CHAPTER-3

MADHUSUDAN DAS AND HIS PIVOTAL ROLE IN UNITING ORISSA
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Organizations or institutions are the necessary vehicles through which the desired objective is tried to attend. Nationalist movements that became a common characteristic in the 19th and 20th centuries mostly adopted democratic methods. Mostly influenced by Gandhian principles of non-violence and democratic means of agitation of the Indian National Congress, Madhusudan tried to reorganize the Oriya people on his own ideas. Garibaldi, the Young Italy of Mazzini was thus a great source of inspiration to him and other nationalists since it rekindled into the youth and through them into the masses a spirit of revolt against the suppression of their right. Similarly the Utkal Union Conference was largely an instrument to arouse responses from the various groups and rebuild them into a mass movement for redressal of their long standing goal.

The first twenty years of the present century were dominated by the activities of Utkal Union Conference through which Madhusudan Das tried to implement his policy of moderation. In fact, the Conference served as an organisational base for formulating and popularising his political programme. He held moderate political views and the 'Moderate Era' of Indian politics (1885-1920) was more or less countermenous to his own public life. The nascent Oriya nationalism could attain maturity through the Utkal Union Conference, during twenty years of existence this organisation closely identified itself with the hopes and aspirations of the Oriya-speaking people and sincerely strove to realise them. Madhusudan was its undisputed leader till 1920 when with the launching of the Gandhian movement of Non-cooperation, the period of Moderation came to an end and a new group of political leaders emerged in Orissa. Since then Madhusudan lost his grip over Orissa politics.

3.1 Futility of Solving Oriya problems through National Freedom Movement
In the last two decades of the 19th century on account of lack of communication facilities very few Oriya delegates could attend the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress. Raja Baikuntha Nath De from Balasore was the first delegate from Orissa who attended the Calcutta session of the National Congress. During the first fifteen years (1885-1900) only 11 (Oriya delegates are known to have attended the Congress sessions on six different occasions. This All-India organisation was probably unable to ventilate the grievances of small political units or people devoid of their own identity. It concerned itself more with all-India matters and could evince no interest in the affairs of the Oriyas. The Oriyas were treated as appendices of the Bengal contingents and the grievances of the vociferous Bengalis always took precedence over their problems. The proceedings of the National Congress were dominated by Bengali stalwarts like Surendranath Banerjee, Woomes Chandra Banerjee, Rasabehari Ghosh, Bhupendra Nath Basu, etc, and the Oriya delegates always remained mute spectators in the National congregation. No Oriya delegate ever spoke at the Congress session, not even when the Congress passed resolution against the excision of Ganjam from Madras, which the Risley Circular had proposed. It was, therefore, futile to hope that the problems of the Oriyas would be solved through the national forum.

3.2 Need for provincial Alternative

The above realisation prompted the Oriya leaders to devise a provincial alternative which would stimulate public interest in common welfare. At the beginning of the current century Surendra Nath Banerjee of Bengal was planning for a separate organisation at the provincial level. Since the grievances of the Oriya-speaking people were not identical with those of the Bengalis, Madhusudan Das decided to start a regional forum for his countrymen. The Ganjam National Conference was a mere experiment to launch a more vigorous, broad based organisation in Orissa. At the Conference, Madhusudan could realise that notwithstanding the political dismemberment, the Oriya race was pining for unity and pulsating with a new life; the scattered Oriya-speaking people would welcome the idea of forming a regional forum to tackle their own
problems. Time was not ripe for plunging in to the national mainstream of the Congress movement, so long as the regional maladies were not cured.  

3.3 Its Genesis and British Government's Direction to officials not to attend

On 25 October 1903 a public meeting was held at the Kanika palace at Cuttack where it was resolved to hold a general conference on 30-31 December (1903) and 1 January (1904). An Executive Committee was formed with the Raja of Kanika as the chairman. The executive committee at its meeting on 15 November drew up an Agenda for the proposed conference and requested the Raja of Bamra to preside. The Committee also decided to arrange an exhibition on the occasion of the conference. Another meeting of the Executive had to be convened on 25 November on account of the death of Raja of Bamra which invited the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj to preside. A Sub-Committee of 3 members was setup to select and invite delegates from Sambalpur, Midnapore and Ganjam. Narendra Nath Choudhury of Cuttack allowed his premises at Idga Maidan to be utilised as the venue for the conference. On 6 December the Executive met again to convey their gratitude to the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj for accepting the chairmanship and to draw up a list of high officials who would be specially invited to the Conference. A few members were requested to wait upon the Commissioner personally to accord him an exclusive invitation. For maintaining peace and discipline groups of student volunteers were selected. At its 4th meeting on 10 December the Executive approved a special type of rose coloured turban for the delegates. Subsequently they drew up a tentative programme for entertainment, fixed up the items and prizes for the Exhibition and arranged for the accommodation of visiting delegates.

All draft resolutions, list of the proposers and seconders were drawn up at a meeting held on 20 December. The members made a heated discussion on the Risley proposals but expressed their gratitude to the Government for proposing to amalgamate the scattered Oriya-speaking tracts under the administration of Bengal. At the seventh meeting of the Executive Committee ten Joint Secretaries were elected permanently for the Utkal Union Conference and the Commissioner was formally requested to inaugurate the Exhibition on 1
January 1904. Then some problems cropped up. The Government in a circular asked all their officers not to attend the Conference, and this led to the resignation of some officials from membership.

3.4 British Government Reconsidered its Decision

Such decision of the Government was unexpected, because the organisers had made it quite clear that the Conference would be a non-political body. Madhusudan, therefore, as the Secretary of the Organising Committee had to move fast in appealing the Lieutenant Governor and the Viceroy to allow the Government officers to attend the Conference. He stated that the Conference was an attempt of the backward Oriya-speaking people to improve their lot and since most of them were low paid Government employees, it would be unfair to deny them an opportunity to discuss measures for their welfare. He drew instances from Madras and Bombay to point out that these provincial Governments had extended liberal patronage for holding the Congress sessions and allowed Judges of the High Court and Secretaries to preside over non-political meetings. In his opinion, the Oriyas had not committed any such act of disloyalty which could force the Government to with draw their trust. On this appeal of Madhusudan, Curzon asked the Lieutenant Governor to allow the subordinate officials in Orissa to participate in the Conference and the elaborate arrangements of the Reception Committee could be saved at the last moment. On 25 December the Commissioner informed the Lieutenant Governor's permission to officers to attend the Conference provided a written assurance was given that there would be no political discussion.

Thus, while welcoming all those domiciled in Orissa as members of the Utkal Union Conference, princes and the commonmen from all Oriya-speaking tracts, officials and non-officials irrespective of their social status, at the inaugural session it was made very clear that;

"Speakers will please note that all discussions on political and religious subjects and criticisms of the actions of the Government and Government officials are strictly prohibited".

