CHAPTER : V

THE SATYABADI GROUP AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN ORISSA (1900-1936)
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An important development in the second half of the 19th Century was the growth of National consciousness. The spread of education, the emergence of an intellectual group, the creation of the press, improvement of communication, had all contributed to a new awakening in Orissa. Public Associations were also established. One of the earliest public Associations in Cuttack was Mutual Improvement Society formed in 1859. The most important organisation was the Utkal Sabha. In August 1882 a meeting held in Cuttack Printing Company was attended by many leading persons of the town.

The Indian National Congress came into being in December 1885. Its first Session was held in Bombay under the presidency of W. C. Bannerjee. Among the 72 delegates was M. Vishwanath Aiyar, a pleader of the District Court, Ganjam who was also the Municipal Commissioner, Berhampur. The most reputed leader of Orissa - Madhusudan Das - could not attend the first Session of the National Congress as he was busy with the second National Conference at Calcutta. However, on 3 March 1886 a public meeting was held at Cuttack under the presidency of Madhusudan Das to discuss the resolutions adopted by the Congress at its Bombay session. Madhusudan Das was the first Oriya leader of Orissa to introduce the liberal ideas of the Congress in Orissa. The second Session of the Indian National Congress was held at Calcutta.

The Utkal Sabha elected four representatives including Madhusudan Das to attend this Session. The National Society, Balasore sent Raja Baikuntha Nath De, Bhagaban Chandra Das and Ramesh Chandra Mandal as its delegates. The Utkal Hitaisini
Samaj of Ganjam also sent delegates to the Calcutta Session. The Third Session of the Congress was held in Madras. It was attended by Gouri Sankar Ray and Madhusudan Das on behalf of the Utkal Sabha and by Rev. Sam Sahu and Harekrushna Das on behalf of the National Society of Balasore. Thus, year after year the delegates of Orissa attended the Congress Sessions. Gradually the Congress became a truly National organisation under whose leadership the struggle for India's freedom from foreign domination was launched.

Growth of Education in Orissa

Before the 'Na Anka' Famine of 1866, there were very few Schools and the number of students were very small in Orissa. Besides, there was no scope for higher studies. During this period some of the Oriyas were appointed in the administrative posts of lower rank. Rashbihari Pattanaik, Sadananda Singh and Mangal Singh were appointed as Police Darogahs. Besides, Sadananda Jachak and Nimai Charan Neugee were appointed as Writers in the Cuttack Collectorate and Swapneswar Das was appointed as the Salt Dewan. Most of these officers had no academic qualifications, but had good knowledge of Oriya, Bengali and Persian. Some Commissioners like H. Ricketts, A. J. M. Mills, F. Gouldsbury and G. F. Cockburn took enough care to give appointments to the Oriyas.

Until 1853 there were only three Government High Schools in the district headquarters of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore. With the establishment of a Directorate of Public Instructions in Bengal in 1854, education made a slow progress in Orissa. In 1858, the districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore had respectively 14, 6 and 9 schools of different categories with 986 students in them. Then there took place a phenomenal
increase both in the number of Schools and students. The Government created in 1874 a separate Inspectorate for the Orissa Division and invested more money and initiated definite measures for the development of education in Orissa. In 1872 the famous Campbell Scheme provided for a few scholarships and a Deputy Inspector in each district for the specific purpose of promoting Primary education.

Secondary Education too progressed after 1866. Reports of the Director of Public Instructions, Bengal reveal a steady growth of High Schools, Middle English and Middle-vernacular Schools with considerable increase in the number of students.

Thomas Eric Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of the Orissa Division, took a very wise decision in 1868 by establishing a College at Cuttack. The College fulfilled one of the long cherished desires of the Oriya people, for whom at last the gates of Western Liberal ideas were flung open in the form of collegiate education. The progress of education became satisfactory after 1873.

After 1866 more Oriyas were appointed in the Government service due to the progress of education. Out of the total number of students who passed from the Ravenshaw College upto 1892, three were Deputy Magistrates, 15 lawyers, one Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, one Translator to the Commissioner, two Sub-Deputies and the rest were appointed in other services, their monthly salary varying from rupees forty to rupees three hundred.

From 1877 to 1894, 168 students who passed from the Cuttack Medical School, 146 were Oriyas. In 1894, 71 Oriya medical students were seen employed in the Government posts. Similarly, from 1878 to 1893, 277 students passed from the
Survey School out of which 237 were Oriyas.\textsuperscript{11} They were appointed in Settlement works. Such appointments in Government services gradually reduced general backwardness. These educated persons formed the cream of the society. They devoted their life for the greater interest of the province.

Madhusudan Das was the first Oriya to obtain a Bachelor's degree in 1870 and a Master's degree in 1873 from the Calcutta University. He was also the first Oriya Law Graduate and Advocate to join the bar at Cuttack in 1881. He was deeply influenced by the miseries of the Oriya people, who had for long suffered political injustice, economic backwardness, and social stagnation. His training and temperament were suitable for a career of leadership which the emerging Oriya elite was looking for.\textsuperscript{12}

**Development of Communication**

Development of roads, canals and railways proved valuable for the growth of general consciousness in Orissa. But the grave deficiency of communications existed as late as 1866 and the Famine Commissioners pointed out: "The people, shut up in a narrow province between pathless jungles and an impracticable sea, were in the condition of passengers in a ship without provisions."\textsuperscript{13} After the famine, measures were taken to prevent the recurrence of a similar disaster. Roads were opened up, the coast surveyed and canals were constructed. The High Level canal was designed to provide a great trade route between Cuttack and Calcutta and to irrigate the areas through which it passed. Besides, the Kendrapara Canal and the Taldanda Canal served similar purposes inside the province. While the greater part of the earth-work between Cuttack and Puri was completed in 1813, the road between Cuttack and Bhadrak was completed in
1819, and from Bhadrak to Balasore and beyond in the succeeding year.\textsuperscript{13a} The Jagannath road played then a vital role in the socio-economic history of Orissa.

Gradually people expressed their opinion in the newspapers for construction of railways.\textsuperscript{14} A Raialway Committee was formed in 1882 and in 1892-93 the works on the East Coast Railways commenced.\textsuperscript{15} The construction of the Bengal Nagpur Railway and the East Coast Railway lines connecting Bengal with Madras and Nagpur through Orissa was completed after 1900.

In Orissa, the development of transport and communication provided enough facilities to the material and intellectual upliftment of the people. It enabled the Oriyas to go for higher studies and business outside the province. Besides, it offered greater advantage for the achievement of political unity.

\textbf{The Press, Journalism and the Public Relation/}

Printing Press and the publication of journals and newspapers played a dominant role in creating a powerful public opinion in Orissa. Before the 'NaAnka' Famine there existed only one press called the 'Orissa Mission Press' set up by the Missionaries in 1837 at Cuttack for the publication of religious books.\textsuperscript{16} The Missionaries published monthly magazines, 'Jnaanaruna' in 1849, 'Prabodha Chandrika'. Since 1856 and 'Arunodaya' in 1861 to popularise Christianity.\textsuperscript{17} Since these publications dealt with Christian religion these did not contribute towards the development of political consciousness.

It was not until 1866 that the people of Orissa became interested in Journalism. In that year the Cuttack Printing Press was set up and an Oriya periodical 'Utkal Dipika' was published from 4 August 1866 with Gouri
Sankar Roy as its Editor. In 1868, the Utkal Printing Company was established by Fakir Mohan Senapati at Balasore and 'Sambad Bahika' an Oriya periodical, was published by him from that year.18 Besides those presses, some other presses were established in Orissa during the later part of the nineteenth century.19 So the leading newspapers of the Orissa Division in the 20th century were Utkal Dipika, Utkal Sahitya, Sambad Bahika, Odia O Navasamvad and Utkal Sevak.20 The 'Star of Utkal' published from Cuttack was an English edition of the Utkal Dipika. In 1917, Madhusudan Das started another English paper 'The Oriya' as the forum of the Utkal Union Conference. At Gopabandhu's exhortation, Shri Sashibhusan Rath of Berhampur in the district of Ganjam started in 1913 an Oriya weekly called 'The Asha'. Gopabandhu used to edit the paper and write the editorials till 1919. Later Gopabandhu realised that a paper of his own was an absolute necessity to educate public opinion on the lines he thought best in the interest of the public. Accordingly, 'The Samaja' appeared as a weekly newspaper from the 'Satyabadi Press' at Sakhigopal on the 4th October 1919 i.e. the auspicious day of "Dusserha'. The situation of the country was discussed in it. It particularly ventilated the grievances of the rural people and dispassionate discussion was made of those problem of the people which the Government ought to know. Special attention was being paid to the problems of health, primary education, religion, Gram Panchayat, Co-operative Movement, Social conditions, agriculture, rural industries and allied matters of the rural people. The language of the 'Samaja' was easy and simple as it is today and it is easily intelligible to the literate people. Even the illiterate people can understand it if some one reads it out to them.
Gopabandhu continued to be its Editor till his death. Pandit Krupasindhu Mishra acted in fact, as the sub-Editor. Shri Radhanath Rath, the present Editor of the 'Samaja', resigned from Government service in October, 1919 and joined as its Manager. Pandit Nilakantha, Acharya Harihara and Sri Ramchandra Rath used to supervise the publication of the paper during the absence of Gopabandhu from Sakhigopal.

With a view to developing Oriya literature and encouraging literary efforts Gopabandhu started publishing a magazine, 'The Satyabadi' in 1915.

The period witnessed the growth of a number of Associations with social amelioration and political activity as their objectives. Various sections of the Oriya community evinced greater awareness to their problems and formed these Associations. Although the Kayastha Sabha at Cuttack, the Muhammedan Association, Baikuntha Nath De Social Club, National Society, Sanskrit Samiti and Sanjivani Samiti at Balasore, the Brahmin Samiti and the Utkal Samiti Sabha at Puri were formed to look to the interests of particular sections, yet these served extremely useful purpose for the community as a whole.\(^{21}\)

The language controversy, the spread of English education and the emergence of a new elite class were all inter-connected developments. With a sense of patriotic pride, the Oriya elites demanded greater share in Government employment and spoke in terms of 'Oriya language', 'Oriya culture', 'Oriya race' and 'Oriya country'. The idea gradually gained ground that territorial dismemberment of Orissa was the main obstacle to the economic and cultural progress of the Oriya people. A divided community would naturally find it difficult to pool all its resources for any great economic undertaking to improve the
living conditions of the people. That the Oriyas as a Minority community were neglected in all the four provinces in which they lived was a feeling which deeply influenced the mind of Madhusudan and his Associates. The new Oriya leaders spread this feeling far and wide through public meetings and writings in the press. Madhusudan, in particular, urged the Oriya people to derive inspiration from their history to get over their inferiority complex and to prepare for a movement to bring about the political unification of Orissa.

