



Freedom Movement in Khurda

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The historians have drawn a line of demarcation between the nationalist movement organized by the English - educated middle class which began with the foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 and the popular insurrections of the nineteenth century which were sometimes organized by the traditional elites and sometimes by peasants and tribals themselves. In colonial discourse the mobilizations of the latter type are generally treated as disturbances or resistance movements of certain interest groups. For example, the Revolt of 1857 was characterized in colonial parlance as a purely selfish sepoy mutiny and the Khurda Rebellion of 1817 as a rebellion of dispossessed Paikas or militia men of the deposed Raja of Khurda. Among the Indian historians sometimes we find a controversy regarding the characterization of the nineteenth century popular insurrections. For example, while some scholars like S.B. Chaudhury treat the Revolt of 1857 as a war of independence, R.C. Mazumdar holds that "the miseries and blood shed of 1857-58 were not the birth pangs of a freedom movement in India but the dying groans of an obsolete aristocracy and (the) centrifugal feudalism of medieval age". In case of the Khurda Rebellion of 1817 while a section of scholars and intelligentsia consider it as the first war of independence, others call it a resistance

movement. A number of questions may be raised here, while we try to understand the nature of nineteenth century insurrections - What is freedom movement ? When did it begin? Whether the so-called resistance movements were anti-colonial in nature ? Was the Congress movement a freedom movement from the beginning ? While characterizing the Revolt of 1857 as "a primary resistance movement", Eric Stokes, the British historian recognizes its "innate antagonism to alien overlords" and lack of "ideological underpinning". Ranjit Guha, the subaltern historian considers insurgency as the necessary anti-thesis of colonialism. If colonial rule was exploitative and discriminatory in nature, anti-colonialism was bound to be co-eval with colonial rule, and anti-colonial or national movement was a cumulative process. Alternatively we may postulate a phase of hibernation between the popular insurrections and the rise of intelligentsia-based nationalism.

In the early phase of the British rule there were four anti-British or anti-colonial outbreaks in Khurda-the Rebellion of Mukundadeva II, the Raja of Khurda in 1804, Buxi Jagabandhu's Rebellion of 1817, Tapang Rebellion of 1827 and Banpur Rebellion of 1836. Jayi Rajguru, the principal adviser of Raja Mukundadeva II was the kingpin of the anti-British outbreak of 1804. He was most probably opposed to the Khurda



Raja's alliance with the British for assisting the latter in the fight against the Marathas and at his instance the Raja's troops entered the disputed mahals (Lembai, Rahang, Purushottam Chhatar and Chabiskud) which the Marathas had earlier taken away from the Raja of Khurda and the British refused to restore them to the Raja in contravention of their earlier promise and plundered them. (The British also violated their promise by not paying rupees one lakh out of which Rs. 40,000/- was actually paid by them to Jayi Rajguru). The British knew Jayi Rajguru's key role in the rebellion of the Raja, for which they executed the latter and ultimately pardoned the Raja. Buxi Jagabandhu who had opposed Jayi Rajguru's advice for rebellion subsequently rebelled against the British in 1817 in a different context i.e. when he found himself reduced to a pauper being deprived of his Rorang estate because of a bureaucratic conspiracy and he saw the plight of people due to overassessment, rise of salt price, depreciation of Kauri currency and oppression of amlas and darogas. Initially Jagabandhu and Krushnachandra Bhramarabar (the dewan) appear to have sought redressal of grievances through prayer and petition. As there was no favourable response from the authorities he took recourse to open rebellion. The open rebellion was suppressed within a short time. Thereafter Jagabandhu hid himself in the jungles of Khurda, Banpur and Ghumsur and carried on underground resistance with the help of courageous Paikas and Kandhas till 1825. The rebels committed dacoity, arson and murder and opposed revenue collection. Though ultimately Jagabandhu surrendered and was pardoned by the British authorities who granted the former a pension in lieu of the surrender of Buxi title, yet they recognized the genuineness of his cause. A British officer R. Hunter observed: "They (British authorities) had virtually had to admit defeat by

offering him (Jagabandhu) pardon. Though Jagabandhu surrendered himself he was really the victor in the fight between him and the British."¹ In 1827 the people of Tapang garh refused to pay rent and rebelled under the leadership of Samanta Madhab Chandra Routroy (the Paik leader or Dalabehera). Eight years after this rebellion Madhusudan Bipra, an eye witness wrote a Kavya, entitled *Firinghi Kali Bharat* which gives an account of the conflicts of the Khurda people with the British and particularly the rebellion at Tapang. In 1836 the Paikas and Kandhas of Banpur who had been all along seething with discontent rose in a serious outburst. The kingpins of this rebellion were Sharan Singh (Surrin Singh) and Kruttibas Patsani both of whom were transported overseas for life. There was a Kandha leader, named Lochan Bisoyi in the Banpur Rebellion of 1836.

The basic factor behind the discontent that fuelled rebellion in Khurda in 1817 and afterwards was economic. Overassessment, dispossession of many original proprietors, who failed to pay revenue, resumption of rent free tenures enjoyed by Dalabeheras, Dalais and Paikas, rise of salt price under monopoly system and depreciation and abolition of Kauri currency were the causes of popular discontent before the Rebellion of 1817. The support of the discontented tribals (i.e. Kandhas spread over three geographically contiguous regions i.e. Khurda, Banpur and Ghumsur and hill chiefs were of great help to Buxi Jagabandhu in organizing and carrying on rebellious activities. Tribal discontent against colonial rule later on found manifestation in violation of forest laws during nationalist movement in Gandhian era. A contemporary British officer, named W.Ker characterized the Rebellion of 1817 as a freedom movement in the following words :



"Jagabandhu has given a lead in organizing a movement, no matter in how haphazard manner for ousting the newly established English from Orissa; he expected that other people who (were) also hit hard by the mal-administration under the English and the Orissa chiefs who had been deprived of all their freedom would follow up the lead to make a common cause with him for the purpose of liberating their motherland from foreign yoke."²

Whether freedom movement or resistance movement, the Rebellion of 1817 become a source of inspiration for the nationalist leaders and intellectuals of Khurda such as Godavarish Mishra of Satyavadi School, poet Godavarish Mahapatra, the composer of the stirring poem *Utha Kankala* (Oh Skeletons, Arise) and leftist politicians and intellectuals like Pranath Patnaik, Sachi Routroy and Gangadhar Paikaray. Godavarish Mishra wrote on it a historical novel, entitled *Athara Shaha Satara* (Eighteen hundred and seventeen). At the time of Dasahara, in 1937, with the help of his associates, like Gokul Mohan Raichudamani and Purnachandra Mahanty, Pranath Patnaik organized a rally of the descendants of erstwhile Paikas with traditional dress and weapons at Gurjang. The organization of this rally by Patnaik may be viewed as a political gimmick. But the enthusiastic response of the people showed how the Rebellion of 1817 had struck their chords. As Gokul Mohan Ray Chudamani observes :

"After the Paik Rebellion British imperialists virtually buried the once powerful Paik race of Khurda. Pranath Patnaik infused new life into the skeleton-like Paikas by giving a call in the spirit of late Godavarish Mahapatra's *Utha Kankala* (Oh Skeletons ! Arise) invocation. In 1936, in the first general election he was elected to the Legislative Assembly as a Congress candidate.

Immediately thereafter he organized a youth rally at Khurda. His main objective was that Paikas will proudly march in the streets of Khurda with sword and shield; they will regain their lost glory. In fact the great Paika procession of that day roused new life, inspiration and hope like elixir."³

Khurda became a part of the Puri district in 1829, and from the late nineteenth century onwards socio-political consciousness grew in Khurda as a result of growth of modern education and influence of nationalist movement in Puri district spearheaded by the Satyavadi School. Khurda was one of the eight places where a vernacular school was established in 1844 according to the scheme of the Governor General Lord Hardinge. Subsequently schools were established in other places such as Tangi, Banapur, Begunia, Bhubaneswar and Janla in 1858-59. The Khurda vernacular school has been subsequently elevated to the status of Middle English school (in 1867) and High English school (1896). The Khurda High English School was named as BJB High School in memory of Buxi Jagabandhu after independence. According to a report in Utkal Dipika, as early as 1882, some educated people of Khurda such as Fakir Charan Ray (the teacher of Orada school), Shyam Sundar Raj Dalbehera (his student) and Antaryami Patnaik (Sub-Inspector of Schools) were planning to spread female education in Khurda.⁴ In course of time the alumni of Khurda High English School became instrumental in rousing the socio-political consciousness of the people.

In pre-Gandhian era the Swadeshi movement of Bengal had some stimulating effect on the weavers and cane goods producers of Banpur.⁵ With the beginning of Non-cooperation movement attempts were made by the Congress leaders of Puri like Gopabandhu Das and Jagabandhu Singh to mobilise people of Khurda,



hailing from different sections such as Sarbarakars, village revenue officers, ryots and primary school teachers. Gopabandhu and Jagabandhu addressed meetings at Khandagiri (8 October 1920) and Jatani (16 October 1920). In his addresses in Khurda villages Gopabandhu focused on public resentment against forest laws, chaukidari tax and union board tax.⁶ The students of Khurda H.E. School played an active role in the Non-Cooperation movement. On 21 January 1921 they arranged a meeting to boycott the school and attended the meeting at Satyabadi, Sakhigopal.⁷ About eleven students of Khurda H.E. School participated in the Non-cooperation movement.⁸ Due to the active involvement of the students of this school in the movement the authorities felt the necessity of curbing their activities. Consequently the students had to seek the permission of police even to go in procession for the immersion of the image of Goddess Saraswati.⁹ Narsingh Charan Chow Patnaik was the main leader of Non-cooperation movement in Khurda. There were other Non-cooperators, such as Digamber Srichandan, Krupasindhu Hota, Daitari Mishra, Gopi Singh, Hari Mallik and Sadananda Tripathy.¹⁰ Associated with the Non-cooperation movement there was a movement of tribals and poor peasants of Khurda to violate forest laws, which was supported by the student activists.¹¹ On 10 February 1922 in a gathering of two thousand people at Khurda, Gopabandhu gave a call to stop payment of rent and jungle tax.¹²

The authorities adopted stern repressive measures being alarmed at the growth of agitational activities. Gopabandhu Das was detained as an undertrial prisoner in Khurda from 28 October to 29 November 1921 for publishing a news item, entitled "Serious if True" in his mouthpiece Samaj, criticizing the alleged molestation of a woman in market place by two

constables in the Begunia P.S.. Though he did not defend himself, finally he was acquitted.¹³ Meetings were prohibited. In March 1922 the police resorted to incendiary activities in Khurda and Begunia. In defiance of the police ban, in January 1922, at Tribeni mela held in Banamalipur the Congress volunteers sold Khadi goods, carried on picketing and shouted the slogan 'Mahatma Gandhi ki Jay'.¹⁴ In spite of prohibitory orders and other obstructions like deployment of constables, chowkidars and scavengers on all roads leading to the venue of meeting for preventing people, sprinkling of wine by scavengers on gentle men and hanging of drums in their necks for the purpose of insulting, Gopabandhu Das addressed a public meeting at Khurda in February 1922.¹⁵

The second all-Orissa provincial conference was held at Bolgarh on 14-15 November 1925. When this place was chosen as the venue of the conference in supersession of the claim of Puri there was some resentment at the latter place. This conference was presided over by Bhagirathi Mahapatra, the first secretary of Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee. On 13 November, along with Gopabandhu Chaudhury, Birakishor Das and Rajakrushna Bose, Bhagirathi Mahapatra arrived at Khurda Road railway station by passenger train. They were garlanded by volunteers and carried in motor lorry to Bolgarh. On the way, at places like Khurda and Begunia the people greeted these leaders by raising the slogan 'Mahatma Gandhi ki Jay'. The Bolgarh Conference passed a resolution moved by Gopabandhu Dash and Godavarish Mishra and seconded by Narsingh Charan Chow Patnaik and Raghunath Mahapatra, expressing resentment over the restrictions imposed by the Government on securing the required timber and fuel from the forest in Khurda.¹⁶



During the Civil Disobedience movement the student leaders of Khurda such as Nrusingh Charan Samanta Singhar, Laxmidhar Patnaik, Shyam Sundar Senapati and Balaram Patra played active roles. With the financial help of the zamindar of Janla some school students decided to proceed to the nearby sea coast for manufacturing contraband salt.¹⁷ A Congress flag was fixed on the roof of the Khurda H.E. School building by some students on 15 April 1930. On 16 April some students organized hartal in the school and Khurda town.¹⁸ Nrusingh Charan Samanta Singhar was very active in organising Civil Disobedience movement in Puri and Khurda. He was externed from the Puri town while trying to organize a hartal in the town. In Khurda, Samanta Singhar, Shyama Sundar Senapati and Balaram Patra were moving from village to village asking the students to boycott the schools and the villagers to defy government officials and violate laws. Samanta Singhar and Senapati were arrested on the charge of intimidating the village Chowkidars and tearing foreign cloth.¹⁹ After the second session of Round Table Conference, when Civil Disobedience movement was resumed, Pranath Patnaik and eleven others were arrested for picketing before the foreign cloth shops in Jatni. They were tried and jailed.²⁰

As in case of Non-cooperation movement, during Civil Disobedience movement the tribals and poor peasants of Khurda carried on agitation to secure right for using both the protected and reserve forests. To check the violation of forest laws, under the Indian Forest Act the Paikas were empowered to arrest the offenders and the Sub-Divisional Officer of Khurda was vested with powers to grant rewards to those who detected the forest law violators.²¹

The withdrawal of Civil Disobedience movement was followed by socialist and peasant

movement, Gandhian constructive work and state people's movement or Prajamandal Andolan. Each of these movements had more or less some impact on Khurda.

Before the formation of all India Congress Socialist Party, Utkal Congress Socialist Worker's League had been organized with Sarathi as its mouthpiece. The following were the members of its executive - Nabakrushna Chaudhury (general secretary), Malati Chaudhury (treasurer), Surendra Nath Dwivedi, Dibakar Patnaik, Gauri Shankar Samanta, Nrupendra Narayan Sen, Goura Chandra Das, Pranath Patnaik and Gatikrushna Swain.²² Pranath Patnaik who had studied in Kashi Vidyapitha during the period 1932-34, got Shastri degree, and had been indoctrinated in Marxist ideology by the Principal of the Vidyapitha, Acharya Narendra Deva. He presided over the first session of Orissa Congress Socialist party, held in the residence of Nabakrushna Chaudhury at Cuttack in 1934.²³ In October 1934, in a meeting held at Bombay, All-India Congress Socialist Party was organized with delegates from thirteen states. On 10 June 1935 a peasant conference was held in the Cuttack Town Hall under the chairmanship of Godavarish Mishra. On 10 August 1935 the socialists of Orissa formed a Kishan Sangha with Harekrushna Mahtab as the president. In April 1936 the annual sessions of Indian National Congress and all India Kishan Sabha were held at Lucknow. S N Dwivedi and Nabakrushna Chaudhury attended the subject committee of the all-India Kishan Sabha held in Lucknow under the presidentship of Swami Sahajananda of Bihar. From Orissa the following were elected as the members of the working committee of All-India Kishan Sabha-Harekrushna Mahtab, Nabakrushna Chaudhury, Malati Chaudhury, Dibakar Patnaik and Gatikrushna Swain.²⁴



After the Lucknow sessions of Indian National Congress and all-India Kishan Sabha peasant meetings were held in different places and the socialist leaders like Nabakrushna Chaudhury, Pranath Patnaik, Gangadhar Mishra, Gatikrushna Swain, Gokul Mohan Rai Chudamani, Mohan Das, Bhagabati Charan Panigrahi and others tried to unite the peasants under socialist banner. In a meeting held at Puri on 10 May 1936 a committee was formed, consisting of Nabakrushna Chaudhury, Harekrushna Mahatab, Godavarish Mishra, Jagabandhu Singh and Gorachand Patnaik to look into peasants' grievances and consult public opinion regarding the amendment of Orissa Tenancy Act.²⁵ A meeting of the working committee of Utkal Provincial Kishan Sabha was held at Puri on 14 August 1936. A sub-committee was formed, consisting of H.K. Mahtab, N.K. Chaudhury, Rajakrushna Bose, Lingaraj Mishra and Malati Chaudhury to inquire into the grievances of peasants and submit a report to Provincial Congress Committee.²⁶ On 20 August 1936 the working committee of the Puri district Kishan Sangha passed a resolution authorizing Pranath Patnaik and Gajendra Mishra to carry on investigation into the condition of peasants and submit their findings to a high level three-men committee (consisting of Gorachand Patnaik, N.K. Chaudhury and H.K. Mahtab) who would move the Government for reduction of rent.²⁷ On 1 September 1936 all India Kishan Day was observed in different places of Orissa and resolutions were passed, demanding reduction of rent, amendment of tenancy laws and relief of the peasants' indebtedness.²⁸ In September 1936 Pranath Patnaik organised a huge meeting of the peasants in Chandmari field of Khurda which was chaired by Nabakrushna Chaudhury and attended by Jadumani Mangaraj, Rajakrushna Bose, Mohan Das and Pyari Shankar Roy,²⁹ and

a sub-divisional peasants' committee, consisting of 50 members was formed at Khurda.³⁰

On 2 November 1936 a peasants' conference was held in Bhubaneswar with Rajakrushna Bose on chair. This conference passed resolutions, demanding reduction of land revenue, free primary education, abolition of indirect taxation, reduction of rate of interest by money-lenders and amendment of tenancy Act. This conference supported the minimum political and economic demands of peasants as formulated in the Lucknow session of all India Kishan Sabha and the candidature of Pranath Patnaik for election to Orissa Legislative Assembly.³¹ The visit of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President from 10 to 12 November 1936 before the Assembly election and his appeal to the peasants roused great enthusiasm. Nehru addressed public meetings in Bhubaneswar, Puri, Sakhigopal, Pipili, Nimapada, Delanga, Jatani and Khurda. On 15 November 1936 Utkal Provincial Kishan Conference was held at Puri under the presidentship of Swami Sahajananda. It was attended by a large number of peasants from all parts of Orissa.³²

After the formation of Congress ministry the peasants became more assertive in their demands. In Puri district the tenants declined to pay rent and ex-communicated the Zamindars.³³ On 1 March 1937 a branch of the Socialist Party was opened at Khurda with Gokul Mohan Raichudamani as Secretary.³⁴ The nature of peasant unrest in undivided Puri district in 1937 and 1938 can be understood from the following official weekly report of 8 May 1938: "There is no doubt that several prominent leaders of outwardly divergent political persuasions are pooling their energies with a view to create disaffection among the peasantry. During the week under report in Puri district alone there have been



no less than eighteen political meetings. Babu Harekrushna Mahtab, now a member of the All-India Congress Working Committee has been on a prolonged tour of propaganda in the interiors of the district (he himself addressing nine meetings), accompanied by prominent adherents to the socialist creed. Undisguised reference to a future mass no-tax campaign in conjunction with a possible general strike on railways and in key industries with a view to crippling the administration and ultimately to drive the British out of India clearly show the persistent preaching of Communist leaders elsewhere is now resulting in similar rhetoric in Orissa. Every effort, it seems is to be made to intensify this propaganda during the present non-agricultural season, when the peasantry are for the most part not actively occupied."³⁵

From 25 to 31 March 1938 the fourth annual session of Gandhi Seva Sangha was held at Beraboi near Delang. It was attended by Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders such as Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, J B Kripalini, P Sitaramayya and Prafulla Chandra Ghosh. On this occasion the dispute between rival Congress groups was settled. Consequently H K Mahtab voluntarily resigned from the presidentship of UPCC and Gopabandhu Chaudhury was elected as the president and empowered to choose his own executive committee. This meeting of Gandhi Seva Sangh drew a large number of people from different parts of the Puri district and Orissa. Daily public meetings were held. About 30000 people travelled by train to attend the meeting and exhibition.³⁶ Khurda H.E. School remained closed on 25 March 1938, and under the guidance of six teachers the students went to Beraboi to attend the conference on that day.³⁷ At that time the Congress Socialists wanted to have a camp at the venue of Gandhi Seva Sangha meeting. Not

being allowed to do so, they established their camp in the house of a Communist, named Durgacharan Mahanty, 1½ miles away from the venue and carried on their socialistic propaganda by meetings and distribution of leaflets.

By 1938 the Congress Socialists developed interest in states people's movement. So far as Khurda was concerned, its socialist leaders and leftist intellectuals like Pranath Patnaik, Gangadhar Paikaray, Gokul Mohan Raichudamani, and Sachi Routray criticized the allegedly oppressive policy of the Dhenkanal Durbar towards the movement of the people. After Bhuban-Nilakanthapur firing incident, in a public meeting held at Puri on 22 October 1938 Mohan Das M.L.A., Pranath Patnaik, MLA Godavarish Mishra MLA, Gatikrushna Swain and Bhubaneswar Mishra criticized the repressive policy of the Dhenkanal Durbar.³⁸ Godavarish Mishra subsequently changed his stand for which in a public meeting organized at Siko, Begunia P.S. on 5 December 1938 a resolution was passed by Gangadhar Paikray, demanding the former's resignation from the Assembly and Congress party.³⁹ When Dhenkanal Satyagraha was organized by Congress Socialists from outside, from Khurda, Gokul Mohan Rai Chudamani joined it. The Prajamandal movement of Ranpur had a direct bearing on Khurda because of the geographical contiguity. After the Bazalgette murder on 5 January 1939, fearing police reprisal a large number of people of Ranpur state took shelter in the villages of Khurda from Banpur to Bolgarh.⁴⁰ In some villages of Khurda meetings were held condemning the murder. For example, in a public meeting, held in Barapari village under the chairmanship of a Sarbarakar, named Benudhar Patnaik on 18 January 1939, a resolution was passed condemning the murder and holding Congress workers from outside responsible for it.⁴¹ On the other hand, the



Socialists, led by Pranath Patnaik formed a defence committee under the chairmanship of a lawyer, named Lokanath Mishra to help those who were tried as the accused in the Bazalgette murder case. Dinabandhu Sahu, Gadadhar Jena and Shatrughna Mohanty acted as defence lawyers.⁴²

By 1939 the Communists were singled out as a separate group within the Congress Socialist Party, and it was found that a section of Congress Socialists owed allegiance to Subhas Chandra Bose. As early as 1935 Guru Charan Patnaik had become a secret member of the banned Communist Party.⁴³ In 1936 Pranath Patnaik, Gurucharan Patnaik and Bhagabati Charan Panigrahi formed a secret Communist Party. According to S N Dwivedi, in a meeting held at Cuttack under the chairmanship of Ramakrushna Pati a decision was taken to form Communist Party in Orissa, and in 1940 Communists were expelled from Congress.⁴⁴ Under these circumstances in 1939 Nabakrushna Chaudhury dissolved the Congress Socialist Party and Krushak Sabha in Orissa. In fact the Communists had been trying to indoctrinate the peasants in their ideology while remaining within the Congress Socialist party. As pointed out by Ashish Mahapatra, while remaining a member of Congress Party and a legislator, Pranath was openly implementing the mass programme of the Communist Party and in large areas of Khurda, Jatani, Chandaka, Bolgarh and Begunia the flag of Communist Party was flying along with those of Congress and Krushak Sabha.⁴⁵ In Khurda peasant movement was led by the Communists. Pranath Patnaik and his fellow Communists like Gokul Mohan Rai Chudamani, Parashuram Padatikaray, Gangadhar Mishra, Laxman Patnaik, Raghunath Patnaik, Gangadhar Paikray, Sadhu Charan Mahanti, Baikunthanath Subuddhi, Niranjan Jagaddeba, Upendra Nath Das, Damodar Mishra, Purna

Chandra Mahanti and others carried on movement in Khurda for abolition of Sarbarakari system, repeal of khas mahal law, amendment of forest law and tenancy act. Songs of the leftist poets - Ananta Patnaik and Sachi Routray which were published in the form of a booklet, called *Raktashikha* (flame of blood), and distributed by Gokul Mohan Rai Chudamani were being sung by the Communists in the villages of Khurda.⁴⁶ The Communist-led peasant movement not only aimed at the redressal of peasants' agrarian grievances but also overthrow of imperialism and capture of power by the peasants. In the Patia peasants' conference held on 10 November 1937 under the chairmanship of Bhagabati Charan Panigrahi, the Secretary of Orissa Socialist Party and attended by 5000 people, where the Communists like Sachi Routroy, Ananta Patnaik, Bijay Chandra Das, Pranath Patnaik and Gauranga Charan Das were present, Panigrahi said. "If the peasants in India would unite, they would one day rule the country. Congress was fighting for Swaraj but this would be of no avail if after the British left India, control remained in the hands of the capitalists such as the Rajahs of Kanika and Parlakimedi". Criticizing the Congress ministry Sachi Routroy said: "When the British government authorized Congress to take over the government, the zamindars and capitalists in the Congress were tempted and have now become ministers. Ananta Patnaik held that Congress was controlled by the capitalists and zamindars where men like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were a few honourable exceptions.⁴⁷ The activities of the Communists were disliked not only by the zamindars and sarbarakars but also by a large section of Congressmen. In a Kishan Sabha meeting of the Chandaka thana held in the village Mendhasal on 24 February 1939 held under the chairmanship of Sadhu Charan Mahanti, the chairman pointed out that the meeting was



attended by a small number of people because of the fact that policemen and Sarbarakars had given an impression to the people that the meeting would be raided by the Gurkha military.⁴⁸

As the international situation was heading towards a global war, the Communist-led Kisan Sabhas were passing resolutions not to help Britain in the coming war. But to take advantage of the weakness of Britain, in the Patia Peasants Conference of 10 November 1937 it was resolved that India should not take part in any imperialistic war in future.⁴⁹ Similar resolution was passed in the Kisan Sabha meeting of Chandaka thana, held on 24 February 1939⁵⁰, and that of Chhanagiri Hat held on 29 August 1939⁵¹ on the eve of Second World War. The Chhanagiri Hat meeting urged the Congress Working Committee to withdraw disciplinary action against Subhas Chandra Bose in order to open the door for unity between leftists and rightists. After the outbreak of Second World War, for delivering anti-war speech Pranath Patnaik, Gokul Mohan Rai Chudamani, Sadhu Charan Mahanti and Purna Chandra Mahanti were arrested and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment after trial in the Court of Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Khurda.⁵² According to police report in April 1940 in Bolgarh a socialist named Fakir Charan Mahanty was dissuading people from contributing to war fund and inducing them to break forest laws.⁵³ In December 1940, to a large crowd in Khurda Pranath Patnaik read out Gandhi's message and was arrested as an individual Satyagrahi.⁵⁴ It is held by Manmohan Mishra that though Pranath did not believe in the efficacy of Individual Civil Disobedience movement he was instructed by the Communist high command that as an active member of the Congress Party he should obey Mahatma Gandhi's call for individual civil disobedience.⁵⁵ On 9 August 1942 the office of Communist Party was inaugurated at Cuttack.

Bhagabati Charan Panigrahi became its first secretary. Pranath Patnaik publicly joined the Communist Party on this occasion. At that time because of alliance between Britain and Soviet Russia against Nazi Germany, Communist Party no longer opposed war. But Pranath Patnaik was arrested and sent to Berhampur jail on return from the inauguration ceremony at Cuttack.⁵⁶ He was released in 1945.

During the war, on 8 May 1941, the Communists organized all Utkal Provincial Peasants' Conference at Khurda. The conference urged the peasants to remain alert about exploitation by capitalists and imperialists and cooperate with all anti-imperialist activities.⁵⁷ After independence the Communists of Khurda, led by Pranath Patnaik started the Tebhaga movement with a view to giving two - third of produce to share croppers.

During Quit India movement the Government declared under Section 30 of the Police Act that no procession or meeting would be organized in Puri, Khurda and Jatani without prior permission from the local authorities. In spite of official prohibition, on 16 and 31 August 1942 the students of Puri, Nimapara, Khurda, Olasingh and Banapur H.E Schools went on strike.⁵⁸ In Bhubaneswar and Delang telegraph wires were cut.⁵⁹

On 14 August 1947 before 12 p.m. a large number of people gathered in the Chandmari field of Khurda to celebrate the independence of India. Cannons were fired twenty-one times, which were followed by other fire works. Next day in the morning a large procession went through the town of Khurda, and at 4 p.m. a public meeting was held in the midst of torrential rains.⁶⁰

Resistance to British rule in Khurda in the early phase has left behind its legacy in two forms; one is a glorification of the chivalrous military



tradition of the Paikas; even today when the society has undergone so much change, if a Paika rally is organized, the descendants of old Paikas would come forward to join it; another legacy is a controversy between the adorers of Jayi Rajguru and those of Buxi Jagabandhu as to who was the true rebel or greater rebel than the other. Since Jayi Rajguru was hanged by the British, he is regarded by many as the first martyr of the freedom struggle in Orissa. On the other hand Buxi Jagabandhu who is regarded by his adorers as the organizer of the first freedom struggle in India and is admired for carrying on prolonged underground resistance is criticized by his detractors for his ultimate compromise with the British authorities (He surrendered to the British in 1825 and died a pensioner in 1829). Violation of forest law i.e. assertion of right by the people to use forest was an important local issue in the freedom movement of Khurda during the nationalist era. Peasant movement, led and organized by Communists from 1930's onwards upto the Tebhaga movement was a significant aspect of freedom movement in Khurda, which accounts for the predominant role of Communist politicians like Pranath Patnaik and Gangadhar Paikaray in the post-independence electoral politics in this area.

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Orissa in the First War of Independence

Prof. Nihar Ranjan Patnaik

With the setting of the sun of India's freedom in the fateful battlefield of Plassey in 1757, there opened an inglorious chapter in the history of India. Within a century the East India Company which was a mere trading body became a paramount power. During this period India lost her political, economic and socio-religious freedom. But man is born free and he feels suffocated when he loses his freedom. He wants to be free once again. That has been the desire of all men in all ages of history. And Indians were no exception to it. They also desired to be free from the British yoke. They raised a war of independence against the British rule in 1857. And it was the opening scene of the long drama of India's Freedom Struggle.

In this First War of Independence, Orissa like other parts of India actively participated. Of those great patriots of Orissa who took the lead in this historic event, mention may be made of Ram Krushna Samanta Singhar, Chaki Khuntia, Surendra Sai, Madho Singh, Arjun Singh, Jagabandhu Patnaik and a few others.

Ram Krushna Samanta Singhar

Born in the Burraon Pargana of Jajpur Police Station, Ram Krushna Samanta Singhar was the ex-zamindar of Balia. He belonged to the old and ruined class of Khandaits who had lost their zamindari. So in August 1857 he

organised the Khandaits under his banner to rise against the British.¹ Consequently Ram Krushna and two of his principal followers Dinabandhu Mohapatra and Upendra Jena were arrested. Rama Krushna Samanta Singhara and Dinabandhu Mohapatra were sentenced to five years imprisonment with labour.² It was after the declaration of amnesty by the British Government in November 1858 that Ram Krushna Samanta Singhar and Dinabandhu Mohapatra were released. The properties earlier forfeited, were given back to Ram Krushna Samanta Singhara.³

Chaki Khuntia

Chaki Khuntia, also called Chandan Hajuri, was another leader who played a significant role in the drama of the first war of independence. He was a Panda of Puri by profession. Every year he used to visit upcountry military stations where he inspired the sepoys to come to Puri for the worship of Lord Jagannath. This was his main source of income. So he was usually called the Sepoy Panda.⁴ He has also been mentioned as the family priest of the illustrious leader of the war, Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi. However Chaki Khuntia actively participated in the first war of independence. In the beginning the centre place of his activities was Lucknow. It was said that he had established regular contact with the Sepoys of 13th BNI which rose in rebellion at Lucknow.⁵



When he was suspected of involvement in the Mutiny, the British Government moved to arrest him. But Chaki Khuntia fled to Gaya of Bihar. There, he also engaged himself against the Government. So he was arrested at Gaya and detained in the jail. His properties were confiscated. When the Government of India declared amnesty to all political prisoners, Chaki Khuntia was released on 15 November 1858. Further, all the properties of Chaki Khuntia were given back to him.⁶

After his release from jail, Chaki Khuntia did not return to Puri for a long time. A rumour spread that he had died in the forest while moving with Rani Laxmi Bai. His wife turned to a widow. But to the great astonishment of his family, Chaki Khuntia returned in 1863 to Puri and his wife again used vermilion and collyrium as a married woman. In this connection there is a local popular saying thus :

*Naire balia chahatila
Kajala sindura naalo gori
Puni Kalia (chakhia) leutila.*⁷

(The fish turns in the river,
O damsel, put on vermilion and eye-paint
Chakhia has come back again).

Chaki Khuntia died in 1870.

Surendra Sai : Sambalpur Rising, 1857-1864

Events in Sambalpur moved apace after their incarceration. King Narayan Singh died on 10 September 1849, leaving no son or heir. He had recommended that the Government should take over the state after his death.⁸ It is obvious that his motive in doing so was to prevent the accession of Surendra Sai. The Government was also quite unwilling to consider his claim as he was a prisoner for life. The British government wanted to bring the state under direct British rule.

But there was some delay in reaching a final decision. Till that was done, the widow of Narayan Singh, Rani Mukhshyapan Devi, was allowed to succeed to the throne. The state finally lapsed to the Government in December 1849 in pursuance of Lord Dalhousie's famous Doctrine of Lapse. The Rani was sent to Cuttack with a pension of one hundred rupees per month.⁹

The next eight years were rather uneventful. The first war of independence took place in 1857. Sambalpur became a bee-hive of activities.

The mutineers forced open the gate of the Hazaribagh Central Jail on 30 July 1857. They set all the prisoners free, including Surendra Sai and his brother Udanta and 32 others from the province of Cuttack and the Tributary Mahals. But Surendra did not join the mutineers. He was taken ill while crossing the forests of Chhotanagpur, Singhbhum and Gangpur and had to rest for some time.

But the news of his approach had travelled fast before him. When it spread far and wide, about fourteen to sixteen hundred men gathered at a place to give him a rousing reception. Captain Leigh, the Senior Assistant Commissioner in charge of Sambalpur apprehended a mutiny upon the arrival of Surendra Sai. He sent for two companies of additional troops to augment the detachment already with him.¹⁰

Surendra Sai reached Sambalpur by the middle of September, 1857. Captain Leigh lost no time in declaring him and his brother rebels and offering a reward of rupees two hundred and fifty for the apprehension of each of them.¹¹ He warned the general public and particularly the gauntias or village headmen and Zamindars in no uncertain terms not to have anything to do with the rebels.

But the authorities continued to feel uneasy. Their uneasiness increased with the information,



received from the Tahasildar of Kandhamal, that a few other convicts who had escaped from Hazaribagh were planning to move up to Sambalpur to join forces with Surendra Sai.¹² The situation persuaded Captain Leigh to think of establishing contacts with Surendra Sai and his adherents for a sort of reconciliation.

A meeting with Surendra Sai took place on the outskirts of Sambalpur on 13 October, 1857. Surendra promised to cease all rebellious activities on the condition that his claim to the throne was recognised. Till that was done, he wished to live at Khinda with his relatives.¹³ Captain Leigh forwarded Surendra's representation to Captain T.E. Dalton, Commissioner of Chhotanagpur. Dalton, in turn, sent it to the Government of Bengal along with his recommendation that the sentences be commuted on condition that both the brothers would reside either at Cuttack or at Ranchi. But Surendra's claim to the throne of Sambalpur could never be considered, he added.¹⁴

While orders from the Government were awaited, Surendra was told that so long as he refrained himself from activities inimical to the authorities he would be allowed to live as a free man at Sambalpur. But Surendra found this not to be so in actual practice. He found his residence to be closely guarded. Rumours about his deportation reached his ears. He found it increasingly difficult to trust the British. So in a fortnight he managed to dodge his guards and to escape to Khinda. There he met with a tumultuous reception, with people high and low pledging their support to him. A wave of excitement spread through Sambalpur and Bamra. He made his headquarters in a small hamlet near the village of Kudopali and directed his operations from there.

Lieutenant Hadow led an expedition to Khinda and Kudopali about a week later, only to

find it abandoned. He went on to Kolabira, another rebel stronghold about 40 kms north of Sambalpur, but no trace of the rebels could be found. At Jharghati a little further on, the rebels offered some resistance. The artillery of the British won the day. The rebels suffered some casualty and dispersed.¹⁵

The insurgents, however, kept on increasing their activities and consolidating their hold in the countryside. As days went by, British pickets came more and more under attack. The authorities were alarmed, especially as the unhealthy nature of the remote parts affected the health of their troops and more and more of them reported sick. Medical help was called for. Two doctors, T. Moore and A. Hanson, were sent up from Berhampur, along with a body of sebandis.¹⁶ They came to Rampur, the capital of Rairakhol, 65 kms to the east of Sambalpur, without any mishap. The king of Rairakhol warned them that the road beyond Rampur, being infested with insurgents, was unsafe and it was not advisable to go without any military escort. But the party set out for Sambalpur. A band of about 150 Paiks under the command of Madhu Gauntia, the Zamindar of Loisinga fell upon the party at Jujumura and killed Dr. Moore with a battle axe or "Pharsa". Doctor Hanson, however, could manage to escape. He wandered in the jungle for a couple of days without food and shelter. He was at last rescued by a party of 25 sebandis led by one Dinabandhu Patnaik and brought back to Rampur.¹⁷ Captain Leigh came to visit the place when he learnt of this. The insurgents also attacked his party and killed and wounded several men.¹⁸

The British now took sterner measures than ever before. The Kings, Zamindars and Gauntias were strongly warned not to show any sympathy and to render no help to the insurgents. One of the Zamindars of Bamra, Krishna Bera of Porapali, was found with the rebels. It was then suspected



that the Raja of Bamra was in secret league with the insurgents. He was warned that the fate of the Raja of neighbouring Angul who had lost both his state and his freedom very recently, might overtake him if he persisted in helping the rebels.¹⁹

Though the British went on augmenting and strengthening their forces at Sambalpur, the rebels also grew from strength to strength. A skirmish would occur here and there almost every day. The mail road to Bombay was obstructed. Two mail stations were burnt down.²⁰ Mail communications between Cuttack and Sambalpur and between Calcutta and Sambalpur were cut off. All the roads were believed to be in the possession of the insurgents who allowed nobody to pass on.²¹ Sambalpur thus appeared to have slipped from the hands of the British.

Some administrative changes were effected at this point of time. Because of the difficult of access from the north and because the Commissioner of Chhotanagpur was occupied elsewhere, Sambalpur was temporarily transferred from Chhotanagpur to Cuttack Division. The irregular cavalry of Nagpur was employed to keep the road between Raipur and Sambalpur open. Thus a vital line of communication was kept working.

