

## Conversion without Christianity: Missionary Intervention, Selective Adaptation and Religious Resilience in Late 19th to mid-20th Century Kashmir

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**Abstract:** *This paper investigates Christian missionary activities in Kashmir from the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, going beyond a narrow focus on conversion. It uses missionary and colonial documents, as well as local responses, to claim that Kashmir symbolizes "conversion without Christianity." People absorbed missionaries educational, healthcare, and social reform advances without large-scale religious conversion. The study focuses on how strong local traditions and selective acceptance influenced this process. Kashmiris embraced useful features of modernity while keeping their religious identity, demonstrating an active and balanced response to missionary influences.*

**Keywords:** *Christian Missionaries, Selective Modernity, Education and Medicine, Women and Social Reform, Princely Kashmir.*

### Introduction

This paper investigates Christian missionary engagement in princely Kashmir from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, reevaluating conversion as the primary indicator of missionary success. In South Asia, missionary historiography has regularly used baptismal figures and census records to measure evangelical success. Regions seeing demographic increase in Christian communities have thus been presented as successful mission fields, whereas places with low conversion rates have been characterized as resistant or stationary. However, such a quantitative model obscures the complex political, social, and cultural aspects of structured missionary contacts under indirect colonial control. Kashmir makes a persuasive case for revisiting these assumptions.

Following the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846,<sup>1</sup> Kashmir operated under Dogra sovereignty rather than direct British authority.<sup>2</sup> Missionaries thus operated in a negotiated political climate, relying on royal approval and frequently subject to administrative restrictions. The lack of full imperial support limited overt

proselytization and influenced public opinions of missionary work. Simultaneously, missionaries became inextricably linked to the larger colonial power institutions that had supported Dogra control. In a Muslim-majority culture already suffering from economic hardship, hefty taxation, and political marginalization,<sup>3</sup> conversion risked being interpreted as alignment with external authority. Social and cultural considerations also restricted missionary success. Kashmiri society was profoundly rooted in Islamic scholastic traditions and Sufi devotional networks, which produced strong communal bonds. Indigenous reform movements, particularly Muslim educational initiatives like Anjuman-I-Nusrat-ul-Islam,<sup>4</sup> provided alternative paths for modern education without exposure to Christian ideology, decreasing missionaries monopoly on literacy and social mobility.

Despite these constraints, missionary institutions in education, medicine, and women's reform expanded significantly. Schools under C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe attracted growing enrollment despite compulsory Christian instruction, mission hospitals treated tens of thousands of people each year, and Zenana missions increased female literacy. However, institutional expansion did not result in mass conversion. This study defines the Kashmiri experience as 'conversion without Christianity', a type of selective modernity in which Kashmiris adopted missionary introduced institutional forms while maintaining religious continuity. By emphasizing political context, social cost, reformist alternatives, and religious persistence, the study questions conversion-centric historiography and provides a more nuanced view of missionary impact in frontier populations under indirect empire.

### **Beyond Conversion Metrics: Rethinking Missionary Success in Princely Kashmir**

The history of Christian missions in South Asia has long been viewed through an exclusive quantitative lens. Baptismal registrations, and census categories are usually used as main measures of missionary success or failure. Within this framework, regions with high conversion rates, such as Punjab, the North-East, and parts of South India, have been interpreted as sites of missionary triumph, whereas areas with low conversion rates have been described as resistant, stagnant, or unsuccessful mission fields. However, such a model assumes that religious transformation is the only or ultimate goal of missionary participation and reduces complicated socio-cultural experiences to numerical outputs. This conversion centric logic is fundamentally clear in Robert Clark's works, Clark's narrative organizes missionary history through measurable expansion like twenty-three principal and eight branch stations, work in eleven languages, rising numbers of Native Christians from none in 1851 to 1,501 in 1883 and 10,852 by 1902, and baptisms increasing from 117 in 1883 to 615 in 1902<sup>5</sup> growth in catechists, Bible-women, schools, teachers, and financial expenditure. Statistical tables appended to the volume list more staff members, adult

communicants, and annual baptisms, making spiritual development visible through demographic growth. Thus, institutional growth and fiscal expansion become obvious indicators of religious vitality.<sup>6</sup> C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe has a similar theological focus, with educational reform and character building portrayed as preliminary but inadequate without explicit faith in Christ. Moral discipline and social elevation, while valuable, do not constitute missionary completion, only conversion completes the undertaking.<sup>7</sup> Clark and Tyndale-Biscoe represent a management and confessional paradigm in which baptismal increase is seen as the ultimate criterion of success.

