

Emergence of Political Consciousness in Kashmir 1930-32

A Case Study of Kashmir Reading Room Party

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Abstract

As the turbulence of the first quarter of the twentieth century swept across British India, and the demand for freedom and self-rule became a stirring revolution among the colonized, under the leadership of charismatic Mahatma Gandhi, subject populations from princely India too started voicing against the feudal order and demanding civil rights and responsible governance. Jammu and Kashmir, one of the largest princely states, was among the earliest feudal kingdoms where people began to rise against its insensitive monarchs to demand a responsible governing mechanism in the state. The present paper is an attempt to understand the emergence and initial developments of an organized anti-feudal movement in the state of Jammu and Kashmir beginning from 1930's, to counter an autocratic monarchical order patronized by British Colonial masters.

Keywords: Reading Room Party, Dogra State, Treaty of Amritsar, Sheikh Abdullah, Jammu and Kashmir

Introduction

As the turbulence of the first quarter of the twentieth century swept across India, and the demand for freedom and self-rule became a stirring revolution under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, subject population from princely India too started voicing against the feudal order and demanding civil rights and responsible governance. Jammu and Kashmir, one of the largest princely states, was among the earliest feudal kingdoms where people began to rise against its insensitive monarchs to demand a responsible governing mechanism in the state. The present paper is an attempt to understand the emergence of political consciousness and initial developments of an organized anti-feudal movement in the state of Jammu and Kashmir beginning from 1930's, to counter an autocratic monarchical order patronized by British Colonial masters.

Background

Jammu and Kashmir, as a separate political entity, was carved out as a direct fallout of the Anglo- Sikh rivalry that ended with the imposition of a harsh treaty known as Treaty of Lahore concluded on 9th of March 1846 between the two rival parties- East India Company and the Sikh State of Punjab- which saw dismemberment of the Sikh kingdom. A week later, through a separate treaty known as Treaty of Amritsar concluded on 16 March 1846, between Raja Gulab Singh, a Dogra vassal of the Sikh state from Jammu, and the officials of the East India Company, Jammu and Kashmir was carved out and handed over to the former in lieu of his crucial support during the Anglo-Sikh war.¹ Without going into the details of the other motives behind the Treaty of Amritsar, suffice to say that the "creation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in 1846 flowed from the geo-political and strategic considerations of the East India Company in the critical North-Western frontier of its expanding Indian dominion",² than only "rewarding...Gulab Singh's treachery to the Lahore State". Although, Hardinge, the architect of the treaty, rated Gulab Singh very low and even labeled him 'a rascal', he found in him sufficient ability to act as a buffer between British Indian territories and the threatening bear- Czarist Russia- thus, relieving the Company from the compulsion of undertaking the expansive defense of the crucial north-western frontier on its own.³

The imposition of the Treaty of Amritsar was not a smooth sailing at least in the Valley of Kashmir, where an unwilling people threw their support behind the rebellious Sikh governor to show their displeasure. Thus, when last Sikh Governor to Kashmir, Sheikh Immamudin refused to submit, Kashmiris threw their lot behind him which sustained his revolt against the combined Dogra-British-Sikh forces for months together. Captain Arthur Broome, who was deputed to oversee the transfer of power to Gulab Singh, confirmed Sheikh Immamudin's impressively wide base of support in Kashmir and suggested that he had "the chief power in the country and the popular feeling....[was] with him."⁴ Thus Immamudin, with popular support to his side and rich resources of the Valley at his disposal, managed to inflict a crushing defeat to the Dogra army and Gulab Singh's representative, Lakpat Rai was killed. The Treaty was enforced by the British arms. It was only when British troops along with Sikh forces marched to the Valley that Immamudin surrendered and the Gulab Singh was installed as the new ruler. It may not look surprising then that a century later, in 1946, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah proudly recalled Immamudin's revolt

in the court where he was tried for sedition charges for launching the Quiet Kashmir movement which challenged the very basis of the Treaty.

Like any other princely state in India at the time, the state established by the Gulab Singh and his successors, was feudal in nature and medieval in its outlook where rights and positions of the people were determined on the basis of their religious, regional and linguistic affiliations. Quite naturally thus, the majority of the Muslim population, particularly from the Kashmir valley, found itself comparatively discriminated and at a disadvantageous end in economic, administrative and religious matters, a fact which all the European travellers and other observers have unanimously attested to. The exorbitant and exploitative taxation system and unnecessary intervention in religious affairs of the people created a deep-seated antagonism among the subject population leading to some workers' protests and appeals to the British officials by people from social elite to intervene on behalf of the marginalized people. It was in this backdrop, and also because of other colonial considerations caused by the emerging tide of nationalist movement in British India, that the government of India's early policy of non-interference in the princely states gave way to the appointment of British Resident in 1885 to oversee the day to day governance of the Dogra state and execute the necessary correctives. The colonial intervention was thus, a prelude to many far reaching changes in the state viz, bureaucratization of the administration, improvements in the means of communication and health, introduction of modern education through Christian missionaries and far reaching land reformation. Although in the absence of a responsible government in the state, the developments stated above caused a fractured modernity which hardly improved the quality of peoples life, however, the change was enough to break the status quo and to create some sought of consciousness among the people to acquire modern education. With the help of some social organisations and individual philanthropists, few students went to higher educational institutions outside the state where from they, not only acquired higher qualifications, but they also came face to face with the Indian national movement which had by then penetrated deep in society under the charismatic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Emergence of new Middle Class

Thus, by the beginning of the 1930's, the first batch of Kashmiri Muslim graduates from Aligarh and other centers of higher learning, equipped with progressive ideas and quest for a democratic system based on the idea of equal justice and opportunities to all, had returned to Srinagar where they rapidly assumed a dominant place in local political activity in collaboration, and also in competition, with the traditional religious leadership which was headed by the two hereditary preachers known as *Mirwaizs*.⁵ Among the young graduates who came back to the vale about this time, with high expectations were; Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, Hakim Ali, Hakim Safdar Hamdani, Mirza Afzal Beg, and G M Sadiq to mention only a few. These young men most of whom belonged to the middle class, desired to enter government service⁶ but found limited opportunities to progress considering the discriminatory outlook of the administrative system. "Had those at the helm of affairs been capable of a little foresight and imagination," lamented Prem Nath Bazaz, a contemporary Kashmiri observer, "they would have gladly and readily provided good jobs for those young men who were the first among the Kashmir Muslims to receive higher education."⁷ It was after a very tough struggle that a few of the young men succeed in securing some humble positions. Among the "fortunate" few was one Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, who though an M. Sc. became a junior teacher in a Srinagar high school on a meager monthly salary.⁸ It is very interesting to mention here that only a decade earlier, (1920) the Deputy Commissioner of Mirpur namely Makhan Singh was totally illiterate.⁹

