Social Reform and Role of Private Agencies in the Development of Modern Education

Chapter VII

In British India private agencies—Christian missionaries and enlightened Indians, had played a significant role in the dissemination of modern education. Obviously these agencies would have different goals for their educational involvement. Like the policy of missionaries was to convert people to Christianity, and school was used as an agency of conversion. Indian private enterprise in the new education was confined to those who believed it to be an effective agent of modernising Indian society or those who had been trained in the new education and had found it to be a pass port to new jobs which at once brought money, status and power. Certainly missionaries were pioneers when there were few other agencies to shoulder the responsibilities for education. Few would, therefore, doubt that the origin of the present system of English in India is to be sought in the activities of early Christian missionaries. But not just the beginning, they were largely responsible for implementing and stabilising the western institutional model of education with English as medium of instruction.

In this chapter we will discuss the role of non-government agencies in the development of education in Kashmir. The Anglican missionaries particularly the Church Missionary Society London (CMS) made a significant perhaps the most lasting contribution to the modern education in Kashmir. Moreover we will look into the role of socio-religious reform movements in the proliferation of education. Pandits of Kashmir were the first who became conscious of the social degradation of their society; therefore they formed various socio-religious reform movements. Muslim who took lately to new education also established a number of social and religious reform movements, which gave stress on the expansion of modern education among Muslim community.

7.1 Christian Missionaries and Modern Education in Kashmir

Kashmir society was more or less static until the advent of Christian missionaries in Kashmir in second half of the 19th century, when a significant change came about. Besides educational development which resulted from the activities of the missionaries in Srinagar, the different administrative methods of the British affected the social structure and social institutions of the city in particular and Kashmir in general.

A number of causes attracted the missionaries to Kashmir, as Prof. Khan noted, “Kashmir was a remarkably suitable region by its geographical position, by its salubrious climate, and by its beauty and fertility, to become a great Christian missionary centre for the surrounding countries of Tibet, China, Yarqand, Afghanistan and Turkistan. Secondly from the dawn of history Kashmir had been a centre of various religions—Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam.” “Thus”, according to Khan, “they expected that Christianity will hold its sway in the valley.” More importantly, missionaries were not oblivious of deplorable condition of the people of Kashmir who had suffered a great deal at the hands of both rulers and priests. There was, in addition, ignorance, disease, poverty and deterioration of morals. It was a call, which the missionaries could not resist. Their aim was to win the country for Christ and they cherished the belief that the spread of Gospel would provide a panacea for the sufferings of the people.

Church, hospital and education were the main instruments which were used by the missionaries to propagate their mission. In the orthodox Kashmiri society it was impracticable to establish a church. Thus missionaries started their work with medical mission by opening a dispensary in Srinagar. In 1865, the CMS allocated a substantial sum for the medical work in Kashmir. Dr. Elmslie, a man of saintly nature, was deputed to found a hospital. He had to face a number of problems on account of the hostile

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5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid
9 It is to be noted that, before the arrival of missionaries, though the Dogra rule had been established for nearly two decades, the Maharaja had not cared to open a hospital, a dispensary or even a health centre at the government expense. Valley was often faced with epidemics, which resulted in high mortality rate. P. N. Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta: A History of Kashmiri Women from Early Times to Present*, New Delhi: Pamposh Publishers, 1959, p. 207.
10 On 2nd May, 1864 Mrs Clark, the wife of Rev. Robert Clark, of Punjab missionaries, opened a dispensary in the city which speedily attracted patients in crowds. Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 139.
attitude of Dogra administration.\textsuperscript{11} It was only in 1874 when Maharaja Ranbir Singh granted an ideal site for the mission hospital near the Dal Gate, Srinagar. For about three quarters of a century the Mission Hospital became a place of asylum to the poverty stricken men and women of the Valley.\textsuperscript{12}

The popularity of the medical work makes the missionaries famous among Kashmiris. Therefore, they started to work with their important tool—education, which had given significant, results in other parts of India. More than twelve hundred years ago, when Britain was very slowly becoming a Christian country, a twofold work of Evangelization and education went on together, and the missionaries were teachers as well as preachers and pastors. Therefore, missionaries adopted the same things in Kashmir to get close to the society.\textsuperscript{13} At this juncture Dogra State was unable to start a school except some maktabs and Pathshals run by mullahs and purohits where upper class people were getting their children educated.\textsuperscript{14}

In April 1864, Robert Clark opened a school in Srinagar despite the opposition of the authorities. It was an important event in the history of Kashmir. Such parents who sent their children to the missionary school received domiciliary visits from the police. They were told if their children went to school they would be banished to Gilgit.\textsuperscript{15} Some conservative people goaded by the authorities strongly opposed the school established by Robert Clark. But Clark wrote in his journal that it was not the people who opposed the missionaries but the government did not like missionary activities. On Nov. 2, 1864, Clark had to leave Srinagar along with his family as the question of a winter residence in the Kashmir presented another serious problem; with his departure the school was closed.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{11} He was disallowed to have a spacious house for conducting his duties. Consequently he had to take refuge under a chinar tree to look patients. Bazaz, \textit{Daughters of Vitasta}, p. 209
\textsuperscript{12} Now-a-days hospital is known as Chest Disease Hospital Druggen, Srinagar and is one of the leading hospital of tuberculosis under the state control.
\textsuperscript{14} Bazaz, \textit{Daughters of Vitasta}, p. 209.
\textsuperscript{15} Gilgit was a place where state sent people for Begar (forced labour) Khan, \textit{History of Srinagar}, p.138.
\textsuperscript{16} It was the policy of the Dogra Maharaja’s to keep the outsiders especially Europeans missionaries away from the state affairs. A special order was issued, in 1854 by then Governor General Lord Dalhousie, at the request of Maharaja Gulab Singh, which forbids European visitors to remain in Kashmir during winters. Ibid.
Social Reform and Role of Private Agencies in the Development of Modern Education

The real beginning of the modern education in Kashmir started when Rev. J. H. Knowles laid the foundation of CMS School on the hospital premises in Srinagar in 1880. The opening of the C.M.S. School was a red letter day in the history of Kashmir. It ushered in a new era by imparting scientific education on modern lines. P.N. Bazaz rightly remarks that the opening of the C.M.S. School in the Valley was next only to the introduction of Buddhism by Ashoka in the 3rd century B. C. and the acceptance of Islam by Renchan Shah in the 14th century.

