



WWJMRD 2017; 3(9): 138-144

www.wwjmr.com

International Journal

Peer Reviewed Journal

Refereed Journal

Indexed Journal

UGC Approved Journal

Impact Factor MJIF: 4.25

e-ISSN: 2454-6615

**Nitin Chandel**

Research Scholar

Department Of History

University Of Jammu, India

## Political Consciousness of Kashmiri Pandits in British India

**Nitin Chandel**

### Abstract

The paper describes the role of Kashmiri Pandits in political mobilization during the British spell in India and adjusted them with the changing milieu. The main focus of analysis is on the kinds of professional choices they made and the position of power they occupied in their individual capacity in areas far away from their home land. The article mentions the migration of Pandits sometimes forceful and economical and their adjustment in India with receptive to education and their elevation to different arena which led to formation of association and finally politicized the Pandits in India. An important part of our analysis is to understand how this Diasporas of Kashmir Pandit retained their affinity or connectivity with the community to which they originally belonged. An integral part of our analysis is also to see how the migrant Kashmiri Pandits rose to prominence and also made substantial contribution in their respective area of habitation. The work analyses the role of Kashmiri Pandits in the freedom struggle of the country and their elevation of some of them to the important post in the Indian National Congress. The article pronounces the community consciousness through reform organisation which tends to build the progression of the Pandits in diverse arenas of social stature.

**Keywords:** Community, Kashmiri, reforms, Sabha, ceremony, journals, Urdu and Persian

### Introduction

The Kashmiri Pandits were only one of the prompt service communities of northern India outside Bengal to obtain English learning before 1857 A.D. In the north-western provinces and Oudh, though the British officials interested in the promotions of English learning among Indians but the government didn't make English or western education an essential qualification for appointment or promotion in its subordinate official establishment. Existing indigenous education was sufficient for the jobs that Indian sought i.e. in Urdu and Persian<sup>1</sup>. The Kashmiri Pandits residing in Kashmiri Mohalla at Lucknow generally used to read Urdu and Persian in Maktabs (elementary schools) which was the court language then, to get worthy jobs.

### Reception to English Education

The progressive minded Kashmiri Pandit like Sheo Narain Bahar and Pran Nath Bazaz then took the lead and joined the Lamartinier College in Lucknow for English education, much against the wishes of the community members. In 1864 A.D, Canning College was established in Lucknow which was then affiliated with the Calcutta University. Some Kashmiri Pandits joined the college to wield European education for better future prospects. Pandit Sheo Narain Bahar promulgates his progressive ideas in the field of education to foster about social reforms within the community. He started a caste journal in 1872 A.D known as "*Mursala-e-Kashmir*". Through this journal he tried his best to galvanize the community towards English education. Annie Besant along with Pt. Sheo Narain Bahar organizes regular meetings in the Kashmiri society of Lucknow to boost the morale of Kashmiri Pandit community in education and social reforms<sup>2</sup>.

Pandit Bishan Narain Dar was the formerly Kashmiri Pandit youth of Kashmiri Mohalla who departed to England in 1884 breaking caste barriers. He became a friend of Max Muller, acquainted himself with Matthew Arnold, heard lectures delivered by Huxely and came into

**Correspondence:**

**Nitin Chandel**

Research Scholar

Department Of History

University Of Jammu, India

contact with Herbert Spencer. After his return from England to his abode in Allahabad around 1888 he started giving burning discourses and moreover took a plunge into the freedom drive of the country wielding close networks with the national leaders of that time. He also jerked the myth of sea expedition was unforgivable sin by the community and went to England to study law and came back as barrister<sup>3</sup>. After his return he had to face an antagonistic environment as his own community members were not prepared to accept him. Because during those times, it was a myth by crossing sea, one's had to lose his religion/caste and according to them Bishan Narain Dar had committed an unpardonable sin by undertaking a sea voyage to a foreign country against the directions of the community. Ultimately he was excluded from the community (commonly called *Biradari*). It is remarkable to note that Pandit Tribhuwan Nath Sapru '*Hijr*' who was a reformist Urdu poet of that period composed a numeral of poetries in appreciation of Bishan Narain Dar and his actions. He also penned a sequence of articles out precisely condemning the attitude of highly conventional and customary Kashmiri Pandits for downgrading him<sup>4</sup>. By the 1880's however the government had raised its educational demand forced and Kashmiris towards a higher standard of English education that were quite familiar with western thought. Between 1889 to 1920 A.D, one hundred and forty three Kashmiri Pandits graduated from Allahabad University, to which several colleges in the North-Western provinces and Oudh formerly attached to Calcutta University, had secured affiliation. From the 1880's, lured by the prospects of bettering their employment opportunities, Kashmiri Pandits in the Punjab also began to obtain university degrees. In the princely states, Kashmiri Pandits did not lag far behind their caste-fellows in British India in the field of English education. With the new learning they could not only improve their prospects for employment under princely rulers, but even secure appointments in British India. By the late 19th century, the general switchover of Kashmiri Pandits to English education in the Punjab had helped them to become an important part of the government service elite<sup>5</sup>.

