CHAPTER - V

Civil Disobedience Movement
Civil Disobedience Movement forms a land-mark in the historic freedom Movement. It was launched for the necessity in Indian politics after the failure of Simon Commission. Although post-Simon Commission days brought a ray of hope with labour party assuming power in Great Britain, the Viceroy's declaration on Dominion Status, the government's incorrigible silence on the Nehru Report and ultimately the failure of Gandhi–Irwin talks cleared the way for the historic demand of "Purna Swaraj" at the stroke of midnight on 31 December 1929 at the Lahore Congress Session by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose. Twenty Sixth January was decided to be observed each year as the day independence. A declaration, to be issued was to be read to the people in the villagers and towns all over the country, and the ascent of the audience was to be taken by a show of hands. The several sub-committees were asked to prosecute their work vigorously, and an equal vigorous enrolment of the Congress members was urged on the nation. The declaration to be read out on 26th January was as follows:

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppress them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has runed India economically, politically, culturally, and spiritually. We believe, therefore,
that India must sever the British connection and attain "Purna Swaraja" or "complete independence".¹

Amidst unprecedented enthusiasm January 26 was celebrated as the independence day and the people once again decided to plunge into the struggle for the liberation of their motherland. Thus began a new phase of the freedom struggle in India.

With the new political stir in the country, the people of Orissa were also prepared to plunge into the movement. The Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee in its general meeting at Cuttack on January 19, 1930 welcomed the Lahore resolution and called upon the District Committee to make effective arrangements for observing the Independence Day.² In a large gathering at Cuttack, Gopabandhu Choudhury, the Secretary of the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee, read out the independence pledge and the people gave their assent to it by raising their hands.³ In the Loknath Press at Cuttack, Raj Krushna Bose administered the pledge.⁴ Hare Krushna Mahtab and Nanda Kishore Das took a prominent part in the celebration of the independence day. The national flag was hoisted at the top of the temple of

¹ C.R. Mishra, Freedom Movement in Sambalpur (1827-1948), (New Delhi -1986), PP 226-227
² The Samaj, January 22, 1930
³ Ibid., January 29, 1930
⁴ S.N. Patnaik, Odisara Swadhinata Andolana, (Cuttack 1972), P.69
Lord Lingaraj at Bhubaneswar. In different parts of Cuttack the pledge of independence was taken on 26 January. The Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee office at Cuttack received reports of independence day celebration from 54 places. Pandit Godavarish Mishra, Pandit Gopabandhu Chaudhury, Hare Krushna Mahtab, Atal Bihari Acharya, Bhubananda Das, Nanda Kishroe Das, Narayan Patra, Bhagirathi Mahapatra, Nila Kantha Das and Govind Chandra Mishra from Cuttack were appointed members to the All India Congress Committee.

However, Pandit Gopabandhu Das, who had led the people of the province in the Non-Co-operation was no more on the political scene in Orissa. He attended the annual session of servants of the Indian Society of Lala Lajpat Rai at Lahore in April 1928 and was elected the Vice President of the society. While returning to Orissa, he had an attack of fever and before his complete recovery, again he proceeded to Calcutta to organise the labourers in the city. On his return he once again fell ill. His condition became serious and he died at Satyabadi in the early hours of 17 June 1928. He was only 51 years old at that time. His premature death created a void in the hearts of millions of his fellowmen. Gandhiji mourned his death in the columns of young India on 21 June and paid high tributes to him as “the noblest soul”.

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5 The Samaj, January 24, 1930
6 Ibid., January 23 1930
As a part of Civil Disobedience Movement, Gandhiji first of all wanted to break the Salt Law. The jubilant observation of Independence Day all over the country gave the necessary impetus to Gandhiji and he felt that the time was ripe for action. Throughout January and February 1930, Gandhi’s speeches and writing repeatedly emphasised the woes of the peasantry and “Salt linked up in a flash the ideal of Swaraj with a most concrete and universal grievance of the rural poor. It afforded, like khadi, the chance of paltry but psychotically important extra income for peasants through self help and offered to urban adherents the possibility of a Symbolic identification with mass suffering. Irwin later admitted to Gandhi, “You planed strategy round the issue of Salt”. Almost overnight, Gandhi made “Salt” a mysterious need of uncanny significance.

SALT POLICY OF BRITISH IN CUTTACK ON THE EVE OF SALT SATYAGRAHA

In revenue administration, salt constituted one of the important sources of revenue for the government in the province. In 1803, when the British incorporated Cuttack in their hegemony, all administrative control was centered in Calcutta where the Governor – General – in – Council resided. When it was felt that the line of administration was too long causing fall of revenue, the British authority through the East India Company decided to treat the district of Cuttack as a separate unit and made the necessary provision to

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8 Nehru, An Autobiography, (New Delhi 19780), P,209
9 S. Sarkar, Modern India, (Madras 1985), P.286
control the Salt by enacting certain rules and regulation and by placing the administration under the salt controller.\textsuperscript{10}

During the Maratha rule in Orissa, Cuttack salt had immense commercial importance on account of its reputation for quality and cheapness.\textsuperscript{11} This salt was exported to Keonjhar, Palamau, Singhbhoom, Ramgarh and Chhastisgarh. The Maratha Government received only duty from the salt but did not establish any monopoly over the manufacture of Salt.\textsuperscript{12} The British after occupation of Cuttack in 1803 now became very eager to establish their control over salt. In 1806 an agreement was drawn regarding sale and import of salt to Calcutta and it was closely followed by the extension of Salt monopoly to the northern division of Cuttack from the river Mahanadi to Subarnarekha. The government reserved the exclusive privilege of manufacturing salt as a source of public revenue. In 1806, James King, the first Salt agent of Orissa took charge of the department at Cuttack. In 1811, he wrote to the Board of Trade that there was every prospect of realising four lakh Maunds of salt in his agency.\textsuperscript{13} Thus the salt monopoly in Orissa was administered for some years by a single salt agent with his headquarters at Cuttack.\textsuperscript{14} The operation of salt monopoly was also one of the measures

\textsuperscript{10} S. Choudhury, Economic History of colonialism A study of salt policy in Orissa. Delhi-1969- P.175
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.. Salt trade in Cuttack, (Cuttack one thousand year)
\textsuperscript{12} Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IX, No.605
\textsuperscript{13} CSR, Ace No.531, Salt agent of Cuttack to Board of trade, January 1811
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid..
which affected the condition of the people of Orissa under the early British administration. The government monopoly led to a sudden rise in the price of salt. The merchants purchased salt at the rate of two rupees per maund from the store house of the government and naturally they sold it at a much higher rate to the people by adding the cost of transport and profits. It caused hardship to the people who never paid so high a price for purchasing salt. But after the revolt of 1817, Robert Ker, the first Commissioner brought about some changes in salt policy visualising the sentiments of the people. His vigilance improved the administration of the department to a great extent.

The government of Bengal established a new board for the administration of salt monopoly in the presidency. It was known as the Board of customs, salt and opium. Till 1823 the administration of Salt monopoly in Orissa was under the jurisdiction of a single salt agent. He shouldered all responsibilities of manufacture of salt in the long sea coast of Orissa, supervised the sale and export of salt and also took steps to prevent smuggling. To reduce the burdens of a single salt agent and to provide better supervision of the agency, the government decided to divide it into two district division in 1823. In October 1828 when three districts were constituted, there salt agencies were also established to be administered by the district collectors. Thus 1828, three salt agencies such as Puri, Cuttack and Balasore came into being. Cuttack

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15 Orissa Records, Vol II Salt Agent to Board of Trade, 18 May 1817, P.42
16 BJ (Cr.) P.No.18 of 17 December 1821, Commissioner at Cuttack to Government, 7 September 1821
salt agency was about seventy miles in length and stretched from river Dhamara to river Devi in the south. Cuttack agency possessed seven aurangs (Place of manufacture of salt).

The malangi were the real community who manufactured salt for the government. They were paid advance twice a year to meet the expenses of manufacture. Before the beginning of the manufacturing season the Malangi were paid the first advance. In the middle of the season the second advance was paid to them according to the quantity of salt manufactured by them. The wages paid to the Malangis for the manufacture of salt in a season varied at different times. The Malangis were also allowed to take two pots for their own use per month.

The company government received much profit out of salt monopoly system in Orissa. The profit derived from the salt monopoly exceeded the land revenue of the province in the initial stage the land revenue being Rs. 16 lakhs against the profit from the salt monopoly of Rs. 18 lakhs per year. In course of time, the net profit from the salt monopoly became very high. The revenue derived from the salt monopoly system in Orissa both from local sale and public sale at Salkia was never utilised for the benefit of the people of

19 CSR Becher to Pakenham, 28 December 1821
20 OSA ,ACC,164, Vol.44, P.20, Salt Agent, Balasore to Commissioner of Orissa DT.19 May 1840. (No.28)
Orissa. Thus the salt monopoly in Orissa was the creation of the British government entirely based on narrow commercial outlook of the company. The only feature of this monopoly system was that it encouraged to some extent trade and commerce of the province. The Government abolished the salt monopoly system in 1863 and salt agencies were closed.

After the abolition of salt manufacture by the government in 1863 the salt trade was regulated by the system of excise. The private manufactures were permitted to make it by payment of a fixed duty per maund to the government. Consequently the import of Liverpool salt increased considerably. The local salt industry could not compete with superior quality of foreign salt available at a cheaper rate. The act X 7, 1974 was introduced to remove all restriction on salt trade in Orissa. In order to save salt industry in Orissa the Government introduced graduated scale to make a balance with Madras duty in salt. In 1878, the rate was reduced and fixed at Rs. 2.8 annas for the district of Cuttack and Rs. 210 annas for the region laying between Cuttack and Kansbans river. This rate was further reduced to Rs. 2/- and this rate was applicable throughout Orissa from March 1882. With this measures the graduated scale of duty was abolished. The abolition of the graduated scale of duty relieved the burden of duty on salt trade in Cuttack.

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21 Orissa Records, Op Cit., P.61
22 S.Choudhury, Op Cit., P.186
23 Ibid.
24 A. Stirling, An Account of Orissa proper or Cuttack, P.4
The sale of salt gradually increased. On the other-hand the abolition of the graduated scale of duty led to the destruction of the salt industry. Which was in a ruined condition. Aurangs in Cuttack district were closed in 1886. Inspite of temporary recovery of the salt manufacture in Orissa the Government was not satisfied with the condition of industries in the province. The government proposed to transfer the supervision and sale of salt in Orissa to Madras Salt department. The stringent rule and the control of the Madras system resulted in the decline of the local salt manufacture in Orissa. By the year 1902 there was no manufacture of salt in Orissa and since then Orissa was forced to import salt from out side inspite of its long sea coast and much potentiality for production of that article of common consumption.

Peoples Resistance against British Salt Polity Before 1930.

Popular agitation against salt administration and taxation in Orissa took concrete shape during the early years of the 20th Century. The representatives of the people voiced the suppressed emotion of the masses on this issue to attract the attention of the authorities. This agitation coming up to the surface, more prominently in the twenties of the present century, would appear to a casual observer as twentieth century development with political motivation as its inspiration. Although policies played a part in fostering the

25 Ibid. P.37
26 K.M. Patra, Orissa under the East India Company, (New Delhi, 1979), P.176
27 Ibid.
agitation, a deep probe into the past with respect to the salt affairs of Orissa will reveal that this agitation was century old development dating back to the beginning of the last century.  

From the very beginning of the Salt administration in Orissa, their policy was opposed to by the different classes of people of this province who were affected on this score. The earliest resistance to the British salt policy in Orissa came from the tributary chiefs. The Raja of Aul, Kanika and Kujang were extremely Jealous of the British power. They were strongly averse to the entry of any of the British officers into their territories for superintending the collection of salt on behalf of the British government. These Rajas possessed considerable influence over their ryots and Malangis. Hence they were in a position to offer great obstruction to the officers of the government with respect to the business of salt.