Foundation of Reading Room Party

Dissatisfied with insensitive government, disappointment caused by unemployment, and inspired by the political developments in British India, these educated young men, who now formed a "middle class intelligentsia with a middle class political outlook",¹⁰ began to organize themselves informally. Since the formation of political associations was banned in the state,¹¹ they started meeting occasionally at different places in the garb of being members of a Reading Room¹² where they would devise ways and means to fight out injustice done to the Muslim community in general, and the educated Muslim youth in particular. To quote Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who would later emerge as the most influential leader to lead the mass movement: "[T]he establishment of Reading Room was an excuse. The basic purpose was that under its garb we could get together an opportunity of discussing different matters that would emerge. This did happen and we had discussions on the problems of government services and the conditions, prevailing in the country. We would burst into tears while thinking over the conditions prevailing in Kashmir."¹³ In the first meeting of the Reading Room, Khwaja Gulam Ahmad Ashaie, the pioneer of the idea, advocated for publicity campaign to expose the communal policies of the state that were detrimental to the

political and economic wellbeing of Kashmiri muslims in particular.¹⁴ Other issues that were discussed in the initial meetings included; occupation of Muslim places of worship by the state, lack of opportunities for Muslims in the government services and anti-Muslim economic policies of the government.¹⁵ Thus, the initial objectives of the Party were formulated with a middle class outlook to seek justice for, and to create a consciousness among, the Muslims of the Valley rather than creating a state based movement with a broader social base. The Party decided to engage itself with two important activities to begin with. First, to compile a list of employees in various government departments and published it in newspapers and magazines to bring out the discrimination that Muslims of the state were facing in securing government jobs. Second, articles on the plight of the Muslims in religious, political and economic fields to be published in papers to create a pressure campaign against the government both within and outside the state.¹⁶ In order to achieve these objectives, the Reading Room Party was given an organisational shape through an election in which Mohammed Rajab and Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah were elected President and Secretary respectively. Mufti Jala-ud-Din, Hakim Ali, Peerzada Ahmad Shah Fazili and Hakim Ghulam Murtaza were elected to the Managing Committee.¹⁷ The Reading Room Party, as it was called, enjoyed the crucial moral and financial backing of some members of the Kashmiri Muslim elite including, Khwaja Said-ud-Din Shawl, Molvi Abdullah Vakil, Aga Sayyid Hussain Jalali, Hafiz Mohammed Ismail, Molvi Zia-ud-Din, Khwaja Assadullah Vakil to mention only a few.¹⁸

Modus Operandi

In the absence of an indigenous press in the state, the Party decided to get the articles published in Punjab based Urdu newspapers and then to distribute papers within the Muslim community of the state¹⁹ so that they become aware about their state of affairs. A select group of individuals under the president ship of Khwaja Gulam Ahmad Ashaie was formed with Hakim Gulam Murtaza, Gulam Ahmad Shantu and Safdar Hamdani as its members, to carry out the task. The members began establishing contacts with the Muslim newspapers at Lahore. They also established contact with Sir R. P. Dutt who was editing a monthly magazine in London named “*IndianState*” which was exclusively devoted to the betterment of the inhabitants of the princely states. As a result of this contact, articles based on the data furnished by them began to appear in the magazine bringing home to British public opinion the pathetic condition of the state people.²⁰ It may not be out of place to reproduce an extract of the diary of Hakim Gulam Safdar Hamdani in order to observe the *modus operandi* of the Party and the difficulties it had to face:

“The committee used to meet alternatively once in a week at a members house. Initially the committee faced a large number of difficulties in carrying out its task, as it did not have members in the various government departments. In fact numerous government departments were totally devoid of Muslim presence. In those days I used to work in the department of Account General. The Annual Establishment List which included detailed account of various government employees including their name, residence, post salary etc. the committee meeting was scheduled to be on Monday, which happened to be a holiday. On Saturday I managed to bring the list back home after the closure of the office. Throughout the night of Saturday till Sunday evening I copied the list and wrote the accompanying article. Most of the articles used to be written by me and were in English. The articles used to be sent to Jammu for translation in to Urdu so that they could be published in to newspapers. The newspapers in which the articles used to be published include, *Inqilaab*, *SiyasatZamindaar* etc.”²¹

The activities of the Party disturbed the officialdom for they anticipated an imminent mass consciousness in the state and therefore not only an enquiry was order in the to unearth the source of leaks in Accounts department,²² but also the regime banned the entry of the newspapers from Lahore including the highly ‘provocative’ and vocal, *Inqilaab* to the state. However, the editor of the *Inqilaab* evaded the ban by publishing a series of weekly papers, *KashmiriMussalman*, *MazloomKashmiri* and *MaktoobKashmir* which were distributed in both Jammu and Kashmir and contributed enormously in raising the political awareness among the masses who openly started expressing their pent up frustrations against the discriminatory behavior of the Dogra regime.²³

Reaching out to the world

The moderate activism of the members of the Party soon attracted attention of some Muslim leaders from British India and also young educated people from Jammu province. In fact, Moulana Azad Subhani, *KhatibJamia Masjid* Calcutta who was considered a leading exponent of Jamal-ud-Din Afghani’s Pan-Islamic Movement paid a secret visit to meet the members of the Party and advised them about the techniques of political work and mass mobilization.²⁴ The encouragement from Indian intelligentsia and early successes led the members of the Party to take on the issues of unemployment and under-representation of Muslim community in administration more

forcefully. It is needless to mention here that the number of Muslim educated youngsters was increasing with every passing day, thanks to the efforts of different social reformation organizations prominent amongst whom was Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam²⁵ and some Muslim individuals to persuade their fellow community to acquire modern education. The young men were convinced that the government was not willing to trust the Muslims by throwing open to them the doors of administration.²⁶ In the meanwhile the state announced the formation of the Civil Service Recruitment Board in August 1930.²⁷ By that time not only were the new Kashmiri Muslim educated people well organized, but more importantly, their demands had gone for beyond education into the realm of service recruitment.²⁸ According to the rules made under Recruitment Board, a candidate was entitled to apply for a higher post only if he fulfilled certain tough provisions like, a) good health certificate b) Deposit fifty rupees, c) no body above twenty years could apply d) must have a healthy family background and e) had to qualify a tough competitive examination.²⁹ Clearly these rules and regulations were formulated to check the newly educated Muslim youth from entering in to services.³⁰

