates on the script. The proponents of Devanagari were Hindu groups that were protesting the Perso-Arabic script as being principally Muslim.[95] Under the Dogras, tensions between Pandits and Muslims spilled over into linguistic debates, which were to continue even after 1947.

In pursuance of the recommendations made in the interim report by the Reorganisation Committee, the government sanctioned liberal grants for the teachers' training school, village libraries, strengthening of staff and inspection offices, and preparation of books and buildings. The Teachers' Training School, remodelled on the lines envisaged in the Reorganisation Committee's Report, was started in Srinagar from 16 October 1938.[96] The scheme of adult education was also introduced because the percentage of literacy in the state was extremely low. It was also suggested that the dissemination of knowledge amongst the ignorant was a 'noble crusade' and held a 'religious significance' as it would make the lives of masses 'cleaner, happier, more enlightened and more meaningful'. Appeals were made to the literate sections of

[93] 'AAR of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 17 October 1939 – 15 October 1940', 1941, p. 41. For a study of the Wardha Committee report, see 'Report of the Wardha Education Committee on the Central Advisory Board of Education in India: 1939', Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1940.
[94] 'AAR of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 17 October 1939 – 15 October 1940', 1941, pp. iii-iv and 42.
[95] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'Building a New Kashmir', Ph.D. Thesis, pp. 137-147. Also, Regarding Conducting of Official Correspondence in Urdu instead of Hindi by the teachers of the Girls Schools, File No. C/19/46, 1939, Education Department, SSA.
[96] 'AAR of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 17 October 1938 – 16 October 1939', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1940, pp. 260.

all religions belonging to all political parties, and educational institutions to help in the cause.[97] The use of films as a medium for adult education was also debated extensively.[98]

To promote adult education, the post of 'Adult Education Officer' with two assistants, one each for Jammu and Kashmir province was created. Many centres were opened. By 1938-39, over 760 centres for adult education were opened and in 1939-1940 the number more than quadrupled to 3,450.[99] The report, however, provides no details on the number of people trained in these centres and neither on the budget stipulated for them. I contend that given the emphasis on the increase in the number of educational institutions, the quality of education provided in them was low and/or that adult education was provided only to a limited number of people. This is because the statement of expenditure on education for five years, from 1934-35 to 1938-39,[100] given in the table suggests the meagre spending on education by the government vis-a-vis the total budget expenditure:

Head	**1934-35**	**1935-36**	**1936-37**	**1937-38**	**1938-39**
Education	15,86,316	16,67,229	17,53,284	18,96,581	20,70,999
Total	2,28,03,752	2,37,39,711	2,56,94,666	2,49,44,758	2,41,34,437

(Amount in Rupees)

However, while the schemes for making Adult education for women a success were debated extensively, not many steps were taken in the direction. It was merely suggested that an adult education centre be started in the girls' high school Srinagar and the teachers of the school take the help of girls in senior classes. The Director Education in a letter to Miss Shaw wrote:

> I am aware of the difficulties of accommodation and time table that you pointed out in the meeting but I feel that where there is a strong will, a way can be found out. I believe you can make one room available in the afternoon and by a slight readjustment of the time table it should be possible to spare two or three teachers for one period each. You could, for example, improve the time table by not dividing up the work of the lowest classes into too many subjects e.g. history, geography, urdu etc.[101]

It can be seen that any additions to the work of female education were done by making adjustments to the already existing structures and not by making new provisions. Also, the budget for female education was limited. Of the total budget expenditure (20. 71 lakhs) spent on

[97] Introduction of Adult Education in the State, File No. C/21/13, 1939, Education Department, SSA, p. 14.
[98] Films as a medium of Adult Education, File No. Edu-28-HR, 1959, Education Department, SSA.
[99] 'AAR of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 17 October 1939 – 15 October 1940', 1940, pp. 41-42.
[100] 'Report on the Administrative and Appropriation Accounts for 1938-39', K. P. Steam Press, Srinagar, 1940.
[101] Introduction of Adult Education in the State, 1939, SSA, p. 16.

education during the year 1939-40, only 3.86 lakhs was spent on female education. The total number of institutions for females in the state, however, was a whopping 226. The number of students in these schools is not known. The autonomy of female education was also compromised somewhat during the year as the control of the Female Education Department was transferred to the Director of education. A positive change during this year, however, was that an increasing number of teachers appeared for matriculation examination which means that more teachers were available to fill in the vacant positions in the schools. Annual administration report of the girls' education department for the year 1939-1940, however, state that Sewing and Qurani teachers were employed in girls' schools in large numbers.[102] This suggests the emphasis on domestic work and religion as central to the school curriculum.

In the year 1940-41, the number of girls' schools rose to 246. The number of boys' schools was more than six-fold i.e. 1,534. Besides, there were 4,253 adult literacy centres and 8 technical schools.[103] A positive measure during the year was that to improve the training imparted to women teachers and as the first step towards the establishment of a proper teachers' training school, the training classes attached to the government high school, Srinagar, were given independent status and transferred to a separate building.[104] But S.V. class was opened in the government girls' high school, Srinagar and 10 J.V. trained teachers were deputed to the S.V. class.[105] Craft-work was established as a definite part of the curriculum in some of the schools. Weaving and spinning were the two main crafts introduced. The labour week was observed in the girls' schools for the first time during 1940-41.[106] To give an impetus to female education in localities were no girls' schools existed, a proposal was submitted to the government for admission of girls below 10 years of age in boys' schools, provided their parents or guardians were willing.[107] To give a boost to the higher education of girls, seven post-matriculation scholarships of Rupees 40 each were provided for girls desirous of pursuing a college education

[102] 'AAR of the Education, Archaeology, Research, Museum and Libraries Departments for the year 1939-40', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1941, pp. 41-42.
[103] 'AAR of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 16 October 1940 – 15 October 1941', 1942, p. 186.
[104] *Ibid.*, p. 194.
[105] 'AAR of the Education Department including Boyscouts Associations, Archaeology, Research, Museum and Public Libraries for 1940-41', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1941, p. 31.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 197.
[107] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

in British India.[108] An event of outstanding importance during the year was the holding, for the first time in the history of the state, the 17th session of the All India Educational Conference at Srinagar.[109]

During the year 1941-42, 5 high schools, 41 middle schools, and 198 primary schools, as well as *maktabs* and *pathshalas*, were engaged in imparting instruction to the girls. Teacher training was much stressed on and 4 teachers were sent to Lahore for training as guides. Miss S.W. Shaw, Deputy Directress of Schools, was sent to Indore for training as Guide Adviser. The adult education work for women was also making headway and 1,851 women were granted literary certificates. It was argued that it was encouraging for women who generally led a secluded life to get a break from domestic occupations to take to study.[110]

The problem of higher education, however, was becoming acute, mostly for males. It was argued that drastic steps will have to be taken if Sri Pratap College is 'not to become a mere factory for the production of ill-baked graduates'. It was suggested that:

> After all, the quality of intellectual life as well as the standards of administrative efficiency and political life in the State depend primarily on the type of young men sent out by the Colleges and no reasonable expenditure of thought or money can be considered too great to ensure that our College youth have the chance to acquire the proper intellectual and social attitudes in as favourable an academic environment as possible.[111]

The debate on education of girls was, however, limited to their education in schools. Higher education was only making a start among girls. The number of girls studying in the Amar Singh College during 1940 was 8 and 28 in Sri Pratap College.[112] K.G. Saiyidain, Director of Education, Srinagar, wrote on the status of girls' education in the State in the early 1940s:

> Problems of women's education in the State are beset with peculiar and complicated difficulties which can be overcome only with great patience, persistence and imagination.

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[108] Grant of scholarships to the hereditary state subject girls studying in colleges in British India, Session 1940-41, File No. C/4/6, 1940, Education Department, SSA. Also 'AAR of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 17 October 1939 – 15 October 1940', 1941, p. iii.

[109] 'AAR of the Education Department including Boyscouts Associations, Archaeology, Research, Museum and Public Libraries for 1941-42', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1942, p. 1.

[110] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

[111] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

[112] 'The Administration Report of the Education, Boy Scouts, Libraries, Archaeological, Research and Museum Departments for the last 6 months of year 1942-1943', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1945, p. 7.

> As a legacy from the past when the number of properly educated women willing to take up service was infinitesimal, the Department has inherited a large number of unqualified or ill-qualified teachers whom only the passage of time can liquidate. Again, secondary education being confined to the cities, it is difficult to get qualified candidates willing to take up service in out-lying areas as they are not prepared, for various domestic and social reasons, to go to any remote schools away from their homes. Under the existing circumstances of our social life, I can see no way out of the difficulty except the establishment of Middle and even High schools in different parts of the State even when, from the point of view of immediate roll, they would not appear to be financially justified. This is the only way in which qualified local candidates can be trained for service. In spite of all these and other difficulties, it is gratifying to record that, thanks to the devoted work of some of the officers and teachers of the Department, considerable improvement has been made in many directions, particularly in awakening the teachers to a keener sense of their duty and enlivening the life of the girls by introducing craft work and other pleasant activities in schools.[113]

A Committee appointed by Maharaja Hari Singh in July 1943 under the chairmanship of R. B. Ganganath, Chief Justice of the State High Court, to formulate a policy for an organised scheme of administration for Jammu and Kashmir, mentions:

> Social and economic conditions appear to have combined to relegate the female sex to a position of definite inferiority and therefore the number of females in independent occupation is very small. This is also reflected in almost a complete absence of consciousness among them…The menace of child marriage in a very small proportion, however, still was haunting the society in spite of the Infant Marriage Act of 1929 … On the whole women have not taken any prominent part in public life, though of late they have been asserting themselves in certain restricted areas. We do not regard education as the sine qua non of political, social or economic advancement but we do regard it as a very desirable equipment to enable mankind to live a healthier and happier life[114]

The Ganga Nath Committee report gives the figures of enrolment of girls and boys in the educational institutions from 1928-29 to 1943-44, reproduced in the table below.[115] This table gives an overview of the progress with reference to the educational statistics of boys and girls as well as the imbalance between the two through the years.

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[113] 'The Administration Report of the Education, Boy Scouts…6 months of year 1942-1943', 1945, p. 24.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[115] Shree Ganga Nath Report on Administration of Jammu and Kashmir State, File No. 2201, 1944, Education Department, SSA, p. 163.

Year	Boys	Girls	Year	Boys	Girls
1928-29	47,201	4,763	**1936-37**	76,822	14,070
1929-30	50,909	7,073	**1937-38**	78,296	14,147
1930-31	59,217	9,167	**1938-39**	82,303	15,426
1931-32	65,608	10,207	**1939-40**	86,189	15,942
1932-33	69,018	12,361	**1940-41**	91,383	17,009
1933-34	64,739	12,189	**1941-42**	99,996	17,251
1934-35	66,370	13,124	**1942-43**	-	-
1935-36	73,519	13,605	**1943-44**	1,00,117	17,993

As is clear from the table above, the female enrolment in the schools increased steadily over the years but the increase was slow. The Ganga Nath report thus recommended steps for the improvement in female education. Strict emphasis was laid on supervision in the schools. Technical education in the Basic schools was given importance. The members upheld that 'with a slight variation in the syllabus in order to introduce crafts which will definitely be more appropriate for girls, it will not be difficult to follow the same policy of gradual increase as has been followed in the case of boys' institutions'.[116] It was also argued that co-education limits the number of girl candidates for higher education and that early action is to be taken to remove this disadvantage. For higher education of girls, it was recommended that a separate college for girls was necessary.[117]

For the reconstruction of various spheres of life – economic, political, social, cultural – the National Conference headed by Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah in its annual session in Srinagar during 29 and 30 September 1944 adopted a plan which came to be known as Naya Kashmir (New Kashmir). This manifesto had been drafted with the help of prominent leftists in the subcontinent.[118] It was planned along socialist lines and relied heavily on Soviet-style policy planning. It included economic planning for future Kashmir and promised to eradicate 'poverty, oppression, discrimination, disease, illiteracy, and ignorance'.[119] Education was given a prominent place in the manifesto. In particular, the taking over of the Education portfolio by the Prime Minister after independence was a recognition of the importance he attached to education in the building up of a new order of things in Kashmir. In the opinion of Sheikh Abdullah, 'land

[116] Shree Ganga Nath Report on Administration of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1944, SSA, pp. 165-167.
[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.
[118] The Indian communists – B.P.L. Bedi, Freda Bedi, Mohammad Din Taseer, K.M. Ashraf, Daniel Latifi, and Ehsan Danish – drafted the Naya Kashmir manifesto at the insistence of NC leadership headed by Sheikh Abdullah.
[119] Aijaz Ashraf Wani, *What Happened to Governance in Kashmir?*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2019, p. 53.

to the tiller and education for everyone were two basic needs, if the people of the state who until now had lacked both food and opportunity, were to emerge into the wider lands of plenty and enlightenment, "the golden threshold" to a fuller life'.[120]

The first two programmes on education as they are written in the programme of Naya Kashmir were:

> National Education is the pivot round which the progress of a people revolves. The Jammu and Kashmir National Conference stands for an active and progressive policy of education which may carry the light of knowledge to the farthest and most backward areas of the state. Education should not merely be liberal, but also technical and allied to the national needs and the national economic plan. An effort should be made in all teaching to link the child up with the actual life and work in the state.[121]

The emphasis on education by the government was to ensure that a student could contribute to economic progress and that he/she would be a productive citizen of Naya Kashmir. Thus, an emphasis was placed on technical and vocational training.[122] At the primary level, the department created 'activity schools' where the 'children would learn by doing things, things that would be related to their daily life and that would be connected with their immediate surroundings'.[123] After primary schooling, a majority of students went on to technical schools for secondary schooling. These schools allowed students to learn trades and technical skills like agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture, sericulture, forestry and arts and crafts. Learning a trade improved a student's chance to obtain employment after completing schooling.[124]

Of the Charter of Rights which proposed to establish an egalitarian society in Kashmir, Women's Charter was also accorded a prominent place. It stated:

> Women citizens shall be accorded equal rights with men in all fields of national life: economic, cultural, political, and in the state services. These rights shall be realized by affording women the right to work in every employment upon equal terms and for equal wages with men. Women shall be ensured rest, social insurance and education equally with men. The law shall give special protection to the interests of mother and child.[125]

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[120] Educational Reorganization Committee Report, Accession Number 2005, 1950, Education Department, SSA, p. i.
[121] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
[122] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'Building a New Kashmir', Ph.D. Thesis, p. 124.
[123] GM Sadiq, 'Our Educational Policy: Government of Jammu and Kashmir', Ranbir Press, Jammu, 1955.
[124] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'Building a New Kashmir', Ph.D. Thesis, p. 125.
[125] Naya Kashmir Manifesto cited in Ajit Bhattacharjea, *Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah: Tragic Hero of Kashmir*, Roli Books, New Delhi, 2008, p. 74.

Equal emphasis was placed on school education, higher education, technical education and teacher training for women. Earlier, four scholarships of Rupees twenty per month each for S.V. training for girls from mofussil towns were provided in the budget. But to meet the demand of trained teachers for the expanding education amongst girls, the Director of Education recommended that the scholarships be doubled.[126] Widows also enrolled for training at these centres.[127] As an incentive to female education, the Maharani presided over annuals functions of all city and mofussil schools. Prizes were given to the girls for excelling in academics and also to those who distinguished themselves in sports.[128] As for boys' schools, excursions were organised for girls' schools as well. Miss Shaw, Deputy Directress of schools, greatly contributed towards making physical education acceptable for girls.[129] But some practices continued unabated. For example, craft-work which included sewing, weaving, spinning among many other crafts formed an important activity in the female education department.

The expansion in educational institutions also proceeded simultaneously. In the year 1947, it was decided to open 50 primary schools for girls each year. It was argued that each locality with a population of 500 or more be provided with a girls' school. Efforts were also made to start at least two boarding houses for the Jammu and Srinagar high schools so that girls coming from mofussil towns who joined the 9th and 10th classes of these two schools could be put in hostels. The introduction of science courses in high schools was also under consideration.[130] The government also liberally encouraged private enterprise in female education by granting double the aid allowed to boys' institutions.[131] Many appointments were

[126] Creation of 4 new scholarships for S.V. Training at Rs. 20 P.M. each for the two girls training schools for candidates from mufassils with effect from 1st Baisakh 2003, File No. B/1/24, 1944, Education Department, SSA.
[127] Opening of J.V. and S.V. Classes in Girls High School, Mirpur, File No. Edu-B/5/4, 1943, Education Department, SSA.
[128] Prize for the girls who stood 1st in the matriculation examination, File No. 700/44, 1944, Education Department, SSA.
[129] Administration Report of the Education Department for the year 2003 (1947), File No. C-7/B/47, 1947, Education Department, SSA, p. 83.
[130] Teaching of Science in the Government Girls High Schools Jammu and Srinagar, File No. B/1/51, 1951, Education Department, SSA.
[131] 'AAR of the Education Department for the year 2003 (1947)', 1947, SSA, p. 84.

made of deserving female teacheresses having good qualifications (bachelors) to the various schools in the Valley.[132]

But up until 1947, the vast majority of Kashmir Muslims, including females, remained illiterate and educational developments primarily benefited Kashmiri Pandits and the minuscule Kashmiri Muslim elites, who had some connections with the Dogra offices. The bulk of the Muslim population in Kashmir, the landless labourers, served on agricultural lands of the absentee landlords and had to bear the burden of heavy taxation of the Dogras.[133] Thus, they were not in a position to afford education for their children and preferred to use them as economic assets in earning daily wages. Also, scholarships were provided to Muslims but in primary and middle schools and not in high schools and colleges, to discourage higher education among them.[134] The unsympathetic attitude of non-Muslim teachers towards Muslim students in government schools and the discriminatory policies of Dogra administration were other causes for the backwardness of Muslims. The government schools were staffed entirely by Hindus, whether as teachers or other administrative staff.[135]

The Dogra government, however, considered the poor statistics of education among Muslims an indication of their apathy towards education. It was argued that because a vast majority of Kashmiri Muslims were peasants, they did not place any value on educating their children.[136] The Indian Education Commission too while writing about Indian Muslims commented that Muslims themselves were responsible for their 'ignorance, illiteracy and backwardness'. The report added that 'the most powerful factors are to be found in the pride of race, a memory of by-gone superiority, religious fears and an un-natural attachment to learning of Islam'.[137] Sheikh Abdullah too writes in his autobiography that barring a few Muslim elite families, most Muslims did not send their children to school, as 'they were not interested in education at all'. He, however, lists two reasons for this: 'poverty of Kashmiri Muslims and lack

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[132] Appeal case of Mhtr. Safia Hassan, B.Sc B.T, File No. A-5/3/47, 1947, Education Department, SSA. Appointment of Mtr. Fiza a qualified candidate as a teacher in Girls Primary School Skardu, File No. A/2/4, 1947, Education Department, SSA.
[133] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, p. 252.
[134] Muhammad Yousuf Saraf, *Kashmirs Fight for Freedom: 1947-1978*, Vol 1, Ferozsons, Lahore, 1977, p. 322.
[135] Ghulam Hassan Khan, *Freedom Movement in Kashmir: 1931-1940*, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 1980, p. 195.
[136] Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 182.
[137] 'Abstract and Analysis of Indian Education Commission', Palala Press, 2016, pp. 86-87.

of encouragement and indifference on the part of the government'.[138] Whether the reasons for Muslim backwardness in education before 1947 was one of the Muslim attitudes or Dogra discrimination, the fact is that with the power being transferred from the Dogras to the National Conference, there was an interest in creating a separate Muslim community with distinct interests in the state structures of the Valley. This was partly done through an emphasis on the education of Muslims. In post-colonial Kashmir, specific attention was paid to female education.

1947 and After: A Fresh Breeze for Female Education in Kashmir

The real impetus for education in Kashmir came after independence. This was inspired by the vision of Sheikh Abdullah, embodied in his mission of Naya Kashmir. It was after 1947 that Sheikh Abdullah's government attempted to prioritize Naya Kashmir's educational aims when power shifted from the Dogras to the National Conference. Thereafter, many schools were opened, the University of Jammu and Kashmir (the first university in the state) was formed (1948), and the Women's College was established (1950). But there were many constraints in the work of Naya Kashmir. Even though there was an increase in the education budget as compared to the Dogra rule, the government needed a source of funding as it did not have enough resources to finance the educational programmes. But to maintain greater autonomy in educational affairs, Abdullah's government was hesitant to take financial help from the Government of India. In the few newspapers that were allowed at the time, mostly in Jammu, there were complaints that the new government was not spending enough on education and that the quality of education was deteriorating.[139]

To quell the protests and to frame a new educational policy to reorganise the existing educational system in the state, the state government in August 1950 appointed an Educational Reorganization Committee with Mr Asadullah Kazmi[140] as its Chairman. The Committee was formed to recommend ways of bringing education into a more 'responsible touch' with the needs and ideals of Naya Kashmir; to survey education at all stages with special reference to the curriculum and methods of teaching, qualification and professional training of teachers and their

[138] Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, *The Blazing Chinar: An Autobiography*, translated from the Urdu by Mohammad Amin, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2013, p. 27.
[139] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'Building a New Kashmir', Ph.D. Thesis, pp. 116-17.
[140] Asadullah Kazmi was a bureaucrat of the all-India administrative cadre and was the Director of Education under both Sheikh Abdullah and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad.

salaries.[141] Recommendations were made to make education more 'useful and practical'. In this connection following points were considered: (i) attention to be given to craft and handwork for which Kashmir is famous (ii) the different types of secondary schools to suit different aptitudes of students to check the aimless drift from the primary to the secondary and from the secondary to the post-secondary stage of education (iii) measures for improving professional efficiency and training facilities (iv) social education – its scope and contents.[142]

To implement the schemes, a conference was organised in Srinagar with the educational officers. It was decided that the scheme of Social Education was to be introduced in the state. This was aimed to train the adults into a new way of life and to enable them to take full advantage of economic advancement envisaged in the programme of Naya Kashmir. In this regard, forty social education centres were opened, twenty in each province of Jammu and Kashmir. These centres were supervised by local men who were literate and wielded influence in a particular area.[143] In these centres, people received training to read and write fluently and also elementary knowledge of arithmetic, social science, sanitation, laws of health, hygiene and civics. In particular, the social and rural uplift work in the villages was actively encouraged.[144] Besides, there was educational reorganisation at all stages. Kindergarten was made a two-year course (age 3 plus to 5 plus), primary school a seven-year course (age 5 plus to 12 plus), and the secondary school a four-year course (age 12 plus to 16 plus). The two government colleges, Sri Pratap College and Amar Singh College, Srinagar were reorganised into full-fledged four-year degree colleges from 1 March 1951.[145]

Schemes were also formulated to make educational programmes more appealing to females. Girls' high schools, whether in urban or rural areas, were to give a 'course of general utility' to women. The educational authorities opined that a very necessary change in the

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[141] 'Administration Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 13 April 1950 to 12 April 1951', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1954, p. 25.

[142] Educational Reorganization Committee Report, December 1950, p. ii.

[143] Social Education, File No. G-38/50, 1950, Education Department, SSA, pp. 13-15. The Social Education Centres in Kashmir Province were in: Trehgam, Rohama, Baramulla, Boonyar, Homai, Sopore, Ferozepore, Magam (Baramulla), Srinagar near Govt. High school, Kulgam, Verinag, Uttrasso, Ganderbal, Nagam, Bandipur, Budgam, Anantnag, Pulwama, Hajjin, Bijbehara.

[144] 'Administration Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State from 13 April 1949 to 12 April 1950', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1952, p. 91.