During the Paik Rebellion in Khurda, people clamoured everywhere to attract the attention of the authorities against oppressive nature of salt laws. People became more aggressive and plundered the salt office at Kujang in Cuttack. Amlas posted there in were seized and carried off to Paradip. Salt business in Orissa was stopped for the time being. The revolt was suppressed with maximum force at the command of the government. The struggling

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28 S. Choudhury, Op Cit., P.287
29 5 March 1804, Cit. Harcourt, Commissioner at Cuttack to Govt. of Bengal, Ms Vol. ACC, 451. OSA
30 G. Tonybee, History of Orissa., P.69
masses knew neither the art of organising a systematic agitation in this respect nor the leadership required for this purpose. During the last part of nineteenth century the struggling poor masses heaved a sigh when their plights and miserable economic conditions were published in news periodicals in Orissa like Utkal Dipika and Balasore Sambad Bahika. Political organisation like Utkal Sabha,\textsuperscript{31} Utkal Samilani\textsuperscript{32} voiced the suffering of the poor masses through meetings, conferences and representatives to the government.

Revival of salt manufacture in Orissa was an urgent necessity in view of her deteriorating economic condition. Taking the province, as a whole, salt was the only staple product and rice the only crop for its people. Hence the different political association demanded for revival of salt manufacture and the other demand made simultaneously was the repeal of the salt tax. The Utkal Sabha had already launched a vigorous campaign against the policy of salt taxation in Orissa. In this context, the proceeding of a public meeting organised by the Sabha in Cuttack, in February 1888 may be cited. Never before in the history of Cuttack, such a largely attended public meeting embracing all communities and section of the city's population, was held to criticise government policy.

The agitation against the salt tax received greater momentum when a money bill was introduced by government in the Indian Legislative Assembly

\textsuperscript{31} Utkal Sabha founded in 1882
\textsuperscript{32} Utkal Sammilani founded in 1903
in 1923 to double the already high tax on salt. The explanation offered by government in this connection was to balance the deficit budget of the year 1923 – 24 in the interest of India.

The obstinacy of the government to hold on to a money bill for doubling the salt tax precipitated the crisis. In the 1929 session of the legislative, Pandit Nilakantha Das assailed the salt policy of the government. Pandit Das, representing the hardest hit province of Orissa as regard the oppressive incident of the salt tax could focus all the evils of this tax in his deliberation on the floor of the assembly. The salt tax, he said, bled white the poorest section of the population. To fill the deficit the government was making money out of the poor man’s pinch of salt.

Unfortunately for India, the hated salt tax was continued to be levied by a civilised government in the twentieth century. This was considered to be symbolic of imperialistic domination and exploitation of the poor Indian people at the behest of Great Britain. In general, decay, despair and misery stalked the land following the destruction of the salt industry and trade. Popular demand for a revival of the salt industry and the trade there of turned out to be

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33 Surendra Mohanty ‘Satapdir Surya’ (Oriya), P.457
34 Nilakantha Das (Member, Indian Legislative Assembly from, Orissa speech and Remarks in the Delhi Session of Legislative Assembly) 1929, P. 85
35 Ibid.
37 Dadabhai Naroji, Poverty and unBritish rule in India, P.190
a cry in the wilderness. The tension in the minds of the people against the government salt policy had generated an explosive situation. The accumulating discontent over this issue found expression in the Salt Satyagraha of 1930 when Paradip on the coast of Cuttack had became one of the chief centres of the salt agitation in 1930.

**Salt Satyagraha in Cuttack**

Finally Mahatma Gandhi decided to launch Civil disobedience Movement by manufacturing salt in violation of salt laws, because, he felt that salt was necessary for life like air or water and salt tax was the most iniquitous from the poor men's point of view. On 12 March 1930 he began his foot march with followers from the Sabarmati Ashram towards Dandi, a place in the Gujrat Sea Shore, where he was to commence the Civil disobedience by manufacturing the contraband salt.

Amidst unprecedented enthusiasm the people of Orissa celebrated 26 January and they were prepared to wage the struggle as directed by Gandhiji for establishing Purna-Swaraja.

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38 Nilakantha Das, Op Cit., P.90
39 Ibid.
40 Young India, 2 March 1930
41 Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the History of the Indian National Congress (Bombay) 1944, Vol. I P.363
42 The Samaj, 29 January 1930
On 23rd March 1930, a conference of congress workers was held at Cuttack in the residence of Gopabandhu Chowdhury. Inspite of Choudhury's efforts the proceedings of the conference could not be kept secret as an uncontrollable number of people gathered there. On the same day 200 volunteers from Cuttack town only were enrolled as a congress members and Rs. 1000/- was collected towards the congress fund. In the evening of the same day a mass meeting of 5000 people was held on the bank of river Kathjuri despite the proclamation of prohibitory order in entire Cuttack town. Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab and Gopabandhu Choudhury were known to have influenced the people to break the salt law at Inchudi in the district of Balasore with Gopabandhu Choudhury taking the lead. The Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Cuttack served order under section 144 Cr. P.C. on six congressmen. They were Gopabandhu Choudhury, Purna Chandra Bose, Jadumani Mangaraj, Prana Krishna Padhiay, Naba Krishna Choudhury and Atal Bihari Acharya. But Gopabandhu Choudhury and Purna Chandra Bose made speeches in the meeting at Cuttack in defiance of the magistrate order. There was an unprecedented response in this meeting as well as outside to

44 H.K. Mahatab, Sadhanara Pathe., P. 128.
45 Utkal Dipika, 29. March 1930
46 Nilamani Pradhan, report, AICC Files, (NNMS)
“this act of open disobedience or defiance” on the part of Choudhury and Bose.\textsuperscript{47}

Similar meetings were held in other parts of the district Cuttack mainly at Paradip, Kanika and Aul where there was widespread response for the Salt Satyagraha.\textsuperscript{48}

On 12 March 1930, Gandhi with his 78 assistants started in his historic Dandi March. Motibas Das, a Khadi student of Orissa was one among them.\textsuperscript{49} Before the Satyagrahis of Orissa begin their March from Cuttack to Inohudi an advance party\textsuperscript{50} under the leadership of Prana Krushna Padhiary of Cuttack was sent on 31 March 1930 to arrange meetings by propaganda. The first batch of twenty one Satyagrahis led by Gopabandhu Choudhury and Acharya Harihar started their march on foot from Swaraj Ashram, Cuttack to Inohudi. Before they started their foot march they wore Khadi and took vow for the dedication for the cause of movement. The most prominent members of Cuttack in the first batch were Golak Nath De, Gokulananda Mahanty, Kishore Mohan Mohapatra, Biswanath Hota, Durgaprasad Guru, Ram prasad Sahu, Gunanidhi Mahanty, Gouranga Charan Das, Balaram Pati, Madhabananda

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{48} H.K. Mahatab, Op. Cit., P.130
\textsuperscript{49} Young India. 1 May 1930
\textsuperscript{50} The advance party consisted of Sudarsan Praharaj, Narayan Das, Akulananda Behera and Sadasiv Sarangi
Das, Sadhu Ch. Padhi etc. on the day of their Padayatra all schools, colleges and business establishments of Cuttack spontaneously remained closed and thousands of people of Cuttack were on the street to felicitate them.

On 8th April 1930 a complete hartal was observed throughout Cuttack in protest against the arrest of Gopabandhu Choudhury for violating the prohibitory order. An emergency meeting of the congress party at Swarajya Ashram, Cuttack demanded the immediate release of Choudhury. Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Cuttack ordered to release Gopabandhu just after seven days.

A main Satyagraha camp was opened at Cuttack on 4th April 1930. the Satyagrahis from various parts of the districts mainly from Paradeep, Kujanga, Ersama, Salepur, Rajkanika first assembled in this camp and took an oath of sacrifice and then proceeded to Balasore.

Everyday evening from 5th April onwards public meeting was held on Kathjudi sand to bid farewell to Satyagrahis. Atleast 5000 people attended the meeting. There were lawyers, about 1500 students of different High Schools

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51 Utkal Dipika- 29 March 1930
52 Op Cit. 30 March 1930
53 H.K. Mahatab, Sadhana ra Pathe. P.129
54 Ibid.
of Cuttack, some teachers of the Ravenshaw College, local Headmasters and educated youngmen.  

Next day i.e. on 6 April, 1930, early in the morning, after prayer and chanting of slokas from Gita, the Satyagrahis began their foot march towards Inchudi from Gopabandhu Choudhury's residence near the Kathjuri river. Satyagrahis were being garlanded by Ashalata Achayra (the wife of Atal bihari Acharya) Rama Devi and Malati Devi. Thousands of the people gave them send off and raised the slogan of victory as the Satyagrahis proceeded through the Cuttack town to Jobraghat. At Jobraghat they crossed the river Mahanadi by boat. There after they proceeded on foot towards Jajpur. When the Satyagrahis reached chandol, a place which was 20 miles away from Cuttack town, Gopabandhu Choudhury was arrested under section 188 of I.P.C. for his violation of prohibitory order on 23rd March 1930 at Cuttack under Sadar police station. Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee immediately called an emergency meeting in Swaraj Ashram at Cuttack and condemned the arrest of Gopabandhu Choudhury. All the Congress members were served with a notice to observe hartal on 9th April. In the evening of 8th April

56 Op Cit. Sadharna ra Pathe P.130
57 The Samaj 30. March 1930
58 Op Cit. Dasabarsara Orissa. P.87
60 Sriharsa Mishra, Swadhinata ra Jayajatra, (Oriya) (Cuttack 1980), P.162
when Congress workers were preparing for hartal next day, in a well attended meeting, at Kathjuri, the second batch of Satyagrahis was given send off. They began their foot march in the next day morning. Throughout the day the congress workers in Cuttack town remained busy in organising hortal shop remained closed. School students marched in procession through every lane of Cuttack town to voice their protest against the arrest of Gopabandhu Choudhury. A big students rally was organised in the premises of Ravenshaw College despite the closure of the college as mark of preventive measures. Nine students were arrested on that day. According to official reports the hartal was “fairly successful”. In the same evening, a mammoth meeting was held on the sand of Kathjuri. Addressing the meeting Pandit Nilakantha Das appealed to all to join the Civil disobedience Movement. It would be a great sin, he said, to remain aloof from this great holy war, launched by Mahatma Gandhi.

As the first batch of Satyagrahis marched through the villages, they roused great enthusiasm among the villagers. The villagers extended warmest ovation, befitting for heroes. The Satyagrahis held meetings in

61 Utkal Dipika, 10 April, 1930
62 Utkal Dipika- 12,April,1930
63 Ibid..
64 The Samaj. 12 April. 1930.
65 Utkal Dipika. 13 April 1930
66 H.K. Mahatab, Sadhana ra Pathe
places like Chandikhol, Jajpur, Kuakhai and Badrak to educate the people about the impending Civil disobedience movement.67

After having covered the distance on foot upto Jajpur, Acharya Harihar and his associates proceeded to Balasore by train so as to break the salt law before the end of National week which was being observed by the Congress.68

At 8’O Clock, on 13 April, Acharay Harihar collected salt earth in the neighbouring village Tundra and proceeded to Inchudi to manufacture salt in violation of salt law. Already thousands of people from the villages as well as Cuttack, Jajpur and Balasore town had gathered at Inchudi.69 At 8.30 A.M. as Acharya Harihar began the violation of salt law by collecting salt on earth. The police forcibly snatched away salt earth from his hands and arrested him and four of his associates.70

The second and third batch of Satyagrahis from Balasore and Puri respectively reached Inchudi on 14 April to join Satyagraha.71 A fourth batch of Satyagrahis ten in number proceeded from Cuttack after being bidden farewell with flower and Sandal Tilak by Ramadevi and Malatidevi in a

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67 Ibid.
68 The Deshakatha. 13 April.1930
69 The Prajatantra, ( Daily ), 14 April,1930
70 Op. Cit. Sadhana ra Pathe , P.145
71 Utkal Prasanga, August 1972. P.46
meeting on the Kathjudi sand. In that meeting, at the appeal of Malatidevi people parted with 200 foreign cloths which were burnt. Then Mrs. Sarojni Choudhury, the women Satyaagrahi of Cuttack appealed to everyman and women to join the salt satyagraha. Raj krushna Bose, the youthful leader called upon the youth not to retreat from the movement for fear of police oppression.

