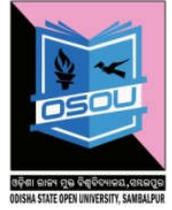

UNIT-1 GROWTH OF NATIONALISM



Structure

- I.0. Objectives
- I.I. Introduction
- I.2. Nationalism
 - I.2.I. European nationalism and its chief features
 - I.2.2. Indian Nationalism
 - I.2.3. Nationalism in Odisha
 - I.2.4. Challenges before Odia Nationalism
- I.3. Background for the growth of Nationalism in Odisha
- I.4. Characteristic features and factors responsible for the rise of Nationalism in Odisha
 - I.4.I. Colonialism
 - I.4.2. Na-Anka famine
 - I.4.3. Jagannath Temple and its administration.
 - I.4.4. Education
 - I.4.5. Indigenous intelligentsia
 - I.4.6. Public associations
 - I.4.7. Press and journalism
 - I.4.7. Public issue
- I.5. Let Us Sum Up
- I.6. Keywords
- I.7. check your Progress

1.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be know about-

- Growth of Nationalism in Odisha
- Colonialism and its bad effects
- Growth of education and its impacts
- Language crisis
- Public associations and political parties
- Urge upon for amalgamation of Odia speaking tracts attached to different presidencies.
- Socio-religious reform movements



1.1 INTRODUCTION

The modern state of Odisha was formed on 1st April 1936 CE. Historically it was also known as Kalinga, Utkal, Odra, Kosala, Tosali and Kangoda and has a deep and colorful past. It has been named Odisha since early fifteenth century, possibly derived from ancient Odra. In popular parlance, Kalinga and Utkal are the foremost used names for the state within the historical context, symbolizing the prosperity, maritime glory, sculptural and artistic skills of the land. However, other names have mostly gone down to the pages of history. The year 1568 is considered an important date in the history of Odisha, as, in this year Mukunda Deva, the last independent ruler of Odisha was defeated by the Afghan Sultan of Bengal. After 1568 and the region saw a gradual decline. Odisha was not to be an independent kingdom again.

From 1568 to 1803, Odisha remained under the control of the Afghans, the Mughals and the Marathas successively. Finally, Odisha came under British rule in 1803. However, the territory of modern Odisha province did not come under British rule all of a sudden in 1803. First, the southern region, then the coastal territory and lastly the western tract was occupied by the East India Company one by one. Soon after the British East India Company's rule, the people of Odisha suffered in many respects and were prone to exploitation by the alien rulers which prompted resistance in the minds of its inhabitants. Along with the economic exploitation, people of Odisha as a language and cultural group felt ignored and neglected due to the dismemberment of the province under different presidencies like the Bengal Presidency, Madras Presidency and Central Provinces.

These circumstances led to the outburst of Odia nationalism. It started with the language crisis. The language controversy served as an enlightenment of the Odias. The Odia language and literature developed both quantitatively and qualitatively during the period. This created an unprecedented socio-political awakening in the dormant minds of the Odia elite class.

1.2 NATIONALISM

Nationalism may be a multi-faceted modern concept, but social and political scientists have broadly characterized and distinguished nationalism as cultural nationalism and political nationalism. The concept of nationalism is a force, a psychological condition of mind and also a way of feeling, thinking and living. It's an emotional tie that will integrate the otherwise divided people. Even though it's treated as a second religion, the emotional force is usually stronger than the faith itself. Nationalism is additionally a political phenomenon of the recent society, supported by common history, tradition, language, and culture. It creates a sense of homogeneity in a nation. Nations don't



create nationalism, it's the opposite way round, nationalism creates nations. Nationalism revolves around the elements of culture.

1.2.1 European Nationalism and its Chief Features

Experts believe that nationalism originated in Western Europe in the 19th century and gradually spread to other continents. Trade and colonialism were leading factors for the growth of nationalism in non-European countries. During the 20th century, European nationalism spread to the whole globe, especially in Asia and Africa. People of these continents rose against their colonial rulers.

Nationalism manifested for the first time in 17th-century England, within the Puritan revolution. In the sphere of the scientific spirit, commercial enterprise, and political thought England had become a leading nation. Augmented by an enormous confidence Britishers felt upon their shoulders the missions of history and nationalism. Now they have proved as a turning point for reformation and liberty.

Nationalism in Europe is related to the birth of the Nation-state after the treaty of Westphalia on 24th October 1648. However, in Germany and Italy, nationalism contributed to the formation of a state through the union of autonomous territories sharing a standard culture. In some other cases such as Polish nationalism, it led to resistance movements against imperial rulers governing multicultural empires like the Russia, Greek and Bulgarian and Ottoman empire.

1.2.2 Indian Nationalism

Indian nationalism developed during the freedom movement which campaigned for independence from British rule. It influenced the politics of India and reflects an opposition to the sectarian strands of Hindu and Muslim nationalism. Indian nationalism is an instance of territorial nationalism, which is inclusive of all of the people of India, despite their diverse ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds.

1.2.3 Nationalism in Odisha

The language controversy in Odisha which began in the 1840s became very firm during 1869-70s. Gradually, the cultural revolution of Odisha gave birth to nationalism in the region and merged with pan Indian nationalism. The basic nature of nationalism in Odisha was the imposition of the Bengali language in schools, courts and offices by Bengali officers posted in Odisha. The territory of Odisha was fragmented into various parts by colonial rulers. Odisha had lost the political geography and social existence under different administrative zones of British India. So, the territorial unification and language agitation went simultaneously along with the decolonization process from the below in augmenting nationalism in Odisha.



1.2.4 Challenges before Odia Nationalism

There were three major challenges before the Odia nationalism. First, the champions of the Odia nationalist movement in the 19th century were much more open-minded, tolerant, creative and exposed to diversities of languages and religious beliefs. Contrarily, the Odia leaderships were easily creeping to religious dogmatism, cultural hybridization, intellectually redundant, and elitism. Second, Odia Adivasi (tribal) dialects and the dialects of Balasore, Ganjam and Sambalpur districts had not been recognized by and incorporated in the mainstream Odia language. Third, the dominance of coastal Odisha over western Odisha in terms of political power and government largely created political feuds in the state. The uneven growth and development disparity was also providing fuel to the sectarian movement in western Odisha.

1.3 BACKGROUND FOR THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN ODISHA

The Odia nationalist movement was flamed during the colonial period, especially in the mid-19th century. The origin of the movement was important for several reasons. First, the Odias were among the few nationalities in India whose culture and territory were fragmented in colonial times. The fragmented parts of Odisha were integrated in Bengal Presidency, Central Presidency and Madras Presidency. Second, Odia language and culture faced serious threats on account of territorial dismemberment. Third, Odia nationalist movement was the first of its kind which demanded a separate linguistic province. Fourth, the formation of a separate Odisha province was the first linguistic province in British India. Fifth, Odia nationalist movement played a pioneering role in fostering Indian nationalism and organized an anti-colonial movement in Odia speaking tracts. Sixth, the Odia language agitation, Odia territorial unification movement and the decolonization process from the 'below' in Odisha were operating simultaneously in a parallel way. Seventh, Odia nationalism was a powerful force in the 19th century but other two forces like Indian nationalism and religious nationalism were not that much powerful but were also not weak. Gradually, Odia nationalism merged with Indian nationalism with the support of Mahatma Gandhi and emerged as a strong indomitable force with the participation of people from 'below'. The nascent Odiatwa (Odianness) swallowed religious nationalism to Indian nationalism for the time being and religious nationalism became weak. Eighth, Odia nationalism was merely a cultural revolution that has never been a secessionist in orientation or never aimed at 'othering' sections and has not been threatened to the unity and sovereignty of the Indian nation. Ninth, Odisha became a pioneering model for the Nehru government in independent India on which basis many linguist states have been organized under the States Reorganization Act, 1956. The Indian leadership was forced to accept Madhusudan Das's linguistic-cultural theory of nationalism as the

major principle of restructuring the provinces of the Indian Union. As a result, it curbs the threats of Partition on religious line.



1.4 CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES AND FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RISE OF THE NATIONALISM IN ODISHA

1.4.1 Colonialism

East India Company occupied Coastal Odisha in 1803 CE. Odishan nationalism was started when Odia people realized that the colonial rule was the main reason for Odisha's poor economic condition. All sections and classes of Odia speaking tracts like peasants, artisans, handicraftsmen, workers, intellectuals, educated peoples and capitalists were tremendously suffering. Industrialization especially small scale industries suffered badly and were facing near extinction. Within a short period, the East India Company exploited the region in making Odisha an impoverished one. British rule in Odisha led to the economic exploitation of all classes. The primary motive of the British was how to gain financial benefit. The industrial revolution in Britain necessitated the import of raw materials from different foreign countries and to search the extensive market for its goods outside. Odisha provided both to them.

Odisha like other British administered territories of India pays for the maintenance of British civil service and military force. An attempt was made to destroy the indigenous Odishan industries to expand the public demand for British industrial goods. While heavy import duties were put on Indian goods to restrict their entry into the British market. There was free trade policy for the transactions of raw materials or British goods in India. Leaders like DadabhaiNaraji, Mahadev Gobinda Ranade, and G.K. Gokhale etc. analyzed the economic impact of colonial rule in India. Economic exploitation was gone to such a high extent that had great repercussions on the growth of Indian nationalism and sub-nationalism in Odisha and the people agitated against the foreign government taking into multiple issues.

1.4.2 Na-Anka Famine

In 1866 one of the most devastating famines – known as the Na- Anka famine occurred in Odisha during the tenure of Puri Gajapati Maharaja Divyasingha Dev III (1859-1882), killing a third of its population. Subsequently, a Famine Commission was formed and its recommendations constitute an important milestone in the economic history of Odisha. The expansion of roads, railways, ports and navigable irrigation canals became an urgency. That focus on transport and communication in colonial Odisha was the antecedent for the province's socio-economic transformation and nationalism.



1.4.3 Jagannath Temple and its Administration

Lord Jagannatha was the cultural strength and social symbol for the unity of Odisha. The deity's relationship with Odisha and Odia can be traced back to early-historic times. Lord Jagannatha had dominating influence over the socio-religious and cultural life of Odias. Gradually, Dalits, Adivasis, Muslims, princes, zamindars and Odia speaking regions were associated with the Jagannatha cult. Thus the Jagannatha cult had been constituted with multiple identities like social, political, religious, cultural and the making and remaking of 'exclusive' groups such as the Odias, the Kandhs etc . No doubt, the 'great tradition' of the Jagannatha cult has absorbed the 'little tradition' of the marginal and peripheral subaltern groups. The Odia identity became even more internalized and crystallized around the Jagannatha cult during the colonial period. The Odia identity prevailed even against cultural, political, and economic threats posed by Bengalis, Telegu's, and, of course, by the British. The administration, safety and security of lord Jagannath temple was threatened during British rule which indirectly aroused Odia nationalism.

1.4.4 Education

Modern education within the structure of western education in Odisha was a target during British rule. During this time education was introduced by the missionaries for an evangelical intention. Over time British administration took on the business of introducing modern instruction like Western Education to Odisha for its government usefulness and to hold on to the people of Odisha silently by providing small jobs and fulfilling other illogical whims. But English-educated Odia protagonists read history from other parts of the country and abroad and were spurred on by nationalism. The introduction of education in English became a boomerang for the British because it ignited nationalism among the Odias. The spread of Western Education within the last half of the 19th century led to the emergence of a determined and organized national consciousness in divided Odisha. Woods' famous dispatch and the establishment of the University of Calcutta in 1857 provided the required impetus for the expansion of public interest and the teaching of English.

Additionally, the establishment of Ravenshaw College at Cuttack in 1868 strongly encouraged the spread of higher education among aspirants from Odisha who were deprived of university education. Educated Odias and domiciled Bengalis constitute the elite class of Odishan society. This elite class collectively collaborated within the socio-political activities of the last quarter of the 19th century. Chandramohan Maharana, Ganapati Das, Mani Mohapatra, Gopal Chandra Praharaj, Madhusudan Das, Abhiram Bhanj, Nand Kishore Bal, Gopabandhu Das, Radhanath Ray, Gourishankar Ray, Ramsanker Ray, Pyarimohan Acharaya, etc., were the ambassadors of the communities. They indeed played a crucial role in the growth of Odia nationalism in an inspiring way.