Later historiography, however, complicates the equation between numbers and influence. According to Stephen Neill early Christian development in India was gradual since conversion represented social disruption. In close knit civilizations, baptism was viewed as a break from kinship networks and communal connection hence, just 174 people were baptized in 1857. Growth advanced only after Christianity stopped to appear as a complete break with society and gained a degree of social accommodation.<sup>8</sup> Extending this argument, Robert Eric Frykenberg argues that census data are a 'very sensitive subject, sometimes politicized and insufficient for understanding the regional diversity and social embeddedness of Indian Christian communities.'<sup>9</sup> For Frykenberg, demographic totals hide the multiple historical processes through which Christianity interacted with caste, language, and local culture. These two writing strands suggest a historiographical contradiction.<sup>10</sup> On one side are missionary contemporaries like as Clark and Tyndale Biscoe, who linked visible conversion to measured achievement. Historians such as Neill and Frykenberg, on the other hand, indicate that religious transformation cannot be limited to numerical increase and must be considered in the context of broader social structures. The Kashmiri experience calls for reassessment in the context of the tension between statistical enumeration and social embeddedness.

The Kashmiri situation demands a fundamental rethinking at this point in history. If missionary success cannot be limited to baptismal arithmetic, additional types of transformation must be considered. Missionary influence in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Kashmir did not result in widespread conversion, but it did have a considerable impact on education, medical practice, and gender reforms. Mission schools maintained indigenous enrollment, mission hospitals treated a huge number of patients, and women specific activities increased female literacy and mobility. Despite this institutional presence, census data continued to show Christians as a small minority in a Muslim majority region.

To explain this paradox, this study introduces the concept of conversion without Christianity by this, I do not mean hidden or incomplete confessional change, but rather the selective adoption of missionary introduced institutional practices such as modern schooling, modern medicine, new forms of discipline, and public behavior without a corresponding shift in religious identity.

Kashmiris approached missionary modernity pragmatically, taking what was socially or materially helpful while maintaining their Islamic beliefs and social affiliations. Transformation occurred at the level of practice rather than creed. This pattern must also be contextualized within the political framework of princely Kashmir. Unlike the directly administered British provinces, Kashmir was under indirect colonial rule via the Dogra monarchy. Missionaries operated within a negotiated space like they were subject to princely approval, were prohibited from overt proselytizing, but were allowed later to expand educational and medical institutions. Institutional penetration took place without the full support of colonial administrative power. At the same time, due to strong Islamic scholarly traditions and intricately tied kinship networks, conversion continued to be associated with social disruption, mirroring Stephen Neill's observation. In this scenario, low conversion rates do not represent missionary failure, but rather a unique manner of contact under indirect empire. Kashmir appears as a location where modern institutional forms were assimilated without confessional displacement, undermining conversion centric metrics and encouraging a more nuanced interpretation of missionary society interactions.

### **Institutions without Conversion: Education, Medicine, and Gendered Reform**

Christian missionary activities in Kashmir in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resulted in significant institutional growth, particularly in medicine, education, and women's reform. Despite this strong social presence, conversion rates remained extremely low. Medical service was the oldest and most visible domain of missionary activity in princely Kashmir. Following the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846 and the strengthening of Dogra sovereignty, the valley remained politically sensitive terrain, managed indirectly but strategically within imperial borders. Within this delicate political ecosystem, the Church Missionary Society launched its medical activity.<sup>11</sup> The arrival of Dr. W. J. Elmslie in 1865 marked the official start of modern missionary medicine in Kashmir. The mission dispensary began small, but its growth was swift and quantitative. The records show that 2,295 patients were treated in 1865, 3,365 in 1866, 780 in 1867, and 4,450 in 1868.<sup>12</sup> By 1879, the hospital was treating just under 5,000 patients annually, including 703 in-patients<sup>13</sup> and in 1883 attendance rose to 7,562 patients,<sup>14</sup> These data show not only a growing trust in allopathic therapy, but also a steady institutionalization of the mission within Srinagar's<sup>15</sup> urban setting.