[145] 'Administration Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 13 April 1950 to 12 April 1951', 1954, pp. 26-27.

curriculum was to make Home Science a compulsory subject for all the girls' schools up to the matriculation standard. First aid, nursing and a course on motherhood were also to be included in the new syllabus. For the benefit of girls in villages, the high schools were instructed to teach a new optional subject called 'The Village Home' which would include instructions in gardening, dairy and poultry farming, fruit and vegetable preservation and allied subjects. But for widening the scope of Home Science training and making it compulsory for all matriculation girl students, the training of staff was required. It was felt that mobile training squads or at least one travelling woman expert on the subject would have to be arranged if teachers were to be trained properly.[146]

Adjustments were also made in the staff of the women's education department to make it more efficient and reduce unnecessary spending. In the early stages, 'Callers' were employed in the women's education department. Their function was to persuade the parents to send their daughters to school and to escort the girls to school. The educational authorities by 1950 had concluded that it was difficult to understand how the almost illiterate women could ever have performed the task of persuading the parents to let their daughters study. It was argued that 'the caller is virtually the unpaid personal servant of the headmistress in state schools' and thus a stop was put on the new appointments. However, women already working as callers were retained until their retirement age.[147]

Radio Kashmir, Srinagar too stepped in to help in the educational aims of Naya Kashmir, especially for women. A literary programme for women in rural areas was started on December 1, 1950, which aired for half an hour every week. The areas covered in the programme were: household affairs, health and upbringing of children, position and rights of women in Naya Kashmir. The emphasis was primarily on economic, social and cultural items. Subsequently, more programmes were broadcast: 52 Talks, 23 music items, 7 plays, 15 news items, 12 replies to listeners' letters.[148]

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[146] Educational Reorganization Committee Report, December 1950, pp. 12-14.
[147] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[148] 'Administration Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State for 13 April 1950 to 12 April 1951', 1954, p. 39.

Despite all these efforts, female education did not make many strides in education. The opening line of the annual report on the progress of education in Jammu and Kashmir State for the year 1952-53 states that 'Jammu and Kashmir State has a wide range of educational problems to tackle'. It then goes on to list the problems. However, it is surprising that the problems concerning female education were not dealt with in considerable detail. Even after the Naya Kashmir manifesto which spoke of universal free education of females, there was no compulsion on sending the girls to primary schools even by 1952-53. However, compulsory attendance of boys in the primary schools was in force in the towns of Srinagar, Sopore, and then Baramulla from 1931 onwards.[149]

Co-education of boys and girls was also a problem in the state well into the 1950s.[150] While a cabinet order of 1952 sanctioned the setting up of mixed schools by amalgamating the boys and girls primary schools, wherever it was found to be feasible and appropriate, another government order was issued immediately after which stated that 'co-education has been stopped and there will be separate schools for boys' and girls'.[151] The public resentment to co-education could have been one of the probable reasons for this action by the government. It can thus be argued that even as late as the 1950s, the education of women was mired within strict gender codes. The teaching of domestic science in girls' schools and welfare programmes in adult education centres was the primary emphasis of educational programmes for women. But even when popular gender discourses were kept in mind while formulating educational policies for women and the number of educational institutions increased over the years, the educational statistics for women did not show a corresponding increase.

The work of Sheikh Abdullah in his vision of Naya Kashmir was also limited by his growing ideological difference with the Indian authorities. This was because of his insistence that the accession of Kashmir with the Union of India was not final. He had also begun to resist Indian influence in Kashmir affairs and to espouse the ideology that independence was a better course for Kashmir. Thus, the Government of India, along with the Sadr-i-Riyasat, Karan Singh,

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[149] AAR on the Progress of Education during 1952-1953, File No. Edu-361-C-54, 1954, Education Department, SSA, p. 29.
[150] Co-Education, File No. 404/C/53, 1953, Education Department, SSA, p. 3.
[151] Setting up of Mixed Schools by amalgamating Boys and Girls Primary Schools, File No. 119-B/53, 1953, Education Department, SSA, p. 39.

orchestrated Sheikh Abdullah's removal. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad (Deputy Prime Minister in Sheikh Abdullah's government) and his associates assisted the government in this. On August 8, 1953, Sheikh Abdullah was arrested in Gulmarg and Bakshi came to power. Sheikh's arrest and removal from power caused uproar in the Kashmir Valley and the situation became volatile. Mass protests erupted. But with the government high-handedness, Bakshi's government managed to quell the protests in just a few weeks.[152]

Given the response of the Kashmiri public after the arrest of Sheikh, Bakshi's government faced a crisis of legitimacy. Bakshi thus introduced some immediate reforms that his government would implement to quell the unrest. Bakshi also had to live up to promises made in the aftermath of the arrest, 'of building a modernizing, secular state that was committed to rectifying the ills of the past and building a more equitable society, a new Kashmir'.[153] Sheikh Abdullah's vision of Naya Kashmir was utilised by Bakshi in his project of state-building as well. Thus, education acquired great importance in his policy of reform. But as opposed to Sheikh, he opened the floodgates of central government aid. As a result, the state government implemented a variety of educational projects. However, despite increased economic and political integration with the Government of India, the state government exhibited significant autonomy in its decisions at the local level, including formulating its education policy.

As a populist measure, one of the first steps the Bakshi government introduced was free tuition upto the university level. Over 150,000 students were affected by this policy in its first year alone.[154] He also took a tour of different areas, mostly on Fridays, and promised schools for the marginalised communities. Bakshi's government also guaranteed to provide textbooks, enhance teacher salaries, and provide scholarships to the backward classes – Kashmiri Muslims, Sikhs, Ladakhis, Gujjars and Bakerwals (nomadic groups).[155] To make education more accessible to a broad cross-section of Kashmiri society, Bakshi's government undertook a series

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[152] See Mohammad Sheikh Abdullah, *The Blazing Chinar: An Autobiography*. Karan Singh, *An Autobiography*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1989. Josef Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1966.

[153] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'Building a New Kashmir', Ph.D. Thesis, p. 29.

[154] Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 'Jammu and Kashmir, 1953-1954: A Review of the Achievements of Bakshi government', Directorate of Information and Broadcasting, Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar, 1954.

[155] Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 'Crisis in Kashmir Explained', Lalla Rookh Publications, Srinagar, 1953, pp. 10-11.

of steps. A new education policy was drafted in 1955 by G.M. Sadiq,[156] an avowed leftist and Minister of Education and Health under Bakshi. The precursor to Sadiq's education policy was the Naya Kashmir manifesto. Emphasis was placed on having a progressive educational policy that was to primarily meet the economic goals of the state. The budget on education was also doubled from 1950 to 1960 i.e. from six per cent to twelve per cent.[157]

Emphasis was placed on universal primary education. A large portion of the budget went towards building primary, secondary and higher secondary schools in both rural and urban areas throughout the state. Mobile schools were also provided for the nomadic Gujjar and Bakerwal groups.[158] A positive aspect of the new education policy was that not just urban centres like Srinagar, but rural areas too came under educational programmes of the government. The total enrollment of students more than doubled in ten years' time. It was 107,233 in 1950 and the number had increased to 276,351 in 1960. The number of educational institutions also nearly tripled from 1330 in 1950 to 3653 by 1960.[159]

Female education received special attention from the government. The number of primary, middle and high schools for women rose from 175 to 542, 15 to 69 and 9 to 38 respectively.[160] The enrolment rate of girls also more than quadrupled between 1947 and 1960 when the enrolment of girls in all educational institutions increased from 12,083 to 51,924. As an added measure, the government proposed to organise special enrolment drives for girls and to intensify its programmes of social education during the five-year plans, especially among rural women.[161] As an incentive for Muslims to take an active interest in education, the government hired thousands of teachers, a majority of whom were Muslim. Many female teachers were also hired. Through these policies, education became much more accessible to Muslims and females. In 1941, only 1.6 per cent of Kashmiri Muslims could read and write, and in 1961, close to the end of Bakshi's rule, this number increased to 11.03 per cent.[162]

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[156] GM Sadiq, 'Our Educational Policy: Government of Jammu and Kashmir', 1955.
[157] S. L. Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 176.
[158] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'Building a New Kashmir', Ph.D Thesis, p. 121.
[159] S.L. Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 150.
[160] 'Jammu and Kashmir, 1953-1954: A Review of the Achievements of Bakshi government', p. 14.
[161] 'Review of Education in India 1947-1961: Jammu and Kashmir', p. 13.
[162] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'Building a New Kashmir', Ph.D. Thesis, p. 121.

Bakshi's government made several critical interventions in higher education by creating professional colleges and increasing access to colleges. In 1947, there were 3029 men and women enrolled in colleges; by 1960 this number had increased to 8385.[163] Focus on women's higher education also developed during this period. Along with a focus on studies, the emphasis was also placed on sports, physical education and the encouragement of art, music, drama, and theatre. To develop a healthy civic and social sense, students were also encouraged to volunteer and participate in social service activities. Thus, an emphasis was placed on the development of an all-round personality of the students and not just academic education. However, while offering opportunities for education of women, the state did limit the potential of women's educational projects by being a purveyor of a particular kind of politics, one which benefitted the state. This will be studied in detail in the next chapter.

Conclusion

Many Committees were formed before independence to stress on the importance of education for females. However, they could not achieve the goal of spreading education beyond a few cities and urban towns. Besides, the idea of a perfect woman with the knowledge of domestic science and home affairs formed an important part of the curriculum for girls' schools. The government schools also focused on the integration of traditional religious studies with a westernized school curriculum. Thus, going back to the question posed in the introduction to this chapter as to whether or not gender was the defining element in the curriculum, this chapter concludes that gender did influence the curriculum but did not limit it. Girls learned subjects like housekeeping and history. Under Sheikh Abdullah and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, further improvements were made in the field of female education. The Naya Kashmir manifesto, in particular, helped to envision a society where the idea of woman in the home and the world was not contradictory but mutually co-existant. Gendered social norms were not construed as being restrictive but women were seen to contribute as active members of the society. Besides preparing women for their future roles of homemakers – wives and mothers, females were also encouraged to play a political and social role in the Naya Kashmir. But this was not to be accomplished as much by school education as by higher education of women in the Colleges. The focus of the next chapter

[163] Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 'Expansion of Education', Lalla Rookh Publications, Srinagar, 1961.

will thus be on the role of the Government College for Women, Srinagar in the educational history of women in Kashmir, especially in the urban areas.

Chapter 4

Higher Education of Females in Kashmir: Perspectives and Problems

As seen in the previous chapter, to encourage the growth of female education in the State, many primary, middle and high schools were opened first in the cities of Srinagar and Jammu and then in the towns, in the twentieth century. This was much later than in most parts of the subcontinent where women's education had started in the nineteenth century. The Muslim women's education had also struck roots in the nineteenth century, especially with the reform movements which were primarily concerned with defining a Muslim identity.[1] However, in Jammu and Kashmir (henceforth J&K), the state of female education was much backward. Even as late as the 1940s, the literary percentage for women in J&K was mere 6.6 percent.[2] It is, therefore, not surprising to note that the higher education of women was yet to strike roots in the State by the middle of the twentieth century.

One of the major hurdles in the higher education of females was the conservatism of the masses. The nature of education suited to the 'needs of females' was also debated well into the middle of the twentieth century in Kashmir. Most of the current scholarship on the subject, as also the government documents and administrative reports, suggests that gendered curriculum was predominant in the case of early school education of girls. Contrary to this, the higher education of females came to be recognized as essentially secular, with a focus on the intellectual equality between the sexes.[3] Imparting higher knowledge was seen to be important to meet the political and economic challenges of the twentieth century. This chapter intends to study the higher education for females in Kashmir – the curriculum, life in the college and its role in churning out young women, many of whom made a mark in different spheres of life.

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[1] Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars*.

[2] Jammu and Kashmir Government, 'Education: Jammu and Kashmir: Development Series No. 2', Directorate of Information, Srinagar, 1966, p. 3.

[3] G. Rasool, and Minakshi Chopra, *Education in Jammu and Kashmir*. And S.L. Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*.

Historiographical Frameworks

The rich scholarship on female education in India has focussed on varied themes to highlight its important role for women. Historical works have highlighted the debates on women's education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The debates range from issues like what sort of education should women receive to the wider conceptual issues related to gender and the creation of an ideal Indian woman.[4] Scholars have also increasingly concerned themselves with the processes involved in the making of institutions and the discourses around them. The role of these institutions in the shaping of men and women who have contributed immensely to the growth of the community, the society and the nation is also undertaken.

In one such study of the first women's college of Delhi, Indraprastha College established in 1924, the authors Meena Bhargava and Kalyani Datta state that the central concern of their book is to study the 'trends of women's education and women's role in national politics in India'.[5] In a similar grain, Leah Renold in the book *A Hindu Education: Early Years of the Banaras Hindu University* tries to investigate 'the role of the establishment of the University in the formation of a new Hindu identity'.[6] The book also delves in some detail on the nature of education for females in the University, discrepancies in the standards of education between men and women, life in the college and hostel, the rules for the safety of girls in the campus, and the like.[7] David Lelyveld in his book *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* studies the history of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College during its first twenty-five years, 1875-1900. The book is an exploration of the educational experience of Aligarh's first generation of students. Most importantly, the author focusses on the political activities associated with the Aligarh movement during the late nineteenth century and 'the involvement of Aligarh and

[4] Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid eds., *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History*, Kali for Women, Delhi, 1989; Sumit Sarkar and Tanika Sarkar ed., *Women and Social Reform in Modern India*.
[5] Meena Bhargava and Kalyani Datta, *Women, Education and Politics: The Women's Movement and Delhi's Indraprastha College*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, p. 1.
[6] Leah Renold, *A Hindu Education: Early Years of the Banaras Hindu University*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, p. xii.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 176-179.

Aligarh alumni in the rise of anti-British political movements and in Muslim separatism from the mainstream of Indian nationalism in the early twentieth century'.[8]

Deepak Kumar in the book *Education in Colonial India: Historical Insights* deals with different aspects of women's education.[9] Gulfishan Khan in an important essay in the book studies the education of Indian Muslim women in the wider context of women's education in a highly differentiated social structure of India. Her essay elucidates how the English-educated Muslim elite in their confrontation with colonialism and nationalism redefined their identity and reconstructed the social position of Muslim women. Following Sheikh Abdullah's life in Aligarh, she chalks out the complex process of intellectual influence on social change.[10]

Taking a cue from these and many other books on the subject of education and its transformative potential for people, this chapter will attempt to study the role of the first all-girls college in Kashmir, Government College for Women, Maulana Azad Road, in the shaping of the young women of the city of Srinagar and its neighbouring towns and villages. What is also important to consider is the status of higher education for women in Kashmir before the establishment of a College specifically meant for them. Along with limited secondary literature on the subject and the published government reports, the College magazines of the Government College for Women (also called Women's College) and Sri Pratap College (henceforth S.P. College), *Pamposh* and *The Pratap* respectively, will be studied.

This chapter focuses on some key questions: What was the nature of higher education for women in Kashmir in the twentieth century? Whether higher education was seen as a means of economic independence for women or the trope of a good homemaker, dutiful wife and a caring mother predominated? Was there any discussion on the dual responsibilities and duties for women – work at home and educated employment outside the home? Who were the dominant players who played a part in the promotion of education of women in Kashmir? And what were the social and political contexts within which education in Kashmir became a popular demand and the higher education of women began to be articulated?

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[8] David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India*, pp. xvii-xviii.

[9] Deepak Kumar et al eds., *Education in Colonial India: Historical Insights*, Manohar, Delhi, 2013.

[10] Gulfishan Khan, 'Muslim Female Education Movement and Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, 1874-1965', in Deepak Kumar et al eds., *Education in Colonial India: Historical Insights*, Manohar, Delhi, 2013, pp. 375-398.

Co-education: Conservatism, Stereotyping, and Making the Headway

Abdul Rashid Khan in his book *The All India Muslim Educational Conference: Its Contribution to the Cultural Development of Indian Muslims 1886-1947* talks about the role of The All India Muslim Educational Conference and its espousal of the case of Muslims in areas where they tended to be educationally backward such as Kashmir, Central India, and Malabar. But while in Kashmir they encouraged the entry of Muslims in educational institutions, the education of men alone was promoted by them and not that of women, till at least the mid-1930s. During the highly charged atmosphere of the 1930s with the Glancy Commission report, the Conference repeatedly demanded educational facilities, including scholarships, grants-in-aid to Islamic *madrasahs*, and the uplift of the Srinagar Islamic schools to the status of colleges. And most importantly, they did succeed in drawing the attention of the government to the problems of the Kashmiri Muslims.[11]

The Conference, however, did not espouse the cause of the education of women. Even while female education was promoted by the government, especially at the level of the schools, it was seen as 'an instrument for raising the cultural status of the home'. Even during the tenure of K.G. Saiyidain, the Director of Education from 1938 to 1945, steps were taken to overhaul the syllabus 'with the object of making them more suitable and congenial for the present interests and the future occupations and responsibilities of the girls'. It was argued that 'there is no reason whatever why the education of girls should be made unreal, mechanical and stultified under the domination of the examination system'.[12]

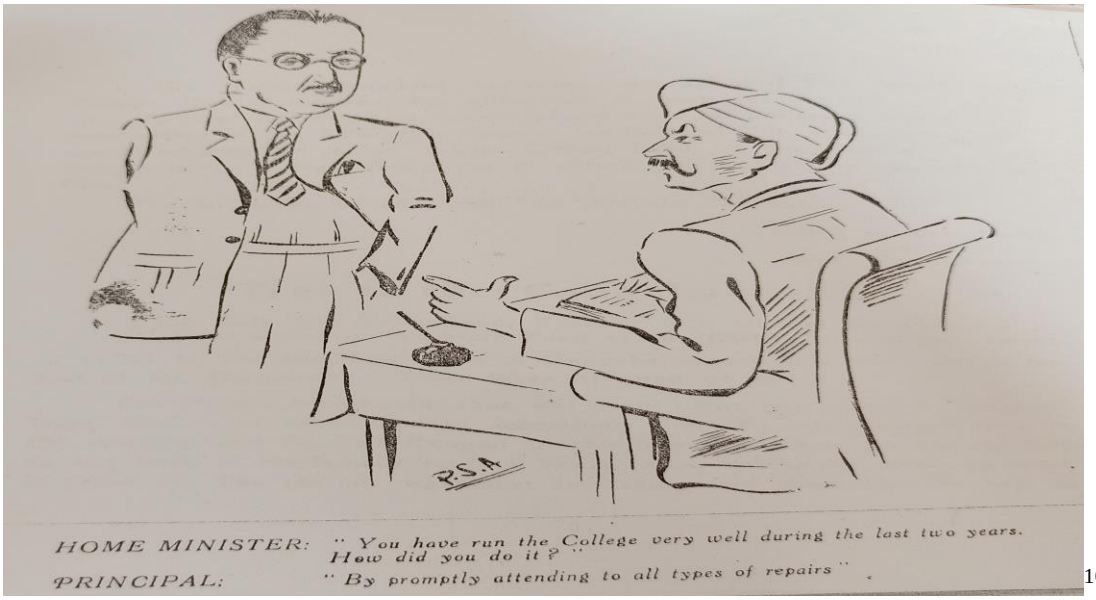
In a society where even the school education for females was a challenge, the status of their higher education can very well be understood. Adding to the already existing problems was the absence of a separate college for females in the Valley. The only option available for their higher education was the S.P. College, a co-educational institution established in 1905 and much later the Amar Singh College (henceforth A.S. College). S.P. College was set up as a result of the

[11] Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference: Its Contribution to the Cultural Development of Indian Muslims 1886-1947*, Oxford University Press, Pakistan, 2001, p. 234.

[12] Syeda Saiyidain Hameeda, 'Voice of the Voiceless: Status of Muslim Women in India', Report of the National Commission of Women, http://ncwapps.nic.in/pdfReports/vov-part-1.pdf, accessed online on June 19, 2019.

Theosophist enterprise and was affiliated to the Punjab University. The College began as a Hindu College founded by Annie Besant. The first batch of students graduated in 1911.[13]

The lure of employment in gazetted services drove the masses to the educational institutions – both schools and colleges. A matriculate commanded great respect in Kashmir in the early thirties. An article in *The Pratap* states that 'He – there was no *she* then – was regarded as a distinct entity. He could find an entrance to superior non-gazetted services; he could seek admission to sub-engineering classes or be admitted to colleges for licentiate medical courses'.[14] But with time the working of the College was hampered by the paucity of funds. Its sole income was Rupees 1500 per month as grant-in-aid given by the state. Failing to maintain the efficiency expected by the University authorities, the College stood in the danger of being disaffiliated by the Punjab University. The College was formally taken over by the state on a receipt of Rupees 20,000 and continued to serve the aim of higher education of men in Kashmir.[15] A cartoon in the College magazine of the year 1946 suggests that the College continued to do good work after the takeover by the government.



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[13] 'A Retrospect', *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, Golden Jubilee Number, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, Srinagar, October 1955, p. ii. The magazines of S.P. College were procured from the library of the College.
[14] *Ibid.*, 'The Four Years at the S.P. College', p. 54.
[15] Government of India, 'Review of Education in India 1947-1961: Jammu and Kashmir', 1962, p. 2.
[16] *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Srinagar, 1946, p. 74.

To commemorate its Golden Jubilee, the S.P. College in the year 1955 published a magazine dedicated to detail the rich history of the College and its role in the educational development of the state. The opening statements of the magazine go thus:

If you plan for a year, sow corn;
If you plan for a decade, plant trees; but
If you plan for generations, plant men.[17]

The phrase 'plant men' was used in the context of imparting education to men. It is not clear though if, in the opinion of the educationalists of the College, the need to 'plant men' meant imparting education to females as well. The conservatism of the masses posed a challenge to the co-education of girls in the institutions for higher education in Kashmir. Women were admitted to the S.P. College but their numbers were small.[18] Even the ones who attended had to brave many challenges. The challenge to the co-education of women was summed up in an article in the College magazine in these words: 'Cannon to right of them, Cannon to left of them, Cannon behind them, Cannon in front of them',[19] pointing to the jostling of boys as a common phenomenon around girls, making them uncomfortable.