Captain E.G. Wood, with the irregular cavalry of Nagpur, besieged the rebel stronghold of Kudopali towards the end of December. The insurgents met with their first major disaster here. The fifth brother of Surendra Sai, Chhabila Sai, was shot in the back while running away to catch his horse. He died a terrible death. Fifty-three other rebels were also killed. The victory here was considered very significant by the British. They took some follow-up action to tighten the noose around the rebels. The Raja of Balangir-Patna was suspected to have helped a brother of Surendra, Ujjal Sai, make good his escape. A

fine of rupees one thousand was imposed on him. The other Rajas were wary. The Raja of Rairakhol captured Madhu Gauntia and his adherents, and thus proved his loyalty. All of them were eventually hanged for the murder of Dr. Moore.²²

Early in January the following year Major Bates led a contingent of British troops to the Jharghati Pass, at a distance of about 22 kms to the north of Sambalpur, held by the rebels under Udanta Sai. In the battle that followed, he drove the rebels out and cleared the road to Ranchi. Leigh with 100 men, attacked rebel stronghold of Debrigarh, about 32 kms to the north of Bargarh in the Barapahar Range. He lost some of his men in the battle, but failed to dislodge the rebels who were about 1500 in number. One of the British Commanders Captain Woodbridge marched on February 12, 1858 to a post held by the rebels at Pahadsirgida. He was shot dead along with some of his troops. The others were panic-stricken and ran away where they could.²³ Surendra Sai had avenged the death of Chhabila, his brother.

The tide now seemed to turn, with the British steadily improving their position and attacking the rebels from all sides. In an encounter with the rebels Ensign Warlow forced them to retreat, leaving behind some arms and recovered Captain Woodbridge's body. Captain Nicholes attacked them in an inaccessible position in the Barapahar range. Major Wyndham was able to open the mail route to Medinipur through Bamra. But Surendra was still at large, eluding the grasp of the British.

Colonel Forester reached Sambalpur to command the British troops. He convened a meeting of the neighbouring Rajas and got them to send their forces to join hands with the British. He rounded up as many rebels as he could and send them for court martial. The Sambalpur Jail,



meant for 80, swelled to 300. He was rich in his rewards to those who helped the British. Roop Singh, a Munsif of Sambalpur, received a grant of several estates including Kolabira.²⁴ The Raja of Balangir-Patna assisted in the arrest of Ujjal Sai who was hanged. The fine of one thousand rupees imposed on the Raja earlier was remitted.²⁵ Though Surendra still remained at large, the ranks of the rebels dwindled. Every passing day sapped a little more of their morale.

Surendra Sai held out for close on three years, a considerable feat. But by April 1861 he found his position untenable. He wrote to Major Impey, the new Deputy Commissioner, offering to surrender on the condition that his claim to the throne was conceded. Impey replied that the throne could never be given to him though liberal provisions would be made for his maintenance. Surendra at last agreed to surrender. Impey received him at a place near Sambalpur with all cordiality. He was finally granted a pension of Rs.1200.00 per year, whereas his family was granted a pension of Rs.4600.00.²⁶ This settlement restored peace to Sambalpur at last.

But Cumberledge who succeeded Impey was hostile to Surendra. He did not honour the earlier arrangements. Surendra Sai was taken captive in a surprise raid at the dead of the night on 23 January 1864. He was then sent to the Asirgarh fort as a life convict.²⁷ What happened to him thereafter is shrouded in mystery. There is no definite information available about his last days. The records regarding Asirgarh fort are said to contain no reference to him. It is sure that he never came out of the fort alive.²⁸ One account of his death has it that he was inhumanly tortured inside the fort. Negligence of the jail authorities caused his blindness.²⁹ It is believed that he died inside the fort on 28 February 1884.³⁰

Madho Singh

The first war of independence was an all-India affair in which every part of 'British India', was more or less involved. The sepoys or Indian soldiers in the British army, no doubt, started it all, but all manner of people joined the war before long. Many might have been impelled by local or sometimes even personal reasons as is likely in human affairs, but all were united in the common goal of ridding the country of the alien rulers who were swallowing up one part of the land after another though often very reprehensible means. "*Maro Firingo ko*", kill the foreigners, was the battle cry that sent them into action, to work havoc among the British forces. Orissa joined the battle heart and soul, giving headaches and sleepless nights to the beleaguered British.

Sambalpur lay on the highway that connected Eastern India with the Central Provinces. It was this highway that British soldiers, commanders and administrators had to traverse on their march from Calcutta to Nagpur and Bombay. For them it was a vital life line, a highway of paramount importance, that had to be kept secure for their very survival in this country. So even a very small threat to its security sent shivers of panic down their spines.

This highway was always under threat. The war-like tribes of western Midinapur, eastern Singhbhoom and northern Mayurbhanj were apt to disrupt it where it traversed their territory. The tribals of Chhotanagpur blocked it in their region. Sambalpur was always up in arms. Surendra Sai was apt to ambush British soldiers on their march along the stretch of the highway in Sambalpur. To the west of Sambalpur was a pass called the Singhora Ghat which was particularly vulnerable. The road here passed through a patch of deep woods and rocky crags, terrain ideally. The Singhora Ghat came within the domains of Madho Singh, the zamindar of Ghens.



Madho Singh had three sons named Kunjal, Hathee and Bairee. The first war of independence found them on the side of the nationalists bent upon ousting the British from the country. They fought with the British for a long period, as veritable thorns in their flesh.

Madho Singh and his three sons had their most memorable encounter with the British in January 1858. They ambushed a large contingent of British troops at the Singhora Ghat under the command of Captain Woodbridge. The skirmish that ensued was a fierce one, with no holds barred on either side. The Singh father and sons exacted a heavy toll of the British troops and Captain Woodbridge was killed. Those who survived took to their heels.³¹

A large body of British troops reached Ghens towards the end of 1858. They arrested Madho Singh and later executed him. But his three sons who had joined forces with one Shaligram Bariha continued to harass the British. They had many encounters with the latter during the years of 1859 and 1860 and caused them great annoyance and loss.

It is here that British perfidity came into play and they granted amnesty to the four rebels. This put them off their guard. They came back to their respective places from hiding. It appeared as if everything would be all right now and that everybody could live in peace.

But that was not to be. The proclamation of amnesty was for no reason withdrawn all of a sudden. The four immediately went into hiding again. It took the British as long as three years to locate them and take them into custody. But at last they were apprehended and sent up for trial. Kunjal Singh and Saligram Bariha were awarded the capital punishment and were executed. Bairee Singh died at Sambalpur. Hathee Singh was transported for life to the Andamans where he

lived for long years and died.³² No doubt these brave men paid with their lives for the love they bore for their motherland, but they remain immortal in the age of the struggle for freedom.³³

Raja Arjun Singh and Jagu Dewan

Raja Arjun Singh of Porahat (Singhbhum) and his Dewan Jagabandhu Patnaik took part in anti-British activities during the first war of independence. The Kol Rebellion of Singhbhum in 1831 was the outcome of the inspiration and instigation of Jagabandhu Patnaik more popularly known as Jagu Dewan to the Kols. In the first war of independence he too encouraged Raja Arjun Singh to raise his arms against the British. Jagu Dewan with a strong force rose against the British and occupied Chakradharpur. But the British force under Lt. Birch reoccupied Chakradharpur. Jagu Dewan was captured and hanged.³⁴

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Orissa Battles for Swaraj

Dr. D.D. Pattanaik

The chivalrous history of Orissa is virtually replete with valour to safeguard the Swaraj as evident from the historic Kalinga War. The same kind of spirit continued unabated and it was adequately demonstrated during the course of the advent of East India Company which relied only on intrigues as recipe. It is to be assiduously discerned that Orissa was the last state but Punjab to be annexed by the said Company in the year 1803. Nonetheless the Company rule was hardly welcomed - rather it was resisted fiercely at all points. In this context we recall the sublime sacrifice of Jayee Rajaguru in 1804, who was brutally assassinated by the 'feringis' hanging him reversely knitting his legs with the branches of two trees. the subsequent battle was launched by the dreaded 'Paikas' of Khordha region. this convulsion is popularly described in history as *Paika Bidroha* to reckon with during the mid second decade of nineteenth century. In this realm the name of Baxi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar shines in the galaxy, whose dedication and personality is yet a household name in Orissa.

The next epoch of frontal struggle was spearheaded by Veer Surendra Sae (1809-1884) from Sambalpur. His battle was synchronized with the great upsurge of 1857 and thus he may be

broadly clubbed along with the first war of independence. But his adventure was actually both pre-dated and post-dated to that of 1857 upheaval. He commenced his struggle against the Company rule in 1827 and continued till 1940 when he was imprisoned in Hazaribagh Jail. On 29 March 1827 the revolutionaries broke away the jail compound as part of the movement - synonymous to the Fall of Bastille in the French Revolution. Surendra Sae along with his brother Udant Sae availed opportunity to escape for another struggle. Sensing some kind of turmoil Captain Leigh of Sambalpur struck down a truce with Surendra Sae. Accordingly he (Surendra Sae) confined himself in his palace at Sambalpur, of course with strict surveillance. But the so-called truce was a matter of strategy to Surendra Sae. In the fateful night of Kartik Purnima, the date being 30th October 1857, he disappeared in the mist of Mahanadi holy bath. This phase of encounter unfolds him as a great warrior and an uncompromising soul par excellence.

The second phase of struggle involved a large number of compatriots who include primarily land lords beside large scale participation of the tribals and peasants. The tribal Zamindar family of Ghens is on record, which was almost



eliminated in the blood-bath confrontation. So many people were executed as a sequel to pseudo judicial verdicts and killed in the sporadic battles ranging from Banai down to Rajbodasambar (Padmapur) stretching around 300 kms. (The present author has contributed an Article in Orissa Review in August 2006 narrating the on going adventures in detail). Extensive works have been done to reveal the resurgent saga of this battle while much more are yet to be unearthed. Hopefully this shall be accomplished in the course of Bicentenary Birth Celebration of Surendra Sae commencing from 23rd January 2008.

Yet it is to be recalled that two revolutionaries of 1857 fame had been deported to Port Blair, which was infamously known as Kala Pani, viz., Puri Gajapati Bir Kishore Dev and Hate (Hati) Singh, the eldest son of Ghens Zamindar martyr Madho Singh, in January 1865.

Similarly Chakhi Khuntia or Chandan Hazuri of Puri is to be paid tribute with all reverence entailing the 1857 war.

Objective of this Article is to formulate a glimpse of the entire panorama of the freedom struggle. Yet I seize the opportunity to highlight on a particular martyr who is surprisongly lost into oblivion, albeit who happened to be a conspicuous personage in the current discourse. He is Jagatbandhu Pattanaik, the Dewan of the last king of Sambalpur, Narain Singh. The King was a feeble one so much so that the Britishers liked a king only of that level. But the Dewan, Jagatbandhu, was a strong-headed man, who incurred displeasure of the British. He was executed in the year 1848 on the charge of treason, tantamount to regicide. One Roop Singh was installed in his place, who was a clerk in the

royalty and had been brought by Narain Singh following his second marriage from Sadheikala. Next year, i.e., in 1849, of course, Narain Singh passed away and it spelt out the virtual end of royalty of Sambalpur since the Britishers occupied Sambalpur in entirety. However it is unfortunate that nothing more is known regarding Jagatbandhu Pattanaik though he was hanged by the Britishers. But his antecedent is evident from the fact that his son Bal Mukund Pattanaik, following the patriotic foot-print of his father, helped Rs.500 to Fakir Singh, brother of Narain Singh, to appeal before the Government for receiving the Royalty. But the move failed. Further, though he served as a Revenue Officer, he ventured to help the cause of Surendra Sae, and organized at least two meetings at his residence clandestinely and donated hundred rupees to buttress the struggle. It must be placed in reminiscence, further, that the grandson of Jagatbandhu Pattanaik was none but Braja Mohan Pattanaik, a distinguished personality in the public life of Sambalpur and who was instrumental in the merger of Sambalpur with Orissa Division in 1905.

The later part of nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of Birsa Munda, a prototype of Surendra Sae, in Chhotnagpur region of present day Jharkhand. His horror against the British unleashed tremendous impact in the tribal sectors of northern Orissa.

Further, Orissa did not lag behind in the march of realization of renaissance in other areas of public concern. Publication is an esoteric test of national consciousness. *Utkal Dipika* was published from Cuttack by Gauri Shankar Roy as early as 1866 (inspite of the breakout of



Na'anika famine). '*Bodh dayini*' got published from Balasore being edited by Fakir Mohan Senapati. '*Sambalpur Hiteishini*' surfaced at Bamanda (Deogarh) from Sudhal Press with Nilamani Vidyaratna as the editor. Another '*Utkal Hiteishini Samaj*' appeared at Paralakhemundi in 1868 with the patronage of Padmanabha Narain Deo. Beside these '*Utkal Putra*' (1873), '*Utkal Darpan*' (1873) and another '*Sanskaraka*' (1883) made debut and unleashed impact in literary firmament of Orissa.

The literary works had much to do with social and national awakening in the closing dismal years of nineteenth century. The periodical journals were substantiated with myriad full scale novels, short stories, poetries and epics through the writings of a host of luminaries. '*Kichaka badha*' of Gangadhar Meher stood at par with '*Kichaka badhas*' in other Indian vernacular languages. This was not meant for mere literary consumption, but contained in it the seeds of nationalist discontent. Valentine Chirol, the Correspondent of 'Time' magazine in India from 1901 to 1907 commented in his work 'The Indian Unrest', 'Kichak badh had much to do It has nationalist tinge in it. It depicts Mother India as Draupadi, Lord Curzon as Kichak, the Congress Moderates as Bhisma and the Extremists as Yudhisthir.' In similar strain Ganakabi Baishnav Pani underscored Puranic plays in Orissa. The eleven days '*Dhanuyatra*' festival of Bargarh also started during the same hey days with the objective that demonic rule was destined to be extinguished at any cost.

Filigrees, native clothes and other handicrafts of coastal and western Orissa were being exhibited in the annual '*Swadeshi Mela*' or '*Jatiya Mela*' organized in Bengal by Raj Narain Bose and Nabagopal Mitra from 1867 to 1880.

Branches of Brahmo Samaj were founded at Balasore, Cuttack and elsewhere during the same period. Arya Samaj also made its root by the turn of the century in Orissa beginning at Vedavyas near Rourkela. These religio-reform organizations played pivotal role in shaping nationalist consciousness.

Madhusudan Das alongwith Gauri Shankar Ray attended the third session of Indian National Congress in 1887 held at Madras. He attempted to raise the plight of Orissa that it was a colony within a colony. But his plea was heard with deaf ear. He made similar consistent attempt at Ahmedabad Session in the year 1892. Again he was silenced with the argument that regional imbroglios could hardly be addressed in the national platforms, and he was rather subjected to humiliation. So he dissociated himself from the Congress anguishly which was so dear to him. After attending the Madras Session he was even contemplating to get merge his '*Utkal Sabha*' with the Congress, which he could not do since Gauri Shankar refrained him from it.

Madhusudan subsequently completely devoted himself for the cause of amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts. As a sequel the whole lot of Orissan public figures stood behind him, and Orissa got insulated from the national mainstream for a quarter century. Moreover, Madhu babu became a Minister of Bihar-Orissa in 1922, made representation before the Simon Commission in 1928 on the question of amalgamation of Orissa, and also attended the First Round Table Conference at London in 1930 for the same reason. All these moves were out and out poignant to the national mainstream defined by the Congress. Hence it is felt that Madhu babu remained as '*Utkal Gaurab*' and could not



become 'Bharat Gaurab'. But his stature was of such height that he could have been the President of Indian National Congress. Arguably Chittaranjan Das also became a Minister in 1922 and Mayor in 1924 and did not submit to the Congress dictat; yet he earned the appellation 'Desha bandhu' and not mere 'Banga bandhu'. Lest, plea of Madhu Babu was corroborated by none-else than Mahatma Gandhi himself in his second visit to Orissa in 1927. Viewing the agony of Orissa he stated, "Orissa saved means India saved." Further, the States in post-independence India were re-organised on linguistic basis which vindicates the stand of Madhu Babu. Moreover, the language factor was integrally ingrained with the concept of Swaraj in nationalist interpretation during the freedom struggle. Swaraj included '*swabhasa*' as well.

Madhu Babu was palpably never a parochialist. He was simply concerned with distinct plight of Orissa. While addressing the reception to Surendranath Banerjee at Cuttack in 1915 Madhusudan clarified, "Oh youth of Orissa, we are children of Mother India. Surendra Babu's Mother Bengal and our Mother Orissa. What is difference of these Mothers? India signifies a stretched land, and Orissa signifies a limited land. There is no contradiction of Mother Orissa and Mother India." On the eve of the inauguration of the first Utkal Sammilani in 1903 Madhu babu insisted Radhanath Ray to compose a Sanskritised poem of national concern in the same stream and appeal of 'Bande Mataram.' Radhanath got thrilled and composed the sweet and appealing song '*Sarvesam Jananee Bharata....*'"

When Gopabandhu Das was studying at Calcutta he was influenced by the nationalist like

Bipin Chandra Pal through his publication 'New India' and 'Self Rule' movement. So also he was swayed with the '*Bande Mataram*' movement and the revolutionaries like Khudiram Bose who was hanged in 1908.

After his return to Orissa, Gopabandhu constituted one '*Biswasikhya Parishad*' in 1906 in order to spread education as a vehicle of national rejuvenation, and founded one "*Bana Vidyalaya*" at Satyabadi under its auspices. It turned into a National School by 1921. All these were founded in consonance of the National Education resolution of the Congress in 1906. The products of Satyabadi proved as the cream of Orissan public life in term of patriotism, paragon of public morality and selfless social service. Most of them were later dedicated to the cause of *Sarvodaya* movement - prominent among whom was Acharya Harihar.

Gopabandhu remained active in his professional and public life under the tutelage of Madhusudan after his study. But by 1920 he felt constraint to review his political agenda. He convened a session of Utkal Conference at Chakradharpur on 30 December 1920. Madhusudan declined to attend the meeting and preside over the Conference since Gopabandhu elusively intended to convert the Conference into a nationalist one under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Truly a resolution was passed there, which read, "Resolved that the aims and objects of the Indian National Congress be accepted as that of objectives of the Conference". Gopabandhu reiterated, "When India marches ahead in the national movement, it was unwise for Orissa to stand aloof. For by such dissociation from the mainstream of national struggle Orissa stood to lose very much." It is evident that the



Swadeshi movement of 1905-10 had little impact in Orissa. Except certain bonfire of foreign goods in certain places like Balasore and Cuttack there was hardly any such occurrence elsewhere. The tragic martyrdom of Bagha Jatin (Jatin Mukherjee) near Balasore in 1905 had of course generated some patriotic fervour. But we remained much as distant spectators.

Following Chakradharpur Convention a contingent of 35 delegates led by Gopabandhu attended the much sought Nagpur Session of Congress which reviewed the progress of on-going Non-Cooperation Movement. The delegation included among others Jadumani Mangaraj, Braja Sundar Das and Chandra Sekhar Behera. On their return Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee was constituted for the first time, and Gopabandhu Das adorned it as President. Mahatma Gandhi had been invited at Nagpur to visit Orissa. Gandhiji obliged and reached Cuttack on 23 March 1921 for the first time and addressed a general meeting. Next day he addressed another meeting specifically convened for women and students.

Harekrushna Mahatab who was a student of B.A. final year in Calcutta during the special session of the Congress in September 1920 discontinued study on the call of Mahatma Gandhi to boycott schools and colleges. Gopabandhu Chaudhuri was a Deputy Magistrate who resigned from the same post in 1921. Nilakantha Das resigned from the lecturership of Calcutta University. It is on record that as many as sixty students left Ravenshaw College. Other great figures who plunged in to the Non co-operation movement included Naba Krushna Chaudhuri, Malati Chaudhuri, Rama Devi and Sarala Devi.

Swaraj Ashram of Cuttack became a pilgrimage for the freedom fighters, which was the State headquarter of Congress. Spinning and khadi movement became the cause celebre. The Merchants' Association of Cuttack resolved not to sell foreign clothes. On the eve of Gandhi Jayanti on 2nd October 1921 bonfire of foreign clothes was organized at Cuttack. For the first time the whole of Orissa was awakened and activated in the nationalist cause. Even after suspension of the Non-Co-operation movement in February 1922 activism remained intact - particularly in the constructive areas like khadi. Bhagirathi Pattanaik of Barpali in Bargarh district walked the whole distance as a matter of '*pada jatra*' to Kakinada of Andhra Pradesh to attend the Congress Session in December 1923.

Gopabandhu became a member of the 'Lok Sevak Mandal' at the request of Lala Lajpat Rai. A branch of Hindu Mahasabha led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya was also constituted in Orissa in 1922 under the chairmanship of Gopabandhu Das.

Come the Civil Disobedience Movement or Salt Satyagraha of 1930, Orissa again caught the nationalist imagination. Illustratively, one Satyagraha at Inchudi in Balasore district was launched on 13 April 1930. It was spearheaded by Sardar Surendra Nath Das, Binod Kanungo, Jeebaramji Kothari, Rama Devi and Harekrushna Mahatab. In the land-locked areas of western Orissa also the movement was organized as per Congress instruction and people offered voluntary arrest violating the so-called established law.

Baji Raut episode of Dhenkanal came up in the year 1938 which created feverish stir in the mass. His dead body was moved in a procession



at Cuttack. Sachi Routray composed an inspiring poetry entitled 'Baji Raut.'

Sarojini Naidu visited Cuttack in 1938 and addressed the students of Revenshaw College. Her one hour bombastic lecture was recalled by Prof. Sriram Chandra Dash in our class in 1973, who was a student of I.A. then.

Second World War broke out on 3rd September 1939; and the Biswanath Das Government resigned in protest against the arbitrary suspension of the Government of India Act, 1935 by the Governor General Lord Linlithgow.

By 1942 Orissa again plunged into the coldron of the nationalist movement. Congress committees at primary level in every corner of Orissa were constituted. Programmes like spinning, '*prabhat pheri*' '*gram safei*', 'Harijan'-elevation, and picketing before liquor shops were being assiduously pursued. District-level volunteers' training camps were being routinely organized. Dayanand Satpathy (of whom this 2007 is the birth centenary year) and Shraddhakar Supakar were the captains of this kind of training camps at Sambalpur.

Much to the pride of Orissa, Harekrushna Mahatab was the first member of the coveted Congress Working Committee then; and as such he attended the decisive Working Committee meeting held at Wardha on 14 July 1942, which called upon the British Government to withdraw from India. In the night of 8-9 August 1942 he was arrested at Bombay along with fellow working committee members and lodged in the Ahmednagar Fort Jail till 1944. It is during this internment that Jawaharlal Nehru lightly taunted him on the 'mutilated' God of Orissa - implying

Lord Jagannath. This provoked Dr. Mahatab to write a threadbare history of Orissa highlighting its lofty cultural heritage.

Pandit Laxmi Narain Mishra of Sambalpur was imprisoned at Hazaribagh jail and as such became a jail mate of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Credit goes to him for translating Bhagavat Gita into Urdu.

The first police firing in the Quit India Movement in Orissa was shot at Sambalpur when a demonstration was passing through the Zilla School. Sachi Routray was the student leader of Revenshaw College then, who had been imprisoned in the Circle Jail of Cuttack along with others. His fellow students were shouting outside the jail premises, "Sachi ... we are with you. Long live the struggle."

Talcher and Nilagiri Princely States witnessed brazen repression and corresponding reaction of the people too. '*Praja mandals*' in most of the Princely States were being organised spontaneously. The Iram incident is most heart touching, which is compared with the Jallianawallabagh massacre of 1919. At Iram village of Balasore district six thousand people of 25 villages assembled before the palace of the Zamindar on 28 September 1942 in protest against his exploitation and capricious rule. It was held with prior notice to the administration. The people assembled there, declared themselves as '*Marana Sena*' and the ground of congregation was made known as '*Marana Kshetra*'. 130 rounds of firing were shot instantly to the unprovoked unarmed people. The Collector reported that 25 to 30 people died in the firing. But Surendranath Dwivedi, who was an eye witness there, reported that 35 persons had been killed.



Atabira College hosted one UGC sponsored Conference on 26-27 February 2005 on "Freedom Struggle in Bargarh District." It unearthed among other things that 7 persons from the district had been imprisoned in the Salt Satyagraha of 1930, 28 in the individual satyagraha of 1940 and 83 during the Quit India Movement. It included 32 from Panimora (a village of mere 52 families then), 16 from Bargarh, 12 from Remanda and 19 from Samleipadar. Panimora was the citadel of the movement which is yet a thrilling spot while recalling the boiling days of Quit India Movement. Jambubati Devi, wife of Bhagirathi Pattanaik, led the women of the area. The other two women leaders included Parvati Giri and Prabhavati Devi. Parvati Giri hoisted the tricolour flag in the office of Bargarh S.D.O. on 9 August 1942 synchronising Bharat Ratna Aruna Asaf Ali's hoisting of the same at Shivaji Park of Bombay on the same date as commemoration of the Quit India Day held in previous year inspite of heavy police arrangement.

In 1943 a tribal movement in Koraput district broke out which was led by Laxman Naik. He was falsely implicated in a murder case (true to the mischievous practice of John Bull) and was hanged in April 1943.

There was also spark of Subhas Chandra Bose in Orissa. A unit of Forward Block had been constituted here as early as 1940 under the leadership of Bibhudhendra Mishra. Many unlisted soldiers had also joined the Indian National Army led by Netaji. In fact when we articulate appraisal on freedom movement in Orissa, Subhas Chandra Bose himself represents Orissa for all practical purpose, psychologically and behaviourally, so much so he was born and

brought up at Cuttack. He was a genuine Oriya-spokesman. Above all, impact of his adventure in Orissa and Redfort trial was felt strongly and Orissa is proud of him.

Thus right from the great upheaval of 1857 down to the enacting of the Indian Constitution, Orissa contributed phenomenally. Manyfold contributions and heroic episodes of sacrifices are yet to be unfolded for which vigorous micro study is imperative. Even the process of amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts was integral part of the nationalist movement in Orissa in proper perspective so much so that the patriotic atmosphere generated for integration of Orissa got organically converted to the nationalist movement at length. It is the question of interpretation which may vaguely land somebody in apprehension or myopic illusion. A perusal study to the intent would obviously dispel any kind of misgiving. It is true that Orissa trailed behind in comparison to Bengal and Maharashtra in term of ushering in renaissance and consequent nationalist struggle. It was quite crystal in view of given historical backdrop. But it hardly marginalizes the potentiality of Orissa and its overall contributions to the freedom struggle. Every section of the Orissan society and every region of the State got involved in the process of Nation-making which would obviously serve as veritable source for national rejuvenation in proper perspective.

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Netaji Subhas and India's Independence

Dr. Shridhar Charan Sahoo

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was a great patriot and revolutionary, whose life was almost a total dedication to the cause of India's freedom. He resigned from the Indian Civil Service in 1921 and joined the non-violent non-cooperation movement of Congress under Gandhiji's leadership. He worked under the over-all Gandhian leadership for almost about two decades, even though he was critical of him and his action on certain issues and occasions keeping in mind the onward march of India's struggle for freedom and his desire to radicalize the Congress organization on the path of struggle. Ultimately, he came to believe that India's freedom could not possibly be achieved only through the Gandhian strategy of non-violence. As per his own thinking and conviction, he thought of the need of an armed struggle against British Raj to achieve India's Freedom.

During the Second World War when Great Britain got entangled in a life and death struggle against the fascist powers like Germany, Italy and Japan, he tried to take advantage of



Britain's difficulty and actualize his idea of armed struggle through the help of those fascist powers.

As it were, he fled from the country in 1941 first to Germany and then to South East Asia in his quest for India's freedom.

He organized an army of liberation called Azad Hind Fauj or Indian National Army out of the Indian Prisoners of War in Japanese hands and the Indians in Burma, Malay and Singapore. It was meant to free India from British bondage by force of arms. It was a well organized Army and Worked under the provisional Government of India which he formed in Singapore on 21st October, 1943. The Azad Hind Fauj was not under the Japanese and maintained its independent stance vis-à-vis Japanese Government. Netaji,

who by all means was a self-conscious and proud nationalist, did not hesitate even to cross swords with the Japanese guarding our national honour and national self respect.

The Azad Hind Fauj with Netaji as the Supreme Commander fought a heroic battle with



the British Power in India. A contingent of I.N.A. under Saha Nawaz Khan even unfurled the Tricolour in Imphal after overpowering the British. He, of course, lost the battle and his I.N.A. was not successful in winning the freedom of the country through armed struggle. However, as has been said, his I.N.A. "Certainly hastened the dissolution of the British Empire in India".

On 15th August 2007, India celebrates its 60 years of independent Nation-hood and 150th year of the First War of Indian Independence (1857).

This should be the occasion to pay homage to this great patriot and bring out his contribution which more or less has been ignored or down played in post - independent India.

Mahatma Gandhi whom Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose very rightly called as "Father of the Nation" was most undoubtedly the prime-mover of India's struggle for freedom. He was the father of Indian nationalism and the foster-mother of the new awakening that swept across the length and breadth of the country cutting across all sections of people. He was the greatest mass leader of India and no other leader could equal him or his stature. Moreover, it was under his leadership and vision that the whole of India jumped into the raging cauldron of India's freedom struggle. In their own ways and under the umbrella of his leadership and strategy, many other great leaders like Pandit Nehru, Sardal Patel and Rajendra Prasad etc. also contributed their memorable part to the struggle for India's freedom. Outside the Gandhian mainstream, there were also revolutionary fighters like Netaji Subhas, Sahid Bhagat Singh and Chandra Sekhar Azad etc., whose contribution was no less significant. Their suffering and sacrifice for cause of India's freedom should of course be recognized and given its place in the pantheon of history.

In an Article entitled "Netaji & Mahatma, A Legend's Final Push to Freedom", Samar Guha observed very aptly, "when the truth of the history of Indian freedom is told to future generations in an atmosphere free from the prejudices of contemporary politics, they will realize that the main road to freedom was carved out primarily by two distinctive personalities - Mahatma Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose. Other national leaders no doubt also played leading roles, but Gandhi and Bose made the fundamental contributions in their characteristic ways. The overall background was prepared by Mahatma Gandhi but the final compulsion for the withdrawal of the British from India was Netaji's achievement".

This article entitled "Netaji Subhas and India's Independence seeks to discuss the role of Netaji Subhas in the achievement of India's independence at some length.

His role in India's struggle for freedom has two facets. It has to include both his pre- INA period and the I.N.A. struggle for India's freedom.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose (1921-1941) : Pre - I.N.A. period.

After the failure of the revolutionaries to achieve Independence during World War-1, Gandhi emerged as the new leader of our freedom struggle with a novel method of struggle, the method of non-violent Satyagraha. Subhas joined this national struggle under Gandhiji's leadership, though he was not fully convinced of the efficacy of the Gandhian strategy as was evident from his impressions of the first meeting at Mani Bhawan in Bombay on 16th July, 1921. In a way, he was rather depressed and disappointed in his first meeting.

Nevertheless, Bose worked under Gandhiji's leadership during the non-co-operation movement and the Civil Disobedience Movement



of 1930 even though he differed from Gandhiji on certain issues. Along with Nehru, he formed "Independence for India League" & spearheaded with determination a view-point that the goal of the Congress should be complete independence but not dominion status as was advocated at the Calcutta Congress in 1928. He even went a step ahead and ventured to move an amendment to Gandhiji's resolution on dominion status. Though his proposal was not accepted then, a year after at the Lahore Congress (1929), the Indian National Congress accepted complete Independence as the goal of national endeavour. In this way, he sought to radicalize the goal of Indian National Congress.

During this period, Bose did not deny the essential efficacy of Gandhian non-violence with its programme of peaceful mass struggle. Even at the height of his conflict with Gandhi, before and after the Tripura Congress of 1939, neither the Mahatma's leadership nor his non-violent means of struggle was challenged by Bose. The basic dispute was over whether or not to launch an immediate national struggle and seize the opportunity to oust the war-battered British as advised by Bose.

When Gandhiji disagreed, Bose who formed a party of his own called the Forward Bloc started an agitation of his own. "But he found that the people remained un-responsive to his call without the Mahatma's endorsement. Gandhi was the number one national leader and Netaji found himself in the second position".

After his historic escape from the country in 1941 and search for freedom through an armed struggle in collaboration with axis powers, Gandhiji's attitude towards Bose underwent a definite change. Abul Kalam Azad in his book "India Wins Freedom" points out that Gandhiji's admiration for Bose coloured his viewpoint about

the war situation and was somewhat responsible for the failure of the Cripps mission. He observes: "Gandhiji did not express his opinion about the outcome of this war in clearest terms but in discussions with him, I felt that he was becoming more and more doubtful about an Allied Victory. I also saw that Subhas Bose's escape to Germany had made a great impression on Gandhiji. He had not formerly approved many of Bose's actions but I now found a change in his outlook. Many of his remarks convinced me that he admired the courage and resourcefulness which Subhas Bose had displayed in making his escape from India. His admiration for Subhas unconsciously coloured his view about the whole war situation. This admiration was also one of the factors which clouded the discussion during the Cripps mission to India

When the Cripps mission failed, "Gandhi opted for an immediate national struggle despite vehement opposition by Jawaharlal Nehru, Azad and Rajgopalchari". The mood of the Mahatma now acquired a revolutionary élan. The words, he made use of at the time like "rebellion", "revolt", "anarchy", and "uprising", definitely did not fit into the ethics of a non-violent mass struggle. On August 9, 1942, Mahatma Gandhi gave the call of "Quit India" which he described as an "open rebellion", a swift, non-violent revolt".

Though, Gandhiji urged the freedom fighters to "do or die", he gave them no plan or programme of action. In fact, after the arrest of Gandhiji and other leaders people were simply in the dark as to what should be their modus operandi.

Subhas had escaped from India on January 17, 1941 in his quest for freedom and was not there in the country when Gandhiji launched the Quit India movement. But he was elated over the launching of the Quit India Movement and



considered 1942 as "the year of Grace". He, moreover, announced over the Azad Hind Radio in Germany, a programme of action called "Non-violent Guerilla Warfare" to be followed by the freedom fighters in the Country. The object of the Non-violent Guerilla warfare, in his view, was two fold - "Firstly to destroy war production in India and secondly to paralyse the British administration in the Country". Keeping these objects in view, Bose called upon every section of the society to participate in the historic struggle. He asked the people to stop paying all taxes, workers in industries to launch a strike, and carry out sabotage to impede production. The students were called upon to organize secret guerilla bands for carrying on sabotage in different parts of the country. Women and girl students were required to act as secret messengers and provide shelter for the men who fight. The Government officials were also appealed by Subhas to give all available information to fighters outside and to hamper production by working inefficiently. For the general public he also chalked out a programme of action. They were asked to take up boycott of British goods, publish secret bulletins and set up secret radio stations. The other items recommended to be put into operation were setting fire to Government Offices and factories working for war purpose, interrupting postal, telegraph and telephone communication interrupting railway bus and tram services so as to hamper the transport of soldiers or of war material and lastly destroying police stations, railway stations and jails". There is no doubt that Bose's concept of non-violent guerilla warfare influenced the nature and course of the Quit India movement to a considerable extent. It ran counter to the Gandhian strategy of truth, non-violence, clean and open fight. A. Appadorai has rightly pointed out that Bose's non-violent Guerilla warfare was "indeed a contradiction in terms"

and Bose's interpretation of non-violence only revealed how differently the same concept could be interpreted by leaders and thinkers to the confusion of the ordinary man who is asked to accept it. However, in the absence of any official programme of action by the Indian national congress, Netaji's strategy of non-violent guerilla warfare "was the only guideline for the mass movement of 1942".

It is rightly said "The amalgamation of the Gandhian call with Bose's programme transformed the traditional form of Satyagraha into the popular August revolution. Most Chroniclers of the history of India's liberation movement have missed the cause and timing of this significant transition of the character of the freedom struggle. Mahatma Gandhi, in fact, handed over the reins of control to Subhas Chandra Bose in 1942. The August revolution was his biggest gift to rebel Netaji. It immensely strengthened the latter's position and enabled him to speak and act for the cause of Indian freedom in the international sphere".

In March, 1939 at the Tripuria Session of the Congress, Subhas had proposed that the Indian "National Congress should immediately send an ultimatum to the British Government demanding independence within six months and should simultaneously prepare for a national struggle. This proposal for an ultimatum was opposed by Gandhi and Nehru and was thrown out. Subhas had maintained all along that it was only when Britain was involved in war that we could fight it with the maximum chances of success and that Britain's difficulty was India's opportunity. When Britain got entangled in war with Germany, Subhas implored Gandhi and the Indian National Congress to launch upon some mass struggle for freedom. To Subhas, this was "India's golden opportunity" to fight and win



Swaraj. Gandhiji, on the other hand, considered that any movement when Britain was in difficulty will derogate from his doctrine of non-violence. In fact, on September 6, 1939, three days after the commencement of the Second World War, Gandhi had issued a press statement that inspite of the differences between India & Britain on Indian independence, India should cooperate with Britain in her hour of danger. However, Congress under Gandhiji's leadership passed the famous Quit India resolution three years later on August 8, 1942 when Britain was still in the midst of a life and death struggle. As we saw, Gandhiji ultimately took an absolutely uncompromising stand against British imperialism. His tone and temper clearly smacked of a revolutionary élan quite akin to the soul and spirit of Netaji. In a way, it was a vindication of Netaji's revolutionary and realistic strategy of fight against the British Raj. So, it is aptly said 'that the Quit India Movement brought Gandhi and Bose ideologically nearer to each other and marked the climax of Bose's attempts to radicalize the Congress Organisation.

Subhas Bose in Germany and South East Asia - Quest for Armed Assistance for India's freedom

After his daring and thrilling escape from India on 17th January, 1941, Subhas reached Berlin on 3rd April, 1941, in his quest for foreign armed help to dislodge the British Power from India. As it is said "Bose's journey from Calcutta to Berlin, full of thrilling details, was a historic one and its nearest parallel is the escape of Shivaji from the clutches of Aurang Zeb". Thereafter, commenced "the most glorious period" of his life of struggle and sacrifice which ended in August, 1945 when he left for an unknown destination. He emerged during this period "as the immortal Netaji raised to a meteoric height for which providence had prepared him from his childhood".

It was a Herculean task for Subhas to make the German Government interested in India's struggle for freedom. S.A. Ayer writes, "it was no easy task for Subhas to persuade Germany to treat him as a top-ranking representative of the Indian Nation and extend to him the facilities to collect an army to fight for India's independence. He ultimately won the Hitler regime's respect for his firm determination to liberate his country from the British yoke by taking the aid of Britain's enemies without any strings attached. He had to overcome formidable obstacles before he could accomplish the formation of the first Azad Hind Fauj (Free Indian Army) on German soil out of the Indian prisoners of war brought to Germany from various European and Middle East War theatres."