1.4.5 Indigenous Intelligentsia

In Odisha among the main protagonists were Fakir Mohan Senapati (1843-1918), Radhanath Ray (1848-1908), Madhusudan Rao(1853- 1912), Gangadhar Meher (1862-1924), Gopabandhu Das (1877-1928) and Madhusudan Das (1848-1934) etc. The intelligentsia got united on the various issues and demanded amalgamation of the Odia conversation tracts into one provincial administration and therefore the formation of a separate province. Chandramohan Maharana, Ganapati Das, Mani Mohapatra, Gopal Chandra Praharaj, Madhusudan Das, Abhiram Bhanj, Nandkishore Bal, Gourishankar Ray, Ramsanker Ray, Pyarimohan Acharaya, etc., were the other representative of the elite class.

1.4.6 Public Associations

The Utkal Sabha and the Utkal Union Conference, both chaired by Madhusudan Das (1848-1934), played a vital role in organizing the people on socio-cultural and political issues. In 1903, representatives of the Odia-speaking regions of Madras, the central provinces and Bengal formed the Utkal Union Conference (UUC), locally called Utkal Sammilani, in Cuttack to steer the Odia movement for the formation of a separate province. The nineteenth-century saw the growth of socio-political associations and public associations in Odisha. The educated bourgeoisie that emerged in Odisha within the post-famine era, like its matching part elsewhere, expressed its ideas, views and aspirations through the press, meetings and associations. Also variety of socio-political associations and community associations, with dissimilar objectives like the development of the language and literature of Odia, the safeguard of the interests of Odias, social reform, the sponsorship of the education and scholarly and literary discussions were shaped within the post-famine period. The initiation was taken by the English who formed an association in Cuttack, called the Mutual Improvement Society in 1859 was wanted to discuss public issues.

Consequently, the subsequent associations were formed - Utkalollasini Sabha, Cuttack, 1868; Cuttack Debate Club, 1868; Cuttack Young Men's Association, 1869; Utkal Brahmo Samaj; 1869; Puri Company, 1870; Ganjam, Bhadrak Desha Hitaishini Sabha, 1874; Ganjam Nisha Nishedhini Sabha, 1875; Utkal Sabha, Cuttack, 1877; Odisha Graduates and Students Association, 1888; National Society of Balasore, 1878; Shiksha Bidhayini Sabha, 1881; Utkal Bhasa Uddipani Samaj, Cuttack, 1867; Utkal Bhasa Uddipani Samaj, Cuttack, 1867; Utkal Bhasa Unnati Bidhayini Sabha, Balasore, 1867; Madak Seban Nibarini Sabha, 1879; Utkal Sabha or Association of Odisha Peoples, 1882; Utkal Hitabadini Sabha, Berhampur, 1872; Anti-corruption Sabha, Cuttack, 1884; Utkal Sahitya Sammilani, Cuttack, 1886; Balasore Zilla School Reading Club; 1896; and Alochana, Sabha, of Cuttack Training lyceum, 1893. There have been a couple of community and caste-based associations, like Karan Sabha, Odisha Islam Association, 1875 and Odisha Christian, Association, Cuttack, 1896. The



Odisha's educated elite, just like the elite elsewhere in India, sought to reform social life through measures like the sponsorship of education and therefore the upliftment and liberation of girls. They were also predisposed and inspired by social reform movements in other parts of India. But the slow progress of education and therefore the lack of a robust academic elite have bogged down in the process of social rejuvenation

1.4.7 Press and journalism

The development of the press and reporting in Odisha marked a turning point within the modern history of the state. Christian missionaries, who have made remarkable contributions during this time, have taken the initiative. They began the history of the journalism and press in Odisha with the creation of a press. In due course, Odisha developed a vernacular press. Moreover, they cemented the way for the event of journalism. Advances within the press and journalism in Odisha have resulted in the development of socio-political awareness within the midst of the people of Odisha. The primary Odia magazine five years before Odisha's catastrophic famine of 1866, was *Bodha Dayini* published from Balasore. The most important objective of this magazine was to disseminate Odia literature and expose the administrative lapses.

Then the foremost powerful and influential Odia newspaper the *Utkal Deepika* made its appearance in early 1866 under the skilful direction of the late Gourisankar Ray with the condescending help of the late Bichitrananda Das, who was the Seristadar of the then Commissioner of Revenue, T.E. Ravenshaw. He enjoyed the respect as the founding father of the historic Ravenshaw College of Cuttack. *Utkal Deepika* played a crucial role in merging peripheral Odia-speaking areas that remained dispersed under different provincial administrations. The *Utkal Deepika* administered an active campaign to unite all Odia-speaking areas under one administration, language and literature and therefore the protection of Odia's interests. In 1869, the late Bhagavati Charan Das launched *Utkal Subhakari* to propagate the Brahmo faith. Another weekly *Sambad Vahika* was published in Balasore in 1868. The Utkal Society of Cuttack published *Utkal Hiteisini* in 1869.

During the third quarter of the 19th-century, a variety of newspapers were printed in Odia, among which *Utkal Deepika*, *Utkal Putra*, *Utkal Hiteisini* by Cuttack, *Utkal Darpan* and *Sambada Vahika* by Balasore, *Sambalpur Hiteisini* (May 30, 1889) by Deogarh. The weekly named *Odia* sustained for 34 years under the patronage of Sir Sudhal Deb, Raja of Bamra. In 1879, a fortnightly Odia newspaper called "*Mayurbhanj Pakshika Patrika*" was published in Baripada and abridged by Haraprasad Das with the financial help of Maharaja Krushna Chandra Bhanja Deo. The main purpose of the document was said to be to review Mayurbhanj's politics in plain Odia language. In April 1891 a literary magazine entitled *Utkal Prabha* was published from Baripada with the financial help of Maharaja Sri Ramachandra Bhanja Deo. In 1880 Dina Banerji edited a piece of writing called *Cuttack's Bideshi*.



After the famine of 1866, some English magazines also began to be published in Odisha. In 1868 "Cuttack Standard", Kalipada Banerji's edited Argus and an English Weekly Odisha Patriot was published in Cuttack. English weekly called Odisha Students edited by Laxmi Narayan Dasgupta was published in Kendrapara during that period. The publications of those works during the closing of the 19th century revealed the will and fortitude of the people of Odisha to defend the freedom of expression and freedom of the press to ultimately fighting for freedom of speech, expression, and liberate the country from British rule.

1.4.7 Public issues

Na-Anka famine was a blessing in disguise. After this, the maladministration of East India Company was visible to all. Whatever could also be the cause Western Education was introduced in Odisha and schools and colleges were established. English educated indigenous intelligentsia came forward for the explanation for Odisha in highlighting the general public issues like an amalgamation of scattered Odia speaking tracts attached to varied British Presidencies, protection of Odia language, Jagannath Temple administration, the introduction of the railway, construction of roads, bridges, canals. Writing of books, stories, tales, journals, magazines in Odia languages, abolition of blind beliefs, taboos and social maladies and superstitions, propagation of Brahmo Dharma or Brahmoism of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, casteism, untouchability, human sacrifices (Meriah sacrifice) by the Khonds and end of British rule out Odisha. The above-stated issues were also sprouted nationalism in Odisha.

1.5 LET US SUM UP

Utkal Sammilani, an epicentre of nationalism in Odisha, enthusiastically supported and vigorously promoted Indian nationalist sentiment in Odias. Three nationalisms - Odia nationalism, Indian nationalism, and non-secular nationalism - operated simultaneously within the province. But Odia's nationalism was very powerful from the mid-19th century and it gradually engulfed the Indian nationalist movement. Religious nationalism weakened and was forced by the nascent Odiatwa (Odianness) to merge with Indian nationalism. Therefore, Odia's nationalism was ready to counter the hyper-nationalism and homogenization of spiritual narratives during the anti-colonial movement. Furthermore, both Odia and Indian nationalism was collectively developed and nurtured in Odisha as a cultural epitome and as a political force to accommodate multiple identities and instil the nationalist spirit to realize a good idea of swaraj. Hence, Odia nationalism as a robust socio-cultural force helped promote the pluralistic character of Indian nationalism. Harekrushna Mahatab appropriately noted the historical process of cultural unification and therefore the successful legacy of the Odia nationalist movement in creating a separate province on 1st April, 1936. He



said, in place of varied political instabilities from the 16th to the 19th century, the distinctive character, culture of Odisha and therefore the strong cultural bond of the people of Odia led everyone to the closeness and unity". Odia Nationalism not only provides a theory of accommodation of linguistic and cultural diversities to guard the integrity of India's national borders but also promotes cultural rights and cultural nationalism in India. Sub-nationalism also helps foster brotherhood and solidarity within the community. Sub nationalism is positively associated with the development and social harmony. Therefore, it's to believe that if sub-nationalism isn't targeted with secessionist ideology, doesn't aim to politically polarize other sectors and is just limited to cultural expression, then sub-nationalism shouldn't be treated as a threat but as a constitutive component of nationalism.

1.6 KEYWORDS

Intelligentsia:	Intellectuals or highly educated people as a group, especially when regarded as possessing culture and political influence.
Presidency:	During the period of Company rule in India, 1757–1858, the Company gradually acquired sovereignty over large parts of India, now called "Presidencies"
Nationalism:	Identification with one's nation and support for its interests, especially to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations. Otherwise, advocacy of or support for the political independence of a particular nation or people.
Amalgamation:	Amalgamation is the combination of two or more companies into a new entity by combining the assets and liabilities of both entities into one.
Meriah sacrifice:	It was a human sacrifice practised by Khonds tribals in Odisha.
Na-Anka famine:	The famine of 1866 had appeared in Odisha in the ninth regnal year of Puri Raja Dibyasingha Deva III (1859-1882) and the Anka calculation began in his name.
CE:	Common Era (another term for Christian era)
Seristadar:	Recorder, Registrar, Secretary

1.7 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What do you mean by press and Journalism in Odisha? Give five names of the printing press during colonial Odisha.
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2. What do you know about public associations in Odisha? Explain with examples.

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3. Why Western Education was introduced in Colonial Odisha?

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4. What do you mean by the indigenous intelligentsia of Odisha? Discuss in brief.

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5. What do you mean by Colonialism and the Odishan perspective?

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1.8 SUGGESTED READING

1. H.K. Mahtab: History of the freedom movement in Orissa
2. Bijaya Chandra Rath: Prajamandal Movement in Odisha
3. N .K. Sahu, P.K. Mishra & J.K.Sahu: History of Orissa
4. Pradhan., Agrarian and Political Movements, States of Orissa, 1931-1949.
5. J.K.Samal., Princely States of Orissa
6. Harihara Panda: History of Orissa

UNIT-2 FORMATION OF SEPARATE PROVINCE OF ORISSA



Structure

- 2.0 Learning Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2. Factors Responsible For The Growth Of Political Consciousness
- 2.3. The Molecular Change Of Mass Ideology And The Language Agitation
- 2.4. The First Phase Of The Movement: 1855 To 1905
- 2.5. The Second Phase Of Themovement: 1906 To 1919
- 2.6. The Third Phase Of The Movement: 1920 To 1936
- 2.7. Let Us Sum Up
- 2.8 Check Your Progress
- 2.9. Suggested Reading

2.0 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will know about-

- Factor responsible for the growth of Political consciousness among the people of Orissa
- Ideological Changes and Language agitation started by the common people
- Role of the British Government for Amalgamation of Oriya Speaking Areas

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The present days Odisha or erstwhile Orissa, variously known as the Utkal, Kalinga, Odra/Odda and Kosala, was a terra-incognita before the sanguinary war of 261 B.C. Its real history begun after the Kalingan empire was ended. Its territorial integrity was kept at its highest echelon during the rule of the Sailodbhavas, the Gangas and the Gajapatis. Once again, its political dismemberment started after the rule of Mukundadeva, the last ruler of the Gajapati dynasty, was over. Thence, Orissa passed through the constant warfare between the Afghan and the Marathas.