Rules had to be put in place to make the girls feel assured of their safety. This was also to let them continue their education in the College without much hassle. For example, the principal had to order the male students to take outer staircases i.e. to create a separate space for women to move around in college. One article in *The Pratap* points to the inability of the girls to handle it on their own, adding that 'to be radical is almost against their feminine nature'. Peons were thus designated the work of 'protecting' the girls in the College. An article in the college magazine of the year 1941 suggests that Mr Sona Ram, the peon, 'is always seen following or leading the girls as they leave or enter any class'. This was argued to have led many professors to even mutter curses against co-education.[20]

Co-education was perceived to be a major problem. The magazine lists incident after incident arguing that co-education was a hurdle in the path of higher education for women. But while some hurled abuses at co-education, others argued for creating a cordial atmosphere in the

[17] 'A Retrospect', *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, October 1955, p. i.
[18] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 162.
[19] 'Keep to the Left', *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, Vol. XVI, No. 7, Srinagar, October 1941, p. 24.
[20] *Ibid,*.

college for women students. One article writes thus: 'Instead of encouraging these future nation builders and mothers of future generation, we stand like stumbling blocks. A great pity, indeed!' Example is provided of the inability of girls to ask questions in the class, of guys thronging and whistling at girls who played badminton, thus discouraging the girls from engaging in activities readily available to men. The exact words go thus: 'a huge crowd of wistful boys gathered round the water tap just outside the Girl's Badminton Courts, the tap lending them support, quenching their thirst and becoming readily an excuse for the loitering that occurs'.[21]

Co-education for females was a problem even in the educated Kashmiri families. Neerja Mattoo, a well-known educator who was part of the Government College for Women, as a student as well as a teacher, from 1952 to 1995 talks with lament about the handicap on the higher education of women before the opening up of Women's College:

> The S.P. College mostly admitted boys. The half a dozen girls on its rolls came from non-Kashmiri families, the 'advanced', 'modern' Punjabi girls, competing with the women was unthinkable for a 'respectable' Kashmiri Pandit girl. My sister could not get higher education after her passing her matriculation examination in 1941 (or intermediate), but the hurdle was the absence of a college exclusively for girls, even though S.P. College existed. This was even though her father and father-in-law [She was married in 1942] were professors in that college. If this was the unquestioned reality in an educated, comparatively 'emancipated' Kashmiri Pandit family, with a strong tradition of learning, what the situation must have been for Muslim women can well be imagined. 'Stepped in ignorance' might be a cliché, but it was the truth…The scales were heavily weighed against women. Only few could break free from the mould.[22]

As can be seen, mostly women from outside the state, and some Pandit women, were the first to attend the S.P. College. Muslims did not prefer to send their girls to study in the co-educational institutions. Vimla Koul, a Pandit girl, was the first to join the S. P. College in the year 1932. Prem Nath Bazaz writes about her:

> It was a strange spectacle to find a solitary woman moving among hundreds of young men or sitting in the class room side by side with them. Vimla had to undergo trials but she persevered to the last. Her boldness and quiet dignity encouraged many hesitant girls to follow her and seek admission. Before 1940 more than 50 girls were on the rolls of the S.P. College and when another Degree College was started by the Government to meet

[21] 'My First Impressions', *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, October 1941, pp. 55-56.

[22] 'Light Muffled', *Pamposh: A Magazine of Government College for Women titled Fifty Three Years of the College*, Maulana Azad Road (M.A. Road), Shalimar Art Press, Srinagar, 2003, p. 25. The copies of *Pamposh* were procured from the College library of Government College for Women, M.A Road.

> the ever-increasing demand for expansion of higher education, Pandit girls were equally solicitous with boys to enrol themselves in the registers of the new institution.[23]

Farida Abdulla Khan in an article titled 'Other Communities, Other Histories: A Study of Muslim Women and Education in Kashmir' writes about Kamala Zadoo, one of the first local Kashmiri women to attend the S.P. College in the year 1936. Zadoo came from a learned Pandit family. Her father was one of the first engineering graduates from the state and had also studied in the United States which had changed his outlook towards female education. Khan stresses the point that while Kamala's father pushed her to attend the college and she even had her mother's support, the relatives dissuaded them from sending their daughter to a men's college and saw it as a 'slur on the family izzat' (honour). There was stiff opposition and even threats and intimidation from the community. Even though her parents did not relent and insisted on college education for their daughter, Khan writes that so as not to attract attention, Kamala had to dress modestly and only wear light coloured clothes to the College.[24] Krisha Misri writes about Kamala Zadoo, her elder sister, 'She went to college clad in a white sari, covered from head to toe, with arms in the long sleeves of the blouse'.[25] Also, she was escorted to the College everyday by their domestic help, who would wait for her at the College gate to accompany her back home, even though the college was situated barely five minutes walking distance from home. Misri writes, 'For quite some time, messages of condemnation and criticism found their place on the outer boundary wall of our home. Nevertheless, despite sporadic outbursts, a beginning was made'.[26]

Mr J.N. Zutshi, a student of S.P. College, in an article 'My Impressions of College Days' writes in the college magazine:

> As ill luck would have it, co-education was started the same year we entered the College and there was just one girl who was admitted into our class. The College authorities decided quite rightly to segregate her from the rest of mankind and set up that most irritating institution called the Girls' Room which some College wag named Pari-Mahal. Punctually at 9-30 in the morning we used to collect beneath the Pari-Mahal, dressed in

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[23] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta*.
[24] Farida Abdulla Khan, 'Other Communities, Other Histories: A Study of Muslim Women and Education in Kashmir', in Zoya Hasan and Ritu Menon eds., *In a Minority: Essays on Muslim Women in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, p. 164.
[25] Krishna Misri, 'Kashmiri Women Down the Ages: A Gender Perspective', *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies*, 6/34, 2002, pp. 3-27, p. 17.
[26] *Ibid,*.

> our best attire, to sabotage the laws of apartheid. And for months there was no encouragement to us from the other side except bits of waste-paper flying in all directions from the window. Akhtar, one of the budding Urdu poets of our time, would scrupulously collect these bits and pen down a verse on each which would later be distributed as charms to the prospective Romeos of the College.[27]

It is difficult to understand whether the writer was in favour of co-education or against it. While he starts his argument with the phrase 'as ill luck would have it', he seems to romanticize the presence of girls around boys in the College. But co-education continued to receive flak from the students and teachers in the College. In any case, the enrolment of females in the college meant primarily for men was far less. Contrary to the situation in Kashmir, a study on the higher education of women in India states that from 1926 onwards women joined the collegiate education with men in large numbers. The author takes this to be an indication that they and their guardians were not averse to co-education.[28] But in Kashmir, the facility of joining boys' colleges in Kashmir was open to certain classes only as many sections of the population – both amongst Hindus and Muslims – were not willing to send their girls to co-educational colleges.

There was also a disparity in the educational standards for girls in different districts of Kashmir. Before 1947, education in Kashmir was practically confined to the two cities of Srinagar and Jammu.[29] Before this time, the high schools were also opened in the urban areas alone. Even some important towns and Tehsil headquarters were without high schools. But after 1947, a network of high schools was laid in rural areas as well.[30] The city of Srinagar also saw girls enrolling in higher educational institutions for men in 'decent numbers' by 1940s, although co-education had started in the early 1930s. The college magazine of Boys Degree College Anantnag, *Verinag*, mentions that co-education started for the first time in Anantnag town in 1959, almost three decades after Srinagar.[31]

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[27] 'My Impressions of College Days', *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, 1955, p. 64.

[28] R. Rajalakshmi, *Higher Education of Women in Modern India: A Study of the Socio-Economic and Political Aspects of Higher Education of Tamil Women*, Criterion Publications, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 13-14.

[29] G.N.S. Raghavan, 'Kashmir on the March', Series of Articles Published in The Indian Express in October 1956, Issued by Department of Information, Jammu and Kashmir, Caxton Press, New Delhi, November 1956.

[30] Education, 'Jammu and Kashmir: Development Series No. 2', 1966, p. 8.

[31] *Verinag*: A Magazine of Boys Degree College, Anantnag, 1960, p. 70. Volume number and details of publishing house are missing. Procured from the College library.

The stereotypes against female education predominated even after their enrolment in institutions of higher education. Not only the articles written by men, but the ones written by women as well in the early college magazines portray a particular image of a woman as meek, temperamental, irrational, ostentatious, and the like. Hence, a need was felt for their *islah* (reform) through education. The ideal of a woman as a good home-maker, companion to her husband and nurturer to the young was upheld in the early campaigns for their education. Slowly, the economic independence of women through educated employment outside the home began to be emphasized while still stressing on women's primary role within the home.

Specific sections from some of these articles will be reproduced and studied here to delineate popular notions about female education and of women in general. An article in *The Pratap* from the year 1943 titled 'Eve of Kashmir' goes on to define the beauty of Kashmiri women – 'tall, shapely figures, chiselled features, mystic ineffable charm, simplicity in the face' – mingled with pathos, which the author argues lends them an explicit charm. Prof. S.N. Dhar puts forth a generalization and characterises the 'Eve in Asiatic Eden' as 'one of the most beautiful specimens of the delicate femininity of India'.[32]

An article in the College magazine from the year 1958 goes on to define the 'physical' and 'chemical' properties of 'A Modern Lady'. The physical properties being: 'Pale colour, boils at nothing; freezes at any moment; melts with good and suitable treatment and flattery. Beneficial if properly used and poisonous if it is not used with care'. The chemical properties defined were: 'Violent action, if left free; Shirks work, turns red easily. Easily mixable; Great affinity for showy clothes, gold and cosmetics; Expresses frail notions'. It goes on to cite the 'uses' of the lady: 'Helps a man, console him during moments of frustration. Used in the production of human beings'.[33]

An article in the college magazine from the year 1962-63 titled 'The Chemistry of Woman' reads more or less like the one cited above. It goes on to add the accepted atomic

[32] 'Eve of Kashmir', *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, 1946, pp. 26-27.

[33] 'A Modern Lady', *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, Srinagar, 1958, p. 30. The volume number of the magazine is missing.

weight of women at 120 lbs.[34] To the physical properties above, this article adds that 'it is bitter if not used well and poisonous if not used with care. Its occurrence is seen to be Forever wherever men exist'. To the chemical properties already defined above was added: 'Turns green when placed beside a better looking specimen'. It goes on to cite the 'uses' of the lady as being 'useful as a tonic in acceleration of low spirits'. It adds that a 'woman is probably the most effective income reducing agent known'.[35]

These articles help to get a gaze of the commonly perceived notions about women. The fact that it featured in the College magazine points to the kind of discourses about women propagated while encouraging them to study. Probably, the education of women was mainly seen to help them get rid of all their irrational behaviour and useless show of clothes and jewellery. In this context, therefore, it would not be wrong to argue that the social reformers ideal of the education for women[36] did overlap in some ways with the formal education for women in schools and colleges in the twentieth century.

The articles by female students can rarely be seen in *The Pratap*. Even when they occur, after a little discussion on the importance of right opportunities and education for women, they go on to emphasize the education of women for the ideal of a perfect wife. An article 'Eve Demand Her Place' in a college magazine from the year 1963 starts with a stern critique of Tennyson's lines 'Man for the field and woman for the hearth; Man for the sword and for the needle she'.[37] She goes on to ridicule Indian men who she argues 'treat women as inferior human beings' and 'strongly disapprove of granting women any rights'. The article goes on to describe the attitude of men in Colleges:

> When such men see some girl going to college or cycling on some road, they are put out. Even in a college with its free atmosphere young college 'barbarians' sometimes treat the daughters of Eve with little respect. But at such time if the girl sheds her shyness away, and breathes awhile in a free atmosphere the boys are apt to feel discouraged in the hunt. At that time our college comrades do not think that the progress of their sisters meant the progress of their nation resulting in a higher civilization. Without the freedom and

[34] Lb is an abbreviation of the Latin word Libra. Libra stands for the ancient Roman unit of measure *libra pondo*, meaning a pound by weight.
[35] 'The Chemistry of Woman', *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, Srinagar, 1962-63, page numbers and volume number of the document is missing.
[36] See Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Perfecting Women: Maulana Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi's Bihishti Zewar*.
[37] *The Princess* is a narrative poem, written by Alfred Tennyson, published in 1847. The poem is written in seven parts. The line cited in the main text appears in Part V.

> education of women, men are like birds, who though eager to fly, have one wing broken away.[38]

The article cites the benefits of education for women. The author believes that 'it is absurd to exclude women from the social and political sphere'. But she immediately goes on to argue for the general ability of a well-educated woman to outshine a cultured man. She argues for the same in the following words:

> A woman has far better knowledge of child psychology than a man has...A man is largely unaware of these things...An uneducated woman does not know how to bring up her children. She cannot cultivate good habits in them. On the other hand, an educated mother creates good habits in her children. She keeps them clean and in good health. She can educate her children at home till they grow up to join schools. Such children are a joy to look at.[39]

In the same vein of women being naturally good home-makers, the author extends her argument to suggest that the ability of women to better care for the children would make them better teachers than men. Thus, in her opinion, there was a need for more female teachers in schools for children. She also echoes the opinion of many male religious reformers who argued that the plans for social reform of the family and the home could be worked out only with the help of women.[40] Drawing a comparison of an illiterate and a literate woman, and the latter's ability to better fend for her children and her home thus laying the sound basis for the development of the society, she echoes some of the famous stories on the theme.[41] She writes:

> An illiterate woman is the greatest obstacle in the way of reforms. She is fond of pomp and show. She must display her dowry and her grimcrack. Display is the end all and be all of her dark life. An educated woman has no such ignoble aspirations. She wants to be a reformer and can easily abolish these evil customs. A woman is a guardian angel of domestic happiness. Women are the queens of their homes. Men are to earn and women are to spend. The art of spending wisely is the art of managing the household accounts. A nicely balanced budget is the key of household happiness. Plain living and high thinking should be the ideal of women. One should avoid useless wastages on deaths, marriages, etc., but should see that the family gets good food and keeps good health. One should cut one's coat according to one's cloth, and must not try to shine in borrowed feathers. If a woman has no knowledge of her domestic accounts, how can she be able to do these

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[38] 'Eve Demands Her Place', *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, Vol. XVI, Srinagar, October 1943, pp. 17-18.
[39] *Ibid*., p. 19.
[40] Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Perfecting Women: Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanawi's Bihishti Zewar*.
[41] For a fascinating story of two sisters – Akbari and Asghari – in Nazir Ahmad Dehlavi's book *Mirat-ul-Arus* (The Bride's Mirror) – quite opposite in temperament and ability because of their education, see Siobhan Lambert Hurley, *Muslim Women, Reform and Princely Patronage: Nawab Sultab Jahan Begam of Bhopal*, Routledge, London and New York, 2007.

> things? Therefore it is essential for a woman to know household accounts. It will help her in cutting down unnecessary expenses. A good housewife can make a moderate income go a long way to the road to domestic happiness. She must be educated in domestic economy.
>
> She must know the nutrition value of different articles of food and also how to cook (*therefore woman for the kitchen!) them properly. Then she can improve the health of her family. Thus it is necessary for a woman to have adequately and many sided education without which progress is nominal.[42]

The importance of education for social reform of women and of the family is also emphasized upon in another article in the magazine by a student named Anupam Dhar. Drawing upon a study of Kashmiri marriages, the author goes on to suggest:

> Uneducated, illiterate, ignorant women are the root cause of all the lavishness and extravagance in marriage customs. Marriage is made a matter of business by our women, when a new daughter-in-law comes, all her gold ornaments are weighed, actually weighed, if not by a regular balance – though 50% go to that extremity also – by their hands. The tragedy is that the women have no idea of weights and give incorrect decisions. If the sum total of the ornaments is below that of the expected one, the mother-in-law becomes terror-in-law, without any fear of the law ... Kashmiri marriages, on the whole, seem to be abominable and disgusting and we are responsible for making such a great and important thing so. Women particularly are responsible for it. But it is not the fault of women that they make it so. They are ignorant and we keep them so. So the fault finally rests where it should – on us, men.[43]

The debates in college magazines seems to be shifting in the subsequent years. While the articles in the magazines from the years 1943 to 1953 argue for the centrality of education for the trope of an educated homemaker, the debate shifted eventually. The college magazine of the year 1954 featured an article titled 'A Profession for Eve' by a female student named Jai Kishori. The emphasis of the article is on the economic independence of women to achieve moral and intellectual freedom. She argues that the joint earnings of man and wife can provide for the better education of the children, even a better lifestyle for the family, which would not be otherwise possible. She is, however, sceptical as to whether women are in a position to do justice to their two-fold duties and responsibilities – the duties that they owe to their families as mothers and wives, and those they owe to their professions.

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[42] 'Eve Demands Her Place', *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, October 1943, pp. 19-20.

[43] *Ibid.*, 'Kashmiri Marriages', pp. 27-30.

The author suggests that sometimes married women do neglect their professions as well as domestic duties. The solutions for maintaining a balanced domestic life for women, according to the author, were two. First was that all women who take to some profession should, as far as possible, be relieved of their domestic duties and responsibilities. But she also added:

> It is cruel to deprive children of their mother's care and attention early in childhood and so mothers should avoid taking up a profession until their children are grown up enough to do without their care. It is equally hard for mothers to leave their children uncared for. Hence the necessity of good nursery schools throughout the country. If the husband is unemployed, there is no reason why he should not look after the children. There can be no domestic peace and happiness without a sympathetic understanding between the couple. When old enough, the children should be got admitted into boarding schools and live away from their mothers. In fact married women belonging to a profession should not have too many children in the interests of their own health and their profession. Any occupation which necessitates a prolonged absence from home should be avoided. The possibilities of training women in some vocational and technical lines should also be explored with a view to opening new avenues for their employment. [44]

The article reads like a radical take on education and employment of Kashmiri women in the twentieth century, pushing women to take to educated employment outside the home and prioritize their careers. However, at other times, it reinforces the common notions about women's primary responsibility in their homes, caring for their children. This is suggestive of the fact that the stereotypes against female education persisted even while efforts were made to improve the standard of education for them along-with men in the colleges. But most women could not take advantage of the opportunities provided by the S.P. College as the public opinion was against the co-education of women with men.

Higher Education of Females: The Naya Kashmir Manifesto

The result of an aversion to co-education among most sections of Kashmiri population was that not only was the female population of the state deprived of advantages to be expected of college education but it was difficult to secure the services of well-qualified women for the education and the medical departments. The proposal was thus made for the opening up of one Intermediate college in each province – Jammu and Srinagar – to provide facilities for the higher education of women. It was proposed that the Intermediate classes (for higher education) be added to the existing high schools. The subjects proposed to be introduced in the first instance

[44] 'A Profession for Eve', *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, Vol. 28, No. 1, Srinagar, July 1954, pp. 26-28.

were: English, History, Economics, Philosophy, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi.[45]

A private college, The Women's College for Oriental Studies, was established in the year 1944 in Srinagar for 'the propagation and the learning of Hindi and imparting education through the medium of Hindi on proper lines'.[46] It was argued that the College would meet a real educational need of Srinagar city where apart from the Arya High School which was located far off from the city, there were no classes preparing girls for Hindi examinations. Also, English was taught.[47] Music, needlework, hygiene and other topics of household utility were taught as additional subjects. This was argued to foster the all-round development of girls. Debates were on to introduce arithmetic in these schools.[48]

As elucidated before as well, the school education for girls in its initial stages was directed towards the creation of an ideal woman with an emphasis on their training in household work. The only existing private college for women in Kashmir, The Women's College for Oriental Studies, was also directed towards the same goal. The co-educational colleges which had the potential to educate and empower women did not strike many roots among the masses. In such a scenario, the establishment of a separate college for women was to give them a platform equal to that of men to enjoy equal rights. The aim was to 'give a space to women to shed their shyness and breathe in a free atmosphere'. It was seen to be absurd to exclude women from social and political spheres. It was also argued that 'without the freedom and education of women, men are like birds, who though eager to fly, have one wing broken away'.[49]

As already elucidated in the previous chapter, the Naya Kashmir manifesto which was adopted as the policy declaration of the National Conference in its annual session in 1944 in Srinagar too laid stress on the education of women and their participation in political, social and economic areas. Broadly speaking, the Naya Kashmir manifesto was a progressive approach to

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[45] Opening of an Intermediate College for Girls at Srinagar and Jammu, File No. B/1/28, 1940, Education Department, SSA, pp. 4-5.
[46] Recognition of Women's College for Oriental Studies, File No. B/4/3, 1946, Education Department, SSA, p. 13.
[47] *Ibid*., pp. 2-5.
[48] *Ibid.*, pp.16-17.
[49] *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, Vol. XVI, Srinagar, October 1943, p. 18.

the problems confronting the toiling masses of the J&K State. Its main objective was to make Kashmir free of the 'giant evils of want, disease, ignorance and squalor and usher in an era of peace and plenty'.[50] Ajit Bhattacharya writes that 'the language of the manifesto was reminiscent of the idealistic declarations of social change in any country, and was almost Nehruvian in tone'.[51]

Women's Charter acquired central importance in the manifesto of Sheikh Abdullah. Section V of the manifesto, the Women's Charter, was one of the most significant aspects of the Plan and embodied the rights and privileges which the Plan specifically proposed for the women of the state. These rights were classified into six categories – cultural, economic, educational, legal, political and social. Surraya Ali, Sheikh's daughter writes about him, 'Sheikh Abdullah was impressed by the great visionary Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, and wanted to emulate him in his crusade for women's emancipation'. She adds, 'As Prime Minister, he also kept Education portfolio with him as he believed that this was the steering wheel to move and give direction to the forces of rapid change'.[52] Most importantly, the Charter sought to secure to the women of the state the right to compulsory and free education.[53]

The government reports on Kashmir published in mid-twentieth century correctly pointed out that education was one of the main problems in Kashmir. The importance and urgency of the problem was realized given the high percentage of illiteracy, especially among the women of the state. Also, a small fraction of the budget was earmarked for this nation-building activity.[54] Female education, therefore, occupied prime importance in the Naya Kashmir manifesto. Sheikh Abdullah's government laid stress on the education of women and their participation in political, social and economic fields. In particular, the years 1947-1950 were seen to be the periods of great activity in the Education Department and saw the introduction of many far-reaching schemes and reforms. To realize the ideal of Naya Kashmir's educational programme, the

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[50] J.N. Zutshi, 'Under Sheikh Abdullah Kashmir Goes Ahead', Jammu and Kashmir Government, p. 10. No date.
[51] Naya Kashmir Manifesto cited in Ajit Bhattacharjea, *Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah*, p. 74.
[52] 'The Mystique of Women's College M.A. Road, Srinagar', *Pamposh: The Fifty Three Years of the College*, 2003, p. 60.
[53] Naya Kashmir manifesto of National Conference, http://www.jknc.in/UploadFiles/8a2ed918-f302-4831-89a0-d3d301635197__nayakashmir.pdf, accessed online on June 18, 2019.
[54] 'Kashmir Marches Ahead: A Review of Progress', Lalla Rookh Publications, Srinagar, 1958, p. 26.

government focussed on universal and free primary education, expansion of secondary and high schools and also institutions of higher education.

Radio Kashmir, Srinagar – a medium of broadcast – was founded on July 1, 1948, and also helped in the educational programmes. Sheikh Abdullah said about this, 'Radio Kashmir should work for the service of mankind as a whole and for our countrymen in particular'. The main aim of the Station during the brief period of its two and half year existence, when it stopped operations in March 1951 when it caught fire, was to impart education to the people. The scope of its programmes included talks, dialogues and features giving publicity to the plans and achievements of the government, informative items regarding events of national and international importance, as also literary programmes, music and drama. News bulletin in seven different languages was relayed every week. Its minority programmes included those for children, women, students, people living in the rural areas and the Pakistan-occupied territory of the state.[55]

The Women's programme was broadcast in Urdu once a week. Later, its frequency was reduced to once a fortnight. A programme was also started in Kashmiri. The intention was that while the Urdu programme was directed to listeners in the urban areas, the one in Kashmiri should cater to the women in the countryside. The idea underlying these programmes was seen to be 'both to make the women of the land better sisters, wives and mothers and to enable them realise their rights and obligations as members of the society'.[56]

The Government College for Women was also started under the vision of Naya Kashmir. Established in 1950, the College was the pioneer institute for the higher education of women in the state. The establishment of the college was a landmark moment in the educational history of Kashmir. In the vision of the founders of the College, this institution in due course of time was to emancipate women from their traditional social bondages accumulated through centuries of male-domination. The history of the college is, in fact, the history of the development of women's higher education in Kashmir.

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[55] 'Jammu and Kashmir Today', Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Jammu and Kashmir, no date, pp. 46-47.
[56] B.P. Sharma, 'Jammu and Kashmir, 1947-50: An account of activities of first three years of Sheikh Abdullah's Government', The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1951, p. 22.