Dealing with the State

The Reading Room Party submitted a memorandum to the Maharaja Hari Singh's Regency Council headed by Mr. Wakefield objecting to the new recruitment policy³¹, and to the utter surprise of the members, the government invited the Party for deliberations on the issue.³² It may not be difficult to understand an apparent change in the government's approach if one bears in mind the high voltage civil disobedience movement launched by Gandhi in British India followed by the First Round Table Conference held at Lond in which Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir was one of the invited participants. Surprised by government's unexpected gesture, the Reading Room Party selected two of its vocal members, Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mr. Abdul Aziz Fazili to attend Council's invitation on October 16, 1930 in Srinagar. The members met the council members and tried to persuade the government about its discriminatory policies.³³ And according to a modern researcher on the subject, "the state could no longer use its old strategy of pointing to the small numbers of educated Muslims to explain away their lack of representation in government services, since; the Muslims petitioning themselves were products of the state educational system."³⁴ Although, the meeting ended without any tangible result, the belligerence of the new leadership was evident from this representation.³⁵ The disappointment with the Cabinet government did not, however, break the resolve of the youth leadership; instead it increased their mass familiarity.

Emboldened by the recognition it received from the state, the Reading Room Party started expanding its mass base and refining its organizational programme. The Party, with the help of Punjabi Muslim intelligentsia and Press, started an organized campaign against the autocratic policies of the state and for the furtherance of the national consciousness among Kashmiris in general and Kashmiri Muslims in particular.³⁶ The press campaign through Lahore Press not only enhanced the popularity of the organisation, but it also helped in creating consciousness among the Kashmiri Muslim population.³⁷ However, "the surcharged atmospheres prevailing in the valley," to quote Bazaz "unbalanced the Pundit Community. They became suspicious, terror stricken and demoralized..... They now began to look up on the Maharaja as their protector and refuge; they became the defenders of the power and, thus, came into clash with the dynamic times"³⁸ This reactionary response of Kashmir's non-Muslim minority was quite natural for the community's numerical disadvantage, its close proximity with the state; its monopoly over government jobs and also the tone and muslim-centered nature of demands of the young Muslim leadership.

The leaders of the Reading Room Party organized secret meetings in different corners of the city to shape the public opinion against Dogra Raj and to cultivate a spirit of sacrifice among the members to achieve its goal of a responsible government.³⁹ Shaikh Abdullah, with his exceptional oratory played a leading role in these meetings. In one of the speeches while attempting to appeal to the emotions of his audience Abdullah said: "I say that the only alternative to get rid of this deplorable situation is that Muslims shall have to remain ready for any kind of sacrifice. As long as the fear of jail, torture and persecution will cultivate cowardliness among the people, there is no hope for the redressal of the problems of Kashmiri Muslims. I also say that for a test I will offer myself in the first instance and God willing, I shall be ready to face any kind of sacrifice."⁴⁰

At this stage, the youth movement was actively backed and even patronized by different Punjabi Muslim organizations, which were making enormous propaganda against the feudal State and the miserable conditions of Kashmiri Muslims. Significant among these organizations was the *All India Kashmir Committee*, which had been vocal in Kashmir Muslim affairs since the beginning of the century. Other organizations supporting the Kashmiri cause were the *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam*, Lahore, and the *Anjuman-i-Kashmiri Musalman*, both of which were patronized by the Mohammad Iqbal who was by now firm believer in Pan-Islamism.

Going Public

To the good fortune of Reading Room Party, some sensational developments took place one after another helping its leaders to reach out to the masses openly. It was reported among other happenings, that Hindus had demolished a Mosque in Riasi in Jammu province with the approval of the people in the Maharaja's government,⁴¹ that at another place in Jammu Muslims had been prevented from offering their prayers,⁴² that the Imam of a mosque in Jammu had been stopped by the authorities from giving his sermon (*khutba*) before Friday prayers.⁴³ Whatever may be the interpretation and genuineness of all these reported incidents, the essential point common to all these stories was that the Muslim worship has been disrupted and the Holy Quran insulted. These incidents provoked a strong resentment of Muslim community in Jammu. Protest rallies were organized under the guidance of Young Men's Muslim Association of Jammu.⁴⁴ In Srinagar immediate reaction was sparked off after a bunch of the posters, sent by Young Men's Muslim Association of Jammu, which the Reading Room Party got pasted at different places in Srinagar through their workers.⁴⁵ There were fiery denunciations from mosque pulpits, processions and public meetings.⁴⁶ These incidents provided enough opportunity to the Muslim leaders to mobilize the masses.⁴⁷ On June 8, 1931 a protest demonstration was organized at Srinagar's *Jamia Masjid*, one of the most important religious places in the city.⁴⁸

Sheikh Abdullah Emerges as a Leader

It was at this time that Shaikh Abdullah, who was afterwards to become an undisputed mass leader, was introduced to the audience by Molvi Mohammad Yusuf Shah, who had recently succeeded to the position of *Mirwaiz* after his uncle's death in early 1931.⁴⁹ Abdullah appeared at this time to have been an extremely devout and highly orthodox (*Hanifite*) Muslim and, as such to have won the affection and approbation of Mirwaiz Mohammad Yusuf Shah.⁵⁰ Both, Mirwaiz, with his religious prestige and Abdullah with his charismatic personality and organizing ability, made a formidable team.⁵¹ Shaikh Abdullah made his maiden speech to a gathering of around seven thousand people⁵² after he was introduced by Mirwaiz as "My leader."⁵³ He explained to them the greatness, eminence and superiority of the Holy Quran.⁵⁴ In this way, he began to weave the Islamic concepts of a just society and individual rights into his organizations agenda, which appealed to Kashmiri Muslims precisely because social and political rights had been denied to them based on their religion.⁵⁵ A modern biographer of Abdullah while acknowledging his success in rousing the patriotic passion among the listeners however, lamented for "he [Abdullah] emerged as a Muslim rather than a secular leader".⁵⁶ After the meeting, a procession led by Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah and Molvi Abdul Rahim was taken out through the streets of the city.⁵⁷ Sheikh Abdullah emerged as a street name and the face of the emerging movement of Kashmiri Muslims.