In its infancy the C.M.S. School had to face a number of problems. The most pressing problem was that of school building; it was owing to this difficulty that Clark’s first school was abandoned in 1864. The Government’s orders prohibiting missionaries from renting a house for a school building were still in force. Thus the C.M.S. had no alternative but to start the school on the hospital premises.

In 1880 there were only five pupils reading in the C.M.S. School, perhaps the problem of accommodation accounts for this small number of pupils. In those days there was no bus or Tanga (chariot) service in the city. As such pupil could not be attracted in large numbers on account of the hospital building being outside the city. It is said that those who attended complained of distance. To remove this obstacle the missionaries obtained in 1883 a building at Sheikh Bagh in Srinagar. This act is said to have given rise to opposition and suspicion, as Knowles wrote:

“During the past year the mission school has been terribly opposed by the government of this country. The reason for the increased opposition was our renting a large house in the city, and transferring our mission school there. His Highness the Maharaja will not permit any person to possess a room or a stick in the Valley.”

It was 1890 that the government permitted the C.M.S. School to shift the school down to the city, and it was moved from the hospital premises to a large house and compound on the river bank in the middle of the city (Fateh Kadal). As a result of this the number of students increased to about 200 in 1890.

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20 Quoted in Khan, *History of Srinagar*, 163
21 Ibid.
While discussing the future objective of the C.M.S. School Mr. Knowles wrote: “Our desire and intention is to bind Kashmir with a girdle of mission schools. It will be a very expensive business and already we are spending from our slender store, but we are determined to go on, assured that He who has opened wide the door, will furnish us with the means. We put our trust in Him.”  

Mr. Knowles had to undertake ten years of spade work in laying the foundations of the C.M.S. School. He was assisted by Rev. C. L. E. Burges, A. B. Tyndale and also by some Kashmiri teachers in the work of building up the school. Rev. C. L. E. Burges taught mathematics; A.B. Tyndale started a technical school and taught Brahman boys carpentry. Miss Helen Burges was the first lady who established the kindergarten system in Srinagar, which was useful, but for several parents it was the wastage of time so they removed their children from the school.

7.1.1 Role of Tyndale Biscoe in the Reformation of Education

Within a brief period of ten years C. M. S. Primary School was, by degrees, raised to the high standard and the number of students could be counted in hundreds. The joining of the Rev. Tyndale Biscoe heralded the dawn of a new era in the development of modern education in Kashmir, when he came in 1891; there were 250 pupils on the school rolls. Mr. Biscoe, who had come to assist Mr. Knowles, was amused to find boys wearing a very dirty night-gown in the class room. The foreheads were plastered with red paint. It is also interesting to note that in the beginning the mission boys were permitted to bring Kangri (fire pot) with them in winter. Commenting on the existing system of education Biscoe observed:

Never shall I forget my feelings of surprise and amusement and, to speak the truth, disgust also: Surprise, to see those bundles of human beings squatting on the floor, most of them with their mouths open, as different from that class called boys as I had ever imagined; amusement, on account of their ungainly costumes, for everyone seemed to be wearing a very dirty nightgown, and their foreheads were plastered with red paint, numbers of them wore huge golden earrings which would have turn the lobes of their ears off, if they had not been supported with string over the tops of their heads; disgust at the offensive smell that pervaded that classroom, for

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22 Quoted in Khan, History of Srinagar, p. 163.
practically everyone of these bundles had a conceded fire pot full of hot charcoal, which was emitting fumes of carbon mixed up with unwashed bodies and dirty clothes in which they had been sleeping at night as well as wearing them at all the day. It was wintry weather, for it was the month of December the city lay deep in snow and the streets consisted of pools of black filth; hence their long garments brought much of the city mud into school. Then, as I inspected more closely, I noticed that finger nails were abnormally long.\textsuperscript{24}

Nearly all 250 boys receiving instructions in the C.M.S. School were Kashmiri Pandits. Mr. Biscoe had to strive very hard to make his mission a success. In the beginning he found himself beset with numerous difficulties in imparting a new type of education to the Brahmans boys. Although it was a herculean task but Biscoe succeeded to some extent in dispelling ignorance. He himself says that he had come to Kashmir to learn rather to teach. How and what to teach the eccentric pupils was the immediate question which perturbed the mind of Biscoe. So before embarking on any big plan, Biscoe made a thorough study of Kashmiri people. This study revealed to him that oppression, corruption, exploitation and superstition had robbed the people of their very spirit.\textsuperscript{25}

To these oppressed and enslaved people Biscoe was determined to give an education, “which would revive their spirit, which will help them to develop character and become active citizens.” To him the goal of education was to produce good citizens, imbued with spirit of serving the universal father by following the example of Christ in serving their fellows who will thus be able to help the people of their country to cast aside the reproach which has been put upon them by their neighbours, until they become in character a worthy complement of their most beautiful country.\textsuperscript{26}

The main problem of education in Kashmir was the irregular schooling. We are told that for years the school started at 11 a.m. but students did not attend till midday. Punctuality was not insisted upon because it was not the hard and fast rule in the indigenous schools. The holidays were the holidays of Hindu calendar. Biscoe writes, “One never could tell whether all the school or only half would be present on any given

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{25} Khan, \textit{History of Srinagar}, p. 164.