The strong position which their education gave them is also reflected in the views of Kashmiri Pandits individually questioned by the Public Service Commission about the system of recruitment into government service. They all agreed in recommending that open competitive examination should be the government's method of selection. Thus Ram Narain Dar, a Lahore lawyer, expressed the view that "*nomination by government of untried young men without a competitive examination is open to very serious objections*". Gopinath, editor of Lahore's popular Urdu paper the *Akhbar-i-Aam*, objecting to the system of nomination to the statutory Civil Service said, "*Competition ought to be observed rather than patronage*". Likewise, Sri Kishan, a Lucknow lawyer, said he would "*prefer an open competitive examination*" for selecting persons for the Statutory and the uncovenanted civil services<sup>6</sup>. The pursuits of higher education among Kashmiri Pandits instigated mainly for the need to preserve their position in the professions. It not only achieved its purpose, but also stirred in them a desire for improving their chances of secular advancement. The government became instrumental in driving educated Kashmiris and others like them to join politics.

### Elevation in Different Arena

After procuring proficiency in education they were hired on important jobs in British India as well as in Princely states. In almost all the princely states, there were Kashmiri Pandits. Though their role may not have been historical, but they were, at such distant places as Bengal in the east and Mysore in the south<sup>7</sup>. The chhatarpath Raja of Darpan in Orissa was the Kashmiri Pandit. Raja Dina Nath was the diwan of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He was made Finance minister for which his qualifications were exceedingly high and he was one of his trusted advisers<sup>8</sup>. Pandit Ganga Ram, who later rose very high at the Sikh durbar, was a great bigwig at Gwalior. It was here that he migrated with a number of Pandits and later settled at Lahore on the invitation of the Sikh ruler. Even the administration was controlled and carried mostly by the Pandits in Tippu sultan's Mysore as well as in the small principalities of central India<sup>9</sup>. When the British established their direct rule over the country, they found the Kashmiri Pandits almost everywhere in-charge of the lower branches of administration. The British let them maintain their posts and even gave great encouragement to them<sup>10</sup>.

The Pandits knowledge of Persian and Urdu was of a very high order and they have taken to the study of English language much earlier than many others. With the reorganization of courts, Pandits came to be appointed in subordinate judiciary and many amongst them entered the legal profession, from its very start and became the recipients of the highest posts in the judiciary, and were the first Indians to be appointed to such posts<sup>11</sup>. Kashmiri Pandit aristocrats quickly realized that despite their privileged positions the lack of English education was a serious disability which prevented their elevation to many of the better paid and more prestigious positions in the provincial civil service. Nandlal Tikku of the Punjab was an English educated Kashmiri who, within a few years had managed to upsurge from an ordinary clerical post in the 1870's to that of subordinate judge in 1885 A.D. Another Kashmiri, Suraj Kaul promoted in Punjab government as Extra Assistant commissioner<sup>12</sup>. Justice Shambu Nath, whose father Pt. Sadashiva had migrated from Kashmir in the closing years of the eighteenth century was appointed judge of the high court of Calcutta in 1862. Justice Shambu Nath was the first Indian to be appointed the judge of a high court and inspired many diasporas towards modern education. Another Kashmiri Pandit, justice Ram Narayan Dhar, who was the first Indian to be appointed a judge of the Punjab chief court<sup>13</sup>. The first Indian member of the legislative council of the govt. of India was the Hon'ble Pandit Bishember Nath, the first Indian member of the legislative council in the united provinces was the hon'ble Pandit Ajudhia Nath Kunzru, the first Indian examiner of accounts was R.B Pandit Prem Nath, the first Indian commissioner was Raja Narendra Nath. The first Indian railway district traffic superintendent was Pandit Bisheshwar Nath, and the first Indian political agent was Pandit Sarup Narayan Hakar. Rai Bahadur Diwan Ram Nath Madan was the first Indian appointed as district judge in the Punjab. Rai Bahadur Diwan Ram Nath Madan was the first Indian appointed as district judge in the Punjab; and there has been a galaxy of eminent Kashmiri Pandit judges. To name a few are justice wanchoo, justice S.K Dhar, justice Kichlu, justice Sapru, justice T.N Malla, justice A.N Malla, justice P.K Kaul, justice R.K Kaul. In

Punjab Raja Pandit Narendra Nath and raja Pandit Hari Krishan Kaul retired as commissioners. Raja Pandit Narendra Nath, a big land owner had taken part in politics after his retirement and was elected to the Punjab legislative assembly and was appointed as minister. Raja Hari Krishan Kaul was appointed as chief minister of the Jammu and Kashmir state at a very perilous period of its history. Sir Pandit Ganga Ram Kaul is a direct descendant of Prabhak Kaul who rose very high in the audit and accounts dept<sup>14</sup>.