Many factors contributed to the emergence of Sheikh Abdullah as the most dominating figure of the new politics in Kashmir. Most of the important participants of the Reading Room Party were either government employees or unwilling to take the public role. Gulam Ahmad Ashaie, who was equally respected by all for his political wisdom, experience and honest behavior, refused to take on a public role and in fact backed Shaikh Abdullah to serve as the public face of the movement. Hakim Safdar Hamadani, who had his association with Abdullah from the very inception of movement and who was privy to almost every development in political activity at the formative stage, thus writes:

"Sheikh Abdullah's name was forwarded by the Ashaie *Saheb*. He was selected for this role because of his boldness (*nedar*) and lack of concern for the consequences (*nataiej se beparwah*). An additional quality was his mesmerizing recitation of the verses of Quran which would keep huge gatherings spell bound. In fact initially it was Ashaie *Saheb* who used to run affairs of the struggle from behind the screen while Sheikh Abdullah remained a mere public figurehead. But this was to soon change."⁵⁸

The growing popularity of the movement lead by Sheikh Abdullah and the simmering discontent of the Muslim masses on the one hand and the anguish of non-Muslim officialdom on the other⁵⁹ forced the government to issue a notice prohibiting the holding of public meetings within the premises of the *Jamia Masjid*, epicenter of the agitation, without the prior permission of authorities.⁶⁰ Emboldened by the mass support the leaders continued to hold public meetings in which they advised people to prepare themselves for sacrifices. When the government failed to quell the movement, it let loose its reign of persecution. One of its victims was Shaikh Abdullah who was dismissed from government services.⁶¹ The dismissal further increased the popularity of the Abdullah as his termination was projected as a sought of sacrifice for the honor and dignity of Kashmiri Muslims.⁶² Emboldened by the enormous mass support⁶³ and fully backed by the Mirwaiz Mohammad Yusuf, who extended the *Jamia Masjid* as the organizational centre for his political activities,⁶⁴ Shaikh Abdullah organized public meetings in different parts of

Srinagar city attended by thousands of people.⁶⁵ These meetings were surely spreading political consciousness among the masses.

Ratification by the Masses

When Maharaja Hari Singh returned to Srinagar from abroad, one such public meeting was called in the *khanqah-i-Moaalla*, another important sacred space in the city, on 25 June 1931⁶⁶ to publicly ratify the of Kashmiri Muslim representatives⁶⁷ who were expected to submit the grievances and demands⁶⁸ of the community to the Maharaja at the suggestion of G. E. C. Wakefield, Political member of the governing council. “This gathering”, in the words of the Shaikh, “should be considered the formal inauguration of the freedom movement of Kashmir.”⁶⁹ It was at this historical gathering that a body of the Muslim representatives was ratified by the gathering after raising their hands in approval.⁷⁰

A mammoth gathering of people assembled in the premises of Khankahi Moullah associated with the name of Mir Sayed Ali Hamadani, the great benefactor of the Muslims of Kashmir. Gulam Ahmad Ashaie, the founding father of the political movement, introduced the representatives to the gathering of about twenty five thousand who ratified the nominations by shouting *Allahu Akbar* [God is great] and *manzoor* [accepted]. Shaikh Abdullah and other representatives addressed the meeting and took oaths to dedicate themselves to the cause of a discriminated Muslim community.

The meeting was significant for so many reasons. First, the collective leadership was born with two main figures, that is Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah and Molvi Yusuf Shah, a blending of divergent outlooks, traditional and progressive; of religious conservatism and of religious liberalism, medieval obscurantism and of growing modernism.⁷¹ It was only after less than a couple of years that the contradictions came to the surface that caused first ideological division within the newly born leadership and the masses. Secondly, the representative body was a reflection of unity of different sects of Muslim community, all laying stress on unity and solidarity among the Muslims.⁷² It was for the first time that people were enjoying the taste of ratifying the nomination of their representatives to voice their legitimate grievances. And lastly, it was at this meeting that Kashmir history had to take a new turn.

In his speech, Shaikh Abdullah appeared eloquent, straight forward, brave, sincere and human and the one in whom the voiceless people started discovering their own voice. He asked all Muslims to join together and demand their rights. He also appealed to the Pundits to join hands with Muslims for redress of grievances as well as for independence. He declared:

“The present state of affairs has caused me and my colleagues a great deal of hard thinking and appraisal of the situation which is in no way satisfactory.....we have been the victims of long standing and continued suppression..... wailing and moaning is all prevailing beyond the tolerance.... We are least bothered about the policies they [state] adopt, but now we cannot dare to remain aloof from the affairs of the land of our birth which we held in so much of esteem.”⁷³

It was for the first time that someone was speaking in so unambiguous terms in a public gathering on behalf of the hopeless people against an autocratic regime. Thus, it was quit natural that Abdulla emerged as a lion and managed to create a place so deep in the minds and hearts of the people that they never let him down even when he made big compromises and unpopular bargains on their behalf in the decades to come. Before this *Molvi* Yusuf Shah introduced Abdullah and advised the people to “follow him [Abdullah] in whatever he says or does and take his words and actions as if these are his [Yusuf Shah] words and actions”⁷⁴.