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
day, for some boys would think one god important and some another. How could there be discipline when boys could attend or stay away at their own whim?"\(^\text{27}\)

The first step taken by Biscoe therefore ‘was to insist upon punctual attendance by pupils. For this purpose he introduced regular hours of instruction. Holidays were arranged on the western pattern. Thus started the process of westernization in C. M. S. School. At the beginning these measures were opposed by the pupils. It was a startling innovation in the city, for the government schools in Srinagar were not thus organized. To discourage absenteeism among the boys, the practice of fine was introduced. This was not enough; sometimes the boys did not come to school pretending to be sick. To check this tendency Biscoe hit on a novel scheme of visiting the houses of the boys.\(^\text{28}\)

**7.1.2 Introduction of Co-Curricular Activities**

“The object of the mission school” as Ernest Neve observed, “is to train all the boys and not only those who are clever or strong, we give fewer marks to mind than body because Kashmiri boys prefer their books to their bodily exercise. Marks in sports are not given necessarily to the best cricketer or swimmer but to the boy who tries most.”\(^\text{29}\)

Biscoe was of the view that, to change the orthodox nature of Brahmans who believe in gentility, there was a need to introduce athletics of all sorts. once Biscoe asled the the to play a game, they boys refused to play for them as Biscoe exclaimed, “It means we shall grow muscles on our bodies and then we shall become low caste folk like the boatmen and coolies. If we play games, we shall have to run about and be energetic and people will laugh at us for gentleman must not hurry. It is also interesting to note that the Brahman boys even refused to touch a football when it was introduced in Kashmir by Biscoe. “We cannot kick this ball” said the Brahman boys, “for it is an unholy ball and we are holy Brahmans.”\(^\text{30}\)

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\(^\text{28}\) Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p. 165.


\(^\text{30}\) An example of how superstition reigned supreme is evident from a parent’s letter to Mr. Biscoe, in which he requested Biscoe to grant his son exemption from joining playing teams and boating etc. for the astrologers had advised his son not to take part in games. Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 263.
Plate 7.1: Boys of CMS School Playing Football

The parents also regarded the sports as waste of time. They were of the opinion that boys were sent to schools to get a degree and that seems to be their aim. Games were useless to them, whereas, passing examinations meant employment in government services. But Mr. Biscoe did not budge an inch from the path he had chosen. To him school meant an institution where citizen’s mind and bodies were to be trained. The great task which Mr. Biscoe addressed himself, writes Ernest Neve, “was to teach the boys manliness, loyalty, charity, manners, cleanliness, truth and other virtues.” For bodily development he laid stress on social service, games and sports. The boys were taught swimming which formed a special aquatic sport of the school. In the mission school it was a rule that everybody must pass the swimming test before reaching the thirteenth birthday and failing thus, his school fees was so much enhanced that it becomes impossible for him to remain in the school.

Mr. Biscoe instituted a regular system of social work in the C.M.S High School. This met with marked success and induced a spirit of manliness among his pupils, who did yeomen service during floods, rescuing families which were stranded, “on the roofs of rickety houses or small patches of dry ground” His system was combined with the

31 Ibid., p. 267.
32 Neve, Beyond Pir Panjal, p. 258.
33 Biscoe, Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p. 267.
inculcation of moral and physical courage e.g. in cholera outbreaks, fires, floods, boating etc., boys were sent to rescue the effected families.  

7.1.3 Curriculum

Curriculum for missionary schools was framed according to the prescribed syllabus and courses of study of the Punjab University to which they were affiliated. But, the examination system greatly disturbed the missionaries who had aimed at a total development of the students’ personality rather than on fulfilling the demands of the examination. Eric Biscoe writes:

“One of our most difficult problems is combating the unhealthy habit of cramming for the public examinations of the Punjab University. Passing of examinations kills all desire to learn of anything outside the syllabus. Provided you pass, it does not matter by what means, or whether you know anything thoroughly or not. Examinations of this kind put a premium on cheating and on parrot mentality, and are terrible handicap to the advance of true education.”

It therefore demanded at different levels the up-gradation, revision and of course the amendments to the prescribed syllabus of the Punjab University. Besides, General Knowledge was introduced as an additional subject to meet the requirements of the school examination. In this regard Eric Biscoe writes that “in spite of our effort, general knowledge is still looked upon as unnecessary, for it does not help them with their examination”

The curriculum of the mission school underwent a dramatic change with the joining of Mr. Biscoe. It was based on western model. The following subjects were included in the curriculum in addition to the subjects required for entrance to the Punjab University.

I. Knowledge of the geography of their own country and especially of the city of Srinagar.
II. Knowledge of different kinds of boats, houses, agricultural implements etc which were in Kashmir.

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34 Neve, Beyond Pir Panjal, p. 253.
36 Khan, History of Srinagar, p. 166.
III. Knowledge of the differences between common trees by their leaves and to know their uses.

IV. Knowledge of every day events that were taking place in the world around them.

V. Compulsory Christian teaching.

For the development of English, students were not allowed to use their mother tongue during school hours and were directed to speak English with their fellow students and teachers. One of the past alumni, Shafi Ahmmad Qadri, who joined the Biscoe School as student in 1943 states:

“We were given extra books on English and were directed by the principal Mr. Tyndale Biscoe not to speak Kashmiri in the school. During school hours, it was necessary for us to speak English with students and with teachers. We acquired English as we acquire our mother tongue.”

During the first decade of the mission school, the method of imparting knowledge and information was traditional; learning the text till the pupil was able to repeat it correctly. This was the prevalent mode of teaching in madrasas and Pathshalas in Srinagar city where the whole emphasis was laid on the learning of the subject matter by heart. The most important method that Biscoe came up with was called “teaching by eye”, the prototype of a visual aid of today. The missionaries used a lot of pictures, post cards in various themes and used them in different forms in explaining and teaching history, geography, day to day science and even poetry.