Orissa got into another historical moorings when it found its place in the “Diwani Rights” of the East India Company (EIC), after the treaty of 17th August, 1765. The Maratha Orissa came under the direct administration of the EIC when Lord Wellesley secured it from the Raja of Nagpur by the treaty of Deogaonon 3 August 1803. Geographically, the whole of Orissa was divided under two major halves; the *Mughulbandi* or the Orissa division and the Garjats or the hilly tracts. The *Mughulbandi* area was comprised of whole of plain including three districts such as Balasore, Cuttack and Puri. It extended from the river Subarnarekha on the north to the

Chilka lake in the south. It was placed under a separate Commissioner. The Garjats were left untouched where the tributary chiefs had been exercising their suzerainty. These tributary chiefs were kept under the supervision of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, the post which was created in 1814 to check crime and outrages of the chiefs. Similarly, from the administrative point of view, Orissa was administered from three British administrative zones; the north of the Subarnarekha from the Bengal presidency, the south of the Chilka from the Madras presidency and the Singbhum, Sareikala, Kharsuan, Gangapur and Bonai from the Chottanagpur Division. With the march of time, this administrative-cum-fiscal dismemberment of Orissa gave rise to the political consciousness by the beginning of the 19th century.

2.2 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROWTH OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

2.2.1 Introduction of Modern Education in Orissa

Ever since the British capture of Orissa in 1803 no substantial steps were undertaken by the British administration for development of education in Orissa. Even the Charter Act of 1813 bore no fruit. Its substantial portion of amount was spent in Bengal proper. Credit for familiarizing Orissa with the English education must be given to the Christian missionaries who could establish the first English school at Cuttack in 1822. They also attempted to print new text books, both in Oriya and English, through the School Book Society at Calcutta. Subsequently, they established schools at Balasore, Puri, Berhampur, and Sambalpur.

The Macaulay Minute of 1835 opened up a new era in the history of modern education in Orissa. Accordingly, an English school was founded at Puri in 1835. Unfortunately, after the five years of its opening the school was closed owing to the poor student's enrollment. After that, H. Rickets, the then commissioner of Orissa, opened an English school at Cuttack which was popularly known as the Cuttack Missionary School. In 1841 an Education Committee was formed which took over the charge of management of the school. Surprisingly, it became the only British Government's school in the whole of Orissa. In 1842 the Council of Education was established by him for the management all the schools in Orissa. In order to bring more and more students into the arena of modern education scholarship, and prizes were introduced. The first Oriya to get a scholarship was Nabeen Chandra Sarangi. In 1853, the government of Bengal opened two English schools in Orissa, one at Puri and another at Balasore.

From 1845-54, initiatives were under taken by Lord Harding, to open up vernacular schools in the Bengal Presidency. In Orissa only eight schools were established at places such as Khurdha, Puri, Balasore, Remuna, Bhadrak, Kendrapara, Mahanga and Hariharpur. The Woods Dispatch of 1854, helped establish a special Department of



Education in the place of Council of Education in each province. Unfortunately, the Dispatch produced no immediate result in Orissa.

In 1855, schools were established at Angul and Talmul. In 1858, two schools were established at Banki. At the initiative of G. F. Cockburn schools were established at Tangi, Banpur, Begunia, Bhubaneswar and Khurdha estate between 1858 and 1859. He also appointed E. Roer as first inspector of school in Orissa in 1857. By the year 1863-64, the total number of schools was 44 (twenty-four Government schools and twenty grant-in-aid schools. Among twenty-four Government schools, three were Zilla schools-Cuttack, Puri and Balasore-one vernacular school at Bhadrak and Cuttack Church High school). In 1868, a college came into being with six numbers of students in the premises of Cuttack High School by the joint initiative of T. E. Ravenshaw, commissioner of Orissa and M. R. L. Martin, the inspector of school. Historically, this college is known as the Ravenshaw college in Orissa. In order to make the text book available an agent was appointed at Cuttack on behalf of the Calcutta School Book Society. Between 1870-71, George Campbell, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, took initiatives to encourage mass education. Provisions were made to reward teachers called “payment by results”. In 1872, John Beams, the Magistrate of Balasore, declared that the government would take interest in funding schools founded by any private bodies. In 1876 a medical College was opened at Cuttack. In 1877 a Survey School was started in Orissa.

2.2.2 Growth of Transport and Communication

Growth and development of Transport and communication including roads, canals and railways proved to be a valuable thing for the general growth of political consciousness among the Oriya people. Interestingly, measures were undertaken for all these development after the great famine of 1866. The hidden motive was to prevent any similar kind of disaster in future. Canals were constructed to fasten trading communication between Calcutta and Cuttack as well as to irrigate the agrarian fields. Two important canals fulfilling these needs were the Kendrapara canal and the Taladanda canal at Cuttack. The Dhamara harbor was thoroughly interlinked with the inland trading routs. Besides, durable road ways were constructed cutting across various scattered areas. Among many the Jagannath road which connected Cuttack with Calcutta bore historical importance. The Mahanadi bridge was constructed over the Mahanadi River in 1894-95. In 1896, a railway line was laid down connecting Puri with Jatani. The East Coast Railway, marching over coastal Orissa tracts, was completed in 1900. It connected Bengal with Madras and Nagpur.

The development of transport and communication helped Oriya people to go out of the state for pursuing higher degree in the field of education and business activities. Hence, it could offer a greater advantage for the achievement of political unity.



2.2.3 Growth of Printing Press and Journalism

Growth of printing press and journalism helped creating a powerful public opinion in Orissa. In 1837 Christian missionaries established the first printing press in Orissa known as the “Orissa Mission Press” at Cuttack. It published monthly magazines such as *Jnanaruna*, *Probodha Chandrika*, *Arunodaya* to popularize Christianity. After the Great famine of 1866, the people of Cuttack took interest in journalism. In 1866 the “Cuttack Printing Press” was established by Gourisankar Roy and it brought out an Oriya periodical called the “Utkal Dipika” from the same year. Gourisankar Roy himself was its editor. It could vocalize the masses. Similarly, other printing presses established at different places in Orissa were as follows.

- The Utkal Printing Press was founded by Fakir Mohan Senapati at Balasore in 1868 and published the *Sambad Bahika*.
- The De press was established by Baikunthanath De at Balasore in 1873 and published the *Utkal Darpan*.
- The Utkal Hitaisini or the Orissa Patriot press was established by the Zamidar of Kalipada Bandyopadhyaya and published the *Utkal Hitaisini*.
- The Bamanda Press was established by Raja Sudhal Deva in Sambalpur in 1885 and published the *Sambalpur Hitaisini*.
- At Brarhampur another press was established in 1875.

Besides, many other presses like Viktoria Press, Bhaktipadayini Press, Printing Corporation Press, Arun Uday Press, Ray Press, Binod Press etc. were established. Similarly, some periodicals and magazines published were the Cuttack Argos, Cuttack Star, Cuttack Standard, Cuttack Chronicle, Dhumketu, Utkal Madhupa, Utkal Putra, Bidesi, Utkal Subhankari, Utkal Samskarak, Chandrika, Swadesi, Purushottam Dipini, Prajabandhu, Sevak, Nava Sambada, Asha, Utkal Bandhu, GanjamNews, Utkal Sahitya, and Ganjam Odia Hitabadini.

All the newspapers and magazines covered the political, religious, and cultural aspects of the life of the common masses.

2.2.4 Growth of Associations

Organizations and associations found to have developed after the 1866 centering round the socio-economic and political issues of Orissa. Libraries for educating people politically were also established across the region. In 1874, a huge meeting was convened at Cuttack by Bichitrananda Das, the *sirastadar* of the Commissioner of Cuttack. This meeting was attended by people from all walks of life including zamindars, elite people, feudal chiefs etc. Probably, it was the first huge gathering in Cuttack town.

2.3 THE MOLECULAR CHANGE OF MASS IDEOLOGY AND THE LANGUAGE AGITATION



2.3.1 Language Agitation in the North

Oriya, a widely spoken vernacular language of many Oriyas, was shrouded under dark cloud ever since the occupation of Orissa by the Moghuls followed by the Britishers in 1803. It was not given due importance as compare to its counterpart, the Bengali language. A primordial stage of agitation took its birth when Umacharan Haldar, a Deputy Inspector of schools, advocated to substitute Bengali language in place of Oriya. But this view was rejected by H. L. Harrison, the Inspector of schools. Similarly, the Bengal British Government, as part of its divide and rule policy, wanted to segregate Oriya from the Bengali language. In 9 October 1869 the government itself ordered the Director of Public Instruction to form a committee in Cuttack to help the “School Book Society of Calcutta” for the consideration, selection and translation of Oriya text books. Hence, a committee was formed with W. C. Lecey as its president and Raja Bhagirathi Mahendra Bahadur, Bichitrananda Das, Banamali Singh and Dwarikanath Chakravarty as members.

The language issue took a serious turn when Rajendra Lal Mitra, in a lecture at Cuttack Debating Club said that “a great injury was inflicted on the Oriya race by heir attachment to a provincial patois, which they wished to exact into a distinct language” Also, he said that “it was impossible on part of the Oriyas to maintain a separate language since a very few among them were literate. Oriyas were poor and they were not in a position to publish a single book”. He, therefore, advocated to substitute Bengali in place of Oriya as a vernacular language.

Another disaster to the Oriya language came when Kantilal Bhattacharya, a school teacher at Balasore district argued Oriya as not a separate language. He argued this in his book entitled *Oriya Ekta Svatantra BhasaNai*. Also, in this book he postulated a theory that Oriya was a branch of Bengali dialect and recommended for its substitution for Bengali. On the other hand, some colonial scholars like John Beams argued in favour of Oriya language. He pointed out that Oriya contained unchanged forms which were older than the Bengali and Hindi. He condemned Kantilal’s book as “profoundly destitute of philological arguments”. Basudev Mukherjee, a scholar from Bengal also criticized Kantilan’s argument.

2.3.2 Reaction of the Oriya People

The language agitation took a serious turn when the periodical newspapers like the Utkal Dipika by Gourisankar Ray, SambadBahika by Fakir Mohan Senapati and the Ullhasini Sabha criticized the views of Kantilal Bhattacharya and Rajendra Lal Mitra. But some apolitical organizations like the Utkal Hitaisini Sabha, the Cuttack Society and the Cuttack Debating Club championed the cause of the Bengalis. In this regard John Beams wrote “This little work, though profoundly destitute of philological



arguments, has created some stir among the natives of the province, who are somewhat disgusted at finding their native language treated as a mere corruption of Bengali”. The agitation got intensified when i) on July 1869, Umacharan Haldar, Dy. Inspector of Schools, pleaded in the Cuttack Star for writing Oriya in Bengali script and ii) Rajakishore Mukhopadhaya, a lecturer in Law, of the Cuttack College, argued in favour of Bengali language.

2.3.4 Government’s Response

Here the Government’s response was quite different. In a bid to follow the Divide and Rule policy, they also followed a rather sympathetic attitude towards the Oriya language.

- i. John Beams in his scholarly articles criticized the viewpoints of Rajendra Lal Mitra and Kantilal Bhattacharya and favored Oriya language.
- ii. T. E. Ravenshaw also actively supported for the cause of Oriyas.
- iii. G. Campbell, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, acknowledged Oriya, Bengali and Assamese as separate languages.

Finally, towards the end of 19th century, the Oriya language had replaced the Bengali language in the schools in Orissa.

2.3.5 Language Agitation in the South

In the south, the Telugu speaking people of Ganjam district and Vizagapattanam Agency had been trying to substitute Telugu language for Oriya. The Director of Public Instruction of Madras, argued Oriya language as a semi-barbarous language for which it must be repudiated. Despite all these odds, in 1873, the Madras University recognized the Oriya language to be taught in the University. In 1873 the Raja of Katinga made an appeal to save Oriya language from the pre-dominance of Bengali, Hindustani and Telugu people. In the Jaypore Agency too, all the records were maintained in the Telugu language. Finally, the Madras Government passed an order to use Oriya language in the Courts and Government offices.