The Oriya Movement

From 1903 political activities in Orissa centered round the demand for amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts. As early as 1875 initiative was taken for union of Oriya-speaking areas. The abolition of Oriya as court language in Sambalpur caused deep resentment among the Oriyas. In 1902 the Oriyas of Ganjam, then under Madras Presidency, sent a Memorial to Lord Curzon in which they described themselves as "Limb separated from the body" and they prayed not for a patch work redistribution but that the Government of India would be graciously pleased to bring together the scattered Divisions inhabited by Oriya speaking people, i.e., Ganjam in Madras, Sambalpur in the Central Provinces and Orissa in Bengal, under the Government of Bengal or under any one Government and one University."

Madhusudan had personally apprised Lord Curzon of the problems of Orissa at Simla and also during the latter's visit to Orissa on 16 December 1900. He too favoured amalgamation under the Government of Bengal. The Orissa Association organised a public meeting at Cuttack on 22 April 1903 to discuss about the amalgamation issue. The meeting held under the championship of Madhusudan resolved to submit a Memorial to the
Viceroy for (i) the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts of Sambalpur, Chota Nagpur, Ganjam, Vizagpatam and Midnapore with Orissa Division, (ii) the constitution of Orissa into a Chief commissionership like Assam, and (iii) non-alteration of the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court and Calcutta University. A sub-Committee consisting of Madhusudan Das, Ram Sankar Roy, Rev. G. H. Howell and Gokulananda Choudhury was formed to prepare the draft Memorial.

Elaborate discussion took place among the members of the Association as to whether the united Oriya-speaking tracts should be under Bengal or Madras or the Central Provinces. Ultimately the views of Madhusudan prevailed; he was in favour of the tracts being administered by the Bengal Government. He led a large deputation to K. G. Gupta, the Commissioner of Orissa, to whom he submitted a Memorial.

Madhusudan's efforts bore fruit. Curzon was sympathetic to the Oriya cause. In the famous Risley Circular he proposed the scheme of bringing together all the Oriya-speaking tracts under one administration.

A feeling gradually developed in Orissa proper that Oriyas were overlooked and neglected due to their unnatural union with other provinces. The grand idea of a National Assembly which had originated in Ganjam, culminated in an informal conference convened by Madhusudan Das at his residence of all prominent men of Orissa who gathered at Cuttack in January 1903. There lay the germs of the Utkal Union Conference which began its life in December 1903. Madhusudan Das was the guiding spirit of the organisation and Pandit Gopabandhu Das, the student leader of Orissa and the founder of the Satyabadi epoch, played a vital role in the Oriya Movement in Orissa through the Utkal Union Conference or Utkal Sammilani.
Besides the Satyabadi leaders and their associates there were also a number of prominent Oriya leaders who contributed much for the all-round development of Orissa. They were: Annapu Parasuramdas Patro (1855-1946), Ganjam, Balabhadra Supakar (1855-1915), Sambalpur, Bhubanananda Das (1885-1958), Puri, Editor of Young Utkal, an English weekly paper from Cuttack, Biswanath Mishra (1878-1933), Berhampur, Editor, Utkal Herald, an English Weekly from Cuttack, Chandrasekhar Behera (1873-1936), Sambalpur, Gopabandhu Choudhury (1895-1958), Cuttack, founder of Congress Ashrams, an exponent of Bhoodan Movement, Harekrushna Mahtab (1899-1987), Balasore, Editor of a weekly paper "The Prajetantra" in 1923, Chairman of the Balasore District Board, President Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee, member of the All India working Committee of the Congress Party, Chief Minister of Orissa 1946-1950 and 1957-1960, Minister of Commerce and Industries, Government of India 1950-1952, Governor of Bombay 1955-1957, a historian and writer of repute, Harihar Mardraj Deo (1871-1909), Ganjam, Harihar Mishra (1886-1976), Baud, Harihar Panda (1865), Aska, founder of the Oriya Samaj, Laxminarayan Mishra (1904-1961), Sambalpur, Laxminarayan Sahu (1890-1963), Balasore, a prolific writer, member of the Servants of People Society, edited Star of Utkal in English, Sahakar and Sahayog Samachar in Oriya, President Orissa Sahitya Academy 1958-61, Lingaraj Panigrahi (1896-1969), Berhampur, Rajendra Narayan Bhanj Deo, the Raja of Kanika (1881-1948), Ramchandra Mardraj Deo, the Raja of Khallikote (1900-1963), Sreekrishna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deb, the Raja of Parlakhimedi (1892-1974), Sreeramchandra Bhanj Deo, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj (1870-1912), Patronised Utkalprava, Oriya Weekly, Sripati Mishra (1873-1930), Sambalpur, a writer, edited Utkal Darpan, Weekly

The Role of Utkal Union Conference (1903-1920)

The Utkal Union Conference was constituted as a non-political organisation. Its membership was thrown open to all Oriyas and to those domiciled in Orissa, irrespective of Social status. The Utkal Union Conference met on 30 and 31 December 1903 representing the people of the Oriya-speaking tracts. About 250 persons attended the meeting including some European ladies and gentlemen, pleaders, land lords, Government servants and college students. It was decided that the Conference was to be held every year to look into the common interests of the Oriyas. According to the 4th resolution of the Conference a Central Committee was to be formed for creating and educating public opinion. Proposal for a united Orissa was repeatedly made through the resolutions at the periodical meetings of the Utkal Union Conference from 1904 to 1911. Several delegations were sent and representations and Memorials both to the local and central Governments were submitted, but to no effect. In 1907, representations were sent to the Royal Commission on Decentralisation asking for a Chief Commissionership for united Orissa. In 1908, Madhusudan Das went to England and made several attempts to convince the British Government for the union of all the Oriya-speaking areas. But the Government did not pay any attention to his prayer.

The formation of the new province of Bihar and Orissa was very much regretted by the Oriyas. They felt that the Government united the Bengalis together on the basis of a common language, custom and tradition; but the Oriyas were completely
overlooked though their condition was worse than that of the Bengalis. The amalgamation movement continued in full speed and meetings, resolutions, memorandums and addresses became a day-to-day affair. The claims of the Oriyas had been pressed by the Utkal Union Conference which met every year.

In April 1912, the Utkal Union Conference held its 8th Annual Session at Berhampur and resolved to make Ganjam the centre of national activity for the ensuing year. Among other resolutions the amalgamation question was given priority. On July 1912 a meeting was held at Cuttack under the presidentship of the Rajah of Kanika and it was decided to give separate representation in order to invite the attention of the Imperial Government. In 1913, a memorandum was presented to Lord Hardinge on his visit to Orissa. But the proposal to mention the question of amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas was dropped from the memorandum at the direction of the Government.

The 9th Session of the Utkal Union Conference met at Puri on 28 and 29 December 1913 with Madhusudan Das in the Chair. Nearly 100 delegates from Ganjam, Jeypore, Sambalpur, Jharsugura, Balasore, Cuttack, feudatory states and from other Oriya-speaking areas attended the Conference. Besides the delegates, nearly 1500 people were present at the meeting. Among other proposals, the question of amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas, introduction of Oriya language in the Court of Singhbhum opening of an Engineering School and M.A. and B.L. Classes in Cuttack etc. were discussed. Government servants were asked to attend this conference as it was not a political gathering. The Oriyas of Calcutta, meeting in a conference, supported the resolutions of the Puri Session.
On 31 December 1913 there was a students' gathering of about 200 at Puri in the pendal of the conference. A Committee was formed to take steps for an All-Orissa student's annual gathering. Pandit Gopabandhu Das and Shri B. Das were among the members of the Committee which was to form a Student's Association. This Association was calculated to foster unity among the students of Orissa. The Utkal Youth Association held its Annual Meeting and decided to open its branches in the Oriya speaking areas to organise oriyas for their amalgamation.

The Utkal Union Conference held its 10th Session at Parlakhimedi on 26 and 27 December 1914 with Sri Vikramdev Varma in the chair. The attendance was over 5,000. The Rajas of Manjusa seconding the proposal for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas said, "can you say that I am alive if you cut off my head and keep it at Ranchi, throw my trunk into the Bay of Bengal, and keep up my legs in the Madras hospital? This is the condition of our Utkal Mother who is lying dead being disfigured and separated from her body." This feeling and ideology influenced the people of Orissa tremendously. Gopabandhu as a young leader attended the conference and courageously asserted that Oriya-speaking areas of Madras and Bengal should rather be amalgamated with the Central provinces and Berar and not with Bengal as suggested by Madhusudan Das, the veteran Oriya leader.

The conference held its 11th Session at Sambalpur on 27 and 28 December, 1915 with Laxminarayan Singh Deo, the Rajah of Kera of the Singhbhum district in the chair. Resolutions were adopted for the construction of the Khurda-Sambalpur Railway, separate University for the Oriya-speaking areas, introduction of Oriya in the States of Singhbhum, Phuljhar, Padmapur and
Chandrapur and representation of an Oriya-member in the Imperial Council. 42

The Conference held its 12th Session at Balasore on 29 and 30 December 1916. In this conference the Rajah of Manjusa presided. The Executive Committee of the Conference appointed Ananta Mishra to preach the objects of this Session. 43 A Committee of 7 members consisting of Madhusudan Das, the Rajah of Kanika, Harihara Panda, the Secretary of the Oriya Samaja, Ganjam, Braja Sundar Das, Gopabandhu Das, Sudam Charan Nayak and the Rajah of Sergarh was formed to work for the union of the Oriya-speaking areas throughout the year. 44 The Oriya People's Association held its meetings at different places to voice the same demands. 45 It also opened many branch organisations in the rural areas to create public opinion. 46

The Utkal Union Conference held its 13th Annual Session on 30 and 31 March 1918 at Cuttack with Fakir Mohan Senapati in the chair. A Standing Council of 65 members from Oriya-speaking areas was constituted to create public opinion. The Rajah of Kanika and Madhusudan Das were elected as its President and Secretary respectively. A band of 52 national service volunteers were taken in and a National Fund was raised according to the decision of the Council. 47

Gopabandhu Das participated in the Conference with Acharya Harihar and chose to live with the student volunteers from the Satyabadi School. Pandit Nilakantha and Pandit Godavarish also remained with the students. They were members of the Subjects Committee. Gopabandhu's fiery speech in support of the resolution on the unification of the Oriya-speaking regions stirred the audience. He sharply criticised the Government and asserted, "Many in India wait for the
proposed reforms. Let us see if Government reforms or deforms (cheers). If there is no amalgamation of Oriya-speaking areas, whatever else may happen, I say, on my behalf, I shall have no more contact with the Government for the rest of my life." And he concluded his speech in moving tearful language which brought out his deep devotion to Mother Utkal. "Oh Utkal, my motherland: If the hope that I had cherished to see your beautiful shape with your head restored through the amalgamation of all the Oriya-speaking tracts is not realised in this life, I will sacrifice this humble life of mine in the worship of your headless and handless ugly figure."

