ECONOMY OF KASHMIR UNDER THE DOGRAS

ABSTRACT

THESIS

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BY

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Abstract

Jammu and Kashmir, the northern most part of the Indian Union was one of the prominent princely states in colonial India. It was founded in 1846 by Maharaja Gulab Singh. This marked the inception of Dogra rule shared by four rulers i.e., Gulab Singh (1846-1856), Ranbir Singh (1857-1885), Pratap Singh (1885-1925) and Hari Singh (1925-1947) with designation of 'Maharaja'.

The state comprised of three divisions Jammu, Kashmir and Frontier areas of Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit. Kashmir division is the theme of this work. Kashmir which lies in the middle of the state consisted of thirty-six paraganas at the accession of Gulab Singh in 1846. In 1860, paragana system which prevailed since Mughal period was abolished and Kashmir was divided into twenty-two tehsils. In 1865, Dewan Kripa Ram, Governor of Kashmir introduced Wazarat system and Kashmir province was divided in five wazarats. Each Wazarat consisted of several tehsils and each tehsil consisted of many paraganas. The number of wazarats was raised from five to six in 1868-Shahr-i-Khas, Anantnag, Shopian, Pattan, Kamraj and Muzafarabad. In 1880, the number of Wazarats reduced to four from six. At the commencement of Lawrence’s settlement operations in 1889, there were three wazarats in Kashmir divided into fifteen tehsils. Lawrence retained the number of wazarats but reduced number of tehsils from fifteen to eleven. In 1905 there was again transformation in the administrative division of Kashmir and total number of tehsils in Kashmir by amalgamation was reduced to six tehsils i.e., Kulgam, Anantnag, Awantipora, Shahr-i-Khas, Baramullah and Uttermachipura. Later on Handwara tehsil was added and the number was raised to seven. This remained unaltered with two wazarats till the end of Dogra rule in 1947.

This study is an attempt to explore the various aspects of economy of Kashmir during the Dogra rule. Agriculture, Horticulture, Industries,
handicrafts, mineral wealth, trade and commerce constituted the main components of the economy of Kashmir during the Dogra period. Economy of Kashmir till the last decade of 19th century could not see the major improvement with exception of some development. It was after the British intervention in 1886 with appointment of the resident at Srinagar that changes began to occur in various structures. This work is organised into five chapters besides introduction and conclusion.

1. Agrarian Economy- Agriculture and Horticulture.
2. Industries and Handicrafts.
3. Land Revenue System.
4. Taxation System.
5. Trade and Commerce

The first chapter entitled ‘Agrarian Economy- Agriculture and Horticulture’ is sub-divided into numerous sub-heading like extent of cultivation, system of cultivation, agricultural operation, soils, irrigation system, agricultural technology and production of crops.

Agriculture in Kashmir has always been a significant aspect of people’s lives and principle source of food and wealth. On average more than 75% population of Kashmir valley during the Dogra period depended on agriculture for survival. The Muslims who constituted the majority of population of the province took mainly to agriculture as a means of subsistence. The occupiers of land were mostly *sunnis* and they held from 75% to 88% of the total cultivation in different *tehsils*. However, the Sayeds among the Muslims got their lands cultivated by tenants. The Kashmiri Pundits (Brahmans) held from ½ to 1% of land which they got cultivated through tenants.

On account of variations in physical landscape and climatic conditions, agricultural practices and crop cultivation in Kashmir differed greatly. In the sub-mountainous and semi-mountainous areas with a cold climate and where rainfall constituted the main source of irrigation only dry crops like maize,
tromba (buckwheat) etc were cultivated while as in outer hills abound in pine and deodar forests where cultivation was possible wheat and maize were grown. In the plains where irrigation was abundantly available and moderate climatic conditions prevailed paddy constituted the main crop for cultivation and fruits of different varieties and in certain places wheat and maize were also grown. On the Kerewa (plateau) lands which depended on rain for the good harvest saffron held the prominent place for cultivation. Moreover, wheat cultivation and fruit growing also held some portion of such landscape.

Climatic and physiographic conditions did not permit intensive double harvest in the valley as in rest of the India where the weather conditions favoured the growth of crops throughout the year. Thus, the system of cultivation pattern was what is known as Eksasi i.e. only one particular crop was grown in particular agriculture season. During the Dogra regime there were three harvesting seasons in Kashmir namely, Kharif, Krimiti and Rabi.

The agriculture operations in Kashmir were divergent to the rest of India. Generally, the agricultural operations in Kashmir commenced before or after the nauroz which coincided with 21st March of Christian calendar. There after regular work was undertaken by peasant. Ploughing for rice, maize, and other autumn crops commenced in the middle of March. In April and May, these crops were sown. In June and July, wheat and barley sown in the previous autumn were harvested. In July and August linseed was harvested and cultivation of saffron started. In August and September, cotton-picking commenced. In September and October rice, maize, and other autumn crops were harvested. Moreover, in this period saffron flowers were plucked. In November and December lands were ploughed for wheat and barley crops. During the winter rice and maize and other autumn crops were threshed.

In Kashmir where water gushed perennial from glaciers and springs, natural irrigation in the form of Khuls (Streams), Nags (Springs) and Ladh(canals), constituted the main sources of irrigation and there was rare use of employing artificial means of irrigation except in certain dry lands of
Anantnag, Awantipora and Sopur parganas. However, rainfall was applied for cultivation in the kerewa lands where natural streams were non-existing or the construction of canal was difficult. Dhenklis (wells) were used as means of irrigation relatively in small portion of valley.

It was with the dawn of 20th century that the expansion of irrigation facilities started in Jammu and Kashmir on scientific lines. The management of the irrigation system was entrusted to the Public works Department and irrigation divisions headed by divisional Engineers were opened in both provinces of Kashmir and Jammu. From 1901 many canals were constructed under the supervision of experts from British India. Later on, in 1928, a separate Irrigation Department was established.

During Dogra regime subsistence agriculture was practiced in Kashmir characterized by predominance of food crops. Agriculture being the top priority of peasant to facilitate food and procure other requirement assimilated about more than 75% of populace of Kashmir. Rice covered the most cropped area during whole period. Cash crops like saffron, cotton etc and other products like pulses too constituted the significant aspect of the peasant’s produce. However, the floating garden produce was the unique feature of agrarian economy. Fruit growing supplemented the income resource of the people especially after the development of communication system in the last decade of the 19th century. Apple, pears, almonds, and walnuts were economically prominent. These fetched good dividends to the people. However on account of various reasons these sectors of economy suffered to a substantial extent.

In the second chapter the focus of the study is shawl industry, silk industry, carpet industry, paper making, paper machie, gubba making and other crafts. Industries and handicrafts formed the second significant aspect of economy of Kashmir during this period. Silk and shawl industries were the large scale industries providing source of survival to a considerable section of population especially in urban areas. Silk industry attained the climax of development with brief intervals of sluggish growth on account of internal
circumstances and fluctuation of market caused by two the world wars, economic depression, eruption of disease etc. It was organised on modern line by installing reeling machinery and importation of seeds from European countries. Moreover, structure for rearing cocoons and reeling purposes were established in different areas. Shawl weaving attained the perfection in its various compartments like designing, manufacturing, dying etc. However on account of shrinking of markets and demands this industry began decline since 1870’s.

Carpet making was another important industry of Kashmir. After the decline of shawl industry, shawl weavers switched over to this occupation as it was convenient for them. Moreover, the Europeans took interest in this craft which resulted its spread throughout the valley. They established their centers and got manufactured carpets according to their choice which were later on sent to Europe. Paper machie, paper making, gubba making, wine production etc were other occupation of the people.

In the third chapter method of land revenue assessments, land assignments, magnitude of land revenue and land revenue functionaries are the themes of study.

Land produce levies constituted the chief source of income to the state exchequer of princely state of Jammu and Kashmir during the Dogra period. More than three-fourth of the revenue of the state was drawn from the land and cultivating classes. The land revenue system of Kashmir during Dogra era was demarcated by two distinctive phases. First, the period from 1846-1887 which covered the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh, Maharaja Ranbir Singh and initial two years of Maharaja Pratap Singh and the second from 1887 to 1947 which commenced from the third year of the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh and covered Maharaja Hari Singh’s period. The first phase was marked by unorganized revenue system characterized by the frequent change in revenue settlements and rough estimate of revenue without proper measurement of land.
The second phase saw the commencement of regular land revenue settlement on British pattern like Wingate's settlement operations in 1887, Lawrence carried settlement operation in all the tehsils of Kashmir and H.L. Rivett carried the settlement work in Jagirs of Kashmir. This ushered a new era marked by prosperity for the Kashmiri populace in general and that of cultivating class in particular.

For the purpose of revenue assessment and collection of revenue from cultivators a number of functionaries were appointed by the state. They accomplished their duties in their respective jurisdictions assigned to them by the imperial authority. In land revenue administration we find two categories of officials and functionaries. Firstly those appointed by the state and the second included the hereditary village officials such as Mukaddam, Patwari, Qumungo and Chowdri. Besides assisting in the realization of government’s share their role to a greater extent was to ensure peace and shape the socio-economic set up. At the apex of the whole revenue administration was Hakim-i-Ala or Governor. His revenue establishment in each province which entirely consisted of pundits was known as Daftar-ul-Diwani. Here all the revenue accounts were kept, checked and audited. The Governor directly controlled the Assistant Governors, Tehsildars and other subordinate officers. He issued the order how much revenue to be levied in kind and how much to be in cash. Below him was a hierarchy of officials entrusted with the assessment work and revenue collection at different levels. However, they had no good reputation throughout the period because of their activities.

In the fourth chapter taxation system and credit system constituted the theme of the steady. The taxation policy of Dogra rulers was comprehensive which included state monopolies and numerous direct and indirect cesses. Lawrence stated “except air and water everything in Kashmir that was tangible was liable to tax.

The main theme of fifth chapter included trade routes and transport and trade and commerce. During the period of my study traditional and poor means of transport and communication were operative in Kashmir especially up to the
end of nineteenth century. Roads along which trade and commerce was conducted and which acted as veins of the economy were very poor up to the last decade of 19th century. There was hardly any wheeled conveyance of any sort in the valley of Kashmir till the beginning of 20th century. Boats were the main means of transport to carry goods from different areas of Kashmir to Shar-i-Khas and vice-versa. Cattle like ponies, mules, horses, yak, asses etc were used as beasts of burden wherever water transport was not available. In the higher altitudes where roads were rough and narrow, men instead of animals were used as beast of burden.

With the dawn of 20th century revolutionary changes occurred in the transport and communication system of Kashmir. Carts and vehicles were introduced. Roads fit for wheeled carriage were constructed. However, rivers acted as principal means of communication in Kashmir from Khanabal to Baramullah throughout the Dogra period. The main routes through which the trade was carried with British India and Central Asia were Pir Panjal Route, Jhelum valley road completed in 1890, Banihal Route completed 1922 and Treaty High Road. Besides, there were a number of routes and pathways which connected the wazarats and parganas with each other and with the capital of Shahr-i-khas (Srinagar). Of these the prominent ones connected Srinagar with Islamabad, Verinag, Shahabad, Shopian, Ganderbal, Bandiporara, Baramullah, Pattan and Muzafarabad.

According to the census report of India 1921 trade supported 33% of the total population of the state which included 47% from Jammu, 51% from Kashmir and 2% from Frontier district. The trade of Kashmir during this period was studied under the heading of internal trade and external trade. The internal trade included the trade carried at local level between villages and towns or district head quarters. The main articles of this trade included products produced locally as well as imported from outside like salt, tea, sugar, pashm etc. Trade between the provinces of Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh also constituted this trade. It include the trade of products produced in these
provinces as well as imported from other areas like goods imported from British India in case of Jammu province and Tibet, Central Asia in case of Ladakh. The main articles of import from Jammu to Kashmir included silver which was actually imported from British India, arms and ammunition. Moreover cotton goods, turmeric, grains, seeds and raw silk were also imported from Jammu. The exports from Kashmir to Jammu included rice, charas, seeds, fruits, wool cotton cloth, hides, leather, namdhas and dyeing materials. Saffron, the well known product of Kashmir was another important item of export from Kashmir to Jammu.

The major import from Ladakh was pushm (shawl wool), dry fruits like apricot and currant, Tea which was actually imported from China to Ladakh, and salt. The major exports from Kashmir to Ladakh included shawls, saffron, hides or dried skin, leather, ghee, different types of cloths, ornaments and leather shoes.

Three routes were followed to take goods to Punjab and other parts of India. The first one was direct to Jammu via Islamabad, Shahabad and Banihal and from Jammu where from it lead to Punjab. It was the shortest and direct route from Kashmir to the plains of British India. The second was via Pir Panjal and it reached Gujarat. It was used since Mughal period. Jhelum valley route which runs along the river Jhelum from Baramullah to Kohala in Punjab was another route for carrying trade with Punjab. The trade was carried by the Garhi Habibullah road via Muzafarabad when the Jhelum valley road was closed.

During Dogra period articles exported to Punjab included both agricultural and non-agricultural products. The main exports from Kashmir to Punjab included fruits, oil-seeds, wool, ghee, timber, silk products, hops, hides and skins etc. The imports from Punjab to Kashmir constituted a variety of articles of both daily use and luxury items like salt, sugar, cotton goods, snuffs, metals- brass, iron, copper etc.
Trade between Kashmir and Central Asia was carried through the Treaty High Way road. The imports from Central Asia were numerous and varied. Many goods were directly imported to Kashmir from central Asia and many exported to India also were exchanged in Kashmir. The main imports from Central Asia were shawl wool (pushm), tea, namdhas, carpets, ponies, Silve, charas, velvets, coarse silk, gold, turquoise, musk, tobacco, chini, coral musk, taisin, mamira, salt, blankets etc. the major exports to Central Asia from Kashmir included shawls, saffron, kuth etc
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Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis "Economy of Kashmir Under the Dogras" by Mr. Showkat Ahmad Naik is the original research work of the candidate, and is suitable for submission to the examiner for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Dr. Ruquia Hussain
(Supervisor)
DEDICATED TO MY PARENTS

“Whose blessings have sustained me through this work”
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<td>S.R</td>
<td>Srinagar Repository</td>
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<td>N.A.I</td>
<td>National Archives of India</td>
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<tr>
<td>H.S.Rs.</td>
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Introduction
**Introduction**

The Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir constituted one of the 562 princely states of India. Its specificity was its large size and diverse characteristics distinct from the rest of the princely states in pre-independent India.¹

The princely State of Jammu and Kashmir was carved out by the Sikh feudatory and Dogra² Raja, Gulab Singh in 1846 through the Treaty between him and British Official on the part of British at Amritsar. Gulab Singh had secured Jammu province as a Jagir from Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in recognition of his loyal services rendered to the Lahore court since 1809, when he joined the Sikh army as an ordinary trooper. It was conferred on him, by a sanad dated ⁴th Ashad, 1879 Bikrami (1820), after the siege of Multan in 1819 and by the subjugation of the bandit chief, Mian Dedo, who controlled the hilly region around Jammu. Maharaja Ranjit Singh articulated “on this auspicious occasion with extreme joy and with heartfelt love, I grant to Raja Gulab Singh in recognition of his conscientious and loyal services, the chakla of Jammu.” Moreover, he was also allowed to maintain his own army.³ From this base, he proceeded to build up a small empire of his own. In 1822, after the conquest of Kishtawar and subjugation of Rampore, he was made hereditary Rajah of Jammu.⁴

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¹The state of Jammu and Kashmir was internally autonomous and there was no provision in the treaty of Amritsar for the appointment of British Resident in the territory of Maharaja to represent the British while as in other princely state, it was imperative. Only in matters of defence and territorial disputes, British consultation for arbitration was laid down.

²There are numerous views regarding the origin of ‘Dogras’. The term ‘Dogra’ is a geographical expression rather than ethnic which refers to the inhabitants whether Hindus, Muslims, Brahman, Rajputs, Raths or Girdhal of the hilly region between the river Chenab and river Sutlej. According to Lawrence ‘Dogra’ refers the country around Jammu and is conscription of two words ‘Do and Girath’ which means two lakes. These two lakes are Siroensar and Mansar which lies in the hills a few miles to the east of Jammu which are taken as the center of Dogra country. W.R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Oxford University Press, London, 1895, p.201. Frederic Drew stated that the settlers that inhabited the hills that edge the Punjab formed the Dogra country. According to another Dogra is the corruption of Rajasthani word Dugar which means mountain. Frederic Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir Territories-A Geographical Account*, Edward Stanford, London, 1875, pp.43-44. Messrs. Hutchison and Vogel stated that the ancient name of the principality of Jammu was Durgā and of this name the terms Dugar and Dogra were derived.


is two brothers, Suchet Singh and Dhyan Singh were also rewarded. Suchet Singh received Samba and Ramnagar with an annual allowance of one lakh of rupees and Dhyan Singh received Bhimber and Kassouli with a yearly income of one and half lakh of rupees. Thus, Gulab Singh along with his brothers acquired considerable influence in Lahore court about which Claude Wade; a British agent deputed to the Lahore court gave a revealing view:

"They owe their present commanding position in the councils of their master to the personal favor and protection of His Majesty and have not lost no opportunity of using it to augment and strengthen their power. Aware that their community interests or good feelings between themselves and Sikhs they employ none but Dogras and other tribes of the mountains to manage and defend their country in the hills. . . . . and exercise more or less of influence in every department of the government."

Henceforth, Gulab Singh pursued a policy of consolidation and expansion under the command of his ablest general, Zorawar Singh, Ladakh was incorporated into Gulab Singh’s dominion in 1834. Baltistan and Western Tibet were brought under his sway in 1835 and 1842 respectively.

The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh on 27th June 1839 was followed by anarchy, court intrigues and internecine strife in Lahore court and in other prominent political centers of Punjab. The Sikh soldiers grew turbulent in Kashmir and the result as the assassination of General Main Singh, the most popular and humane Sikh governor of Kashmir in 1841. To restore normalcy Prince Kanwar Pratap Singh, son of Sher Singh was instructed to proceed to Kashmir at the head of a strong contingent under the charge of Gulab Singh. Francis Younghusband, the British Resident in Kashmir stated that “from here Gulab Singh became the real master of Kashmir by placing his favorite person, Sheikh Ghulam Moi-ud-din as the governor of Kashmir, though till 1846 it nominally belonged to the Sikh rulers of Lahore”. Moreover, the murder of Dhyan Singh, Gulab Singh’s younger brother in 1843, infuriated Gulab singh and created resentment against the Sikh community and he left Lahore court.

In 1845, the first Anglo-Sikh war commenced. Lahore Darbar in absence of any proficient leader desired the return of Gulab Singh to take over the reins of the

Robert A. Huttenback, op. cit., p. 478-79
J. M. Honigberger, Thirty-Five Years in the East, Bangabasi Office, Calcutta, p 1905, p. 126
empire. Rani Jindan, widow of Late Maharaja Ranjit Singh through a letter dated 24th January 1846, solicited Gulab Singh to come along with troops at his disposal and after arriving at Lahore, he was installed as the Prime Minister of Punjab on 27th January 1846. He reproached the Sikh leaders for entering the struggle against the British and tried to make a compromise with the British. Thus, Gulab Singh assumed the role of an advisor and mediator. However, his role in the First-Anglo Sikh war has evoked bitter argument and debate among the scholars. He sent a marasla of peace to the British through Lal Chuni Lal, in which he regretted the Sikh invasion and appealed for peace. Consequently, Gulab Singh received positive response from Sir Henry Lawrence, British Resident at Lahore and the Treaty of Lahore was signed on 9th march 1846 which ended the first Anglo-Sikh war. Lahore authorities incapable of paying one crore rupees as war indemnity were forced to cede the territories between the river Beas and river Indus including Kashmir and Hazara to the British ruler of India. Besides, it was stipulated that Raja Gulab Singh would be recognized as an independent sovereign of territories and hill districts situated eastward of the river Indus and westward of river Ravi which would be accomplished by a separate treaty between him and the English. After six days of this truce a historic treaty, popularly known as the “Treaty of Amritsar” in the annals of history was concluded by Frederick Currie, Esquire and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence on the part of English and Gulab Singh in person on 16th March 1846. This Treaty transferred the territories situated eastward of the river Indus and westward of river Ravi to Gulab Singh and his male heirs for a paltry sum of three-quarters of a million sterling which actually was fixed at one crore rupees except for Kulu and Mandi for which 25 lakhs were remitted. Hence, the historic event of foundation of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir was laid down with Maharaja Gulab Singh as its first Sovereign without sacrificing anything, without shedding a single drop of blood which is prerequisite of almost every political revolution and achievement barring few

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9This debate centered round two views. A School of Punjab historian led by Jagmohan, Ganda Singh, and Khushwant Singh condemns the Jammu Raja’s conduct as perfidious and labeled him as Traitor. While as the pro-Dogra historians refuted the argument of Punjab historians. They postulated that he played a crucial role and prevented the complete annexation of Sikhs state to British dominion. The prominent protagonists of this view included K. M. Panikar, Gwasha Lal Koul, Mohammad Aslam Khan and Hashmat Ali Khan.

10 Robert A. Huttenback, op. cit., p. 488
xceptions. However, there is discrepancy among the historians and scholars whether
his amount was paid for the sale of land and people or just for acquiring the control
of this region. Moreover, there is also a debate why the British after huge financial
expenditure and human loss and hard toil transferred the territories which they
cquired from Lahore Darbar as war compensation to the Dogra Raja for a paltry sum
of seventy-five lakh rupees.

The prime reason for this transaction seems to be the disintegration and
weakening of Sikh State of Punjab which had its sway even on Kashmir during the
irst half of nineteenth century and emerged as a formidable power in northern India.
This becomes clear from the communication between Lord Harding, the Govern-
general of India and the Queen, the head of Home government in Britain through a
letter dated 18th February 1846, that is nearly three weeks prior to the rectification of
the Treaty of Lahore of 9th March 1846. Harding writes, “it appears to him desirable,
to weaken the Sikh state which has proved itself too strong and to show all Asia that
though the British government has not deemed it expedient to annex this immense
and of Punjab, making Indus the British boundary, it has punished the treachery and
violence of the Sikh nation and exhibit its power in a manner which cannot be
misunderstood.” After the victory against Sikhs at Saborao in another correspondence
to the Queen dated 5th April 1847, Harding conveyed to her, “the military power of
the Sikhs is forever annihilated. It can never be revived and there is no longer any
external enemy whose fate would not be determined in one vigorous campaign.12

At the same the East India Company had no intention to extend their
lominion. Instead they desired to curb their powerful and aggressive neighbours.
Even after crushing the Sikh power in Punjab, it was not annexed to the British
lominion in India which was done three years later during the reign of Lord
Dalhousie by the ‘doctrine of lapse’.

1One group of historians led by M. L. Kapoor (Kashmir Sold and Snatched), K. M. Panikar (Maharaja
Jalal Singh 1792-1857) and Prof. M. I. Khan (Crisis of Kashmiri Muslims) argued that it was sale on
the part of British to Gulab Singh. The famous poet Dr. Iqbal also held that it was the sale, while U. K
Sotshi (Emergence of Political Awakening in Kashmir), Dr. Abdul Ahsad (Kashmir Was Never Sold to
Maharaja Gulab Singh, The Kashmir Times (Daily), March 27, 1988) refuted the notion of sale of
Cashmir to Maharaja Gulab Singh.

Hardings Private correspondence-Harding to the Queen dated 5th April 1847. In Bikrama Jit Hasrat,
Punjab Papers (Edited)-Selection from the Private Papers of Lord Auckland, Lord Ellenborough,
Discount Harding and Marquis of Dalhousie (1836-1849), V. V. Research Institute Book Agency,
Joshpur Punjab, 1970, p. 118
The remoteness of Kashmir from the British dominion and its inaccessibility also prompted them to hand over its control to Gulab Singh. The distance from Kashmir to Sutlej, the then northern boundary of British empire in India was 300 miles of very difficult mountainous terrain, quite impracticable for five or six months.\textsuperscript{13} Lord Harding wrote to a near relative, “to keep a British force 300 miles from any possibility of support would have been an undertaking that merited a strait-waistcoat and not a peerage. The transfer was the only alternative.”\textsuperscript{14}

To curb the external aggression against the empire, it was imperative to bestow Kashmir to Gulab Singh. It was thought that Kashmir would act as a buffer state between British Empire and Afghanistan and Russia who were advancing to extend their dominions.\textsuperscript{15}

The British East India Company after the success at Sobraon wanted to reward Gulab Singh for the tactic support they had received from him during the first Anglo-Sikh war.\textsuperscript{16} Hence he was bestowed with the territories of Jammu and Kashmir including Ladakh for a paltry sum of 750,000 sterling pounds in ‘recognition of his services to the British Crown’.\textsuperscript{17}

The East India Company besides other motives also wanted economic development and eradication of poverty of Kashmiri people.\textsuperscript{18} Lord Harding on 21 December wrote to the Queen that Gulab Singh had taken possession of the province of Kashmir, which was in a state of great poverty on account of the plunder and oppression of the Sikhs from a long time. Under the Rajput prince it would make progressive improvement.\textsuperscript{19} This was manifested by the deputation of British officials soon after the transfer and warning of Lord Harding to Maharaja Gulab Singh for

\textsuperscript{15}U. K. Zutshi, Emergence of Political Awakening of Kashmir, Manohar Publication, Delhi, 1986, p. 32
\textsuperscript{16} J. M. Honigberger, op.cit. p 127. See also Shakti Kak, op. cit. p 69
\textsuperscript{17} Shakti Kak, op. cit. p 69
\textsuperscript{18}Bawa Satinder Singh, The Jammu Fox- A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir (1792-1837), Printed in, United States of America, 1974, p. 166.
\textsuperscript{19}Hardings Private correspondence-Harding to Queen, Camp Beas, 21 December, Bikrama Jit Hasrat, Punjab Papers (Edited), p.116
elfare of his subjects. The sway of Dogra rule continued for more than a century and as shared by four rulers:

- Maharaja Gulab Singh (1846-1856)
- Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885)
- Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925)
- Maharaja Hari Singh (1925-1947)

The Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir constituted the extreme western portion of the Himalayas. Its geographical extent spread from 32° - 17' to 36° - 58' north latitudes and from 73° - 26' to 80°-30' longitude. Geographically, it was largest of the princely states of India. It was bounded by China in north, Central Asia on west, and in east and Punjab in South. 20

The state constituted three divisions Jammu, Kashmir and Frontier areas of Jhelum, Baltistan and Gilgit. Kashmir which lies in the middle of the state consisted of thirty-six parganas at the accession of Gulab Singh. In 1860, paragana system which prevailed since Mughal period was abolished and the state was vided into tehsils. Kashmir was divided into twenty-two tehsils. 21 In 1865, Dewan Ripa Ram, Governor of Kashmir introduced Wazarat system and Kashmir province as divided in five wazarats. 22 Each Wazarat consisted of several tehsils and each hsils consisted of many parganas. The number of wazarats was raised from five to ten in 1868-Shahr-i-Khas, Anantnag, Shopian, Pattan, Kamraj and Muzafrabad. 23

In 1880, Maharaja reduced the number of Wazarats from six to four. 24 At the time of Lawrence's settlement operations there were three wazarats in Kashmir divided to fifteen tehsils divided. Lawrence retained the number of wazarats but reduced number of tehsils from fifteen to eleven. 25

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At the first revision of settlements in Kashmir, there was a transformation in the administrative division of Kashmir and total number of tehsils in Kashmir by amalgamation was reduced to six tehsils i.e., Kulgam, Anantnag, Awantipora, Shahr-i-Khas, Baramullah and Uttermachipura. Later on Handwara tehsil was added and the number was raised to seven which remained unaltered with two wazaratss till the end of Dogra rule.

Economy forms the backbone of any form of government and has a remarkable bearing on almost all the structures of society and determines the course of history of that region, as has been amply demonstrated by past civilizations. The economy of Kashmir during the Dogra period was dominated by agriculture and supplemented by manufacturing sector, taxes, minerals and trade.

The agriculture of Kashmir during the period of our study was subsistent in nature where people were mainly concerned to make both ends meet. Rice being the staple food of people covered most of the cultivable land in a growing season. Whereas the other food crops like maize, wheat, barley etc were also grown but only in quantities to satisfy their domestic demand. Among the cash crops cultivated saffron occupied the prime position as it was having a ready market in and outside the valley. Oil-seeds and pulses of numerous varieties were also important. Moreover, those associated with secondary sector (non-agrarian) evinced great interest in agriculture, to meet out their food requirement, and for procuring raw materials to keep wheel of their industries operative. Thus there was interdependency in the economy.

Fruit cultivation formed other means of economy of the populace of Kashmir Valley. Several travellers who visited Kashmir during the period demonstrated and recognized the essence of horticulture for the economy of Kashmir both as food and a source of income. Among the fruits apple, almonds, walnut, apricots peas, and cherries were important. They were abundantly grown in the valley and formed the main ingredients of trade and commerce.

Industrial and craft production constituted a significant ingredient of the economy of Kashmir during Dogra Period. It supplemented agrarian economy of the

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ate either directly or indirectly. Industries, cottage manufactures handicrafts, mineral
calth and trade and commerce were source of survival to a substantial section of
pulation and acted as major contributor to the state exchequer. Since ancient times
ashmir was famous all over the world for its delicate and artistic products.
Chapter 1

Agrarian Economy -
Agriculture and Horticulture
Agrarian Economy – Agriculture and Horticulture

Agriculture is the source of perpetual creation on which civilization depends. It has a significant role in the economy of a region or a country. It is a source of raw materials for most of the industries and accounts for a sizable share of the country’s foreign-exchange earnings.¹

Agriculture in Kashmir has always been a significant aspect of people’s lives and principle source of food and wealth. The sources do not offer a unanimous percentage of people engaged in agrarian sector. On average more than 75% population of Kashmir valley in the second half of nineteenth century and first half of twentieth century depended on agriculture for survival.² Even those who were engaged in secondary occupations i.e., shawl industry, silk rearing, carpet making, etc evinced great interest in agrarian sector for food and raw-materials. Thus agriculture assumed vital significance in the entire economy of Kashmir. Consequently, it was the main source of revenue to the state. The dependence of significant proportion of population on agriculture was owing to many factors.

The valley of Kashmir has a unique topography and climate in the entire sub-continent which has a bearing on every aspect of human life. The valley of Kashmir has bounded by mountains on all sides. The valley with moist and warm temperature is plain with table lands called kherewas, swampy lands and low hills. It was watered by numerous springs, perennial rivulets and rivers.³ Unlike Europe where the industrial sector was well established owing to the first industrial revolution, in India and more particularly in Kashmir in the absence of large scale modern industries agriculture was the premier occupation of people during the second half of the 19th

²Agriculture……..supports roughly 87.5% of the population. Sri Ganga Ram, Ganganath Report of 1944, J.K.S.A., Srinagar Repository(S.R), p.73. The population of the Kashmir province was 1,295,203 and of these more than a million were engaged in Agriculture. See also Ernest F. Neve, Beyond the Pir Panjal: Life and Missionary Enterprise in Kashmir, Church Missionary Society, London, 1915, p.105. The masses here are essentially cultivating people and not less than 7, 75,509 males and 3,81,839 females were working in the fields. MD. Matin-uz-Zaman Khan, Census of India, 1911, Vol. XX, Kashmir, Part-1, Newwl Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1912. P.230.
and first half of 20th century. Moreover, the impoverished roads and means of transport and communications especially up to the end of the 19th century restricted movement of people and goods produced locally. It also made people concentrate on agrarian economy.  

**Extent of Cultivation**

In account of variations in physical landscape and climatic conditions in different parts of Kashmir, agricultural practices and crop cultivation differed greatly. In the sub-mountainous and semi-mountainous areas with a cold climate and where rainfall constituted the main source of irrigation only dry crops like maize, tromba (suckwort) etc were mostly cultivated while in outer hills abound in pine and deodar forests where cultivation was possible wheat and maize were grown. In the plains here irrigation was abundantly available and moderate climatic conditions prevailed andy constituted the main crop for cultivation and fruits of different varieties and in certain places wheat and maize were also grown. In Sind valley grim, a kind of wheat barley was the chief crop and was grown even up to the height of 15,000 feet.  

On the Kerewa (plateau) lands which depended on rain for the good harvest saffron held a prominent place for cultivation. Moreover, wheat cultivation and fruit growing so held some portion of such landscape. Likewise, in the lake regions singhara and vegetables constituted the main interest of cultivator.  

Aurther Neve who was a medical missionary in Kashmir since 1880’s described the distribution of various crops in the following words.

> "Here enormous areas of terraced rice-fields are to be found, stretching from the alluvial plain up to the base of the mountains. And as we go a little higher we find whole slopes covered with maize. The flat tops of the karewahs are used especially for wheat,  

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The internal roads consisted of pathways which were mostly kacha (Un-metalled) and were not suitable for all weather seasons. It was in 1890’s that the Jhelum Valley Cart was opened for traffic and in 1909 the construction of the Banial-Jammu road commenced. Moreover, after 1900 onwards the district headquarters were connected with roads properly.


In order to glean ideas about the topography and climate and their relative impact in determining the agricultural practices, Lawrence, *Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil*, Foreign Department, 1891, No-296-26, National Archives of India (N.A.I) Delhi, p.32. See also MD. Matin-uz-Zaman Khan, *op. cit.*, p.3. See also Henvey, *Revised note on the famine in Kashmir*, Foreign Department, March 1883, No. 86.
barley, mustard and linseed, early crops which come to maturity before the scorching heat of summer parches the soil”.

The Muslims who constituted the majority of population of the province took mainly to agriculture as a means of subsistence. The occupiers of land were mostly sunnis and they held from 75% to 88% of the total cultivation in different tehsils. However, the Sayeds among the Muslims got their lands cultivated by tenants. The Kashmiri Pundits (Brahmans) held from ½ to 1% of land which they got cultivated through tenants. They mainly worked as writers in the government offices and other government jobs. Some of them took trade as their profession. The Sikhs also held some lands here and there and generally got them cultivated by Muslim tenants on the usual payment of half of the produce of land. The rest of the land was held by Gujars mostly in Kandi circles or fringes of mountains. They cultivated mainly maize. The other source of their wealth was animal husbandry for which the grass lands were easily available in mountains. Women took part in agricultural work except in ploughing.

The holdings were generally large except in Anantnag Tehsil. In 1890’s Lawrence stated that the population was too small for the land and the land required a much larger population for cultivating it properly. These holdings were rather small in Kandi circles where Gujars mostly depended on their cattle and in Namble area of Sher-Khas, where people were engaged in secondary and tertiary occupations. In Awantipora tehsil, the average holding of an assāmi was two acres. The average holding of land held by the assāmi in Lal tehsil was sixteen acres which included six

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7 E. F. Neve, Beyond the Pir Panjal, p.105.
8 Lala Bhawani Das, op.cit., p.6.
9 Frederic Drew, op.cit., p.178. See also Har Gopal Khusta, Turikh-i-Kashmir (Guldasta Kashmir) (urdu), 1877, p.76.
11 Lawrence, Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil 1889, p.35.
12 Lala Bhawani Das, op.cit., p.6.
acres of cultivated and ten acres of uncultivated. The following table shows the average holding of an assāmi in different regions of Kashmir.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tehsil</th>
<th>Holding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baramullah</td>
<td>6 kanals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anantnag</td>
<td>2 ½ kanals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu</td>
<td>16 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirpur</td>
<td>5 ½ acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzafarabad</td>
<td>2.3 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunji</td>
<td>11 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awantipora</td>
<td>2.6 acres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the tehsils Uttarmachipura was inferior in agriculture production. This was on account of the physical feature of this tehsil. Comprised of mostly of hilly tract this tehsil was deficient in water supply. Moreover, considerable area of this tehsil was wet, infertile and stony.

**System of Cultivation**

Physiography and climate to a greater extent determines the cropping pattern of a region. In the valley of Kashmir, cold conditions remained for greater part of the year which was a great handicap to the continuation of agricultural activities throughout the year. It did not permit intensive cropping or double harvest in the valley as in rest of India where the weather conditions favoured the growth of crops throughout the year. Thus, the system of cultivation pattern was what is known as Ekhlasli i.e. only one particular crop was grown in particular agriculture season. However, there was exception, that after barley which was sown in November and harvested in middle or end of June, rape, maize, millet or some pulses were sown. Frederic Drew stated that it was not a common practice to take two crops from the land, those crops that belonged to autumn harvest were grown on fresh field. But neither rice nor wheat

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permitted the cultivation of second crop in the same year. They occupy the soil for too many months. Thus for most part of the year only one crop was grown.

During the Dogra regime there were three harvesting seasons in Kashmir namely, Kharif, Krimiti and Rabi. However, krimiti was not so prominent and included cultivation of vegetables and few commercial crops like cotton, saffron, tobacco etc. Below is given Kharif, Krimiti and Rabi crops grown in Kashmir during the Dogra period.\(^{20}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kharif Crops</th>
<th>Rabi Crops</th>
<th>Krimiti crops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>Cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>Tibet Barly</td>
<td>Saffron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganhkar</td>
<td>Opium</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millet</td>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>Poppy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckwheat</td>
<td>Flax</td>
<td>Tilgogal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulses</td>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>Sarson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chillies</td>
<td>Peas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Agriculture operations in Kashmir**

The agriculture operations in Kashmir were divergent to the rest of India. The obvious reason seemed geographical and climatic. Generally, the agricultural operations in Kashmir commenced before or after the nauroz which coincided with 21\(^{st}\) March of Christian calendar.\(^{21}\) The sowing of vegetable seeds and ploughing of fields for rice crop in March and April marked the dawn of new agricultural season. Thereafter, regular work was undertaken by the peasants to prepare their fields for the crops. Ploughing for rice, maize, and other autumn crops commenced in the middle of March. In April and May, these crops were sown. In June and July, wheat and barley, sown in the previous autumn, were harvested. In July and August linseed was harvested and cultivation of saffron started. In August and September, cotton-picking commenced. In September and October rice, maize, and other autumn crops were

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\(^{21}\)W.R.Lawrence, The Valley, p. 325
rvested. Moreover, in this period saffron flowers were plucked. In November and December lands were ploughed for wheat and barley crops. During the winter rice and maize and other autumn crops were threshed.22

In the valley of Kashmir during the period under study, year was divided into seasons characterized by different agricultural activities.23

mth (spring): The weather improves and the temperature started to increase. It was the months of April and May when the fields began to be ploughed and sowed for the autumn crops.24 The seeds of rice were put in sacks and were kept under water in the running rivulets or pond for period of four days or more and were then out of water after germination.25 Then, the seeds were sown in the nurseries and some times scattered over the fields.26 Silt accumulated in the ponds, at times a deep ‘turf clod’ was scattered over the agricultural fields. This improved the fertility of the land. Manure in the form of heaps of cow-dung and grass collected during winter was carried to the fields by men and women in baskets.27 The harvesting of spring crops commenced at the end of this season.

etkol (summer): It corresponded with the months of June and July, when the seedlings of paddy were transplanted in the fields.28 The temperature generally rose to 30°C in July which helped the growth and maturity of cereal crops (rice and maize) and fruits.29 In this season almonds were collected and the people also remained engaged in sowing and related activities of krimiti crops like vegetables. It also marked the harvesting season of wheat and barley.30 At the close of this season weeding of rice, maize and cotton began.31

ehrat: Vehrat usually covers the months of August and September. Weeding of rice, maize and other crops was under taken in this season. Khushaba was best method of

Lawrence, The Valley, p.326.
Younghusband, op.cit., p. 105
Lawrence, Valley, p. 332
Lawrence, Valley, p. 326
Ibid.
A.R. Bhat op. cit., p. 21
Younghusband, op.cit., p. 177
E. F. Neve, Beyond Pir Panjal., P. 60

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Weeding. It involved putting the rice plants in the right places and pressing the soft mud around green seedlings. This was accomplished by expert and senior members of the family. It is also marked by adequate rainfall which benefitted the crops and land was ploughed and sown with rapeseeds.

**Harud:** It corresponded with the autumn season and the months of October and November constituted this season. The peasants remained engaged in the harvesting of rice, maize, millets, sesame and other autumn crops. Ploughing of fields and sowing seeds of spring crops like wheat, barley and rapeseed also commenced in this season. Moreover, plucking of fruits like apple was also undertaken. Peasants were engaged in threshing and husking of rice and other crops.

**Wandehe:** It covered the months of December and March. It is a period of severe cold. Agricultural activities came to a standstill and there was hardly any outdoor activity and people remain engaged in weaving blankets, mats of grass etc. and tended to their sheep and cattle.

**Shishur:** This is actually the period of extreme cold. The month of January and February are the coldest months when the mercury remained below freezing point and rivulets and other water bodies got frozen and no agricultural activity could be undertaken and the fields become infertile due to frost and snow.

**Soils in Kashmir**

Soil determined the crop to be cultivated. They are naturally occurring thin layer of unconsolidated material on the earth’s surface that has been influenced by the parental material, climate, relief and physical, chemical and biological agents. Soils are varied in their physical and chemical features. Colonel Nisbet, Resident in Kashmir in 1890 in a report to the Secretary to the Government of India, wrote that the soils of Kashmir were the most fertile. Not only rice, wheat, barley, maize, cotton,

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33Ibid.
34Ibid.
35Ibid., op.cit., p. 177
36Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 326
37Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 326
affron and oil plants of every kind grown here in abundance but the ground with
tile labour produced every kind of fruit-apple, peas, peaches, apricots and the grapes
of best varieties.\textsuperscript{39}

Hassan Khüllhami characterized the soils of Kashmir into three categories.\textsuperscript{40} A.
Vingate who carried the first settlement operation in Lal-Phak tehsil classified the
oil of Kashmir into four groups.\textsuperscript{41} However, it was Walter Roper Lawrence, the first
settlement officer in Kashmir, who conducted extensive field work in Kashmir, gave
a broad classification of the soils of Kashmir which are even today recognized.

\textbf{Alluvial Soils:} Most part of the valley especially the river areas are covered with
lluvial soils. These soils are deposited by rivers. They were of two types-old alluvial
and new alluvial. The old alluvial lies above the banks of the Jhelum river and
xtended up to the Karewas. The new alluvial was confined to the bays and deltas of
mountain river. It was renewed every year by the silt of the streams.\textsuperscript{42}

\textit{iruti} (clayey Soil): This soil contains enough portion of clayey and has high water
staining capability. During the period of insufficient rainfall the lands with such type
of soil were considered ideal for the rice cultivation.\textsuperscript{43} Contrary to this, during the
eavy rainfall, this soil gets compacted and achieved the shape of hard cake, the
oughing of which becomes difficult and the pulverization of soil is arduous task.
These soils were confined to the low lying areas of the valley.\textsuperscript{44} The Karewas of
Jashmir were mostly consisted of these soils.\textsuperscript{45}

\textit{iruti} soil has several varieties. The most fertile of these is the dark-blackish known
\textit{s surf-zamin}, the red is next in fertility and yellow is regarded as worst of all.\textsuperscript{46}
**Behil (Loamy Soils):** This soil enriched in loam is highly fertile. It does not require much manure. This soil was ideal for rice cultivation. However, the rai disease to which the rice cultivation was vulnerable occurred mostly in the areas with such type of soils.\(^47\)

**Sekil (Sandy Soil):** This soil was enriched in light loam with a sandy subsoil. With sufficient irrigation and good rain the production was fair in such areas.\(^48\)

**Dazanlad (Sandy Silt):** Dazanlad soil was mainly confined to low-lying areas near the swamps. This soil was also found in higher altitude villages. This soil contains clay and sand. It becomes hot during the summer and precautions are taken to run off irrigation water when the rice plant shows signs of rapid growth.\(^49\)

**Nambal (Peaty Soils):** These soils were confined to the vicinity of river Jhelum and around the lake regions like Dal, Wullar, Mansbal and Anchar. This soil required no manure. In the year of fair rain this soil yielded enormous crops of rape-seed and maize. To enrich such soils the standing weeds were burned before ploughing.\(^50\) The floating vegetable gardens of Kashmir had this type of soil. The weight of these soils varies from 50 to 120 lbs per cubic foot.\(^51\)

**Tand (Mountain Soil):** The reclaimed land from forest on the slope of mountains is known as tand. This land ensures good yield of maize, pulses and fodder for two or three years. These soils lose fertility after continuous cultivation of six or ten years.\(^52\)

**Zabalzamin, Tresh, Sath, limb and Tat** are other soils recognized by the farmers of Kashmir.\(^53\)

**Irrigation system in Kashmir**

From earliest times man has devised different systems for carrying the water to the land he cultivated. In those areas where the rainfall was inadequate, irrigation was managed, either from streams or wells and in those areas where rainfall was sufficient

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\(^{47}\)Lawrence, *Valley*, P.319.

\(^{48}\)Lawrence, *Valley*, p.320.

\(^{49}\)Ibid.

\(^{50}\)Ibid.

\(^{51}\)Nitya Gopal Mukharjim, *Handbook of Indian Agriculture*, Hare Press, Calcutta, 1901, p.74.

\(^{52}\)Lawrence, *Valley*, P.321. See also M. Hussain, op.cit., p.78.

\(^{53}\)Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 321.
but unsuitably distributed; the irrigation was managed by the storage of the surplus water of one period in surface tanks and reservoirs.\textsuperscript{54} In Kashmir where water gushed perennial from glaciers and springs, natural irrigation in the form of \textit{Khuls} (Streams), \textit{Nags} (Springs) and \textit{Ladh} (canals), constituted the main sources of irrigation and there was rare use of employing artificial means of irrigation except in certain dry lands of Anantnag, Awantipora and Spore \textit{parganas}.\textsuperscript{55} However, rainfall was applied for cultivation in the \textit{kerewa} lands where natural streams were non-existent or the construction of canal was difficult. \textit{Dhenklis} (wells) were used as means of irrigation relatively in small portion of valley.\textsuperscript{56} So the crops grown in Kashmir exclusively depended on natural irrigation with exception of saffron and cultivation of maize and \textit{trambo} in the upper reaches where the distribution of rivulets was irregular and scanty.

The state looked after the irrigation but initially, especially, during the rule of the first rulers, it was left to the peasants to make his own arrangement to take water to his field. For constructing long ducts, the cost of which was beyond the cultivator’s means or for sinking wells advances were sometimes provided from the State Treasury and the rate of interest was not more than 6\% or 8\% per annum.\textsuperscript{57} A villager designated as Mirāb was entrusted with task of supervision, repair and proper distribution of water of the main water stream of an area. The office of Mirāb is actually the Mughal legacy instituted by Jahangir. However, the post of Mirāb became the victim of apathy under first two Dogra rulers. Lawrence stated they were not paid for many years and the post of Mirāb was abolished in c.1877.\textsuperscript{58} Later, in 1880 when the government introduced \textit{Assāmiwār} assessment, the responsibility to look after and repair the irrigation channels was entrusted to the villagers.\textsuperscript{59} This had adversely affected the cultivation. As in the case of Lal Khul which was damaged by the floating timber for the lime-kilns which were situated on the Ahuk Tung (Lime Hill) and as a result of cultivation in Safapur, twenty-three villages diminished and

\textsuperscript{56}Lawrence, Valley, p. 324
\textsuperscript{57}Charles Gridlestone, \textit{A Memorandum on Cashmere and Some Adjacent Countries}, Foreign Department Press, Calcutta, 1874, p.35.
\textsuperscript{58}Lawrence, \textit{Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil }, p.33.
\textsuperscript{59}R. Temple, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 288, See also Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, p. 323.
Asham which once was a fine rice-growing villages, has turned almost barren and paid the revenue with great difficulty. On the constant demand of villagers for the reappointment of Mirābs, Lawrence recommended that the tehsildar should supervise the irrigation and two mirābs should be appointed, one for water-course which runs from Ussan to Safapur Lal Khul and another for the water-course which runs from Maingaon to Nisbal, the Dab Khul.60 In this way, after the completion of first regular settlement operations, the post of Mirāb was revived and is still prevalent.61

During Ranbir Singh’s reign Rajpur canal in Jammu province was constructed from Chenab river but it was not successful. Attempts were made to revive Lal Khul which was in disuse due to inundations in Pohru river but could not be brought beyond Nutnuse village.62

It was with the dawn of 20th century that the expansion of irrigation facilities started in Jammu and Kashmir on scientific lines. The management of the irrigation system was entrusted to the Public works Department and irrigation divisions headed by divisional Engineers were opened in both provinces of Kashmir and Jammu. From 1901 many canals were constructed under the supervision of experts from British India. Later on, in 1928, a separate Irrigation Department was established.63

During the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh, Naib Tehsildar Hari Chand, laid down the regulations regarding the sharing of water of Khuls(streams) among the zamindars. Irrigation facility was provided according to the need and type of land. Moreover, on account of low flow of water in the streams the water was facilitated to both Sire-aab villages and Pia-aab villages alternatively by a method called Darbandi. This reduced the dispute between the villages to a great extent and made available irrigation facilities to the peasants for the cultivation of crops.64

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60Lawrence, Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil (1889), pp.33-34
61Lawrence, Valley., p. 323
62Khan Bahadur Munshi Ghulam Ahmad Khan, op.cit., p.10. See also J.L.K. Jalali, op.cit., p.19
Irrigation through Natural Sources:

The province of Kashmir has innumerable and complex network of rivers, streams and rivulets either formed temporarily during rainy season or having permanent source in glaciers, lakes or natural springs. Snow accumulated during winter in the upper mountains began to melt with the onset of spring which ensured a regular supply of water in the streams. Least snowfall during the winter ensured low flow of water which directly had its bearing on the agriculture of the valley. They formed the main source of irrigation, the first prerequisite of a farmer.  

River Jhelum, the main water body of Kashmir contributed less in irrigating the fields but had immense significance in Kashmir as a means of transport. However, it tributaries and distributaries were the source of irrigation. Irrigation facilities in mountainous regions were predominantly from snow-fed hill torrents. It was regulated by the cultivators themselves except for occasional expert advice or loan of implements by the State department to supplement unskilled effort. At convenient points temporary barrier or projecting snag were erected on the streams and the water was thus taken from the main channel into a network of small channels called khuls to irrigate lands. These eventually emptied themselves into the Jhelum or in large swamps. Such channels were often taken over ravines and around the edges of kerewas.

The Sandran river with its source in Banihal mountain and Verinag spring irrigated the fields of Shahabad pargana of Anantnag. The river Lidar (Lambudris) with its source in southern mountains of Lar pargana near the Amaranth cave irrigated the Duchhanpura pargana of the Anantnag tehsil. Ded and Arwani khuls, Arapat Nala from Kothar valley, Springs of Achabal, Verinag and Kokernag and rivers Barangi were other sources of irrigation in Anantnag Tehsil. In spite of these

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65 MD. Matin-uz-Zaman Khan, op.cit., p.3. See also From Colonel Nisbet, Resident in Kashmir, to the Secretary of State to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 1891, No. 296-326. N.A.I
66 The river Jhelum had its source in the Verinag spring in Shahabad pargana. Its flows through Anantnag, Pulwama and Srinagar where it is joined by numerous streams & small rivers and leaves the valley near Baramullah
68 Lawrence, Valley, pp. 323-324.
69 Hassan Khuhiani, op.cit., Vol I, p. 198
rich water resources of the tehsil, villages in Shahabad and Barang Valley suffered for the want of water because the irrigation from Sandran and Barangi rivers was precarious. The Sandran river has no constant glacier source. Barangi has such a source but when it reached Dewalgam, the soil of its bed becomes porous and all water is absorbed there. A dam was constructed at Dewalgam(Delegam) by wazir Pannu for the preservation of water of Barangi river but it was washed away.⁷¹

The Vishau, which originated from the Kausarnag Spring at an elevation of about 12,000 feet in the upper mountains, irrigated Kulgam area. Jamnagri Ladh, Tonger, Changi Ladh, Bumai Kuhl, Sunaman and Mao Khul taken from its left bank and Wut-Wuchu Ladh, Yari Ladh, Tatbagi Khul from its right bank irrigated Devsar, Adwan, Kulgam and parts of Anantnag pargana before meeting the Jhelum at Sangam.⁷² In 1922, 93% of the irrigated area of Kulgam tehsil was watered by streams and the remaining 7% by small hill torrents and springs.⁷³

The parganas of Ardvan and Zanipora were irrigated by Rambiarah and its tributaries and distributaries.⁷⁴ The Dood Ganga was the main source of irrigation to the fields situated between the parganas of Arigam and Nagam. River Puhru which had its source in Lolab Mountains facilitated the irrigation to the fields of Handwara area and Zanagir paraganas before emptying into Jhelum at Doabghah.⁷⁵ Kahmil and Mawar are the two prominent tributaries of Puhru and irrigated north-western portion of Handwara tehsil.⁷⁶ The Sind river and its distributaries irrigated the different areas of Lal tehsil. At numerous places on the water courses had been taken from the river which run great distances and irrigated its catchment area.⁷⁷ The Vihu portion of the Ullar-Vihu tehsil received irrigation from channels taken off from Dooganga river, Khanchi Khul and also a little water from the Ramshi river. But the Vihu villages lie at a great distance from the main channels and much of the land depends on the

⁷⁴Hassan Khulhami, op.cit., Vol. 1, p. 201
⁷⁷Lawrence, Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil, p. 33.
Khanch Khul. Moreover, Hassan Khuihami has mentioned a number of small streams which had sufficient flow of water and were significant sources of irrigation in the valley.

The springs which were found throughout the valley constituted another source of irrigation. However, the water of the springs was utilized as means of irrigation only in less irrigated areas. Such means of irrigation was avoided in the areas where the stream was available because the water of springs is usually cold and took much time to attain a certain degree of temperature required for the growth of rice. Besides, it was also devoid of fertile silt and instead, it is accompanied with scum which harms the cultivation. In north-west part of valley tanks provide irrigation to the rice fields. The irrigation of Ullar area was chiefly from the perennial springs which rise at the foot of the mountain like Krihu and Wee as or from the large rock fountain know as Arpal Nag. It irrigated the greater part of Trahal villages. Lawrence stated, the irrigation of the Ullar Ilaka was insufficient for the agricultural requirements and the only way of improving the water supply of the area would be the construction of tanks on the nallahs which carried off the hill drainage.

Canal Irrigation:

In Kashmir construction of canals for irrigation purposes can be traced back to the ancient period. But the perfection of canal construction developed fully in Sultanate period when numerous canals were constructed for irrigation. During the Mughal and Afghan periods no new canal was constructed. However, the Mughals repaired

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79 These include Bringi, Arahpati, Ramshi, Shidpur Nalah, Sonu kul, Nalah Shidpur Amri, kishan ganga, Ahaj river, Harvan river, Amravati, Sandhar, and Nangal river.
80 Hassan Khuihami, Tarikh-I-Hassan, Vol-I, pp. 178 -191. The author who was contemporary of Dogras, has mentioned a list of fifty-seven springs, he has also mentioned the location, name and the areas which were irrigated by these springs. See also Ernst F. Neve, Beyond Pir Panjal, p. 56.
81 Lawrence, Provincial Gazetteers of Srinagar and Jammu, p. 47.
84 It was Sultan Zain-ul-Abadin who started the construction of canal for the extension of agriculture. He constructed Safapur canal from river Sind to irrigate area around Manebal Lake. Kakapur and Awantipur canals were constructed to irrigate the respective villages. Krala canal was constructed to irrigate the fields around Adw Adwargara. Shahkul or Martand canal was another canals constructed by this ruler. Daulat Chak constructed canal to irrigated large fields, Mohibul Hasa, Kashmir Under the Sultans, Aakar Books, Delhi, 2005 (Reprint), p.90.
the existing canals. During the short reign of Sikhs no effort for the development of irrigation was undertaken. W. Moorcraft mentioned that some canals were blocked with silt.

During the reign of Gulab Singh who was pre-occupied with consolidation of his state and to recover the money which he paid to the British for transfer of Kashmir to him, did not take any interest in irrigation works. Ranbir Singh attempted to repair and extend the existing canals. It was only from the first decade of twentieth century that canal construction was taken up on priority basis. This was due to the newly developed relations of Jammu and Kashmir with British India which facilitated experts and reorganization of administration. No new canal was constructed in Kashmir during 1911-1920 but the extent of the actual irrigation from the existing sources went up by 1,532 acres. The increase was due to more economical use of the present water supply. During Hari Singh’s period new projects for irrigation were laid down and completed successfully. Following were the main canals during Dogra Period for irrigation purposes.

Martand Canal: Martand canal was designed by state engineer, Wildeblood to irrigate the Karewa above Anantnag. It was taken off from rive Lidder at Ganeshpur above Aishmukam in Anantnag Tehsil. The construction of this canal started in 1901 on the alignment of an old Shah Khul and later on repaired by Maharaja Ranbir Singh in sambat 1919(1862) but without desired results. It was completed in 1902 at the cost of Rs 387, 945. It was opened for irrigation in 1902. However, it was damaged by

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87 Soon after taking over the Kashmir he embarked on a extensive campaign against the nomadic tribe, the Galawans. He drove the Jagirdars of Muzafarabad, Khakas and Bombas out of the valley and set up strong garrisons in the forts guarding the mountain passes. C. Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging-Islam, Regional identity and the Making of Kashmir*, Permanent Black, 2003, p.48.
floods in 1903 and was repaired with large expenses on 3rd November 1903.\textsuperscript{92} It runs along the face of the limestone cliffs above Bawan and Martand, where it splits up into four channels and finally falls over the edge of the plateau into Jhelum valley at Anantnag.\textsuperscript{93} The first one with length of four miles irrigated 842 acres, second with length of 2 ½ miles irrigated 514, third one with length of one mile irrigated 310 acres and fourth three miles irrigated 297 acres. It irrigated the area from Ganeshpur to the foot of Kerewa by numerous outlets. The canal was opened for irrigation in mid April and closed at the end of September. It was constructed at the cost of Rs 387, 945.\textsuperscript{94}

It had a total length of thirty-four miles which consist of 24.05 of main canal and 9.75 miles of distributaries. The total area irrigated by this canal was 5729.23 acres. In 1942-43 the total area irrigated by this canal constituted 7,133 acres.\textsuperscript{95} Below is given the area irrigated by this canal from 1905 to 1920.\textsuperscript{96}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Area Irrigate in Acres</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Area Irrigate in Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>2,581</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>5,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>2896</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>5,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>3,401</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>5,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>3,722</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>5,304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>4,223</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>5,267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>4,378</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>5,103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>4,680</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>5,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>5,041</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>5,569</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{92}E.G. Colvin, \textit{A Note on the Main Features of the Administration of the Jammu and Kashmir State during the past four years (1901-1903)}, Foreign Department, secret-1, 1905, Nos. 19-20. N.A.I., p. 14.