Regarding the nature of higher education in the College, Farida Khan writes that 'unlike the school education for girls, the higher education of women was not focussed on the trope of good mothers and dutiful wives but partners in development and progress of the region that was the agenda and the vision for the Naya Kashmir'.[57] Thus, according to her, the higher education of women in twentieth-century Kashmir focussed on socio-economic development. This chapter, however, emphasises that while the state did stress on the role of women as equal partners in the Naya Kashmir, it was also a purveyor of patriarchy.

The separate College for the higher education of women did provide them with ample opportunities to study and participate as equal partners in society. But it also regimented women to follow the diktats without allowing much scope to voice their opinions against the state. Women's empowerment, while an important aim of Naya Kashmir, became embroiled in the political compulsions of the state;[58] 'state sponsored-feminism had other goals in mind, including consolidating the power and legitimacy of the state'.[59]

This is not to underestimate the role the College has played in nurturing women who have made their mark in various spheres of life – art, literature, medicine, science and technology, academics, politics, and bureaucracy. This is also not to state that the state government did not employ its resources in the progress of female education in the State. The budget for education continued to rise gradually from 1947. In fact, the budget allocation by the government on education more than doubled between the years 1947-48 and 1956-57. Also, of all the areas under the consideration of the government, maximum money was spent on education, even more than infrastructure building i.e. roads and buildings. This is given below in the tabular form:

[57] Farida Abdulla Khan, 'Other Communities, Other Histories: A Study of Muslim Women and Education in Kashmir', in Zoya Hasan and Ritu Menon eds., *In a Minority: Essays on Muslim Women in India*.
[58] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'State-led Feminism in 'Naya Kashmir': The New Kashmiri Woman', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 53, Issue No. 47, 01 December 2018.
[59] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'Building a New Kashmir', Ph.D. Thesis, p. 301.

(Rupees in Lakhs)[60]

Head	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57
Education	**33.89**	**35.61**	**43.11**	**42.77**	**49.29**	**50.77**	**51.39**	**60.79**	**62.81**	**86.94**
Medical	18.94	18.67	20.93	17.12	21.52	22.82	23.41	26.10	28.21	40.00
Industrial Administration	1.27	0.96	1.08	0.96	1.25	1.39	1.72	4.53	6.38	6.44
Agriculture & Horticulture	1.95	2.42	2.94	3.08	4.10	3.79	3.98	4.26	4.31	7.80
Civil Veterinary	2.64	2.64	3.40	3.31	3.75	3.79	3.91	4.97	2.46	7.79
Cooperatives	1.45	1.31	1.57	2.12	2.08	2.24	2.42	4.02	4.76	5.57
Panchayat, Rural Uplift Rehabilitation	6.76	36.21	15.54	10.59	18.63	4.04	11.29	9.39	4.89	40.18
N/E/S/ & C.P.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23.42
Roads and Buildings	39.74	37.65	44.92	28.02	50.96	39.13	37.17	33.47	41.79	60.08
Electricity	6.13	10.65	13.40	15.15	16.85	17.79	17.21	15.78	10.39	18.90
Irrigation	4.70	14.55	18.08	18.13	20.51	20.02	14.44	13.03	5.24	31.35

It is, however, not clear as to how much money was pumped into higher education of women and on the establishment of the Government College for Women. The available records are silent on this. But what the records do suggest is that the establishment of a College specifically meant for women led to a phenomenal change in the attitudes of Kashmiris towards female education. However, social codes prevented many women from taking advantage of the opportunities for higher education in the state. Moreover, the higher education of women in 1950s in Kashmir was restricted to the city of Srinagar alone. The last section of this chapter will look at the importance of the College for the educational history of Kashmir and its women.

Government College for Women: Dawn of Higher Education

Shamla Mufti, a Kashmiri educationalist, entered the Government College for Women as a student in 1951 and also served as the principal of the same college many years later. In her opinion, purdah was the main hindrance in the educational development of women in the society. In her reminiscences about her early years in the College, she recollects the memories of the first camping trip of the College in July 1952. She writes about how despite the initial reluctance by her family, she did finally manage to join the trip. Further, reminiscing about how the College pushed her to overcome the social codes, she writes:

[60] 'Kashmir: An Open Book', Lalla Rookh Publications, Srinagar, no date of publication.

> I still remember even 44 years have passed how difficult and embarrassing the moment was to ride on a horse without burqa. My life was sure to become miserable if anyone among our relatives and family friends would have seen me without purdah. I insisted to ride on the horse with burqa but the Principal did not allow. I was afraid of meaningless social taboos that had crushed and suppressed my personality.[61]

She describes the college as a dynamic space — the young women were enthusiastic, disciplined and the environment was always bustling with activity. There was a strong emphasis on cultural programmes in the College. The female students would become involved in debates, extracurricular sports and the arts and theatre. The government, she says, 'wanted to create a new soul and new life for Kashmir's downtrodden girls'. She further writes, 'It is this institution only which has liberated women of Kashmir from age old slavery, ignorance and illiteracy'.[62] The change was more conspicuous among Muslim women. When Shamla Mufti entered the college as a student in 1951, she was one of the three Muslim girl students in a batch of twenty-one; the other two were Tahira Shahmiri and Anisa Paul.[63] The statistics of Muslim women's education remained low for quite some time. Even by the year 1954, of the 400 girl students studying in the College only 30 were Muslims. The rest were either Kashmiri Pandits or Punjabis. Subsequently, the number increased.[64]

Admission and withdrawal registers are not available in the college records which would provide an idea of the social composition of students in the College in the initial stages and the changes thereafter. In a personal interview, Neerja Mattoo informed me that in the initial stages girls from Pandit families studied in the College. She adds that women of all classes of society attended the college and recalls an orphan girl, Jay Kishori studying alongside girls from elite Pandit families. Muslim families started to send their daughters to study soon after. She adds that the atmosphere in the College was non-communal. Besides, the College uniform comprised of a fawn-coloured shirt, white shalwar and dupatta making it difficult to distinguish students based on religion or class. The uniforms also gave an impression of unity and solidarity. This secular composition of students in the college changed drastically after militancy when most of the

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[61] 'My College: 1951-1953', *Pamposh: The Fifty Three Years of the College*, 2003, p. 13.

[62] Shamla Mufti, *Chilman se Chaman*, published autobiography in Urdu of Shamla Mufti, Ex Principal of Government Women's College, Maulana Azad Road, Meezan Publishers, Srinagar, 1994, p. 122.

[63] 'My College: 1951-1953', *Pamposh: The Fifty Three Years of the College*, 2003, p. 13.

[64] 'Women's College – An Instrument of Change', *Pamposh: The Fifty Three Years of the College*, 2003, p. 53. Also 'Government College for Women Experiences', in *Ibid.*, p. 92.

students attending the College were burqa clad Muslims girls. Professor Mattoo spoke of the establishment of this institution and its rise to a premier girls College of the Valley with great satisfaction, the fall in its educational standards during armed insurgency with a hope for the College to return to its past glory.[65]

The College played a crucial role in bringing about a revolution in the social fabric of Kashmir by changing the attitude of common masses towards the education of women. The College was started in a building close to S.P. College, which had initially been built for the use of the office of the Accountant General, J&K. Before its takeover by the College, the building also served as a residence for the dowager ladies of the then ruling Dogra family of the state. Maharaja Gulab Singh had, in his will instructed his heirs: 'Ladies of the Suraj Vanshi descent had to remain aloof and away from Public gaze'. With the death of Pratap Singh in the autumn of 1925, the princesses turned widows and Kashmiris christened it as 'Mundeh Palace' – the palace of widows'.[66] Thereafter, it was used as the college building for the Government College for Women.

Pamposh, the College magazine, gives a historical account of the College and its contribution to the development of women's education in the State. With time, photographs have also acquired a historical significance shedding light on the history and development of the College. The photographs act as a visual record of academic and cultural events. I will try to reconstruct the life in the College with the help of articles in *Pamposh* and the visuals available therein. This will help to throw light on the role of College in steering campaigns for the development of the society.

The College magazines are full of details about how the students actively participated in the progress of the state and the community through an emphasis on their all-round development i.e. through stress on extra-curricular activities along-with formal education. This was done by

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[65] Neerja Mattoo, personal interview, at her residence in Gogji Bagh, Srinagar, dated 15 September 2018, The magazine of the College, *Pamposh*, for the year 1997-98, talks of the cosmopolitan culture that once existed in Kashmir before armed insurgency began. The College did not even take out the magazine for eight years from 1990 due to political disturbance in the Valley.

[66] 'The Mystique of Women's College M.A. Road, Srinagar', *Pamposh: The Fifty Three Years of the College*, 2003, pp. 60-61.

helping the under-privileged sections, running adult literacy centres, nursing the sick in local dispensaries, helping with collecting relief during natural calamities.

The dedicated Principals Miss Shaw, Miss Mehmooda Ali Shah, Mrs Shamla Mufti, Mrs Krishna Misri assisted in this. Under their able guidance, the college made tremendous strides in realizing its objectives of imparting quality education to a section of society which had hitherto been denied of this opportunity both by the society and the state. In particular, the study of College magazines and my conversations with students of the College during its early years, eulogizes the role of Miss Mehmooda Ali Shah, the second and the longest-serving principal of the College,[67] in the development of higher education among females in the State. Neerja Mattoo writes about her:

> Her single-minded commitment to the ideal of Kashmiri women's emancipation was largely responsible for making this college an institution of academic and cultural excellence. The achievements of the women during 1950s to 1970s were so significant that they altered the gender landscape of schools, colleges, offices, courts, police stations, hospitals, hotels and business establishments.[68]

Miss Mehmooda Ali Shah could contribute to higher education of females in the Valley as she was one of the very few women who had the privilege to pursue higher education. She did her graduation from Kinnaird College, post-graduation from Government College, Lahore[69] and then a Diploma in education from Leads in the United Kingdom. While in Lahore, she had joined the 'Punjab Students Federation' which gathered under it the intellectuals of the state.[70]

Her stay in Lahore, thus, saw her engaging with reformers, political activists and revolutionaries who were trying to break the shackles of feudal restraints. She was friends with Indira Gandhi, Maulana Azad, Aruna Asaf Ali, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Saifuddin Kichloo, Kaifi Azmi, Sajjad Zaheer and Mian Iftakharuddin. In Kashmir, she became socially and politically

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[67] Miss Mehmooda Ali Shah took over as the second Principal of the College from Miss S.W. Shaw in 1953 and served for 20 years as the principal. Miss Shaw, a Christian lady, was chosen from Jammu to take charge as first principal of the College. At this time, there were very few educated women in the Valley to take the reins of the college. Miss S.W. Shaw had done her M.A., L.L.B from Allahabad University.

[68] 'Light Muffled', *Pamposh: The Fifty Three Years of the College*, 2003, p. 26.

[69] Shazia, 'Women in Kashmir in Post-Independence Period: A Socio-Cultural Study', Ph.D. Thesis, p. 42.

[70] Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin, *Mysteries and Glimpses of Kashmir*, p. 203.

active with Sheikh Abdullah and G.M. Sadiq.[71] She founded the 'Free Thinkers Society' which saw the coming together of the intellectuals in the state. She played a major role in the Quit Kashmir movement of 1946 and was in the forefront of women's resistance against the tribal raid in the year 1947.[72] Miss Mehmooda was also actively involved in the political activities of the state and was a member of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. She worked closely with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and was deeply involved in his programme of Naya Kashmir.

On return from the Valley what struck her most was the absence of avenues for the higher education of women. Noting the difference in opportunities made available to the women within and outside the state, she made higher education for women a one-point programme for her future endeavours.[73] She became the Principal of the Government College for Women in Srinagar on November 13, 1953, and saw in the Women's College a commitment to this philosophy and directed all her energy into creating a model institution for women.

The College diary maintained at the back of the magazines gives an account of the events for the whole year. The recurring theme in the early college magazines was that arranging for the teaching staff for the college posed a great difficulty. To overcome this, some retired professors and also some from outside the state were appointed on a contract basis. Neerja Mattoo in a conversation with me recalls how the College principals used their contacts to secure efficient teachers for the College. She spoke with great passion about Mrs Sakina Hassan (from a Nawab family of Lahore) who Mehmooda Ali Shah had met in London and had convinced to join the College as a teacher. Eventually, she and her orthopedician husband did settle in Kashmir and continued to work there. Prof. Mattoo spoke of it as a 'forward-looking time' as some retired male teachers from outside the state also taught in the College.[74]

The magazines also marked the academic excellence of students and also their participation in extra-curricular activities. The societies representing different interests of students were also active. Cultural societies enrolled students based on talent in different fields

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[71] 'What the College Meant for the Women of Kashmir', *Pamposh: The Fifty Three Years of the College*, 2003, pp. 5-9.
[72] Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin, *Mysteries and Glimpses of Kashmir*, p. 203.
[73] 'What the College Meant for the Women of Kashmir', *Pamposh: The Fifty Three Years of the College*, 2003, pp. 5-9.
[74] Neerja Mattoo, personal interview, 15 September 2018.

viz. sports, theatre, debates, social service schemes, national cadet corps. Besides this, the college was divided into six houses – House of Hope, Sacrifice, Devotion, Generosity, Piety and Faith.[75] The College Union, popularly known as the Students' Council, with two representatives from all the sections of every class, had a President directly elected by the students through an open ballot.[76] Academic performance and participation in activities like dramatics, debating, and/or editing the college magazine *Pamposh* was taken into account in this election.[77]

Educational trips were organised for different states in India to give the students a glimpse of life outside the College and its immediate environs. The duration of these trips was mostly three weeks and they were educational. Trips were taken to Madras (St. Mary's College), Mysore (Maharani College), and Bombay (Muslim Educational Society) among many other places. The less privileged students did not pay any money. Few international trips were also organised. In the year 1977, a trip to Iran was arranged.[78]

Theatre and plays were an important part of life in the College and served as an indicator of the freedom enjoyed by women. Before a fully equipped auditorium was given to the College by the government in the 1960s, the plays were staged in a little wooden hut-like structure in the College. On many occasions, public performances were staged to raise funds for damages caused due to natural calamities etc. And the audience comprised of both males and females. A picture of the audience, including Begum Akbar Jehan Abdullah, Sheikh Abdullah's wife, watching the Hindi play *Dulhan* in the college auditorium in the year 1976 is reproduced below:

[75] 'Nehru Number', *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1976, p. 78. Volume Number is missing.
[76] Neerja Mattoo, 'The Story of a College with a Momentous Past', *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1, January-March 2007, pp. 94-101, p. 98.
[77] 'Light Muffled', *Pamposh: The Fifty Three Years of the College*, 2003, p. 30.
[78] *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1978. Volume Number is missing.

 [79]

Neerja Mattoo in her reminiscences of the old times in College writes:

> We were eclectic in our choice of plays to act in, be they the poetic plays of Tagore, translated into English and Kashmiri, the farce-like comedies of Moliere in Urdu, the socially relevant satires of Ramesh Mehta in Hindustani, Bernard Shaw's witty exposes of social and political hypocrisies, the sparkling, epigrammatic Restoration comedies or the powerful human dramas of Shakespeare.[80]

Writing about the girls from conservative families participating in the plays, Mattoo states:

> No voices were raised against the girls wearing the army-like NCC uniform, or performing on the stage, reviving old Kashmiri folk song and dance forms, or travelling to places all over India in trains, the teachers roughing it out with them...I remember the enthusiasm with which Muslim girls from extremely orthodox families were ready to wear basanti saris and flowers in their hair for a Tagore play or western costumes for an English period play.[81]

I am reproducing the pictures of the two such plays where the girls can be seen dressed in saris, shirts, trousers and other western-style dress, even role-playing as men and enacting scenes of smoking cigarettes. The first picture is of a Hindi play *Dulhan* (1976) and the second – *Door ke Dhol Suhanay* (1978).

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[79] 'Nehru Number', *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1976. Volume Number is missing.

[80] Neerja Mattoo, 'The Story of a Women's College in Kashmir', in Urvashi Butalia ed., *Speaking Peace: Women's Voices from Kashmir*, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 2002, p. 165.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

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In 1956-57, a teacher, Miss Zia Durrani who taught English was given the charge of staging English plays. She formed a literary society known as the Bee Hive Club.[84] Besides an

[82] 'Nehru Number', *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1976.
[83] *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1978. Volume Number is missing.

English play, four plays used to be produced every year, one each in Urdu, Hindi, Kashmiri and Punjabi, providing an opportunity for self-expression to a large number of students. Tagore's plays were famous and some were even translated into Kashmiri. Some of the famous plays staged were: two plays of Bernard Shaw – *Arms and the Man* and *The Apple Cart*. *The Boy Comes Home* was the first mixed play staged in the college where male characters were played both by female teachers and students. Some of the other plays staged were: *Khalid ke Khaala, Zamana, Dulhan,* the plays of Revati Saran Sharma – *Roti Aur Beti, Income Tax Officer* and Ramesh Mehta's – *Undersecretary*. Some of the English plays staged were *Macbeth* and a play by the Russian writer Anton Chekhov – *The Proposal*, and *Bombur Yamberzal*.[85] The Kashmiri opera *Bombur Yemberzal* (*The Narcissus and the Bumble Bee*), which celebrates Kashmir as a free garden where a thousand flowers bloom,[86] was especially a favourite with the students.

(Hindi play, *Rait ke Deewar*, 1977)[87]

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[84] 'My Experience in Government College for Women', *Pamposh*: *The Fifty Three Years of the College*, 2003, p. 56.
[85] *Ibid.*, 'Women's College – An Instrument of Change', p. 51. Also, *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1979, p. 79. Volume number is missing.
[86] Sudha Koul, *The Tiger Ladies: A Memoir of Kashmir*, Beacon Press, Boston, 2002, p. 99.
[87] *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1977. Volume Number is missing.

A scene from "An Ideal Husband". The girls were not as wooden as they look in the photograph!

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Arguing for the liberal and progressive atmosphere in Kashmir at the time, Neerja Mattoo writes that the Kashmiri Muslim girls – most of them first-generation literates – fitted with ease into the routine of a modern college with its emphasis on theatre, sports, debating, NCC, educational tours and cultural activities.[89] She states that no parent protested when their daughters were asked to participate in a march-past with students from the two boys' colleges in Srinagar every month when the then Prime Minister Sheikh Abdullah took the salute. Among them were married women, some of them mothers, who were primary school teachers deputed to attend college and get a degree to improve their employment prospects.[90]

Cinema going was also common during those days. Palladium cinema in Amirakadal, Srinagar was frequented by people at all times.[91] Amrish and Regal cinemas were also quite popular during that time. Both English and Hindi films were screened in these halls. Neerja Mattoo recalls that Palladium had a special 'Ladies Gallery' and the ticket would cost 1 rupee 4

[88] *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1978.
[89] Neerja Mattoo, 'The Story of a College with a Momentous Past', *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies*, p. 97
[90] Neerja Mattoo, 'The Story of a Women's College in Kashmir', in Urvashi Butalia ed., *Speaking Peace,* p. 166.
[91] Palladium Cinema in Srinagar City, File 52-M, 1987-88 (1933), Home Department, SSA.

annas.[92] But even when girls did frequent the cinema halls, it was seen as being bad on the purse and morals, for both males and females. If and when the cinema halls were proposed to be opened in close vicinity to girls' schools or colleges, petitions were filed to the educational officers in the state government by the school management asking to shift either the school or the cinema hall. In one such petition from the Headmistress of the Girls High School Srinagar to the Deputy Directress, it was written:

> The hall is supposed to be ready by the end of April 46 and from that time onwards this locality in particular will often be visited mostly by riff-raffs and cheap people some of whom are not only unscrupulous but dangerous too. This kind of atmosphere will unhesitatingly enhance the possibilities of unpopularity among the students and the public with the evident consequences that the number of students will dwindle with the advancement of the time. There will be public hue and cry[.] [P]apers will get sufficient matter to fill in their columns and it has begun to become the talk of the day.[93]

The College magazines also spoke of the ill effects of going to the cinema, which in the words of one article in the *Pratap*:

> Do not touch only the purse but they have adverse effects upon the morals and character of the students. The sight of the voluptuous scenes, the love-making on the screen which at times verges on obscenity, the passionate love-stories excite their passions, and more often than not, put them on a path which leads them to moral degradation and sometimes to complete degradation and sometimes to complete destruction. Love is the main theme of almost every picture and a beautiful lover and his beloved are the stock characters in all popular dramatic stories…Cinema going is not totally a bad habit but certain moderation and judicious choice of pictures is essential to make the best use of this otherwise purely entertaining business. The disadvantages certainly outweigh the advantages but it will be unjust to ignore the educational importance of the talkies. Certain social pictures if prepared under right guidance can be of use to young men of the country'.[94]

Music was taught to the girls in the College, although some people were against this. The most objectionable idea was male musicians teaching in the women's college. The main hurdle, however, was that there were no qualified female musicians to teach this subject in a women's college. But when Miss Mehmooda became the principal of the College, music as a subject was introduced. The first teacher of music in the College was Mr S.N. Sopori. He was born in the

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[92] Neerja Mattoo, interview, 15 September 2018.

[93] Construction of a Cinema Hall in front of Girls High School Srinagar, File No. C-1/6/46, 1946, Education Department, SSA.

[94] 'The Cinema and the Student', *The Pratap: A Magazine of S.P. College*, August 1944, p. 26. Volume number is missing.

year 1919 in a family of musicians and was trained in vocal and sitar at home from a very young age. He had wished that music as a subject be introduced in the formal curriculum in schools and colleges, both male and female. Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, A.A.A. Fyzee, A. Kazmi and other educational authorities helped him and for the first time in Kashmir, music as a subject up to class 11 was introduced at S.P. High School, Srinagar. His dream to teach at the Women's College was opposed by Miss Shaw, the then Principal, on the ground that male musicians cannot teach in a women's college. Later, due to the efforts of Miss Mehmooda and Shri P.C. Raina, Secretary Education, he was transferred to the Women's College. Much later, his student, Mrs Nancy Koul, was the first lecturer of music in the Women's College.[95]

The students of Women's college also participated in activities like the National Cadet Corps (NCC) and National Service Scheme (NSS). NCC was introduced in the state in 1955-56 and 19,310 cadets were enrolled within ten years. The unit, 1st J&K Girls BN, NCC, Srinagar enrolled 400 cadets till 1965-66 and 2nd Girls BN, NCC, Jammu enrolled the same number.[96] The standards of NCC in the College were so good that Arcy Peshin, a student of Women's College was chosen as the best cadet from Jammu and Kashmir in senior division girls in the year 1978. Cadets would even get invited to the Republic day parade held in the National capital and had to go through rigorous competition for selection.[97]

[95] 'The Golden Age of Music in the College', *Pamposh: The Fifty Three Years of the College*, 2003, pp. 84-87.
[96] Education, 'Jammu & Kashmir: Development Series No. 2', March 1966.
[97] *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1978.

NSS was started in 1969 in different parts of the country. In Jammu and Kashmir, the scheme was initiated in 1976-77. Work conducted under its aegis comprised: rural re-construction, cleanliness and sanitation, preservation and beautification of monuments, work in the domain of education especially adult education centres and vocational training.[98] Adult literacy drives were conducted and camps were set up in places where education was yet to make inroads. Mir Mohalla in Harwan was chosen as the starting point of the adult literacy drive. Middle-aged women were enrolled and the target set up for them was that they should be able to read a local newspaper and write letters.[99]

It is a happy moment for the Principal and the organizers of the Adult-Literacy Class at Harwan when students are able to read and write before Begum Sahiba. Mrs Jha is watching with keen interest.[100]

A centre for the guidance programme for career education was started at Miskeen Bagh by Begum Abdullah in 1976, which was inaugurated by Mrs Indira Gandhi. This was to educate and train the poor girls for self-employment. The Centre offered job-oriented education to girls. They were given training in different skills: embroidery, needle-work, thread work, leather-work, paper-machie, carpet weaving, cutting and tailoring.[101] Emphasis on self-employment of women

[98] 'Nehru Number', *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1976, pp. 51-52.
[99] *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1978, p. 61.
[100] *Ibid*.
[101] 'Guidance Programmes for Career Education', *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1983, p. 34. Volume number is missing.

through vocational training acquired a paramount importance in the efforts to help underprivileged women.

