



Pedagogy and Power: Missionary Schooling and Social Reform in Dogra-Era Kashmir

Umar Bashir

¹ Ph.D. Research Scholar, Department of History, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, India

*** Corresponding Author:**

Umar Bashir

umarhistoryphd@gmail.com

ARTICLE INFO

Article History

Received 05-01-2025
Revised 17-04-2025
Accepted 19-05-2025
Available Online 30-06-2025

ARTICLE ID

CLIO0301002

KEYWORDS

Christian missionaries, education reform, Princely Kashmir, Dogra rule, mission schools, Western pedagogy, Kashmiri Pandits, socio-cultural transformation.

ABSTRACT

The integration of digital technologies into public administration has emerged as a transformative force in enhancing governance mechanisms, especially in regions with unique political and administrative contexts such as Jammu and Kashmir. The study explores the role of digitization in modernizing public administration in the Union Territory, with a focus on its influence on efficiency, transparency, and citizen-centric service delivery. It critically examines various e-governance initiatives undertaken by the government, such as digital portals for land records, online grievance redressal systems, and electronic identity verification services. The study employs a qualitative-descriptive approach, utilizing official government reports, policy documents, and secondary literature to evaluate the extent of digital adoption across key administrative sectors. Findings suggest that digitization has significantly streamlined bureaucratic processes, reduced opportunities for corruption, and improved access to essential services, particularly in remote and underserved areas. However, challenges such as digital illiteracy, infrastructural limitations, cybersecurity concerns, and resistance to change within traditional administrative structures persist. The study reveals that while digitization has laid a strong foundation for administrative modernization, its long-term success hinges on inclusive digital policies, capacity-building programs, and sustained political commitment. The study contributes to the broader discourse on digital governance in conflict-prone and transitional regions.



INTRODUCTION

The history of education in Kashmir is a tale that is closely linked to cultural, religious, and political forces that have impacted the area for hundreds of years. Kashmir was long known as a centre of Sanskrit knowledge and literary quality. Its intellectual heritage was based on classical learning institutions, spiritual seminaries, and elite scripture instruction. During the control of Hindus and early Muslims, Kashmir saw the growth of Sanskrit and Persian study via pathshalas and madrasas, respectively. These institutions were not just centres of learning; they were also important keepers of high culture, passing down religious, philosophical, and linguistic traditions from one generation to the next. But this established order was upset and slowly replaced by modern, secular, and Western forms of education that Christian missionaries brought in during the second part of the 1800s. Their entrance, tactics, and objectives represent a significant historical intervention—both embraced and disputed—that initiated a profound shift in the educational and social framework of Dogra-era Kashmir.

Umar Bashir's work "Pedagogy and Power: Missionary Schooling and Social Reform in Dogra-Era Kashmir" is a significant academic study of this key time in the history of education in Kashmir. The study delineates the complex dynamics surrounding missionary educational initiatives in the Valley, situated within the larger context of princely despotism, colonial influence, and indigenous socio-cultural opposition. The introduction of Christian missionaries in Kashmir, especially those from the Church Missionary Society (CMS), brought a new way of thinking about education that was quite different from the religiously limited and closed-minded teaching that was common in traditional schools. The missionaries saw education not just as a vehicle for enhancing literacy, but as a civilising endeavor—intended to morally and spiritually elevate what they regarded as a degraded culture afflicted by superstition, illiteracy, and social stagnation.

This missionary vision was not isolated. The socio-political landscape of nineteenth-century Kashmir was characterised by Dogra dictatorship, economic adversity, sectarian division, and a rigid feudal system. The Dogra

dictatorship, which was in charge at the time, was very suspicious of missionary activity and the possible threats it posed to the British colonial government. The Dogras' educational practices were strict and kept many out, mostly to maintain the social order instead of making learning more accessible to everyone. Sanskrit and Persian were still the only languages taught, and public schools didn't get much money or support. In this context, the Christian missionaries proposed an alternative framework predicated on English-medium education, scientific logic, discipline, and moral rectitude.