\textsuperscript{93}W. Dane, \textit{Note on the Martand Canal}, Foreign Department, March 1902, File No. 125-126, p.1. See also Rai Bahadur Pandit Anant Ram and Hira Nanda Raina, \textit{op. cit.}, p.27.

\textsuperscript{94} Paninit Anant Ram, \textit{Assessment Report of the Anantnag Tehsil 1922}, p..52.

\textsuperscript{95}Ganga Ram, \textit{op.cit.}, p.240.

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid.
**Lal Khul**: This canal was carved out from the Pohru river, a tributary of river Jhelum at Bunhama three miles above Drugmullah in Handwara tehsil, on the alignment of an old *Khul* which is said to have been constructed during the reign of Zain-ul-Abdin. Later this canal got filled due to the inundation in Pohru river. In 1860, 3000 *chilki* rupees were spend to restore water supply of this canal but it was of no success. The work on this canal started 22nd April 1902 and was completed on 30th April 1903. The total expenditure for its construction amounted Rs 84,288. It was designed to irrigate 7015 acres of Zainagir Plateau between Wular Lake and Lolab valley.

This canal remained open for irrigation from April to mid-September. The total length of the main canal was 21 miles and with its distributaries its total length was 24.7 miles. In 1903 the total irrigated area was 3895 acres. In 1942-43, it irrigated 4226 acres. The following table shows the average area irrigated by this canal in the villages during 1903-1920.

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100 Abdul Rahman Mir Sarwar, op. cit., p.115.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Village</th>
<th>Average Area Irrigated in acres</th>
<th>Name of Village</th>
<th>Average Area Irrigated in acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamhom</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Harwan</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugmul</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>Lati-shat</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shath-Muqam</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Naupur</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bramar khalsa</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>Tijar</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bramar Jagir</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>Nathipur</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Khai</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Zinpur</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radabug</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>Logirpur</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutrus</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Mallpura-Pandittan</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waripura-Gunipura</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bumia</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braripur</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Ydipura</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutigund</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Guripur</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atharuth</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Gund-barat</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulangam</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>Siul</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsogul</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Dangarpur</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maidan Tsogul</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>Shui</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagipur</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>Zolur</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1710</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Zainagir Canal:** The construction of this canal commenced in 1923 and was completed 1931. The total expenditure for its construction amounted eleven lakhs. This canal was taken from Madomati Stream near Sonerwani.\(^{103}\) It was longest canal in Kashmir during Dogra period. The total length of the canal was 43.8 miles which

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\(^{103}\) Abdul Rahman Mir Sarwar, op.cit., p.117.
Nandi Canal: This canal was actually the extension of a canal constructed by the local cultivators. The work for the reconstruction of this canal was started in 1936. It was taken from river Vishao near Khrewan Lasipora. The total length of this canal was twenty kilometers. The total cost for its construction amounted to Rs 77,640. However, the Ganganath report mentioned it expenditure of construction Rs 98,452. It facilitated the irrigation between Jhelum and its tributary Vishao. In 1922 it irrigated 500 acres of land. It irrigated 4,388 acres in 1940 as against 700 previously. In 1942-43 area irrigated by this canal increased to 5557 acres.

104 Rai Bahadur Pandit Anant Ram and Hira Nanda Raina, op.cit., p.29.
105 J.L.K. Jalali, op.cit., p.20.
106 Ganga Ram, op.cit., 240.
110 Ganga Ram, op.cit., p. 240
Dadi Canal: Dadi canal was constructed during the reign of Maharaja Hari Singh at the total cost of Rs 5, 13,523.\(^{111}\) The work on this canal started in 1937 and was completed in 1940. It was taken off from river Lidder near Katsoo village five Kilometers below Phelgam. The total length of this canal was more than twenty-five kilometers. It irrigated the areas of Anantnag, Phelgam and Tral and final falls in Jhelum at Sangum. It irrigated 1,620 acres.\(^{112}\) In 1942-43 the extension of irrigation increased to 1922 acres.\(^{113}\) *Katha Kul, Tsonta Kul, the Nahari Mar and Rainawari cannal* were other canal.\(^{114}\)

\(^{111}\) Ganga Ram, op.cit., p.240.


\(^{113}\) Ganga Ram, *op.cit.*, p.240.

Lift irrigation

Lift irrigation system (Toulsag) was another method employed during the Dogra period. In and around Srinagar and in the larger towns and villages this method was carried out by means of a long pole acting as lever and working on a pivot upon a cross-piece resting on the two upright or on the forked branches of a tree. The short end of the pole carried a heavy weight in the form of stones or pebbles in a sack as a counterpoise and on the long end like the line of fishing-rod hung a thick rope with an earthenware bucket attached. This was rapidly lowered into the river or well by pulling on the rope and dragging down the end of the pole. In this way water was taken out to irrigate the fields. This type of irrigation device was mainly applied in garden cultivation, vegetables and Kerewas as well as in Khandi areas where the rivulets and streams were absent. It was known as tolivan (Dhenkli). Such type of irrigation device was also prevalent in north Indian states also.\footnote{115 Walter Lawrence, *Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil*, P.31. See also William Crooke, et al, *A Concise Encyclopedia of North Indian Peasant Life*, ed. By Shahid Amin, Manohar, 2005, p. 295. See also A. Wingate, *op.*, p.11.}
The following pie diagram shows irrigated area in different tehsils of Kashmir.\textsuperscript{116}

![Percentage of Irrigated Area in the Tehsils of Kashmir During Dogra Rule]

Agricultural Technology

During the period of our study, it is evident from the sources that the implements and tools employed by the peasants for agricultural operations were not much advanced. They were conventional, simple and limited in number.\textsuperscript{117} These were manufactured locally with no technological help from other areas. Moreover, the peasant did not receive any special training to use these implements. The technique came to him through observation from early childhood. Diwan Kirpa Ram, who was appointed the Prime minister of Kashmir in 1865, has furnished an elaborate account in his Persian work Gulzari-i- Kashmir regarding the agricultural technology employed at different stages of agricultural operations by the peasants in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{118}

\textit{Alooina} (Plough): Plough was a most important implement which a peasant had to rely upon and had great significance in the entire agricultural operation. Plough was used in tilling the field by employing a pair of oxen.\textsuperscript{119} It was made of wood of


\textsuperscript{117} Lawrence, Valley, p. 324

\textsuperscript{118} Diwan Kripa Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, Kohinoor, Lahore, 1870, pp 485 to 487. The author who was the wazir of Maharaja Ranbir Singh from 1865 ,has given names and use of eighteen implements and tools used by the peasants in cultivation of various crops.

\textsuperscript{119} D.K. Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p.485
different trees which include mulberry, apple, *pashi* and walnut. However, the walnut being more durable was preferred and was mostly used for the purpose. It had an iron tip which in Kashmiri language is called *faal*.

**Deanthi:** It was made of wood log, slightly curved and has nails below like a tractor. It was approximately six feet long and three feet in girth. It was used to plough watered or wet land to uproot the weeds and dry left over’s in the field and to close the rat holes (*woderes*). It was driven by a pair of oxen. The ploughing through this was called *Heej*. Even this is still prevalent in Kashmir, though on very limited scale.

**Mondala:** It was log of wood which was used to level the field and break the clods after the ploughing that might have remained intact. It was driven by a pair of oxen. The driver stands on it with purpose to enhance its weight, so as to break the hard clod. Even this method is still used by the peasants.

**Bail (Spade):** Spade was made of wood, has narrow face and was tipped with iron. It was used to dig the corners of field that remained untill by plough as well as turf clod and for arranging the field for irrigation. After plough, it was most widely used tool by the peasant in his agricultural activities.

**Levan (Kashmiri Spade):** It was roughly made implement with a straight narrow face shod with iron. Mulberry, ash and walnut were considered suitable woods for it. Livett stated, it was more useful than plough in lake regions especially Dal Lake Villages, as it was with this tool the cultivators performed all the activities for preparing land for cultivation. Even sometimes it was used as a paddle.

**Tongur (Small Hoe):** It was used for loosening the soil and uprooting the weeds of crops like cotton and maize. It was also used in planting and weeding of vegetables. There were many varieties of this tool according to size. *Pathr-tonger* which is broad

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121 D. K. Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, p. 485
123 Ibid.
124 Ibid.
126 Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 325. See also D.K. Ram *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, p. 486
shaped hand-hoe used to make the beds to receive the vegetable seedlings and to regulate irrigation. Second *Kil-Tonger* was a long, narrow-shaped hoe with a wooden handle and used to extract vegetables from ground and in transplanting them and weeding. 127

**The Khon & Daj:** They were large hand-hoes, used in digging earth from hill side.128

**Phowrah (zun):** Its structure resembles a small hoe but it was slightly bigger than the small hoe with long wooden handle.129 It was used for breaking clod as well arranging the soil in rows and squares for sowing seeds and raising saffron.

**Yafier or Yabchet (Mallet):** It was a wooden hammer with long handle. By this, the clods were disintegrated after the ploughing.130

**Yut (Wicker Basket) and Kanvot (Knight Caps):** Both these were used by the peasants for carrying manures.131 *Yut* was made of soft branch of trees like *veed* (willow tree) and *Bran (a tree).* Knight cap was made of old cloth like *pattoo* and *suthul* (Jute).

**Sickle (Drot):** It was made of iron with wooden handle. Its shape resembles the new moon. It was generally used to cut down crops and grass.132 With the help of the tool the people abounded lake regions also cut *pits* (a kind of grass) for mate making.133 R. L. Hongloo stated that it was a very important and integral implement in Kashmiri agriculture but certainly not 'imbued with any community spirit' as understood by Marc Bloch in the case of medieval France.134

**Danye Mund:** It was used for threshing (*chumbun*) of *shali* (*paddy*).135 It was a huge plank set up against support, so that the edge rested on the ground and it slope downwords. Men in row stood behind it. Each person seized a bundle of *shali* (*paddy*)

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128 Ibid.
130 D.K. Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, p. 486
131 Hangloo, *Agricultural Technology in Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 81
133 Ibid.
134 Hangloo, *Agricultural Technology in Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 82
135 Ibid.
called Loov raised it in both hands and struck it again and again on the broad smooth face of the plank (mund) till the grain is separated from the Loov.\textsuperscript{136}

**Mazan**: It was like a broom but it was very long. Grass and other unwanted substances were separated from grain by this at the time of threshing.\textsuperscript{137} Mazan is still in use in the houses of the down trodden section of Kashmiri society.

**Feew (Shovel)**: It was also used in preparing the field for cultivation.\textsuperscript{138} Besides it was used for digging the corners of the field which has left the plough and it was also used to dig the holes along the field margins to plant the trees to protect it from the erosion during the floods and when the fields were watered for transplanting the seedlings.

**Treshul**: It was a three pointed implement which was utilized to collect the grain.\textsuperscript{139} It shape resembles the treshul.

**Mortar and Pestle**: These two tools were used for husking of paddy. There was no requirement of any special training but was learned through observation and practice. However, during the 19th century beside pestle and Mortar, Jindra or husking machine which operated by water was also used for husking of shali.\textsuperscript{140} During the last decade of 19th century the total number of these machines rose to six. These were owned and managed by state. Besides these, there were three machines of this sort which were owned by local people and were free of government control.\textsuperscript{141}

\textsuperscript{136}Wingate, op.cit., p. 15
\textsuperscript{137}D.K. Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p. 486
\textsuperscript{138}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{139}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{140}Maharaja Pratap Singh, Dairy of an Inspection Tour to the Gilgit Road, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1893, pp. 5-6
\textsuperscript{141}Ibid.
The following table shows the prices of various agricultural implements.\textsuperscript{142}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Tool</th>
<th>Price of the Tool</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plough</td>
<td>1 4 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Levan} (Kashmir Spade)</td>
<td>10 \textit{annas}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pothr-Tonger (Broad faced Hoe)</td>
<td>1 to 4 \textit{annas}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kil Tongr</td>
<td>1 to 3 \textit{annas}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khon &amp; Daj</td>
<td>10 \textit{annas}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drot (Sickle)</td>
<td>1 \textit{anna} to 2 \textit{annas}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radh Levan</td>
<td>Rs 1 to 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pothr-tongr</td>
<td>1 to 4 \textit{annas}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kil-tongr</td>
<td>1 to 3 \textit{annas}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daj</td>
<td>10 \textit{annas}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Production of Crops in Kashmir}

The nineteenth century agriculture was dominated by the cultivation of food crops all over the world and India was in no way an exception. Likewise the agriculture in Kashmir was the dominated by cultivation of food crop production supplemented by cultivation of few commercial crops.

The produce of the country (Kashmir) is almost everything that heart could wish. As regards grain, it is especially a rice-growing country but really almost every kind of grain may be and is grown there. No greater testimony to the extreme fertility of the country can be than the

\textsuperscript{142} H.L. Rivett, Assessment Report of the Mir Bahri or Dal Lake Villages. pp.26-27.
fact that notwithstanding the terrible extortion and oppression to which the people are subject, the part of the population is well clothed and generally far from lean.\textsuperscript{143}

Thus during the Dogra regime subsistence agriculture was practiced in Kashmir characterized by the cultivation of food and commercial crops to satisfy largely the local requirements, with divergent patterns. According to the census of 1931 the percentage of cultivable areas under various crops was as follows.\textsuperscript{144}

\textbf{Area under Cultivation of Various crops During Dogra Period}

\begin{itemize}
  \item 8%
  \item 9.60%
  \item 12.80%
  \item 30%
  \item 34.70%
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Rice
  \item Maize
  \item Wheat
  \item Oil-seeds
  \item Pulses & other Crops
\end{itemize}


\textsuperscript{144} Rai Baladur Pandit Anant Ram, \textit{op.cit.}, p.55.
Area under the cultivation of different crops in the Tehsils of Kashmir

- Shar-Khas (Present): 37.20%
- Baramullah: 32.50%
- Uttamchippura: 35%
- Siprataspinpura: 40.30%
- Avantiapora (present): 43.60%
- Anantnag (Last Settlement): 42.20%
- Anantnag (Present): 53.50%

From the above given tables, it is evident that during the Dogra period rice cultivation formed the prime concern of the people of Kashmir. It occupied the highest percentage of area under its cultivation and was grown throughout the valley. Among the tehsils Kulgam ranked first and Baramullah has the lowest percentage of area under rice cultivation. Maize occupied second place while other crops also occupied sufficient space in the agrarian economy of Kashmir.

**Food Crops of Kashmir during Dogra Period**

Rice (Daniye): Rice about which we first heard in China was cultivated in Kashmir since ancient times. It has a vital significance as it was the staple food for Kashmir populace and the main source of revenue to the state.\(^{146}\) At the time of harvest, the maharaja of organized a feast called ankut jug to celebrate the harvest of crop.\(^{147}\) The cultivator on the other hand devoted most of his energy and time to rice cultivation.

Lawrence, the settlement commissioner in Kashmir, recorded, “for the rice cultivation, the cultivator spend his days in terracing the fields, expand great labour in digging out irrigation channels and spend his nights out in the fields in watching the flow of water and passed laborious days morning till evening like an amphibious animal in the wet and deep mud.”\(^{148}\) Its straw despite of poor nutritious value was generally used as fodder for cattle. Wakefield wrote “that even the wealth of an estate or parcel of land was calculated not by money value but the number of measures of rice it can produce”.\(^{149}\) Diwan Krishan Lal, in his ‘Account of Kashmir’, maintained that in 1848, 350,000 acres were under rice cultivation.\(^{150}\) The total percentage of grass cultivated area under rice was 19.3%.\(^{151}\)

In 1853, 3, 50,000 acres were under the paddy cultivation. The average production was 40-60 Kharwars per Kharwar of land. In 1859 due the heavy rains only twelve lakh Kharwar was produced in Kashmir. In 1864 on account of heavy

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\(^{146}\) Lal Ganesh Lal, op. cit., p. 32. See also E. Neve, Things Seen in Kashmir, Secley, Service & Co., London, P. 59. The author wrote, looking down on the valley, from a height we saw hundreds of square miles of fields in terraced squares & crescents. See also William Crooke, Things Indian, Niyogi Books Delhi, 2012, p.402.

\(^{147}\) C. E. Bates, Op.cit, p-52

\(^{148}\) Lawrence, Valley, p 330.


\(^{150}\) C. F. Hangloo, Agrarian system of Kashmir(1846-1889), p. 17

\(^{151}\) Ganga Ram, op.cit., p. 75.
rainfall paddy crop was badly damaged and next year there was a famine. In 1865 the total production of shali was 22 lakh kharwars.\textsuperscript{152}

Like in India various varieties of rice were grown in Kashmir. William Crooke mentioned the varieties of rice in India were infinite; they vary from district to district and even from village to village.\textsuperscript{153} Hassan Khuihani, Har Gopal Khasta and Dewan Kripa mentioned ninety-six varieties of rice were grown in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{154} Lawrence during his settlement operation in Lal tehsil noted over forty varieties of rice were grown in that tehsil.\textsuperscript{155} On the basis of colour, rice has generally two varieties-white and red. The white variety was considered superior and was esteemed as food. Kanyun and Basmati were the best varieties of white rice grown in Kashmir.

**Methods of Rice Cultivation**

Rice was cultivated as *Kharif* crop. The ground was prepared for *shali* by plough from the middle of March and it lasted till the end of April or middle of May. From the middle of March manure which mainly consisted of the cow dung, grass and ashes collected in heaps during the winter was taken to fields. Sowing commenced in May and reaping started in October and lingered till November.\textsuperscript{156} Lawrence mentioned two method of preparing the soil for rice cultivation namely *Tao* and *Kenalu*. Under the first method the soil was ploughed dry and when the clods were perfectly free from moisture, irrigation was arranged and seeds were sown. This method yielded best results. On the other hand under *kenalu* method, the soil was ploughed wet and after the three ploughing, the soil was wet, seeds were sown.\textsuperscript{157}

In Kashmir during the period of our study two methods of rice cultivation were in vogue *Nihali* and *Waater*.\textsuperscript{158} Under the first method sprouted seeds were sown densely in a small patch of land called *thajwan* or *Thjnarie* after two or three

\textsuperscript{152} Hassan Khuihani, *Tarikh-i-Hussan* (Persian), v.2, Trans. into Urdu by Maulana Mohammad Ibrahim, p.577.
\textsuperscript{153} William Crooke, Things Indian, Niyogi Book, Delhi, 2012, p.402.
ploughings and clod breaking. It was carefully leveled with log. It was well manured and properly irrigated during this period. Shallow drainage channels were made across the seed-bed to drain off the surplus water. When the seedlings attained a height of one feet or after forty days, they were pulled out and transplanted in the rest of the field which was prepared well at intervals of about eight inch. In few days these struck fresh root and subsequently operation consisted of weeding twice or thrice, if necessary and regulating the supply of irrigation water which maintained at a depth of three to four inches. The wateer system yields more produce than the Nihali.\footnote{S.S. Thakur Singh, \textit{Assessment Report of Handwara Tehsil}, 1922, p.32. See also C.G. Bruce, \textit{Kashmir, A & G Black Ltd}, London, 1915, p. 37}

Under wateer method wet seeds were sparsely broadcasted over the entire field carefully ploughed and irrigated. The Waater method was widely used during the Dogra period but the first method was most common. The Wateer system was found in seven-eighths of the tehsils of Kashmir while Nihali was found in one-eighth only. In the areas with ample water-supply in the beginning of spring season Waater method was preferred over the Nihali method which was undertaken in the places where sufficient water for irrigation reached late in the season from the hills.\footnote{Ram Dhan Rai Sahib, \textit{Assessment Report of Sri Pratapsinghpura of Northern Wazarat of Kashmir Valley}, 1920, J.K.S.A, J.R., P.17. See also Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, p.332.} In Awantipora tehsil Wateer system was most widely practiced method and the Nihali system was followed in few villages.\footnote{Sardar Thakur Singh, \textit{Assessment Report of Handwara Tehsil}, (1922), p.32.}

Weeding was under taken stage by stage for good harvest. It was known by a generic term Khushaba.\footnote{Pandit Amant Ram, \textit{Assessment Report of Awantipora Tehsil}, 1920, p.20. See also S.S.S. Thakur Singh, \textit{Assessment Report of Handwara Tehsil}, 1922, J.K.S.A, J.R., p.32} It commenced soon after sowing to protect the tender plants from deterioration and to ensure their smooth growth. In this respect, the

\footnote{E. F. Neve, \textit{Beyond Pir Panjal}, P.56. The author who came in the eighties of nineteenth century, stated row of peasants may be seen standing in mud, bent down, scooping out all the adventitious plants and grasses and plastering mud round the stalks of the young rice plant. This goes day after day under a hot sun and the fields have to be carefully and completely weeded no less than four times a year. See also Lawrence, op. cit. p 331}
Waateer system was more labour intensive as it required weeding five or six times while the Nihali system the weeding was undertaken twice.  

The rice fields were renovated by farmyard manure and turf clods. In the nambal (swampy) areas decaying vegetation enrich the soil and silt from rivers further enrich the soil in such areas. The manure was put on the land after second ploughing and was either ploughed in while the land is wet or is scattered by the women over the land and then is soaked in by the water. After this the soil was leveled by with a kind of harrow (matela) and when the earth is of consistency of liquid mud the rice plants were dribbled out or the waater see was sown. The khushaba consist of the water weeding and working the soil and the roots. Lawrence pointed out that for the Nihali rice cultivation method two khushaba were under taken and for waater method the peasant undertook four khushaba. The first stage known as watai was done in rough way, weeds were plucked out and worms and snails (hangi) were removed. After fifteen days of the completion of the first khushaba, second khushaba known as sroad. Under this weeds were again taken out, the soil is worked and where the plants are deficient or superfluous, the necessary remedy called trapu was applied. It included to plant at those places where the plant had been damaged and to remove the plant where it was dense. Then after fifteen or twenty days the cultivator undertook another khushaba known as motnind. The main task was to extract hama, a weed like rice. The last stage of khushaba known as trovanind was undertaken. It commenced one and half month before the crop ripens. This consisted of weeding and working the soil. Bun rai and thud rai damaged the crop. When the disease once attacked the crop, it spread to adjoining fileds very fast. The only remedy known to control this here was to cut the affected plants.  

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165 Lawrence, *Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil*, p.39
Extent of Cultivation and Production

During the 19th century and first half of 20th century the geographical distribution of rice cultivation in Kashmir ranged from plain valley to an altitude of 6000 to 8000 feet. In the mountainous region where the water usually remained cold, rice was cultivated at a small portion whereas tromba (buck wheat) and maize formed the major crop for cultivation. Here it was sown earlier than the normal sowing period because of the relatively colder climate. In Kashmir certain areas produced a particular variety of rice. Telbal situated on the eastern bank of Dal Lake was famous for chughut variety which was very soft. Kasba Lal was known for ansan, Salora for gudh krikum and Nipur in Anantnag wazarat produced good rice. However, in the early nineties of the nineteenth century, Nipur lost its importance as a great producer of Shali.

168 Ram Dhan Rai Saheb, Assessment Report of Sri Pratapsinghpora Tehsil, 1920, P.17. E.F. Neve, Beyond Pir Panjal, P. 60. See also Younghusband, op. cit., p.199
169 Lawrence, Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil, p.32.
170 Lawrence, Valley, p. 327
171 Lawrence, Valley, pp. 332-33
The yield of rice varied throughout the valley and it was greatly determined by the type of soil and supply of water. Weeding also influenced the yield.\textsuperscript{172} The \textit{wazarat} of Islamabad had the highest yield per acre of land. River Jhelum which originated in Shahabad \textit{pargana} of this \textit{wazarat} near Verinage flows through the region enriched the soil every year and facilitated adequate and regular irrigation by its tributaries and distributaries. It was supplemented by other small rivers and rivulets. The yield in valley varied between ten and sixty \textit{maunds} per acre but twenty to forty \textit{maunds} featured generally in most of the rice lands. In the hilly areas, the yield of rice was very low. It was owing to the mountainous soils in these areas which were deficient in fertility, and owing to cold climate as well insufficient irrigation facilities. Generally, twenty to twenty-four seers \textit{pacca} per acre land were sown.\textsuperscript{173} It was estimated that 1235,358 \textit{kharvars}\textsuperscript{174} or about 2500,000 \textit{maunds} were annually produced in Kashmir during the Dogra rule.\textsuperscript{175}

Rice was the state monopoly and along with maize, its export outside the valley required the permission of concerned authority.\textsuperscript{176} In 1846, Maharaja Gulab Singh abolished the private sale of rice and made it a state monopoly. The price of \textit{shali} was regulated by the state. During the Gulab Singh’s reign the price of \textit{shali} was fixed two rupees per \textit{kharwar} which varied one to three rupees per \textit{Kharwar} during the Sikh period.\textsuperscript{177} A series of \textit{Shali} stores called \textit{Kotas} or \textit{Zakhiras} were erected in Srinagar and in the headquarters of other \textit{parganas} to store grain and sell it at fixed price. He also established the department of Dol-i-Jinsi (the grain office) for the transaction of rice business in a proper way.\textsuperscript{178} Thus, the rationing of rice commenced in Kashmir for the first time in its history.\textsuperscript{179} This hit hard peasantry who on account of the elimination of competition, had to sell it to only one customer i.e. the state, at

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{172}Wingate, op.cit., p. 15

\textsuperscript{173}See a unit of weight during Dogra period and is still prevalent in Kashmir. It is equivalent to one Kilogram. See Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 59.'

\textsuperscript{174}See Appendix No.5. see also Younghusband, op.cit., p.41.

\textsuperscript{175}Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh (First Print 1890), Vivik Publication, New Delhi, 1974. p. 69.

\textsuperscript{176}Pandit Anant Ram, \textit{Assessment Report of Anantnag Tehsil} 1922., p.10.


\textsuperscript{178}Salig Ram Koul, Maharaja Gulab Singh: Baumi Jammu-wa-Kashmir (Urdu), Salig Ram Press, 1971, p.140.

\end{footnotesize}
the price fixed by the state. According to an estimate 12, 35,358 kharwars (2500,000 maunds) were stored per annum in Kotlas during Ranbir Singh period and about four lakh of kharwars were sold to shawl weavers at the rate of two Chilki rupee per kharwar.\textsuperscript{180} The rice was sold at the rate of 1¼ chilki rupees per kharwar of fifteen trak kharwar with minor fluctuation like in 1879 to 1½ chilki rupees.\textsuperscript{181} In 1890's the prices rose and during the World War First the prices of rice rose to highest. One kharwar of shali was sold at the rate of Rs 18 and even R.G. Wreford, manager State Grainaries of Jammu and Kashmir, recorded evidence of Rs 24 were paid per kharwar of shali.\textsuperscript{182}

Maize (Makai): Maize was another kharif crop grown in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{183} It was sown in May-June after two or three ploughings. Unlike rice no manure was used.\textsuperscript{184} After shali, it was most widely grown crop during the Dogra period. The total grass cultivated area under its cultivation was 29.5%.\textsuperscript{185} Maize was grown on dry lands like low hills, kerewas (plateaus) and in the areas covered with peaty soils. However, occasionally it was grown in abi lands. In Mir Bahri(Dal Lke) villages 167 acres were under the cultivation of maize.\textsuperscript{186} A month after sowing when maize attained the height of one feet, Khushaba was undertaken with small hoe called tongru. This was done by women. In the upper areas (mountains) inhabited by Gujars, maize was the main crop. But in the other parts it was seldom used by people. The people of Mir Bahr villages sold cobs green in the city where they were roasted or boiled before eating.\textsuperscript{187} The villagers on both sides of Jhelum valley road, sold the green cob to the

\textsuperscript{180} Chilki rupee replaced Hari Singh rupee introduced by Sikhs. Chilki rupee was introduced in Kashmir as medium of exchange by Maharaja Gulab Singh soon after he ascended the throne of Kashmir in 1846. It was equivalent to ten annas of imperial rupee. Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{181} Wingate, op.cit., p.17
\textsuperscript{183} D.K.Ram. Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p. 284
\textsuperscript{184} Lawrence, Valley, pp. 326-27. See also H.L. Rivett, Assessment Report of the Mir Bahri villages, P.14.
\textsuperscript{185} Giangan Ram, op.cit., p.75
\textsuperscript{186} H.L. Rivett, Assessment Report of the Mir Bahri villages, 1898, P.14.
travelers. From the suburbs of Srinagar it was taken to city for sale. Moreover, the Markabans used it as fodder for their horses.\textsuperscript{188}

The yield per acre land was comparatively high in upper reaches due to the local manure of buffaloes and cattle. Here eighteen seers were sown per acre of land.\textsuperscript{189} The yield varied from ten to fourteen maunds per acre of land. It was sold at the rate of two chilki rupees per kharwar, if in cobs and twelve traks, if the grain had been separated.\textsuperscript{190} During sikh period the average production per kharwar of land was twenty-four kharwars. The annual production during the same period was 2,00,000.\textsuperscript{191}

According to Lawrence two varieties of maize were grown in Kashmir namely red and white. The latter being soft was considered superior. However, the poonch maize was another variety grown in the valley. It had small grains and was cultivated in the western part of valley. Maize was used as food and its stalks provided fodder for cattle. During the Dogra period maize was prone to various diseases like Rai and Sas,\textsuperscript{192} mainly due the non-availability of pesticides and chemical fertilizers. Maize was an important item of internal trade.

**Wheat (Kanek):** wheat was grown as a spring crop in Kashmir. It mainly depended on rain. It was sown in October and harvested in June. It was cultivated without manures and weeding. It was mainly grown on the dry lands of Kashmir.\textsuperscript{193} The total area under its cultivation was 19.5\%.\textsuperscript{194} Twenty-seven seer of wheat were sown per acre of land and the average yield per acre was eight kharwars.\textsuperscript{195} Its cultivation in Kashmir on large scale was mainly confined to Dachanpura and Khaurpora parganas. Wheat was also grown in other parts of Kashmir relatively on small portion of land. The common variety of wheat grown in Kashmir was red wheat.\textsuperscript{196} White variety of wheat was introduced during the famine of 1877-78 from Punjab.\textsuperscript{197} Wheat in

\textsuperscript{189}Bates, op.cit., pp. 49-50. See also Hangloo, *Agrarian System of Kashmir*, p.19
\textsuperscript{190}Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 62
\textsuperscript{191}D.C. Sharma, op.cit., p.24.
\textsuperscript{192}Lawrence, p. 337
\textsuperscript{193}Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 342
\textsuperscript{194}Ganga Ram, op.cit., p. 75
\textsuperscript{195}Hangloo, *Agrarian System of Kashmir*, p. 19
\textsuperscript{196}Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 342
\textsuperscript{197}Lawrence, *Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil*, p. 42.
Kashmir was having less significance as food and was mainly used for bakeries. Its straws were not used as fodder for animals like that of other crops and were allowed to rot in the fields.

The yield of wheat was not good in Kashmir compared to that of India. The average produce per acre land was seven mounds. However, the kherewa of Pampore being exceptionally fertile produced twenty maunds per acre of land. It was an important source of income to the state which levied two to six chilki rupees per kharwar.

Barley (Wishka): It was a rabbit crop. It was sown in October-November and harvested in June. It was sown after first ploughing and then the soil was ploughed again. It was grown in dry areas and was neither manured nor weeded. It required moderate rainfall. The total area under its cultivation was 2.2%. Lawrence lamented, Barley grown in Kashmir was inferior in quality and was not used as food crop on large but was mixed with wheat and was used for making floor. In the areas of Sind Valley up to a height of 7000 feet, a particular type of barley known as grim or Tibet barley was cultivated. Here it was the staple food of the people. It was also used as fodder for cattle. The average yield of barley per acre of land was eight and a half mounds. The average yield of grim was about four maunds.

Twenty-four seers were sown per acre of land.

Buck wheat (Tromba): Buck wheat was grown mainly in the hilly regions of the valley. It required no regular irrigation and was benefitted by the rains. Two varieties of buckwheat, sweet and bitter were grown in Kashmir. The sweet tromba was grown in the lower villages and was white in colour and the bitter was grown in

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198 Ibid.

199 *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, pp. 61-62

200 Ibid.

201 Lawrence, Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil, p.41.

202 *Ganga Ram*, op.cit., p. 75

203 Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 341

204 Ibid.

205 Khuihani, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 185

206 Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 341


208 Lawrence, *Valley*, p 338
the hilly region and was yellow.\textsuperscript{209} The latter was cultivated as substitute to rice in the areas where the irrigation was inadequate. The seeds sown per acre of land were twenty-four seers and the average yield was six kharvars per acre.\textsuperscript{210} Buck wheat was roasted and ground to flour and then baked in thick cakes mixed with walnut or apricot oil, which in this country was common use for the domestic and culinary purposes.\textsuperscript{211}

**Amranthus (Ganhar):** It was grown as Kharif crop and was sown in May after two or three ploughings. It was sown in rows in the cotton field or on the borders of maize plots. It was a rain fed crop and did not require manure. Its minute grains are first parched and then eaten with milk or water especially in winter.\textsuperscript{212} It was considered a warm and nourishing food. The Hindus eat it on the fast day and its stalks were used by washer men.

**Pulses (Dal):** Kashmir having a sufficient dry land in the form of Kerewas and low hills, a number of pulses were grown. The pulses were very significant and people cultivated them along with other crops.\textsuperscript{213} These were grown on both irrigated and un-irrigated lands. In khandi areas pulses were grown on large scale.\textsuperscript{214} Following varieties of pulses were grown in Kashmir during Dogra period;

**Mung (Phalscolus Mungo):** Among the pulses mung was cultivated on large scale. It was a kharif crop. It was a dry crop and required timely rains for growth. It did not require regular irrigation and manures and was mainly cultivated on banger land.\textsuperscript{215} It had two varieties, dim green and black.\textsuperscript{216} Moreover, no weeding was under taken. The seeds sown per acre of land were twelve seers and the average production per acre of land was two and half mounds to three maunds.\textsuperscript{217}

\textsuperscript{209}Lawrence, Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil, p.42
\textsuperscript{210}Hangloo, Agrarian System of Kashmir, p. 19
\textsuperscript{211}H. G. Bellew, Kashmir and Kashgar, A Narrative of the journey of the embassy to Kashgar in 1873-74, Trubner & Co., London, 1875, p. 88
\textsuperscript{212}Khuhihami, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 184
\textsuperscript{213}Khuhihami, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 251
\textsuperscript{214}A.R. Bhat, op.cit., p 136
\textsuperscript{215}Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 6
\textsuperscript{216}Khuhihami, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 252
\textsuperscript{217}Lawrence, Valley, p. 339.
Mah: It was a *kharif* crop. The seeds sown per acre of land were twelve seers and the average produce per acre was four *maunds*.\textsuperscript{218} It was used as food by the people especially during the winter season when the green vegetables were rarely available due to snow.

Moth: Moth was sown in April mainly on barren part of rice fields. It mainly depends on rain for growth.\textsuperscript{219} It was mainly used as fodder for animals\textsuperscript{220} especially goat, sheep, cattle etc in winter.

Masur (*lentils*): It was a *kharif* crop. Its seeds were sown in April–May and it ripened in September. It was mainly used during winter.\textsuperscript{221} In 1864 it was one of the articles sent to Labore exhibition. Twelve seers of seeds were sown per acre of land and the average outturn per acre of land was one and half *kharwars*.\textsuperscript{222}

Razma (Beans): Beans were also cultivated in Kashmir during the Dogra period. Two types of beans, white and red were popular in Kashmir. However, it was mostly consumed domestically.\textsuperscript{223} Twelve seers were sown per acre of land and the average yield was two and half *kharwars* per acre of land.\textsuperscript{224}

Mattar (Peas): Peas were also grown throughout the valley. It was sown in *Cheith* and ripens in *Har*. The land was ploughed three times. Peas were not esteemed as food by the villagers but were in demand in the city.\textsuperscript{225}

The following table depicts the crops of Kashmir with the amount of seeds sown in per acre area, the yield per acre and the area under cultivation;\textsuperscript{226}

\textsuperscript{218} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{219} *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 63
\textsuperscript{220} *Lawrence*, *Valley*, p. 339
\textsuperscript{221} *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 63
\textsuperscript{222} Hanglo, *Agrarian System of Kashmir*, p 19
\textsuperscript{223} Ibid
\textsuperscript{224} Hanglo, *Valley*, p. 19
\textsuperscript{225} *Lawrence*, Assessment report of Lal Tehsil, p. 42. See also *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 63
\textsuperscript{226} *Lawrence*, *Valley*, pp. 330 to 343. See also Bates, op. cit. pp. 50 to 53. Younghusband, op. cit., PP. 199 to 205

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri name</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>Seeds sown</th>
<th>Yield per Acre</th>
<th>Area under Cultivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dhan</td>
<td>Paddy</td>
<td>20-24 seers</td>
<td>15 kharvars</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makai</td>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>18 seers</td>
<td>6 kharvars</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanak</td>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>27 seers</td>
<td>2 kharvars</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wishka</td>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>24 seers</td>
<td>4 kharvars</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trombo</td>
<td>Buck wheat</td>
<td>24 seers</td>
<td>6 kharvars</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kung</td>
<td>Saffron</td>
<td>70 totals/sq.</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Razma</td>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>12 seers</td>
<td>2 ½ kharvars</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mung</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>12 seers</td>
<td>2 ½ kharvars</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masur</td>
<td>Lentils</td>
<td>12 seers</td>
<td>1 ½ kharvars</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mah</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>12 seers</td>
<td>4 maunds</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Produce of Floating Gardens (Radh):** Floating Gardens locally known as *Radhs* are a unique landscape of the Lake regions of Kashmir especially Dal Lake situated in the heart of Srinagar. These existed since long ago. The floating gardens of Kashmir consisted of light peat soil. These gardens are mainly located near the banks of lakes. These gardens were made by raft and reeds in which earth and weed are placed layer above layer till it became strong enough to bear sufficient weight. The following passage from Moorcroft’s travel account lucidly explains how these gardens were formed.

The roots of aquatic plants growing in shallow water are divided about two feet under the water, so that they completely lose all connections with the bottom of the lake but retain their former situation in respect to each other. When thus detached from the soil, they are pressed into somewhat closer to each contact and formed into beds of circa two yards in breadth and of an indefinite length. The heads of sedges, reed and other plants of the floats are now cut off and laid upon its surface and covered with a thin coat of mud which at first intercepted in its descent, gradually sinks into mass of matted roots. The bead floats but kept in its place by a stake of willow driven through it at each end which admits of its rising or falling in accommodation to the rise or fall of the water.

H.L Rivett stated that due to the floods of 1893 these gardens were greatly destroyed and about forty acres area of floating gardens decrease. Floating gardens varied

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229 William Moorcroft op.cit., pp.- 137-38
230 H.L Rivett Assessment Report of the Mir Bahri or the Dal Lake Villages, p.2
greatly and these resembled the *chinampas* of old Mexico.\textsuperscript{231} These are very fertile
and support the growth of a number of crops with sufficient yield. During the dogra
period mainly vegetables and some fruits were grown on these lands. The prominent
produce of these gardens included cucumbers, turnip, carrot, egg-plant, cabbages and
numerous other vegetables.\textsuperscript{232} Mrs. Robert Moss King in her diary from 1877 to 1882
mentioned that melons were also grown on these gardens.\textsuperscript{233} However, being
surrounded by water the products of these gardens were inferior in taste. State
acquired a sufficient amount of revenue from the garden production.

\textsuperscript{231}Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 344
\textsuperscript{232}H. W. Bellew, *op. cit.*, p.68. See also John Martin Honigberger, *op.cit.*, pp. 184-85. See also E. F
\textsuperscript{233}Mrs. Robert Moss King, *The Diary of a Civilian's Wife in India (1877-1882)*, Vol. II, Richard
Cash Crops

Kashmir has attained great fame for producing crops which had great commercial value and fetched rich economic gains to the people associated with the cultivation of such crops as well as to the state. In Kashmir, a number of cash crops like cotton, tobacco, oil-seed saffron etc. were cultivated. These crops besides, satisfying the local requirements were exported outside the valley for procuring the money as well other products which were not accessible locally.

Cotton (Kapas): Cotton was used for making cloth and from its seeds oil was obtained. Cotton was cultivated on kerewas (Wuder) and the low lying areas of Kashmir. It was sown in May and was harvested in September-October. For this crop the soil had to be well pulverized and the land was ploughed five or six times. Manure was not used but two Khushabas with hoes were undertaken. It required timely rains. Thirty-six seers were sown per acre of land and the yield was one and half kharewa per acre. Initially, Maharaja Gulab Singh evinced little interest in cotton production but after 1850, he displayed special interest to promote and expand the various crops including cotton crop. During Maharaja Ranbir Singh’s period, no stone was left unturned to promote the agriculture.

With the opening of Jhelum valley road, the import of cotton from Punjab increased. This had an adverse effect on the cotton cultivation. Being superior in quality it reduced the demand of native cotton and consequently the demand for locally produced cotton decreased. H.L.Rivett in his settlement report of Mir Bahr stated that during winter Kashmiris used to give cotton seeds to cattle in order to increase the quantity and quality of milk and to help the famished animals to tide over the severe winters in Kashmir.

Saffron (Kung): Saffron was the leading cash crop of Kashmir during the Dogra period. The saffron produced in Kashmir was of superior quality, not found elsewhere in India and even surpassed that produced in Spain, Italy, Morocco, France

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234 Lawrence, Valley, p. 341
235 Lawrence, Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil, pp.42-43
236 Younghusband, op.cit., p 202
237 Lal Bhawani Das, op.cit., p. 4. See also Lawrence, Valley, P. 341
and Sicily.\textsuperscript{240} It was used as a condiment, pigment, flavor and medicine. Moreover, it was also used for dying purposes.

During the Dogra period saffron cultivation was confined to Pampore and twenty villages in its vicinity known as \textit{Mahal-i-Zafrani}. They include fifteen villages of Avantipora tehsil and four villages of Sher-i-Khas.\textsuperscript{241} The major ones include Sonkrund, Litpura and Sambara, Avin, Ladu and Chandhar and Bara Odder. This area is situated to the north-west of Awantipora tehsil extending from Zevan Village in Sher-i-Khas Tehsil to Barsoo in Awantipora tehsil.\textsuperscript{242} In 1920 the total area under saffron was 20,012 \textit{kanals}. Out of this 16, 260 \textit{kanals} were held by the \textit{zamindars} in proprietary rights and 3, 752 \textit{kannals} were held by state as \textit{Khalsa}.\textsuperscript{243} Later on saffron cultivation was extended in two more villages Barsoo and Udipora of Awantipora tehsil. Thus the number of saffron growing villages rose to 21 from 19.\textsuperscript{244} It was also cultivated in Kashtwar but of an inferior quality. Under Gulab Singh, Colonel Main Singh introduced its cultivation on the Damdu wadur in the Yech parchana and near Martand. Though the climate and soil in these areas resembled that of Pampore but the experiment could not produce concrete results. The soil on which it was cultivated was composed of ferruginous clay.\textsuperscript{245}

The method of saffron cultivation practiced in Kashmir and Kashtwar differed from each other. In Kashtwar where the rainfall was comparatively small and the corn was liable to be damaged by porcupine, saffron was grown in flat fields, planted in rows therein, at a depth of eighteen inches where the air could percolate.\textsuperscript{246} In Kashmir, the land on which the saffron was cultivated consisted of square beds of seven to eight feet, raised in the center and sloped off at the sides and around the square was three to seven \textit{geras} drainage channel.\textsuperscript{247} These squares are called \textit{kongwari} or \textit{chaman}. Each square was divided into a ridge and the ridge is set with

\textsuperscript{240}R. Temple, op. cit., Vol.- II, p 257. See also Hargopal Khasta, \textit{op. cit.}, p.92.
\textsuperscript{242}R.C. Raina, \textit{op. cit.} p.1.
\textsuperscript{243} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{244} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{245} \textit{Gazetter of Kashmir and Ladakh}, pp. 54-55
\textsuperscript{246} \textit{A Note on Jammu and Kashmir State}, 1928, J.K.S.A., J.R., p. 29.
\textsuperscript{247} It is a unit of measurement. It is equal to 2.5 inches. See also \textit{Political Diaries} p.190.
bulbs five to six inch apart at a depth of ten to twelve inches.\textsuperscript{248} In each square seventy-two tolas were planted.\textsuperscript{249}

The preparation for its cultivation commenced in \textit{savan} corresponding to July-August.\textsuperscript{250} The land for the cultivation of saffron was neither given manure nor regular irrigation. A soil of yellowish colour known as \textit{Gurat} and possessing a saline taste suited best to the cultivation of saffron. Plants sprouted in September and the plucking of saffron flowers commenced in \textit{Asooj} and \textit{Katik} (September-October).\textsuperscript{251} After plucking the flower, it was consigned to sacks; their weight was estimated around twenty-four seers the cultivator took them to tax collector's house, who without opening it selects half as the government share.\textsuperscript{252} Lawrence mentioned, "The methods of its cultivation was slow and if the European method of its cultivation was adopted, there would have been a bumper crop of saffron in Kashmir."\textsuperscript{253}

Saffron was extracted by two ways. Firstly by cutting out the red stigmas from the individual flowers and drying them. This product known as 'Mogra' was considered best quality. Under the second method the whole flower was dried, then lightly beaten with sticks and thrown into pails of water, when the significant part of the flower sink to the bottom and \textit{patals} etc remain floating and were removed. The operation was repeated thrice, though the latter exaction was poor in proportion.\textsuperscript{254}

Lal Ganesh Lal, who came to Kashmir soon after Gulab Singh took over, mentioned in his \textit{Styhat-i-kashmir}, that the annual produce of saffron in Kashmir was worth 50,000 \textit{Hari singhi} rupees and the general price of one seer of saffron was twenty rupees.\textsuperscript{255} P. Sandys Melvill who was on deputation in Kashmir in 1847 stated, that the saffron when picked out from the flower was sold 15 to 25 rupees per

\textsuperscript{248}Ibid. In Kashmir 'waar' is a patch of land which is generally meant for vegetables cultivation. It is generally fenced with branches of tree or by mud walls.
\textsuperscript{249} It is a unit of measurement. One tola is approximately equal to 10gms (11.666gms).
\textsuperscript{250} D.K. Ram, \textit{Gulzar-i-Kahmir}, pp. 490-91
\textsuperscript{251} Lal Ganesh Lal, op.cit., P-27. See also R.C. Raina, \textit{op. cit.} p. 6. See also Neve, \textit{Thirty years in Kashmir}, p. 81
\textsuperscript{252} D.K. Ram. \textit{Gulzar-i-Kahmir}, See also \textit{Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh}, p. 54
\textsuperscript{253} Lawrence, \textit{valley}, p. 343.
\textsuperscript{254} \textit{A Note on Jammu and Kashmir State}, 1928, p.30.
\textsuperscript{255} Lal Ganesh Lal, op.cit., p. 28

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seer while the seed was valued at one rupee per kharwar. Dr Elmslie, a young Scottist doctor who came to Kashmir in 1865 wrote:

"Last year 1,330 traks of saffron were produced and of this quantity 693 traks were taken by the government. When the season is dry and warm, as many as 200 traks are produced. From six to eight annas or from nine pence to a shilling, is given for a tola weight or 180 grains of saffron."

In 1870 the yield of saffron in the valley was estimated at 200 kharwars (28,800 lbs). After the great famine of 1877-78 the cultivation of saffron was badly affected. Its production dwindled to a considerable extent. However, in spite of the great hard work of the government to rehabilitate the saffron cultivators, it could not be revived. Saffron worth of Rs 2100 was produced during the 1883 and 1884 when Kashmir had recovered from the famine conditions and the harvest of all crops was good. Cowley Lambert stated 20,000 lbs of saffron were annually produced in Kashmir. In 1889 this crop yielded 200 mounds.

Saffron was a vital product of trade. According to one estimate 1,600lb of saffron was exported annually to Ladakh. The flavoring part was exported to Tibet and Ladakh while the rest was exported to the different trading centers of Hindustan like Amritsar, Ludhiana etc.

Oilseeds: The cultivation of oilseeds had a special importance in Kashmir province during the period under review, as the people of Kashmir used vegetable oil in cooking instead of ghee which was generally utilized in rest of India. Oil obtained from the oil-seeds was also used in lighting. The principle oil-seed grown in Kashmir during the Dogras was rape. It has three principle varieties –tilgoglu, taruz and shadji.

256 Political Diaries, p.190.
257 Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 53
258 Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 54
259 S. S. Charak, Life and Times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Jay Kay Book House, Jammu, p. 138
261 Foreign Department-External-A, February 1890, Nos. 293-314, N.A.I., p.50.
262 Ibid
263 D.K. Ram. Gulzar-I-Kashmir, p. 492
265 Lawrence, Valley, p.339
The first variety was sown in September-October immediately after the harvest of paddy on dry lands and ripens in May-June. It was a rain fed crop. It rarely grows in on high lands and it grew best in nambal land. Normally khushaba was not undertaken but when the wild weeds grew at alarming rate some weeding was done. From four traks of tilgolu one trak of oil was produced which was used for eating and lighting.\textsuperscript{266}

The second variety was sown in spring. It ripened in a short span of time and was harvested in the same season as tilgolu. This variety yielded less oil compared to that of the former. The third variety was sown in the rice field when last watering was given to paddy before maturation.\textsuperscript{267} It ripened in April-May. The average yield was three mounds or two-hundred and forty lbs.\textsuperscript{268} However, its yield was very inadequate as compared to rest of the India and neighboring areas.\textsuperscript{269}

**Tobacco (Tamak):** Cultivation of tobacco was introduced in India by Portuguese in 1508. Two varieties known as *nicotiana tabacum* and *nicotiana rustica* were grown in India. The former was more common and was grown all over India and the latter was widely cultivated in Kashmir, Eastern Bengal, United Provinces and Punjab.\textsuperscript{270} In Kashmir tobacco was cultivated in many parts especially in Srinagar, its environs like floating gardens of Dal Lake and some small towns. It was sown in April and picked up about the end of August.\textsuperscript{271} It was not grown by ordinary cultivators but was the monopoly of the gardener class of the city and the towns.\textsuperscript{272} Nicotiana tabacum known as *beware* was superior and it was grown in Srinagar. It was source of revenue to the state and also constituted a significant item of trade. P. Sandys Melvill, assistant resident to Lahore, who was on deputation in Kashmir from June 1847 to October 1947, stated that there was tobacconist in every Kashba.\textsuperscript{273} Tobacco was monopolized by the government. P. Sandy Melvill, while on a tour to know the state affairs in Shahabad *parganan*, stated government bought it from the *zamindar* at

\textsuperscript{266} Lawrence, *Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil*, 1889, p.41.
\textsuperscript{267} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{268} Younghusband, op. cit., p.173
\textsuperscript{269} Lawrence, *Valley*, p 339
\textsuperscript{271} Belieu, op. cit., p. 68. See also Younghusband, op.cit., p. 174.
\textsuperscript{273} Political Diaries, p.197.
the rate of 6 rupees per Kharwar and sold it to the monopolist at 16 rupees per kharwar who again retails it at 15 seers per rupee, thus enjoying of 1 seer on every trak. The price of tobacco during the reign of Gulab Singh was 8 seers per rupee. However, in Charar there was no monopoly of the Maharaja for the sale of tobacco and was brought from Srinagar by merchants who later retailed it. The general rate of tobacco during Gulab Singh's time was six seers per rupee throughout the valley. After the famine of 1877, its cultivation was badly affected. The cultivators left the valley due to the devastated situation created by the famine which lasted till the eighties and created insignificant prospects of tobacco in future.

*Til* (*Sesame*): *Til* was a *kharif* crop and was cultivated widely throughout the valley. It was sown in April and was harvested immediately after rice harvest. The land was ploughed four times and the seed was sown with fifth ploughing. No manure was used. It required fertile soil and was grown in plain areas. It required timely showers. It is a delicate crop and winds and heavy rains harmed it. The land for this crop was ploughed five times and no manure was given. However, it required fertile soil and timely moderate rainfall for sufficient output. The average yield per acre of land was one and half *maunds* per acres.

**Other products of Economic Importance**

*Chob-i-kisht*: It grew naturally in the hilly areas of Kashmir. It has medicinal significance and was economically very significant. At least ten thousand *maunds* were produced annually. The traders of Kashmir exported it to China through India.

*Kur*: Kur was also naturally grown in Kashmir especially in the hilly areas of the valley. It was exported to India for trade.

*Dorangari*: This plant grows naturally in Kashmir. It was mainly used for dyes.

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274 Political Diaries p.203.
275 Political Diaries p.199.
276 Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 346
278 Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 340
280 ibid.
**Rudang** (Madder): It was actually a plant and was economically significant. It grew naturally in Kashmir. It ripened in five years.

**Singaraha** (water nut): Singarah grew naturally in and around the lakes of Kashmir and in shallow waters of river’s edge. It was an important article of food in nineteenth century and was also a source of revenue to the state. It has a beautiful leaf, sometimes green, brown or red, with large widening stalks like chain. It is of two types, subzginee which was collected in October and komaie, collected from November to May. It was dried and grinded into floor to made bread. Thus it constituted food of many people especially boatmen and the people who dwell on the margins of lakes. Hussan Khulhami stated that the people of Bandipora, Hanjen, Sopore and Paiyan used it as their food. The Hindus ate it on fast days. It was also an item of trade as well and was also exported to India and other countries. The lakes which yielded Singaraha include, the famous Dal Lake, Wular and Mansbal.

The government levied three-fourth share of them. Sometimes government’s share amounted to one lakh kharwars. Ganesh Lal who visited Kashmir during the initial period of Dogra rule stated that the government collected singharas worth of Rs 25, 000 were annually as revenues. P. Sandys Melvill who was on deputation in Kashmir in 1847 mentioned, in Rudoogam(Budgam) each zamindar was bound to collect 100 kharwars of singhara annually for the government, which were given in proportion of 25 kharwars of the subzginsee and 75 kharwars of komaie; of the subsginsee ¼ is to be of mughs( having the external coating peeled off) and of the komoie five traks 2 ½ seers per kharwar are taken in mughs. However, Robert Moss King who was in Kashmir in 1879, stated that it fetched Rs 10,000 as revenue to the Maharaja.

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281 Ibid.
282 *Political Diaries* p.221.
283 Ibid
285 Hassan, op.cit., V.1, p.198.
287 Political Diaries, p.94
288 Lal Ganesh Lal, op.cit., p. 37
289 Political Diaries, p. 221.
Kashmir (Coriander): It was grown in Kashmir and was used as a spice and as a medicine.  

Red chilies: Red chilies were grown throughout the valley and were mostly used as spices.  

Honey (Shehed): Honey was produced in Kashmir and was used both as food as well as medicine. It formed a subsidiary occupation to a large number of agricultural workers in the state. In the sides of some houses in the villages there were circles with holes in the center in which bees were seen to be crowding. These were the Kashmiri hives. One hive gave six pounds of honey.  

Opium (Afyun): It was obtained from the poppy crop. When balls were immature; they were cut in the middle and white liquid was extracted out of it and then dried in the sun. In this way afeen was obtained. It was an important article of trade. It was exported to India and Ladakh.  

Charas (Bang): Charas was also produced in Kashmir. It grew naturally along the banks of rivers, and on barren and waste lands. It cultivation was also practiced on the rice fields. In 1846, the total income to the state from it was calculated Rs 11,500 as excise duty.  

Krishu: This plant grew abundantly in Kashmir and its leaves were used for rope making. It was mainly concentrated in present Ganderbal area.  

Kuth (Anchklanda costus): It grew abundantly on the mountains of Kashmir at an elevation of 7,000 feet above the seal level. It was dug up in September. Charles Gridlestone mentioned it was prominent in Wangat and Sind Valleys.  