Along with helping unprivileged women through social service activities, the students wrote widely against the prevalent social ills such as discrimination against women based on sex, dowry, ban on widow remarriage and the like. Students were also aware of the national and international issues of the day. Political and economic issues were debated in *Pamposh* e.g. Nehru and the Non-Alignment movement, Mao and his Cultural Revolution, Union Budgets, among many others. By 1960s debates were held on themes like equality of sexes. Questions were raised as to why women were inferior to men in social status. A student of the college, Mariam Shahnaz Karim, in an article in the college magazine in 1987 titled 'The Woman as the Other' taking a cue from the book *The Second Sex* by Simone de Beauvoir tries to locate how and why did the woman become the other in this world. More importantly, she tries to understand why have the women accepted this identity of the other? The article looks for possible reasons to explain how this began.[102]

There is, however, no one discourse which can give an overall picture of the life in College in its early or its later phases. While on the one hand the articles like 'The Role of Women in Savings' predominated, the articles on discrimination against women also occupied an important place in the College magazines. The employment of women outside the homes was also stressed. But to stress the vision and dream of women for their empowerment, I want to emphasize on an article written by a student named Henna Amin titled 'Illusion' in *Pamposh* in 1997-98 which speaks of a dream she dreamt regarding the changing gender roles and the inversion of the prescribed social behaviour and roles for men and women at home and outside. This article is somewhat similar to Begam Rokeya Sakhawat's *Sultana's Dream*.

Sultana's Dream, published in 1905 is a feminist utopian story set in Ladyland. In this story, Begam Rokeya wrote of the reversing of roles of men and women. *Sultana's Dream* spoke of a society where men were locked up and women ran the society, much more efficiently than men ever did. She writes: 'ladies rule over the country and control all social matters, while

[102] 'The Woman as the Other', *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1987, p. 23. Volume number is missing.

gentlemen are kept in the murdanas (as opposed to *zenana* – women's seclusion) to mind babies, to cook and to do all sorts of domestic work'.[103] This society governed by women, she writes, is 'free from sin and harm. Virtue herself reigns here'. In the conclusion of her story, she writes 'on opening my eyes, I found myself in my own bed lounging in the easy-chair!'[104]

In a tone echoing Begam Rokeya's dream, Amin dreamt of a day in her life when the gender roles in her life and home were reversed. Her dream goes thus: In the morning while her father was cooking in the kitchen, her mother was sipping tea in her bedroom while perusing through the morning newspaper. On leaving for college with her brother she had to offer her seat to a boy on the bus while her brother was seated comfortably, as opposed to the otherwise socially accepted behaviour. Then, on reaching the college to find out that the college was shut, she asked her brother to go back home lest their parents would get upset and worried, while she loitered around and had a good time with her friends. When she reaches home in the evening, she finds that her father is at home while the mother is away at the office. Her brother makes tea and she is lazing on the sofa. And lastly, she buys a motor-bike and her brother Faheem gets jealous of her and admits: "*Would that I were a girl like you. It's silly being a boy!*" She further writes:

> I felt sorry for him and tried to console him saying that there wasn't much difference between a boy and a girl. (Though in my heart of heart I knew it was otherwise). Just then I heard the noise of a bike. I opened my eyes and found myself in bed. I hurried to the window and saw Faheem on his bike, zooming away! I rushed downstairs and to my amazement saw everything topsy-turvied. Mummy was working in the kitchen, while Daddy was in his room taking tea. So I had a dream, a beautiful dream. Which had vanished![105]

Even though the social set-up for females was not completely overturned or drastically changed, the College did offer many opportunities for women to explore avenues for growth at both personal and professional fronts. Many of the students of Women's College went on to attend professional colleges. Girls who graduated from Women's College also joined the Regional Engineering College (now renamed National Institute of Technology), even though it

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[103] See, Parna Sengupta, 'Writing, Dreaming, and Freedom: Rokeya Hossain at the Limit of Reform in colonial Bangladesh', *Genre and Historie [En ligne]*, 25, Printemps 2020.

[104] Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain, *Sultana's Dream*, Tara Books, Chennai, 2005 edition, first published 1905.

[105] 'Illusion', *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1997, pp. 4-5. Volume number is missing.

was deemed to be a 'man's world'.[106] However, the graph of its success in empowering women, which had steadily gone upward, suddenly took a plunge in the last decade of the twentieth century when armed insurgency arose.[107] The otherwise non-communal atmosphere of the College was under threat. Neerja Mattoo in an interview with me recalls how the students had a particular disdain for Asiya Andrabi, the founding leader of the militant women's organisation Dukhtaran-e-Millat (Daughters of the Ummah)[108] as she emphasized on donning of the burqa (veil) by Muslim women. Her cadres were even accused of throwing acid and paint on the faces of women who ventured out without a burqa. But Andrabi did not strike a chord with the female students of the Women's College and they even nicknamed her as Malak-ul-Maut (Angel of Death).[109] However, the threats by the militants to subscribe to an Islamic dress code (burqa), which was resisted for a long time, worsened with the use of the gun. Neerja Mattoo explains the situation in the College in these words:

> The scene in 1990 at the college reopening after the winter break was completely changed. There were hardly any Pandit students and the view was an unrelieved black, not figuratively but literally…The mere act of attending college or any other educational institution required the courage of a mad woman and soon all institutions, whether government offices, schools or other institutions collapsed…A dark night had descended upon us, our little world which prided itself on a syncretic way of life, revelling in its diversity, was awash in a uniform black.

Lamenting the loss of syncretic culture even after the armed insurgency was over, Mattoo adds:

> At present there seems to be a conspiracy of silence regarding the history of women's emancipation in post-partition Kashmir. Of course girls are still attending schools and colleges but the air of freedom which we had the good fortune to breathe is gone…there are terrors at every step.[110]

The entire system had turned topsy-turvy during the years of armed insurgency in Kashmir. The education of women which had made steady progress was also affected. This is not to suggest that the right-wing militant movements in Kashmir in the late 1980s were solely responsible for curtailing the progress of women's emancipation, as is widely upheld by

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[106] *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1978, p. 91.

[107] Neerja Mattoo, 'The Story of a College with a Momentous Past', *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies*, p. 94.

[108] For more on the organisation see, Seema Shekhawat, *Gender, Conflict and Peace in Kashmir: Invisible Stakeholders*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014.

[109] Neerja Mattoo, interview, 15 September 2018.

[110] 'Light Muffled', *Pamposh: The Fifty Three Years of the College*, 2003, pp. 31-33.

academicians and scholars working on the subject. The period before this is seen as a golden era for Kashmiri women. Neerja Mattoo writes:

> The years from 1950 to the '70s were the kind of years when everything seemed within reach, anything possible with hard work and determination. The achievements of women during these decades were so significant that they altered the gender landscape of schools, colleges, offices, courts, police stations, hospitals, hotels and business establishments. Women were everywhere, making their mark in every field.[111]

In particular, the Naya Kashmir manifesto of 1944 is studied in this kind of historiography as being a particularly liberating moment for Kashmir's women.[112] Krishna Misri contends that besides the Naya Kashmir manifesto, through the political developments of 1931, the Quit Kashmir movement of 1946, and the Pakistani tribal uprising of 1947 'women began to create viable narratives of their lives'.[113] She further adds: 'The post-independence era opened new vistas for the emancipation and empowerment of women. The new political and institutional milieu encouraged women to look forward to the future as equal partners in the reconstruction of the socio-economic matrix' and notes the late 1980s in Kashmir as pushing the development issues to the background.[114]

This is, however, not the case. To see the right-wing militant movements in Kashmir as alone restricting emancipatory projects for women is a gross misreading of the facts. Contrary to the commonly held assumption, this chapter agrees with Hafsa Kanjwal's analysis that Naya Kashmir's programmes did have a downside as well. Kanjwal delineates in her dissertation how 'the nature of Naya Kashmir's state sponsored feminism in and of itself...restricted the full potential of women's emancipatory projects'.[115] Kanjwal contends that while Kashmiri women did benefit from several economic and educational opportunities under the new programmes, the 'women's emancipatory projects remained highly contested and politicised'.[116] The interest of the state lay in cultivating a 'new Kashmiri woman' that was 'linked to the ideologies of the new

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[111] Neerja Mattoo, 'The Story of a Women's College in Kashmir', in Urvashi Butalia ed., *Speaking Peace*, p. 164.
[112] See Nyla Ali Khan, *The Life of a Kashmiri Woman: Dialectic of Resistance and Accomodation*. And Rita Manchanda, 'Guns and Burqa: Women in the Kashmir Conflict', in Rita Manchanda, ed., *Women, War and Peace in South Asia: Beyond Victimhood to Agency*.
[113] Krishna Misri, 'Kashmiri Women Down the Ages: A Gender Perspective', pp. 17-24.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[115] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'Building a New Kashmir', Ph.D. Thesis, pp. 291-302, p. 293.
[116] See Hafsa Kanjwal, 'State-led Feminism in 'Naya Kashmir': The New Kashmiri Woman', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 53, Issue No. 47, 01 December 2018.

government' and that could 'implement the state's socialist program for Kashmiri society'.[117] This paternalistic attitude of the state created its limitations for women.

This is best exemplified by the study of the Women's College which while offered many opportunities for education and employment for women, was also a purveyor of a particular kind of politics, one which benefitted the state. The individuals associated with the Women's College, as well as many other institutions set up by the National Conference, exhibited a form of Kashmiri nationalism that displayed increased identification with the Indian state. Axiomatically, any form of opposition or alternative vision for Kashmir was effectively curtailed, especially pro-Pakistan sentiments.[118] Miss Mehmooda Ali Shah ensured that any form of anti-India activity on the college campus was curtailed. The visit of Indian dignitaries, including Indira Gandhi, and those from outside the country, to the College was welcomed by staging cultural programmes. A photograph of one such event in the College is reproduced below:

Members of the Libyan Delegation, the Chief Minister Jenab Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the State Minister for Education Shri Mohd. Shafi, watching a cultural programme put up by the College,

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[117] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'Building a New Kashmir', Ph.D. Thesis, pp. 291-302, p. 296
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 299.
[119] *Pamposh*: *A Magazine of Government College for Women*, Srinagar, 1979.

The principal ensured full attendance of the students on days like these and the ones who failed to comply or did not echo pro-India sentiments were met with stringent punishments.[120] The college campuses and other educational institutions had become active grounds for the government to popularise its policies and programmes.[121] The ones loyal to the government were granted favourable appointments, promotions and incentives. And the ones who disobeyed were punished by loss of salaries and employment, forceful early retirements and even incarceration. The gradual politicization of the Women's College championing a Kashmiri nationalism and increased identification with the Indian state was becoming the unquestioned reality during the same time the college came to achieve great strides in the field of education in Kashmir, i.e. from the 1950s to 1970s.

Conclusion

The state government's efforts in providing higher education to women with the establishment of a separate college did open many avenues for advancement. The upward social mobility of women was fast becoming a reality. In most families, this was the first generation of women to come out for education and employment. The conservatism of the masses and the opposition to the education and employment of women outside the home was getting eroded gradually. Some women also travelled outside the state for higher education to improve their employment prospects after their return to the Valley. But the government was inclined to make the college campuses breeding ground for nationalist ideas, to be achieved equally through study and an emphasis on extra-curricular activities. The first Government College for Women was thus harnessed to help the government in its nationalist ideologies. The college principals, the loyal supporters of the government, were to ensure discipline and display solidarity. The state governments' efforts towards female education thus did not provide full freedom to women to realise their true potential and, therefore, limited the successful realization of women's emancipatory projects.

[120] Hafsa Kanjwal, 'Building a New Kashmir', Ph.D. Thesis, pp. 298-301.
[121] For more on this see, Agha Ashraf Ali, *Kuch to Likhye, Loag Kehte Hain*, Shalimar Art Press, Srinagar, 2010.

Chapter 5

Begam Zaffar Ali: Pioneer Woman Educationist of Kashmir

Songs, tales, and proverbs are some of the common expressions through which females articulate their sense of the self and their world.[1] Women also wrote about their life and thoughts in letters, diaries, journals, what Tanika Sarkar calls the 'female writing traces'.[2] Writing of the life histories by women – variously termed as autobiography, *aap biitii, atma carita* – was also one of their very first literary expressions.[3] To quote David Arnold and Stuart Blackburn: 'To have one's achievements embodied in a life-history text, whatever its form, has been a way to leave "a trace" of oneself, to make a lasting mark on the world and ensure a kind of immortality for one's thoughts and deeds'.[4]

Life histories of women are particularly important to reconstruct the experiential worlds of these subalterns since they are not usually accessible in the archives that serve the perspectives of the state and the dominant castes and gender. As Sylvia Vatuk sums it up: 'Life histories are a way of rescuing or recovering the woman's (or Dalit's) voice, buried as it often is in the unrecorded past or in the unwritten lives of contemporary non-literate and often oppressed and marginalized peoples'.[5] Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson write that autobiography has been used by many women writers to write themselves into history, 'creatively talked back to patriarchs, defied, resisted, in short, been empowered through writing their lives'. They add that

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[1] See, Gloria Goodwin Raheja and Ann Grodzins Gold, *Listen to Heron's Words: Reimagining Gender and Kinship in North India*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1994 and Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India*, Penguin, New Delhi, 1998.

[2] Tanika Sarkar, *Words to Win: The Making of Amar Jiban: A Modern Autobiography*, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 5-6.

[3] There is a debate about what qualifies as 'true autobiography': whether the forms of writing in the West alone qualify as one or the ones written as *aap-biitii, atma carita* also fall under the purview of what is known as autobiography. For more on this, see Anshu Malhotra and Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, 'Gender, Performance, and Autobiography in South Asia', in Anshu Malhotra and Siobhan Lambert-Hurley eds., *Speaking of the Self*, pp. 1-30.

[4] David Arnold and Stuart Blackburn eds., *Telling Lives in India: Biography, Autobiography, and Life History*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2004, pp. 11-12.

[5] Quoted in *Ibid*., p. 15.

while doing so, women of accomplishment in writing their past lived lives have had to confront power and control.[6]

The women's autobiographies, at least in the context of South Asia, however, provide a window predominantly into the lives of women of upper classes of the society. Vatuk adds that these women mostly enjoy some public prominence – in politics, the professions, social reform, literature, or the theatre.[7] This leads to the problem that these women even though were small in number, 'are perceived as elite, even if their struggles to acquire an education effectively challenge this assumption', as rightly pointed out by Geraldine Forbes.[8] Attention is also to be paid to the intersection of race, class, and caste in women's autobiographies. There is thus a need to rethink the autobiographical narratives in terms of the 'politics of difference'. How far the accounts of these 'elite' women were emblematic of the wider society or of other classes of women is also relevant to ask.

The struggle to acquire education and literacy were some of the common themes in the early women's writings. Seclusion (purdah), marriage, domesticity, and home were also some of the other central themes, linked as they were to education. Because of the restrictions placed on them, the metaphor of 'caged birds' and 'prison-like homes' were commonly used as tropes by women to define their lives. Meera Kosambi in her book details the challenges women faced in stepping out of the patriarchal boundaries and the domestic 'threshold' – the restricted periphery of the woman's place in the family and society. She goes on to argue that the issue here as to whether to treat these women as elites or subaltern is essential because 'the very concept of gendered subalternity is complex and not amenable to simple resolution'. She further writes: 'nineteenth-century subjects both as gendered subalterns exposed to patriarchal subordination,

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[6] Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson eds., *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin, 1998, p. 7.

[7] Sylvia Vatuk, '*Hamara Daur-i-Hayat*: An Indian Muslim Woman Writes Her Life', in David Arnold and Stuart Blackburn eds., *Telling Lives in India,* p. 148.

[8] Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Modern India: The New Cambridge History of India Series*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, p.6.

and as elite, educated women who enjoyed a high-caste and/or class status, and who possessed a voice'.[9]

This chapter focuses on the life of one such 'elite' Muslim woman of Kashmir and the response of her family and the wider society to her education and employment. This study is important because while the discourses on Muslim women's education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century India has been studied extensively, there is a void when one focuses the lens on the study of Kashmir. Sylvia Vatuk, Asiya Alam, Gail Minault, Siobhan Lambert Hurley, and Barbara Metcalf are some of the prominent scholars who have studied the question of education, influenced by reform and social change, within the ashraf Muslim community in India, particularly North India and Hyderabad.

Drawing on these rich perspectives, I will analyze Begam Zaffar Ali's (henceforth Begam) autobiography to reconstruct the social milieu of the time, the response of the society to female education in twentieth-century Kashmir, and the role of women in creating alternative frameworks to support each other. Begam's autobiography provides an important lens to study gender dynamics and popular notions about female education among Kashmiris, particularly Muslims, in the twentieth century. How the familial space was affected by political currents, reform and the movements for social change will also be studied. This chapter will also explore the role of english education in the development of the self of a woman in Kashmir, and its dissemination among the masses at a stage when women's education was just a dream.

Text and Context: Conceptual Frameworks

Syeda Fatima, popularly known as Begam Zaffar Ali[10] was born into an elite Shia Muslim family of Kashmir in the year 1901. Her father, Khan Bahadur Aga Syed Hussain, served as the Home and Judicial Minister during the reign of Maharaja Hari Singh. Begam, however, could not enjoy the privileges she was born into for a long time as according to the custom of the time she was married at a very young age to Agha Zaffar Ali Qizilbash, a scion of an aristocratic Afghan

[9] Meera Kosambi, *Crossing Thresholds: Feminist Essays in Social History*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2007, pp. 46-47.

[10] Begam was married to Agha Zaffar Ali Qizilbash, a scion of an aristocratic Afghan family settled in Kashmir, hence called Begam Zaffar Ali.

family settled in Kashmir. Her life in her in-laws house was full of struggles for her, which will be dealt in detail later in the chapter.

Begam's accomplishments are also noteworthy. She is the first matriculate woman of Kashmir. Beginning her career as a teacher in the Girls' Mission High School in the year 1925, she then went on to become Inspector of Schools. She also worked as the Chief Inspectress, *Taalim-un-Niswan* (Women's education) just before her retirement, and later worked as a member of the Social Welfare Advisory Board. She then became Member Legislative Assembly, Jammu and Kashmir. In 1987, the Government of India awarded her Padma Shri for her work in women's liberation and education. She later returned the award citing the human rights violations in the Valley.

Begam had extra-ordinary credentials to her credit and also an exceptional career. Her autobiography points to the expanded horizons of her career, much like many of the educated Muslim women of her generation from 'elite' families in other parts of the country.[11] Her portrayal in her autobiography also resembles the ideal woman of the didactic and reformist literature written for Muslim women in the late nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century e.g. *Mirat-ul-Arus*.[12] As beautifully summed up by Sylvia Vatuk: 'The ideal woman in the[se] stories...was knowledgeable and enlightened, capable of running a modern household and raising modern sons while retaining the traditional feminine virtues of modesty, patience, self-abnegation, gentility and religiosity'.[13] Begam's autobiography suggests that she was all of this.

Her autobiography, *Mere Shab-o-Roz* (translation: My Nights and Days), was written in the Urdu language and published in the year 1983 from Srinagar. Rhyming words were used on many occasions to create beautiful verses narrating both the eventful and the routine, even mundane affairs. Begam penned down about her life – family, marriage, seclusion (purdah),

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[11] See, Lubna Kazim edited and compiled, *The Woman of Substance: The Memoirs of Begam Khurshid Mirza (1918-1989)*, Zubaan, New Delhi, 2005. Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, *Muslim Women, Reform and Princely Patronage: Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam of Bhopal*, Routledge, London, 2007. Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998.

[12] *Mirat-ul-Arus* (The Bride's Mirror) is a novel written by a Nazir Ahmad Dehlvi, published in 1869. The novel contains themes pertaining to the promotion of female education among Muslims, but of a specific kind – that of disciplining and domesticating women.

[13] Sylvia Vatuk, '*Hamara Daur-i-Hayat*', in David Arnold and Stuart Blackburn eds., *Telling Lives in India*, p. 163.

education, employment, and social work among downtrodden women. A central theme in Begam's autobiography, like that of many other women writers of the time, focussed on women's education and employment – the restrictions placed, strategies adopted to acquire the same, and on the growing availability in the later years. Throughout the autobiography, she guides her readers towards her obsession with *Taalim-un-Niswan* (women's education), and the steps she took in this direction. Her organised campaigns and formation of clubs and *markaz* (centres) for social reform of women also extensively fill in the pages of the book.

The importance of women for the well being of the society, in the opinion of Begam, can be gazed from her interview in May 1986 where in response to a question on their role in the male-oriented society, she read out the following verses:

O Maon Bahno Betiyo
(O' mothers, sisters and daughters)
Duniya ki zinat tumse hai
(This world is beautiful because of you)
Tum ho to gulistan hai watan
(With you country is like a garden)
Tum bin veran hai chaman
(Without you flowerbeds are desolate)
Gumgin dilon ki shadain
(In marriages of poignant hearts)
Dukh sukh mai rahat tumse hai
(You are comfort in joy and sorrow)[14]

Begam harped on the education of women for the progress of any community and country. However, it seems as though the domestication of women, through an emphasis on their education, was her main objective. Her portrayal of a good daughter, good wife, and a good mother is stressed in her autobiography. The key moments in her life e.g. higher education, employment and the associated transfers, the shedding of burqa (veil) are almost always linked to her familial duties and the need to step in to provide for the family and her community.[15] Her movements for social reform are also inevitably interwoven with a communitarian consciousness. In that sense, she erases the boundaries between the private and the public in her writing about her home and work.

[14] Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin, *Mysteries and Glimpses of Kashmir*, p. 240.
[15] Whether by community she means regional or religious affiliation, or both, is unclear.

Begam's autobiography is a detailed account of what one influential woman wanted herself to be remembered as and what she wanted the world to hear. Borrowing from Sylvia Vatuk's analysis of Zakira Begam, Begam's autobiography 'provides an important kind of lens for examining patterns of female socialization and gender dynamics in Muslim culture'[16] in Kashmir in the twentieth century. Her autobiography is also that of a woman from an 'elite' family who broke many of the social conventions of the time and interacted with women and men alike, even if in her later years. It is also a history of her everyday life and the challenges she faced in disseminating education among Kashmiri women. Her life is, however, different from those of many of her generation who spent their entire lives tending to their families within the confines of their home. Begam's life history revolves around the tropes of education and employment and the movement in her life involving leisure activity, entertainment, job transfers and travel.