Bashir's work significantly highlights the contradiction between pedagogy and power—how education, influenced by missionary efforts, evolved into both an instrument of cultural reform and a disputed arena of authority. On one side, people like Robert Clark, Reverend J.H. Knowles, and Tyndale Biscoe tried to set up Western-style schools that taught more than just religious literature. They wanted to teach things like physical discipline, cleanliness, being on time, and a secular curriculum. These institutions fostered a novel kind of subjectivity among Kashmiri youth, especially among upper Hindu castes like the Kashmiri Pandits, who were originally the principal benefactors of missionary education. On the other hand, these changes to education were faced with government opposition, doubt from the public, and religious conservatism. The Dogra state put several limits on missionary work, such as restricting land leases, not allowing buildings to be built, and keeping European teachers away from the local people. All of these things made it harder for mission education to expand. The research uncovers the more profound ideological aspects of this educational revolution, indicating that missionary instruction was not wholly selfless. The missionaries' educational efforts were strongly related to a greater evangelising impetus, even if they were portrayed as a good thing to disseminate knowledge. The founding of mission schools was accompanied by a constant hope—albeit generally unfulfilled—that Christian conversion would ensue from the adoption of Western education. This evangelical undertone makes the story of the missionaries as pure agents of social change more complicated. As Bashir points out, their ambitions were a

narrow line between teaching and converting others to their religion. In the end, their efforts were limited by both institutional impediments and cultural aversion to religious conversion.

The essay places the CMS schools within a broader colonial and civilising narrative that saw non-Western nations as regressive and in need of moral rectification via Christian values and British standards. Tyndale Biscoe, who was perhaps the most well-known missionary teacher in the Valley, was a perfect example of this kind of thinking. His teaching approaches stressed physical work, athletics, swimming, civic obligations, and self-control as important parts of building character. Biscoe believed that education could not only teach people but also "reform the soul" of Kashmiri young, especially the Brahman males, whom he thought were morally corrupt because of their privilege and rituals. His attempts to change how people in Kashmir think about being on time, being healthy, serving the public, and being equal were new, but they also came seen as condescending. He did manage to build a solid institutional framework for CMS education in Srinagar, such as the famous CMS School in Fateh Kadal. However, Biscoe's tactics sometimes went against local norms and met with a lot of resistance from traditional groups in both Hindu and Muslim populations. The class-based exclusivity of missionary education during this era is also quite important. The missionaries said they were helping people, but they mostly helped upper-caste Hindu families, notably the Kashmiri Pandits, who were already powerful in the Dogra government. Muslims didn't start going to missionary schools until the early 1900s. This was partly because they were poor and partly because they were worried about Christian influence and conflicts within communities. Bashir says that this social exclusivity strengthened existing hierarchies and went against the missionary agenda's ideals of equality. Additionally, while mission schools were important in bringing in contemporary disciplines like physics, history, maths, and English literature, they did not change the structural disparities of the period in any major way. The missionaries' efforts had little effect outside of Srinagar's urban elite, and the conversion rates remained quite low.

But it would be too simple to say that missionary schools failed. The text clearly

shows that these educational programs were the first step towards a bigger, long-term change in Kashmiri society. The missionaries helped modernise schools by setting up official schooling systems, standardising curriculum, providing textbooks, hiring qualified instructors, and offering extracurricular activities. Even though their original goals were little, they had a big impact. The CMS School established the benchmark for other state-run schools, and the high standards it set for education helped form the hopes and identities of generations of educated Kashmiris. Graduates of these institutions would later hold important jobs in government, academia, and civil society. The principles taught—discipline, civic duty, and logical inquiry—became part of the Valley's growing educational culture, going beyond its missionary roots. Also, missionary work made people in Kashmiri society respond. Hindu reformers connected to the Theosophical Society and people like Pandit Bala Koul helped set up alternative institutions like the Hindu College (later Sri Pratap College) to show that more and more people were becoming aware of the need of education. Muslim groups also started to push for improved access to education, which led to the opening of Muslim schools in the early 1900s. Missionary education caused a chain reaction that made both the state and society take public education more seriously. It was a very important time in Kashmir's intellectual awakening. It symbolised the change from religious to secular, from elite to popular, and from learning by heart to thinking analytically.