2.3.6 Language Agitation in Sambalpur

In the District of Sambalpur, majority number of people (595601 out of 796413 people) used Oriya language as their lingua-franka. In 1895, the Commissioner of Central Provinces introduced Hindi in Sambalpur district for administrative convenience. This created a great problem for the Oriyas. An agitation started in Sambalpur against the decision of the Commissioner. Finally, the Government announced that “the people of Sambalpur have to learn Oriya for their mother, father, wife and children and Hindi for the purpose of Court and English for their welfare”.

Against this decision a great meeting was convened on 13 June 1895 with Somonath Baboo in chair and Dharanidhar Mishra as secretary. Similarly, in the same year another meeting was convened at Cuttack with Madhusudan Das in chair. Both these

meetings severely criticized the decision of the Commissioner and the Raja of Bamara was declared as an enemy of the Oriya people considering his unconditional support to the British Government.

In July 1901 the people of Sambalpur appealed to the Chief Commissioner to restore Oriya in the Court proceedings. On 2 September 1901, Madhusudan Das sent a telegram to the Government of India in favour of the Oriya language in Sambalpur. Finally, in June 1902 the Government restored Oriya language in the District of Sambalpur.



2.4 THE FIRST PHASE OF THE MOVEMENT: 1855 TO 1905

The lack of a united Orissa province segregated socio-political as well as cultural affinities of the Oriya people. The people of these ill-affected areas came to realize that to achieve an inclusive development without having a separate province is futile. Thus, in the long march of the language agitation, the Oriya speaking people in different scattered areas coming under different administrative agencies, felt it a grave urgency to have a united province for themselves. The process of amalgamation movement got intensified to put the Oriya speaking people in a homogenous administration. For this purpose, both the role of the British Government as well as the Oriya intelligentsia would be scrutinized.

2.4.1 The Role Played by the British Government for Amalgamation of Oriya Speaking Areas

- In 1855, Henry Ricketts, a member of the Board of Revenue, was the first to propose for the segregation of Sambalpur region from the Chottanagpur Division on the commercial, administrative, racial, linguistic and communicative ground. Also, he recommended for the transfer of Sonapur, Bodasambar, Redhakhol, Patna, Khariar, Bindra-Nawagarh, Saran-garh, and Phuljhar to Cuttack.
- In 1868, Sir Stafford Northcote, the secretary of state for India, criticized the Bengal Government for manhandling the Great famine of 1866. So, he advocated for the separation of Orissa and Assam from the Bengal proper on administrative ground.
- In 1868, George Chesney, the Accountant General (AG) of the Government of India, insisted upon the transfer of the Oriya speaking areas under the three administrative aegis of Madras, the Central Province and Bengal.
- In 1872, G. Campbell, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, advocated for the partition of Bengal on the ground of huge population in the concerned province (around 72 million).
- Lord North Brooke, the Governor-General of India, expressed concern for the splitting up of the Central Provinces and to add its territories with the

neighboring provinces. On the matter of Orissa, he contemplated to bring all the Oriya speaking areas under the homogenous administration of a Chief Commissioner.

- In 1895, H. G. Cooke, the Commissioner of Orissa, demanded for expansion of Divisional boundaries so as to include the whole area populated by Oriya speaking people. He also suggested for the union of tributary states like Patna, Sonepore, Redhakhol, Bamra, Kalahandi with the Sambalpur Division. Similarly, in the case of south Orissa he stated that the states like Paralakhemudi and Ghumsur be united with the Ganjam Division. He expressed his views on the ethnological, philological and political ground.

From every point of view, therefore, recommendations were made by the British high officials for bringing up of all Oriya speaking people under an umbrella.

2.4.2 The Role Played by the Oriya Intelligentsia, Newspapers, Journals, Associations and Representations

The great intellectual and philosophical underpinnings of the first half of the 19th century had its repercussion on Orissa too. Hence, the genesis of the process of amalgamation of Oriya-speaking area started by the middle of the 19th century. In 1845 the Oriyas of the Singhbhum region were the first to demand to be amalgamated with the Orissa.

2.4.3 Role Played by Newspapers and Journals

The role played by Oriya newspapers for the same cause cannot be relegated to a distant background. In 1895, a letter entitled “Wants of Oriyas” found its place in the Utkal Dipika. It advocated for the amalgamation of all the scattered areas of Orissa under a single union. Similarly, another newspaper called the Utkal Putra published the criticism of the people under the title “The Opinion of Sambalpur”. It vehemently resisted the proposal of splitting up of the Central Provinces and merging of Sambalpur with Chottanagpur Division. A demand, however, was published in the Utkal Dipika under the title “The Change of administration of Orissa”. It stated that “with these new areas merged with Orissa, a new distinct division thus emerged will be placed under a separate commissioner” (S. C. Patra, Punthi Pustak, Cuttack).

2.4.4 Role Played by Associations

A good number of apolitical organizations and associations found their existence in view of the amalgamation with the Orissa Division.

- In September 1870, a meeting was held in the Rasulkunda village, Ganjam in which the participants expressed their dissatisfaction over the introduction of Telugu language in that region.
- The “Ganjam Utakal Hitabadini Sabha” came into being in Ganjam in 1872 with Sri Venkatesh Beu, Raja of Katinga, as its secretary. The association

fought for the preservation of Oriya language as well as amalgamation of Oriya speaking areas.

- In 1877, the “Utkal Sabha” was formed with Madhusudan Das, Fakir Mohan Senapati, and Radhanath Ray as its prominent members. The Sabha aimed at improving the standard of the Oriya language and bringing up of all Oriya people under one administration.
- On 16 August 1882, the “Orissa Association” was formed under the leadership of Madhusudan Das with a view to introduce of Self-government in Orissa.
- In April 1903, the “GanjamJatiya Samiti” or the “Ganjam National Conference” came into existence with the initiative of Harihar Mardaraj, the Raja of Khalikote at Rambha, Ganjam. Its first meeting was presided over by Syamsundar Rajaguru of Paralakemudi. Nilamani Bidyaratnawas its first secretary. The Samitigot its financial assistance from Harihar Mardaraj, and Madhuri Sahoo, a businessman. The meeting was attended by Madhusudan Das, Biswanath Kar, Nanda Kishore Bal, Krishnaprasad Chaudhuri and Gopal Chandra Praharaj. The meeting resolved unanimously to enrich Oriya literature. Activities of the Conference was recorded in Oriya language. This conference was regarded as the first national conference of the Orissa people.
- The grand idea of National Conference which had its origin in Ganjam, culminated in a formal conference convened by Madhusudan Das at his residence in 30 to 31 December 1903. About two hundred and fifty people attended with some European ladies, land lords, Government servants and College students. This conference gave birth to the “Utkal Samilani” or the “Utkal Union Conference” (UUC). Henceforth the UUC took the charge of amalgamation of Oriya tracts. In that conference it was said that the “national feeling which is manifested in Orissa today we owe to the people of Sambalpur and Ganjam to a great extent” (S. C. Patra, Punthi Pustak, Cuttack). The conference resolved to send a memorandum to the Government of India to transfer the Oriya divisions of the other provinces to Orissa Division.

Any way we see all these associations held meetings for public opinion, represent grievances to the Government for the creation of separate province. In 1888, the members of the “Orissa Association” made a representation to Sir Stewart Colvin Bayley, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal for the same cause. On 15 December 1902, Baikunthanath De, a nationalist of Balasore, submitted a memorandum to Lord Curzon to save Orissa from the morbid state of extinction.

2.4.5 Representations to the British Government

Besides, steps were also undertaken to submit representation to the Government to that effect.

- When John Beams was the Commissioner of Orissa, a representation was sent to him demanding the merger of Oriya-speaking region into a distinct linguistic unit.
- The people of Balasore sent a representation to Richard Temple, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, demanding merger of Sambalpur and Ganjam with Orissa under one administration.
- In 1876, Baikunthanath De and Bichitrananda Das, wrote to the Government of India for the union of all Oriya-speaking areas under one administration.

2.4.6 Lord Curzon and the Merger of Sambalpur

On 3 December 1903 Lord Curzon, the viceroy of India, proposed a scheme for partition of Bengal. Accordingly, Henry Risley, the secretary of state for India wrote a letter to the Governors of Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces speaking for bringing all the scattered Oriya speaking people under a single administration. In other words, the Oriya speaking tracts of Sambalpur and its feudatory states, Ganjam, and the Vizagapatanam tracts would be united under a single administration. But the Utkal Union Conference in its meeting held on 30 and 31 December 1903 expressed its regret to Lord Curzon and demanded for the union of whole of Oriya speaking tracts.

Finally, the Government of Central Provinces expressed its willingness to transfer Sambalpur district to Orissa. Hence, on 1 September 1905 a larger portion of Sambalpur save some regions like Chandrapur-Padmapur estates, Phuljhar Zamindari estate and five feudatory states viz. Patna, Kalahandi, Sonapur, Bamra and Redhakhol was transferred to Orissa. Still some other Oriya speaking estates such as Sarangagarh, Raigarh and Bastar under Central Provinces were not transferred.

In the case of Ganjam, Sir Hammick, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, objected the process of amalgamation of Ganjam and Vizagapatanam with Orissa proper. The opinion of the Madras Government intensified the agitation and the people of Orissa started sending memorials and petitions to the Imperial and Provincial Governments. Similarly, the Telugu speaking people of Ganjam sent a counter-petition to the Governments. Also, Lord Amthill who visited Berhampur in 1905, abandoned the question of transfer of Ganjam and Vizagapatanam to Orissa.

2.5 THE SECOND PHASE OF THE MOVEMENT: 1906 TO 1919

The first phase of the amalgamation movement ended with the transfer of Sambalpur to the Orissa proper. But it was a half measure towards the process of amalgamation of whole of Oriya-speaking areas. The transfer of Ganjam and Vizagapatanam still remained under a big question mark. Proposal and recommendations for a united Orissa was repeatedly made through resolutions and representations.

- On 30 November 1905 a memorial was sent to Lord Amthill, the Governor of Madras.



- In 1907 representations were sent to the Royal Commission on Decentralization asking for a Chief Commissionership for united Orissa.
- In 1908 Madhusudan Das went to England to convince the British Government for a united Orissa.

Despite several attempts the Government paid no heed towards process of amalgamation.

2.5.1. Lord Hardinge and Formation of Bihar and Orissa Province

The demands of the Oriyas made through different channels bound the Government to come to the real ground. The Government of India also realized that the existing state of territorial distribution was far from being satisfactory. So, on 25 August 1911, Lord Hardinge proposed for the annulment of partition of Bengal and creation of a new province consisting of Bihar and Orissa with a legislative council and a capital at Patna. These decisions of Lord Hardinge could not satisfy the sentiments of Oriyas. Dissatisfaction continued without having a complete Oriya-speaking province. Meetings, resolutions, memorandums etc. became a day-to-day affair.

- i. The people of Ganjam and Vizagapatnam being dissatisfied formed the South Orissa Sahitya Samaj for the development of Oriya literature and amalgamation of Oriya-speaking areas. When a memorandum to this end was rejected by Lord Hardinge, the Utkal Union Conference decided to observe fasting each year on the day of Sunia Bada Ekadasi. In this meeting it was decided unanimously to participate in the Congress to fight out the fundamental demand of the Oriyas.
- ii. In 1912, the Balasore National Conference in a meeting held at Balasore resolved to push a memorandum to the Government of India for the amalgamation of Oriya-speaking areas either under administrative control of Bengal or Bihar.
- iii. In March 1912, a meeting was held in Ganjam with the Raja of Chikiti in chair. It was resolved to create a new association called the Utkal Milan Samaj and it was decided that it would vigorously work for the merger of Ganjam with the Orissa.
- iv. In April 1912, the Utkal Union Conference met at Berhampur and resolved to make Ganjam the Centre for national activity in the ensuing year.
- v. In July 1912, a meeting was held in Cuttack under the chairmanship of the Raja of Kanika. In this meeting it was resolved to give a memorandum to the Viceroy of India. In 1913, a memorandum was presented to Lord Hardinge on his visit to Orissa.
- vi. On 28 and 29 December 1913, a meeting of the Utkal Union Conference held at Puri under the presidentship of Madhusudan Das. Besides amalgamation, the question of introduction of Oriya language in the court of

Singhbhum, opening of Engineering school and M.A. and B.A. courses were discussed.