Dr. Arthur Neve and Dr. Ernest Neve<sup>16</sup> led the Church Mission Hospital to become a significant medical Centre. Surgical practice was standardised, wards were extended, and infrastructure upgrades were implemented. According to Ernest Neve, the hospital eventually expanded to over one hundred beds and performed thousands of medical procedures,<sup>17</sup> By the early twentieth century, yearly patient attendance had surpassed 15,000 and by the 1920s, more than

20,000 patients were treated per year. The C.M.S. Zenana Hospital in Baramulla,<sup>18</sup> with seventy-four beds, handled more over 30,000 patients annually<sup>19</sup> demonstrating the incorporation of mission medicine into the wider healthcare framework of the state. Nonetheless, this institutional expansion occurred inside a negotiated political system. Missionaries were subject to Dogra authority, which required administrative approval for property acquisition, construction, and expansion. Ernest Neve's memoirs highlight the ongoing necessity for accommodation with princely authorities, indicating the lack of direct imperial protection available in British provinces.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, missionary medicine must be placed within larger debates on colonial public health and administration, where biological practice intertwined with imperial conceptions of sanitary reform and administrative modernity.<sup>21</sup>

Additionally, medical missions entered an established therapeutic environment influenced by Unani and Ayurvedic customs. Instead, a multi-tiered medical sector developed where Kashmiri patients had to choose between allopathic doctors and traditional healers.<sup>22</sup> The appeal of surgical accuracy, quinine therapy, and institutional care increased the reputation of mission hospitals without requiring doctrinal compliance. Despite tremendous institutional reach, medical expansion did not lead to proportional religious conversion. Patients wanted effective therapy, surgical expertise, and access to modern medical knowledge. Although prayer, scripture reading, and evangelical conversations were occasionally included during medical services, baptismal numbers remained relatively low. Missionary organizations affected parts of urban life, cleanliness, and public health, but did not significantly change the valley's confessional population.<sup>23</sup> Medical missions in Kashmir thus demonstrate a major paradox of missionary modernity, widespread institutionalization without demographic Christianization. The dispensary established by Elmslie became a permanent medical infrastructure under the Neve brothers, interwoven in the politics of princely power and colonial reform. Kashmiri civilization pragmatically adopted modern medical knowledge, incorporating it into daily life while preserving religious continuity. Despite the remarkable institutional reach, medical expansion did not result in proportionate religious conversion. Patients wanted effective therapy, surgical skills, and access to modern medical knowledge. While prayer and scripture reading were occasionally offered alongside medical care, baptismal numbers remained low. Institutional Christianity served as a supplier of healthcare without resulting in demographic Christianization.

While medical care was the missionaries first persistent contact with Kashmiri society, education eventually emerged as the more permanent and structurally revolutionary domain of engagement. If hospitals and dispensaries opened bodies to missionary presence, schools opened minds to new forms of discipline, literacy, and civic education. The history of missionary education in Kashmir must be contextualized within the larger political and intellectual developments

of the nineteenth century. Following the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846, the Dogra empire established jurisdiction over an area characterized by earlier academic traditions based on Sanskrit and Persian scholarship. Prior to missionary intervention, education worked through maktabas and pathshala, which conveyed Quranic, Persian, and Sanskrit learning within specialized institutional settings.<sup>24</sup> These institutions had a deep in religious and social hierarchy, modern bureaucratic education in the European sense was almost nonexistent. The arrival of Protestant missionaries, particularly those from the Church Missionary Society (CMS), must be viewed in the context of Dogra sovereignty and indirect British influence. Although the Maharaja maintained internal authority, the presence of a British Resident after 1889 aided missionary negotiations and expansion. The CMS authorized the creation of schools in Kashmir, and Rev. J. H. Knowles established the first C.M.S. School in Srinagar in 1880.<sup>25</sup> The early response was modest, initial enrolment consisted of only five students.<sup>26</sup> Participation was limited due to social skepticism, loyalty to traditional learning, and concern about conversion.