7.1.4 Teaching Staff

Rev. Marcus Wigram replaced Tyndale Biscoe during his furloughs. Rev. J. S. Dugdale, M. A. of Rugby and Oxford rendered a valuable service to the mission school. But, perhaps the most useful and important missionary who joined the chain of Mission schools as a volunteer to help his father, Tyndale Biscoe, was his son Mr. Eric Tyndale Biscoe. Eric Biscoe who had come to Kashmir to spend holidays after finishing his studies in England was so fascinated with educational work in Kashmir that he dedicated his life to it. Two more people who contributed significantly to the development of the school were Salam Din Qadri (teacher and the first Kashmiri Vice-Principal of the

38 Ibid., p. 56.
school) and Pandit Niranjan Nath Fotedar (teacher and the Head Master). Munshi Hassan Ali was the first Kashmiri teacher to serve in the C. M. S. School, about whom his grandson, Munshi Ghulam Hassan, says:

“Munshi Hassan Ali was well versed in Arabic and Persian. He was very keen to learn English so that he could become familiar with English literature and culture. With this intention he went to Dr. Doxy and requested him to teach him English. He agreed and asked him if he could teach Kashmiri to him in return. After that both Hassan Ali and Dr. Doxy taught each other English and Kashmiri almost for two and a half years. Meanwhile, after the establishment of C. M. S. School Mr. Knowles requested him to teach in C.M.S. School and he agreed.”

In this way, Munshi Hassan Ali got an opportunity of being the first teacher in the Biscoe School among the natives. In addition to the missionary teachers, there were Kashmiri teachers, both Hindu and Muslims, who taught in this school. Mostly these Kashmiri teachers were the old boys of the school. Regarding the contribution of local staff, Biscoe writes:

“Whatsoever we westerners may have accomplished could not have been done without the willing co-operation of the Kashmiri staff, numbering now seventy-five, who of course know the lives and characters of the students of the school in a way that we cannot. Particularly all the staff is old students, so we are like one large family bound together with many ties.”

Soon after Independence, Britishers left India and with that the support of missionaries ended in Kashmir. On 9 October 1947, Biscoe left Kashmir quite unwillingly. He served the C.M.S. School as its Principal for 57 years and the school was later on named after this great missionary educationist.

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39 Ibid.
Plate 7.2: Tyndale-Biscoe School, Srinagar

7.2 Other Missionary Schools


Fr. De. Ruytor who came in 1930 began constructing a separate school block which was completed by Fr. Andrew. It was he who started the boarding there and the students from other states began to study there for the first time. In order to assist the local students to higher education, he wanted to start a college and the dream was realized in 1938, with the establishment of Saint Joseph’s College. In this way Fr. Andrews became the principal of both School and College. He worked very hard, for the development of these two institutions. In 1937, Farther George Shanks came to Baramulah and took over the charge from Fr. Andrews as the principal of the College.

The college and school were closed in 1947 in wake of the disturbances all over the Indian subcontinent, particularly Kashmir, which was invaded by tribesmen from across the border.\footnote{Seru, *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 48.} With the arrival of Fr. J. Boerkamp in 1951 as a companion to Fr. Shanks things changed. After a gap of seven years both Fr. Shanks and Fr. Boerkamp
worked hard and re-opened the school and college in 1954. In 1963, owing to financial crunch, the college was handed over to the Government. Since then St. Joseph’s School remained a higher secondary school.

The contribution made by St. Joseph’s School in the field of education and particularly in the development of the English language is very significant. During school hours students were directed to use English language as a mode of communication with their fellow students and with teachers. Beside the text books, students were given pamphlets and other language oriented books which helped them to learn English easily.

Presentation Convent School was established in January 1936, when Maharaja Hari Singh, beseeched the Church Head of Kashmir to request the presentation sisters of Rawalpindi to open a school in Srinagar. After receiving the invitation, three missionaries sisters from Rawalpindi, Mother M. Peter Conway, Sr. M. Annunciata and Sr. Xavier arrived here. These sisters rented a bungalow on the Boulevard besides the beautiful Dal Lake and started their school on 17 March, 1936. The school was named as Presentation Convent School. Initially, most of the students were foreigners, mostly the children of British families living in Srinagar. There was co-education in school until 1945. The Presentation Convent School played a very remarkable role in the development of English language in Kashmir. For the propagation of English, students were given extra books on English which could prove supportive for the learning of English.43

Plate 7.3: Presentation Convent Hr. Sec. School, Srinagar

43 Shah, *The Role of Missionary Schools*, p. 76.
A C. M. S. School was also established at Anantnag by Miss Coverdale with 100 students on roll most probably in 1904,\textsuperscript{44} which later was taken by state government in 1947 and it renamed as Central High School, Anantnag.

\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Central High School, Anantnag}
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Modern education would not have been introduced in Kashmir even in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, but the arrival of Christian Missionaries on the scene made it possible for Kashmiris to enlighten themselves with the modern education. Missionary schools have rendered a very appreciable service not only in the field of health, but also English education, in general, and the English language, in particular, across the valley, especially in Srinagar, the summer capital of Kashmir. Despite facing a lot of difficulties, the missionaries succeeded in spreading the English language among Kashmiris. English education benefitted the people of Kashmir in more than one way. On the one hand it gave the Kashmiri intelligentsia an access to the intellectual and scientific thought of the western world and opened their mental vistas to come to terms with the fast changing world. On the other hand it benefitted them in social terms by equipping the intellectual tools to fight against the social evils inherit in the traditional society. At the present juncture, the English advantage that the Valley has, its credit goes to the missionaries.

\textsuperscript{44} Seru, \textit{History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir}, p. 48.
7.3 Role of Socio-Religious Reform Movements

The social and religious reform movements were a necessary prelude to the social and political awakening in the country. By and large, the Valley of Kashmir till the advent of Christian missionaries showed little tendency to change. People were not ready to change their traditional concepts regarding education, tradition, culture etc. Although, people were largely conservative, there were a few who were ready to challenge the old traditions and customs.

The last decade of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century saw dramatic change in society of Kashmir, which ultimately led to the birth of socio-religious reform movements. The architects of these movements were influenced by similar movements in British India, particularly in neighbouring of Punjab. These movements in State represented the nascent urge to change the prevailing social and religious frame in the preparation for a positive change. Moreover the reformers wanted lift up Kashmiri society from the abyss of superstition, obscurantism and stagnation into which it had fallen. Though both the communities—Hindus and Muslims went for social reforms, however the former took the lead.