- vii. In December 1913, the Utkal Youth Association held its annual meeting and decided to open its branches in all Oriya speaking areas.
- viii. On 27 and 28 December, 1915 the Utkal Union Conference held its meeting at Sambalpur under the presidentship of Laxminarayan Sing Deo. The members of the Conference demanded for opening of an Oriya University in Orissa, introduction of Khurdha-Sambalpur railway line, and representation of Oriya people in the Imperial council.
- ix. The Oriyas of the Vizagapatanam Agency under the leadership of Vikramdev Varma continued to demand its merger with Orissa through their association called the Oriya Samaj.
- x. An agitation for amalgamation of Singbhum, Saraikella and Kharaswan was started by B. N. Mishra and Krishna Chandra Acharya. They formed an association called Udit Club for this purpose.

2.5.2. Reaction of Telugu Speaking People

When the people of Orissa were demanding for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking areas with Orissa, a seminal counter-movement was launched by the Telugu speaking minority in the Ganjam District. They started protesting the idea of merger of Ganja through their association called the Ganjam Defense League founded in 1904. They also opposed the introduction of Oriya as a court language in the Ghumsur Division of the Ganjam District. On the other hand, the Andhra Bussiness People's Association envisaged to form a separate Andhra Province with Ganjam as a part. But very interestingly, some Telugu speaking intelligentsia well supported the cause of the Oriyas. For example;

- Dr B. Sittaramya, who had been demanding for a separate Andhra province, supported the transfer of regions inhabited by Oriyasin Ganjam and Vizagapattanam Agency.
- N. Subha Rao, a Telugu member in the Imperial Council, also argued the same.
- Sri Rama Rayanger, a member in the Governor General's Executive Council, strongly supported the transfer of Oriya speaking areas of Madras to Orissa.

2.5.3. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Report, 1919

In 1917, Mr. Lionel Curtis, a member of the Round Table Group (RTG) in London, advocated for the breaking up of India into smaller provincial states. In the case of Orissa, he suggested for the amalgamation of all Oriya-speaking areas under one umbrella.

On the eve of Montagu-Chelmsford Commission's visit to India, a large number of formal meetings were held in different pockets of Orissa to convey the destitute condition of Orissa through the submission of memorandums to the commission. In a

series of meetings held at Puri, Rambha and Dharakote, resolutions were passed demanding a separate province for Oriya speaking people. The Utkal Union Committee started to publish an English weekly newspaper under the title “The Oriya” to educate the public in this regard. The Commission was also warmly welcomed by Madhusudan Das and the Raja of Kanika at Calcutta on 11 December 1917.

On 15 January 1918, the Government of India issued circular letters to the provinces on the subject of constitutional reforms. The legislative Councils of Bihar and Madras and the Imperial Legislative Council raised and supported the question of sub-provincial Councils by which the men of local weight would come forward and make their influence felt.

In July 1918 the report on the Constitutional reform (made by the Mont-ford Commission) was passed. It recognized the need for an administrative union of the Oriya-speaking people. At the same time, it rejected the general the division of provinces on the basis of language and races as it required was pre-requisite to revise of the constitution. According to the Mont-ford Report, two committees were appointed i) one on the question of franchise and ii) two on the question of Imperial and provincial subjects as well as division of functions in the Provincial Governments. The report of these committees was published in May 1919. It recommended only ten seats for Orissa division (out of total number of seventy-three elected seats) in the Bihar-Orissa Legislative Council. Similarly, it also recommended only two seats for Ganjam District and three seats for the Guntur district (out of total number of 126 seats) in the Madras Legislative Council. By this report the Oriyas of Central Provinces and Midnapur (Bengal) were not given a nominated seat. Being disgusted, the Utkal Union Conference and the Utkal Hitaisini Sabha insisted upon the introduction of separate electorate for Oriyas. But this proposal was rejected by Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras.

The Mont-Ford reform Act of 1919 could not produce any concrete result on Constitutional plane. The meeting of the Utkal Union Conference held on 19 and 20th April 1919 under the presidentship of Gopobandhu Das, decided to launch a movement with more virulent form. In this conference Gopobandhu Das said “firstly the people of Orissa were human beings next Indians and at last Oriyas”. In the 15th session of the Utkal Union Conference held in 1920, he said the national freedom of the Oriyas was impossible unless they merge themselves into the All-Indian nationalism.

2.6 THE THIRD PHASE OF THE MOVEMENT: 1920 TO 1936

With the creation of separate province of Bihar-Orissa, the amalgamation movement entered into its third or the last phase. On 20 February 1920, Dr Sachidananda Sinha, a prominent member of the Imperial Legislative Council, moved a resolution concerning

the problem of Oriya in the Imperial Council. It got wide support from the other prominent members like Surendranath Banerjee, Dinesh Wacha, Kamini Kumar Chanda and Rajendranarayan Bhanja Deo, the Raja of Kanika. Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, in his reply expressed a tone of sympathy to the Oriyas and advocated to make a just investigation into this matter after getting a nod from His Excellency-in-Council. On 21 September 1921, A. B. Lathe moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislature concerning the reorganization of provinces on linguistic basis. He also requested the House to recommend to the Governor-General-in-Council to undertake the task of reconstituting the provinces of India in consultation with the various local Governments. On the basis of the resolution moved by A. B. Lathe, the Government of India sought opinion of the Governments of Bihar-Orissa, Madras and Central Provinces to effect unification of Oriya-speaking areas.

- The recommendation for amalgamation was accepted by the Bihar-Orissa Legislative Assembly.
- The Madras Legislative Assembly objected to the transfer of Oriya speaking areas coming under Ganjam and Vizagapattanam Agency.
- The Bengal Legislative Assembly opposed to the transfer of Singhbhum to Orissa.
- The Central Provinces also opposed to the recommendation of transfer of Oriya speaking areas. But it accepted to Khariar to Orissa which contained majority of Oriya speaking people.

The replies could not satisfy the Government of India. The Government proposed to make an enquiry into this matter.

2.6.1. The Muddiman Committee Report, 1924

In 1924 a Reform Enquiry Committee under the name of the Muddiman Committee was constituted to review the situation thoroughly. Madhusudan Das, the Ex-Minister of Bihar-Orissa Legislative Council, demanded for the appointment of a separate Minister to deal with all transferred subjects relating to Orissa. The proposal was rejected in toto by the Committee. And stated that the redistribution of the territories would not be effected without the consent of the population concerned. The Muddiman Committee also could not satisfy the grievance of the Oriya people.

2.6.2 The Phillip-Duff Enquiry Commission Report, 1924

The Phillip-Duff Committee was appointed by the Government in 1924 to report on the attitude of the Oriya inhabitants in the Madras Presidency towards the question of amalgamation. The Commission submitted their report on 26 December 1924.

- The Commission visited the Vizagapattanam Agency. On the basis of the census report of 1921, it opined that the hill-men of Koraput, Navarangpur and Jeypore taluks had adopted Oriya language.

- The Commission visited the Ganjam District next. The Zamindars of Paralakhemundi, Khalikotte, Tarla, Bobbili, Jalantar, Bodagada, Dharakote, Manjusa, Chikkiti, Sergada, Tekkali, Athagada, Surangi, Nandigram, and Baruva expressed desire to be amalgamated with Orissa. Similarly, the people of the areas like Aska, Surada, Ghumsur, Chatrapur, Athagada, Biridi, Huma, Pular etc. also expressed their desire to be merged with Orissa. The Amalgamation Committee met at Ganjam under the presidentship of Lingaraj Panigrahi and it Passed a resolution concerning the transfer of entire Ganjam district excepting Chikacole and Narasanapeta where Oriyas were minority. On 29 November 1924, the Oriya speaking people of Berhampur submitted a memorandum to the Commission for their union with Orissa. After a great scrutiny, the Commission considered the amalgamation of entire Ganjam district save Chikacole and Narasanapeta areas. Hence, this was the first ever example for the creation of Orissa Province on the basis of language.

Next the Government of India called for views of the Provincial Governments viz. the Madras Government, Central Provinces, Bihar-Orissa Government with regard to the proposal of the Phillip-Duff Enquiry Committee Report.

- i. The Government of Madras opposed to the transfer of whole of the Ganjam on the ground of the socio-economic and administrative issue. Instead, it demanded 16 lakh rupees as compensation as it had transferred 10 taluks of Ganjam to Orissa.
- ii. The Government of Central Province expressed their unwillingness with regard to the transfer of Phuljhar and Khariar to Orissa.
- iii. The Government of Bihar-Orissa also opposed to the proposal of transfer of Oriya speaking areas on the ground that it would affect the linguistic balance and enhance the strength of Oriyas in the Legislative Council.

After getting the views of the provincial Governments, the Government of India with clarification replied that the issue under consideration was not the formation of separate province but to amalgamate all the Oriya speaking areas. Pandit Nilakantha Das, for the first time, raised the question of formation of separate Province of Orissa in the Central Legislative Assembly which was surmounted with severe debate by the provincial Governments.

2.6.3. Nehru Committee, 1928

The Nehru Committee was appointed in 1928 by the All-Party Conference with Pt Motilal Nehru as its chairman. The Committee was formed to deal with the issue of the redistribution of provinces. Subhas Chandra Bose, one of the members of the committee, demanded for the amalgamation of all Oriya speaking areas under different administrative agencies and the formation of a separate province of Orissa provided the province is financially solvent. The committee recommended for the redistribution

of provinces on the basis of linguistic unity of the people of the area concerned. The Nehru Report was approved by the All Party Conference met at Lucknow on 30 August 1928. In this conference it was resolved to create a separate province of Orissa after amalgamating all the Oriya speaking tracts.

2.6.4. The Simon Commission, 1928

When India was passing through a severe political crisis, the Simon Commission was appointed by the British Government in November 1927 to report on the working of the Constitution in India. The Commission reached India on 3 February 1928. On 16 August 1928 a resolution was passed in the Bihar-Orissa Legislative Council for the constitution of a committee which in turn would assist the Commission on some crucial matters like division of existing provinces, reconstitution of provincial boundaries, and provincial autonomy. Owing to this situation the leadership in Orissa was sharply divided over the attitude of the Commission. Leaders like Lingaraj Mishra, decided not to co-operate with the Simon Commission. He opposed the Commission on the ground that no Commission would satisfy the demands of the people of Orissa. He, further, argued that despite repeated prayers and petitions before the Montagu-Chelmsford Commission and the Phillip-Duff Committee no fruit had been attained. The District Conferences like the Cuttack district conference held at Kendrapara, Puri district Conferences held at Kakatpur and the Balasore district conference held at Dhamnagar also held similar views. On the other hand, leaders like Rai Bahadur Laxmidhar Mohanti and Krishna Ballabh Sahay unanimously advocated to co-operate with the Commission.

On 14 December 1928, an Oriya deputation met the Commission at Patna and demanded a separate province for the Oriya speaking people. They also rejected the proposal of a sub-province under a Deputy Governor, advocated by a member of the Central Committee. At last, the Commission by supporting the Nehru Report, recommended for the redistribution of provinces on the basis of language. To meet this end, the Committee appointed a sub-committee to have a detailed investigation into the problem of Oriyas.

Accordingly, a sub-committee was constituted with Major Atlee as the chairman and Mr. Shurwardy of Indian Central Committee, the Raja of Kanika and Rai Bahadur Laxmidhar Mohanti as the members. After making a detailed investigation into the matter it recommended for the creation of a separate province of Orissa consisting of Orissa Division, Anugul, feudatory states of Orissa, portion of Mohanpur and Gopiballabhpur under the Bengal Presidency, Khariar estate under Central Province and Ganjam district under Madras Presidency. But it left out the inclusion of Singbhum and Jeypore estate on various ground. On the basis of the recommendation the Sub-Committee, the Commission appointed a Boundary Commission for new Orissa Province.