The first task that Subhas addressed himself to was the establishment of an Indian Organisation called Free India Centre. N.G. Jog writes, "Adam Von Trott Zu Solz, a high official of German foreign office, evinced special interest in Bose's activities. He had taken a fancy for India since his student days at Oxford and counted many Indians among his friends. He used his good offices to enable Bose to set up an Indian Organisation in Berlin. A number of Indians were called and carefully screened by German Foreign Office. They were then interviewed by Bose for recruitment to the Free India Centre".

To meet the expenses of the Free India Centre, monetary aid on the basis of a national loan was agreed upon. It may be noted that the Free India Centre was given the status of a diplomatic mission and was established in the Tiergarten area of Berlin where the foreign embassies were located. Dr. N.G. Ganpuley, the celebrated author of "Netaji in Germany - A little known chapter", A.C.H. Nambiar and Girija Kumar Mookerjee were leading lights of the Free India Centre who rallied around Subhas.



The Free India Centre which Subhas established in Germany passed four important resolutions of far reaching importance on 2nd November, 1941, which have come down to present India as a legacy of Subhas's nationalism. These were "the war cry Jai Hind, the title of the national hero Netaji, our national anthem, the Jana Gana Mana and our national language, Hindustani. It may be noted that the Free India Centre was the predecessor of the provisional government of Azad Hind proclaimed at Singapore in 1943.

The next thing that Subhas devoted himself to was to put out "regular" and uncensored broadcasts over the German radio stations directed at India. This was agreed to by the German Government. The Indian Radio Programme was to be sent in the name of Azad Hind Radio. It was to be transmitted on a special independent wave length un-mixed with any German broadcasting programme. N.G. Ganpuley writes, "the programme of the Azad Hind Radio was to be completely manned by Indians except for Radio technicians who were to record the talks and broadcast the same at given hours through specially chosen powerful stations meant for the Far East There was to be no censorship of any kind from the German side. There was to be no dictation about the subjects to be selected".

Besides the Free India Centre and radio broadcast, Subhas's next task was to build up something positive and effective like a National Army. He realized that "Indian freedom could not be secured by waging only a verbal war. Something more positive and effective was needed for that purpose something for instance, like a national army raised abroad. In fact, he thought of creating an army of liberation out of the Indian prisoners of war brought to Germany from the various European and Middle East War

theatres. In this Subhas also succeeded, though initially the German Government was dis-inclined to the idea of forming an army of liberation. In spite of the discouraging response of the Indian prisoners of war at the Annaberg Camp, Subhas could ultimately transcend their insulation from all ideas of nationalism and in fact could transform them into soldiers of India's freedom. By December, 1942 this army of liberation formed in Germany named as Indian Legion had gained strength of four battalions of about 4,000 men. While Subhas was busy raising an Indian Legion, his mind was pondering over the whole spectrum of the international situation and his own plans and programme. Germany was too far away from India and whatever hopes he had entertained about Hitler's quick victory in Europe and subsequent drive to the East were dissipated by the heroic Russian defence of Stalin grad.

On the other hand, Japan had occupied the whole of South East Asia knocking on the North Eastern gates of India and it was the time to be as near his motherland as possible so that he could synchronize his own armed struggle with the Quit India Movement launched by the Congress in August, 1942.

So in February, 1943, Subhas again "took the plunge into the unknown, his second historic journey with death staring him in the face every minute of that journey". As S. A. Ayer has written : "It was a perilous submarine voyage from Germany through enemy infested water round the British isles, round Africa, across the Indian ocean, to Sumatra and Penang and from there by air to Japan and ultimately to Singapore is another glorious chapter in the history of India's struggle for freedom". Subhas reached Japan in June, 1943. Immediately thereafter he started his exploits in South East Asia.



A backward look is needed here for a proper appreciation of Subhas's work in South East Asia. In December, 1941, the World War had been extended to the Pacific and Japan had entered into the fray of the World War against Great Britain. Thereafter, Indian independence Leagues were formed through out East Asia due to the appeal of Sri Rash Behari Bose, an outstanding Indian Revolutionary, who had been a political exile in Japan for the last three decades. With the fall of Singapore in February, 1942, the British surrendered to the Japanese alongwith about 20,000 Indian soldiers and officers as prisoners of War. By virtue of an understanding with the Japanese authorities, these prisoners of war were handed over to General Officer commanding Captain Mohan Singh. This was the genesis of the Indian National Army which later attracted thousands of Civilian Youths in East Asia and enabled Subhas in course of time to raise no fewer than three combatant divisions totaling over 30,000 men under arms".

On 15th June, 1942, the Indian Independence Conference at Bangkok under the chairmanship of Sri Rash Behari Bose requested Subhas to come over to the East Asia to take up the leadership of Indian Independence Movement. It appealed to the Imperial Government of Japan "to use its good offices to obtain the necessary permission and conveniences from the government of Germany to enable S. Subhas Chandra Bose to reach East Asia safe.

With these developments in mind, Subhas in Germany was working out his plans to reach East Asia and raise a free Indian Army from among the large Indian community in Malay, Singapore, Burma and other regions of East Asia. S.A. Ayer gives out the working of Subhas's mind then, "if only the active and enthusiastic co-operation of the Japanese, Burmese and other war time

Governments in East Asia was assured, it would be a much easier task to lead a free India Army massed on the Burma border to launch an attack on the British Forces on the other side of the Indian border and roll them back in Bengal and Assam. Such a spectacular achievement by an Indian Army of liberation on the Bengal and Assam borders, he calculated, would lead to a country - wide uprising against the British regime".

So on reaching Japan in June, 1943 : Subhas entered into parleys with his excellence, the Japanese Prime Minister, Tojo. His single minded devotion to the cause of India's liberation could not but impress the latter who on 16th June, 1943 made his momentous and epoch-making announcement that, Japan was firmly resolved to extend all support to India's struggle for freedom. In the meantime Subhas got himself acquainted with the problems of the freedom movement in South East Asia through a long and protracted confabulation with Sri Rash Behari Bose. In between June 19th, 1943 and June 13th, 1943, he gave a number of interviews to the press and addressed a series of broadcasts from Tokyo. These interviews and broadcasts indicate Subhas's conviction that there was no hope of overthrowing British imperialism through the strategy of civil disobedience alone and that there was the need of transforming the non - violent struggle into a violent one. He had lost all faith that Britain would recognize India's freedom without a violent struggle.

That apart, he expressed his faith in an Axis victory and considered Axis powers in general and Japan in particular as India's best friends and allies in its struggle for freedom. To those of his countrymen who did not believe in the sincerity of the tripartite powers, he appealed to believe in him. In his broadcast from Tokyo on June 14th, 1943, he confidently declared that



he was not the man to be cajoled, corrupted or demoralized by anybody. On 4th July, 1943 the President-ship of Indian Independence League was made over to Subhas in a colourful function at Singapore presided over by the Ex. President of the League Sri Rash Beheri Bose. Here after, Subhas formally assumed the leadership of freedom movement in South East Asia.

Thereafter events moved in a cyclonic speed. On 5th July, 1943, Subhas inspected "the Indian National Army which led by Commander Bhonsle marched past and pledged their allegiance to the New Leader". To the Army of Liberation, Subhas now gave the battle cry of "Delhi Chalo". The day following premier Tojo of Japan inspected the I.N.A. just taken over by Subhas. On 9th July, 1943 at a mass rally, he gave the slogan of "Total mobilization for a total War". To the three millions of his country men in East Asia, Subhas said "give me total mobilization in East Asia and I promise you a second front - a real second front of the Indian struggle". His marathon tour to Malay, Thailand, Burma and French Indo-China to mobilize men, money and material for his proposed struggle had a unique, splendid and spontaneous response. In the words of S.A. Ayer, he could make the Indians in East Asia, "freedom mad".

On 25th August, 1943, Subhas by a special order of the day took over the I.N.A. and became its Supreme Commander. On 21st October, 1943, he proclaimed the formation of the provisional Government of India at Singapore. He became thereafter Head of State, Prime Minister and Minister for War and Foreign Affairs besides being the Supreme Commander of the I.N.A. The provisional Government was recognized by 9 World Powers including Nippon and Germany. On the 23rd October, 1943, the provisional Government of Free India declared War on Britain and United States. A large assembly of Indians

took the pledge that they would sacrifice their all in the sacred war of India's liberation. With all the honours due to a Head of State, Subhas was received by the emperor of Japan while he flew to Tokyo a week after. At the Greater East Asia Conference held in Tokyo, his Excellency Prime Minister Tojo announced on November, 6th that Japan had decided to hand over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Thus the provisional Government of Free India acquired its first stretch of territory in Free India.

It may be noted here that Subhas paid on official visit to these Islands and appointed Lt. Col. A.D. Longanadhan as a Chief Commissioner of these Islands. Soon afterwards, the headquarters of the provisional Government of Azad Hind, the Indian Independence League and the Supreme Command was shifted from Singapore to Rangoon so as to use Burma "as a spring board to jump at the throat of the enemy in India". Subhas's most challenging and striking call to Indians was "Give me blood and I promise you freedom". Be prepared for a blood bath, roared Subhas.

On 4th February 1944, the war of Independence was launched by the I.N.A. in the Arakan Region of Burma. The fight in the Arakans was for the Azad Hind Fauj its "baptism of fire" out of which it came out with collars flying". War was now carried to another sector of the Indo - Burma boarder, the Tiddian Sector. A week later, a general offensive began in the direction of Manipur and Assam and very soon the Indian boarder was crossed at a number of points. Units of the Azad Hind Fauj side by side with the Japanese Army marched into Manipur and Assam. On the 19th March, 1944, the I.N.A. crossed the Burma border and for the first time stood on the sacred soil of India which certainly was "a historic day in the annals of the I.N.A". Describing



the progress of the I.N.A., S. A. Ayer describes : "the I.N.A. was fighting freedom's battle on eight Sectors of Burma-Indian border, on the plains of Imphal and in the neighbourhood of Kohima. In the matter of hours, news was expected of the fall of Imphal to India's army of liberation. This would have meant the death - Knell of British Empire in India.

However, destiny ordained it otherwise. Fortunes of war now went against the Axis powers. Heavy bombing by the Americans and their rapid advance to the Pacific forced the Imperial Army of Japan to withdraw from India - Burma border. Heavy monsoon along with the "reinforced air power of the British" incapacitated the I.N.A. to proceed further. The I.N.A. had to retreat under orders of Subhas on April 24th 1945. The arrival of Subhas in Bangkok in mid - May, 1945 just a week after Germany's surrender, discussion with colleagues, drawing up elaborate plans for continuing the freedom's battle thereafter, his air dash to Singapore from Bangkok and his broadcast from Singapore dated 19th June, 1945 appealing to the Congress to reject Wavell offer were among the important events of his stirring political career . Unfortunately, on August 18th, 1945, Subhas is said to have succumbed to an air crash in Formosa as announced by Tokyo Radio in its broadcast dated 22nd August.

Strategy of the Indian National Army and India's Independence

Subhas did not believe that all the efforts put forward in India would ever suffice in achieving India's freedom. He became all the more convinced of this view when inspite of the civil disobedience movement and the acts of sabotage since the Quit India Movement, the goal of independence was not reached. So he said on 15th August 1943 at the Farrer Park in

Syonna..... "We shall not win Freedom till we put up a second front on the Indo-Burma frontier and call upon the Indian people and the British Indian Army to take up arms against the British and their allies in India". So, the armed struggle of the Indian National Army was intended to be a second front to supplement the main struggle going on at home under the leadership of the Congress.

When Subhas returned from Germany in 1943 to launch an armed struggle from South East Asia, he knew pretty well that the Axis powers with whom he collaborated would lose the war. Narayan Menon who was two years with Subhas as his comrade at arms in South-East Asia records, "This he told me in unequivocal terms on 5th September, 1943, when we discussed international situation at Hotel Majestic in Kuala Lumpur". So inspite of this apprehension of Axis defeat he went ahead with his plan of armed struggle by organizing the Indian National Army, it was primarily due to certain strategic considerations. In his speech dated 9th July, 1943 at a huge mass rally in Singapore he said, "The time has come when I can openly tell the whole world including our enemies as to how it is proposed to bring about national liberation. Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organize a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do so a revolution will breakout, not only among the civil population at home but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British flag. When the British Government is thus attacked from both sides from inside India and from outside - it will collapse and the Indian people will then regain their liberty".

So it is evident that Subhas adopted the strategy of armed struggle on the basis of his conviction that revolution would break out in



India "if some how he massed his army on the Indo - Burma frontier". It is said "The basic assumption on which Bose seemed to have based his grand scheme was that the internal conditions in India were ripe for a revolt India's struggle for freedom had reached a significant phase with the August revolt of 1942. It had conclusively proved that the Indian people were ready to adopt violent methods in the independence movement and thereby they had ushered in a new phase of violent nationalism. It may be that Subhas's strategy came out true to a great extent even though his Indian National Army failed in the field of battle due to a variety of reasons. His hope of a revolution in the Indian Army and a general revolutionary situation was quite evident in India as a sequel to the Red Fort trials at the end of the war which brought into limelight the "full and real story" of the I.N.A. saga. Almost till then the Indian Army had remained aloof from the cross - currents of Indians nationalism. However, the I.N.A. saga exercised a tremendous impact in injecting the spirit of nationalism in them. "During the trial of Shah Nawaz and others, the Commander-in-Chief took a referendum from the Indian forces and 60 percent of them said that they wanted the I.N.A. officers to be released. "Over and above, the effect of the I.N.A. revolution was further marked in the Naval Mutiny at Bombay and in the unrest in the Army and the Air Force. High Toye has very rightly observed : ".....the Indian services came to have a certain sympathy with the popular clamour about the I.N.A. which was being raised in India and there can be little doubt that the serious naval mutinies and the unrest in the other two services early in 1946 owed some thing to its influence". The grave import of this revolutionary situation could not be lost sight of by the British Government. It was realized by them that no longer could they rely on the loyalty

of the Indian Army which was the main pillar of their support. This realization is evident from what Mr. Attlee, the British Premier said in Parliament on March 15, 1946. As he said, "I am quite certain that at the present time the tide of nationalism is running very fast in India and indeed all over Asia and today, I think that the national idea has spread right through and not the least perhaps among some of those soldiers who had done such wonderful services in the War". So, Subhas's strategy was largely borne out by the effect of his I.N.A. saga and almost exactly as he had predicted. It may be noted that the inculcation of this national idea in the Army which was primarily due to the I.N.A. of Netaji was a vital consideration to the British statesmen for the ultimate transfer of power to Indian hands. It has been recognized by both Indian and English writers. Michael Edwards in his work "The last years of British India" writes, "only one outstanding personality took a different and violent path and in a sense, India owes more to him than to any other man - even though he seemed to be a failure".

R.C. Majumdar in his book 'History of Freedom movement in India', which was published in 1977 has reflected upon the role of I.N.A. and how it was one of the major grounds for the decision of the British Government to Quit India. In his own words : "In spite of failure, the I.N.A. occupies an important place in the history of India's struggle for freedom. The formation of this force and its heroic exploits proved beyond doubt that the British could no longer rely upon the Indian Sepoys to maintain their hold on India. The universal sympathy expressed all over India for the I.N.A. officers, who were tried for treason in the Red Fort at Delhi, gave a rude shock to the British, in as much as it clearly demonstrated that the Indians of all shades of opinion put a premium on the disloyalty of the



Indian troops to their foreign masters and looked upon it as a true and welcome sign of nationalism. The honour and esteem with which every Indian regarded the members of the I.N.A. offered a striking contrast to the ill-concealed disgust and contempt for those sepoys who refused to join the I.N.A. and remained true to their salt. Incredible though it may seem, it is none the less true, that even the stories of oppression and torture suffered by the latter for their loyalty evoked no sympathy for them in the hearts of the Indians who remained absolutely unmoved. The British were also not unaware of the fact that after the reoccupation of Burma by the British Troops there was wide spread fraternization between the sepoys and the I.N.A. and "its result was a political consciousness which the Indian Serviceman had never before possessed". All these opened the eyes of the British to their perilous situation in India. They realized that they were sitting on the brink of a volcano which may erupt at any moment. It is highly probable that this consideration played an important role in their final decision to Quit India. So the members of the I.N.A. did not die or suffer in vain and their leader, Netaji Subhas Bose, has secured a place of honour in the history of India's struggle for freedom.

The formation of I.N.A. was one of the major grounds for the decision of the British Government to quit India. This was admitted by no less a person than Clement Attlee, the head of British Government which conceived the idea of granting freedom to India and carried out the decision in spite of the opposition of the die-hard conservatives like Churchill. This is proved by the (English translation of the) following extract of a letter written in Bengali by Shri P.B. Chakravarti, Ex. Chief Justice of the High Court, Calcutta on 30.03.76. "When I was acting as Governor of West Bengal (in 1956) Lord Attlee,

who gave India freedom by putting an end to British rule, visited India and stayed in the Raj Bhavan, Calcutta for two days. I had then a long talk with him about the real grounds for the voluntary withdrawal of the British from India. I put it straight to him like this : "The Quit India Movement of Gandhi practically died out long before 1947 and there was nothing in Indian situation at that time which made it necessary for the British to leave India in a hurry. Why did they then do so ?" In reply, Attlee cited several reasons, the most important of which were the activities of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose which weakened the very foundation of the attachment of the Indian land and naval forces to the British Government. Towards the end : I asked Lord Attlee about the extent to which the British decision to quit India was influenced by Gandhi's activities. On hearing this question Attlee's lips widened in a smile of disdain and he uttered slowly, putting emphasis on each single letter - "mi-ni-mal".

Orissa and Netaji Subhas : A Bird's Eye View

It is matter of pride that Netaji Subhas who made remarkable contribution to India's freedom was a proud son of Utkal Janani. He was born in our historic city of Cuttack on 23rd January 1897 to Prabhavati Devi and Sri Janakinath Bose, who was a reputed Lawyer of the city. Born, brought up and educated in Cutack, Subhas loved his place of birth so much that in many of his letters to Sri P.K. Parija, he used to enquire about places and persons of his childhood and youthful days. He even remembered the lanes and bi-lanes of Cuttack. One constant query which he often made was about the economic condition of the Oriya people as if he did not forget the picture of poverty which he had seen. It was Orissa where he spent the first 16 years of his life during his formative years from 1897 to 1913. Orissa became in fact a nursery of his nationalism and



patriotism of which he became a burning symbol in subsequent years of his life and career. It was here during his school days that he became inspired by Swami Vivekananda's ideas which laid the foundation stone of his patriotism and nationalism. His days at Cuttack also initiated him into the mantra of social service. It was nature in Orissa which too inspired him greatly. It was river Mahanadi which appeared to have inspired him to be optimistic and go ahead and ahead in his quest for freedom. He got lessons on the nature and course of a revolutionary struggle for freedom which undergoes ups and downs.

He established a close rapport with Oriya luminaries of those days like Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Pandit Nilakantha Das, Biswanath Das and others. He also extended his full support for a separate Orissa State and Amalgamation of Oriya speaking areas as is evident from his letters to Pandit Gopabandhu Das during his days at Mandalay. When he became the Congress President in 1938, he took H.K. Mahatab in the Congress working Committee. It was for the first time that somebody from Orissa got into this vital wing of the Indian National Congress. The Forward Bloc which he formed in 1939 following his resignation from the Congress had behind it a number of dedicated and solid supporters like Pandit Nilakantha Das, Pandit Godabarish Mishra, Bibhudendra Mishra, Surajmal Saha, Sriharsh Mishra, Dibakar Patnaik and Ashok Das, son of Pandit Nilakantha Das.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose escaped from the country on 17th Jan. 1941 in his quest for armed assistance. "Raja Sankar Pratap of Dhenkanal is said to have assisted Netaji in his historic escape from Calcutta. He escaped in his No.2 Austin Car deceiving the British. This was stated in a published article by his nephew Sisir Bose in the Journal heritage (1986).

Pandit Nilakantha Das and his son Ashoka Das were great supporters of Netaji Subhas and his Forward Bloc in Orissa. The police who had their pouncing eye on them searched the premises of Nababharat Press, Cuttack on 24.06.42 and "recovered one copy of 'Biplabi Subhas' from the bed room of Ashok Das. Besides the above, they recovered some Forward Bloc correspondence and circulars. Of these seized documents one entitled "Bidrohi" dt.2.3.42 (an organ of Subhas Guards) was a highly seditious and prejudicial report as it urged for an armed revolution to overthrow the British Government in India under the Leadership of Bidrohi Subhas Chandra and enthrone him as the dictator of free India".

It will not be out of place to mention here that Pandit Nilakantha Das who resigned from the Provincial Congress Presidentship and joined the Forward Bloc in 1939 was "instrumental to the installation of a coalition Ministry in Orissa as per deliberations with Netaji. This was installed on the pretext of helping the Britishers in their war efforts, but with the real intention of helping easy ingress of the proposed I.N.A. of Netaji to India in order to precipitate attainment of independence".

Many Oriyas joined the I.N.A. of Subhas. They showed "acts of valour and courage." With the taking over of the leadership of I.N.A. by Subhas, the Indians in Burma got excited and inspired. Many Oriyas also joined the I.N.A. being inspired by Subhas and his unqualified devotion to the cause of India's freedom. As per the report in Nabeen dated 16th April 1946, Sri Krushna Chandra Tripathy (who was made Propaganda Officer in I.N.A.) and thousands of Oriyas joined the Indian National Army. Sri Tripathy had the main responsibility of bringing more and more of Oriyas to the I.N.A. On the request of Sri Tripathy, Netaji sent Colonel Braja



Mohan Patnaik, the Labour & Development Secretary of I.N.A. and an efficient Oriya Officer to share his burden of work which was becoming heavy. Sri Ananta Choudhury gave all his property to the Azad Hind Government being inspired by Colonel Braja Mohan Patnaik. Ten year old Kumari Laxmi at that time was desperate to join the I.N.A. and Subhas and was imprisoned in Malay'. "This Kumari Laxmi or Laxmi Panda is said to be the lone Oriya woman freedom fighter in the Jhansi regiment of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's I.N.A.'.

Orissa was proud of Subhas and his I.N.A. Dr. H. K. Mahatab who was released from Ahmednagar Fort on June 15, 1945 extended warm ovation to the released I.N.A. men like Sri Mahadev Sahu, Sri Hari Tripathy, Sri Lingaraj Tripathy, Sri Udayanath Panda and Sri Bhim Nayak. In a public reception to I.N.A. men, he said : "I am very happy to hear from their lips that there were thousands of Oriyas in the I.N.A.'. He was also filled with pleasant surprise to hear that there were Oriya women too in the I.N.A. As he further said "the military glory of ancient Utkal was revived by these I.N.A. men".

When the I.N.A. trials took place at the end of the war, all the papers of Orissa devoted much space to the I.N.A. 'The New Orissa and daily Asha deprecated the I.N.A. trials as a travesty of Justice'. They opened a fund for helping the defence of the I.N.A. under trials. Both these papers were highly eulogistic of Subhas Chandra Bose. The Samaj stressed upon the political aspect of the trials and advised the government not to proceed against them in the interests of good relationship between Great Britain & India. The Naba Bharat of Pandit Nilakantha Das openly declared allegiance to Subhas Chandra Bose. It devoted a series of editorials to the Indian National Army in which there had been fulsome adulation of Subhas Chandra Bose. The I.N.A.

accused were acclaimed as the liberators of India and Indian Youths had been exhorted to imbibe inspiration from their deeds.

Conclusion

Thus history bears solid evidence that Netaji and his Indian National Army contributed immensely to India's freedom. That the formation of the Indian National Army was one of the major grounds for the decision of the British Government to Quit India in 1947 has been admitted by no less a person than Clement Attlee who conceived the idea of granting freedom to India and carried it out inspite of all opposition of diehard conservatives like Churchill.

Along with Gandhi, he deserves to be honoured as the co-architect of India's freedom. Samar Guha was not far from truth, when he said that the main road to freedom was carved out primarily by two distinctive personalities - Mahatma Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose'. Other national leaders, no doubt, also played "leading roles" but whatever they achieved was under the umbrella of Gandhian strategy and dynamics. But Subhas carved out or acquired an orbit of his own in India's struggle for freedom with the formation of his I.N.A. and its historic struggle for India's freedom through military means.

It was Gandhi, who was the father of India's national awakening and the surge of nationalism which engulfed India was basically his contribution without which freedom of India would not possibly have been possible. He was rightly addressed as "Father of the Nation" by Netaji Subhas himself. 'The over-all background, says Samar Guha, was prepared by Mahatma Gandhi but the final compulsion for the withdrawal of the British from India was Netaji's achievement.



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Madhab Chandra Routray : The Hero of Tapanga

Dr. Janmejaya Choudhury

Tapanga Garh was the most important out of 71 Garhs of Khurda kingdom. Madhab Chandra Routray was the Dalabehera of Tapang (in the present district of Khurda) in 1827 when Mukundadev was dethroned from the monarchy of Khurda. Madhab Chandra Routray was born in the illustrious family of Narasingh and Narayan Routray. Narayan Routray and Narasingh Routray were commanders-in-chief of the Gajapati King of Khurda who defended the kingdom from Mughal invasion during the days of Dibyasingh Dev. Tapang was the arsenal of the Gajapati King of Khurda. Madhab Chandra Routray, the Naik of Tapanga, was the lord of the ten thousand forces.

During the year 1827 the British forces came to Tapangagarh. They first came to the house of Chintamani Ransingh on 23rd May, 1827 for collection of land revenue. In the absence of Chintamani Ransingh, his wife Haramani was asked to pay taxes to the British. This brave woman warned the revenue peon of the British that if he enters, his head would be cut off with vegetable-cutter. Then Madhab Chandra Routray along with his followers arrived at the spot and ordered to drive out the British revenue officials from Tapanga. Not only the Paiks of Tapanga drove away the British people, but also they killed two peons of the British. This matter was reported to the Magistrate of Khurda who informed the incident to the Magistrate of Cuttack. British commander Harcourt arrived at Khurda and sent message to Tapanga to pay taxes. Madhab Chandra Routray preferred to face war

instead of paying taxes to the British. Madhab Chandra Routray prayed to Goddess Hasteswari, the presiding deity of Tapanga Garh, who promised to help him in the war against the British. Therefore, Madhab Chandra Routray along with Gobardhan Bairiganjan proceeded to Puri and met the Gajapati king and stated that they had not paid taxes during last ten years after the defeat Buxi Jagabandhu and Jayakrishna Rajguru. The king advised that fighting with the British was not that easy and Khurda kingdom was lost in spite of his huge army and excellent Commander-in-Chief. However, the king tied the turban of Commander-in-Chief on the head of Madhab Chandra Routray. Madhab Chandra Routray and his followers came back to Tapanga and summoned the seven Dalabeheras, dalais and Paik Karans on the 16th of June, 1827. The dalais of Malipada Gada, Naranagarh, Rathipuragarh, Kaipadar Garh, Jhinkijhari garh and Anda, all gathered near goddess Hastesware temple of Tapanga Garh on 24th of June, 1827. Division of duty was made amongst different Karans. The Kanjiagarh Kothakaran was in charge of store. The forces were looked after by Anda Kothakaran, and the Jhinkijhari Karan deployed the armed forces. Kanjiagarh in the east of Tapanga was selected as the war field. On the 25th of June, 1827, the army was kept in position. Madhab Chandra Routray worshipped goddess Hasteswari and his wife Indurekha garlanded the great hero and marked vermilion on his forehead. Madhab Chandra Routray was blessed by his mother Annapurna. The army of Tapanga



collected the arms from the arsenal near Hasteswari temple and proceeded to war. The Tapanga army was led by Gobardhan Dalai and Sri Dhanurjaya Srichandan. The Tapanga forces consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephant forces. Guns were fitted on elephant back.

On 26th June, 1827, Dhanurjaya Dalai was made the Commander-in-Chief by Madhab Chandra Routray. The Tapanga forces met the British army at Kanjiagarh on the same day. The British army consisted of two hundred cavalry and seven hundred gun-men under the command of Colonel Harcourt at Kanjiagarh war field. On the first day of the war 115 soldiers of the British and seven Tapanga Paiks were killed, on 27th June, 1827, the second day of war, Eighty soldiers from both sides were killed. Colonel Harcourt killed Dhanurjaya Dalai, the Commander-in-chief of Tapanga army on 28th June, 1827 on the 3rd day of war. An employee of Madhab Chandra Dalabehera named Mousum Karan played treachery and gave all secrets to the British at Khurda. The British promised to provide him with rent-free land. The traitor informed the British that Madhab Chandra Routray would not wield sword on Tuesday and therefore, the British, should attack on that day. On the 29th of June, 1827 Madhab Chandra Routray fought as Commander-in-Chief of Tapanga army and killed 85 British soldiers. Since the British Commander-in-Chief, Colonel Harcourt knew from Mousum Karan that on 30th June, 1827 Madhab Chandra Routray would pray to goddess Hasteswari on Tuesday and would not come to the war, the British started massive attack on Tapanga forces. It is said that goddess Hasteswari came in the form of Madhab Chandra Routray and killed 100 British forces on Tuesday. On that day the British forces ran away to Khurda to save their lives. The British army got secret information from Mousum Karan and Madhusudan Karan regarding the secret armoury of Tapanga forces in the forest near the temple of goddess Hasteswari. The British army marched towards

the Hatia hill and captured the armoury of Tapanga Dalabegera. Further, the British fired gun along with blood of cows. Because of the treachery of Madhusudan Karan and Mousum Karan, Madhab Chandra Dalabehera was defeated by British. Then he fled away to the forest, but his house was raided by the British who took away all his properties. Mousum Karan was given NIMAKHARAM JAGIR by the British. The people of Tapanga paid revenue taxes to the British and Tapanga was occupied by British.

Madhab Chandra Routray appeared to fire at the British Subedar at Chilika, when he found the general public producing salt were harassed by the British. The traitor Mousum Karan again informed the British that Madhab Routray was staying in the house of his father-in-law at Badaparigarh. He was likely to organize the people of Ranpur and Banpur and wield war against the British. The British sent 200 forces to Badaparigarh, but the illustrious Madhab Chandra Routray escaped. British agents searched for Madhab Chandra Routray, but they could not locate him. The British authorities announced prize and reward to obtain information about Madhab Chandra Routray. A reward of Rs.1,000/- was declared for capturing Madhab Routray. But he surrendered himself at Khurda fort, and the magistrate of Khurda arrested him, and then referred the matter to higher authorities at Cuttack. The British authorities realized the large heartedness of Dalabehera Madhab Chandra Routray and could guess that any punishment to this benevolent soul would create further disturbances in Khurda area. Therefore, the British decided to release Madhab Chandra Routray, who went away to Tapanga and lived happily with his people. He was a noble hearted person, besides being a patriot.

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Bhagat Singh : Revolutionary with a Difference

Smruti Ranjan Mishra

If Gandhi and Subhas deserve a bust in the remote corridors of human consciousness then there must be a room for an effigy of Bhagat Singh. The revolutionaries made an abiding contribution to the struggle for Independence of India. They made supreme sacrifices. They helped in spreading national consciousness among the people. The slogan of "Inquilab Zindabad" by Bhagat Singh still echoes in the minds of freedom loving people of our country.

The revolutionaries discovered their fount of inspiration in the 'trio' of the Congress - B.G. Tilak, B.C. Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. Almost all the revolutionary groups joined the Congress while maintaining and endeavouring to strengthen their secret organization. Many of their leaders obtained responsible positions in district congress committees and used their positions to consolidate their followers. This penetration of the congress had a very important consequence for it helped the revolutionaries internally in the matter of recruitment and organization, and externally in the matter of public sympathy.

During 1920-22 no major extremist activities were planned. Early in 1922 the failure of the Non-Cooperation movement led to the

controversy over the means-non-violent or violent to be employed. The revolutionaries got disillusioned with Gandhian techniques. The revolutionaries discarded the "Philosophy of non-violence as a philosophy arising out of despair."

Bhagat Singh played a dominant role in revolutionary activities in the post non-cooperation movement. Earlier he was drawn to Gandhi's peaceful movement when he got disturbed by the Jalianwala Bagh massacre. But due to the sudden cancellation of the movement after Chauri Chaura incident, he lost faith on Gandhi and his technique, alongwith other revolutionaries.



Inspiration :

Throughout his short life, Bhagat Singh emulated the examples of his ancestors. The generations of the Singh family i.e. Arjun Singh and his sons - Kishan Singh, Ajit Singh and Swaran Singh- had set an example for the service of the nation. After the occupation of Punjab by the British, a large part of the family's Jagir was confiscated. Bhagat Singh's ancestors were among those who were not reconciled to the foreign domination. Bhagat Singh's father was influenced by the Hindu reformist movement Arya Samaj. His uncles, Ajit Singh and Swaran Singh as well as his father were



part of the Ghadar party led by Kartar Singh Sarabha. Bhagat Singh was born in Lahore and it was in the city that the British launched the first Lahore conspiracy case in 1915, sentencing more than two dozen youths to death and hundreds of others to life imprisonment and other harsh jail sentences. Though the govt was able to crush the Ghadar Party revolutionaries through such brutal repression, their saga left an indelible impression on the minds of later generations of Indians. Those who went to the gallows in this case included Kartar Singh Sarabha, a youth of merely 16 years, whose image got etched in Bhagat Singh's psyche.

As for revolutionaries who were seriously disillusioned after the withdrawal of the Non-cooperation movement, then began to regroup all over north India. Sachindranath Sanyal formed the Hindustan Republican Association in 1924. Bhagat Singh and his friend in Lahore joined it.

This grouping soon led, in August 1925, to a train hold up at Kakori, a small station near Lucknow, where the Hindustan Republican association revolutionaries looted government money as a direct challenge to the British authority. In the Kakori conspiracy case, Ram Prasad Bismil and his three friends were hanged. The sacrifice of these great freedom fighters influenced Bhagat Singh immediately. September 8 and 9, 1928 was a milestone in the history of national revolutionary movement in India because of its momentous decision. First, the movement accepted socialism as its goal and, as its reflection, the Hindustan Republican Association was renamed as Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. Secondly, the meeting also realised the futility of individual violence and decided to abstain as far as possible, from killing British officials or approvers. Here Bhagat Singh was allowed to play a key role.

Dominant Ideas :

Bhagat Singh spent the years from 1924 to 1928 in studying the history of revolutionary

movement in India. Subsequently, he wrote articles in Kirti and Pratap. Moreover in the court on 6th June 1929, a full text of the statement of Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutta was read by Asaf Ali.

Marxism :

Bhagat Singh's political thought evolved gradually from Gandhian nationalism to revolutionary Marxism. By the end of 1928 he and his comrades renamed their organisation the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. He had read the teachings of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engles and Vladimirlenin and believed that with such large and diverse population, India could only survive properly under a socialist regime. These ideals had been introduced to him during his time at the National College at Lahore and he believed that India should reenact the Russian revolution. In the case that Indians were not socialist, he believed that the rich would only get richer and poor would only get poorer. His aggressive stance of violence, put him at odds with Gandhi and members of the congress. Socialist leaders sometimes refer back to him as the founder of Indian Socialism.

Atheism

While in a condemned cell in 1931, he wrote a pamphlet entitled 'why' I am an Atheist in which he discusses and advocates the philosophy of atheism. This pamphlet was a result of some criticism by fellow revolutionaries on his failure to acknowledge religion and God while in a condemned cell, the accusation of vanity was also dealt with in this pamphlet. He supported his own beliefs and claimed that he used to be a firm believer in the Almighty, but could not bring himself to believe the myths and beliefs that others held close to their hearts. In this Pamphlet, he acknowledged the fact that religion made death easier, but also said that unproved Philosophy is a sign of human weakness.



Anarchism :

Bhagat Singh's articles written in Kirti gives an idea about his leaning for anarchism. Proudhon is the father of Anarchism and Bakunin and Kropotkin are its other advocates. The ultimate goal of anarchism is complete independence, according to which, no one will be obsessed with Government or religion nor will any body be crazy for money or other worldly desires. Bhagat Singh being imbibed with these lofty ideals had made the supreme sacrifice.

Significant Actions :

In 1924, Bhagat Singh joined Hindustan Republican Association formed by Sachindranath Sanyal. Along with other members of the Association he joined Lala Lajpat Rai to protest the Simon Commission. In 1928 the London Commission constituted a commission under Sir John Simon to review the Mantagu Chelmsford reforms of 1919 and suggest constitutional changes for India. The Commission was not welcomed since it was a wholly British Commission. It was greeted by the people with the cries of "Simon go Back", 'Angrej Murdabad' "Down with the British" and Inquilab Zindabad. A slogan coined by Bhagat Singh to give a new edge, a new meaning to that of revolt. The crowd was also chanting a rhyme.

*Hindustani Hain hum, Hindustan Hamara
Murjao Simon, Jahan hai Desh Tumara*

Meaning : We are Indians and India is ours. Go back Simon to the country to which you belong.

In 1928 at Lahore, a great protest rally was organized. It was led by Bhagat Singh. In the protest when police resorted to brutal lathi charge, Lalaji got seriously injured and died. The members of the Association under the leadership of Bhagat Singh avenged Lalaji's death by assassinating J.P. Saunders, the police officer responsible for Lalaji's death.

As the next significant action by Hindustan Socialist Republican Party (the rechristened name of Hindustan Republican Party) Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutta threw bombs in the central Assembly on April 8, 1929, in protest against the Trade disputes Bill and Public safety Bill. Though for this action of their bravery they were punished deportation, Bhagat Singh had to sacrifice his life along with his other two comrades for the Lahore conspiracy case.

Modern Day Legacy

Bhagat Singh's death had the effect that he desired and he inspired thousands of youths to assist the reminder of the Indian Independence movement. After his hanging, youths in regions around Northern India rioted in protest against the British Raj and also against the indifference of the congress.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) itself acknowledges Bhagat Singh's contribution to Indian society and in particular the future of socialism in India. To celebrate the centenary of his birth, a group of intellectuals have set up an institution to commemorate Singh and his ideals. Several popular Bollywood films have been made capturing the life and times of Bhagat Singh. The 2006 film "Rang De Basanti" is a film drawing parallels between revolutionaries of Bhagat Singh's era and modern Indian youth. Here it is apt to mention that through his organization *Naujawan Bharat Sabha* he trained the youths for fighting against the British Raj. He expected the youth to be courageous and brave and to work with a sense of patriotism which is lacking in modern day.