81
The Conference was inaugurated at 11 A.M. on 30 December, Wednesday with about two thousand delegates and invitees present. They were welcomed by the Raja of Kanika and Madhusudan read out the message from Sir Asutosh Mukherjee and the Rajas of Hindol, Sonepur, Baud and Khandapada. Among other V.I.Ps present were K.G.Gupta, the Commissioner, Editor of the Amrit Bazar Patrika, Raja B.N.De, Principal, Ravenshaw College and 30 Ruling Chiefs and princes of the tributary States of Orissa, besides 300 delegates from Ganjam, 10 from Midnapore, and 25 from Sambalpur.18

In his impassioned presidential address Sreeram Chandra Bhanj Deo, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj made the objectives of the Utkal Union Conference quite clear. After a brief discussion of the glorious historical past and the rich cultural heritage, he dwelt upon the conditions then prevailing in Orissa, and emphatically spoke on the necessity of union among the Oriya-speaking people and their educational, economic, industrial and social development. The Utkal Union Conference would pass and execute resolutions in their welfare. There would be no political or religious disputes in the Conference because he felt that political discussions should be preceded by political education. He congratulated the people of Sambalpur for their victory on the language issue and the people of Ganjam for starting the Ganjam national Conference. As an enlightened ruler himself, he spoke on the efficacy of industrial development in Orissa, spread of general, technical and female education because education was the basis for all forms of social growth.19

3.5 Inaugural Session with new vision

The Inaugural session of the Utkal Union Conference created a stir among the members, they became imbued with new ideas and a new vision, A series of Resolutions were passed: (i) thanking the Governor General for proposing to amalgamate the Oriya-speaking tracts under one administration, (ii) thanking the Government for restoring Oriya language in the Courts of Sambalpur, and for increasing good neighbourliness with the adjacent provinces. The Conference instituted permanent Committees for social reforms, and improving Oriya literature. It expressed keen desire to develop indigenous
industries for which annual exhibitions were to be planned to provide necessary incentive. Since industrial development was dependent upon technical know-how and expertise, the Conference resolved to send meritorious Oriya students for technical education either outside Orissa or abroad. For this purpose a special Committee was set up with the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj as Chairman. The Committee was affiliated to the Calcutta Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education and sponsored Oriya candidates for studying Engineering and the science of Agriculture. Under this scheme brilliant Oriya-students like, Sarangdhar Das, Birajmohan Senapati and Laxminarayan Sahu were sent for higher technical education abroad.

3.6 Emphasis on trade, commerce and economic prosperity

In the inaugural session it was further resolved to develop trade and commerce with more emphasis on export, for economic prosperity. Some members expressed their ardent desire to improve Oriya language and literature. They wanted that the Oriya language should have adequate vocabulary for farmers, artisans and traders. The Oriyas were called upon to take the advantage of English education, because that would facilitate social reforms and economic well being. An appeal was finally made to the Oriya Chiefs and Zamindars, farmers, officials, villagers and the scribes to propagate the message of the Utkal Union Conference and to evolve a sense of unity and racial pride among them. During 1903 to 1920 the Utkal Union Conference held sixteen annual sessions and one special session.

A close study of these sessions reveal some interesting facts. That the Rajas and Zamindars were the accredited leaders of the Oriya society is borne by the fact that they presided over ten annual sessions held during the period under review. That is indicative of the close co-operation which could be forged between the Oriya tributary States and the British administered Orissa. No doubt Madhusudan served as the link between the princely States and the Coastal districts, and was the moving spirit behind the Utkal Union Conference; like a colossus he dominated over this national forum. The heyday of his leadership began to slip away from the 14th annual session held at Cuttack
1919. This and the subsequent two sessions were presided over by Gopabandhu Das, Chandra Sekhar Behera and Jagabandhu Singh respectively. There three leaders ultimately snatched away the leader-ship of Madhusudan Das in 1920.23

3.7 Constitution

In the early years of existence the Utkal Union Conference operated on the basis of healthy conventions which served on the unwritten laws for the organisation. As long as Madhusudan’s directives were acceptable to willing members there was probably no necessity of having a written constitution. Towards 1919 with the growth of an opposition to the leadership of Das, a written constitution was introduced 24. It listed the aims of the Organisation thus:

*To establish unity and bring uniform progress of Natural Orissa;*
*To discuss any law and circular meant for ‘Natural Orissa’;*
*To place before the authorities problems and grievances pertaining to ‘natural Orissa’ or any particular regions;*
*To improve Oriya literature.*

For achieving these goals it was stipulated in the Constitution that;

*Each district shall have a Committee to be named as District Conference Committee;*
*Membership of the District Conference Committee shall be opened to the natives of the district;*
*These members shall subscribe Rupees 3/- each annually;*
*District Committee shall establish local Committees at various suitable places in the district to propagate and execute the aims of the Utkal Union conference;*
*The District Committee shall supervise the work of the Local/Branch Committee and shall ventilate the grievances of the district before the authorities;*
*Delegate for annual sessions shall be chosen by the district Committee from their respective district.*
The following quota was fixed for each District Committee regarding the number of delegates to be sent to the annual Conferences:

Angul - 1, Balasore - 8, Cuttack - 15, Central Provinces - 3, Ganjam - 10, Garjat States - 10, Midnapore - 1, Puri - 10, Singhbhum - 2, Sambalpur - 5, Vizagapatam - 3, Total - 68.

Delegates from the District Committee and members of the Reception Committee alone shall be regarded as delegates of the Conference.

Further, an Executive Council of the Utkal Union Conference was to be constituted to execute the resolutions passed by the general body, to convene ordinary or extra ordinary sessions of the Conference as and when it felt its necessity and to determine the venue.

3.8 Resolutions and Achievements

Within a short period of existence the Utkal Union Conference emerged as the avowed champion of the amalgamation movement. In all the annual sessions the members passed resolutions impressing upon the Government to bring together, ‘Natural Orissa’, under one administration. In 1903 and 1904 they expressed profound gratitude to Lord Curzon for the Risley scheme. To commemorate his memory the people of Ganjam even proposed to setup endowments, to give financial aid to meritorious students. The third annual session in 1906 desired expeditious amalgamation of Ganjam and other Oriya-speaking tracts under the Madras Presidency with Orissa. The way Lord Ampthill sabotaged the aspirations of the Oriyas had created a deep stir in the Ganjam region; new Oriya leaders like Harihar Panda of Aska took up the issue with renewed vigour. Madhusudan arranged an executive meeting of the Utkal Union Conference at Rambha palace during 29 April and 1 May 1905 to steer a popular move against the Government. The Committee realised the futility of seeking justice from Ampthill, devised ways and means to spread education among the Oriyas under Madras. Since Ampthill’s decision had caused deep injury in the minds of Oriyas of Ganjam area, the fourth annual session of the Utkal Union Conference was organised at Berhampur in December 1906, where the attitude of the Madras Government was publicly condemned. Harihar
Mardaraj Deo, the Raja of Khallikote raised a permanent fund to finance the propagation of Oriya movement in Ganjam. Under his patronage some Oriya schools were established. The Chief of Bada Khemedi and Narasingh Das took great pains to spread the Oriya movement against strong Telugu oppositions. The publication of ‘Ganjam Odia Hitavadini, a periodical from Berhampur immensely helped the Oriya cause. Its editor Chintamoni Mohanty was a talented writer, who apart from highlighting the grievances of the Oriya-speaking people instilled in them an indomitable national spirit and love for the mother tongue. Harihar, Chintamoni, Nilamoni Vidyaratha and his brother Damodar Kaviratna were apostles of Oriya nationalism in the South, and as the agents of the Utkal Union Conference, rendered, great service in protecting the Oriya language and culture against Telugu dominance.