The police adopted various tactics to suppress the Satyagrahis. They beat and kicked satyagrahis, forcibly snatched the salt earth, seized arms of the volunteers from behind so that they would not be able to collect salt earth etc. Finally they adopted the tactics of breaking pots and ovens of volunteers and abusing them in filthy language. But all these methods failed to suppress the Satyagrah as the villagers extended their whole hearted support to it.

On 16th April, the fifth batch of Satyagrahis was given farewell in a meeting held on the Kathjodi Sands. The next day they arrived at Balasore the same day they joined by Satyagrahis from Ganjam and Sambalpur and Baripada. On 20th April a new centre for the manufacture of contraband salt

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72 Ibid.
73 Home Pol. Progs. F.No.5/62/1932
74 The Prajatantra, 14 April 1930
75 Utkal Dipika- 16 April 1930
76 H.K. Mahatab. Sadhana ra Pathe, P.146
77 Utkal Prasanga. August 1972. P. 78
was opened at Sartha Village which was eight miles away from the Haldwipada railway station. For launching salt Satyagraha at this place Mathura Mohan Behera, Karunakar Panigrahi, Nilambar Das and other Satyagrahis belonging to the locality were arrested by the police. The villagers whole heartedly participated in the Satyagraha at Sartha.

In the meantime three women satyagrahis of Cuttack, Ramadevi, Malatidevi and Kiranbala Sengupta made a plan for the involvement of women in the Salt Satyagraha at Inchudi. Rama Devi, Malatidevi urged upon the women to implement such items of Civil disobedience movement such as boycott of foreign cloth, promotion of khadar, and prohibition. They went to the villages of Shrijang and Tundra which were located in the vicinity of Inchudi and asked the village women to take part in the Salt Satyagraha.

On 18th April they moved to Balasore and addressed a meeting of one hundred women in the Balasore town and tried to impress upon them the importance of Women participation in the movement. They went to villages

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78 Prajatantra, 21 April 1930
79 Ibid.
80 The Samaj, 19 April 1930
81 H.K. Mahatab, Sadhana ra Pathe, P.139
82 Ibid.
83 Home Pol. Progs., F.No. 5/62/1932, Also, The Samaj, 20 April 1930
84 Nilamani Pradhan's, Report on Salt Movement
located in the vicinity of Inchudi and asked the village women to take part in the Salt Satyagraha.85

At their call, about two thousand rustic uneducated women came forward and violated the salt law by collecting salt earth at Inchudi on 20 April.86 At 6.30 A.M. on 19th April, Gopabandhu Chaudhury and Purna Ch. Bose who had been arrested and jailed for violation of section 144 were released from the Central Jail of Cuttack. At the gate the Congress workers greeted them with garlands of flowers.87 In the evening a meeting was held on the sand of Kathjodi to extend felicitation to them.88 Mrs. Ramoladevi, the Chairman of the meeting read a welcome address on behalf of the women and felicitated Choudhury and Bose with flowers and Sandal paste. In his reply to the welcome Choudhury told the audience:89

"On the last 5th April I and other Satyagrahi friends had taken a pledge not to return without winning victory, but that victory has not been won.90 I have returned from the midway. Hence I think you should not raise slogans of victory for me or extend ovation to me.91 Rather you should censure me for

85 H.K. Mahatab. Dasha Barsara Odisa, P.87
86 The Prajatantra, 22. April 1930
87 Ibid.
88 Utkal Dipika, 24. April 1930
89 Ibid.
90 The Samaj, 25 April 1930
91 The Prajatantra, 25 April 1930
my failure to fulfil the pledge. Now it is not the time for raising slogan of victory. It is the time for us all to appear in the battle field and sacrifice lives in the peaceful and non violent manner. 

Apart from those Satyagrahis of Cuttack some volunteers of other political association like Louha Stambha Bahini, Patita Paban Bahini and Swechha Sebi Bahini brought salt and sold it in Cuttack Congress office. Gradually it started to sell in other parts of Cuttack. The people purchased the salt with a sense of devotion, looking upon it as Mahatma Gandhi's Kaivalya Salt (Kaivalya means the only essential things by devouring which men became immortal). In the initial phase of salt satyagrah villagers of Cuttack and Balasore became deeply involved in the movement. Cuttack was the capital of Orissa and therefore it was the centre of all political activities. Most of the political leaders including Gopabandhu Choudhury, the Principal Commander of the Movement, resided in Cuttack.

From 23rd March to 22nd May 1930 there were as many as fifteen public meetings held in the Kathjodi river bed for giving send off to the Satyagrahis to Inchudi and Kujang and for educating the people about Civil
disobedience.\textsuperscript{97} The meetings were well attended. Even if to the tune of 10,000 people attended meeting was quite impressive in ratio to the population of Cuttack town.\textsuperscript{98} The meeting of 28\textsuperscript{th} April was held under the Chairmanship of Dukhishyam Mahanty consequent upon the arrest of Gopabandhu Choudhury, Hare Krushna Mahatab and Prana Krushna Padihary.\textsuperscript{99} Malati Choudhury appealed to the people to part with foreign cloth for bonfire, contraband salt was sold in that meeting. People started to purchase without any hesitation. At Cuttack the people purchased salt by paying much more than the actual price in order to encourage the Satyagrahis. In one public gathering,\textsuperscript{100} only half a seer of salt was sold for Seventy Eight rupees. It was clear manifestation of public enthusiasm and support for the national cause.\textsuperscript{101}

On 7\textsuperscript{th} May 1930 a mass public meeting was held in protest against Gandhi's arrest. On that day a hartal was observed in all parts of Cuttack town. As a mark of protest all schools and colleges were declared to be closed down, public motor transport stopped functioning, lawyers did not go to the court,\textsuperscript{102} a large procession was brought out in the town under the leadership of Malati Choudhury. In the evening a Mammoth rally was held on

\textsuperscript{97} The Samaj, 30 April 1930
\textsuperscript{98} The Samaj, 1 May 1930
\textsuperscript{99} H.K. Mahatab, Sadhana ra Pathe. P.102
\textsuperscript{100} The Samaj, 2 May 1930
\textsuperscript{101} Utkal Dipika. 30 April 1930
\textsuperscript{102} The Home Political Proceedings, F.No.14/62/1932
the bank of river Mahanadi under the chairmanship of Babu Birabar Samanta.\textsuperscript{103} In this meeting Krushna Chandra Pradhan, Mrs. Malati Choudhury arranged a bonfire of foreign cloths.\textsuperscript{104} After the arrest of Gandhiji on 6\textsuperscript{th} May, the working Committee of Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee decided to strengthen the Salt Satyagraha in all the district of the coastal region including Cuttack, Puri & Balasore. In many public meeting in Cuttack Jatya Kabi Bira Kishore Das opened the meeting with a patriotic song of which he himself was the author.\textsuperscript{105} One stanza may be quoted here “The enemy has not gone back, our struggle has not yet been over. Oh! My bother come more and more to our fray of struggle”. It’s Oriya version is (Ari Pheri nahin, yudha sari nahin, Asha he sibire, Asha more Bhai”). This became more popular among the masses. More and more youth, students and teachers were inspired and joined the movement of Gandhiji.\textsuperscript{106}

**Salt Satyagraha at Kujang**

After the arrest of Gandhiji, Narayan Birabar Samanta, an Ex-member of Legislative Council and a scion of the former ruling family of Kujang started the salt manufacture on the sea coast of Kujang\textsuperscript{107} and was arrested on 9\textsuperscript{th}

\textsuperscript{103} Sriharsa Mishra, OP. Cit., P.159  
\textsuperscript{104} Utkal Dipika. 1\textsuperscript{st} May 1930  
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{107} The Prajatantra, 1\textsuperscript{st} May 1930
May.\textsuperscript{108} But after sometime he was set free. He, along with Malati Choudhury, Dr. Brajanath Mishra and Ramadevi encouraged the people for Salt Satyagraha at Kujang.\textsuperscript{109} Youth volunteer organisation like Vanara Sena played a significant role in popularising the salt Satyagraha at Kujang.\textsuperscript{110} The leaders were assisted by Narayan Patra, Sarat Chandra Da, Natu Mahanty, Raghunath Satapathy and Maheswar Pradhan. Within a couple of days the whole area of Kujang now became a political nerve centre of Cuttack.\textsuperscript{111} With a hope to suppress the movement in Kujang, the Government arrested Narayan Birabar Samanta. Inspite of the arrest of Samanta the movement was not cooled down rather it became more vigorous.\textsuperscript{112} Several protest meetings were held in different part of Kujang. Malati Devi, Rama Devi, Babaji Bhimsen Das toured the entire area with indomitable spirit creating unbelievable enthusiasm among the workers and common men.\textsuperscript{113} This movement received a further momentum when Rani Bhagyabati of Kujang joined the Salt Campaign.\textsuperscript{114} Besides Kujang, Some other prominent centres of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{108} Home Political proceedings, F.N.18/11/February 1930 (NAI)
  \item \textsuperscript{109} Op. Cit., 22/11/Feb.1930
  \item \textsuperscript{110} The Samaj, 2/5/1930
  \item \textsuperscript{111} The Utkal Dipika, 4/5/1930
  \item \textsuperscript{112} H.K.Mahatab, Sadhana ra Pathe P.135
  \item \textsuperscript{113} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{114} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Salt Satyagraha Movement were Chatua Kaliapat, Paradip, Ersama, Kankarida, Kanika and Dardia.¹¹⁵

Niranjan Ghosh, Binod Kanungo, Bira Kishore Das, Surendra Patnaik, etc. moved from village to village of Kujang and recruited youth volunteers for the movement. Inspite of the all repressive measures adopted by the Government the salt campaign in Kujang area by and large was a success.¹¹⁶

Salt Satyagraha in Kanika

As it has already been mentioned, some portions of Kanika estate were in the district of Cuttack. In the past, soon after the conquest of Orissa by the British in 1803, salt was manufactured in Kanika too. It was the centre of salt policy of the Britisher. It was natural for the people of Kanika to show enthusiasm in establishing their traditional right of salt manufacture and trade. The people of Kanika too manufactured salt in village Kherang situated on the sea coast.¹¹⁷ Many youth of Kanika courted arrest by joining the Salt movement. Santha Charan Behera, a Veteran Satyagrahi of Kanika joined the Salt agitation and was arrested.¹¹⁸ Another Satyagrahi Bhagaban Dixit joined the Salt Satyagrah at Iram, where his right leg was severely injured by police

¹¹⁶ The Utkal Dipika., 5/5/1930
¹¹⁸ Chakradhar Smaranika, Souvenir 1st issue, 1986, P.37
lathi.119 Panchanan Rout of village Gopalpur in Kanika joined the Salt Satyagraha at Kujang and got arrested there.