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Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo — Martyr of Madanpur - Rampur

(Reigning Period : 1852-1875)

Mihirendra Pratap Singh Deo

Maharaja Hari Hara Prasad Singh Deo was born in the year 1840 AD. He was the eldest son of Raja Amar Prasad Singh Deo Raje. During the death of Maharaja Ujjhar Rai Singh Deo in the year 1852, his second brother Raja Amar Prasad Singh Deo was suffering from paralysis for which in the same year his eldest son Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo ascended the throne of Madanpur at the age of twelve years. By that time the political condition of Madanpur was not fair due to the illness of Raja Amar Prasad Singh Deo Raje and the minority of Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo. To manage the state of affairs, the fourth brother of Maharaja Ujjhar Rai Singh Deo, Krushna Prasad Singh looked after the State affairs as the representative of the Regent Raja Amar Prasad Singh Deo. To take the advantage of the situation and capture the throne of Madanpur, Krushna Prasad Singh plotted a conspiracy to kill the minor Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo and his two brothers Rajkumar Chandra Mani Singh Deo (four years old) and Rajkumar Guman Singh Deo (two years old) by means of poison. When the plotted conspiracy came to the knowledge of the minor children's aunt Gusani Mani, she secretly sent them to their uncle's house at Gadapur inside a basket by the help of the faithful Kandh tribes of Uraladani for their protection.

Support to Freedom Fighter Chakra Bisoyee

Though Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo was minor his hatredness for the British was very strong for which he was supporting the freedom fighters like Kandh Sardar Chakra Bisoyee and gave him shelter for his protection.¹ Chakra Bisoyee was taking shelter along the bank of river Tel of Madanpur kingdom and Jarasingha.² In the year 1855 AD 'Mr. Samuell, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, requested the Commissioner of Nagpur to call upon the Raja of Madanpur to handover Chakra Bisoyee. The Raja of Madanpur declared that he was ignorant of Chakra Bisoyee's presence in his State.³ By that time Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo was an independent ruler for which the Superintendent requested the Commissioner at Nagpur to put pressure on Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo. Hence the British government was trying to suppress him and to merge Madanpur into the British empire. Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo's struggle to drive out the British from his motherland was uninterrupted. On 10 December, 1855 AD when the camp of Lt. Macneill, the agent in the hill tracts of Orissa, was attacked at Orladhoni of Madanpur-Rampur with the support of Maharaja



Hari Hara Singh Deo and the tribes of Uraladhoni the presence of Chakra Bisoyee at Madanpur Rampur became evident.⁴ In the year 1856 AD the Orladhoni incident was not forgotten by C.F.Cockburn who succeeded Mr. Samuells as the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals. He ordered an inquiry with regard to the conduct of the Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo of Madanpur.⁵

Kandh Meli of 1856 AD

In the year 1856 AD the Kandh of Kalahandi had actively participated in the Kandh Meli against the British in Ghumsar.⁶ And the Kandh of Kalahandi had given protection to its leader Chakra Bisoyee. He was popularly known as the staunchest 'Champion of Mariah' all over Khondmal.⁷ The ruler of Madanpur Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo was threatened for his link with the Kondhs.⁸ In the year 1856 Lt. C. Eliot had visited Kalahandi and he had submitted a report to the British Government, i.e. " Report on the Affairs of Karonda Dependency."⁹ Lt. C. Elliot held that Chakra Bisoyee and gang were harbored and encouraged by Raja of Madanpur.¹⁰ Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo was put under the surveillance of the Tributary Chief of Junagarh.¹¹ Further Raja and Zamindars of the British empire were warned to be careful in future to check such disturbances.¹²

A Benevolent Raja

Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo was very much kind and benevolent to his subjects. During the famine of 1866 AD he had excavated an area of 100 acres of land for water reservoir which was known as Hari Hara Sagar for supply of drinking water as well as irrigation for the

agricultural purposes. In the evening Maharaja was moving from door to door to listen the grievances of the people. In fact it was his love for the people and his motherland for which he was getting support of the people and the tribes of the locality against the British force. He had a vast army having different regiments such as Canon fighters, Gun fighters known as Nalia (Nali means Gun), Sword fighters and Bow and Arrow fighters. It was said that during the battle, the arrows were raining from the cloud, that means the direction of the arrows were not known. People from all the castes were being recruited to the army known as Paika. The dresses of soldiers were Dhoti in Kachha and another Dhoti as a cross belt on the chest and waist. The turban was covering half of the face i.e. nose and mouth. The M.L.Guns and pistols were being used by the soldiers. Roads were constructed to the major villages and trees were planted besides the main road for better communication.

Letter of the Governor General

When Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo became major considering his ability, strength of the army, love for the motherland and people's support for his benevolent rule, the Governor General of the British-India sent a personal letter to Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo that 'the Governor General understood the position of the Raja Hari Hara Singh Deo and injustice was done by not declaring Raja Hari Hara Singh Deo as the Raja of Karond and to forget what all happened and to accept the Sananda as Raja of Karonda.¹³ However Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo ignored the letter of the Governor General and he did not respond to it, because of his hatredness of the foreign invader. He was Raja



by the strength of his sword with sovereign power for which he did not like to join hands with any foreigner. The relation with the British was tensed.

Harda Meli of 1875 A.D.

The British government had leased out the forest products of Madanpur-Rampur forest namely Harda, Bahada and Amla etc. to which Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo strongly opposed and he did not allow the British Thekadar to enter the forest for which there was reaction in the British camp. British force was sent to teach a lesson to Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo but in vain. Because the resistance of Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo was so strong that the British force retreated. Finally, British force from Madras was deputed under Captainship of Mr. F.C.Berry. The battle between Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo and the British forces continued for days together.

The Brave Soldiers

There were ranks and position in the army such as Nayak and Dalapati etc. It was divided into different troops. The soldiers had shown their great valour and patriotism for their motherland which is reflected from the following incidents.

Keshab Banua, Nalia (Gun Fighter):

Mrs. Swarna Banua, Gauntia of Kabichandrapur, wife of Keshab Banua, Nalia was an eye witness to the battle during Harda Meli. She was narrating the incident to Yubarani Smt. Rupa Manjari Devi, wife of Yubaraj Gaura Chandra Singh Deo (Author's parents) that during the battle the soldiers had no time to eat food. Because they were standing and watching constantly behind the seven layers of bamboo

fencing. The arrows were piercing the fencing. The wives of the soldiers were feeding them for days together. There were palace guards around the palace and the battles were being fought at the far distance too. In the battle field, Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo was taking care of the soldiers personally. He was moving like a tiger in the battle field. The grandson of Keshab Banua, is Birendra Banua a retired teacher of Madanpur-Rampur who is still alive.

Karna Bisi (Troop Leader):

During the battle an arrow pierced into the heart of the Troop Leader Karna Bisi. In the mean time Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo reached the spot and asked for his last desire. When the dying leader could not say anything, Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo was so pleased for his valour that he desired to grant him the landed property as far as the martyr soldier was able to see. He was bleeding profusely for which he was unable to see the far distance. But whatever he told that much area of the landed property was granted to him which, still now, his family member (Bana Bisi) enjoys. In the battle field where the soldier Karna Bisi died that spot was known as Bukbandh. Buku means heart and bandh means stop. Hence the spot where the heart was stopped that spot was known as Bukbandh. This incident reflects the benevolence and love for the soldier which the great warrior had.

Bhakta Ram Pujhari (Troop Leader)

Bhakta Ram Pujhari was a sword fighter. He was so fearless fighter that he had killed around eighty enemies for which Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo renamed him as Bagh Singh. His three swords and a Tabiz have been worshipped by



his family members at the house of Satya Pujhari, Madanpur-Rampur.

Martyrdom of Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo

'It was not so easy to defeat such a loving and benevolent Raja; hence the Britishers plotted a strategy based on the principle of Divide and Rule. They spread a rumour among the tribal people that Raja would give theka (lease) to the lengot (loin cloth) of the tribal people like that of Harda, Bahada and Amla which created a discontentment among the tribal people. Hence the Tribal people (Kondh) fought against the royal army of Madanpur-Rampur. They further spread a rumour in the royal army among those who were fighting at the far distance that Raja would behead the soldiers for the victory. Hence the soldiers who were fighting at the far distance like Urladani and Harlanga etc. remained neutral. Though Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo fought the battle like a great warrior at last he was arrested by the British Force. He was sent to the jail custody. In jail, he was tortured to third degree when he refused to sign the abdication notes to annex his motherland Madanpur-Rampur to the British Empire. In the mean time his younger brother Rajkumar Chandra Moni Singh Deo and Guman Singh Deo (General of Army) organized a vast army and proceeded to break the British jail. When the news of attack reached to the British camp the British poisoned Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo and sent a messenger to intimate the death news of Maharaja to Rajkumar Chandra

Moni Singh Deo who was on the way with the army to attack the jail. And then after the dead body of Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo was sent to him. There were injury marks of torture in the dead body of martyr Maharaja Hari Hara Singh Deo.¹⁴

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Mihirendra Pratap Singh Deo lives at The Palace, Madanpur-Rampur, Kalahandi.

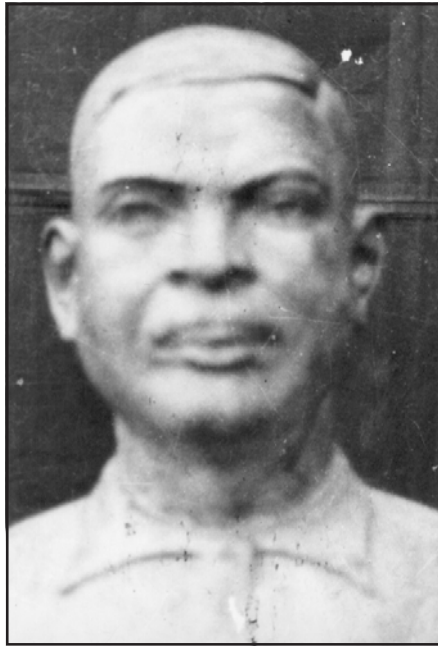
Laxman Naik : A Martyr in Memorium

Utpal Kumar Pradhan

The morning sun of 29th March 1943 witnessed the immortal death of a legendary tribal leader in Berhampur jail. Being the victim of a false conspiracy lodged against him, he was sentenced to death and hanged. Repeatedly uttering the sacred name 'Ram', he breathed his last; and mother Orissa lost one of her jewels for ever.

This cult figure of Orissa and the folk icon of tribals is no other than Laxman Nayak, who united the tribal people against the British oppression, revolted against the authority, and unleashed rebellion.

Laxman Nayak was born in the village of Tentuliguma in Koraput district on 22nd November 1899 in a Bhumia family. His father was the mustadar of the villages of Tentuliguma, Bejuniguda, Lekiguda and Analaguda. Like other tribal children, he had an informal school education, went not beyond writing his name. Rather he preferred to roam around and hunt in the forests of Ramgiri or on the bank of river Kolab with his village mates.



The Non-co-operation movement was then gaining momentum and a 22 year energetic young blood Laxman, at that time, fascinated by Gandhiji's charismatic personality, joined the movement. He came in contact with rebellious

leaders like Sitaram Raju and Chandra Kutia. Along with them he revolted against the local tahsildar, who was oppressing the poor farmers of the area.

In 1936, the Raja of Jeypore made lavish arrangements to welcome Sir John Hubback, the governor of Orissa to Koraput. Rice, Hens, cows were snatched from village to village, labourers were picked up to help the government party in conducting tiger hunting. Healthy cattle were chosen as tiger baits. Laxman was deeply hurt by this. He

considered this as a plunder by the government. He accompanied friend Nilakantha Patra for an audience with Radhakrishna Biswasroy, the president of district congress committee, and told him about the plight of the people. Biswasroy suggested them to send a letter to a news-paper.



All the matter was brought out in a news paper, and every where it aroused a sharp reaction against these illegal activities. The governor realised his mistake and people got compensation for their loss.

After this incident, Laxman became popular among those rustic villagers. They expressed their grievances freely before him and asked for solutions. Laxman also tried his best to solve their problems. Very soon, he appeared as a brave tribal leader.

The Quit India movement started in 1942. The National Congress gave a clarion call to 'Do or Die' to attain freedom. August 21 was fixed as the day of district wide movement in Koraput. Laxman took the leadership. There was a plan to put the tri-colour flag on the roof of the police station at Mathili hat and hold a meeting in-front of it. It was a day of weekly hat. A large crowd assembled there. Having flags in their hands, the crowd marched towards the police station. But the meeting was declared illegal. Police threatened the people to go away. But the public were not in a mood to leave their leader alone. One of the police-officers dragged Laxman out and beat him black and blue. The police expected that the people would get panicky and runaway. But there was a rage of fury. The crowd force their entry into station. More than half a dozen people fell to police-bullets and got killed. Again, Laxman was tortured. One policeman pushed a bayonet into his mouth and he lost his sense. The police took him to be dead and threw him to the drain near by.

However, on that night Laxman escaped to Jaypore. There he got the treatment of a hero.

Again he returned to his village on 28 August. A local liquor vendor informed the police regarding this and again he was arrested on 2nd September.

His popularity made the police frightened. In order to close this chapter for-ever, a false case of 'attempt to murder' was filed against him. The mendacious, sly, devil Ramanathan, the magistrate passed the death sentence against him without reliable and sufficient evidence.

He was lodged in a cell in Berhampur jail. An appeal in the High-Court and subsequently a mercy-petition had been filed to spare his life. But the petitions had not been pursued properly. There was no commutation of the Death penalty. His hanging date was fixed.

Appeared the cursed morning, when Laxman was to be hanged. The inmates of the jail were going to be the mute witness to the cold-blooded murder of one of their compatriots. There was a feeling of despondency and revolt. The prisoners were fully absorbed in slogan - Inquilab Zindabad. After some time there was a muted sound of thud and everything in side the jail came to a stand-still. A grief-stricken deathly-silence prevailed every-where.

A short life, full of action, heroism, nobility, humility, good deeds, is really a memorable and adorable. Laxman was a real-model to live such a life. Mother Orissa feels proud of him for-ever.

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The Immortal Martyrs of the August Revolution in Orissa

Pabitra Mohan Barik

August Revolution or Quit India movement is an important chapter in the history of Indian freedom struggle. This Revolution of 1942 can be compared with the major uprisings of the world like American war of Independence, or French Revolution or Russian Revolution. The impact of this historic mass revolution was far reaching. It occupies a great position in the history of Indian war of Independence. "Do or Die", the motto of August Revolution touched the hearts of common people. Patriotic people were ready to sacrifice their valuable life for the sake of motherland. The historic resolution on "Quit India" was adopted by the A.I.C.C. in the night of 8th August 1942. In the critical period of second worldwar, the people of India suffered a lot. British-India Government exploited the wealth of common people of India to meet the war expenditure.

Under such circumstances, Gandhiji atlast gave his famous call for "Quit India Movement" on 9 August 1942. All the prominent Congress leaders of country who had assembled at Bombay were arrested. Eminent Congress leader of Orissa Dr. H.K. Mahtab was one of those leaders who were arrested in Bombay and sent to the Ahmadnagar fort jail. Early in the morning of 9 August 1942 all active Congress leaders were arrested in Orissa. All Congress organisations were declared as illegal by British authority. All the district level Congress leaders were taken to jail. After some week the revolutionary activities spread quickly in the remote villages of Orissa. The British police were not able to manage anti Government activities started by the brave fighters

in rural areas. The students of Ravenshaw college organised a strike against the arbitrary rules of Britishers. The people of Orissa opposed the British authority in every field of administration. There were no top level leaders in outside to mobilise the angry mob. The people attacked the Government institutions like post offices, Revenue offices, PWD bungalows and police station. Some people had lost their life by the oppressive measures of British police.

A village named Kaipada near Bari, where people had set fire in the post office. Several persons were arrested for this incident. After that a few thousand people gathered and demanded the release of the arrested people. People did not care the warning of police and did not leave that place. As a result, police opened fire which killed five persons and injured many more. These martyrs were Sanand Swain of Krishnanagar, Saunti Malick of Srirampur, Mayadhar Bhuyan of Hatasai, Hadibandhu Panda of Krishnanagar.

In the courses of August Revolution, Lakshman Nayak with his 200 Congress volunteers marched towards Mathili with the object of raiding various offices. The followers of the Lakshman Nayak, on the their way to Mathili, destroyed the liquor shop and attacked the police station on 21 August 1942. As a result some police men were injured. Then in the police firing, four persons were killed on the spot. Lakshman Nayak and many others were arrested. In the Mathili incident of Koraput, Samra Bisi Nayak, Narasingha Bitanga, Arjun Katia, Lingo



Katia and Sukugate were killed by the police firing. The situation in the Pappadahandi area of Nabarangapur district became very serious in the last week of August 1942. Another violent incident took place on 24th August 1942 at Pappadahandi where thousands of tribal people attacked police party. In the police firing twelve persons were killed on the spot and many more were injured. Three more died in the hospital. Bhagaban Pujari, Bikram Bhatra, Khagapati Amanatya, Paramananda Sabar, Ananta Gouda, Bali Saura, Ratan Randhari, Badu Amantya, Sahadev Pujari, Sukrumuduli, Sadasiva Rana, Ratnapujari, Rama Chandra Amantya, Ghasi Jani, Sudu Bhatra and Shyam Sunder Gouda were the martyrs of the Pappadahandi incident.

In the district of Balasore the August Revolution took a violent turn at several places. The Congress volunteers went to interior villages to organise revolutionary activities among the rural people in the Balasore district. In several places of the Balasore district clash took place between the police and revolutionary mob. A clash between the police and the mob took place on 21 September 1942 in Dhamnagar. The mob attacked the police. The police had to resort to open firing, as a result of which six persons were killed and five persons were injured. Another clash between the police and the mob took place in the village Tudigadia - Khairadihi on 28 September 1942. As a result of the police firing three persons were killed and one was injured. Raghu Behera, Makara Lenka and Kelu Sahoo were killed in that incident. Kalandi Mahalick, Shyama Mahalick, Krushna Mahalick, Nabakishore Nayak, Gourahari Jena, Chintamani Das, Gopinath Jena, Shankar Mahalick and Agani Sahoo, all these martyrs, belong to Balasore district. Uchhab Malick, of Puri district of Nimapada area, was killed by police firing on 16th September 1942.

The most ghastly act of the police oppression took place in the Eram village situated in the Basudevpur area of the bhadrak district.

The most atrocious incident took place in Eram on 28 September 1942. The police party opened fire against the unarmed villagers and killed 29 people on spot. Gopal Charan Das, Dhruba Charan Dey, Biswanatha Das, Bijuli Das, Basudev Sahu, Ballav Behera, Hrushi Behera, Hari Behera, Mangha Mahalick, Mani Behera, Krushna Swain, Kali Majhi, Madan Palai, Radhu Mahalick, Krupasindhu Behera, Rama Majhi, Gobinda Rout, Brundaban Panda, Pari Bewa, Mani Pradhan, Pari Das, Ratnakar Pani, Nidhi Mallick, Sankar Mallick, Bhagaban Rout, Dibakar Panigrahi and Jati Sahu were immortal martyr of the most tragic event of the August Revolution in Orissa. According to unofficial report 35 persons were killed and 107 persons were injured. The Eram tragedy is rightly said the Jallianwallabag of Orissa.

In princely states the patriotic people also joined hand with mass movement of August Revolution. In princely state of Dhenkanal, Bira Sahu and Benu Sahu were killed by Police firing on 4 September 1942. Eight persons named Basudev Sahu, Krurtha Pradhan, Bhagaban Sahu Bhajan Naik, Maheswar Pradhan, Padia Behera, Rabindra Chandra Pradhan and Baji Sethi of Talcher princely State were killed by police firing on 7 September 1942. On 10th October 1942 four fighters of Nayagarh princely state named Kasti Dakua, Kanduri Parida, Budhi Parida and Jaya Behera were killed by police firing.. Two rebels of Nilgiri princely state lost their life by police firing during the critical period of historic August Revolution.

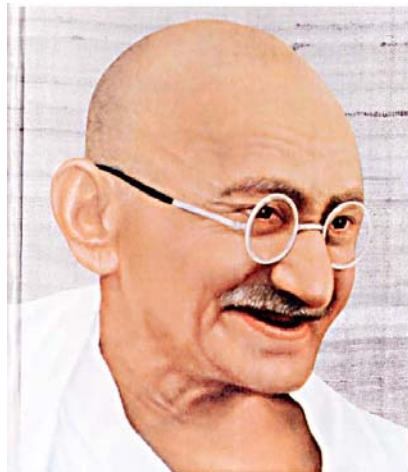
The martyrs of the August Revolution in Orissa are remembered for ever for their outstanding contribution in the field of Indian freedom struggle. Their valuable contribution will inspire the future young generations. They are the real history maker, and History remembers them for ever.

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Quit India Movement in Orissa

Baladhadra Ghadai

The Quit India Movement was the expression of India's last push towards its "tryst with destiny". No wonder that the congress working committee, as its meeting at Wardha (6-14 July, 1942), adopted a resolution demanding that "British rule in India must end immediately". Should this appeal fail, "the congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilize all its nonviolent strength "for a widespread struggle." Here was the forerunner of the historic Quit India Resolution passed by the All India Congress committee (A.I.C.C.) at Gwalia Tank Field in Bombay on 8th August 1942. The next day all the congress leaders from various parts of India who had assembled in Bombay were arrested. Dr. H.K.Mahtab, the eminent congress leader of Orissa was one of those-leaders who were arrested in Bombay and sent to the Ahmadnagar fort jail. As the news spread like wild fire, the people of Orissa joined the movement in large numbers. In intensity and magnitude, Quit India movement in Orissa was the most successful mass agitation in the region because of its anticolonial and antifeudal nature. The British



Government in Orissa declared all congress bodies, their offices and other allied organizations unlawful and police took possession of those notified places as quickly as possible. Within two weeks, the arrest of the important leaders of Orissa caused a strong resentment among the people. Local congress workers became free to choose their own way of action. Gandhian way of nonviolence was no longer strictly followed. Anguish of the people was at its zenith. It also became difficult on the part of the local leaders to control them. Brutal police atrocities in villages on the common people made the people more violent. Large number of people congregated in different places and set the Government institutions on fire under the leadership of local leaders. The bravery and boldness of the people. Who were once very submissive and inert, could prove the success of Gandhian technique of mass-mobilisation.

The Quit India movement assumed the character of a formidable mass uprising in the district of Koraput, mostly inhabited by the



adivasis or aborigines. Carrying congress flags, the satyagrahis circulated inflammatory pamphlets. The most daring incident took place at Mathili Police Station in Koraput district when a mob under the leadership of Laxman Naik tried to capture the Police Station. But the mob was mercilessly beaten up. During the scuffle, a forest guard was killed and the police opened fire killing five on the spot. Laxman Naik was falsely accused of beating the guard to death. Later on, he was sentenced to death on 29th March 1943 in Berhampur Central Jail. Right upto his very last breath on 29th March, 1943 in Berhampur Central Jail, he was found to have chanted "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai", which reverberated the Jail Campus. In the Papadahandi area of Nawarangpur Taluk also, Police shot dead 15 persons and many more were injured.

At Kaipada-Kalamatia of Jaipur, Police opened fire. Even an aeroplane dropped tear gas shells. Three people died on the spot in police firing.

In Nimpada of Puri district two people were shot dead and 17 injured while the mob gheraoed the police station.

An open field called Chandiaposi adjacent to the village lunia witnessed a police firing on 22 September 1942 in which nine people died and five were injured. At Tudigadia and Kahiradha also two persons were killed and one was injured due to police firing.

The most ghastly massacre that took place at Eram in the Balasore district is a memorable event in the history of India's Freedom Struggle

and it may be fittingly called the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy in Orissa where 28 persons were killed and 56 persons were injured. It is true, that nowhere in India were so many people killed in a single police action during the Quit India Movement for which Eram has been named as "Rakta Tirtha".

At Cuttack, Surendra Nath Dwivedi started underground activities. He circulated revolutionary bulletins which surcharged the atmosphere with high patriotism. But he was arrested soon.

In Garjat States of Orissa, the quit India Movement had its deep impact. In Talcher, the people gave up nonviolence and started guerilla fighting against the ruler's force. In Dhenkanal, the satyagrahis started armed skirmishes with the police. Jail, Police Station and Institutions were burnt. The people of Nayagarh followed violence, too more or less. Gandhiji's photographs were taken out in processions and the slogan was "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai".

But the Quit India Movement came to a close by the middle of 1945. It occupies the same place as do the French Revolution and Russian Revolution in the history of their respective countries and the active role played by Orissa is unique.

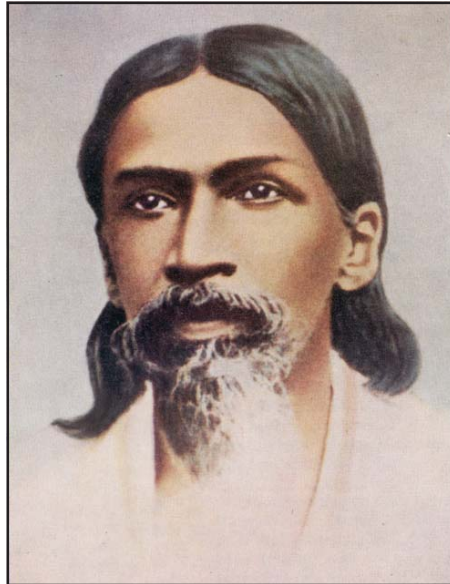
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Sri Aurobindo and Freedom of India

Siddhartha Dash

A prominent nationalist leader in the first decade of the last century Sri Aurobindo pioneered the revolutionary movement in Bengal. He was a versatile genius, a profound thinker, erudite scholar, flaming patriot and a pivotal force in awakening the country to the need for independence. Romain Rolland regarded him as "highest synthesis of the genius of the East and the West". Tagore painted him as the "Messiah of Indian Culture and Civilisation". CR Das called Aurobindo as the 'poet of patriotism, the prophet of nationalism and the lover of humanity.'

Aurobindo was born on 15th August 1872 at Calcutta in an established Bengali family. He was the third child of his parents. His father Krishnadhan Ghosh was a doctor by profession, who had great fascination for Europlan culture. On the contrary, his mother Swarnalata Devi was a staunch supporter and admirer of Indian tradition



and culture. In 1879, at the age of seven, Aurobindo was sent alongwith his two other brothers to England by his father to insulate him against any Indian influence. In England, he stayed at first in Manchester with Drewett family where he was perfectly trained in English and Latin. In 1884 Aurobindo was admitted into the famous St. Paul's school in London. Then, he joined King's College in Cambridge as a student in humanities stream.

After two years of study in King's College, he passed the first part of the Classics Tripos in first division. Even as a youth growing up in England, Aurobindo dreamed of liberating his motherland from British rule. During his stay at Cambridge, he delivered many revolutionary speeches. While in England, he came in contact with a revolutionary organization known as the 'Indian Majlis'. Later on, he joined another secret society called 'the Lotus and Dagger'.



In 1890 Aurobindo competed for the much coveted ICS examination, won position, but was disqualified in the riding test. In 1893, after a long gap of fourteen years Aurobindo came back to India. Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad of Baroda persuaded him to join in his princely state. He joined in the Baroda state service first in the revenue department, then as a Professor of English and finally as the acting Principal of National College, Baroda. "These were, "Aurobindo writes", years of self-culture of literary activity and of preparation for future work". Towards the end of his stay at Baroda Aurobindo began revolutionary activities. In 1899 he arranged for a dynamic Bengali Youth Yatin Banerjee to receive military training in Baroda army. After two years of successful training, Yatin went to Bengal, which was the citadel of revolutionary activities, as Aurobindo's emissary to engage in revolutionary recruitment and organization. Yatin was later assisted by another patriotic Bengali youth Barindra, who afterwards formed his own revolutionary group. In 1902 Aurobindo joined a secret society of Western India headed by a Rajput noble called Thakur Saheb. He brought about a sort of liaison between the secret society of Thakur Saheb and a revolutionary group in Bengal led by P. Mitter. This bears ample testimony to the organizing skill of Aurobindo, who even before entering into active politics was accepted as the intellectual leader of the revolutionary movement in Bengal. It was Aurobindo's intention to build up a network of strong revolutionary centres all over the country to impart military training to the youth.

These revolutionary centres would eventually organize armed insurrection against the British Raj. Aurobindo was, however, convinced that this strategy would be successful only if it will be supported by a large public movement.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that Aurobindo emerged in the Indian political scene much earlier than Gandhi and MN Roy. His was the mastermind wherefrom emanated most of the governing ideas of Indian nationalist movement. In the beginning, Aurobindo was not a pacifist. He was convinced that a nation had the right to obtain its freedom from foreign rule by whatever means necessary. It was only after 1905 that Aurobindo directly entered into active politics. The decision of the then British government to divide Bengal province into two separate parts shocked the whole country. That was the time when the people of Bengal were thoroughly indignant and outraged. Aurobindo felt that the time for public propaganda had come. Immediately, he left Baroda service that fetched him 500 pound a year and gladly accepted the duties of the principal in the National College, Calcutta at a bare subsistence allowance of 10 pound a month. That was a time when the moderate politicians dominated Indian politics. Aurobindo ridiculed them and pleaded for extreme politics of Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal. Soon, he began writing editorials for 'Bande Mataram', an English daily, started by Bipin Chandra Pal. He contributed articles for other journals like 'Jugantara', 'Indu Prakash' and 'Karma Yogin'.

It would be most appropriate to mention here that Sri Aurobindo was first among Indian



political leaders to use the word 'Independence' instead of 'Swaraj'. He had the courage to declare openly for complete and absolute independence. He wrote "there are some who fear to use the word 'freedom' but I have always used the word because it has been the Mantra of my life to aspire towards the freedom of my nation". It was because of his boldness of speech and writing that he was made the target of British politics. No wonder, Viceroy Lord Minto described Aurobindo as the "most dangerous man in India".

In the hands of Aurobindo, the application of moral force took the shape of a full-scale non-violent non-cooperation and passive resistance movement on the occasion of the Bengal partition movement in 1906. What was at first a protest movement against the partition soon developed into a broader movement of 'Swadeshi and Swaraj' under his inspiration. The goal of this policy included the boycott of British products and institutions, the purchase of Swadeshi (indigenous) goods, the development of Swadeshi industries, arbitration courts, colleges and schools and the use of passive resistance. It was because of the growing Nationalist movement in Bengal, Sri Aurobindo was tried twice for sedition and was acquitted both the times. In May 1908 he was arrested in the famous Alipore bomb case. He was acquitted after spending one year in jail

as an undertrial prisoner. In 1910 he left active politics and stayed in Pondicherry as a 'Yogi' till his death on 5th December, 1950.

To Sri Aurobindo, India is not just a piece of land, not merely a collection of people. It is a conscious Spiritual Being, a Divine Power, a Shakti, Devi, Goddess. India is Mother India, a living form of the Divine Mother. India must be free from foreign control, for only then could she develop and manifest the greatness of her soul.

'Love India', Sri Aurobindo urged his countrymen, 'serve her, sacrifice all for her, so that she may be free.'

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Moments of History Redefined : Sepoy Mutiny in Perspective

Dr. Satyabrata Das

India, the ancient Bharata, Hindukush or Hindustan, as we may call it; the integrated, enlightened and the formidable India, as we visualize during the illustrious Maurya and the Gupta period, passed through a protracted period (lasting many centuries over) of disintegration and anarchy till it was completely withered and worn out.

When we make an attempt to track down the road map of the lost glories of our ancient India, we find the search terribly frustrating with the landmarks or the milestones ridiculously few and far between. After the period of the great Guptas, there is a long period of obscurity till a minor figure like a feeble light shows the way. It was Harsha. And after Harsha the glorious and the iconic India falls into the hands of a band of alien Islamic marauders. The hair-raising tales of loot, plunder, horror, arson and slaughter went on intermittently and there was no hand strong enough to resist. In this eerie atmosphere one milestone stands out in haze - that is Prithviraj Chauhan - the last great Hindu king of Rajput stock - whose life and tenure was heavily fraught with trouble and frustration. But, against the backdrop of confusion and uncertainty, the most crowning glory of Prithviraj Chauhan's life was

his victory in the first battle of Tarain (1191 A.D.) in which he beat the invader Mahmud of Ghur very badly and the latter fled away from the battlefield grievously wounded. But exactly a year after, Mahmud of Ghur challenged once again Prithviraj Chauhan in the second battle of Tarain (1192 A.D.) being directly and openly supported by king Jayachandra, the king of Kanauj. In this battle Prithviraj Chauhan was defeated, imprisoned and executed. Thus 1192 A.D. (the second battle of Tarain) is a turning point in Indian history that witnessed the routing of the imperial power of the Chauhans that spelled disaster to the whole Hindustan. Hence 1192 A.D. saw the setting of the Sun for the Hindu empire that was India. And since that ominous moment, India had been continually in and out of foreign hands till, of course, we gained our freedom in 1947. Nearly a millennium, since Prithviraj Chauhan was vanquished in the second battle of Tarain in 1192, India writhed and bled interminably under foreign rule with their whims and caprices mercilessly imposed upon it. If we look at this terrible trend of events of Indian history we get no visible parallel to it in the entire stretch of human history, East or West, North or South. Probably such inhuman barbaric ordeal that our ancestors were exposed to made the Indians so patient, so



tolerant, so forbearing, rather stoical and fatalists. May be our original elements of heroism and independence underwent a spell of temporary suspension or withdrawal as the Freudians or the Neo-Freudians would look at it.

II

Lest we should digress we must try to catch at the next visible roadmark after 1192 A.D. This would unmistakably lead us to 1526 A.D, the historic first battle of Panipat. Though for the natives nothing was to gain or to lose, the seat of power shifted from the wrecked and battered Lodi dynasty to the Mughals. A direct descendant of the Mongol conquerors Timir and Jinghiz Khan, Babur, a crafty, cunning and ambitious Turk, was successful in establishing and consolidating the Mughal empire with his victory in the first battle of Panipat (1526 A.D.) and the battle of Kanwah (1527 A.D.) in which he gained a decisive victory over the great Rajput, Rana Sanga of Mewar. The Mughals had a long and eventful journey with tales of mostly successes and few failures here and there (hence negligible) till 1707 A.D.

The Mughal conquerors, a minority in a country the size of India, couldn't possibly hope to rule without the assistance of the Hindu majority. Hence all the historians, both Indian and Western, are unequivocal and unanimous on the point that the Mughals were not Colonists. Their role was as rulers, administrators and merchants. As a historian observes:

"The Mughal civil administration rested upon the Hindu clerks. Its advanced industrial undertakings depended upon Hindu labour. Trade was carried on through Hindu middle men acting on behalf of Muslim entrepreneurs. In effect,

Mughal rule existed in terms of an undefined contract between the rulers and the ruled. (Michael Edwardes, 1)."

Among the Mughals Akbar was undoubtedly the best as a specimen of good human being and an able administrator. But no historian differs on the point that Aurangzeb was the ablest. During his time an all out attempt was made to restore the Islamic character of the state which had gone slow for the liberal and conciliatory attitude of the great emperor Akbar. Though initially Aurangzeb acted with great restraint and caution, in the latter years he became incredibly harsh and stern to the Hindu majority. At the epicenters of Muslim power proselytization became rampant and widespread. There was absolutely no consideration for the sentiments and finer feelings of the Hindus. They were declared as 'infidels' (Kafirs) who went to the temples. A series of punitive discriminatory taxes were levied mercilessly on the Hindus. Prohibition was imposed on the great religious fairs and mass celebrations. In the process, whatever amity and goodwill Emperor Akbar had painfully built up were completely embittered and lost during the latter years of Aurangzeb (1669 A.D. onwards). This crazy fanatic struck at the very nerve-centre of Hindu social and communal life. In a bid to execute all his orders to harass and humiliate the Hindus, Aurangzeb replaced his entire Hindu staff in administration by the Muslims. There was thus only one authority at all levels, heavily centralized and wilful. The entire fabric of administration that had been carefully developed through a long process of trial and errors by Akbar came to naught by the short-sighted, willy fanatic Aurangzeb.



Interestingly, the European traders by now had already settled in India along the entire coastline, studied its court and climate, people and religion, and were just waiting for an opportune moment. With their rational bent of mind, far-sight, cunning and diplomacy they had secured some privileges and immunity from Emperor Shah-Jahan and were looking forward to a windfall in case there is no competent successor to Aurngzeb. The European traders could clearly see through the murky situation. They were convinced that the piled up discontentment among the Hindus could be somehow contained by the military expertise and administrative competence of Aurngzeb.

In 1707 A.D. Aurngzeb died. The anarchy that followed gave both the English and the French a chance to grab power. Just as they began to feel their potential, the giant centralized Mughal empire broke apart in an ever-increasing chaos and anarchy. While this confusion prevailed, both the English and the French were stalking along to seize the Delhi throne. In this ultimate race for the throne of Delhi, interestingly, the French had entered willingly and consciously. While the English had entered rather reluctantly. But the moment it became obvious that the indigenous power was not capable of restoring the political normalcy, the English acted swiftly and took centre-stage leaving the French behind.

British dominion spread slowly till 1756 A.D. Political chaos, confrontation, resistance and confusion nagged the British. But with their victory in the battle of Plassey (1757 A.D.) things moved much faster. In 1764 A.D., the British army won the battle of Buxar and annexed Oudh to their dominion. Thus the battle of Buxar laid the

foundation of British dominion in India. From that moment the British never looked behind. They consolidated their position and rose from strength to strength and smashed any resistance from the native princes or chiefs with iron hands.

III

As a historian insightfully comments: "Three hundred and fifty years, the English spent in India, make a story which unfolds itself like an Elizabethan play in five acts" (Philip Mason, 173)

The first act is an act of exposition like any Shakespearean play in which the English introduce themselves as suave and modest traders. In act two they take out their mask and costume as they become rulers. In the third act "the hero-who is not one man but a thousand-appears to be at the height of his glory". (Philip Mason, 173). The hero seems apparently stable and comfortable. He himself is also under the illusion that things around him are all fine. But ironically there lies the tragic flaw in his character, hamartia, as Aristotle would call it. That leads to a precipitation.

The first half of 19th Century is considered to be the high noon of the British rule in India. Having consolidated their position firmly after the battle of Plassey and the battle of Buxar the British began to break, shape and mould the age-old ancient Hindu Social and religious order/institutions. It was on the top of their latest reform agenda. Under the regime of Lord Dalhousie all sections of Indian society felt the heavy hand of the British administration. Dalhousie, who is loudly acknowledged as the greatest reformer and the most progressive British Governor-General in India, was at heart a hard-core colonialist. Dalhousie first used his good office to annex states



where there was no direct heir, thus tagging Satara, Jhansi, Nagpur and a number of minor states to the British dominion. The kingdom of Oudh was thus annexed to it too. Further, the greed of Dalhousie simply refused to abate. Every second day a fresh idea, a new official release would pronounce the annexation of hundreds of estates, territories and occupations. Thus, by some ridiculous plea or the other, more than 20,000 titles were confiscated in Deccan alone. The situation came to such a pass when the Indian princes and zamindars saw the British ghost in every bush; the atmosphere was really haunted and nightmarish. Interference was at every level; uncertainly and unpredictability was in the air.