Bashir's piece doesn't only tell the story of missionary schools; it also looks at how education became a battlefield for different ideas, classes, religions, and reforms in a princely state that was struggling to keep up with contemporary times. The title of the piece, "Pedagogy and Power," aptly describes this dynamic: how the politics of dominance and freedom were closely connected to how people were taught. The book situates missionary education within the overlapping frames of colonialism, autocracy, and indigenous resistance, offering unique insights into the challenges of social transformation in South Asia. It rejects simple tales of missionary generosity, emphasising the contentious nature

of their legacy in Kashmir's educational and cultural history.

Kashmir has long been recognized as a hub of intellectual and cultural activity, producing significant works in history, poetry, and philosophy. For centuries, it served as a center of Sanskrit scholarship. As George Grierson noted, "Kashmiris are proud, and rightly so, of their nation's literary heritage."¹ The arrival of Islam brought profound cultural and religious influence to the region. Both Persian and Sanskrit education flourished during the Muslim rule, with the establishment of makhtabs and madrasas. One of the earliest known madrasas, *Urwat al-Wuthqa*, was founded during Sultan Qutbuddin's reign (1373–1389 CE). Later, Sultan Sikandar established a madrasa in Nawhatta that included scholars from Central Asia. Under Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420–1470 CE), a madrasa was created in the capital city of Nav-Shahr, employing teachers from both West and Central Asia. In Khawaja Bazar, Sheikh Hussain Chak (1562–1569 CE) founded a Darul Uloom.² Additional madrasas were founded during Emperor Jahangir's rule, while the Khanqah-i-Naqshbandiyah was established by Moinuddin Naqshbandi during Shah Jahan's era. The Mughal rulers also supported vocational education, particularly in traditional crafts such as carpet weaving, shawl making, and paper production. However, these educational and training institutions declined under Afghan rule due to a lack of funding and support. Later, Sikh rule caused irreversible harm to Kashmir's economy and further weakened these systems.³

Life in Kashmir remained largely unchanged until Christian missionaries arrived in the latter half of the nineteenth century. According to Mohd Ishaq Khan, a noted historian of Kashmir, several factors attracted missionaries to the region. He noted that Kashmir's strategic location, pleasant climate, and natural beauty made it an ideal base for missionary work targeting neighbouring areas such as Tibet, China, Yarkand, Afghanistan, and Turkistan. Additionally, Kashmir had historically been a confluence of major religions- Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam- making it fertile ground for religious outreach. As Khan explains, the missionaries believed that Christianity could establish a strong foothold in the valley. The missionaries were also aware of

the hardships faced by the Kashmiri people, who had long suffered under oppressive rulers and corrupt religious leaders.⁴ The region was experiencing a decline in moral values, education, healthcare, and economic conditions. Moved by these challenges, the missionaries felt compelled to respond. Their ultimate aim was to convert the population to Christianity, driven by the conviction that spreading the Christian message would bring about social and spiritual transformation in the region.⁵

Historical Emergence and Evolution of Modern Education

Before the arrival of Christian missionaries, there was a limited presence of modern education in Kashmir. These missionaries introduced a new intellectual perspective that marked the beginning of modern educational practices. In Srinagar and other parts of the valley, boys typically received instruction in Arabic at Makhtabs linked to local mosques, primarily to enable them to read the Quran. Similarly, Kashmiri Pandits attended Sanskrit schools called Pathshalas to study their sacred texts in their original form. During the rule of Kashmir's Muslim sultans, Persian was established as the official language, remaining in use until it was replaced by Urdu in 1907.⁶ This historical context indicates a general lack of educational infrastructure and opportunity in the region. The educational limitations of the urban population were formally recorded in the 1873 Administrative Report, the first of its kind in Jammu and Kashmir. This report mentions only a few publicly supported schools in the city, including the Pathshala, Gawakadal School, Maharaj Gunj School, and Basant Bagh School. However, institutions like Makhtabs and Pathshalas were primarily focused on limited religious instruction and did not contribute significantly to broader educational development.⁷