2.6.5. Round Table Conferences, 1930 to 1932

The first Round Table Conference (RTC) was held in London in 1930 to decide future constitution of India. In this conference the Orissa question was raised by the Raja of Paralakemundi. He circulated pamphlet entitled “The Oriyas, Their Need, and Reasons for a separate Province”. He got unanimous support for the creation of separate province. Before the third RTC in 1932, the Orissa Boundary Commission was appointed on the basis of the Simon Commission to draw the boundary lines of the proposed Orissa province.

2.6.6. The O’ Donnell Boundary Commission Report

The Boundary Commission was constituted with S. P. O’ Donnell as the chairman and other members of the Commission were T. R. Phooktun, H. M. Mehta, Raja of Paralakhemudi, Sachidananda Sinha and Rai Bahadur C. V. S. Narasingha Rajaguru. The Commission while examining the issue of creation of a separate province, took the consideration of language, race, wishes of the people, geographical position, economic interest and administrative convenience for the settling of boundaries. The Commission made following recommendations;

- It rejected the inclusion of Midnapore, Bankura on racial and linguistic ground.
- It rejected the proposal for the inclusion of Singbhum with Orissa and recommended for its transfer to Bihar along with Chottanagpur, Manbhum and Ranchi.
- It also rejected the inclusion of Phuljhar but agreed to transfer Khariar and Padampur to Orissa.
- It recommended the inclusion of Ganjam save Ichchapur, Manjusa, Budarsingh, Jalantar and Tarla. So far as the case of Paralakemudi is concerned, it recommended for its transfer to Madras Presidency.
- Also, it recommended for the transfer of Vizagapattanam Agency except some Telugu speaking areas like Gudem taluk, Veravilli area, the Palakond tract etc.

Thus, the Boundary Committee recommended for the transfer of about 33,000 sq miles with a population of about 8,277,000. But the decision of the Committee was severely criticized on the ground that it excluded the Oriya speaking areas proposed by the various committees.

2.6.6. The White Paper, 1933

Consequent upon the discussion at the RTCs, the British Government was all set to reform the Constitution of India. The draft proposals to this end were embodied in the White Paper which was published on 17 March 1933. The White Paper recommended to create two new provinces-Orissa and Sindh. For drawing of boundary lines, it accepted the proposals of the O’ Donnell Boundary Committee with certain modifications. It excluded the Vizagapattanam Agency, Paralakimedi estate and the



Jalantar *Malihahs*(in the Ganjam district) from the proposed Orissa Province. The White Paper treated Orissa as a Governor's Province. Finally, it was sent to the Joint Parliamentary Committee for approval. Meanwhile, an Orissa Administration Committee was appointed to report on the administrative problem of Orissa before it was created as a separate province.

The proposals of the White Paper created a severe disappointment among the Oriyas. Some Oriya people decided to boycott the proposed Province of Orissa. Without getting no way, on 21 March 1933, Niranjan Patnaik called for the Congressmen to join the amalgamation movement for a complete Orissa province.

2.6.7. The Orissa Administration Committee

The Government of India, in order to avoid any future administrative problem, appointed the Orissa Administrative Committee under the chairmanship of J. A. Hubback on 24 June 1933. The Committee spotted out Cuttack as the capital of the proposed Orissa province. It also recommended for the appointment of a Chief Secretary, Revenue Commissioner, a Legal Remembrancer, establishment of a Forest Department with its headquarter at Anugul, a Police Department with I. G. as its head, Civil Hospitals, Director for the Education Department, a Chief Engineer for Public Work, a High Court and a University.

2.6.8. Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC)

Before the appointment of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC), a committee, consisting of eight members- five from joint Committee and three from India- was constituted by the Secretary of State for India to report on the boundary question. It recommended for the inclusion of Jeypore Agency and exclusion of Paralakhemidi estate from the proposed province of Orissa. It created resentment among the Oriya people. The Raja of Paralakhemundi was stubborn in his approach. He requested the Secretary of State for India to transfer at least a portion of Paralakhemundi estate including the Paralakhemundi town to Orissa. But it was strongly rejected by the Viceroy himself.

Finally, the JPC considering the proposal of White Paper recommended that "A separate province of Orissa would, however, be perhaps the most homogenous province in the whole of British India, both racially and linguistically.....". It recommended for the inclusion of portion of Jeypore Agency, a portion of Paralakhemundi including the Paralakhemundi town and Jalantar *Maliahs*. Thus, the total area of the proposed state rose from 21, 545 square miles to 32,695 square miles with a population of about 16,000,000.

2.6.9. The Government of India Act, 1935

The recommendations made by the JPC were accepted by the House of Commons. Accordingly, the Government of India Bill was prepared which enlisted provision for the creation of a separate Orissa province.

After lots of debate and discussion the Bill was passed and became an Act. According to the section 289 of the Government of India Act, 1935, two new provinces of Orissa and Sindh were created and the inaugural date of separate province of Orissa was fixed on 1 April, 1936. Thus, the new province of Orissa was born on 1st April 1936.

2.7 LET US SUM UP

In the long course of study, we see the long-drawn movement for pan-Oriyaism culminated with the creation of the separate province of Orissa on the 1st of April, 1936. But at a closer look into this movement, one can get some interesting facts concerning the creation of a separate province. Though the movement went through some stages to reach its crescendo still it remained as a half-structured province for the *Garjats* or the feudatory states, numbering about twenty-six, remained out of the purview of the newly born province. They remained as quasi-autonomous States till the British hegemonic rule was completely withdrawn on 15th August 1947. But in 1928, it was Mr. B. Das, a member of the Central Legislative Assembly, for the first time, advocated for the amalgamation of the States. Surprisingly, there had already been some popular uprisings in States like the *Ratana meli* (Keonjhar), 1863; *Dharani meli* (Keonjhar), 1891; *Kandh meli* (Kalahandi), 1882; Bamra risings, 1908-28; Dhenkanal uprising, 1922; Mayurbhanj uprising, 1917; Daspallah uprising (Nayagarh), 1914; Nilgiri uprising (Balasore), 1928; and the Talcher uprisings, 1914, 1922, and 1932. In 1931 the “Garjat Prajasamilani” was formed by Balunkeswar Acharya (Hindol), Radhanath Rath (Athagarh), and Sarangadhar Das (Dhenkanal) to bring all the States under the administrative mechanism of Orissa. Up to 1937, the *Samilani* could not attain any tangible success towards the process of amalgamation. On 24 June 1937, the *Samilani* held a meeting at Cuttack under the presidentship of Pattabhi Sitaramya. Thereafter the *Samilani* was rejuvenated under the name of “Orissa State’s People’s Conference” (OSPC) with Sarangadhar Das as its secretary. After the formation of the popular Government in 1937, the people of the States started demanding similar kinds of progressive and responsible governments in their States. To realize his end various Prajamandals were formed in different States by 1938. Similarly, the rulers and their favorites formed the “Praja Mangals” to counter the agenda of the Prajamandals and to safeguard their interests. In most of the States, the Prajamandals created a state of anarchy and lawlessness. The “Garjat Day” was observed on 29 October 1938. Consequent to the disarray, the All-India States People's Conference (AISPC) appointed a non-official Inquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. H. K. Mahatab. The recommendation of the Committee bore no fruit.

During the Quit India Movement, 1942, the movement took a serious turn. In some States, the people of the States were machine-gunned. The Cabinet Mission reached India in 1946. Dr. H. K. Mahatab, the then premiers of Orissa, was invited to attend



the commission. Before the Commission, he demanded the amalgamation of all States. In its report, the Commission stated that there should be a Union of India embracing both British India and States. On 14 May 1946, Dr. Mahatab also sent a telegram to Lord Pathick Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, and Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India in this regard.

On the other hand, the rulers, protesting the merger movement, moved to form a union called the "Eastern States Union" on 21-22 December 1946. A meeting was held in the Hasting's House in Calcutta where it was decided to form a Federal Union comprising of the States of Chhattisgarh and Orissa. Meanwhile, there was an attempt to create Kosala territory consisting of the Eastern States, Anugul, and Sambalpur.

On 15 August 1947 India got independence. The States were also freed from the British paramountcy. Thus, the Prajamandals became very much active in areas. The situation got worsened when volunteers were recruited to achieve freedom by force. The Government of Orissa sent a memorandum to Sardar Patel, the home minister, for a peaceful solution to this matter. On 20 November 1947, a meeting was held in Delhi in which Dr. H. K. Mahtab, the Premier of Orissa, V. P. Menon, the secretary to Sardar Patel, and many others unanimously decided the merger of States with Orissa. The first step in this direction was effected by the merger of Nilagiri State with Orissa on 14 November 1947.

On 13 December 1947, Sardar Patel arrived in Orissa. On 14 December 1947, a conference was held at Cuttack in which all the rulers, as well as the Government officials, were present. The merger issue was thoroughly discussed and an agreement paper containing the same issue was circulated among the rulers for their signature. When some rulers expressed their unwillingness to this proposal Sardar Patel warned them that in case of a law-and-order situation, the Government of India would take over the administration of the States. Finally, all the rulers, except the ruler of Mayurbhanj, signed the instrument of merger which was given effect from 1 January 1948. On 1 January 1949, the ruler of Mayurbhanj State signed the treaty, thereby the merger of Mayurbhanj was done with. The Government of Orissa issued the State's Merger Order in 1949 by which all the States, save Saraikela, and Kharswan States (presently all are in Bihar), were merged with Orissa (But some other Oriya speaking areas like Contai, Mohanpur, Nayangarh, Gopiballabhpur of Bengal Presidency; Phuljhar, Chandrapur, and Deobhang of Central Province; Singhbhum of Bihar; Ichchapur, Tarla, Jalantar, Manjusa, Tekkali, Udaykhand and Chikiti of Paralakhemundi estate; Sujankotta, Salur, Palkonda, Padwa of Vizagapattanam Agency, etc. remained out of the newly created Orissa). Thus, the merger of feudatory States with Orissa ended the long-drawn movement for the creation of a separate province of Orissa.



2.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What are the factors those were responsible for the growth of political consciousness?

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2. What is Language agitation, Discuss?

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3. Write a note on merger of Sambalpur

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4. Discuss the role of British Government for Amalgamation of Oriya Speaking Areas

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2.9 SUGGESTED READING

1. H.K. Mahtab: History of the freedom movement in Orissa
2. Bijaya Chandra Rath: Prajamandal Movement in Odisha
3. N .K. Sahu, P.K. Mishra& J.K.Sahu: History of Orissa
4. Pradhan., Agrarian and Political Movements, States of Orissa,1931-1949.
5. J.K.Samal., Princely States of Orissa
6. Harihara Panda: History of Orissa

UNIT-3 PRAJAMANDAL MOVEMENT IN ODISHA



Structure

- 3.1 Learning Objectives
- 3.2 Introduction
- 3.3 Emergence of Native States
- 3.4 Causes of the Prajamandal Movement
- 3.5 Growth of Consciousness
- 3.6 First Phase of the Movement
- 3.7 Conference of the People of Garjat States Of Odisha
- 3.8 Prajamandal Movement in Different Places Of Odisha
 - 3.8.1 Prajamandal Movement At Nilgiri
 - 3.8.2 Dhenkanal Prajamandal Movement
 - 3.8.3 Prajamandal Movement in Talcher
 - 3.8.4 Gangpur Prajamandal Movement
 - 3.8.5 Bonai Prajamandal Movement
 - 3.8.6 Movement at Ranpur
 - 3.8.7 Prajamandal Movement At Nayagarh
 - 3.8.8 Sonapur Prajamandal Movement
 - 3.8.9 Patna Prajamandal Movement
 - 3.8.10 Prajamandal in Mayurbhanj
- 3.9 Impact on Other Places
- 3.10 Consequences of the Movement
- 3.11 Summary/ Points to Remember
- 3.12 Check Your Progress
- 3.12 Suggested Reading

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit, you will be able to –

- Explain the peasant's rebellion in the Princely states of Odisha.
- Understand the administrative system of Princely states
- Understand the exploitative nature of the Local rulers.
- Describe the evil practices like Bethi , Begari and Rasad which were prevalent in society.
- Explain the role of Congress and H.K Mahatab and others
- Understand the role of non-violent means of protest for full fill the demands of peasants



3.2 INTRODUCTION

The feudatory states of Odisha were a legacy of past political history with their peculiar geographical location, economic backwardness and medieval political institutions. Since the time of the Ganga and Gajapati rules, the hereditary Feudal lords were ruling over the different hilly tracts of Odisha and also enjoying their sovereignty power. With the gradual march of time, they remain under the control of Mughals in 16th -17th century A.D. The rulers of these native states used to pay regular tribute to the Mughal authority. When Odisha remained under the suzerainty of the Marathas, these Garjat rulers too paid tribute to the Marathas governors for retaining their internal sovereignty. During British rule, these native states showed their loyalty to the British government. By that time the British government had entered into a treaty of engagements with the rulers of Garjat states for payment of the annual tribute. There were as many as 26 Garjat states in Odisha when Britishers occupied Odisha in 1803 A.D. These feudatory states had their system of governance and each ruling chief ruled their state independently. However, the status, powers and position of the ruling chiefs vis a vis the British authorities had been defined and mentioned. On 1st April 1936, Odisha became a separate province. In the same year, the Eastern States Agency was divided into three sections. Out of 26 Garjat states of this newly created Odisha division, 23 states have remained in Odisha. Kalahandi and Patna states have remained under Chhattisgarh Agency and the only state of Mayurbhanj stayed under the control of the Bengal Agency.