Thus roared the Pathan

At the conclusion of the meeting, a well built Pathan, about 36-40 years old, later identified as Abdul Qadeer⁷⁵, a butler of a European official, rose up and delivered an emotional speech in front of a restive audience.⁷⁶ Pointing to the incidents in Jammuprovince he said:

“The honor, respect and reverence of the holy Quran are dearer to the muslims than earthly kingdoms. They can never tolerate interference in their religion or defilement of their Holy Book. The government of the Maharaja does not care for his subjects. It has no touch with the people, or any sympathy with the downtrodden. Oh Muslims arise! Time has come when you should bricks with stones. I warn you that your representatives and memorials won’t rescue you, nor will these papers remove injustice and misery. You must stand on your own legs and fight against the autocratic force. Even if you have no arms, fight with sticks and stones.”⁷⁷

While concluding, he pointed towards the *Sherghri* Palace, the seat of power of the Maharaja, and shouted: “demolish this edifice of injustice, cruelty and subjugation”.⁷⁸ He was promptly arrested during the following night. This provided a fresh focus for public demonstration and protests in Srinagar.⁷⁹ Huge crowds massed at his trial, till it had to be shifted to the Srinagar central Jail. On 13 July, 1931, a large crowd gathered at the gates of Jail on the day of the hearing. When the sessions judge and other officials arrived, the mob became uncontrollable and some of the people forced their way into the outer compound of the jail. The police stopped them, the crowd replied with stones, and authorities reciprocated with bullets. The Magistrate on duty ordered to open fire, which resulted into the killing of twenty-one Muslims, and scores of demonstrators received bullet injuries.⁸⁰ The news of killings spread like a wild fire across the state along with all sought of rumors followed by more protests, killings and some incidents of communal riots.

Watershed Moment

The incidents of 13 July caused a great uproar in the whole valley including Jammu. It shook the very foundations of the state apparatus. One of the unfortunate fall-outs of the incident was the occurrence of minor communal riots, which created the temporary gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. Chitrilekha Zutshi, one of the modern researchers on the subject, while emphasizing the multicasualty of the incident had advised for not looking the occurrence in vacuum. To her the incident was an outcome of the socio-economic and socio-political crisis in Kashmir.⁸¹

Another eminent writer M. J. Akbar while highlighting the importance of the 13 July incident in Kashmir History wrote “It was a day of many firsts: the first popular street challenge to the Maharaja’s despotism; the first mass communal violence; the first instance of police firing on an unarmed crowd.”⁸² P. N. K. Bamzai’s assertion that: “It is from that date [13 July] that the people took upon themselves the task of securing for themselves the right of democratic self rule”⁸³ is undoubtedly an overstatement for, Kashmiri Muslims were involved in political activity from the very beginning of the century albeit in a less organized and under the garb of religio-cultural banners. P. N. Bazaz, a contemporary commentator and an eminent historian writes, “Historically and politically 13th July 1931 was the most important day in the annals of contemporary Kashmir. From this day the struggle for independence and freedom in the most modern sense started openly.”⁸⁴ Shaikh Abdullah compared the incident with the ‘*Jalwanwala Bagh Massacre*’ caused by British General Dyer to quell the anti-Rowlett Act demonstrations in 1919.⁸⁵ There maybe divergence of opinion regarding the interpretation of events and causation of the revolt of 1931, what cannot be doubted, of course, is that 1931 explicitly changed the course of Kashmir political history.

The Sole spokesman

Sheikh Abdullah’s fame and political career received a quantum jump and he was able to assume the mantle of sole representative of the Kashmiri Muslims soon after the events of 1931, superseding the organization he owed his origin to. He was able to make best of the erupted age old pent up lava, the moral support of the Mirwaiz Kashmir and the structural support of the All India Kashmir Committee.⁸⁶ This trait remained with Abdullah’s persona throughout his political career. He would either try to dominate institutional arrangements or disown them if he felt been dominated.

The Aftermath

Prominent Punjabi leaders had demonstrated interest in the grievances of their co-religionists in Kashmir as early as 1892. Kashmiris settled in other parts of India, especially Punjab and the NWFP, retained emotional and familial links with their original homeland. Like most diasporic movements, that of Kashmiri Muslims drew upon the myth of return and the vision of a free and prosperous Kashmir. Since the turn of the century, the Kashmiri Muslim Conference had been serving as a venue to ventilate grievances against the Dogra administration and bemoan the lack of equal opportunities in their adopted homes. The All Indian Kashmir Committee formed after the 13 July incident under the president-ship of Bashir-ud-din Mohammad Ahmad, the Khalifa of the Ahmediya community and patronized by the Kashmiri born poet and philosopher, Sir Mohammad Iqbal,⁸⁷ called for an enquiry by the government of India into the incidents of 13 July, announced the observance of 14 August as ‘Kashmir Day’⁸⁸ and went so far as to suggest a review by the British parliament of the 1846 Amritser Treaty.⁸⁹ Under such prompting Shaikh Abdullah refused to meet with the Maharaja on 6 August 1931, until the observance of ‘Kashmir Day’ on 14th of August.⁹⁰

At the same time, Kashmir began to emerge as the centre of politics of yet another Punjab based group known as the Majles-i-Ahrar-i-Islam. Led among others by Syed Atta-ullah Shah Bukhari, the Ahrars were composed of Anti-British urban Muslims and reformist members of the Ulema with links to the Indian National

Congress.⁹¹ While Jammu's Muslim cultivators had welcomed the Ahrar *jathas*, the Ahmadiyas and Shaikh Abdullah were locked into their own mutually supportive alliance.

In response to the call given by the Kashmir Committee, Kashmir Day was celebrated both within and outside the valley on 14th August, 1931.⁹² Public meetings, processions, and peaceful demonstrations were the main features of the day in main Muslim centers of British India like Punjab, Ferozpor, Delhi, Surat, Gorakhpur, Bombay, Calcutta, and Shimla.⁹³ Resolutions were passed in these meetings demanding an enquiry into the grievances of Muslim community in the Jammu and Kashmir State.⁹⁴ The one remarkable effect of the Kashmir Day was that the events in Kashmir were projected for and wide on the entire national politics in India.