The arrival of missionaries in Srinagar occurred during this same period. Travel accounts by European explorers published in the early 19th century highlighted the vast potential for missionary work in the Kashmir Valley, drawing the attention of Western benefactors. In 1854, Colonel Martin, a retired military officer from Peshawar, accompanied by Robert Clark from the Punjab Mission and two Indian Christians, made their way to Srinagar.⁸

Although the Christian Missionary Society of London began its operations in Srinagar during the 1860s, it faced strong opposition from the local authorities.⁹

Initially, the missionaries chose to assist the people of Srinagar during a disease outbreak, which helped them gain the goodwill of the local population. The medical support provided by the missionaries was well-received by Kashmiris and encouraged efforts to combat illiteracy. At the time, there were no proper educational institutions in Srinagar. The only state-run school was one established by Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1874, where instruction was given in Sanskrit and Persian.¹⁰ It is evident that the Dogra government showed a clear disregard for the educational needs of its people. Reverend J. H. Knowles of the Church Mission Society of England founded a primary school based on Western educational principles within the Church Mission Hospital.¹¹ However, the Church Mission School faced numerous difficulties in its early stages. Until 1886, Dogra policy restricted education mainly to the study of religious scriptures. Subjects such as grammar, logic, rhetoric, and arithmetic were also taught, though to varying degrees, in the Maktabas and Pathshalas connected to mosques and temples.¹² It was only in 1886 that English instruction became available in the public school. Notably, until the early 20th century, not a single Muslim boy was enrolled in the Christian Missionary Schools.¹³

Christian Missionaries and Dogra Rule

On May 20, 1854, Robert Clark and his brother, Colonel Martyn Clark, arrived in Happy Valley after traveling from Rajouri and Poonch. They received a warm welcome from Kashmir's autocratic ruler, Maharaja Gulab Singh, who showed them several signs of goodwill. Clark did not ask for official permission to preach; instead, he chose to quietly observe and understand the situation before beginning his mission.¹⁴ His honesty and political tact impressed the Maharaja. Although many tried for a year to turn Gulab Singh against Clark's efforts, the Maharaja eventually dismissed their objections.¹⁵ Despite maintaining friendly ties with the British, Maharaja Gulab Singh was firmly against Western interference in Kashmir. That same year, at his request, Governor General Lord Dalhousie issued a special directive

banning Europeans from spending winters in the region. The order specified that Europeans could only enter through designated routes, had to remain under strict supervision during their stay, and were prohibited from mingling with the local population.¹⁶ While this posed little issue for tourists visiting during the summer to enjoy the scenery, it significantly hindered the work of Christian missionaries. They were barred from renting homes or conducting their activities freely, and under no condition could Europeans or British nationals own land within the Maharaja's territory.¹⁷

Guesthouses were constructed on the outskirts of Srinagar, Kashmir, to accommodate European visitors, and a specific area near the city was designated for their stay. The Maharaja appointed officials to manage their needs, with all communications handled through a designated clerk, or *Babu*.¹⁸ This arrangement created obstacles for missionaries, whose work required regular and close interaction with the local population. The Maharaja's intention behind this isolation was driven not by social or religious concerns, but by political motives. In 1864, Robert Clark took the lead in establishing a permanent mission in Srinagar. Although the Maharaja personally respected Clark, he strongly opposed the creation of the mission. While the British framed the mission's purpose as a religious duty, their actions also revealed an awareness of the serious lack of social and educational development in the region.¹⁹ The oppressed and impoverished population, denied full citizenship rights under monarchical rule, began to look toward missionary education as a path to improvement even at the risk of religious conversion.

Regardless of how one interprets the foundation of the mission, whether as a religious or political move, it is clear that the conditions in Kashmir at the time were ripe for such an institution to take root and play a major role in educational reform.