The Utkal Union Conference held the 8th and 10th annual session at Berhampur and Parlakimedi respectively, in 1912 and 1914, with a view to keep up the flame of Oriya nationalism ablaze in a most sensitive area whose amalgamation with Orissa was a question of life and death for the Oriyas. In these sessions the amalgamation issue dominated the proceedings. The high hopes raised by the creation of the new province of Bihar and Orissa in 1912 were dashed to the ground when the visiting Governor of Madras made a statement at Berhampur in December 1913 that there was no possibility of changing the status quo and the question of Ganjam’s excision from Madras was not to be reopened. This provoked the Utkal Union Conference which at its Parlakimedi session resolved that the Government should constitute the Oriya-speaking areas in Vizagapatam Agency and Jeypore estate into a separate Oriya district.

3.9 Issues before the Utkal Union Conference

A close analysis of the numerous resolutions passed by the Conference gives the impression that the members were obsessed with the idea of uniting the scattered Oriya-speaking tracts. The next important issue before them was the spread of education, general technical and female. The Presidential addresses and the proceedings of the Conference more often than not high-
lighted this issue. They demanded more funds for the spread of education in Orissa, a separate University, extension of agricultural and industrial training, the establishment of an Engineering School, more facilities in the Ravenshaw College, and the opening of M.A. and B.L. classes. Since Orissa was primarily a country of farmers, the Conference often discussed the necessity of educating them with the modern methods of agriculture and the technique of breeding improved varieties of livestock. Appreciating this stand, T.E. Ravenshaw, the former Commissioner, donated a sum of Rupees one thousand to be spent on promoting the cause of education among poor Oriya boys, and Madhusudan took initiative to start a Girl’s High School at Cuttack under the care and supervision of his adopted daughter Sailabala Das after she returned from England in 1908. The Conference in fact wanted a Girl’s High School to be set up in each district.

At the Puri session in 1913, Madhusudan as the President pioneered a resolution appreciating the laudable efforts of Gopabandhu Das and his devoted band of associates, viz, Harihar Das, Nilakantha Das, Godavaris Mishra, Lingaraj Mishra and Krupasindhu Mishra to revive the traditional education of India in the pattern of ‘Gurukula’ at Satyabadi. The Satyabadi school was set up in 1909 by Gopabandhu Das in pursuance of the Congress ideology on National education, where the students were inculcated with a sense of discipline and dedicated service. Though the Government considered this school as a breeding ground for disloyal citizens and on explosive institution, the Utkal Union Conference unanimously commended the efforts. Elaborating the aims of the Conference, Madhusudan in his Presidential address would state, “Education should not produce Deputy Collectors, Magistrates and Clerks only, it should make men, ardent patriots and true nationalists.

The Conference was aware of the disadvantages of not having Oriya-schools in Singbhum, Midnapore, Phuljhar, Padampur, Chandrapur, Chakradharpur and other outlying Oriya-speaking tracts and appealed the Government to take special measures to establish Oriya primary schools in these areas. This concern was warmly reciprocated by the Oriyas living in the above
areas and they evinced profound interest in the success of the Conference.\textsuperscript{48} That a sense of unity and commonness of purpose prevailed among the Oriya-speaking people in the outlying tracts under Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces was vindicated when the Raja of Kera (in Singbhum) presided over the 11th annual session at Sambalpur in 1915 and Chakradharpur was chosen as the venue of 16th annual session in 1920. The Utkal Union Conference did not abide by any political barrier and traversing the artificial barricades created by the provincial boundaries strove to unite the Oriyas on a common platform.

3.10 Economic Concerns

The conference was equally concerned with the economic progress of the Oriya-speaking people. It wanted encouragement of local crafts, like weaving and filigree\textsuperscript{49}, development of trade and commerce\textsuperscript{50}, revival of the salt manufacturing industry\textsuperscript{51}, proper exploitation of natural resources\textsuperscript{52}, improving the productive capacity of the soil through irrigation and scientific manuring,\textsuperscript{53} renovations of the ports on the sea coast to facilitate export trade\textsuperscript{54}, revival of indigenous industries\textsuperscript{55} and use of indigenous articles\textsuperscript{56}. 'The leaders had rightly felt that agriculture alone would not make Orissa prosperous; her economy should depend upon industries, trade and commerce to obviate the vagaries of monsoon. Salt manufacture and weaving were ancient industries which sustained thousands of families. The British economic policy had destroyed these sources of income for the Oriyas among whom the spirit of enterpreneurship gradually died out. Madhusudan and his associates, therefore, wanted the revival of indigenous industries, exploitation of mines and raw materials which were plentiful in Orissa\textsuperscript{57}. They appealed for reviving the sea borne trade through better port facilities as that was one of the major considerations while creating the new province of Bihar and Orissa in 1912\textsuperscript{58}. A Joint stock Company which started a Tanning Factory at Cuttack was profoundly thanked by the Conference\textsuperscript{59}.

3.11 Launching of Weekly Paper "The Oriya"

In 1917 under the editorship of Madhusudan the Utkal Union Conference started a weekly paper "The Oriya" to publicise its programme and
activities. In this venture Madhusudan was ably assisted by Braja Sundar Das, his faithful disciple and long time associate in public life. Madhusudan’s desire to train up the Oriya youth in political affairs took shape through the Utkal Young Men’s Association which way affiliated to the Conference as a Junior branch. The meetings of the Utkal Young Men’s Association were arranged simultaneously during the annual sessions of the Utkal Union Conference where the members of the former often worked as volunteers and listened to the discourse of the leading public men of the time. A time came when Madhusudan gave more importance to the Younger branch because he felt that on them the future of the Oriya movement would ultimately rest.

Another significant work of the Utkal Union Conference was to organise an industrial cum agricultural exhibition during the annual sessions. These exhibitions had profound educative value and attracted visitors in large number. Under Madhusudan’s directive, handloom for weaving, rice hauler, machines for tanning raw hides, numerous industrial and agricultural products were exhibited at the exhibitions to fascinate the people towards mechanised industries. He was confident that the Oriyas were talented artisans and a creative people; they merely lacked entrepreneurship on account of the policies of the Government. Upto 1913 Orissa had no representation in the Governor General’s council, making it difficult for the Oriyas to ventilate their grievances before the Supreme Government. The Conference claimed the presence of an Oriya member there and succeeded in the attempt. Madhusudan Das and the Raja of Kanika were successively members in the Council from 1913 to 1920.

Another pertinent issue to which the conference drew public attention was the necessity of a railway line joining Khurda with Sambalpur. This railway project was essential for the improvement of land communication between coastal and Western Orissa and would have facilitated trade and better social contact.

3.12 Achievement of Madhusudan Das as Leader of Utkal Union Conference
Madhusudan’s last tangible achievement; as the leader of the Utkal Union Conference was stimulating public interest on the issue of provincial autonomy and presentation of a memorial before the Montagu - Chelmsford Reform Committee at Calcutta on 11 December 191766. In order to discuss the proposals of constitutional reforms Madhusudan organised a special session of the Conference at Cuttack on 21-22 September 191767 with himself as the Chairman. Again on 19 October there was another mammoth public meeting 68. In both these meetings Madhusudan explained the nature of the forthcoming constitutional reforms and suggested that for the distribution of provincial territories on the basis of linguistic homogeneity a representation to be sent to the Viceroy, as well as the Secretary of State. The representation should outline the history of the Oriya movement, emphasise upon the special grievances of the Oriya-speaking people, and on the basis of Grierson’s linguistic survey should specify the Oriya-speaking tracts to be constituted into an united Orissa Province. Further, he wanted the a representation to be submitted to Montagu by a delegation of the Utkal Union Conference.69

Simultaneously, public meetings were held at Berhampur where the Raja of Parlakimedi presided and Madhusudan’s special emissary, the Raja of Kanika explained the scope and nature of the reforms and the proposals of the Utkal Union Conference.70 Under a heavy downpour of rains the assemblage at Berhampur expressed strong views:

“Orissa and Oriyas have all to establish their claims as a race or a nation quite as distinct and marked as other Indian races and nations. The Oriyas are not preposterously sanguine, but all they wish is that their cry may atleast reach the olympian ears”71.