State Responded

Alarmed by the growing popularity of Abdullah⁹⁵ and concerned by the mass resentment, Maharaja sought the support, first of Sir Taj Bahdur Sapru and Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad, and then of a prominent Punjabi Muslim leader and friend of Prime-Minister Hari Krishan Koul, Syed Sir Mehr Nawab Ali Shah.⁹⁶ It was with the persuasion of the latter that an accord was signed between the government and the Muslim representatives.⁹⁷ This temporary truce, like many such accords which Shaikh Abdullah concluded at different stages of his long political career, caused great resentment in the agitated Muslim minds of Kashmir against their own chosen representatives.⁹⁸ They were perceived as traitors and the truce was considered as the worst type of middle-class bargaining at the cost of martyr's blood and the people's sacrifices. This popular resentment was expressed at a public meeting held at the Jamia Masjid on 28 August, 1931⁹⁹ as the representatives announced the terms of the truce to the audience. The people blamed the representatives for being "selfish and cared more for their own prestige and power than the interests of the poor people."¹⁰⁰ Shaikh Abdullah and Molvi Mohammed Yusuf Shah, two prominent representatives, swore on the Quran that they would never betray the nation in order to pacify the gathering. Abdullah also delivered an emotional speech pleading that he held the nation dearer than his own life. He asserted: "the Government asked for two months to consider our demands. If during this period the government practiced deception, we shall not sit quit nor shall we let the government feel comfortable. You will see it very soon that our sacrifice for the nation will puzzle the government of Kashmir, the government of India and the entire world."¹⁰¹

In the meanwhile fresh trouble arose. As expected "the government was rather slack in implementing the terms of the temporary truce and undue delay in taking action in accordance with them."¹⁰² This provided an opportunity to Shaikh to log horns with the state and regain the popular trust. Thus he made a few provocative statements, warning the Government to abide by the terms of the truce besides warning the pro-establishment elements in the state to desist from giving wrong advice to the rulers.¹⁰³ The government took a very serious note of these warnings and used them as a pretext to arrest the leaders.

On the 21 September 1931, Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah was arrested along with Mr. Jala-ud-din (lecturer of Arabic in S. P. College) while they were making collections in the city for the annual *Jalsa* of Islamia High School, one of the first non-government educational institutions established by Kashmiris to promote modern education.¹⁰⁴ "The arrest of Shaikh Abdullah, this time," recalls Bazaz, "was entirely different from his earlier arrest because while at that time he was simply Master Abdullah, he had by now become Sher-i-Kashmir with the result that as soon as the news of his arrest became known, Muslims immediately suspended their business and huge crowds from all over the city began converging towards Jamia Masjid," the relying point of the protests in Kashmir.¹⁰⁵

Abdullah Lionized

Shaikh Abdullah's reputation, spreading steadily since the events of July 1931, registered a leap every time he was arrested by the state since jail going was looked upon as a badge of honor among nationalists throughout the Indian subcontinent. Myths and legends were woven, through poetry and gossip, around Abdullah's name to make him a superhuman character among his followers. People have already started calling him Sher e Kashmir (lion of Kashmir). His enthusiastic followers were made to believe that Abdullah had stepped forward in 1931 to receive the cauldron of oil that was prepared by the oppressors for his community for "he depended on God alone for support,"¹⁰⁶ that Abdullah had arrived on the scene to "lift the burden of oppression off the shoulders of Muslims."¹⁰⁷ The poetry composed in the early 1930's presented Abdullah as their savior, a prophet sent by God to intervene on their behalf.¹⁰⁸ In a remarkable turn-about trends, by September 1931, Abdullah's popularity had grown to such proportions that the British were worried about the effect events in Kashmir might have on the communal situation in India, especially in Punjab.¹⁰⁹ Consequently, they persuaded an unwilling Maharaj to constitute a commission that would look into and suggest remedy to the more obvious Muslims grievances.¹¹⁰ Thus on 20

October 1931, Maharaja announced the appointment of a commission of enquiry headed by Bertrand J. Glancy, a senior member of the Indian political service, to look into the grievances of the people and recommend measures for its redressal. The Maharaja's declaration was considered as the first visible dividend of the people's struggle in Kashmir and therefore adding to the prestige of the emerging leadership and confidence of the struggling people.

With the arrival of the Commission in Kashmir to gather evidence, Shaikh Abdullah projected himself to be the sole spokesman; speaking for every class of Kashmiri Muslims. Besides other things, two important recommendations made by the Commission were to allow the formation of political associations and the publication of newspapers in the state.¹¹¹ Maharaja accepted these recommendations on March 12, 1932. The announcement had two fold implications in that it recognized the legitimacy of the demands for basic political and civil liberties which the people deserved, and it implied the first major victory reaped by the Muslim subjects as a result of their struggle.¹¹²

Carrying forward the political advantage, and capitalizing over the recommendations of Glancy Commission, Abdullah set the task of giving an organizational shape to his movement. Accordingly, consultations were made with people from Jammu province¹¹³ and the leaders of the Kashmir Committee of Lahore, the backbone of Abdullah's external support.¹¹⁴ To give a practical shape to the idea a committee was set up which drafted a constitution of the proposed organization and decided to name it as All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.¹¹⁵ The inaugural session of the Conference was held on 14, 15 and 16 October 1932 at the historic *Pathar Masjid* Srinagar where Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah was chosen as the founding president.¹¹⁶ Thus a Muslim middle class struggle for a proportionally more space in government jobs, graduated to a new level of an organized movement for political and civil rights to Muslims of the state before it was given a more inclusive shape in 1939 by way of converting the Muslim Conference into Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and throwing it open for people from all classes and communities and making its demands more economic than religious in its orientation.

To conclude, few things need to be mentioned here. Firstly, the political activity began in the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir before the events of July 1931 as a consequence of autocratic, sectarian and feudal political system as was the case with many other such states ruled by princely class. The early political activities were initiated by the newly educated class who were highly influenced by the Indian national movement and its progressive ideas and therefore, they choose the medium of press and persuasion to put forward their demands. Secondly, no doubt at its initial stage the movement was mostly confined to educated Muslims of Kashmir and its early demands were muslim centered, the movement was run on secular principals from the beginning despite that the state categorized its subjects singularly based on their religious affiliations. Thus religion and religious symbolism remained effective tools of mobilization against a communal state, and mosque remained a relying space to propagate the political ideas because it was relatively free from state persecution. Thirdly, Sheikh Abdullah, by dint of his charisma, oratory ability and effective use of organisational infrastructure, emerged as a dominating political figure in the state, a space which he dominated till his death with an enduring impact.

References:

¹ For a detailed discussion on the formation of Jammu and Kashmir and the nature of Dogra state, see Altaf Hussain Para, *The Making of Modern Kashmir: Sheikh Abdullah and the Politics of the State*, Routledge, Abington London, 2019.

² Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, Delhi, 2004, p. 291.

³ C. Hardinge, *Vincount Hadrange*, Oxford, 1891, p. 134.