A large public meeting hled at Pattamundai bazar addressed by Malati Devi and Rama Devi persuaded the public to come forward for supplying food and water to Satyagrahi. They also advised to start picketing infront of foreign cloth shops and try to promote khaddar and prohibition.120

Panchanan Rout assisted by Sarat Das & others were entrusted with the collection of Congress volunteers for the movement. Panchanan Rout a veteran satyagrahi, was greatly influenced by his teacher Sri Chintamani Das who was organising Congress movement in Kerara area of Kanika. The leading volunteers who rose to prominence in the area in the freedom struggle under his inspiration were Bharat Rout and Dhaneswar Rout.121

The Salt Satyagraha of 1930 in Kanika in the district of Cuttack was quite successful. It was different in many ways from the 1921 movement. The former was activity revolutionary, where as the later was launched in the spirit of passive resistance. While the former aimed at bringing the Govt. to a stand still, the later sought to paralyse the administration. The salt Satyagraha inspired lawyers and students in Kanika greatly. Many school students left

119 Purusottam Singh; Swadhinata Sangramare Banarsena, (Cuttack-1985). P.93
120 Utkal Dipika, 14.6.1930
their schools to join the movement. As in the case of Civil disobedience Movement, Government officials and policemen were officially boycotted in the Salt manufacturing centres. Besides, Sardar Patel's no tax campaign had exercised considerable influence on the Oriyas. Chakradhar Behera of Kanika was arrested on 29 June, 1930 for having taken the lead in the no tax campaign. The salt Satyagraha could not continue due to rainfall. But other programmes like picketing before excise shops, the boycott of foreign cloth, spread of Khadi continued. The formation of village panchayats were launched vigorously to keep up the spirit of the movement.

As one of the programme of Civil Disobedience Movement, the picketing before excise shops was eminently successful. School and college students simply hurled themselves headlong into this. They gave up their studies and joined the freedom struggle. The children of lower age groups who were organised for this movement were popularly known as “Banar Sena” or Monkey troops. They were successful in picketing before the excise shops. In Cuttack they were successful in bringing business almost to a standstill. A large number of students came from the villages and joined picketing parties in the town.

Such children of Kanika too played an active part in the movement. A number of them, especially those from Kerare, joined the movement.

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122 Ibid.
Panchanan Rout of Gopalpur belonging to the Banar Sena of Kanika was the first worker to picket before excise and liquor shops in Cuttack.\textsuperscript{125} He was canned fifteen times under the order of Waheda Saheb.\textsuperscript{126} He was arrested several times and put in Cuttack jail. Besides, Kinu Charan Rout, another Satyagrahi of Kanika picketed excise and liquor shops at Rajnagar and Kendrapara. While picketing in Cuttack, he was arrested and put in Cuttack jail and latter he was transferred to Patna Jail.\textsuperscript{127} Many others from Kanika joined the next phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement as well.

Other Forms of Civil Disobedience Movement

Thus, under the inspiring leadership of the congress, the people of Cuttack achieved a spectacular success in salt Satyagraha. With the advent of rainy season, the production of salt was naturally hampered and the congress workers pursued other programmes of the struggle with unabated zeal.\textsuperscript{128}

In the mean while, all prominent congress leaders of Cuttack and hundreds of volunteers were imprisoned. Gopabandhu Choudhury, H.K.

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{124} Purusottam Singh, Op. Cit, P.24
\item \textsuperscript{125} Ibid. P.30
\item \textsuperscript{126} Ibid. P.31
\item \textsuperscript{127} H.K.Mahatab, Sadhana ra Pathe, (Cuttack, 1972). P.81
\item \textsuperscript{128} K.M. Patra, Advance History of Orissa (Modern Period), (New Delhi, 1983). P.246
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Mahtab and Dr. Krushna Prasad Mahanty were arrested on 26 April 1930. It led to hartal on at Cuttack, Puri, Balasore on 28 April. The news of Gandhiji’s arrest on 5 May aggravated the situation further. It was followed by hartal mass meeting, picketing, demonstrations, boycott of examinations by students etc. The congress leaders like Nanda Kishore Das, Lingaraj Mishra, Jadumani Mangaraj, Raj Krishna Bose, Dr. Atal Behari Acharya, Krupasindhu Hota, Sarala Devi, Mahabir Singh etc. were soon confined to prison. Two influential papers The Samaj and The Prajatantra from Cuttack were forced to stop their publication in May 1930 for an indefinite period due to stringent press ordinance. A veritable reign of terror was let loose to suppress the mass movement. Besides Salt Satyagraha, other programmes of Civil Disobedience included picketing before excise shops, boycott of foreign cloth, spread of Khadi, non-payment of Chaukidari tax, formation of village panchayat, prohibition, cutting of date trees and demonstrations.

In June 1930, Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee decided to start picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops. In the Cuttack town the picketing of foreign cloth shops began on 20th June, 1930. Earlier a meeting of the Cuttack lawyers association was held under the Chairmanship of Janakinath.

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129 Ibid.
130 Ibid.
131 Op Cit – Sadhanar Pathe P.85
132 Ibid.
133 Utkal Dipika, 21 June 1930
134 Op cit. 10 May 1930
Bose, a famous lawyer of Cuttack and father of Subhas Chandra Bose, Lawyers of Cuttack in one voice resolved that they would not wear foreign cloth and if possible wear Khadar completely.\textsuperscript{135} By 23 June twelve satyagrahis who were found picketing the cloth shops in Cuttack town had been sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment.\textsuperscript{136}

On 11 July picketing of many schools and the Ravenshaw College was began in Cuttack town.\textsuperscript{137} By the first week of August picketing of excise (Liquor and opium) shops began in Cuttack. The police were posted before excise shops and picketers were taken into prison. Many young picketers were simply beaten and ultimately released.\textsuperscript{138}

Mrs. Malati Choudhury played a leading role in the boycott of foreign cloths. Under such pressure the cloth dealers in Cuttack town pledge not to import foreign cloths and they assured to sell only the cloths manufactured by Indian Mills.\textsuperscript{139}

Picketing of excise shops was carried on to promote temperance. In Cuttack town there was a movement for prohibition of smoking.\textsuperscript{140} For sometime cigarettes were not available in the shops of Cuttack. Many date

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{135} Ibid. 28 June 1930
\item \textsuperscript{136} Ibid.. 12 July 1930
\item \textsuperscript{137} Ibid. 9 August 1930
\item \textsuperscript{138} Ibid. Nilamani Pradhan’s report, AICC Files (NNNL)
\item \textsuperscript{139} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{140} Utkal Dipika . 21 June 1930
\end{itemize}
trees were cut in rural areas to stop the manufacturing of country liquor. According to government report the picketing of excise shops resulted in heavy loss of revenue. Hence government took drastic steps to suppress the picketing of liquor and opium shops in Cuttack town.

The Civil disobedience Movement affected the election to the Bihar and Orissa legislative Council both in respect of filling of nomination and casting of votes. In Cuttack district, for one rural constituencies there was no candidate and for other rural constituency there was only one candidate who was declared elected.

On 25 September 1930, election were held only one urban constituency in Cuttack. The Polling station was picketed by Lingaraj Mishra and Malati Choudhury. One hundred and seventeen volunteers were arrested and sent to jail. The picketing by and large was found to be peaceful and successful. While picketing was in progress in Urban areas, in a number of villages constructive work and propaganda were being carried on. Ashrams were opened in many villages. In some villages the people socially boycotted the government officers. Villages Panchayat began to settle the village disputes.

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141 Ibid. 28 June 1930
142 P. Kar Indian National Congress & Orissa. (Cuttack 1987). P. 174
143 H.K. Mahatab. History of freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol-III, P. 26
144 Op Cit Sadhanara Pathe P. 159
145 Op Cit Dasha Varsara Odissa, P. 91
Non payment of Chowkidari tax was another form of Civil Disobedience Movement in Orissa. After the suspension of salt manufacture with the advent of mansoon, Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee authorised the launching of Civil disobedience by the non payment of Chowkidari tax. The people of Orissa were greatly influenced by the message of Sardar Patel “Non tax caimpaign”. With the beginning of Salt Satyagraha there was a good deal of talk about a campaign to withhold Chowkidari tax in Orissa but no area was selected for the experiment. But ultimately it was decided to make Non payment of Chowkidari tax more vigorous. Mainly in Cuttack and Balasore area, the arbitration courts had to be revived and some news one had to be created. Some arbitration Panchayats however, had been established in Cuttack and Balasore district. These Panchayat settled the disputes in villages.

Picketing by Women and Vanar Sena

WOMEN

Women and children in Orissa took active part in picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops in the beginning of June 1930. Participation of woemen, urban as well as rural, in the Civil Disobedience Movement was a spectacular

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146 Utkal Dipika. 28. June 1930
147 Ibid. 29. June 1930
148 Home Political Proceedings. 18/06/1930 (NAI)
149 Utkal Dipika, 1. July, 1930
feature of movement. A considerable number of women were ready to join the Civil Disobedience Movement. Rama Devi, wife of Gopabandhu Chaudhuy, Saral Devi, Malati Devi, Rani Bhagyabati, Patmahadei were the most prominent ladies to join the Civil Disobedience Movement. They started to manufacture salt on the sea shore which created a general awakening among the women. Discarding their purdah, they welcomed the Satyagrahis when they passed through their village. Seventeen women of well-to-do families of Cuttack enrolled themselves as volunteers to start picketing the foreign cloth shops. Miss Shabilabala Das had organised a Women's Conference in Ravenshaw Girls School with a view to establish a branch of All India Women's Conference in Orissa. Women leader Malati Choudhury started their work of agricultural farming and rural reconstruction in the village Anikhia, five miles away from Jagat Singhpur. Ramadevi proposed that women worker would work out Khadar Programme. Initially Rama Devi and Malati Devi played their part in the Civil Disobedience Movement by giving hearty felicitation to the Satyagrahis in Kathjudi river bed. The meeting held in the Kathjodi river bed to bid farewell to the fourth batch of Satyagrahis was attended by most prominent women leaders like Ramadevi, Malatidevi, Prafulla Devi, Laxmi Devi, and Mrs. Sarojini Choudhury. In this meeting, in

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150 Ibid. 30. June, 1930
151 Nilamani Pradhan's report AICC files (NNNL)
152 Deshakatha, 30 June 1930.
153 The Samaj. 1st July
response to Malatidevi's appeal, two hundred foreign cloths were surrendered by the people for the sake of bonfire.\textsuperscript{154}

The awakening is an index of freedom. We have committed injustice and sin by always keeping women in an acute state of bondage for which we have to expiate in this Satyagraha.\textsuperscript{155}

On 22 April, 1930 a meeting of women was held in the residence of Gopabandhu Choudhury at Cuttack to chalk out the plan for participation of women in Civil disobedience movement. About this meeting “The Deshakatha” observed : “The significance of this meeting lies in the fact that it marks the beginning of organised participation of women workers in the nationalist movement.\textsuperscript{156}

During the middle of May 1930, Ramadevi, Malati Choudhury and Prafulla Kumari Hota were busy in mobilizing men and women for the salt campaign in Kujang.\textsuperscript{157} At the request of Rama Devi, the Rani of Kujang Bhagyabati Pata Mahadei who readily came forward to lead the local women in Salt Satyagrah. Hundred of house wives came out with baskets and took part in the salt campaign at Kaliapat in the district of Cuttack.\textsuperscript{158}

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{157} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{158} Gauri Shankar, Parikrama, (Cuttack, 1989), P. 81
The break of monsoon in 1930 resulted in the suspension of Salt campaign. Many prominent congress leaders were in jail. Despite the arrest of the leaders two house-wives of Choudhury family – Rama Devi and Malati Devi tried to keep up the organizational work of the congress. Ramadevi toured from village to village for enrolling members in the party and raise subscription.\(^{159}\) Even many young ladies fearlessly toured Balikuda, Jajpur, Kendrapara, and Jagat Singhpur and held meetings of women to educated them about their role in Civil Disobedience movement. After the arrest of Atal Bihari Acharya in August, 1930, Rama Devi became the president of Cuttack district Congress Committee.\(^{160}\)

Malatidevi was active in the boycott movement. At her persuasion cloth merchants of Cuttack stopped selling foreign cloth. In June 1930, Malati Devi was elected the Secretary of Cuttack District Congress Committee.\(^{161}\)

During their propaganda tour in the village Balikuda, Jajpur, Kendrapara, Ramadevi and Malati Devi found spontaneous response from the village women. They reported "the meeting of the women in the villages could be organised with very little effort. I felt over whelmed with the affection and ovation accorded to me by women in some villages. In one place I asked for

\(^{159}\) Ibid.