3.13 Need for Separate Administration for Orissa

The memorial with which the Delegation of Utkal Union Conference consisting of Madhusudan Das, Raja of Kanika, Braja Sundar Das, Gopabandhu Das, Sudam Charan Naik and Harilhar Panda waited upon Montagu in Calcutta was a “piece of very arduous work”72. It contained four appendices; appendix A was a Map showing the distribution of Oriya-speaking tracts based upon the
survey of G.A. Grierson, Appendix - B contained arguments for the creation of an Oriya province, Appendix - C contained a list of the Oriya-speaking tracts proposed to be united together in to a province and Appendix - D was the extract of relevant portions from the famous Risley Circular of 1903. The Delegation claimed that they need a separate administration of the type of Bihar and Orissa, failing which the united Orissa be placed under the Government of Bihar and Orissa, so that in future it would conveniently develop in to a separate administration. If the second alternative would be accepted, the Delegation sought equal status for the Oriyas with the Biharis, equal representation in the Legislature and the University. They made it quite clear that they were prepared to accept amalgamation as a prelude to the creation of a separate province. Madhusudan explained how the proposed reforms of Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme would be meaningless for the Oriya-speaking people so long as they had no political identity of their own.

3.14 Moderate Policy of Madhusudan

The political stand adopted by Madhusudan was typical of a 'Moderate' of his time. His policy of moderation was amply rewarded when Montagu taking a sympathetic view of the Oriya problem felt convinced with the arguments of the Oriya delegation. He was not happy over the constitution of the province of Bihar and Orissa in 1912 where the partnership of two separate races with distinct language and culture, was uncongenial for healthy political growth. He, therefore, favoured the creation of homogeneous units through a regrouping of territories. The Mont-Ford Report by suggesting the formation of Orissa in to a Sub-Province adequately justified the policy of moderation which Madhusudan and the Utkal Union Conference had been pursuing since long. This was a major concession granted to the Oriyas and a creditable achievement for the Conference.

3.15 The Decline

In 1917 the Utkal Union Conference appeared to have reached a culminating point. Thereafter the policy of moderation came under sharp criticism and a younger group of nationalists emerged in the political arena who
could not relish the leadership of Madhusudan any more, In fact, resentment against Madhusudan was slowly in the offing. As early as 1917, Gokulananda Choudhury, an ardent supporter of Utkal Union movement and a leading advocate of Cuttack secretly voiced the feeling that Madhusudan was using the Conference as his personal property. But he did not have the guts to challenge Madhusudan’s leadership openly. It was Gopal Chandra Praharaj, the famous Oriya lexicographer who in the periodical Utkal Sahitya published an unbiased and balanced criticism of the state of affairs, While praising Madhusudan for his generous financial help to sustain the conference, he did not hesitate to remark that the organisation was “On His Majesty’s Service Only 75. In 1908 an anonymous letter from Puri appeared in the Odia 0 Navasamvad, (Weekly, published from Balasore) under the caption “A friend of Utkal”76. The letter read as follows:

“The most remarkable feature of the Utkal Union Conference is that it is altogether dissociated from politics and its scope is limited to social and industrial question. The conference is just like a thanksgiving body to various officers of the Government. The business before the Conference is a serious one which cannot be done by mendicant policy. All Provincial Conferences, while working independently should at the same time subordinate their own interests to the interests of the great Indian National Congress - which is the centre, the foster mother of all public movements in India. We are almost sure that Mr. Das (Founder of the Conference) did not take this view. The Utkal Union Conference of which he is the soul has so long been indifferent to the Congress”.

Probably there was some truth in the above criticism. That the Utkal Union Conference was professedly a non-political organisation cannot be denied.77 That at its annual sessions more often than not, it passed resolutions thanking Lord Curzon, or the Government and other authorities, cannot be denied either.78 It was unnecessarily apologetic in tone in consonance with the prevailing practice in the Indian National Congress which also till 1905 merely ‘appealed’, ‘prayed’ or ‘most humbly submitted’ for ‘merciful’, ‘justice’ and
sympathy of the British Government. Like the Congress leaders the Oriya leaders were also avowed moderates who believed in the efficacy of depending upon the grace of authorities for gaining political objectives. Madhusudan was the leader of the Moderate group in Orissa.

At the Surat session of the Indian National Congress in 1907 division became perceptible in the Congress leadership. The confrontation between the Moderates and the Tilak group cast its evil shadow upon all political circles in the country. In Orissa also the echo was felt in the following year. We are inclined to believe that the anonymous letter referred to above was an expression of new values and new ideas held by a new group of politically minded persons in Orissa who differed from the Moderates.

3.16 Young Nationalists at Satyabadi: A New Political Force

The emerging group of young nationalists at Satyabadi represented a new political force in Orissa who nourished views, different from Madhusudan. This group was conspicuous by its absence at the Balasore session of the Utkal Union Conference in 1916. The politics in Orissa was considered to be a ‘one men show’ and the Press criticised Madhusudan for deliberately keeping away from the Bankipur session of the National Congress in 1912. All criticism against Madhusudan were projected through the Odia O Navasamvad. In September 1917 the paper alleged that Madhusudan was against the Home rule Movement, whereas the Puri group led by Gopabandhu Das favoured Orissa’s wholehearted participation in that movement. Under the caption “Cuttack Chandi conclave, the Policy of Exclusion’, the paper expressed bitterness at Madhusudan’s autocratic handling of affairs. Against mounting criticism Madhusudan resigned from the editorship of ‘The Oriya’ in January 1919, and during 1918 no annual session of the Conference could be organised.

3.17 Achievements of Utkal Union Conference: A Critique

At the 14th session of the Utkal Union Conference at Cuttack in April 1919, Gopabandhu Das in his Presidential address expressed disapproval of the “Stereo-typed agitation” of the Moderates and suggested Joining the main-
stream of Indian politics. He was most unsparing in his criticism against the performance of the Conference during the last fifteen years which he considered to be extremely poor. He would not appreciate if Oriya nationalism would remain confined to certain regional barrier; it should merge with the national movement. In his opinion, the hopes and aspirations of the Oriya-speaking people should be merged with the All-India movement, because they were Indians first and Oriyas next.

Gopandhu's speech was a trend setter in Orissa politics. His remarks prompted the editor of Odia O Navasamvad to write: “The Utkal Union Conference is hunted by its blundering conscience. It has bagged itself by keeping away from the high level canal of Indian politics.”