The rigid monarchical system, rooted in feudalism, did little more than oppress the general population, making the introduction of a new educational system a welcome change. Robert Clark was confident in advocating for the importance of establishing schools through the Kashmir Mission. Initially, the missionaries believed that offering medical assistance to the

local people, especially during outbreaks of disease-would be a good starting point. The positive impact of the medical missionaries helped them gain the trust and goodwill of the Kashmiri people, which in turn encouraged efforts to combat widespread illiteracy. At that time, there were no educational institutions in the valley capable of delivering proper instruction. The only government-run school was the Maharaja Ranbir Singh School, established in 1874, where Sanskrit and Persian were the main languages of instruction. The Dogra administration clearly showed little concern for educating its subjects. It was on April 18, 1864, that Robert Clark succeeded in founding the first school, marking a significant step toward educational reform in the region.²⁰

In 1880, Reverend J. H. Knowles founded the CMS School within the Srinagar hospital complex, marking the beginning of modern education in Kashmir.²¹ However, the school faced numerous obstacles in its early days. One major issue was the building itself, as government regulations at the time prohibited missionaries from renting property for educational purposes. As a result, Knowles had no choice but to open the school within the hospital premises.²² Between 1864 and 1880, the Kashmir Medical Mission had played a significant role in fostering goodwill and social harmony among the people. Nevertheless, the government's stance toward the mission remained unchanged, and the ban on renting property for schools persisted.²³ When the CMS School began in 1880, only five students were enrolled, likely due to limited space and the remote location of the hospital.²⁴ The lack of transportation options in Srinagar further discouraged attendance. In 1883, the situation improved when the missionaries managed to rent a building in the Sheikh Bagh area of Srinagar. However, this move triggered suspicion and backlash. Knowles wrote that the government had shown intense opposition to the mission school over the past year, criticizing their decision to relocate to a large property near the city. The Maharaja even issued a strict decree forbidding anyone in the valley from renting property or owning even basic possessions to the missionaries. Hostility from the authorities was evident from the beginning. As a result, student enrollment dropped from 47 to 30 in 1883, which Knowles attributed to the enforced

isolation of the school. Eventually, in 1890, the government granted permission for the CMS to relocate the school to a large house and compound along the riverbank in the central area of Fateh Kadal. By that time, the number of students had grown to approximately 200, signalling a turning point in the mission's educational efforts.²⁵

Spreading Enlightenment: Tyndale Bisco's Impact on Western Education in Kashmir

It took Mr. Knowles ten years of foundational work to secure the current site of the C.M.S. School. He was supported by Reverend C.L.E. Burges, A.B. Tyndale, and a few Kashmiri teachers in establishing the institution. Rev. Burges taught mathematics, while A.B. Tyndale, a graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford, started a Technical School aimed at teaching carpentry to young Brahman boys.²⁶ However, due to religious restrictions upheld by the Kashmiri Pandits, who traditionally forbade Brahmans from engaging in such manual trades, the initiative failed. Despite this, one Brahman youth worked in the school's smithy for two years and eventually opened his own bicycle repair shop. The origins of early childhood education in Srinagar are linked to Miss Helen Burges, recognized as the city's first female educator. Initially, the introduction of this educational system faced resistance. Some parents withdrew their sons from school, expressing concerns that schools focused more on play than on serious learning, saying, "Parents send their kids to school to learn, not to play."²⁷

The founding of the Mission School in Srinagar signalled the beginning of a new chapter for modern education in the city.²⁸ When Reverend Tyndale Biscoe joined the school in 1891, it had around 250 students. Upon his arrival to assist Mr. Knowles, Biscoe was struck by the appearance of some of the boys- many wore filthy garments that resembled nightgowns and had bright red paint smeared on their foreheads. Biscoe remarked that their large gold earrings seemed so heavy that the boys' earlobes might have torn if not for a thread tied across their heads for support. Interestingly, during winter, the boys were initially allowed to carry *Kangris* (traditional fire pots) with them for warmth.²⁹ Most of the early students belonged to the Kashmiri Pandit community, a minority in

the region. The author critically notes that despite receiving modest salaries from the state, these boys came from wealthy families with grand homes, wealth allegedly accumulated through generations of exploiting the Muslim peasantry. They were often the sons or grandsons of officials accused of oppressing the local population.³⁰

Mr. Biscoe exerted tremendous effort to accomplish his goal. When he first tried to teach the Brahman boys a different method of schooling, he ran into a lot of problems. Biscoe's mission was monumental, yet he was ultimately successful in eradicating misconceptions. He claims that his primary motivation for visiting Kashmir was educational, rather than pedagogical. The immediate dilemma that troubled his thoughts was how and what to teach the advanced students.