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291 D.K. Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p. 273  
292Ibid.  
293Ibid.  
294E.F. Neve, Beyond Pir Panjal, p 61. The author recorded the hives were merely earthenware cylinders about about two feet long and built on wall the outer end of the hive has central hole about an inch across or sometimes a series of small holes in a circle. The inner end has an earthenware lid fitted over it and sealed with clay. It opened when honey was extracted from. See also Annual Administration report of the Marketing Board, Agriculture and Veterinary Departments for the Year 1939-40.  
295D.K. Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p. 274.  
296Lal Ganes Lal, op.cit., P. 37  
297H. G. Bellew, op. cit., p. 87
Its leaves resembled cabbage. It has large parsnip like roots which are aromatic. The plant has several medicinal uses. It was used to cure ulcers and cure cholera. In addition, it also acted as preservative of cloth against the ravages of moths and other vermin and insects. It was a valuable drug and commanded significant economic value. It was monopolized by the state government. It was chiefly exported to China.\textsuperscript{300} Each village had to supply a certain quantity of it annually to the state. For example for the village of Wangat which consisted of not more than twenty houses was required to pay eight Kharwars annually.\textsuperscript{301}

The people brought it to Srinagar where from it was exported to the British province of Punjab. From Punjab, it was exported Bombay whence it was exported to China and there it was used as burnt in temples for its fragrance. Four varieties of this plant were grown in Kashmir i.e. Kot, Drankhar, pashkar and kor.\textsuperscript{302} During the initial period of Dogra rule the state was indifferent for the development of this product. During the later years especially Maharaja Hari Singh the kuth market was studied and investigation were made with regard to its use. The price of this product soared high as Rs 216 per mound. The revenue from this increased from about Rs 2½ lakhs to about Rs 14 lakhs.\textsuperscript{303}

Thus, it is evident that agriculture which engaged the largest portion of populace of Kashmir constituted the mainstay of the economy of Kashmir & was major source of revenue to the state during the period under scrutiny. The agrarian economy was characterized by the predomination of food crops to satisfy the domestic requirements of food and allied needs of life. Besides, the cash crops also formed a major concern of the cultivator. Some products grew naturally and also augmented the economy of Kashmir. However, the yield, due to state apathy, corrupt officials, exorbitant exactions and absence of chemical fertilizers and pesticides was inadequate. The main force behind the whole agricultural process, the peasant was left with a meagre portion of produce; which was not even sufficient to compensate his food requirement till the next harvest and he had to opt to wild products for

\textsuperscript{300} Har Gopal Khasta, op. cit., p.20. See also Bates, op. cit., p. 43.
\textsuperscript{301} Charles Griddlestone, op.cit., p.33.
\textsuperscript{302} A Note on Jammu and Kashmir 1928, p.35.
\textsuperscript{303} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{304} A Note on Jammu and Kashmir 1928, pp.35-36.
survival. Moreover, the traditional technology was in operation to accomplish the agricultural operations.

**Horticulture in Kashmir**

Kashmir with its salubrious climate and rich soils was ideal for horticulture. Fruits of various kinds were grown here since ancient times. Kalhana, in *Rajatarangni* mentioned that grapes grew abundantly in Kashmir besides other fruits. He has also referred to apples. Even Alberuni referred to the existence of numerous fruits in Kashmir. Mirza Haidar Dughlat in *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* articulated that "fruit were so plentiful that it was rarely bought and sold. The holder of a gardens and the man that has no garden are alike; for the gardens have no walls and it is not usual to hinder anyone from taking the fruit." Baron von Hugel, who sojourned in valley in the thirties of nineteenth century considered Kashmiri fruits to be superior to those of all other countries in both abundance and excellence. Lawrence called Kashmir "a fruit country".

During the Dogra period fruit production in Kashmir was so enormous and plentiful that a large proportion of fruits fell to the ground and were either eaten by the cattle or rotted on the ground. The major handicap to this industry during the early years of Dogra rule was the poor means of communication and transport system which restricted its quick transportation and consequently, a large quantity putrid in the orchards and affected the economy of people. The people had to take the fruits on their back over the steep and rough mountain passes across the high mountains to the plains in the south for sale. But it was a cumbersome process and a substantial portion was left at home.

The fruit trees grew wild and were grafted when planted in fields and some were allowed to grow naturally without any manipulation through grafting and

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305 Bamzai, op.cit., p 176
307 *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 45. See also Bates, op. cit., p. 44
308 Younghusband, who was appointed resident in Kashmir in 1889, expressed that such was yield of various fruits in Kashmir that many of these fruits deteriorated on the ground especially near the villages. See also E. F. Knight, op. cit., p. 19
309 Younghusband, op. cit., p. 177. See also Bellew, op.cit., p. 88
budding. The fruits in Kashmir grew and matured in succession. There was no particular season in which all of them mature.\textsuperscript{310}

From the economic point of view the horticulture in Kashmir was very significant. A considerable proportion of population was associated with this sector for their survival. Besides, constituting an important item of food, it was an important item in the internal and external trade of Kashmir. It also substantially contributed to the state treasury.

In Kashmir various varieties of fruits were grown during the period under review. Hassan Khiuhami, a contemporary of the first three Dogra rulers, has given a long list of thirty-two kinds of fruits which included the wild fruits as well.\textsuperscript{311} However, Diwan Kripa Ram exceeds Hassan so far as the numbers of fruits are concerned.\textsuperscript{312}

At the time of regular settlement the fruit trade was in its infancy and fruits were naturally considered to have little value. But soon after the regular settlement a large trade in fruits flourished and the value and the value of fruit was now fully appreciated by the cultivator.\textsuperscript{313}

**Apple (Tsunt):** Apple the most popular and widely grown fruit now-a-days, was found throughout the valley during the Dogra period. Apple was a leading fruit of the valley so far as the area covered by its orchards are concerned and people associated with it for economic concerns.\textsuperscript{314} Its trees grew wild and were uprooted and planted in the orchards. During Ranbir Singh's period the states had established their own nurseries around Dal Lake. They also supplied to the people.\textsuperscript{315}

During this period ninety-four varieties of apple were grown in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{316} Amri was the most popular variety and was found in Shopian pargana.\textsuperscript{317} Its yield

\textsuperscript{310}Lawrence, op.cit., p. 348
\textsuperscript{311}Khiuhami, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 247-49
\textsuperscript{312}D.K.Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, pp. 291-95
\textsuperscript{314}D. K. Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir* p. 294. See also Lawrence, *Valley*, p 350
\textsuperscript{315}Younghusband, op.cit., p. 168-69
\textsuperscript{316}Hassan, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 247
\textsuperscript{317}Hassan, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 978
was highest of all the varieties produced in Kashmir. It was very delicious and was in great demand in and outside the valley. However, now-a-day, it is not grown on large scale and has been replaced by delicious tsunt. Khuddu Sari was next important variety after amri. Trel another variety was a small in size and was mostly grown in the neighborhood of present Sopore. Trel has three varieties i.e. Nabadi, Jambsi and Sil trel. The first one was yellow in colour, Jambsi turned red and the third one is deep red in colour. Apple constituted an important item of trade and was mostly exported to Punjab where it had a flourishing market. During the autumn, strings of ponies heavily laden with apple and other fruits made their way down the main road to India.

**Pear (Tung):** Pears constituted an important fruit of Kashmir during the Dogra period. It came to Kashmir from central Asia where it was found in large quantity. However, it is not as highly esteemed as the apple. Three varieties i.e. Nakh, Farash and Khar tang, of this fruit were grown. The prominent was Nakh. Its size was large and it was very juicy. This variety remained for long time. Gosh bug, another variety ripened early. It was yellow in colour and sweet. In the later period of Ranbir Singh’s reign, pears brought from France were introduced. But this variety could not flourish in Kashmir. Dr. Elmslie who was on medical mission in Kashmir in 1865-69, mentioned, that a species of pear with a thin skin called Tanj, was also grown in Kashmir. It had several varieties. These included tsok tanj, moder tanj, khar tanj and sihra tanj. The pears of Kashmir also grow in the wild. However, later grafting was introduced to enhance the production of pears.

**Grapes:** Grapes were grown in Kashmir since ancient times. Kalhana in Rajtarangni has talked a lot about the cultivation of grapes in Kashmir. From the Afghans up to the initial years of Dogras, they were in declining phase and were not grown on large scale. Even during the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh grapes were not in flourishing conditions and the production was meager. Dr W.J. Elmslie who Kashmir came to

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318 Lawrence, Valley, p. 349. See also Younghusband, op. cit. p. 247  
319 Lawrence, Valley, p. 350. C. G. Bruce, op.cit., p. 80  
321 Hussan, op.cit.,Vol. II, p. 979  
322 Hussan, op. cit., Vol. 1, p 980  
323 Lawrence, Valley, p. 350  
324 Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 45
Kashmir in 1865 as a medical missionary stated that person told him that there was a time when eighteen varieties of grapes were grown in Kashmir but now (1860’s) only four or five varieties were grown.\textsuperscript{325}

It was Maharaja Ranbir Singh who gave impetus to this fruit by taking a number of measures to revive this fruit. He brought a small cutting of this plant from Bordeaux in France and planted them in a garden in the vicinity of Chisma-shahi over an area of fifteen hundred acres of land. Colonel Sir Aursanet brought to Kashmir two gardeners from Iran, Ashabat and Mirza Aakemeen. They along with them brought small cuttings from the garden of Jamshed Sheraz (Iran) and planted them in the vicinity of Nishat Bagh in a garden called Bagh-i-Shirazi, now-a-days, Gufkar, on the banks of Dal Lake. Both the gardeners were later appointed as government employees as a reward.\textsuperscript{326} Moreover, 108410 cuttings were distributed among the people free of cost promote this fruit. Owing to these endeavor it became a significant fruit of Kashmir and contributed substantially to state economy. Narsing Das stated that the people of Kashmir were provided education to train them in cultivation of grapes and rewards and gifts were given to the peasants in order to promote this fruit. This gave immense impetus to the growth of grapes in Kashmir. A large portion of it was used for making wine at Gupkar wine factory.\textsuperscript{327} The wine prepared in Gupkar factory was greatly admired at the Calcutta exhibition of 1883 where a separate stall was established for Kashmiri wine.\textsuperscript{328} During the period under review eighteen varieties of grapes were grown in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{329}

In 1870, the total production of grapes was 245 kharwars. However, in 1877 the production was 163 kharwars which shows a remarkable decline. In 1878 the total production dwindled to 160 kharwars.\textsuperscript{330} The downward trend in the production might have been caused on account of natural calamities. However, in last quarter of the nineteenth century when Kashmir partially recovered from the famine the production of grapes again exhibited a slight increase. During the year 1882, the total

\textsuperscript{325}W. J. Thomson, op. cit., p.79.  
\textsuperscript{326}Diwan Narsingh Das Nargis, Tarikh-i- Dogra Desh, p. 681. See also Administrative Report for the year 1882-83, J.K.S.A., J.R., , p.36.  
\textsuperscript{327}Narsing Das, op. cit., p. 682. See also Wakefield, op.cit., p. 138  
\textsuperscript{328}Diwan Narsingh Das Nargis, Tarikh-i- Dogra Desh, p. 682-83  
\textsuperscript{329}Wakefield, op. cit., p.138  
\textsuperscript{330}Diwan Anant Ram, Majmum Report for the year 1883-84(Urdu). J.K.S.A., J. R, pp. 96-97
yield was 163 kharvars. In the succeeding year (1883) the annual outturn of grapes was 160 kharvars and in 1884, it was 340 kharvars.331

Quince (Bamtsunt): Quince was also grown in the valley of Kashmir. Two varieties were generally popular in valley. The first was called Mudur bamtsunt and second one was called Tsok bamtsunt.332 The former was delicious in taste and the later was sour in taste. It not only constituted the food item of Kashmir but was economically very significant. Its seed was exported to Punjab where it was in good demand. It was concentrated in the area around Dal lake and was simultaneously grown in apple orchards in other regions as well.333

Mulberry (Tul): Mulberry is a small round fruit. It has three varieties, red white and black.334 It was an important article of food and was very significant for sericulture. Moreover, it had greater medicinal value. It was abundantly grown in Kashmir during the Dogra regime. Younghusband who was resident in Kashmir mentioned, the whole valley was covered with mulberry trees.335 This fruit ripened in May. Numerous articles, furniture and parts of boats were made out of its wood.336 The leaves of mulberry trees were used as fodder for cattle.

Cherry (Gilas): Cherries were grown in abundance in every part of the valley. Three varieties were found in the valley- sweet, sour and bitter.337 They grew in the wild and no manure and water was provided.

Hops: The cultivation of hops in Kashmir was introduced during the 19th regal year (1876) of Ranbir Singh’s reign. It was a state monopoly. They were of good quality and even the owners of breweries were keen to acquire land in Kashmir for the cultivation of hops.338 It was mainly concentrated in Dubgam region in the vicinity of Sopore near Jhelum. In 1893, eighty-three acres of land were under its cultivation. The government procured a sufficient income through tax from this fruit.339 It was

332 Hussain, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 248
333 Lawrence, Valley, p. 351
334 Khuilami, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 982. See also Belcher, op. cit., p. 88
335 Younghusband, op.cit. p. 177. See also Bruce, op. cit., p. 81
336 Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 46
337 Hussain, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 248
338 Wakefield, op. cit., p. 139.
taken to the Muree and other breweries in India for making beer.\textsuperscript{340} Burton-on-Trent one of the prominent factory where beer was prepared in large quantity and another rival unit of Burton-on-Trent was at Marri.\textsuperscript{341} However owing to the dispute between the the Muree brewery and Jammu and Kashmir state the hope production was affected and its sale ceased to a great extent in nineties of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{342}

**Walnut (Doon):** Walnut trees were found in every nook and corner of Kashmir. They grew even in regions with an altitude of 5000 to 7000 feet.\textsuperscript{343} They ripened in middle of September. During the period of our study three varieties of walnut were common in Kashmir, *kagazi dun*, *burzul* and *vont dun*. The former breaks easily and had excellent kernel. It was the best of all the three varieties but its yield was low. *Burzul* stands half way between the earlier two categories so as hardness is concerned.\textsuperscript{344} The third one had a hard cover and on breaking the kernel comes out in pieces.\textsuperscript{345} Mr. Vingate stated the existence of five varieties of walnut. A mature walnut tree yielded about four thousand to six thousand nuts annually. Some of the trees even exceeded this yield.\textsuperscript{346} Shahabad *pargana* was an important walnut producing area.\textsuperscript{347}

Walnut was used as a food item by the people especially during winter because, it kept the body warm. Moreover, oil was extracted from it which was used for numerous purposes and it was highly esteemed by the natives.\textsuperscript{348} About 12,000 ass-loads of walnut-kernel were annually appropriated to the oil-press in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{349} The hard shell of the walnut was used as fuel. The wood of the walnut tree which was dark in colour, was used for making furniture and other articles. The products made out of it included paper-machie boxes and gun stocks.\textsuperscript{350} The barks were utilized to clean teeth.

\textsuperscript{340}Wakefield, op. cit., p. 139. See also E. F. Neve, *Beyond Pir Panjal*, p. 61
\textsuperscript{341}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{342}Foreign Department-External-A, February 1890, Nos. 293-314, N.A.I., p.52.
\textsuperscript{343}Younghusband, op.cit., p. 162 .See also Lawrence, *Gazetteer Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 62
\textsuperscript{345}Younghusband, op.cit., p. 170-71. See also *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 46
\textsuperscript{346}Bates, op.cit., p. 46
\textsuperscript{347}R. Temple, op. cit., II, p. 78
\textsuperscript{348}Charles Gridlestone, *op.cit.*, p.33.
\textsuperscript{349}Bates, op.cit., p. 47
\textsuperscript{350}Bates, op.cit., p. 46
It constituted a vital source of income to the state, which took half of the annual yield. But the owner also had to satisfy numerous officials by giving some share out of their produce. Thus the owner was left with a quarter of the produce. The government share was estimated when the fruit was on the tree. However, the government's share was either paid in cash or kind.\textsuperscript{351}

The first and second class walnut trees were found in plain areas of Kashmir. Each tree of these categories produced about 4,000 nuts. The walnut trees of Bala(up-land) were generally of inferior quality. Neither their nuts nor the kernel were in good demand nor is oil extracted from them to a considerable extent. Moreover, the fruit of this region were liable to damage by wild animals.\textsuperscript{352}

**Almond (Badam):** After walnut, almond was next the prominent dry fruit grown in the valley during the Dogra period.\textsuperscript{353} Two varieties of it were common in Kashmir. One was sweet and the other was bitter. Besides, an important article of trade, oil was also obtained from it. The unripe portions of the trees were eaten and the kernel was used in Kehwa, a Kashmiri tea, sweets, and dishes.\textsuperscript{354}

**Pomegranates (Dan):** This fruit was grown in large at Khuihama area. Lawrence mentioned that when Maharaja Gulab Singh imposed tax on fruit trees, the villages destroyed the trees of this fruit. One person who used to make medicine from Pomegranates obtained an order of exemption from taxation for two pomegranates. But during the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh this order was cancelled and Hassan Shah, a Pir and historian, to whom this immunity was given, destroyed these trees.\textsuperscript{355} However, we find that in Dal Lake villages this fruits was grown on sufficient areas in 1890's.\textsuperscript{356}

\textsuperscript{351}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{352}Lawrence, *Assessment Report of Lat tehsil*, 1889, p.9
\textsuperscript{353}Ernest F. Neve, *Beyond Pir Panjal*, P 18. The author who was on medical mission in Kashmir since 80's of 19th century and spend thirty years there wrote the in early spring sheets of white and pale pink almond blossom on the hillsides dip down into broad stretches of brilliant yellow mustard. The landscape is full of colour. See also Younghusband, op.cit., p. 171
\textsuperscript{354}Hassan, op.cit., Vol-I, p.985
Besides, the aforementioned fruits the fruits given below were also grown in Kashmir during Dogra period.\footnote{Hassan, Op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 247-49. See also D. K. Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, pp. 191-95}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri name</th>
<th>English name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Anjir</td>
<td>Fig</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pista</td>
<td>Pistachio-nut</td>
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<td>Warni</td>
<td>Filbert nut</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deen</td>
<td>Pomegranate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaw dach</td>
<td>Barberries</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aer</td>
<td>Currant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alich</td>
<td>Cherry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berieh</td>
<td>Vendor of grapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchehar</td>
<td>Apricot</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Thus it can be concluded that during the Dogra period horticulture was an important sector of the economy. Many people were earning their living from this sector of economy. However, due the dearth of good roads and markets most fruits perished in the orchards.
State and Agriculture Policy

During the reign of first two rulers no concrete policy for the development of agriculture was adopted. Remission of arrears at certain occasions and for constructing long ducts which was beyond the cultivator's means or for sinking wells, advances were sometimes provided from the state treasury and the rate of interest was not more than 6% or 8% per annum.\textsuperscript{358} Ranbir Singh attempted to revive Lal Khul which was in disuse due to inundations in Pohru River but was not brought beyond Nutnuse village.\textsuperscript{359}

It was with commencement of 20\textsuperscript{th} century steps were taken for the improvement of agriculture on the part of state. In 1902, Agriculture Department was established in Kashmir\textsuperscript{360} which tried to promote the interest of cultivator by introducing them with scientific methods, implements and improved seeds and manures. In 1901, Martand canal was taken off from rive Liddar at Ganeshpur above Aishmukam in Anantnag Tehsil. This canal irrigated the karewa of Martand and other nearby areas. Lal Khul was carved out from the Pohru river, a tributary of river Jhelum at Bumhama three miles above Drugmullah in Handwara tehsil and it was completed on 30\textsuperscript{th} April 1903.\textsuperscript{361}

In 1906, under the aegis of the Agricultural Department, Pratap Model Farm was established by Maharaja near the Shalimar garden to improve existing staples and introduce new ones which might prove productive in the country. The farm was inaugurated by Lord Minto in the autumn of 1906.\textsuperscript{362} The main objective was to popularize the use of better seeds and agricultural appliances and also to introduce improvements in the mode of cultivation. Here experiments were conducted with several varieties of seeds imported from different parts of India and foreign countries like America, England, Italy and Russia. After the success of these experiments, the results were recommended to the cultivators for adoption. Moreover, the department organized agricultural shows and demonstration at different places in Kashmir where

\textsuperscript{358} Charles Gridlestone, op.cit., p.35.
\textsuperscript{359} Khan Bahadur Munshi Ghulam Ahmad Khan, op.cit., p.10. See also J.L.K. Jalali, op.cit., p.19
\textsuperscript{361} E.G. Colvin, A Note by on the Main Features of the Administration of the Jammu and Kashmir State during the past four years (1901-1905), N.A.L, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{362} Younghusband, op.cit., p.202-03.
the samples of all the products of Model Farm were exhibited. Even the products of locals were exhibited and rewarded.

The construction of Zaingir commenced in 1923 and was completed 1931. It facilitated irrigation in Zaningir and Spore area. This canal was taken from Madomati Stream near Sonerwani.

Soon after ascending the throne Maharaja Hari Singh enacted Agriculturist Relief Act in 1925, to protect the agriculturalists from the extortion of money-lenders who charged high rates of interest. According to this act a debtor could bring his creditor to the court of law for the settlement of accounts. The Court could disallow the excess interest on debt. It also laid down that the total interest should not exceed 50% of the capital. The court could also fix the re-payment in installments according to the paying capacity of the debtor. All these measures freed the peasant and other debtor from the tyrannies of Suhakars (Moneylenders). As a result ailans were issued declaring agricultural holdings, livestock, agricultural implements, seeds etc as non-attachable for redemption of decrees by courts.

In 1933, in order to check the transfer of land to non-agricultural class who had no knowledge of cultivation, through sale and mortgage, the Alienation and Right of Prior Purchase Act was enacted. This act restrained the land owner from alienating the land beyond one-fourth of his holding for the first ten years. In 1933, another act called Agriculturists and Improvement Act was passed. It received the assent of Maharaja on 14th May, 1936. It provides much relief to the peasantry. The act laid the loans should be granted to peasants for the improvement of land and for the advancement of any other purpose directly agricultural objects and pursuits. These should be repaid in convenient installments.

In 1936, Nandi Canal was taken from Vishao river near Khrewan Lasipora in Kulgam tehsil. Dadi canal, actually extension of a small stream constructed by

365 Abdul Rahman Mir Sarwar, op.cit., p.117.
366 Ganga Ram, op.cit., p.68.
367 Ibid.
368 Justice H. Imiyaz Hussain, op.cit., p.64.
369 Ganga Ram, op.cit., p. 69.
cultivators of the area was constructed during the reign of Maharaja Hari Singh at the total cost of Rs 5, 13,523. In 1937, construction work was started on Dai canal and was completed in 1940. It was taken off from river Lidder near Katsoo village five Kilometers below Phelgam. It irrigated 1,620 acres.

In 1937, Forest Enquiry committee was set up to inquire into the grievances of zamindars in relation to the Forest Department. As result many recommendation proposed by the committee were accepted by the government and orders were implemented in this regard.

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370 Ganga Ram, op.cit., p.240.
371 Capt. R.G. Greford, op.cit., p.23. See also Abdul Rahman Mir Sarwar, op.cit., p.116
372 Ganga Ram, op.cit., p. 69.
Chapter 2

Industries and Handicrafts
Industries and Handicrafts

Kashmir is renowned for its artistic skills and marvelous crafts since time immemorial. Mirza Haider Dughlat, in his Tarikh-i-Rashidi recorded, in Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are in most cities uncommon."¹ Bernier, Moorcroft, Vinge, Bellew and other travelers who visited Kashmir, praised the artistic prowess of the people of Kashmir. Though Kashmiris practiced numerous arts and crafts since ancient times, it was during the sultanate period that their artistic skill found their proper vent. This was on account of transformation of technology and prowess from Central Asia and subsequent patronage by the ruling elite. Sultan Zain-ul-Abadin revived and introduced new arts and crafts from Central Asia.² The Mughals immensely contributed to the development of non-agrarian sector of Kashmir especially, shawl industry. Though the Afghans and Sikhs are known for their oppression but still the industries and handicraft especially shawl industry remained important aspects of economy.³ According to Hugal 37% of the population of Kashmir was either directly or indirectly connected with arts and crafts for their livelihood.⁴

During the Dogra period the industrial sector developed to a considerable extent both technologically and in production compared to the previous regimes. H.W Bellew, who visited Kashmir in 1873-74, highlighted artistic prowess of Kashmir in these words, "their shawls and embroideries, their sliver work and paper-machie-painting, their stone engraving and wood carving, all alike exhibited proofs of wonderful delicacy and minute details but tell of no active expenditure of muscular force."⁵ Lawrence, settlement officer, who also headed sericulture department of

² Zain-ul-Abadin also known as Bud Shah(Great King) who ruled Kashmir from 1422 A.D. to 1473 A.D. was great patron of art, architecture and letters. His rule is regarded as a glorious period in Kashmir history and is still revered by the people. He promoted different art and crafts in Kashmir and introduced new ones in Kashmir. It is said that whenever he heard that an artist and industrialist visited his dominion either for recreation or business motive he never permitted him to leave the kingdom unless he acquainted the native people with his skill or craft technology.
³ Abdul Ahad, Kashmir to Frankfurt-A study of Arts and Crafts, Rima Publishing House, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 9-12
⁵ H.W. Bellew, op.cit., p. 63
Kashmir from 1894 to 1897, said that "every Kashmiri seemed a weaver and the home spun cloth woven by the villagers were highly appreciated by many Europeans." It was during this period that the prominent Industries i.e., shawl and silk industries engaged large number of people and they became the major source of revenue to the state.

During the period under review both rural and urban crafts thrived and provided employment to a substantial section of population. Srinagar was the chief industrial centre of Kashmir province. However, the other areas were equally known for their own peculiar arts and crafts. Islamabad had good reputation as an embroidery centre, Kulgam was famous for lacquered wood work, Bijbhera enjoyed fame for its excellent wood carving and Zainager and its environs were famous for soft woollen cloth.7

**Shawl Industry**

The shawl manufacturing was one of the deep rooted industries of Jammu and Kashmir State. Kashmiri shawl without which no fashionable lady in nineteenth century deemed her wardrobe complete, enjoyed name and fame all over the world.8 Although manufacturing of woollen products existed in Kashmir since ancient times, it was Sultan Zain-ul-Abadin who revived and considerably developed it. He made elaborated arrangements to make it an industry of great importance. He provided weavers facilities necessary for the development of this craft.9 In his *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Mirza Haider Daghat has praised the sultan for his enthusiasm with which he popularized the Kashmiri handicrafts. Mirza Haider Dughlat himself made special contribution to this industry. It was actually during his period that the Shawl got recognition. Nagh Bagh, a resident of Khuqand in the services of Mirza Haider Dughlat made a worthy contribution to this industry by his endeavors He introduced texture of red and green spots in regular rows.10

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6 Lawrence, Valley, p. 370

7 Ibid.

8 W. Wakefield, op cit., p. 149. See also Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p 68

9 Abdul Asad, op. cit., p. 10

Under the Mughals this industry made steady progress. They set the industrial, commercial and production patterns of its kharkhanas. In his Tuzk-i-Jhangari, Emperor Jahangir describes the shawl as one of his favorite item of dress. Thus the royal patronage made shawl a status and fashion symbol throughout the empire particularly on the occasion of imperial festivities. It became so popular that its description occupied ample space in the accounts of most of imperial historians and travelers.

In Afghan period this industry developed further and from 1796, shawls began to send to Europe. Afghan rulers of Kashmir through king Nadir Shah sent it to Constantipole. Later on during the governorship of Abdullah, shawl was presented to Syed Yaheya of Baghdad who was on his visit to Kashmir. Sayyid Yaheya presented the shawl to the Khedive in Egypt who in turn presented the shawl to Napoleon Bonaparte, when he was engaged in Egyptian campaign. Napoleon gave the shawl to the future empress Josephine. With this the Kashmiri shawl became popular in Europe and its demand increased in Europe and the merchants came to purchase more and more shawls in Kashmir. During the governorship of Dilram Khuli, the government commenced to put stamp on the shawls and one rupee was charged as tax. Thus the Dagh-shawl department was established. During the reign of Ata Mohammad Khan, the last Afghan governors in Kashmir, there were 18000 shops and 45000 people were associated with this industry.

During the Sikh period, shawl enjoyed uninterrupted state patronage. Owing to such patronage shawl became the fashion of the day throughout the Punjab especially among the dancing girls of Lahore. The shawl trade was established with west Asia and Europe. Merchants from Uzbekistan, Turkistan, Turkey, Persia, British India and

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11 A. Mitra, Notes on the Arts and Industries of Kashmir, 1906, Pratap Singh Measum Library, Srinagar, p. 1
12 Abul Fazal mentioned that woolen fabrics are made in high perfection especially shawls which are sent as valuable gifts to every clime. Abul Fazal, Ain-I-Akbari (Persian), Vol. II, English Translation by Colonel, H. S. Jarrett, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1978, p 353. Even Bernier who accompanied with Aurangzeb to Kashmir in 1665, recorded that what is peculiar to Kashmir and staple commodity which promoted its trade and enhanced its wealth is the prodigious quantity of shawl which they manufactured and even provided employment to little children. Bernier, Travels in India, Seminar Library, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, pp. 401-403.
13 Haji Mukhtar Shah, op. cit., p. 10. See also Hassan Khuihami, op.cit. V.1, p.359.
15 Ibid.
Europe frequently came to Kashmir to purchase the fabrics. Moreover shawls were in great demand in Russia. However, the export of shawls via Kabul stopped in 1835.

In the twenties of nineteenth century the total trade of shawl goods amounted to thirty-five lakh rupees per annum. During the period of Diwan Kripa Ram (1827-1831), there were 2000 shops and the revenue from shawl trade was twelve lakh. However, it reduced to a considerable extent during the period of last two Sikh governors, Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din (1841-1845) and Sheikh Imam-ud-Din (1845-1846). During the period of Sheikh Gulam Mohi-ud-Din (1841-1845) the number of shops reduced to 4000. But the condition of weavers was worse as they were subjected to heavy taxation. It is said that on account of the oppression the weavers cut down their fingers to escape from the weaving for their masters.

**Shawl Industry During Dogra Period**

During the period of Gulab Singh Shawl industry entered a new phase. He reorganized the Dogh-Shawl department which regulated and managed shawl industry. In 1852, Pandit Raj Rak was appointed Darogha (head) of Dogh-Shawl and he was given the charge of it on contract. He remained on this post till 1865. The income from Dogh-Shawl to the state during 1846-1869 on in average was Rs.7 lakh per annum. In 1846, the total number of looms was 7,000 with 17,000 weavers working on them. In the same year there were 3,500 kharkhanadars in the valley who ran separate weaving units. In 1847, owing to the migration of shawl weavers to the Punjab, the number of loom fell to 6000 and that of the weavers to 15,000.

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16 Sufi, op cit., p 568
17 Mukhtar Shah, op.cit., p.11. See also Moorcroft, op.cit, V.2, p.164.
18 D. K. Ram, Majmui Report (Persian) for the year 1872-73, Government Research Library, Srinagar, pp. 34-35. See also Har Gopal Khasta, op.cit, p.86.
20 D. K. Ram, Majmui Report, p. 35
21 D.K. Ram, Majmui Report, p. 35
24 Dhar, Arts and Artisans of Kashmir, p. 48
In 1847, shawl weavers appealed to the Maharaja for the increase of 5 ½ annas in their pay promised during the time of last Sikh governor by the karkhandars. They struck the work and about 4000 of them started for Lahore. On asking what their ostensible reason for this conduct they stipulated for the abolition of the indenture (Kaid) and the guarantee of the 5 ½ annas increase per rupee on their wages.\textsuperscript{25}

Taylor stated on 12\textsuperscript{th} June 1847 in order to settle the shawl question certain number of men interested in the matter were summoned and the Maharaja asked the karkhandars whether they would have the tax upon the baft (finished work) or pay the regular baj as before. They all begged that it might be on the baft.\textsuperscript{26} Then Maharaja announced many new regulations.\textsuperscript{27}

1. Four annas were fixed as stipulated salary for each weaver.

2. Baj and other taxes which the weaver was subjected to pay were also reduced.

3. He abolished the system of indenture under which the shawl-weavers were not allowed to change their master. The shawlbaft was now no more bound to work under the same kharkhandar and he was allowed to change his master (kharkhandar) whenever he desired so.

4. Now the tax would be levied on prepared shawl according to its market price.

5. Maharaja also conceded the weavers would be paid on the basis of actual work on the loom.

During the second half of nineteenth century the shawl became the prominent part of female dress and fashion in England, France and America.\textsuperscript{28} There was a great demand of shawls in France and other European countries. As a result Kashmir shawls became more popular throughout Europe and trade flourished considerably. A number of European merchants started coming since the beginning of 19\textsuperscript{th} century to purchase shawls from Kashmir. Mukhtar Shah, a prominent shawl merchant of the period stated in his treatise on shawls that the traders of France started coming to

\textsuperscript{25} Political Diaries, p.50
\textsuperscript{26} Political Diaries, p.55.
\textsuperscript{27} Diwan Narsingh Das, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 130
\textsuperscript{28} Parviz Nemati, \textit{Shawls of the East; From Kerman to Kashmir}, PND Publishing, New York, 2003, p.31
Kashmir since 1811 A.D to purchase shawls from Kashmir and sold them in France. From there these were exported to other countries. Subsequently, they placed orders for the production of shawls of their choice directly with Kashmiri shawl merchants.29 During Ranjit Singh’s period Francis du Leof, a Frenchman came to Kashmir with General Vintora-an officer of Napoleon Bonapart’s army in the service of Ranjit Singh, with the purpose of shawl business. He introduced designs of French taste to Kashmiri craft. At this time two types of shawls were manufactured in Kashmir. One with numerous designs of flowers for Indian market and other half a yard in breadth and one and half a yard length for Russian market with embroidery work on two ends but sparing and simple in the middle. Francis du Leif got one hundred pairs of both these designs manufactured by Muhmud Naqqash for the sale in France.30

Lefevre, Olive, Gosselin, Brochard and Dauvergne were French agents who came to Kashmir during the 1850s. They purchased shawls and sent them to their native country. Larouosse, a Frenchman, said, “In spite of heavy duty levied by the French government, whatever its value, the trade flourished.”31 With the outbreak of revolt of 1857, coming of French and other European merchants began to decrease. They through communication ordered the shawls from Shawl weavers of Kashmir to be sent to them. This practice stopped in 1881. In samvat 1914 (1857) which was the concluding year of Maharaja Gulab Singh’s reign there were about 8000 shops of shawl weavers in Kashmir.32 Shawls valued at Rs.23 lakh per annum were exported during Gulab Singh’s reign and in initial years of Ranbir Singh’s reign.33 The following table depicts the export of shawls from Kashmir from 1851 to 1865.34

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year</th>
<th>Total value</th>
<th>year</th>
<th>Total value</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>£ 171,709</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>£ 310,027</td>
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<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>£ 146,270</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>£ 252,828</td>
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<td>1853</td>
<td>£ 215,659</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>£ 351,093</td>
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<td>£ 170,153</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>£ 459,441</td>
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<td>1855</td>
<td>£ 197,890</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>£ 303,157</td>
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<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>£ 209,279</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>£ 275,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>£ 290,640</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>£ 254,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>£ 227,618</td>
<td></td>
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30 Mukhtar Shah, op. cit., p.11.
31 Ibid.
32 D. K. Ram, Majmii Report, p. 35
33 Ibid.
34 D.N.Dhar, Arts and Artisans of Kashmir, p.47
Maharaja Ranbir Singh tried to revive and reform the traditional crafts and industries. He introduced new industries.\textsuperscript{35} It is said that the best shawl ever manufactured in Kashmir were produced during his reign.\textsuperscript{36} They were excellent in texture, very soft in colour and of most celebrated and colorful design and of eastern style of decoration. A new type of shawl called doruka began to be manufactured by Mustafa Pandit and Aziz Pandit. It has double sided embroidery work. The uniformity of repeated floral patterns all over the field, small borders, fringes gate were the silent features of this shawl.\textsuperscript{37}

The income from Daghsawl from Gulab Singh’s reign till 1869 was seven lakh rupees per annum and the value of shawls exported on average 23 lakh rupees per annum.\textsuperscript{38} During the 1860s and 1870s, the average value of shawls exported was between 25 and 28 lakhs of rupees. However, in spite of this progress the weavers remained in great poverty. Elmslie who was in Kashmir in 1865 said “the shawl weavers were lean wan race, recognizable at once from their sallow complexion, thin cheeks and desponding look”.\textsuperscript{39} This was also certified by Sir Richard Temple who lamented that shawl weavers formed a numerous and miserable class, badly paid, badly nourished and badly housed and therefore physically and morally wretched.\textsuperscript{40} In samvat 1922 (1866) there were 11000 shops and 27000 people were associated with this profession.\textsuperscript{41}

In 1865, about 1200 to 1500 shawl weavers met the newly appointed governor (wazir) Diwan Kripa Ram, at Banihal when he was on his way to take up the charge as Governor of Kashmir and complained to him about their grievances and miserable conditions. Their demand included increase in the eight kharwars of shali (paddy) provided to them every year. Secondly, they also demanded reduction in the price of shali sold to them which has already ordered by Maharaja in 1863 but was not

\textsuperscript{35}Mitra, op.cit., p. 3. See also S. S. Charak, op.cit., p. 139
\textsuperscript{36}Mitra, op. cit., pp. 2-3
\textsuperscript{37} This was the great innovation in the shawl manufacturing of Kashmir. It can be used on both sides. See Frank Ames, The Kashmir Shawl and its Indo-French Influence, Antique Collectors club, Suffolk, 1986, p.44.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{39} W. Burns Thomson, op. cit., P.77.
\textsuperscript{40} Richard Temple, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 300
\textsuperscript{41}D. K. Ram. Majnui Report, p. 35. See also Hussan Khuihami, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 449
implemented. The governor assured them that their complaints would be redressed after arriving Shahr-i-Khas (Srinagar). The shawl weavers approached the governor after his arrival in capital, yet again they received the same response i.e. he would take notice of their complaints in few days. This process was repeated two or three times which infuriated the shalbafs (weaver). They assembled at Zaldagar Maidan and proceeded in a procession to the residence of Diwan Kripa Ram, with the intention of submitting a petition to the governor. Robert Thorpe who was in Kashmir at that time depicts the situation,

"In bitter and despairing mood, they (shalbafs) made wooden bier, such as the Mussalman use to carry their dead body to their place of internment and placing a cloth over it, carried it to and fro in procession, exclaiming: Raj Kak (Daroga of Dagshal) is dead, who will give him grave?"

Raj Kak Dhar informed the governor regarding the procession and told him that the protestors intended to kill him. On hearing this Governor ordered the troops to disperse the protestors. In the stampede that followed many jumped into the river and got drowned. Twenty eight drowned in the river Kute Kul. Some were imprisoned and many more were fined. On this no action was taken immediately by the Maharaja who was at Jammu. However, after one and half a months when he became aware of the real grievances of weavers, the maharaja reduced the price of shali. Next year (1867) the shawl weavers were allowed to purchase eleven kharvars of shali in a year. In 1868, Ranbir Singh remitted Rs 11 from the tax. Moreover, a court for shalbafs called Darogh-i-shawl-dag was set up with idea of taking care of the grievances of shawl weavers and to punish them for irregular activity. An officer with fifty sepoys under him was in charge of this court. In 1867, Ranbir Singh wrote to the Punjab Government for the appointment of an agent in London to organize the sale of Kashmiri shawls. The Lieutenant Governor of Punjab approved the Maharaja’s proposal and after some time a shawl warehouse was established in New Street,
London. In 1868 a tax amounting to Rs.30000 per annum was remitted on shawl weavers to promote shawl trade between Kashmir and India and Central Asia.

From 1870's this industry began to decline. The defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 was a great set back to the shawl industry of Kashmir. Prior to this the Kashmir shawl was the fashion in the aristocratic societies of Europe and demand from France was great. France was the main importer of Kashmir shawl and shared 80% of shawl trade between Kashmir and Europe. But now it was not in a position to purchase the Kashmiri shawl as it had paid a huge war indemnity. Even the shawl industries of Amritsar, Jalalpur, Noor pur and Laudhiana were badly affected and prices of shawls fell by 10 to 100 rupees. Its immediate effect became evident in 1871, the number of shawl weavers dwindled from 27000 to 24000. Maharaja Ranbir Singh tried to maintain the prosperity of shawl industry by lending some support to this industry. He purchased shawls worth of lakhs of rupees. The price of shali sold to the shalbafis was also reduced. Again in 1875 the tax on shawl weavers was reduced from rupees 35 to rupee 20. However, all these efforts failed when a devastating famine engulfed the valley in 1877. A substantial number of populace associated with this industry perished during the famine and many other migrated to Amritsar, Lahore, etc. F. Henvey, Official on special Duty in Kashmir in 1878 stated, that that population of shawl weavers in Srinagar dwindled to 3,000 to 4,000. After this the industry virtually lost its significance and the people associated with it began to shift to other occupations. The Maharaja in order to keep this industry above abolished poll tax on the shawl weavers in 1882. However, instead of this and other imposts on shawl weaving the export duty was retained and by 1882 it was raised to 25%. In 1884, shawl merchants associated with shawl industry suffered 50% loss in their business. After few years this loss had increased upto 60% to 70%.

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46 Persain Records, File No. 399, J.K.S.A, J.R.
47 Persain Records, File No. 433, 1868, J.K.S.A, J.R.
48 D. K. Ram, Majmui Report, p. 28. Lawrence, Valley, p. 375
49 D. K. Ram, Majmui Report, pp. 28-29
50 D. K. Ram, Majmui Report, p. 36
51 Abdul Ahad, op cit., p. 44
52 Lawrence, Valley, p. 224
54 Mukhtar Shah, op.cit., p.13
an alternative to alleviate the condition of shawl weavers, Maharaja gave work to
number of shawl weavers in silk factory at Srinagar but this alternative was not
everlasting. The work in silk factories lasted for a small part of the year. Moreover,
the process ruined the delicacy of hand which constitutes the special distinction of the
shawl-weaver. H. L.t.P. Wynne, official on Special duty, suggested work of carpet-
weaving should be stimulate as that would provide for the shawl-weavers as an
occupation which was not too different from shawl-weaving in which they were
hitherto employed. The demand of carpets was on increase at that time.\textsuperscript{55}
Thus, the industry for which Kashmir has attained fame for centuries took its last
breath during the 70's and early 80's of nineteenth century. It took long for this
industry to regain its pristine glory. It was during the \textit{Swadeshi} movement of 1905
this industry once again began to revive.

\textbf{Methods of shawl weaving}

The shawl was manufactured from wool. This wool was of two types. The fleece
obtained from domestic goat called \textit{Pashm}\textsuperscript{56} and another obtained from wild goat
called \textit{Asli tus}\.\textsuperscript{57} Both these goats domiciled in western Tibet, Baltistan, Wardwan,
Turfan and Ladakh. It was brought to Kashmir via Ladakh and was sold at four or five
\textit{annas per seer}.\textsuperscript{58} However, the best wool was obtained from Turfan in Yarkhand and
was sold in Srinagar as Tufani \textit{Pashm}.\textsuperscript{59} It was exported to Britain and other
countries of Europe.\textsuperscript{60} The shawls manufactured in Kashmir were usually 3 ½ yards in
length and 1 ½ yards in breadth.\textsuperscript{61} There were two methods of weaving shawl in
Kashmir during the period of our study, hand-made and loom made. Each method
employed a separate class of manufacturers.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{55} Foreign Department, Political- A, February, 1874, 271-278, N.A.L, p.7.
\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Pashm} is the wool obtained from the goats which domiciled in mountains of Tibet, Ladakh, and Tian
Shan Mountain. It is generally warm and has two kinds \textit{Pashm} and \textit{Asli Tus}. \textit{Pashmina} is the term
used for all textile fabric made from \textit{pashm} wool.
\textsuperscript{57}Moorcroft, op.cit., Vol. II, p.65.
\textsuperscript{58} Wakefield, op.cit., p 143-44
\textsuperscript{59} Mitra, op.cit., p. 3. See also Sufi p. 562
\textsuperscript{60} Wakefield, op.cit., p. 148
\textsuperscript{61} Sufi, op.cit., p. 562
\textsuperscript{62}Robert Thorp, \textit{Kashmir Misgovernment} (first print 1870) in Arthur Brinckman & Robert Thorp,
299 and Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 69
a. Handmade:

In the handmade system the worker was known as sadabaf. He made the plain pashmina from the spun pushm in his own house. The pushm was bought directly from bazaar. He then handed over the manufactured article to rafugars. Upon this pashmina coloured threads were afterwards worked with needles by rafugar. The sadabaf were controlled by the Daghshawl department. They had to register themselves with this office and they could not leave the valley or shun their employment without its permission. Sometimes the sadabaf employed an agent for the purpose of selling pashmina to the merchants.

The pattern of construction was intricate and peculiar. It was first drawn on paper and from this, the pattern was woven by the workers. The articles produced could not be sold by them without the Daghshawl's stamp. The position of the sadabaf, though slightly better than their counterparts working on the loom was stated to be very miserable, owing to oppressive taxation.

b. Loom System:

Under this system shawl was manufactured by kharkhanadars or manufacturers by employing workers called shalbafs in the manufacturing establishment called Karkhana. The number of shalbafs ranged from 20 to 300.

The kharkhanadar procured spun thread from the pushm dealer or puiwoin, to whom it was disposed of by the spinner and got it dyed of desired colours under his superintendence before it was distributed among the shalbafs who worked under an ustad or overseer. Robert Thorpe who visited Kashmir in 1865 stated that there were about one hundred karkhandars in Kashmir. However, these lived only in the wazarat Sher-i-Khas (Srinagar) and wazarat Anantnag but houses or kharkhanas in

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63 Temple, Vol. I, p. 299
64 Arthur Brinkckman and Thorp, op. cit., p. 84. See Temple, Vol. 1, p. 299
65 Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, op. cit., p. 70
66 R. Temple, op.cit., Vol. 1, p. 299. See also Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p 69
67 Ibid.
68 R. Thorpe, op.cit., p. 83

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which the shalbafs worked were scattered all over the valley. Majority of them were concentrated in Sopore and Pampur.\textsuperscript{69}

The \textit{shalbafs} working in a particular unit were under the control of the master workman known as \textit{Ustad}. There was one \textit{ustad} for every 25 to 30 \textit{shalbafs}. At the end of each month, the \textit{ustad} presented to the \textit{kharkhanadar}, an account of the work performed by each \textit{shalbaf} in the month under him and he was paid accordingly.\textsuperscript{70} Generally, the salary realized by the \textit{shalbafs} was three to five \textit{chilki} rupees per month. This included the amount deducted by the government for rice, which was sold to the \textit{shalbafs}. Robert Thorpe lamented, “This amount was not sufficient for the \textit{shalbafs} to suffice the requirements of his family with any approach to comfort, even in so fertile country as Cashmere.”\textsuperscript{71}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{figure.jpg}
\caption{Illustration of shawl weaving}
\label{fig:shawl}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{69} Thorpe, op.cit., p. 84

\textsuperscript{70} Thorp, op.cit., p. 84

\textsuperscript{71} Thorp, op.cit., p. 84
Types of shawl manufactured in Kashmir

Diwan Kripa Ram in his Majmui report mentioned that five types of shawls were manufactured in Kashmir during the reign of first two rulers of Dogra dynasty.

*Kani-Shawl*: Kani-shawl was the popular and superior of all the types made in Kashmir. These were known as Kani because they were produced in the village of Kanihama.\(^2\) This design was formed by the manipulation of small wooden sticks called *tajis* into pieces which were subsequently joined together with an imperceptible stitch.\(^3\) This takes much time and labour to complete one shawl. It was the most expensive of all types and its price range between Rs. 500 to Rs.1000.

*Amlikar Shawl*: The creation of this variety of shawl is attributed to Said Baba alias Ala Baba. It is said that one day he observed a fowl walking on white cloth. The idea of covering these prints with colours struck Baba’s brain. He procured requirements and started the work with needle. Thus he produced new design which became popular and was adopted by the weavers.\(^4\) Amlikar shawls were manufactured on large scale. These were made by needle\(^5\) and have various beautiful and elaborated patterns and designs. They were cheaper than the Kani shawl and their costs never exceeds 200 rupee.\(^6\)

*Door Shawl*: This variety of shawl was also prepared by needles. They were cheaper than the above two varieties.\(^7\)

*Chikni* and *Karkunan* were the other two varieties of shawl manufactured in Kashmir during the early Dogra rule.\(^8\)

**Chief Centers of Shawl Industry**

During the 19th century the shawl industry has attained height of development and popularity. Shawl producing structures or houses known as *kharkhans* were

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\(^3\) D. K. Ram, *Majmui Report*, p. 55


\(^5\) Ibid.

\(^6\) Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 377

\(^7\) D. K. Ram, *Majmui Report*, p. 55

\(^8\) Ibid.
established in different parts of Kashmir. In Shahr-e-Khas and its environs shawls of superior quality were manufactured. The prices of these shawls ranged from Rs 350 to Rs. 1800 for long shawls and Rs 200 to Rs. 1200 for square shawls. Anantnag tehsil was another shawl producing centers. According to P. Sandy Melvill out, 829 houses 141 belonged to kharkhandars (Masters) and shalbafs (Shawl Weavers). Ahmad Rashee was the biggest capitalist or businessman especially in shawl trade. He had three houses containing 80 dukans (a place consisting of one or more rooms) in Anantnag and one or two small establishments in the neighbouring villages. In every Dukan three, two or one man were employed in making shawls or making detached pieces of any articles or the shawl borders and was merely the apparatus for stretching the wrap in the proper direction. The dukans were closely packed together in sets of two each facing one another and in the largest room there were thirty dukans. Each workman or shagird receive quarter anna four cowries for every thousand seekhs (thread that were woven). A man can earn four and five annas a day according to this rate.\textsuperscript{79}

Shahabad and its adjoin areas also produced shawl. The shawls manufactured in Anantnag and adjoining areas were inferior in quality to that of Shahr-i-Khas. The price of long shawls ranged from Rs. 250 to Rs 350 and that of square shawls from Rs. 125 to Rs. 250.\textsuperscript{80}

**Causes of Decline of Shawl Industry**

**Manufacture of Shawls in Europe:** In Europe at the end of 18\textsuperscript{th} century shawls were acclaimed as one of the prominent constituent of dress. On account of increased demand markets for shawls in Europe has expanded. Consequently, in order to cope up rising demand of shawl imitations of Kashmiri shawls started in various towns and cities of Europe. The first of its nature started in Norwich in 1803 and it dominated as chief center for next twenty-five years. However, the shawls produced here were not the shawls in true sense but a kind of cotton neckerchief of small dimension.\textsuperscript{81} The exact imitation of kashmiri shawl was produced in Endinburg where the weavers produced duplicate Kashmir shawls both in texture and style by employing a method similar to twill-tapestry technique. Later on, Paisley replaced both Norwich and

\textsuperscript{79} Political Diaries, p. 193

\textsuperscript{80} Charles Griddleston, op.cit., p.28

Endinburg as center of shawl production in 1817. During 1820’s Paisley shawls became popular. Then Lyons took up the enterprise of shawl production.č Moorcroft during his stay in Kashmir in 1820’s strived to learn the art of shawl weaving to impart it to his natives.č He also selected a painter to copy features from the executed Kashmiri shawls and sent thirty-four such patterns to England. He also campaigned to promote the emigration of families of Kashmir shawl manufactures to Norwich and Paisley. After 1850 demand of Kashmiri shawls in Europe began to decline as the imitation of shawl production attained perfection on account of various improvement in technology. The Franco-Prussion war cut off remaining French import of shawls from Kashmir and swiftly fell from favour.č

Migration of Shawl Weaver to Punjab: On account of oppression and severity of natural calamities like famine, drought etc shawl weavers migrated to different parts of India especially Punjab. This migration started in 1832 following the famine of 1931 during the governorship of Mian Singh.č Elmslie stated Kashmiris preferred India to their own lovely land simply because in India every man could live and be his own master, whatever else he had.č Thereafter people of Kashmir especially shawl weavers regularly left the valley whenever an opportunity arose and settled in Punjab. To prevent the migration of people to Punjab, soldiers were stationed at different passes like Pir Panjal and only few were permitted to go to India, if they left their wives and families behind as a guarantee for their speedy return. In 1847 Taylor stated on 6th July 1847, four thousand shalbafs (shawl weavers) had struck and left for Lahore as mark of protest against breach of promise of not reducing tax and enhancing wages.č In 1878 on account of severe famine there was a great exodus of people mainly shawl weavers from Kashmir to Punjab. In 1878, shalbafs who were

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83 Moorcraft, op.cit., V.2, pp. 164-65
85 B.H.Baden Powell, Handbook of Manufacture and Arts of Punjab, V. 2, Punjab Printing Company, Lahore, 1872 41, See also, Mitra, op.cit, p.2
86 W. Burns Thomson, op. cit. p. 78.
87 Political Diaries, p.50
earlier thirty thousand only seven thousand remained. Some left to other place and some died due to starvation in spite of the wazir Panoo's step of rationing.\textsuperscript{88}

In Punjab they settled in different cities like Amritsar, Ludianah, Jalalpur, Dinanagar in Gurdaspur, Nurpur, Tiloknath in Kangara districts and Lahore. Barnes in his report of Kanigra mentioned 6658 Kashmiris mostly shawl weavers settled in Nurpur and Tiloknath. In Ludhiana, there were five hundred shops of pashmina workers. They provide job to one thousand workers and annually worth Rs. 70,000 products were produced and exported. Cust in his Statistical Report of Amritsar Division of 1861 mentioned the total number of shalbafs of Kashmir was 6,4693 of which 5,111 were in main Amritsar city. Besides, Amritsar also acted as an emporium of Kashmir shawl trade.\textsuperscript{89} This on the one hand created the shortage of skilled labour for this industry and on the other hand it stifled the competition for the excellent shawls of Kashmir. Thus all this had adversely affected shawl industry of Kashmir.

After settling in these areas they started manufacturing shawls which were not only exported to other parts of India and even to foreign countries especially Europe. These were cheap as they were not made of pure pashmina. Initially upper class ladies purchased shawls of Kashmir in spite of inflated price and inferior shawls of Punjab were purchased by ordinary men and women. Since both these shawl were more or less similar in appearance, the French Ladies began to doubt the originality of the stuff. The supply of shawls made in Punjab increased. This decreased the value of shawls made in Kashmir which were more costly.\textsuperscript{90}

\textbf{Shortage of Raw Materials:} Shaws were made from wool know as pushm. The best pushm was imported from Turfan, Yarkhan, and Kashgar via Ladakh. It was monopolized by the Maharaja of Kashmir. He had also monopoly of the wool of Changthan and Rodakh. It was exported from Garo to Kashmir.\textsuperscript{91} Till 1867-68 wool trade was the monopoly of Kashmir government and the export of Tufrani pushm to any other country besides Kashmir from Ladakh and Tibet was strictly prevented. It was since 1815 that the British strived to break this monopoly of the lucrative shawl wool trade that started from the plains of Western Tibet and ended on the looms of

\textsuperscript{88} G. N. Khanyari, op. cit., p.272.
\textsuperscript{89} Baden Powell, \textit{Handbook of Manufacture and Arts of Punjab}, pp. 42-43
\textsuperscript{90} Mukhtar Shah, op.cit, pp.12-13
\textsuperscript{91} B.H.Baden Powell, \textit{Handbook of Manufacture and Arts of Punjab}, V. 2,p.33
With appointment of British Assistant Commissioner at Ladakh in 1867, this monopoly was abolished and the pushm wool was thrown open to all traders. This restricted the supply of wool to the shawl industry of Kashmir. Till this the real Tufrani shawl-wool had never been imported to Punjab and the only wool that ever reached to the looms of Nurpur and Amritsar was the Chantang wool coming from Chinese territories of Rudok and Churmuti and surrounding countries which was inferior to that of Tufrani wool of eastern mountains of Turkistan and deriving its name from the city Tufran. However, in the present year the total wool imported to Ladakh was worth rupees 23,000 and only quantity worth rupees 650 found its way to British India.

Shia-Sunni Conflict: In September 1872 there was clash between the Shia and Sunni sects. Both the sects were engaged in shawl industry. In this tumult Shias suffered badly. The cause of this conflict was religious animosity. The confrontation started on the commencement of construction of a house near the tomb of Madin Shah, whom the members of both sects regarded as follower of their creed. The priests of this shrine were appointed by both parties. These disturbances engulfed whole city. Hundreds of houses of shia’s were burnt and property damaged. However, the disturbances were normalized. There was an investigation by the joint agency of Wazir Punnu and Babu Nilamber Mukerji. In February 873 Maharaja gave his decision which led imprisonment of several persons. He also announced three lakh rupees to the Shias as a relief who were the worst victims of the onslaught. The animosity between the two sects reached to such a pitch that they decided not to buy or use in their manufacture anything sold or made by members of other sect.