3.18 Setback to the Cause of Moderates

The Puri session of the conference in December 1919 caused further setback to the cause of 'Moderation'. Chandra Sekhar Behera's Presidential speech highlighted the congress activities and idealism. He stated that the conference had ceased to be non-political after the last special session at Cuttack which exclusively discussed the questions of reforms. It was high time for the Oriyas to join the National Congress, he said. His call to eschew moderation and to join Gandhian movement appeared irresistible. The Utkal Union Conference reached a critical stage with rift between Madhusudan and Gopabandhu becoming unbridgeable. A last bis was made to save the provincial organization by selecting Chakradharpur as the venue of the next annual session to be presided over by Madhusudan Das. The moderates and the ultranationalists made a thorough preparation for the final showdown. But Madhusudan was a practical man; notwithstanding the strong support of Braja Sundar Das and Biswanath Kar he withdrew his consent to preside over the Chakradharpur session at the last hour. He was neither willing to reconcile with the political ideas of the younger generation whom he had baptised into politics, nor was he prepared for a trial of strength. When the Raja of Kanika declined to preside, the Reception Committee nominated Jagabandhu Singh, a close associate of Gopabandhu as the substitute of Madhusudan. Gopabandhu and
a large group of young, enthusiastic Oriya-Congressmen on their way home from the historic Nagpur session, where the famous Non-cooperation programme of Gandhi was launched, came to Chakradharpur to attend the Utkal Union Conferences. They were an inspired lot, surging forward with new zeal and vigour. They surcharged the Chakradharpur session with the new wave of non-cooperation with Gopabandhu Das as their apostle, Brajasundar and Biswanath tried in vain to arrest the new political trend. Even, they found it difficult to read a message from Madhusudan under the drowning noise of 'Shame', 'Shame' from the Congressites.

On the second day, a resolution for joining the congress movement was discussed. Chandra Sekhar Behera end Gopabandhu Das spoke passionately in favour of joining the Indian National Congress. They felt that Utkal Union Conference as a provincial organisation would be unable to deliver the goods; the Oriyas should, therefore, join the bandwagon of the Congress movement. Jagabandhu, as President put the resolution to vote and announced that 127 were in favour with 16 against. In the ecstasy of emotion the conference got submerged in the Gandhian movement of 'Non-cooperation' and lost its identity. From that particular moment the 'Moderates' and the 'Non-cooperationists' came to parting of the ways; the former silently fought for the amalgamation of the scattered Oriya-speaking tracts and the Non-cooperationists openly followed the historic programme of Gandhi.

3.19 Political Discomfiture of Madhusudan Das

After this political discomfiture Madhusudan withdrew himself for a while from all public activities. He did not have the age to join the mass movement. Probably on account of his own conviction he did not have the urge either. Mot by non-cooperation with the Government, but through the grace of The Raj, he believed it to be easier to achieve the political goals the Oriyas sought for. Therefore, on account of his long and eventful public life when in 1921 the Government appointed him as the Minister of Local Self Government in the province of Bihar and Orissa, he accepted the assignment. For the Government he was the rightful choice; but the Congressites in Orissa cast
serious aspersions against him for having accepted a high salaried post under the British Raj. The entire country was then ringing with cries of non-cooperation. Hundreds of leaflets were circulated against Madhusudan which said that the huge salary of the Minister of Local Self Government would be paid out of the revenue raised from “Malaria-infested Balasore, filaria infested Puri and flood affected Cuttack districts”. He was condemned in public meetings and processions by his own people for whom only a short while ago he was the friend, philosopher and guide.

Madhusudan’s sincere efforts during the lost twenty years to impart political training to his countrymen did not go in vain. Through consistent training in the provincial arena of the Utkal Union Conference, the Oriyas attained political maturity. That they chose to differ from their Mentor was immaterial; the most significant fact was that a nation came of age, its resurgence was complete. Madhusudan had no grudge if the younger generation in Orissa preferred to follow a different path for realising their goals. Only future events would justify whether his policy of ‘Moderation’ was the correct path or not.

3.20 The Role of Madhusudan’s Literature in the Formation of a New Orissa

It is said that Madhusudan Das was the national hero of Orissa, the leader of the agitation for the formation of new Orissa, the symbol of national feeling and sentiment and, above all the pride and glory of Orissa. In the days of dark and despair his birth in Orissa brought a great feeling of self-confidence in the nation. In the Second half of the 19th century, while Orissa was completely devastated by the great famine of 1866, a heinous attempt was made to abolish Oriya language which was in a moribund state like that of the famine affected Orissa. The boundaries of Orissa, which once upon a time had spread from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south, was confined only a three small districts. At this critical juncture Madhusudan was born in 1848. His childhood was spent in the dark days of dependence and despondence. In the youth he felt sad for the sorry state of affairs in the State. He became aware of
the fact that Oriyas were oppressed by Bengalis who attempted to abolish the Oriya language. He passed his M.A. and LL.B in Calcutta, practiced law there for a short time and came back to Orissa to devote his full time to the service of his own people.

3.21 Uncrowned King of Orissa

When Madhusudan Das took the leadership for the formation of Orissa province, he was then the first and foremost leader of the mass movement and was considered as the uncrowned king of Oriyas. After he came back to Orissa from Calcutta, he practiced law at Cuttack and tried his best to restore the self-prestige and the lost glory of Orissa. It was because of him that the movement based on the language issue was transformed into an agitation based on the border issue towards the beginning of the 20th century. As Surendranath Banerjee took the leader ship in forming the Bengal National Conference in Bengal in 1887. Madhusudan Das, likewise, formed the 'Utkal Sabha' (Oriya Association) to represent the real problems of the people of Orissa. But its activities were confined to Cuttack only and could not represent the interest of the whole of Orissa.

3.22 Formation of Oriya Sabha to guard the interests of Orissa

In 1901 some conscious and enthusiastic Oriyas, being inspired by Raja Harihar Mardaraj, met at the bungalow of Rambha. Here they resolved to form a national conference to guard the interests of the Oriyas. Madhusudan Das was invited from Cuttack to this meeting to render practical advice in this matter. At last, on 3rd December 1903, a meeting named 'Oriya Sabha' was convened by some enthusiasts of Ganjam and was presided over by Shyamsunder Rajaguru to discuss the formation of a new province uniting the Oriya-speaking tracts as per the proposal of H.H. Risley and the decision of the then Government of India. In this meeting Madhusudan Das gave a proposal to form the 'Utkal Sammilani' (Utkal Union Conference), which would act for the unification of Oriya-speaking areas. As a result of this proposal the first meeting of the Utkal Sammilani was held at Cuttack on 30 and 31st December, 1903 and Madhusudan Das was the Kingpin. To infuse a national feeling of unity and
integration into the hearts of Oriyas he invited all and sundry starting from poor farmers and labourers to the kings and zamindars to this meeting. Madhusudan was quite aware of the poverty of contemporary Orissa. He was deeply pained by the inertia and helplessness of the Oriyas. The nation, which had been oppressed, by the Moghuls, the Marathas, and the British for more than four hundred years was really waiting for a saviour to uphold it from the abyss of despair. At this critical moment Madhusudan felt that the need of the hour was to arouse and awaken a spirit of racial unity by reminding the Oriyas of their glorious legacy and rich heritage. To fire the imagination of the people he wrote a total number of eight poems exhorting the people for racial unity. The important exhortations were his Janana (A prayer), Utkal Santana (sons of the soil), Jananaira Ukti (The Statement of the Mother), Santanara Ukri (The Statement of the Son), Sammilani (The Conference), Jati Itihas (The history of the Nation) and E. Bhabe Paiba Kahin (Nowhere to Find in the World). All these poems were published as national songs before 1915 by Brajasudar Das in the Mukur Press. Apart from that, on the 10th November 1928 in a meeting held in the town hall of Cuttack which he himself presided over, Madhusudan composed and recited the following poem then and there. The paraphrase of the poem is given below.