Pandit Manmohan Nath Kaul whose services were lent to Kashmir durbar was appointed governor of Kashmir. Apart from the settlement work which was achieved under his supervision in 1901 A.D., he was a great social reformer<sup>15</sup>. There is hardly a state of India where at one time or the other a Kashmir Pandit was not appointed as Diwan. For instance, Sir Pandit Daya Krishen Kaul was the chief minister of Patiala state, Sir Pandit Sukhdev Prasad Kak the diwan of Jodhpur, Pandit Dharam Narayan Haksar the diwan of Sailana state, Pandit Ram Chand Kak the chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir during (1946-47)<sup>16</sup>. He was also a pioneering archaeologist who excavated the leading sites of antiquities of Kashmir and wrote the definitive text on them. He was appointed to the post of chief secretary in 1937. He was made minister of military affairs in 1941 and became the chief minister in Hari's Singh government during the key transitional period of (1946-47) when the British prepared for the departure from India<sup>17</sup>. Pandit Brig Mohan Nath Zutshi was diwan of Ratlam state, Pandit Maharaj Narayan Shivapuri, Diwan of Datia state. There were other Pandits who were appointed ministers in many states, such as Colonel Sir Pandit Kailasha Narayan Haksar (Gwalior), Pandit P.K.Wattal (Kashmir), Pandit Radha Krishan Koul (Kashmir), Diwan GyanNath administrator at Nabha<sup>18</sup>. Pandit Tribhuvan Nath sopori (Jaipur), Pandit Amar Nath Atal (Jaipur) and others Pandit Narendra Nath Kaul (Kashmir) was a great administrator who solved the problem of the distribution of food grains in Kashmir in a most rational and scientific manner. His name is a byword in Kashmir. Pandit Sada Sukh was the revenue commissioner of Hyderabad. Pandit Tribhuvan Nath Sopori was the judicial minister of Udaipur and Pandit Amar Nath Attal was the revenue minister of Jaipur. Pandit Dharm Narain Haksar is the diwan of Indore. Pandit Kailash Narain is the private secretary to his highness the maharaja of Gwalior, Diwan Bhadur Pandit Raj Kishen Koul is prime minister of the Sailana state<sup>19</sup>. The knowledge of Kashmiri Pandits in education and their quest for learning leads them towards intelligentsia class and their footing in services recognized themselves in the plains. With the changing time they adjust themselves due to demand required and get assimilated within it. With the established colonies in the plain and education in their hand they began to assert for community consciousness within the framework of safeguarding their culture and tradition. This project led to the formation of association and organization in British Indian and Indian princely states.

### Formation of Associations

The general political flair of Kashmiri Pandits was marked by striking similarities. Instead of revolutionary approaches, they preferred the track of evolutionary constitutional progress. Rather than indulge in carping criticism and defiance of the government, they tried to

triumph political reforms gradually through cooperation and negotiation with the ruling power. Kashmiri Pandits while settling in the British India and princely States begun to develop community consciousness and need for social and political reforms, draw their attention to the out-primordial rigid customs which hindered their progress. The progressive shrewd elites among Kashmiri Pandits, new reactionary middle class and the English educated intellectuals were committed to social and political reforms<sup>20</sup>. The notion of social reforms within the community of Kashmiri Pandits was first proposed by Pandit Sheonarain, a member of Kashmiri Pandit community long settled in Awadh (British India) had visited the valley with a view to established, closer ties between the émigré Pandits and those in the mother country. The émigré Pandits had over the years, sought to fit themselves into their new adoptive social environments and did so by clinging themselves into their Brahmans status, claiming in fact greater purity than even the Brahmans of Hindustan<sup>21</sup>.