3.3 EMERGENCE OF NATIVE STATES

In 1937, all the feudatory states were divided into different category keeping their importance and power in view. They were divided into A, B and C categories. The major states like Dhenkanal, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Bamanda, Boudh, Gangapur, Patna, Kalahandi, Sonepur, Sareikala and Nayagarh etc remained in 'A' category of states. Simultaneously, the 'B' category of states included were Athagarh, Baramba, Narsinghpur, Athamallik, Hindol Dasapalla, Khandapara, Kharasuan, Rairakhola, Talcher, Bolangir and Nilgiri etc. whereas there were only three minor states such as Pallahara, Ranpur and Tigirai in 'C' category of states. All the major and minor states showed their loyalty and used to pay taxes to the British government for enjoying their internal sovereignty.

3.4 CAUSES OF THE PRAJAMANDAL MOVEMENT

During British rule, the Garjat rulers led a life of pomp and gaiety. As they had complete autonomy they used to establish their autocratic administration in the state. In course of time, they became repressive and exploitative to the peasants. The people of Garjats states were exploited through various means by the king such as Rasad,

Magna, Bethi and Begari etc. These were the illegal and forcible exactions collected by the feudal lords from the peasants. Rasad was a kind of service offered to the king or king's officer by peasants during their visit to the villages. Magna was a payment in kind or cash made by the people to the king during any kind of ceremony like death or wedding at the royal house. Bethi was a very exploitative system that was in vogue in all Garjat states. It was a system where a peasant had to work at the field or garden of the king as well as the palace construction without any payment. To carry goods and domestic articles of the royal officers from one place to another free of cost is called Begari. There was also another kind of system that prevailed among the people of Garjat states i.e. Bheti in which a peasant is bound to offer any kind of precious gift to the king when the king gave the public audience. Further, Karasamagri was offered to the feudal lords. In this system, the king was to be provided with rice pulses cereals and ghee at half the market price. The officers of the kings also often terrorized the people and forced them to pay their due in time. Sometimes there was drought and other natural calamities that occurred in the state. Despite the adverse condition and failures of the crops, the king officials reached villages for the collection of taxes. Most of the peasants were failed to make the payment due to the failure of agriculture. Gradually the condition of the people became more deplorable and miserable due to heavy taxation policy. When the situation went beyond the tolerance of the common people, they revolted against their feudal lords which later on took the form of the Prajamandal movement.

3.5 GROWTH OF CONSCIOUSNESS

The Garjat states were educationally as well as economically backward states. People living in this region were deprived of their basic rights. As there were no schools and colleges in these native states, no education was offered to the common people. The state is controlled by the monarch or feudal lords, they never took care of the welfare of the common people. Due to lack of education, the social life of the people was also not progressive. The basic structure of the economy of that time was purely agrarian and almost all the people were dependent on agriculture. In that agrarian society, the native rulers were considered to be the god for the peasants. Due to lack of education, the people did not get exposure to the outside world. Even Newspapers, journals and other communication were not made available to the common masses in these feudatory states. The rulers of these regions preferred to keep their peasants ignorant regarding the system of administration. When there was language agitation in Odisha, the people of these regions did not react at all to the movement and kept themselves aloof from joining there. During the Gandhiji's visit to Odisha for the Non-cooperation movement, the people had not responded well. Thus political awakening in these regions was lacking at that time. People were out rightly suppressed by their feudal lords and kings.



3.6 FIRST PHASE OF THE MOVEMENT

The period of British rule from 1803 to 1947 was very significant both from the political and social points of views. The mal-administration, educational consciousness, political awareness and impact of national movement under the energetic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi combinedly injected into the heart of every individual the inordinate love and desire for independence and human rights. Being oppressed by the tyranny of the king, peasants raised their voices against the Garjat rulers. In the 1st decade of 20th century, there was outbreak of peasant rebellion in Odisha. In between 1908 to 1928, there was as many as five peasants rebellion broke out in the Garjat state of Bamanda. People of this state resented for illegal collection of taxes as well as the heavy taxation policy of Feudal lords. Many peasant leaders were imprisoned and some peasants were punished. In Dhenkanal people revolted against their ruler under the leadership of Maheswar Subahu Singh, Benudhar Panda and Purnachandra Mahapatra. But their rebellion was suppressed. Peasant revolts were also witnessed in the Garjat state of Nilgiri in 1928, Boudh in 1930 and Talcher in 1932. However, the rebellions of peasants in these regions were subsided by imprisoning the leaders.

3.7 CONFERENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF GARAJAT STATES OF ODISHA

On 20 June 1931, a sincere effort was made by Radhanath Rath, Balunkewar Acharya, Madhusudan Patnaik and Govind Chandra Mishra to organize the Orissa Garjat State Peoples Association at Cuttack. The president of the first session was Bhubananda Das. In this conference, peasants were motivated to have agitations and establish their rights through rebellion. The second session of this association was convened on 23 June 1937 at Cuttack in which the senior congress leader Pattabhi Sitarammayya was the president. The conference adopted many resolutions and accepted a constitution stating the attainment of responsible government as the goal. Besides, the conference urged the Grjats rulers to give their subjects the right to occupancy of land and some fundamental rights of citizenship. The Garjat Rajas were also asked to abolish Rasad, Magana, Bethi and Begari systems in their States. An inquiry committee was constituted wherein Satish Chandra Bose, Balbantrai Mehta and Braja Sundar Das were the members and Sarangadhar Das was the convener. In 1938, in Gadjat States Praja Mandals, the People's Forum was constituted and people's agitations were geared up for achieving social justice. Thus, a bold beginning was made to establish this peoples association in each state to make the people politically awakening and liberate them from the feudal system of administration.

3.8 PRAJAMANDAL MOVEMENT IN DIFFERENT PLACES OF ODISHA

As per the Reforms act of 1935, a popular government was set up under the leadership of the congress party in Odisha. The party was interested in spreading its ideals to the Garjat states and making the people acquainted with the democratic setup. The establishment of the Peoples association worked for bringing the people of Garjat states together and urged upon them to join this organization to make their political future. However, the rulers of the native states were opposed to this peoples association. They wanted to continue the feudal way of the political structure in their states but keeping the sweeping changes of the reforms British government in view, there was no scope left for the Garjat rulers to continue the system. The rulers were hesitating to abolish feudal levies and granting socio-political status to the common people. Further, they were completely unwilling to offer them civil rights, the right form association, organize meetings etc. However, the Prajamandal Movement was quite sporadic. It spontaneously broke out in the areas where there was the tyranny of feudal lords. In almost all the Garjat states Odisha there was a rebellion of the peasants against their rulers.

3.8.1 Prajamandal Movement at Nilgiri

The first spark of the Prajamandal movement was noticed in the Nilgiri region of Balasore in 1938. The movement was led by Kailash Chandra Mohanty and Banamali Das. They formed the Praja mandal under the hegemony of Harekrushna Mahatab and Sarangadhar Das at Gariamal village. Kailash Chandra Mohanty and Banamali Das were made President and secretary respectively. On 11 July 1938, during the occasion of the cart festival they convened a meeting of Prajamandal and made some points against the exploitative policy of the Raja of Nilgiri. They demanded before the king of Nilgiri the recognition of their civil rights and abolition of feudal dues. They also demanded the implementation of a new agricultural policy as well as the establishment of peasants welfare-oriented administration. Instead of pondering over the demands of the peasants, the Raja of Nilgiri hesitated to accept their demands and resorted to repressive measures to control them. Having seen such action of the king, people started peaceful and non-violent civil disobedience agitation. Banamali Das, the secretary of Prajamandal movement of Nilgiri marched towards Machhuapatna with thousands of people to start the Satyagraha peacefully. The situation being beyond the control of the king, he sought the help of the Odisha police. By the order of the king, hundreds of peasants were arrested and put into prison. They arrested Banamali Das, Secretary of the local Prajamandal, which further intensified the agitation. At last, Harekrushna Mahatab intervened in the matter along with British political agent Major Bezelgatte and the Magistrate of Balasore Sulaiman. Due to the pursuance of major Bezelgatte, the king agreed to accept some demands and Normalcy was restored in Nilgiri.



3.8.2 Dhenkanal Prajamandal movement

In Dhenkanal, there were two Garjat States and had political awakenings long before the creation of the district. People of this region were much inspired by the Prajamandal movement. In September 1938, there were great agitations in the Garjat areas of Dhenkanal. A large number of people from different places of Garjat areas participated in a rally led by Harekrushna Mahatab, Nabakrushna Chowdhury and Saragadhar Das. The ruler of the Dhenkanal state ordered the state police for quick action against the rebels. The state police adopted severe repressive measures to calm down the people and arrested several agitators on 11th September 1938. The people resented the illegal and unjust arrest of common people by the state police. When large groups of people protested against this arrest, the fire was opened to disperse them as a result large numbers of people were seriously wounded. Harmohan Pattnaik, the leader of this movement was arrested and sent to Cuttack jail. The law and order situation in Dhenkanal became out of control. In November, agitation flared up once again in Dhenkanal and a large number of people armed with bows, arrows, axes and lathis confronted the police force. Baji Rout, a boy of 12, belonged to village Nilakanthapur in Bhuban Police-Station of Kamakhyanager Subdivision succumbed to the firing on 10th October 1938 by Dhenkanal ex-State Police. Police fired on him mercilessly when he did not allow the police to take the boat for crossing the river Brahmani. After his death, the movement got a new impetus. The People's agitation in Dhenkanal spread to other neighbouring States rapidly and a no-rent campaign was also started in several States. People also observed the All-Orissa Garhjat Day on 29th October 1938. Finally, as per the report of the Central Bureau of Police, the administrative power of the king was withdrawn and the system of Bethi, Begari along with other exploitative taxation was revoked.

3.8.3 Prajamandal Movement in Talcher

The Prajamandal movement in Talcher got a new dimension under the leadership of many peasant leaders. The provisions of the Angul Regulation Act, 1891 imposed on the people of Talcher. There was lawlessness prevailed in the state and acute inhuman treatment was encountered by people. Further, the introduction of painful laws like Bethi, Begari, Maganaetc. by the Garjat kings of Talcher, were intolerable for the people. In the year 1932, on the day of Ramachandi Yatra at Kosala, some leaders particularly Hrushikesh Tripathy, Ratnakar Nayak, Rasananda Pradhan and Antaryami Behera took a vow not to obey the system of Bethi, *Begari*, and *Magana* etc. They also persuaded the common people to disobey the existing system. In 1939 under the leadership of Pabitra Mohan Pradhan, the president of Talcher Prajamandal movement gave a petition to the king for curbing these practices and allowing them to retain their civil liberties. They demanded the recognition of their fundamental rights such as the Right to Form Association and hold meetings, abolition of forced labour and, modification of tenancy rights and forest laws. When the king kept their demands

unheard, the resented masses led an agitation against their ruler. The movement was organized by Krutibas Rath, Maguni Pradhan, Dasarthi Pani and other leaders. In Feb 1939 a large number of people left Talcher for Angul which drew the attention of the British government. At one a conference was called on 21st March 1939 which was attended by the Revenue Commissioner, Odisha, Asst. Political Agent and the representatives of Congress. The native ruler of Talcher was unwilling to make any kind of compromise and was not ready to accept the demands of the people. The political agent Mr Hessene and Harekrushana Mahatab signed an agreement which came to be known as Haessene- Mahatab agreement. The ruler was advised by the political department to adopt the conciliatory attitude and accordingly constitutional reforms were proclaimed by the then Raja of Talcher on 23.6.1939.