7.3.1 Reform Movements among Hindus

The Arya Samaj was the earliest organisation to start a socio-religious reform movement in Kashmir. Recognised by the State Government, it established various branches in two provinces of State. Araya Samaj had established a few branches in Kashmir at Amrakadal, Mahraj Gunj and Huzuribagh. But it had long remained confined to non-Muslim Punjabis. The objectives of Samaj were—to establish a vidyala for teaching of the Vedas and ancient Sanskrit classics for the propagation of Aryapdeshak (doctrine of Samaj); to establish a library for the general public; to publish tracts and books for the purpose of reviving the teaching of the Vedas and to arrange for the preaching of the Vedic Dharma in Punjab, Kashmir, N.W.F. Provinces Sindh and other places.

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46 Since they had made rapid advance in education, achieved a bit of political power by capturing subordinate jobs in the administration and were beginning to extricate themselves from the effects of deep slumber. Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta*, p. 241.  
The movement of Kashmiri Pandits ‘Kashmir for Kashmiris’ launched to protest against the monopoly of government services by the Punjabis and other non-Kashmiris resulted into differences between the local and non-local Hindus and ultimately culminated in the emergence of Arya Kumar Sabha. It was organised separately by the Kashmiri Pandits as an independent socio-religious movement. The Sabha established its office at Rainawari, Srinagar. It established reading rooms where young Kashmir Pandits, both educated and uneducated, were invited to read the literature or to discuss various aspects of Hindu religion and society. The Sabha also recommended widow remarriages, and propagated against child marriages and dowry system. In due course, Arya Kumar Sabha became a part and parcel of Arya Samaj.\(^49\)

Samaj made education the chief plank of its programme of reforms. It ran a girl’s school named Arya Putri Patshala of the middle standard in a building of its own at Wazir Bagh, Srinagar. It also ran a Vanita Ashram at Rainawari, where widows were given lessons and were also taught embroidery and weaving work to enable them to earn their living. Samaj, besides disseminating modern education, propagated Hindi and Sanskrit among Kashmiri Pandits.\(^50\)

Dogra Sabha, a semi-political organisation of Jammu province, was found by Lala Hansraj in 1903. It supported dissemination of education in the state, to fight for redress of the people’s grievances, to bring about mutual cooperation and unity among the different communities. The Sabha demanded the opening of high and middle schools in villages and towns, widening of roads, raising age of marriage to 18 years, hospitals, compulsory education etc.\(^51\)

The Dharm Sabha was well known association of Kashmiri Pandits like Pandit Hargopal Koul and Pandit Vedlal Dhar. The aims of Sabha were to fight for the eradication of social evils prevalent among Kashmiri Hindus; to persuade the Pandits to favour widow remarriage; to help the spread of female education and to fight for economic betterment of Pandit community. The Sabha established an Anglo-Sanskrit School for imparting religious knowledge to the Hindus.\(^52\)

In 1930, P. N. Bazaz formed an organisation known as Fraternity Society. The formation of the Fraternity Society was the result of continuous and unbridgeable differences between the conservatives and radicals in the Dharm Sabha. It worked for

\(^{50}\) Ganie, *Kashmir’s Struggle for Independence*, pp. 80-81.  
\(^{51}\) Ibid.  
reforms which included eradication of all evils and practices connected with marriage-ceremonies; exhortations urging upon the mother-in-laws to give just and respectable treatment to their daughter-in-laws. It also worked for the propagation of female education.\textsuperscript{53}

The Yuvak Sabha founded by Prem Nath Chikan was the most important socio-religious reform organisation of Kashmir Pandits. Its programmes were varied—looking after the cause and rights of Kashmiri Pandits; infusing the spirit of patriotism among Kashmiri Pandits and helping the Maharaja in maintaining the state; pleading the cause of female education; protecting and looking after the religious places of Hindus and fighting for the restoration of those religious places of Hindu community which had been under dispute for a long time.\textsuperscript{54} Most probably, in 1942, a school named as Hindu High school was established by Sabha near the temple of Shital Nath Srinagar, the school is now days in a dilapidated condition under the charge of the local committee.

\textbf{Plate 7.5: Hindu High School Shetal Nath Srinagar}

7.3.2 Socio-Religious Reform Movements of Muslims

It was during the twenties of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century that Muslims of Kashmir came into arena of socio-religious reform activities. The fundamental aim of their reform was to

\textsuperscript{53} Bazaz, \textit{Daughters of Vitasta}, p. 239.
acquaint Muslims with the reasons of their stagnation that had kept them in a state of backwardness for centuries together.\textsuperscript{55}

7.3.3 Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam and Education of Muslims

Like Pandits of Kashmir Muslims also organised the transitional reform movements\textsuperscript{56} which took its source form the religion. Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, Srinagar was the earliest and the most important socio-religious organisation in Kashmir. Anjuman was founded by Mirwaiz Rasool Shah, also known as Sir Sayed-i-Kashmir, in 1905. The main cause of Muslim backwardness as perceived by Mirwaiz lay in their lack of education. Mirwaiz claimed the leadership of Kashmiri Muslim community through his activities on the educational front, founding the first reform association for Kashmiri Muslims, with an affiliated school. Founded in 1889 with the financial assistance of eminent Punjabi Muslims, Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam, literally meaning the Society for the Victory of Islam, sought to unite Kashmiri Muslim community around the concept of Tawheed, or the unity of Allah. Anjuman opened its doors to all Muslim sects, to cleanse Kashmiri Muslim community of its “un-Islamic” aspects. A madrasa was soon attached to Anjuman with a view to improving lot of Kashmiri Muslim population through pure Islamic education.\textsuperscript{57}