"I called aloud to my motherland, but I could not hear her voice, No motion has she now, she neither hears nor speaks. Only the tears rolling down her cheeks. O my brothers and sisters and countrymen, please lend your ears to me, to the words of this poor fellow. It is only due to our original sin that we are ever fallen and our motherland suffers. If we all in unison pray to our Lord Jagannath, the darkness will disappear and there will be light. Then only can we see the path of progress. The wheel of Sudarsan will come to its full circle, our motherland will regain her lost shape, and colour and name and our enemies will be dispelled and driven away."

This poem was published in The Samaj for the first time on 14th November 1928. Madhusudan's words had a magical spell in awakening the people. He wrote:
“This Conference is like the ocean of life of the nation and it contains a million drops of life. O’ brother, merge your individual drop of life into this vast ocean by jumping into it.”

These are some of the lines of the poem “Sammilani” in which Madhusudan tries to inculcate the people with a sense of patriotism. As all the rivers of India like the Ganga, the Jamunam the Godavari, the Kaveri and others flow in their own course and lose their own identity falling into the ocean, likewise all the people of Orissa should forget their own differences jumping into the ocean of national conference. Otherwise, the nation will not rise up and make progress. The poet further says that the spirit of nationalism cannot be found in the market place. If need be, one should act like a ‘Sati’, jump into the funeral pyre and sacrifice one’s life for the cause of the nation. He writes

“If you dedicate your life to the cause of the nation, then only can you live a life of national unity. You can not find it in the market if you go on searching for it.”

Towards the end of the poem ‘Sammilani’, the poet says that a mighty warrior race has been forced to accept defeat and deprivation due to its lack of foresight and leadership. But Madhusudan is not a pessimist. He is hopeful that the dark clouds will dispel from the sky of our destiny. A day will come when the tide in the ocean of union conference will rise high and flood the shore. In harmony with the voice of the people it will roar and revolt against the British and frighten them away from our country. This way the prestige of Orissa will rise high in the world.

This feeling of unity is expressed in a more frank and fearless manner in his poem “Utkal Santana”. Madhusudan is shocked by the selfishness, sycophancy and sordid attitudes of his contemporaries. His heart cries at the thought of oppression of the Oriyas who were under the foreign rule for a pretty long time of four countries. The Oriyas, who once upon a time were so powerful that their empire extended from the Ganges to the Godavari, are now imbecile, inactive and powerless. He fervently hopes that the Oriyas will not suffer any more and it is high time now to assert their independence. The right rime has
come for their uprising and everybody has to jump into the mainstream of racial unity and national integration. Hence, in the poem ‘Utkal Santana’ he urges the people to rise up and not to stop till the goal is reached. He writes:

Rise up, O, the sons of Utkal
How long will you sleep?
Can’t you remember your past glory?
When will you open your lip?

The poet awakens the dumb and dying Oriyas to be conscious of themselves and of their motherland. He wonders how the sons of Utkal could tolerate for such a long time the oppression by foreigners who had made their motherland fragmented and stifled her voice. He is very much shocked at the miserable condition of his motherland and the inactivity of his fellowmen. He has heard of Kharavel, the glorious son of Utkal, who, by his own prowess, had become famous in the world. But the sons of Utkal of his time have turned sycophants and ungrudgingly accepted servility. Being selfish they have forgotten completely the condition of the nation. At this critical time of Orissa Madhusudan’s words have acted like sweet incantation. He has tried to indoctrinate his fellow Oriyas with the ideals of his own poems. He writes:

“You say that you are the sons of mighty Utkal, then why are you acting cowardly? Why are you afraid of speaking out her sorrows while your motherland is crying? Your forefathers were famous for their fearless spirit. But you fear your authority to speak your sorrows.”

3.23 Madhusudan put emphasis on unity between words and deeds

Madhusudan observes that there are a lot of people who are men of words and not men of action, who talk everything but do nothing. They are not trying to console their motherland who has been crying helplessly but are indulging in their vested interests. Citing the example of Lord Jagannath, the symbol of our nation and culture, the poet says that before Him there is no discrimination between the high caste Brahmins and the low caste Chandals, the rich and the poor, the king and his subjects. All are equal in the holy land of Puri where He stays, Madhusudan wishes that all the people be united forgetting
their own differences like they do in the holy land of Puri. The poet is really shocked at and worried for the lowly state of the Oriyas. He is filled with consternation when he compares the past glory of the Oriyas with their present precarious state. He laments that the land of warriors has become a wasteland. The poet writes in his ‘Jananira Ukti’.

I have been crying for long and
I have lost my eyes by shedding many a tear,
My groping hands can recognize them
Only when my sons come near.

At the beginning of the 20th century. This national feelings of Madhusudan has become firm and growth sharper in his poem ‘Santanara Ukti’. He fails to console his aggrieved motherland, whose state is unspeakably and lamentably poor, as none among the millions of Oriyas shares his feeling. What can be more ignominious for one’s motherland than this pathetic attitude of his Oriya brothers! Yet the poet is not perturbed by the indifference of his face.

3.24 Madhusudan : A true Oriya in his thoughts and aspiration

He rather tries to urge the poor, oppressed and helpless Oriyas to be hopeful in his poem “Santanara Ukti’ He writes

If all the millions of Oriya eagerly call their nation as ‘mother’ in unison like that thirsty bird ‘Chatak’ which looks up the sky and waits for the rain drop to fall, then only can they have their wish-fulfillment. Madhusudan was a true Oriya in his thought and aspiration. ‘Utkal Sammilani’ was the brainchild of the poet. Through this Union Conference he dreamt of establishing an emotive image of Utkal and reconstructing a full-fledged Orissa. He wanted Orissa to prosper in every sphere. To better the standards of the people was all his motivation. That was why, he gave a call to the nation to be united for the betterment of Utkal. He wanted all the scattered Oriya speaking regions to be amalgamated to form a full fledged new Orissa province. His thought was well expressed in 1903 when he organized the ‘Utkal Sammilani’ at Cuttack. Madhusudan declared to sacrifice his life on the alter of ’Utkal Sammilani’ and
dedicated himself to the service of his motherland. He wished that every Oriya
should act like him and worship the nation as his real mother. He rightly says in
his poem ‘Santanara Ukti’.

“Light up the fire of love for the nation and sacrifice your selfish
interests in it. Dance aroung this sacrificial fire shoulder to shoulder and sing
the song of your motherland.”

Unity is the foundation of national progress. Hence, to create this spirit
of national unity in the hearts of all, he addresses the millions of Oriyas in the
same poem.

3.25 Madhusudan Adoring Utkal Mata

Madhusudan in his speech titled ‘Utkal Mata Abahana’ or ‘Worship of
Motherland’ says: “First comes your mother, second comes your motherland
and third comes heaven. You can mark it in the mainstream of everybody’s life.
In the beginning there is mother who gives birth to you, then you act and live in
the lap of your motherland and finally you get the reward of you action in
heaven after death. Hence, it is said that mother and motherland are greater than
heaven.” Long before the term ‘sub-province’ was in vogue. Madhusudan used
it for the first time on 7th March 1913 in his speech in the Imperial Council; he
referred to Orissa as a ‘sub-province’. This speech of Madhusudan greatly
influenced the report of the Montagu-Chelmsford Committee. In the same
speech at the Imperial Council he further said: “From the remains of ancient
architecture and sculpture, one can know that the Oriyas are a race of artists.
Bus as ill luck would have it, the hands that built the beautiful temples at
Bhubaneswar and Puri are now holding ploughshare and cultivating the land,
can we do anything to restore that lost glory?