So, Biscoe researched the people of Kashmir extensively before implementing any major initiative. His research convinced him that the people's souls had been stolen by tyranny, corruption, exploitation, and superstition. Biscoe was resolved to provide these enslaved individuals with an education that would renew their hope and empower them to become contributing members of society. Many Brahman boys who attended C. M. S. School were in their twenties or more, and a sizable portion of them even married.³¹

It was difficult to persuade these mature males of the thane's merits and to prepare them for its founding in the metropolis³². It has been reported that for years, students wouldn't attend school until midday, despite classes officially starting at 11 a.m. The local school system did not emphasize punctuality, so it wasn't enforced. Hindu boys celebrated various religious festivals, making attendance inconsistent. Biscoe describes the unpredictability of student turnout, explaining that some boys observed certain deities while others didn't, making daily attendance unreliable. Without mandatory presence, discipline was nearly impossible.³³ To address this, Biscoe's first step was to enforce strict rules around punctual attendance by setting fixed class schedules. He also introduced Western-style holiday observances, marking the beginning of the CMS School's shift toward Western practices. Penalties were introduced to

discourage absences, but they proved inadequate, as students frequently claimed to be sick to avoid school. In response, Biscoe began visiting the students' homes to verify these absences.³⁴ He also faced resistance from boys who were unwilling to take part in physical activities. This reflected the deep-rooted influence of superstition on their beliefs. For example, when Biscoe introduced football to Kashmir, Brahman boys refused to play, declaring the ball impure and incompatible with their religious purity.³⁵ Parental opposition to sports, seen as a distraction, was not unexpected. For many of these boys, education was simply a means to secure a government job, and games were viewed as unproductive. Likewise, they saw activities like rowing as unworthy of their status.³⁶

Biscoe even noted that some Brahman teachers actively discouraged their students from participating in rowing. However, the man credited with laying the foundation for modern education in Srinagar remained steadfast in his mission. He believed that school should be a place where children not only gained knowledge but also developed character. According to Ernest Neve, Biscoe's primary aim was to instill values such as courage, loyalty, compassion, good manners, hygiene, and honesty in his students.³⁷ To promote physical development, Biscoe encouraged volunteer work, sports, and other physical activities. For intellectual growth, the curriculum included English, Indian languages like Urdu and Hindi, Persian, mathematics, history, geography, science, and art. Swimming, a distinctive activity at the school, was mandatory. Each student had to pass a swimming test by the age of thirteen; failure to do so meant a significant tuition hike, effectively preventing non-swimmers from continuing their education at the school. Dr. Brian Holmes, in his study of British imperial policy and mission schools, highlighted the strong focus on athletics at the CMS School under Biscoe as an example of how British-style extracurricular activities were adapted for local use.³⁸ Starting in 1893, Biscoe launched various community service initiatives, which played a key role in shaping the students' moral character. These efforts also made the students more aware of the deeply rooted traditions of Srinagar and the importance of reform as part of their missionary education.

Missionary Engagements and Official Responses in Kashmir

Christian missionaries contributed positively in many ways, but Srinagar still lagged behind educationally despite their efforts. Faced with overwhelming challenges, the missionaries were unable to carry out large-scale educational initiatives. The government could have easily improved the lives of the people by setting up a proper school system.³⁹ However, the Dogra elite resisted any attempts to promote political awareness among the population. Reports in regional newspapers from Punjab reflect both the intellectual stagnation of the Kashmiri people and the apathy of the Dogra rulers. These publications consistently called on the Maharaja to make the education of his subjects a top priority.⁴⁰

By the early 1900s, Maharaja Pratap Singh had established a High School in the city. However, state officials made no real effort to enhance their appeal or boost student enrollment. A report in the *Pusa Akhbar* (Lahore), dated November 30, 1901, noted that the authorities did little to motivate citizens to benefit even from the limited education available at the school. The 1901 census reflected this lax attitude toward education, revealing that only around 2% of the population was literate.⁴¹ Although progress was initially slow, some advancements occurred after 1904. In 1905, Mrs. Annie Besant, with support from several theosophical social reformers and Pandit