Yet within a decade the trajectory shifted. By 1890 enrolment had risen to approximately 200,<sup>27</sup> and by 1891 the school counted nearly 250 pupils.<sup>28</sup> By 1920, nearly 1,500 boys were enrolled in the C.M.S. Mission School.<sup>29</sup> This expansion occurred along with the arrival and long career of C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe,<sup>30</sup> who converted the school into a disciplined institutional setting. Biscoe saw education as 'character-building,' emphasizing civic responsibility, bodily discipline, and public service, rather than just reading.<sup>31</sup> Swimming, boating, games, and physical drill were introduced to challenge what missionaries perceived as social passivity.<sup>32</sup> Swimming in the Jhelum and Dal Lakes was compulsory and symbolized both moral and physical renewal. Missionary pedagogy was unabashedly interventionist. Christian education was compulsory, fees were mandatory, corporal punishment was administered, and rigid standards of discipline dominated daily routine.<sup>33</sup> These qualities sparked opposition from traditionalist segments of Kashmiri society. However, the paradox of missionary education lies precisely here, despite mandatory Christian instruction and institutional rigor, enrollment continued to rise into the early twentieth century. Families were willing to embrace Christian teaching in exchange for literacy, English schooling, and government work. As a result, education became a tool for social mobility within the Dogra state's developing bureaucratic structure.

Crucially, increasing engagement did not lead to mass conversion. Missionary reports regularly criticized the low number of baptisms compared to educational accomplishment. The school served as a venue for contact rather than radical religious transformation. Students adopted literacy, discipline, and administrative skills without abandoning their collective identity. In this regard, missionary education reshaped Kashmiri society not via numerical conversion but through cultural and institutional transformation. The political dimension of missionary

action went beyond education. Medical missions, such as the building of dispensaries and proposals for leper asylums in the late nineteenth century, helped to integrate missionaries into the valley’s social fabric, frequently through negotiations with the Dogra administration. Education and medicine formed the twin cornerstones of missionary influence. In summary, missionary educational activity in Kashmir after 1880 signified a substantial shift away from traditional maktab and pathshala systems and toward modern institutional education. The C.M.S. School, founded by Rev. J. H. Knowles and consolidated by C. E. Tyndale Biscoe, became a focal point for the development of disciplined, literate subjects within the Dogra polity. While missionaries aimed to evangelize, their labor left a lasting legacy of institutional modernity rather than theological conversion.

While medical giving and institutional schooling were the initial two areas of missionary participation in Kashmir, women’s reform and female education evolved as the third, and possibly most socially sensitive, pillar of influence. If hospitals provided access to public suffering and schools formed male youth through discipline and literacy, female education expanded missionary influence into Kashmiri society’s domestic and gendered realms. This change was neither accidental nor purely altruistic, it mirrored a larger evangelical conviction that long term social transformation necessitated the moral reconstruction of the household through women. Women’s reform and female education were the third pillars of missionary intervention. A girl’s school was opened at Fateh Kadal between 1893 and 1895, amid substantial opposition.<sup>34</sup> By 1914 Srinagar had three girl’s schools.<sup>35</sup> Miss Churchill Taylor, Miss Stubbs, Miss Mallinson, Miss Fitz, and Miss Goodall played crucial roles in making girl’s education acceptable in Srinagar despite severe opposition.<sup>36</sup> Miss Fitze initiated a girl’s school in 1912, mainly attended by Muslim girls. Despite Hindu girls facing cultural limitations on education, by 1914, the city had three girl’s schools. By 1920, progress was evident, with mothers increasingly eager for their daughter’s education, enrolment figures from the C.M.S. Girl’s School show steady growth in table 1:

**Tab.1: Statistical Information of C.M.S. Girls School,  
Fateh Kadal from 1913-1920**

| Year | Number of Girls Students |
|------|--------------------------|
| 1913 | 70                       |
| 1914 | 70                       |
| 1915 | 85                       |
| 1916 | 83                       |
| 1917 | 91                       |
| 1918 | 100                      |
| 1919 | 102                      |
| 1920 | 70                       |