3.26 Champion of Orissa Renaissance

Madhusudan was the champion of the Orissan renaissance in the 20th
century. He was the symbol of Oriya’s self-respect. He had a lot of confidence
in him. Yet for the all round development of Orissa he always sought the
blessings of Lord Jagannath, the presiding over a meeting at Cuttack town hall,
spontaneously recited the following stanza towards the end of his speech.
I called my mother many a time
But I could not hear her voice.
She neither speaks for moves her head
But sheds only tears from her eyes.

While Madhusudan composed these lines, he was at the twilight of his life. He was depressed and disheartened as an unsuccessful industrialist. Feeling helpless and hopeless in every sphere. He was living in utter anguish. Still hoping against hope, he urged Oriyas to think of their motherland and her all round development. He says that if Orissa is doomed, it is because of their own fault and no one can save them except Lord Jagannath. Then only can we dispel darkness and make progress.

3.27 His agony and disenchantment with the inactivity of his fellows

The inactivity of his contemporaries pained Madhusudan. He says that his childhood dream to serve his nation was not fulfilled in youth due to the non-co-operation of his fellowmen. All his hopes were belied and all his attempts were foiled. At least, he prays to the Divine Soul conveying his soul’s agony in his poem ‘ Janana’ (A prayer)
I had hoped my Motherland
Would smile in joy.
My hopes are dashed, my dreams destroyed.
To see no commitment
In the people of Utkal.

Excepting these eight poems, many of the speeches of Madhusudan delivered on different occasions at different places can be treated as literary pieces. Naba Kishore Das in his book Utkal Gouraba Madhusudan writes: “The speeches of Madhusudan are a literature of special kind. These are filled with meaningful thoughts and are quite inspiring. The language of his speeches is heart touching.”! Among his speeches which are considered to have literary value are: ‘ Oriya Baktruta’ (Oriya Speeches: ‘ Utkal Sammilonaira Eka Prastaba’ (A Proposal of Utkal Union Conference “ Sambalpur Mishranare Ananda Prakash’ (Expression of Delight at the Annexation of Sambalpur),

103
Before the formation of the Utkal Union Conference, Madhusudan tried to explain the need of such a conference at Kanika Palace in Cuttack on 25th October 1903. The title of his speech was 'The Aim of Utkal Union Conference.' Hence he tries to define 'the Creator', 'the country', 'the nation' and 'the nationalism of the Oriyas' and said that the Utkal Union Conference was a national institution, which aimed at bringing unity in diversity in the vast land of India. In the second annual session of the Utkal Union Conference, which was held on 28th December 1904, Madhusudan addressed the nation and appealed to the people to promote national life. In his speech, "A Proposal of Utkal Union Conference", he asked the Oriyas: "Do we have any national life?" He felt that to establish a personal relationship among the different castes, creeds, and communities a national life is indispensable. He said that the 'Life in us is purely personal' "It is temporary and may end in grave tomorrow, But the soul in us will reach God. The soul is dragged below and by the attachments of the world like 'my wife', 'my children', 'my property' and so on and pulled above by the attraction of heavenly life like 'my salvation', 'my eternal abode', 'my god' etc.". But national life is different from proposal life in national life is established it will give rise to the feeling of unity in diversity and will end all personal animosity. Unless and until a person dedicated his life to the cause of nation, national life cannot be achieved. The national life should not be confined to Orissa only, but should embrace the whole of India. In a metaphorical language Madhusudan says that Orissa in not the co-wife of India,
but a child of mother India like many of her children. He further urges that all the children be united to alleviate the glory of mother India.

3.28 No Difference between Mother India and Utkal Mother

In the fifth annual session of Utkal Union Conference which was held in 1908 at Puri. Madhusudan delivered a speech titled 'Utkal Sammilenira Sakha Swarup Gramya Samiti Gathana' (The Constitution of village Committee as part of Utkal Union Conference) and said the he saw no difference between mother Utkal and mother India. He identified the national consciousness of one with the other and said: 'There is no difference between mother Utkal and mother India'. If there is pain in any part of the body, that part should be treated and the whole body will be cured by the treatment of the part. In the same way India will make improvement if Utkal improves.'

In the 9th Annual session of the Conferences which was held at Puri in 1913 Madhusudan in the midst of his speech highlighted women education in Orissa. He said that in the society if a man is educated a single person is educated, but if a woman is educated the whole family is educated. In the presidential speech he said: "A nation cannot rise high by keeping the mothers of the nation in a low state," He also quoted different roles of the women from the Mahabharat, the Ramayan and from different Hindu Puranas. Taking the example of England he said, "England has made progress and become famous by two ladies of their nation: Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria".

3.29 Fighting for Farmers' Cause

In another session of Conference held at Cuttack in 1918. Madhusudan in his address to the people stressed the all round development of the farmers of Utkal, He felt that though there was a large number of farmers in Orissa in the sphere of business and industry Orissa was very poor. Hence, Orissa could become rich only by the development of agriculture. He said, "In Orissa farmers are more in number. If their conditions are not improved, how can Orissa improve? They cultivate our lands and feed us their products. They are doing the real service to the nation. They are fed by mother Utkal and also they feed Utkal. The kings and zamindars (landlords) are like the heart of Utkal. As
blood is circulated to the heart and being purified, again supplied to the different parts of the body, the products of the farmers, which go to the godowns of the landlords, should be distributed among the farmers for their betterment. If products of the farmers are spent this way, the body of the society will remain hale and hearty.”

3.30 Appeal to Oriya’s Past Glory

In another context Madhusudan referred to the Orissan art, architecture and sculpture and made the Oriyas conscious of their past glory. He said: “It is often said that Orissa is poor because it has no riches, I can never subscribe to that attitude. Now thousands of Oriyas are working in the factories of Calcutta and Nagpur. It means that there is enough strength in the hands of the Oriyas. Those who are earning there a rupee a day will never get ten pice per day here in Orissa. Can we provide them with employment here? He also appealed to the Oriyas who were staying outside Orissa to come back to their own land and to serve their mother Utkal. He feared that unless they acted as he said, the foreigners would go on exploiting them forever.

In another session of the Conference held in 1919, Madhusudan addressed the people to established communal harmony and universal brotherhood. Comparing the Hindus and Muslims as two sons of the same mother he said: “The Muslims have been living with the Hindus for quite a long time and have become their brothers. There is no difference between the two as we are living in one country and are governed by one administration. The needs of the Hindus are same as those of the Muslim. Therefore, to fulfill our needs we should stand united, join hands and act together.”