### Bishan and Dharm Sabha

Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar was the first Kashmiri Pandit to have gone to England for higher studies. Orthodoxy in religion was then at its utmost amongst the Kashmiri Pandits, and when he came back after called to the Bar, a howl was raised by the section of Kashmiri Pandit community all over India. The news about his concealed departure to England promulgate like a wildfire among the Kashmiri Pandit families living in Kashmiri Mohallas and provoked a storm of bitterness particularly among the women folk of the community. There were some factions amongst the community who were of the opinion that he could never regain his caste, even after very elaborate *prayaschitam* (penance), though the *vivastha* (law) of the Pandits from Kashmir was that Pt. Bishan Narayan Dhar could be taken back into its caste after due sacrosanct ceremonies. He performed the sacred rites, and was admitted into their fold by the advanced section of the community, but the more orthodox refused point-blank to have trunk with them<sup>22</sup>. Consequently a meeting of the *Biradari* (community) was called on 1st June 1884 AD, in *Ganjoo Walon Ka Shadikhana* and the crisis was generated to such a degree between the supporters and challengers of Bishan Narain Dar that a sharp separation of the *Biradari* took place into two groups known as Bishan Sabha and Dharm Sabha on this foremost subject concerning the *Biradari*<sup>23</sup>. They even nicknamed the advanced Pandits as Bishan Sabhais. For themselves they reserved the pompous title of Dharm Sabhais. Pandit Ratan Nath Dhar 'Sarshar' (title), a Kashmiri poet of Lucknow, composed some very beautiful verses; called by him as *masnavi*, in defense of Pandit Pt. Bishan Narayan<sup>24</sup>.

Motilal Nehru sympathies were decidedly with the Bishan Sabha. Bansilal Dhar, Motilal eldest brother, who was about to retire from government service, took his head to visit English and witness Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 A.D. Motilal Nehru himself paid a visit to Europe in 1899 A.D. But on return to Allahabad, Motilal refused to perform the purification ceremony. Threatened by social boycott, he was not apologetic, but disdainful, defiant and aggressive. Motilal Nehru was excommunicated but he did not give up, Motilal became the leader of a third group, the most emancipated in his

community, it was at first called Moti Sabha, but the name was changed at Motilal's instance to Satya (truth) Sabha<sup>25</sup>. The extremely conventional and outdated people who were not at all prepared to introduce any reform in the community constituted the Dharam Sabha under the leadership of Pandit Raj Narain Bakshi who was against procuring western way of life, whereas very small number of Kashmiri Pandits with enlightened ideas and who were against the very inflexible social customs and traditions and were in favor of Bishan Narain Dar's. The noticeable adherents of this group were Dewan Amar Nath Kaul, Pt. Tribhuwan Nath Sapru Hijr, Pt. Ratan Nath Dar Sarshar, Pt. Baij Nath Kaul, Pt. Udit Narain Chakbast and Pt. Lalta Prasad Batpori, etc. It is interesting to note here that though this dissection of the community took place in Lucknow, but this controversy reached upto Lahore and divided the community even in that city because of the matrimonial alliances between the Kashmiri Pandits of Lucknow and the Kashmiri Pandits of Lahore<sup>26</sup>. These steps helped to put out the dying members of orthodoxy, large numbers of Kashmiri youngmen were henceforth able to travel abroad for education or for pleasure without the odium or opposition of their community.

#### **Daur-Uftaadgaan-I-Kashmir**

Pandit Bishan Narain Dar was a vibrant member of the circle of followers of Pandit Sheo Narain Bahar who was the editor of *Mursala-e-Kashmir* a caste journal of Kashmiri Pandits which was fetched out in Kashmiri Mohalla for dissemination of ideas. Lucknow reformers started a small association in Lucknow called the *Daur-uftaadgaan-i-Kashmir*. *Daur* means time or period, and *uftaadgaan* means fallen conditions or state of helplessness. The chief organizers of the association were all connected with educational work. Sheo Narain Bahar was a deputy inspector of schools in Oudh and Sheo Narain Upadhyay and Pran Nath Bazaz both teachers in the local Canning college. This association runs like a *maktab* or school<sup>27</sup>.

#### **Kashmiri National Club**

A fresh development in the movement of social reform among Kashmiri Pandits of Lucknow was the suspension of the *Daur-uftaadgaan-i-Kashmir* in 1881 A.D, and its replacement by a new association called *Kashmiri National Club* (KNC). A thread of continuity which linked the *Daur-uftaadgaan-i-Kashmir* with the Kashmiri National Club makes it clear that the latter was a successor association, not a rebellious usurper of the former. Pran Nath Bazaz was appointed the president of the KNC and Sheo Narain Upadhyay joined as a member. From the educational background of those who joined, the use of English as a language of communication in the Club, and from the conclusion of each meeting with the drinking of tea at a common table to build mutual contacts between members<sup>28</sup>. The foremost purpose of this club was to instruct good habits in Kashmiri Pandit boys and to prompt them to abandon immoral Nawabi habits like visiting the *Kothas* of *tawaiifs* (brothels), indulgence and addiction which were spoiling the future projections of the youths of the community by deviating their attention and concentration from their educations. This club also used to deliver access to information about modern society and standards of living so that the Kashmiri Pandit boys could contest with others in every walk of life without any hesitation<sup>29</sup>.