Commenting on the nature of school, Zutshi noted that, “The aim of the school until the early years of the twentieth century was to provide its students with a traditional Islamic education to create a class of religious leaders who would guide the community on the path to pure Islam. The traditional syllabus of the school, with an emphasis on Arabic and Persian to facilitate memorization of the Quran, bears testament to this goal.” Similar moves were made by the heads of various shrines to establish schools within a few years of the foundation of the Madrasa Anjuman Nusratul- Islam. For instance, the Sajjadanashin (spiritual head) of the Khanqah-i-Mualla Shrine, Pir Yusuf Shah Khanqahi, helped found a school in the courtyard of the shrine, which was also, dedicated to furthering religious education among Kashmiri Muslims.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{55} Khan, Freedom Movement in Kashmir, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{56} Kenneth W. Jones defines the transitional movements as the movements which had their origins in the pre-colonial world and arose from indigenous forms of socio-religious dissent, with little or no influence from the colonial milieu. Kenneth W. Jones, Socio Religious Reform Movements in British India, UK: (Reprint) Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
The political and economic needs of the time, however, dictated that these institutions alter their nature and project. Although the Madrasa Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam was turning out mullahs with an ability to recite the Quran in good numbers, none of them was literate in Urdu, the language of the administration. State schools needed teachers who could teach a variety of subjects in Urdu, while the mullahs were trained in Arabic and Persian. As a result, Moulvi Rasool Shah reorganized the Madrasa along the lines of Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, and a new building was constructed for it in 1901.\(^{59}\) A few years later, in 1905, the Madrasa now renamed the Islamia Higher Secondary School,\(^{60}\) became a recipient of state grant-in-aid and was converted to a high school in 1912. The school provided a course of study that included a firm grounding in Islamic theology along with a study of secular subjects.\(^{61}\)

Plate 7.6: Islamia Higher Secondary School Srinagar

Anjuman-i-Nusratul-Islam of Kashmir worked very hard to spread its mission i.e. general literacy as well as higher education among the Muslims of Kashmir. The

\(^{59}\) Munshi Mahboob Alam, editor Paisa Akhbar, Lahore, and Hakim Mohammad Ali Lahori raised Rs.400 for the school and finally the Maharaja of Baroda came forward with Rs. 2000 for the repayment of the building loan.

\(^{60}\) Now-a-days the institution is one the renowned Higher secondary, with a separate block for girls. In order to maintain the religious affiliation it has a College named Noor-ul-Islam Oriental College Maulvi Aalim and Maulvi Fazil, which is imparting highest religious education. Interview with Prof. G M. Khan, 12-05-2014, Principal Islamia Higher Secondary and Noor-ul-Islam Oriental College Maulvi Aalim and Maulvi Fazil, Srinagar.

\(^{61}\) Ibid.
importance of education, religious as well as scientific, for the overall welfare of Muslims is reflected in the words of president of Anjuman, who said and stressed on his mission, “Science shall be in our right hand and philosophy in our left and in our head there should be crown of, there is no God but Allah and Muhammed His apostle.”

Anjuman felt to provide financial help to the needy and poor Muslim students, who are engaged in the pursuit of religious as well as modern education. After the death of the Gh. Rasool Shah in 1909 his younger brother Moulvi Ahmadullah assumed the charge of Presidentship of Anjuman. He also worked hard for progress and development of education among Muslims of Kashmir. Three middle schools and five primary schools were established in different places of Srinagar.

Mirwaiz leadership subscribed to the vision of the Islamic period in Kashmiri history as the ideal, when illiteracy was allegedly unknown. It was during this period that Muslim community, united under an Islamic authority, attained the zenith of civilization and made Kashmir the envy of the world. Most speeches delivered at the annual convocations of the school hearkened back to this Islamic period in Kashmir history when it was a centre of learning and scholarship. In his speech to the annual convocation, the general secretary of Anjuman lamented the march of time that had transformed Kashmir from a land dedicated to patronizing Persian and Indian masters of art and letters, to a poor country with an illiterate population of Muslims.

The leadership had made the period of Islamic rule in Kashmir synonymous with a high level of education among Kashmiri Muslims and the following periods with illiteracy and ignorance. Thus, for the members of Anjuman, the ignorance besetting Kashmiri Muslims was a symptom of the larger malaise of Islam’s decline in Kashmir, caused by the loss of temporal authority. Here the goal of Anjuman was an internal regeneration of Kashmiri Muslim community, so that Muslims might recover their Islamic identify through education.

The President of Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul Islam, Mirwaiz Ahmadullah, complained that the absence of Muslim teachers in state schools and meagreness of scholarships to

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63 Ibid., 22.
64 Needless to point out that, even in the Islamic period, education had been the preserve of the elite, regardless of denominations. Zutshi, Languages of Belonging: Islam, p. 185.
65 Ibid.
the Muslim students as the reasons for their low educational status. Albeit respectfully, he demanded that the state recruit Muslims who had taken a lead in education to responsible positions. Since the number of young Muslim men educated in English was then limited, he stated: “such of them as are well read in Urdu and Persian may be appointed in departments such as Settlement, Revenue, Police, Customs, Municipalities etc. and where Muslims with necessary qualifications for these and other departments are not available, requisition may be made from the Anjuman.” The Mirwaiz also demanded that all primary schools have a staff of Muslim teachers and State high schools have Muslim headmasters and inspecting staff. His other demands included provision for a special Muslim advisor attached to the Education Minister and extraordinary help for Muslim students and institutions such as Islamia School.  

He was succeeded by Moulvi Atiqullah, who also worked day and night for the reform of Kashmiri society. Moulvi Yousuf Shah was one of the outstanding presidents of Anjuman, who had an ever-increasing quest for knowledge. During the thirties of 20th Century he gave a political colour to Anjuman. He presented Kashmiri Muslim demands to Dogra State and pressurized the government to give Muslims maximum opportunities in education; he urged the government to give Muslims attractive scholarships so that they will be able to get higher strides in education. It was the influence and impact of the Anjuman that various citizens in Kashmir established schools like Pir Yousuf Shah Khanqahahi founded a school on modern lines in Srinagar. In 1899 Hakim Ab. Gani Islambadi opened a middle school at Islamabad (Anantnag) which was later upgraded to high school by his son GH. Mohammad.  

66 Ibid., p. 201.  
67 It in 1902 that the school was upgraded as high school, the school has also produced great luminaries Mirza Afzal Beg. Interview with Principal Nusrat-ul-Islam Secondary School Anantnag, 05-05-2014.
Similarly a high school at Bijbehara (south Kashmir) and Islamia primary school at Kupwara (north Kashmir) and Islamia middle school at Shivpora (Srinagar) were established where Muslim students received modern education coupled with religious education.  