\(^{160}\) H.K. Mahatab, History of freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol-III, P.108

\(^{161}\) P.K. Mishra The political History of Orissa (1900-1936), P.56
water, they offered me milk, the love and care they gave me was a thousand time more than, what I deserved.\footnote{Satya Samachar. 6. August, 1930}

The women who came out of their houses in the face of opposition from family members identified the women’s urge for emancipation and self respect with the country’s struggle for freedom. Ramadevi and her daughter Annapurna Maharana have recorded the extraordinary courage shown by village widow named Sushilla, belonging to Rampur village of Binjharpur thana of Cuttack district.\footnote{-Ibid.- 13 August, 1930}

The Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 prepared the ground for large scale involvement of women in the organisational work of the congress as well as Civil Disobedience Movement of 1932. A total of fourteen women delegates attended the Karachi Congress of March 1931, held after the withdrawal of Civil Disobedience Movement. Many women came forward to act as volunteers in the annual session of the Congress proposed to be held in Puri. In 1931 women from the remote villages like Bari, Kalyanpur, Purushottampur and Ahiyas in the Jajpur Sub – division joined the movement. They also went to jail by participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1932.\footnote{P.K. Mishra, Op. Cit. P.58}
VANAR SENA (Monkey Brigade)

The picketing before the excise shops as a mark of the other programme of Civil Disobedience Movement was quite successful. In this connection activities of school and college students attracted the attention of the people. A Large number of school and college students gave up their studies and joined the freedom struggle. Initially, because of Gandhi's instruction and the decision of Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee, young boys below the age sixteen were not allowed to enroll as a volunteers. But later on due to shortage of adult volunteers, those teenagers were allowed to be the volunteer of the congress. They were also called "Banar Sena" (Monkey brigade).  

They were quite successful in picketing before the excise shops. In Cuttack they brought the business almost to a stand still. The police first tried to disperse such boys and when they failed in their attempts, they were punished usually by whipping ten to fifteen times. But those young boys braved such physical torture and were ever ready to resume picketing. Naturally they draw the public attention by their heroic conduct. A Large number of students also came from villages and joined the picketing party in Cuttack town. In Cuttack district fifty seven children were punished by whipping in the first phase of Civil Disobedience Movement. Those who

165 R. Choudhory. Jiban Pathe (Cuttack 1984) PP 95-97
167 The Samaj. 20/ August, 1930
were above sixteen years of age were sent to jail as “C” class prisoners and had to suffer a lot in the jail.\textsuperscript{168}

Nilamani Pradhan has given the following description of the courage and fortitude of the youthful volunteers.\textsuperscript{169}

“The young boys came as if they had been directed by some great and unseen power. They did wonderful work in Utkal as in other province. Their Satyagraha and sufferings enlisted public sympathy as nothing did. They were absolutely fearless and their fearlessness was contagious. Many boys got canning four to five times”.\textsuperscript{170} Annapurna Maharana, the daughter of Gopabandhu Choudhury who was herself a young volunteer during the Civil Disobedience Movement has given the following accounts of the suffering of the teenagers Satyagrahis:

“While picketing liquor shops the monkey brigade displayed unique courage and capacity to bear suffering, no tribulation, fear of being attacked by tigers in Barang forest, caning by the order of Azad Saheb and intense and unbearable heat of the tin roof in Patna Camp jail could daunt them. Their courage and suffering have been recorded in the annals of History and will always be a source of inspiration for the patriots.\textsuperscript{171}

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\textsuperscript{168} Ibid. 22 August, 1930  \\
\textsuperscript{169} Satya Samachar, 10 August, 1930  \\
\textsuperscript{170} Satya Samachar, 25 August 1930  \\
\textsuperscript{171} The Samaj. 2 September 1930
\end{flushright}
The Policy of Repression of the Movement

Though the Civil Disobedience Movement was non-violent in character throughout, Government resorted to various violent methods to suppress the movement. The method of suppression were breaking the earthen pots used for boiling brine, physical assault on the Satyagrahis, arrest and imprisonment of Satyagrahis, raids on the congress offices, prohibition of meeting, suppression of the nationalist press, and anti congress propaganda.¹⁷²

After the arrest of Acharya Harihar at Inchudi, the police prevented other Satyagrahis for manufacturing salt at Inchudi. The police seized the arms of the volunteer from behind and prevented them from collecting salt earth. The first torture on Satyagrahis by police began from 15 April when Niranjan Mohanty, coming from Inchudi to Balasore, was severely beaten and earthen pot used for manufacturing contraband salt was broken. At Iram, on 21 May 1930, 2500 men including 700 women broke the salt law. Police allowed the men Satyagrahis to go but women were lathi charged, their ornaments snatched and many of them were molested.¹⁷³

In Kujang area of Cuttack district the Sub – Divisional Magistrate Shabbily treated the Satyagrahis by uttering abusive language and breaking their earthen pots, used for boiling brine, cooking rice and storing drinking

¹⁷² Home political proceedings, File No. 18/VIII/1930, (NAI)
water. The earthen pots used for manufacturing salt were thrown away by the police. Prana Krushna Padihary has given the following description of the oppression in Kujang:

"The Salt Satyagraha in Kujang area saw its horrible aspects both due to police atrocities and Zamidari oppression. The Cuttack sadar Sub-divisional Magistrate Rai Bahadur Madhab Chandra Mishra perpetrated such indecent behaviour on innocent young Satyagrahis even before there was any breach of law that the incidents themselves were sufficient to arouse the local people in revolt. Once Satyagrahis' cooking pots were repeatedly broken, drinking water was repeatedly thrown away, all eatables were looted, innocent Satyagrahi took shelter in the Jungle under the shed of a cowherd.  

Arrest and Imprisonment of the Congress Satyagrahis were made from the very beginning. First arrest by the police took place on 23rd March, 1930 when Gopabandhu Choudhury and Purna Chandra Bose were addressing a rally in the river bed of Kathjuri violating of section 144. they were immediately arrested and sentenced to one week imprisonment. Raj Krushna Bose was arrested on 17th April and was sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment under section 117 of India penal code and section 9 of salt laws.  

173 Utkal Dipika, 26, July 1930
175 Utkal Dipika, 19 April, 1930
176 Utkal Dipika, 17 May 1930
On 4th May Purna Chandra Bose was arrested at Cuttack and he was sentenced to two years imprisonment on the charge of violating prohibitory order.\(^{177}\)

Another Satyagrahi, Bipin Sahu, the Municipal Commissioner of Cuttack was arrested on 13\(^{th}\) May for criticising the government and police oppression and calling upon the people to Join the Civil Disobedience Movement. He was sentenced to fifteen months imprisonment under section 9 of salt laws.\(^{178}\) On 7\(^{th}\) November 1930, Ramadevi, Prana Krushna Padhiary and Nityananda Kanungo were arrested at Cuttack.\(^{179}\) Nityananda Kanungo was released on Bail. Ramadevi was sentenced to four month rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 200/-. Some other Satyagrahis such as Nabakrushna Choudhury, Nilakantha Das, Mukunda Das, Charuachandra Roy were arrested on the change of violating prohibitory order and sentenced to short term imprisonment.\(^{180}\)

Because of the arrest and imprisonment the jails became overcrowded with political prisoners. On 28\(^{th}\) July 1930, 43 non political prisoners were released from the Cuttack jail to make room for the political prisoners.\(^{181}\)

According to Nilamani Pradhan reports, by September 1931 total 1709

\(^{177}\) The Samaj., 14. May 1930  
\(^{178}\) Op Cit 15 May 1930  
\(^{179}\) P. Kar. Op Cit. P 186  
\(^{180}\) Op Cit. Sadhanara Pathe P 160
political prisoners were arrested from Cuttack and when the jails became overcrowded with political prisoners many of them were sent to Patna, Hazaribag, Bhagalpur and Gaya jails.  

The treatment of the Satyagrahis inside the jail was a continuation of the policy of repression. Most of the political prisoners were treated as ordinary "C" Class prisoners. The treatment meted out to them was hardly different from the treatment of common criminals like thieves and decoits. A few Satyagrahis including prominent Congressmen were treated as A and B class Prisoners. They were kept in Hazaribag Jail. There were very often conflicts between the jail authorities and political prisoners. The prisoners had to agitate for the improvement of the quality of their food, right to morning and evening prayers, to procure Bhagabat Gita and to have gathering inside the premises of Jail to discuss the various problems. It was reported that in the Cuttack jail, the jail authorities ordered the political prisoner to attend the convicts parade and offer salutation to the Government. As they refused to do so, some of them were beaten severely and some were handcuffed. Some respectable Satyagrahis like Jadumani Mangaraj, Gunanidhi Mohanty,

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181 Dandapani Behera, Civil Disobedience Movement in Ganjam (Cuttack). P.42
182 Ibid.
183 Ibid.
184 Bihar and Orissa (in 1930 – 31), (Patna 1933), P.2
185 Nilamani Pradhan’s, Report AICC Files
Mathura Mohan Berha and Murari Tripathy were being treated in jail like ordinary prisoners.¹⁸⁶

RAIDS ON CONGRESS OFFICES AND SUPPRESSION OF THE PRESS

Raid, search and seizure of the congress offices was adopted as measures of repression. On 6 July 1930 the police raided and searched twelve places of the Cuttack town including Swaraj Ashram, Samaj Press, Alaka Ashram, infamous Congress office at Jagatsinghpur, Houses of Dr. Atal Bihar Acharya and Dharamnanda Baba to seize all papers and documents relating to salt Satyagraha. Even the police did not spare newspapers from those centres. All the Ashrams in Cuttack district were declared illegal and were locked by the police. Its inmates were arrested and convicted.¹⁸⁷-

The Samaj and Prajantra offices at Cuttack were declared illegal and repressive measures imposed on them so that publication of newspapers for the time being was stopped. Heavy security deposits were demanded from both these papers.¹⁸⁸ At the same time Utkal Sevak also stopped its publication because of the demand for a security. To prevent the publication of objectionable literature, the keepers of Satyabadi and Lokaseva press establishment in Cuttack were asked to pay securities.¹⁸⁹ Instead of paying

¹⁸⁶ Home political proceeding, F.No; 5/62/1932
¹⁸⁷ S.N. Patnaik Odisare Swadhinata Andolana, P-63
¹⁸⁸ Ibid.
¹⁸⁹ Young India, 2 March 1930
securities they closed the press. On 14th May the Samaj office at Cuttack was searched by the police for tracing out manuscript called Vidrohi Vina. A number of persons were arrested and convicted under the press ordinance. In the absence of Samaj and Prajatantra, the Satyagrahis brought out unauthorised cyclostyled news sheets and bulletins in Cuttack. In Cuttack town a daily news sheet, titled "Sambad" was being brought out. The Sambad was publishing accounts of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Hence it became a special target of attack by the government.

Thus the first phase of Civil Disobedience Movement marked an unprecedented success in Cuttack. The British authorities resorted to some repressive measures to suppress the movement but it least affected the flow of the freedom Movement. Cuttack participated in the social programmes heralded by Mahatma Gandhi. The spectacular success of the Civil Disobedience Movement was highly appreciated by Mahatma Gandhi and the congress president Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. Gandhi requested the people of Orissa to make a great sacrifice for the cause of the movement. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sent a message to the people of Orissa on 17th February 1931 as follows:

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190 H.K. Mahatab, Dasha Barsara Odissa, P. 88
191 Utkal Prasanga, August 1972, P-46
192 S.N. Patnaik. Op. Cit, P- 74
193 Home political proceeding, F.No. 5/62/1932
"My greetings to the people of Utkal. I have heard of their sacrifice and suffering in the national struggle for freedom. I congratulate them and trust they will carry on the good fight till our motherland is free.