Then Gopabandhu was elected president of the next session of the Utkal Union Conference.

The Fourteenth Session of the Utkal Union Conference was held at Cuttack on 19 and 20 April 1919 with Pandit Gopabandhu Das in the chair. The amalgamation question was seriously discussed at the Conference. Madhusudan Panigrahi, who proposed this resolution, insisted on a vigorous agitation. He said that owing to the weakness and inactivity of the Oriyas, the Government had neglected them. Jagabandhu Singh who seconded this resolution called upon the Oriyas to sacrifice their life for the cause of the mother country. Sixty students of Satyabadi School along with some teachers participated in the Conference as Volunteers.

Gopabandhu in his presidential address said: "This is the conference of the entire Oriya people. This is not a conference of only those who are present or those who have sent messages for not being able to attend or of the present living generation of Orissa. The conference is also of those who are yet to be born as our posterity. There is no difference between Utkal and
Historic session of the Utkal Sammilani.
Oriya and such a difference is also not desirable. Orissa belongs to those of Bengal or Punjab, of Marwar or Madras, those Hindus or Muslims, Aryans or Dravidians who have identified themselves with Utkal or Orissa. They are also Oriyas. The objectives of the Sammilani are to develop the Oriya nationality which consists of different categories of people residing in natural Orissa accepting it as their own province. Not parochialism but humanism was the goal of Oriya nationalism. Oriya nationalism consists of universal love and fullness of life. It is not selfish, lifeless or interested inactive love. It is not based on desire for conquest or bloodshed. Equality, fraternity and liberty are its watch-words. Orissa does not suffer from pettinesses. Orissa's river is called the Mahanadi or the Great River, Orissa's sea is Mahodadhi or the Great Sea, Orissa's hill is Mahendra or the Great Mountain, Orissa's tree is Kalpabata or the tree of fulfillment, Orissa's Lord is Jagannath or the Lord of the Universe and Orissa's cremation ground is the Swargadwar or the Gate of Heaven. The Oriya visualizes greatness all around. The conference is a part of India's National Movement. To maintain our individuality, we must maintain the foundation of our nationalism, the common people, in tact. The foundation of the temple of nationalism, the original power, lies imbedded in the villages. There can be no discrimination between great and small in a national movement. In the national endeavour, there is no difference between a Maharaja and a Sweeper."

He wanted the foundation of nationalism to be truly laid through development of agriculture, industry, commerce, literature and education. He felt that all efforts at educating the people should be consolidated under a league. The Bhagabat
Tungis should be revived. He valued education of women and he wanted them to be like Seeta and Savitri. "The problem of Language" he asserted 'is now a problem of life and death for us. It will of course be desirable to have one common language but so long as this has not been done, the Oriya cannot lose his individuality." Towards the end of his speech, he declared, "In a way this conference is the embodiment of our national spirit and manifestation of our national objectives. Its function is national development. Its principles are liberty, equality and fraternity and it is based on the foundation of self-sacrifice and religious faith. Its ideal is universality. He concluded with the following memorable lines:

"Do or die should be our motto. Many may have to lay down their lives to achieve this difficult goal. Individual sacrifices strengthen a nation. This is the way of realisation of our self. Let there be no fear, no frustration. This is the command of Mother Utkal. Believe me, if Oriya has lived so far through the vicissitudes of history, it is not meaningless. We have a lot more to do in the All-India field. The great seers and sages of India have come to this holy land Utkal in quest of knowledge. Their ideas are not yet broadcast in full. Oh sons of Utkal ! the time for propagation has come. Opportunities for service are there. Visit the hamlets, go to every nook and corner of the province and carry the joyous tidings into the ears of every man. Saints in every age have come in the past to this holy land, it is time for Oriyas to be saints now. Without meditation and dedication, no important work has ever been done. The salvation of life lies in such dedication."

But for all his efforts, the resolution calling for the merger of the Utkal Sammilani with the National Congress could
not be adopted. It was decided to start district committees, for the development of national movement in Orissa.

The 15th Annual Session of the Utkal Union Conference in December 1919 gave further strength to those who wanted to merge the provincial organisation with the Indian National Congress. Chandra Sekhar Behera of Sambalpur, as President of this Session, supported Gopabandhu's stand at Puri. In this Session Gopabandhu's efforts also failed. Besides, the President of the Conference demanded the system of separate electorate for the Oriyas in the Imperial Legislative Council and the Legislative Council of Bengal, Central Province, and Madras. This provision he insisted to continue until they were placed together under one administration.

Gopabandhu, the maker of Satyabadi epoch, tried to create a climate in favour of integration of Utkal Sammilani with the Congress by taking up the demand for a separate province of the Oriya-speaking regions with the national leaders and persuading Mahatma Gandhi to accept the idea of formation of provinces on the linguistic basis. A resolution on reorganisation of provinces on the linguistic basis was adopted at the Nagpur Session of the Congress attended by Gopabandhu. On return from Nagpur, Gopabandhu organised the Orissa Provincial Congress Committee and with the approval of the National Leaders the Singhbhum District Congress Committee of Bihar became organisationally a branch of Orissa provincial Congress Committee.

The 16th Session of the Utkal Union Conference held at Chakradharpur of Singhbhum District on the 30th December 1920 under the presidentship of Sri Jagabandhu Singh approved the following resolution moved by Pandit Gopabandhu and seconded by
Sri Chandrasekhar Behera - "Resolved that the aims and objects of the Indian National Congress be accepted as those of the Utkal Sammilani in addition to the accepted objectives of the Conference." The Conference also endorsed the resolution of the Indian National Congress recommending creation of provinces on linguistic basis. Amalgamation of all the Oriya-speaking tracts was reiterated.

Thus from 1906 to 1919 the Oriya Movement was very active under the aegis of the Utkal Union Conference. The Utkal Union Conference had mobilised the public opinion more effectively by holding Annual Conferences and Meetings in different parts of the Oriya-speaking areas. It had moved the authorities towards the Oriya cause through resolutions, representations and deputations. At the same time it had counteracted the reaction of the neighbouring provinces. But the creation of the new province of Bihar and Orissa in 1912 and the Reformed Act of 1919 did not satisfy the minimum demands of the Oriyas. Therefore, the movement continued vigorously to achieve its desired goal.

Reforms and Reactions (1905-1919)

In the 19th Century, political consciousness in Orissa did not percolate to the level of the common man mainly due to lack of education. It was confined among the elite people. Hence the existence of political organisations and activities at some places presupposed the existence of an elite class at these places.

After the birth of Indian National Congress the delegates were chosen invariably from among the pleaders, land-holders and members of the elite group. These delegates used to acquaint the members of their Associations with the main events
proceedings and the resolutions adopted at the Congress Session concerning the national interests, on their return. The message and ideals of the Indian National Congress began to spread in Orissa in this way.\textsuperscript{52}

An important point was that the delegates from the Orissa Division had no independent political identity in the National forum. They were treated as representatives of Bengal and had no role to play for safe-guarding the interests of the Oriya people since they were almost ignored and dominated by Bengali stalwarts like Surendra Nath Banerjee and Bhupendra Nath Bose etc. So the Oriya delegates to the Congress never uttered a word on any resolution adopted at the Annual Sessions. The interests of the Oriya-speaking people were utterly disregarded at the Madras session of the Congress in 1903. Expressing reaction over this, Orissa dissociated herself from the Indian National Congress. A regional forum known as the Utkal Union Conference came into being with the aim of promoting the interests of the people of Orissa.

As the Utkal Union Conference identified itself with the socio-political aspirations of the Oriya community and guided its activities, there was no representation of Oriya interests in the Indian National Congress. Persons like Padan Sahu, an ordinary trader, the Govind Prusti, a goldsmith from Cuttack, and H. M. Choudhury, a petition writer of Puri were the delegates to the Benares Session of the Congress in 1905. There was no other delegate from Orissa to this important Session of the Congress.\textsuperscript{53}

The year 1905 saw the emergence of militant nationalism in Bengal for the partition of the province. But the terrorist movement launched by the extremists did not spread to Orissa.
The Swadeshi and the boycott movement had a very mild effect on Orissa.54

In September 1905, the message of Swadeshi appears to have reached Balasore due to its close proximity to Bengal. A big public meeting was held at Balasore Town Hall under the chairmanship of Abdus Sobhan Khan to encourage the people to use indigenous or Indian goods in preference to imported foreign goods and commodities. A second meeting was held in the premises of the Barabati M. E. School (Balasore) under the chairmanship of Fakir Mohan Senapati,55 with the same object. The speeches of Senapati inspired the audience so much that they became determined not to use foreign clothes.56 Public meetings were also held at Puri to patronise Swadeshi goods and to encourage the Swadeshi Movement.57

Soon the Swadeshi wave spread, as the Intelligence Reports to the Government established. Many people in Balasore shunned the use of foreign clothes, salt and sugar, and began to use country-made salt and sugar though these were of inferior quality.58 A band of nationalists, singing patriotic songs and with flags in hand took out a procession through the town. They also held a meeting in the Town Hall where lectures were delivered to encourage native industries. At Puri pleaders and students held two separate meetings emphasizing the necessity of indigenous industries and advocating the boycott of foreign goods.59

The 'Moderate' newspaper 'Utkal Dipika' reported that the Swadeshi Movement in Cuttack proved a great success. A large quantity of locally-made clothes was sold in the town and people used them.60 Hindus and Muslims made a common cause with one another. A great procession was taken out on the 16th October
with 'Bande Mataram' written on the flags. Many people used locally manufactured coarse clothes during the Dusserah festival.

The Swadeshi Movement gained popularity in Jaipur, Sukinda, Basudebpur and Sambalpur. Bipin Chandra Pal, the renowned extremist leader of Calcutta, who visited Cuttack in April 1907 delivered two lectures in the Municipal compound and the Town Hall. Thousands of people attended his meetings.