#### **Kashmiri Youngmen Association**

After the death of Sheo Narain Bahar, Pandit Brij Narain Chakbast became the main architect of this movement of bringing social reforms in the community. Chakbast established a '*Kutubkhana*' (library) of rare Urdu and Persian books and manuscripts in Kashmiri Mohalla exclusively for the Kashmiri Pandit boys and used to guide these young boys of the community in different disciplines so that they could become good citizens of the country<sup>30</sup>. Chakbast used to amalgamate all-India *Mushairas* (a poetic symposium) almost every year in Kashmiri Mohalla from all over the country used to recite their compositions. Brij Narain Chakbast in the commencement of the 20th century formed Kashmiri Youngmen Association to guide the Kashmiri Pandit youth and to channelize their strengths in a productive method in order to reform the community<sup>31</sup>. This Association was initiated in 1906 by Tej Bahadur Sapru who also sensed a necessity for such restructurings in the community to face the new challenges of life. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru extended full backing to him in his upright assignment. Chakbast used to invite prominent faces like Gopal Krishan Gokhale, Swami Daya Nand Saraswati to express lectures on topics of social relevance. Motilal Nehru also used to come frequently to debate over community activities. Chakbast also used to engrave vigorous articles on developments in the community in the Kashmir Darpan regularly<sup>32</sup>.

#### **Kashmiri Pandit National Association**

The Kashmiri Pandits of Lahore along with Pt. Maharaj Krishna Kaul Ghamkhwar through the community journal "*Safeer-e-Kashmir*" announced the formation of Kashmiri National Association in 1891 with Raja Narendra Nath Raina Chhijballi as its Chairman to make it acceptable among the majority of the community members<sup>33</sup>. The Indian Kashmiri Pandits were moved by the sufferings of the Kashmiris in Kashmir. Likewise in 1892 A.D when a fire devastated Srinagar and an epidemic of cholera broke out in Kashmir, the Kashmiri Pandit National Association of Lahore resolved to make an appeal for funds. The association convened a meeting in Lahore which was attended by several non- Kashmiri Pandits also. During the floods in Kashmir in 1903 A.D, Kashmiri Pandits of North-Western Provinces and Oudh tried to set up a Kashmiri Relief Fund, and made voluntary subscriptions for flood relief work<sup>34</sup>.

#### **Kashmiri Pandit Sabha, Amritsar**

This organization was formed in 1908 A.D by a group of Kashmiri Pandits living in Amritsar. Kashmiri Nal Matto an advocate by profession ignited the spirit by donating a plot of 1500 square yards in the hub of city to remain the focal point of attraction in the shape of *dharmshala* ('spiritual dwelling) along with shivala endowed to the community. The Sabha worked for the progress of the community and wield a place of interaction with others members by providing lodge to the Kashmiri Pandits visiting Amritsar (Golden temple) or way to Haridwar. The goals and objectives of the Sabha was uphold and perpetuate the traditions of the Kashmiri Pandit community, providing succor to the community, financial aid in distress and to make advancement in studies etc.<sup>35</sup>.

### Sewa Samiti Boy Scouts Association

Hirdya Nath Kunzru founded the Sewa Samiti boy scouts association in Allahabad. He was a member of the U.P. assembly as independent candidate from Muzzafarnagar and a member of upper house of parliament for many years<sup>36</sup>. The notion behind this movement was to turn school-going children into the service of the society. He craved youthful energy to be employed and some constructive work. He advocated participation, organized camps and addressed rallies. The movement became popular and spread far and wide. He ultimately rose to become Chief Scout after the death of Chief Scout Pandit Madan-Mohan Malviya<sup>37</sup>. Earlier, he had become the president of the 'Servants of Indian Society' founded by G.K.Gokhle and also become president of All India Sewa Samiti, Allahabad. H.N.Kunzru was the secretary of *Prayag Sewa Samiti* which played an important role in the organization of Kumb Mela in Prayag in 1918 A.D.<sup>38</sup>. The foremost purpose of this association is to proliferate many vocal and instrumental music streams that are widely acknowledged by state governments, universities and educational bodies.