*Source: Khan. I, History of Srinagar*

The table shows that the number of female students increased from 1913 to 1919 before dropping to 70 in 1920. This was maybe due to Miss Fitze's poor health in her later years. The C.M.S. Girl's School saw a significant transformation during Miss Mallinson's tenure as principal (1922-1961). She played a significant role in ensuring that women in Srinagar had enough educational and cultural opportunities. Under her inspired leadership, the school became a cultural hub. The increased trend between 1913 and 1919 suggests a growing social acceptance of female education. Zenana missions expanded literacy and medical help to home settings.<sup>37</sup> Missionaries also facilitated Brahman widow remarriage, with the first such remarriage occurring in Srinagar in 1928.<sup>38</sup> By 1947, more than a hundred widow remarriages had been arranged through mission influence, and pension funds were established to support widows financially.<sup>39</sup>

These reforms challenged deeply rooted gender hierarchies and caste rigidity. Women gained access to literacy, healthcare, and limited social mobility through missionary institutions. However, female engagement in schools and zenana missions did not result in equivalent gains in Christian affiliation. When census data is used to compare institutional expansion with demographic conversion, the discrepancy becomes much more pronounced. The Christian population was 218 in 1891,<sup>40</sup> 422 in 1901,<sup>41</sup> 975 in 1911,<sup>42</sup> and 3,643 in 1921.<sup>43</sup> In 1921, there were 3,220,586 people, with Christian's accounting for around 0.113% of the total. Even during its peak growth in the early twentieth century, the Christian community remained numerically small in terms of total population. This disparity indicates that missionary success in Kashmir was institutional rather than demographic. Schools grew steadily, hospital attendance reached tens of thousands every year, and women's education acquired widespread support. However, conversion remained restricted. Kashmiris embraced missionary modernism, seizing education, modern medical care, and selective social transformation while preserving religious continuity. Institutional Christianity gained social traction without achieving confessional dominance. The Kashmiri instance exemplifies a trend in which deep institutional impact coexisted with demographic marginalization, indicating that modernization did not need religious conversions.

### **Selective Modernity and Religious Resilience: Negotiating Missionary Modernity**

The small number of Christian conversions in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Kashmir cannot be attributed solely to doctrinal rejection. Rather, it arose from a distinct political and social ecology formed by princely sovereignty, colonial ambivalence, Dogra administrative obstacle, Muslim reformer mobilization, socioeconomic grievance, and the structural structure of Kashmiri society. When read alongside missionary memoirs, state histories, and Muslim institutional reactions, Kashmir presents an example that challenges conversion centric measurements of missionary success. Missionary presence increased

educational and medical infrastructure, but did not result in comparable religious transformation. From the start, missionaries faced organized public resistance. Robert Clark's attempt to build a school in Srinagar in 1864 sparked considerable outrage, including the burning of his effigy in the city, symbolizing rejection of overt proselytization.<sup>44</sup> The Dogra administration exacerbated tensions by warning citizens against renting houses to missionaries, forcing the closure of the first mission school.<sup>45</sup> Such measures reflected official anxiety that Christian expansion might provoke unrest within a Muslim majority polity governed under princely sovereignty.

Unlike Punjab and the North-Western Provinces, Kashmir was managed as a princely state rather than directly by the British Crown. Missionaries thus operated without the institutional security provided by British provinces. Ernest F. Neve often emphasized the complex negotiations required to maintain missionary organizations within the restrictions of princely power.<sup>46</sup> Evangelical work relied on political compromise rather than imperial enforcement. This weak basis severely limited active proselytisation. Suspicion of missionaries was inextricably linked with the political memory of 1846 and the Treaty of Amritsar. As Mridu Rai shown, Dogra governance institutionalized political and economic inequality that disproportionately disadvantaged the Muslim population.<sup>47</sup> Heavy land taxes, little administrative representation, and structural imbalances fueled discontent. In this setting, missionaries were frequently viewed as extensions of imperial power, facilitating Dogra supremacy. If British humanitarianism was genuine, why was sovereignty transferred rather than assumed, the rationale of distrust was historically based. Socioeconomic suffering increased communal solidarity. Systems of beggar, rural exploitation, and heavy taxation impacted ordinary life.<sup>48</sup> Mohammad Ishaq Khan documents the marginalisation of Muslims within urban and rural structures, highlighting patterns of exclusion and limited access to official authority.<sup>49</sup> However, suffering did not result in widespread conversion. Instead, it strengthened communal identity. Conversion may look as alignment with political subordination structures rather than spiritual development.