But after the split in the Congress at the Surat Session in December 1907, the Swadeshi Movement in Orissa lost its momentum. The clash between the Moderates and the Extremists created an uneasy feeling among the followers of the Congress in Orissa. They in fact, wanted - "Swaraj and Boycott" to be dropped from the Congress programme as sources of all troubles. In Orissa, the moderate political views were in favour of the Utkal Union Movement. Shortly afterwards the attention of the people was diverted to the Morley-Minto proposals on constitutional reforms and the Swadeshi wave subsided.

The impact of terrorism, which became an important feature in Bengal politics, was not felt in Orissa. A few Bengali terrorists who appeared in Orissa had little success. The Oriya students in Calcutta were deeply influenced by the nationalistic feelings and among them Gopabandhu Das was the foremost. He was the moving spirit in the political movement in Orissa. Gopabandhu attended the Calcutta Session of the Congress in 1906 and the Resolution on the national education adopted at this Session profoundly influenced his later career.

After taking the Law degree in 1906, Gopabandhu joined the Camp of Madhusudan Das as a Junior in Legal practice; but he remained busy in organising youth associations and relief works
for the flood-victims of Cuttack district. With a view to implement the Congress programme of National education, he established the Satyabadi School near Puri with the help of a small band of brilliant and devoted persons. In course of time this School became an ideal and renowned national institution of the country. The set of dedicated men under Gopabandhu, who shone in public life as philanthropists, legislators, politicians and journalists, became collectively known as the 'Satyabadi Group'.

The policy of moderation adopted by the Oriya leaders from 1900 to 1919 did not seem to have yielded the desired results. Consequently some chose to discard the leadership of Madhusudan Das in favour of the new wave of Non-cooperation that was sweeping the land under the leadership of Gopabandhu and the Satyabadi group and then joined the All-India Movement in 1920. These new leaders of Oriya society molded the Orissan history and culture to such an extent as to lend justification to the 1920's being called the 'Satyabadi era'. From the 1920's new trends were seen in Orissan politics and Oriya literature, a new standard in the national life was set by these ideal political leaders with Gopabandhu as their leader.

The history of the Freedom Movement in Orissa is the expression of forces that constitute an integral part of the All-India struggle. The movement had two phases: the age of Moderates (1885-1920) and the era of Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience (1920-1936). In the first phase, Madhusudan Das was the moving spirit of the Political activities in Orissa which were spearheaded by the Utkal Union Movement. The leaders of the movement were influenced by a policy of moderation.
With the appearance of Gandhi in the Indian National Congress and the launching of the Non-cooperation Movement in 1920, the nature of the Freedom Movement in Orissa took a new turn. Under the leadership of Gopabandhu Das and his associates of Satyabadi like Nilakantha Das, Godavarish Misra, Krupasindhu Misra and Harihara Das, collectively known as the Satyabadi Group, the Congress movement began and continued till 1931. Then the Congress party in Orissa became leaderless and attention was diverted for the creation of a separate province for the Oriya-speaking people.

Until 1917, Gopabandhu appears to have followed the leadership of the Moderates like Madhusudan Das. But shortly thereafter, his plunge into the All-India Congress Movement for the attainment of Swaraj led to a rift in the Utkal Union Conference. The transformation of the character of the Freedom Movement in Orissa, from 'Moderation' to Gandhian Non-cooperation has an interesting history.

In 1908 when the Utkal Union Conference was in the prime of its glory, several letters sent from Puri and published in the 'Odia O Navasamvad' (a weekly newspaper from Balasore) ridiculed the idea that the Utkal Union Conference should be just a 'thanks giving body' with no concern for the Congress programme. Madhusudan Das was also criticised by the Editor of the Odia O Navasamvad for his opposition to the Home Rule Movement.

In January 1919 Madhusudan Das resigned from the editorship of 'The Oriya' and his trusted lieutenant, Braja Sunder Das resigned from his assignment. Then the 14th Session of the Utkal Union Conference was presided over by Gopabandhu. He vehemently criticised the poor performance of the conference
over the past fifteen years under the moderate leaders. The Puri Session of the Utkal Union Conference in December 1919 gave encouragement to those who wanted to merge the provincial organisation with the Indian National Congress.

Gopabandhu had three significant contributions to the history of the Freedom Movement in Orissa: the establishment of the Satyabadi School where a group of the national leaders dedicated themselves to the rejuvenation of Orissa with a firm faith that the Oriyas have 'a separate history and outlook of their own and accordingly a distinct destiny and future', the publication of a weekly newspaper, the 'Samaja' to propagate the message and programme of the Indian National Congress among the countrymen, and bringing the Congress movement to Orissa and making it a great political force. He had formed the first District Congress Committee at Puri on the 30th August 1920 as the President.

Gopabandhu brought the message of the Indian National Congress to Orissa. At the special Calcutta Session in September 1920, the Indian National Congress took a firm pledge for the attainment of Swaraj and adopted the policy of progressive Non-violent Non-cooperation. Gopabandhu Das and Jagabandhu Singh of Puri attended this Session, fully supporting the decision to launch the Non-cooperation movement.

The Non-cooperation resolution was highly appreciated by the nationalists in Orissa. In December 1920 the annual session of the Congress was held at Nagpur which also Gopabandhu attended with 27 delegates from Orissa under his leadership. This Session of the Congress was organised on a grand scale and it marked the transformation of the Congress into a mass organisation. On their return from Nagpur, most of these
delegates stayed at Chakradharpur to attend the 16th Annual Session of the Utkal Union Conference. Due to Madhusudan Das's refusal, Jagabandhu Singh of Puri was nominated as the President by the Reception Committee.

The Chakradharpur Session of the Utkal Union Conference was a personal triumph for Gopabandhu. The Satyabadi group succeeded in getting a Resolution passed to the effect that the Utkal Union Conference would adopt the Non-cooperation programme of the Congress and join the All-India Movement. The Movement launched by Madhusudan Das for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts was now suspended in favour of a mass movement for Swaraj led by the Satyabadi Group under Gopabandhu Das. Thus a new chapter in the history of the Freedom Movement in Orissa began and the age of moderation was over.

**The Non-cooperation Movement**

A resolution on reorganisation of province on the linguistic basis was passed in the Nagpur Session of the Congress attended by Gopabandhu. It was also decided to make Orissa a base of the Congress Movement. Gopabandhu organised the Orissa Provincial Congress Committee and with the approval of the national leaders the Singhbhum District Congress Committee of Bihar which became organisationally a branch of Orissa provincial Congress Committee called the Utkal Pradesh congress Committee, was constituted in March 1921. The Congress group consisting of Gopabandhu Das, Harekrushna Mahtab, Jadumani Mangaraj, Niranjan Patnaik, Jagabandhu Singh, Bhagirathi Prasad Mohapatra, Mukund Prasad Das and others sat down to constitute the provincial organisation. Gopabandhu Das became its President, Ekram Rasool, the Vice-President, and Bhagirathi Mohapatra and Brajabandhu Das respectively as the Secretary and
Joint Secretary. An Executive Committee of the provincial Congress Committee with twelve members was also formed. The twelve members were Gopabandhu Das, Jagabandhu Singh, Nilakantha Das, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Niranjan Patnaik, Harekrushna Mahatab, Bhagirathi Mohapatra, Dharanidhar Mishra, Rajkrishna Bose, Atal Bihari Acharya, Brajamohan Panda and Jamini Kanta Biswas. The District Committees were formed in Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, Sambalpur and Ganjam.

Besides this, the following persons were to remain in charge of Congress organisation in various districts and subdivisions, H. K. Mahatab, Balasore District, J. Mangaraj, Kendrapara sub-division of Cuttack district, R. K. Bose, Jajpur sub-division of Cuttack district, Bhagirathi Mohapatra, Cuttack Sadar sub-division with headquarters at Alakashram, Jagatsinghpur, Jagabandhu Singh and Krupasindhu Misra, Puri district, Nilakantha Das, Sambalpur district, Niranjan Pattnaik, Ganjam district.

To lead the Congress organisation or to execute its programme of Non-cooperation in Orissa Nabakrushna Choudhury, Nityananda Kanungo, Laxminarayan Misra, Nilakantha Das, Braja Mohan Panda, Atal Bihari Acharya, Rajkrishna Bose and Gopabandhu Choudhury were the prominent young leaders. They contributed much to spread the message of Indian National Congress among the people of Orissa. People both young and old extended their support to the cause of national liberation. The leaders exhorted the people to march ahead in the nationalist movement and sail in the main stream of national life. They also pleaded for merging local patriotism in Indian nationalism.

Gopabandhu spread the message of non-cooperation through the length and breadth of Orissa. Hundreds of students left
schools and colleges. Many lawyers left the Bar and plunged into the movement. Ashramas were established at Puri, Cuttack, Balasore, Sambalpur and Ganjam. National Schools were started at Sambalpur, Satyabadi, Banpur, Chakradharpur and Cuttack and were placed under the Utkal Swaraj Siksha Parisad.

In response to Mahatma's call for non-cooperation, Gopabandhu as a Congressman decided to withdraw himself from the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council. On hearing of Gopabandhu's decision to shun parliamentary activities Sir Edward Gait, the then Lt. Governor of Bihar and Orissa, who had developed great regard for him, tried to dissuade him from pursuing that course. But Gopabandhu was not to be deflected from his decision. In his reply to the Lt. Governor he said, "Goodness or sympathy in a few British administrators cannot solve the problems of the country."

The Non-cooperation Movement spread like the wild fire all-over Orissa. On 24 January 1921, Gopabandhu Das explained the significance of the Movement to a large gathering at Cuttack and an unprecedented enthusiasm was marked there for spreading the movement far and wide. A series of public meetings were held at Mansingpatna, Jagannathballav, Balanga, Satyabadi, Jaipur, Korai, Parlakimedi Tekkali, Kendrapara, Jagatsinghpur, Aska and Ganjam. Gopabandhu moved from place to place to explain the meaning and necessity of Swaraj among the people of Orissa. Rajkrishna Bose and Jadumani Mangaraj were deputed for publicity work in Jaipur and Kendrapara areas respectively. Nilakantha Das assumed the responsibility of spreading the Movement in Sambalpur district.

At Balasore, Soro and Bhadrak large crowds assembled in the public meetings held respectively on 23, 24 and 26
February 1921. Gopabandhu and Jagabandhu toured the entire Puri district for long seven days holding mass meetings at Satyabadi, Keshpur, Malud, and Puri. At Cuttack a group of students organised Utkal Swarajya volunteers League with Brajabandhu Das as the organising Secretary.