Franco-Prussian War: The defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 was greater setback to the shawl industry of Kashmir. Prior to this, Kashmiri shawl was the fashion in the aristocratic societies of Europe and there in France demand was great. France who was the main importer of Kashmir shawl and shared 80% of shawl

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93 Foreign Department, Political-A, March 1868, Nos. 6-7, pp.7-8.
94 Foreign Department, Political-A, February 1874, Nos.271-78. P.3.
96 Foreign Department, Political-A, March 1874, Nos. 271-278, p.3.
trade between Kashmir and Europe was now not in a position to purchase the
Kashmiri shawl as she paid huge war indemnity.\textsuperscript{97} Even the shawl industries of
Amritsar, Jalandar, Noorpur and Ludhiana were badly affected and prices of shawls
dwindled between 10 to 100 rupees.\textsuperscript{98} In 1871 the number of shawl weavers dwindled
from 27000 to 24000.\textsuperscript{99}

\textbf{Silk industry}

During 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} century Kashmir was one of the leading silk producing regions.
Mysore, Bengal, Madras, Burma and Assam were other principle silk producing
areas.\textsuperscript{100} The genesis of silk industry in Kashmir is shrouded in mystery. N. G
Mukerji, a Bengali silk expert who was entrusted with the charge of silk industry of
Kashmir in 1871 by Ranbir Singh Writes;

\begin{quote}
"No doubt before the Christian era some part of raw silk of Kashmir
found its way to the west but nothing is known in Kashmir about the
origin of its silk industry beyond the fact that it is very ancient and it is
intimately connected with that of Bukhara, with which it has always
had interchanged of seed and silk."\textsuperscript{101}
\end{quote}

No doubt, the mulberry trees which constituted main source of food for the
silkworms (poilt kyum) existed in Kashmir since ancient times. However, there are
insignificant literary evidences to ascribe exact date of the commencement of
sericulture operations in Kashmir. This industry was virtually introduced by Zain-ul-
Abidin who is regarded as pioneer of industrial development of Kashmir.\textsuperscript{102}

During the sultanate period the wearing of silk cloth become popular among
the upper section. The king on certain ceremonies like birth-days and occasions of joy
and success distributed silk cloths as presents and gifts among the beloved and
favourite ones. Thus the silk industry enjoyed royal patronage. To quote, Mirza
Haider Dughlat, "Among the wonders of Kashmir are the large quantities of mulberry
trees cultivated for their leaves from which silk is obtained." \textsuperscript{103}

\textsuperscript{97} D. K. Ram, \textit{Majmui Report}, p. 28. Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, p. 375
\textsuperscript{98} D. K. Ram, \textit{Majmui Report}, pp. 28-29
\textsuperscript{99} D. K. Ram, \textit{Majmui Report}, p. 36
\textsuperscript{100} \textit{Reports on Jute and Silk} by imperial Institute, John Murray, London, 1921, p.36.
\textsuperscript{101} C. F. Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, p. 367
\textsuperscript{102} Khadmat, Urdu Newspaper from Srinagar, 19 January, 1950
\textsuperscript{103} Mirza Haider Dughlat, op.cit., p. 425
Under the Mughals, silk industry of Kashmir received due state patronage. Many steps were taken for the development of this industry. The preservation of mulberry trees become the prime concern of almost every one and the cattle were not allowed to eat the leaf of mulberry trees. Moreover, the silk worms were imported from Gilgit and Tibet.\textsuperscript{104}

Under Afghans who succeed the Mughals in 1753, silk industry could not register any extraordinary progress due to their oppressive and exorbitant taxation policy. The Afghan period has been described by Lawrence as a period of “brutal tyranny, unrelieved by good works, chivalry or honour.”\textsuperscript{105} This state of affairs had adverse impact on all industries of Kashmir. During the governorship of Haji Karim Dad, the Afghan Governor in Kashmir, the mulberry trees in Muisuma (Srinagar) were cut down to clear the field for horse racing which to a considerable extent affected the silk industry. This deprived this industry from its vital requirement.

The silk industry remained in backward stage till initial years of Sikh rule. Moorcroft, who arrived in Kashmir in1822, recorded that “the quantity produced is insufficient for domestic consumption.”\textsuperscript{106} However, the Sikhs promoted the silk industry and production of silk increased to a considerable extent compared to the Afghan period. Vigne who visited Kashmir in 1835 maintained “the Korhar division of Kashmir produced the best variety of silk in valley.” This tempo of progress continued to the end of Sikh rule in 1846 when the maharaja Gulab Singh took over Kashmir in his own possession. During Sikh period the income to the state from the silk trade was one lakh rupees per annum.\textsuperscript{107}

**Silk Industry Under Dogras**

It seems that maharaja Gulab Singh was successful in maintaining the tempo of development achieved by this industry during Sikh period. However, no substantial development in technology and production process registered in the silk industry of Kashmir except the involvement of Europeans in silk trade. N.G. Mukerji writes in 1871, “Before 1869 the silk industry of Kashmir had existed in the unorganized and

\textsuperscript{105} Lawrence, Valley, p. 197
\textsuperscript{106} William Moorcroft, op. cit., p. 156.
\textsuperscript{107} Sufi, op cit., pp. 574-75
crude state in which it had probably existed for centuries from the days when Bactarian silk was exported to Damascus and other centers." During Gulab Singh’s period Hakim Abdul Rahim was given the charge of this industry.

There were no separate and improved establishment for silk rearing and reeling. The rearing of silk worms was carried on in the dwelling houses of people and damp and filthy structures without any ventilation. In many cases people involved in rearing and their families lived under the same roof with worms and the large room which usually constituted upper story of the house acted as bed room. The locally grown mulberry trees offered food to the worms. The industry was carried from year to year without any systematic development and no attempt was made for its improvement.

The paucity of sufficient statistical data thwarts us to determine the actual quality of seed production, rearing out-put and reeling out-put. But it is certain that industry remained in somehow better conditions during his rule which can be judged from the fact that in 1855 when a horrible silk-worm disease appeared in Europe and all the silk worms were affected. European countries sent delegations to different parts of the world in search of seeds. Under this mission two Italian experts M. M. Orio and Consono came to Kashmir and according to a report they found 25000 ounces of silk-worm seeds in Kashmir. After the examination the seeds were declared disease free. A Frenchman Desaigneur Kelber, a prominent sericulturist has recorded in his book “Le Cocon de soie” about this event:

“In April 1860 M. M. Orio and Consono, Italian silkworm seed producers, embark for India. In May, they arrived in Calcutta, where through the good offices of the British Government, they are able to go to Kashmir and get from a very important Grainage 25000 ounces of seed. This seed is packed in thick wooden boxes for transport and is aerated only during the nights. It reached Italy towards the end of November in a very good condition.”

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108 Ibid.
58
108 L. Liotard, Memorandum on Silk in India -1883, Part-1, p. 47
112 C. F, Ismail, op.cit., p. 30
Thus it is evident that a region that could spare 25000 ounces of seed for foreigners must had reserved a substantial quantity for the local needs also.

Under Gulab Singh’s rule silk became an important article of trade. It was exported to different parts of India in sufficient quantity. The government procured an income of one lakh rupees as a tax from silk trade alone during the initial period of Gulab Singh’s reign. Thus the silk industry was vital source of revenue to the state. In 1846 the government collected Rs. 1, 00,000 as duty on silk from weavers. In 1847-49, the total tax of Rs. 4000 in cash and 3,000 kharwars of cocoons were collected.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh who ascended the throne of Jammu and Kashmir in 1857 took great interest in the development of industry and thus placed this industry on a firm footing. Silk industry was declared state monopoly and efforts were made to develop it on modern line. In 1869, 127 rearing houses were constructed in different parts of valley for rearing silk worms. A department was set up for the development of silk business. Maharaja put the silk industry under the supervision of Babu Nilamber Mukerji, chief judge of Kashmir. Initially he was confronted with many problems. Later on he strived to make him acquainted with the breeding of the silk worms and the reeling of silk as practiced in other countries where sericulture was in advanced stage. He recounted his efforts in a note dated 19th August 1876.

"From the 1872 to this day I have been trying to teach the people an improved system to rearing the silkworms and the unwearied exertions of Dewan Kripa Ram, the Prime Minister and Wazir Panoo, the Governor of Kashmir, under the watchful eyes of His Highness the Maharaja, have enabled me to increase the quantity and improved the quality of the annual outturn of cocoons and silk. in 1875 in accordance with the instructions of His Highness's instructions I distributed eggs to zamindars and circulated in printed form certain simple instruction for the guidance of the rearers."

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113 Ganesh Lal, op.cit. p. 36
114 Ibid.
115 Saif-ud-Din, Akbarar, vol. III, 1850, F. No. 29
119 Ibid.
120 L. Liotard, Memorandum on Silk in India -1883, Part-1, p. 47
Owing to hard toil of Babu Nilamber Mukerji, the quality of silk improved significantly. It received appreciation from numerous sericulture experts of Europe. Silk Brokers in England Messrs. Durant and Co., reported on the samples of Kashmir silk.

"there was much encouraging in the samples of silk; the nature of the silk was good showing that the cocoons have a thread which has strength and nerve and capable of being made into excellent silk. We find the quality of thread superior to much of the reeled silk of Bengal."  

After 1870 owing to the decline of shawl industry silk and carpet industry became the main concern of the state. So in order to compensate the decline of shawl trade Maharaja diverted attention towards the improvement of silk industry and many measures were taken for its development. In 1871 government sanctioned three lakh rupees for the development of silk industry in Kashmir. In 1872, arrangements were made for extensive cultivation of the white mulberry trees on kerewas (table lands) of Kashmir. Cuttings of white mulberry were obtained from China in 1873 and planted in different parts of Kashmir. Next year eggs were procured from Japan and this gave satisfactory results. Moreover, maharaja in order to induce majority of population to sericulture, facilitated some amenities and incentives to the people. One gold and five silver medals were awarded by the maharaja annually to most successful silk rearers. The rearers were exempted from begar (forced labour).

In 1871 the yield of silk was seventy kharwars (10,080 lbs) which was worth of two lakh rupees. Out of which nine thousand was reckoned as profit. The revenue derived from it amounted to between 8,000 and 10,000 chilki rupees. In 1872, the production had increased to four-hundred kharwars (57, 600 lbs) and the revenue collected was 96,000 chilki rupees after deducting the 30,000 rupees for the cost of imported labour and improved establishments. In 1873 the total silk production of Kashmir province was 516 Kharwars. It was worth of 168221 chilki rupees and the

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121 M. Ismail, op.cit., p. 33  
122 L. Liottard, op.cit. p. 47.  
123 Bates, op.cit., pp. 61-62  
124 L. Liottard, op.cit., p.48  
125 Bates, op.cit., p. 61  
126 Bellew, op cit., p. 84  
127 Bates, op.cit., p. 65  
total profit after the deduction of all the expenditure was 40156 chilki rupees.\textsuperscript{129} It was sold at the rate of twenty chilki rupees a seer. In same year for first time a second output of silk was obtained in Kashmir. However, the experiment was made on small scale and was disturbed by cholera.\textsuperscript{130}

In 1874, three silk factories were established one at Cherapor in Anantnag wazarat, another at Haftchinar in wazarat Sher-i-khas (Srinagar) and third one was established at Raghunathpur, in the vicinity of Nasim Bagh.\textsuperscript{131} The spinning wheels in the Ragnathamura filament were working by water power.\textsuperscript{132} The silk produced in these filatures was of good quality with fine and soft fiber. It was sent to London at the rate of twenty-three to twenty-four shillings a pound.\textsuperscript{133} Belchow who in Kashmir in 1873 stated that silk factory at Srinagar in vicinity of Sher Garhi provided employment about four hundred people and there was enough work for them.\textsuperscript{134}

In spite of these measures like the shawl industry this industry was also affected by the famine of 1877-78. People associated with this industry in different processes migrated to Punjab. It created the dearth of labour. Moreover, Kiram Kashas (silk master) who was exempted from beggar had become a privileged class of the society.\textsuperscript{135} With the passage of time these Kiram Kashas misused their power and consequently the common masses looked upon this industry with hatred and even the name of Kiram Kash itself become hateful to the villagers not involved in the silk industry.\textsuperscript{136} Moreover, the industry was not organized on scientific basis. The supervision over the rearing houses scattered all over the valley was not proper and the cost of buildings and machinery was enormous.\textsuperscript{137} The death blow to this industry was given by the disease pebrine.\textsuperscript{138} It started first in India in 1875 and reached Kashmir in 1878. It affected the silk-worms and the industry almost wiped out. According to N. G. Mukerji, the disease broke out in Kashmir because some of the seeds imported from Europe were disease affected. Unfortunately, there was none

\textsuperscript{129} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{130} Bates, op. cit., p.63
\textsuperscript{131} Sufi, op.cit., pp. 575-76
\textsuperscript{132} Belchow, op. cit., p 83. See also Lawrence, Valley, p. 368
\textsuperscript{133} Belchow, op. cit., p. 83
\textsuperscript{134} Belchow, op. cit., p. 83
\textsuperscript{135} Lawrence, Valley, p. 368
\textsuperscript{136} M. Ismail, op. cit., p. 35
\textsuperscript{137} Lawrence, Valley, pp. 367-68
\textsuperscript{138} Pebrine is the most dreadful disease of all the disease which attacks the silk worms.
possessing knowledge to control the disease and it affected the industry very badly. Thus the silk industry which provided employment to a greater section of masses and contributed to state treasury directly or indirectly almost perished. Out of 127 rearing houses built in 1869, only two houses survived, one at Ragunathpura on the Shore of Dal Lake in Srinagar and another at Sherputra (Anantnag). Lawrence attributed its decline to the policies of Maharaja. He said revival scheme of maharaja was not wise.\textsuperscript{139}

In 1881, government took some measures for reviving silk industry. Fresh eggs were imported from Japan. But the worms could not survive and again all the efforts were in vain. Thus there seemed no prospect for this industry and it was thought unwise to start this industry without an adequate planning and measures. So from 1882 to 1890, the state left the industry to the care of silk-worm rearers. Consequently, the quantity of seed diminished to a considerable extent.\textsuperscript{140} Owing to the decline of this industry and less prospects in future the mulberry trees were cut down on large scale in Shahr-i-khas (Srinagar) and other regions of valley.\textsuperscript{141} The loss would have been minimized, if government had kept a proper vigil over the industry, particularly when the government had given up the idea of re-establishing the industry in the state.

In 1889 the government made efforts for reorganization of silk industry. It was considered that it would ensure the economic prosperity to the state. Unemployment has increased owing to virtual decline of shawl industry.\textsuperscript{142} Consequently, in 1890 beginning in this regard was made when Sir Thomas Wardle of Leck (England), an eminent sericulture expert and president of the silk association of Great Britain and Ireland devoted himself to the development of this industry in Kashmir. He entered into correspondence with British Resident of Kashmir in this regard. In a letter dated 6\textsuperscript{th} January 1890 to the Resident,\textsuperscript{143} Wardle suggested him to make an enquiry into the silk producing capacities of Kashmir and a possibility of establishing sericulture institutions on the lines established at Pauda and Montipelleer. In another letter dated 24\textsuperscript{th} of June, 1890 Wardle showed keen interest in the future of Kashmir silk industry

\textsuperscript{139} Lawrence, Valley, pp. 367-68
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{141} M. Ismail, op.cit., p. 36
\textsuperscript{142} Lawrence, Valley, p. 368
\textsuperscript{143} M. Ismail, op.cit., P. 37
as he was cocksure from its physical features and salubrious climate that Kashmir could produce best silk.\textsuperscript{144} In another letter dated 5\textsuperscript{th} of December, 1890 Wardle wrote about the benefits which this industry could afford to India.\textsuperscript{145} Thus owing to the efforts of Sir Thomas Wardle Sericulture Department was established in Kashmir in 1890 and responsibility it was entrusted to B.R. Mukerji.\textsuperscript{146} Moreover, the services of sericulture experts of Bengal were secured for the microscopic examination of seed and at the same time the department was succeeded in producing disease free seed. Silk worm eggs were imported from Bokhara.\textsuperscript{147} In 1894 B.R. Mukerji was replaced by Lawrence to supervise the operations of this industry.\textsuperscript{148} Lawrence distributed seeds to people of Kotahar who were old silk rearers. He also raised the price paid by state for cocoons in order to benefit the rearers. Moreover, Raganathpur and Cherpur establishment of silk centers were repaired during his tenure. Lawrence opined that for the development, the industry should be left in private enterprise, but it was not accepted and Wardle's opinion prevailed and the industry again became a state monopoly.\textsuperscript{149}

The year 1897 was decisive year for the silk industry of Kashmir. On 1\textsuperscript{st} May, 1897, C.B. Walton was given the charge of Silk industry. During his tenure new machinery was instituted for reeling silk. Moreover Italian method of silk rearing was taught to the people. In 1897 Thomas Wardle purchased reeling machinery and cocoon form Italy and France. This improved the quality of silk. In \textit{sambat} 1954(1897) the silk prepared by old method fetched 10 to 12 shillings per lb silk while in 1899 the silk manufactured by new method fetched from 16 to 16.9 per lb.\textsuperscript{150}

Moreover, Mulkha and Ram Bagh were selected for constructing silk industry. But finally on account of the availability of necessary requirement new filatures were constructed near Rambad Srinagar. Water a prominent requirement was easily available and labour was available in the adjacent villages. Moreover being in the

\textsuperscript{144} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{146} Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, pp. 368-69.
\textsuperscript{147} Foreign Department, Frontier-B, April 1890, Nos. 89-92, N.A.I.
\textsuperscript{148} Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, pp. 368-70. See also M. Ismail, op.cit., p. 38
\textsuperscript{149} Ismail, Op.cit., p. 38
\textsuperscript{150} Report by C. B. Walton, Director of Sericulture in Kashmir, on the working of the Department during 1900 and on the Progress in Silk industry during the three years of his Supervision, Foreign Department, External-B, December 1900, Nos.51-52, N.A.I., pp.7-8.
close proximity of Jhelum which acted as a great highway during the period transport of wood for heating the boilers could be brought easily.\textsuperscript{151}

In 1898 two filatures were constructed. Each of them consisted of 200 basins.\textsuperscript{152} There after filatures were regularly constructed. In 1900 there were six filatures with 1772 reeling basins giving employment to 3500 persons. In 1904 the number raised to ten with 1,864 reeling basins. It provided employment to 4000 persons.\textsuperscript{153} Moreover the number of rearers raised from 150 in 1897-98 to 30,28 in 1899-1900.\textsuperscript{154}

From 1901 to 1913, various measures were taken to improve silk production in Kashmir. In 1901 silk of Kashmir was sent to the exhibition at Earl's Court in England with objective to popularize it. However, silk of Kashmir fetched a of price one or two shilling less than that of French and Italy. This led the state of Kashmir to look for certain measures to develop the quality of silk. In 1901, a committee known as Sericulture Conference Committee was set up to explore the means of promoting this industry. This committee consisted of ten members headed by the Resident of Kashmir. The committee through its annual meeting examined the improvement of this industry and decided the measures for the improvement of sericulture. In order to reduce the cost of production a Tramway from Lal Mundi Band was laid down to fetch fuel wood for boilers. A canal from Dodhganga river was planned to ensure sufficient water supply for basins and boilers. Further in order to infuse the interest among people for silk rearing concessions were offered to \textit{Lambardar} and rewards were given to the deserving people. Moreover measures were adopted to ensure the complete exemption of people engaged with different activities of sericulture.\textsuperscript{155}

In 1905 rules were laid for protection of mulberry trees in Kashmir to ensure regular supply of leaves for rearing silk worms-a prerequisite for development of silk industry.

\textsuperscript{151} Report by C. B. Walton, Director of Sericulture in Kashmir, on the working of the Department during 1900 and on the Progress in Silk industry during the three years of his Supervision, Foreign Department, External-B, December 1900, Nos.51-52, N:A.I, p.7

\textsuperscript{152} A \textit{Note on Jammu and Kashmir} 1928, 37.

\textsuperscript{153} Gargu, op.cit, p.161.

\textsuperscript{154} Gargu, op.cit., pp.162-63

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I. Mulberry trees standing on the road side or river banks or growing in the gardens or on the lands in possession of the state were declared state property.

II. Mulberry trees standing on the lands held by zamindars should be treated as the property of such zamindars. However for cutting such trees they were required to get written permission.

III. The permission would be granted by the Governor of the province on the application submitted to the tehsidar by applicant and endorsed by the tehsildar certified that the trees had dried up or caused damage to cultivation or building or was otherwise destructive for agriculture operations or were to be used for agricultural implements or other purposes subservient to agriculture.

IV. Any person cutting down a mulberry trees in accordance of the above rule was bound to plant ten young mulberry plants in place of the one cut down and protect them except when it was impracticable to do so.

V. It was obligatory for revenue officers to encourage as far as possible planting of mulberry trees by the zamindar in their lands and to supervise the protection of mulberry trees which were the property of state.

VI. Lambardars of the villages were responsible for the protection of mulberry trees on cultivable lands held by zamindars.

VII. Any person breaching these rules was liable to a fine not exceeding Rs 10.

VIII. The work of the extension of mulberry plantation would be under the management and control of the Governor of Kashmir who would get advice of the superintendent horticulture, for the plantation of nurseries in suitable places and for their maintenance and preservation.\(^{156}\)

In 1907, a law was passed to end the illegal practices developed in silk industry. This law prohibited the rearers from possessing cocoons, the source of reproduction because it was not sure that these cocoons would be perfect as the rearer

had neither proper training nor necessary instruments. Moreover, sale of cocoons to unauthorized persons was also prohibited. Possession of raw silk by rearer without the permission of proper authority was also prohibited. The objective was to stop the stealing silk from filatures. Further, it was laid down for the rearers to rear silk only for the state. For breaching the above rules a person was liable to three years imprisonment or fine or both.\(^{157}\) In 1908 hydro-electricity began to be used in various processes of manufacturing silk. In 1910 a building was constructed at Srinagar for seed selection and testing.\(^{158}\) The development on account of these measures can be gleaned from the following table.\(^{159}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Rearers</th>
<th>Seeds reared in ounces</th>
<th>Cocoons produced in maunds</th>
<th>Production of Raw Silk Ibs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900-01</td>
<td>4,290</td>
<td>18,708</td>
<td>9,688</td>
<td>31,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-02</td>
<td>5,887</td>
<td>25,606</td>
<td>12,681</td>
<td>56,166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902-03</td>
<td>8,158</td>
<td>25,527</td>
<td>22,413</td>
<td>77,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-04</td>
<td>10,066</td>
<td>26,292</td>
<td>16,423</td>
<td>91,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904-05</td>
<td>12,139</td>
<td>30,928</td>
<td>13,142</td>
<td>85,826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905-06</td>
<td>11,362</td>
<td>26,675</td>
<td>22,352</td>
<td>99,592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906-07</td>
<td>14,427</td>
<td>27,544</td>
<td>21,409</td>
<td>115,748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907-08</td>
<td>17,433</td>
<td>28,221</td>
<td>28,421</td>
<td>1,32,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908-09</td>
<td>18,949</td>
<td>27,954</td>
<td>23,490</td>
<td>1,29,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909-10</td>
<td>26,234</td>
<td>32,060</td>
<td>36,429</td>
<td>1,84,221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-11</td>
<td>35,034</td>
<td>34,148</td>
<td>40,407</td>
<td>1,68,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-12</td>
<td>41,552</td>
<td>34,251</td>
<td>37,565</td>
<td>2,15,749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912-13</td>
<td>46,363</td>
<td>35,006</td>
<td>37,487</td>
<td>1,81,056</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On 31st 1913 fire broke out in the filatures of Srinagar and almost whole stock of cocoons destroyed. Of the total 2,072 basins 1272 were destroyed. The total loss was estimated Rs.15,14,423. The cocoons reeled was about half of the previous year.\(^{160}\) Immediate steps were taken to rebuild the damaged units of industry. Moreover, it was decided to build three new filatures. Before anything could have been done war broke out in the world in 1914. Trade was badly affected and business came to stand still. The exports from silk producing countries fell by 23% to 60% and the depressed


\(^{159}\) Gangu, op.cit., pp. 164 to 166.


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conditions of the market resulted the closure of numerous filatures both in France and Italy and other silk producing countries. The effects of war were felt even in neutral countries. The disorganization of shipping on account of being used by British Indian government for the transportation of troops especially in early period, made it impossible for silk dealers to export their output. The freight increased up to 50% and the insurance rates for silk on account of danger of navigation due to war stood at 40% shillings as war risk and 10% shilling as other usual risk. Thus the silk market was non-existent. It greatly affected the silk industry of Kashmir which had its market in France and other European countries. Every possible effort was made to find markets for the disposal of output of this industry. In this connection enquiries were made direct from numerous firms in India and through Government Intelligence department, Calcutta, as well through His Majesty's Consol both in Siam and Burma. Some firms in Burma and Siam agreed to buy Kashmir silk but the silk they required was of different size and quality.

On other it became difficult to procure required material even from India. Consequently, the work of construction was started in 1917 and was completed next year. Five filatures with 304 reeling basins and 152 heating basins were constructed on modern lines. The basins in these filatures were heated by electricity. This improved the reeling process. Silk production in Kashmir and various areas in British India for the year 1916:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Silk Production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>1,162,000 lbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>600,000 lbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>400,000 lbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>96,000 lbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>15,000 lbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>Panjab</td>
<td>1,800 lbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,276,800 lbs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this it is evident that Kashmir occupied fourth place in silk production. World war first affected silk industry of Kashmir. The European market was almost closed and the efforts to increase sales in India did not meet much success. In 1920

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162 Ibid.
outbreak of influenza winter and sever winter led the close of industry on different occasion. Following table depicts the gradual development from end of world upto the world depression.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Rearers</th>
<th>Cocoons produced in maunds</th>
<th>Production of Raw Silk inferior in Lbs</th>
<th>Production of Raw Silk superior in Lbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1919-20</td>
<td>41,366</td>
<td>27,870</td>
<td>2,681</td>
<td>1,77,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-21</td>
<td>42,402</td>
<td>31,869</td>
<td>3,185</td>
<td>1,77,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-22</td>
<td>42,241</td>
<td>24,413</td>
<td>1,635</td>
<td>1,57,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922-23</td>
<td>44,581</td>
<td>31,885</td>
<td>1,109</td>
<td>1,80,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924-25</td>
<td>46,431</td>
<td>34,938</td>
<td>5,755</td>
<td>2,05,468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-26</td>
<td>48,002</td>
<td>20,915</td>
<td>1,710</td>
<td>1,08,126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-27</td>
<td>49,008</td>
<td>29,402</td>
<td>8,49</td>
<td>1,19,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927-28</td>
<td>42,689</td>
<td>26,523</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>1,57,090</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the world economic crisis of 1929, silk products of Kashmir lost market in America and also faced stiff completion in European countries from Chinese and Japanese silk. In 1932, there was no export of silk to Europe. Moreover, the demand of silk of Kashmir in Indian market also reduced because after the closer of market China diverted silk trade to India. China began to export silk to India at low prices. On account of this Indian silk industry in India was badly affected. Being threatened with extinction the people associated with silk industry clamoured for protection. The Indian government referred the matter to Tariff Board. Jammu and Kashmir state send two directors of sericulture to represent state. They recommended to the government of India to increase in the duties of on imports of silk to 100% which was only 25%. Moreover, the increase in duty on the import of silk cloths was also suggested.

Tariff Board recommended to the government high protective duties on the imports of raw silk, cocoons, seed, spun and artificial silk and silk fabrics but government acted on these recommendations partially. As result it helped in no way to this prominent industry of Kashmir and the state incurred losses year after year. For example for 1932-33, the total loss amounted Rs. 6,42, 698, for 1933-34, it was Rs.3,04,938, for 1934-35, it was Rs.95,661 and for 1935-36 it was Rs. 83,673. (Gangu-180). There after the price began to improve that benefitted silk industry of Kashmir.

166 Ganju, op.cit., 174.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No of Rearers</th>
<th>Seeds reared in ounces</th>
<th>Cocoons produced in maunds</th>
<th>Production of Raw Silk superior in Ibs</th>
<th>Production of Raw Silk i in lbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930-31</td>
<td>38,672</td>
<td>39,794</td>
<td>29,151</td>
<td>16,7,532</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td>31,247</td>
<td>24,243</td>
<td>25,068</td>
<td>18,6,492</td>
<td>12,256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-33</td>
<td>37,657</td>
<td>33,057</td>
<td>31,913</td>
<td>21,1,729</td>
<td>1,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-34</td>
<td>38,355</td>
<td>30,007</td>
<td>25,769</td>
<td>21,3,583</td>
<td>4,971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>42,346</td>
<td>36,605</td>
<td>31,578</td>
<td>16,3,504</td>
<td>24,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-36</td>
<td>43,218</td>
<td>38,172</td>
<td>25,769</td>
<td>21,1,682</td>
<td>8,033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td>44,910</td>
<td>38,645</td>
<td>29,957</td>
<td>16,0,211</td>
<td>5,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-38</td>
<td>47,169</td>
<td>32,122</td>
<td>26,972</td>
<td>16,0,798</td>
<td>8,572</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Carpet industry**

Carpets making was indigenous to Persia and Turkistan, where still best quality are made. This art was introduced in India during the Muslim rule.\(^{167}\) Carpet making was practiced in Kashmir since the period of sultan Zain-ul-Abdin with.\(^{168}\) He is said to have brought carpet weavers from Samarkand to make people of Kashmir acquainted with this art. During the Sikh period carpets of good quality were produced which is evident that Moorcraft who remained in Kashmir from 1823-26 got a carpet made of shawl wool in 1823 and when this Kashmiri carpet was rolled in front of Maharaja


Ranjit Singh, he was so much astonished with the magnificent its design that he spontaneously rolled on the carpet and felt as he rolled on real Kashmir.\textsuperscript{169}

With establishment of Dogra rule in Kashmir, efforts were made to put this industry on a firm basis.\textsuperscript{170} The carpet industry during Gulab Singh’s reign could not register any extra ordinary progress. This was perhaps due to his engagement in the consolidation and expansion of his newly acquired state.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh gave new impetus to this industry. Moreover, with penetration of European trade in the carpet trade proved a boon for the development of this industry. Ranbir Singh in order to improve this industry provided every sort of assistance to the European businessmen and firms who evinced interest in the carpet business due to insignificant prospects in shawl business after 1870. As a result this industry revived and prospered.\textsuperscript{171} Moreover, the native shawl weavers who survived off the deadly famine of 1877-78 were encouraged to opt the carpet weaving. The Maharaja advanced loans to the \textit{kharkhandars} of shawl industry to install the looms for carpet weaving when there was no scope for the shawl products in European market.\textsuperscript{172} Thus, it assimilated the people who were associated with shawl manufacturing. In this way it provided employment to a large section of workers. In 1876, when Mr. Chapman, European carpet trader arrived in Kashmir, he was given all state assistance for the improvement of this industry. Main Lal Din, an officer in charge of state workshops was directed by Maharaja to render him assistance he required.\textsuperscript{173} However, he worked only two years but his contributed to the development of this industry was no less significant. He introduced new designs which improved the quality of carpets, though it failed to gratify the tastes of European. He was succeeded by a Frenchman Bigex who commenced manufacturing carpets for Bon-Marche, a firm in France. Later on his work was taken up by another Frenchman, Mon. H. Davergne. He was French shawl agent in Kashmir from 1865 to 1882. He was designer and dyer by profession.\textsuperscript{174} Having experience of shawl trade

\textsuperscript{169} P N K Bamzia, op.cit., p. 206
\textsuperscript{171} A. Mitra, op.cit., p. 9. See also Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, op.cit., p. 377
\textsuperscript{172} Dhar, \textit{Arts and Artisans of Kashmir}, p. 52
\textsuperscript{173} Bamzia, op.cit., p. 270
\textsuperscript{174} A. Mitra, op.cit., p. 9. See also Dhar, \textit{Arts and Artisans of Kashmir}, p. 53
and a deep knowledge of the European markets he was successful and greatly contributed to the development of carpet trade of Kashmir. The factory which he had established was a great success. It was purchased by Messer Mitchell and co. Mr. C. M. Hadow was another European associated with carpet trade. He started his own factory. More than 2,303 weavers were employed in these two factories. In 1890, Hadow sent Kashmiri carpets to Chicago world fair. Their carpets were in great demand in Europe and America. Thus the carpet industry made rapid progress from 1870 to 1890 which continued till 1929-30 when the economic crisis started from Wall Street in U.S.A and affected almost all the economies of world. The number of looms working in 1930 were roughly estimated 825 and this number came down to 100 in 1931-32. The production decreased and the trade came to standstill. Consequently, the demand of Kashmiri carpets in Europe and America fell down which had adverse effects on the carpet industry of Kashmir. However, the industry was later revived again and even at present times many people are associated with the carpet weaving for earning their both end meal especially in the rural areas where there is dearth of job and work. The raw materials i.e., wool for manufacturing the carpets was produced locally. It was also imported from India via Banihal road. The carpet industry of Kashmir had stiff competition with Amritsar, where the migrated Kashmiris weaver had started manufacturing carpets in large number with considerable capital. The total annual production was estimated more than Rs. 26 lakh decreased by 30% in 1932.

Method of Carpet weaving

The foundation for the carpet was a warp of strong cotton or hempen threads. The warp was worked erect. It was attached on either end to two rollers which were supported on both sides by upright posts. The entire superfluous web was wound round the upper roller. The portion of carpet completed was wound on the lower roller and more web was simultaneously unwound from the upper roller. The weavers

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175 S.S. Charak, opcit., p. 142
179 Lawrence, Valley, pp. 377
sitting in front of warp on the ground and the process of weaving consisted of
delicately twisting short lengths of coloured threads of wool into each of the threads
of the warp in a straight line. The pattern and design were first prepared by an
expert and they were written on a piece of paper in the form of hieroglyphics by an
expert called *Talim* writer. It embodies instructions in detail to the weaver regarding
the different coloured threads to be used to produce a particular design. It was dictated
to the weavers by a master weaver who used to be expert in reading this.

When a whole line was completed the projecting ends of wool were clipped to
a uniform length and a single thread of wool was run across the breadth of the carpet.
Then the lines of work were compacted together by striking them with a blunt fork
known as *punje*. When the work was competed the surface was clipped or sheared all
over to enhance its smoothness and carpet was completed.

![Image: Children of Kashmir weaving rug]


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*B.H. Boden Powell, *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of Punjab*, p.26. See also George
op.cit., p. 156

103
Paper Industry

The genesis of this industry in Kashmir dated back to 15th century. Paper making was one of the prominent industries of Dogra period.\textsuperscript{183} It was mainly concentrated in Naukshera and its vicinity. The other centre of this industry was at Hari Parbat fort, which was run by convicted labour.\textsuperscript{184} Gandarbal was another place where the paper art thrived. Here water being abundantly available the mills worked by water power.\textsuperscript{185}

The material from which paper was obtained constitutes the pulp, which was an assortment of rag and hemp.\textsuperscript{186} The pulp was prepared in mills in Sindh valley and Dachigam Nalah from where it was taken to Srinagar for final manufacture. Besides, lime and soda were used with the pulp.\textsuperscript{187} Then, the pulp was placed in stone troughs or baths and mixed with water. A layer of pulp was then extracted from this mixture of an ingenious mould constructed of fine grass stalks. Superfluous water was squeezed under the weight of boulders or couple of men. The sheet thus produced was then stuck on the mud wall and dried. Next the sheet was polished with a pumice stone and then its surface was glazed with rice water. Finally, a polishing with an onyx stone was given to it and then the paper was ready for use. They were all handmade.\textsuperscript{188} In Kashmir three kinds of papers were manufactured;

Farmashi paper: Generally known as maharaja or royal was superior in quality in all varieties produced in Kashmir. It was highly glazed and made from a pulp contained sixteen parts of selected rags and two parts of hemp.\textsuperscript{189}

Dhamashti: It was made from a pulp contained 177 parts of rags and three parts of hemp.\textsuperscript{190}

Kalamdani: Kalamdani was the most widely used variety in Kashmir. It was made of pulp which was devoid of hemp.\textsuperscript{191}

\textsuperscript{183} R. Temple, Vol. I, p. 299
\textsuperscript{184} Lawrence, Valley, p. 380. See also Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 80
\textsuperscript{185} Richard Temple, Vol. I, p. 300. See also Bellew, op.cit., p. 87
\textsuperscript{186} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{187} Sufi, Vol. II, p. 576
\textsuperscript{188} Sufi, Vol. II, p. 577. See also temple, Vol-I, op.cit., p. 300
\textsuperscript{189} Lawrence, Valley, p. 380
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid.
The paper produced in Kashmir was of superior quality. It surpassed native papers of India for its durability and excellent quality. At Lahore exhibition of 1864, it was declared the best quality of all the papers manufactured with indigenous technical know-how. The paper manufactured in Kashmir was in great demand in India, as it was used in government offices to maintain records as well as for manuscripts. In 1848, Kashmir exported worth of Rs 15,000 to Punjab in spite of low production.

During Maharaja Ranbir Singh’s reign paper making received immense encouragement. The demand of paper amplified due to its large scale consumption in offices and other purposes both in state and abroad. Besides, the paper-mashie industry which also flourished in this period also consumed a sufficient amount of paper. In order to meet out the demand the units of the industry were even erected in parts of Jammu province as well. Though a good quality of paper was produced but it could not flourish in all areas except in Jammu wazarat.

In 1873, thirty-two units were in operation in Naushera and its environs. In each unit twelve persons were employed. So this industry provided the means of survival to a quite significant number of people. In samvat 1931(1875), the papers manufactured in Srinagar became the monopoly of government. The production was now mostly for government use. However, the surplus was sold to the merchants. The cast of the superior quality of paper manufactured in Kashmir during the Dogra period was about three rupees of twenty-four sheets.

However, towards the end of Ranbir Singh’s reign this industry showed the signs of decline. The reason was the introduction and use of machine made paper in government offices and in writing manuscripts.

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191 Ibid. See also Har Gopal, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, p.87.
192 Bates, op.cit., p. 66. See also Temple Vol. II, p. 300
193 Abdul Ahad, op.cit., p. 49
194 S.S. Charak, op.cit., p. 143
195 D. K. Ram, Majmuj Report (1872-73), p. 54
196 Gazetteer of Kashmir, op.cit. p. 380
197 Gwasha Lal Kaul, op cit., p. 111
Paper-Machie

The art of moulding paper-pulp into articles of various shapes and sizes and painting designs upon them was introduced in Kashmir from Persia during the reign of sultan Zain-ul Abadin. This art in Kashmir known as Kumangiri or Karikalamdani (Lacquer work) was one of the prominent industries of Dogra period as well. It was also called Kar-i-munaqqush. The material utilized for preparing the articles through this art was the paper manufactured in indigenous units which have been written upon. Besides, soft and light wood, leather for superior pen cases, gold and silver leaves, glue and rice paste were other materials used in paper-machie. However, Boden Powell says "the articles of this art is covered with a coating of white paint on the surface of which is a delicate patterns in various colours chiefly crimson, green and is drawn with fine brush and curved designs seen upon shawls are most commonly produced." This art was pursued by large number of Kashmiri people especially Shia muslims.

Two designs of paper Mache were mostly widely prevalent in Kashmir during the Dogra period. These included flat and raised. The content of design was mainly taken from the Persian tradition or the natural environment in Kashmir especially its flora and fauna, peach and almond blossoms along with inter wined boughs and twigs with birds perched on them.

Brushes made of the hair of goat, pencils from the hairs in the fur of the cat, a sharp knife, a small cutting chisel and shell for mixing the colour, agate for smoothing the surface, Stone slab and muller constitute the tools and implements used for manufacturing articles through this art. The output of this art include articles such as tables, trays, tea-pots, picture frames, candle sticks etc were made. Even the ceiling walls were painted with paper-machie designs. The articles produced by this article were exported to Kabul annually. It was worth of rupees 10,000 and 20,000.

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199 D. N. Dhar, *Art and Artisans of Kashmir*, p. 50
200 E. F. Knight, *op.cit.*, p. 40
201 Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 378
202 Moorcroft, *op.cit.*, p. 215
204 Sufi, *op.cit.*, Vo. II, p. 578
205 Younghusband, *op.cit.* P. 214. See also Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 378
206 D. N. Dhar, *op.cit.*, p. 52
Maharaja Ranbir Singh greatly patronized this industry. He presented paper-mashie coffe sets to his European friends which popularized them in European countries. In 1876, he remitted tax on paper-machie articles which boasted this craft in Kashmir.\(^{207}\) In 1864 the paper-mashie articles were sent to Lahore exhibition. There these articles caught the attention of every one. Later in Delhi exhibition a table made by Safdar Mogal in 1877 received first prize with a silver medal and was purchased by Lahore Museum.\(^{208}\) The income derived from this art was an important source of income to the state. However, during the concluding years of Ranbir Singh it was in somewhat decadent condition and suffered perhaps more than any other industry on account of foreign purchases,\(^{209}\) though several shops now stock articles perhaps superior to that of European designs.

**Wine Industry**

Kashmir was known for its grapes since times immemorial. During the Mughal period wine production was a general industry. Emperor Jahangir improved the cultivation of grapes used for making wine. However after the decline of Mughal Empire, this industry was not significant and could not allure the attention of ruler till Ranbir Singh’s rule. Liquor factory was set at Gufkar in Shahr-Khas. The white and Red wine was produced in Raipur in Sind valley were delicious and superior in quality.\(^{210}\) These varieties were also produced at the state distillery at Gufkar in Shahr-Khas.\(^{211}\) Efforts were made to introduce these varieties in other part of the valley. Moreover, distillery plant was set up at Gufkar near Dal Lake and wines of Medoc and Barsac were produced. Besides the apple brand was also manufactured for sale. The vine yards were under the direct management of state\(^{212}\)

In 1868-69, M. Dauvergne, a French Shawl merchant started making white wine and cognac. Maharaja Ranbir Singh told him to produce wine on state account in return he would be paid in shawls. M. Dauvergne denied and the offer of similar nature was presented to another firm of shawl merchants who agreed to start the wine

\(^{207}\) Ibíd. see also Mitra, op.cit., p 11

\(^{208}\) Mitra, op.cit., p. 11

\(^{209}\) Lawrence, Valley, p. 378


\(^{211}\) Foreign Department-External, February, 1890, Nos. 293-314, p.51

\(^{212}\) Ibíd.
making. In 1876, the firm abstained from wine making as it was found unprofitable. In the same year state took up enterprise of vine-growing. The vine was introduced from Bordeaux district. Till 1885, 352,525 plants were planted in different vine-yards throughout the valley. In 1890's there were 389 acres of vineyards on the bank of Dal Lake.

In April 1881, on the instructions of Maharaja M. Ermen brought two experts for reviving manufacturing of wine. However, they were unsuccessful to produce wine. After that in 1883 Pandit Prakashju was given the charge of wine factory. He was not successful because of little knowledge of wine making. Wine produced from the pure juice of grapes in Kashmir was send to the Calcutta exhibition of 1884. It received a great appreciation for its purity and was awarded a gold medal.

But in spite of the great strides and huge money invested this industry was not developed fully. In 1889, a committee presided by Sir Edward Buck was appointed to recommend measures for the improvement of wine production in Kashmir. After the deliberations, W.R. Lawrence was entrusted with the control of wine industry. In spite of great expenditure vineyards had not proved successful. Vines were suffering from phylloxera. Next year vine from American was introduced in Kashmir and it gradually replaced the unhealthy Bordeaux plants.

In 1897, M. Peychand who was given the charge of this industry. Once again a committee was formed for improving the prospects of wine manufacturing and vineyards. It was found that the extention of wine manufacturing under M. Ermen's and his immediate successor had exceeded the demand of wine. the wines were not marketable in British India in spite of all efforts made and it was decided to restrict the manufacture of wine in future to 5,00 bottles of reed wine and 1,000 bottles of white wine, the actual consumption in state. Mr Todhurter, excise expert stated that wine making in Kashmir in late 19th century was failure from the financial point of view with annual loss from Rs. 32,00 to 43,000.
Metal works

Kashmir has since long attained high reputation for the excellence of its metal works. Several travelers who visited Kashmir during the second half of the 19th century were highly impressed with the metal works of Kashmir. Wakefield, a medical officer in British Indian army who visited Kashmir in 1875 stated that “Kashmiris are ingenious in metal works, manufacturing good weapons, such as guns and swords and other articles. But their jewellery demanded attention, the gold and silversmiths of Srinagar being very clever at their trade, producing admirable work, great quantities of which are now finding their way to Europe.”

E. F. Knight who visited Kashmir in April 1890 was highly impressed with metal works of Kashmir and he stated that metal works of Kashmir were well known in Europe as well.

Silver and gold works

Kashmiris were genius in gold and silver works and produced admirable articles which were in great demand not only at home but also outside Kashmir. Sir George Birwood has given impressions regarding the silver works of Kashmir. “Their elegant shapes and delicate tracery, graven through gilding to the dead white silver below which softens the luster of the gold to a pearly radiance, gives a most charming effect to this refined and graceful work. It is an art to have been imported by Mogals, but influenced by the natural superiority of the people of Cashmere valley over all other Orientals in elaborating decorative details of good design, whether in metal work, hammered and cut or enamelning or weaving.”

The silver and gold works of Kashmir had genesis in historic period (ancient) but it received impetus during the sultanate and in Mughals period it became important. This was actually an urban craft confined to the towns especially Sahar-i-khas, present Srinagar. Lawrence was highly impressed with the artistic skills of goldsmiths and their beautiful products. He said “the sliver work of Kashmir was extremely impressive and beautiful. The smiths possessed great prowess and could copy any design which may be given to him. They form beautiful patterns of chinar.

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217 Wakefield, op.cit., p. 149
218 E. F. Knight, op.cit., p. 41
219 Wakefield, op.cit., p 149
220 C. F. A. Mitra, op.cit., p. 14
221 Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 83
and lotus leaves." The material i.e silver and gold for manufacturing articles was not available locally and was procured from Yarkhand. The smith then converted it into different articles with the help of poor and rudé tools like hammer and chisel.\textsuperscript{222} The \textit{khars} (smiths) manufactured articles in both oriental and European designs.\textsuperscript{223} The output ranged from jewelry to the article of daily use like trays, goblets, tea cups, jugs, napkin-rings, finger-bowls and scent holders.\textsuperscript{224} The jewellery both in silver and gold was executed. These articles were sold at price four annas per tola.\textsuperscript{225} The sliver goods of this period possessed a peculiar feature of whiteness. It is owing to the practice of boiling the products in apricot juice.\textsuperscript{226}

Although, this craft was confined to the towns of Kashmir only but provided employment to a substantial section of society who by producing, trading or carrying the gold and silver articles from one place either for sale or export, managed their basic needs. Wakefield mentioned, this craft engaged five categories of people directly or indirectly-silversmith (khar), engraver (nagash), gilder (zarkob), polisher (rashangor) and cleaner (chakqar).\textsuperscript{227} So it can be asserted with certainty that this craft was one of the vital constituent of Kashmir economy during the epoch under review.

The articles produced by slive: smiths constituted an important item of both internal and foreign trade. Srinagar, Anantnag, Pattan etc were the prominent centers where these articles were sold. Even these were sent to England.\textsuperscript{228}

\textbf{Copper works}

This craft was confined to the capital city of maharaja i.e. Sahar-i-khas. The copper smiths manufactured distinctive types of copperware and articles with poor and conventional technical know-how. Their tools resembled with implements and tools utilized by the silversmith which included hammer for beating in order to mould the metal and chisel to give shape and finish to the product.\textsuperscript{229} The copper good with

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\textsuperscript{222} Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, p. 378
\textsuperscript{223} Bates, op.cit., p. 69
\textsuperscript{224} Wakefield, \textit{Valley}, pp. 149-50
\textsuperscript{225} \textit{Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh}, p. 83
\textsuperscript{226} Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, p. 378
\textsuperscript{227} Wakefield, op.cit., pp. 149-50
\textsuperscript{228} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{229} Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, p. 378. See also Kaumudi, \textit{Kashmir-The cultural Heritage}, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1952, p. 186
distinctive designs were manufactured in Kashmir. The production of the copper smiths was limited and confined to trays, candle sticks, bracelets in the shape of Chinese leaves. But the very beautiful work was the copper enamel. Besides, the indigenous patterns and designs, art of manufacturing was influenced by the Buddhist art of Tibet.  

Lassu and Subhananu were the two prominent coppersmiths in Srinagar.  

Iron Works

In the second part of 19th century, when the industrial revolution had engulfed most countries of the world and India too saw the rise of industrial growth, the iron industry in Kashmir was still confined to fabricate the articles of daily use and the weapons for the state armory. The major output of blacksmiths was the agricultural implements and articles like swords, knives etc.  

Maharaja Ranbir Singh maintained a Mistrikhana or workshop where only military weapons and tools were manufactured. So as the manufacturing of armaments is concerned only traditional weaponry like canons, guns and pistols constitute the major output of the blacksmiths of Kashmir.  

The gun-smiths of Srinagar were highly skillful that there was little difference between armament made in Kashmir and that of English. Though the raw material for iron works was locally available but it was sporadic in quantity. The iron known as bajour iron available in Muzafarabad wazarat was main source of raw-material to the blacksmiths of Kashmir.  

It was imported to Srinagar and was sold at the rate of two seers for a chilli ruppee. Besides, the iron (faulad), a superior variety, was imported from Iran and steel was imported from Punjab. It was mainly used for manufacturing swords and knives.  

Wood available locally was also used by blacksmiths in their products. The blacksmiths manufactured the articles in factory consisted of one room with one or two assistants. So this cannot be treated as large scale industry. This industry was confined to the northern quarter of capital and at the foot of Hari Parbat fort.  

Zainagir in Bira pargana was another important center

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230 Ibid. See also Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 83
231 Ibid.
232 Bates, op. cit., p. 69
233 Mitra, op. cit. p. 15
234 Wakefield, op. cit., p. 149
235 Lawrence, Valley, p. 373. See also Younghusband, op. cit., p. 217
236 Bates, op. cit., pp. 69-70
237 Ibid.
where weapons for state were manufactured. It was the only factory located outside the premises of capital. Here more than twenty men were employed.

However, the state exercised considerable control over the craft and it was obligatory for them to fulfill the state’s requirement. In 1848, Gulab Singh, in order to combat the undesired elements and subdue the rebels issued an *Irshad* for the blacksmiths to accelerate the production of arms. Consequently, the blacksmiths in the Pathar Masjid area of Shahr-i-khas produced weapons on large scale. The production in 1852 was highest in the Gulab Singh’s reign.\(^{238}\)

In 1860, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, proclaimed that the workers and smiths associated with this industry were treated as state servants and six to eight *chilki* rupees were fixed as their wages.\(^{239}\) Moreover, the raw-material was now supplied by the state and for manufacturing one rifle they were paid at the rate of thirty *chilki* rupees. In 1874, the total number of shops of blacksmiths manufacturing weapons rose to thirty and in each shop besides, the master four to five men were employed.\(^{240}\)

The products of blacksmiths besides fulfilling the local needs were also sent out of the valley for trade. Jammu was significant in this respect. Moreover, the swords of Kashmir were illegally taken to Hazara, Peshawar, and Kabul. Amira and Usmana were the two firms in Kashmir dealing with weapons during the Dogra period.\(^{241}\)

### Wood Carving

Wood carving is an old craft of Kashmir. This craft attained recognition during the medieval period and is said to have really introduced in Kashmir by sultan Zain-ul-Abdin. He invited experts from Gujarat who introduced special design of boats.\(^{242}\) The raw-material i.e., wood was available locally as Kashmir has a rich forest cover but walnut wood owing to its durability and natural-veined surface, was preferred for making articles of various types.\(^{243}\) The wood was seasoned before being put to use, by exposing to various temperatures changing with season and time. It was

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\(^{239}\)Parveen Akhtar, *History of Kashmir*, p. 198
\(^{240}\)Bates, op.cit., p. 69
\(^{241}\)Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 373. See also Bates, op.cit., p. 69
\(^{242}\)N. k. Zutshi, op.cit., p. 203
\(^{243}\)Kaumudi, op.cit., pp. 184-85
this wood that was cut and polished and then carved into various articles like trays, tables, boxes etc.

The designs of wood carving were excellent and beautiful. Many designs of wood work were prevalent in Kashmir during the Dogra period like Sosan, chinar, badam, dacchi and mazar posh. 244 The sosan was motif for titles, the china meant a popular motif for wood carving, dachi was a design of bunch of grapes, badam was based on almond motif and mazar posh was raised relief of iris flower. Another design which is still prevalent in Kashmir was khatambandi. 245 This was mainly found in ceilings. It consisted of small pieces of carved wood fitted into frames in geometrical designs to form decorative ceilings for rooms. The perfect execution of this is found in Khanqah-i-Muallah mosque of Srinagar. 246 A few of the Khatambandi ceiling have been introduced in England. G.M.D Sufi maintained that, "Ceilings of the same construction were found in Samarkhan, Bhakara, Persia, Istanbul and Morocco." 247 Many people from all over valley were engaged in this craft during early Dogra period.

Anantnag was an important centre of this craft and carpenters produced various types of articles to suffice different requirements of people. 248 These goods were traded in valley and were also sent to other parts of India and even to Europe. 249

**Leather Works**

Manufacturing of leather goods was one of the prosperous industries of Kashmir during the Dogra period. It engaged substantial portion of Kashmiri populace. William Moorcroft century has highly praised the leather goods of Kashmir. 250 The classes of people engaged with this occupation were known as Watals. 251 The Srinagar

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244 Ibid.
245 Lawrence, Valley, p. 379
246 Sufi, op.cit., p. 586. See also Kuanudi, op cit., p. 185
247 Sufi, op.cit., p. 586
248 Ibid.
250 William Moorcroft, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 213-14
251 They formed one of the classes of Kashmiri society. They lived mostly in villages where they accomplished menial works. They used to get the skins from villages and took it to the capital city of Maharaja where these skins were manipulated into different articles by the same class of people. Fredric Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, Capital Publishing House, New Delhi, 1997 (Reprinted), p. 181
city was the prominent center of manufacturing of leather goods and hub of trade in these goods.\textsuperscript{252} The raw material was procured from countryside by \textit{watals}. After collecting the skins, \textit{watals} prepared them and then brought them to Srinagar where these skins were given the different shapes. The prominent leather articles manufactured in Kashmir included shoes, chapel, harness and bags. Lawrence maintained, the leather portmanteau and valise made in Srinagar stands on amount of rough usage which few English solid bags survive and the leather saddle manufactured in valley were more durable.\textsuperscript{253}

\textsuperscript{252}E. F. Knight, op.cit., p. 40
\textsuperscript{253}Ibid
Village Manufactures

Ghabha Making

Ghabha is a carpet rug used for covering the floor and bed covers like carpets. The origin of this industry is shrouded in obscurity. A legend traced it genesis from Anantnag, the southernmost wazarat of Kashmir. According to this legend in Anantnag there lived a poor tailor known as Lasya Tota, who is said to have first stitched together some old and worn out the dyed pieces of old puttoo in such a way as to form a floor sheet.254 Another legend states that owing to the efforts of Abdul Rahman who came to Kashmir as refugee from Kabul during the reign of emperor Jahangir this industry made its appearance in Kashimar.255 According to the Report of Economic Survey of Ghabha manufacture in Kashmir, 1938, ghabha manufacturing is not more than hundred years old. In initial period only coarse type of ghabas were manufactured and there was not much demand for them from well off class. The best felts were imported from Central Asian province of Yarkhand.256 This industry did not need any special raw-material. Old or used blankets or new were used for manufacturing ghabas by stitching together and then the embroidery work was done with needle. There were different forms and patterns of gabaaha like appliqué (Dalgabhas), embroidered, appliqué-cum-embroidered and printed.257

During the Maharaja Ranbir Singh reign gabaaha making developed to considerable extent. He took many steps to encourage this industry. He invited experts like Muhammad Bhat, Rasul Magre and Nur Sheikh to Srinagar who were very expert in Gabaaha making to prepare shamanas, qanats and gahbas for state use.258 The Gabaaha industry thrived mainly in Islamabad wazarat and ghabas made here were famous throughout the valley. However, the printed gahbas was a specialty of Baramullah.259

Embroidery Work

This art was closely associated with shawl industry and other crafts like gabha and namda making. It has made a very significant contribution to manufacture some of

254 M. Ganjoo, op. cit, 1945, p. 121
255 Sufi, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 571
256 Barker, op.cit., p. 75. See also Dr. Parveen Akhtar, op.cit., p. 196
257 Sufi, op. cit., V.II, p. 570. See also Dhar, Arts and Artisans, op.cit., p. 54
258 Ibid.
259 Ibid. See also Mitra, op.cit., p. 7
the most artistic and magnificent designs of shawl. It was extensively scattered craft of Kashmir but was least organized. Like most of the crafts it was also the legacy of Bad-Shah (Zain-ul-Abadin). It was a part time occupation for some people as well as a permanent occupation for those who were not engaged in agriculture. However, after the 1870 from the finest embroidery work on shawls, embroiderers slowly descends to needle-work on silks, woolen and cotton textiles and to hook work on coarse stuffs and namdhas. Varied designs in embroidery were common during the early Dogra period. These were based natural scenery, flora and animal or insect life of Kashmir.

**Basket-making**

Many people in village were engaged with this occupation. Basket-making was a source of livelihood to a greater section of people. They made baskets for kangri inside which a round mud pot was adjusted to keep charcoal to get warm during cold. Baskets were also made for agricultural purposes like carrying the manure and turfs to the fields. Khilat (tukri) was used to carry fruits especially apples. The superior khilat covered with leather were made in Srinagar.

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261 ibid.
262 It is a small insulated pot covered by a cover woven by the basket-maker. It contains charcoal and is held close to the body to warm during the cold season. Even at present this tradition is prevalent.
263 Lawrence, Valley, p. 372
Pottery Making

Due to the scarcity of metallic pots and low purchasing power of people especially in rural areas pots made of mud were widely used in Kashmir in nineteenth century. The potters were found both in villages and in Srinagar.264 Thus they sufficed the requirements of both rural and urban population.265 The potters (kral) made kitchen pots of various types, forms and sizes of daily use. The large pots were also made to store grains and other articles and cylindrical for bee-keeping. Moreover, another major output of potters was the inner part (kundal) of kangri. The ornamentation was seldom taken into consideration. The potters used sell their products in village and also had a ready market in city of Srinagar. In Srinagar the earthenware were made in Rainawari area266 were known for excellence and sturdiness. However, Lawrence stated that pottery made in countryside (villages) was more durable to that of Sahar-i-khas.267

Lapidaries

Lapidary work was practiced in Kashmir since long ago. The lapidary workers of Dogra period possessed great prowess and were proficient as seal cutters.268 This was the indegenious art of Kashmir and had a peculiar style. It was unique in design and even these were superior to that of Europe.269 In plain gold they made every imaginable article of jewelry and for making an article they charged at the rate of Rs. 20 a tola for the material and two annas for workmanship. They made bracelets and other ornaments of gold, silver, brass, copper and tin.270 Lawrence held that “the people associated with this occupation were not prosperous but if they seek work in the territories of India they could earn high wages.”271

264 E. F. Knight, op. cit., p. 40
265 Lawrence, Valley, p. 273
266 Ibid.
267 Ibid.
268 Lawrence, Valley, p. 379
269 Bates, op.cit., p. 69
270 Parveen Akhtar, op.cit., p. 199
271 Lawrence, Valley, p. 379
Mat Making

This art was mostly practiced by the villagers. It was an indigenous art of Kashmir. The raw material used for making mats (waggu) was procured from lakes, ponds and swamps. It was called ‘pit’, a sort of reed. These mats were used as floor covers and the boats were also roofed with mats. The villagers of Lasjan were the genius in this art. It was a source of income to many people. They used to sell them in towns besides using for their own needs.