Islamia School Srinagar gave a lot to Kashmir, as it had produced personalities like, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the first Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Dr. Ali Jan, a renowned physician of the Valley, Mehjoor, the national poet of Jammu and Kashmir, Mufti Mohammad Syed, ex- chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir state and Mohammad Yousuf Buch, the first Kashmiri who passed the United Nations examination in 1950 and became the Adviser to U.N. Secretary General.  

Inspite of its efforts, however, Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam and its educational reform movement remained elite based. As Zutshi observed that, “one of the more obvious reasons for the institution’s limited sphere of activity was its links to the ruling dynasty, bureaucracy, and Muslim organisations of the Punjab.” The language in which its convocation sessions were conducted was Persian or Urdu, neither of which was spoken nor understood by the vast majority of Kashmiri Muslims. Moreover the medium of instruction in these schools was also Urdu like the state schools. By promoting Urdu at the expense of Kashmiri, these institutions were creating a gap between education and the public sphere.

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69 Shah, The Role of Missionary Schools, p. 82.
70 Zutshi, Languages of Belonging: Islam, p. 189.
Social Reform and Role of Private Agencies in the Development of Modern Education

Notwithstanding these limitations, the contribution of Anjuman cannot be underestimated, as it was because of Anjuman-i-Nusratul-Islam that various socio-religious Anjumans came into existence which also contributed to the growth of education. Anjuman-i-Maen-ul-Islam Sopore, founded by Sayed Mirak Shah Indrabbi, established a school in Sopore. Annjuman-i-Mazhar-ul-Haq Beerwah (Budgam), in 1934 laid the foundation of Mazher-ul-Haq High School and enlightened the people of Beerwah with religious and secular education. Likewise Anjuman-i-Taleem-ul-Islam Tral (south Kashmir), also established a primary school in Tral.\textsuperscript{71}

7.3.4 Other Reform Movements of Muslims

Anjuman-Tabligul-Islam was also a socio-religious and educational movement of Jammu and Kashmir. It was founded by a group of traditional and orthodox Muslim theologians. It started a college in 1947 known as Darul-uloom Hanafia at Shahi Masjid Zainakadal Srinagar. It had established a vast network of modern secular educational institutions in the same manner as the government recognized pattern.\textsuperscript{72}

The Jamaat-i-Islami of Jammu and Kashmir was yet another non-governmental organization in Kashmir to enter the sphere of educational schemes. It made a tremendous contribution in the field of education in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{73} It established a number of alternative institutions; one was established in Nawa Bazar in the heart of Srinagar where, from the first standard itself the students were taught Arabic, English, Urdu, Mathematics and Islamic Studies and the performance of the students of this school was so good that parents now preferred these schools instead of Christian Missionary schools. Such was the commitment of the teachers that even non-Muslim parents sent their children to these schools. These schools were opened for all without any regard for caste, creed and religion.\textsuperscript{74}

Moulvi Mohammad Noor-ud-din Qari, a resident of Srinagar who studied in Punjab University, became most vociferous opponent of religious leadership of Kashmir. He accused the religious preachers, of keeping the true massage of Islam away from the

\textsuperscript{71} Dar, Anjuma-i-Nusrat-ul Islam Jammu and Kashmir, pp. 60-62.
\textsuperscript{73} Khwaja Sanaullah Bhat, Kashmir Testament, Delhi: Translated by Altaf Hussain Tak, Bright Publications, 988, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{74} Rashid, “Jamaat-i-Islami in Jammu and Kashmir”.

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people, thus submerging Kashmiri Muslims in ignorance. He wrote in Kashmiri language and gave importance for its growth, which was hitherto ignored by the government as well as by other Kashmiri leaders. His Kashmiri poem, *Teleem Par, Teleem Par* (Gain Education, Gain Education) clearly shows his quest for education:

*You are sunk in disrespect; Fallen, hunched up.*

*Look at your own condition now; You are being crushed by passersby.*

*Knowledge is the bigger wealth; It does not fear fire or thieves.*

*The one who gained knowledge well, Wealth will follow him.*

*One who remains uneducated, Dies an ignorant death each day.*

*He lives like cattle, Read and become human again*75

To Qari, education was ultimate means for the attainment of the unity of the community, which had been lost under the leadership of the religious leaders. Therefore, writings of Qari, especially in Kashmiri language, made him more popular.

Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Talim-i-Musalmanan was formed by Munshi Assadullah. Its main contribution was that it granted scholarships, out of its own funds, to Muslim students reading in various schools and colleges of Kashmir.76

Anjuman-i-Hamadadr-i-Islam, Srinagar was established by a few Punjabi Muslims. The Anjuman had an orphanage for free board and lodge. It also made arrangements for their education and vocational training. The primary aim of the Anjuman was to encourage the Muslims of Kashmir in their pursuit for education; stress was laid on the learning of technical and commercial education. Anjuman also granted scholarships worth four rupees per month to those Muslim students who had passed the middle Standard but could not continue further studies due to poverty.77

7.4 Government Policy towards Private Agencies

Needless to say here that Government showed hostile attitude to missionary educational efforts. They were not allowed even to stay whole year in valley. The students of mission schools were harassed by the state authorities. So it is safe to say that

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76 Khan, *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, p. 69.
77 Ibid., pp. 72-72.
at the beginning the government turned no stone unturned to halt the efforts of missionaries in spreading new system of education.\textsuperscript{78} But during the 1880s\textsuperscript{79} there was a sea change in the government’s approach to the missionary actives who were sole private players in the spread of education. If fact, government reorganised and replicated the education system of education one the lines which the missionaries had introduced.