Besides organising public meetings, the leaders called upon the people to boycott educational institutions, Councils and the Courts and to give up Government employments. The students of Sambalpur Zilla School were pioneers in boycotting English education and for them, a National School was established on the Satyabadi model under the supervision of Nilakantha Das at the local Fraser Club building. Nilakantha Das received support from Chandra Sekhar Behera and his two sons-in-law, Bhagirathi Misra and Ganesh Prasad Padhi in establishing the School. The Chakradharpur High School was converted to a National School under the leadership of Godavarish Mishra.

In response to the call, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Purna Chandra Das, Raghunath Misra, Kshetra Mohan Mohanty and Hari Charan Mohanty gave up their Government jobs.

People picketed before the liquor shops to prevent the sale of liquor. Gopabandhu pleaded for merging local patriotism in Indian nationalism. He laid stress on the use of the spinning wheel in every home, settlement of all disputes by the Panchayat in every village and unity among all irrespective of caste, creed and religion.

There was a total boycott of the Council elections and at many places ballot boxes were brought back empty from the polling booths.
Gandhi Ji's first visit to Orissa (1921). Gopabandhu is seen in the forefront with folded hands in the public meeting on the sands of the Kathajuri River at Cuttack.
Gandhiji's visit to Orissa in March 1921 roused the state into new ferments of thought and increased the tempo of nationalist activity. He reached at Cuttack on 21st March and toured Cuttack, Puri and Berhampur in the Company of Gopabandhu. Accompanied by Gopabandhu Mahatmaaji visited the Satyabadi School at Sakhigopal and was greatly impressed by it. He addressed a public meeting at Cuttack on the Sandy bed of the river Kathajori, while introducing Mahatma Gandhi to the people of Orissa, Gopabandhu told: "Comrades! the Mahatma whom you were all anxious to see, is now present before you. He is known in every household and to every individual in the country and it is superfluous for me to introduce him to you. Every one in Orissa knows this Great man. Orissa has not made sufficient advance in the political field but she is ahead of every other part of the country in all ages in the field of religion. All the great religious preachers of India have set foot on the sacred soil of Orissa. Great men from Buddha upto Kabir, Ramanuja, Sankar, Nanak, Chaitanya and others who have lived in India, have their symbols in Orissa. About 300 years ago on this very day of Holi, Chaitanya Deva had preached the Doctrine of Love on these sands. Today 300 years after on that very day, another greatman is here to preach the doctrine of political love. Orissa has attained glory through ages for religion. The Mahatma's politics are based on the very same foundation. There is no place for diplomacy in the politics of Mahatma. I know that you are all anxious to follow the foot steps of the Mahatma. Orissa is famous for her catholicity. People of different religions, castes and communities live in peace in this province. There is no difference of caste in Puri. On this auspicious occasion of Mahatmaji's visit to Orissa, I appeal to you to imbibe the
message of Gandhiji in full recollection of the ancient glories and catholicity of the Oriya people. This visit intensified the Freedom Movement in Orissa and the membership of the Congress party increased when members of the depressed classes joined it.

In July - August 1921, the movement to boycott foreign clothes received great momentum when the visit of the Prince of Wales was announced. On 17 November the day the Prince landed at Bombay, there was a general hartal at Cuttack with all shops and markets remaining closed.

In the wake of the Non-cooperation Movement the 'Samaja' became the main vehicle for carrying the message of the Indian National Congress to the people. Gopabandhu was prosecuted as Editor of the paper in 1921 for having written an article in the 'Samaja' criticising the conduct of the police. He had to spend a month in jail as an undertrial prisoner.

In the year 1922 a terrible tragedy occurred in Kanika zamindary whose zamindar was at that time the Executive Councillor of the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa. Pandit Gopabandhu published the stories of oppression in the columns of the 'Samaja' and agitated for holding of an enquiry into this terrible incident for which he was arrested under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. In the Zamindary of Kanika the people revolted against unwarranted rise in taxation and imposition of new taxes.

As desired by Mahatma Gandhi wherever Gopabandhu went, he raised contributions for the "Tilak Swaraj Fund" to perpetuate the memory of his great predecessor Bal Gangadhar Tilak who gave a militant turn to the activities of the
Congress. He also organised the Utkal Independence Service Corps (Utkal Swarajya Sevak Sangh) and called upon the youth of Orissa to become its member in large numbers. There was enthusiastic response to his call and camps for training the volunteers were organised at different places.

In February 1922, Pandit Gopabandhu along with Pandit Lingaraj Mishra went on a short visit to Bombay where they became guests of the Servants of India Society. He drew sympathetic admiration of the people of Bombay for the developmental work in Orissa. Then he also visited all the places of Orissa including Puri and Satyabadi. In June 1922, he was sentenced to six months of imprisonment for having violated Section 144 at Bhadrak. Sri Ananta Misra who had been Gopabandhu's close associate particularly in organising Oriya Schools in Singhbhum was imprisoned with him for sometime.

Rajkrishna Bose was arrested on 21 June 1921 - Orissa's first political prisoner and was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Then followed Gopabandhu Das, Jadumani Mangaraj, Kamruddin Huq, krutibas Nanda, Digambar Srichandan, Ananta Mishra, Govind Mishra, Maulavi Hussain, Babaji Ramdas, Satyabadi Nanda, Nand Kumar Puhan, Jagabandhu Chakravarty, Balaram Das, Daitari Sahu, Baikuntha Rana, Ramchandra Panigrahi, Madhusudan Misra, Lachhman Tripathy, Nisakar Misra, Banchhanidhi Mohanty, Birekrushna Mahatab, Bhairab Chandra Mahapatra, Abhiram Nanda, Mathura Mohan Behera and Purna Chandra Naik.

Inspite of the repressive measures, more and more men got enrolled as Congress members. By the end of June 1921 the Congress could claim 40,000 members.

After the suspension of the Non-cooperation Movement in June 1922, the Congress Working Committee appointed a Civil-
Disobedience Enquiry Committee\textsuperscript{96} to tour the country and report on the possibility of re-starting the Movement. The Committee visited Cuttack on 3 August 1922. It recorded the evidence of Gopabandhu Choudhury, Nilakantha Das, Godavarish Mishra, and a few others, who were still outside the jail. These leaders were of the opinion that the province of Utkal - as it was called by the leaders of the Congress - was not yet ready for mass Civil Disobedience, although individual Civil disobedience could be launched.\textsuperscript{97}

By the end of 1922, almost all the Congress leaders of Orissa had been put behind the bars which caused a great setback to the nationalist movement. With Gopabandhu Das in Jail, the Congress organisation in Orissa developed many troubles. There was clear lack of enthusiasm for party work in the rank and file and of party discipline and unity among the leaders. Provincial organisation became weak.\textsuperscript{98} Nilakantha, Godavarish and other members of the Satyabadi Group formed the 'Swarajya Party' in February 1923 which Harekrushna Mahtab strongly opposed.\textsuperscript{99} A crisis of leadership developed, weakening the Congress party in Orissa.\textsuperscript{100}

At the Delhi Session of the Congress in September 1923 a decision in favour of Council entry was taken.\textsuperscript{101} It was also decided to contest for the ensuing Municipal elections in October. Both the Swarajya party and the Congress Party joined in electioneering. Nilakantha Das and Bhubanananda Das got elected to the Central Legislative Assembly and Godavarish, Jagabandhu, Radharanjan Das and Bhagabat Prasad Mohapatra to the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa. The Swarajya Party secured a working majority in most of the District Boards; old experienced members were substituted by exuberant and
inexperienced youths. The Local Boards soon became platforms for the propagation of political views; attempts were made to hoist the swarajya flag on the Municipal buildings and the employees were advised to use Khadi.\textsuperscript{102} Public money was spent liberally to popularise the ideals of Swadeshi, steps were taken to make spinning compulsory in Primary Schools, which earned them the Government's threat to withdraw grants from the Local Boards.\textsuperscript{103}

The suspended movement for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts received a spur when the Utkal Union Conference was revived at Berhampur in March 1923. Now a compromise was struck between the old Moderates and the new Swarajists by the adoption of certain Congress programmes like Khadi, National education, Village organisations, etc. as the basic principles of the Conference.\textsuperscript{104}

The first Session of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee was held at Cuttack on 28 and 29 June 1924 under the presidency of the eminent scientist and patriot of Bengal, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray. In this Conference Madhusudan Das was enrolled as a member of the Congress Party.\textsuperscript{105} Immediately after his release on 26 June Gopabandhu proceeded to attend this Conference. It was on this occasion that Acharya Prafulla Chandra in his speech referred to Gopabandhu as the "Jewel of Utkal" or "Utkal Moni".

Another notable achievement was the formation of the Utkal Women's Conference sponsored by Sarala Devi. Other leading members of this organisation were Rasomoni Devi, Haimavali Dei and Kishoremoni Dei.\textsuperscript{106} This was the most encouraging phase of the Freedom Movement in Orissa when the Conservative Oriya women gave up the security of their home to
suffer the privations of public life. In 1926 at Puri Gopabandhu established a Widow Home named "Jagannath Ashram" and Widows irrespective of caste and creed were housed in it. A number of Bengalee widows, too found shelter in this Widow Home. Widow re-marriage was also encouraged. He also tried to inspire them to participate in patriotic social service activities.

Political scene in Orissa for a few years after this was calm and placid. Gopabandhu, as the President of the Provincial Congress Committee, set about revitalising the Congress organisation at the district and sub-divisional levels. He reconstituted the District Congress Committees and activised them. The Congress again became an active force for the developmental work in Orissa. He tried to raise subscriptions for Satyabadi School and set it again on a strong footing though, as has been said before, the School started irretrievably moving along the path of disaster from the time it was declared a National Vidyapitha and had to be ultimately suspended in 1926.

In 1925, Lala lajpat Rai paid a visit to Puri in connection with establishment of a branch of Hindu Mahasabha and stayed at the "Samaja" press where he was hosted by the Satyabadi leaders like Pandit Gopabandhu, Pandit Lingaraja Mishra and Sri Radhanath Rath. Lalaji had offered to give Gopabandhu the entire charge of the Hindu Mahasabha to work in the province. The movement for the eradication of untouchability was launched with the help of the Satyabadi group. Literacy centres were established to educate the humble untouchables and Cooperatives were established to help them economically. Leaders attempted to establish Congress Committees in each police station of the Cuttack district. 107
Gandhi's visits to Cuttack in August 1925 and December 1927 were landmarks in the political movement in Orissa.\textsuperscript{108}

With the premature death of Gopabandhu on 17 June 1928, the Congress leadership in Orissa suffered an irreparable loss. The mantle of leadership now fell upon younger Satyabadi leaders and their associates like Gopabandhu Choudhury, Mahtab, Nilakantha, Rajkrishna, Bhagirathi, Bhubanananda, Laxminarayan and Biswanath Das. The Utkal Students Conference functioned as a younger branch of the Congress party.\textsuperscript{109} The Non-cooperation Movement failed to bring Swaraj. But it had removed fear complex from the mind of the people of Orissa.