The encroachment, interference and high-handedness was not restricted to land and territory alone. Even the poor mercenary Sepoys in British pay-roll felt jittery apprehending some cunning move from the foxy British top-brasses to encroach upon their religion. In Vellore (South India) there was already an attempt to introduce new style of head-gear, trimming of beards, and prohibition on putting tilak on the fore-heads. The move was promptly retaliated by the Sepoys in their uprising in 1806 which was brutally put down. By the end of 1856, the whole of India, especially the north, was uneasy. Cutting across caste and class every sensitive Indian felt repressed and suffocated. On the otherhand, the British masters were completely lost in quenching their thirst and greed like a hungry lion upon its prey. As a Researcher records, a particular British high ranking officer had as many as seven native mistresses, hunted eighty-four Asiatic lions and was recognized by the crown of England as a rare case of excellence and gallantry. He was not an isolated case of such conduct. The entire British

middle and high ranking officials - District magistrate and above - were recklessly indulged in such sensual gratifications with wine, women, club, golf, hunting and such other pastimes while their Indian deputies looked upon or stood guard at such shameful and degrading acts of license and immorality. May be that spirit of subservience continues to nag the post independent bureaucratic hierarchy at the middle and the lower rungs. The deputies are still competing to play second fiddle to their bosses.

We are presently at the ending of the third act of the British occupancy in India when things seem to head to a climax. With their officers, completely drunk with colonization (maximizing British revenue collection, land encroachment) dreamt of ruling India as long as the Sun and the stars continue in sky-line. Ironically at this point of time there came a jolt, no less in intensity than an earth - shaking tremor from deep down the belly of the Earth - the Mutiny of 1857.

As we all know the real trouble began with the introduction of the new Enfield rifle which needed to be heavily greased and had to be beaten to open the end and release the powder. The muzzle of the gun was smeared with the grease that was so thick after loading. As a commenter observes very rightly:

On the lips of a Hindu Cow's fat would be an abomination for which there is no parallel in European ways of thinking; it was not merely disgusting, as excrement would be; it damned him as well; it was as bad as killing a cow or a Brahmin. To a Muslim pig's fat was almost as horrible. (Philip Mason, 158)



In the first week of January 1857 a rumour spread among the sepoys that the cartridge used in Enfield rifle was softened by the fat of cow and pig. On 24th January the danger was communicated to the Government. The 25th was a Sunday. Though orders went out on 27th January to all the ordnance depots not to issue Enfield rifles to the natives it was too late. The rumour had spread like wild fire. It is worth noting here that immediately prior to that came the annexation of Oudh, the main recruiting base of the army. Further, there was the mysterious relay of Chapatis (Roti) in the entire north India, the epicenter of the ritual being Oudh. One fine morning every hamlet started sending a couple of Chapatis to its neighbour. Though no conclusive evidence was found behind such a ritual, in retrospect that appears to be a meaningful piece to connect the elaborate conspiracy.

When one puts such stray pieces together one gets a coherent picture of the whole Mutiny. The emerging perspective would convince any sceptic that "the greased cartridge was only an excuse for revolt, not the cause of it" (Herbert Strang, 2). In all likelihood, unknown to the complacent, snobbish English officers who, in most cases, had an exaggerated idea of the loyalty of their men, a great scheme was on foot for the recovery of India from the English. Though a full century and a half has already lapsed, it remains a mystery in whose brain this plot was hatched. May be the schemers were many and their plans elaborate and cautious though not fool-proof.

They, in their well-thought-out planning, had kept the Sepoys tuned to act as the prime movers in the rebellion. And the time fixed for the zero-hour was very insightfully and strategically done. 1857, as the rumour went round, coincided with the completion of 100 years after the battle of Plassey. The rumour, further, was enriched with a credential that the astrologers predicted that the English rule would last exactly a hundred years. That appealed to the credulous, superstitious sepoys who were already under terrible pressure - moral, psychological and emotional.

Though the great uprising apparently met with failure it had its salutary effect on the despondent, fatalistic Indians to continue their struggle for another century till they were free in 1947.

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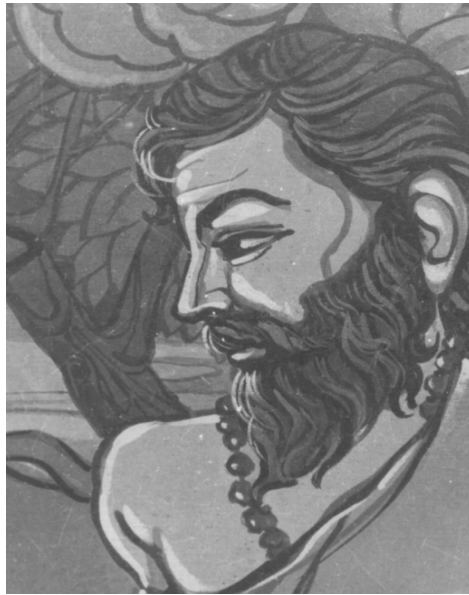
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Nationalist Movement in Lembai Pargana

Dr. Saroj Kumar Panda

Delang police station area of Puri District was known as 'Lembai' pargana since the days of the Mughals. As per Maddox Settlement Report of 1898-99, Lembai or Delang Estate had 234 villages covering an area of 89.86 sq. miles.¹

During the reign of Raja Ramachandra Dev, in 1580 A.D., the first ruler of Bhoi dynasty of Khurda, the Parganas like Sirai, Lembai, Rahanga and Chabiskuda were separated and accordingly settlements were made. Since then Lembai remained as '*Hastamudi Mahal*' of Bhoi Kings till 1760 A.D.² During the rule of the first Maratha Subadar Sheoram Bhattasathe in 1670 A.D., Khurda was attacked by Narayan Dev, the powerful zamindar of Paralakhemundi. King Birakishore Dev of Khurda was defeated and sought the help of the Marathas against Narayan Dev. The Marathas agreed to free Khurda on the condition of payment of one lakh rupees. It was agreed. Narayan Dev was expelled from Khurda but the Raja was unable to pay the



stipulated amount. So he was forced to oblige to mortgage Lembai, Rahanga, Serai and Chabiskuda to the Marathas.³

The Raja of Khurda was the greatest chieftain of Orissa and he possessed maximum territory in the province. Therefore, the British was interested to maintain good relation with him. Col.

Harcourt was anxious for gaining support of the Raja of Khurda for a clear and safe passage of the English troops through his territory. The Raja of Khurda Mukunda Dev - II agreed to accede to the request on the condition of payment of one lakh rupees in cash after conquest of Cuttack and restoration of the Parganas of Rahanga, Lembai, Sirai and Chakiskuda which were wrested from him by the Marathas to his control.⁴ After the end of the campaign, the

Raja asked for the parganas which now came to the possession of the British. The British had no intention to part with these valuable territories because it formed the communication link between Cuttack and Madras.⁵



Jayee Rajguru, the guardian of minor King Mukunda Dev - II became furious and tried to forcefully take away the Parganas from the British. The king's representatives collected revenue from the parganas. One Dharam Harichandan was appointed by the king of Khurda to collect revenue from the villages of Barapada, Kharada and Matiapada which were under Lembai Pargana. In October 1804, a group of Paikas under the leadership of Rajguru attacked on Lembai to rescue it from British hold. The British was not prepared to tolerate the forceful acquisition of the parganas by the king of Khurda. In December 1804 under the leadership of Captain Hickland a group of soldiers moved to Lembai and another group under Cornel Harcourt attacked on Khurda fort. By this way they became successful to tackle the situation.⁶

In 1805 settlement, alongwith other Parganas, the British declared Lembai as Khas. In 1808 settlement, they gave it back to the king of Khurda. But after Paik rebellion, the British snatched away Lembai from the ruler of Khurda and again declared it Khas. In 1845 settlement, Lembai pargana was taken over by the King of Puri. In 1885, the pargana was auction saled and came under the control of the king of Paralakhemundi and remained in his hand till abolition of zamindari in 1954.⁷

The wave of nationalism was flowing over Lembai since the days of Paik rebellion. As this place was adjacent to Khurda and the subordinate forts of Khurda were scattered in this area, the mentality of the people of Lembai was to resist any foreign dominion. They had already showed their patriotism against the Mughals and the Marathas. So also they were prepared to challenge the British. In 1817, the Paikas of the area looted the *Khazanakhana* at Delang on their

way to support the rebellion.⁸ Even they killed a Government employee at Delang in an encounter with him. As a result, a police station was established at Delang and an efficient police officer remained in charge of that police station.⁹

Pandit Krupasindhu Hota of Satyavadi was pioneer leader who instigated revolutionary flame in Delang. In 1918 for the first time he came in contact with the people of the area. In 1927, a two day meeting was held at Berboi, Delang under the presidentship of Pandit Hota. It was attended by important dignitaries like Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Pandit Nilakantha Das, Acharya Harihar, Anant Mishra, Laxminarayan Sahoo, Radhanath Rath, Rajakrushna Bose etc. Some local leaders of the area also participated in the meeting and took oath to fight against the British. In 1934, Krupasindhu Hota established a 'Seva Kutir' at Berboi and trained the local youth on the Gandhian principles. Sunamani Devi, the widow of his elder brother, helped Pandit Hota in this venture. Her major work in the Ashram was production of Khadi and eradication of untouchability. These two, at first gave the slogan of village organisation in Delang area and by the way became instrumental of anti-British rule.¹⁰

As a result of Pandit Hota's initiative and at the request of leaders like Acharya Harihar, Gopabandhu Choudhury and Rama Devi, Mahatma Gandhi inaugurated fourth 'Gandhi Seva Sangha' meeting at Berboi, Delang. He stayed here for seven days i.e. from 25 March 1938 to 31 March 1938. During this period Gandhi mobilized the mass on self help programmes.¹¹

The Nationalist movement gained momentum at Delang in 1942. The revolutionary youth of the area, Basudev Gajendra, Kanduri



Charan Nayak, Purna Chandra Behera, Raghunath Barik, Ghanashyam Rout, Baman Swain and Rabindranath Nayak came forward. They belonged to the villages of Ankoi, Brahman Taraboi, Old Delang, Rench and Berboi. Some of them disconnected the telegraph line near Biswanath Hill at Motari Railway Station. It is said that, they had planned it at a meeting in Ankoi on that very night. One among them, Bhramar Nayak became a traitor. He revealed all the secrets of the action to the British. Basing on the confession of Bhramara, the Government arrested Rabindranath Nayak. Of course, later Rabindra proved himself innocent but soon died of the health.¹²

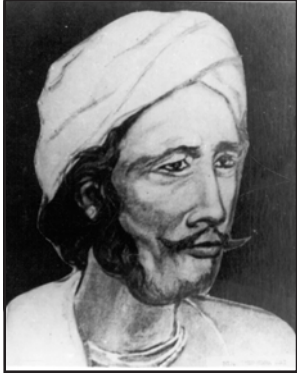
Ghanashyam Rout absconded as there was a warrant against him. Somehow, he escaped to Matili village of Koraput. There he led the life of an ascetic. He adopted the life-style of adivasis. At home his family members lost hope of Ghanashyam and did final rites believing that he was dead. After independence, Ghanashyam returned home. The people came to know what befell this freedom fighter during his years in Koraput. Later he led the normal life of a householder till his death.¹³

On 9 August 1942, the Government declared 'Gandhi Seva Sangha' of Berboi, 'Gopabandhu Seva Sadan' of Kadua and 'Primary Congress Committee' of Jatni illegal.¹⁴ Krupasindhu Hota was arrested at Delang. Among others who were imprisoned during this period include Sunamani Devi, Basudev Gajendra, Kanduri Charan Nayak, Raghunath Barik and Purna Chandra Behera.

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Associates of Veer Surendra Sai

Dr. C. B. Patel

Orissa came under British control in 1803. But from the very day of their occupation of Orissa the British faced strong resistance from the native people. The Paikas of Khurda revolted against the British rule in 1817. The Khands of Paralakhemundi of Ghumsar revolted in 1860 and troubled the British Government for long time. The Khands under Chakra Bisoi continued to resist British rule till 1856 and in the year 1857, the 1st Indian revolution for independence of India from British yoke erupted violently. In Western Orissa and Central India, Veer Surendra Sai and his revolutionary associates fought with the British Government vehemently. They continued their war against British Govt. till 1962. These four years are a Golden era in the 1st freedom struggle of India, the torch of which was held aloft by Surendra Sai with a marauding group of tribal fighters. Life and history of some lesser known and more renowned revolutionary associates of Veer Surendra Sai are mentioned below.

Bairi Singh was the younger brother of Hathi Singh who was a great supporter of Surendra Sai. Hathi Singh surrendered to Britishers in 1862 along with his brother. Both of them were arrested in 1864 and were put in confinement in Sambalpur Jail till their death. Gonds were the fighting force of western Orissa. Balabhadra Singh Deo was the Gond Zamindar

of Lakhanpur. He revolted against the installation of Narayan Singh as the king of Sambalpur. He took part in the war of independence along with Zamindar of Rampur as an important associate of Surendra Sai. Balaram Sai was the son of Tej Singh and elder brother of Dharam Singh, the father of Surendra Sai. He was the source of inspiration for Surendra Sai and his brothers during their childhood. When Rani Mohan Kumari occupied the throne of Sambalpur in 1827 she made Balaram Sai her Dewan but he did not accept the Dewanship because of the rebellion of his nephew Surendra Sai. Later on he became the leader of the rebellion. Raja Narayan Singh attacked Balaram Sai, Surendra Sai and his brother Udanta Sai at Dhehripali near Sambalpur when they were advancing towards Patna state for collection of arms and ammunition. They were captured by Narayan Singh. Lt. Col. Qusely tried their cases and sentenced Surendra Sai and Udanta Sai to imprisonment for 5 and 7 years respectively and Balaram Sai was sentenced for life imprisonment. They were all put in Hazaribag Jail where Balaram Sai breathed his last.

Chhabila Sai, the fourth brother of Surendra Sai was killed in an ambush at Kudopali by Captain Wood on 13th December 1857. Dayal Sardar who was the Zamindar of Kharsal was a staunch supporter of Surendra Sai. He was



arrested and hanged by orders of G. F. Cockburn, the Commissioner of Cuttack on 3rd March 1858. Another turbulent fighter was Dharanidhar Mishra who was the Chief Advisor of Surendra Sai. He was arrested in 1864 at the Bargaon house of Surendra Sai. His trial began at the session court of Raipur where he was sentenced to 7 years of rigorous punishment. Druva Sai was the 2nd brother of Surendra Sai. He took part in the revolution in 1857 and surrendered to Britishers on 17th January 1862. He was arrested in his house at Tabala village. In 1864 he was tried in the session's court and was sentenced to transportation for life with forfeiture of his properties. But the Judicial Commissioner acquitted him and detained him in the Asirgarh hill fort under regulation III of 1888. However he was released on 1st January 1877 on the eve of Queen Victoria's assuming the title of *Empress of India*.

Gajaraj Singh was the elder brother of Kamal Singh. He was a supporter of Surendra Sai. He jumped into the revolutionary war of Surendra Sai and was compelled to surrender in May 1862 along with Veer Surendra Sai. Ganesh Upadhaya of Simbhabaga and his two sons Purusottam and Prasadi were also very faithful followers of Surendra Sai. Upadhaya was arrested by British Govt. and was tortured very much to elicit from him the where-about of his two heroic sons. He was ultimately hanged by the British Govt.

Govind Singh was the son of Narayan Singh, the Zamindar of Sonakhan. He revolted against the British in 1857 and was defeated and captured by Lt. Lucie Smith. In December 1857 he was executed. However the revolution kindled by Narayan Singh could not be suppressed by British. His Zamindari was confiscated and made over to Maharaj Sai, the Zamindar of Deoree. He promised to take revenge from Maharaj Sai.

He married the daughter of Kunjal Singh and became a supporter of Surendra Sai. On 16th July 1860 he marched with his father-in-law Kunjal Singh and attacked the house of Maharaj Sai and killed him. His house was ransacked and his two daughters and one son-in-law were abducted. Major E. K. Elliot, the Commissioner of North Province declared rewards of 500 and 250 rupees for capture of Govind Singh and Kunjal Singh. However the former's where-about could not be known till 1866 when Kunjal Singh was arrested.

Hathi Singh, another freedom fighter and associate of Surendra Sai was the eldest grandson of Madho Singh the Zamindar of Ghens. He played an important role in strengthening the defence of Ghens and participated with his grandfather in controlling communication through the Singhora pass. He bravely faced the attack of Captain Shakespear at Singhora Ghati. When the cannon balls blasted he became unconscious. However Surendra Sai took him into a cave and treated him successfully. He was a great source of inspiration and support to Surendra Sai. After the surrender of Udanta Sai and Druva Sai, Hathi Singh surrendered in 1862 and Ghens Zamindari was given to him. But he was again arrested in 1864 by Cumberlege, the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur on the charge of harbouring his brother Kunjal Singh in his estate. He was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment and was later transported to Andamans where he died with a painful heart.

Karunakar Gartia was the Zamindar of Kolabira. He was a trusted supporter of Surendra Sai who supplied troops for guarding the Jharghaty pass. Kolabira was attacked by Capt. J. B. Knocker on 7th November 1857 and to his surprise he found the place completely deserted. The house of Zamindar Karunakar was heavily



fired by Lt. Hadow of the Madras Artillery and was completely destroyed. In January 1858 Major Bates with a large army besieged Kolabira and burnt the entire village to ashes. Karunakar Gartia with thirteen rebel Chiefs surrendered and Gartia was hanged at Sambalpur on 11th February 1858 and his Zamindari was confiscated.

Khageswar Singh Deo was the grandson of Balabhadra Singh Deo, the Zamindar of Lakhanpur and the nephew of Kamal Singh. He was a man of courage and strong will and very frank and straight-forward in his dealings. He was a very sincere supporter of Surendra Sai and was a veteran warrior. He surrendered in May 1862 along with Surendra Sai. But the estate of Lakhanpur was not restored to him which was considered to be a violation of the terms of proclamation of Major Impey. Khageswar Deo was, however, allowed to stay in the Bonda village near Lakhanpur as the de facto owner of that small estate. Although he surrendered, he had strong feeling of support for his heroic uncle Kamal Singh who continued the revolution. Khageswar along with his brothers was arrested in his house at Bonda in the morning of 24th January 1864 and was tried in the Sessions Court by Lt. Col. J. G. Balmain. He was sentenced to transportation for life with forfeiture of all his properties. But later on was set free by the Chief Judicial Commissioner. He was however detained under Regulation-III of 1818 and was subsequently taken to Asirgarh fort where he spent rest of his life and died a martyr's death.

Krupasindhu Behera was the head of the Khands of Bamra and was a great revolutionist. His predecessors Chandra Behera and Sri Krushna Behera also revolted against the British and the Raja of Bamra completely failed to suppress them. Chandra Behera was a notable

rebel during the time of Rani Mohan Kumari and Sri Krushna Behera revolted in 1857 in support of Surendra Sai. Raja Brajasundardev of Bamra connived at the activities of Sri Krushna Behera and reported Cockburn, Commissioner of Cuttack, in November 1857 that the rebel Behera managed to escape before he was arrested. Cock-burn suspected the Raja and warned him that he might have the same fate as that of Somanath Singh, the Raja of Angul. But Sri Krushna Behera could not be apprehended.

Krupasindhu Behera was inspired by the ideal of these two patriot Khand leaders of Bamra and strongly supported the cause of Surendra Sai. He committed great depredations in the British territory and his followers could not be suppressed by the combined effort of the British and the Raja of Bamra.

In January 1862 Krupasindhu Behera surrendered in consequence of the surrender of Udanta Sai and was restored to his Chiefship.

Kunjal Singh was the son of Bhagat Singh and grandson of Madho Singh, the Zamindar of Ghens. He assisted his grandfather in defending the strategic Singhora Pass. He was a trusted follower of Surendra Sai and often attended him when the great hero encamped in the Sunabeda plateau of Khariar estate. On 16th July 1860, Kunjal Singh with his son-in-law Govind Singh attacked the house of Maharaja Sai, the Zamindar of Deoree just at noon and murdered him in cold blood as he was an active agent and supporter of the British. The Commissioner of Nagpur declared rewards of five hundred and two hundred fifty rupees for the capture of Govind Singh and Kunjal Singh respectively. When, Surendra Sai surrendered in May 1862, Kunjal Singh did not surrender as he was then seriously ailing. Capt. Lucie Smith the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur strongly objected against



grant of amnesty to Kunjal Singh, but the Government of India on recommendation of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal offered amnesty to him. Kunjal Singh, however, decided not to surrender and joining hands with Kamal Singh continued the revolution. He was captured early in January 1865 along with Salik Ram Bariha and was confined at Sambalpur Jail, where he was subsequently executed on charges of murder and arson.

Lokanath Panda (Gartla) was the Brahmin Gauntia of the villages-Rampella, Adhapara and Kumarbandha and was a great supporter of Surendra Sai. He was a notable rebel and was almost to be hanged in 1857 because of his rebellious activities. He surrendered in 1862 and was treated with due honour by Major Impey who generously made him proprietor of nineteen villages assessed on half rates for a period of forty years. He was arrested in the morning of 24th January 1864 and tried in the Sessions Court at Raipur by Lt. Col. J. G. Balmain, who sentenced him to transportation for life with forfeiture of all his properties. But he was acquitted of all charges by J. S. Campbell, the Judicial Commissioner. Later on, he was detained under Regulation-III of 1818 along with Surendra Sai and five others and was subsequently kept in confinement in Asirgarh hill fort where he died sometime before 1871.

Madho Singh (Madho Bariha) was the Zamindar of Ghens. He was a great supporter of Surendra Sai since the beginning of his revolution. In 1857 he was given the charge of guarding the Singnora Pass on the Sambalpur-Nagpur road. He fortified and controlled this strategic pass with the help of his grandsons Kunjal Singh, Hathi Singh and Bairi Singh and stopped all communications for some period between Sambalpur, Raipur and Nagpur. On 29th December 1857 Capt. Wood coming from Nagpur with a detachment of irregular

cavalry was opposed by Madho Singh at Singhora Ghati. But the cavalry regiment succeeded in outflanking the troops of Madho Singh. The Singhora pass was captured by Capt. Shakespear early in February 1858, but the troops of Ghens reoccupied it soon after that. In December 1858 Capt. Forster made a surprise attack on the fort of Ghens and captured the old Zamindar Madho Singh who was hanged at Sambalpur.

Mitrabhanu Sai was the only son of Surendra Sai, who was born in 1939. He married Krishnapriya Devi, the daughter of the Raja of Bonai. He joined his father and uncles and took active part in the Revolution. He surrendered on 7th January 1862 and the Lakhraj village of Khinda was restored to him. He was, however, arrested with his father at Bargaon in the night of 23rd January 1864 and was tried in the Sessions Court by Lt. Col. J. G. Balmain who sentenced him to seven years imprisonment. The orders were reversed by the Judicial Commissioner, but he was detained along with his father and others under Regulation-III of 1818 and was kept in confinement in Asirgarh hill fort. He was released with his uncle Dhruva Sai on 1st January 1877 and was brought to Bonai where he resided for long thirty years. He was allowed to come to his home village Khinda in 1907. As he had no issue he adopted a boy named Giridhari from the family of Rajpur Zamindar in 1922 and died in October 1926 at the age of 87.

With the demise of Mitrabhanu Sai, the original lineage of Veer Surendra Sai and the saga of great rebellion of popularly called Sundar Sai and his band of tribal warriors came to end keeping a permanent niche for themselves in the freedom struggle of India.

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Freedom Struggle in Ghens (Bargarh)

Er. Nirakar Mahalik

Ghens (Bargarh)'s contribution had a good effect on the course of India's struggle of Independence. In 1803 while Britishers occupied Orissa, the brave Oriya Paikas vehemently opposed under the leadership of Jayee Rajguru. In 1817 eminent Oriya leader Baxi Jagabandhu rose into rebellion which is named as first struggle of Independence. Again in 1837-64 struggle for freedom started by Veer Surendra Sai of Samblapur in the western part of Orissa under the support of local zamindars and Gountias against the British. Zamindar of Ghens in Bargarh district vehemently supported the cause of Surendra Sai and rose in revolt.

Revolt of Surendra Sai started vigorously when Narayan Singh, an old and incapable scion of Barpali zamindar family was elevated the king of Sambalpur by the Britishers in 1833 A.D. The struggle was taken to every corners of Sambalpur kingdom and other neighbouring states. Madho Singh of Ghens and other zamindars were participated in the movement. Surendra Sai and his brother Udanta Sai and uncle Balabhadra were arrested in 1840 A.D. by the British and sent to Hazaribagh zail in Bihar.

The second phase of revolution started after May 10th 1857 with the outbreak of sepoy mutiny in India. The mutineers attacked Hazaribag jail and released all the inmates. Surendra Sai with his brother Udanta Sai was also released on 30th July 1957 A.D.

Surendra Sai reached Khinda, his native village and again remained in custody at Sambalpur. Again he fled from Sambalpur on 31st October 1857 for his second phase of revolt. He

fought against the Britishers tooth and nail along with zamindars of Ghens and others. Britishers arrested Madho Singh and on August 25th 1858 Ghens zamindary was forefeited to Britishers. Lastly he was hanged in the same year 1858.

After the death of Madho Singh of Ghens, his three sons Hatee Singh, Kunjal Singh and Bairi Singh rose in revolt vigorously along with other zamindars of Lakhapur, Kalabira, Kodabaga, Bheden, Kharsal, Mandomahul, Pahadsirigida, Patakulunda, Loisingha and other zamindars of Raigarh and Bargarh.

At that time there were three important strategic points for communication to reach Sambalpur from outside. They are Badapati pass, Jharghati pass and Singhoda pass. All zamindars alongwith brothers of Surendra Sai cordoned Sambalpur from all sides. Ghens brothers Hatee Singh, Kunjal Singh and Bairi Singh alongwith others were in charge of Singhodn Ghati. This ghati is a link between Nagapur to Sambalpur along the river and land route. It is nearer to Lahurachoti Sohela in Bargarh District. It is called three sons by Madho Singh of Ghens - Hatee Singh, Kunjal Singh and Bairi Singh were the terror in Singhoda Ghati, even the local chief of that area who supported British could not dare to pass through that Ghati.

In the meantime Britishers took severe action and attacked Singhoda Ghati. During February Captain Shakespeare attacked that Ghati with several Madras Troops alongwith cavalry and armoured force. They cordoned Singhoda Ghati from four sides and fired to hill



top. Ghens zamindar Hatee Singh was the captain of revolutionary forces there. They hid themselves inside the artificial stone trenches except eleven supporters who could not resist the fire and ultimately died there. After the fire ceased revolutionary soldiers managed to escape to near-by hill. On the way Hatee Singh became senseless due to strike of a stone spill from unknown angles. Other soldiers managed to hide Hatee Singh in a cave where he was nursed until he came to sense. British soldiers searched Singhoda Ghati thoroughly but could not find any trace of human presence.

After this incident Surendra Sai selected Kunjal Singh and Bairi Singh, the two brothers of Hatee Singh to be in charge of Singhoda ghati. But Britishers took it seriously. They kept permanent army in three strategic Ghatis, attacked Kharsal fort in 1860 and hanged the zamindar. Bheden zamindar met his death during a fight but Kolabira zamindar was hanged. Bargarh zamindary was forfeited and attached at Raigarh in M.P.

There was a small zamindary named Deori, a cluster of 15 villages in Raipur District contiguous to Ghens zamindary. Narayan Singh was the zamindar there. Sonakhan zamindary with Maharaja Sai zamindar was adjacent to Deori. Maharaja Sai, Binjhal by caste was nephew of Narayan Singh. In 1857 revolt Narayan Singh was hanged by the British due to the help rendered by Maharaja Sai to the British. Govinda Singh, son of Narayan was also arrested and transported to Nagapur jail. He was released in July 1859. Sonakhan Zamindary was attached to Deori temporarily. At that time Surendra Sai with Kunjal Singh and others fled to Khariar due to strong action taken by the British in Sambalpur region.

One day Govind Singh rendered help from Surendra Sai to kill his father's enemy Maharaja Sai. Surendra Sai sent 120 revolutionary force with Kunjal Singh of Ghens as leader. On July 16th 1860, Kunjal Singh, Govind Singh and Hatee Singh with others attacked the zamindar of Deori and murdered him. They took two

daughters of Maharaja Sai in to custody. They all returned to Khariar after attack. Nagapur commissioner declared Rs.500 and Rs.250 for Govinda Singh and Kunjal Singh respectively, who could catch and handover them in person. Kunjal Singh happened to be the father-in-law of Govinda Singh. Surendra Sai with his revolutionary forces remained in Kalahandi in Bindra - Nuagarh area till they surrendered.

Major Impey joined as Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur in April 1861. Reviewing the situation he declared the policy of British amnesty in 1861. Accordingly Mitrabhanu Sai, son of Surendra Sai, with his uncle Udanta Sai and Dhruva surrendered in 1862. Hatee Singh of Ghens also surrendered after constant persuasion from Udanta Sai, brother of Surendra Sai. His Ghens Zamindary again returned to him. Lastly Veer Surendra Sai surrendered on 16th May 1862. But Kunjal Singh did not surrender.

Britishers came to know that Kunjal Singh was staying at Badmal, a village near the foot of a nearest hill (where now Talkhol Minor Irrigation Project was constructed) about 5 km from Ghens. On 7th March 1864 Lieutenant Beril and Lieutenant Boie of British force came to Badmal for search of Kunjal Singh but he left the place and proceeded towards Talkhol forest before they reached the village. After this incident Hatee Singh, Kunjal Singh and Bairi Singh were arrested. Hatee Singh was sentenced to transportation for life imprisonment at Andaman, Kunjal Singh and Bairi Singh were sentenced to death.

Veer Surendra Sai and Ghens Zamindars alongwith others fought an unequal battle in the most adverse circumstances for the urge of freedom. It was the spirit to preserve the rights and interest of the then leaders of the community which will continue in this country for ages to come.

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The Revolt of 1857 and Veer Surendra Sai

Prof. Sadhu Charan Panda

It is an accepted fact that nations evolve their history under circumstances encountered, managed and transmitted from the past. And therefore, historical legacy is indispensable in the collective memory of a nation, hence creation of a collective identity formation through a national event as a cultural exercise is universally accepted as a natural urge. On the basis of it, the event of 1857 was a watershed development in the historical life of modern India where the political identity of the Indian nation state began to take shape. It is, therefore, the revolt of 1857 must be viewed as a prelude to a long process of collective identity formation for national liberation. It was on this backdrop the events in Orissa in 1857 have to be viewed and interpreted.

The most unique and conspicuous happening that epitomizes the contribution of Orissa to the freedom struggle of India was spearheaded by Veer Surendra Sai in the remote hilly tracts of West Orissa and the terrains of Chhatisgarh. The Uprising and its consequences



appear to be singular because nowhere in the length and breath of India such resistance was offered to British administration. Veer Surendra Sai after being released from Hajaribag Jail heralded a new phase of confrontation with British

by coming back to Sambalpur in July 1857, to inspire and give leadership to his old associates and fellowmen whose unflinching support and sacrifices for the cause of freedom was ever burning in their memory. His revolution was an integral part of the historic revolution of 1857. In spite of its regional significance, his revolution can not be dissociated from its national character and the History of Indian Revolution of 1857 will remain imperfect and incomplete

without taking into account the role of Veer Surendra Sai in their great national upheaval. It is an injustice to refer the event of 1857 as a 'Mutiny or Revolt' since there are enough evidence to say that its echoes were felt in Great Britain as a 'popular movement' against British authority. Stanly, Secretary of State, Govt. of Great Britain informed the Parliament that there has been a great



uprising in India in 1857. Metcalfe is also known to have termed this event as a 'social churning'. Even the Daily Tribune reported this matter recognizing mass character of the event. The leader of the opposition of the Parliament of Great Britain Disraeli warned the Govt. about display of popular discontentment by the Indians against the British access. On analysis it is, in fact found that various community groups have come together across the society with unity of purpose to oust the British from their sway once for all. The event was largely characterised by a spontaneous violent reaction of the people against ill-tempered policies of the company regime.

The very presence of Veer Surendra Sai at Sambalpur was viewed seriously by Capt. Dalton, who immediately informed the Asst. Commissioner, Sambalpur, Capt. Leigh to be very careful since popular support of Sambalpur was overwhelming for Veer Surendra Sai and the loyalty of Ramagarh Battalion Station at Sambalpur was doubtful. Even if there was calm at Sambalpur and Veer Surendra Sai was not well Capt. Leigh apprehended trouble and requested the Commissioner of Chhotnagpur and Cuttack to supplement troops to meet the urgency. The initial attempts for settlement of the problems connected with the punishment of Veer Surendra Sai did not materialize for which there arose unprecedented zeal among the followers. To reorganize the depleted forces to come forward for a fresh uprising, Karuna Gantia of "Kolabira" took the initiative and organized militia by contacting Madho Singh (Ghens), Janardan Singh (Pahadsirgida), Pitambar Singh (Patkulinda), Manohar Singh (Bheden), Dayal Sarkar (Kharsal), Dhanu Singh (Marchida) and others.

Meanwhile Sambalpur was deserted by the elites and well to do families apprehending turmoil

at any time. It was during this period support poured in for Veer Surendra Sai from all quarters precisely because of ill feeling towards British administration and sudden rise of revenue payment i.e. an unprecedented increase from Rs.8,000/- to Rs.75,000/- at a stretch. It is on record that during this period Balmukunda Patnaik, son of Jagu Dewan was Naik Tahasildar at Sambalpur who organized secret meetings of the rebels and subscribed Rs.500/- through Pakir Singh, brother of late Raja Narayan Singh. Balaram Patnaik, Tahasildar of Baragarh is also known to have contributed Rs.80/- to Surendra Sai and party. The common people who were tortured are known to have submitted before Surendra Sai promising him all help and assistance since they will be denied their hearth and house if they come forward openly against British administration. It appears that a common platform consisting of all walks of people was raised against the British authority under the leadership of Veer Surendra Sai. This phenomenon clearly demonstrates that there was an uprising by involving everyone of Sambalpur region against the British authority. Here, there was no question of any narrow or personal motive of Surendra Sai, on the other hand, he was acknowledged as the supreme leader of the fight between the people and the Govt. wherein the aim was freedom from foreign yoke. Having assured popular support and the militia organized by the different zamindars, Surendra Sai heralded the banner of defiance against the British authority in early August 1857, by organizing 5 strategic posts, 2 on the road from Sambalpur to Nagpur, 2 on the road from Ranchi to Hajaribag and one on the road from Sambalpur to Cuttack and stationed himself at Debrigarh with a sizable force at his command. As per description given by Warloo the strategic points were having high and thick walls with



boulders hanging on the trees in the entry path. In fact some of the boulders used by Surendra Sai of different size and shapes are still found in the Dr.N.K.Sahu, Museum, Sambalpur University. It is wonder that a man without formal education and bereft of modern arms and ammunitions could organize so strong a base that it baffled the British soldiers. It is indeed an example of powerful organization, super vigilance and electrifying leadership. The vigorous encounters at Jujumura on 19th November 1857 resulting with the death of Dr. Moore, the battle at Kudepali, the battle at Singora created ripples in the rank and file of British forces forcing the authorities to strengthen the military base involving battalions from every quarters. The death of Woodbridge at the hands of Janardan Singh at Pahadsirgida on 12th February 1858 heightened the prestige of rebels who divided themselves into groups to organize guerilla fight at different strategic places. Meanwhile Capt. Forster replacing Capt. Leigh created a hide and seek situation between the Rebels and British forces adjusting to cope with the changing situation. The situation that came after joining Forster was marked by fiendish cruelty of the British who after suppressing the revolution in other parts of India boasted of superiority of power and on the other hand the revenge and retaliation of the rebels who resorted strictly to guerilla fighting. The revolution in Sambalpur from April 1858 was more severe and methodical and ultimately mighty British forces have to bow down before it. The policy of Forster was to isolate Surendra Sai from the support and sympathy of the feudatory chiefs and Jamindars which according to him will cripple his resources and strength. He further started a policy of coercion and terror as deterrent measure for those who supported or were suspected to have support

for the rebels. The Sambalpur jail having capacity for less than 100 prisoners accommodated about 300 convicts and many innocent persons were put to torture on mere suspicion. It was during this period Veer Surendra Sai with the close support of a few trusted zamindars entered into understanding with the state of Rewa, Pendra, Surguja in the adjoining of Central Province and stationed himself in the Manikgarh hill fort. Surendra Sai's new strategy was not to fight the British forces direct but to attack the supporters of the British and to smash them in order to terrify and discourage such supporters and collected sustenance and resources for his troops. He was not afraid of encountering the British forces and build up huge defences to meet any eventuality. He instructed his followers not to march from place to place in large number but move in groups of twos or threes to avoid notice of the enemies and not have an occasion for a big clash. By this way he thwarted the various moves by the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur, Sambalpur to apprehend him. The situation was so perplexing for the British authority that Capt. Forster in spite of his military plannings and iron administration found himself helpless and was unable to control the vigour of the revolution. His policy of coercion and terror proved ineffective and he had to quit Sambalpur discredited and utterly dejected in April 1861 giving way to Major H.B.Impey as his successor. The appointment of Major Impey as Deputy Commissioner marked a turning point in the history of Sambalpur. The large piles of arms and ammunitions was futile and nothing positive was achieved. He was forced to follow a policy of conciliation and pardon to set right the shimmering condition in Sambalpur and entered into negotiation with rebels. After availing positive response from R.N.Shore, Commissioner of



Cuttack, he issued a proclamation on 24th September 1861 to free the rebels confined in the jails of Cuttack and Sambalpur. Attempts were made to ascertain whereabouts of Surendra Sai. After having submission of Udanta Sai and others, that affected the surrender of Surendra Sai along with strong followers Gajaraj Singh, Khageswar Dao, Fate Singh, Kunjal Singh, assuring them with pardon and sanction of pension for maintenance. Lord Elgin in his letter dated 22nd November 1862 reported to Secretary of State for India that Surendra Sai "Sambalpur Rebel" had surrendered.