⁴ Demi-official letter of Captain Boome of 13 August 1846, cited in Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, p. 58.

⁵ Alistair Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1993, pp. 88-89. There were two Mirwaiz in Srinagar viz. Mirwaiz Ahmadullah of Rajory Kadel and Mirwaiz Ahmadullah Hamadni.

⁶ Prem Nath Bazaz, *Struggle For Freedom in Kashmir*, reprinted by Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, p. 141

⁷ *ibid*

⁸ *ibid.*, p.142.

⁹ Mohammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Srinagar, Vol. I, p. 298.

- 10 Ghulam Hussan Khan, *Freedom Movement in Jammu & Kashmir*, New Delhi, Light and Life Publishers, 1980, p.122
- 11 Bazaz, *Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, p.142.
- 12 Khwaja Gulam Ahmad Ashaie, who was prematurely retired by the state for his alleged role in sending a memorandum to Governor General , arranged a meeting at his Fateh Kadel residence on 10 October 1930, which subsequently came to be known as Reading Room Party. The first meeting was attended by: Peerzada Gulam Rasool, Dost Mohammad Khan, Khwaja Ahsanullah, Gulam Ahmad Jewelari, Mohammad Rajab, Khwaja Ali Shah, Hakim Ali and Hakim Gulam Safdar. *Hakim Gulam Safdar, unpublished diary*
- 13 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar*, Srinagar, 1986, p. 48.
- 14 *Hakim Gulam Safdar, unpublished diary.*
- 15 *ibid.*
- 16 *ibid.*
- 17 M. Y. Saraf, *Kashmir's Fight for Freedom*, pp. 354-355.
- 18 Abdul Rashid Tasir, *Tarikh-i-Hurriyat-i-Kashmir*, Srinagar, Muhafiz Publishers, Vol. I, p.77.
- 19 *Hakim Gulam Safdar, unpublished diary.*
- 20 Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar* op. cit. p.49, see also in Saraf, op. cit. pp.354-355
- 21 *Hakim Gulam Safdar, unpublished diary op.cit*
- 22 *ibid.*
- 23 *ibid.*
- 24 F A Abba, *Profiles of Adullah*, 1980, Pragash Publications, Srinagar, p. 15.
- 25 Founded by Molvi Rasool Shah in the beginning of the twentieth century, Anjuman Played an extraordinary role in socio-religious and educational welfare of the Kashmiri Muslims for which its funder earned the name, Sir Syede Kashmir.
- 26 Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar*, p. 47-48.
- 27 *ibid*
- 28 Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2003, p.208.
- 29 See Bazaz. *Kashmir Ka Gandhi* (Urdu), Srinagar, 1935, p.17.
- 30 It is pertinent to mention that Muslims students due to poverty and lack of exposure were admitted very late in the schools as compared to non-Muslims; G.H. Khan op.cit., p.123, see also *Aatish-I-Chinar* pp. 47-48. For more about educational backwardness of Muslims, see Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, 1978, Srinagar, pp. 170-174.
- 31 Choudhary Gulam Abbas, *Kashmakash*, autobiography, Kashmir Studies Foundation, 2001, pp. 69-70
- 32 Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i- Chinar*, p. 51.
- 33 *ibid.*, p. 52.
- 34 Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 208.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 212.
- 36 M Y Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, vol. I, p. 355, also see Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar* pp. 55-59.
- 37 *ibid*
- 38 Bazaz, *Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, p. 144.
- 39 M. Y. Ganai, *Kashmir's Struggle for Independence, 1931-1939*, Srinagar: Mohsin Publications, 2003, p. 107.
- 40 Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i- Chinar*, p. 62.
- 41 Gulam Abbas, *Kashmakash*, pp. 63-67.
- 42 *ibid*
- 43 *ibid*
- 44 *The Kashmiri Musalman*, Lahore, (Weekly), May 10, 1931. See also Abbas, *Kashmakash*, op. cit.
- 45 Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar*, pp. 67-68; and Prem Nath Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1941, p, 122.
- 46 Alistair Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy*, p. 89.
- 47 Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar*, op. cit., p. 68.
- 48 Gulam Hassan Khan, *Freedom Movement in Jammu & Kashmir*, p. 127.

- 49 ibid
- 50 Alistair Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy*, p. 91
- 51 ibid
- 52 Hafiz Mohammed Ismail, op. cit., June 9, 1931 item 1. This speech was written by Hakim Safdar Hamadani at his residence where Sheikh Abdullah used to visit for giving private tuitions to Hakim Ismail, the younger brother of Safdar Hamadani. And as per Late Hakim Mohammad Sadiq, ex-sessions judge and the brother of Hamadani: "Sheikh Abdullah was also engaged to a girl who used to live in the vicinity of our house at Gadood Bagh."
- 53 Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar*, p. 71.
- 54 Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, op. cit
- 55 Chitralekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belongings*, p. 228.
- 56 Ajit Bhattacharjea, *Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah: Tragic Hero of Kashmir*, Roli Books, New Delhi, 2008, p. 30.
- 57 Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar*, p. 71.
- 58 *Hakim Gulam Safdar, unpublished diary op.cit.* in fact there were people with better oratory skills and political wisdom than Sheikh Abdullah doing political activity around the same time. Gulam Nabi Gilkar was one such patriot. His ideas and approach of politics was much radical and thus, he failed to exploit the traditional organizational structures and cooperation of the social elite of the time to his benefit. See, F A Abba, *Profiles*, pp. 18-25.
- 59 Non-Muslim Kashmir's who had so far dominated the government services were feeling threatened by the Muslim demands for rationalization of these services.
- 60 Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, op. cit.
- 61 *Inqilab*, Lahore, July 4, 1931 and Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar*, pp. 75-78.
- 62 M Y Saraf, op. cit. vol. I, pp. 367-368.
- 63 It is evident from the large scale participation of the masses in the his Public meetings.
- 64 *Sadat, Rozana Diary*, p. 694-5.
- 65 Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar*, p.79.
- 66 Prem Nath Bazaz, *Struggle for Freedom*, p. 145
- 67 As the list of representation was already formulated on June 20, 1931 at the office of *Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam*, Hafiz Mohammad Ismail, op. cit., June 20, item I
- 68 The draft of demands was prepared by Reading Room Party with the help of Punjabi Ahmadiyas which shows the influence of the later on the Kashmir movement at the initial stage. Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar*, p. 142.
- 69 ibid., p.82.
- 70 The members include Khwaja Said-ud-Din Shawl, Mirwaiz Mohammad Yousuf Shah, Mirwaiz Atiqullah Hamadani, Aga Sayyed Hussain Jalali, Khawaja Ghulam Ahmed Ashaie, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah and Shahab-ud-Din, clearly indicating that the new leadership was born from the cross sections of the Muslim Community, M. Y. Saraf, and Vol. I p. 373. Initially only five members were suggested in the meeting of *Anjuman Nusratul Islam*, however, the names of Ghulam Ahmed Ashaie and Shahab-ud-Din were added on the spot. From Jammu province, two leaders of Young Men's Association, Choudhry Abbas and Sardar Gowhar Rehman were also nominated to the group of Muslim representatives.
- 71 G. H. Khan, *Freedom Movement in Jammu & Kashmir*, p. 130.
- 72 Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar*, p. 83.
- 73 F A Abba, *Profiles*, p. 28.
- 74 Munshi Mohammad Ishaq, *Nida i Haqq* [personal diary], Srinagar, 2014, p. 106.
- 75 He belonged to Rampor, United Provence. Munshi Hassan in ibid. foot note. According to Fida Mohammed Hussnain, Abdul Qadeer was a disciple of Jammaludin Afgani, a foremost Muslim philosopher of the twentieth century, who had also visited Kashmir before his departure to Russia. See Fida Mohammad Hussnain, "*Abdul Qadeer Khan Ghazi, hero of 1931 uprising*", in *Greater Kashmir*, July 13, 2007.