Fig.1 Leaders of Praja mandal Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab and Pabitra Mohan Pradhan

3.8.4 Gangpur Prajamandal Movement

The Prajamandal movement in Gangpur took a serious turn in 1938 A.D. The tenants of these areas were particularly Mundas. Under the leadership of Nirmal Munda they opposed the enhancement of tax and protested against the queen. On 9th February 1939, a largely signed petition was submitted to the queen of Gangpur stating their various demands. Their demands included stopping Bethi, Begari, Magna and Rassad etc. But the petition was rejected by the queen and the demands were not fulfilled. Hence the Praja of Gangpur decided not to pay any kind of tax to the state. In the mean, while the queen requested the assistant political agent Lt. Megar to arrest Nirmal Munda for inciting people against her. The attempt to arrest him led to the Simko firing of 25th April 1939. In this firing large number of innocent people were killed and wounded. After this incident a strong representation was made by Congress leaders to enquire the issues. . This was made the reason for the Congress leaders of



Odisha demanding the taking over of Gangpur State by the Government. They also praised the bravery of the Mundas.

3.8.5 Bonai Prajamandal movement

The Gangpur Prajamandal movement had a deep impact on the feudatory state of Banai. The ruler of Banai being oppressive, people of this state raise their voice against the ruler. The innocent tribal communities of this region organized themselves against inhuman practices like Bethi and Begari. Kings used to exploit the tribals in different ways by imposing taxes on land and forest. It was in 1938 when the Prajamandal was formed at Banaigarh, the tenants gave a representation to the king for abolition of taxes as well as demanded their civil liberties from the royal court. The king considered some of their demands and abolished Bethi.

3.8.6 Movement at Ranpur

There was gross dissatisfaction of tenants in the feudatory state of Ranpur. Some of the major causes of dissatisfaction was asking for exorbitant rent and illegal cess over and above the feudal levies like Begari, Bethi, Magana and Rasad etc. Besides, the socio-economic deterioration and rising tension and misery of people also gave rise to the Prajamandal movement in Ranpur in 1938. The people demanded the end of feudal rule and the establishment of a welfare administration. Thus on 27th December 1938 king of Ranpur imprisoned several rebels and put them into prison. The leaders of Ranpur Prajamandal were arrested declaring the organization illegal. Soon people from all parts of Ranpur state congregated near the palace and demanded the release of their leaders. Having seen a huge mob in front of the palace, out of fear the king took shelter under political agent Major Bazelgette. He was at Sambalpur but came to Nayagarh immediately and later moved to Ranpur with a small contingent to give protection to the king. Major Bezelgette after discussion with the ruler came out of the palace to meet the agitators but the situation was beyond his control. The rebellious mob was not in a position to listen to him. Apprehending danger, he asked the mob to disperse. As people did not pay heed to his warning, Major Bezelgate fired from his revolver in which a rebel was killed there. This sparked a violent mob attack on the Agent who was beaten and stoned to death. After this incident, Raghunath Mohanty and Dibakar Parida were sentenced to death for their involvement in the agitation and charged with the murder of political agent Major Bezelgette. Subsequently, the British government took stern action to suppress the movement and many leaders were imprisoned as well as transported for life. Hereafter, Harekrushna Mahatab and Professor N.G. Ranga were successful in resolving the issues about Prajamandal movement.

3.8.7 Prajamandal movement at Nayagarh

In 1937 Congress Party leaders mobilized the peasants of British Orissa to raise their voice against the oppressive zamindars. There was also a big demonstration at

Cuttack. In all parts of Odisha, peasants were inspired by the ideas of Prajamandal leaders and their objectives. This had a visible impact on the Nayagarh region as well. But the death of political agent Bezelgate in the Ranpur movement gave a setback to the Prajamandal movement of Nayagarh. The Satyagraha of peasants was crushed ruthlessly by the rulers and various actions are taken against the rebels. However, the ruler of Nayagarh took some reformative measures to pacify the tenants.

3.8.8 Sonepur Prajamandal movement

It was during the fourth decade of the 20th century when there was peasant rebellion across the state, the Sonepur feudatory state was too not an exception to it. After the death of Biramitrodaya Singh Deo his son Sudhansusekhar Sing Deo became the ruler of Sonepur in 1937. He was a poor shadow of his father and was unpopular among the people due to his oppressive nature. The farmers of this area were gradually becoming conscious of the oppression and atrocity of the king. Thus, an inquiry committee consisting of Balwantrao Mehta as President and other members H.K. Mahtab, Sarangadhar Dash, Nabakrishna Choudhury, Raj Krishna Bose, Lal Mohan Pattnaik etc reached to Sonepur to look into the matter Some peasant leaders like Yudhistir Mahakud, Kastu Padhan, etc. exposed the atrocious action and arbitrary exactions of Sonepur Maharaj before the committee. Later on, the people formed Sonepur Prajamandal in the house of Dolamani Das at Brahman-Turum on 11 December 1938. Bhimsen Bhoi was elected as the president of Sonepur Prajamandal. Finally, the leaders of Prajamandal decided to present a memorandum to the maharaja on 22 March 1939 which contained several major demands such as the abolition of **chanda, bheda, bethi begari, magan, rasad, haldianpatti etc.** They also demanded their civil liberties like holding meetings and forming an association. When a team of three Prajamandal leaders like Laxmana Satpathy, Mohan Mishra and Pitambar Bhoi proceeded to present the charter of demands to the Maharaja, they were arrested by police at Binka and were put into prison. Prajamandal was declared illegal and eminent leaders like Bhimsen Bhoi, Gountia Dolamani Das were arrested and deported. In this way, the rebellion of peasants at Sonepur was suppressed.

3.8.9 Patna Prajamandal Movement

In the state of Patna to there was a movement of the Prajamandal. The leaders of this movement worked in the direction of achieving social equality and liberating prajas from the bondage of tyrannical rulers. Most of the leaders of this movement were from the congress party or left party. In 1938 leaders like Satyananda Mishra, Kapileswar Prasad Nanda, Chintamani Mishra and Dibakara Bohidar gave memorandum to the then ruler of Patna state Rajendra Narayan Singhdeo. Yudhishtira Mishra drafted this memorandum stating various demands of the people such as abolition of Bethi, Begari and Rasad, Rights of Tenants over land, abolition of customs duty on salt, reduction of Grazing tax and other taxes, forest rights, granting civil rights etc. There was utmost

discontentment of people over these issues. The growing dissatisfaction of people against the king's rule got the ruler of Patna anointed and led him to think over the matter deeply. As he was a man of liberal attitude, He was bent upon stemming the tide of political unrest and accepted most of the demands of the Prajamandal leaders. The Prajamandal movement thus did not take any violent turn in this state. Later on, an enquiry committee constituted by the state people's conference with H.K Mahatab as Chairman visited Patna to look into the matter and found that the administration of this state was not so oppressive, unlike the other feudatory states.

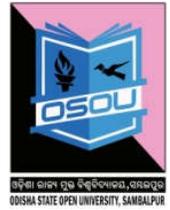
3.8.10 Prajamandal in Mayurbhanj

The Prajamandal movement of Nilgiri had a direct impact on the people of Mayurbhanj to organize similar peasant movements in this state. The Prajamandal movement of Mayurbhanj was formed at Ambajore in Betnoti in 1940. Sarat Chandra Das was the president and Gaura Pradhan became the Secretary of the Prajamandal to lead this movement. To counteract the Prajamandal movement the supporters of kings formed a similar association called Praja Mangala under the leadership of Harish Chandra Das. They had also taken up a similar village welfare programme which was funded by the state. This association opposed the demands of Prajamandal movement particularly granting of civil liberties and formation of responsible govt. In course of time, Prajamandal slowly pursued the movement in a non-violent manner and got popularity among the common masses. The leaders of the movement presented a charter of demands to the ruler of Mayurbhanj Maharaja Pratap Chandra Bhanj Deo on 16 Sept 1947 stating reformation in the administration. Being a benevolent ruler, and to give justice to the peoples' demands for the establishment of the responsible government the Maharaja set up the constituent Assembly on dated 9th December 1947. In accordance with the terms of his highness, Sarat Chandra Das, B. Mohapatra and Maheswar Naik were chosen by the Maharaja to constitute the council of ministers.

3.9 IMPACT ON OTHER PLACES

There were some other princely states of Odisha where the Prajamandal movement was witnessed. Mention may made of Kalahandi, Daspalla, Khandapada , Pallahada and Athgarh etc. It was due to the initiatives of Congress leaders there was a political awakening all over the state. Hence the common people were fully aware of their civil liberties and rights. Thus, they wholeheartedly supported the cause of Prajamandal movement in every place. There was also mass participation of people in this movement. In many Garjat states, people appealed to their rulers to establish the welfare government by abolishing exploitative practices. Though Prajamandal movement was non-violent, the people achieved success to present their viewpoints to the rulers. Finally, the people got their rights and make themselves free from the

bondage of the native rulers. Hence the Prajamandal movement achieved huge success in Odisha.



3.10 CONSEQUENCES OF THE MOVEMENT

The Prajamandal movement brought a significant change in the administration of Garjat states. As the people were dissatisfied with the administration of the native rulers, the movement forced the rulers to cope up with the situation and bring changes in administration. The people also got their demands fulfilled in a non-violent manner. The practices like Bethi, Begari, Magana, Rasad, Karsamgri etc were banned. The rulers amended their oppressive and exploitative policy to the welfare policy. The kings of different states showed sympathy to the people in the fear of uprising and became tolerant to their demands to a greater extent. The attitude of British govt. also changed. Earlier Government was in favour of the native rulers but after the Prajamandal movement, it gave priority to the welfare government. The common people could realize the importance of a non-violent way of protest as well as the unity of people. The Prajamandal movement also taught the rulers a lesson to relinquish power and helped the merger of the princely state. Thus the long rule of autocratic rulers came to an end and people breathed the free air of liberty and democracy.

3.11 LET US SUM UP

- There were 26 Garjat states in the newly created Odisha division, 23 states have remained in Odisha 2 were in Chhattisgarh Agency and one was under Bengal agency.
- The people of Garjats states were exploited by rulers through various means by the king such as Rasad, Magna, Bethi and Begari etc.
- Peasant revolts were witnessed in the Garjat state of Nilgiri in 1928, Boudh in 1930 and Talcher in 1932.
- On 20 June 1931, Orissa Garjat States Peoples Association was founded at Cuttack. The president of the first session of this association was Bhubananda Das.

3.12 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Discuss the various causes of Prajamandal movement.

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2. Write a note on Prajamandal movement of Nilgiri.



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3. Explain the role of Harekrushna Mahtab in Prajamandal movement.

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4. Briefly discuss the Prajamandal movement of Dhenkanal.

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5. What were the consequences of Prajamandal movement? How did the British react to this movement?

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3.14 SUGGESTED READING

7. H.K. Mahtab: History of the freedom movement in Orissa
8. Bijaya Chandra Rath: Prajamandal Movement in Odisha
9. N .K. Sahu, P.K. Mishra& J.K.Sahu: History of Orissa
10. Pradhan., Agrarian and Political Movements, States of Orissa,1931-1949.
11. J.K.Samal., Princely States of Orissa
12. J.Dora: Peoples' Movements in Orissa: A Study of the Feudatory State of Bamanda during the British Rule.
13. Harihara Panda: History of Orissa