The surrender of Surendra Sai did not put to end the unrest in Sambalpur, and the British Govt. found him to be a strong centre of trouble even after he adopted a life of peace. To meet the urgency Sambalpur was transferred from the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Cuttack to that of the administration of Central Provinces on 30th April 1862. The rebels like Kamal Singh, Kundan Singh, Mohan Singh and Salikram Bariha refused to surrender and they continued to revolt with greater vehemence with avowed object of removing the British. Subsequently a cry was raised in Sambalpur that Surendra Sai has run off again into jungle. Be that as it may be, the Britishers found the presence of Surendra Sai at Sambalpur as a constant problem and hatched a plot to get rid of him. Finally with the help of one Dayanidhi Meher Surendra Sai was apprehended, faced trial and sent to Asirgarh jail. His detention was subject of controversy between the British administration and judiciary and on analysis it was found that the case, trial and detention of Surendra Sai was illegal. However, he continued to stay in Asirgarh jail till he breathed last.

In retrospect it is visualized that the patriotism and heroism exhibited by Veer

Surendra Sai is unparalleled in the history of freedom movement of India. He was not only a great revolutionist throughout his life but also an inspiring leader. Here was a person who was found as dangerous in peace as he was in war. It is most befitting to end, with the assessment of this great soul in the words of my Guru Dr. N.K.Sahoo, who said a dispassionate analysis of the revolutionary activities of Veer Surendra Sai reveals that the ideal for which he fought was much above regional pettinesses as his aim was against alien domination over the country. In this respect he merits comparison with his contemporary rebel leaders Garibaldi of Italy and Kossuth of Hungary. What is more, he fought, almost single handed, against the most formidable forces of imperialism, staking all that was near and dear to him and suffered untold miseries all through his life. In the annals of freedom movement against British rule in India he stands firm and unique and deserves homage of the whole nation.

But tell me when was freedom bought
Without a bitter price to pay ?
This is a truth I feel and know
I'll die to make my country free

Thus sings the Russian revolutionist Nalivaiko, leader of the peasant and Cossack uprising in the Ukraine. Veer Surendra Sai embodies this idealism.

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The Kandha Revolution in Kalahandi

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Sasmita Mund and
Dr. Mihir Prasad Mishra*

Numerically, the second most important Scheduled tribe of Kalahandi is the Khond, Kond or Kandha. They are found everywhere in the district and have three main divisions, viz., Kutia, Dangaria and Desia. The Kutia Kandha lives in a house, the floor of which is below the level of the ground around the house. The Dangaria Kandhas are known as Malia Kandhas. They live in high land hills. The Desia Kandhas live in the plain area with other non-tribals. Kui is the mother tongue of the Kandhas but they know Oriya and speak with others in this language. The Kandhas are generally dark in complexion, though, among them, some fair skinned persons are also found. An average male Kandha is about 5 feet 4 inches in height. They are slim but muscular. The females are slim too, but shorter in stature. The Kandhas are generally simple in nature, innocent, truthful and credulous. The common surnames of Kandhas are Pradhan, Mallick, Konhar, Majhi and those worship deities have surnames like Dehury, Jhankar, Jani etc. The Kondhs form numerically the largest group among the 62 tribes of Orissa. Customarily they were once famous for their brutal acts of human sacrifice (Maria sacrifice) to achieve the end products of bumper crops and killing of infants for better yield of turmeric. There are various sections among the Kondhs. Racially the Kondhs relate more closely to the proto-Austroloid stock with considerable Mongoloid admixture. They are divided into two logistic group, Kui and Kuvi. The Kandhas have their loyalty to their erstwhile feudatory chiefs in Orissa and elsewhere. They are treated as valiant warriors and discharged their services very

faithfully to their rulers. They offered their valuable services at the time of freedom movement. To name a few among them are Chakara Bisoyi and Dohra Bisoyi. Their behaviour is pleasant and they are extremely hospitable to guests, giving protection to enemies if they take refuge. They are generally kind and cheerful and are lovers of recreation.

The twenty-seventh Nagavamsi ruler of Kalahandi ex-state was Shri Fateh Narayan Deo, who died in 1854 and was succeeded by his son Udit Pratap Deo. During his reign the Kandhas of Madanpur-Rampur Zamindary rebelled for sometime but was easily quelled by the skillful management of their affairs. The great Kandha leader Chakara Bisoi took shelter in the banks of Tel river, living alternatively in Madanpur Zamindary and then at Jarasingha. The British Commissioner of Nagpur Called upon the Raja of Madanpur to deliver up Chakara Bisoi. The Raja of Madanpur declared that he was ignorant of Chakara Bisoi's presence in his estate. Meanwhile another Kandha head Rendo Majhi taken the charges of the rebel in 1853 and was arrested during a Meriah sacrifice. In December 1855, Lt. Macneil the agent of the British took Rendo Majhi in chain along with him with a view to warn the Kandhas by this deterrent example. The Kandhas could not tolerate the humiliation of their chief and on 10th December 1855 they attacked the camp of Lt. Macneil, the agent in the hill tracts of Orissa at Orladhoni in the Madanpur estate. This proved the presence of Chakara Bisoi in the estate.



The Orladhoni incident was not forgotten by C.F.Cockburn who succeeded Samuells as Superintendent of the tributary Mahals in 1856. He ordered an enquiry with regard to the conduct of the Raja of Madanpur. The report of Lt. Elliot, who made the enquiry was delayed due to the outbreak of the revolt of 1857. Lt. Elliot held that Chakara Bisoi and his associates were encouraged by the Raja of Madanpur. The Raja was removed from the management of the estate and detained under the surveillance of his chief Udit Pratap Deo, the Raja of Kalahandi. Udit Pratap Deo ruled for 23 years and died in 1881 and was adopted Raghu Keshari Deo as his son but he was a minor of 4 years after succession. So, the administration was conducted by the eldest Rani, Asha Kumari Devi. For improvement of agriculture in the state, Udit Pratap Deo brought Kultha cultivators to Kalahandi from Sambalpur. The Kulthas exploited the poor and simple minded Kandhas and deprived them of the best of their lands. This created harassment and discontentment to the Kandhas. They decided to take revenge to the Kulthas and were in search of a chance.

It was during the weak rule of Asha Kumari Devi that the great Kandha rebellion took place in May 1882 from Asurgarh-Narla region. Large number of Kulthas were killed in cold blood and the rising was suppressed with the help of the British troops. Seven Kandha leaders were tried and given capital punishment. As a result of the Kandha rising, the British government took the direct management of the state till the 24th of January 1894 when Raghu Keshari Deo attained majority and obtained the throne.

In Kalahandi, the Kandhas occupied a privileged position in the sense that - "It was the custom until recently for the Raja of Kalahandi to sit on the lap of a Kandha on the occasion while he received the oaths of fidelity." It is also said that the Raja was accustomed to marry a Kandha girl as one of his wives though he did not allow

her to live in the palace. These custom probably interpreted as a recognition that the Rajas of Kalahandi delivered their rights from the Kandhas.

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Chakhi Khuntia : An Immortal Hero of Freedom Struggle

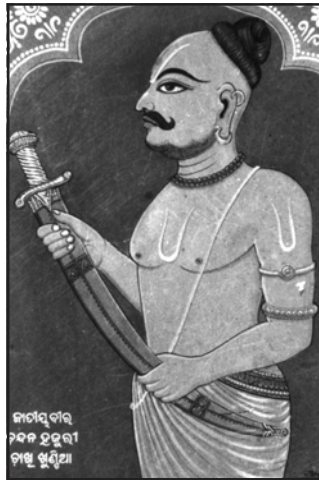
Dr. Jagannath Mohanty

The sacred Shamba Dasami of the year 1827. A male child was born in the famous Hajuri family of Puri Harachandi Sahi. His father was Raghunath Khuntia, a servant of the Lord Jagannath. Since the child was born while his father was dressing the Lord with sandal-paste (chandan), his name was given "Chandan Hajuri". But he is better known as Chakhi Khuntia. His mother was Kamalabati, a pious lady.

In the childhood Chakhi Khuntia was very naughty. He was taught Oriya language and literature in a "Chatasali". He then learnt Hindi to be able to communicate with "Yatris" (pilgrims) of Lord Jagannath. It is told that he had great interest in learning History and Geography of India, her hoary heritage and heroic tales of her national leaders. He was inspired by the biographies of the Indian heroes.

Chakhi Khuntia was learning rigorous physical exercises in the traditional Akhada of Jaga Gharas of Puri. He even learnt wrestling and indigenous military feats and skills. Although, in the childhood he was very weak and lean, through these physical attainments, he strengthened a very well-built and muscular body.

Afterwards, he taught wrestling and military exercises to the youths of Puri. He used to teach various indigenous defence and offence - mechanism to the young people in many Jagagharas or training centres of physical exercises. He was regarded as a master wrestler of the time.



When he was only 12 years old, he was married with a beautiful girl named Sundarmani. He often accompanied his father in his sojourn to various areas in the northern India. In fact, he was thus exposed and oriented with their traditional profession of guiding visitors to Puri and other pilgrimages in Orissa.

Chakhi Khuntia happened to be the family priest or Panda of Meropantha, the father of Manubai who was renamed as Laxmibai after her marriage to Gangadhar Rao, the king of Jhansi, Chakhi maintained relations with Laxmibai even after her marriage and used to pay visits to the royal family at the time of religious trips.

During that period the British people were trying to establish their empire in India by hook or crook. The Missionaries with their support



were preaching Christianity through various means. Even they were bitterly criticizing the Gods of Hindus and deprecating idolatry and other religious practices. Chakhi Khuntia with others strongly opposed to such denigration.

Gangadhar Rao, the king of Jhansi died untimely. Laxmibai had also lost her only son earlier. The British people prohibited her adopting a son to inherit the throne of Jhansi. Subsequently, the British ruler took away all the powers to themselves and Laxmibai was left powerless. But she revolted against the British rule. She sought the assistance of Chakhi Khuntia at her juncture and Khuntia extended all possible help to her.

Chakhi Khuntia played a very crucial role by formenting resentment among the Indian soliders called "Sepoys" and organized a mutiny which subsequently took a very violent shape. Khuntia was well-known as the Panda sepoy or Hajuri Panda (religious guide of Indian soliders). On account of his involvement in this first Freedom struggle, Chakhi Khuntia was arrested many times and kept behind the bars.

The Magistrate of Puri wrote a letter dated March 1858 to the Commissioner of Cuttack, "I have received a good though not official information that a pandah of the town by name Chakhi Khuntia, well known as the Sepoy Pandah has been executed up.

The British suppressed this national revolt against the foreign rule with an iron hand and murdered a lot of Indian Heroes in the encounters. Many were executed without trial and many more were imprisoned. An atmosphere of terror and massacre prevailed in many places of northern India.

Whether Chakhi Khuntia was killed or not his entire property was attached by the British Government. A letter dated 21st April, 1858

written by the Magistrate of Puri to the Commissioner of Circuit Cuttack said, "I have the honors to request your sanction to dispose of a cow and calf which are attached among the attached property of Chakhi Khuntia alias Chandan Hazoori Panda as the expense of their keep will swallow up their values." Subsequently, the cow and calf were disposed off after approval of the Commissioner.

The wild rumour about the death of Chakhi Khuntia however proved false as it was evident from the registered letter written on English paper bearing a Dargon's head for a crest with the motto "Nil moror ictus".

The Magistrate of Puri wrote to the Commissioner on 14th July 1858, "I have just received information that a registered letter has been despatched by Chaki Khuntia alias Huzoori Panda from Gya (Gaya) to his brother Kissen Khuntiya here as this individual was in Lucknow notoriously aiding and abetting the rebels and mutineers. I would suggest that information be sent by "Telegraph" for his apprehension-post would be useless as by this time no doubt information has been given him to make himself scare."

Conveying great anxiety of the Magistrate the letter added, "I have directed the post master to detain the regd. letter pending your instruction. Perhaps it would be as well to send for the address and in his presence open and assure ourselves that the matter there was not treasonable." Since the writer of the letter Chakhi Khuntia was taken "a suspected rebel" the Commissioner directed the post master to hand over the letter in question to the magistrate of Puri and as "nothing treasonable" was found in the same. It was delivered to Krishna (Kissen) Khuntia, brother of Chakhi.



The Commissioner made further investigations about Chakhi Khuntia and sent a letter dated 15th July 1858 to the Magistrate of Gaya "I have the honour to annex for your information copy of a letter No.182/14th instant from officiating Magistrate & Collector, Pooree regarding the ruffian's presence in Gya of one Chakhi Khuntia alias Hazoorie Pandah, a rebel, he was the Sepoy's Pandah at pooree and is reported to have been engaged against Government at Lucknow." It was suggested that the so-called rebel should be "arrested, examined and dealt with as many appear necessary."

The Magistrate of Gaya actually arrested the "Pandah and examined him as his movements during the last year (1857). He further examined two other men who were with him and took statements of all three and also seized papers found in the house of Chakhi Khuntia. The papers were found to be small sale deeds given by the inhabitants of Lucknow. The enquiry on the whole, could not prove the charge of rebellion but suspicion about his conduct was still there.

The Magistrate of Gaya in a subsequent letter to his counterpart at Puri concluded, "No proof here exists against the man. Kindly let me know what you wish to do with him and what you can prove against him. His account of himself is not satisfactory. He left Allahabad he says in Bysak or Jyesth last year and Ajudhya in Bysak this year, having been there a month. During the intervening eleven months, he does not say where he was, except at Mathura, where he does not pretend to have been so long a time."

Chakhi Khuntia was released from the prison by the order of the Commissioner but he was not allowed to enter to his native place. He, however, defied the British Govt. order and arrived at Puri. The Magistrate of Puri reported this matter to the Commissioner on 10th

November, 1858, 'Chakhi Khuntia has returned to the district and is now in safe custody.' At that time, Queen Victoria proclaimed amnesty to the rebels and Chakhi Khuntia was released soon.

The Commissioner instructed the Magistrate of Puri to inform Chakhi Khuntia that "to the royal clemency only does he owe the staying of further proceedings against him as previously intended". The sale-proceeds of his property were however refunded to Chakhi Khuntia and his conduct was watched carefully for a long time.

Chakhi Khuntia spent the last part of his life at Puri. He was not allowed to go anywhere else. He devoted himself to the literary pursuits and religious rites relating to Lord Jagannath. He composed a lot of poems, most of which are devotional songs. Some of his songs are expressing his great displeasure and deep indignations at the inhuman and suppressive measures of the British Government. Many of his writings are still unknown and might have been lost or damaged in the meantime. It is said that one of his palm-leaf manuscripts is entitled "Manubai" original name of Laxmibai, queen of Jhansi.

He breathed his last in 1870 at Puri. It is a great pride for us that a Puri Panda of the 19th century was not only inspired by the heroic deeds of a host of Indians, but also he himself inspired Jhansi Rani Laxmi Bai and a large number of soliders with profound patriotic fervour who sacrificed their lives fearlessly at the holy altar of the mother India. He will be ever remembered by us as an immortal poet, a national hero, a great patriot and renowned devotee of Lord Jagannath.

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Orissa in the Revolt of 1857

Prithish Acharya

The Revolt of 1857 was one of the most dramatic events in the history of modern India. It began in the military cantonment of Merrut in early May 1857 and brought almost the whole of north India under its sway in a very short time. Its suppression was also very sudden. By mid-1858 the revolt had almost been wiped out in most parts of the country. Although the Indian Sepoys of the Bengal Regiment and a significant number of princes and Zamindars were on the lead, people from all walks of life had actively participated in it. Today as researches show, this was probably the biggest arm struggle, far bigger than the French Revolution the history has ever witnessed in recent times.

The north India, especially Merrut, Delhi, Kanpur, Jhansi and Barrelly, etc., had been the epicentre of the revolt. In certain regions like the Punjab and Madras its affects were luke warm, because civil rebellions against the East India Company rule had been organized there earlier resulting in their severe suppression. In fact, not less than 960 minor civil and tribal rebellions had been organized against the company throughout the late 18th and early 19th century though their nature and character were almost identical and many of them occurred at the same time. There had not been any co-ordination and co-operation among them. They all had been resisting the rapid socio-economic and political changes introduced by the British, but were being led in an isolated manner. Their failure taught the future rebels that an alliance among them was an essential condition for fighting the British in India. It is this understanding which resulted in the Revolt of 1857 as a grand alliance of innumerable rebels against

the British. Thus, all these early civil and tribal rebellions in various localities of India could be seen as the forerunner of the Revolt of 1857. Despite having failed in their objective of overthrowing the British they gave to understand that a common struggle was basic to fight a common enemy.

The Revolt of 1857 had far reaching affects in various parts of the country which had learnt to wage a common struggle for the first time. There had been some efforts to bring all resistant fighters under one grand alliance. In order to give sanctity to that the old Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Jafar was made the emperor of India. There were also certain measures taken for bringing unity between the religions. But, more than these efforts, the people had been spontaneously coming to join the struggle so as to cause maximum harm to a common enemy. It is in this context that the reflections of the Revolt of 1857 could be seen in places like Orissa and all. Today in the 150th centenary year of 1857, when the concept of nationalism is being re-defined in terms of the peoples participation, hopefully, it will not be irrelevant to analyse the reflections of 1857 in Orissa.

In Orissa the reflections could be seen in two main forms. One was at the initiative of Chandan Hazuri, a Puri priest, and the other at the initiative of Surendra Sai in Sambalpur and its adjacent areas.

Chandan Hazuri, also known as Chakhi Khuntia, was a priest from Puri temple, who used to visit far off places in search of pilgrims. As



wandering panda he was some how known to the royal family of Jhansi, especially to queen Laxmi Bai. During the revolt it is believed that he worked as a messenger of the queen to the different army cantonments. He could take this responsibility with relative ease, because he visited the cantonment areas for motivating the Indian Sepoys to visit Puri temple. Probably he had as much hatred for the British rule as others had, which motivated him to take the life risk and carry the anti-company messages to different places. During one such visit Chandan was arrested and his family property in Puri was taken over by the government.

Chandan had probably informed about the imminent Indian struggle against the British to some displaced zamindars in Orissa. One such displaced zamindar was Ramakrishna Samantasinghar, who, on learning about the outbreak the Revolt called a meeting of the local Khandayats in his estate Balia in Cuttack district and asked them to withhold the payment land rent to the governemnt treasury. As hike inland-rent and withdrawal of *maufi* rights to certain lands belonging to the zamindars and Brahmins had been a major cause of distress, Ramakrishna's meeting had great significance. However, before the struggle took any concrete form, the leader along with two of his colleagues was put in jail and their properties confiscated by the British.

These two events are minor, but not insignificant in the history. But, the problem there is lack of corroborative facts to substantiate them. Mostly they exist in oral traditions like folk tales and not much serious research has been undertaken to examine them so far. However, these folk tales may not be necessarily myths without any basis, because they continue to exist for such a long time in the popular parlance in Orissa.

The other connection of Orissa to 1857 was Surendra Sai. Unlike the earlier episodes, it is a hot research topic among the researchers in

Orissa. Many plays and stories and poetries have also been written on Surendra Sai and his colleagues. Some of these research writings are by Nabin Kumar Sahu, Aniruddha Das, Radhakanta Mishra and Nabin Kumar Jit. The plays and other writings have made Surendra Sai and his colleagues 'great heroes' in Orissa, especially in Sambalpur and other parts of Western Orissa.

What emerges from these researches on Surendra Sai and his rebellion in Sambalpur is that, Surendra Sai was a claimant to the guddi (throne) of Sambalpur in 1830's. He was supported by his brothers and a few other gond and binjhal Zamindars for the British had placed a lady in the throne against the tradition before taking it over and annexing it with the British empire. While opposing the British intervention Surendra Sai and his brothers killed some local supporters of the British and were sent to jail in Hazaribagh in 1840. With this the revolt was suppressed in Sambalpur for sometime.

In 1857 the Revolt brokeout in Merrut and Delhi and very soon spread to the cantonments in Bihar. As a result a company of 'disloyal' sepoys captured the jail in Hazaribagh, opened its main gates and released many prisoners. Surendra Sai and brothers who were released from the jail unexpectedly, returned to Sambalpur. Soon after this the revolt began in Sambalpur and intermittently continued till 1864, when Surendra Sai was arrested and sent to Asirgarh jail in Nagpur. The local hero died there in jail in 1884.

It is a fact that Surendra Sai and his rebel colleagues had no organizational linkages with the epicentres of 1857. But they were not unaware of it. Rather the activities of the rebels at Hazaribagh prompted Surendra Sai to renew the struggle in Sambalpur. Though he had been jailed for long 17 years, he did not lose hope, nor did he surrender to the British, because he was aware of the mass upsurge in 1857.

Further, though the rebellion in Sambalpur had begun in the 1830's, it was only after 1857



that it became massive and intensive. Hundreds of local people received Surendra Sai on his return to Sambalpur in 1857. Many zamindars and *gauntias* (village headmen) like Madho Singh and his family of Ghess, Janardan Singh of Pahad Srigida, Karuna Gadtia of Kolabira, Manohar Singh of Bheden Dayal Sardar of Kharsal and Madhu gauntia of Loisingha seemed to have joined the revolt at this stage. Many of these people were executed or died while fighting the British forces. Some of them like Hathi Singh of Ghess was deported to Andaman Cellular Jail. The all out support which they gave to Surendra Sai was partly because of their hope to win the battle. The hope was real, probably because they were aware of the Revolt of 1857. Otherwise they would not have 'welcomed' him in Sambalpur, which had been finally annexed to the empire in 1849. Since the British, their enemy forces, were in distress, the local rebels planned to strike at them so as to force them to quit India. They took it as an opportunity to join hands with the enemy forces of the British.

The resistant fighters of Sambalpur mostly belonged to the gond and *birjhal* tribes. But there were also many upper caste brahmins like Pandav Guru, Jagabandhu Hota, Karunakar Supakar and Mrityunjay Panigrahi. There were thousands of local people belonging to different castes in the struggle. The massive support that Surendra Sai had is evident from the fact that there are numerous myths and folk tales on him. As if every village was proud to be associated with him and his struggle. In other words, even those who did not or could not join had sympathy for the local hero and his struggle.

For the local rebels of Sambalpur, Surendra Sai was only a symbol of protest and resistance to the British rule. They were neither blind followers of any individual leader, nor were they inherently allergic to the Britishers of any individual leader, nor were they inherently allergic to the Britishers. In fact due to the hike in rent and with

drawal of 'maufi' rights over land to certain free land holders the local people had immensely suffered. After the imprisonment of Surendra Sai in 1840 the British brought Sambalpur under direct administration in 1849 and the quantum of socio-economic changes increased manifold due to lack of any apparent opposition. It established Surendra Sai as an opposition leader and an alternative force to the British rule in Sambalpur.

Whether it was Chandan Hazuri or Surendra Sai or the zamindar family of Ghess or of Kolabira, for all of them the revolt was a way out for restoring the self-respect of people in the locality. There were rapid changes in all spheres of life. There was curtailment of traditional rights. There was a massive hike in the land rent. All these measures were seen as unjustifiable by the local people. For them rebellion became the only way out. The local zamindars and princes, who were traditional leaders of the society, provided the leadership in the rebellion. They rose in full spirit, because of their awareness about the Revolt of 1857. More than the sufferings, it was the 'possibility of victory' over the mighty British rule which motivated these local rebels to jump into the struggle. In stead of joining the revolt at its epicentre in the far north of India, they evolved the struggle in their local situations and tried to actualise it until their final extinction either in the form of execution or deportation to jail. It is this nature of Orissa revolts in and around 1857 which would make the struggle a memorable event even in the days to come. Despite havign no formal and organisational relationships, they brought the Revolt of 1857 to Orissa and helped in the process of national development in Orissa. Probably this contribution of the Orissa rebellions would make its study interesting and relevant today.

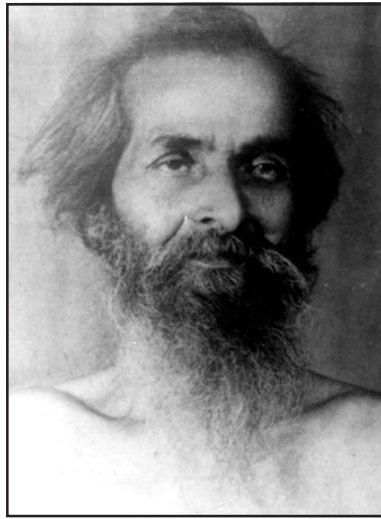
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Acharya Harihar Das : A True Nationalist

Dr. Binodini Das

Harihara, one of the leading soldiers of the freedom struggle of India, was born to Mahadeb Brahma and Sradhadevi on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phalguna in the year 1869 A.D. He hailed from the village of Sriramchandrapur of Sakhigopal in Puri district. His educational career began with the village chahali and the middle vernacular school after which he joined in the Puri Zilla School with a scholarship from the government to complete the entrance examination. He did his F.A. from the Ravenshaw college. Though, he went to Calcutta to study LL.B at the instruction of Gopabandhu, he could not complete it.

"Non-possession of other's belongings" is a lesson was taught to him by the grandmother who insisted Harihara to return back the coconut that he lifted from the road while coming back to the house after finishing bath in the village pond. He tried to maintain village harmony by organising and participating in the fairs and festivals and serving to the people afflicted with the diseases alongwith the friends. The childhood friendship with Gopabandhu, Nilakantha, Krupasindhu and Ananta really



matured at Ravenshaw College. Being bound by the self-resolution, Harihar accepted the invitation of Uma Charan Patnaik to join as teacher in Nilgiri school. But he left Nilgiri alongwith Gopabandhu Das when the political agent outrightly refused to establish a high school there. Then he joined on a request in the Ravenshaw Collegiate school as a substitute of a teacher who went on leave for some days only to leave after three months when he found that the later was not returning.

He accepted the request when he was asked to join in the Pyari Mohan Academy at Cuttack established by Pyari Mohan Acharya. He took the challenge to confront the naughty and unmindful boys of the classroom. He innovated a novel technique how to set these boys in right terms. He visited their houses and watched their movements and established a cordial relationship with the parents offering the scope to teach the boys freely. This changed the relation between the two. He did never punish boys for their faults rather he explained them convincingly so long they would admit their faults. In one occasion when the school was facing problem for purchasing certain sports articles due



to financial crisis, a suggestion was given by some teachers to raise the funds through organisation of a lottery among the student. The headmaster Nimai Charan Patnaik sought the decision of other teachers. When Harihara was asked he told that "Lottery system was a symbol of cheating and earning a lot without any kind of labour. Knowing it how could we teach the method of cheating to our students ? The headmaster got convinced and the proposal was stopped.

While staying at Sahebzada Bazar with some of his students, he made them how to be self-dependant and taught them writing, and yogasanas. Besides, he volunteered to distribute the relief among the flood-stricken people at Kakatpur alongwith the students. "How to liberate India from the British-Yoke" was the sole thought from his childhood which he tried to translate into action through creating people of extra ordinary calibre who could face all the grim situations heroically. He wrote a book called "Child's Easy First Grammar" for the development of English Grammar among the students. He left Pyari Mohan Academy to join in the nearly opened Satyabadi Open Air School which was to be conducted in the green verdant trees of vakula and chhuriana at Sakhigopal. Virtually, the school was the brain child of Utkalmani Gopabandhu Das and Acharya Harihara. The school came into existence because of the persistent effort made by Nilakantha, Godabarish, Krupasindhu, Basudev and Ananta. As a Superintendent of the hostel, he became popular among the students. Though students referred to other teachers as 'Pundit', but Harihara was referred by them as 'Acharya'. The basic objective of the Satyabadi school was to inculcate the sense of nationalism among the masses through uniting the whole people irrespective of caste, creed and religion. The decline of Satyabadi school did not cast any negative impact on his mind rather he cheerfully accepted Gopabandhu's proposal to work for

"Bidhaba Ashrama" opened in the house of Dr. Balakrushna Misra at Puri. The young girls who were widow just at the age of 5/6 were brought to this ashram where all sorts of care like education, for moral and mental development was extended by Acharya Harihara. But this ashram could not run for a long time due to peculiar trouble and it broke down just two years after.

At the instruction of Gopabandhu, he roamed around Kanika to collect information and direct evidence on the tyrannical and oppressive measures of Kanika zamidar. When Gopabandhu was imprisoned, he became the editor of 'The Samaj'. After the breaking down of 'Bidhaba Ashram', he organised a 'Seva Samiti' to which people like freedom fighters and social-workers became the member. Apart from serving the diseased, other works like Khadi, prohibition of liquor and social-reform, etc. were carried out. It also helped the poor to earn something. After the death of Gopabandhu Das, he left Puri on the request of Gopabandhu Choudhury to manage the Swaraj Ashram at Cuttack.

The clarion call of Mahatma Gandhi to carry out Salt-satyagraha in 1930 created a stir in the nook and corner of India. Accordingly Gopabandhu Choudhury took the leadership of the Satyagrahis by taking a march on foot from Cuttack to Inchudi at Balasore to break the salt-law. Gopabandhu was arrested at Kakatia village after which Acharya Harihar led the procession to Inchudi receiving welcome from village to village till arrival at the destination. All of them were arrested there by the police who were well aware of them. He spent six months at Hazaribag jail in Bihar. Then he spent a number of times in the Hazaribag jail for spreading messages against the British rule.

He was a true disciple of Gandhiji who sincerely worked for attaining freedom of India. He spent hours together in the 'Harijan' residences



sharing cold-watered-rice with them, sometimes spinning thread with the girls, collecting contributory funds from the people to people and instructing them to dig the latrines in their homestead lands. The creation of separate province of Oissa on 1st April 1936 made some leaders hankering after power and leading there to play hide and seek game. Harihara kept himself away from such type of vested interests and devoted his time for the development of the village. Once a tough conflict arose over the issue of selecting the President for Provincial Congress Committee. The discussion was going inside the Satyanarayan temple of Nayasarak at Cuttack. The apple of discord was where to organise the next conference of the congress whether at Puri or at Cuttack. Two names for the President came to the front, one was Pandit Nilakantha and other one was Gopabandhu Choudhury. Finally a group of workers suggested Acharya Harihara's name which was not objected and he was elected unanimously as the president.

A group of youngsters proposed that a moral pressure should be imposed on the wealthy people for the removal poverty and hunger of the poor which was outrightly rejected by the National Congress Committee. This group formed parallel committee named as 'Congress Samajvadi Committee.' Harihara became a prey to such type of ideological conflict in the year 1938 when the election was held. He was called as "Acharya Harihara" by the Congress Samajvadi party and got defeated by one of his former students named as Mohan Das of Nuapara.

The launching of Quit India Movement by Gandhiji in the year 1942 gave new incentive and moral boost to the freedom fighters. Acharya Harihara and other freedom fighters were arrested because of their active participation and imprisoned at Berhampur jail. A number of students leaving studies joined the movement

without carrying for the cudgel-beat and bullet firing of the police. They were also arrested and put to jail. Acharya taught these fellows inside the jail. Inside the jail he did hard labour as he did in the Swaraj Ashram. The trio Gopabandhu Choudhury, Acharya Harihara and Brajamohan Singh (nicknamed Chatu) formed their own mess inside the jail to maintain their resolution i.e. to take the food just for sustenance. While others resorted to delicious dishes, the trio-mess popularly called as 'go Achu' remained stick to rice, dal and a curry. Here he translated of Bhagabat Gita. He got released from the jail in the year 1944. He took initiative for mosquito-eradication from the district of Puri. Both Pandit Krupasindhu Hota and Acharya Harihara decided that a day would be fixed for algae-cleaning from the ponds and tanks just like people were celebrating Raja or Kumarapurnima, Dipabali, Holi etc. Both of them requested the Zilla Board Chairman to extend financial support to expedite the work. But the Chairman refused to come into aid showing the plea that the Zill-Board had certain limits. But this did not deter Acharya and Hota who incited people adopting a novel technique. A day was fixed and the cleaning process was carried out which was visited by Chief Minister and other ministers. He became active member of Bhoodan Movement and accompanied Vinobajee from village to village in the year 1955. Presiding over the 12th Annual Conference of Sarvodaya Sammilani held at Sevagrama on 26th March, 1960 the day coinciding with his 83rd birth day, he told that, "Freedom has come. But it does not reach village. The sun rises in the east. But does not find the bright sunrays as we close our doors." The great soul did the unceasing work for the uplift of the people of Orissa and passed away on 29th February, 1971.

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Ghanashyam Panigrahi : A Fearless Freedom Fighter

Saroj Kumar Panda

It is a matter of pride for every Indian to think of the role played by their ancestors in freeing India from the British colonial government. The people of Orissa cannot be exceptions to the same principles; as they have their share in realizing the names of their forefathers in India's freedom movement. In this regard, the name of Ghanashyam Panigrahi gets prominence as being a true patriot of Orissa who dedicated a larger part of his life towards for freedom movement. Other prominent workers were Pandit Laxminarayan Mishra, Nrusingha Guru, Chandra Sekhar Behera, Bhagirathi Pattnaik and Laxman Satpathy etc. The senior most workers of this group, born as they were well ahead of the Civil Disobedience Movement lunched by Gandhiji in 1921, were leading normal lives earlier. In or around 1921 they decided to jump into the fray and after having done so, never looked back till the goal was achieved. But many of the junior members of the group began their lives with the freedom struggle and after playing their destined role in the freedom, choose other vocations after independence. We ought to bow our heads with deep reverence to these freedom fighters because their selfless service and tremendous sacrifice gave us freedom from the slavery of the British Rule.

Pandit Ghanashyam Panigrahi of Manpur was one of the very senior freedom fighters of

undivided Sambalpur district. In the book "Smurti Tirtha" about ten of his relatives in their recollections have extolled his virtues as a son, a father, a brother and a father-in-law and this is what it should be. But what appears to be very exceptional is that all of the thirty odd of his co-workers and acquaintances, who have written about him, have praised him in no uncertain terms both as a freedom fighter and as an exceptional human being and have acknowledged that he was a versatile genius who turned into gold whatever he touched.

Ghanashyam Panigrahi was born at Manpur on 27th October 1881. The village Manpur is now situated in the Bargarh district of Orissa. He was the middle son of his parents Uddhaba Panigrahi and Rahi Devi, Ghanashyam Panigrahi was started his carrier as a school teacher at the age of 12 with a monthly salary of Rs.10/-. He was the first teacher of the U.P. School at Manpur which was opened in 1901. He was a very sincere teacher. He had visited many places in his teaching life. While he was working as a teacher in village Ganiapali around 1910, he came into contact with a local Kaviraja, a practitioner of Ayurvedic medicines and thus he began his long innings in Ayurveda.

It was no surprising that when Gandhiji gave a call to his countrymen to join the non-cooperation movement against the British rule in



1921. Ghanashyam Panigrahi was the first individual to respond to that call wholeheartedly. He was an active member of Indian National Congress till India achieved independence. Up to this period he was a teacher of his pupils in schools and now he became a teacher of the grown ups in real life struggle. In 1921 he attended the All India Congress Committee Meeting at Ahmedabad as a representative of the Sambalpur District Congress Committee. After returning from Ahmedabad he devoted his all time and energy to enrolling people as primary members of the Congress party particularly in the eastern part of the then Sambalpur district and in Sonapur and Birmaharajpur area of Bolangir. This was the most hectic period in his life when he walked from village to village explaining to the people the message of Gandhiji and of the Congress. Though the students of Zilla School were the first to adopt the non-co-operation movement in Orissa by abstaining from their classes, Ghanashyam Panigrahi was one of the first individuals to take the lead in organizing the movements in the rural areas of Sambalpur with the help of other volunteers. In continuation of his efforts in this direction he formed a Congress Committee at Remanda and other at Garturum in 1936. The same year he formed a Congress Committee with sixty members at Bargaon with the help of Upendra Panigrahi.

Ghanashyam Panigrahi also played an important role in the establishment at management of the National School at Sambalpur in 1921 for imparting training to the congress volunteers to enable them to effectively participate in the freedom struggle. Nrusingha Guru, along with other freedom fighters joined this school where Pandit Nilakantha Dash, one of the well known Pancha Sakhas of Cuttack, worked as Headmaster for sometime. In course of time Ghanashyam Panigrahi developed a close connection with the Congress members and the

Satyagraha centers at Bheuria, Panomora and Samalipadar of the Zamindari of Raj Borasambar as he had worked as teacher in that area for some years. In 1939 he helped in the constitution of Congress Committee at Dhama and later at Sahaspur and Batemura Near Sambalpur.

At the Congress Working Committee meeting at Ahmedabad in 1921 he became acquainted with the 18 point constructive and creative programme adopted by Gandhiji. This programme had been formulated by Gandhi keeping in view his idea of Rama Rajya which he sought to establish in due course of time in India. That India was ruled by a foreign power and that Indians were treated as slaves by the British, according to Gandhiji, were not the only problems that needed to be attended to India, because of countries of slavery, was suffering from a host of social evils and the economic backbone of the people had been broken. There was mass illiteracy, abject poverty, ignorance and the common people had become a prey to social evils like drinking, untouchability and superstitions. Thus the people in India had slaves not only politically but also economically, socially and morally. And political freedom alone was not going to bring the desired changes. Hence his 18 point constructive programmes included all such programmes which, if implemented, would ensure an all round transformation of the existing Indian society.

In the year 1922 Ghanashyam Panigrahi attended the Congress session at Gaya. The non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhi took a violet turn in 1922. Due to Chauri Chaura incident Gandhi decided to called off the non-cooperation movement and asked congress workers to devote themselves to the 18 point programme. Ghanashyam Panigrahi decided to devote all his efforts towards putting into practice the creative and constructive programmes at Gandhi. He inspired the people to buy cut the foreign clothes and gave them thread to local



weavers who prepared clothes. He worked assiduously for population of Khadi in the eastern part of the then Sambalpur district. In 1939 he established a chrkha sangha which had members from villages like Kardola, Tulandi, Mahada, Larambha, Dhatukpali, Rusuda, Rampur and Solepali. 'Samagra Gram Seva Mandal' was established at Sambalpur to popularise Khadi and village industries in the rural areas. Ghanashyam Panigrahi worked as the president and Shiba Narayan Padhi worked as the secretary of this mandal.

He performed suta or sutra Yagyan at many places. One such Yagyan was organized at Bargaon in 1938 where District Congress President Prahallad Rai Lath and Secretary Dayanand Satpathy were present along with Ghanashyam Panigrahi. Ghanashyam Panigrahi accepted truth and non-violence as a way of life. Ghanashyam Panigrahi fight for the eradication of untouchability and it is one of the important missions of his life. He tried for the uplift of Harijans and tried to educate themselves for change of society. In course of time he became the president of the Sambalpur District Committee for eradication of untouchability. In 1925 on December 12 and 13, the South Chitrotpala Tanti Sammelan was organized at Ambapali. Thousands of Tantis or untouchables residing in villages in the South of Mahanadi attended this meeting. He was very particular about the education of the children of the Harijan families. He therefore directed his efforts towards establishment of schools for them. He established Harijan school at Kudopali. He therefore directed his efforts towards establishment of schools for them. He established another Harijan school at Buda and a night school for Harijans at Turum. He was a dedicated Hariajn sebak and his Sangha entrusted him with the task of distributing book to untouchables in the society.