Travels due to work oriented transfers of her father and later her husband as well as housekeeping are dealt with in great detail. This has parallels with Antoinette Burton's emphasis on home as a trope in memory and history for women.[17] Begam gives considerable space in her autobiography to setting up the home and tending to the gardens, much like many of the other *sharif* Muslim women of her generation. Asiya Alam in writing about Nazr Sajjad Hyder's diary and memoir stresses on the description of travels, home, and family as a feature of class and argues that it 'suggests the emergence of an educated and privileged upper middle-class of Muslims in late colonial India, with its own unique cultural codes of conduct and beliefs, informed by ideologies of reform'.[18] Alam further writes about housekeeping as an attribute of Muslim *sharif* reform and argues that the qualities of tastefully decorating the house in women were 'larger manifestations of *adab* or manners that were integral to the norms of *sharafat*'.[19] There is a lot of mention in Begam's autobiography on how she and the female kin of her

[16] Sylvia Vatuk, '*Hamara Daur-i-Hayat*', in David Arnold and Stuart Blackburn eds., *Telling Lives in India,* pp. 167-168.
[17] Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home and History in Late Colonial India*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2003.
[18] Asiya Alam, 'Interrupted Stories: Self-Narratives of Nazr Sajjad Hyder', in Anshu Malhotra and Siobhan Lambert-Hurley eds., *Speaking of the Self,* pp. 72-94, p. 90.
[19] *Ibid*., p. 88.

household made the uninhabitable, dark, dingy government quarters pleasant for living with meticulous planning, hard work and restrained budget.

Begam lived many lives simultaneously. She worked as a homemaker, an educationist and a social worker – shifting roles as the need arose. To retrieve her subjectivity through a study of her autobiography is, thus, important to study how she perceived her life and work through her writing. This is not to suggest that this was exactly what happened, or that the facts provided are correct. There is indeed a thin line separating fiction from autobiography.[20] The intention is not to establish the truth claims of her life written in words. The attempt merely is to read her life and work as she remembered and wrote about it.

The acknowledgment of selective amnesia, both intentional and unintentional, as well as the 'interplay of remembering and crafting'[21] in her writing, is important. Nonica Datta writes about the central character, Subhashini,[22] in her book: 'The empirical truth of what she says is not important. What is important is the way she perceives people, places and events. For that experience was *her* truth and that perception was *her* reality'.[23] This is exactly what this chapter seeks to do in relation to Begam's life.

Before I proceed to elaborate on Begam's education, employment, family life and her work for female education in Kashmir as portrayed in her autobiography, it is important to place her work in a context and pose some critical questions. Firstly, why did women think it important to make their lives public, in a written form, and that too in their old age? Begam published her autobiography after a gap of many intervening years from when the events happened. Though it

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[20] The autobiography 'expresses the play of the autobiographical act itself, in which the materials of the past are shaped by memory and imagination to serve the needs of present consciousness. Autobiography is increasingly understood as both an art of memory and an art of imagination; indeed, memory and imagination become so intimately complementary in the autobiographical art that it is usually impossible for autobiographers and their readers to distinguish between them in practice' in Paul John Eakin, *Fictions in Autobiography: Studies in the Art of Self-Invention*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and New Jersey, 1985, pp. 5-6.

[21] Nonica Datta, *Violence, Martyrdom and Partition: A Daughter's Testimony*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2009, p. x.

[22] Subhashini (1914-2003) was the woman head of a well-known Arya Samaj institution devoted to women's education in rural north India.

[23] Nonica Datta, *Violence, Martyrdom and Partition*, pp. 28-29. Paul John Eakin quotes Jean-Paul Sartre who defines autobiography as 'a recounting of the events of the author's life as they happened, together with what the author may have felt or thought at the time of these happenings, insofar as he can remember them exactly' in Paul John Eakin, *Fictions in Autobiography*, p. 21.

is not known as to when exactly she started writing her life and work, but we know she was 82 years old when she got it published.

Begam, however, is not the only one to do so. Sylvia Vatuk's study of Zakira Begam, Asiya Alam's of Nazr Sajjad Hyder, and Lubna Kazim's of Begam Khurshid Mirza all point out the fact that it was the norm for women to write about their lives in the later stages of their lives. However, they all followed the social norms and modesty associated with women. For example, there is no discussion on intimate affairs like sexuality in women's autobiographies and this domain is strictly private. Asiya Alam argues that 'what it illustrates is that even women who defined their own position publicly against a patriarchal society did not completely disavow its customs and conventions but lived a life of negotiation between their individuality and their social heritage'.[24] Women are found to use silences and ellipsis as a protective strategy. This notion that 'women in societies with marked gender asymmetry develop ways of negotiating the conditions of their lives within the constraints imposed by cultural definitions of femininity' has been particularly useful in this thesis in examining Begam's account of her life.[25]

In the preface of her autobiography, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, Begam mentions that the thought behind writing her autobiography was to make public the experiences of her life, full of both sorrows and happiness. Using the trope of self-effacement and self-modesty as was common with the female writers of the time, she writes:

> The reason certainly is not because I am a big writer, or that I have lived an extraordinary life and have performed some path-breaking work and for my work to serve as an inspiration to others. But at the old stage of my life, I have no regrets from my life and my conscience is clean. My life has been very normal trying to serve the oppressed and the needy – women, children.

She also requests the readers not to look at her writing from a critical literary lens. 'The memoir', she writes, 'comprises of both my happiness and sorrows and I want to make them public'. She adds: 'This is our society's social reality as well'. Arguing that these are not only her sorrows and happiness but also of women generally, she is probably pointing to the common experiences of the women at the time. The book reproduces a letter from Ismat Chughtai to

[24] Asiya Alam, 'Interrupted Stories', in Anshu Malhotra and Siobhan Lambert-Hurley eds., *Speaking of the Self,* pp. 72-94, p. 89.
[25] Sylvia Vatuk, '*Hamara Daur-i-Hayat*', in David Arnold and Stuart Blackburn eds., *Telling Lives in India*, p. 148.

Begam, which corroborates this argument. She writes: your '*aap-biti* is *jag-biti*', pointing to a feminist solidarity. The letter goes on to praise Begam's role at home and outside:

> Irrespective of your dutiful commitments to your husband and children,[26] you loved your *qaum*[27] equally. Beneath a young, tender, beautiful woman lay a fire whose warmth lights up humanity. I was initially of the impression that *aap-biti* would comprise of your family's wealth, riches and of the power and prestige of your father. But your story is much more than that. It is a humane approach to life. You are a very nice daughter, wife, mother and grand-mother.

This corroborates the fact that a woman's identity is dependent on many variables and not just on her persona, unlike that of males. Chughtai further wrote about Begam: 'You are also a great educationist and a social worker. Even through all this, you continued to be deeply committed to religion'.[28] This brings us to the second important point about the need to understand agency in women's narratives as more than just resistance to patriarchal formations. Anshu Malhotra and Siobhan Lambert-Hurley write about the choices women make within the cultural constraints they live in. Arguing about the polysemic nature of women's agency, they argue for the need to uncover ways to locate it. They add that, 'to understand the heterogeneity of the self; that is, one can be a different person at different times, underlying the salience of a performing self'[29] is one of the ways to understand the agency of women. The questions of individuality, identity, and self-representation are thus important. For example, her book gives the impression that the role of Begam's husband in her life was less than that of her father. But the trope of a 'dutiful wife' is introduced in her autobiography and also that of a 'concerned mother'.

Self modesty is also a narrative strategy women employ to gain agency and is a way in which people operate within constraints. The narrative tropes that Begam uses to tell her story

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[26] Father is a central figure in her autobiography. Husband rarely figures in her narrative. The reference to her sons is mostly with regard to their education, politics and employment. This resembles that of Tanika Sarkar's study of Rashundari Devi where she points to the relatively sovereign inner self of women, non-colonized by men. See Tanika Sarkar, *Words to Win: The Making of Amar Jiban*.

[27] Whether by Qaum she meant religious or regional community is not clear enough.

[28] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, published autobiography in Urdu of Begam Zaffar Ali, Colour Printing Press, Delhi, 1983, pp. 6-7. Chughtai added that Begam Zaffar Ali was one of the three women who inspired her, the other two being Wahida Jehan of Aligarh and her daughter Rashida Jehan. She cites a common notion of the time that the girls who failed to attract grooms due to their mediocre looks took to education but the three women mentioned above were beautiful, both physically as well as through their character.

[29] Anshu Malhotra and Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, 'Introduction: Gender, Performance, and Autobiography in South Asia', in Anshu Malhotra and Siobhan Lambert-Hurley eds., *Speaking of the Self*, p. 13.

are coloured by the same concepts of self-censorship, *izzat* (honour) as that of many women writers before and after her. Her autobiography is also a self-portrait painted by a woman many years later from when the events happened. The cultural codes often determine what is concealed and what is revealed to project the right image of the self. In that sense, Sidonie Smith calls 'autobiographical storytelling' a 'performative act'.[30]

The trope of the common experiences women face and the recurring patterns in writings by women brings us to the much-debated question of whether men and women write their autobiographies differently in terms of structure and content, what Smith and Watson summarize as a 'difference theory of women's autobiography'.[31] Commonly, women's autobiographies are seen to be more about the self-in-society than individual lives, more personal than political, episodic and fragmentary rather than linear, and harp more on the domestic realm than career or achievements in public life.[32] Estelle Jelinek was one of the first ones to propound this view. She argued that men usually project a 'self-confident, one-dimensional self-image' while 'women often depict a multidimensional, fragmented self-image coloured by a sense of inadequacy and alienation, of being outsiders or "other"; they feel the need for authentication, to prove their "self-worth"'. And adds that simultaneously and paradoxically, women project self-confidence and a positive sense of accomplishment in having overcome many obstacles in their attempts to succeed – whether it be personal or professional.[33]

Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck add to the argument and write that 'the very authority of masculine autobiography derives from the assumption held by both the author and the reader that the life being written/read is an exemplary one'. On the contrary, 'the female autobiographer takes as a given that selfhood is mediated; her invisibility results from her lack of a tradition, her marginality in male-dominated culture, her fragmentation – social and political as well as psychic'. They argue that the classic stance of a male autobiographer as a 'representative of the time, a mirror of his era' stands in sharp contrast to that of a female autobiographer.[34] Joy

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[30] Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson eds., *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader*, p. 11.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 9 and p. 18.
[32] Anshu Malhotra and Siobhan Lambert-Hurley eds., *Speaking of the Self*, p. 9.
[33] Estelle C. Jelinek, *The Tradition of Women's Autobiography: From Antiquity to the Present*, Twayne Publishers, Boston, 1985, p. xiii.
[34] Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck eds., *Life/Lines: Theorizing Women's Autobiography*, Cornell University Press, Cornell, 1988, pp. 1-6.

Hooten's argument also corroborates this when he suggests that there is a pattern in women's autobiographies of defining the self by alterity. He writes: 'Lacking a sense of teleological design, women frequently structure their narratives irregularly, preferring a non-chronological, discontinuous, episodic structure'.[35]

David Arnold and Stuart Blackburn in their book, however, link the self-in-society approach with Indians generally, both men and women. They write: 'Indians present individual lives within a network of other lives and that they define themselves in relation to larger frames of reference, especially those of family, kin, caste, religion, and gender'. And add, 'Life histories in India are a means of negotiating the irreducible dichotomy of the self-in-society; they are a narrative form for expressing and imagining an individual's existence, which includes group identities and relations with others'.[36]

This line of argument fits in well for Begam's autobiography. She had the literary ability, poetic finesse, the capacity to think and to write her life-story, to weave together the events and episodes of her life and present her life in conjunction with the lives of others. In fact, she begins her account by placing herself at the end of a line of praiseworthy ancestors from Qandhar in Afghanistan and Kashgar in Iran and their eventual settling down in Kashmir. Thereafter, following Urdu and Persian prose styles of writing,[37] she presents herself with humility. The autobiography lacks a sense of time. At times, she mentions her age which provides a sense of the time and the year she is referring to. At other times, the book is vague about the chronology. The subsequent sections will deal in detail with her life and work, especially for the cause of female education in Kashmir in the twentieth century. 3

Early Life and Seclusion: Religious Instruction and the Beginning of Secular Education

Begam Zaffar Ali was born into a well-known Shia family in Srinagar, Kashmir in 1901. Her father, Syed Hussain, was the first student from Kashmir to obtain education from outside the state. At the time there were no formal schools in the state and only *maktabs* and *pathshalas*

[35] Joy Hooten, 'Autobiography and Gender', in Susan Magarey ed., *Writing Lives: Feminist Biography and Autobiography,* Australian Feminist Studies Publication, Adelaide, 1992, pp. 25-40, p. 34.
[36] David Arnold and Stuart Blackburn eds., *Telling Lives in India,* pp. 19-22.
[37] Sylvia Vatuk, '*Hamara Daur-i-Hayat*', in David Arnold and Stuart Blackburn eds., *Telling Lives in India,* p. 150.

imparted education in Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. Syed Hussain passed both his middle school and matriculate examination as a private candidate from Rawalpindi (now in Pakistan). He is the first matriculate of Kashmir. True to the predictions that the astrologers had made at the time of his birth, he did go on to achieve great success in his life and earned himself a great name.[38] Being well educated, he taught his children – both sons and daughters – sports, music. He also broke many social customs prescribed for girls and even hired English governesses to teach Begam at home. The subjects taught were: house-keeping, hygiene, health care, physiology, and domestic science. But she never took any examination. This led to a strong protest by the community and their family was boycotted for this 'sin'. But he persisted in his efforts to educate his daughter, initially that of imparting her with domestic education and later of a more secular kind. This will be dealt with in detail later in the chapter.

Begam paints her mother's, Syeda Sakina Saadat's (henceforth Sakina Begam), character sketch in her autobiography as 'extremely beautiful, bright as a candle, fair complexion, eyes that shined bright, hands and feet as tender as a lotus'. She further writes that her mother was a *purdanashin* woman and deeply religious, even to the extent of ignoring household work, which was taken care of by Sakina Begam's sister-in-law and mother-in-law. This brings us to two very important points: to the amicable relations among female kin of the household and second how it was acceptable for women in the family to sideline their domestic responsibility for their religious duty. Sakina Begam also knew accounts as she would help her husband in managing the finances of the shops, land and other properties he owned.[39]

Sakina Begam was also socially active in affairs involving women from neighbourhood. Begam writes: 'My mother was respected by all within the household, the extended family and even the people in the *mohalla* and the surrounding areas'. Sakina Begam died at the age of 33 due to appendicitis when Begam was only nine years old. Begam blames strict purdah restriction as a major hurdle in her mother getting the required medical help.[40] In the same vein, however, Begam credits her mother as being an influential force in her life which drove her towards religion. Sakina Begam, like many women of her generation, had instructed her children through

[38] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, p. 21
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

stories and anecdotes about religious teachings from a very young age. Begam further writes that her mother had also enjoined Begam and her sisters' to serve their husbands, love the children, be kind to the neighbours and respectful to the parents from a very young age, which was not the case with her brothers.[41]

Sakina Begam had given birth to eight children, five of whom had passed away in her lifetime. Begam was seven years old when her sister, who was also her husband's first wife, died. As per the custom of the time, Begam's sister was married at a very young age. She died within ten months of her marriage from a grave illness, the details of which are not mentioned. Her husband too was young at the time of their marriage. He was studying in Class five. But Begam sees the ten months that her sister spent at her in-laws house as being highly beneficial for her education as besides religious education she was educated in English and Urdu. A European lady was appointed as her home governess.[42] Her father-in-law who was an Inspector of Police had an orientation towards western learning and had even got his daughter Zamarud educated at home. She contrasts this with their natal family where an emphasis was given only on religious education, training in household work, basic accounts, and elementary Urdu.[43]

Begam's natal family gave emphasis to seclusion of women and purdah for the female kin of their household. There was a restriction on the girls' going to schools. Thus, girls could participate only rarely in instruction outside the home. This was true for many regions of India as well at the time. Even the few exceptional women who were educated e.g. the *Begam*s of Bhopal maintained strict purdah restrictions.[44] Commonly, religious education was provided to girls, as was common among elite Muslims of the time in Kashmir and outside. Quran, Persian, Urdu, household work, a few moral maxims, and household accounts were also taught.[45]

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[41] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, p. 61.
[42] In an interview with Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin reproduced in their book, Begam stated: 'The girls of the Muslim aristocratic families could be allowed to learn three R's from European governesses. But it was not a common feature. There were instances of strong protest of such families in the society. But some parents persisted in their efforts to get their daughters educated', in Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin eds., *Mysteries and Glimpses of Kashmir*, p. 232.
[43] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 28-29.
[44] Gail Minault, 'Educated Muslim Women: Real and Ideal', in Charu Gupta ed., *Gendering Colonial India: Reforms, Print, Caste and Communalism*, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, 2012, pp. 109-135, p. 118.
[45] Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars*, p. 2.

In Begam's natal family, a *maktab* was opened in the house itself and became a point of assembly for female relatives and young boys (also young boys from the neighbourhood) to study the Quran. The day was strictly regimented for study and maximum emphasis was placed on reciting and memorizing Quranic verses.[46] The time for learning was fixed in the morning and writing was practiced in the afternoon. The punishment for boys and girls failing to memorize was different. While the punishment for boys was severe, girls were required to cover their faces with a dupatta and slapped so that the *maulvis'* (religious teacher) hands' would not directly touch their faces to save them from the fire of hell. On finishing the Quran by the females, the *mualim* (pl. for *alim*, a learned man) was showered with gifts, and friends and relatives were invited to a feast. Begam had finished reading the Quran when she was nine years old. Thereafter, important books of fiqh (jurisprudence) and Hadith (sayings of Prophet Mohammad recorded by his predecessors) were also taught.[47]

The European presence in their house was also a regular feature. A European missionary woman used to frequent their house to attend to Begam's paternal grandmother who was handicapped. Her interaction with the female kin of the household was, however, limited. But because Begam was young, she was allowed to spend time with the lady and learn sewing and knitting from her. Other females of the house were not allowed to meet her because she was *be-purdah* (unveiled) and spoke to men freely. Begam in her autobiography narrates one incident when she was interrupted by the European missionary woman asking her to explain some verses from the Quran which she was reciting. Stunned at the question, Begam pondered on the need to understand it when she was told that it is the unerring word of God and not meant to be understood or questioned.[48] This encounter with reason, logic, rationality and secular thinking did shape her childhood to some extent and it was to have a much deeper impact on her later life.

Most of her childhood memories are, however, of details about purdah, religious education, life in closed quarters at home and the like. The strict emphasis on purdah can be judged from an anecdote in Begam's autobiography when as a nine year old girl she undertook a journey with the family from Srinagar to Udhampur one summer where her father was posted as

[46] The children were taught to only recite the Quran (like parrots) and not to understand it, since it is deemed to be the unerring word of God.
[47] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, p. 32.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

a Deputy Commissioner. The male members travelled on horses and the females were made to travel in palanquins covered from all sides. About the restrictions imposed by purdah, she writes:

> My younger brother would sometimes get in my palanquin. He started crying on one occasion. I was in a fix as to whether I should ask the *kahars* (men carrying the palanquin) to stop, but it was a *gunah* (sin) for me to make them hear a *ghayr mehrams's* [a stranger's] voice. I couldn't even come out of the palanquin even though I was in purdah because I had to be surrounded by chador also, which was essential for women's movement. In a few moments, some women came and took my brother to our mother.

On narrating this incident to her father, he advised her to don a burqa from the next time, call out to *kahars* to stop so she could move out. She found this to be emancipating. She adds:

> During those days, females from the upper classes of society did not step much outside the house. Travel for the females of the family was thus a revolutionary step for the time. It was necessary for the doctor had advised her mother change of place. She had gone into shock and trauma because of the death of her daughter.[49]

The injunction imposed by purdah was so strict that even when females suffered from illness, many could not see a doctor. Begam talks of how her mother had to suffer in pain as she did not want to be operated upon by male European missionary doctors and took the help of unani medication instead. After it failed, she still did not want any *ghayr mehram* to see her unveiled. Finally, she was admitted to the zenana hospital and was operated upon by Dr. Neve.[50] But by then it was too late and there was no advanced treatment available to treat appendicitis. Impressing upon her mother's belief in religion, Begam writes: even in this state when she could do nothing, she continued to pray till her last breath and added that she passed away on the twenty-fifth day of Ramadan.[51] It was probably important to demonstrate that she was pious.

After her mother's death, Begam was raised by home governesses. Miss Wakefeld, a Christian woman and a widow, was Begam's first governess in Udhampur and taught her for a brief period. She was responsible for Begam's and her brothers' education – Syed Mehmood and Syed Ahmed while also managing the household. There is no mention in Begam's autobiography about the kind of education given to her brothers by the home governess which would have hinted at the gendering of education in their household. Begam also does not talk about the

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[49] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, p. 34.

[50] For detail on Dr. Neve's medical missionary work, See Ernest F. Neve, *A Crusader in Kashmir*, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, first edition 1928, republished in 2007.

[51] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 43-46. Ramadan is the ninth month of the Islamic calendar, observed by Muslims worldwide as a month of fasting and prayer.

formal education of her brothers in school. Referring in a small section about her governess being a strict disciplinarian, she mentions that Wakefeld taught her English and *Mirat-ul-Arus*. Begam added that under Miss Wakefeld's tutelage, she switched her sartorial makeup from kurta and shalwar to a sari when she was barely twelve years of age.[52] But because the Governess would talk recklessly in front of her father, he placed another advertisement for a new home governess before his second transfer to Baramulla. Begam displays a keen knowledge of geography in her autobiography. She gives an idea through her travels about the measure of distance, physical features – mountains and rivers, and the trade routes. In Baramulla, the first home governess hired, Mrs. Datsu, was quickly removed from service for she refused to teach Begam piano because of her rough hands. Begam's father was in favour of the all-round education of his daughter. He taught her to play the harmonium.

The next home governess hired, an Irish woman, Mrs. Odoiver, was well educated and had previously served as the governess of the Nizam of Hyderabad. She had come to Kashmir for its natural beauty and had wrongly read in the newspaper that Begam's father was the Prime Minister of Kashmir. On knowing that he was just a Deputy Commissioner, she was let down and agreed to work on the condition that she would not live in the house and would teach the children till 8 p.m. She lived in a houseboat and besides a monthly salary of Rupees 150 had to be provided rent of Rupees 40 monthly for her stay. She taught Begam English, Maths, and Urdu in the morning for about three hours; knitting and stitching was practised in the afternoon; and gardening, natural science and badminton in the evening. She also taught her about months, days, and also various books like Robin's Six, Smith Family[53] but did not ever make her write a word. Another change was brought about that an English cook was hired to cook 'English food' and the family had started to eat with a knife and fork.[54]

Mrs. Odoiver would accompany the family even during vacations and teach the children. A strict routine had to be followed – get ready by 8 o'clock, finish breakfast by 9 and rest after lunch. But on holidays she used unconventional methods to teach the kids. For example, during

[52] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 49-51.
[53] No information is available on these books in her autobiography. I was unable to get any information on these books from my conversations with people of older generation in Kashmir as well.
[54] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 53-54. By English food, she refers to different preparations of eggs, breads etc.

vacation in Gulmarg, a tourist spot in Kashmir, she would make them write an essay on 'Our Hut in Gulmarg'. Evening walks were a regular feature of Mrs. Odoiver's stay during holidays and Begam writes that her home governess would lament Begam not accompanying her on these walks. Mrs. Odoiver saw purdah as a *zulm* (cruelty) for Begam, but because Begam had not seen the outside world, purdah did not feel like a *zulm*. But she added immediately after, that during travels her governess would travel on horseback and she in closed palanquins. It may not be wrong to suggest that she probably felt a sense of *zulm* by the time she was writing her autobiography.