Soap Making

Soap making was part-time economic activity of the people of Kashmir. During the period of our study two kinds of soaps were manufactured in Kashmir, one from animal fat known as Safed sabun (white soap) and another from vegetable oil known as Til sabun (oil soap). In 1850, two Kashmiris, Maqbool Shah and Gaffar Khan led by Kumeden Devi Singh approached the Maharaja Gulab Singh and offered him to pay an amount of Rs 1500 as against Rs. 900 paid by the manufacturers, if they would be entrusted with the monopoly of soap manufacturing. This offer was

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272 Lawrence, Valley, p. 69
273 Ibid.
274 D. K. Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p. 413. See also Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, op.cit. p. 44
conceded by the maharaja and they enjoyed this monopoly till the nineties of the
nineteenth century.\footnote{Parveen Akhtar, History of Kashmir, p. 200. See also Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 84}

**Organization of industries in the early Dogra Period**

Baring few most of industries and handicraft units of Kashmir were controlled and
managed by the master workman generally called *Ustad* (master craftsman) or
*kharkhandar*\footnote{There were three kinds of Kharkhandars; nukdee, jammakharchi, and anantnagi. The first was man with sufficient means, who provided his own capital, purchased raw material and paid the wages. The production in such units was enough. Jamakharchi organized the production in the homes of the individual weavers. He arranged finances either from the government or from moneymakers. He produced goods on small scale. The third on inhabited in the Anantnag Wazarat and their produced was of inferior quality. See Dhar, op.cit., p. 45}. He managed the cost of production either by his own capital or by
capital provided by the dealer in advance.\footnote{S. N. Gadru, op.cit., p. 62}
The manufacturing unit was the
workshop which consisted of one or two small rooms. In these establishments
generally 10 to 20 workers were employed. However, in workshops of blacksmith,
goldsmith, paper-machine etc. besides master 2 to 3 workers were employed. The only
exception is the shawl industry where the *kharkhandar* has employed more than 20
weavers and certain cases he employed 300 to 400 weavers.\footnote{R. Thorpe, op.cit., p. 83. See also Dhar, Arts and Artisans, p. 45} The production was
low contrary to the units of India and Europe where machines operated by electricity
and coal replaced the old means of production on account of industrial revolution. In
Kashmir the goods were mostly manufactured by hand with rude and old tools and
implements. However, the local requirements were fulfilled by their produce and little
room was left for the importation of products.

Shawl industry since the inception of Dogra rule was under the control of
Dagh-shawl department which looked after the manufacturing unit through its
officials, supervised raw material, dyeing, settled disputes among the workers, and
levied the poll tax on weavers and impost on the manufactured articles.\footnote{Mitra, Op.cit., p. 3} In the early
seventies of the nineteenth century silk industry was monopolized by government.
Paper and carpet industries were also regulated by the state. Besides, a number of
small workshops spread all over the valley were managed and operated by local
people.
The marketing of products was a major obstacle confronted by the industries during the period under study. This was done by local dealers or independent master craftsmen, agents of foreign business houses in Srinagar and dealers living outside state. They had no organized way of marketing their goods.\footnote{Due to the poor communication and self-sufficiency of people there was not elaborated market where the transaction of goods could take place. The producer was compelled to take out his product for sale by walking distant areas. No doubt, during this period Europeans and Punjabi traders began to purchase the goods of Kashmir for their native countries but their movement was confined to Srinagar only. As result many goods perished for the sake market which could have boasted the economy of people.}

Owing to the rough roads and absence of vehicular traffic and poor road linkage with rest of India and outer world the movements of goods was paralyzed.\footnote{Youngusband, op. cit., p. 177} The people took on their back a few amount of goods for sale which was a cumbersome process. Ponies and boats were other means of transport which again in any way was not favorable.

Workers, the main pillar for industrial development were subjected to various hardships. They had to work from dawn to dusk in small dark room without accessories and unhealthy conditions on very low wages not sufficient to suffice their basic requirements.\footnote{Marion Doughty, \textit{A Foot Through the Kashmir Valley}, Ali Mohammad and Sons, Srinagar, Reprinted 2005. P 157} Even in the early years, they were not permitted to change their masters. There was total absence of division of labour. Moreover, there was no class consciousness among them and therefore, no organization.

Thus it can be said that during the period of our study numerous arts and industries flourished in Kashmir. they had sufficient output, keeping in view the constraints they had to face especially in the field of technology. This sphere of economy sufficed the needs to a greater section of population either directly or indirectly and also provided part-time employment to the people engaged in primary occupation i.e. agriculture and secondary as well i.e. traders and those arranged the means of transport. During the nineteenth century keeping in view the industrial pace of rest of India and world, Kashmir was industrially the least developed region in the sub-continent. The contribution during the nineteenth century and early part of twentieth century of manufacturing sector to the economy of state was 8.6% which
was not satisfactory. It was owing to many factors like poor communication system, absence of modern machines, lack of energy resources like electricity, absence of viable entrepreneurial class, dearth and high cost of raw-materials and natural calamities in the form of famines, droughts and earthquakes. The state’s indifferent attitude towards the non-agrarian sector was responsible for the industrial backwardness of Kashmir. Moreover, state’s policy was not encouraging regarding these manufacturing units. The condition of working force either on account of heavy taxation or oppression of kharkhandar was also pathetic.

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284 In 19th century, Kashmir was frequently visited by natural calamities which caused both human and material loss and also compelled the people including the skilled workers to migrate to the safe areas i.e., Punjab which had adverse repercussions for the economic growth of the province. In 19th century two disastrous flood one in 1858 and another in 1893, three famines i.e. 1831, 1864 and 1877-78 and one earthquake i.e. 1857 occurred in Kashmir. In all the above natural calamites in the absence of adequate relief measures common masses were worst hit.
Chapter 3

Land Revenue System
Land Revenue System

Land produce levies constituted chief source of income to the state exchequer of princely state of Jammu and Kashmir during the Dogra period. More than three-fourth of the revenue of the state was drawn from the land and cultivating classes. At different times rulers had devised varied procedures in the form of land revenue assessments with different rates to procure land revenue from the peasants to meet out the expenses of administration and to procure the services for state.

The land revenue system of Kashmir during Dogra era was demarcated by two distinctive phases. First, the period from 1846-1887 which covered the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh, Maharaja Ranbir Singh and initial two years of Maharaja Pratap Singh and the second from 1887 to 1947 which commenced from the third year of the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh and covered Maharaja Hari Singh's period. The first phase was marked by the unorganized revenue system characterized by the frequent change in revenue settlements and rough estimate of revenue without proper measurement of land. The second phase saw the commencement of regular land revenue settlement on British pattern. This ushered a new era marked by prosperity for the Kashmiri populace in general and that of cultivating class in particular. Moreover, in second period changes were witnessed in other spheres of the state as well.

Land Revenue Assessments in Kashmir 1846-1887

Gulab Singh, the founder of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir did not bring any prominent structural change in the system of administration owing to his preoccupation with the consolidation of his newly acquired possessions and restoration of tranquility in the region. He continued with the Sikh land revenue

2When the administration of Kashmir was handed over to Gulab Singh, the turbulent hilly tribes of Hazara and Muzafarabad rose in revolt. To end this Maharaja directed his army to these regions but he could not subdue them and sought the help of British. He also requested them (British) to exchange the territories of Hazara and Muzafarabad with some portion of territory lying in the plains of river Jhelum. As a result he signed a treaty with Lahore Darbar on 25th May 1847 and received the Sajapur and Pathankot in exchange for Hazara and Muzafarabad.
system with minor modifications. During Gulab Singh’s period, revenue was directly collected from the Zamindar (Cultivator or Peasant) twice in a year, i.e., after every harvest, mostly in kind. Diwan Kripa Ram, governor of Kashmir during Maharaja Ranbir Singh reign, in his Majmui report for the year 1873-74 mentioned that the initial method of land revenue assessment devised by Gulab Singh was Batai system, which literally means ‘division’. It was prevalent in Kashmir since Mughal era. Under this system at the time of ripening of crops two or three Shadars (state official) in each village and one Sozwal (state official) in every two or three village were deputed. Then crop was collected into heaps (Gum) which consisted of one hundred kahroos (bundle of stacks) in both Maraj and Kamraj. The estimate of the produce was made when the grain was in heaps & one-half was taken by government and another one half was left for the zamindar (peasant). In addition an extra cess and khurch of three traks per Kharwar of produce was taken from the cultivator.

Salig Ram Koul, biographer of Gulab Singh stated, “although Gulab Singh knew that the batia system was irksome, unmanageable and expensive and the realization of revenue in cash would be cheap and convenient, but keeping in view the conditions of Kashmir and its people he adopted batia system for realizing states share.”

The same system was followed in the Jagir areas granted for services and other purposes. H.L Rivett who carried out the first land revenue settlement work in Jagirs of Kashmir from 1895 to 1897 stated that after the harvest, produce of the year was arranged into two ambaras(stacks) in the village khirman (threshing floor). Then the

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1Diwan Kripa Ram, Majmui Report p. 18. See also A. Wingate, op. cit., p. 19.
4 Salig Ram Koul, op. cit., p. 225.
7 Diwan Kripa Ram, Majmui Report, pp. 18-19.
9 Maraz and Kamraj are the conscriptions of Sanskrit words ‘Madavrajya and Kramrajyja’ respectively. These stood for the two divisions of Kashmir valley which existed since ancient times. Maraz comprised the districts or areas both sides of Vitasta (Jhelum) above Shahr-e-Khas (Srinagar) (Northern part) and Kamraj comprised the areas on the both sides of Vitasta below Srinagar (western part).
7 Political Diaries, p. 31. See also D. Kripa Ram, Majmui Report, p. 19
5 Political Diaries, p.31
9 Salig Ram Koul, op.cit., p.226.

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chakladar or Jagirdar was called to take either as the state’s share. However, the Jagirdars levied some additional taxes which were not sanctioned by the state.\textsuperscript{10}

The British Indian government & officials of the company came to know of the incompetence of the state administration and deteriorated conditions of people through confidential dispatches of Saif-ud-din Kashmiri, a British sepoy in the court of Maharaja Gulab Singh & through the regular visits of British officials to the valley.\textsuperscript{11} Moreover, the chowkidars, manufacturers, pundits and peasants of Kashmir in an Arzie (request) dated 26\textsuperscript{th} December, 1846, solicited British government for justice against the oppression of Gulab Singh.\textsuperscript{12}

In giving over the country to Raja Gulab Singh, who fears no God, you are oppressing us and so breaking your own rule which is based on justice. Because you are doers of justice and cherishers of your subjects. We beseech you not to oppress us in this way but to place over us any one but not Gulab Singh. We will not disobey your orders but if it be that we are to have him, we shall all run away both small and great, subscribed by the seals of two hundred and seventy-five persons.\textsuperscript{13}

Governor-General Lord Harding informed the Maharaja that in no case the British authorities would accept or bear injustice towards the people of Kashmir and if in spite of friendly warnings the system was not corrected, a system of direct intervention would be restored.\textsuperscript{14}

British officials especially working in Punjab were deputed for inspection of the conditions of the people in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{15} Lt R.G. Taylor, Assistant to the Resident of Lahore was the first who conducted a thorough study of the situation in Kashmir. He advocated many reforms in the existing land revenue system. Taylor first suggested that revenue should be collected in cash. However, many objections were raised on this and finally he proposed that in certain number of Parganas in the vicinity of


\textsuperscript{12} Foreign Department, dated 26 December, 1846, No. 1125, N.A.I.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.


\textsuperscript{15}R. G. Taylor, assistant to the Resident to Lahore, was on Deputation to Kashmir from 15\textsuperscript{th} May to 11\textsuperscript{th} October 1847, Sandya Melvill, Extra Assistant to the Resident of Lahore was on deputation to Kashmir from 29\textsuperscript{th} June to 4\textsuperscript{th} October 1847 and Pundit Kunhya Lal 21\textsuperscript{st} April to 19\textsuperscript{th} July 1847. Henry Lawrence visited Kashmir in 1849-50.
Shahr-i-Khas (Srinagar) which were ten in number revenue should be collected in cash and from rest of the parganas only a fixed portion should be levied in mobiya while rest in kind.\textsuperscript{16} Mobiya was a system by which the government was entitled to convert a certain number of traks in every kharwar into money at the established market rate.\textsuperscript{17}

Thus the mode of revenue collection varied in different parganas. In some parganas mobiyah was the prominent feature while in other parganas only a portion of the crop was acquired by the mobiyah system. In the pargana of Shahabad another system known as Mushukha (Mujawaza) was prevalent.\textsuperscript{18} The system of annually settling the demand of revenue in kind and cash was known as Mujawaza. Jalali stated it became a source of enormous profit to the officials, great loss to the state and misery and demoralization for the people.\textsuperscript{19}

However, the Dogra aristocracy which was constituted mostly of Kashmiri pandits and Punjabis, did not like the system. In 1905 bikrami(1848) land was measured and revenue was fixed in cash.\textsuperscript{20}

In 1849 and 1850 H.M. Lawrence visited Kashmir.\textsuperscript{21} He assailed Gulab Singh for disregarding the assurances made to Taylor and exhorted him to work for economic improvement of his subjects. After Lawrence's departure, Gulab Singh put the blame for the shortcomings of his administration on his officials. He issued sanads regarding the improvement of his administration. In 1851, Gulab Singh advised Ranbir Singh and other officials to treat with peasants in a lucid manner and leave them with a substantial portion of produce. In 1852, the valley of Kashmir was divided into seven divisions for the purpose of revenue assessment & collection.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{16}Taylore’s Report on Kashmir, Foreign Department-Secret, 30th October 1847, Nos.116-17, N.A.I. See also Political Diaries, p.79. He remained in Kashmir from 15th May 1847 to 11th October 1847. During his stay in Kashmir he enquired about the condition of shawl weavers, Peasants, Jagir Lands and Darmath Assignments. See also Ghulam Nabi Khanyari, op.cit., pp.256-57.
\textsuperscript{17}R.L. Hangloo, ‘The Magnitude of Land Revenue Demand in Kashmir (1846-1900)’, Social Scientist, V-2, No.6, June 1984, p.53.
\textsuperscript{18}Political Diaries, p. 198.
\textsuperscript{19}Lawrence, Valley, p.407.
\textsuperscript{20}Mirza Saif-ud-Din, Khilasat-\textit{u}-Tawarih(Persian), Urdu trans by Mirza Kamal-ud-Din, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2011, p.134.
\textsuperscript{21}Bawa Satinder Singh, The Jammu Fox, p 167
\textsuperscript{22}Hangloo, Agrarian System of Kashmir, p. 50.
In 1854, the work of assessment & collection of revenue was entrusted to military officers most probably to ensure regular revenues to the state which often remained in arrears. Saif-ud-Din Kashmiri articulated that “arrears during the Dogra period even passed on from generation to generation.” In 1851, Rs. 30, 00,000 were in arrears because most of the peasants had left their fields despite the efforts of Ranbir Singh and Diwan Jawalasahi. In 1852, the arrears amounted to Chilki rupees 15,000. The other motive was to pay emoluments to the army out of these revenues. After collection of stipulated land revenue they used to submit a part of it to the royal treasury & kept rest for themselves. This system continued till the end of Gulab Singh reign with batia as the method for levying government’s share. However, the Batai system inherited certain drawbacks. P. Sandy who was in Kashmir in 1847, stated that barley stacks remained lying on the ground for months unprotected from weather and was threshed only after the order of government. The zamindar did not receive his share till the process of threshing was performed. J.B. Irland who was in Kashmir during 1853-54, stated, when the grain was harvested, it must be stacked and remained like this, until the government assessors reported and the Hakim-i-Ala fixed the rate of revenue. Sometimes, it took two or three months. In the meanwhile poor peasants suffered, if they had no old crop left they were obliged to subsist on vegetable and herbs.

The economy of Kashmir was in deplorable conditions when Maharaja Ranbir Singh ascended the Gaddi (throne) of Jammu and Kashmir State in 1857. Initially, state’s share was assessed on the basis of rough assessment. After assessing the economic conditions of the state which were better neither for the state nor for the peasants, a number of reforms were adopted for its improvement. Agriculture being the predominant sector and the main source of revenue attracted his attention. The revenue system was inequitable and riddle with corrupt practices. Therefore, he undertook a series of reforms in general administration and that of land revenue system in particular. He issued a Dastur-ul-Amal (regulations) in 1857. The major

23 Saif-ud-Din, Akhbarat, Vol. 21-22, F. 8, Government Research Library, Srinagar. See also Hangloo, Agrarian System, p. 50
24 Y. Vaikuntham, People’s Movements in the Princely States (Edt.), Manohar, Delhi, 2004, p. 169
25 Political Diaries, p. 218
27 Saif-ud-Din, Khalasat-e-Tawarih, p.138

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recommendation of Dastur-ul-Amal pertaining to land revenue was that revenue should be collected through Kardar without any extortionate demand from the already impoverished peasantry. Secondly, the existing rates of different crops and the extra charges from the zamindar in the shape of tax on pattu, ghee and house tax should be reduced. 28

In 1859, Ranbir Singh introduced first experiment of land revenue system called farming system in Kashmir. He farmed out the province of Kashmir and gave it on contract to Kardars. 29 Kardar was bestowed only with the privilege of revenue collection. He was thus land revenue agent of the state. The contract was for a period of one year and next year fresh contracts were entered with Kardars. 30 Prof. Rattan Lal Hangloo stated that “the kardar not only dictated the method of assessment of his choice to the peasant but also the crop to be sown by them.” 31

The Kardar took many steps in order to maximize output from the land and generate more revenues. He divided his estate into three portions keeping in view the fertility of the land and the crops to be grown accordingly. The lower part of land being superior in soil fertility, irrigation and location, only rice cultivation was allowed. The middle part being average, Kardar allowed some rice to be grown. In the higher portion which lacked behind in aforementioned respects, no rice cultivation undertaken and it was used for the cultivation of other crops. It was the Kardar’s duty to get the maximum amount of grain as land revenue for the state. 32

Moreover, Kardar gave land to the cultivators on the basis of full unit family Known as nafre at the rate of four acre’s to each nafre, two acres to nim nafre (half family) & one acre to pao-nafre (bachelor). 33 It was thought that peasants would concentrate on the land granted to him which in turn would increase the production. Moreover, in order to watch the growth of crops a government official known as shakdar was deployed in each village and in case of large villages two or three shakdars were appointed, one to each threshing floor.

30 Wingate, op.cit., p. 19
31 Hangloo, Agrarian System of Kashmir, p. 51
32 Lawrence, Valley, p 402.
33 Ibid.
In 1860, a new system of assessment known as *chakladari* was introduced. The *Chakdars* were chiefly Hindus and were given land on easy terms. Under this system agricultural land was divided into *chaklas*, one *chakla* consisted of three or four villages. Each *Chakla* was put under a *Chakladar* for revenue collection for a period of three years. These *Chakladars* were like contractors. At its introduction the average produce of previous five years was taken as the basis for assessment. Moreover, in each Chakla, one *thanadar* was appointed for the protection of the *zamindars* against the oppression of *Chakladars*.

This system was first introduced in the parganas of Shopian, Vihu and Bring. Diwan Kripa Ram maintained, it was successful to a great extent and the stipulated revenue was realized conveniently. In some *parganas* where the farming system was found impossible or unadvisable, system of actual division of produce known as *amāni* was continued. The rate of land revenue was not preset on such lands.

In 1863, *Chakladari* system was renewed with some enhanced rates. But in 1863-64 and 1864-65 on account of failure of crops the leases broke down. In 1867, the Maharaja gave out fresh leases of the same nature for a period five years. The share to be taken was half of the produce for Kharif crops and ten *trak* out of sixteen *trak kharwar*. At the completion of the first three years of the lease, farmers came forward and stated they could not continue to hold the lands. In 1869, contract was made with *Mukkudams* or with *Zamindars* and two traks came to be levied instead of four *trak*.

In 1870, Maharaja instituted settlement department with instructions to measure the land. In 1873, farming system was abolished and a three year cash

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36 Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 403
37 Ibid.
38 Foreign Department, February 1874, No. 271-278, N.A.I, p.7.
39 D. K. Ram, *Majmaui Report* p.21
40 Ibid.
41 Foreign Department, February 1874, No. 271-278, N.A.I, p.7.
42 Ibid.
43 Wingate, op.cit. p.19
44 Foreign Department, February 1874, No. 271-278, N.A.I, p.8
assessment with the cultivators was introduced. This was known as Assamwar khewat. Ramju Dhar stated that this system was stated in Kashmir in 1870. The intermediaries like sozawal and shakdar were excluded and the assessment was directly fixed with cultivator. This reduced burden of intermediaries on peasants and saved them from oppression inflicted on them at several occasions. The cultivator was now accountable for the improvement of land and to deposit the state's share in the royal treasury. It was actually a cash assessment with cultivator. However, the state's share was either paid in cash or kind. Thus for the first time Ryotwari system was started in Kashmir. However, this system did not bestow occupancy rights to the cultivator. Consequently, spectacular increase was noticed in the production especially in the wazarat-i-Kamraj and Ajhmain pargana. Hussan Khuihami stated, this system was not liked by the officials of Maharaja as they were excluded from revenue affairs and in 1875 on the advice of Wazir Panoo this system was abolished.

Next year fresh contracts were signed either with Mukdams, kardars or cultivators. Besides, an aggregate tax of Rs.9-12-0 per cent, if paid in cash or nine kharwars and twelve traks per hundred kharwars if paid in kind, two traks per kharwar were again added to the assessment. In 1877-78, owing to the severe famine scarcity began. This led to exodus of peasants to Punjab and other parts. Consequently, contract broke down and state collected revenue in kind only. Ghulam Nabi Khanyari, a contemporary recorded the severity of this natural calamity in the following words.

At the time of the collection of shali (Unhusked rice) in the month of Kathak there was such rainfall that the people became hopeless for the

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45 Lawrence, Valley, p. 403. See also Hassan, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.580-81. See also Foreign Department, February 1874, No. 271-278, N.A.I, p.5.
46 Ramju Dhar, op.cit., f.8
47 Wingate, op.cit., p.19. See also D. K. Ram, Majmui Report, p. 21
48 Kripa Ram, Majmui Report, p. 21
49 Hassan, op.cit., V.II, pp.578-581.
50 Wingate, op.cit., p.19
51 This was the second famine during the Ranbir Singh's reign, but most devastated which Kashmir ever experienced, the previous occurred in 1864. At this time whole India was also in grip of famine. However, the famine of Kashmir was unique to the rest of India as the famine of India was caused due to the scarcity of rain while in Kashmir, it was due to the excessive rain. The rainfall continued three months without any break, started in October which coincides with the commencement of harvesting season in Kashmir. The whole crop perished in the fields. This created havoc in Kashmir and many people died and many migrated to plains of Punjab. Jamnail Singh Dev, Natural Calamities in Jammu and Kashmir, Ariana Publishing House, New Delhi, p 52. See also Wingate, p16.
shahi. The muslim went to Eidgah (a Place where the Nemaz of two Eids used to be offered) humbly and in despair. The rain continued three month and there were also earthquakes again and again.52

These conditions continued till 1880 when a new Assamiwar khewat assessment was again introduced in Kashmir. It was different to that of 1873 system. It was actually assessment on cultivator's holding but in practice it was on village. The basis for this assessment was taken average produce of previous three years.53 The procedure for arriving at the assessment was that the gross produce was estimated in cash and half of the produce was preset as the government's share. But it was payable either in kind or cash. However, it rested with the Hakim-i-Ala [Governor] to say year after year, how much revenue to be in cash and how much in kind. Every year an order came from Srinagar regarding this.54 Moreover, it was obligatory for the peasant to pay one-half of his produce as revenue and more than 30% was added as abwabs which put extra burden on the cultivator. This assessment of revenue had special significance. The cultivators whose names were registered in the papers of this settlement were considered having strong claims on proprietary rights when Lawrence started the land revenue settlement work in the fifteen tehsils of Kashmir.55

According to Lawrence, it was full of drawbacks. The revenue collectors took land revenue in both cash and kind from the peasants. They paid the cash portion to the state but the payment in kind was not often recorded, it was shown as baki i.e. arrears in the name of cultivator. Thus the peasants even after paying their revenue were defaulters.

In 1882, the auctioning of villages to highest bidder was introduced.56 This system was designated as Azad Boli system. The bidders known Mustajirs after having a cursory look round the fields of a particular village promised a lump sum amount to be paid to the state. They were entitled with right of collection of revenue from the peasants of that area or village. It was laid down they would bear loss and increase would retain by them.57

52 Ghulam Nabi Khanyari, op.cit., p. 271.
53 Hassan, V.II, pp. 590. See also Lawrence, Valley, p. 403.
54 Lawrence, Valley, p. 403. See also Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 107.
55 Lawrence, Valley, p. 403.
56 Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. xv, New Delhi, 1908, See also Lawrence, op.cit., p. 405
57 Ramju Dhar, op. cit., F.5.
Azad Boli System has caused great trouble to peasants in Kashmir. The Mustajirs were very oppressive at the time of collection. Even during the bad harvest bidders would extract all they could from the villagers without taking into consideration conditions of soil and production. But they often failed to submit the stipulated revenue to the state and the unfortunate villager were held liable. E. F. Neve who has arrived in Kashmir during the same period as medical missionary stated "that after wringing all they (bidders) could from unhappy villagers, absconded without paying a single rupee to the state". Thus this system could not prove beneficial for the state and it was immediately discontinued.

In 1885 Assamiwar Khewat system was resumed. Under this system, the assessment was made on the individual cultivator called assämi. The assessment under this system was arrived in the following manner.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gross produce in 16 trak kharwars price</th>
<th>Govt. share after adding trak in 15 trak kharwars</th>
<th>Govt. share calculated rupee at standard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crop</td>
<td>Kr</td>
<td>Tr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarson</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilgogal</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mung</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shali</td>
<td>1438</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatol</td>
<td>1,447</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Assamiwar Khewat system continued till 1887 when the settlement work commenced in Kashmir under the supervision of Mr. A. Wingate, an English settlement officer. Thus it is evident that the revenue system of Kashmir prior to regular settlement was in a state of fluctuation. This system was highly inconvenient for the state as it required the surveillance of many officials at the time of harvest to assess the state share. This not only burdened state finances but also increased the

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58 From Lawrence to Col. Nisbet, Resident in Kashmir dated 2nd December 1889. Foreign Department, No. 296-326, p. 24
59 E. F. Neve, Beyond Pir Panjal, p. 54
opportunities for graft and corruption on the part of officials. The peasants always remained uncertain of theirs future liabilities.

**British Intervention and Land Revenue Settlements in Kashmir**

With the ascendency of Pratap Singh to the throne of Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir in 1885, numerous changes occurred in the agrarian system of the state in general and that of Kashmir in particular. This was inevitable consequence of direct intervention of British in the affairs of Jammu and Kashmir after 1885 when the British Resident was appointed in Kashmir. Though the British demanded reforms in Kashmir since the Gulab Singh’s reign but it was only after the appointment of British Resident in 1885 that their efforts succeeded.

**Wingate’s Settlement Operation in Kashmir**

Soon after its establishment, British Resident in Kashmir persuaded Maharaja Pratap Singh to institute proper land settlements to reorganize the agrarian system of Kashmir. In 1887A.Wingate was entrusted with the work of first settlement in Kashmir. He was assisted by Lala Narsing Das, as Assistant Settlement Officer and four other deputy superintendents. This was first of its kind in the history of Kashmir that land began to be measured with standard measurement before the fixing of revenue. Prior to this land was measured by the amount of seeds required for the land.

Wingate described the land revenue system of Kashmir as ‘ryotwari in ruins’. He rejected measurements and maps of holdings prepared earlier. He adopted the system of measurement that prevailed in Punjab. He implemented the system of demarcating squares for field measurement for the flat areas whereas for uneven land he applied triangulation system. For the measurement of land he used a chain of 55 feet in length, divided into ten karms, each 5 ½ feet long. The maps were drawn to scale of 40 karms or 220 feet to one inch. He used Kanal as the unit of measurement. Thus a systematic work of land measurement started in Kashmir.

The settlement work under Wingate was carried in two tehsil Lal and Phak. After the completion of survey of these areas on 1st August 1887, Wingate submitted

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61 Wingate, op.cit., p.1.
62 Wingate, op. cit., p.3
report of the settlement operation in Kashmir in which he made the following recommendations.\textsuperscript{63}

I. The state demand should be fixed at reasonable rates for a given number of years and a system of accounts should be introduced which could keep tehsildar within limits.

II. Wingate strongly advocated the conferring of hereditary occupancy rights which included the right of sale and mortgage to all persons entered as asāmi at the time of Jamabandi (assessment). However, they would lose the right, if they ceased to pay the stipulated share of state. Moreover, he also proposed that non-cultivating class be entered as occupant only after proper enquiry.

III. While he declared waste lands and water to be Khalisa (state property), he supported collective right of occupancy of village in graveyards, threshing floors, ponds and other similar lands as had been entered against each village as Shamilat-i-Dehat (Common village land) at the time of settlement.

IV. All cultivable waste land should be transferred to those cultivators who were ready to pay revenue as decided at the time of settlement and land would be entered against their names.

V. Jagirs, Maufis and other wholly or partially assignments be entered in settlement records after consulting existing records.

VI. In order to reduce the negative impact of Begar (forced labour) on cultivation, Wingate suggested a fixed number of coolies being requisitioned from each village.

Though all the recommendations submitted by A. Wingate could not get the consent of state, his work laid the foundations for future settlements in Kashmir. His study and report of the area greatly benefitted the future settlement officers in conducting the settlement work in Kashmir.

\textbf{W.R. Lawrence's Settlement Operations in Kashmir}

Sir Walter Roper Lawrence replaced Wingate in 1889 as the Settlement Officer of Kashmir. Lawrence was well acquainted with political services and principles of revenue assessments as he served on various positions in British India before joining

\textsuperscript{63} Wingate, op. cit. p. 34 to 38.
as settlement officer in Kashmir. In 1879, he joined Bengal civil services and then served in Punjab, the Kurram Valley of Afghanistan and Rajputana. In 1885, he was appointed revenue under-secretary to the Punjab government and in 1886 Under-secretary to the government of India in the revenue and agriculture. In Kashmir initially, he was appointed on temporary basis and in 1890, he became the permanent Settlement Officer of the state. He was assisted by two officials of Punjab and one Englishman in his work, Lala Narsing Das, Saiyed Alam Shah and H. L. Rivett. He did a commendable work for which he is still revered in Kashmir. He along with his assistants carried out the settlement work in almost all the teshils of state by personally inspecting each village to study the problem.

At the commencement of his work he stated that there were no records or maps to indicate the holdings of a person and his revenue liabilities. Nor was there a standard measurement of land as it was measured in terms of seeds required for each field. The country was in total confusion.\(^4\) Moreover, initially he had to face the opposition and non-cooperation on the part of officials and people with vested interests. He remarked “Once I commenced inspecting Lal tehsil to form an assessment, Tehsildar, an important revenue official of the time, not only remained absent but also prevented the villagers from communicating with me and through them informed the countryside that I meant to have a new assessment based on the survey records by the end of 1889.”\(^5\) At that time there were several issues which needed due consideration.

I. On whom the occupancy rights should be conferred assami (peasant) or fugitives, who migrated to Punjab and other areas after the famine of 1877, or people who settled in the villages where the assessment was light?

II. How much to be fixed as the state’s share?

III. Whether the assessment should be fixed permanently or for a particular period of time.

\(^{4}\) When I first came to Kashmir in 1889, I found the people sullen, desperate and suspicious. They had been taught by many years that they serfs without any right but with many disabilities. They were called zulumparast (worshipers of tyranny) and every facility was offered to this cult. The system of administration had degraded the people and taken all heart out of the people. .....the revenue was falling off and those in authority were making havoc while the sun shone. Lawrence, op.cit., pp.2-3.

\(^{5}\) Lawrence, op.cit., pp. 424-25.
IV. How to gain the confidence and trust of people who distrusted everything and everybody which is a prerequisite for the successful completion of settlement work?

After the thorough study of all the tehsils Lawrence prepared detailed reports dealing with geography, area, system of cultivation and crop production followed by recommendations.

I. Lawrence, like his predecessor vehemently advocated the grant of hereditary occupancy rights in land to every person at the time of assessment or when the distribution of assessment was effected, who agreed to pay the assessment fixed on the field entered in his name on the settlement papers. However, he did not suggest the right given would include that of sale and mortgage. The reason was that, if such a right was given to the cultivator who was not fully acquainted with the value of land, he could be cheated by the officials and land grabbing persons.66

II. The state demand was fixed for ten years because Lawrence did not want to tie the hands of state for ever and after ten years the magnitude of state share could be revised.67

III. Though Lawrence was in favour of purely cash assessment but due to the opposition of the officials land revenue was fixed partly in cash and partly in kind. Moreover, the miscellaneous taxes that were collected from the peasantry separately on walnut trees, forests and livestock were included in land revenue ponde and sheep taxes were excluded.68

IV. All waste and fallow lands were declared Khalisa lands but the assamis of the village in which these lands were located could have the prior right to acquire them under the rules if they desired. If they failed to retain, these lands then could be acquired by outsiders. No separate land was left for grazing in villages, as in Kashmir grazing fields were abundantly available

68 Lawrence, Valley pp. 437-438.
in mountains and only ten percent of the wasteland was left for collective usage of village.69

V. Regarding forests, Lawrence recommended no restriction. The villagers could freely use the forest products like timber, firewood and grass.70

VI. He recommended Begar (force labour) in its most objectionable form should be abolished.71

VII. Quarterly installments of revenue collection were introduced in Kashmir. Moreover, the revenue was fixed for each holding. Some sections of people with some privileges like Lambardar and Patwari who earlier paid nominal share of their produce were now required to pay the revenue on their holdings according to fertility and irrigation facility.72

VIII. Variations in soil, climatic conditions, irrigation, etc. made it unrealistic to impose a uniform rate of revenue for the whole Kashmir. Keeping in view all these factors Lawrence divided the valley into different assessment circles having more or less same natural features. In each circle estimates of average produce were obtained by conducting crop-cutting experiment for different crops and on the basis of prevailing prices gross estimates for each circle were worked out.73

IX. The intermediary class was abolished and the cultivator was now to pay directly to state and the forces called Nizamat Paltan formed for procuring the state share were disbanded.

X. Lawrence also recommended the appointment of three Mir Chaudhries in every tehsil to assist the Tehsildar. For their services each Mir Chaudhri would receive a Muafi of three Kharwars of Land or 12 acres, of which eight acres would be irrigated.74

69 Lawrence, op Valley. cit., p.427.
70 Ibid
71 Lawrence, Valley, p.451.
73 Lawrence, Valley, p.434.
H.L. Rivett’s Settlement Operation in the Jagirs of Kashmir

In Kashmir Dogra ruler granted some portion of land to the people in lieu of their service or political reason as Jagirs. Soon after taking over the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Maharaja Gulab Singh questioned the legality of Jagirs bestowed in previous regime. Taylor who came to Kashmir in 1847 was deputed to conduct an enquiry on the legality of Jagirs in Kashmir. This resulted confiscation of several Jagirs.75 However, from this time till the end of Ranbir Singh rule there was no inspection of Jagir grants. On other hand new Jagirs and other grants were bestowed for various purposes.76

From 1895 to 1897, H.L. Rivett, Settlement Officer Muzafarabad, under the supervision of Settlement Commissioner Jammu and Kashmir, J.L. Kaye carried the settlement work in Jagirs of Kashmir to eradicate the flaws that had flourished in these Jagir lands. The work was undertaken in Mian Jagir 77 tracts consisted of 64 villages situated in Deosar area of Kashmir and Minor Jagirs comprised of 121 villages held by twenty-five Jagirdars situated in different tehsils of Kashmir.78

1. To improve the conditions of people in Jagir villages, Rivett suggested direct intervention of state in Jagirs. He recommended that fresh sanads should be prepared and issued by Darbar to all Jagirdars. These sanads should explicitly state area of a Jagir, value, terms and conditions under which these grants had been made and continued in future, the system of revenue collection and right to cesses. The sanads should also lay down rules of succession for each Jagir. These rules should be framed so as to ensure fulfillment of the purpose for which the grant was originally made or has now been continued.

77 During Dogra period Rajputs of Jammu were divided into two classes. The first class was called Miân while the second one was known by general name. They were superior and Maharaja himself belonged to this class. The Miân’s Rajputs did not indulge in trade or agricultural activities. They held revenue free lands. Their dwellings were generally isolated from village or within the forest or waste lands. Drew, op.cit., p.48.
This in future would prevent large areas of waste land being appropriated by the Jagirdars.\textsuperscript{79}

II. It was declared that all waste lands whether banjar Jadid (new barren land) or banjar Kadim (old barren land) be entered as khalisa and given out under waste land rules.\textsuperscript{80} While all the waste lands which include grave yards, the village site(abeledi deh), village Khirman(threshing floor) etc should be entered as shamilat Deh. All the un-culturable waste land measured with the villages, with exception of such portions which were entered as shamilat deh should be entered as khalisa area.\textsuperscript{81}

III. It was suggested that the people and the Jagirdars should be entitled to the same privileges in the forests as had been bestowed in all Khalsisa villages.\textsuperscript{82}

IV. It was also cleared that the Jagirdars were mere assignee of state revenue and the tenants in Jagir tracts were as much tenants of the Darbar and entitled to the protection of the Darbar as any other subject.\textsuperscript{83}\textsuperscript{23}

V. Like other tehsils permanent hereditary occupancy rights should be bestowed on every person who at the time of assessment or at the time when the distribution of assessment effected, agreed to pay the assessment fixed on the holding entered in his or her name in the settlement papers. Such occupants would not be evicted till they paid the assessment. However, the right would not be alienable either by sale or mortgage.

VI. The revenue fixed included all taxes except patwari cess of Rs 2, the lamberdari cess of Rs 5 on the revenue collection, pony tax and sheep tax.\textsuperscript{84} Thus, all Jagir lands were brought in line with the land settlement in the rest of valley.

\textsuperscript{81} H.L. Rivett, Assessment Report of the Minor Jagir Villages pp.5-6.
The land revenue settlements proved a landmark in the agrarian history of Jammu and Kashmir. These not only developed a sense of belonging and identity among the cultivators but also relieved them from the servitude to which they were subjected prior to the settlement. Within few years after these land settlements, there had emerged a stable revenue paying peasantry in Kashmir. The revenue was paid regularly without resorting to coercive measures. There were no arrears left with except a sum of Rs 69 due from cultivators who migrated to Punjab after the floods of 1903. No compulsion arose to grant annual remission and suspension till the disastrous floods of 1903 when it became imperative to adopt such measures. Lawrence says that “the peasants paid the stipulated revenue before the date and the tehsil chaprasi (revenue clerk) rarely visited the village for collection”. In spite, of the visitation of cholera of 1892 and disastrous floods of 1893, there was no drastic reduction in land revenue. It was not possible for officials to blackmail the peasants because the revenue was now fixed with no chance for manipulation.

The peasant was also relieved of the extra cesses (Rasum) which he used to pay to a host of officials who were directly or indirectly connected with revenue collection or the Jagirdars. The standard of living of people also witnessed considerable improvement. More and more wastelands were cultivated; fields fenced off, orchards planted, vegetable gardens stocked and mills constructed. When crops ripened peasant reaped them at his own good time and not a soldier ever entered village and old saying “Batta, Batta, Tahpiyadapatta” lost its relevance. Moreover, with the increase in wealth, the peasants were also able to make larger purchases. It also stabilized the revenue of state as it was fixed for ten years. To quote; E. F. Knight, who came to Kashmir in 1890.

While visiting a village Knight observed; “This was once a considerable place but the houses are in ruins and on the wastelands the squares of grass-grown ridges show the borders of former paddy fields. The whole of the inhabitants fled to India during the fatal year 1887. These people are now flocking back. After a year before our visit

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86 Women no longer are seen toiling in the fields for their husbands. They used to be at home to do the work and the Gilgit-its the past thing. Now all eat rice and enjoy salt and luxury of tea and now brass cooking pot is by no means rare”. Lawrence, pp. 2 to 4. See also Younusband, op.cit., p. 192.
87 Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 3-4. It is a Kashmiri saying related to the conditions of peasants which means, “We are asking for food and the revenue or tax collector is after us”.

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there were seven families in the village, we found now thirty families; for during the previous twelve months twenty-three had returned from Punjab, where they were doing well; the report of Mr. Lawrence’s settlement work in their native land and of the security from oppression that was already enjoyed in the districts having reached these exiles.\(^{88}\)

The Indian Census of 1901 census noted that cultivators were better off than before and enjoyed peace and prosperity. Considerable areas had been converted into flourishing fields during the previous decade. The peasant now was not at the mercy of the revenue officials. He was now in a position to sell his surplus grain to urban grain traders. However, it should be noted that the land settlements did not completely refurbish the miserable conditions of peasants and did not created a class of settled peasants. Still they were not granted the permanent proprietary right. Later, in the twentieth century the peasant suffered again and their hardships compelled them to lend their active support to the struggle for freedom against the Dogras in the early thirties.

There was steady increase in the revenues of the state. For example in Kulgam, the demand of revenue as per the regular settlement in 1894 was Rs 2,96, 537 and by the completion of first revision of settlement in 1905 was Rs 3,61,774. Thus there was an increase of 34.2 % in the demand. Later in 1922, the demand was Rs 3,64,341 which indicates the increase of 0.7% since last settlement.\(^{89}\)

In 1898, term of first land revenue settlement began by Wingate and completed by Lawrence’s settlement ended. Revision of settlement work was undertaken by the settlement officers under the supervision of Settlement Commissioner, J. L. Kaye. It was completed in 1905. During the revision, settlement work was mostly carried in the various areas of Jammu like Udampur, Kishtawr and Basoli tehsil of Jasrota Wazarat which were not brought under settlement work during the first regular settlement operation.

In Kashmir during revision, settlement work was undertaken in few khalisa villages left during first settlement. Jagir villages not measured early and in areas broken up since the completion of Lawrence’s settlement work.\(^{90}\) In Kashmir all the

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\(^{88}\)E.F. Knight, *op.cit.*, p. 79.


\(^{90}\)Lala Bhawani Das, *The Review of the Assessment Reports of the Six Tehsils of the Kashmir Valley*, p.25
issues related to land and peasants were settled and measurement and maps of the holding were completed and found excellent. Very few changes were introduced as all important issues had been settled early.

I. The number of assessment circles was reduced from six to three i.e., Kandi, Darmain and Sailabi with more or less uniform natural features in all tehsils except Uttarcchampura where the Sarhadi circle was continued as an extra circle. At the time of first settlement tehsils were divided into six circles Nambal, Salaib, maidani, Darmiani, Sarhadi and Kandi. Now Nambal tract was amalgamated in Salaibi circle and the Maidani was merged in Darmiani.

II. The state share was fixed at 30% of the grass produce besides the cesses which might vary 12 to 25% according to the exigencies of the time. The Darbar would decide to take one-third or half of the Kharif crops in kind.

III. The state would take malikana in Khalisa lands as well as in Jagirs and Maufis at the rate of one anna per rupee of revenue which would be included in revenue demand.

IV. Moreover, it was also decided that the concessions of Rs. 12-8-0 granted to Chakdars in Lal Phak and Sri Pratapsingppura tehsils early would made applicable to all Chakdars in Valley.

In 1905, W. S. Talbot was appointed, Settlement Commissioner of Jammu and Kashmir. Under his supervision settlement operation were mainly carried in the different areas of Jammu region like Udampur, Ramban, Kishtwar, Riasi, Ramnagar, Basholi and Samba tehsils of Jammu province and Kargil tehsil of Ladakh. By 1912 practically every tehsil in the state was settled or assessed either for the first time or in revision. In 1917 A. M. Stow succeeded Talbot as settlement commissioner. From 1920 settlement work was carried in different tehsils of Kashmir by numerous

91 The villages more or less close to the surrounding mountains affected by cold winds and cold water.
92 The fairly level ‘middle tract’ between the two sailabi and kandi circles not affected either by floods or cold.
93 The villages affected by river floods.
94 Lala Bhawani Das, op. cit., p.3
95 Lala Bhawani Das, op.cit., pp. 6-7
96 Lala Bhawani Das, op.cit., pp. 18-19.
settlement officers. The term of assessment was fixed for twenty years and 30% grass produce was fixed as state's share.\textsuperscript{98}

**Land Revenue Assignments**

The land in Kashmir during the second half nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century was considered the property of the state with Maharaja as the sole claimant who had the powers to distribute it. This claim was asserted by most of pre-colonial Indian rulers and survived in native states of India under colonial rule\textsuperscript{99}. The Maharaja granted some portion as *Jagirs* to his officials who rendered different services to the state and to non-officials for various purposes. It led to the concentration of large tracts of land in few hands resulting in large scale farming and the creation of an intermediate class. The rest of the land was assigned to *Zamindars* (Peasants) year after year in proportion to size of the family or as the officials in charge considered suitable.

*Jagirs*: During the Dogra period certain numbers of villages were partially or wholly granted to *Jagirdar* in lieu of the services to the state. The *Jagirdari* system was not a new phenomenon in the agrarian structure of Kashmir. It existed in Kashmir since Mughal period. C. Zutshi says, the institution of *Jagirdari* in Kashmir was used by the Dogras in similar way and for the same purpose like Mughals, Afghans and Sikhs.\textsuperscript{100} During the Dogra regime *Jagirdari* system received fresh impetus. Several additional *Jagirs* were created and the holders were bestowed with more concessions and privileges.\textsuperscript{101} Another prominent and new feature of *Jagirdari* system was the exclusion of natives especially muslims. The holders of *Jagirs* were mostly Non-Kashmiris and Hindus whereas in previous regimes they were mainly Kashmiris both Muslims and Non-muslims. The prominent *Jagirdars* during the reign of Gulab Singh were Pandit Kamal Bhan, Chief record keeper, Munshi Trilok Chand, Chief treasurer, Hakim Azim, Chief physician, Lachman Pandit Dhar, Governor of Kashmir, Wazir Ratnu, Kotwal, Wazir Zorawoo, Commander of Army and Raj Kak Dhar, Chief of Dagh Shawl.\textsuperscript{102} Elmslie who

\textsuperscript{100} Chitraksha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p.72.
\textsuperscript{102} Hangloo, *Agrarian System*, p.83.
was in Kashmir from 1865 to 1868 as missionary, stated there were forty-five *Jagirdars* in Kashmir and only five were Muslims and the rest were Hindus.\(^{103}\) Moreover, Maharajas of Kashmir also bestowed such grants to their relatives, favourites, courtiers and pensioners to perpetuate and consolidate their rule in Kashmir.\(^{104}\)

In 1871, Maharaja Ranbir Singh invited *Mian Rajputs* of Jammu to settle in Kashmir and granted them *Jagirs* in Deosar area of Kashmir. These were known *Mian Jagirs*.\(^{105}\) Mrudu Rai traced the beginning of these grants in 1877, which is contrary to the source.\(^{106}\) The first such grant was bestowed to the Raipuria Mians of Sogam. The main object of the *Main Jagirs* was to encourage the Rajputs to settle in Kashmir for military and political reasons because Maharaja wanted to have a certain body of his own people ready at hand in the event of any disturbances in the valley. After acquiring the grant it was obligatory for them to reside in Kashmir permanently along with their families. These grants were not hereditary but depended on service.

The procedure for acquiring such Jagir was that Mian Rajput calling himself *Sardar or toliwallah*, submitted a petition to Maharaja in Jammu stating that he and a certain number of *sawars* who were also Rajputs with their families and servants were ready to settle in Kashmir. Then Maharaja issued an order to the Governor of Kashmir and directed him to grant land to the petitioner. First, the pay of the Sardar and his *sawars* was fixed in rupees according to the clan to which the grantee belonged.\(^{107}\) Land was assigned in lieu of pay. Half of each grant was cultivable land and half was uncultivable. The grantees were provided wood to build houses. Their sheep and ponies were exempted from taxation and they enjoyed same rights and privileges in the state forests as those of villagers.

In Kashmir, *Jagir* system acted as supportive structure to keep intact the peripheral areas by maintaining law and order there and to ensure a regular supply of

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\(^{103}\) W. Burns Thomson, *op. cit.*, p193.


\(^{106}\) Mrudu Rai, *op.cit.*, p.160

\(^{107}\) The Rajpuria Mians of Sogam received pay ranged from 60 to 30 *chilki* rupees, Jandral Mians 40 to 30 *chilki* rupees and Jasrotia Mians from 30 to 25 *chilki* rupees.
revenue to the state.\textsuperscript{108} The Jagirdars sometimes rendered both civil and military services and sometimes only civil services to the state. The former type of Jagirs were mostly found in remote areas like Muzafarabad, Uri and Punch where Maharaja's access was limited especially in early Dogra period. Punch and Chenani Jagirs which were almost independent were also included in the first category.

A Jagirdar represented state in his Jagir, he was supposed to collect revenue directly from the zamindar (peasant). He collected 75\% of the produce and left only 25\% with the zamindar. Besides, land revenue he also collected various other taxes like grazing tax, forest revenue, income from water mills and judicial fines.\textsuperscript{109} He even collected tax from the state lands which were leased on rent. The Jagirdar also used to appoint village headmen of his choice. Moreover, Jagirdars were also granted the privilege to recover all arrears of Jagir villages. Thus Jagirdar was almost autonomous and acted as virtual monarch in his Jagir. But he had to obey maharaja who was the highest authority and sole owner of the land. He could deprive Jagirdar of the estate granted to him. The result of giving more and more privileges to the feudal class was a gradual deterioration of the economic condition of the peasants. The peasant would surrender all means of living to him and yet the greedy Jagirdar would send men knocking at his door with warrants of attachment.\textsuperscript{110} In several cases Jagirdars realized revenue in grain at a very low commutation rate which was 25\% of the market rate in a normal year. If a river passed through a Jagirdar's land the peasant who fished in the river had to provide fish to the Jagirdar.\textsuperscript{111} The peasant had no voice and he had to bear the burden of this exploitation silently. He became weak whereas the Jagirdar class grew rich and prosperous.\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{108}Due to the poor communication system and mountainous terrain it was difficult to keep abreast of the conditions of people in remote areas and maintain law and order. Moreover the revenue could not be procured smoothly in such areas directly. That is why the Bamoo chiefs of Muzafarabad, Kathia and Dupatta were almost autonomous who was asked to pay its 9000 annually and had to maintain 5000 retainers. The Khaka chief of Buniar, Chikar, Kotli, Dhama and Uri had to maintain 7000 armed troops and pay Rs 14000 as annual revenue. See Hangloo, Agrarian System of Kashmir (1846-1883), Commonwealth Publication, New Delhi, 1995, p.83.
\textsuperscript{110}Afzal Begh, \textit{op. cit.}, p.9.
\textsuperscript{111}Chitralekha Zutshi, \textit{Languages of Belonging}, p.72
\textsuperscript{112}On the Road to New Kashmir, p.1.
Moreover, the Jagirdari system also gave rise to absentee landlordism which further added to the miseries of cultivators. The Jagirdar handed over land to unscrupulous middle men known as Mustajirs who were just revenue contractors. For instance, Dewan Amar Nath farmed out the collection of his Jagir villages in Kamraj district to Aziz Kakru from 1877 and Rish Kaul got the right of revenue collection in his Jagir villages in the Mahraj district until 1891.\textsuperscript{113}

Since the inception of Dogra rule the Jagirs attracted the attention of the higher authorities which resulted in several changes from time to time. Maharaja Gulab Singh with a team of officials headed by Rajkak Dhar, soon after assuming the charge of ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, enquired about the legitimacy of the holders of Jagirs. The Maharaja ordered the general resumption of such Jagirs including Mafis which were not legal. The parameters for such resumptions were laid down by Maharaja himself as is clear by his conversation with Taylor when he visited Kashmir in 1847.

"His point was the people who began as revenue farmers, should not claim the land they held in farms to be Jagirs, that grants once made should be strictly adhered to, that the grantee who were given one acre not be allowed to posses two on the same sanad and that in case of treason, rebellion and gross misbehavior the Jagirs should be liable to confiscation."\textsuperscript{114}

Maharaja Ranbir Singh granted Jagir mostly to Hindus whom he considered competent to consolidate his rule in Kashmir. During the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh especially after colonial intervention several changed were introduced in the agrarian structure in general and that of Jagirdari system in particular. In 1896-97, H.L, Rivett Settlement officer, started the settlement work in Jagirs to eradicate some flaws in the Jagirdari system.\textsuperscript{115} In his report, the Settlement Officer proposed active interference of state in Jagir holdings, along with the specifying of the rights of Jagirdar and tenants on these holdings. As a result, Sanads (Land Deeds) were issued for each Jagir, which specified its precise area and value and the terms and the conditions under which the grant had been made. It was stated in the report that

\textsuperscript{113}Zutshi, Languages of Belonging, p.72.
\textsuperscript{114}Diwan Nursing Das, Tarikh-i-Dogra Desh, p. 630. See also D. N. Dhar, Kashmir-The Land and its Management From Ancient to Modern, Kaishka Publishers, Delhi, 2004, p.85.
Jagirdars were no more than assignees of revenue and were not granted proprietary rights. The tenants in Jagir lands were as much tenants of the darbar and entitled to its protection as any of its other subjects. The report argued that the Jagirdar could not possibly be the tenant but the Jagirdar in the eyes of darbar is the collector or assignee of revenue only. The report also argued that just as the darbar could not be its own tenant in Khalisa villages, so too the Jagirdar could not claim occupancy right that belonged to the peasant. According to this report the Jagirdar had no entitlement to collect cesses or to make the villagers pay for items of expenditure which were purely personal. It was also asserted that the Jagirdar had no right on the wastelands that they had included with their original grant over the years.\textsuperscript{116} Thus, all Jagir lands were brought in line with the land settlement in the rest of the valley.

In 1930 the Jagirs were classified into two categories. The person granted a jagir of Rs. 3000 or above per annum was called Jagirdar and those enjoying a Jagir of below Rs. 3000 were called Pattadars.\textsuperscript{117} In 1931 special privileges were granted to Jagirdars. In cases of additional Jagir in other villages held as his non-proprietary Jagirdar by way of compensation on the conversion of the realization of assigned land revenue from kind to cash, such a Jagirdar was allowed grazing and forest right in other village by way of additional Jagir. The non-proprietary Jagirdars of Ladakh and Gilgit wazarats were given additional jagirs in the province of Jammu and Kashmir province. All those privileges which had so far been conferred only upon the land-owning Jagirdars were also conferred on the non-land-holding Jagirdars. Till 1935, the Jagirdar enjoyed assami right in the land and in 1935 along with tenants they were granted proprietary rights in land.\textsuperscript{118} This seemed due to various factors as there was constant demand by leaders of Kashmir who had raised their voice against the atrocities of the Dogras. G.B Glancy in his enquiry report of 1931 had also advocated the restoration of proprietary rights. However this led to more exploitation of the peasantry as the Jagirdar became more powerful.

\textbf{Muafî:} The Dogra rulers used to give revenue free grants for religious and charitable purposes as was done in previous regimes. They were known as Muafî lands and its holder was known as Muafidar. The intention was to invoke the “Almighty’s

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{117} Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.8
\textsuperscript{118} Afzal Begh, \textit{op.cit.} pp.11-12.
blessing” to strengthen the power over the kingdom. It was the ruler’s whim to determine the occasion for such grants. Under this system land revenue assessed on these lands was remitted in favour of individuals like Brahmins (Pandits), saintly persons and institutions of all religions practised in the state such as, temples, mosques and gurdawars. They enjoyed more or less the same privileges as the Jagirdar. However they did not pay revenue nor rendered any military service. Maufis were of two types - religious and non-religious.

Religious maufis meant for religious institutions like temple, shrines, mosque etc one-third of revenue was received in cash and two-third in kind by Maufidar. In 1848, lands yielding revenue of Rs 84,375 were held as free grants by religious personages and other learned men in Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit languages as maufi grants.  

The revenue of non-religious maufis was either used for construction of public works or assigned to learned persons. In such maufis whole of land revenue was received either in cash or kind or partially in cash or partially in kind. In Kashmir Brahman (Pundit) and Sayyid families were recipients of such grants.

These Maufidars were in quite large number with big chunks of land and they derived all benefits from such grants. The grants being exempted from revenue, sometimes Chakdars listed their Chak lands as maufi and made huge sum of money. The case of Dewan Badri Nath, the governor of Kashmir, is an apt illustration in this regard. He was granted a deserted government garden. He included with it some land he bought from a woman, and declared it assessment free. He was supposed to pay Rs 48 per annum for this land as revenue. Likewise he bought some more land few years later and included it with his earlier plot of land. Thus his land increased but he did not paid increased revenue to the state on the new land which was not actually maufi land.

Mukkarrari: Mukararee grants were introduced in Kashmir in Samvat 1936 (1880 A.D) during the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The holders known as

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120 Afzal Beg, op. cit., pp.15-16
121 Ibid.
122 Zutshi, op.cit., p.74.
Mukkarreedars received the money from the government treasury after the expiry of six months. The holders of such grants were not bestowed the rights of sale and mortgage. It was obligatory to pay the share whether the land was cultivated or not and once stopped they lose the grant. They did little service to the state and hardly paid any attention to the welfare of peasants. They exploited them in every possible way.