Ghanshyam Panigrahi attended the Congress session at Gaya, Kolkata and Ramgarh in 1925, 1928 and 1940 respectively. In the Calcutta session of 1928 it was decided that the Congress should demand complete and net just dominion status for Indian from the British Government and that the declaration should be made all over India on 26th January, 1930. Accordingly a large meeting was held at Sambalpur near Balibandha Shiva Temple at mid night on 30th January 1930. Ghanshyam Panigrahi presided over this meeting. Nrusingha Guru was also present in the meeting. Bhagirathi Pattnaik needs the Congress Declaration paper and this meeting of the Congress adopted the declaration, which said, that India wanted full independence and not dominance status.

Ghanashyam Panigrahi attended the meeting of Prajamandal movement at different places like Sonepur, Dhenkanal and Sambalpur. He presided over a Gadjat Karmme Sammelan of about six thousand people at Kalapathar in Sonepur district. Sarangadhar Dash presided over such a rally in Sonepur and Shiba Narayan Padhi presided over a rally, that was held at Tarva. After that many meetings were held in the princely states of Orissa. Ghanashyam Panigrahi attended most of the meetings and spoke against the British and cruelties and injustice of their rule. Ghanashyam Panigrahi was not only a freedom fighter but also a social reformer. He dedicated his whole life for the uplift of downtrodden in the society. He occupied a place of honour in the pages of history.

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Lokanath Panda

The Principal Advisor of Veer Surendra Sai

Sasanka Sekhar Panda

Surendra Sai was arrested in 1840 and sent to Hazaribagh Jail for conspiracy and revolt against the-then Puppet Ruler of Sambalpur, named Narayan Singh (1833-1849). Surendra Sai raised his arms as he was a notable claimant to the gadee of Sambalpur. He was a descendent from Raja Madhakar Sai, the fourth Chauhan king of Sambalpur (Reigning Period: circa 1630-1650)." When the last king Maharaja Sai died in 1927, leaving no male son but only two daughters, the widow queen Rani Mohan Kumari was put on the gadee by the British authorities,. After her, the gadee was given to Narayan Singh on 11th October, 1833 and he continued till 1849.

The installation of a Rani created discontentment and the contingent of the Ramgarh Battalion stationed at Sambalpur could not coup with the situation. As the rebellion under the true claimant to the gadee(Surendra Sai)could not be put down, the Britishers deposed Mohan Kumari and installed Narayan Singh. The revolution of Surendra Sai against the Raja continued unabated and Britishers were in search of pretext to punish him. The opportunity came in 1840, when Surendra Sai



attacked the Zamindar of Rampur (Brajarajnaragar), Dariar Singh, who was a strong supporter of Raja Narayan Singh. Although the Zamindar escaped in this attack, his son and grandson were killed by the rebels and his house was destroyed. Then the Raja with the help of Britishers could capture Surendra Sai, his brother Udanta and uncle (kaka) Balaram, who were sent to Hazaribagh Jail for confinement.

Raja Narayan Singh died in 1849 and as he had no son, under the provisions of the Doctrine of Lapse the Sambalpur kingdom was merged into the Company Rule in 1849. It was made a part of the North West Frontier Agency (created in 1834 with Ranchi as the headquarters of the Agent to the Governor General under the Regulation XIII of 1833 after the Kol Rebellion of 1831-32). Dr. J. Cadenhead was appointed as the Principal Assistant Agent of Sambalpur in December 1849. The direct administration assumed by the British Government was not liked by the people of all sections.

The new Government immediately after taking over administration made a fresh settlement



of lands, and the revenue was at once raised enormously by one fourth.

The fiscal policy of the new Government gave rise to widespread discontentment among the land-owners.

In July 1857 the detachments of 7th and 8th Bengal Native Infantry were sent to Hazaribagh from Patna. They revolted on the 30th July. The Companies of the Ramgarh Light Infantry Battalion were despatched from Doronda under Lt. Graham to Hazaribagh to disarm the rebellious Sepoys, but the Ramgarh Sepoys also joined the mutineers. They broke open both District Jail and Agency Jail of Hazaribagh and set all prisoners free. There were 32 prisoners from Orissa and the Tributary Mahals. Surendra Sai with his brother Udanta Sai travelled through forest tracts almost unaided facing great hazards as the rainfall was heavy and they had to cross many flooded hill streams, before reaching Sambalpur.

Surendra Sai and his brother Udanta Sai reached Sasan village, situated at a distance of only ten kms. from Sambalpur town and camped in the nearby jungles in October, 1857 and started preparations to strike. Two Sepoys of the Ramgarh Light Infantry, sent by Capt. Leigh with a parwanah for Surendra Sai and Udanta Sai reported on return that "the two Baboos had with them about two thousand men of whom about one thousand with match-locks (desi bandhuk)". As reported in the letter No.57. dated 8th October 1857 of Capt. Leigh to Capt. Dalton he had grave doubt about the trustworthiness of the Rajahs and Zamindars of Sambalpur area, who were secretly supporting Surendra Sai.

In the morning of 7th October, 1857 Surendra Sai entered Sambalpur accompanied by 1000 to 1200 armed men, and met Capt.

Leigh and explained him that if the govt. will remit the remaining part of his sentences, he would like to remain in peace. Next morning when Surendra Sai met Capt. Leigh for the second time, he told Surendra to disperse his forces and wait for govt. order on their petitions. Therefore Surendra instructed his brother Udant to return to their native village Khinda with all followers, leaving behind only twenty followers for him at Sambalpur. Thereafter Surendra Sai was living innocently in his residence at Sambalpur, being strongly guarded by his armed followers. But when he got inkling of large concentration of British troops, he started suspecting the behaviour of Capt. Leigh and escaped courageously in the night of 31st October from Sambalpur to Khinda on horse back. There heralded the great revolution called 'Ulgulaan' of Sambalpur at Khinda, the native village of Surendra Sai. After that he had never looked back. He moved from place to place and gave a tough time to the Britishers in guerilla warfare like that of Shjivaji against the Mughals. In this historic struggle, Lokanath Panda, gountia (land lord) of three villages was his principal adviser. Lokanath Panda was the gountia of three villages namely Rampella, Adhapada and Kumarbandh.

In 1861 due to the issue of Proclamation of Amnesty by Major Impey, the Dy. Commissioner of Sambalpur, rebels like Udant Sai and Dhruv Sai, both of them brothers of Surendra, surrendered on 7th January 1862 and subsequently Surendra Sai surrendered on 16th May 1862 on guarantee of "Life, Liberty, Free Pardon." But after the death of Major Impey in December, 1863 things changed rapidly.

Major Cumberledge assumed charge of the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur on 19th January, 1864 and he was determined to make reversal of the conciliatory and lenient policy of



his predecessor late Major Impey and to suppress the Sambalpur Rebellion by any means, foul or fair.

Lt. Col. J.G. Balmain, Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division came down to Sambalpur from Raipur to personally supervise the execution of the secret plan to arrest Surendra Sai and his associates.

The detailed plan was executed in a secret meeting hold by Cumberledge with Captain Stewart, the D.I.G. of Police, and a list of persons to be apprehended by surprise attack was prepared. They were Surendra Sai; his brothers Udant, Dhruv and Medini, Khageswar Dao and his two brothers and, three councillors of Surendra Sai namely Lokanath Panda, Dharani Mishra and Sardhakar Mullick. Captain Stewart along-with five other British officers, namely J.N. Berill, J. Walker, Lt. Rideout, Dr. Gross and Lt. Bowie along with Inspector Mohan Singh and a few trusted Sepoys marched stealthily after 10.00 p.m. along the bed of river Mahanadi and in the dead hour of the night surrounded the house of Surendra Sai at Bargaon village and captured him along-with his son Mitrabhanu and councillor Dharani Mishra. Dr. Gross rushed to Rampella to capture Lokanath Panda. Captain Stewart along-with Lt. Rideout, Lt. Bowie, James Walker and Mohan Singh rushed to Talub situated at a distance of ten kms from Sambalpur the same night, where they apprehended Udant Sai, Medini Sai and four others. Lt. Rideout took the prisoners to Sambalpur and others left Talub at 4.25 a.m. riding sixteen kms through paddy fields, reached Tabla village at sunrise and arrested Dhruv Sai.

After capturing Surendra Sai at Bargaon. Cumberlege and Berill travelled a distance of forty kms in the same night, reached Bonda village at dawn and taking Khageswar Dao and his two

brothers Minketan and Mohun to surprise, arrested them.

In such treacherous way the Britishers arrested Surendra Sai and his close associates numbering fifteen who were sent to Raipur immediately after two days on 26th January, 1864, being escorted by a company of twenty foot soldiers and twenty Sepoys on horse back under the command of Lt. Rideout. Lokanath Panda was one among those fifteen state prisoners, whose age had been recorded as 55 during the time of arrest, the same age of Surendra Sai. As Surendra Sai was born in 1809 on the full moon day of Pausa, his friend and councillor Lokanath Panda might have taken birth the same year, 1809.

The arrested fifteen persons were tried before the Court of the Commissioner of Chhattisgarh Division, who was also a Sessions Judge. They were all sentenced to life imprisonment and transported for life, except four persons who were sentenced to seven years imprisonment each. But on appeal to the Court of the Judicial Commissioner John S. Campbell they all were honourably acquitted. In spite of the verdict of the Judicial Commissioner to set them free, Surendra Sai and six others namely, Udant Sai, Dhruv Sai, Mitrabhanu Sai, Khageswar Dao and Lokanath Panda were placed under personal restraint under Regulation III of 1818. In 1866, M.T. Pearson, the Advocate for Surendra Sai and others, filed a petition to release his clients in obedience to the order of the Judicial Commissioner. But the prayer was turned down by the Governor General.

All the seven rebels of Sambalpur Rebellion were first kept in confinement at Nagpur but later on in 1865 were removed to the Asirgarh Fort in Nimar district of Central Provinces and kept in a special building with liberty to movement inside the fort under police escort.



Lokanath Panda along-with the two brothers of Surendra Sai, named Dhruv Sai and Medini Sai, and associates Mrutyunjaya Panigrahi, Jagabandhu Hota and Sardhakar Mullick were found guilty of the 2nd charge - "Abetting the preparation to wage war against the Queen during the months of December 1862 and January 1864 and previously thereto, under Section 109 and 123 of the Indian Penal Code; and also the 3rd charge - "Concealing the existence of a design to wage war against the Queen."

The Supreme Government recognized the necessity for keeping them in confinement as dangerous political offenders.

All of a sudden Lokanath Panda died in Asirgarh Fort in confinement in 1869.

The Station Staff Officer of Asirgarh Fort in his letter No.1050 dated 20th September 1869 informed the Deputy Commissioner, Nimar that Lokanath Panda who had been detained in the Asirgarh Fort died suddenly of heart attack at 7.30 p.m on 19th September 1869. (This was intimated to the Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur by the Deputy Commissioner Nimar in his letter No.3011 dated September 1871, two years after the death of the Martyr) and Capt. Bowie, the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur conveyed the said news to Padmalochan Panda the adopted son of Lokanath Panda on 29th Sept. 1871.

Surendra Sai's fight against the British was in two phases. Much before the First War of Independence in 1857, Surendra protested against the illegal installation of Rani Mohan Kumari as a puppet ruler by the Britishers. His fight against such misrule started in 1827, till he was arrested and sent to Hazaribagh Jail of the British authority in 1840, where he was

imprisoned till 1857 for long seventeen years. It is astonishing that although Sambalpur went under the British rule in 1849, how in 1840 the Britishers interfered in the affair of the Raja of Sambalpur kingdom, and took him as a state prisoner to a British prison instead of keeping him in the prison of the Raja.

Surendra Sai returned to Sambalpur in 1857. But during the time of his imprisonment in the Hazaribagh Jail from 1840-1857, his followers and close associates were actively preparing themselves for a war against the Britishers in the future. Therefore, when after the British authority took over the administration of Sambalpur in 1849, and increased the land revenue arbitrarily, the Brahmin landlords under the leadership of Lokanath Panda, Dharani Mishra, Mrutyunjay Panigrahi, Jagabandhu Hota, Padmanabh Guru and others met Dr. Cadenhead, the Principal Assistant Agent, Sambalpur twice in 1850 and appealed for redressal and reduction of land revenue.

Lokanath Panda was the Principal advisor of Surendra Sai during the second phase of historic struggle against the British from 1857-1864. He was his "Mita" or "Maitra", the friend, philosopher and guide. Like Surendra Sai, he also suffered through-out his life for lending support to Surendra Sai. Noted historian Dr. N.K. Sahu writes about Lokanath Panda, "He was a notable rebel and was almost to be hanged in 1857 because of his rebellious activities." Through this article we pay tribute to this hitherto unknown martyr.

Sasanka Sekhar Panda lives at VR-23, Unit-6, Bhubaneswar-751001.



Amalgamation of Princely States

Dr. Bhagyalipi Malla

With the occupation of Orissa in September/October 1803, the East India Company had to sign treaties and engagement with Chiefs of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa. (Athgarh, Athmallik, Baud Baramba, Dasapalla, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Keonjhar, Khandpara, Mayurbhanj, Narsingpur, Nayagarh, Nilgiri, Palahara, Rampur, Talcher and Tigiria). In the treaty of Deogaon, Maratha ruler of Nagpur Raghuji Bhonsle gave away to the British these Tributary Mahals in perpetual sovereignty. These tributary Mahals were not subject to Bengal Regulations. The post of the Superintendent of Tributary Mahal was created in 1814 to supervise the judicial administration and succession to these States and the Commissioner of Orissa was made the ex-officio Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals. The Collectors of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore acted as Assistant Superintendents. The designation of Tributary Mahals was later on changed as Feudatory States. Bonai, Gangpur, Patna, Kalahandi, Bamra, Sonapur and Rairakhol were brought under the Commissioner of the Orissa Division in 1905.

These 24 feudatory States were full of forest areas. They were rich with forest and mineral resources. Their origin is obscure. Probably with the fall of the Mughal empire some Rajput princes on pilgrimage to Puri or through matrimonial relations with the tribal Chiefs settled down by carving out independent principalities. Some of them belonged to the ancient Bhanja and Kadamba families. They acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughals, Marathas and British successively to survive as Tributary or Feudatory chiefs. The size and population of these States differ greatly. The biggest was Mayurbhanj with an area of 4000 Sq. miles and about 10 lakhs population, and the smallest was Tigiria, with an area of 46 Sq. miles and 20,000 population. (1941 census).

The people of the Feudatory States became politically conscious in 1931, when Sarangdhar Das set up the States Peoples' Conference. Its session was held at Cuttack in 1937 with Dr. Pattbhi Sitaramayya as the Chairman where a committee- was formed to



enquire "into the prevalence of various kinds of illegalities in most of the States of Orissa. The people were held under duress and forced to work free for the Darbar, repair roads buildings, supply ration free of cost, pay for ceremonies and functions of the ruling families either in cash or in kind, besides suffering indignities of the worst type for any default. Such tyranny gave rise to a vigorous Prajamandal movement in 1937 for pressurizing the Princes to relinquish power in favour of popular Governments. The movement derived its inspiration from the Gandhian struggle for freedom from foreign rule and was led by Sarangadhar Das and Baisnab Charan Patnaik in Dhenkanal, Pabitrāmohan Pradhan and Nabakrushna Choudhury in Talcher, Kailas Chandra Mahanty in Nilgiri and Kapileswar Nanda in Patna. Their primary objective was to secure elementary civil rights against the whims and caprices of tyrannical Princes. For mobilizing the people in an organized manner they formed Prajamandals in different States and with the blessings of Congress support began the popular agitation. However, misrule and tyranny continued till 1947 in princely State in varied degrees.

Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, the then Premier of Orissa in a memorandum to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, & the Home Minister of India enlisted various administrative difficulties caused by the princely territories of Orissa. "The most important related to law and order; smuggling across the borders, administration of controls, especially in

regard to food, and the development of communications and river valley projects". He suggested to devise some machinery for the common administration of certain subjects in the province and the States. His aim was an amalgamation of the States with the province.

Several factors contributed for taking recourse to the -formulation of such a proposal. There was close linguistic and cultural affinity between the States and the province, In view of their long inseparable cultural and political association the feudatories were construed as artificial divisions. The Attlee Sub Committee in 1930 while recommending the creation of a separate province for the- Oriya-speaking people had, therefore, suggested the inclusion of the princely States in the administrative frame work of the new province. Sir Hawthorne Lewis, the Reforms Commissioner was of the view that unless and until the States were brought under the same administration as the districts, the separate province of Orissa would not be economically viable. History of Orissa bears testimony to the fact that in the evolution of the Orissan Empire these States always formed constituent parts and never as separate entities. They were in fact integral parts of Orissa. In view of this, the representative Government of Mahtab felt inclined to explore the possibilities of amalgamating the States with the Province for an uniform political growth and economic progress of the Oriya -speaking people.



During the visit of the Cabinet Mission in 1946 Mahtab again initiated his move. But the counter move of the Feudatory chiefs spoiled his plan of amalgamation. Though the Government was favourable to the plan, they were afraid to touch the sensitive issue on account of the opposition of the chiefs. Even Mahtab's personal effort to convince them the efficacy of amalgamation bore no fruit. On the other hand R. N. Singdeo, the ruler of Patna State vigorously tried to establish the Eastern States Union as an autonomous unit. This scheme if successful would have linked together all the Princely States from Baster upto Mayurbhanj as a Federation, disregarding the political and economic growth of Orissa. Singdeo went so far as to argue that the Orissa States and Sambalpur area never formed a part of Orissa, but they once formed the South Kosala territory. He opposed the amalgamation move tooth and nail and whipped up an agitation in Sambalpur through the people whose land had been acquired by the Orissa Government for the Hirakud, Dam project. He not only worked as a negative catalytic agent against the merger of States with Orissa but also posed a potential source of danger to the Indian Union. The Eastern States Union would have emerged as an independent princely India within the map of the Indian Union. Sardar Patel had every reason to feel disturbed at the intriguing politics between the Nizam of Hyderabad and the champions of the Eastern States Union.

The Orissa States were 26 in number grouped as II in 'A' class, 12 in 'B' class and 3 in 'C' class. On 1 August 1947 except Mayurbhanj and Baster the rulers of these States and some of their counterparts from the Chattisgarh group met at the Raj Kumar College at Raipur to announce the formation of the Eastern States Union with its Headquarters at Raigarh. They framed a constitution which made provision for a Premier but no Legislature. The Union did not accommodate any representative of Government for which the Prajamandal movement in some of the States continued unabated. There were serious disturbances in Dhenkanal where the Prajamandal leaders (Sarangdhar Das and Pabitra Mohan Pradhan) in their zeal for representative Government occupied the Government offices and buildings on the eve of 15th August 1947.

The Government of India felt concerned over the possibility of the outbreak spreading to the neighbouring States where the Adivasis formed a substantial part of the population. Mahtab, who was eagerly waiting for such an opportunity to convince the Government of India on the necessity of merger suggested immediate action in the affairs of Nilgiri to prevent the anarchy spreading into the neighbouring district of Balasore. On 8th November Government of India authorized the Orissa Government to take over the administration of the State through the Collector, Balasore. On 14 November the Raja admitted in writing his incapability to improve the



administration and voluntarily handed over the state to the provincial Government. The following day a press communique was issued to pacify the people of the disturbed State, assuring them a strong, impartial and just administration and special consideration for the grievances of the aboriginal community. An appeal was made to all political parties and public bodies to extend their fullest cooperation in the welfare of the taken over State.

The peaceful manner in which the administration of Nilgiri was taken over provided an incentive to implement the scheme of integration for other States. Nilgiri in fact heralded the beginning of the end. A high level meeting was held in Delhi on 20 November in which Mahtab, V. P. Menon, C. C. Desai (respectively the Secretary and the Additional Secretary, Ministry of States) and B.D.S. Bedi, the Regional Commissioner, Sambalpur were present. They concluded that (1) the Government of India should not give recognition to the Eastern States Union, (2) the 'B' and 'C' class states should be asked to agree to common administration of certain subjects (like Communication, Public Health, Education, Excise, Forests, Industries, Agriculture, Police etc.) by the Provincial Government and (3) the States Ministry of the Government of India should call a meeting of the rulers of 'B' and 'C' class States at Cuttack in December. This decision was influenced by the desire to preserve the unity of India and maintain law and order against the background of communal holocaust. The exodus of the refugees, the attitude of the Nizam and the

possible encouragement of the Eastern States Union might give to the forces of disintegration forced the Union Government to take careful stock of the situation. Any deterioration of the law and order situation in the Orissa States had to be nipped at the bud. The Prajamandal leaders were bent upon intensifying their movement so as to precipitate the political crisis towards the establishment of responsible Government. But their organizational base was not uniformly stable in the States. Apart from this the human element which they handled were uneducated, backward aboriginals, having no political maturity. With such materials it was sheer foolishness to think of establishing responsible government. Most of the States were so small and handicapped with resources that independent Governments would not have been financially viable. It was therefore, necessary to hammer them together to form integral parts of the Orissa Province.

Sardar Patel's stand was firm and free from any prejudice. He would not allow any political unit to exist where the rights of the people were ignored. The Eastern States Union was thoroughly unrepresentative in character. He was determined to secure the merger of the Orissa States with the Province of Orissa in order to save the rulers from the fury of their subjects and preserve the integrity of the country. On 1 December 1947 when the rulers of Patna, Korea and Khairagarh met him in Delhi, they were categorically told that the Eastern States Union should be dissolved and the Oriya-speaking 'B' and 'C' class states would be integrated with Orissa, and similar type Hindi



speaking States with the Central Provinces. He decided to come down to Cuttack for discussion with the rulers who were supposed to be 'intractable.'

Sardar Patel and V. P. Menon reached Cuttack on 13th December. After a meeting with the Governor and the Ministers in the evening they decided to work out the merger of all 'A', 'B', and 'c' class States. Next day at 10'O clock the rulers of Athgarh, Baramba, Daspalla, Hindol, Khandpara, Kharswan, Narsingpur, Nilgiri, Pallahara, Rairakhol, Ranpur and Talcher (only B & C class States) met the Home Minister in a Conference. Mahtab, V. P. Menon, the Chief Secretary of Orissa and other important officials were also present. In a persuasive speech the Sardar called upon the rulers to take note of the writing on the wall, to be reasonable and listen to his advice of signing the merger documents. He assured them the protection of their honour and privileges even after accession' to the Province and a privy purse commensurating with the income of their States on the basis of an approved formula. Menon took pains to explain the privy purse issue in details. The rulers felt convinced that introduction of responsible Governments in small states was a ridiculous idea. And against the rising tide of popular agitation against feudal rule it would be difficult for them to hold on to power any more. They did not want to be thrown out of their kingdoms by the people and rush to Delhi for help. Patel made clear that due help would be forthcoming from the Government in such crisis. The rulers thereupon wisely decided

to learn more about the privy purse and their privileges after accession. In the evening twelve rulers signed the merger documents.

The afternoon session of the Conference was for the rulers of the 'A' class States, viz. Bamra, Baud, Dhenkanal, Gangpur, Kalahandi, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Nayagarh, Patna, Sareikela and Sonapur. The redoubtable Home Minister told them;

"The Orissa States were like ulcers on the body of the province and that they must either be cured or eliminated. If they listened to his advice, they could be cured; otherwise they might find themselves uprooted by the people".

Notwithstanding the veiled threat it was difficult to precipitate the desired results since the rulers of Patna and Kalahandi particularly raised hundred and one issues against the merger apart from seeking clarifications on a wide ranging subjects. They were allowed a few hours to think over the issue and the Conference was adjourned till 10 P. M. But nothing could be decided that night, except that the Raja of Dhenkanal agreed to the proposal of merger. Next morning Menon threatened military inter-ferece for taking over such states whose rulers would be unable to maintain peace. At the same time he showed 'a conciliatory attitude to certain demands of the rulers relating to succession, privy purse, private properties, personal "privileges, and security etc, There was no further difficulty after that for the rulers of Baud, Dhenkanal, Gangpur, Kalahandi, Patna, Sareikela and Sonapur to sign the documents for merger.



It was a historic moment. The events of 14/15 December gave a significant turn to the history of India. A happy Sardar left Cuttack with his team for Raipur where the history of Orissa was to be repeated in the best interest of the Indian Union. Mahtab had every reason to feel proud over the achievements. He could now build a homogeneous province.

For a while Mayurbhanj created a snag. The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj had transferred power to a responsible Government headed by Sarat Chandra Das, the Prajamandal leader of the State soon after India became free in August 1947. Therefore, on 14 December he expressed his inability to sign the agreement for merger and his explanation was accepted by Sardar Patel. Since the Maharaja had all along opposed the move to create the Eastern States, Union he was held in high esteem for his political sagacity. But as predicted, by Patel, the responsible Government of Das fell far short of everyone's expectation. Within a short time they squandered

away the savings of the State and headed towards bankruptcy. The Maharaja and his erstwhile Dewan K.C. Niyogi who was then a Central Minister, evinced a desire to integrate Mayurbhanj with Orissa. Some public leaders in the State wished for an amalgamation with West Bengal. This proposal was however turned down by Prafulla Chandra Ghose, the Chief Minister of West Bengal as ridiculous. On 16th October 1948 the Maharaja and Sarata Chandra Das together handed over the administration of Mayurbhanj to the Central Government and D. V. Rege was posted at Baripada as the Chief Commissioner. He handed over Mayurbhanj to the Government of Orissa on 1st January 1949 and thus the modern Orissa witnessed its efflorescence.

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Freedom Fighters of Orissa



Dr. Radhanath Rath



Malati Choudhury



Annapurna Maharana





ORISSA PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP POLICY - 2007

1 INTRODUCTION

The future development of the country hinges on the development of its infrastructure and efficient delivery of its services. The Planning Commission, Government of India estimates that around US\$320 billion (14, 50,000 Cr. INR) is likely to be invested in the infrastructure sector over the 11th Plan. A large part of this investment is to come from the private sector with Public Private Partnership (PPP) mode as one of the preferred routes. The PPP approach is best suited for the infrastructure sector as it supplements scarce public resources, creates a more competitive environment and helps to improve efficiencies and reduce costs. To achieve this goal, Government of Orissa has come out with this Public Private Partnership Policy.

2 THE POLICY OBJECTIVES

The key objective of this policy is to:-

1. Leverage State and Central Government funds, support private investment and to create a conducive environment so as to utilize the efficiencies, innovativeness and flexibility of the private sector to provide better infrastructure and service at an optimal cost.
2. Setting up of a transparent, consistent, efficient administrative mechanism to create a level playing field for all participants and protect interest of all stakeholders.
3. To prepare a shelf of projects to be offered for PPP and take them forward with assistance of the owner departments through a transparent selection process.
4. Putting in place an effective and efficient institutional mechanism for speedy clearance of the projects.
5. Provide necessary risk sharing framework in the project structure so as to assign risks to the entity most suited to manage them.
6. Create a robust dispute redressal mechanism / regulatory framework for PPP projects.
7. To provide the required viability gap funding (VGF) where the essential projects are intrinsically unviable.
8. To create "Orissa Infrastructure Development Fund (OIDF)" to facilitate implementation of the objectives of the Policy.

3 INFRASTRUCTURE SECTORS

The infrastructure sectors covered by the policy, which may be modified from time to time, are as follows:

1. Roads, Bridges and Bypass
2. Ports and Harbours
3. Airports, Airstrips and Heliports
4. Inland container depots and logistics hubs
5. Industrial parks, Theme Parks like Information Technology (IT)/ Bio-Technology (BT) Parks, Knowledge Parks, Special Economic Zones and Townships
6. Water supply, Treatment and Distribution
7. Power Generation, Transmission and Distribution Systems
8. Solid waste Management
9. Sewerage & Drainage
10. Inland water Transport
11. Tourism and related infrastructure
12. Healthcare Facilities
13. Education
14. Trade fair, convention, exhibition, cultural centers



15. Urban infrastructure including entertainment and recreational facilities
16. Urban Transportation Systems / Improvement of Public Transport Facilities including construction of state of art bus-stands.
17. Railway & related projects
18. Agriculture Production and Marketing
19. Any other sector / facility as may be included by the Government

4 INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT

The Government of Orissa recognizes the requirement for an effective and efficient institutional mechanism and therefore constitutes the requisite committees and empowered groups for furthering the objectives of the Policy.

4.1 High Level Clearance Authority

A High Level Clearance Authority (HLCA) under the chairmanship of Chief Minister shall be constituted in respect of all infrastructure projects being undertaken in PPP mode. All PPP Projects having investment of over Rs. 500 Crore will require approval of HLCA. Special Secretary, PPP shall be the member-convenor of HLCA.

4.2 Empowered Committee on Infrastructure (ECI)

Government of Orissa shall constitute Empowered Committee on Infrastructure (ECI) consisting of a group of Secretaries under the Chairmanship of the Chief Secretary, Government of Orissa for facilitating infrastructure development in the State under PPP. Special Secretary, PPP shall be the member-convenor of ECI.

4.2.1 Role of the ECI

The ECI shall be the nodal agency to co-ordinate all efforts of the State Government regarding development of infrastructure sectors, involving private participation and funding from various sources.

4.2.2 Powers and Functions of the ECI

The Powers and Functions of the ECI would include:

- a) To prioritize, approve shelf of projects, sanction, authorize expenditure for PPP projects.
- b) To adopt, adapt and develop Model Concession Agreements (MCA) for various sectors.
- c) To recommend projects for Viability Gap Funding (VGF).
- d) Manage the "Orissa Infrastructure Development Fund (OIDF)" proposed to be created to facilitate infrastructure development, to recommend projects alongwith amount required from the fund to meet the objectives of this Policy.
- e) To deliberate and recommend to HLCA the final bids for approval of the projects above Rs. 500 Cr.
- f) To deliberate and recommend to HLCA any special grants and concessions.
- g) To coordinate the efforts of other departments for the furtherance of the objectives of this Policy.
- h) To inspect, visit, review and monitor any PPP Projects regarding its implementation, execution, operation and management.
- i) To recommend en-action of special legislation for formation of appropriate regulatory mechanism/robust grievance redressal mechanism as may be required for the project.
- j) To sanction PPP Projects and approval of Concession Agreements for projects with investments upto Rs.500 Cr.

4.3 PPP Cell and the Technical Secretariat

The ECI shall be assisted by a PPP Cell in the P&C Department in undertaking the functions specified under this policy & shall be under the direct supervision of Chief Secretary.

The PPP Cell is to be assisted by a Technical Secretariat.

The fund requirements for furthering the objectives of the Policy through the PPP cell shall be initially met through budgetary support.

4.3.1 Functions of the PPP Cell and Technical Secretariat (TS)

The Functions of the PPP Cell and its Technical Secretariat would include:

- a) To identify, conceptualize and create a shelf of projects in consultation with the owner department/agency and recommend approval of such projects for PPP from time to time to the ECI.
- b) To assist different government departments/agencies in preparing prefeasibility reports by itself or through consultants.
- c) To assist the respective departments/agencies for preparing Detailed Project Reports
- d) To appoint / select consultants to take the projects upto selection of developer stage in consultation with the concerned department.



- e) To help respective departments/agencies to conduct the bidding process for appointment of developers.
- f) To interact with the Planning Commission, Government of India (Gol) and other funding agencies like World Bank for obtaining approval under VGF and any other fund created for such purpose.
- g) To recommend the requirement of multilateral/bilateral funding for furthering the objectives of the Policy.
- h) To act as the nodal agency for capacity building for PPP in the state. To further this function it shall conduct/ recommend exposure visits and training programs on PPP.
- i) To recommend appropriate regulatory mechanism / robust grievance redressal mechanism as per requirement of the project.
- j) To recommend requirements from the PPP Fund for development of projects, gap funding and for any other requirement for furthering the objectives of this Policy. Formulation and recommendation of any legislation if required for creation, administration and monitoring of the Fund.
- k) To develop internal evaluation guidelines by PPP Cell in consultation with the respective departments/agencies to evaluate and assess the projects whether the projects are to be funded by the State Government through multilateral/bilateral funding and/or implemented with Private Sector participation.

4.3.2 Creation of PPP Cell in Line Departments

PPP Cells shall be set up in all line departments/agencies to co-ordinate with the State PPP Cell and to take forward the PPP initiatives.

5 PROJECT IDENTIFICATION AND APPROVAL PROCESS

5.1 Project Identification/Conceptualization State Government Departments/ Agencies in consultation with PPP Cell shall identify, conceptualize infrastructure projects to be developed in the State and place before ECI through PPP Cell. The ECI shall prioritize projects based on demand and supply gaps, interlinkages and any other relevant parameters and create a project shelf.

5.2 Preparation of Preliminary Feasibility Report

State Government Departments/Agencies with assistance of the Technical Secretariat will prepare the Preliminary Feasibility Report for the identified projects. The preliminary feasibility report should establish the need for the project, broad level project cost estimation and indicative commercial viability of the proposed project including preliminary engineering studies if any.

5.3 Approval of Projects for development under PPP Mode.

On receipt of the preliminary feasibility report from the State Government Department/Agency by the ECI through PPP Cell, the ECI shall review the proposal based on its merit, grant its in-principle approval or suggest modifications/changes to the proposal. Projects with investment beyond Rs. 500 Cr. will be recommended to HLCA for its approval.

6 PREPARATION OF DPR AND SELECTION OF DEVELOPERS

6.1 Preparation of DPR and Selection of Developers.

On obtaining approval of ECI the respective government department/agency shall prepare / get prepared the Detailed Project Reports (DPR) if required or if the DPR is to be prepared by the project developer launch the competitive bidding process for selection of developers. The Technical Secretariat shall assist government departments/agencies in selection of the Project developer and the entire selection and bidding process including preparation of the various contractual, concession and bid documents. The bid process shall be fully transparent and conforming to best practices in the Industry.

6.2 Approval of Developer

The outcome of the bidding process along with required concessions to be granted will be placed before ECI / HLCA as the case may be for final approval before award of the project to the developer. In cases where VGF assistance is sought from Gol the proposal to ECI/HLCA will be put up after receipt of final sanction of VGF assistance from Gol.

6.3 Development through Special Purpose Vehicles (SPVs)

SPVs shall be formed as and when required to carry forward and realize the objectives of this Policy and get various clearances and permissions in the SPVs to speed-up the project.

6.4 Review & Monitoring of the Projects

ECI will review and monitor the progress of PPP projects regularly. All the Departments / Agencies carrying out PPP projects will keep informed the PPP Cell regarding the latest development.

7 STATE SUPPORT

The State Government will formulate sector specific policies wherever required for providing specific incentives and also establish mechanism for tariff setting, pricing, arbitration, safety and operational standards etc. It also



envisages coordination across infrastructure sectors and dovetailing of sectoral plans. State Support would include:

7.1 Legislative Support

Necessary legislative support as and when required shall be provided.

7.2 Administrative Support

State Government shall offer necessary administrative support to all the infrastructure projects developed in the State which would include:-

- a) To facilitate obtaining all State & Central Government clearances as may be required for the project.
- b) To facilitate all rehabilitation & resettlement activities in case so required as per existing Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy of Government including shifting of utilities wherever required.
- c) To facilitate the process of availing benefits under various Central Government and State Government schemes (as may be applicable) to enhance the viability of projects under implementation;
- d) To facilitate provision of supply of power and water at projects site.
- e) To facilitate acquiring of land necessary for the project.

7.3 Financial Support

In addition to the viability gap funding available under different schemes of Government of India, the State Government may also contribute for the remaining portion of Viability Gap as emerged from the open bid in cash or through other concessions to help the emergent infrastructure projects attain viability and get implemented.

8 ORISSA INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT FUND

The Government shall establish a fund to be called "Orissa Infrastructure Development Fund (OIDF)" and may levy cess / tax separately to augment this fund. The fund will be utilized for building up the required infrastructure and the works to be undertaken would include.

- a) Taking up of technical and financial pre-feasibility and feasibility studies, preparation of reports and bid documents and any other activities that need to be undertaken prior to offering proposed infrastructure projects for private sector participation including facilitation to select projects to assess viability gap funding and other such schemes from Government of India.
- b) To provide direct financial support to the projects for enhancing project viability as considered by the Government on recommendation of ECI or HLCA.
- c) For capacity building and training.
- d) For any other purposes in pursuance of this act and building of infrastructure in the State.

8.1 Operation of Fund

The fund will be administered and managed by the ECI. Detailed guidelines for the same shall be issued separately.

9 PROTECTION OF STAKEHOLDER RIGHTS

The rights of the users, developers, the local community and lenders, together referred to as stakeholders shall be protected. The various mechanism considered include:

- a. Adequate legislative and administrative support for successful and timely implementation and operation of the project while safeguarding the interest of local communities.
- b. Adequate legislative and administrative support for levy and collection of user charges.
- c. Adopting, adapting and developing MCAs and incorporating in all project documents the requisite clauses for protection of the rights of all stakeholders.
- d. Structuring of concession agreements incorporating service standards, revenue streams and levy of equitable user charges also providing for exempt category of users wherever applicable.
- e. Setting up of Independent Regulators appellate forums and other robust dispute redressal mechanism.

ORDER :- Ordered that the Resolution be published in next extraordinary issue of the Orissa Gazette and copies thereof be forwarded to all Departments of Government, all Heads of Departments and Accountant General, Orissa.

By Order of the Governor
Sd/-
(A.K. Tripathy)



Sri Sri Abhiram Paramahansa Deva : A Great Freedom Fighter

Sri Seshanana Das

Thakur Sri Abhiram Paramahansa Deva is a Divine-in-person, believed to be an Avatar by his countless devotees. The advent of Thakur (as he is popularly addressed) was prophesied by enlightened saints like Mahapurush Achutananda Das and Saint Siva Das, as far back as 500 years.

Thakur was born on 18th January 1904 (Magha Tribeni Amabasya Day) in the tiny village, Karamala (Puri district). Many divine manifestations were evident from his birth itself. After completion of his divine mission, he attained Mahasamadhi on 27th November 1963 (Kartika Sukla Ekadasi) of his own free will, at Karamala itself.

When Abhiram was 19 years of age (1923) he retreated into a lonely forest known as Khandaba Van near Brahmagiri (Puri Dist.). Most of the time he was in deep meditation. On one such occasion, he slipped into "Yogic sleep" for months at a stretch. It was then Abhiram had a direct vision of "Goddess Durga" in the form of "Vana Durga". Imparting secrets of spiritual knowledge, She ordained him to preach the same for the good of mankind. Young Abhiram was transformed into Sri Sri Abhiram Paramahansa Deva, at that young age of 19 years.