Things were coloured by the person she was at the time she was writing them, not at the time they happened. She wrote: 'I being a girl would sit and sob inside while they would enjoy the beauty. I wish I could also enjoy the beauty of nature and breathe in the fresh air without any restrictions. But I would immediately be reminded of my mother's advice that not only is it a sin to be unveiled before strange men but even if you see or hear them is a sin and one has to pay for these sins in hell'. Her father also felt that they had to follow some conventional and old standards, even if he deemed them unimportant. Her father asked her to subscribe to some norms of the family as donning the purdah as they had already broken a lot of norms e.g. hiring English governesses, Begam getting educated from them, allowing her to play sports, learn music. He believed that if she would stop using purdah as well, it would bring a bad name to the family in society.[55] It would not be wrong to argue that her father was progressive by society's standards, but restrictions were placed on him on how he should bring up his daughter.

Mrs. Odoiver fell sick and in her place, Miss Bannerji, a Bengali Christian lady, was hired as the new home governess. She taught Begam domestic economy, world and wonders, first aid, home nursing. There was still not much emphasis on writing. The only thing Begam was taught to write was household accounts, expenditure and the like.[56] On the outside, it seems thus that Begam's early education was mostly traditional and conformed to the old-fashioned way of educating girls. However, her father did break many of the glass ceilings set for women in that time while holding on to certain norms, so as not to alienate the extended family and the

[55] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 55-59.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

society. She further pushed these boundaries in her middle age and later years and these will be the subject of study of subsequent sections.

Breaking Glass Ceilings: Marriage, Childbirth, Education and Employment

Agha Zaffar Ali, who was earlier married to Begam Zaffar Ali's elder sister, was in Class tenth when he married Begam Zaffar Ali. The year was 1915 and Begam was 14 years old.[57] Thereafter, he started staying in Begam's house as a *khanadamad*.[58] But as this practice was looked down upon in the Kashmiri society and still is; he did not stay on as a *khanadamad* later on as he considered it demeaning. Begam's natal house was named Syed Manzil (Manzil: destination, house) and was in Shaheed Gunj and that of her in-laws, Agha Manzil, was located nearby. Syed Hussain continued to take care of his daughter's expenses even after marriage. This was a common practice among upper-class families in Kashmir in the early decades of the twentieth century.[59]

Begam continued to study even after her marriage under her new governess, Miss Graham. She taught Begam housekeeping, home science, and educated her about child-rearing. Begam conceived immediately after marriage and in the absence of any female kin to help her, Miss Graham was her only close female confidante. On hearing the news, her father again broke the societal codes and rushed her to Dr. Neve's hospital. This was a time in Kashmir when *dais* (midwives) would be called for child-birth and people did not take help from male doctors, who were mostly missionaries.[60]

Showcasing her knowledge of history and world events, and giving the readers some sense of chronology, she writes that the birth of her son coincided with the First World War. The year was 1918. She further mentions that she wanted a girl instead and name her Tahira, but adds that 'as soon as she saw her new-born son, she forgot the Tahira of her dreams'. After her delivery, she shifted to Muzaffarabad where her father was posted as this was a warm place and

[57] Begam had given birth to three sons within six years of marriage.
[58] A khanadamad is a man who marries the daughter of a sonless proprietor, and instead of taking the girl away to his own house lives on with her in her father's house, performing services for him as the son does (to manage the property etc) and in fact lives as a son to his father-in-law. The reasons as to why would Syed Hussain bring a khandamad for his daughter remains unclear.
[59] This is based on my conversations with my grandmothers, and other female kin in the household and outside.
[60] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 62-63.

ideal for both the child and the mother. Her husband, who she refers to as Agha sahib, stayed back for his college education in Srinagar. Writing about her life many years later, she longs for a time when travel to Muzaffarabad was easy along the Jehlum Valley road and the 'thin line' (the Radcliffe Line) did not separate families on the two sides of the border. [61]

Begam's father, Syed Hussain, named the child Nasir and had taken it upon himself to attend to the baby. He would feed him, bathe him and sing him lullabies. Some of the lullabies he sang to his grandson had a political undertone to them and symbolic of Muslim families encouraging their children to study, to end the atrocities committed by the Dogra rulers:

B.A., M.A., bhi paas karega
(He will qualify bachelor and masters exams)
LLB bhi paas karega
(And even the law exams)
Judge banker Ijlaas karega
(He will also preside over as a judge)
Zulm-o-Sitam ka naash karega
(And end the cruelty and tyranny)[62]

Begam had the books given to her by her husband e.g. Agnes and Mere Patrolas[63] to spend her time with as she did not know anyone in Muzaffarabad. In the process, she developed a keen interest in reading. Her interest in reading also arose because of her husband who was much involved in societal issues. He read novels and other books extensively. But what was problematic was his disinterest in college education. When he did not budge, the elders thought it appropriate to find him some suitable employment. Being a student of Biscoe School, he spoke and wrote impeccable English and was widely read. Even though he had not even completed his bachelors' degree, Begam's father then got him appointed as a head clerk in the office of the Governor. [64]

Till this time, Begam had never been to her in-laws' house. But now that her husband was earning, she shifted her residence to that of her husband's. Begam writes that her father continued to give her money for her necessities even after the move. Her autobiography provides a hagiographic sketch of her father. But she does not seem to give her husband the same

[61] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 64-66.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[63] I was unable to get any information about the book.
[64] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 69-71.

treatment. Immediately after she shifted her residence to that of her husband, she wrote: 'My life was not always a bed of roses and I had to face my share of problems as well. But I carried on my duties and responsibilities at all times'.[65]

After Syed Hussain became the Judge of the High court of Jammu and Kashmir, he got Agha Zaffar Ali shifted to Gilgit. This was a time when it was extremely difficult for Muslims to secure jobs in government offices and the system of selection by nomination was the norm. It mostly favoured Kashmiri Pandits. Gilgit town is mentioned in most of the colonial ethnographic records as a harsh place to stay. Criminals were sentenced to imprisonment there. The place also served as a punishment for officials for dereliction of duty and the ones who voluntarily offered to work there were given a raise of pay or promotion.[66] The fact that Begam's father sent his son-in-law to work there suggests that it must have been crucial for *Begam*'s husband to shift there for a better salary or promotion.

As mentioned earlier as well, Begam displayed a keen sense of geography in her writing. In the description of their travel to Gilgit, she mentions the Pamir plateau and the countries Gilgit shares its borders with. By the time they moved to Gilgit, her second son Shaukat was also born. The year was 1919. During this journey, she travelled on horseback in harsh terrains. She writes that she did this as she understood the tremendous trouble caused to the labourers in carrying heavy loads and people.[67] The fact that she mentions it in passing suggests that she did not want the readers to see it as a revolutionary step, but simply as a humane approach to ease the pressure on labourers.

All the basic essentials needed for survival in Gilgit were sent on horseback from Kashmir. Showcasing her home-making skills, she carefully details how she cleaned and decorated their three-room quarter at Gilgit to make it easy for her husband to live there as he was used to a comfortable life in big bungalows. For cost-cutting, she made a kitchen garden at home for the cost of vegetables was high in Gilgit and even reared chicken in the house for meat and eggs. She had even carried an oven from Kashmir to make cakes and biscuits. Gilgit was also the starting point of her lifelong association with women's education and social work. She

[65] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, p. 72.
[66] Walter R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, reprint, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi and Chennai, 2005.
[67] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 73-76.

writes that during her stay in Gilgit, she met a lot of women who knew nothing about household care and management of children. She started a *Falahi Markaz* (social reform centre) for women in Gilgit at her house where she would teach them domestic economy, health benefits, child care, cooking, baking, stitching and weaving.[68]

The centrality of her father in her life can be seen from the mention of pain caused due to her father's absence during their stay in Gilgit. In one of the letters she wrote to her father while she was away, she laments:

Judai ke sadme sahoon kis tarah
(How will I bear the pain of this separation)
Guzarte hai dil pe kahoon kis tarah
(How can I narrate the pain it causes to my heart)
Judai mein rehte hoon mein bekaraar
(I am always restless because of this)
Pirote hoon har roz ashkun ke haar
(I cry incessantly everyday)[69]

Her separation from her father, however, did not last for long. Begam's husband got transferred to Srinagar in two years' time and was promoted to the position of Superintendent to the Governor. This was the time when Begam started her work for female education in Kashmir. Miss Mallinson offered her to work as the Lieutenant of the Girl Guide Company and with her husband's permission she accepted the offer, even though her father was against this. This required Begam to work on Sundays in Sheikh Bagh for the promotion of female education in the state.[70] Immediately after, the wife of Mr. Watal, the Finance minister (*wazir khazana*) and sister of Rameshwari Nehru, in a meeting with Begam's father narrated the efforts of the Dogra Maharaja Hari Singh to raise concerted efforts for female education in the state and to open schools for them. Maharaja had called Miss Bose, the Chief Inspectress at Lahore, to serve as the Chief Inspectress of female education in Kashmir. But because *sharif* families refrained from sending their girls to the school, he hoped that Begam would accept the offer to work in the school. This was to set the precedent for females of other *sharif* families to follow. But Begam's father replied: 'Our girl follows purdah and she cannot go outside the house to work. Doing this would tantamount to rebellion against the custom of the time'. Reminiscing about her emotion

[68] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 81-82, 89.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

much later in the book, she wrote: 'this reply from my father shattered the aspiration of my heart into a million pieces (*Is jawab se mere umeedon ka sheesh mehal chakna choor ho gaya*).'[71]

One afternoon, Miss Mallinson invited Begam for tea at her office with Miss Bose and Mr. Biscoe. At the time, Miss Mallinson served as the principal of The Girls Mission High school at Fateh Kadal. As there was no restriction on her association and meetings with missionary women and men in purdah, Begam accepted the invitation. The topic for discussion was an almost complete absence (*nayabi*) of female teachers in Kashmir. When Mr. Biscoe suggested Begam's name for the same, she replied 'How can I become a teacher, when I haven't even passed any examination'. She did not make any reference to the restrictions imposed by purdah. The very next day, a post came addressed to her. It was a letter from Miss Bose and had the signature of Moulvi Nazir Ahmad, who was the Education Minister at the time, offering Begam a post of teacher in the Fateh Kadal School.[72]

It was a common practice during the 1920s and 1930s in Kashmir for women who had some basic intelligence and were home educated to get offers to join as teachers in schools because of a near-total absence of eligible female teachers. Begam had her husband's approval for this. The main issue was her fathers' objection to her undertaking paid employment outside the house. He stuck to his earlier decision of denying the offer. She tried hard to convince him to give in but to no avail. She comments in her autobiography that she wished to tell him that not only was this her desire to teach, but also a need to earn some money. She wrote: 'women's modesty *(niswani ghairat*) did not allow me to say it out loud and my wishes were sacrificed to the call of obedience (*Mere hasratein itaa'at guzari aur farmabardari ke asoolon par qurbaan ho gaye*).'[73]

Begam continued to receive messages from Miss Bose to reconsider her decision. But given her fathers' reluctance to the same, she kept on denying the offer. Eventually, she did join as a teacher in the Fateh Kadal School in the year 1925 where she taught Urdu, Physiology, English, and Home Science. She did so without her father's permission and her narration of it in

[71] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, p. 93.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 94.
[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

her autobiography suggests as if she lost control over her actions, events transpired and she didn't even realize when she even accepted the offer. She writes:

> On one occasion when Miss Mallinson had come to meet me, she held my hand and took me to meet Miss Bose and somehow I followed her. Miss Bose grabbed my hand at once and took me to the school at Fateh Kadal. I still don't understand how and why I started to work as a teacher that day itself.[74]

She narrates the experience of her first day in school with great enthusiasm as this was her first encounter with formal education. She taught Urdu to the girls of the tenth class who she says were as old as her. But she quickly writes that later that day when the *chaprasi* (peon) escorted her to her father's home, she started to cry in front of her father, as if asking for forgiveness. She writes that she didn't even look him in the eye and narrated the whole incident. But to her amazement, he replied in a soft tone: 'You did a good thing; you always wanted to do it'. Thereafter, he even appointed a teacher, Mohammad Ramzan to teach her the subjects she was to teach in the school. Begam was asked to teach girls of tenth class physiology, hygiene, history, geography, first aid, home nursing, and stitching. Miss Chawner taught English and Mrs. Hay maths.[75] No explanation is provided in the autobiography as to what changed her father's mind and how he suddenly got so involved in her passion for teaching. Her account of this incident in the autobiography suggests that the events transpired without any trouble or tiff with her father.

Mr. Ramzan only taught her Urdu. She studied the rest of the subjects by herself given her previous training under European governesses. Also, by this time she had started to develop an interest in appearing for the tenth class examination. Her private tutor did not approve of it citing her old age. He believed that her mind was already set and she couldn't learn anything new beyond this time. Begam was 24 years old by the time she had started to work as a teacher in the mission school. Dissatisfied with his approach and her eyes set over her own education to become a capable teacher, she wanted a new teacher to supervise her education. In the school, she worked for the overall grooming of her students and not mere teaching. She would teach the girls, many of them from poor families, to wash their clothes, bathe, comb their hair, trim their nails, and even taught them to stitch torn clothes. By this time, her father had become the

[74] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 100-101.
[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 102-104.

Minister of Education and she got a budget of Rupees ten per month approved for the school just to buy soap. She would even donate clothes that she would collect from friends and family. This earned her goodwill with the officers in the department.[76]

She was, however, facing difficulties in her studies now that she didn't want to be taught by Mr. Ramzan. She thereafter started studying with her children, who were tutored by a B.Sc. pass Pandit teacher. She wrote about this: 'This was an interesting sight. I started studying with my children. In fact, they knew much more maths than I did'. The new teacher even motivated her to prepare for class tenth exams and offered to help her with maths, her weak subject. She started to prepare just six months before the exam. She comments: 'In all this, I did not neglect my household duties, carried on with my work at school and continued to read the Quran. A married woman has many responsibilities but I continued to carry them happily'.[77] This is a common narrative in women's writings where they seem to be juggling many hats at the same time while maintaining a pleasant demeanour.

Twenty-two other girls were to write the exam with her and she was worried that if she failed the maths exam, it would bring shame to herself and her family. But when after two months the results were declared, only two females had passed the examination in all subjects, Begam being one. But because the other female student (Miss Bhalla) was from outside the state, Begam was given a gold medal for passing the examination in the second division. This made her the first female matriculate of the Valley. Getting a morale boost from this success and the fact that it was no more important to study maths, she thought to study for F.A. exams (Fellow of arts). She quickly adds: 'My son Nasir had passed his Arts degree one year before me and went on to do B.A. LLB from Aligarh'.[78] The year for the same is not mentioned. The family in a conversation with me informed me that Nasir had passed his F.A. degree with distinction from Sri Pratap Singh College in 1937 and had passed his matriculation in 1935,[79] which suggests that Begam passed her F.A. exams in the year 1938.

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[76] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, p. 105.
[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.
[78] *Ibid.*, pp. 108-110.
[79] Personal Interview, Shaheen Agha: Begam Zaffar Ali's daughter-in-law, Harmony, Srinagar, April 11, 2019.

Her active role for female education and the work for social welfare gave her recognition in the political and social circles. She stresses the fact many times in her autobiography that she was only interested to teach with the utmost integrity in school. Besides this, she was interested to work with women who did not have the privilege to study. When her father became the Law and Education Minister, she secured some merit-cum-means scholarships for the school. Every month, ten scholarships of Rupees ten, four, and two were sanctioned for girls of high, middle, and primary school students respectively.[80] She also accepted the invitations to publicly address women's gatherings to encourage them to study. Her first public address was at Pathar masjid[81] at the request of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in the year 1933. This was an opportunity for her to speak about the issues which troubled her for a long time.

Begam saw poverty, which she linked to outdated customs and rituals, as the biggest hurdle in the progress of any community. She advised women to shun the dream of owning luxurious houses, expensive jewellery and also attacked extravagant spending on marriages and wastage of money on saints. Cleanliness was much emphasized upon in her address and also skill-based education for women to make them economically independent and contribute to household income. She opined that if any community was to become self-sufficient, it cannot afford to sideline its women. Besides, if women would continue to stay illiterate and unemployed, the future generations would also lag. Impressed by her views, some women promised their attendance at the Zenana Bagh once a week to learn some craft. But some others complained of the restrictions imposed on their movement outside the house by their male kin. Begam wanted to start some centres for stitching in different localities for the ease of women and wrote to the authorities about this.[82]

Begam also started to work as an administrator in the school during this time. Miss Shaw, the headmistress of the school, was away on leave for two weeks and wanted Begam to take charge. This was even though Barkat Jalaluddin, a B.A. and B.Ed. was working in the same school as a teacher. Barkat was also Begam's sister-in-laws's sister. She was more educated than Begam who hadn't even passed B.A. by then. But as referred by Miss Shaw, and accepted by the

[80] Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin eds., *Mysteries and Glimpses of Kashmir*, p. 235.
[81] Pather Masjid was a common site for public addresses at the time. See Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, pp. 231-32.
[82] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 111-114.

Education Minister at the time, Mr. Wajahat Hussain, Begam was made the acting headmistress. In fact, Begams's autobiography mentions some other instances also where based on her seniority over Barkat Jalaluddin in school she was given precedence in administrative positions while sidelining the latter.[83] The reason for the same is not clear. Besides, Barkat Jalaluddin did not leave any written records which would suggest anything. If one was to cite a probable answer for the same, it can be seen to flow from the logic that Begam's father had extensive power in the running of the state in his capacity initially as Governor, then Law and Education Minister and later as Home and Judicial Minister. This was also the case when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was at the helm of affairs. The equations changed when Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad acquired power, deposing Sheikh Abdullah.

Begam tried to acquire higher education through all this but failing to get free time from her responsibilities at home and work to focus on her studies, she had failed her B.A. exam in the first attempt. Determined to pass in the second attempt, she took two months' leave from work and passed. She was made Headmistress of the school after the completion of her graduation. This was even when Barkat Jalaluddin had taken charge of the post after Miss Shaw was made the Chief Inspectress filling in for Miss Chawner who was on leave. Barkat Begam wrote to the Education Minister and the Prime Minister refusing to work under someone less educationally trained than her. Begam Jalaluddin was then transferred to Jammu.[84]

Begam also took over the supervision of the Ladies Club as its Secretary which started its work in the *Zenana Bagh*. Maharaja Hari Singh's wife, Maharani Tara Devi, was keen to associate and work with women outside her home, hence the establishment of the club. The Ladies Club initially functioned primarily as a platform for the recreation of the officer's wives. A rupee per month was charged as its membership fee and one hundred women signed up for the membership. It was generally attended by the non-Kashmiri Hindu ladies. Common *purdanashin* Kashmiri Muslim women were very few. To fulfill the aim of working for the common women, one room was occupied in the park itself which would serve as a *markaz* for poor women. Books were ordered for girls of poor families to arouse their interest in education. It thus became a literary centre for girls and adult women. Many dignitaries visited the *markaz*, including Lord

[83] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 116-117.
[84] *Ibid.*, pp. 119-122.

Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India.[85] Appreciating Begam's efforts, Rameshwari Nehru on her visit to the centre, suggested opening a branch of the All India women's conference in *Zenana Bagh*, Srinagar and offered Begam to be its Secretary. Rameshwari Nehru was made the President. Thinking that it would give a boost to the working of the *markaz*, she accepted the offer.[86]

Her work at school was, however, her priority in all of her responsibilities. She interacted with educational authorities freely for the progress of the school. Her first appearance before a man without purdah was Khwaja Ghulam Saiyidain, the Director of Education who worked for adult education (*Taalim-e-Baaligan*) in the state. When the government began to seriously ponder over the issue, she started to attend the meetings along-with two other women – Miss Mallinson and Miss Pistonje. She writes about her husband's approval of her free interaction with men, because of the presence of women in the meetings.[87]

All the members were in favour of opening adult schools for women to teach them in the evenings but Begam objected to this. She was of the argument that it ran contrary to the government's efforts on making 'happy homes' and added that it will create discord, unhappy families, and misunderstandings between husband and wife if the wife leaves when her husband and children are home after the day's work. Moreover, she believed that most of the women were poor and would not take to education without any monetary benefits. The solutions she provided were: (1) to help make women's craftwork independent of middlemen, (2) women be taught from 12 to 1 in the afternoon when they are generally free, (3) to appoint a local female teacher to teach the females and a rupee per student be given to her which she could use for better upbringing of her children. She harped that a 'good woman is one who is a good mother'. She also suggested teaching of subjects like healthcare, the upbringing of children etc. A Committee was made immediately after to discuss this and seven centres were started where adult education was promoted.[88]

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[85] Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin eds., *Mysteries and Glimpses of Kashmir*, p. 237.
[86] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 124-128.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 130.
[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 131-134.

She also met many political leaders on their visit to the state owing to the nature of her work and her family's status. On one such occasion in the year 1944, she met Mohammad Ali Jinnah with his sister, Fatima Jinnah. Begam took Fatima Jinnah to see the work of her *Falahi markaz*. This, however, turned out to be a disaster for both her personal and professional life. A claim was made against her and a notice issued that she along-with Fatima Jinnah had raised the slogans of 'Pakistan Zindabad'. In her defense, she replied that any woman, irrespective of her religion and nationality, who had done something meaningful, was important in her eyes. But given the charges against her, she resigned from the Secretary-ship of the All India Women's Conference. With this, the pressure was mounted on her to resign from the post of the Secretary of the Ladies Club also.[89]

This marked the onset of testing times for her and her family. Given the disturbed political atmosphere in the state in the 1940s, the youth had led the anti-Dogra movement. Begam's son, Shaukat, too stood against the government and actively started to write articles against them in a widely circulated newspaper of the time, the *Dawn*. He resigned from his government service, became the secretary of the Muslim Conference, and was jailed many times. In the meantime, Begam was transferred to Jammu but as she was not keeping well, she applied for leave. It was a tough time for Begam. She writes: 'During this time, Shaukat was in jail, Ashraf had gone to Jamia Millia Islamia on the insistence of Dr. Zakir Hussain and Nasir served as a Tehsildar in Pulwama. Besides, my father was dead. After my father's death, I had no one to back me up'.[90] As mentioned earlier in the chapter, her autobiography has only stray references to her husband and has as its prime focus the centrality of her father in her life.

Begam herself had taken on the mantle of political leadership during the period of massive turmoil in the state and was made the secretary of the women's wing of Muslim Conference. She would lead the protests against the government and also help in getting more members to join the movement. Participation in the Muslim Conference was free and there was no membership fee. The final blow to her trials came in 1947 when Shaukat fell ill in jail. Contrary to her expectation that Sheikh Abdullah would pay heed to her request when she had asked to either put Shaukat under house arrest or hospitalise him, she writes:

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[89] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 141-150.
[90] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

> He rejected both the demands and acted arrogantly. I left the place at once and removed my burqa. I never wore burqa after this point. On reaching home, I tore the burqa to pieces. This burqa was a sign of discipline, education, culture and manners for me. I loved it. But to fight the new battles, new strategies had to be framed. I thus had to say goodbye to purdah. This was the most revolutionary step for me.[91]

Doctors advised her a change of place to improve her health. She decided to take a transfer to Anantnag for a fresh start. Miss Mehmooda took charge in her place at Fateh Kadal school. She was chosen for this position as she was close to Sheikh Abdullah and other people running the government at the time. On the other hand, because Begam had voiced her opinions which ran contrary to the ruling government, she had to fight for her rights to continue her work as a teacher and an administrator. How she overcame all the obstacles are elaborated upon in detail in the next section.