Mirza Afzel Beg, the revenue minister in the Sheikh Abdullah’s regime and pioneer of land reforms in Jammu and Kashmir in 1953, called such holders ‘Do Nothings’ and a dead weight on the resources of the state.

Chaks: This grant came into existence in 1862 during Ranbir Singh’s regime. The holders of these grants were mere land-revenue agents of the state with no proprietary rights. They just stood above the common peasant. They were entitled to hold the possession of land under the general name zarniasi Chaks and took away its agricultural produce so long as they paid the state share on such land in due time. They were also supposed to be loyal to the state and obeyed state rules regarding Chaks. They were entitled to half of the produce of the chak. A. Wingate maintained that the purpose of these grants was to bring waste land under cultivation by employing people not already cultivators or by attracting cultivators from the Punjab. In Kashmir during Dogra regime, peasant burdened with heavy taxation and on account of insecurity of land they held were apathetic in cultivating land or they preferred to cultivate the land of influential person. Consequently, considerable cultivable land was annually thrown out of cultivation which was alarm to the state totally depend on revenue as main source of income.

The chakdars were mostly Hindus. They received grant on easy terms. They could import cultivators to cultivate their land or could get them from Srinagar. The revenue was levied on such grants in the following manner.

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123 A. Wingate, op.cit, p 28.
124 Afzel Beg, op.cit., pp.15-16
125 A. Wingate, op.cit., pp. 27-28. See also W.R. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 403
126 Wingate, op.cit, p.27.
127 Lawrence, Position of cultivating class in Kashmir-1890, Foreign Department, N.A.I., p.1
128 Wingate, op.cit., p.28.
Different types of *Chaks* were introduced from time to time. In 1867-68 *Chak-i-Hanudi* were bestowed to Hindus under certain conditions.\(^{129}\) It was laid down that the government cultivators are not to be employed, only waste lands were to be taken, they remain hindus and accepted services nowhere else. The reason behind these grants seems to consolidate Dogra rule in Kashmir by creating a loyal class. Mahajara founded Hindus as the best allies in Kashmiri society for this purpose.\(^ {130} \) They paid under the following assessment:\(^ {131} \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Irrigated land</th>
<th>Dry land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Year</td>
<td>Free</td>
<td>Free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Year</td>
<td>Rs 7</td>
<td>Rs 3 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Year</td>
<td>Rs 8</td>
<td>Rs 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Year</td>
<td>Rs 8 ½</td>
<td>Rs 4 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Year</td>
<td>Rs 9</td>
<td>Rs 4 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Year</td>
<td>Rs 9 ½</td>
<td>Rs 4 ¾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th &amp; 8th Year</td>
<td>Rs 10</td>
<td>Rs 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From 1880, *Ishtihar* chaks were granted.\(^ {132} \) In the same year *Halkari* chaks were granted. These were given in lieu of wages or on lump-sum basis.

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\(^ {129} \) Ibid.


\(^ {131} \) Wingate, op.cit., p.28

\(^ {132} \) Wingate, op.cit., p.29
The relations between Chakdar and the cultivating class were not cordial. The peasant was no way in better conditions and the treatment he received on the part of Chakdar was not satisfactory. However, the only exception which attracts peasants to cultivate the land of Chakdars was the exemption from begar (forced labour).133

**Peasant, Rights and State**

Peasant in agrarian society constituted majority of the total population. The term peasant is used to describe a more or less homogeneous and undifferentiated community of families characterised by small holding operated mainly by family labour. According to Irfan Habib, peasant is a person who under-takes agriculture on his own, working with his own implements and using labour of his family.134

Peasant in Kashmir was known by generic term Zamindar (Gruce) which is prevalent even at present.135 Unlike Indian zamindar of colonial India who used to be the landlord of his area, zamindar in Kashmir was a person having occupancy rights in land he cultivated. Peasantry in Kashmir was the most predominant group that contributed to the social formation of village. During the period under study more than eighty percent of population of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir lived in rural areas that directly or indirectly were connected with agriculture.136 Village represented feature of diversified socio-economic whole which produced more or less everything that was required to fulfil their needs. Such kind of self-sufficiency was rendered possible by the co-existence and interrelation of a host of social groups residing in each village like blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, weavers, and potters who generally engaged in manufacture and repaired implements used in agricultural activities and other products for market. Peasants in-turn provided food stuffs to these non-agricultural groups (Nangars).

Peasants were Muslims as well as non-muslims who together owed their association to several castes, though one particular zamindar caste was eminent in each village. The Muslim held 75% to 88% of the total cultivable land in different

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135 The term Zamindar in Kashmir had meaning different from other parts of the Indian subcontinent. In valley the term denoted not an intermediary class of revenue collectors but the cultivator themselves. See Mridu Rai, *op.cit.*, p.150.
136 Ganga Ram, *op.cit.*, p.73
tehsils and pundits held from ½% to 1% in Kashmir. The pundits generally cultivate their lands through tenants. The rest of the land was held by Gujars who resided mostly in kandi areas where good grazing was available them for their livestock which was their main source of survival. The Sikhs also held some villages especially in Vihu tehsil. They were exempted from begar.\footnote{W.R. Lawrence, \textit{Assessment Report of Ulla Vihu Tehsil}, 1891, Micro Film, Nehru Memorial Measum and Library, New Delhi, p.4. See also Lala Bhawani Das, \textit{Review of the assessment reports of six tehsils of Kashmir valley}, J.K.S.A., J.R, p. 6} According to the census of 1911 in Kashmir there were three types of peasants.\footnote{M.D. Matin-Uz-Zaman Khan, op.cit., p.8. In the first category all land was owned by the state and the landholder was having only the right of occupancy as against so long as they paid their dues but no right of alienation by sale or montage. The second category had occupancy rights of land under a proprietor and could not be ejected without special reason. Their rights were hereditary and could be sold with permission of land lord. The third category of peasants worked as wage labourers in the lands of landlords and were also employed by the pundits to cultivate their lands.}

a. Those holding land directly from the state.

b. Mustaqal Kashtars-those holding land in occupancy.

c. Sub-tenants

In his note on the review of the assessment reports of six tehsils of Kashmir valley Lala Bhawani Das, stated in 1905, that in valley most of the land was held by assamis, from ½ to 1% by occupancy tenants and from 16 to 20 percent by tenants-at-will.\footnote{Lal Bhawani Das, \textit{op. cit.}, p.6.} The rest was held by Jagirdars and other assignees like Maufidars, chakdars etc.

In Kashmir where agriculture and its related activities formed the backbone of the economy, peasant was a producing machine whose produce was a source of food to a large artisanal class, city populace and officials. He not only specialized in agriculture cultivation but practised multiple occupations in different season. About the peasant of Kashmir Lawrence stated, “Kashmiri Musalman cultivator was extremely ingenious and can turn his hand to anything from rice cultivation to rope-making. He raised first rate vegetables, understands grafting, made excellent blankets and baskets and in general is more dexterous than the Indian cultivator. But he is sullen and hopeless”.\footnote{From W.R. Lawrence to Colonel R.P. Nisbet, Resident of Kashmir dated, 13\textsuperscript{th} November, 1889, Foreign Department, Secret-E, February 1891, No.295-326. P. 18.}
The peasants employed primitive methods of farming. Their tools were simple and few.\textsuperscript{141} The peasants undertook some subsidiary crafts also such as manufacturing of Pattu, cloth weaving, needle-work, wicker making, basket making, spinning, tanning, oil pressing, pottery making, silkworm rearing, sheep raising etc to supplement his earnings.\textsuperscript{142} Such operations were seasonal and were undertaken in leisure time between the harvest of one crop and the sowing of another and during the winter when all agricultural activities came to halt. Some people went to neighbouring Punjab to work as coolies or any other work.

From ages economic position of peasant class was not better in Kashmir. In Dogra period it continued to be the same. Though they were producers the irony was that they were not able to feed themselves even for more than six months. Coarse rice and sag constituted their main food. Where paddy cultivation was restricted due to uneven terrain and lack of irrigation facilities, maize constituted their main item of food. Even in certain parts of Kashmir they lived on aquatic products especially the people who lived around the lakes. Hassan Khoihami, a contemporary of Dogra rulers mentioned that the people of Bandipora, Hajan and Sopore tehsils rather the entire population of lower regions consumed boiled singhara (water nuts) as food.\textsuperscript{143}

Though theoretically the revenue demand was one-half of the produce but in practice it was more than one-third of the produce. Besides the legal taxes, the peasant in Kashmir had to pay additional share on one pretext or another. Lawrence has termed these extra cesses as Rasum.\textsuperscript{144} Moreover, the magnitude of taxation was such that even sometimes the actual village assets fell short of their revenue liabilities. The liabilities were met from different assets other than crops like sheep were sold, blankets were sent to the city etc.\textsuperscript{145} Wingate maintained that the system of revenue was such that whether the cultivator works much or little, he is left barely enough to get along on till next harvest.\textsuperscript{146}

Although Ranbir Singh abolished certain taxes like trakee and marriage tax and made reduction in land revenue but it still did not reduce burden on the peasantry

\textsuperscript{141} Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, p.331
\textsuperscript{142} Ganga Ram, op.cit., p.78. See also E.F Knight, op.cit., P.77
\textsuperscript{143} Hassan Khoihami, \textit{op.cit.}, vol. II, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{144} Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, p.415.
\textsuperscript{145} Lawrence, \textit{Position of cultivating class in Kashmir-1890}, p.1
\textsuperscript{146} Wingate, \textit{op.cit.}, p.26. See also Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, p. 272
of Kashmir.\textsuperscript{147} This situation continued with more or less change throughout the Dogra Period. Even after the penetration of British in the affairs of Kashmir who seemed people oriented peasants lived hard life. The weekly Kaiseri from Srinagar, dated 31 January, 1937 mentioned that income of peasants from two kanals of land was thirteen rupees while the expenditure was fifteen rupees after taking all things into consideration.\textsuperscript{148}

This period saw many changes especially in agrarian economy. Many new land revenue assessment experiments were implement from time to time and regular settlement work to overhaul the chronic deterioration of agrarian economy and to improve the condition of peasant class in particular were started with colonial intervention. But these hardly succeeded in creating a stable peasant class in Kashmir.

Natural calamities too played a great role in deteriorating the condition of peasants in Kashmir. During nineteenth century and twentieth century Kashmir was affected by various natural calamities. The famine and floods in this regard are most important. They caused deterioration of crops besides human loss. The famine of 1878-79 was mostly deadly. This was caused due to excessive rain which continued several months. The crops rotted in the field. In spite of some relief measures by the government the situation was too much deteriorated and the peasants migrated to Punjab in search earnings. Regarding the intensity of loss and impact of famine of 1877-79 Lawrence writes;

\begin{quote}
"A number of chief valleys to the north were entirely deserted, whole villages lay in ruins, some suburbs of the city were tenantless, the city itself half destroyed, the graveyards were filled to overflowing, the river had full of corpses thrown into it. It is not likely that more than two-fifth of the people of the valley now survived."\textsuperscript{149}
\end{quote}

The floods of 1893 too created havoc in the valley. It occurred when the crops were in initial stage of growth and first stage of weeding had not started. The fields in the affected areas were submerged. As result the crops were destroyed and state lost Rs 64,804 in land revenue.\textsuperscript{150} The chronic deterioration in agriculture and in condition

\textsuperscript{147} Narsing Das, op.cit., pp.-671-80.
\textsuperscript{148} Kaiseri, No-5, Jald-4, Srinagar, 1937. Peerczada Mohammad Ashraf’s Personal Collection, P.10.
\textsuperscript{149} Lawrence, Valley, p.224
\textsuperscript{150} Lawrence, Valley., p.205
of peasants was more due to the intermediary class who tried every means to squeeze the blood of peasants.

Moreover, the peasant was subjected to begar (forced labour). Although Gulab Singh tried to rationalise it by selecting a fixed number of coolies from the village and gave one kharwar of rice per month and two times meal for those who were actually employed for the state work and half kharwar to those who could not be used.\(^{151}\) But this hardly benefitted the peasant, state official still used them in their own works like weeding or watering of paddy, cleaning of houses etc, which was not rectified by the state. As a result, the peasants remained away from their fields at sowing time and at the time of harvest.\(^{152}\) Consequently, his fields remained fallow but still had to pay the stipulated dues to the state. It was also a source of fear among people who always tried to escape from this by migrating to landlord’s field. Wingate and Lawrence strongly condemned it and advocated its total abolition. As a result in 1892, begar was officially abolished in its most objectionable form. But it was finally abolished 1920-21. However, we have evidence which indicate its existence even after 1920. In 1924, during the visit of Lord Harding to Kashmir some prominent Muslim leaders besides other things demanded the abolition of begar\(^{153}\) and likewise in 1931 G.B Glancy recommended its abolition in all forms. Lawrence says that the peasant could hide the grain for survival but he could not hide himself from begar. This had a negative impact on agriculture.

No doubt, in the absence of adequate means of transport, all weathered roads and special labouring class it was exigency of the time to employ the peasant for carrying the state carriage and other commodities to distant areas. But had it undertaken uniformly and irrespective of class and caste, it would not have affected the peasant so badly. There was discrimination as Pandits, Sikhs, Pirzads, Gujars and cultivators working in lands assigned to official as Jagirs and other purposes were exempted from this labour.

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\(^{151}\) Narsing Das, *Tarikh-i-Dogra Desh*, p.631.

\(^{152}\) Charles Girdlestone, *op. cit.*, p.31.

\(^{153}\) The leaders were Khawaja Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Naqashbandi Jagirdar, Mir Waiz Kashmir Maulvi Ahmad Ullah of jama Masque, Khawaja Maqbool Pandit, etc. See M. Ishaq Khan, *Perspective on Kashmir-Historical Dimensions*, Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, pp. 141-42
Peasant and their Rights

During Dogra period structure of state was feudal in character which had a great bearing on the agrarian relations.\footnote{154} Under this system ruler was the sole claimant of land which was partly given as grants and partly held by cultivator called Assāmi so long as he paid dues called Malikana.\footnote{155} The word Assāmi in Kashmir is very old. Assāmi may be defined as man recognized by the state as the lawful occupant of land in Kashmir. However, since Mughal era from the point of view of the state the status of Assāmi in theory meant nothing more than a tenant-at-will. But in villages, the Assāmi was a man in whom vested the miras or hereditary right to certain plot of good and irrigated land within the boundaries of villages.\footnote{156}

The transfer of Kashmir to Gulab Singh for seventy-five Nank Shahi rupees in 1846 through a historic truce signed at Amritsar had developed conviction in Dogra Maharaja that he had purchased Kashmir and he treated Kashmir as his personal estate. He declared all land in his subjugated territories of Kashmir and frontier Illaqa like Gilgit and Ladakh belonged to him and the cultivator of land were simply tenants at will.\footnote{157} However, the case of frontier areas was different where the source of ownership of land was defined by conquest whereas in Kashmir it was 'purchase'. He even claimed his right over residential areas. This is evident from Gulab Singh's response given to a lady when she complained about the confiscation of land by an official.

Once Gulab Singh on his tour for inspection in valley, a lady complained him, “We are hereditary residents of Kashmir since long and we had built a pakka house, but a sepoy demolished the house saying he would build a house for himself on the spot.” The Maharaja replied, “the land owner is someone else, the Nizam (Hakim Ala) or the Hakim (koiwal) who can built a house, he is only the owner of material (stone, bricks, wood, etc) and not of land.”

\footnote{155} E. F. Neve, Beyond the Pir Panjal, p. 57. See also Shakti Kak, op.cit., p.72
\footnote{158} Mirza Safi-ud-Din, Akhbarat Vol. I, 1853, f.142
Moreover, the people did not possess any right in waste land and the only right which the villager had in waste land was that he could plant trees on such lands and was the owner of the trees and not of land. Thus it can be said that the people of Kashmir during the early Dogra period were deprived of all rights on land and were mere tenants at will.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh and Maharaja Pratap Singh also imbibed this conviction. Maharaja Pratap Singh in a letter to his Governor (Hakim Aala) wrote;

As you are already aware of the propriety rights in all lands of Kashmir belonged to the ruling chief executive for the simple reason that the territories of Kashmir were purchased by my late grandfather, Maharaja Gulab Singhji and hence any sale of such land by anyone else is illegal.

These transformed agrarian relations in Kashmir ended a series of legally guaranteed rights and privileges enjoyed by the Kashmiri peasant in previous regimes which if nothing else, sufficed to instill 'confidence' and developed a sense of 'belongingness' to land in the peasant. Thus peasants of Kashmir as well as frontier illaqas were deprived of propriety rights. In rest of India situation was also quite contrary where different settlements had been introduced earlier. Jammu province that too formed a part of Maharaja's dominion was dissimilar to Kashmir so for as the proprietary rights were concerned. Here no doubt, in some parts, the state was owner of land but in other areas the land was owned by private proprietors with all rights of mortgage, sale and transfer. Whereas in Kashmir, it was totally different where the cultivator was mere producing machine, possessing neither proprietary right

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159 Lawrence, Valley, p. 426
160 In the introductory part of the Dastul-ul-Amal sanctioned by him in samvat 1939(1883) for the guidance of his successors, he laid down, "the state has been created by my honoured father, the late Maharaja Bahadur (Gulab Singh) which is confirmed by the treaty of 16th March 1846 in our possession, without anybody else having any claim on it." Pratap Singh in a letter to his Chief Minister dated 13th December, 1918, wrote, "as you are already aware the proprietary rights in all lands of Kashmir belonged to ruling chief exclusively for the simple reason that the territories were purchased by my late grandfather, Maharaja Gulab Singh Ji and hence any sale to such land by anyone else is illegal". See Dhar, op.cit., p.114
164 Ganga Ram, op.cit., p.76.
nor occupancy right.\textsuperscript{165} Even in Kashmir discrimination was on the grounds of religion as well. In Hindu dominated villages, Hindus were landlord while the Muslims were the toiling sons of the soil.\textsuperscript{166}

The question of propriety rights was more evident in the \textit{Jagirs} where the \textit{jagirdar} who himself held the land for certain consideration from the Maharaja evicted the peasant whenever he wished so.\textsuperscript{167} \textit{Pattadars} who come into existence during Maharaja Hari Singh’s period were merely assignee of land revenue but acted as owners of land in his \textit{jagir} and the cultivator as mere tenant.\textsuperscript{168} The \textit{chakdar} no doubt, was privileged person above the level of common people and enjoyed the ownership over the holdings but were subjected to the payment of certain fee to the original owner i.e. the Maharaja evicted the peasant.

With the implementation of \textit{Assamiwar Khewat or ryotwari} Settlement in 1873, peasant no doubt, enjoyed \textit{assāmi} rights and was made responsible for the payment of state’s share directly but once he desisted payment of \textit{milikana}, he was liable to eviction.\textsuperscript{169} This only confirmed him the right of occupancy and not to sell or mortgage the land he cultivated.

With the colonial intervention in the form of appointment of British resident in Kashmir in 1885, the land relation in Kashmir witnessed some transformation. The first settlement officer A. Wingate stressed the importance of transfer of proprietary rights to the cultivator as a pre-condition for the growth and development of agrarian economy and prosperity of cultivator. He stated “the Darbar cannot protect itself without the assistance of the cultivators nor was any land settlement likely to last which did not engage the sympathies of agricultural population in the support of state population. This assistance and sympathy could only won by conferring upon the cultivator possession of the land they tilled.”\textsuperscript{170} He advocated proprietary rights which

\textsuperscript{165} Wingate, op. cit., p. 28. See also Glancy, op.cit, p. 27
\textsuperscript{166} Malik Fazil Hussain, \textit{Kashmir aur Dogra Raj [1846-1931]}(Urdu), Gulshan Publication, Srinagar,1931, pp. 132-33
\textsuperscript{167} C. Zutshi, \textit{Languages Belonging}, PP. 71-72.
\textsuperscript{170} Wingate, op.cit., p.34
included right of sale and mortgage to all persons entered as asāmi at the time of Jamabandi (assessment). Wingate restricted the right of sale or mortgage to cultivating class. The sale or mortgage of land to a person not cultivating himself was required to get sanction and registered by an office specially constituted for the purpose. He was liable to punishment on eviction. Moreover, with regard to Chakdars and other grantees, he also proposed that these classes be entered as occupants of land only after proper enquiry and orders by the Maharaja.\footnote{171}

W.R. Lawrence who carried extensive assessment work in almost all the tehsils of Jammu and Kashmir State from 1899 to 1933 made recommendation in favour of restoration of proprietary right to the assāmi in lands he held and cultivated. Moreover some privileged landholder like chakdars and mukarraidars who had acquired land under from state through deeds, were recognized as assāmi though at the privileged revenue rates. This right was conceded on arable land alone. Waste and follow land was declared khalisa. The rights of villagers with regard to forest land were retained as their privilege keeping in view their needs like timber for fuel and building material. Moreover through this settlement the people who left the valley during 1877-79 fearing the devastated famine were to be considered as assāmis whenever they would return. \footnote{172}

However, he did not advocate the right of sale and mortgage. The reason was that he was well acquainted with Kashmiri cultivator’s consciousness regarding the value of land. The cultivator could be trapped by land grabbing person like money lenders called Sahukars at ease who were very active in Kashmir. This fear even existed later on and that is why soon after the grant of proprietary rights to peasants by Maharaja Hari Singh in 1933, ‘Alienation and Right to Prior to Purchase Act’ was passed. This act restrained the land owner from alienating the land beyond one-fourth of his holding for first ten years.

H. L Rivett Settlement officer of Muzafarabad who conducted settlement operation in Jagirs of Kashmir, declared tenants in Jagir lands were as much tenants of the darbar and entitled to protection as any of its other subjects. Besides, just as the darbar could not have its own tenants in Khalisa villages, so too the Jagirdar could

\footnote{171}{Ibid}
\footnote{172}{W.R. Lawrence, Assessment Report of Ich-Nagam Tehsil, 1889, p.10. See also Lawrence, Assessment Report of Ullar Vihu Tehsil, 1891, P.11.}

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not claim occupancy right that belonged to peasant. 173 According to this report the Jagirdar had no privilege to collect taxes which were not sanctioned by state or to make the villagers pay for items of expenditure which were purely personal. In 1923, the Maharaja passed the Land Revenue Regulation. 174 The tenants were divided into four categories.

1. Those having possession of land before or in the year 1880.
2. Those gaining possession of land between 1880 and 1894.
3. Those gaining possession of land between 1894 and 1906.
4. Those gaining possession of land after 1906.

Tenants who were not occupancy tenants were declared as protected tenants under these regulations. No tenant could be ejected from land, except if he rendered the land unfit for cultivation or failed to pay the arrears of rent in spite of a decree passed for such payment or had sublet the land or if the landlord required the land for his personal cultivation. The landlords were restrained from ejecting the tenants under the plea of taking the land for personal cultivation. Only those landlords whose holdings did not exceed four acres Abi (irrigated) or six acres of Khushki (dry) could take only two acres of Abi and six acres of Khushki including the land which they held in personal cultivation by ejecting the tenants. Maharaja Pratap Singh issued another regulation for the protection of cultivators. According to this law, holders of Nautor Najais were declared tenants-at-will and the arrears were ordered to be collected immediately. Nautor Najais holders in jagirs or patta villages were also declared as assamis. 175 These measures of Pratap Singh benefited the cultivators. During the reign of Hari Singh the tenants on account of these measures began to lay claim to their lands as legitimate peasants.

In 1931, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah assumed the leadership of the struggle against the atrocities of Dogras. Beside other things he demanded the restoration of occupancy right to cultivators. Moreover, the Glancy Commission headed by G.B. Glancy, an English, which was appointed to enquire into the grievances and complaints of people, recommended restoration of occupancy rights to the people as well as the right of sale and mortgage throughout the state and the reduction of

174 Dhar, op. cit., pp. 145-46
175 Ibid
Consequently, in 1933, proprietary rights (Hak-i-milkiyat) including the right of sale and mortgage were conferred to such occupants of land throughout the state who enjoyed the assami right prior to the enforcement of Lawrence's settlement and also abolished Hak-i-Malikan (Proprietary dues) and other levies including Nazrana.\textsuperscript{177} It was for the first time during the Dogra regime that the peasant (zamindar) was declared owner of land with full rights. However, these rights were not restored in respect to all types of lands. The issue of rights of peasants working under different landlords remained unsolved.

The leaders of Kashmir freedom struggle were not satisfied with these measures; they wanted an autonomous peasantry with full rights in all lands. In 1933, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in his presidential address to the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference session demanded restoration of permanent proprietary rights to the peasantry on all types of lands—Jagir, Khalisa, Chak, Shamlatan and Kacharia. Likewise, Chaudhari Guhlam Abbas, in his presidential address to the session of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in 1935 stressed the need of restoring full ownership rights in all lands, upgrading the assam-i-war list and condoning their debt. The grant of right in respects of all land also remained on the agenda of P. N. Bazaz who raised his voice against the excess of Jagidar's exactions on the peasants.

After the conversion of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference into National Conference in 1939, it framed a comprehensive and broad plan for socio-economic and political reconstruction of Jammu and Kashmir known as Naya Kashmir or New Kashmir Manifesto. Article 50 of the manifesto is exclusively devoted to peasants and is also called 'Peasant charter'. It envisaged end of landlordism, all feudal dues and levies which included Begar in any form, transfer of land to the cultivators, abolishing debt, providing for agricultural credit and relief to withstand calamities and avail facilities in terms of irrigation, fertilizers, agriculture tools, planting of crops, health care, sanitation etc. Most interesting feature of the charter was the provision 'Land to the tiller' as prerequisite for pulling them out

\textsuperscript{176} G.B. Glancy, op.cit., p. 52
\textsuperscript{177} Ganga Ram, op.cit., p.76.
constant penury and destitution. Thus, 'he who tills the land shall reap its produce' was the slogan of the programme announced by the National Conference as the basis of its state policy in a future constitution of the state in 'New Kashmir.' But this pro-peasant programme of welfare measure could saw its implementation only after the end of Dogra rule under Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's regime in the form of the abolition of big landed estates in 1948 through the enactment of Big Land Estates Act and Land reforms of 1953 which was a great contribution and gift of the Sheikh Abdullah's regime to the people of Kashmir.

Thus it is evident that during the Dogra rule the economic structure was feudal in character where Maharaja was the sole claimant of land and the landlords with some rights represented the state in their estates and the peasant was deprived of basic right to land till at least 1933. He was exploited everywhere and lived a life of destitution and hardships which kept him backward economically, socially and educationally. No doubt, the period under review saw tremendous change in so far as the agrarian system and reforms were concerned. Not only the land settlement supervised by land experts from British India, were brought into effect and certain devices were adopted to improve the administration of state but these hardly benefitted the peasant or alleviated his condition. The landlords continued to form the upper stratum of agrarian and social structure with many privileges in rural Kashmir. This changed only after 1948.

Structure and Magnitude of Land Revenue Demand

During Dogra period there were three types of villages in Kashmir. First those assigned to *Jagirdars*. The revenue of these went to *jagirdar* who was supposed to perform certain duties for the state. Second, Dharmath villages, the revenue of these villages has been assigned for the maintenance of religious centers like temples etc. Up to the first regular settlement these villages were managed by the separate department. Third, *khalisa* villages, these villages paid their revenues direct to the state and were not encumbered with charges for the individual or institutions.\(^{179}\)

Land revenue demand was less oppressive in the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh compared to his predecessors [Sikhs]. Under Sikhs the land revenue demand was exorbitant and cumbersome.\(^ {180}\) The Sikh rulers fixed the state’s share generally at the rate of one-half of the *Kharif* crops and four *traks* per *kharwar*.\(^ {181}\) On *rabi* and *Kimiti* crops the state’s share was one-half and three *trakhs* instead of four *trakhs* levied on *kharif* crops under the name of extra cesses. For *kharif* and *rabi* revenue was levied in kind and for *Kimiti* crops, it was taken in cash. But above this share, cultivator paid a number of cesses. The *patwari* and *kanango* took ½ of a *trak*. *Nazarana* was levied four times a year and *tombol* (about 2%) was taken on the occasions of marriages in the ruler’s family. Besides, the cultivator had also to feed *Shakdar* who used to watch the crop.\(^ {182}\) Thus the total share of the state was not less than three-fifth of the gross produce and only less than two-fifth or about one-third remained with cultivator.\(^ {183}\)

The state under Maharaja Gulab Singh levied land revenue mostly in kind at the rate of one-half of the produce on both *kharif* and *rabi* crops. In addition to this peasant had to pay many additional shares like three *traks* on every *Kharwar* as *trakee* and *Kurch* and *abwabs* on his share.\(^ {184}\) Thus the total demand amounted to two-third

\(^ {179}\) From Lawrence to Col. Nisbet, dated 2\(^ {nd}\) December, 1889, Foreign Department, Nos. 296-326. P.24.

\(^ {180}\) Moorcroft who remained in Kashmir from 1823 to 1826 noted that one-sixteenth of the cultivable land was lying barren because many farmers unable to stand against the exorbitant taxation imposed by the Sikh rulers had quite their occupation. Even G. T. Vinge who visited Kashmir in 1835 furnished a similar description of Kashmir. Moorcroft, *op.cit.*, p. 124


\(^ {182}\) Ibid.

\(^ {183}\) Ibid.

\(^ {184}\) *Political Diaries*, p. 31. See also Diwan Kripa Ram, *Gulsar-i-Kashmir* (Persian), pp. 256-57. See also E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, p. 63.

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of the produce and only one-third was left with the peasants. The system of trake and abwabs were not the innovations of Dogra rule. These extra cesses were introduced during the Sikh rule in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{185} In 1847, Taylor urged Raj Kak to reduce khurch and abwabs. He also recommended that the present numerous items of khurch and abwabs which are so complicated that it was too difficult to understand an individual’s liabilities, should be amalgamated into one or two rukums.\textsuperscript{186} Three-quarters of rice, maize millets and buckwheat and nine-sixteenth of cash crops like oil-seed, pulses and cotton as state’s share continued till 1860.\textsuperscript{187}

Minor concessions were granted in respect to newly converted waste land into cultivation. From these lands peasants had to dispatch one-third of their harvest as government share.\textsuperscript{188} The objective was probably to encourage peasants to bring more and more lands under cultivation which remained out of cultivation for many years on account of oppressive taxation policy of Sikhs. This would ensure more revenues to the state. However, in respect of Jagir villages peasants had to pay at different rate. For example in Kountra village near Baba Rishi held as Jagir by Raja Muzaffer Khan besides half of the produce only one trak per Khwarwar was taken as trakee and abwabs. No mobiya was given and they were also exempted from beggar.\textsuperscript{189}

Certain concessions were given also to few classes like Pandits, Pirzads and Sayid who had to pay only two trak per kharwar of the extra four traks, in case where they cultivated the land. However, in case of rabi and krimiti crops, all the classes of cultivators were taxed alike.\textsuperscript{190}

In early 1846, the total revenue receipts acquired from various items was Rs.24, 30,000. Out of this the total amount procured from peasants as land revenue was worth of Rs.12, 00,000.\textsuperscript{191} At the close of first year rule of Maharaja Gulab Singh the total revenue of Kashmir province was Rs 84, 30,000 which was three times more than the revenue collected during the governorship of last Sikh governor sheikh.

\textsuperscript{185} Charles Gridlestone, op.cit., p.34. Trake was a system of exacting one or more trak of six seers over and above the fixed share. See also Kashmir Affairs, Foreign Department, July 1890, N.A.L., No.221-230. P.15. See also Foreign Department, February 1874, Nos. 271-78, p.6.
\textsuperscript{186} \textit{Political Diaries}, p.80-81
\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Lawrence, Assessment Report of the Lal Phak Tehsil}, p.2.
\textsuperscript{188} Wingate, op.cit., p. 19
\textsuperscript{189} \textit{Political Diaries}, P.207
\textsuperscript{190} Wingate, op. cit., p. 18
\textsuperscript{191} Ganesh Lal, op. cit., p. 39

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Imam-ud-din’s which was Rs 33, 92,000. In 1847, the total land revenue of Kashmir province was estimated Rs 31, 93,000. Next year revenue collection from different parganas of Kashmir was as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parganas</th>
<th>Revenue in Kharwars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kuhama</td>
<td>34,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamraj,Krohin,Teligam,Khui and Narwa</td>
<td>32,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anantnag,Kathar,Martand,Deosar &amp; kharwarpora</td>
<td>1,37,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ichh and Baldo</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machahama</td>
<td>39,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bira (Birwa)</td>
<td>52,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakh</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahabad</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraspura</td>
<td>37,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawara, Zainapur, Siur and Vihu</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1061000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1850, Mirza Saifuddin classified the charges which a peasant was required to pay into four categories state share of revenue, Rasum, additional state collection and taxes freely paid by cultivator himself. In 1855 owing to the rain, crops were damaged in Kashmir and Zamindars were provided seeds and taccavi assistance. Moreover, six manato were reduced.

Ranbir Singh’s rule saw many changes in land revenue demand. Ranbir Singh abolished old regulation that if anyone failed to pay revenue he was arrested and it was laid down that a person against whom revenue remained should be punished and not his successors or relatives. In 1857, Maharaja Ranbir Singh reduced one trak on Sarkasti and two manwats on piakasht lands. In 1860, 16, 40000 chilki rupees were remitted. In 1861, the total land revenue collected from Kashmir province was Rs 15, 00,000. In 1862, land revenue was estimated 962057 chilki rupees.

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193 D.C. Sharma, *Kashmir, Agriculture and land Revenue system under Sikh,* p. 46
195 C. Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging,* p. 64.
196 Rasum was the revenue extracted by government officials associated with revenue collection from the peasants as their personal share. It was not having any state sanction and thus was an illegal tax.
197 G. N. Khanyari, op.cit., p.258.
198 Ranji Dhar, op.cit., f.6
200 Hassan, op.cit., V.2, p.575.
201 Lawrence, *Valley,* p. 235
traks per kharwar were remitted on all pandits and pirzadas in 1865.203 Such concessions were meant to cultivate the loyalty of these classes to ensure the smooth transition to a Dogra kingdom and its consolidation in much the same way as British needed either the adherence or quiescence of similar groups to ensure the emergence as colonial power in the late eighteenth century India.

T. D Forsyth, Officiating Secretary to the Punjab Government in 1863, recorded that collection of taxes in Kashmir was realized both in kind and cash. The revenue was taken in cash with respect to wheat, barley, mussoor, flax, oorud, tel, moong and cotton at the rate of one-half estimated value of gross produce. According to him, total land revenue of Kashmir in the same year amounted in company’s rupees 17, 73,632.204 According to him the share of produce which a cultivator remitted as land revenue and other shares consisted of following.205

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government share</th>
<th>¼ of the produce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trakee</td>
<td>1 trakh per kharwar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qunungo</td>
<td>1 manuwar per kharwar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patwari</td>
<td>1 manuwar per kharwar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zilladar or Chokidar</td>
<td>1 manuwar per kharwar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russoom khidmutgari</td>
<td>6 traks per 100 kharwars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious grants to temples</td>
<td>7 traks per 100 kharwars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Robert Thorp, who came to Kashmir in 1865-66 and remained till 1868, stated that out of 32 traks of produce, peasant of Kashmir paid following shares on both rabi and kharif crops.206

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203 Wingate, op. cit., p. 19

204 Forsyth’s Note on Jammu and Kashmir, 1863, Foreign Department, July, 1863, No.73-75, N.A.I, p.4

205 Ibid.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Rabi Crops</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Kharif Crops</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agency</strong></td>
<td><strong>Traks</strong></td>
<td><strong>Seers</strong></td>
<td><strong>Agency</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government share</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Government share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgowal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>Mundeer tax (temple)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaqdar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Patwari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarouzodar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>¾</td>
<td>Hurkara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurkar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>Shaqdar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patwari</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>Surgowal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>51/3</td>
<td>Servants of Kardar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tarouzodar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above tables it is evident that a major portion of the cultivator’s produce was taken as government’s share and official share and he was left with a meagre portion of produce in spite of his great toil in the fields.

In 1869, Maharaja came to Kashmir and ordered remission of two traks from the muzwaza of six traks. The amount was about fifty-two thousand kharwars. Moreover, 3, 12990 rupees were remitted out of the revenue in arrears. In samvat 1927 (1871) Maharaja made some reduction in trakee. In the same year the Government’s share on different crops was estimated as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Value of government share of rice</strong></th>
<th><strong>Chilki Rupees</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revenue in cash</td>
<td>9,44,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabacco</td>
<td>4,96,741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opium</td>
<td>40,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saffron</td>
<td>1,56,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>34,656</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total land revenue in 1871 was Rs. 27, 75,990 excluding the revenue of Jagirs held by Raja Amar Singh and Raja Ram Singh and the revenue of 59.490 per annum from 57 villages of Shopian and Deosar parganas. The revenue of these villages was conferred upon Mian Rajputs of Jammu. Froster, who was on a medical mission in Kashmir in 1873, stated that the revenue of Kashmir amounted between two to three

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207 Hassan, op.cit., V.2, p578.
208 Ramju Dhar, op.cit., f. 10
209 Wingate, op.cit. p. 19
210 Lawrence, Valley, p. 236
211 Saraf, op. cit., p. 298
hundred thousand pounds. Next year (1874) total revenue collected both in cash and kind on different crops and other products in the wazarats of Kashmir was Rs 3412034. Out of which the cesses on different occupations and products amounted Rs18507 and the rest constituted the land revenue and other exactions taken from the peasants produce. The revenue collected from the wazarats was as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wazarat</th>
<th>Revenue Collected in Cash</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shahr -Khas (Srinagar)</td>
<td>Rs. 545325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anantnag</td>
<td>Rs. 633667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattan</td>
<td>Rs. 444112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamraj</td>
<td>Rs. 612004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzafarabad</td>
<td>Rs. 123664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 2358772</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1875, the harvest was very poor but no reduction was made in land revenue demand. The state took its share as one-half of the produce. In 1876, two traks per kharwars was again added to the assessment besides an aggregate tax of Rs.9-12-0, if paid in cash or nine kharwars, 12 traks per hundred kharwars, if paid in kind. Thus the total amounted to 28 kharwars and 12 traks per hundred kharwars. In 1877, on account of continuous heavy rainfall for three months crops completely ruined which had almost matured in the fields. In parganas of Shopian, Kunder, Beerwa etc shali crop came under snow. As a result villages were devastated and many people died of starvation and many people migrated to the plains of India. F. Henvey, the official on special duty stated population of Srinagar declined from 127,400 to 88,000 during this period. Distress and chaotic circumstances prevailed in the valley and all economic activities come to standstill. Due to this there was loss of crops worth of five lakh rupees. Zamindars of Kashmir submitted an application in which they mentioned damage of crops and deteriorated condition of people. It was also requested to work for the welfare of peasants. Under such circumstances the assessment work was delayed. Moreover, the harvest of summer crops especially wheat and barley was

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212 Bates, p. 100
213 Hassan, op. cit., Vol. I., p. 357
215 Wingate, op. cit., P. 19. See also Younghusband, op.cit., p. 162.
216 Wingate, op. cit., p. 19. See also Hangloe, Magnitude of Land Revenue Demand in Kashmir (1846-1900), Social Scientist (Jr), Vol. 12, June, 1984, p. 54
217 Shakti Kak, op. cit., p. 73
219 Ibid.
exceedingly poor.\textsuperscript{220} For the two seasons 1877-78 and 1878-79 peasant received meagre portion of rice which was his staple crop.\textsuperscript{221} In February, 1878 Maharaja Ranbir Singh by a proclamation abolished the Trakee altogether as measure of relief which involved about Rs 2, 00,000.\textsuperscript{222} In 1878, the total land revenue of Kashmir was Rs 16, 07,542. On the insistence of British the price of one lakh four thousand and five hundred kharwars of shali which was taken as remitted in 1879 as measure to reduce the impact of famine of 1877. After the famine Maharaja came to Kashmir and reduced one rupee on price of shali. It was sold now at the previous rate of two rupees per kharwar.\textsuperscript{223}

The following year was also unfavorable and deteriorated situation lasted till 1880, when some normalcy restored in the valley. Maharaja strived a lot to alleviate the sufferings of people. In 1880 under a new settlement the state share was accepted both in kind and cash. The gross produce was premeditated and one-half was fixed as state’s share. The years 1881 and 1882 witnessed the good harvest and the assessment was thought too easy. It was raised by Rs 8-9-0 and in place for a pony tax which was paid in money now might be paid in ponies. Moreover, in place of Rs 1-9-0 formally levied for fodder, the cultivator was now required to pay five kurus of rice straw per hundred threshed kurus.\textsuperscript{224} At the commencement of Wingate settlement operation in 1887, the collection of revenue from various wazarat was as:\textsuperscript{225}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wazarat (District)</th>
<th>Revenue in Chilki Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shahr Khas(Srinagar)</td>
<td>6,54,078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haripur(Shupeyon)</td>
<td>1,88,181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamraj(Wular Lake)</td>
<td>6,40,454 &amp; 46,075 kharwars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anantnag( Islamabad)</td>
<td>5,89,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25,72,0355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. F Knight, who visited Kashmir in 1890 stated that “the assami had to pay two-third of their crops to maharaja. But of the total produce of the country a smaller fraction less than two-third reaches the coffers of state and a very meager portion was

\textsuperscript{220} Younghusband, op. cit. p. 180
\textsuperscript{221} Foreign Department, Secret-E, July 1890, Nos. 221-230, N.A.I. p.16.
\textsuperscript{222} Ramju Dhar, op.cit., F.9.
\textsuperscript{223} Hassan, op.cit., V-2, pp.589-90.
\textsuperscript{224} Wingate, op. cit., p. 20
\textsuperscript{225} Wingate, op.cit., p.47
left with cultivator while bulk is swallowed up by the grasping official midlemen who stand between the state and cultivator."

The land revenue collected in Kashmir in 1890 was twelve and a half lakhs of rupees. In 1892, Maharaja remitted arrears of land revenue accumulated against zamindars of Kashmir since 1881. The total amount of arrears including taccavi advances from the eleven tehsils of Kashmir amounted Rs. 35,69,827-7-0. This announcement was made by Maharaja himself at Darbar held at Lal Mundi Palace, Srinagar which was attended by Zamindars of 1,634 villages. Lawrence, the Settlement officer and his assistant, Mr. Rivett were also present. This announcement made by Maharaja in the following manner.

"Heavy balances have accrued against you since sambat 1938, portions of which have been latterly, as you are well aware, recovered from you with the annual kist but it is our earnest wish now to relieve you of your heavy burden, so that you may find no difficulty in paying the moderate assessment made at the regular settlement and devote yourself with zeal and perseverance to the improvement of your lands, the production of apples and encouragement of skill and other industries ....... I have only to make you clear that all balances on account of land revenue will be entirely remitted exclusive taccavi advances which will be gradually recovered from you."

At the completion of regular settlement in 1893 cash assessment was announced but at the request of asāmis a part or whole of the revenue was fixed in kind in certain villages. In 1894 Pirzadas, pundits Sikhs and Gujar applied for exemption from the payment in kind or Mujawaza. Their request was accepted and was allowed to pay in cash. Hereafter, whenever a village applied for a similar concession, it was conceded. In view of the hardship and oppression caused by Mujawaza system to the peasants, it was considered advisable in 1898 in the interest of the state as well as peasantry to discontinue Mujawaza. This proposal was sanctioned by the State Council Resolution dated 9th June 1899. Since then revenue has been paid in cash and the agricultural community has flourished well.

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224 E. F. Knight, p. 62
225 Neve, Beyond Pir Panjal, p.109.
226 Remission by the Maharaja of Kashmir of arrears of revenue outstanding against the zamindars since sambat 1938(1881), Foreign Department-External-A, 1892, Nos. 8-11, N.A.I.
227 Ibid.
After the completion of revision of settlements in different tehsils of Kashmir in 1905, revenue was fixed at 30% of the total money value of the crops produced and was to be paid in cash.\(^{231}\) The total revenue of Kashmir at the completion of revision of settlement in 1905 was Rs.22,03,682 as against the former demand of Rs. 17,25,578. So the increase in revenue was Rs. 4, 78,104 or 27.7%.\(^{232}\)

By 1912 every tehsil in the state was settled or assessed either for first time or in revision. The state share was fixed at 30% of the grass produce.\(^{233}\) In 1921 to eradicate the scarcity of food grains in Kashmir, the exaction of land revenue was reverted to kind which was paid mostly in cash since the first regular settlement.\(^{234}\) In 1923, the Maharaja passed Land Revenue Regulation.\(^{235}\) It laid down that the land revenue should be assessed in cash or in kind or partly in cash and partly in kind as the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur in Council may direct. According to this regulation when a cultivated holding would exceed one hundred kanals, the rates of rent were fixed as:\(^{236}\)

For paddy:-

I. In case of rent in kind, it was fixed one-fourth of the produce.

II. In case of money rent, it was fixed one-third of the value of such produce.

For Khushki Lands:-

I. In case of rent in kind, it was fixed one-third of the produce.

II. In case of money rent, it was fixed one-third of the value of such produce.

Thus, it can be concluded that the land revenue system of Dogras especially that of Maharaja Gulab Singh and Maharaja Ranbir Singh was not better organized and there was total absence of settled land revenue system, one system followed the other, each being faulty and oppressive than the preceding. Moreover, the assessment and mode of collection was haphazard. Mr. Wingate, the settlement officer in Kashmir


in 1887, stated it is very difficult to differentiate what is to be paid in kind and what paid in cash. While Francis Younghusband who was resident in Kashmir maintained that, “the whole system of assessment and collection was exceedingly complicated and workable only in interest of corrupt officials.” the demand of revenue was twice to that of British India. C. Zutshi pointed out, the British perceived the existing system as chaotic and fraudulent; they maintained the issuing grains at a fixed rate to the city population, collection of taxes in kind and corrupt revenue administration led to the problem in the agriculture sector. Moreover, the peasants were left with a meagre portion of their produce due to exorbitant rate of state’s share and other levies. He had also to feed numerous officials and the city population which further added to the miseries of peasants. He was deprived of proprietary rights. So the peasants in spite of hard labour from dawn to dusk were beset with abject poverty which often compelled them to migrate to other lands whenever any opportunity occurred. The following table shows the comparison of land revenue collected during the different regimes who ruled Kashmir from 1585 till 1885.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Revenue of Kashmir in rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mughal</td>
<td>12,69,381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>13,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dogra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>12,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>15,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>27,75,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>16,07,542</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

237 Lawrence, Valley, p. 238
The table shows the magnitude of land revenue demand and collection from 1918-1943.
Land Revenue Demand in Zaffrani (Saffron) areas

During the Dogra period saffron cultivation was confined to Pampore and twenty villages in its vicinity know as Mahal-i-Zaffrani. They include fifteen villages of Awantipora tehsil and four villages of Sher-i-Khas. Later on saffron cultivation was extended in two more villages Barsoo and Udupora of Awantipora tehsil. Thus the number of saffron growing villages rose to 21 from 19.\textsuperscript{238}

During the Dogra regime saffron growing in Kashmir was the monopoly of state. For the purpose of revenue collection saffron areas were auctioned to contractor. Under the terms of the lease contractors had to share or take in the harvest of the land at half of the produce. The contractor himself collected the share at the time of plucking of flowers. Flowers were plucked under the supervision of contractor and then they were divided into two equal parts. Out of which half was left with cultivator and the rest half was taken by contractor as state’s share.\textsuperscript{239}

At the first revision of settlement operations in 1905, Talbot, Settlement Commissioner wanted to assess the saffron growing area at Maidani rate but it was not approved by the Darbar. It was decided that the whole of saffron growing area whether under saffron cultivation or not should be excluded from the assessment and leased out on contract basis.\textsuperscript{240} In 1920, when the settlement work was carried in Awantipura by Anant Ram, efforts were made to induce the villagers to accept a reasonable cash assessment and all assurances were given to them that remissions or suspension under rules would be given in case of damage of crops by scarcity or excess rainfall or any other reason but the zamindars did not agree to accept. Saffron areas were marked out and recorded in settlement records. But no assessment was imposed. These areas were assigned to contractors for five years.\textsuperscript{241} The contract system in saffron areas continued till the end of Dogra rule.

\textsuperscript{239} A Note on the State of Jammu and Kashmir, J.K.S.A., J.R., p.29
\textsuperscript{241} Pandit Anant Ram, \textit{Assessment Report of Awantipura Tehsil}, 1920, p.43.
Land Revenue Functionaries

For the purpose of revenue assessment and collection of revenue from cultivators a number of functionaries were appointed by the state. They accomplished these duties in their respective jurisdictions assigned to them by the imperial authority. In land revenue administration we find two categories of officials and functionaries. Firstly those appointed by the state and the second included the hereditary village officials such as Mukaddam, Patwari, Qunungo and Chowdri. Besides assisting in the realization of government's share their role to a greater extent was to ensure peace and shape the socio-economic set up. At the apex of the whole revenue administration was Hakim-i-Ala or Governor. His revenue establishment in each province which entirely consisted of pundits was known as Daftar-ul-Diwani. Here all the revenue accounts were kept, checked and audited. The Governor directly controlled the Assistant Governors, Tehsildars and other subordinate officers. He issued the order how much revenue to be levied in kind and how much to be in cash. Below him was a hierarchy of officials entrusted with the assessment work and revenue collection at different levels. However, they had no good reputation throughout the period because of their activities. Younghusband, resident in Kashmir stated about the revenue officials in Kashmir;

"The whole country in fact, was still in the grip of officialdom and the officials were the remnants of bygone, ignorant and the destructive age, when dynasties and institutions and life itself were in daily danger, when nothing was fixed and lasting, when all was liable to change and at the risk of chance and each man had to make what he could while he could and when in consequences, a man of honesty and public spirit had no more chance of surviving than a baby would have in a battle."

Following were the officials engaged in revenue collection and assessment during the period of our study;

Tehsildar: Tehsildar was an important official during Dogra period in the revenue administration. E.F Knight stated, tahsildar in Kashmir was an Oriental edition of a French prefect, but is more powerful and far more irresponsible. He has the civil and criminal jurisdiction over his district, and enjoys unequalled opportunities for himself at the expense of State and people. As in British India the Tehsildar was immediate
representative of Government with the people. He was assisted by two Naib-Tehsildars and usual tehsil staff, Wasilbak, Navis, Sihaya Navis, Kanungo, Petiwala or treasurer and a Judicial Muharrir. Lawrence stated that the Tehsildar was also accompanied by two or more unpaid assistants who discharged most of his functions but they were not recognized by the state. He fixed the yearly assessments of crops and also supervised the accounts of kardars within his realm. As each harvest approaches, Patwari conducted a field inspection of the groups of villages in his charge and recorded in the crop register, the crop in the field as well as any change in occupancy. He was also supposed to record the area of crops which had failed to mature (Kharaba) whether partly or wholly. It was up to tehsildar to take final decision regarding the total produce of crops of a village. He was assisted by a host of officials’ i.e. Naib-tehsildar, Thandar, Kardar, Sozwal, Patwari etc. Knight maintained ‘he enriched himself at the expenses of state and people.

He was paid remuneration of Rs 37. According to Lawrence, he was a wealthy man who has good ponies, wear costly cloths and lives well. Such was the influence of tehsildar that Lawrence says in one tehsil a tehsildar had five brother and they were also known as tehsildars.

**Naib-Tehsildar**: Naib-Tehsildar was in charge of group of villages called Nayabat. He maintained revenue record in his area. He was assisted by Sadri Dyfrti & Khazanchi.

**Thandar**: Thandar was the chief officer of Pargana. He possessed both revenue & judicial powers. His chief duties included inspection throughout his pargana to make reports about the crops & general matter to tehsildar. He had under him fifty sepoys

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244 Foreign Department-Secret, February 1891, No-295-326, p.18.
245 Lawrence, Assessment Report of Lot Tehsil, p.32.
248 Hangloo, Agrarian System, p 69
249 E. F. Knight, op.cit., p. 64
250 Foreign Department-Secret, February 1891, No-295-326, p.18.
251 Hangloo, Agrarian System, p 69
called *Nizamat Pultan*, who assisted him at the time of assessment and collection of revenue.

**Kardar:** A Kardar had under him certain villages. This official was expected to know the state of crops within his area. He kept a strict account of crops, assessed the standing crops and caused the government share of crops and dispatched it to the government stores. He also maintained the records of peasant holding. His pay was included in Trakee, but they used to charge an extra share for them at the time of harvest. In 1860, *Kardars* were replaced by *Chatadars*. Charles Girdlestone stated, trifling disputes were often referred to him but his authority in settling them was not openly acknowledged by the government.

**Patwari:** *Patwari* was a village accountant. He was under the control of tehsil Kanungo. He was usually a *pandith*. The office of *patwari* was hereditary and the emoluments of the office are 2% of the revenue which is paid by the villages in addition to the revenue. The chief duty of the Patwari is to assist the Lambardar(Village Head) in drawing up a statement of the revenue demand for the year and to decide how much revenue is to be paid in cash and in kind by each *assami*. The patwari also arranged for *taccavi* advances from the state. He maintained the account of the zamindars of village & also of different crops belonging to it. He kept three copies of records of the holdings of peasants, one for himself which was supposed to be near truth, one for *tehsildar* & another for peasant. The latter two records were made with a view of convincing each of the excellent bargain he had secured. However, the land records prepared by the *Patwari* were exaggerated and lacked continuity. They used to get salaries from the peasants.

**Lambardar:** The office of *Lambardar* (headman) was introduced in Kashmir by Todor Mal, Akbar’s revenue minister. Each village has its own *lambardar* or *mukhdam*

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250 R. Thorpe, op. cit., p. 65
251 Charles Girdlestone, op. cit., p.8. See also *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 110
252 Bates, op. cit., pp. 95-97
253 Charles Girdlestone, op. cit., p.8
254 In Lal Tehsil out of sixty Patwaris only four were Muslim and rest belonged to the Hindu community though they were in minority. *Lawrence, Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil, 1889*, p.32. See also *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, P. 110.
255 Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 400
who was hereditary tax-collector of the village & was responsible to the tehsildar for the revenue of the villages. He was supposed to keep 2% out of it for him as reward for the services he rendered. He also reported irregularities or thefts, collected collies(labourers) & carriage & kept an account of the crops of the villages in collaboration with the Patwari. Lambardar also made necessary arrangement for officials & visitor's who entered his village. About lambardar, Lawrence stated in theory the office of lambardar was one of the great responsibility but in practice lambardar was despised by the officials and was treated like an ordinary assāmi. There was no honour attached to this office and the lambardar was as meanly dressed and as meanly housed as rest of the village. However, through the Dogra period this office was coveted. Moreover, the condition of village depended on the abilities of the lambardar. If he was active, strong, able to bring back run away assāmis and to deal properly with tehsil authorities, the village flourished. If he was contrary, the village lost good land to Hindu chakdars which worsened conditions of people. So Lambardar was a vital role during the Dogra period.

Shaqdar: Every village had Shaqdar according to its size. Even some villages had four Shaqdars. He used to watch the growth of crops & government share of the same. He received eight kharwars of Shali from the state as his salary & also took as his prerequisite about twelve kharwars from the villages. However, they were not contended with their salary and often took bribes from the villagers. He also exacted the fines from the villagers in respect the calltīle damaged the crops or by alleging that such damage has been caused.

Sozwal: He was official over the Shaqdar & was in charge of ten villages. His duty was to supervise shaqdar and reports it to kardar. He also extracts money from shaqdar under him. He was usually a Pandit.

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260 Lawrence, Valley, p. 426. See also E. F. Knight, op. cit., p. 64
261 E. F. Knight, op. cit., p. 64
262 Lawrence, Assessment Report of the Lal Tehsil, 1889, p.37
263 ibid
264 Lawrence, Valley, p. 426. See also Robert Thorp, op.cit., p. 67
265 F. Knight, op. cit., p 64. See also, Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 106
267 Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p 110. See also R. Thorpe, op. cit., p. 67
**Tarazodar:** In every village there was a *tarazodar*. The main duty of *tarazodar* was to weigh the share of state and zamindar. However, his measurement often exaggerated.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁸Ibid. See also Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 411
Chapter 4

Taxation System
Taxation System

Dogra rulers continued the tradition of levying imposts on the various means of income of the people. They continued the taxes levied by the Sikhs with slight manipulations. Moreover, some new taxes were imposed. The taxation procedure of Dogras to a considerable extent resembled that of the present system which included state monopolies and numerous direct and indirect cesses. The Dogras levied taxes directly from the people through their officials as well as by the farming system both in cash and kind.¹

The taxation system was so extensive about which Lawrence stated “except air and water everything in Kashmir that was tangible was liable to tax.”² John B. Ireland, An American who visited Kashmir in 1856, wrote that on the birth of every lamb, the owner must pay a tax of one anna, on the birth of a calf is four annas, for a marriage one rupee, every shop in the city paid a tax of three annas a day, a fishing boat paid four annas a day and walnut trees ten annas a year for the oil, and if the crop fails must be compensated with Ghee (a kind of butter).³ Such was the nature of taxation that even the prostitutes were required to submit a portion of their income to the government treasury as a state share.⁴ Even the butchers, bakers, carpenters, fishermen and coolies who were engaged to carry loads for travelers had to remit half of earnings as tax to the state.⁵ During Gulab Singh’s period the office of grave digger was also taxed and even the sale proceeds of houses were taxed at the rate of 5%.⁶ Even the scavengers’ were not spared. He had to offer annually a specified number of skins to the government whether any cattle died or not.⁷

With the accession of Maharaja Pratap Singh followed by the appointment of British Resident, the taxation system of Kashmir was renovated. Many taxes which

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¹P. N. K. Bamzai, Socio-economic History of Kashmir, p. 160
²Lawrence, Valley, p.417.
⁴Yonghusband, op. cit., p. 179.
⁵Yonghusband, p. 179. See also Lord Birdwood, Kashmir, International Affairs (Jr), Vol. 28, No. 3 (July 1952), pp. 300-303.
⁷Saraf, op.cit., p. 288
were burden on the common masses were either abolished or amalgamated in the land revenue.