\textbf{Civil Disobedience Movement}

The Lahore Session of the Congress (December, 1929) adopted the credo of 'Poorna Swaraj'. As in other parts of India, people of Orissa took the pledge of independence on 26 January, 1930. At Bhubaneswar, the tricolour flag of freedom was hoisted on the Lingaraja Temple.\textsuperscript{109} Then the Civil Disobedience Movement was launched in Orissa.

With the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930, the political barometer in Orissa shot up, bringing an end to the placidity in the Congress movement following the death of Gopabandhu Das. The Swarajist members - Nilakantha Das, Lingaraj Mishra, Godavarish Mishra and Nandakishore Das withdrew from the Legislatures. And now all eyes were focussed on an upcoming leader - Harekrushna Mahtab,\textsuperscript{110} and the Satyabadi leaders became his associates.

During Gandhi's visit to Orissa in December 1927, Mahtab had discussed with him the prospects of a salt campaign and Gandhi's reaction was encouraging.\textsuperscript{111} The Civil Disobedience Movement began on 12 March 1930 with the famous Dandi March.
Earlier on 2 March 1930 in a letter to Lord Irwin, Gandhi had explained his mind with regard to the salt laws. "As the independence movement is essentially for the poorest in the land, the beginning will be made with this evil." Gandhiji violated the Salt laws on 6 April 1930.

In Orissa Salt Satyagraha was a very powerful movement in the coastal areas perhaps only next to Gujarat where Gandhiji himself had started the movement. Then Mahtab selected Inchudi a coastal village in the Balasore district as Orissa's Dandi to launch the Salt satyagraha. Gopabandhu Choudhury and Mahtab had been appointed respectively as the President and the Secretary of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee for 1930.

On 16 March 1930 the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee met at Balasore and decided to break the salt laws. Harekrushna Mahtab and Surendranath Das made arrangements for Salt Satyagraha at Inchudi, a village in Balasore sea coast. Surendranath Das was popularly known as Sardar for his organising ability during the salt satyagraha.

On 6 April 1930, the day on which Gandhiji broke the salt law at Dandi, a batch of twenty-one Satyagrahis was selected as the first group of volunteers to proceed from Cuttack to Inchudi on foot. Gopabandhu Choudhury and Acharya Harihara Das were selected as the leader of the Satyagrahis and began their journey. On the day of their march, the entire city of Cuttack was on the street to felicitate them. On April 9 the Second batch of Satyagrahis led by Sri Madan Mohan Patnaik started from Cuttack for Balasore on the Jagannath Road. This batch was called "the Lauhostambha Bahini". Soon after this a batch of Satyagrahis called the "Patitpaban Bahini" led by Sri Satyabadi Nanda started from Puri and additional two batches of
Preparation of Satyagraha Salt at Inchudi.
Gandhi's Padayatra in Orissa 1934
Satyagrahis started from Cuttack for Balasore. On the way Gopabandhu Choudhury was arrested on 13 April 1930. Acharya Harihar Das and other Satyagrahis picked up salt at Inchudi in violation of the Salt laws. The Satyagrahis were arrested. More Satyagrahis, batch by batch, arrived at Inchudi to break the salt laws. Even a batch of Satyagrahis came from Gujarat.

Two days after the news of the arrest of Gopabandhu Choudhury and Atal Bihari Acharya caused great commotion at Cuttack leading to strike, picketing and processions. But the salt campaign at Inchudi continued unabated not withstanding the arrest of its chief organiser Mahtab and hundreds of other satyagrahis. The womenfolk of the neighbouring villages and towns joined the movement to break the Government's salt laws. Sarla Devi, Rama Devi, Malati Devi, Sabitri Devi, Ambika Devi and hundreds of women volunteers evinced great courage to keep the movement on. Soon the movement spread to Puri, Humma, Sriramchandrapur, Kujang and Kakatpur. In Cuttack District, Kujanga was an important centre for salt Satyagraha. In June 1930 Rani Bhagyabati Pata Mahadei of Kujanga, along with 500 women satyagrahis violated the salt laws. In Puri district the salt agitation was led by Pandit Nilakantha Das. The salt satyagraha was launched in Astarang area of Puri under the leadership of Pandit Nilakantha Das and Sri Jagannath Rath and in Ganjam district, this satyagraha was led by Sri Niranjan Patnaik and Biswanath Das for preparing contraband salt. Many workers and leaders of Ganjam district were arrested and imprisoned in Vellore and other jails. Smt. Sarala Devi was arrested while making campaign in support of the satyagraha. Many workers and leaders in Puri district were also arrested. Thus the whole of Orissa coast was influenced by the salt
campaign. Even volunteers from Koraput and Sambalpur areas joined the Satyagrahis of coastal Orissa. Actually the Salt Satyagraha at Inchudi stirred the people of Orissa as never before.

Pandit Nilakantha became President of the Utkal Pradeshik Congress Committee for some time. But protesting against the arrest of Gandhiji he resigned from the Viceroy's Council and took active part in the Civil Disobedience Movement in Orissa. Pandit Lingaraj Mishra became the President of Utkal Pradeshik Congress Committee after the arrest of Pandit Nilakantha Das. He was the last systematically elected president of the Utkal Pradeshik Congress Committee during the agitation.

Apart from the organisation of salt marches, boycott of foreign cloth, propagation of Khadi, picketing before the liquor shops and other constructive programmes continued in Orissa. The Civil Disobedience Movement was fairly wide-spread. A considerable section of the village people supported the Movement. In 1931, the Utka Congress Party decided to set up Krushak Sanghas. Another important feature of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the participation of women and teenagers called 'Banar Sena'. The Congress had evinced its organising capacity. Jawaharlal Nehru, wrote on 17 February 1931, "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."

The Civil Disobedience Movement was withdrawn in May 1934. But the struggle for freedom did not come to an end. Gandhiji commenced his Harijan campaign in Orissa in May 1934. He first reached Jharsuguda and travelling through Sambalpur and
Angul, he reached Puri. His actual walking-tour (Padayatra) started from Puri. Addressing the rural people Gandhiji said, "I have come here for service of the Harijans which we had long neglected. If you have thoroughly understood my teachings, go near them, call them your brothers and devote yourselves to the service of the Harijans." From Puri Gandhiji walked to Cuttack to continue his 'Padayatra' from village to village till 8 June 1934.

The people of India were greatly influenced by the example set by the Satyagrahis of Orissa and the struggle for freedom was greatly intensified as a result of which the country became independent in 1947. The role of the Students, youths and women in the Satyagraha in Orissa was important. No where in India this Satyagraha did turn into a mass agitation as it was in Orissa barring Gujarat. The invaluable contribution of the Satyagrahis of Orissa constitutes an epoch-making chapter in India's history of independence. The sacrifice, spirit of nationalism and patriotism of the people of Orissa have remained as the source of inspiration for the masses even today.

The Role of Women in the Freedom Movement

It was not at all a matter of insignificance that the women in Orissa came out of their homes disregarding the 'Purda' system to equally take part with their male counterparts in the Freedom Movement. The dignified dealings of Acharya Harihara and others of the Satyabadi group afforded the opportunity to the womenfolk of Orissa to join the Freedom Movement in as much as the action of Gandhiji, who addressed a women's meeting at Cuttack accompanied by his wife in 1921, deeply influenced them to participate in this Movement. As a result, hundreds of women of Orissa became determined to
participate in the Freedom Movement being encouraged by the simple and pure way of living and patriotic feeling and teaching of the Satyabadi group. The leadership of the eminent woman-leaders like Sarala Devi, Rama Devi and Malati Choudhury was the main source of encouragement for the ladies of conservative families in Orissa since 1921. In March 1921, Gandhiji came to Orissa accompanied by his wife. A women's meeting was held at Binodbihari in Cuttack town. About 40 women including Srimati Sarojini Choudhury (daughter of Fakirmohan Senapati), Smt. Hiranmayee Devi, (Fakir Mohan Senapati's daughter-in-law), Smt. Sarala Devi (Wife of Bhagirathi Mohapatra), Smt. Rama Devi (Gopabandhu Choudhury's wife), Smt. Haimavati Devi (Sister of Kulamani Samantara) had attended this meeting.

Gandhiji had exhorted them to take up spinning, to wear Khadi and to eschew 'Parda' system and untouchability. Smt. Sarala Devi, Smt. Haimavati Devi, Smt. Rama Devi and others were enrolled as Congress Members and used Khadi. 118

As Congress delegates, Smt. Rama Devi, Smt. Padmavati Devi and Smt. Hiramani Devi (Mother of Niranjan Patnaik of Aska, Ganjam) had attended the All-India Congress Committee's Annual Conference at Gaya in December 1922. In 1924, Smt. Sarala Devi had the privilege to address the political meeting presided over by Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy held in the Cuttack Municipality Ground. This created a stir at Cuttack.

Srimati Haimavati Devi had also addressed the Women's meeting organised at the Swarajya Ashram. 119

In June 1924, the Utkal Mahila Sammilani was held at Berhampur in Ganjam due to the efforts of Smt. Purnalata Devi. Smt. Sarala Devi, Smt., Kishorimani Devi and Smt. Haimavati Devi had spoken at this meeting explaining the aims and approaches of
the Congress. In 1925, Srimati Sunamani Hota (Wife of the brother of Pandit Krupasindhu Hota) attended the Annual Conference of the Pradesh Congress Committee held at Bolgarh and due to her propaganda and encouragement, a women's meeting was held at Bolgarh.\textsuperscript{120}


In December 1928, Srimati Jahnabi Devi (wife of Mukunda Prasad Das), Srimati Kokila Devi (daughter of Bhagabat Prasad Mohapatra of Bhadrak), Smt. Sarala Devi, Srimati Sarojini choudhury, Smt. Rasamani Devi, Srimati Rama Devi and others had attended the Annual Conference of the Congress as delegates.

At the beginning of 1930, Srimati Sunamani Hota and Srimati Annapurna Sahu went to the 'Satyagraha Ashram' of Gandhiji at Ahmedabad in Gujarat for training.