**GANDHI – IRWIN PACT**

The British Government felt the gravity of the situation and Lord Irwin seemed to have realised that force of Military strength could not lower down the patriotic impulse of the India people. Therefore, viceroy made efforts for a rapprochement between the British and the congress. To enlist the support and good will of the congress all the members of Congress Working Committee including Gandhiji were released soon to consider the matter "freely and fearlessly", Sapru, Jayka and V.S. Sastri persuaded Gandhiji to meet viceroy and discuss the possibilities of a rapprochement with the government. The discussion between Gandhi and Irwin lasted for fifteen days and resulted on 5/March 1931 in an agreement known as Gandhi – Irwin Pact.

According to Gandhi – Irwin pact, all political prisoners in the country were released. Most of the congress leaders and volunteers from Orissa were released from Hazaribagh jail. Led by Gopabandhu Choudhury they

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195 Rama Devi Jivan Pathe (Oriya) PP.46 – 47.
196 K.M. Patra, Orissa Legislative and freedom Struggle, (New Delhi 1985)
197 Ibid.
198 Rama Devi, Op. Cit P.52
reached Balasore and were accorded hero's welcome in the town. They reached Cuttack on 15 March. A large number of people received them at the station and a huge procession took them to Swaraj Ashram. A big public meeting was held at Kathjuri in the evening of 15th March 1931 to felicitate the congress leaders who were released from jail after signing of the pact. Gopabandhu Choudhury appealed to the people to double their efforts for the attainment of Swarajya.\textsuperscript{199}

After the Gandhi Irwin Pact, the Congress Session was held at Karachi in March 1931 under the Presidentship of Sardar Ballavbhai Patel. Many congress workers from Orissa attended the session. Shortly before that a new provincial committee was elected in Orissa in which a contest was avoided by electing Acharya Harihar Das as the President. Gopabandhu Choudhury and Nila Kantha Das were elected as the Joint Secretaries.\textsuperscript{200} It was also decided to invite the Congress to hold its next general session in Orissa. For the first time Gopabandhu Choudhury was taken in the Congress Working Committee as an additional member. The invitation from Orissa was accepted.\textsuperscript{201}

Even after the signing of the Gandhi – Irwin Pact, the Congress

\textsuperscript{199} S. Ghosh, Orissa in Turmoul, PP.18 – 19.
\textsuperscript{200} The Prajatantra, 19 April 1931.
\textsuperscript{201} The Samaj, 4 March 1931.
Workers continued peaceful agitation by picketing before foreign cloth and excise shops. At the same time they carried on the propaganda that they had become victorious in the struggle. The government therefore, decided to start serious counter propaganda against the congress. The bureaucratic Machinery was fully utilized for the purpose. In an confidential note in April 1931 to all district Magistrate, the Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bihar and Orissa, M.G. Hallet clearly outlined the views of the British authorities. He observed that it would be "wilful blindness" to assume that the Civil Disobedience Movement would not be revived. The congress leaders believed it to be a truce during which the party would perfect its organisation. The resolution passed at the Karachi session of the congress further alarmed the government. Some socialist resolutions adopted in the session promised much relief from rent and unnecessary taxation to the peasants. The government wanted to counteract such moves through the Aman Sabha established earlier as the nucleus of the anti-congress propaganda. Hallet specially directed the district authorities to select such deputy magistrate who were known for their persuasiveness and propaganda work. They should be deputed to tour widely in the district to explain the views of the government.

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202 Asha, 7 April 1931.
204 Utkal Prasanga, August 1986 R.N. Dash – (The Second Phase of Civil)
205 Deshkatha – 26 January 1931.
207 The Utkal Dipika, 30 January 1931.
and the dangers of congress activities to smaller landlords and wealthy tenants. In fact the government servants were no longer allowed to maintain an attitude of aloofness from political issues. When the very basis of the existing administration was challenged, the officers were required to take lead in combating the forces of disorder. Thus began the regular counter propaganda in the province.

The government officials toured different areas and tried to convince the people by their arguments. They were required to mix with the people freely in order to make them feel that they were their real sympathisers. The job became easier when they established "People Welfare Association" in every part of the province. The Government officials, Zamidar, and other wealthy tenants were member of those association. They helped the government to carry on effective propaganda against the congress activities. In fact after the resumption of Civil Disobedience Movement once again 1932, those association worked like break water to the storm.

Another important move of the government to mould public opinion was the publication of a weekly journal "Satya Samachar" in 1930. It was edited by some well known public figures such as Braja Sundar Das, Gopal Ch.

\[\text{References:}\]

208 Op. Cit. Dasavarsara Odissa, P.81
209 The Samaj, 21 June 1931.
210 Home Political proceedings, F.No. 18/1, January 1932.
211 Rama Devi, Jivan Pathe, P.101.
212 J. Patnaik, Freedom Movement in Orissa (Oriya) (Cuttack, 2000), P. 238.
Praharaj and Biswanath Kar. The journal was mostly distributed free of cost. It gave publicity to the views of the government and focussed the attention on the news of the Peoples Welfare Association. Besides Satya Samachar, many pamphlets were also published and distributed freely to the officials and people alike. Thus government adopted various measures to check the popularity of the congress and counteract its revolutionary propaganda in the province.\textsuperscript{213}

Despite such heavy anti-congress propaganda, the mood of the general public and the congress workers was clearly up beat over the meagre concession gained following Gandhi – Irwin Pact. After his release, Gopabandhu addressed a number of meetings in the rural areas of Cuttack where he and other leaders explained to the people the aim of congress and exhorted them to be ready for the next Civil Disobedience Movement and carry on the programme of social reforms.\textsuperscript{214}

\textbf{Civil Disobedience Movement Second Phase}

With the resumption of the Civil Disobedience, the Congress leaders and most of the volunteers who were being trained for the proposed congress at Puri were arrested and jailed. In the mean time Mahatma Gandhi had just

\textsuperscript{213} Ibid.
returned from London after attending the Round Table Conference. Lord Willingdon, the Governor General who succeeded to Lord Irwin was not ready to meet Gandhi for discussing the political problems. Such attitude of the British authorities forced India to resume the Civil Disobedience Movement.

The Cuttack town took the lead in the resumed Civil Disobedience as it had in the earlier phase. A number of meetings were held in the Kathjudi river bed soon after the resumption of Civil Disobedience. On 4th January 1932 a big public meeting was held at Cuttack. A large number of people attended the meeting. The district Magistrate of Cuttack himself was present on the spot. Deputy Magistrate, Loknath Patnaik declared the meeting illegal.

On the evening of 7th January 1932 in a meeting held in the river bed, Acharya Harihar Das, the U.P.C.C. President and twenty three Congress workers were arrested on the change of violating the prohibitory order.

On 9th January, Harekrishna Mahatab was arrested from Cuttack Swaraj Ashram. He was sent to Balasore jail. The next day morning

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216 Ibid.
217 A. Das "Remembering the Past" Birth Anniversary Journal (Cuttack 1983), PP.41 – 42.
218 Desha Katha, 15 September 1931
Gopabandhu Choudhury was arrested from Cuttack. Next day, Cuttack town observed hartal protesting against the arrest of political leaders and a meeting, was held at Ganesh Ghat near Kathjodi. This meeting was declared illegal by the District Magistrate of Cuttack and Eighteen persons were arrested from the spot. Within seven days total 118 Satyagrahis were arrested from Swaraj Ashram, Cuttack.

The Govt. adopted quicker measures in 1932 for suppressing the congress movement than in 1930. All meetings were banned and political leaders were thrown behind the bars. Picketing had been declared illegal soon after the resumption of the movement. Picketers were arrested and were sentenced to such penalties as imprisonment, fines and earning. As the Congress organisation had been declared illegal by unlawful Association ordinance in January 1932. The Cuttack Swaraj Ashram and Alaka Ashram were seized by the Government. In mid June 1932 efforts were made to hold meeting of Orissa provincial conference in the Cuttack Municipal field. But authority declared this meeting illegal and about 101 person including the President and Secretary were arrested.

\[220\] Ibid.
\[221\] The Samaj, 16 July 1931.
\[222\] K.M. Patra & Bandita Devi "An Advance History of Orissa" (Modern Period) (New Delhi 1983), PP.200 – 201
\[223\] Ibid.
Restrictions were imposed on the two nationalist papers Samaj and Prajatantra as a result of which the publication of these two papers were stopped. Lingaraj Mishra, the editor of Samaj was sentenced to 18 month rigorous imprisonment.225

After the postponement of publication of Samaj and Prajatantra, a daily paper with the title "Swaraj" was brought out from Lok Sewak press.226 Apart from that three unauthorized news sheets titled Bidrohi, Ranabheri and Biplabi were being circulated. The unauthorised congress paper propagated the congress programme and condemned the government policy of repression.

The most horrible aspect of official repression was the physical brutalities on the agitators. Draging the political leaders to police station227 like an animal, caning youth volunteers etc. were some brutal measures of the government against Satyagrahi.

**Participation of Women**

The participation of women in second phase of Civil Disobedience Movement was much higher compared to 1930. Many of the women workers came from the villages.228 In Cuttack town women volunteers were engaged in distributing leaflets and bulletins. The most prominent leaders were

225 The Samaj, 2 September 1931.
226 Op. Cit, Sadhanara Pathe P.93
227 Home Pol. proceedings F. No. 5/62/1932
arrested in this connection were Rama Devi, Janhavidevi (wife of Mukunda Prasad Das) and Kiranbala Sen. All were arrested from Choudhury Bazar of Cuttack on 24 January 1932. On 4th February 1932, Subhadra Devi, Wife of H.K. Mahatab, and two other Sunamani Devi and Shobhadevi were arrested while addressing a meeting infront of Lion's Gate of the Jagannath temple at Puri. The other prominent ladies who took part in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1932 were Sarala Devi, Malati Devi, Haramani Devi, Mangala Devi, Durgamani Devi, Sushila Devi, Ashalata Devi, Sumati Devi and Gouri Devi etc.

**Court Raids**

Planning for court raid by H.K. Mahtab in early of July 1932 was another form of protestation. H.K. Mahatab in his autobiography has observed that to help the Congressman, overcome Cowardice and inertia, he devised the violent act of court raiding. The volunteers would go to the courts, tell the magistrate that they had no legitimate power to sit in the judgement, and destroy the court records. About court raid in Cuttack town the following description has been given by R.L. Gupta in Bihar and Orissa in 1932 – 1933.

228 P.K. Mishra, Op. Cit P.343
229 Satya Samachar, 20 January 1932
230 Rama Devi, op cit P 89-91
231 Utkal Dipika.
"The return of the local dictator from jail led to mild revival of activity in Orissa. A war council was formed. On 10 July they addressed an ultimatum to the District Magistrate of Cuttack informing him that they had decided to take offensive in the war and bring the fight to a glorious victory for the nation. Next day a few volunteers raided the district Kutchery before the court had opened. They sat on chair in an empty court room, shouting the usual slogan and tore a few forms before they could be arrested. A week later another raiding party rushed into the courts of the District Magistrate and asked him to make over the change of administration to them."\(^{232}\)

A young Satyagrahi, named Sudhir Ghosh, played an important role in the court raid at Cuttack. There were similar raids by Congress volunteers on the court of Sub – Divisional Magistrate of Jajpur in Cuttack district.\(^{233}\)

**The violent picketing and the forcible occupation of Ashrams**

Peaceful picketing turned to violent picketing in many places of Cuttack town. When volunteers tried to destroy the British Goods. The District Magistrate of Cuttack termed it “Mischievous practice”. The new form of picketing was propagated in news sheet “Rana Bhere”.\(^{234}\) In November 1932 volunteers in Buxi Bazar of Cuttack town entered into a cloth shop, the owner

\(^{233}\) Ibid.  
\(^{234}\) Letter from Collector of Balasore to Commissioner, dt. 2 Oct 1932 WWCC 56 (OSA)
of which did not obey the Congress direction to stop the sale of foreign cloth. The shopkeeper had already brought policemen. As volunteers tried to enter the shop the policemen resisted them and beat them severely. In spite of obstruction by the police, some volunteers destroyed a bundle of cloth by throwing acid.