State Monopolies: The maharaja having sole claim and authority over the whole land of the state had monopolized certain products produced in the state especially those which fetched adequate economic gain. Lawrence recorded;

“When I started my settlement work, everything was taxed. Fruit trees, birch barks, violets, hides, silk, saffron, hemp, tobacco, water-nuts and paper were treated as state monopolies and formed out to pundits [Hindus].”

The state’s share of these products was directly collected by the state through its officials. However, on certain occasions, these were farmed out to contractors. Sericulture, which was once the well-known occupation and means of survival of a greater populace of the state, became a government monopoly in the early seventies of nineteenth century. Thus the major portion of income derived from it went to the state treasury. No doubt, a hefty workforce was employed in this sector but the fruits of their toil directly benefitted the state. During Gulab Singh’s time when it was mainly in public hands, the total duty derived from silk trade was Rs. 1, 00,000 annually.

Saffron, the leading cash crop was also state monopoly. The cultivator who devoted his maximum time in its cultivation was left with only half of the produce while state grabbed the rest and even at times, the government demand exceeded the normal share. Tea, salt and aromatic plant called kuth too were the state monopolies. Paper and tobacco were enlisted later as the state monopolies. The income derived from these was deposited in the state exchequer. Even the stones used for construction purposes too were under the state jurisdiction. However, it was farmed out to contractors in the form of license after paying a stipulated amount to the state.

Zar-i-Nikh (Marriage Tax): In order to legalize and celebrate the marriage the people had to pay a tax. This was known as zar-i-nikh. Soon after assuming the power of

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9Younghusband, p.178
10Ganesh Lal, op.cit., p. 37
11Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 113
12Younghusband, p. 178
13Ibid.
Kashmir Gulab Singh began to take one rupee as marriage tax.\textsuperscript{14} Forsyth stated in 1863, it was levied at the rate of three rupees through the Qazi who deposited it to the state treasury and was farmed out for a sum of 5,000 per annum.\textsuperscript{15} In 1875, the contract of marriage tax of both city and Parganas was give on 21500 rupees. But on account of reluctance the tax on Kazis was not reclaimed and by the orders of Maharaja it was given on contract.\textsuperscript{16} In 1877 this tax was fixed at the rate of six rupees.\textsuperscript{17} Certain classes like Pandits were exempted from this tax. It was later abolished by Maharaja Ranbir Singh.\textsuperscript{18}

Shawl Taxes: Apart from land revenue, the major contributor of income to the state till the late seventies of the 19th century was the shawl industry and its allied sectors. It was subjected to numerous taxes, levied at different levels. Firstly, the pushm (wool), the raw-material for making shawl imported from Tibet, Ladakh and Central Asian provinces of Yarkhan and Tufran was liable to tax in the form of import duty when it entered the premises of Kashmir. Secondly, the manufacturer (kharkhandar) for each weaver he employed had to pay a tax called baj.\textsuperscript{19} During the period of Gulab Singh’s reign, a kharkhandar had to pay Rs 48 as baj which continued till the initial period of Ranbir Singh. In addition, he imposed Rs 12 per annum, on every shop where shawls were manufactured and Rs. 60 on new shops.\textsuperscript{20} In samvat 1924(1868), Maharaja remitted eleven rupees on baj and it was fixed Rs 37. However, Ghulam Nabi Khanyar stated twelve rupees were remitted.\textsuperscript{21} Due to fall in prices, Maharaja again remitted seventeen rupees in samvat 1933(1877). In samvat 1934(1878), only eleven rupees were fixed as baj and in samvat 1935(1879), due to the famine and fall in prices which affected every aspect of economy of Kashmir in general and that of shawl industry in particular, was abolished altogether.\textsuperscript{22} Instead of that, a custom duty of rupees twenty for exporting one hundred pieces of shawl and eleven rupees were

\textsuperscript{14} Ghulam Nabi Khanyari, op.cit., p.256.
\textsuperscript{15} Forsyth Note on the Jammu and Kashmir 1863, Foreign department, July 1863, No.73-75, p.6.
\textsuperscript{16} Ghulam Nabi Khanyari, op.cit., p.229.
\textsuperscript{17} Hassan Khuihami, op. cit. Vol.II, p.585
\textsuperscript{19} H. Khuihami, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 449. See also younghusband, p 179
\textsuperscript{20} H. Khuihami, op.cit., Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 447-50. See also F. M. Hussnain, op.cit., p. 73
\textsuperscript{21} Ghulam Nabi Khanyari, op.cit., p.263.
fixed as license fee which a merchant had to pay for selling hundred piece of shawl.\textsuperscript{23} This was done to give relief to the people associated with this industry which was decline since the 1870’s. The shopkeepers dealing with shawl was also required to pay portion of his earning to the state. Besides, a separate duty called Hashia on worked border of shawl was levied.\textsuperscript{24} It was also made mandatory for shalbaf to purchase a certain kharwars of rice annually at the rate two rupees per kharwar which was one rupee higher than the market price.\textsuperscript{25}

**Custom Duties:** The custom duties both on imports and exports formed an important source of income to the state which were levied at the custom posts established at strategic locations in the state. Maharaja Gulab Singh abolished the minor chokies and in consultation with merchants of city established one or two custom post to take the custom duty on the entry of goods to the city.\textsuperscript{26} The collection of custom duties was farmed to contractor. In 1863, Forsyth stated for the whole state it was farmed out to a contractor for Rs. 4,00,000.\textsuperscript{27} This practice was abandoned in 1896. A Custom Department was established in the state to leave custom duties.\textsuperscript{28} Custom duties were levied at the entry points of important roads. On Jammu-Srinagar route the custom duty was levied at Deogal in Banihal pargana and Amoor in Shahabad paragana.\textsuperscript{29} Likewise the goods coming from Ladak and central Asia paid custom duties at Baramullah. In 1846, at Deogal custom post the custom duty on different articles exported from Kashmir were levied at the following rates;\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{24} Forsyth Note on the Jammu and Kashmir 1863, Foreign department, July 1863, No.73-75, p.5.
\textsuperscript{25} H. Khuhami, Vol-I, op.cit, pp. 449-50
\textsuperscript{26} R.G. Taylor, Report on the Conditions of Kashmir, Foreign Department, Secret, 30th October 1847, No. 116-17
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{28} Dewan Narsing Das, Tarikh-i-Dogra Desh, p.710. See also Hasmat-ullah Khan, op.cit., p.78
\textsuperscript{29} Ganesh Lal, op.cit., pp. 22-24
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Custom Duty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>One piece of Shawl cloth</td>
<td>6 Annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>One seer of Saffron</td>
<td>4 Annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>One kharwar of Kuth</td>
<td>6 Annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>One kharwar of Silk</td>
<td>6 Rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>One kharwars of Ghee</td>
<td>1 Re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>One kharwar of Black Zeera</td>
<td>12 Annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>One kharwar of Bahee dana</td>
<td>2 Rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>One kharwar of inkstand &amp; white paper</td>
<td>2 Rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>One trak of Charas (extracted hemp)</td>
<td>8 Annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>One kharwar of Banafsha</td>
<td>12 Annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Apples per head-load</td>
<td>4 Annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Woolen Cloth per piece</td>
<td>2 Annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Miscellaneous per head load</td>
<td>1 Re</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average income from the custom department during the Dogra was one lakh rupees.\textsuperscript{31} The following table shows the custom duties levied on imports and exports between Kashmir and Ladakh.\textsuperscript{32}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Custom Duty on Imports</th>
<th>Custom Duty on Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloth per mound</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saffron per mound</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawl per pair</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghee</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the articles brought to Srinagar from different rural and urban areas had a pay tax. Generally, it was taken in cash at the rate of Rs 2 per thousand and on gold it was levied at the rate of Rs 2 per metal worth of Rs 1,000. Tax on copper, zinc, precious stones or metal wares amounted Rs 12,000.\textsuperscript{33}

**Gazing Tax or Kacharai:** In Kashmir live-stock which provided livelihood to a considerable populace, remained confined to the villages for about seven months and in summer for four to five months, were sent to the grazing pastures called *Raqs*.

\textsuperscript{31}Sufi, Vol. II, op.cit., p. 782  
\textsuperscript{32}Alexander Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 248  
\textsuperscript{33}Ganesh Lal, op. cit., p. 35
These pastures located in the mountains were state properties. The state has introduced a tax on the grazing of animals in these Raqs called Zar-i-Choupan.\footnote{H.L. Rivett, Assessment Report of the Minor Jagir Villages situated in the Valley of Kashmir, p.4. See also Khan Sahib Sayed Hussain, Assessment Report of Kahcharai Fees for the Kashmir Valley, p.1.} This form of tax was levied throughout the state wherever there was any semblance of reasonable grazing facilities.\footnote{G.B Glancy, Glancy Commission Report, 1932, p.28}

Goats and sheep were taxed jointly till 1923 when the census of animals was carried in Kashmir under the term ‘Bher-bakri’.\footnote{H.L. Rivett, Assessment Report of the Minor Jagir Villages situated in the Valley of Kashmir, p.4.} The tax on sheep and goats was called Zar-i-Choupan.\footnote{Khan Sahib Sayed Hussain, Assessment Report of Kahcharai Fees for the Kashmir Valley, p.1. See also Lawrence. Valley, p.363.} It was the Choupan who paid the tax to the officials in Raqs and the Choupan used to recover it from the zamindars before going to the Raqs. Later the term Zari-i-Choupan in Kashmir and the corresponding term in Jammu was replaced by grazing fee.

The history of this tax can be traced back to the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh when it was introduced to be recovered at Raqs(pastures) in Kashmir and Dhars(Table lands) in Jammu. At the beginning contractors were appointed to realize this tax and they paid a fixed sum to the state. Since Gulab Singh’s period up to the end of Ranbir Singh’s period one big sheep called Hazari or Khillar was taken by the state from one thousand as the flock passed up to the mountain and a smaller one called Bara from one hundred.\footnote{Political Diaries, p.217.} P. Sandys Mellivill who on deputation in Kashmir in 1847 stated, the tax on the sheep was taken at the rate of Rs. 7-13-0 per 100 or 1 ½ anna a head. The ¼ anna was taken by the Tehsildar and amlah who also demand a tax on the one sheep out of every chaupais (shepherd) flock under the denomination of ghulia.\footnote{Lawrence, Valley, p. 363.} Later Lawrence stated thirteen rupees per hundred sheep was collected from the chaupans.\footnote{Saraf, op. cit., p. 281} In 1871, the tax on sheep and goat was estimated Rs.107, 311.\footnote{184}
by the staff. However, the enumeration system had rendered embezzlement and dishonesty of all sorts. The revenue officers after careful consideration abandoned the enumeration in the Raqs and introduced enumerations in villages. During the winter when no animal could be concealed anywhere except horses the animals were enumerated and taxed accordingly. It required huge labour. In 1906 to avoid this recurring labour, the annual system of enumeration was introduced and the demand was fixed on each village.

This tax was levied on the animals sent for grazing to the rakh (Pastures) for four or five months in summer like sheep, goat, mules and ponies. The tax on buffaloes was called Shakh Shoomaree and the tax on mules and ponies was called Zur-i-Murkub.\(^{41}\) The zamindari cattle (bullocks & cows) were exempted. Moreover, Gurex was exempted from this tax. Moreover, the cattle belonged to the towns of Anantnag, Bijbehara, Shopian, Sopur and Baramullah were also exempted. Besides the Gilgit transport animals owned by the state were exempted from this tax but the hired animals for the said purpose also availed the exemption which not sanctioned by the state.\(^{42}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Grazing Fee Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>1895-96</td>
<td>Rs. 2,37,347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>1900-01</td>
<td>Rs.3,32,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>1905-06</td>
<td>Rs.4,84,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>1910-11</td>
<td>Rs.4,47,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>1915-16</td>
<td>Rs.4,87,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>1920-21</td>
<td>Rs.5,30,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>1925-26</td>
<td>Rs.7,17,085</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tax on Fruit Trees:** In Kashmir, it had been a tradition of leaving a portion of walnut produce by the state from the owner. This continued during the Dogra period too. It was called as ‘Leh siah’ demand. At one time separate Lamberdars(Village headmen) and Choudhries were appointed for the collection of government’s share.\(^{43}\) In the previous regimes the fruits were equally divided between the state and the owner but during the early period of Dogra regime the government levied three-fourth and left only one fourth to the owner.\(^{44}\) At the time of first regular settlement fruits were not

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\(^{41}\) Ibid. See also Forsyth’s *Note on the Jammu and Kashmir 1863, N.A.J.,* p.5

\(^{42}\) M.L.Kapur, op.cit., p.37

\(^{43}\) Lala Bhawani Das, op.cit. p.19

\(^{44}\) Bates, op. cit., p. 48
assessed separately because the fruit trade was not carried on large scale. But soon after the introduction of regular settlement trade in fruits began to flourish and the value of fruits was now fully appreciated by the cultivators.

At the revision of revenue settlements in 1903 after a thorough consideration tax on walnut trees was fixed at the rate of two annas a tree. It was fixed for the term of settlement. However, it was laid down that it should be revised whenever the Zamindars desired so. As result in 1896 the state share of the other fruits for purpose of assessment was valued at the following rates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Fruit</th>
<th>Tax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Grafted apples per tree</td>
<td>4 annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Grafted pears per tree</td>
<td>2 annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Quinces per tree</td>
<td>4 annas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the completion of revision of land revenue assessment in 1905 the rate of tax on apple was fixed four annas per tree, almond four annas per tree, on pears two annas per tree, on quince two annas per tree and trel(a variety of apple) two annas per tree.

**Honey Tax:** Government levied a tax on all preservers of bees. In the honey producing region of Lar and Wardwen and other villages one-half during last years of Sikh rule and Gulab Singh’s reign and later on two-third was taken by kardar as government share. Sandy Melvill stated that out of the total production of 8 to 12 seers annually the state during the Gulab Singh’s time took two seers. The total annual income from this source was Rs. 2,000.

**Nawai:** Nawai was tax on the boatman. The boatmen had to pay the tax even, if their boats remained unhired throughout the year. Saraf mentioned that even the boats used for dwelling purposes were taxed.

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47 Lala Bhawani Das, op.cit., p.20
48 Political Diaries, p.216.
49 Ganesh Lal, op. cit. p.37. See also Political Diaries, p.201.
50 Gazetteer Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 114
**Chob-furoshe:** This tax was levied on the timber used as fuel and wood for transporting by water throughout the valley.\(^5\) It was not collected directly but farmed out for Rs 1, 05,000.\(^2\)

**Gurda Bhang:** It was tax on post-i-bhung and dried poppy heads. The government levied three-fourth and the zamindar was left with one-fourth of the produce. This tax yields 35,000 annually to the state.\(^3\)

**Hurkara Bashee:** Fines levied by the judicial courts and police, institution fees in civil cases, tulubana etc. consisted of this tax. It amounted about Rs 13, 500 annually.\(^4\)

**Zur-i-Baj:** It was a license tax levied on trade. It was farmed out for Rs 91,000.\(^5\)

**River Tax:** This tax was levied on floating gardens in the Dal Lake and also on the goods carried in boats over the lake. In 1863, this tax amounted Rs 31,000.\(^6\) The fishermen (Gād Heēnz) for catching fishes in lakes and rivers were required to pay a daily cess to the state for this right.\(^7\)

**Tax on Mints (Zurab Khana):** The mint department (Zurab Khana) where the coins were minted was also required to pay five rupees per hundred rupees coined to the government as tax. In 1846, the total duty collected from it was Rs. 6000. About Rs 75,000 was collected annually at the royal mint for minting the chilki rupees.\(^8\)

**Chorna Puzi:** It was tax on brick kilns. A tax at the rate of fifty rupees per thousand baked bricks and two rupees per thousand on unbaked bricks was levied during the Dogra Period.\(^9\) The amount acquired through this tax was Rs 25,000 annually.\(^10\) During the later period of Pratap Singh’s the tax on baked bricks was reduced to Rs, 8 per thousand.\(^11\)

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\(^5\) Forsyth Note on the Jammu and Kashmir 1863, Foreign department, July 1863, No.73-75, p.5.

\(^2\) Gazetteer Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 114


\(^4\) Forsyth Note on the Jammu and Kashmir 1863, foreign department, July 1863, No.73-75, p.5.

\(^5\) Ibid.

\(^6\) Ibid.

\(^7\) Charles Gridlestone, op.cit., p.34.

\(^8\) Ibid.

\(^9\) Saraf, op.cit., p.286

\(^10\) Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 115. See also Forsyth Note on the Jammu and Kashmir 1863, Foreign department, July 1863, No.73-75, p.6

Chapter 5

Trade and Commerce
Trade and Commerce

Trade Routes and Transport System

The means of transport and communication are significant prerequisites for the prosperity and economic development of a region. The sound system of transport by land, water and now-a-days by air breaks the isolation of different regions and develops close contact between villages and urban centers. It encourages trade by facilitating the quick and safe movement of goods. Agriculture, mineral wealth, and industrial resources are promoted and the effect of natural calamities like floods, earthquakes and famines are mitigated. Thus the means of transport and communications are the life-lines of a region.

During the period of my study traditional and poor means of transport and communication were operative in Kashmir especially up to the end of nineteenth century. Roads along which the trade and commerce was conducted and which acted as veins of the economy were very poor up to the last decade of 19th century. There was hardly any wheeled conveyance of any sort in the valley of Kashmir till the beginning of 20th century.¹

Boats were the main means of transport to carry goods from different areas of Kashmir to Shahr-i-Khas and vice-versa.² Cattle like ponies, mules, horses, yak, asses etc were used as beasts of burden wherever water transport was not available. In the higher altitudes where roads were rough and narrow, men instead of animals were used as beast of burden.³

With the dawn of 20th century revolutionary changes occurred in the transport and communication system of Kashmir. Carts and vehicles were introduced. Roads fit for wheeled carriage were constructed. However, rivers remained the principal means of communication in Kashmir from Khanabal to Baramullah throughout the Dogra

period. The main routes through which the trade was carried with British India and Central Asia were as following.

**Banihal Route:** This route connected Kashmir with Jammu and rest of India via Anantnag, Shahabad, Banihal, Rambar and Patnitop pass. This route remained open for most of the year compared to other routes. This route was commercially very significant because it connected Jammu and Kashmir with Amritsar, which was a prominent trading center of India and an important market for the goods of Kashmir. Till 1890, this road was not suitable for vehicular traffic and the goods were carried either on animal backs or by coolies. Fredric Drew who remained in Kashmir from 1862 to 1872 mentioned, “horses can pass along it, though with some difficulty; the greater part of the carriage is done by men, or in the case of grains by pack-bullocks.”

The work of widening and improvement of this road to ensure traffic throughout the year was started 1909 under the Public Works Department. It was completed in 1922 with an expenditure of 43 lakhs. It provided direct connectivity between Jammu and Kashmir. The opening of this road gave a boost to the trade and commerce of Kashmir and generated revenue for the state.

**Pir Panjal Route:** This route ran via Shopian over Pir Panjal range and Bhimber reached Gujarat. It has been the favourite route of the Mughals to reach Kashmir and the remnants of the old Mughal Sarais are still seen at every halting place. It remained closed in winter. Being difficult, this route was not, however, much used for trading activities. It was mainly used for the interprovincial trade especially with some of Jammu.

**Jhelum Valley route:** This route ran along the river Jhelum from Baramullah to Kohala in Punjab. It was a metalled road, of 132 miles in length from Srinagar to Kohala Bridge and from there distance to Punjab was 64 miles. Construction of this

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5 Hassan, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 269
6 Fredric Drew, op. cit., p. 140
8 Lawrence, Valley, p. 383. See also Hassan, op. cit., Vol. II, p 269
9 Ibid.
road started in 1881 under the supervision of engineer, Alexander Atkinson. A contingent of 1000 sappers and miners were deployed for the work but this proved insufficient and was abandoned. Then the work of construction of this road was entrusted to sixty contractors. By the middle of 1883 only 23 miles were completed. In 1885, the work was near completion and was finally completed in 1890. This road was opened for transport in 1897. Till 1922, this was the only road suitable for vehicular traffic between Punjab and Kashmir. This road connected Kashmir with rest of British India and gave impetus to the import and export of merchandise. The increase of traffic and trade can be gauged by the amount of revenue annually collected as road toll. It was three lakh of rupees.

Treaty High Road: It was named after the commercial treaty signed between Maharaja Ranbir Singh and British in 1870. From Baltal to the Karakoram pass, it had been declared free highway for trade. It followed roughly the line of present motor road from Srinagar to Ladakh, except on the approach to the passes where it took steeper and straighter direction than the zigzag necessary to temper the ascent for motor transport. It connected Kashmir with Ladakh and from there through various routes with Central Asia. This route was very significant for both Kashmir and British India as most of the trade with Central Asia was carried through this route. It was supervised and administered by two joint commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja of Kashmir at Leh, whose permission was obligatory in order to travel through this route. For the purpose of maintenance, it was divided into sections and each section was looked after by a group of about twenty men known as darokh. However, this route was entirely maintained at the expense of the Jammu and Kashmir state. A sum was paid yearly to the joint commissioner for its upkeep.

Besides, the aforementioned main routes there were a number of routes and pathways which connected the wazarat and parganas with each other and with the capital Shahr-i-khas (Srinagar). Of these the prominent ones connected Srinagar with Islamabad, Vajinag, Shahabad, Shopian, Ganderbal, Bandipora, Baramulla, Pattan

10S.S. Charak, op.cit., p.89.
12Rai Bahadur Pandit Anant Ram and Hira Nand Raina, op.cit., p.33.
13Janet Rizvi, Trans-Himalayan Caravans: Merchants Princes and Peasant Traders in Ladakh, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1999, p.228.
14See Appendix no. 2
and Muzafarabad.\textsuperscript{15} The Srinagar-Gulmarg road was opened in 1900.\textsuperscript{16} However, these routes were convenient for travel only during fair weather. In inclement weather especially in winter and in the rainy season, it was very difficult to travel on these roads. Moreover, the rivers formed an important route for the movement of both freight and men. River Jhelum, the largest water body of Kashmir acted as a significant highway. It was navigable from Khanabal in Anantnag \textit{wazarat} to Baramullah.\textsuperscript{17} The goods that came from India via Jammu-Banihal road were brought by labourers, ponies or bullock to Khanabal from where boats took goods to Srinagar and likewise the goods imported from Central Asia and Ladakh were taken from Baramullah to Srinagar by water. The speed of the boat was one and a half mile per hour.\textsuperscript{18} Moreover, different articles including rice from the rural areas were brought to the \textit{ghats}\textsuperscript{19} and through boats these articles were taken to Srinagar and other areas.

\textbf{Trade and Commerce}

Kashmir being an abode of marvelous crafts and self-sufficient in numerous products offered good vistas for trade and commerce during the 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries. According to the census report of India 1921 trade supported 33\% of the total population of the state which included 47\% from Jammu, 51\% from Kashmir and 2\% from Frontier district.\textsuperscript{20} Though agriculture represented the dominant sector of economy of Kashmir during the period under review but it was supplemented by trade and commerce. The agricultural operations were seasonal and therefore followed by a prolonged period of rest and leisure. This period if not utilized for economic purpose would add to their more dependence on agriculture which was not so profitable for them. During this spare time the cultivators engaged themselves in occupations like \textit{puttoo making}, cloth weaving, needle work, basket making, spinning, oil-pressing, etc. to

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{The Imperial Gazetteer of India}, Vol. XV, p. 134


\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{18} Drew, op.cit, p.164

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Ghat} is a place along the bank of river where the goods were loaded and unloaded. This was a sort of stop for both passenger boats and boats laden with freight.

manufacture goods either for domestic consumption or for sale in the local bazaars.\textsuperscript{21} The manufacturers and agriculturalists sold their surplus produce in the local market to get the money and products of daily use which were not produced by him. But until the last decade of nineteenth century internal and external trade was impeded by absence of good network of local markets, bad roads, inadequate communication, absence of uniform weights and measures, and poor administrative and financial system.\textsuperscript{22} The steady improvement in these aspects contributed to the growth and development of trade. Trade and commerce of Kashmir during second of 19\textsuperscript{th} century and first half of 20\textsuperscript{th} century can be divided in the following headings.

**Structure of Internal Trade of Kashmir**

During the Dogra period majority of villages were self-sufficient. The average zamindar produced food crops for his own consumption and also supplied grains to professional classes of village like shoemaker, potter and oil-presser who supplied him shoes, earthen pots, and edible oil and other services. The remaining requirements were supplied by the local shopkeeper known as wani and other nearby villages and towns. The wani supplied articles that were imported either from Punjab, Ladalh and Central Asia like salt, sugar, tea, pulses, oil, condiments, cheap cloth and snuff.\textsuperscript{23} Lawrence mentioned that a wani used to have trade of various goods amounting about Rs. 20 to Rs. 30.\textsuperscript{24} When his stock finished he replenished his stock from the nearest depot. The wani also lent money to people on interest at rate varying from 24 % to 36% under the system known as Wad.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{21} Ganga Ram, op.cit., p.78.
\textsuperscript{22}Trigonometric Survey of India, Office of Trigonometrical Branch, Survey of India, 1879. Ranbir Singh Library, Jammu, P. 32. See also Hangloo, Agrarian System of Kashmir, p. 122. Till 1898 there were three types of currency in circulation in Kashmir-Hari Singhia introduced by Hari Singh in1820 which valued six annas of imperial rupee, Chilki introduced by Gulab Singh which was valued at ten annas of the imperial rupee and Nanak Shahi which was worth of sixteen annas of the imperial rupee. It was during this year (1898) that the British currency was introduced in Kashmir. See Bamzia, Socio-Economic history of Kashmir, pp.251-53.
\textsuperscript{23} Khan Bahadur Khan Chaudhri Khushi Mohammed, op.cit., p.167.
\textsuperscript{24} Lawrence, Valley, p. 387.
\textsuperscript{25} Under the Wad, Wani (Shopkeeper) lends money to the needy people and the borrower promised to pay this amount within a year in the form of blankets, ghee, apples, grains etc. No bond was signed by the borrower. Only the record of transaction was registered in the daily ledger of the wani. Lawrence, Valley., p. 5
Moreover, the supply of food cereals especially rice for the populace of Shahr-i-Khas who were mostly professionals and state employees was also procured from rural areas through land revenue and by purchasing surplus produce from the local traders called khojas.

The local trade was carried out through the Barter system. Through this system the village traders exchanged their products in the local bazaars in the weekly ‘hath’ (peasant place market) and at annual gatherings which were either religious in nature or organized at special occasions of festivity or joy by the ruler. C.A. Bayley stated there was rise in the number of such haths with the expansion of population and the cultivation acreage. In each Tehsil/Pargana big villages or towns acted as the markets where the transaction of different products took place and from here the products were also traded with other big trading centers.

**Chief Centers of Local Trade**

**Shahr-i-Khas** (Srinagar): Shahr-i-Khas acted as the epicenter of the all business transactions in the province. The merchants from different parts were attracted by the shawls and other products manufactured here. There were several markets at different places in Srinagar like Maharajgang, Maharaj Bazar, Zainakadal etc. In 1870 near Kani Atah Manzil which was the estates of the offspring of Kawaja Hassan Bandi, wazir with the eminent persons and traders constructed shops and it was named as Maharajgang. Maharajgang was built mainly for the convenience of visitors and it contained all the manufactures peculiar to Kashmir. There were several mansions on its outskirts mainly occupied by the shawl merchants and bankers, some of them exhibit beautiful specimens of trellised wood-work and in other respects were very tastefully fitted up. Moreover, the articles imported from Punjab and Central Asia which included shawl wool, salt, snuff etc were also sold here. However in

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26 Lawrence, op. cit., p. 397.
28 Charles Gridlestone, op.cit., p.37.
1890’s it got burnt and some merchants shifted to other areas of Srinagar. Ghulam Nabi Khanyari stated that since the Sultanate period on every friday the people sold their goods in the area around the Jamma Masjid upto Nowhata. Everything used to be available here. Wazir Panoo banned these Friday business transactions and the friday market was shifted to Maharajgang.

Merchants from Kabul took away rosaries, tooth-sticks (miswak) and snuff boxes and pen trays of paper machie. Chandles Gridlestone stated that if their purchase at Srinagar were large they used to pay by draft (hundis) and in normal cases in tomans which they carried with them. The Turkish merchants brought tea, Chinese pottery, musk, shawl wool, felt, silver ingots and so on. The Indian merchants brought piece goods, chintzes, brocades and the inhabitants of Baltistan brought dried fruits, woolen mantles and gold in exchange for which they took rice, iron, and cotton stuffs. Even a few products of Russia such as guns, cooking vessels and tea-urns were imported through Badakhshan.

Anantnag: Anantnag was another chief trading centre. It ranked next to Srinagar in size and importance. Khanabal, Verinag, Doroo and Bijbehara were important centers of trade in this tehsil. Anantnag was known for its gabbas and wood-work articles. Hassan Khuihami stated that unique goods were produced at Anantnag and these were presented and sent by people as gifts to different places. There were many shops of Punjabi traders who mainly carried the trade of tea, ghee, snuff and cotton piece goods. The goods of Breng, Martand and Ich parganas were sold in Anantnag. At Dooro goods from Deoser, Shahabad and Brang parganas were sold in Anantnag. The products produced in Duchinpora, Khapora and Deosar parganas were sold at Bijbehara.

Anantnag was one of the chief centers of shawl trade but after the decline of shawl trade, the chief industries were embroidery work and making floor-cloths and curtains out of the disused woolen blankets. The products of carpenters which looked

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33 Charles Gridlestone, op.cit., p.37
34 Hassan, op.cit., Vol-1, p.263. See Also Pandit Anant Ram, Assessment Report of Anantnag Tehsil 1922, p.5
35 Ibid.
like lacquer works of this town were also in great demand in Kashmir. Their chief products included spinning wheel, candle sticks, cups etc.\(^{36}\)

There were many villages by the river side where the *shali* (unhusked rice) was brought for sale to the *Galladars.*\(^{37}\) The ordinary peasant sold most part of his surplus on the spot to trader or a *Khoja* of the nearest market town or village at the time of harvest. But big land owners generally dealt directly with market towns or *Ghats* and thus gained more than an ordinary peasant. Besides, many villages had a shop or two of their own. They catered the daily needs of the villages like salt, tea, sugar, snuff and on rare occasion cloth. But these traders were not purchasing the surplus produce of *zamindar.*\(^{38}\)

Trade of Anannag *tehsil* within state was carried in wool, wheat, rice, maize, barley, *tilgoglu* (oil-seed) and *Ghabbas.* A large quantity of goods and fruits were sent to Srinagar by river for sale. *Shali* and maize were also exported to Kashtrwar with permission of the concerned authority. Fruits from Anantnag were also exported to Jammu. Exports to Punjab comprised ghee, Banfsha, Guichhis, honey, Putto, lois, timber, apples, pears, walnuts *sarshaf,* linseed, *zeba siah,* *til,* potatoes and *ghabbas.*\(^{39}\)

**Kulgam:** Kulgam *tehsil* came into existence by the amalgamation of the old *tehsils* of Deosor and Shopian in 1902.\(^{40}\) Kulgam served as the market for the surrounding villages. Shopian, Arwani, and Bijibhara and Anantnag in Anantnag *tehsil* served as important market places for the transaction of products of this *tehsil.* Shopian was an important trade centre before the Jhelum Valley road was opened and enormous trade was conducted to India via Shopian.\(^{41}\) The town was known for *ekbari* blanket, apple and ghee. It lost its importance with the opening of Jhelum valley cart road in 1890 which diverted trade to Baramullah. The villagers however found a ready market for


\(^{36}\) *Galladar* was a wholesale or retail dealer in grains like shali, maize, wheat, barley etc. He also advanced money to the cultivator under *wad* system.


their surplus produce, as Gujars and others from hilly tracts of Jammu bought their maize and rice.⁴²

Shopian served as the market place for the southern and western villages of Kulgam Tehsil while Arwani and Bijibhara for rest of the tehsil except the villages situated within the vicinity of Sandran and Vithvitriv rivers which traded their good with Anantnag merchants. Arwani and Redwani were the chief centers of fruits and shali trade. Hanjis mostly lived in these areas and they took main part of the surplus of zamindars to Shahr-i-Khas for sale. Shali and fruits were prominent items of trade of this tehsil's.⁴³

Awantipora: In the Awantipora tehsil there were no big markets. Pampur, Tral and Pulwama had small markets. Some villages had shops which generally carried the trade of articles like salt, sugar, snuff. The main traders were Khojas in the interior and the Hanjis in villages along the river side. The zamindars, therefore, disposed of their surplus grain to Khojas and Hanjis, who took it to Srinagar for sale along with other articles.

Pratapsinghpura: There were no big markets in this tehsil. The surplus of food staples and other merchandise were carried to Shahr-Khas for sale. There were some small shops at Batmalma, Charar Sharif, Badgam, Berwa and Ichhgam. The trade of this tehsil was in the hands of Muslim Khojas.⁴⁴

The export of the tehsil within the state included wool, wheat, rice, maize, barley and tilgugloo(oilseeds). The exports from the tehsil to the Punjab and other parts of India consisted of Ghee, Bonafsha, Guchhi, Kahzaban, honey, pattis, lois, timber, apple, pears, linseed, kuth, shawls, water-Chesnutt, apricot, zera siah, trumbu, til, potatoes, cotton, Qalin(carpets) and silk. Cloth, piece-goods, salt, gur, sugar, tea, iron, brass utensils, snuff, kerosene oil, gram, spices, indigo, mahidi, medicine, sajji, soap, soda, alum, brass vessels were chief imports into Kashmir.⁴⁵

Uttarmachipura (Handwara): Sopur and Bandapur were two significant trading centers in Uttarmachipura (Handwara) Tehsil. Articles produced in the parganas of Kamraj, Zainagir and Karohen and Hamal Ilakas (areas) were sold in Sopore. Putto and fruits formed important items of trade.⁴⁶ Punjabi traders carried on their business at Sopur and Bandapur in cotton piece-goods, brass, copper and iron, salt, sugar, tea, tobacco and petroleum products imported from Punjab. They took non-intoxicating drugs, fibers, fruits, hides and skins, ghee, walnut, bunafsha, guchhis, and singharas. The exportation of potatoes and oilseeds had been prohibited by the orders of the Darbar vide Chief Minister’s no. 3131 dated 24th June 1919 to the revenue minister. Bandapura was also significant due to the office of Commissioner. Moreover, the transport arrangement for Gilgit was made here.⁴⁷ Handwara was another centre of trade but not prominent as Sopur.⁴⁸

Baramullala: Baramullala was an important center of import and export trade of the valley. It acted as a port for trade from Punjab, British India and Afghanistan.⁴⁹ The importance of Baramullah as trade center has considerably increased since the opening of the Jhelum Valley Road, as all imports from Punjab and exports from Kashmir were carried by boats from Baramullah to Srinagar and vice-versa. The cost of carriage was less expensive by water than by the road. Besides, Pattan had steadily grown as an important center of grain market.⁵⁰ It also acted as a market for products produced in Wular Lake region like fish, singhara, nuts and waterfowls.⁵¹

The merchants also took their products to distant areas within Kashmir for sale. Till late nineteenth century owing to poor communication the cultivator who himself was the producer and consumer knew little about the large towns and Shahri-khas. He expected the dealer of goods or agent to come to his door.⁵² These merchants carried mostly the goods of daily use like salt, edible oil, spices, threads, coarse cloth, agricultural implements, utensils and pots to the villages.⁵³ The articles manufactured in one town were traded in far off places. The namdhas and ghabhas,

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⁴⁹ Hassan, op.cit., Vol-I, p.267
⁵¹ Tyndale Bisco, Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p.57
⁵² Hunter, op. cit., p. 569.
⁵³ Lawrence, Valley, p. 387.
the major products of Anantnag wazarat were taken to Shahr-i-khas and from there to other wazarats and parganas. Likewise articles like pattoo and pashmina manufactured in Shahr-i-Khas and its environ were traded in different tehsils and parganas of Kashmir. The pattu was sold at 2½ or 3 yards per chilki rupee. A pair of plain curtain made pattoo with worked borders cost about Rs. 15 to Rs 18 and if the border was worked on all sides, the cost rose by Rs. 8 to Rs 10. The agricultural implements were purchased by the peasants from the tehsil headquarter or pargana. The iron which was manufactured into various agricultural implements and other products was procured from Muzafarabad wazarat. Then it was sold in Srinagar. Hides and skins were important components of trade between rural and urban areas. It was procured in the countryside by a class of people called watals and was taken to Srinagar where different goods were manufactured out of it and then these goods were taken to different parts of Kashmir for sale. The merchants bought the saffron from the cultivator and sold either in Kashmir or outside Kashmir. The bark of birch tree which grow in hilly areas was exported to Srinagar where it was used for roofing of houses and as a substitute to paper.

Grain Trade: So far as the grain trade is concerned, it was the monopoly of the state. Gulab Singh soon after taking over the state of Jammu and Kashmir established granaries called Zakhiras or Kotlas in Shahr-i-Khas(Srinagar) and other towns in the valley where the grain was stored and later supplied to the people at fixed price. Further, he also established a department called Dol-i-Jinsi (the office of grains) which managed the whole grain business in proper manner. This department was under an officer called Dewan-i-Jins. With the help of local officers he made arrangements for the transportations of grains to the public stores, distributed it and maintained accounts.

Moreover, Kashmir was divided into four zones and four collectors Amar Singh, Wazir Punnu, Arjun Mai and Pandit Rajkak were appointed. Prior to this, grain trade was controlled by Sahukars(money lender) who often indulged in.

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54 Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 78
55 Bates, op. cit., p. 44
56 Lawrence, Assessment Report of Lal Tehsil, p.32.
57 Charles Griddlestone, op.cit., p.8. See also Salig Ram Koul, op.cit., p.227.
fraudulent methods and black marketing during the scarcity. Grains collected in the form of revenue were sent to the nearby ghats from where they were dispatched to the Shahr-i-Khas and other towns. Tahvildar appointed by the Hakim-i-Ala was responsible for dispatching grains to Srinagar. He after weighing the state's share carried the grain to the nearby ghat of river and from there was sent in boats to Srinagar. The expenditure of carrying grain from village or source to the ghat and from there by boats to Srinagar was deducted from the total amount of grain for which the Tahvildar was responsible. On its arrival in Srinagar the grain passed into the hands of officers of granaries called Zakhiradar or Munshee who sold it to the people at fixed rates. However, it was not fairly sold to the people of the city especially during the reign of Gulab Singh. Pundit Kunhya Lal who was Kashmir in 1847, noted in his diary:

"The rice which comes in the city was sold before the Munshee of Maharaja and a guard. It depends on their will to give to the poor or not and they generally gave to those who possessed some influence in Darbar and who were their friends and kinsmen."

During the reign of Ranbir Singh, Dewan Kripa Ram, governor (Hakim-i-Ala) of Kashmir started system of weekly rationing to facilitate smooth supply of rice to the people. In 1879 one hundred rice shops were opened in Srinagar as measure to provide rice to people who were in distress on account of famine.

The grain was sold in small quantity not only to grain dealers but also to the common masses. Rice sufficient for fifteen days consumption was sold at one time. Cunningham, who visited Kashmir during Gulab Singh's reign stated "it was impossible to obtain as much as one rupee worth of wheat in city of Srinagar. Not more than six seers could be purchased at one time and this was considered a hardship by the middle class people who had been accustomed to purchase wheat in sufficient quantity." Until the government stock of grain was sold, the private merchants were

60 *Political Diaries*. P.265.
61 Hassan, op.cit. V.2, p.576
62 Hassan, op.cit. V.2, p.589.
63 Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 23
not permitted to deal with grain trade. Even if the merchants intended to do so, they had to purchase the stock from government stores. However, this system changed with the appointment of Dewan Lachman Das as the Hakim-i-Ala (Governor) of Kashmir in September 1884. He removed the restrictions on grain to be sold to the people and allowed them to purchase as much grains as they desired. This was a great boon for the poor classes. Moreover, he also stopped adulteration in the grains trade.

With the view of encouraging the import of rice into the city, the Maharaja and State Council in a meeting held in Jammu on 13th February 1892 abolished the chungi or octroi duty levied on rice on its entry to Shahr-i-khas(Srinagar) from different areas. Moreover, the export of shali and rice beyond Banigal, Shopian and Baramullah except for Ladakh was prohibited. Breach of this regulation was liable to imprisonment of one month or a penalty of Rs. 100 or both.

In 1916-17, on account of First World War, prices of food grains began to rise in Kashmir. In 1817-18 efforts were made to control the high prices of foods grains. However, the arrangements were made in hurry and there was no proper organization to deal with the situation. From 1917-18 onwards the situation became worse and in 1921, the price of one Kharwar of shali rose to eighteen rupees. Even it was recorded that in one instance for the purchase of one Kharwar of rice Rs 24 were paid. This unprecedented rise of prices of foods grains compelled the government of Jammu and Kashmir to adopt a policy of grain control. In 1921 co-operative Stores known as Srinagar Co-operative store was established. The objectives of cooperative stores were acquisition and distribution of grains to the people. Moreover, collection of revenue was reverted to kind which was taken in cash since the land revenue settlement of Lawrence. In November 1921, Board of Control was formed with Hari Singh as its president for making availability of grain to the people. The Board faced difficult situation and often did not approve the policy or action of the managing

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65 Hangloo, Agrarian System of Kashmir, p. 123
66 Measures taken in anticipation of scarcity in Kashmir. Government of India's request to be kept of the crop prospects of 1886. Foreign Department-Secret-E, June 1886, Nos. 7-8, N.A.I.
67 Abolition of Octroi Duty levied on Shali on its entry into the City of Srinagar, Foreign Department-External-A, April 1892, Nos. 89-90, N.A.I, pp.1-2,
committee of Srinagar Co-operative stores. Thus the collection and distribution of grains by Srinagar Co-operative stores became unsuccessful.⁶⁸

In order to enable the people to procure their requirement of grains at reasonable rates without being affected by the rising prices, the Maharaja revised the grain regulations in 1921.⁶⁹

1. The Board of Control would enquire and estimate the produce of various tehsils of Kashmir Valley and would determine the amount of grains required for local consumption and for seed and the surplus stock.

2. The Board of Control may obtain through co-operative societies or any other agent whom they may bestow the responsibility the surplus or such portion as may be required to meet the demands of Sher-e-Khas or other towns of valley. The prices to be paid for grain should be paid in accordance of fixed prices.

3. No person other than an authorized agent of Board of Control shall without the permission of the Board of Control acquire any grain in access of what was needed for a period of one year.

4. For a period of three years from the date on which the regulation comes into force or for a period as the Maharaja may direct no grain shall be imported except by the Srinagar Co-operative Stores or by any other agency which the Board of Control may appoint for the purpose. In special case import of grain by private dealers might be permitted in accordance with the rules framed by the Board of Control.

5. No person would export grain from valley without the permission of Board of Control.

6. Any person who excited or attempted to excite dissatisfaction at this regulation or who endeavored to violate its objects would be liable to punishment of not exceeding two years or a fine not exceeding Rs.1000.

By the end of October in 1922, “Srinagar Co-operative Stores” ceased to exist. It was replaced by “Srinagar Stores” which worked directly under the supervision of the revenue department. In 1925, the name of Srinagar Stores was changed to State Granaries. After the accession to the throne of Kashmir, Maharaja

Hari Singh abolished the Board of Control and placed State Granaries under the direct control of Finance Minister.  

Thus it can be said that during the Dogra period there was a brisk internal trade in Kashmir in spite of constraints of transport and communication which were the perquisites for development of trade and business. This was mainly due to the rural-urban interdependence, owing to the unprecedented increase in the volume of Kashmir’s imports and exports, and improvement of means of communication from the later part of Maharaja Ranbir Singh’s reign. The penetration of Europeans in the economic affairs of Kashmir during the second half of the nineteenth century also augmented the internal trade of Kashmir. The following table depicts the prices of various articles in Kashmir during Gulab Singh’s rule;  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Price per Chilki Rupee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>2 mounds (80kgs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millet</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhusked rice</td>
<td>1 mound and 22 ½ seers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groundnut</td>
<td>1 mound and 10 seers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gram</td>
<td>1 ½ mound (24kgs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>1 mound kham (rough) (16kgs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghee</td>
<td>12 ½ seers (5kgs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustard oil</td>
<td>30 seers (13kgs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honey</td>
<td>20 seers kham (8kgs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomegranate-seeds</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>50 seer kham (20kgs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>1 mound kham (16kgs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wool</td>
<td>30 seer kham (12kgs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homespun cotton cloth</td>
<td>20 meters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger</td>
<td>20 seer kham (8kgs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sliver</td>
<td>5 tola per rupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yarn</td>
<td>18 rupees tola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>6 to 8 annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamb</td>
<td>5 annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow</td>
<td>4 rupees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

71 Foreign Department, February 1874, No. 271-278, N.A.I, p.9-10.
Interprovincial trade

The princely state of Jammu and Kashmir consisted of three main divisions with distinct geographical set up, culture and economy. The province of Jammu was bestowed to Gulab Singh in 1819, Ladakh was conquered by Gulab Singh's general Zorawar Singh in 1834 and Kashmir was transferred to Gulab Singh in 1846 through the treaty of Amritsar.

Jammu was point of entry into Kashmir from British India while Ladakh assumed the same significance so far as the entry into Kashmir on northern side and central Asia is concerned. Kashmir valley occupied the central position of the state and was equally significant for both. These provinces were interdependent for requirements of daily life. To garner a clear view of interdependence and internal provincial trade of these provinces it is pertinent to study them separately.

Trade between Jammu province and Kashmir province

The trade with Jammu was carried through Banihal route via Anantnag, Shahabad, and Banihal road and Shopian road. However, the route was rough and narrow and was unsuitable for vehicular traffic till 1890. Animals were mostly used to carry the articles to the destination. Even some times humans also accomplished this job. This all had great bearing on the trade between the two provinces.
The trade between the two was mainly confined to the locally manufactured articles and agricultural products. Moreover, the imports from British India especially Punjab and central Asia also formed an important constituent of trade between the two provinces. The exports from Kashmir to Jammu included rice, charas, seeds, fruits, wool and cotton cloth, hides, leather, namdhas and dyeing materials. Saffron, the well-known product of Kashmir was another important item of export from Kashmir to Jammu. The products of blacksmiths besides fulfilling the local needs were sent out of the valley where their demand was very high. Jammu was significant in this respect.

The main article of import from Jammu to Kashmir included silver which was actually imported from British India, arms and ammunition were also imported from Jammu. Moreover, cotton goods, turmeric, grains, seeds and raw silk were also imported from Jammu. The cotton goods comprised coarse cloth manufactured in the mufassil in Jammu and Sambha, cotton chintz and prints. Opium was imported from Doda for the Kashmir Excise shops. Wool for the manufacture of puttoo and lois were imported from Jammu.

Moreover, the zamindars of the mountainous regions of the valley used to go to Jammu for labour work in winter and some of them took their home made lois and puttoo products for sale. The following table compiled from the trade reports of different years shows the magnitude of trade between Kashmir and Jammu.

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73 Lawrence, Valley, p. 373
74 Ali Mohammad, op. cit., p. 55
77 This table was prepared from the Trade Reports for the years from 1907 to 1918.
| Year | Imports | | | | Exports | | | |
|------|---------|------|----------------|------|----------------|------|
|      | Quantity in Maunds | Value in Rs. | Quantity in Maunds | Value in Rs. |
| 1905 | 6,346 | 2,24,916 | 7,850 | 2,02,749 |
| 1906 | 6,548 | 11,72,811 | 8,188 | 2,95,136 |
| 1907 | 4,218 | 2,81,666 | 15,082 | 2,26,200 |
| 1908 | 4,904 | 3,40,988 | 24,371 | 3,35,112 |
| 1909 | 4,161 | 2,75,140 | 16,751 | 2,19,215 |
| 1910 | 2,270 | 1,102,57 | 21,584 | 2,98,857 |
| 1911 | 1,891 | 2,12,107 | 26,656 | 2,21,447 |
| 1912 | 3,530 | 70,696 | 4,163 | 81,892 |
| 1913 | 4,938 | 70,824 | 19,450 | 2,04,028 |
| 1914 | 1,028 | 20,005 | 7,353 | 61,082 |
| 1915 | 664 | 14,419 | 6,748 | 64,441 |
| 1916 | 619 | 11,578 | 3,650 | 50,279 |
| 1917 | 120 | 11,578 | 1,565 | 57,365 |
| 1918 | 216 | 6,205 | 2,133 | 26,320 |

**Trade between Kashmir and Ladakh**

Ladakh was incorporated into Dogra dominion in 1834 by Gulab Singh’s general Zorawar Singh when Kashmir was under the Sikh rule. It became one of the provinces of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir in 1846. Ladakh was the entrepot to Kashmir from Central Asia and Chinese provinces of Ruthog and Chang-thang where the shawl wool was produced.\(^78\) The central Asian merchandise were housed here and then supplied to Indian and Kashmiri merchants. Likewise most of the Central Asian traders received Kashmiri and Indian commodities here.\(^79\) Thus Ladakh was strategically and commercially very important.

The trade with Ladakh was carried through the ‘the Treaty High Road which ran from Srinagar to Leh and from there to Central Asia. The major import from Ladakh was *pushm* (shawl wool) which was the main raw material for shawl manufacturing. Dewan Kishan Lal in his report on Kashmir mentioned that the merchants bring the shawl-wool from Ladakh where they procure it at Rs 2 per *seer* Kashmiri and in Kashmir they sold it at the rate of three rupees six annas.\(^80\) Till 1867-68 wool trade was the monopoly of the Kashmir government and the export of Tufhani *pushm* to any other country except Kashmir from Ladakh and Tibet was

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\(^78\) Alexander Cunningham, *Ladakh, Physical, Statistical and Historical*, Sagar Publications, New Delhi, p. 241

\(^79\) All Mohammad Dar, op. cit., p 116

\(^80\) Dewan Kishan Lal, *A Short Account of Kashmir*, Foreign Department-Secret, March 1848, N.A.I.
strictly prevented. With the appointment of British Assistant Commissioner at Ladakh in 1867 this monopoly was abolished and the pushm wool was thrown open to all traders.\footnote{81}{Foreign Department-Political-A, 1868, Nos. 6-7, N.A.I, pp. 4-7.}

Fruits like apricot and currant were other important exports of Ladakh which found a ready market in Kashmir.\footnote{82}{Bates, op. cit. p. 46} Even at present this trade still thrives. Cunningham who visited Kashmir and Ladakh in the 1849-50 writes that, “I have found them (apricot) in all bazaars in the hill states from Kashmir to Kashgar where they were sold two to two and half seer per rupee. Tea which was actually imported from China to Ladakh was exported to Indian territories and Kashmir. The gross annual import is said to have been 1,000 mounds.\footnote{83}{Chitralekha Zutshi, Languages of Belongings, p. 101} A sufficient amount of salt was also imported from Ladakh,\footnote{84}{Lawrence, Valley, p. 393} but it was of inferior quality and was mostly used as fodder for animals. The following table shows imports from Ladakh to Kashmir.\footnote{85}{Foreign Departmenten, Political-A, 1868, Nos. 6-7, N.A.I. p.18}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity in Maunds</th>
<th>Value in Rs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhung</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushm</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>19,490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wool(sheep)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soda Earth</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felts</td>
<td>340 in No.</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chudders(Bulti)</td>
<td>22 pairs</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpets</td>
<td>10 in No.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borax</td>
<td>7maunds</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38,580</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shawls constituted the major item of export from Kashmir to Ladakh during Gulab Singh’s and Ranbir Singh’s reign.\footnote{86}{C. Zutshi, Languages, op. cit., p. 201} Spices worth Rs.1, 000 were exported annually to Ladakh. From there a greater portion of it was then exported to Yarkhand.\footnote{87}{Alexander Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 246-47} Saffron constituted a major item of export from Kashmir which was the only place where it was grown in entire India in large quantities and was of a good
quantity. The annual export of saffron to Ladakh during the period under the study was 1,600 lbs. It was sold at the rate of twenty rupees a seer.88

Hides or dried skin was another item exported to Ladakh during Dogra Period.89 Leather was used for manufacturing boots, bridles and trappings of horses. Tobacco was another item of export from Kashmir to Ladakh. Ghee, different types of cloths, ornaments and leather shoes were other exports to Ladakh from Kashmir.90 The following table shows exports from Kashmir and Ladakh in 1867.91

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity in Maunds &amp; Seers</th>
<th>Value in Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saffron</td>
<td>5 maunds 16 seers</td>
<td>8,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>290 maunds</td>
<td>1,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quince Seeds</td>
<td>1 maunds 10 seers</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honey</td>
<td>6 maunds</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>32 maunds</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currant, dried</td>
<td>15 maunds</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apricot</td>
<td>250 maunds</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>175 maunds</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushmina Chadders</td>
<td>95 thans</td>
<td>5,648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guns and Pistols</td>
<td>15 in No.</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swords</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone Vessels, Iskads</td>
<td>200 in No.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otter skins</td>
<td>16 seers</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoes</td>
<td>820 pairs</td>
<td>820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td></td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88 Bates, op. cit., pp. 43-44
89 Alexander Cunningham, op. cit., pp 247-48
90 Ibid. See also Hassan, op. cit, Vol. II, p. 505
91 Foreign Department, Political-A, 1868, Nos. 6-7, N.A.I. p.18

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External Trade of Kashmir During Dogra Period

Trade with British India

The geographical location of princely state of Jammu and Kashmir was not only significant politically for British Indian government but it also acted as a commercial entry point between British India and Central Asia. The goods exported from British India and imported from Central Asia were exchanged here. The British realized the economic significance of Kashmir soon after its transfer to Gulab Singh especially after the annexation of Punjab by British in 1849 which extended the borders of British dominion towards further north close to central Asia. Moreover, since the formation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in 1846, a significant number of British residents especially the trading community had been clamouring for the extension of greater facilities to conduct free trade in Kashmir.\(^\text{92}\)

Initially external trade of Kashmir was carried by the trading agents of Kashmir government. Certain amount of money was advanced to the traders out of the funds reserved for the purpose and they were charged with moderate rates of interest. Besides this they had always to forfeit a large share of the profits to the Diwan at Jammu and the Ladakh officials. As a matter they were favoured in every way by the officials and had an advantage to the private traders. In this way they had monopolized the trade to a considerable extent. Cayley, assistant commissioner at Ladakh stated, many of such agents were employed at Yarkhand and the trade with Chantang and Lhassa was entirely in their hands and no one else was permitted to go there. Between Kashmir and Lhassa there was an agreement that all the merchandize should be carried through beggar (unpaid labour) in their respective territories and every third year a merchant called ‘Chabba’ used to come from Lhassa with large consignment of goods for ladakh and Kashmir and in the same way one agent from Kashmir visited Lhassa after every third year and return the next year. In all these transaction the officials of Kashmir had direct interest and they preferred these state

agents traders over the private merchants. This had adverse impact on the general trade and gave rise to many abuses.\footnote{Foreign Department-Political-A, 1868, Nos. 6-7, N.A.I, pp.11-12.}

The people with certain quantity of goods crossed the mountains to sell them in the plains of India. Besides this trade, there was trade by professional muleteers or \textit{markabanas}.\footnote{Lawrence. Valley, p. 383} They used to have their own ponies to transport the goods which they purchased for sale in valley.

Maharaja Gulab Singh had imposed protective duties on the import and export of goods. Nicolson noted about this in his official diary on 19\textsuperscript{th} November 1847:

“He had some conversation with a party of Kabul merchants taking tobacco and snuff to Kashmir where from they in turn brought \textit{pattu} and \textit{tosh}, which fetched very high prices in Kabul. They complained of oppressive duties in their own and Maharajah Gulab Singh’s territories but said that in Gulab Singh’s dominion their goods were protected whereas they frequently ran great risks from the plundering between Kabul and Peshawar”.\footnote{C.F., Gwasha Lal Koul, op. cit., p. 102.}

Consequently, the external trade of Kashmir was initially restricted. Maharaja usually farmed out custom duties for a certain amount. The contractor tried to achieve as much profit as feasible. Moreover, the Maharaja also permitted his officials to indulge in private trade. They were allowed to import goods from Punjab almost free of duty. Consequently, keeping in view their interests they opposed the reduction of duty on merchandize. Forsyth said, ‘Maharaja was obsessed with a notion that even after the reduction of high prohibitive duties on imports and export the trade with India could not be promoted. This was studiously impressed on him by his officials’.\footnote{Forsyth Note on the Jammu and Kashmir 1863, Foreign department, July 1863, No.73-75, pp.11-12.}

Ranbir Singh’s reign ushered a new era in the trade of Kashmir. He adopted several measures to improve trade both within the state and with neighbouring regions. He improved the means of transport and communication. The Maharaja also ordered that the custom duty to be collected only at the point of entry into the state.\footnote{S. S. Charak, op. cit., p. 147} He built two commercial centers in Shahr-i-Khas (Srinagar)-one at Maharaj Gang and another at Maharaj Bazar. He also ordered that commercial transaction should take
place there. In 1924 (1867) Ranbir Singh ordered construction of roads with stones to make them compatible for all seasons. New pathways were constructed and old ones were repaired. This all facilitated new markets for the products of Kashmir which earlier owing to improper transport either perished or were locally sold at very low prices. Moreover, to regularize the custom duties, custom regulations were compiled in the initial years of Ranbir Singh's reign. In 1859, these regulations were published, to make people acquainted with rate and procedure of levying the taxes. Moreover, a regular customs department was established.