In 1889, an aided school was established in Muzafferabad in which townsmen were contributing a sum of Rs. 25 for its maintenance, there were 36 boys on roll.\textsuperscript{80} It may not be out of place to mention here that, government was complaining of shortage of funds, as the Home Member requested help from different quarters even for the state run schools, thus expecting government help to private schools was not possible.\textsuperscript{81}

7.4.1 Grant-in-aid System

In order to boost the private education efforts Wood’s Despatch of 1854 introduced the scheme of grant-in-aid system, which had been successfully used in England. Government was actually looking for large scale private participation in the propagation of education, while receiving aid from government.\textsuperscript{82}

Although in Kashmir there were not the large scale private attempts in education except some schools, maktabs and Pathshalas. In 1903-04, there were only three schools—Mission School, Hanfia High School and Islamia High school, receiving grant-in-aid. Till June 1911, there were no rules for grant-in-aid to private schools within the state. The number of aided schools increased to nine including the girl’s schools against 1011 such schools in the neighbouring Punjab.\textsuperscript{83} As private educational institutions were playing an important role in the field of education, the State Council realised their utility and, consequently, offered grants to such schools. However, grants were given under certain conditions.\textsuperscript{84} A fixed grant was allowed at the scale of Rs. 750/- for high schools, Rs 400/- for middle and 250/- for upper primary and 150/- for lower primary. The rates

\textsuperscript{78} Gulab Singh was apparently against the western penetration in Kashmir. His successor encouraged the classical education and was not in favour of the modern education. Khan, \textit{History of Srinagar}, p. 138.
\textsuperscript{79} As mentioned in third chapter, the policy of Kashmir Government changed when the Government of India took active part in the internal affairs of state. For details see the third chapter.
\textsuperscript{81} Annual Administrative Report of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1892-93.
\textsuperscript{84} These conditions were to agree the rules and regulations which the schools were expected to follow. A regular inspection by government officers, to levy a fee etc.
were, however, higher in case of girls schools, where the scales were Rs. 500/-, 400/- and 300/- for the middle, upper and lower primary respectively.\(^{85}\)

Mr. Sharp articulated that, although Kashmir government was giving good grants to schools but it was not enough for their efficient advance. He recommended that the rules for the grants should be broadened, so as to take into consideration the attendance in the high and middle sections and the income and expenditure of the schools.\(^{86}\) Sharp had given the details of some major schools which were getting the grant-in-aid.

**Table 7.1 Details of Grant-in-aid to Schools in 1916**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Total Cost</th>
<th>Annual Grant</th>
<th>Total No. of Pupils</th>
<th>No. of Passes at last Matriculation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C. M. S. High School Srinagar</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>4,600</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamia High School Srinagar</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. C. High School Baramulah</td>
<td>12,600</td>
<td>4,380</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


From the above figures it becomes clear that the major share of the grant-in-aid was taken by the missionary school owing to its size of educational work. Though the grant given to other schools were reasonable but it was generally insufficient.

During the reign of Maharaja Hari Singh the grant-in-aid increased to a large extent as the following table will show the grant-in-aid given to the girls’ schools from Kashmir province.
Table 7.2 Grant –in-aid to Different Girls’ Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Institution</th>
<th>Grant –in-aid Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C. E.M. Batyar</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arya Putri Pathshala Mahraj Ganj</td>
<td>406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. M. S. Girls’ School, Fateh Kadal</td>
<td>2,072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.E.Z.M. Girls’ School Alikadal</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. D. Kanya Pathshala</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arya Putri Pathshala, Srinagar</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratap Girls’ School</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maitrya Girls’ School</td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Girls’ School Kral Khud</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permeshri Devi Girls’ School</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasanta Girls School</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. D. Putri Pathshala, Sri Ranbir Ganj</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drabyar Girls’ School</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamia Girls’ school, Shamaswari</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammadan Girls’ School Tankipura</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,029</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Administrative Report of Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir State, 1929-30

From the above list of grant-in-aid schools it becomes clear that the most of the schools were imparting only traditional education. As has been mentioned in the earlier chapter, the Director of Education had claimed that these schools were giving primitive education.

It is to be mentioned that in 1929, there were forty eight aided schools which were giving new type of education. Among them seven were high schools, five middle schools and thirty six primary schools.\(^{87}\) The total number of such schools increased to 77 in 1940-41, interestingly the grant-in-aid increased largely as the number of pupils in the aided schools had increased. In 1929-30, the total amount of grant for the various kinds of aided schools was Rs. 87, 433. The amount was also meant for Maktabs and Pathshalas including the aided schools in Frontier schools. In the year 1945 the grant for these schools rose to 2, 78,000\(^{88}\)

From the above chart it seems that government was liberally giving grants to the aided schools. But it may not be out of place to mention here that the number of aided schools in 1945 was near about five hundred which means that a school was normally getting a mere amount of Rs. 500\(^{89}\) which seems insufficient.

7.5 Conclusion

Private agencies played a vanguard role in the development of modern education in Kashmir, the lead was taken by Christian missionaries, and in fact they became the role model for the state schools in the policies of education. They faced a number of problems\(^{90}\) on account of the intimidating attitude of the early Dogra rulers. But the missionaries were strong enough to face all such odds. They brought a number of social cultural and health reforms in Kashmir. But the participation in the mission schools limited to the elite section of the society, especially the Pandits. Moreover missionary activities remained confined to Srinagar city for a long time ignoring the large part of the Valley. Nevertheless, the impact of missionary activity gradually penetrated into the whole society, which can be seen in the formation of different socio-religious reform movements among the different communities. But what was lacking in these movements was that their programme was confined to their respective communities. The main reason

\(^{89}\) Ibid.

\(^{90}\) In 1896 in an order of the State Council only those people were eligible for the government employment that has been educated in the State Schools. It was a jealously shown by the non-Christian schools. It was only after the intervention of Resident that the order was annulled. Ashley Carus-Willison, *Missionaries to Kashmir: Irene Perrie*, Delhi: (Reprint) Swati Publication. 1993, pp. 257-58.
behind this was their stress on the religious reform, which did not allow the other communities to take part in them. Notwithstanding their limitations they also made a tremendous contribution in the social and religious reform in Kashmir.

Although earlier government showed indifferent attitude towards the private efforts but later on government realised the need to encourage them with the grant-in-aid policy, therefore brought them under its own control.