### Jalsae Tahzib and Rifah-I-Iam

These two associations were formed by the Kashmiri Pandits. The former had been established by Sri Krishan, a leading Kashmiri lawyer. In 1877 A.D, Surinder Nath Banerjee tried to stimulate public opinion among Indians outside Calcutta in connection with the Indian Civil Examination issue. Individuals from independent capacity from the Kashmiri Pandit community from North-Western provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab encompassing him helping hand. Sri Kishan had come forward with the suggestion that a Lucknow branch of Surendra Nath's Indian association of Calcutta be founded by assimilating two leading associations of the Urdu speaking elite of Lucknow i.e., the *Jalsa Tahzib* and the *Rifah-i-Aam*<sup>39</sup>. Sri Kishan views on the Public Service Commission, "prefer an open competitive examination" for selected persons for the statutory and the uncovenanted civil services. The strong position of the Kashmiri Pandits in education reflected in the views individually questioned the Public Service Commission system of recruitment in government services. These associations were formed by the KPs leading in legal profession in particular wanted government jobs and specific grievances against the govt. but wanted beneficiaries from the British rule<sup>40</sup>.

### Role of Press in Political Mobilization

The educated Kashmiri Pandit intelligentsia in North Western provinces and in Punjab wield zeal for imparting education, more institution were founded by them. These elite KPs depict interests in the introduction of social reform and in general progress. They devoted themselves to reforms and other purposes in the community and for this they initiated newspapers for fetching social and political awakening amongst their community with the innovative transformations. The move was initiated by Sheo Narayan Bahar of Lucknow started an Urdu caste Journal *Murasla-i-Kashmir* devoted to social reforms in 1872 A.D<sup>41</sup>. By using Persian and Urdu instead of English, the *Murasla-i-Kashmir* made comprehensible impact to a larger group made up of the older generation of Kashmiris who had received traditional education in Persian and Urdu. The

term *Murasla* means to bring or interchange messages or letters or to keep up a correspondence<sup>42</sup>. The *Khair-Khawa-i-Kashmir*, an Urdu weekly, published from Lahore founded by Pt. Saligram Kaul and later edited by his brother Pandit Hargopal Khasta during 1882-83A.D, was critical of Maharaja Ranbir Singh Government. The weekly used as a potent vehicle for bitter criticism of the Maharaja as the Maharaja expelled him from Kashmir. He fought for the identity of Kashmir<sup>43</sup>. This paper fought for the philosophy of Sanatan Dharm in particular and for the interests of the Kashmiri in general. Pandit Hargopal Koul issued a paper 'Ravi-Benazir' and 'Subaha Kashmir' from Amritsar. Later on, through this paper he vigorously crusaded against the Britishers who had disposed Maharaja Pratap Singh, shorn him of his powers and installed a regency council with his rivals as its members. The campaign in the press was so vigorous and consistent that the Britishers got exposed for their conspiracy against the Maharaja<sup>44</sup>. Pandit Mukund Ram Gurtoo, the founder of *Akhbar-i-am* in Urdu from Lahore also established a printing press. He also established another paper *Vilasa* (Hindi) papers. His son Gopi Nath Gurtu edited the paper and started reserving some columns for the publication of News and Opinions about Kashmir. This offered Philip to the young budding writers of the Valley. Prem Nath Sadhu Raunaq, a man with a promising pen, began sending his poems to this weekly. The publication of his poems encouraged others too<sup>45</sup>.

Rattannath Sarshar wrote *Avadh Panch*, *Avadh Akhbar* and the community journal the *Mursala-i-Kashmir*. In 1878-90, he wrote two more masterpieces i.e, *Jam-i-Sarshar* (1887) and *Sair-i-Kohsar* (1890). The *Kashmir Prakash*, a monthly magazine of Lahore, edited by Pandit Manka Maghar during 1898-1901A.D, worked for the social upliftment of Kashmiri Pandits. Pandit Laxmi Narain Kaul edited *Bahar-i-Kashmir* published from Lahore, Pandit Tarachand Bulbul who later earned the name and fame as Kashyap Bandhu was an Arya Samajist activist in Lahore. He was on the editorial staff of a widely read Urdu daily 'Vir Bharat' all published from Lahore entered the State indirectly by various means and reflects political and economic events of the State. The power of his pen was soon recognized and he rose to become the chief editor of *Arya GAZETTER* an Urdu weekly devoted to the propagation of Samajist doctrines<sup>46</sup>. Motilal Nehru started a newspaper 'the Independent' in January 1919 A.D. He was a shareholder of "the Leader", the leading newspaper since its inception in 1909 as an organ of nationalist opinion in the United Provinces. He was indeed the first chairman of the Board of Directors of 'Newspaper Limited' which owed "the Leader" but was dissatisfied with its policy<sup>47</sup>. The changing politics in the U.P was the yearning on the part of Motilal Nehru to have a newspaper of its own. The Rowlatt Bill was published towards the end of 1918 and it was a warning sign for an all-Indian agitation against the enormous powers allotted to the police for arrest and detention. It was considered a deliberate outrage to the dignity of India whose countrymen had shed their blood in the First World War. The First public meeting in India against the measures was held at Allahabad and presided over by Pt. Motilal Nehru. He himself acted as a special observer for the Independent. His reports were published prominently and read widely<sup>48</sup>. Motilal Nehru had defined the aims of his newspaper thus: "The Independent has come