Davies in his trade report of Punjab of 1863 pointed out the access to the markets of Eastern Turkistan by the natural route passing through Kashmir was virtually barred by the excessive duties levied on goods in transit. The question of reduction was subsequently deliberated with the Diwan Joala Sahai, the Prime Minister of the Maharaja, who agreed on the part of Maharaja to reduce the existing duties to an extent approved by the Lt. Governor, on receiving compensation amounted to one-half of any loss of revenue which might be caused to the Maharaja. Consequently, in 1864, the duties formerly taken by weight or mule load were converted to an ad valorem rate chargeable on the value stated invoice. The reduction on piece-goods was from 30% to 8%, on raw sugar from 150 to 12.8%, on tea from 78% to 12.8%, on spice and drugs from various rates to uniform rate of 12-8-0 and on metals from 21% to 12.8%. These rates were applicable to goods exported to Maharaja’s territory through various routes. Reduction was also affected in duty on goods imported to Punjab from Yarkhand or Maharaja’s dominions.

All these measures led to a marked increase in the trade between Kashmir and the adjoining territories of British India. The following extract from the administrative report of Punjab for 1864-65 reveals; “The reduction of custom duties affected by His Highness last year had led to considerable increase in the trade with adjacent districts in the British territory. The trade with Sialkot was reported to have increased in value from Rs. 1,35,000 to Rs. 1, 71, 00 per annum, that with Jallundur and Hosharpur to

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98 Hassan, op. cit. p. 851
99 Ghulam Nabi Khanyari, op. cit., p.264.
100 Charak, op. cit., p.45
101 Foreign Department-Political-A, 1868, Nos. 6-7, N.A.I, pp.1-2.
have more than doubled."\(^{102}\) The increase was more in cloth and saccharine products. Moreover, trade with Gujarat also increased. The export of salt from India to Kashmir exhibited a similar increase. The shawl wool and saffron exported to Kangra region showed an increase of Rs. 9000.\(^{103}\)

In 1866 on the complaint of British traders of imposing heavy duties by officials at Ladakh, Forsyth brought matter to the notice of Jammu and Kashmir government and the Maharaja was solicited for the removal of the obstructions on this trade. In this regard, he had also deliberations with viceroy where Diwan Nihal Chand, Maharaja’s confident and Wazir Gusain of Mandi were also present. The Lt. Governor of Punjab solicited the authority to depute an Assistant Commissioner at Ladakh to look after the interest of traders with following duties.\(^{104}\)

1. The officer must be cautioned against any interference in the internal administration of the state.

2. The main objective of the officers would be to keep vigil the adherence of the duties on goods fixed by the Maharaja in 1864. Any infraction of the duty which his remonstrance on the spot might be unable to prevent should be promptly communicated to the Punjab Government.

3. To enquire closely into the nature and extent of the traffic, as it stands at present between India and Central Asia and to report the measures which he would recommend to secure a further development of this trade.

4. Lastly, he would collect and communicate all the political information that may come in his way, especially as regarded the progress of events in Chinese Turkistan.

Cayley was selected as first Assistant Commissioner at Leh and Maharaja exhibited great readiness to fulfill the wishes of British government. He rendered assistance to Cayley and adopted measures for the improvement of trade and protection of merchants in Ladakh. He evicted of Hira Nanad who was sent to help

\(^{102}\) Administrative Report of Punjab for 1864-65, J.K.S.A., J.R., p. 32. See also Narsing Das, op.cit., p. 675


\(^{104}\) Foreign Department-Political-A, 1868, Nos. 6-7, N.A.I, p.3.
the Assistant Commissioner, on the charge of obstructing enquiries which Cayley instituted and spying the proceedings of the officer.105

In 1866, the duties levied on goods in Jammu and Kashmir were reduced from 30% and 50% to 8% on piece goods and 12% on Khalliar.106 In 1867, Maharaja decided to impose duty at the rate of 5% on all imports from Punjab to Yarkhand, via Kashmir.107 In 1868 for the promotion of trade and welfare of shawl weavers a duty of Rs 30000 was remitted on all imports and export from central Asia and India.108 In 1869, the duty levied on goods between Jammu and Kashmir was reduced from 8% to 6½.109 Towards the close of 1869, duties on merchandise passing to and from Turkistan were abolished in deference to the wishes of the British government.110

In 1870, a commercial treaty was signed between the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and British. The main object of this treaty was to relieve the trade between British India and Central Asia of the excessive duties levied in the territories of Maharaja of Kashmir. Under its terms, Maharaja reduced duty on goods imported from Central Asia to British India via Kashmir. In return British Indian government agreed to abolish the export duty on Kashmiri shawl and to refund the custom duties levied on all goods imported from British Indian territories to Kashmir, whether for consumption or for export to Central Asia.111 Two joint commissioners were appointment at Ladakh, one each by the British and the Maharaja of Kashmir. They were responsible for the supervision and maintenance of the road, regulation of traffic, enforcement of any regulation agreed upon and the settlement of disputes between all those using the road. In discharging these duties, the commissioners were to be guided by the rules and regulations framed jointly by the British Indian government and the Maharaja. It appears that the traders who carried trade by this

105 Ibid.
106 Bates, p. 102
107 Charak, op. cit., p. 146
109 Bates, op. cit., p. 102
110 Ibid.
route were subjected to the jurisdiction of Joint Commissioners. Kashmir government had no claim to impose any duty or to interfere with the regulation of trade.\textsuperscript{112}

In 1869-70, imports from Punjab into Kashmir were 43,082 \textit{maunds} valued Rs. 7,25,679 and export were 39,826 \textit{maunds} worth of Rs 8,12,472. In 1870-71, the imports from Punjab into Kashmir were 54,396 worth of Rs 7,66,630 and exports 66,816 \textit{maunds} worth of Rs. 8,86,523.\textsuperscript{113}

In 1872, to give effect to article nine of the commercial treaty of 1870, rules were promulgated and were published on 5\textsuperscript{th} July 1872. These provided for the refund of duty on the goods exported beyond Kashmir, provided the goods are declared and sealed, for transmission by certain specific routes. The Maharaja of Kashmir expressed his gratification at the remission of duty on the goods imported from British India and at the refund of duty on goods imported from Europe.\textsuperscript{114} In 1875 these rules were modified, so as to allow refund of duty on goods exported to Turkistan (Central Asia) levied at Leh (Ladakh).\textsuperscript{115}

In 1877, the trade suffered on account of heavy and continuous rains which damaged both agriculture and fruit production. The exports diminished but on account of import of wheat and other grains, the high figures of imports from Punjab were recorded.\textsuperscript{116}

In May 1882, to channelize trade, three prominent merchants, Both Raj, Nand Shah and Samad Joo were appointed as controllers of trade in state.\textsuperscript{117} Thus as a result commercial transactions between Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab cemented further and the total trade of Kashmir during the same year amounted to Rs 26,26,470 which Rs 14,99,040 imports and 1127410 exports. In 1883 exports and imports trade of Kashmir was Rs 10,20,669 and Rs 91,8,091 respectively.\textsuperscript{118} In 1884-85, the import from Punjab amounted 3,40,766 \textit{maunds} valued at Rs 38,49,9 valued at and the

\textsuperscript{112} Jurisdiction of the Joint Commissioner appointed under the Treaty of 1870 between the British Government and H.H. the Maharaja of Kashmir over the Central Asian Trade, N.A.L., p.2.
\textsuperscript{113} Bates, op.cit., p.75.
\textsuperscript{114} Foreign Department-Political-A, 1872, Nos. 367-367, N.A.L, p.1.
\textsuperscript{115} C. U. Aitchison, op. cit., p 7.
\textsuperscript{117} S. S. Charak, op. cit., p. 147
exports 864,474 maunds worth of Rs 54,59,130. In 1885-86, the total value of trade of Jammu and Kashmir State with Punjab was Rs. 89, 12,735. While the imports amounted to Rs. 37, 77, 822 and the exports amounted to Rs. 51, 34, 913. In 1886-87 the imports into Kashmir from Punjab 398,987 maunds valued at Rs 53,86, 572 and the exports amounted 8,432, 399 maunds valued at Rs 53,86,572. In 1887-88, the imports from Punjab to Kashmir was 478,790 maunds which valued Rs Rs. 55,10,303 and the exports from Kashmir to Punjab was 1007, 498 maunds valued at Rs 69,31,738. In 1888-89, the imports were 4,65,476 maunds valued at Rs 49,57,047 and the exports from Kashmir included 9,76,421 maunds worth Rs 81,23,443. For 1889-90 the imports were 5,40,062 valued Rs 56,41,947 and the exports amounted 1,050,057 maunds worth Rs 66,40,851. In 1890-91 the imports were 4,73,063 maunds valued Rs Rs 56,61,734 and exports amounted 9,78,089 valued at Rs 55,99,542. In the year 1891-92, imports were 5,65, 314 maunds valued Rs 66,16,145 and the exports were 1,289,249 maunds worth Rs 65,05,088. The imports for 1892-93 amounted 4,98,867 maunds valued Rs 48,68,247 and the exports were 1,818,825 valued at Rs. 53,33,092.\textsuperscript{119}

From 1890's things changed in Kashmir rapidly and had considerable impact on trade and commerce. With the opening of Jhelum Valley in 1890's isolation of Kashmir came to an end. However, on account of floods in 1893 trade of Kashmir was affected. In 1898, Singh Hari Singhi and chilki rupees were abandoned and the imperial currency was introduced in the state. It made the transaction of goods convenient and boosted trade.\textsuperscript{120} Sialkot-Jammu railway was thrown open to traffic in 1899 which linked Jammu with British India via Punjab Banihal cart road. Besides, bridges were constructed at various places like Domel, Kohalla and other places.\textsuperscript{121}

In 1898 total imports from Punjab were 2,68,069 maunds worth Rs. 35,80,083 and the total exports amounted 75,575 maunds worth of Rs. 1,10,869. Next year imports from were 2,64, 635 maunds valued Rs 40,42,847 and the exports from Kashmir to Punjab were 208,584 maunds valued Rs 19,22,673.

\textsuperscript{119} Lawrence, Valley, p.385.
\textsuperscript{120} Hashmatullah Khan, op.cit., p.78.
For the year 1900 import from Punjab constituted 20,2,228 worth Rs 40,68,443 and exports from Kashmir to Punjab were 3,95,450 maunds worth of Rs.26,99,031. The decline was in this year was on account of decrease in the imports of spices, snuff, cotton goods, dyeing material, iron and tea.

In 1903, imports from Punjab were 4,42,685 maunds worth Rs. 46,44,680 and the exports were 2,78,422 maunda worth Rs.52,50,194. The imports from Punjab for 1904 amounted 5,32,891 maunds worth Rs. 51,52,532 and the exports from Kashmir to Punjab were 2,04,141 worth Rs 34,92,212. In 1905 the imports constituted 3, 45,789 maunds worth 60,12,242 and exports 6,98,231 maunds worth Rs. 43,84,392. For the year 1906 imports from Punjab were 51, 7,475 maunds worth Rs. 63, 34,264 and exports from Kashmir to Punjab were 8,83,141 maunds worth Rs. 53,88,406.

In 1907 there was satisfactory progress in the development of trade of Jammu and Kashmir state in spite of the visitation of cholera in Kashmir and scarcity in Jammu. The total imports into Kashmir were 4,56,790 maunds worth of Rs. 77,30,650 and the total exports from Kashmir were 977305 maunds worth of Rs 5668447.

In 1908 on account of heavy rains during summer and prolonged winter Jhelum Valley road was blocked and also Garhi Habibullah road, an alternative in winter and inclement weather, was blocked. A very long time elapsed in repairing these roads to make them suitable for traffic. As a result trade of Kashmir did not demonstrate significant development as it had restrained the import and export of merchandise. Moreover, the Maharajgang bazaar, the chief center of trade in Srinagar was destroyed by the fire in which several traders lost enormously. The total import of goods into Kashmir was 3,74,488 maunds worth of Rs.78,97,954 as against 4,56,790 maunds worth Rs 77, 30,650 in1907(T.R. 1908-p18). The export for the same year was 9, 68,369 maunds valued at Rs 55,28,040 as against 9,77,305 maunds worth of Rs56,68,467 in 1907.

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In 1909 trade of Kashmir province prospered. The import for the year constituted 4, 52,000 mounds valued at Rs 71,92,118 and the exports were 100,0602 mounds worth of Rs 59,41,349. The year 1910 was a normal year for Jammu province but for Kashmir it was adverse. There was cholera in summer and winter was very long. Moreover, the markets in Kashmir were overstocked in the previous year and there was no scope for large imports. The total imports for the year was 3,98,161 mounds worth of Rs 75,52,885 while the exports were 970,537 mounds valued at Rs 60,39,130.\textsuperscript{127}

In 1911 total trade demonstrated a rise in both quantity and value. The rise was more evident in salt import which had considerably decreased in the previous year. The goods 4, 75,088 mounds in quantity worth of Rs 85,43,431 were imported. The export for the same year were 9, 67,541 mounds worth Rs 65, 97,125.\textsuperscript{128}

In 1913 and 1914 evinced gradual increase in over trade of the state. The total imports into Kashmir in 1913 were 4,82,900 mounds worth Rs 91,78,800 and the exports in the same year 15,76,500 mounds worth Rs 66,57,700. In 1914, the imports into Kashmir were 5,07,100 worth Rs 97,10,200 and the exports amounted 11, 48,400 mounds valued at 52,45,000.\textsuperscript{129} However, this pace of progress in trade slows down in 1915. The trade has fallen both in quantity and value. The major reasons for this were the outbreak of World War First which not only restricted the export of the articles from Kashmir to Europe but also decreased the number of tourists to Kashmir who used to purchase the Kashmir products in considerable number, poor outturn of crops and the restriction of state authorities on the export of grains from the state.\textsuperscript{130} The imports into Kashmir amounted 4,35,157 mounds valued Rs 71,45,061. Salt decreased for the want of demand. It was available inconsiderable stocks in the markets on account of excessive imports in the previous year. Woolens and sugar also suffered in the same manner. Scarcity in Punjab and consequently the high prices restricted the import of grains. Moreover, restraints on the export of grains had also diminished the demand of import of grains in Jammu and Kashmir State. The total exports were

\textsuperscript{128} Trade Report of Jammu and Kashmir for the Year 1911-12, N.A.I., pp.8-12.
\textsuperscript{129} Trade Report of Jammu and Kashmir for the Year 1914, N.A.I., p.3.
10,58,575 maunds worth of Rs 63,66,82. The main reason for the decrease was the restriction on the export of grains.\textsuperscript{131}

The year 1916 was better for the Kashmir province so far the trade was concerned. Absence of any natural calamity, fair weather and mild winter facilitated the opening of the roads in the Jhelum valley throughout the year and the influx of sufficient number of visitors contributed to the progress of trade. The importation of salt and sugar registered a considerable increase. However there was a fall in arms and ammunition on account of war and high prices and in cotton piece goods.\textsuperscript{132} The total import for the year was 4,45,992 maunds valued at Rs 1,01,26,420. This increase as compared to the preceding year was 11,745 maunds worth of Rs 27,81,358. The export of articles also registered a great increase in respect of volume and value compared to the previous year. The exports for the years amounted 16,60,081 worth of Rs. 99,82,682.\textsuperscript{133}

The total imports into Kashmir for the year 1917 amounted 4,15,679 maunds valued at Rs. 1,12,58,863 and the export were 13,47,406 maunds valued at Rs. 1,13,52,283. Thus this year witnessed decrease in both imports and exports.\textsuperscript{134}

There was again fall in the magnitude of trade after 1917 which continued till 1922. The decline was more during the years 1919 and 1921. The reasons which caused reduction in trade in 1919 included prohibition on the exports of grains and pulses in order to check the rising prices and to meet the local demand, poor production of fruits in Kashmir owing to severe frost and heavy snowfall and decrease in the production of ghee due to the widespread disease among the cattle. Moreover, the decrease on account of low turnout of silk owing to the closure of the silk factory for repairing purposes led to the reduction in the silk export from Kashmir. Besides, the end of world war first ceased the export of woollen products which were in much demand during war.\textsuperscript{135}

\textsuperscript{134} Trade Report of Jammu and Kashmir for the Year 1918, N.A.I., pp.3-5
Trade in 1920-21, increased by 68604 *maunds* in volume and Rs 2164460 in value. However, there was decline in 1921-22. It was mainly on account of the restriction on the export of rice and potatoes to meet the local requirement.\(^{136}\) In 1922 total imports were 5,84,253 *maunds* valued at Rs 1,67,41,324 and the exports amounted to 16, 46,331 *maunds* worth of Rs 1,24,91,140. For 1923 the total import amount 4,74,520 *maunds* valued at Rs 1,40,84,951 and the exports 14,86,479 *maunds* which was worth Rs 1,17,49,930. In 1924 the total imports and exports of Kashmir were 5,81,530 *maunds* worth of Rs. 1,58,75,719 and 15,30,115 valued at Rs. 1,35,12,653 respectively.\(^{137}\) In 1924 imports had decreased in both volume and value by 30,266 *maunds* and Rs 5,39,842. This was mainly due to the fall in the import of salt while that in value was caused chiefly by the decrease in import of silk, sugar etc. The exports increased volume and dwindled in value by 2, 77,768 *maunds* and Rs 82,624 respectively. The increase was chiefly in timber, raw silk and in cocoons and the fall was in fruits and potatoes.\(^{138}\)

In 1925 total imports were 5,51,264 *maunds* worth of Rs 18,07,888 and the exports 1,53,38,877 valued Rs 1,34,30,020. During 1926 import trade improved in both volume and value also. The total import were 5,75,966 *maunds* valued at Rs 1,53,35,877. Liquors, oil, tea etc contributed to the increase of imports. However, export of articles decreased in both volume and value. The total exports amounted to 18,07,883 worth of Rs 1,34,30,029. The decline was in grains, fruits, ghee, etc. *Kuth* export suffered greatly on account of low prices.\(^{139}\)

In spite of the geographical locations and economic self sufficiency, Kashmir could not escape from the economic depression of 1929. The depression had rendered the markets precarious on account of the curtailment of purchasing power. Most of the products of Kashmir were luxury articles with markets in India and the different parts of the world. These suffered and there was a considerable reduction in their trade. Government had attempted to overcome this slump in trade. The government

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\(^{136}\) Ibid.


continued to run the silk factory at a dead loss and reduced taxes to a considerable extent on the export of carpets to enable the manufacturers to continue their business.\textsuperscript{140} This situation began to improve in 1932. This was due to the improvement in communications and the repair of bridge at Khola which was destroyed by floods in the previous year. As compared to the previous year the imports had increased slightly both in quality and value. However, the export registered a slight decrease. The total import for the year valued Rs 26, 13,392.\textsuperscript{141} However, the recovery was very slow and it was not until 1936-37 that considerable improvement was noticed in trade. For next two years there was a slight increase and with the outbreak of world war second in 1939, the prices of food grains rose rapidly and the export of food grains stopped. This had adverse impact on trade in general and that with Punjab in particular. Moreover, the imports of some goods totally ceased during this period. However timber and silk were in great demand for war purposes and the export of these commodities increased and even continued after the war.\textsuperscript{142}

**Exports from Kashmir to Punjab**

Three routes were followed to take these goods to Punjab and other parts of India from Kashmir. The first one was direct to Jammu via Islamabad, Shahabad and Banihal and from Jammu it lead to Punjab. It was the shortest and direct route from Kashmir to the plains of British India via Banihal and Jammu.\textsuperscript{143} The second was via Pir Panjal and it reached Gujarat. It was used since Mughal period. Jhelum valley route which ran along the river Jhelum from Baramullah to Kohala in Punjab was another route for carrying trade with Punjab.\textsuperscript{144} The trade was carried by the Garhi Habibullah road via Muzeefarabad when the Jhelum valley road was closed.\textsuperscript{145}

During Dogra period articles exported to Punjab included both agricultural and non-agricultural products. Medicinal plants which grew naturally in the mountainous regions constituted an important item of export from Kashmir to different parts of

\textsuperscript{141} Trade Report of Jammu and Kashmir for the Year 1932, N.A.I., pp.3-5
\textsuperscript{144} Lawrence, op. cit., p. 383
\textsuperscript{145} C.G. Todhunter, op.cit., p.4. See also Rai Bhadur Pandit Bag Ram, *Census of India*,1891, p.4.
India. These plants were collected by the people during the summer seasons when they went to see their cattle and sheep. Chob-i-kot (saussurea Lappa), the leaves of gao zabban (macrotomia benthami) and leaves and seeds of Hyoscyamus niger, the henbane were largely exported to Punjab for trade.  

Fruits: Fruits, most important and unique produce of Kashmir constituted an important item of export to Punjab. On account of inadequate roads and transport facilities the fruit trade was in its infancy till the first regular settlement. People on their backs and ponies carried fruits to Punjab for sale. But after the British intervention, fruit trade flourished to a considerable extent and the value of fruits was fully appreciated by the cultivators. Walnuts, from which oil was extracted was largely exported to India. Almonds and cherries were other important fruits exported to British Indian territories. Apple and pears though in small magnitude were purchased by Punjab traders who sent them later to their native state. J.L Kaye stated the produce of each fruit tree was sold to a trader as soon the fruit began to grow. It was the responsibility of the trader to watch the fruits. The price received per grated tree ranged from Re. 1 to Re. 2.8. Another method of fruit selling was the dali system. A good tree produced two dalis of fruits and on average on dali was worth of Re.2. The annual export of the above fruits amounted to 90,000 mounds or 3210 tons. E. F. Neve stated the total annual export of apple, pears, and walnut was 100,000 mounds or about 3500 tons.

Oil-seeds: Oil-seeds constituted another article of export. However, its export was very inadequate. This was mainly because instead of ghee, the people in Kashmir used oil for cooking and lighting purposes. So there was great demand of oil-seeds in Kashmir which restricted its export. In 1887, when Lawrence arrived in Kashmir as settlement officer he observed that “If petroleum replaced vegetable oil as illuminant, the oil-seeds would be exported in large quantity.” Saffron constitutes another export

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146 D. K. Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, op. cit., p. 273. See also Lawrence, op. cit. p 389.
147 E. F. Neve, Beyond Pir Panjal, p. 44
149 Youngusband, op.cit., p 187, See also E. F. Neve, Beyond Pir Panjal, p. 44
150 Lawrence, Valley, p. 389

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from Kashmir to Punjab where it was used for various purposes like flavoring and for tilak by Hindu women.\textsuperscript{151}

**Wool:** Wool which was obtained from the sheep reared by people was used to produce a number of articles for domestic use as well for sale. The women in winter spun the wool and the men wove it into light excellent blanket which when completed, were manufactured into the *pattoo* or home spun cloth. Wool and Woollen goods like blanket manufactured from wool formed an important article of export to India. In 1889 total export of woolen product to India was worth of Rs7, 17,721.\textsuperscript{152} Europe and America were the main importers of carpets. Carpets of inferior quality with aniline dyes were manufactured in small factories were exported to India.\textsuperscript{153} The long and square shawls were exported to Bombay and England and jamewar shawls were exported to Bukhara and Khurasan.\textsuperscript{154}

**Ghee:** Ghee was mainly produced by people of mountainous areas formed an important item of trade. The annual export was 720 tons.\textsuperscript{155}

**Timber:** Timber abundantly available in Kashmir was exported to Punjab. Timber floated down the river Jhelum to Punjab. Besides sufficing the demand of fuel, it had great significance for the construction of railway tracks and furniture. The total export of timber from Kashmir was £350,000 in value.\textsuperscript{156}

**Silk Products:** Silk constituted most important constituent of Kashmir’s trade with British India. During Gulab Singh’s reign the income procured from the silk trade amounted to one lakh.\textsuperscript{157}

Hops, used in brewing were exported to Muree and other breweries in India.\textsuperscript{158} Potatoes grown in Kashmir also formed an important article of export. Hides and skins which were also important articles of internal trade were also exported to India and other areas. The total annual export of hides and skins from Kashmir was

\textsuperscript{151} Khasta, op.cit., p. 109

\textsuperscript{152} Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 390. See also E. F. Neve, *Beyond Pir Panjal*, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{153} A. Mitra, op.cit., p. 9.


\textsuperscript{155} Younghusband, op.cit., p. 188.

\textsuperscript{156} Ibid. See also Neve, *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, p. 44

\textsuperscript{157} Lal Ganesh Lal, op. cit., p. 36

\textsuperscript{158} E. F. Neve, *Beyond Pir Panjal*, p. 61
estimated 350 tons.\textsuperscript{159} The seeds of quince (\textit{bahidana}) were exported to Punjab on large quantities.\textsuperscript{160} It fetched sufficient economic gains to the people of Kashmir. The Punjabi merchant purchased morels (\textit{headder}) from the villagers in the hilly areas where it was abundantly available and then exported to Punjab.\textsuperscript{161} Kashmir produced good quality of fibers but it was not the major item of export as in Punjab it was produced on large scale and was exported to Kashmir. Export of articles from Kashmir to Punjab and other areas in 1862;\textsuperscript{162}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Article</th>
<th>value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shawls</td>
<td>Rs 12,00000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woolen piece goods</td>
<td>Rs 40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chob-i-Khot (Medicinal Plant)</td>
<td>Rs 16,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saffron</td>
<td>Rs 20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quince Seeds</td>
<td>Rs 5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td>Rs 15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw Silk</td>
<td>Rs 7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Rs 15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper-Machie Articles</td>
<td>Rs 6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zirah Siyah (Caraway Seed)</td>
<td>Rs 3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spices</td>
<td>Rs 26,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Rs 1416500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Imports from Punjab to Kashmir**

The imports from Punjab to Kashmir constituted a variety of articles of both daily use and luxury items. Some prominent items are as under.

**Salt:** Kashmir being far away from the coast was deficient in salt production. Contrary to Indian people Kashmiris consumed more salt. So salt was in great demand. Though some salt was imported from Ladakh but that could not suffice the local needs and was mainly used as food for animals. The major portion of salt was imported from India. Every effort was made to encourage this trade. The total annual import of salt from Punjab was 7000 tons.\textsuperscript{163}

\textsuperscript{159} Younghusband, op.cit., p. 188
\textsuperscript{160} D. K. Ram, Gulzar-i-Kashmir, P. 275
\textsuperscript{161} Ibid. See also Lawrence, Valley, p. 389.
\textsuperscript{162} Hargopal Khasta, op.cit., p. 110
\textsuperscript{163} Lawrence, pp. 395-96
Sugar: Sugar was imported into Kashmir from India on large scale. In Kashmir sugar was regarded by people as luxury item and people were very fond of using it in their food and tea. The internal production of sugar could suffice the local requirements.

Tea: Tea which was widely consumed in Kashmir was another important article of import. The tea cultivation was not practiced in Kashmir due to climatic constraints. There were large imports of Surat tea from Karachi and Bombay and Kangra tea from Kangra Valley and its vicinity. Brich tea was imported from China through Lahasaain in large quantities and was chiefly consumed in Ladakh and Kashmir.

Cotton Goods: Cotton piece goods constituted another item of import from India. Initially trade in cotton goods was not so much extensive and it increased after 1890’s on account of opening of new roads and communication links with British India. It had adverse impact on the indigenous cotton production. Prior to 1890’s cotton produced in Kashmir was sold Rs 4-1-2 imperial per maund and after 1890’s the price per maund of cotton decreased to Rs. 2-14-6. Annually 900 to 1000 tons worth £100,000 found its way to Kashmir. Lawrence mentioned that cotton piece goods were used mostly by the people of Srinagar city and towns. However, a small portion of it found its way to villages.

Metals: Metals especially brass, iron, copper and other metals were imported from India. But their import was limited because the people in Kashmir during the early Dogra period did not use metal utensils were not used for cooking. Instead earthen pots were in use.

No doubt, Kashmir had rich iron ore deposits but it was mainly used for manufacturing agricultural implements. Iron was imported from India to suffice the needs of state.

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164 E. F. Neve, Beyond Pir Panjal, p. 44
165 Ibid.
169 Lawrence, Valley, p. 395. See also, E. F. Neve, Beyond Pir Panjal, p. 44
170 Ibid.
171 Lawrence, op. cit., p. 395
Snuff: The trade in snuff was carried in Kashmir. Every Wani’s shop had a row of bottles containing snuff which was sold in small packets made of birch barks. It was imported from India. The best snuff was imported from Peshawar.\textsuperscript{172}

Thus during the Dogra period in spite of poor communication and natural constraints, brisk trade relations developed between Kashmir and British India especially with the neighboring state of Punjab in a myriad of articles. List of articles imported from Punjab and other areas to Kashmir in 1862.\textsuperscript{173}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of article</th>
<th>Worth of Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English Cotton cloth</td>
<td>Rs.75,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brocades etc.</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanket and Namdhas</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearls</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>2 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spices and Medicine</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar candy</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits (Afghanistan)</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Trade between Kashmir and Central Asia**

Kashmir and central Asia had trading affiliation since time immemorial. The trade relation between the two regions boosted under the rule of the Sultans. With annexation of Kashmir by Mughals the commercial ties of the two regions consolidated further. Before the discovery of sea route to Europe all the trade routes connecting Eastern Europe and countries of middle and Far East lay across this region.\textsuperscript{174} Under Afghan and Sikh rule these relations cemented further. The commercial ties with Central Asia had great significance for the economic prosperity of Kashmir. Not only was the *pashmina* or shawl wool imported but it provided ready

\textsuperscript{172} Ibid
\textsuperscript{173} H. Khasta, op. cit., p. 110

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markets for the products of Kashmir.\textsuperscript{175} Trade between Kashmir and Central Asia was carried through the Treaty High Way road.

The means of transporting the articles from the source to the destination were varied and time consuming. They were inadequate for the transportation of perishable goods. Coolies, ponies, mules and horses, yaks and asses were the vital means of transport. Moreover, these means of transport were not suitable for all the seasons. The movement of goods in bad weather and winter came to a halt which paralyzed trade and commerce. This scenario of transport and communication changed after late nineteenth century when wheeled vehicles began to use the carriage of goods for trade.

**Imports into Kashmir from Central Asia**

The imports from Central Asia were numerous and varied. Many goods were directly imported to Kashmir from central Asia and many exported to India also were exchanged in Kashmir. The sources furnished us a long list of articles imported into Kashmir from Central Asia during the period of our study.

**Shawl wool** (*pushm*): Shawl wool actually obtained from the wild goat was the basic raw material for manufacturing shawl. Shawl industry being one of prominent industries of Kashmir was in need of *pushm* for manufacturing shawl. It was imported into Kashmir from Tibet, Turfan and Kharasan in Central Asia via Ladakh and Yarkhand by the caravans.\textsuperscript{176} The shawl wool of Turfan in Yarkhand was superior.\textsuperscript{177} It was brought to Kashmir by caravans through Kashgar, Yarkhand and Leh route. The total annual import from these provinces was eight hundred loads.\textsuperscript{178} During early Sikh period it varied between five hundred to one thousand horse loads each of which was equal to 300 lbs.\textsuperscript{179} From Kashmir it passed on to the various cities of India-Amritsar, Lahore and Ludhiana.\textsuperscript{180} This trade had great significance for the economy of Kashmir as many people earned their livelihood. Many more were associated with the manufacture of shawl and its trade. The annual yield from shawl manufacturing

\textsuperscript{175} Bates, op. cit., pp. 90-91
\textsuperscript{176} Hassan, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 403
\textsuperscript{177} Mitra, op. cit., p. 3. See also Hassan, op. cit., p. 403
\textsuperscript{178} Banzai, *Kashmir and Central Asia*, Light and Life Publishers, Delhi, 1980, p. 30
\textsuperscript{179} Moorcraft, p. 165.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid. See also Lawrence, Valley, p. 376
and trade to the state was thirty-five lakh of rupees.\textsuperscript{181} Thus, it is very apt to conclude that shawl manufacturing and shawl trade with Central Asia was a good contributor to the economy of Jammu and Kashmir state.

**Tea:** Owing to cold climate tea was widely used in Kashmir. Till the end of nineteenth century China and Japan were the leading producers of tea especially in Asia. So most of the tea was imported to Kashmir from China via Ladakh and Tibet.\textsuperscript{182} W.H. Bellew who was on his way to Kashgar from Kashmir in 1873, mentioned "We met some small parties of coolies carrying tea to Srinagar. The loads were packed in oblong bundles sewed up in sheepskins and were carried on the back in a sort of wooden saddle, worn like a knapsack." \textsuperscript{183}

**Namdhas:** Though *namdhas* were produced in Kashmir but the production was not sufficient for the needs of people and their quality was also inferior. The *namdhas* manufactured in the cities of Kashgar and Yarkhand were the major imports into Kashmir. In Kashmir the *namdhas* of Yarkhand were embroidered before being exported. As a result these fetched higher prices.\textsuperscript{184} This trade assumed greater significance when the shawl industry showed signs of decline, with the outbreak of Franco-German war in 1870.

**Carpets:** Though the carpet industry was well established in Kashmir, it could not suffice the needs of Kashmiri people. The carpets were also imported from Yarkhand to Kashmir and Indian cities via Kashmir.\textsuperscript{185} These were superior in quality compared to that of Kashmir.

**Ponies:** In the absence of motor vehicles as means of transport the movement of goods and people especially till the end of 19th century was by animals like horse, ponies, and yaks. The ponies carried the loads and articles for sale or consumption. Ponies were imported from Yarkhand in large herds.\textsuperscript{186} There was a market in Srinagar called Yarkhand *Sarai* where the sale of imported ponies took place.

\textsuperscript{181} P.N.K. Bamzai, *Kashmir and Central Asia*, p. 31
\textsuperscript{182} E. F Knight, op. cit., p. 12. See also E. F. Neve, op. cit., p. 44
\textsuperscript{183} Bellew, op. cit., p. 100
\textsuperscript{184} Bamzai, *Kashmir and Central Asia*, p. 31
\textsuperscript{185} Bamzai, *Kashmir and Central Asia*, p. 32
\textsuperscript{186} Bamzai, *Kashmir and Central Asia*, p. 33
Silver: Silver which served the raw material for fabricating different articles of daily use and ornaments was imported from Central Asia via Yarkhand and China Tartary.\textsuperscript{187}

The other imports from Central Asia included charas, velvets, coarse silk, gold, turquoise, musk, tobacco, chini, coral musk, taistin, mamira, salt, blankets, furs like kahruba, mumira and chobi-chuni.\textsuperscript{188} The following table shows the magnitude of import from Central Asia to Kashmir.\textsuperscript{189}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Quantity in maunds</th>
<th>Value in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1,891</td>
<td>81,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1,826</td>
<td>62,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1,903</td>
<td>79,285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,163</td>
<td>1,61,747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1,026</td>
<td>71,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1,867</td>
<td>1,39,424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>2,030</td>
<td>1,35,974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>1,959</td>
<td>1,09,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1,581</td>
<td>1,14,236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1,746</td>
<td>1,43,665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1,066</td>
<td>1,30,809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>2,419</td>
<td>2,40,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>2,18,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>4,25,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>3,66,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>3,57,824</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exports from Kashmir to Central Asia

Shawl: Shawl was used as a body covering, scarf or turban as well as attire by kings, queens and nobles. It was one of the leading exports to Punjab and Central Asia.\textsuperscript{190} Like western countries, shawl was popular and used by the affluent sections of society in Central Asia.\textsuperscript{191} Moorcroft, who visited Kashmir in the twenties of nineteenth century mentioned, that the merchants of Turkistan, Kabul and Persia were getting shawl goods manufactured in Kashmir in conformity with the requirements of their

\textsuperscript{187} Dewan Kishan Lal, *A Short Account of Kashmir*, Foreign Department-Secret, March, 1848, Nos. 66-70. See also Sufi, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 584

\textsuperscript{188} Ali Mohammad, op. cit., p.118. See also Bamzai, *Kashmir and Central Asia*, pp. 31-32

\textsuperscript{189} Table was prepared from the trade reports of these years.

\textsuperscript{190} Hassan, op. cit., Vol. p 497.

customers at home. In Bokhara Kashmiri shawls were used in khilats and presents to Russian authorities in Central Asia. This enhanced the demand of shawls. The Tibetan traders exchanged their raw wool for manufactured shawls and sold them in various markets of Central Asia where from these were carried to Peking (China) and other cities of Central Asian countries. Shawl was also sent to Kabul through Baramullah pass.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh took many special steps to encourage shawl trade with Central Asia. In 1865 when the emissaries arrived at Tashkent they stressed the importance of friendly relations for the promotion of Kashmir’s trade with region. The authorities responded favourably to the envoy of the Maharaja and instruction were issued to discuss the development of bilateral trade. However, the trade in shawls with Central Asia reduced after 1877 when China occupied eastern Turkistan.

Moreover, shawl was also an important item of trade with Europe especially in nineteenth century as it was very much in fashion. European trade was dominated by France with total percentage of 80% followed by America 10%, Italy 5%, Germany 1% and Great Britain 1%.

**Saffron:** Saffron was used as an emollient and incense, by the Chinese and Tibetan monks in large quantities in their daily prayers. Next to shawl, it was an important article of trade between Kashmir and Central Asia. From Kashgar, saffron was sent to Persia and even to Greece which increased the demand of saffron. The trade in saffron yielded sufficient income to both state and people.

**Kuth (Aromatic costus):** Kuth, a naturally grown product on the mountains of Kashmir at an elevation of 7,000 feet was exported to China via Punjab and Bombay, where it was burnt in temples for fragrances. It was used as the chief ingredient in various incenses and medicines. In 1864 Jammu and Kashmir State obtained nearly

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192 K. Warikoo, op. cit., p. 65
193 Political Diaries, p.209
194 K. Warikoo, op. cit., p. 100
195 Bates, op. cit., p. 58
196 Hassan, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 403
197 Barmzai, *Kashmir and Central Asia*, p. 33
198 Bates, op. cit., p. 43
90,000 from the sale of this root.\textsuperscript{199} Walnut oil was exported to Tibet which brought considerable profit to the people.\textsuperscript{200} The following table shows the quantity of exports from Kashmir to Central Asia.\textsuperscript{201}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year</th>
<th>Quantity in maunds</th>
<th>Value in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>1,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>17,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>6,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>2,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>12,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{199}Banuza, Kashmir and Central Asia, p. 34
\textsuperscript{200}Bates, op. cit., p. 47
\textsuperscript{201}Table was prepared from the trade reports of these years.
Conclusion
Conclusion

The Dogra rule in Kashmir history marked a departure from medieval to modern era. Kashmir witnessed change in almost all aspects. Jammu and Kashmir regions formed two separate entities with their distinct socio-economic and political structures till mid-nineteenth century. In 1846 they were blended into what was known as the 'Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir' by a truce concluded at a place more than 300 miles away and without the inclusion of a single Kashmiri native by two factions representing the British colonialists and Jammu dominion respectively; total strangers to Kashmir. Some historians consider it as a sale of Kashmir which not only relocated the political masters but also facilitated numerous transformations in economic, political and socio-cultural realms as well. It had a special significance in the annals of the history of Kashmir.

The transfer of Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu in 1846 entailed among other things, the improvement of the deteriorated economic affairs of the valley. However, in spite of some measures of improvement in both agrarian and non-agrarian economy, like the introduction of rationing system to ensure a regular supply of grains to the people and reduction in *nazarana* (a tax levied on shawl weavers) and endorsement of change of master and regularization of *begar* (forced labour), no extraordinary progress was reported and achieved. Thus he continued the legacy of the Sikhs with slight manipulations.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was to some extent more enlightened than his father, Gulab Singh. At the very outset he introduced some measures to refurbish the economic condition of state by reducing land revenue and by abolishing certain cesses like marriage tax, besides improving the means of communication. Measures like importing of food grains from Punjab were also undertaken to reduce the severity of natural calamities. But no concrete result was achieved on account of apathy of corrupt officials and of the Dogra bureaucracy dominated by Kashmiri *Pandits* and Punjabis.

After Pratap Singh's accession, during the period from 1889 to 1905 when the Maharaja of Kashmir was deprived of his powers of governance and these were vested in State Council, economic transformation commenced. Land revenue
settlements under experts from British India were completed. Moreover, a comprehensive economic policy was laid, irrigation system was undertaken on modern lines by constructing number of canals under the supervision of expert British officials. Experts were called and deployed to develop the industries on modern lines. Thomas Wardle was entrusted with the work of developing the Silk industry. After him Lawrence and Walton took the charge of sericulture and contributed to its development. Raj Bagh silk factory was established with the efforts of Walton. Seeds were not only imported from Japan and other countries but efforts were made to explore new markets for its products. Moreover rules and regulation were promulgated to secure raw material and markets for industrial output and produce of cottage industries. In 1902, Agriculture Department was established in Kashmir which tried to promote the interest of peasants by introducing scientific methods, better implements and improved seeds and manures. In 1906 under the aegis of the Agricultural Department, Pratap Model Farm was established near the Shalimar garden to popularize the use of better seeds and agricultural appliances and also to introduce improvements in the mode of cultivation.

Maharaja Hari Singh who was very much impressed with the development of European countries during his visit tried to reform the economy of Kashmir. Agriculturist Relief Act was enacted in 1925, to protect the agriculturalists from the extortion of money-lenders who charged high rates of interest. In 1933, in order to check the transfer of land to non-agricultural class who had no knowledge of cultivation, through sale and mortgage, the Alienation and Right of Prior Purchase Act was enacted. Moreover, Maharaja Hari Singh also signed an agreement with Tata industrial group in 1940 for the expansion of their industrial enterprise in Kashmir. This all contributed to the expansion and development of the economy of Kashmir.

The economy of state in general and that of Kashmir valley in particular incorporated all the components which characterized modern economies, Agriculture, horticulture, industries and handicraft, trade and commerce, taxation system, mineral wealth and pastoralism all existed in Kashmir during the period of my study.

Agriculture, the long standing occupation of masses and a vital source of food formed the predominant sector and mainstay of the economy of Kashmir during Dogra period. Rice being the chief food of people occupied most of the cultivable
land in a growing season. It occupied most cultivable area and was grown up to an altitude of 7000 feet. Most of the peasants were engaged in rice cultivation. The rest of the food crops which included wheat, barley and maize were also grown in the valley over a significant portion of land. Pulses of numerous types constituted the dry land agriculture in Kashmir, to satisfy the other requirements of the populace. Commercial crops like oil-seeds, cotton, saffron, tobacco, and indigo apart from satisfying the local requirements were also cultivated for market in Kashmir valley during Dogra period. Besides, some products which grew in the wild also augmented the economy of Kashmir.

However, in spite of rich soils and availability of plenty of water for irrigation praised by almost all those who visited Kashmir, the production was not satisfactory. This gives rise to enquire what actually contributed towards the low production. This was due to the apathy of the state to this sector of economy especially during first two rulers and exploitation of peasants on the part of corrupt officials. Wingate stated that the revenue system was such that whether the cultivator worked hard or not he was left with barely enough to get along with next harvest. Lawrence also argued that the revenue was so exorbitant that the loss of one or two is enough to ruin the village. Ranbir Singh himself confessed when he told Richard Temple that the ‘official were corrupt and thwarted any improvement. Moreover, traditional agricultural technology, absence of chemical fertilizers and pesticides were other chief constraints in the development of agriculture. Cow-dung and rotten grass as manure could not sustain the fertility of land for greater time and did not support the cultivation. The peasants who were supposed to be in the fields were usually sent to carry the loads of food stuffs and other requirements for the troops engaged in subduing the rebels and guarding the frontier areas, where from only few returned back. This caused periodic migration of peasants from Kashmir in pursuit of earning which led to the scarcity of agricultural labour and on other hand played a vital rule in the emergence of wage labourers. Had this forced labour (begar) been undertaken in any other season and homogeneously involving all the section of people, it would have had least adverse repercussions on agrarian production. The natural calamities in the form of earthquakes, floods, famines and droughts before which the government was helpless always handicapped the progress of agrarian sector and forced the peasants to migrate to other regions which further augmented dearth of agricultural labour.
Above all the Kashmiri peasant contrary to his counterpart in Jammu groaned under the heavy taxation and was discriminated by denying proprietary rights during the second half of nineteenth century which he retained even during the oppressive Afghan and Sikh regimes as well. The ruler had the claim over the whole land and the cultivator could be evicted at any moment on any ground. He was left with only one-third of the produce and out of which he had to manage all his expenses which was not possible and he had to live for most part of the year on aquatic products and wild fruits. As a result no surplus was left which could have been invested for the improvement of agriculture and for the development of other sectors like industries and trade, which were suitable alternatives to gear up the economic prosperity of a region which produced fruits and natural products in abundance.

The collection of land revenue was haphazard and ruthless. Initially no permanent assessment was implemented and there were frequent changes in the assessment whenever the state desired. One system followed the other which was in no way better than the preceding one. The frequent change in land revenue assessments failed to bring substantial change and transformation in the economic relations of classes associated with agriculture and land revenue administration and the prosperity of peasants was totally thwarted. However the institution of land revenue settlements since 1887 registered the transformation of the conditions of agrarian classes. Through a uniform system of measurement these ensured the mapping of holding and fixed the rate of assessment according to the fertility of land. Moreover, these settlements infused a sense of belonging among the cultivators by defining their rights in land. But these settlements could not change the subsistence nature of agriculture.

Industrial sector of Kashmir during Dogra period witnessed great changes. Besides, the adoption of native methods of production, European technology and application were instituted in the manufacturing sector of Kashmir, which augmented production. European firms and traders penetrated in the economic affairs of Kashmir which caused great transformation. It exposed the Kashmiri products to the European countries and accelerated their demand. Consequently, the markets for the products expanded. The Europeans firms got products as in the case of shawl, silk and carpet, which was manufactured according to their choice and exported to European markets. However, on the other hand it made the economy of Kashmir, especially the secondary sector subservient to European markets. Consequently, decline of certain
industries was due to the plummet of demand of their products in Europe like shawl industry after 1870's. The two World wars and economic depression of 1929 affected the demand and consumption of products of Kashmir.

Shawl industry which engaged a large number of people and was a major contributor of income to the state saw its decline after 1870. During Ranbir Singh's reign the best shawls were produced in Kashmir. But on account of low wages, exorbitant taxation and unhealthy conditions in workshops this occupation was in no way a better option of livelihood. In 1870 on account of Franco-German wars and later in 1877-78 due to the famine, this industry collapsed. The shawl weavers never strived to revive this industry. They either migrated to Punjab or opted for other occupations in spite of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's efforts to render miscellaneous assistance.

Silk industry was one of the prominent industries of this period. It provided employment to the greater section of population and also generated a heavy income in the form of taxes to the state. It became significant after the decline of shawl industry. After 1890's modern machinery and better quality seeds were imported from European countries. However, the condition of workers was no better and ultimately in order to redress their grievance they started a revolt in 1924.

Carpet industry during the reign of Gulab Singh and early years of Ranbir Singh was not much renowned but after the collapse of the shawl industry and involvement of European businessmen in the carpet trade, it assumed prominence. The shawl weavers were encouraged to take up this profession which for them was not too intricate. European firms were established in Srinagar and its environs. It became the second important industry of the state after the silk industry in terms of the number of workers employed and the income it generated. Moreover wine manufacturing a new enterprise was started at Gufkar. Other crafts like paper-machie, metal works, wood works and namdha and ghabha making flourished during the period.

However, owing to the state machinery and other factors, the industries during the period under review were subjected to certain constraints which hindered their growth and expansion. Firstly, most of the industries were unorganized especially during the second half of 19th century. The manufacturing unit or work shop consisted of two or three rooms and even sometimes one room in the case of metal works. They were devoid of adequate facilities for work. For most industries the raw-material was
imported from Central Asia and other parts of India which in the absence of adequate means of transport was a cumbersome process. Hence, the raw-material became expensive. Consequently, the production was low, contrary to that of India and other countries. Generally the goods were manufactured by hand, except in the case of the shawl industry where looms were operated. The condition of workers in these units was deplorable on account of low wages and heavy taxation which often compelled them to borrow money from moneylender on interest under Wādā system.

Trade and commerce during the Dogra period was hampered till the last decade of 19th century on account of poor and traditional means of transport and communication. It was because of this, the fruits which were abundantly grown and formed an important item of export, mostly perished in the orchards and houses of owners; otherwise they could have fetched a sufficient income. With construction of road and use of new means of transport since 1890's the magnitude of trade expanded and fetched good fortunes. However, during world wars and great depression of 1929 as in other economies affected the economy of Kashmir especially trade which was to a great extend dependent of markets outside princely state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Thus, it can be concluded that the economy of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, particularly of the ‘Valley of Kashmir’ during the Dogra period embodied all the ingredients which characterized modern economies. There were changes and developments in Kashmir in different spheres during Dogra period which directly or indirectly contributed to growth and development of economy of Kashmir. But this development could not percolate to the lower level i.e., common masses. It was mainly on account of oppressive taxation policy, apathy of the officials and the long absence of the Maharaja from the administration of Kashmir. Moreover, natural calamities like famine, droughts, floods etc too enhanced the miseries of people of Kashmir. This all brewed discontent among the masses and manifested in resistance in various forms against the state like migration to other places, deserting the lands and abandoning of work and finally from 1931 onwards, a well-organized struggle against the atrocities of Dogra regime under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad. Later on, in 1936, Kisan Mazdoor Sabha was formed at Kaba Marg village in the Anantnag tehsil to redress the grievances of peasants.
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Appendix
Appendix-1

TREATY OF AMRITSAR

Treaty between the British Government on the one part and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other, concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the right honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B one of Her Britannic Majesty's most Hon'ble Privy Council, Governor General, appointed by the Hon'ble, Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person,- 1846.

Article 1

The British Government transfers and makes over forever, in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body all the hilly and mountainous country, with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore state, according to the provisions of Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March 1846.

Article 2

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively for that purpose, and shall be defined by a separate Engagement after survey.

Article 3

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of Rupees (Nanukshahce), fifty lakh to be paid on ratification of this Treaty and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.
Article 4
The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5
Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6
Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military Force, the British troops, when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his possession.

Article 7
Maharaja Gulab 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.

Article 8
Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of the articles V, VI, and VII of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated March 11th, 1846.

Article 9
The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10
Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve
perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Kashmiri shawls.

Done at Amritsar, the sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty six, corresponding with the seventeenth day of Rubbee-ool-awal 1262 Hijree.

F. Currie. H. Hardinge.

H.M. Lawrence.

By order of the Right Hon’ble the Governor-General of India.

F. Currie,

Secretary to the Government of India,

with the Governor-General.

Appendix-2

Commercial Treaty between the British Government and the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, his heirs and successors, executed on the one part by Thomas Douglas Forsyth, C. B., in virtue of full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo, Viscount Mayo of Monycrower, Baron Naas of Naas, K. P., G.M.S.I., P.C., etc., Viceroy and Governor-General of India and on the other part by His Highness Maharaja Ranbir Singh in person.

Article 1. With consent of the Maharaja, officers of the British Government will be appointed to survey the trade-route through the Maharaja's territories from the British frontier of Lahoul to the territories of the Ruler of Yarkand, including the route via the Changchenmo Valley. The Maharaja will depute an officer of his Government to accompany the surveyors, and will render them all the assistance in his power. A map of the routes surveyed will be made, an attested copy of which will be given to the Maharaja.

Article 2. Whichever route towards the Changhenno Valley shall, after examination and survey as above, be declared by the British Government to be the best suited for the development of trade with Central Asia, shall be declared by the Maharaja to be a free highway in perpetuity and at all times for all travelers and traders.

Article 3. For the supervision and maintenance of the road in its entire length though the Maharaja's territories, the regulation of traffic on the free highway describes in article 2, the enforcement of regulation that may hereafter be agreed upon, and the settlement of disputes between carriers, traders, travelers or others using that road, in which either of the parties or both of them are subjects of the British Government or of any foreign State, two Commissioners shall be annually appointed, one by the British Government and one by the Maharaja. In the discharge of their duties, and as regards the period of their residence, the Commissioners shall be guided by such rules as are now separately framed and may from time to time hereafter be laid down by the joint authority of the British Government and the Maharaja.
Article 4. The jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall be defined by a line an each side of the road at a maximum width of the two statute kors, except where it may be deemed by the Commissioners necessary to include a wider extent for grazing grounds. Within this maximum width, the surveyors appointed under article I shall demarcate and map the limits of jurisdiction which may be decided by the Commissioners as most suitable, including grazing grounds; and the jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall not extend beyond the limits so demarcated. The land included within these limits shall remain in the Maharaja's independent possession; and, subject to the stipulations contained in this treaty, the Maharaja shall continue to possess the same rights of full sovereignty therein as in any other part of his territories, which rights shall not be interfered with in any by the Joint Commissioners.

Article 5. The Maharaja agrees to give all possible assistance in enforcing the decisions of the Commissioners, and in preventing the breach of evasion of the Regulations established under article 3.

Article 6. The Maharaja agrees that any person, whether a subject of the British Government, or of the Maharaja, or of the Ruler of Yarkand, or of any foreign State, may settle at any place within the jurisdiction of the Joint Commissioners, and may provide, keep, and maintain, and let for hire at different stages, the means of carriage and transport for the purposes of trade.

Article 7. The two Commissioners shall be empowered to establish supply depots, and to authorize other persons to establish supply depots at such places on the road as may appear to them suitable; to fix the rates at which provisions shall be sold to traders, carriers, setters, and others, and to fix the rent to be charged for the use of any rest-houses or serais that may be established on the road. The officers of the British Government in Kulla, &c., and the officers of the Maharaja in Ladakh, shall be instructed to use their best endeavours to supply provisions on the in-dent of the Commissioners at market rates.

Article 8. The Maharaja agrees to levy no transit duty whatever on the aforesaid highway; and the Maharaja further agrees to abolish all transit duties levied within his territories on goods transmitted in bond through His Highness' territories from Central
Asia to India, and vice versa, on which bulk may not be broken within the territories of His Highness. On goods imported into or exported from, His Highness' territory, whether by the aforesaid free highway or by any other route, the Maharaja may levy such import or export duties as he may think fit.

**Article 9.** The British Government agree to levy no duty on goods transmitted in bond through British India to Central Asia, or to the territories of His Highness the Maharaja. The British Government further agrees to abolish the export duties now levied on shawls and other textile fabrics manufactured in the territories of the Maharaja, and exported to countries beyond the limits of British India.

**Article 10** This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, has this day been concluded by Thomas Douglas Forsyth, C.B., in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo, Viscount Mayo of Money crower, Baron Nass of Nass, K.P., &C., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Ranbir Singh, aforesaid; and it is agreed that a copy of this Treaty, duly ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, shall be delivered to the Maharaja on or before the 7th September, 1870.

Signed, sealed, and exchanged on the second day of May in the years 1870 A.D., corresponding with the first day of Bysak Soode Sumbut 1927.

(Signed) M AHARAJ RANBIR SINGH.

(Signed) T. D. FORSYTH.

MAYO. (Seal).

Appendix-3

Translation of an Arzie from the Chowdries, Manufacturers, pundits and Inhabitants of Kashmir to the British Government.

God be praised that He has appointed kings to do justice and this cannot be done by any other but you. It is well known that under your government in every city the people live peace without prejudice for or against their religion and without distinction from this cause your rule has extended from England even to Hindustan. People of other countries who heard of the manner in which you administer justice desire your government. We ourselves are very unfortunate in that our country has come under your power. The entire world knows that we are not employed by anyone but work with our own hands for our livelihood. Although the former kings were very kind towards us, yet the deceased Sheikh treated us more like sons, after his death his son also behaved in the same way towards us. But the English by giving this country to Raja Gulab Singh are oppressing us, his tyranny is so well known, that it needs no explanation and his ancient subjects are witnesses to it.

In giving over the country to Raja Gulab Singh, who fears no God, you are oppressing us and so breaking your own rule which is based on justice. Because you are doers of justice and cherishers of your subjects. We beseech you not to oppress us in this way but to place over us any one but not Gulab Singh. We will not disobey your orders but if it be that we are to have him, we shall all run away both small and great, subscribed by the seals of two hundred and seventy-five persons.

(True Translation)

Sd./- John Lawrence
Commander and Superintendent,
Jullunder Doab, On Duty at Lahore.
Appendix-4

An Arzie from the Hill Chiefs to the British

It is known to the entire world that the Chokliane kings gave our ancestors titles and were very kind of them and they lived in peace. After the time of these kings, all the Jagirs were resumed which straitened them much when the deceased Sheikh became ruler of the country he showed them great kindness and administered justice. After his death his son and successor, Imam-ud-Din showed us double that kindness.

When we heard the news of this country being about to be governed by the English we rejoiced greatly and thought they would show us the same kindness as they had shown to others. But hearing that the country made over to Maharaja Gulab Singh caused us great sorrow, as we know well that he oppressed the people greatly over whom he ruled formerly, dethroning some kings, and imprisoning others without any cause whatever. Through this fear we opposed him; nevertheless we are not unwilling to be in subjection to you, we hope you will not give this country to Raja Gulab Singh but to any other person whom you may think fit and we will obey him but if you give it to him, the people will all run away and for us there is no other remedy besides fighting with him.

(True translation)

Sd/- John Lawrence

Commander and superintendent,

Jullundar, Doab, on duty at Lahore.

Foreign Department, 1847, No. 1125, NAI.
Appendix-5

Weights and Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmiri Weights and Measure</th>
<th>Modern Weights and Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Pao</td>
<td>250 gms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Poa = 1 Seer</td>
<td>1 kg (960gm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Seers = 1 Trak</td>
<td>5 kgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Manwata = 1/4 Trak</td>
<td>1 kg 250gms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Traks = 1 Kharwar</td>
<td>80kgs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source; Bates, Gazetteer of Kashmir, Bamzia, Socio- Economic History of Kashmir