In 1930, Puru Bai came to Orissa from the 'Satyagraha Ashram' of Gandhiji. She and Nathi Bai, wife of Jivaram Kalyanji Kothari, made Congress campaign among the women-folk of Balasore District and taught them about spinning and encouraged them to eschew 'Parda' system. Srimati Nisamani Devi (daughter-in-law of Sudam Charan Nayak) of Bhadrak accommodated them in her house not being intimidated by the threatenings given by the Government and she herself took to Khadi and started spinning at the wheel (Charakha).
In 1930, hundreds of women from Inchudi, Srijang and Rasulpur etc. villages of Orissa violated the salt law under the leadership of Srimati Rama Devi, Srimati Malati Choudhury and Srimati Kiranbala Sen (Satyanarayan Sengupta's relation). Hundreds of women of Kaliapat village in Cuttack district produced salt under the leadership of the Queen of Kujang (Kujang Rani), Srimati Rama Devi and Smt. Malati Choudhury. In 1930, Smt. Binapani Devi (Advocate Bana Bihari Palit's daughter), Smt. Kiranabala Sen, Smt. Sunamani Hota, Smt. Anjali Devi, Smt. Sundarmani Devi, Smt. Sobhabati Panda (wife of Antaryami Panda), Smt. Golap Sundari Devi (Mother of Rajkishore Das of Balikuda), Smt. Sarala Devi, Smt. Prafulla Kumari Hota (wife of Biswanath Hota), Smt. Radha Devi (Biswanath Lane), Smt. Chandramani Devi, Smt. Rama Devi, Smt. Malati Choudhury and others participated in activities like picketing before the shops selling foreign-cloth, violation of salt law, collection of volunteers for the Satyagraha, taking the message of the Congress movement to the people and etc. works. But Smt. Sarala Devi, Smt. Malati Choudhury and Smt. Rama Devi were imprisoned. Smt. Sarala Devi set up an Ashram named 'Udjoga Mandir' at Berhampur and was organizing for the 'Satyagraha'. But the Government had arrested her by detaining the train while she was on her way to Humma to violate the salt law. She was sentenced for six months. Smt. Malati Choudhury was sentenced to six months of imprisonment and Smt. Rama Devi was imprisoned for 8 months.

On August 2, 1931 a 'Mahila Sammilani' was held at Balasore under the chairmanship of Dr. Kuntala Kumari Sabat after the release of the Satyagrahis in accordance with the
Gandhi-Irwin Pact in 1931. Hundreds of women had attended this Sammilani and more than one thousand women had attended the meeting held at Bag Brundaban Ground at Balasore. The impact of this Women's Rally was felt at the time of the agitation in 1932. Smt. Jahnavi Devi was the chair-person of the Reception Committee of the Sammilani. Prior to this, a Mahila Sammilani held at Puri on May 10, 1931 under the presidency of Smt. Jahnavi Devi was attended by Smt. Kumudini Panigrahi from Balasore, Smt. Radhamoni Devi, Smt. Gouri Devi, Smt. Ichhamoni Devi, Smt. Rohini Devi, Smt. Jamuna Devi, Smt. Savitri Devi and others. Smt. Rama Devi and Smt. Kiranbala Sen from Cuttack had also attended this Sammilani or Conference. Although Dr. Kuntala Kumari Sabat was running an institution say a Nursing Home at Delhi, yet she associated herself with the Freedom Movement. Her book 'Ahwan' having a fervour of nationalism and patriotism was forfeited by the Government.

The Annual Conference of the Congress party at Karachi in 1931 was attended by Smt. Sarojini Choudhury, Smt. Sarala Devi, Smt. Malati Choudhury and Smt. Rama Devi as delegates. Those who were attending the Annual Conference of the Congress Party were being generally selected as A.I.C.C. members for that year.

Smt. Sarala Devi was the first Oriya woman who addressed this Congress Session and moved a resolution to the effect that the next Session of the Congress would be held at Puri and this was seconded by Gopabandhu Choudhury.

As a preparatory to this Session, a 'Woman Volunteers' Training Camp was systematically organised at Puri under the guidance and supervision of the Hindusthani Seva Dal. Before this, Smt. Malati Choudhury was teaching drill to the young
women after gathering them from different Sahis of Cuttack town and Ramananda Sharma from Bihar was teaching Rastrabhasa to these young women. Smt. Amiya Ghosh (daughter of Sri Krushnaballav Ghosh, Smt. Namita Palit (daughter of Sri Brundaban Palit), Smt. Nakshyatramali alias Premamali Mohanty (daughter of Bichitrananda Mohanty), Karuna, Hasi, Khusi, Sati, Bijan (daughter of Dr. Rajanikant Ghosh) Smt. Annapurna (daughter of Gopabandhu Choudhury), Smt. Subhabati (wife of Antarjyami Panda) and other young women were participating in this programme.

At the Puri camp, lessons were being imparted on drill, knife-weilding, lathi-weilding, flag-hoisting, Crowd and traffic control (as the British police were not co-operating at the time of Congress Session), night-patrolling, first-aid, Rashtrabhasa, National Anthem, History of Orissa, History of Congress, History of Satyagraha, Physiology, rules and regulations of the Congress party and etc. The training in the subjects was given by Susila Balsatwar (Drill and Flag hoisting), Acharya Harihara Das (Physiology and Congress' rules and regulation), Jagabandhu Singh (Orissa History), Gopabandhu Choudhury (History of Satyagraha), Advocate Jagannath Misra (History of the Congress), Dr. Shankar Das (First Aid), Mukundara and Balasatwar (patrolling and crowd control), Basanti Dasgupta (knife-weilding), Urmila Ghosh and others. 33 young women in the first batch and 55 young women in the second batch had attended these two camps conducted on military-line. As a result of these two camps, a new chapter of women's awakening had begun. Smt. Malati Choudhury joined the Instructors' Training Camp first of all.

Agitation was again launched in January 1932. Smt.

Suitable women also took lead in spread of the Rastrabhosa.

The woman community in Orissa also assumed an important role in the 'Back to Village' Movement of Gandhiji during 1934 to 1947.

Creation of the Province of Orissa

Gopabandhu Das, the Congress leader who assumed the leadership of the Utkal Union Conference at its Chakradharpur Session, was thrown into the prison along with many of his associates during the Non-cooperation Movement. The ruling chiefs and officials withdrew their support making the Conference a defunct body. In 1921 and 1922 none convened a session of this Conference. Then Sasibhusan Rath, the Editor of 'Asha' and Member of the Legislative Council, Madras made an appeal to the Oriyas to observe how the Congress had done nothing to promote the cause of Orissa and how the Congress party members in Orissa had destroyed a noble organisation and it was proposed to hold the next session of the Utkal Union Conference at Berhampur during the Easter holidays of 1923 for which a Reception Committee was formed with Sri Rath as Chairman.
Thus the Seventeenth Session of the Utkal Union Conference was held on 31 March and 1 April 1923 after two years. A fresh group of moderates asserted their leadership in the conference and revived the resolution on amalgamation. Amalgamation of the Oriya speaking-tracts again became the chief slogan of the Utkal Union Conference. The conference at Berhampur had a tremendous impact on the dormant Oriya mind. There was a sudden spurt of activities to mobilise the public in favour of the Oriya cause.

The Oriya members of the Central Legislative Assembly kept up their pressure on the Government of India for conceding the demand for a United Orissa. On 31 January 1927, Nilakantha Das asked a series of questions regarding amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts. For all these questions Alexander Muddiman, the Home Member had paid a visit to Patna, Cuttack and Madras to make a personal assessment of the Oriya problem. Before adopting any definite scheme for the future of the Oriya-speaking tracts, he agreed to consult the public opinion on the matter.

In spite of this Nilakantha Das moved the following resolution on 8 February, 1927: "That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General-in-Council to be pleased to take immediate steps to put or publish the scheme of putting all Oriya-speaking tracts under one local administration." The debate that followed on this resolution revealed two views on the way to solve the Oriya problem, one represented by Nilakantha Das and the other by Bhubananda Das. The proceedings of the above debate marked a change in public attitude towards the political future of the Oriya-speaking tracts.
Gopabandhu Das's death had created a void in the party since 1928 leaving it almost leaderless.\textsuperscript{132} In addition to that, dissension and difference among the leading Congressmen of Orissa soon after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact had a dampening effect on the rank and file.\textsuperscript{133} On the 5th February 1929 Nandakishore Das,\textsuperscript{134} a Member of the Legislative Council from Balasore and the Satyabadi leader Godavarish Misra,\textsuperscript{135} the Member from Puri, moved a resolution for the appointment of a committee of both officials and non-officials to examine the question of amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts.

In September 1931, Nilakantha Das resigned from the party leadership followed by Gopabandhu Choudhury, the General Secretary. Shortly thereafter, Mahtab, too, resigned as Senanayak of the Volunteer Corps. There was no cooperation among the leaders for organising the proposed All-India Congress Session at Puri and repeated appeals of Mahtab for collective effort had no effect. Nilakantha Das was the chairman of the Reception Committee for this Congress Session.

At the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee meeting held at Balasore in March 1931, Congressmen under the presidency of Nilakantha adopted a resolution urging the All-India Congress Committee to expedite the formation of the separate Orissa province and regretting the disregard, callousness and negligence evinced by the Indian National Congress to solve the Oriya problem.\textsuperscript{136} There were some leaders who wanted that the Oriya problem should be given top priority over and above the national problems. Lingaraj Misra, Editor of the 'Samaja' called upon his Congress colleagues to attach greater importance to the interests of Orissa than the national interests.\textsuperscript{137} The wind was now blowing in favour of mobilising the Orissa Congress towards
creation of a separate province. However, Mahtab differed from this general consensus. He urged the Orissa Congress to fight first for Swaraj; attainment of the Country's independence, he was sure, would be followed by the regressal of the Oriya grievances. He felt that the creation of a separate Orissa province would automatically follow Swaraj like day following the dawn.

The situation in the Congress party of Orissa faced deterioration due to such difference. The provincial and District Committees lost their effectiveness and purpose. No wonder, therefore, that Nabakrushna Choudhury, an important Congressman, openly alleged that the Orissa Congress had two factions - one group consisting of Nilakantha Das, Sashibhusan Rath, and Lingaraj Panigrahi, the other group consisting of Mahtab, Gopabandhu Choudhury and Prana Krushna Padhiari. The Press also openly criticised the lack of discipline and deplorable state of affairs in the Congress organisation in Orissa. It justifiably called the Orissa Congress a faction-ridden party having three rival groups, e.g., the Gandhi group, the Socialist group and the Council group.