- 76 Prem Nath Bazaz, *Struggle for Freedom*, p.145-146.
- 77 Fida Mohammad Hassnain, "Abdul Qadeer Khan Ghazi, hero of 1931 uprising", in *Greater Kashmir*, July 13, 2007.
- 78 *ibid.*
- 79 Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir*, p. 89.
- 80 Prem Nath Bazaz, *Struggle for Freedom*. p.146, and see also Taseer, *Tarikh-i-Hurriyat-i-Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 96-97, Fida Mohammad Hassnain, *op. cit.*
- 81 Chitrallekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, pp. 210-226.
- 82 M. J Akbar, *Kashmir; Behind The Vale*, (New Delhi: Roli Books, 2002), p.70.
- 83 P. N. K. Bamzai, *Cultural and Political History of Kashmir*, Vol. 3, p.732.
- 84 Prem Nath Bazaz, *Struggle for Freedom*, p. 147.
- 85 Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar*, pp. 88-96.
- 86 Chitrallekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging*, p. 228.
- 87 Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, pp. 141-142.
- 88 *ibid*
- 89 *Tribune*, 29 July 1931, P. 8.
- 90 R/1/1/2064, CRR (Political Department), From the Resident in Kashmir, dated 17 August 1931, Indian Office Library.
- 91 For a fuller discussion of the Politics of the Ahmadiyas, Ahrars and Iqbal, see Aaysha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*. London and New York: Rutledge, 2000.
- 92 M Y Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, vol. I, pp. 457-461.
- 93 For a detailed description about Kashmir Day, see, Gulam Hassan Khan, *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, pp. 140-148
- 94 *ibid.*
- 95 It was evident by the huge mass attendance to listen him.
- 96 M Y Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, vol. I, p. 398.
- 97 Sheikh Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar*, pp. 104-105.
- 98 *ibid.*
- 99 According to the terms of the truce the Muslim representatives undertook to completely stop the political agitation; would remain loyal to the Maharaja; that they would not be affected by the outside influence. The representatives expressed their gratitude to the prime minister for his magnanimity which he had exhibited in arriving at the understanding. They also pledged to observe the laws in force in the state. *Middleton Report on an Inquiry into Disturbances in Kashmir* (Jammu, Ranbir Government Press, 1931), p. vii.
- 100 Prem Nath Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
- 101 *The Alfazal*, (Qadian), December 8, 1931, p. 4.
- 102 Prem Nath Bazaz, *Kashmir Ka Gandhi*, p. 145.
- 103 Hafiz M. Islamil, *diary*, *op. cit.*, Sept. 3 1931, item 5.
- 104 Prem Nath Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, *op. cit.*, P. 146.
- 105 Prem Nath Bazaz, *Kashmir Ka Gandhi*, P. 74.
- 106 *Mousiki Kashmiri Ka Dassva Hissa* (Lahore: Inqilab, Steam Press, 1933) p.2, Political Department 383/Pol 10/1932, Jammu State Archives. (Jammu State Archives).
- 107 *Mousiki Kashmiri Ka Nava Hissa*, P.4, Political Department 383/Pol 10/1932, Jammu State Archives.
- 108 Babu Fakirllah Khan Sahab, *Safinaye Nooh, almaroof Sach Aawaz* (Amritsar: Ahmadiyya Press, 1932) Pol. Dep. 384/ Pol.10/1932 JSA, and for the role of myth in the creation of Kashmiri leadership see, Saraf, Vol. I, p./391-392 and Prem Nath Bazaz, *Kashmir Ka Gandhi*.
- 109 Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, p.270.
- 110 *ibid.*

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- ¹¹¹ B. J. Glancy, *Report of the Commission appointed under the order of His Highness, the Maharaja a Bahadur dated 12th November, 1931 to Enquire into the Grievances and Complaints* (Jammu: Rambir Govt. Press, 1933)
- ¹¹² G. H. Khan, *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, P. 167.
- ¹¹³ Chudhry Gulam Abbas, *Kashmakash*, p. 118.
- ¹¹⁴ The All India Kashmir Committee dispatched Moulana Abdullah Rahim Dard, Molvi Ismail Ghaznavi, Sayyed Habib Shah, Editor Daily *Siyasat* and Mir Zahur Ahmad to Srinagar to assist Sheikh in making necessary arrangements. Financial assistance was also made available along with a car to facilitate the movement of workers. See M. Y. Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, vol. I, p. 482.
- ¹¹⁵ Abdul Rasheed Taseer, *Tarikh-i-Hurriyat-i-Kashmir* Vol. I, p. 246.
- ¹¹⁶ *Alfazl*, Qadian, October 25, 1932.