into existence to lay bare the soul of a nation, of a nation of a people ripening into nationhood, of communities merging into a people, of individuals growing into a community"<sup>49</sup>. Radha Krishan Purbi launched an Urdu weekly 'Sudhar', the official mouthpiece of Bohra Biradari (community) of Kashmir valley. Later he shifted to Moradabad where he set up his own printing Press and started an Urdu daily "Naya Sansar"<sup>50</sup>. Pt. Maharaj Krishna Kaul Ghamkhar through the community journal *Safeer-e-Kashmir* were moved by the sufferings of Kashmiris in Kashmir. The floods in Kashmir in 1903, made the life miserable and through the medium of his journal, he highlighted the grievances of the people. He was the editor of Urdu newspaper of Lahore, the *Gamkhar-i-Hind*, had gone even farther. He had set up sabils (stalls) for dispensing cool drinks to Mohammadans during Moharram and had also held recitals to commemorate the martyrdom of the Shia imams Hassan and Hussain<sup>51</sup>. The secularism of Kashmiri Pandits won them the confidence of a wide section of the population of north Indian towns and cities. Pandit Ajudhianath was appointed the first president of the Allahabad Bar Association. He was deeply interested in social and political activities in education as well as in journalism. He founded the 'Indian Herald' in 1892 A.D to express his views on a number of current issues and adopted a strong nationalist policy<sup>52</sup>. Kashmiri Pandits also shined in journalism, arts and other social actions. The names of R.K.Kak, J.N.Sathu, Pran Jalali, Sham Kaul, Somnath Sadhu, Pushkar Bhan, Bansi Parimoo, Autar Raina and so on are just a few proponents in their individual grounds.

### Politicized Kashmiri Pandits

Kashmiri Pandits were amongst the first Indians to be drawn into representative bodies in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab. In 1887 Ajudhia Nath Kunzru was the first Indian nominated as a member to the legislative council of the NWP and the Oudh. In the Punjab, Suraj Kaul was selected as a nominated member of the Punjab legislative council in 1900 A.D<sup>53</sup>. Ajudhia Nath Kunzru, Bishambhar Nath, Motilal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Jagat Narain Mulla were in the Provincial Legislative council and Bishan Narain Dhar and Tej Bahadur Sapru were in the Imperial Legislative Council. Kashmiri Pandits who entered the political arena were those engaged in the independent profession of Law, teaching, journalism and business. Majority of the Pandits were from the urban areas with greater concentration of Kashmiri Pandits in the cities of Lucknow, Allahabad, Kanpur and Lahore which had become seat of education, seats of Law courts, provincial administration, industries and business. Lawyers constituted the largest proportion of politicized Kashmiri Pandits. They formed the largest block within Kashmiri Pandit delegates to the Congress. These were the days of Vakil Raj (the heyday of lawyers). Bishambhar Nath, Motilal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Jagat Narain Mulla, Bishan Narain Dhar, Shyam Narain Masaldan were all lawyers<sup>54</sup>. In the early phases of Indian National Congress, these politicized Kashmiri Pandits were affiliated with Congress and later a band of elite Pandits joined them with the advance of time.

### Conclusion

To sum up, Kashmiri Pandits had long history of tussle for their survival when situation had become hostile in their

native place. With coming out from their homeland and settled in the plains, they preferred to occupy jobs because of the knowledge of existing education then. Moreover they ushered other members of the community to wield monopoly in education and in jobs. With the emerging consciousness in their community about education, they occupied dominant positions in the rest of the country. They now began to explore their progressive notions through press and platform and stirred a way for community associations to foster their demands. The formation of various papers, journals, periodicals and other dailies had their own style of identity of representations the social, political, economic causes. These newspapers symbolize directly and indirectly community consciousness and political multiplicities of the time. With wielding independent profession like lawyers and business, Kashmiri Pandits focused their attention towards social and political organization and thus led towards Indian National Congress. The Diaspora community had established themselves on robust footing in Indian National Congress and their contribution in Indian Freedom struggle. A deep and interested analysis of politicized Kashmiri Pandits had been scrutinized and their impact on Indian National Congress with their projections had been depicted.