Treading Lesser Travelled Roads: Career and Later Years

At a time when females in Kashmir were struggling to even get a formal education in schools, Begam had left behind her family and shifted with a servant to work as a headmistress in a school in Anantnag, a place hitherto unknown to her. Resilient in her approach and determined to work for female education in Kashmir, she continued to work towards a cause close to her heart. This was even though her life in Anantnag was difficult. One, she was away from her family. And two, unlike the school at Srinagar which was in a good shape when Begam joined it, the school in Anantnag was inaugurated the same year that she was transferred.

The school at Anantnag was started in a six-room residential building till class 10. The primary and middle classes were accommodated in three rooms, and the ninth and tenth class together in one room. One room each was designated for clerks' office and that of the headmistress. Two teachers taught Urdu and Maths and Begam taught the rest of the subjects. To improve the standard of education in the school she made some concerted efforts. She approached the Director of Education, Mr. Assadullah Kazmi, to help her lease a bigger building for the school. Her request was heeded.[92] My maternal grandmother who was a student at the school at the time when Begam was posted there recalls the training she received in cleanliness,

[91] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, p. 173.
[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

household management, childcare, gardening, and the like. She also mentioned in passing about formal teaching in the classroom in Urdu, English, Geography, and the introduction of mid-day meals.[93] Begam's autobiographical account corroborates all of this. Additionally, Begam in her autobiography mentions the opening up of a children's bank in the school and also the promotion of drama and theatre.[94]

Begam's account lacks a sense of a timeline. From her autobiography, it is difficult to get a sense of the years she spent working in Anantnag. But based on an interview with her, Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin conclude that she was made the Chief Inspectress in the year 1948. This suggests that she worked in the school at Anantnag in 1947 as she got transferred to Srinagar a year later and was made the Chief Inspectress. After a year of her service in Anantnag, she requested the educational authorities and Sheikh Abdullah for a transfer back to Srinagar as she wanted to be near her ailing husband, who she refers to in the book when writing about her request for transfer as her '*majazi khuda*' (God). She writes that during the time she was away from him, she would travel to Srinagar on Friday evening and be back for work on Monday morning. During these two days, she used to make all the arrangements required for her husband to live comfortably in her absence.[95] This might have been a narrative strategy to maintain her image as a 'good wife' even while prioritizing her professional responsibilities.

During this time, it was also proposed to create two posts of Chief Inspectresses separately for Jammu and Kashmir division, instead of one which was held at the time by Miss Chawner. The government opinion at the time favoured that Miss Mehmooda assumed charge in Kashmir and Miss Shaw in Jammu. However, referring to a Quranic verse where she recalls God's message to Hazrat Musa stating that 'even if you are in a minority and your enemies in a majority, you shall win because Allah always stands with the patient ones'; she decided to be vocal about her superiority in the department and that she was the most deserving for the post.[96] This fight led to unanticipated results and she was instead made the Chief Inspectress of Jammu and Kashmir; and not of Kashmir alone. The year was 1948.

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[93] Personal Interview, Mrs. Ayesha Kochak, Anantnag, 22 September 2018.
[94] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, p. 199.
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 194.
[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196.

Upholding the maxim that education and social reform was the key to freedom and reform of any country, Begam diligently started her work as the Chief Inspectress. Noting that the education of girls was just in name baring the Hindu denominational schools which in her opinion were doing good work,[97] she made schemes for the improvement of education in schools.[98] A focus was placed on better infrastructure, quality education, improvement in the educational qualifications of teachers, the appointment of better-qualified teachers, and evening classes. As the Chief Inspectress, Begam got fifteen scholarships each for middle and high classes sanctioned from Sheikh Abdullah. Fifteen teachers were sent to study in the colleges for higher studies on their full pay. Further, every year two teachers were sent to Lady Irwin College, New Delhi, for training in Home Sciences.[99] Begam had also proposed new novel measures which she saw as the 'introduction of a new atmosphere of education' e.g. a five day week instead of six working days. On Saturday, she recommended that teachers assemble in the *Zenana Bagh* where they would be trained in mental and physical exercises from 10 am to 4 pm, the normal working hours as in the school. This, in her opinion, would give the children two days to revise their lessons. Teachers were encouraged to read widely and a reading of a book was recommended every week and discussions held.[100]

Some of the measures she introduced had negative fallouts and had to be repealed. The scheme proposed where old women and callers were given some pension and made to quit work raised a hue and cry. The initial order passed was that the middle pass and/or matriculation pass female teachers would replace the illiterate and the less educated ones. But because this led to chaos and disorder, the scheme was cancelled and a new scheme was launched where it was ordered that the illiterate teachers and callers need to at least pass their middle standard examination in two years' time, failing which they would lose their jobs. Many new jobs were also advertised to bring in educated teachers in the department.[101]

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[97] The low status of female education among Muslims in Kashmir can be gauged from the fact that even in 1948, there were only nine Muslim matriculate female teachers, in Mohammad Yasin and Madhavi Yasin eds., *Mysteries and Glimpses of Kashmir*, p. 239.
[98] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, p. 203.
[99] *Ibid*., pp. 239-240.
[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 212-214.
[101] *Ibid.*, pp. 208-210.

Co-education was started by her initially in the villages, where the schools for girls were virtually non-existent, and then in the towns. However, this was done for the primary classes alone as the call for free mixing of girls with boys at an advanced age would tantamount to trouble. And since the budget for the education department was limited, the government agreed to the scheme to shut down girls' primary schools and merge them with boys' schools. The middle and high schools for girls continued to work uninterrupted. In areas where both the husband and wife were teachers, they were posted in the same school for the ease of both the sexes.[102] She writes that the three years she worked as Chief Inspectress when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was the Prime Minister, were the most productive years of her working life and when he was deposed in 1953, things took a turn for the worse.[103]

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad assumed power as Prime Minister in 1953 after Sheikh Abdullah was arrested. Along with the loss of power of Sheikh Abdullah, Begam also lost control in the female education department and Barkat Jalaluddin stepped up to assume power. Begam writes that conspiracies were hatched against her as she was deemed as the agent of Sheikh Abdullah. Her office was also shifted to an old room in some old hospital building. Objections were raised on the appointments she had made in the past years. Losing interest and motivation to work in a period of turmoil, she decided to resign and apply for the pension. She writes that her request for the resignation was put down as it would have become a political issue at the time. She adds that personal acts of revenge were the order of the day and she and her family were harassed because they were anti-government.[104]

Begam writes that during a chance encounter with Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad in Pahalgam, he offered her to become the Member of Assembly. She further adds that he offered to relieve her of all the responsibilities as an education officer and her other social responsibilities.[105] The reason for the change of heart of Bakshi towards Begam is not mentioned though. The year, when she was offered is also not clear. The records, however, state that she was nominated to the Assembly on March 28, 1978, much later than her retirement in 1960. It

[102] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 231-232.
[103] *Ibid.*, p. 202.
[104] *Ibid.*, p. 248.
[105] *Ibid.*, pp. 265-266.

might have been that she refused the offer at the time Bakshi offered and accepted it much later during Sheikh Abdullah's government.

Her participation in social welfare activities also took her to newer places. In the year 1954, she went as a vice-chairman of the Social Welfare Advisory board to a conference in Delhi. Durgabai Deshmukh presided over the conference. At the conference, Begam presented a report on the state of education in Kashmir with a special mention of the *balwadi* schools i.e. schools for children. She opined that due to the presence of untrained teachers in these schools, the standard of education was poor and there was a need to improve the quality of teachers. Besides, she emphasized that as long as mothers were not admitted with their children in the schools, the efforts at improvement were a waste. Mothers, in her opinion, were to learn the art of the proper upbringing of children in the schools. Time and again in her public speeches as well she had emphasized that without the removal of *jahalat* (ignorance) of women, an emphasis on the education of children was a waste.[106]

Meanwhile, relations between Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and Begam Jalaluddin had started to get more personal. In fact, Jalaluddin's daughter, Khurshid, later got married to Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad. And just when Begam had six months left for her retirement, her position was changed from that of Chief Inspectress to that of a Special Officer with a slight increase of salary, and Begam Jalaluddin was made the Chief Inspectress.[107] This was in the year 1960. The years following her retirement were also full of struggle. After keeping unwell for a long time, Agha Zaffar Ali died due to ill health on 18 March 1962. She writes about his death: 'After his death, I had absolutely no work. Initially, there was no one other than me to take care of him. In fact, this was my duty as a wife'. She adds: 'I remember Agha Ji once writing to my father to please not keep me with him since Agha Ji did not have anyone other than me'. At this time, Shaukat was in Pakistan, Ashraf in America and Nasir was in Jammu.[108] But showing least remorse over his death, she goes on to add: 'The year Agha-Ji died I wanted to go for hajj but had to observe the four-month Iddat period'.[109]

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[106] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 268-269.
[107] *Ibid.*, p. 273.
[108] *Ibid.*, p. 275.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

She did go to Saudi Arabia for Hajj the year after her husbands' death and even travelled to London, Hungary, Budapest, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Pakistan, Turkey, and Iran after that. She also carried on with her social welfare work even after her retirement. And in the year 1969, as vice chairman of the Social Welfare Advisory Board, started a *markaz* in the remote area of Chattabal area in Kashmir where illiterate women were given training in crafts like stitching, knitting, pashmina work and then organised into co-operative societies.[110]

Work for the education of poor children also kept her busy post her retirement. She was an active member of the *mohalla* committees which looked into the issue of educational backwardness of poor children. These three member Committees were involved in detailed studies of the background of the poor children – income of the family, members in the household, etc. Based on this background check, financial and other material help was provided to the deserving children. The people who initiated this campaign pooled in 8000 rupees amongst themselves to start the campaign. Door to door campaign was held in the villages and 700 children were enrolled in the schools. People also contributed generously to the cause. But this campaign lasted for only three years and had to be shut down because of the political disturbances in the Valley. However, it continued to work to an extent as an educational trust.[111] The time period for the same is not mentioned but she clubs it with the time Syed Mir Qasim became the Chief Minister i.e. 1971-1975.

The cause of labouring children was also close to her heart. In her first speech in the Assembly, she attacked the exploitation of child labour in factories involving *Kaaleen Baafi* (carpet making). She saw it as the responsibility of the government to ensure that the parents do not send their young children to work in these factories. But while she proposed the importance of education for these children, she simultaneously emphasized the importance of working for them. This was the scheme initially proposed by Dr. Zakir Hussain, which is known as the Basic education scheme. She also recommended that no factories accept children below eleven years of age and every child working in the factories should at least have a primary pass certificate. Any

[110] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, p. 315.
[111] *Ibid.*, pp. 319-322.

action contrary to this was to be made a punishable offence in her opinion. She prayed for the proper implementation of these schemes for she saw the children as god's gift to humanity.[112]

At the time when Syed Mir Qasim became the Chief Minister after Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq in 1971, a branch of All India Women's Conference was formed in Srinagar. Begam was made its' head. Many programmes were conducted under its auspices: removal of illiteracy among women and children, efforts were made to make women more family-oriented, work was undertaken against degrading moral values and for the reform of prisoners, and lastly, employment was given to illiterate skilled women and they were provided a market for their products. Fight against social evils like dowry and extravagance in marriages was also part of its reform efforts. Women's year was celebrated under its auspices in the year 1975. This was the same year when Sheikh Abdullah assumed power back and proposed to use Miskin Bagh as an office to conduct the programmes of the All India Women's conference. Craft classes were also started and hundreds of women benefitted from this. After some time, Begam resigned from the All India Women's conference and gave the authority to Mrs. Sheikh Abdullah.[113]

Begam, however, continued to volunteer for social service programmes and in particular proposed two schemes. First, was to turn some chosen villages into model villages through opening up of school, health centre, dastkari centre, and animal rearing centres. She also emphasized on infrastructure building and recommended that basic facilities of roads, electricity and water be provided. The second was to open classes to prepare students for competitive exams. She also worked to promote education among the Shia community, which she argued lagged behind that of Sunnis.[114]

As a member of the Legislative Assembly, Begam highlighted many issues concerning women. She delivered speeches in the Assembly in favour of women's rights, especially against dowry. She asked for government support for women and suggested to rethink the state subject law which worked against the interests of women. Her first speech in the Assembly is reproduced at the end of the autobiography which highlights the work she had accomplished so far in the interest of the marginalised and the downtrodden – mostly women and poor children.

[112] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, pp. 338-340.
[113] *Ibid.*, pp. 319-323.
[114] *Ibid.*, pp. 327-328.

She further writes that 'I am putting on paper my work in the Assembly so that future generations will not accuse me of not working for the interests of the weak and the downtrodden'.[115]

Conclusion

The Government of India awarded Begam Zaffar Ali with Padma Shri in 1987 for her work in favour of women's liberation and empowerment through education. But remaining true to her ideals of working for the weak, the disadvantaged and the downtrodden, she later returned the award citing the human rights violations in the Valley. Begam shifted to the United States in 1990 and until her death in 1999 lived there with her son, Agha Shaukat Ali. She left behind a legacy to be cherished by those interested in issues of subalterns in general and women in particular. Her autobiography is a testimony to the glorious life she lived, the responsibilities she discharged, the glass ceilings she broke and the path she paved for women.

[115] Begam Zaffar Ali, *Mere Shab-o-Roz*, p. 334.

Conclusion

This dissertation focuses on the topic of female education in Kashmir in the twentieth century. The main reason for undertaking this study, as elucidated earlier, is because apart from the study of the period of insurgency in Kashmir and the political participation of women in the freedom struggle in Kashmir, the theme of gender has not aroused much interest among scholars. Broadly speaking, there is an absence of scholarly discussion on the theme of gender and community among Muslims in Kashmir. My dissertation attempts to fill in this lacuna in historical scholarship.

This dissertation is divided into five chapters, which have been arranged thematically. The underlying aim is to study the gender discourses on female education in twentieth-century Kashmir through the efforts of missionaries, government, and the pioneer educationists of the time – both men and women. The first two chapters engage with missionary education in Kashmir. The third chapter discusses the intervention by the government in the domain of female education, while the fourth chapter focuses on the higher education of females. The last chapter deals with a pioneer woman educationist and her role in the development of female education in Kashmir.

I have used a combination of conventional archival sources and documents available in the private collections of people for my research work. The archival sources consulted for this work include official files of various departments in the government archives located in Srinagar, Jammu and Delhi; administration and newspaper reports, and census files. However, more than the archival sources, the documents available in the private collections of people have been invaluable in this research work. In particular, the old school log books of Biscoe and Frances-Aberigh Memorial School and the College magazines of the Government College for Women and Sri Pratap College, *Pamposh* and *The Pratap* respectively, have helped enormously in reconstructing the history of these institutions. A thorough study of the autobiography of the first female matriculate of the Valley titled *Mere Shab-o-Roz* also proved to be extremely crucial for this research work.

Each chapter is based on some key questions which are briefly discussed here. A central concern of the first two chapters is to study the different aims for the establishment of Christian missions in Kashmir and the methods they employed to disseminate education among the general population, both males and females. A study of the curriculum in these missionary schools as well as the responses of the Kashmiris towards these missionary endeavours is of central importance. This thesis studies the ways in which the education of girls compares and contrasts with that of boys. It seeks to explore how missionary interferences influenced the lives and histories of Kashmiri women as well as the broader society and community.

The third chapter studies the plan of action of the state government in the domain of female education in the early twentieth century. A central concern of the chapter is whether gender was the defining element in the curriculum and did it shape modern education in Kashmir? Besides, what were the main impediments in the way of female education and how were the popular prejudices against female education dealt with? What measures/incentives did the state government bring in to attract the female students to the educational institutions? And lastly, how successful were the recommendations/schemes put forward by different committees formed by the state government from time to time in the spread of education among Kashmiri Muslims in general and females in particular?

As already elucidated, the early debates on female education were limited to their education in schools. Higher education was making a start among females of the State in the 1940s but co-education was a problem even in the educated Kashmiri families. It was in the year 1950 with the establishment of a separate college for the higher education of females that women could take advantage of a college education. The role of the first all-girls college in Kashmir, Government College for Women, Maulana Azad Road, Srinagar in the shaping of the women of the city of Srinagar and its neighbouring towns and villages is studied in great detail in Chapter 4. In other words, what is the importance of the College for the educational history of Kashmir and its women? Some key questions studied are: What was the nature of higher education for females in Kashmir? Who were the major players who played an important part in the promotion of higher education among females in Kashmir? And what were the popular discourses regarding

the higher education of women, especially with regard to their economic independence, educated employment and role inside the home?

The last chapter is devoted to the study of life and work of a prominent female educationist of Kashmir, Begam Zaffar Ali. A central concern of this chapter is to study how she perceived her life and her work through her writing? Other key questions studied are: What was the response of her family and the wider society to her education and employment? Further, what was the role of formal education in the development of the self of a woman at a time when women's education was just a dream? And lastly, what strategies did she employ in the dissemination of education among the masses?

My dissertation suggests a number of conclusions regarding gender, education, and community in twentieth-century Kashmir. They are briefly summarized here. The most important theme to foreground is that there were varied differences between the education of males and females. The gender discourses and community narratives around female education in the beginning of the twentieth century were centered on the creation of a good mother and a good wife. The knowledge of management and care of the household and family was seen to be central to this task. It is only gradually that the educated employment of women outside their homes became a reality. But this was the case mostly in the urban areas, especially Srinagar.

The gender discourses around female education, however, underwent a gradual transformation through the course of the twentieth century. Slowly, education transformed the position and status of women. The active assistance of the state government proved to be critical for the advancement of education among females. In fact, the popular spread of education among females was impossible to achieve without the support of the state government. This can be attributed to two reasons. Firstly, the state government started to actively participate in the area of female education when the public opposition against it had died down. Secondly, the education in the institutions run by the state government was free of cost, contrary to the fees charged by the missionary schools. The Naya Kashmir Manifesto in particular laid stress on the education of women and pushed them to contribute as active members of society. Besides their role as homemakers, females were encouraged to play a political, economic and social role in the plan for a Naya Kashmir (New Kashmir). But more than the school education, the Naya Kashmir

manifesto envisioned that the higher education of females would mould them along new role expectations i.e. to meet the political and economic challenges of the twentieth century. As a result, a separate College that catered only to the female population was established in 1950 in Srinagar.

The state government's efforts on providing higher education to women with the establishment of a separate college did open many avenues for their advancement. Upward social mobility of women was fast becoming a reality. Some prominent Kashmiri women e.g. Begam Zaffar Ali and Miss Mehmooda Ali Shah even spearheaded the campaigns for women's education. The paternalistic attitude of the state, however, created its own limitations for women. This is best exemplified in the study of the Women's College, which while offered many opportunities for education and employment of women, was also a purveyor of a particular kind of politics, one which benefitted the state. Educational institutions, in particular the college campuses, had become active grounds for the government to popularise its policies and programmes. Some of the loyal supporters of the government in educational institutions e.g. Miss Mehmooda Ali Shah were to ensure strict discipline and conformity to the state initiatives towards female empowerment. However, with its limitations too, the College played an important role in shaping women, many of whom made their mark in various spheres of life.

Begam Zaffar Ali, one of the first female educationists of the Valley, too spearheaded many campaigns for the education of females and other unprivileged and downtrodden groups, such as the children of the laboring poor. Her autobiography testifies to the glorious life she lived and the responsibilities she discharged and is a ready reference for scholars interested in the issues of gender, education and reform.

But even though best efforts were made to provide a comprehensive study of female education in Kashmir in the twentieth century, many issues of historical importance to this topic remain unanswered. A major reason for this is that the September floods of 2014 in Kashmir destroyed the records of many prominent educational institutions in the Valley. This data, if still in existence, would have served as a rich source material to delineate the educational history of the State and the changes in the educational set-up overtime. It would also have helped to detail the composition of students, teachers, and administrative staff in different institutions – both

school and higher education – through the years. Besides, the data on female education according to religious affiliation as also area wise could be compiled. The administrative reports, which are one of the main sources for statistical data on the subject, give the data for female education without any mention of any regional and religious affiliations. Occasionally, the reports do refer to the composition of students according to different regions and religions.

Secondly, the study of gender discourses and community narratives around female education in this dissertation limits itself to the study of urban areas alone. There is, however, a need to explore the same in different areas of Kashmir, both urban and rural. The gender discourses may vary according to geographical location and class difference. An enquiry into the educational opportunities for women in different areas of Kashmir is thus paramount. A comparative study of the educational statistics and differential gender discourses around female education among Kashmiri Muslims and Pandits, if any, can be yet another interesting area of research.

A thorough study has been made of the old school log books of some prominent missionary schools in Kashmir in the first two chapters of this dissertation. The history of these educational institutions has been reconstructed primarily through these old school log books, supplemented occasionally by the magazines published subsequently by these schools on important dates e.g. silver jubilee, etc. However, in my future research, I intend to do an intensive study of travelogues and memoirs of colonial ethnographers alongside these logbooks to draw a richer picture of these institutions and the people associated with them in their formative and developing stages.

An investigation into the changing trends in education with globalization, urbanization, and industrialization is another possible area of exploration. A study of how modernity affects the educational practices of people across class and regional divides is of paramount importance. Further, there has been a growing emphasis on education and the economic independence of women from the last decades of the twentieth century. This greater professionalization of women is seen to be one of the reasons for ‘late marriages’ in Kashmir. The link between the growing emphasis on education and educated employment of women and the increase in marital age of women presents another exciting area of research.

Autobiographies of some of the pioneer educationists of the Valley also need to be studied for a more nuanced study on the subject. While my work has made use of only one such autobiography, two more immediately come to mind while thinking of education in Kashmir. One of them is Agha Ashraf Ali's memoir *Kuch to Likhye, Loag Kehte Hain*.[1] Agha Ashraf Ali was an educationist and one of the first Kashmiris to play a prominent role in the Education Department. In his autobiography, he writes in great detail about the backwardness of Kashmiri Muslims and the monopoly of Pandits in education. He notes the disparate standards of education between Muslims and Pandits and the differential treatment meted out to Muslim students in educational institutions as contributing to Muslim backwardness. He also writes about the differential treatment meted out to him as well in the College attended by him, even though he belonged to a prominent Kashmiri Shia family in Srinagar that had close ties with the Dogras. This memoir, thus, forms an important source material to study about education, politics, and community in Kashmir.

Chilman se Chaman,[2] published autobiography in Urdu of Shamla Mufti, Ex-Principal of Government College for Women, Maulana Azad Road, and a prominent female educationist of the Valley, also demands a more thorough study than what has been accomplished in this dissertation. In her autobiography, Mufti writes about her family background, home life, education, employment, marriage, and travels. This autobiography which is an important source material to study about gender, education, and community will also be taken up for a more in-depth study at a later stage.

This dissertation has, however, been able to achieve what it had set out to do in the first place. A study of some of the important untapped primary sources on the history of female education in twentieth-century Kashmir has shed light on a hitherto under-researched area of historical scholarship. The fundamental idea that this thesis foregrounds is that the twentieth-century was a period of social change in relation to the position of women. An emphasis on female education, thought to be the prime driving force for social advancement, was stressed by missionaries, the state government and women educationists themselves. Primarily, five themes are studied: the social milieu where such a thought had to take root, gender discourses around

[1] Agha Ashraf Ali, *Kuch to Likhye, Loag Kehte Hain*, Shalimar Art Press, Srinagar, 2010.
[2] Shamla Mufti, *Chilman se Chaman* (trans: From Darkness to Light), Meezan Publishers, Srinagar, 1994.

female education, the response of the society, the juxtaposition of female education with that of men, and lastly the alternative networks some prominent women educationists created to encourage other women to study. In addition, this work critically focuses on the importance of this time period as one of crucial social and political changes for Kashmiri Muslims and thereby substantially adds to the significant debates around gender, identity and community in modern Kashmir.

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