Subsequently Sri Abhiram Paramahansa Deva (henceforth shall be referred as Thakur)

wandered in the hills and forests of Orissa state, starting from Ganjam District to Dhenkanal District. He dressed himself in the garb of a Sannyasi- a Koupin and a long shirt called Angi was all that he had on his body.

The fragrance of Divinity of Thakur spread in every direction. With his intimate, sannyasis, Thakur traveled on foot through the villages of Cuttack District, preaching his divine message, for nearly seven years from 1926-1933. Thakur explained the intricacies of Ajapa Sadhana and simplicity of the same for practising by any one of any age, at any time or place, for realising the objective of this difficult-to-get human birth namely Self Realisation. His sweet and lucid discourses in Oriya, his simple and affectionate behaviour attracted thousands of men and women to get shelter and seek fulfilment of their spiritual craving. Thakur was looked upon more as a close relation and a well-wisher than a formal spiritual Guru, by his innumerable devotees and they would not hesitate to open their hearts before the Master.

During these journeys, at various villages, a number of enchanting, incredible and miraculous events took place. Of all such divine events, the imprisonment of Thakur was the most significant Divine Leela, with all its far-reaching consequences. This divine sport is described in detail in the following pages.



Ichhapur village (Cuttack District) was the first place where Thakur commenced his religious preaching of 'Sanatana Dharma'. Here in this village Thakur had composed the first six chapters of the famous philosophical treatise "Kali Bhagavat". It was Thakur's first book. "Kali Bhagavat" is an embodiment of metaphysical thoughts in allegorical style having a surface reference to contemporary political situation in our country, in those times. Especially some verses in Chapters 4 and 22 would reveal a surface meaning, foretelling the future political situation in our country, namely that India could be free from British domination and would gain freedom under the noble leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Kali Bhagavat was first published around 1928. Some atheists who used to attend the evening preaching meetings addressed by Thakur, listened to few discussions on 'Kali Bhagavat'. Of course, they were not able to understand the deeper philosophical meaning there in. In those times, in the whole of Utkal (Orissa), no human being was being worshipped nor was there any historic account of any person being worshipped as God or a Divine being, the way Thakur was being worshipped. Witnessing all that ritualistic manner, the Puja and Arati to Thakur was being performed, a group of jealous atheists considered that to be an opportune time to denigrate Thakur. They went to nearby Mahanga Police Station and complained to the Sub-Inspector. Their complaint was that the book 'Kali Bhagavat' contained derogatory comments about King Emperor George-V and praise of Satyagrahis and their leader Mahatma Gandhi.

Sub-Inspector Durga Nanda Mishra surreptitiously managed to obtain a copy of 'Kali Bhagavat' and dispatched a secret report to the then Bihar-Orissa Police headquarters at Cuttack. On 2.2.1934, the CID (Special Branch) SP forwarded the secret report to Madras State

Government CID (Special Branch) SP Mr. A.B. Bulkley. Thereafter, Mr.G.T.H. Bracken, the then Chief Secretary of Madras Government, ordered that a case be initiated against the author and publisher/printer of the book 'Kali Bhagavat'. The case was filed under CPC Rule 195 Section 124/A on 20.09.1934, and the offence was "the said publication contained several passages and seditious matters intended to bring into hatred and contempt His Majesty the King Emperor and the Government established by law in British India." Under Order No.437 Public (general) of 30.4.1904 vide Section 19 of India Press (emergency powers) Act, a notification was published in the Gazette of Madras Government, to the effect that all the copies of the book 'Kali Bhagavat' were to be seized and all State Governments were duly notified. Also, anyone found reading the book was liable for imprisonment for one month and a fine of Rupees Fifty.

Mean while, after touring some more villages in Cuttack district, Thakur returned to Karamala along with the few disciples who were with him. Thakur was arrested and taken to Chhatrapur (Ganjam district) on 27.09.1934. He was 30 years of age. The trial took place in the Court of the then District Magistrate Mr. A.F.W.Dixon. On behalf of Thakur, bail was offered by Sri Ganapathi Sahu and Sri Bayapani Sahu. Sri Lingaraj Panigrahi (Ex-Speaker of Orissa Legislative Assembly, Ex-Education Minister and Chief Justice of Orissa) and Sri Ramana Murthy were the defence counsels for Thakur and Sri Sasi Bhusan Rath, owner of the press, Berhampur, where the book was printed. During the course of the trial Thakur was unperturbed with his serene bewitching smile always on his lips.

To witness the Court proceedings Pandit Nilakantha Das and Sri Biswanath Das (who later



became Chief Minister of Orissa and Governor of Uttar Pradesh) and many other prominent Congressmen daily attended the Court. Pandit Nilakanth Das, a noted Oriya scholar and writer expressed his feelings about Thakur in his 'Gita Prabesh' book. A relevant extract reads thus.

"The young ascetic stood in the court room, day after day. He knew he would serve a long jail sentence. But there was always a natural smile on his lips. The very sight of him arouses love and devotion. He was the symbol of Orissa's cultural traditions, the true incarnation of our Puranic ideal man. The young sannyasi has indentified himself with our tradition. He belongs to the common folk, the unsophisticated men and women, not to arrogant learned. The villages are his realm. He is the true representative of the doctrine of equality of all religions."

After completion of the case hearings, to a specific question from the Judge, Thakur with his usual smile replied "not guilty". He was awarded a punishment of rigorous imprisonment for one year. Thakur was taken to Berhampur (Ganjam) District Jail and admitted on 13.12.1934 to undergo the punishment.

Thakur, by then, became well-known among the people. There was widespread agitation showing indignation at the ruthless torture of an innocent Sannyasi, by the foregin rulers-British Government. Fearing that there might be mass upsurges, the Government shifted Thakur secretly to Rajahmundry (on the bank of River Godavari, Andhra Pradesh). He was admitted to the Central Jail there on 9.1.1935. Although Thakur as per the Court Order, was to be released on 12.12.1935, a remission of 41 days was granted and finally he was released on 1.11.1935.

By that time, Thakur had become a well-known figure in the whole of Orissa. People began

to look to him not only because he was a saint with divine powers, but also as a great freedom fighter in his unque way. In some verses of Kali Bhagavat, there was on obvious surface reference to then prevalent political scenario in our counrty.

Thakur had prophesised that the then British King Emperor Gerge-V would not last long, all the Congressmen would group together under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. All the foreign soldiers would be sent out of the country and India would gain freedom from Foreign Rule.

All these passages were composed around 1927-28 almost twenty years before India gained Freedom from British Rule.

Apart from this prophetic writing, the entire court case, arguments and finally, award of rigorous imprisonemnt to a simple innocent Sadhu generated in the minds of general public, considerable interest and curiosity apart from indignation. It can be said that this Divine Sport of Thakur was largely responsible in sowing the seeds of love of freedom and a determination to secure freedom at any cost, in the hearts of millions of people of Orissa. History of Indias freedom struggle can never be complete, without a mention and due recognition of the significant role of Thakur played in his own unique style.

Thakur Sri Sri Abhiram Paramahamsa Deva would be gratefully remembered by all his devotees in general, and particularly by the people of Orissa, not only for his famous books he wrote in his own hand in his mother language Oriya, on the philosophy of Sanatana Dharma, but also as one, who had undergone untold suffering and humiliation at the hands of the then ruthless foreign rule, all for the sake and welfare of humanity at large.

Sri Seshanana Das lives at Sri Sri Abhiram Shanti Anandashram, Tapovan, Khandagiri, Bhubaneswar.

Odissi - The Classic Music

Gopinath Mohanty



Music Syllabi across the country teach two systems of music: Hindustani and Carnatic. They usually miss the third, a music system that has distinctive features of its own and lies in between the two. All classical dances are based on their respective classical music form, but Odissi music, though classical in nature has not been widely perceived as such even if Odissi dance has been

treated as classical dance. Without music there cannot be any dance. This happened perhaps due to ignorance.

What is classic ? It is of the highest quality, having a value or position recognized and unquestioned. It follows certain norms or it has its own grammar. It has to certify :



- i) The tradition is more than a century old,
- ii) The old system is based on one or more written shastras,
- iii) There are a number of Raga set in the core of the system,
- iv) The Ragas at the core of the system and those are borrowed from other systems are delineated in distinctive style duly supported by a distinctive rhythm (Taala) system.

Odissi songs were written even before Oriya language developed its own flavour.

i) Odissi music has a rich legacy dating back to 2nd century B.C. when king Kharvela, the ruler of Orissa (Kalinga) patronized this music and dance. There are historical evidences in the form of sculptural evidences i.e. musical instruments, singing and dancing postures of damsels in the Ranigumpha Cave in Khandagiri & Udayagiri at Bhubaneswar.

ii) Charya Geetika (Poems of Buddhist Literature) written between 7th to 12th century mostly by the poets of Orissa and Bengal. They are connected with Buddhist Tantric cult.

iii) Kalinga i.e. Orissa achieved excellence in art and architecture during 7th and 13th Century A.D. when kings of Orissa built massive temple structure like Parsuramesvar, Muktesvara, Lingaraj temple, Konark, Engraving of musical performances and dancing postures are still lively till to-day in the temple walls. After visiting Konark, Rabindranath Tagore remarked. "The language of stone is more expressive than the language of men".

iv) All India literatures on Music like Bharat Muni's 'Natya Shastra' written in 2nd to 4th century A.D. referred to Odra Magadhi style of Music and dance. This style belonged to Orissa. Similarly

Sangeet Ratnakar had also reference to Odra Magadhi style of Music.

There are certain texts on Odissi music which are authentic and authoritative and are excellent indices to the development of the music. These are written in Sanskrit or Odiya containing the characteristics of Udrmagadhi, Ardhamagadhi. Udra Bhasa and Utkalika Bibhasa. They are :

Period	Texts	Author
7th to 11th	Odiya Charyagitika	By different Odiya? Sidhacharyas
12th	Geeta Govinda	Sri Jayadeva
14th to 15th	Sangita Sara*	Hari Nayak
15th	Rasavaridhi (Gitagovinda tika)	Brundavan Das
15th	Odiya Mahabharata	Sarala Das
15th	Abhinava Gita Govinda	Divakar Mishra
15th	Kalankura	Gangadhar Guru
16th	Jagannath Ballav Natak	Ray Ramananda
16th	Dharanidhara trika of Gitagovinda	Dharanidhar
16th	Gitaparakash*	Krushna Das Bada Jena Mahapatra
16th	Sangit Koumudi*	Unknown
16th	Sangit Ratna*	Narayan Brahma
16th	Rasakallola	Dinakrushna Das
16th	Sangit Muktabali*	Harichandan
16th	Rahasya Manjari	Devdurllava Das

Other books like Sangit Darpana, Sangit Kalpadruma, Sangitarnava Chandrika, Baidehisha Vilash etc. were written in later years.

The written texts on Hindustani Music dates back to 14th Century when Lochan Pandit wrote Raga Tarangini. Similarly Carnatic Pundit Ramamatya wrote the 1st Carnatic treatise i.e. Swarmela Kalanidhi in 16th Century A.D. It established that Udrmagadhi style of music i.e. Odissi is more ancient than its counterpart like Hindustani or Carnatic.



Raag is considered as the principal root of the music - tree. It disciplines the song and qualifies its classical nature. Our poets, composers and Granthakars have mentioned names and characteristics of hundred and hundreds of Raag. Even all the songs written from 7th to 9th Century onwards are based on Raags. Geeta Govinda composed in 12th Century embodied the names of the Raagas.

Even we see many experimentation in creating new Raagas by giving new names as has been done by our ancestors and creative artists.

Usually Raag is named in the name of gods, deities, particular area and personalities.

Areas name - Raag Multani, Bhopal, Malab.

Kingdom name - Raag Gujari, Gauda, Karnat, Kashmir.

Odissi Raag has names like - Raag Puri, Kalinga Gauda, Hindol.

Raag are more or less similar in Hindusthani, Carnatic and Odissi music, and there might be slight variation in terminology. But the style of singing is different. Under Hindusthani one sings Dhrupad, Dhamar, Khayal, Thumuri, Tarana. Similarly under Carnatic, one sings Padam, Barnam, Jabali, Kirtanam and Tilanna. Odissi music is sung through Raganga, Bhabanga and Natyanga Dhrubapadanga followed by Champu, Chhanda, Chautisa, Pallabi, Bhajan, Janana, Geetagevinda which are also considered to be in the repertoire of Odissi or an allied act form of Odissi. Odissi music mainly is based on theme like Carnatic music where literature and expression dominates but Hindusthani music is mostly based on rendition style.

The three vital components of any classical music are Tradition, Codification and Application. As explained above we have inherited musical

tradition since the time of king Kharavel. Even Mahari tradition and singing of Geeta Govinda in the temple of Lord Jagannath since the time of King Pratap Rudra Dev in 15th Century proved our rich tradition.

Similarly, Odissi music has codified grammars. This is presented with specified Raagas.

It has also distinctive rendition style. It is lyrical in its movement with wave like ornamentation. The pace of singing in Odissi is not very fast nor slow, it maintains a proportional tempo which is very soothing. That is why it is Andolit. Hindustan music is like straight hair conventional. Carnatic is like curly hair, jittery and uneven. But Odissi is like wavy hair, mellifluous, soft and lyrical. It is devotional and stimulating.

Tabla is the musical instrument of Hindustani. Mrundagam is of Carnatic. Similarly Mardal is the musical instrument of Odissi. Its both construction and application style is different from that of Tabla and Mrundagam. Though Dhrupad style of singing in Hindusthani uses a Pakhawaj (its appearance seems very close to Mardal) it is different in both construction and application from that of Odissi Mardal.

As we know Orissa is a meeting point of the culture of both South and North. It is therefore, natural that Odissi tradition has not been only influenced by the two major schools of Indian Classical Music, but also it has influenced them to some extent.

North & South differ in style of rendering. Both the systems have their own peculiarities. The northern music puts more emphasis on Soor and Raag while Carnatic puts more emphasis on Taal system (Rhythm pattern). But Odissi music is complete balanced mixture of Raag sentiment (Bhava), language and lyrical value.



The tradition has always two components - the written and the oral. As music is a performing art more comes orally than written. This oral tradition makes the art further more dynamic. This dynamism makes the form more popular. One should admit that the Odissi style of music has undergone a lot of modifications as it is being taken care of and given platforms to be performed. No one will deny the fact that there have been a lot of changes in the style of singing in other major styles of present day.

To conclude, Odissi music has its own identity with all prescribed classical nature. Hence it is the 3rd classical music of the great Nation.

In the 13th Century A.D. many Hindu musicians were converted to Islam and thus cross assimilation of music took place in north India. Amir Khusru in 13th /14th Century A.D. popularized Indo-Persian music under the patronage of Delhi Sultanate. He had no access to Carnatic and Udrmagadhi music. The Deccan music flourished as Carnatic system under patronage of their benevolent rulers. The Udrmagadhi or Odissi music could not flourish due to lack of patronage from strong rulers. Rather it was confined to Odissa and neighbouring states, mostly in temples, courts of Gajapaties, feudatory kings and zamindars.

After the reign of Mukund Dev in the 16th Century A.D. Odissi music suffered during the Marahatta rule in Orissa during 17th & 18th Century A.D. Its fate also did not flourish during the British raj.

Odissi dance based on Odissi music has already attained the classical status because of its frequent performance both inside and outside the country. Odissi music remaining confined to state could not be perceived by the outside world as a distinct form of music. In order to popularize it

and allow others to enjoy its (Bhava) sentiment, language and lyrical value State Government in Culture Department has undertaken a massive programme named as 'Odissi Sandhya' to be performed in all major cities of the country. The programme is being executed through Guru Kelu Charan Mohapatra Odissi Research Centre in association with different cultural organizations located in different parts of the country like Central Sangeet Natak Academy, Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre, Kolkata, Prachhin Kalakendra, Chandigarh. Programmes held at Chandigarh and New Delhi have already started creating a mild sensation among the music lovers of the country. I am sure the novel attempt made by State Government in popularizing the Odissi music could ultimately bring its classical status due to it since its inception.

Gopinath Mohanty is presently Commissioner-cum-Secretary in the Culture Department, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar.





Rise of the Oriya Novel : 1878-1897

Jitendra Narayan Patnaik

The fact that Padmamali by Umesh Chandra Sarkar, published in 1888, is the first full-length Oriya novel is no more debated today though it is also generally accepted that the first Oriya novelist is Ramshankar Ray whose novel Soudamini was serialized in a monthly journal Utkal Madhupa in 1878 and had to be discontinued after publication of about thirty chapters due to the closure of the journal in 1880. Soudamini was designed as a historical romance and dealt with Sultan Allauddin Khilji's invasion and seizure of Ujjain after killing the Rajput king and his wife Padmabati in the fourteenth century AD. Unable to face the forces of Allauddin, their son Jaisingh retreats to a forest where he meets Soudamini, his childhood friend. As Jaisingh is busy fighting against the adversaries, Soudamini is arrested and sent to the Delhi durbar. The agonized Jaisingh gets into a senseless state and is nursed by a woman called Anandamayee who is looking for her husband Chandrakala supposed to have been missing during the battle with Allauddin's soldiers. Anandamayee's friend Kusumakumari, the princess of Dangarpur, is so distressed by her friend's plight that she decides to remain a spinster until Chandrakala is restored to Anandamayee. When Jaisingh comes to know about the anguish of the two women, he sets out in search of Chandrakala. At this point the novel remained incomplete and Ramshankar Ray neither

completed it nor did he include it in his collected works published in 1930. The plot as well as its exotic setting was conceived in the manner of the epic-chivalric tradition of the Western classics and its themes of war and love were a part of the romance tradition. There seems to be no historical evidence to attest the reality of Soudamini's plot and characterization and thus it was a work of imaginative fiction that probably intended to weave a tale of romance into the politics of foreign invasion and native resistance. In 1893, Ramshankar had to abandon another attempt at writing a novel when Unmadini which was being serialized in the magazine Indradhanu could not be completed because of the magazine's closure. The emergence of Oriya periodicals in the later part of the nineteenth century led to a few other attempts at fiction-writing by some unknown authors, though all of them remained incomplete. One such work which deserves special mention is Anathini published in Pradeepa in 1885. The heroine of this incomplete novel is the daughter of a poor farmer. She suffers from acute poverty and yet she is so charming that the dewan is madly in love with her. This dewan who is tipped to be the king is torn between his love for a commoner and the lure of the throne. The novel also refers to the king Prataprudradev whose thirty two sons were all misfits for the throne. Anathini did not



have any scope to develop into a well-knit plot, but what was striking about the novel was its concern with the common folk and its daring to comment derisively on the royal personages. Another episodic novel entitled Mathara Sambada was also serialized in Pradeepa. Each of its six chapters is a satiric portrait of contemporary elite such as the lawyer, the doctor, the western-educated youth and the government employee. Both the unfinished novels, Anathini and Mathara Sambada, authored by Sri which must have been a pseudonym, seem to look forward to the fiction of social criticism and the fictional modes of satire, irony and burlesque that found perfect articulation in the novels of Fakir Mohan Senapati whose magnum opus Cha Mana Atha Guntha, was published in 1897.

The first full-length Oriya novel, Padmamali by Umesh Chandra Sarkar, was published by the Cuttack Printing Company in October 1888. In an editorial in Utkal Dipika in its issue dated 2nd May 1889, the editor Gourishankar Ray heralded it as the first novel in Oriya language and remarked that in view of the fact that both the author and the form of writing were totally new in the domain of Oriya language, linguistic lapses and the influence of Bengali language should be overlooked. In fact, there is a strong flavour of Bengali language throughout the novel, presumably because the author himself was a Bengali who confessed in the preface that "though we would be ridiculed for our lack of experience in the language of Utkal, we have embarked on this project" in order to please the people and to "enhance the glory of the literature of Utkal." Though Padmamali is aesthetically not quite satisfying, it is undoubtedly a significant landmark in Oriya literature not only because it is the first full-length Oriya novel, but also because it is a cultural discourse that reflects the history, social reality and feudal politics of Orissa during the mid-

nineteenth century. According to Dr. Natabar Samantaray, the novel narrates the events that occurred during the five months from February to June, 1835. The plot of the novel centres round two interrelated themes: the politics of feudatory power and the intensity of romantic love. The novel is set against political unrest and tyrannical rule in the feudatory state of Nilgiri where an imposter, Duryodhan Das, is the virtual ruler. He kidnaps Padmamali, daughter of the patwari of Panchagada and during his return to Nilgiri, he is intercepted by Parikhit Singh, the youthful ruler of Kaptipada who rescues Padmamali. They fall in love with each other. Through a series of villainous machinations, Duryodhan Das tries to win over Padmamali. This action leads to a series of violent encounters leading to the tragic death of the villain in the prison cell of Kaptipada and the triumph of love and righteous conduct over animal passion and vicious villainy. While the novel refers to the peasant revolt against the oppression of the Nilgiri ruler in the 1830s and the power struggle between two royal scions leading to a military encounter, the story of love woven into this political and military theme is described in the typical medieval manner of rhetoric with highly contrived devices of verbal embellishment and hyperbole as well as in terms of conventional frames of romance such as love at first sight, pangs of longing and separation, fall of the villain and culmination in happy union of two souls. Padmamali in this sense is a historical romance that weaves medieval romance tradition into contemporary political reality.

The next significant novel after Umesh Chandra Sarkar's Padmamali was Bibasini by Ramashankar Ray whose major achievement was in the field of drama. Bibasini was his only full-length novel which originally appeared in serialized form in 1891 in a magazine called Utkal Prabha. While Padmamali is set against the period of early



British rule in Orissa, the plot of *Bibasini* relates to the period of Maratha rule that spanned from 1751 to the British occupation of Orissa in 1803. The events of this novel take place between 1768 and 1770 when Orissa's virtual ruler was the Maratha subedar Sambuji Ganesh. The novel vividly narrates the agony and distress of the Oriyas caused by the tyranny and exploitation of Sambuji Ganesh and is a moving record of the death and starvation of people due to acute famine. The misery of people due to dire poverty and hunger that Ramshankar depicts in this novel may not be historically related to the mid-eighteenth century Orissa. It is said that Ramshankar's childhood experience of the great famine of 1866-67, famously known as Naanka Durvikhya, has actually been reflected in his portrayal of the wretched socio-economic predicament of Orissa during the Maratha rule. The novel also has a lot of references to the pernicious effects of Western education by way of contrasting them with the traditional attitudes and lifestyles of eighteenth-century Orissa. Despite these anachronistic references, *Bibasini* is a remarkable narrative of colonial oppression and native resistance in terms of Sambuji's misrule and the organized assault of the Sandha king of Kujang in collusion with Raghunath and his gang of robbers on the collaborators of the oppressors. There is also a parallel theme of unrequited love between Raghunath and Kalavati, a child-widow who eventually commits suicide. The novel is also an indictment of the native perpetrators of tyranny like Choudhury and Gobardhan as well as the anguished existence of child-widows who were socially stigmatized. The robbery of Raghunath and his gang is treated in this novel as an act of humanity because the money and food looted from the exploiters are utilized for the welfare and benefit of the poor and the destitute. Ramshankar's compassion for the suffering humanity is amply

reflected in the novel in terms of both the plot and the characters as well as in terms of numerous references to the palpable reality of hunger, pain and death. A memorable character in the novel is Das Khadanga who symbolizes the starving and famished people. Das Khadanga boldly speaks out his tormented condition to the subedar, despite the realization that his fearless articulation of misery would land him into torture and death: "The famine will, in any case, take away my life. So why hesitate to die by speaking out a few words for the good of the country?" Das Khadanga is sentenced to death for his audacity to tell the truth. But in his death, Ramshankar seems to have perceived the rise of the rebel struggling against oppression and injustice of the colonizer.

No significant novel was produced between the publication of *Bibasini* in 1891 and that of Fakir Mohan Senapati's *Cha Mana Atha Guntha* in 1897. Though Fakir Mohan's *Lachama*, published in 1901, was the only other important historical romance in the manner of *Padmamali* and *Bibasini*, this genre lost its popularity by the end of the nineteenth century, giving way to the novels of social realism. With the emergence of Fakir Mohan as novelist, there was a significant shift in focus from the feudal socio-economic order to power relationships between the landed aristocracy and the common man in the political ambience of British imperialism

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MESSAGE OF
SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR
HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF
ORISSA ON THE OCCASION
OF THE INDEPENDENCE DAY - 2007

Dear Sisters and Brothers,

On the auspicious occasion of Independence Day, I extend my warm greetings to all of you.

2. On 15th of August this year, independent India attains 60 years. We also have traversed 150 long years since our first war of independence in 1857. From a subjugated country struggling to get freedom to a country with a robust economy, India has made a remarkable journey over all these years. We owe our independence to the ceaseless struggle of patriotic Indians against the British Raj.

3. Many freedom fighters made significant sacrifice to unshackle our motherland from the clutches of foreign hand. Finally, their sacrifice realised us our long cherished dream of Independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji used our core strength of non-violence as a weapon against the British empire and secured independence for us. On this momentous day, we pay our homage to the father of the nation Mahatma Gandhi and those freedom fighters who sacrificed their lives to attain freedom.

4. Orissa's contribution to national freedom struggle is no less significant. Many people of Orissa with unflinching patriotism and courage laid down their lives in their struggle against the British Raj much earlier to 1857. Many patriots and nationalists from Orissa participated in the Salt Satyagraha of 1930 and August Revolution of 1942 popularly known as Quit India Movement, and laid down their lives for the cause of freedom. We pay our tributes to those patriots.

5. In the last sixty years, we have persistently endeavoured to transform Orissa into a prosperous state. My Government has evolved a new paradigm of development

with strategic initiatives that are going to alter the socio-economic scenario of Orissa. With these efforts Orissa will soon be a vibrant economy of our country.

6. Orissa is endowed with rich mineral resources. My Government has explored all possible ways to use this huge potential to our advantage by opening the channels of rapid industrialisation. Close to 50 companies of national and international repute are slated to invest more than two lakh crore rupees. As many as 25 companies have already started production, providing employment to about 30,000 youths, both direct and indirect.

7. My Government has put in place the Industrial Policy Resolution 2007 to reinforce and further expand the framework of industrial promotion and investment facilitation including the creation of an enabling environment. Presently at Rs.4 lakh crore, investments are pouring in to the state in various sectors such as steel, Aluminium, IT, Bio-Technology, Energy and Petroleum Refinery.

8. My Government has also implemented a pragmatic Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy as a vibrant instrument to promote sustainable development. This policy has been acclaimed as one of the best in our country.

9. Despite our journey to rapid industrialisation, agriculture remains the mainstay of our economy. To make farming a stable source of income, my Government has taken a host of measures to enable farmers switch from traditional farming to cash crop production such as horticulture, organic farming by using scientific techniques. The Government is committed to provide irrigation facility to atleast 35 per cent of farm land in each block of the state. Schemes like Biju Krushak Vikash Yojana, Pani Panchayats are in full swing in providing irrigation support to our farmers. Contract farming of cotton, sugarcane and other cash crops are gaining popularity among our farmers.

10. Our democratic credentials are uniquely positioned with an effective three-tier Panchayati-Raj system. Panchayats have been empowered to plan, develop and implement projects keeping the local needs in view. My Government has implemented Orissa Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme benefiting more than 13 lakh families. Schemes like Gopabandhu Grameen Yojana, Tripti, Backward Region Grants Fund are in operation to supplement poverty reduction in rural areas.

11. My Government acknowledges that empowerment of women is the key to our basic development goals. The Government has devised a unique Mission called Mission Shakti that has empowered rural women through more than two lakh Self Help Groups. It has transformed the lives of millions of women through various gainful economic activities.

12. The Government is committed to the socio-economic development of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and protect them from social injustice. My Government has amended regulation by prohibiting transfer of tribal land in scheduled areas to non-tribals. An innovative scheme called Biju KBK Yojana is being implemented for the development of tribal people in the KBK region. My Government has stepped up efforts to open 1000 girls' hostels to check drop-outs among ST girls. It is heartening to note that the students of the tribal school are now showing better results than those of the general schools.

13. Promotion of Science & Technology plays a pivotal role in preparing us for a futuristic society. An Astronomy Park has been established in Bhubaneswar to create inquisitiveness among children for science and its applications. To promote biotechnology in the state, the Government has organised an investors' meet on biotechnology, and has decided to set up a Bio-IT park in Bhubaneswar. State's renewable energy agency OREDA has taken up the responsibility of electrifying 127 remote villages. Biju Patnaik Award for Scientific Excellence has been instituted to encourage our scientists.

14. My Government is keen to develop a well planned, robust and futuristic IT infrastructure, which will make us a major stake holder in a knowledge-centric economy. To promote IT education and quality human resources in the state, the foundation stone of International Institute of Information Technology has been laid in Bhubaneswar by His Excellency the President of India. Prominent IT majors like Infosys, Satyam, TCS and Wipro have set up development centres in the state. Many more software companies including IBM have evinced interest to invest in the state. To bridge the rural-urban divide, State Wide Area Network (SWAN) is in operation to connect state Headquarters with district, sub-division and block headquarters. As a result of our efforts, software exports are expected to touch Rs.700 crore this year.

15. Education is the most critical input for any kind of sustainable development. To promote Universal Primary Education, my government has taken up a slew of measures such as providing free text books, free uniforms to girl students, inclusion of students upto class 8th under Sarba Sikhya Abhiyan and appointment of Sikhya Sahayaks. These efforts have yielded promising results with more than 90 percent enrolment in schools in the age group of six to fourteen. The Vedanta Foundation has signed an MOU with the State Government to set up a world class University at Puri.

16. Orissa has rare distinction of being the first state of India to usher in sweeping reforms in power sector. Today, we can hold our heads high as a power surplus state. In continuation of the policy of private sector participation, my Government has

entered into memoranda of understanding with 13 private power producers to set up thermal power plants with a capacity of 15000 megawatt. My Government is committed to provide electricity to all the villages during the next five years.

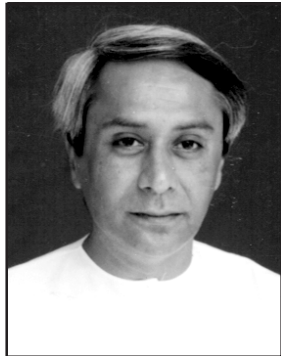
17. According top priority to quality healthcare, National Rural Health Mission is being implemented effectively in the state. To meet the short fall of doctors, my Government has given clearance to start 17 new medical and dental colleges in private sector. An innovative scheme ASHA has been launched to reach out to all village Panchayats. As many as 12,729 ASHA volunteers have been imparted training in all the districts of the state. The Infant Mortality Reduction Mission has shown remarkable results. To check the menace of female foeticide, my Government has set up district level task forces with an effective implementation mechanism.

18. My Government's commitment to transparency and accountability is emphatic. The Government continues its crusade against corruption unabatedly. The effective implementation of Right to Information Act, 2005 has been beneficial with an increasing number of people seeking and availing information through this device.

19. My Government has launched a multitude of initiatives which in addition to the ongoing Central programmes have opened up new vistas of development in all fronts. Be it agriculture, industrialisation, infrastructure, health or education, it has brought in a kind of renaissance in all these sectors. With a new vision, we must work together with renewed vigour to accomplish our unfinished task in the path of development.

20. On this auspicious day, let us take a solemn pledge to join hands to build a strong and vibrant Orissa.

Jai Hind



MESSAGE OF
HON'BLE CHIEF MINISTER
SHRI NAVEEN PATNAIK
ON THE OCCASION OF
INDEPENDENCE DAY - 2007

Dear sisters & brothers,

On the auspicious occasion of Independence Day, I extend my hearty greetings and good wishes to you all.

The Independence Day is an important and sacred occasion for all of us. We attained sixty years of independence this year. So it has a special significance.

Many freedom fighters have attained martyrdom to free our motherland from the yoke of imperialism. Orissa's contribution to national freedom struggle is quite vital. I offer my sincere tribute to our Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi, martyrs and numerous freedom fighters on this momentous occasion.

After Independence, our country has spun success in different sectors. India has emerged as one of the powerful nations world over.

Efforts are on to make Orissa prosperous, recording developments in various sectors. As you all know, agriculture is the mainstay of our people. We are thus always according priority to development of agriculture. We are implementing a new package for our farmers. Cash crops like vegetables, flowers, fruits, fishery, sugarcane and cotton cultivation have been of much interest to our farmers. The concept of contract farming has also been introduced in many areas of the State keeping the interest of our farmers in view. We have also initiated the process of providing irrigation facility to 35 percent of agricultural land of all the blocks.

The Rural Development is an important programme of my Government. In order to provide safe drinking water through pipeline to villages, Jaladhara Scheme has been launched. Next year, about one thousand villages will be provided with drinking water under this scheme.

Orissa has abundant mineral resources. I have always laid stress on harnessing these resources for the development of the State as well as our people. With the efforts of the State Government, companies of national and international repute are all set to invest in steel, aluminium, power and other sectors. By now, 25 companies have already started production in our State. This programme of the Government will induce great changes in the economy of our State.

You all are aware, this is the era of Information Technology. The Information Technology has played a pivotal role in the economy of the whole world. Now-a-days, Bhubaneswar is gaining importance in the field of I.T. Major companies like Satyam, TCS, Infosys, Wipro, IBM and Genpact have opened their development centres and planning to start BPO service at Bhubaneswar. The software export of Orissa is expected to touch Rs.700 crore during this year.

The State Government has succeeded in setting up of an ultra-modern institute like IIIT at Bhubaneswar. This will play a key role in the field of IT education. The number of MBBS seats in three medical colleges has been increased by 150 to boost health services.

New employment opportunities have been created in the fields of industry, tourism, IT and ITES sectors for our children. Besides, many self employment programmes have been implemented through the Employment Mission.

The State's economy has recorded significant progress by the efforts of my Government. Revenue collection of the State Government has increased. We have been able to prepare a surplus budget this year. Our fiscal management has greatly been acclaimed by the Government of India as well as the Reserve Bank of India. The State Government has started implementing developmental programmes like Biju KBK Yojana, Gopabandhu Grameen Yojana and Biju Jyoti from its own resources.

Our efforts are on to improve the living standard of the common man through the development of infrastructure, rural area, agriculture, industry, irrigation and education. My Government has also paid special attention to the welfare of poor, scheduled castes, tribes, farmers and workers.

The benefits of different developmental programmes must have to reach the people in the right way. I have, therefore, always given emphasis on honesty and transparency at every level. If we maintain transparency at every level, then only we can build up a healthy society and a prosperous Orissa as well. Let us resolve on this auspicious day to work together for making a prosperous and vibrant Orissa.

Jai Hind



MESSAGE OF
SHRI DEBASIS NAYAK
HON'BLE MINISTER
INFORMATION & PUBLIC RELATIONS,
SPORTS & YOUTH SERVICES, ORISSA
ON THE OCCASION OF
INDEPENDENCE DAY - 2007

Dear Sisters & Brothers,

On the occasion of the celebration of 60 years of Independence, I extend my hearty greetings and good wishes to you all.

The year 2007 is quite memorable and historic for us. The 60 years of Independence is being celebrated with much joy and enthusiasm all over the country this year. In the mean time, we have already crossed 150th year of the First War of Independence in 1857. On this auspicious occasion, I offer my sincere tribute to those great sons and daughters of India, whose Supreme Sacrifice brought us Independence.

Much Before this war of Independence, the Paik mutiny and Ghumsar Revolt of Orissa frightened the Britishers. These revolts inspired people of Gadjats and Feudatory kings to fight against the British army. The contribution of Oriya women to the freedom struggle is quite significant.

The basis of Independent India hinges on human values and tolerance. With the developments taking place all over the country, Orissa is also maintaining the pace. The abundant natural resources are our treasures. In harnessing these resources, the Government targets socio-economic developments of the state.

The Government is according top priority to the development of agriculture, education, health, rural areas, women and rural welfare. So, for the development of Agriculture more irrigation facility and credit support have been extended to farmers. Women Self Help Groups have been formed in villages to economically empower them. Gopabandhu Grameen Yojana, Tripti, Backward Development Fund have become operational for infrastructural development of rural areas and poverty alleviation. Free text books for the students up to 8th class, free school dress to girl students and appointment of sikhyasahayaks have been taken up for successful implementation of 'Sarbasikhya Abhijan' programme. Steps have been taken to set up the "State Sports Academy" for the development of sports in the state. The Right to Information Act, 2005 has sincerely been implemented in the state to effect more transparency and accountability in the public administration.

Our motto is to bring out allround development through the welfare of all sections of the society. On this auspicious occasion, let us take pledge to work together with strong commitment and firm dedication to transform Orissa in to a most prosperous and ideal state.

Jai Hind

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Prelude.....



The Indian Freedom Struggle is considered as the rarest human movement in the world history. Centuries of subjugation by a foreign power has ever produced an atmosphere of such stubborn resistance and a prolonged war which shaped the minds of many intellectuals, historians and philosophers on Indian struggle for Independence. Mahatma Gandhi as the Chief Architect of the complete process of the war applied the tools of non-violence and non-co-operation which shook the entire British power. Pre-Gandhian era also assumes much significance considering the backdrop of courage and valour shown by many fearless freedom fighters. Many of the great sons and daughters of India also made supreme sacrifice for the freedom of our country. We continue to pay our sincere reverence to those immortal souls.

Orissa's contribution to Indian Freedom struggle is quite significant. Khurda Paik Mutiny, Ghumusar Movement, Prajamandal Movement, Gadjat Revolt, Salt Satyagraha at Inchudi and many tribal movements carry historic happenings that form the basis of the great war of Indian Independence. The role women of Orissa played in the freedom struggle is an unforgettable chapter of history. But still more have to be explored on the significant role played by Orissa, more particularly the revolts in remote areas. Studies should focus the authentic documentation of salient features which still await recognition.

An honest attempt has been made in this issue of Orissa Review to present valuable contributions of many eminent scholars covering different phases of freedom struggle in Orissa. While scholars have analysed the very concept of the first war of Independence, an exhaustive account of struggle from Orissan perspectives has also placed in this volume to get exact and accurate information. Many other articles have been served to our esteemed readers keeping the celebration of 60 years of Independence and 150th year of the First War of Independence -1857 in view. I congratulate the members of the Editorial Board of Orissa Review for putting sincere efforts to bring out this valuable piece of publication. I also sincerely hope that researchers may find this volume essential for their study on Indian Freedom struggle with special reference to Orissa.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Digambar Mohanty'.

(Digambar Mohanty)
Commissioner-Cum-Secretary