The rise of indigenous Muslim reformist movements also limited missionary expansion. Anjuman-I-Nusrat-ul-Islam established an Islamic foundation for contemporary education, removing the missionary monopoly on literacy and advancement.<sup>50</sup> Modern education might now be pursued without exposure to Christian doctrines. Conversion was no longer structurally related to educational mobility. Cultural and intellectual resilience influenced the outcome even more. Kashmiri Islam, which was heavily influenced by Sufi traditions and shrine based devotional practice, promoted communal solidarity. Missionary portrayals of Kashmiris as backward or superstitious repeated orientalist themes noted by Edward Said.<sup>51</sup> Such depictions fostered defensive responses in a politically sensitive culture that was already suspicious of imperial involvement. Simultaneously, missionary institutions attracted participation

without resulting in widespread baptism. C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe's school demanded mandatory Christian instruction, games, and punishment, but enrollment continued to climb.<sup>52</sup> Families accepted modern curricula, physical training, and civic discipline while maintaining their Islamic identity. Participation did not result in conversion.

This pattern can be conceptualized as selective modernity. Selective modernity refers to a manner of engagement in which community members adopt institutional and epistemological parts of missionary modernity, such as modern knowledge, formal education, and gender reforms, while maintaining religious continuity. Modernization was not identical with Christianization. Institutional structures were assimilated, but doctrinal devotion was not. Kashmir thus affects larger questions about frontier communities and global Christianity. Under indirect colonial control, the bounds of missionary penetration were determined by sovereignty, political memory, reformist options, and communal cohesion. Institutional reform occurred without any confessional dislocation. Religious perseverance and selective adaptation coexisted. The absence of mass conversion was more than just a failure, it represented a negotiated meeting in which Kashmiri society faced missionary modernism on its own terms.

## Conclusion

This paper contends that Christian missionary effort in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Kashmir cannot be fairly measured solely by conversion figures. Drawing on missionary records, official reports, and indigenous replies, the paper argues that, while baptismal rates remained remarkably low, missionary organizations wielded significant and long-lasting impact in education, medicine, and women's reform. The Kashmiri instance consequently necessitates a rethinking of conversion centered historiography. The limited number of converts was not solely due to theological resistance, but also to a unique political and social ecology like direct Dogra rule, suspicion of imperial association, strong Islamic scholarly and Sufi traditions, the high social cost of conversion, and the availability of indigenous reformist alternatives such as Muslim educational initiatives. In this climate, Kashmiris approached missionary institutions pragmatically. They welcomed medicinal care, English schooling, and selected gender reforms while preserving religious continuity and communal membership. The concept of 'conversion without Christianity' illustrates this dynamic. Missionary modernity was acquired through organizations and practices rather than creeds. Kashmir is thus not a failed mission field, but rather a negotiated boundary of colonial modernity in which institutional development coexisted with religious persistence.

### Notes and References (Endnotes)

1. Treaty of Amritsar concluded between Gulab singh (founder of Dogra regime) and British through which Kashmir was sold to Gulab singh Under the deal Kashmir along with other provinces went to him against the sum of seventy-five lakh Nanak Shahi (75, 00000 Rupees).
2. Khan, G. H., *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, 3, citing Treaty of Lahore, art. 12.
3. P. N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir* (Srinagar: The Kashmir Publishing Co., 1941), 37.
4. Anjuman-I-Nusratul Islam, founded in 1899 by Mirwaiz Maulvi Rasool Shah, aimed to promote both modern and religious education among Kashmiri Muslims and address their educational backwardness. He believed missionary schools could influence students religiously through Bible teaching, so he advocated for Muslim institutions that combined modern learning with Islamic values.
5. Robert Clark, *The Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in the Punjab and Sindh*, ed. and rev. Robert Maconachie (London: Church Missionary Society, 1904), 13-14.
6. *Ibid.* P. 263-265.
7. G. E. Tyndale-Biscoe, *Character Building in Kashmir* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1920), 16.
8. Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India, 1707-1858* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 354.
9. Robert Eric Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), viii-ix.
10. *Ibid.* P. 464
11. Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), 80-85.
12. Ernest F. Neve, *A Crusader in Kashmir: Being the Life of Dr. Arthur Neve, with an Account of the Medical Missionary Work of Two Brothers and Its Later Developments down to the Present Day* (London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1928), 15-16.
13. *Ibid.* P.16
14. *Ibid.* P. 30
15. Srinagar was the capital city of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir during the Dogra rule (1846-1947)
16. Ernest F. Neve and Arthur Neve were British missionary doctors of the Church Missionary Society in Kashmir who introduced modern medicine, established hospitals in Srinagar, and are known for their humanitarian work and writings on the region.
17. Arthur Neve, *Kashmir, Ladakh and Tibet* (New Delhi: Shubhi Publications, 1999), 11.
18. During Dogra rule in Jammu and Kashmir, Baramulla was a key administrative town and strategic gateway, linking the Kashmir Valley via the Jhelum River to Muzaffarabad and the Punjab plains.
19. Annual Administration Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State for the Year