3.31 His Literature Profound in Patrotic Fervour

Apart from the Oriya speeches his speeches in English to the nation are equally important. The sole aim of his poems and speeches is to rebuild the nation, to inculcate patriotic pride and a healthy national spirit among the Oriyas and to open the gateway of progress of Orisaa. The language in his songs and speeches is very simple, clear and lucid. He was successful in touching the
hearts of every Oriya by the directness of his speaking voice. On the whole, the literary quality of his writing is distinguished and indisputable. Though the output of Madhusudan’s writing is very small, they are profound in their patriotic fervour, at the beginning of the 20th century his poems and speeches were regarded as a monumental achievement. His creative mind played an important and a crucial role in the reconstruction and all round development of Orissa. But it is a matter of great regret that his literature has not yet been properly evaluated. It is hoped that this essay will serve the research scholars in making a complete evaluation of the works of Madhusudan in future.

References
2. Ibid., 1886.
6. Kala Vijnan Parishadam Speeches and Songs by Madhu Babu(Utkal University, 1958). See Forward by Bichitrananda Das. Also see Nabakishore Das, Utkal Gaurav Madhusudan(Utkal University, 1951),p.50
7. Ibid.
8. Madhusudan was shocked when his Bengali friends stood against the recognition of Oriya language in the Calcutta University in 1902. Ibid
10. Sir Basudev Sudhal Dev. He was one of the most enlightened rulers of the time, a poet and reformer; born 16th May 1850 and died 19 November 1903.

11. Sreeram Chandra Bhanj Deo. He too was an enlightened ruler who ruled his state in the interest of the people. He was famous for his progressive political and social views.

12. 16 December 1903.

13. The Circular of H.H. Risley, see Supra, p.118 ff


15. B. Mohapatra, Odia Andolanar Itihas, (Cutta, 1976), p.64.


17. Utkal Dipika, 2 January 1904.

18. Ibid.

Proceedings of the Conference published in the Utkal Dipika, 2 January 1904; Odia O Navasamvad, 6 January 1904; Also see B. Mohapatra, op.cit., pp.62-120.


22. No. & Date of Session Venue President
1st 30-31 Dec, 1903 Cuttack Sreeram Chandra Bhanj Deo,
1 January, 1904 Maharaja of Mayurbhanj
2nd 28 December, 1904 Cuttack Man Mohan Singh Raja of Dharakote
3rd 15-14 April, 1904 Balosore Kishore Chandra Singh Deo
4th 26- 27 December, 1906 Berhampur Rajendra Narayan Bhanj Deo
5th 18-19 April, 1908 Puri Harichandra Jagadev
6th 29-30 December, 1908 Cuttack Raja of Surangi Radhanath Verma
7th 30-31 December, 1910 Cuttack Raja Baikunth Nath De of Balasore
8th 6-7 April, 1912 Berhampur Harichandra Jagadev Raja of Surangi
9th 28-29 December, 1913 Puri Madhusudan Das
10th 26 December, 1914 Parlakimedi Vikram Dev Verma Raja of Jeypore
11th 27-28 December, 1915 Sambalpur Laxmi Narayan Singh Deo Raja of Kera
12th 29-03 December, 1916 Balasore Srinivas Rajmoni Rajdev Raja of Manjusa
13th 30-31 March, 1917 Cuttack Fakir Mohan Senapati
Special 21-22 Sept, 1917 Cuttack Madhusudan Das
14th 19-20 April, 1919 Cuttack Gopabandhu Das
15th December, 1920 Puri Chandra Sekhar Behera
16th 30-31 December, 1920 Chakradharpur Jagabandhu Singh

23. See Infra, p.162 ff
24. Utkal Sevak (Oriya weekly from Sambalpur) 10 April 1919.
25. Whenever Oriya language was spoken and the Oriyas formed majority in population.
27. Ibid
29. Proceedings of Berhampur Session(1906).
30. Raja of Bada Khemedi was the Chairman and Narasingh Das was the Secretary, organizing Committee.
31. Chintamoni Mohanty, prolific Oriya writer, born in 1897 near Bhadrak, served in Ganjam.
32. Harihar Madaraj Deo organized Ganjam National Conference, Nilamoni was his guide. See supra, p.124.

33. Lord Pentland was the Governor. Two Bachelors of Arts, The Oriya Movement (Calcutta, 1919) p.44.

34. Parlakimedi Session(1914). Resolution- 11.

35. Cuttack Session(1903), Berhampur Session(1916),
Cuttack Session(1908) and (1910).

36. Parlakimedi(1914), Sambalpur(1915), Balasore(1906).

37. Cuttack(1904), Cuttack(1908), Balasore(1916), Odia O Navasamvad, 4 January 1905 and 18 April 1906; Star of Utkal, 14 January 1905; Sambalpur Hitasini, 26 April 1906.

38. Sambalpur Session(1915) and Balasore Session (1916).

39. Puri Session(1908 & 1913); Utkal Dipika, 3 January 1914; Asha, 5 January 1914;

40. Cuttack Session(1903).

41. Odia O Navasamvad, 4 January 1911.


43. Berhpur Session (1906).

44. B. Mohapatra, op.cit., p.141.
N. Samatrai, History of Oriya Literature (Bhubaneswar, 1964), P.60

45. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, History of Indian National Congress (Delhi, 1964) Vol.1, p.85.

46. His Presidential Address at Puri Session (1913).

47. Parlakimedi Session (1914).

48. Ibid.

49. Cuttack Session (1903 & 1904), Odia O Navasambad, 4 January 1905.


51. Cuttack Session (1903) and Berhampur Session (1906).

52. Puri Session (1913) and Balasore Session (1916).

53. Ibid.
54. Parlakimedi Session (1914) and Balasore Session (1916).
55. Cuttack Session (1919).
56. Like home spun clothes. Madhusudan propagated the use of spinning wheel and Khadi under the influence of Swadeshi Movement.
57. Puri Session (1913).
58. One of the considerations while tragging Orissa with Bihar in 1912 was to provide the new Province with a long sea coast for the growth of maritime trade. See the comments of Syed Ali Iman, Member of the Viceroy’s Council in Hardinge Papers, 1 July 1911 (N.M.M.L).
59. Balasore Session (1916), Cuttack Session (1917).
60. Cuttack Session (1917).
61. Utkal Sevak, 13 January 1916.
63. Ibid.
64. Sambalpur Session (1915) and Balasore Session (1917).
66. Parlakimedi Session (1914) and Sambalpur Session (1915).
67. Utkal Dipika, 20 October 1917 and 10 November 1917.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., 10 November 1917.
71. Ibid, See the Editorial only.
72. Utkal Dipika, 10 November 1917. See comments on the Memorial. Harihar Panda of Aska financed its publication.
76. Odia O Navasamvad, 29 April, 1908.
77. See supra, p.135.
78. See Supra, p.145.
81. Selection from Native News Papers, 1908 (Bengal). Week ending 12 September 1908 and 19 December 1908.
82. They were ultra-nationalists.
83. Odia O Navasamvad, 17 January 1917.
84. Ibid., 8 January 1913.
85. Madhusudan’s residence was located in the Cuttack Chandi area of Cuttack.
86. Utkal Dipika, 25 January 1919.
87. Utkal Sevak, 8 May 1919.
88. Presidential Address, Cuttack Session, 1919.
89. Ibid.
90. Odia O Navasambad, & May 1919.
91. Utkal Sevak, 1 January 1920.
92. Presidential Address, Puri Session, 1919.
93. Utkal Sevak, 6 January 1921.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. Suryanarayan Das, Desaprano Madhusudan (Oriya, He was appointed on 22 April, 1921.
98. Samaj, 16 April 1921 and 23 April 1921.
100. Ibid.