The government tried to take drastic steps to imposed restriction on the activities of Ashram. The Ashram was forcibly seized by the police under the unlawful Association ordinance. On 23 July 1932, about six congressmen in Swaraj Ashram at Cuttack were beaten by the police and fell unconscious. Next day, again 2000 people in ashram were beaten severely and driven out from Ashram. The Satyagrahi gave slogan "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jay", "Inquilab Jindabad". The police could not venture to beat Satyagrahi furthermore. But policemen continued to enter the ashram and arrest the Satyagrahis. A huge meeting was held in Cuttack town hall to protest against the police assaults. The meeting demanded the appointment of a committee of inquiry. In the Bihar or Orissa Legislative Council, Godavarish Mishra also raised this issue. But it proved in vain.

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235 Letter from the Collector of Balasore to Commissioner, dated 22 November 1932, WWCC 56 (OSA)
236 H.K. Mahatab Sadhanan Pathe, PP.151 - 152.
237 R.L. Gupta – Bihar and Orissa in 1932 – 33 Patna 1934, P.8
238 H.K. Mahatab Desa Basara Odissa, P - 92
239 The Prajataatra 12 February 1932.
Inspite of all such attempts by the government, the movement lingered on and did not completely stop until it was called off by the congress in 1934.\textsuperscript{240}

During this time, under the auspices of the friends of India League of London, V.K. Krishna Menon, Miss Wilkinson and a British member of Parliament, Mrs. Whitley, were touring different parts of the country on a fact finding mission. At Cuttack the underground congress leaders like Naba Krushna Choudhury, H.K. Mahatab, Mukundas Prasad Das and Surendra Nath Patnaik met them secretly and took them around to show them the living examples of British brutality.\textsuperscript{241}

The national attention was somewhat diverted at this time with Gandhiji’s decision to began a fast unto death on 20\textsuperscript{th} September as a protest against Ramsay MacDonald’s declaration of communal award, based on the theory that – India was not a nation but a congregation of racial, religious and cultural groups, castes and interest.\textsuperscript{242} The communal award, as Gandhi opined, was an injection of the poison of separate electorate calculated to disrupt the Hindu community, without affording any advantage to the depressed class.\textsuperscript{243}

\textsuperscript{240} K.N. Patra, Op Cit. P.203
\textsuperscript{241} S.N. Patnaik, Op Cit. P.63
\textsuperscript{242} Tarachand, History of Freedom Movement in India, Vol. IV (Delhi 1972), P-181.
\textsuperscript{243} Ibid. PP 183 – 184
HARIJAN MOVEMENT (1932 – 1934)

The all India Harijan Sevak Sangha was opened under the presidency of Amritlal Thakkar. A branch was opened in Orissa where Balukeswar Acharya became its president and Rama Devi, Laxminagar Sahu and Satyanarayan Sen Gupta became the secretaries.²⁴⁴

Gandhi did not want to see the political division of India. He had began fasting for Hindu – Muslim Unity. Quarrel between Hindu and Mulsim was politically disastrous, Hindu – Harijan division was politically disastrous and religious suicidal. The Indian leaders made a bid to save the life of the Mahatma. They worked hard to evolve the Poona pact.²⁴⁵ Gandhiji broke his fasting. Throughout India many temples were thrown open to the untouchables. 8th January 1933 was observed as “Temple Entry Day”,²⁴⁶ Hindu and Harijans began to fraternise in the town. While Gandhiji was on fasting, it had marked repercussions in Orissa. At Cuttack people of all walks of life allowed Harijan to enter the temple and use the wells.²⁴⁷ Two mass meeting under the auspices of All India Harijan Sevak Sangha in Cuttack town hall on two successive evening were held on 20 September 1932. People prayed for the life of Gandhi. On 20 September some devoted and sincere

²⁴⁵ B. Mahanty Patna Camp Jail & Mahtababa” (Cuttack 1979), PP 26-30
²⁴⁶ Tara Chand, Op Cit., P.184.
²⁴⁷ Utkal Dipika, 24th September 1932.
person observed fast after a holy dip in the morning in the river Mahanadi. During the Mahatmas fast several Oriyas fasted for 24 hours everyday at Cuttack. Their fasting was preceded by and associated with a Samkirtan party everyday. The arrival of A.V. Thakkar, Secretary, All Indian Harijan Sevak Sangha at Cuttack in the middle of November accelerated the Harijan Movement in Orissa. On 20th November 1932, a meeting was organised under the presidency of Gopabandhu Choudhury. Thakkur addressed it and emphasised the spread of education among Harijan. For this he promised a special aid from the fund of All India harijan Sevak Sangha for Orissa. After his departure from Orissa there was wide spread enthusiasm among the Oriya leaders. In Cuttack attempts were made by Gopabandhu Choudhury, Satyanarayan Sengupta, Rathanath Ratha, Rajkrushna Bose and Atal Bihari Acharya to allow untouchables to enter into the temples of Cuttack. On 8th January 1933 in a meting of the Lions gate of the temple of Jagannath at Puri, Nilakantha Das, Loknath Mishra and Raghunath Mishra etc advocated that the doors of the temple of Jagannath should be opened for untouchables.

At Cuttack, Smt Rama Devi started to take regular classes of some Harijan girls mostly from the scavenger families in the town under the

248 Ibid.
249 Home Political proceedings F. No. 18/ September / 1932.
250 The Harijan, 15th July 1933
251 H.K. Mahatab Gandhi, Orissa P.96
auspicious of anti-untouchability board. Seven other sisters named Mangala Sengupta, Godavari Das, Sobha Panda, Anna Purna Choudhury, Tulasi Mohanty, Manik Devi, and Sushila Devi worked with her for the promotion of social well being of the Harijan. They taught reading, writing, devotional songs to the untouchable girls in Rajabagicha, Mathasahi, Jhanjhirmanjala and Kafla Bazar of Cuttack town.252

Admiring the Harijan welfare work in Orissa under Rama Devi and her associates,

Gandhi wrote

"I congratulate these sisters of Cuttack on their devotion to the cause of the much desired reform".253

Making an appeal to Harijan workers in India particularly women workers he wrote:

"In this struggle for religious reform, therefore, the women of India may be expected to take a leading part. I hope, therefore, that the example of the women of Cuttack will prove infectious and that the work begun by Smt. Rama Devi and her companions will be continued inspite of difficulties and disappointments that they might have to face".254

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252 The Harijan, 24th September 1933
253 The Samaj, 15th December 1933
254 Ibid.
GANDHIJI'S VISIT TO CUTTACK

It was in 1934, that Gandhiji came to Orissa for the fourth time. This time he came through Jharsuguda and reached Cuttack on 16th May 1934. On the occasion of his visit in the evening, a meeting was arranged in the bank of river Kathjodi. A sensational event was known to have taken place before the commencement of the meeting. Some Sanatan Pandits with some of their followers showed Black Flag to Gandhiji because he was championing the cause of Harijan Movement. But a man with Himalayan patience as he was, Gandhiji stood least worried by the same. Rather he told them to speak out first in the meeting. So they were taken to the Pandal. After their speeches Gandhiji explained the importance of the Harijan Movement with such convincing argument that the attitude of the pandits was completely changed.

The meeting was attended by ten to twelve thousand people. He advised the people to give up caste prejudices, abolish purdah, give up intoxicant, use khadi and open temples, well and schools for Harijan. He left Orissa on 16th May 1934 in order to attend a meeting of A.I.C.C. at Patna. He assured the people to resume his foot march from the last week of May.

255 the Samaj 2nd January, 1934
256 The Harijan 14th January, 1934
PADAYATRA OF GANDHIJI

According to his previous programme, Gandhiji resumed his Padyatra from Byree in Cuttack district on 21 May 1934. From 22\textsuperscript{nd} May to 2\textsuperscript{nd} June Gandhi walked through the following villages: Bheda, Gopinathpur, Kendrapara, Kaipadar, Bari, Shahaspur, Budhaghat, Jajpur, and Manjuri.\textsuperscript{257} Besides his mission of eradicating untouchability he gave more emphasis on the teaching of Hygiene to the villagers during this part of his tour in Cuttack district.\textsuperscript{258} In villages Gandhiji devoted most of his time to the Harijan workers. While addressing he exhorted the workers that they should go to the villages and see that the Harijan received educational facilities and clean water. It was also their duty to see that they were admitted to the temples, give up bad habits such as carrion eating, drinking alcoholic drugs like wine and they were taught the simple rules of hygiene and sanitation. Gandhiji also emphasised that spinning and weaving might partly solve the problem of unemployment. He was very much delighted to know that H.K. Mahatab and his wife Subhadra Devi were engaged in Khadi work and they were spending their resources among the poor for popularising the Cottage industry. Gandhiji had also been highly impressed with the sincerity and devotion to the Harijan work.

\textsuperscript{257} Harijan, 25\textsuperscript{th} July, 1933
\textsuperscript{258} Home pol proceedings No 50/01/1934
of Smt. Rama Devi, Radhamoni Devi, Sobha Devi, Annapurna Maharana, Mangala Sen Gupta, manik Devi and others.\textsuperscript{259}

Gandhiji’s fourth visit to Cuttack roused the people to a great extent & made them conscious of the social problem of vast magnitude. He covered total 156 miles in coastal Orissa.\textsuperscript{260} He started from Bayree a small railway station in the district of Cuttack and continued his missionary programme till 7\textsuperscript{th} June 1934 when he reached Bhadra. For him it was sort of spiritual experience and he realised the problems in Indian villages by his long 26 days Padyatra in one of the poorest province in India. Gandhiji entreated his followers to carry on his mission in villages where poverty was mythical and untouchability firmly entrenched.\textsuperscript{261}

The Padayatra of Gandhiji in Orissa for Harijan Welfare had a tremendous impact on national life. Despite formidable resistance of the Sanatanists, the pilgrimage of Gandhiji gave a momentum to the programmes like village reconstruction, Harijan Welfare and Khadi throughout Orissa and heralded a new era of social emanupation. Some of the centres like Karma Mandir, Agarpada, Balasore guided by H.K. Mahatab and Bari Ashram, Bari, Cuttack guided by Gopabandhu Choudhury, with the assistance of Rama Devi, Annapurna Devi, Binod Kanungo ands others emerged conspicuous for

\textsuperscript{259} Harijan, 11\textsuperscript{th} May, 1934
\textsuperscript{260} Ibid. 18 May, 1934
\textsuperscript{261} The Samaj, 28\textsuperscript{th} October 1934
the commendable service in organising village reconstruction programme and promoting Harijan Welfare. Gopabandhu Choudhury who led the Salt Satyagraha in 1930, subsequently after Gandhi’s visit in 1934 remained aloof from political work and joined All India Seva Sangha solely devoting himself to the Welfare of the down trodden. The national struggle against the alien government became more vigorous and purposeful hereafter.

Creation of the province of Orissa

The creation of the province of Bihar and Orissa on 1 April 1912 rendered a severe blow to the pan - Oriya movement. The sentiments of the people of Orissa were voiced in a strong words at the 8th annual session of Utkal Sammilani on 6-7 April 1912 at Berhampur. Mahdusudan expressed in the meeting his deep dissatisfaction. Some members of the British Parliament supported the Sentiments of Madhusudan Das. Lord Curzon also vehemently criticised the decision of the government in the House of Lords for neglecting the interest of the Oriya speaking people. Thus the political support to the move roused the political consciousness in the minds of the people of Orissa to carry on their struggle till the fulfilment of their demands in 1936.