- Samvat 1997-98 (16 October 1940-15 October 1941) (Jammu: Ranbir Government Press, 1942), 208.
20. Ernest F. Neve, *Beyond the Pir Panjal: Life and Missionary Enterprise in Kashmir* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1915), 60-63.
  21. David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth Century India* (California: University of California Press, 1993), 8.
  22. Walter R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir* (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, 1895), 233.
  23. Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-Cultural Change* (Srinagar: Aamir Publications, 1978), 134-138.
  24. *Ibid* P. 143-144
  25. Brian Holmes, ed., *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools: Case Studies from the British Empire*, vol. 15 (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), 160.
  26. Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-Cultural Change* (Srinagar: Aamir Publications, 1978), 147
  27. Brian Holmes, ed., *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools: Case Studies from the British Empire*, vol. 15 (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), 160
  28. Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-Cultural Change* (Srinagar: Aamir Publications, 1978), 148
  29. G. E. Tyndale-Biscoe, *Character Building in Kashmir* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1920), 20.
  30. C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe was a British missionary educator who came to Kashmir in 1880 and transformed modern education in Srinagar through the Church Missionary Society School.
  31. E. D. Tyndale-Biscoe, *Fifty Years against the Stream: The Story of a School in Kashmir, 1880-1930* (Mysore: Wesleyan Mission Press, 1930), xv.
  32. C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade: A Description of the Beauties of the Country, the Life, Habits and Humour of Its Inhabitants, and an Account of the Gradual but Steady Rebuilding of a Once Down-Trodden People*, 2nd and cheaper ed. (London: Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd., 1925), 276.
  33. E. D. Tyndale-Biscoe, *Fifty Years against the Stream: The Story of a School in Kashmir, 1880-1930* (Mysore: Wesleyan Mission Press, 1930), 8.
  34. Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-Cultural Change* (Srinagar: Aamir Publications, 1978), 152.
  35. *Ibid* P. 152
  36. *Ibid* P. 152
  37. Ashley Carus-Wilson, *A Woman's Life for Kashmir: Irene Petrie, a Biography* (Chicago, New York, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1901), 131-133.
  38. C. E. Tyndale-Biscoe, *Tyndale-Biscoe of Kashmir: An Autobiography* (London: Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd., 1951), 93-97.
  39. Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar, 1846-1947: A Study in Socio-Cultural*

- Change (Srinagar: Aamir Publications, 1978), 136.
40. Khan, K. B. M. A., XXIII Census of India, Kashmir 1901 (Lahore: Civil & Military Gazette Press, 1902), 36.
  41. Khan, K. B. M. A., XXIII Census of India, Kashmir 1901 (Lahore: Civil & Military Gazette Press, 1902), 36.
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  45. Shafi Ahmad Qadri, Biscoe in Kashmir (Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 1998), 22.
  46. Ernest F. Neve, Beyond the Pir Panjal (London: Church Missionary Society, 1915), 45–47.
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  48. Mridu Rai, Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), 112–118.
  49. Mohammad Ishaq Khan, History of Srinagar, 1846–1947: A Study in Socio-Cultural Change (Srinagar: Aamir Publications, 1978), 72–78.
  50. Nazir Ahmad Dar, Anjuman-i-Nusratul Islam Jammu and Kashmir: An Overview (Srinagar: Aar Ess Publishing House, 2005), 54.
  51. Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 32–36.
  52. E. D. Tyndale-Biscoe, Fifty Years Against the Stream (Mysore: Wesleyan Mission Press, 1930), 8.