Bala Koul of the Sahib family, founded a Hindu College in the city. This institution was later taken over by the state and renamed Sri Pratap College. It was primarily the Hindu community that first welcomed Western-style education. Sri Pratap College went on to produce many prominent Hindu leaders, with its graduates occupying various government positions.⁴²

CONCLUSION

This highlights the significant role Christian missionaries played in laying the foundation for modern education, an achievement for which they deserve recognition. Despite facing serious challenges, including hostility from the early Dogra rulers, the missionaries remained committed to their mission. They brought about notable changes in Kashmiri society, culture, and education, and their approach to education served as a model for other schools in the state. However, access to mission schools was largely limited to the wealthy and to Pandits. For a long time, missionary work was concentrated in Srinagar, leaving much of the Valley untouched. Still, their influence gradually spread across society, contributing to the development of a more progressive mindset by the early 20th century. In terms of religious conversions, however, their efforts largely failed. Most conversions happened outside the Valley, primarily driven by the caste system- something that was not present in Kashmiri society.

REFERENCES

- ¹ G. Greison, *Linguistic survey of India*, vol. vii, Part 2, pp.241, 251
- ² Didmari, M. A., *Waqat-i-Kashmir*, p.133-34
- ³ Khan, M. Muzaffar, *Kashmiri Muslims: An Historical Outline*, vol 2, Humanizer Publications, Srinagar, 2012, p.108.
- ⁴ Khan, Mohamad Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, Aamir Pub. Srinagar, 1978, p. 137.
- ⁵ Ibid., p. 137.
- ⁶ J&K file no.27z6 of 1967 Sampvat.
- ⁷ Report of the Educational Reorganization Committee, 1939, p. 10
- ⁸ Khan, Mohamad Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, Aamir Pub. Srinagar, 1978, p. 145
- ⁹ ibid, 145
- ¹⁰ ibid, 145.
- ¹¹ Biscoe, Tyndale, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, Srinagar, p. 160.
- ¹² Om Hari, *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir: A study in the spread of Education and consciousness 1857-1925*, p. 19-20.
- ¹³ Biscoe, Kashmir, op. cit. p. 269.

-
- ¹⁴ Clark Henry Martyn, Robert Clark of Punjab: *Pioneer and Missionary Statesman*, F.H. Rewell, New -York, 1907, p.103.
- ¹⁵ Ibid, p.105.
- ¹⁶ Ibid, p. 104.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Ibid, p. 191.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Seru S.L. *History and Growth of Education*, 1978, p.33.
- ²¹ Khan Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, 1978, p.126.
- ²² Biscoe, Tyndale. *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*. 2006, pp 249.
- ²³ Holmes Brain, *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools: Case Studies from British Empire*, London: Routledge, 1967, 160.
- ²⁴ Khan Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, 1978, pp 149.
- ²⁵ Khan Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, 1978, pp 146.
- ²⁶ ibid, pp 147.
- ²⁷ Biscoe, Tyndale. *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* 2006, pp 260.
- ²⁸ Khan Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, 1978, pp 147.
- ²⁹ Biscoe, Tyndale. *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* 2006, pp 263.
- ³⁰ Khan Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, 1978, pp 148.
- ³¹ Ibid, pp 148.
- ³² Ibid, pp 148.
- ³³ Biscoe, Tyndale. *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* 2006, pp 253.
- ³⁴ Khan Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, 1978, pp 149.
- ³⁵ Ibid, pp 149
- ³⁶ Biscoe, Tyndale. *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* 2006, pp 263.
- ³⁷ Khan Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, 1978, pp 150.
- ³⁸ Ibid, pp 150.
- ³⁹ Khan Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, 1978, pp 150.
- ⁴⁰ Khan Ishaq, *History of Srinagar*, 1978, pp 151.
- ⁴¹ Report on native Newspapers, 1901. pp 789.
- ⁴² Ibid.