### References

1. Pant.Kusum, The Kashmiri Pandit; story of a community in exile in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Delhi 1992, p.104.
2. Sharga.B.N, Kashmir's Temple of Higher Education, Kashmir Sentinel journal, 2003, p.19.
3. Pant.Kusum, Op.cit, p.194-5.
4. Sharga.B.N, Barrister Bishan Narain Dar, Kashmiri Pandit Network (Culture Heritage Religion tradition-a complete repository of information on Kashmiri Pandits), online website.
5. Pant.Kusum, Op.cit, p.114-16.
6. Baksh,S.R, Kashmir Valley and its Culture, New Delhi 1996, p.143.
7. Koul.Anand, The Kashmiri Pandits, Delhi, 1991, p.72.
8. Parshar.Parmanand, The Paradise of Asia, New Delhi 2004, p.109.
9. Kilam.J.L, The History of Kashmiri Pandits, p.231.
10. Bamzai,P.N.K, Socio-Economic History of Kashmir(1846-1925),Srinagar 2007, p.25.
11. Pant.Kusum, Op.cit, p.107.
12. Kilam.J.L, Op.cit, p.231.
13. Koul.Anand, The Kashmiri Pandits, p.73.
14. Baksh,S.R, Kashmir Valley and its Culture,.145.
15. Kilam.J.L, Op.cit, p.234.
16. Koul.Anand, The Kashmiri Pandits, p.73.
17. Baksh,S.R, Kashmir Valley and its Culture, p.145.
18. Koul.Anand, The Kashmiri Pandits, p.74.
19. Kilam.J.L, Op.cit, p.234.
20. Baksh,S.R, Kashmir Valley and its Culture,.145.
21. Koul.Anand, The Kashmiri Pandits, p.75.
22. Zutshi.U.K, Emergence of Political Awakening in Kashmir, New Delhi 1986, p.143.
23. Rai.Mridhu, Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects, p.242.
24. Kilam.J.L, Op.cit, p.237.
25. Sharga.B.N, Barrister Bishan Narain Dar, Kashmiri Pandit Network (Culture Heritage Religion tradition-a complete repository of information on Kashmiri Pandits), online weekly journal.

26. Kilam.J.L, Op.cit, p.237
27. Nanda.B.R, Motilal Nehru-Builders of Modern India, London 1970, pp.16-17.
28. Baksh,S.R, Kashmir Valley and its Culture, p.145.
29. Pant.Kusum, Op.cit, pp.161-65.
30. Ibid.
31. Sharga.B.N, Barrister Bishen Narain Dar, p.4.
32. Sharga.B.N, Chakbast a Scholarly Poet and A Great Reformer, Koshur Samachar, online weekly journal.
33. Sharga.B.N, Kashmiri Pandit Diaspora and Social Reforms, Vitasta journal, Vol. XXXIII-1999-2000 Calcutta, p.47.
34. Pant.Kusum, Op.cit, pp.8-12.
35. Pant.Kusum, Op.cit, pp.8-12.
36. Bhatt.ON, Kashmiri Pandit Sabha, Amritsar, Vitasta journal, Vol. XXXVI-2005-06 Calcutta, p.29.
37. Bhatt,S, Kashmiri Pandits- A Cultural Heritage, New Delhi, 1995, p.176.
38. Gurtu. G.K, The Great Kunzru Family of Agra, Vitasta journal, Vol. XXXIII-1999-2000 Calcutta, p.47.
39. Iyengar.A.S, Role of Press and Indian Freedom Struggle, New Delhi 2001, p.67.
40. Pant.Kusum, Op.cit, pp.192-193.
41. Pant.Kusum, Op.cit, p.117.
42. Sharga.B.N, Kashmir's Temple of Higher Education, Kashmir Sentinel journal, 2003, p.19.
43. Pant.Kusum, Op.cit, p.117.
44. Gurkha.S.N, Vitasta Journal, Annual Publications, Kolkata 2006, p.16
45. Koul.M.L, the Lion of Kashmir, Kashmir Sentinel journal vol.10, 2005, p.17.
46. Chrungoo.Ajay, Lahore How it underwent cultural cleansing, Kashmir Sentinel journal vol.10, 2005, p.25.
47. Nanda.B.R, Motilal Nehru (Builders of Modern India), New Delhi 1972, p.91.
48. Iyengar.A.S, Role of Press and Indian Freedom Struggle, pp.15-18.
49. Ghosh.Devaprasad, Pandit Motilal Nehru- His Life and works, Delhi 1985, p.7.
50. Wakhlu.Somnath, Hari Singh, The Maharaja, The Man, The Times, New Delhi 2004, p.106
51. Sharga.B.N, Kashmiri Pandit Diaspora and Social Reforms, Vitasta journal, 1999-2000 Calcutta, p.47.
52. Pant.Kusum, Op.cit, pp.117.
53. Parshar.Parmanand, The Paradise of Asia, p.112.
54. Chunilal Lalubhai Parekh (ed.), Eminent Indians on Indian Politics: With Sketches of Their Lives, Portraits and Speeches (1892) Mumbai 2010, p.442.