But even when the Congress organisation in Orissa weakened itself by internal dissension and differences, there was a silver lining in the dark cloud. The Oriyas renewed their agitation for the attainment of political unity in the form of a province with all Oriya-speaking tracts as its constituents. An All-party conference was convened at Cuttack on 2 May 1931 under the chairmanship of Harihara Das where it was resolved to work unitedly for the creation of a separate Orissa province by forming a committee to initiate propaganda measures. Nilakantha Das was chosen as the head of this Committee and was
requested by the Congress members to plead the case of the Oriya-speaking people before the proposed Boundary Committee. A number of other committees were formed to look after finance, publicity, collection of documents and evidences in favour of amalgamation of all Oriya-speaking tracts. It was heartening to see leaders of various parties and factions working harmoniously for the common cause in the Leaders' Conference on 12 February 1933. Their unity was vindicated when they were blessed by the Grand Old Man of Orissan politics, Madhusudan Das, for success in their noble endeavour.

On March 1933, a meeting was held in the Keonjhar palace at Cuttack and it was resolved that a deputation should wait on the Governor of Bihar and Orissa on 2 April 1933 during Governor's proposed visit to Orissa and place before him the problems of Orissa's proposed boundary. On 23 March 1933, Banamali Das, chairman of the Puri Municipality, suggested to hold an All-party Conference at Cuttack to discuss about the boundary issue. Then according to the resolution of the Government of India on 24 June 1933, the 'Orissa Administration Committee' was appointed with J. A. Hubback as the chairman. The Committee selected Cuttack as the provincial capital. They recommended for a separate High Court and a separate University. For the first time the province of Orissa with Cuttack as its capital came into being as one of the eleven Governor's provinces in India. Sir John Austen Hubback, K. C.S.I., I. C. S. was appointed as its first Governor. To mark the occasion the Governor convened a meeting on 1 April 1936 at Cuttack. This meeting was attended by the Members of all the Oriya People's Association. The Governor also read out the message of the Viceroy as follows: "For myself I fully realise that you, the
people of Orissa, have striven long and earnestly for the union under one Government of all the Oriyas and for the creation of a separate province of Orissa the ancient home of a Hindu religion and culture, a worthy unit in the great Federation of India."  

For the last time on 28 March 1936 the Oriya Members attended the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council. In the Council the chairman, in course of his farewell address, stated as follows: "They (Oriya members) have rendered very valuable services to the province as a whole. Our relation with them has been always cordial and intimate. I assure them on behalf of the Hon'ble Members of this Council from Bihar that they have our good wishes in the future happiness and prosperity of their new province. Laxmidhar Mohanty, the Oriya Member of the Council, thanked the Chairman and other Members.

Thus from 1920 to 1936 the Oriya Movement became more active and vigorous. The India Act of 1919 completely ignored the demand of the Oriyas. But the prominent Satyabadi leaders of Orissa repeatedly put the amalgamation question before the provincial Legislative Council, the Indian Legislative Assembly and even the British Parliament. In course of time the issue of amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas was merged in a new demand for the formation of a separate Orissa Province. Even after the death of Pandit Gopabandhu Das the leader of the Satyabadi group in 1928, his associates like Pandit Nilakantha Das, Godavarish Mishra and Acharya Harihara Das contributed much to solve the problems of the Oriyas and for the creation of the Orissa province. The appointment of the Simon Commission which was followed by the Round Table Conference contributed a lot in this direction. The Government appointed the Boundary
Commission as a preliminary step towards the formation of the Orissa Province. At last the India Act of 1935 was promulgated and the separate province of Orissa was formed on 1st April 1936. For almost a week there were wild celebrations, meetings, processions, prayers, distribution of sweets and feeding the destitutes everywhere. The province of Orissa, the cherished dream of years, at last became a reality.
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2. W. W. Hunter, Orissa, Vol. II (London, 1872), pp.145-146. In 1854 about eight vernacular schools of different grades were opened in the Division.

3. General Report on the Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, 1858-59, Letter No.277, dated 1.7.1859 from the Inspector of Schools, South West Bengal to the D.P.I.


5. Sir George Campbell Constituted the Orissa Famine Commission. In 1872 he was the Lt. Governor of Bengal.

6. By 1882 there were 6 High Schools, 23 Middle English and 35 Middle Vernacular Schools. AAR-OD, 1881-82, p.60.

7. U.D., 10.9.1872.


9. Oriya and Nava Sambad, 13 April 1892.


11. Ibid, 29 September, 1894.


15. AAR, Orissa Division, 1892-93, p.28.


17. BRR, Letter from the Commissioner (1855), Vol. 120, No.389, Commissioner to the Government of Bengal, 22 December 1855, also BRR, Letter from the Commissioner (1856), Vol.124, No.261 Commissioner to the Collector of Puri, 20 March, 1856.


20. Proc. Bihar and Orissa, Political Department, Special Section File No. 211 of 1919, p.3.

21. QAR, OD, 1901-05, pp.53-54.


24. U.D., 25.4.1903


26. A leading Advocate of Cuttack

27. U.D., 25.4.1903.

28. U.D., 12.9.1903

29. Letter No. 3678 dated Calcutta, 3 December 1903 from H. H. Risley, Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, addressed to the Local Governments of Bengal, the Central Provinces and Madras. Published in *Gazette of India*, 12.12.1903.


31. U.D., 25.4.1903.


33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. U.D., 2.3.1912.

36. U.D., 13.4.1912.

37. Asha, 10.11.1913.


40. Asha, 4 January 1915.
41. Asha, 18 January 1915.


43. U.D., 29 July 1916.

44. Two Bachelors of Arts, The Oriya Movement, pp. 334-35.

45. U.D., 31st March 1917.


47. Two Bachelors of Arts, The Oriya Movement, p.48.

48. Asha, 28 April 1919,
U.D., 26 April 1919.

49. Ibid.

50. Utkal Sevak, 8.5.1919.


52. U.D., 4.2.1888.

53. In this Session formal protest against partition of Bengal was lodged and boycott of foreign goods was approved.

54. QAR-OD, 1901-1905, p.16,
AAR-OD, 1908-09, p.6.

55. A powerful writer whose novels ushered an age of renaissance in Oriya literature. Attended 1898 Congress Session at Madras and presided over 13th Session of the Utkal Union Conference at Cuttack in 1917.

56. NNPR- Bengal, 1905, WE- 23.9.1905.


58. NNPR- Bengal, WE-7.10.1905, and 28.10.1905.

59. NNPR, Bengal, WE- 28.10.1905.

60. UD, 30.9.1905.

61. A Patriotic Slogan.

63. NNPR-Bengal, 1905, WE-25.11.1905

64. Ibid, 1907, WE-27.4.1907.

65. NNPR, Bengal, 1908, WE-12.9.1908 and 19.12.1908.


67. Jatin Das and Sasanka Sekhar Chakravarty.

68. S. N. Das, Utkalmani Gopabandhu, p.77


73. OONS, 29.4.1908, The letter was dated 24.4.1908.

74. Utkal Sevak, 8.5.1919.


78. 127 Votes were cast in favour of the Resolution and 16 against, OONS, 6.1.1921.

79. OONS, 27.1.1921.


81. The Samaja, 5.3.1921.

82. The Samaja, 12.2.1921.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid, 19.2.1921.
85. The Samaja, 26.2.1921.
86. Ibid, 19.3.1921.
87. The Samaja, 30.4.1921.
88. Ibid, 6.2.1921.
89. Ibid, 21.5.1921.
89a. Speech of Gopabandhu: Samaj, 28.3.1921.
90. The Samaja, 28.3.1921.
91. Ibid.
93. The Samaja, 25.6.1921.
95. Ibid, 9.7.1921.
99. Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das formed the Swarajya Party on All-India level on 1.1.1923 with the aim of attaining Dominion Status. Their method was that of obstructionism i.e., to oppose every measure of the Government and destroy the British bureaucracy.
100. Harekrushna Mahtab, Sadhanar Pathe, pp.94 and 122.
101. To seek election to the Provincial and Central Legislatures.
102. AAR-B and O, 1924-25, p.3
103. Ibid, 1925-26, p.29.
104. The Samaja, 2.4.1923.
105. U.D., 7.1.1924 and 5.7.1924.
110. Mahtab was born in a Zamindar family of Agarpara in Balasore District on 21 November 1899. He left Ravenshaw College to join freedom Movement in 1921.

111. Harekrushna Mahtab, Sadhanar Pathe, p.115.

112. Prajatantra, 7.4.1930.

113. Prajatantra, 3.3.1930.

113a. Interview with Satyabadi Nanda on 5.6.1988

114. Prajatantra, 14.4.1930
   U.D., 12.4.1930.

115. Prajatantra, 28.4.1930 and 5.5.1930; Interview with Satyabadi Nanda on 5.6.1988.

116. U.D., 17.5.1930.

117. U.D., 31.5.1930 and 7.6.1930.


120. Mo Jail Smrutilipi by Radhanath Rath, the Editor of the Samaja.

121. Gopabandhu Rachanavali.

122. Gandhi Rachanavali, Satyagraha.


124. Kalpataru Das, a leading Advocate of Cuttack was its President.

125. Sashibhusan Rath, B. N. Mishra, Bar-at-Law, Bhubaneswar Das and Ramnarain Misra etc.
126. Nilakantha Das and Bhubanananda Das.


128. Proc. Home-Pub. 1927, No.16/27, Para II, Special, New Delhi, Also see Prajatantra, 9.2.1927 (Different Groups of Politicians in Orissa).


131. Nilakantha Das was a staunch Congresssite - whereas B.N.Das was a moderate. As such they represented two views; Interview with Satyabadi Nanda on 5.6.1988.

132. Utkal Sevak, 27.2.1930.

133. Prajatantra, 27.4.1931. An Open letter to H. K. Mahtab to Laxminarayan Patnaik may be seen.


136. Asha, 16.3.1931.

137. The Samaja, 9.5.1931.

138. Prajatantra, 23.11.1931.


140. The Samaja, 21.7.1935.

141. Asha, 4.3.1936; H. K. Mahtab's Sadhanar Pathe, p. 175.


143. He belonged to the Satyabadi Group.

144. U.D., 9.5.1931, The Samaj, 3.5.1931 and 16.5.1931.

145. The Samaja, 16.5.1931, Other members of the Committee were Gopabandhu Choudhury, Lingaraj Panigrahi, Sashibhusan Rath, Niranjan Patnaik, Mukunda Prasad Das, Bichitranaanda Das, and Laxminarayan Misra.
146. Asha, 25 March, 1933.

147. Reforms Office, File No. 46/36-G(B), National Archives of India, New Delhi.