262 H.K. Mahatab, Gandhi Orissa P. 96.
263 G. Choudhury Gandhi and Utkal PP. 32. 34.
265 Two Bachelors of Arts, op. cit P.52.
Political Map Of Orissa in 1936
after the formation of Separate State
Montford Reform and the Problem of Orissa

Inspite the official apathy the problem of amalgamation was repeatedly brought before the authorities by the people through a number of organisations formed in the different parts of Oriya speaking tracts. The agitation continued unabated even after the formation of the province of Bihar and Orissa. The 12th annual session of Utkal Sammilani at Balasore. Constituted a committed consisting of seven members with a view to collect materials and carry on continuous executive work of the conference regarding the union of the Oriya speaking tracts throughout the year.266 The Utkal Union Committee availed of the opportunity of E.S Montagu's visit to India in 1917 for consultations with Lord Chelmsford, the Governor General and others in connection with the proposed constitutional reforms in India.

The Utkal Union Committee prepared an address with a memorandum of arguments including a map of Oriya tracts to be presented to the British authorities for consideration. The members of the Committee waited in deputation on Montagu and Chelmsford in Calcutta on 11th December 1917. The documents presented to them contained arguments infavour of the union of all Oriya Speaking tracts into one administration.267

266 Proceedings of Home (public) Department, F/669 1. September, 1918 Resolution by the Govt. of India.
267 Amrit Bazar Patrika, 15, September, 1918.
They argued that it was a life and death problem to them and they hoped that the administrative union of Oriya tracts might be included in the projected constitutional reforms in India.

The memorialist finally said:

"That the Oriya speaking tract outlined by Dr. Grieson in his linguistic survey of India. Vol V be brought together under one separate administration of the type which Bihar and Orissa has now. That if it not be feasible under present circumstances to organise a separate administration for the Oriya Speaking referred to above the proposed united Orissa be placed under the Govt. of Bihar and Orissa for the present with a view that it may, at future time, be developed into a separate administration."^268

The proposed constitutional reforms in India had created a lot of expectations in the minds of the people. The people of Orissa showed an unprecedented enthusiasm in organising mass meeting at Cuttack, Puri, Berhampur and Balasore and they demanded the unification of Oriya speaking tract. In July-1918 the report on the Indian Constitutional reforms (Montford Report) was published. The report conceded the soundness of the argument of the Linguistic distribution of areas and accepted the problem of Oriyas and suggested for the establishment of a sub – province at an early

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date. The above recommendation for a sub-province of the Oriya speaking people was no doubt a major political concession which created high hopes among the aspirants. In a special session the Utkal Union Conference at Cuttack adopted resolutions thanking the Honourable Secretary of the State and his excellency the viceroy of India for recognising the necessity and importance of the creation of a province on the basis of language and race for which Oriya have been striving hard for many years past.

**Sinha Resolutions:**

The question of constituting a sub-province was pursued both in the imperial legislative council and the legislative council of Bihar and Orissa by Madhusudan Das and the Raja Kanika respectively in 1919. Sachidananda Sinha brought a resolution in the matter in the legislative council of India on 20 February 1920, suggesting for the appointment of a mixed committee of non officials and official to formulate a detailed scheme for the unity of the Oriya speaking tracts at present administered by the Government of Madras, Bengal, and Central province with existing Orissa division of the province of Bihar and Orissa.

Sinha Resolution got considerable support from the members of the imperial council including Rajendra Narayan Bhanjadeo. The government of

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269 op.cit Vol.VII , 1923.
270 Bihar & Orissa in 1923, ( Patna, 1924) P.4.
India was also sympathetic to the desire of the House. Sir William Vincent, the Home member called upon the concerned provincial Govt. to furnish definite informations basing on the desire of the people and to prepare maps showing the areas inhabited by the Oriya Speaking people on the basis of latest census report. The concerned province Govt. submitted their views after the information were collected from the census stastics in 1921. In reply Govt. of Bengal, Central province and the Madras Government were not willing to get a transfer of any portion of Oriya speaking tract for the formation of separate province. Thus the Sinha resolutions bore no result.

**Philip - Duff Inquiry Committee.**

While the preparation for the Second Phase of the freedom movement was in progress, Utkal Union conference urged upon the Government of India to implement the Sinha resolutions for the amalgamation of all Oriya speaking tracts under one administration. But Madrass Government vehemently opposed to part with the Oriya speaking areas of Madras. The Government of India therefore appointed the Phillip-Duff inquiry committee, to ascertain the public opinion of the Oriya speaking areas of Madras province. Meetings were addressed by prominent person of Ganjam and Koraput district to tender evidence in large number before this

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271 Utkal Dipika, 15. December, 1921.
273 Proceedings of Home (public) Department, No. 1375, 22nd May, 1923, Letter to chief Secretary
committee. After meeting the leadership of all shades of opinion this Committee reported that there is genuine desire on the part of educated Oriya speaking people of Madras for the amalgamation of these tracts with Orissa under one administration. But the Government of India did not follow up any action and decided to wait the visit of the Royal Statutory Commission or popularly known as Simon Commission as the recommendation of the philip-Duff Commission involved major territorial changes.\textsuperscript{274}

\textbf{The Simon Commission And the Attle Sub-Committee : -}

The Simon Commission visited India in 1929 to suggest further constitutional reforms. But the Indian National Congress boycotted the Commission as no Indian was included in this Commission. The moderate members of the Utkal Union Conference, however welcomed the visit of this Committee and represented the case of Oriyas to them as the Commission had the power to suggest for the creation of a new province. While there was vehement protest all over India against there visit, Simon Commission was impressed with the presentation of the Oriya delegates.\textsuperscript{275} The Royal Commission was convinced of the legitimate demands of Oriyas and appointed a sub-Committee under C.R. Attle to investigate the problem of Oriya speaking people and recommended measures to redress their

\textsuperscript{274} Proceedings of Home (Public) Department, No. 1375, 22\textsuperscript{nd} May 1922, Letters to Chief Secretaries to the Governments of Madras, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Central Provinces.

\textsuperscript{275} BRR (J) File No. 83/1925 Phillip Dutt Commission Report, P. 16.
grievances. The Attle sub-committee, in their report, recommended the creation of a separate Orissa Province which should include the Orissa Division, Angul, Khariar and Vizagpatan Agency, and a part of Ganjam. The Attle sub-Committee felt that the Feudatory States should be associated with the Orissa Province.276

After the recommendation of the Attle sub-Committee the British Government convened a Round Table Conference in 1930 in London to discuss with Indian leaders the problem of constitutional reforms. Maharaja of Paralakhemundi K.C. Gajapati Deo attended this conference. He presented a memorandum with forceful argument which impressed the British Government. He wanted to convince the Government that financial deficit of the new province of Orissa could be overcome easily with her vast mineral and forest wealth.277

The Boundary Commission to demarcate the boundary of the proposed province:

The British Government took a sympathetic view of the long standing problems of Oriya-speaking people and appointed the O' Dannel Committee to demarcate the boundaries of the proposed new Orissa provience. Sir Samuel O' Dannel was the chairman of the Boundary Commission with H.M. Mehta, member of council of state of Bombay and Tarun Ram Pookkan,

276 Proceedings of the Madras Government (Public) G.O. No. 907, 19th October 1926
277 Ibid.
member of central Assembly as members. The Boundary Commission visited important places of Bihar, Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Madras and recorded evidence of 410 witnesses. They came to the conclusion in their report that the proposed Orissa province should include Orissa Division, Angul, Padmapur and Khariar of Central province; greater part of Ganjam District and Vizagpatam Agency Tracts. O' Donnel Commission suggested that Paralakhemundi and Jeypur should not form part of the new province. The recommendations of this Boundary Commission thoroughly disappointed the Oriya speaking people and there were resentments and protests. Oriya speaking people felt that the non-inclusion of Midnapur, Singhbhum, Phuljhar, Paralakhemundi and Jeypur would reduce the new Orissa province to a very small and poor political unit. The Congress leaders wanted to reject this offer Maharaja of Paralakhemundi urged upon the British Government to change the recommendation of the Boundary Commission and demanded to include whole of Paralakhemundi and Jeypur in the new province of Orissa.

A strong delegation went to London and argued the case with the British Government. After this the Joint Select Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Linlithgo re-examined the report of the Boundary Commission and recommended that the new province of Orissa will include Orissa Division, Angul, Padampur, Khariar, Oriya majority areas of Ganjam District including Berhmapur town, Jeypur estate and about thirty per cent of the

278 Ibid.
279 Amrit Bazar Patrika, 15th April, 1928
Paralakhemundi estate. The committee clearly stated that the financial deficit of the new province should be met by central sub-vention\textsuperscript{280}.

After the decision of the British Government to form the new province of Orissa, Government of India appointed an administrative sub-committee under the chairmanship of Sir John Hubback to inquire into the administrative problem for creation of Orissa as a separate province. Sir John Hobback's appointment as the first Governor of Orissa was announced\textsuperscript{281}. Orissa administrative committee had eight members namely Madhusudan Das, Laxmidhar Mohanty, N.C. Dhir Narendra, N.R. Naidu, W.O. Newman, Nilamoni Senapati, Lokanath Mishra and Gour Chandra Das. V. Ramaswamy was the secretary of this committee. The report of the sub-committee recommended Cuttack to be the temporary Capital of the new province. The committee made some territorial arrangement for areas transferred from Madras and central provinces. They recommended that there should be a separate High Court for the new province. Transfer of manpower from Patna and Ranchi, creation of records and budgetary provision the new province was ready to be formally established on 1 April 1936\textsuperscript{282}. The long cherished
dream of the people was thus fulfilled to a great extend and Orissa began a new phase of her history.283

**Individual Satyagraha**

The National Congress, in its annual session held at Ramgarh in March 1940, reaffirmed its demand for complete independence and gave call to the Congress men to launch Civil Disobedience, to workout Gandhian Constructive programme vigorously, and not to cooperate with British Govt. in any in war efforts.284

At Bari, Cuttack, Congress volunteers got training about Civil Disobedience and Gandhian Constructive Programme. It was the centre of Cuttack from where Satyagrahis were recruited to participate the Movement. In the first phase ten Satyagrahis were known to have participated in this movement.285 They were all arrested. A conference of All India Bharat Sebak Samaj was held at Cuttack from 24 November to 28 November 1940.286 It was attended by prominent national leaders like Purusottam Das Tonden, Haranath Shastri and Balabanta Rao Mehta. This conference exercised a good deal of influence on the people of Orissa in general and those of Cuttack in particular.

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283 The Samaj 2, April 1936.
285 OSA, ACSN, No. 30, WWCC, OPAI (SB), Vol. VI, No. 4, PP. 1718
286 OSA, ACSN, No. 51, WWCC, Home Department, Special Section, Letter No. 8167 – 72 / C Chief Sect to Govt. of Orissa to the D.M. 18.11.1940.
Moreover, the U.P.C.C. appointed H.K. Mahatab as the Director General of the Individual Civil Disobedience Movement in Orissa on 27th September 1940. The Satyagraha, of course gave a bold expression to the strong political feelings of Indian against Imperial policy. In December 1941, the individual Civil Disobedience Movement was suspended. So Cuttack remained quite in the political field for sometime. Dr. H.K. Mahatab edited a journal "Rachana" from Cuttack which was inaugurated in December 1941. It expressed regular message to make the people bold and courageous during the Second World War.

The failure of the Cripps Mission gave a new turn to the Indian Political situation. Arrival of Japanese armies on horizon of coastal Orissa, rising prices and shortage in food supplies, the divisive trend within the Congress and the growing demand for a separate Muslim State landed the Country under imperial rule to a state of frustration, degeneration, hostility and fear. For Gandhiji who was the guiding spirit of the nationalist struggle then, there was only one radical alternative: to launch another massive political movement against the imperial power. The Congress Working Committee at Wardha, on 14th July, 1942 passed a resolution over Gandhi's proposal "Quit India" which was to be next phase of freedom movement.

\[287\] O.S.A, ACSN, No. 30, WWCC, OPAI (SB) 1941, Vol. VI, No. 11, P. 73.
\[288\] Indian Annual Register, 1941, Vol. II P. 37.
\[289\] Orissa Legislative Assembly proceedings, Vol. VI, 1942, P. 8.
\[290\] Amrit Bazar Patrika, 4th March, 1942.
Present Political Map of Cuttack