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## Research Article

### VOLUNTARISM IN ODISHA: THE INDIGENOUS AND EXOGENOUS TRAITS

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#### ABSTRACT

The recent happenings about Voluntary sector in Odisha make us believe that this collective force has immense potency if assessed and partnered scientifically at micro level. Secondly, in the scanty and sporadic literature about voluntarism in Odisha, one comes across a school of thought that organized voluntarism in the State started under the influence of Christian Missionaries whereas the socio-cultural processes in course of Odishan history reveal visible trends of organized voluntarism. These two factors propelled the present authors to look into the position of voluntarism with its indigenous and exogenous traits within the broad socio-historic processes in this part of the Indian sub-continent. For the purpose, the archeological remains, linguistic conjectures and historical records have been referred to. Wide discussions have been held with the people from cross sections of the society having interest in the voluntary sector. Records available in Government record rooms have also been referred to. The logical corollaries from all these sources have been synchronized for a scientific understanding of the position of voluntary activities in Odisha. It is found that voluntarism in Odisha is indigenous and antique. Though exogenous influences have their own influence on Odishan voluntarism, yet the indigenous voluntarism has maintained its own trend up to the turn of 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

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#### INTRODUCTION

In recent times the voluntary sector has acquired an ambiguous and contentious position in developmental landscape. While liberals find it as a natural ally in developmental process with the State, the non-liberals view it as another technique of the State for satisfying the front liners of civil society. Irrespective of the differences in perceptions, both the groups agree on the potency of voluntary sector in building human and social capital. As an institution voluntary organization is beyond the state and market. Sometimes it has come as a supplementation to state intervention, sometimes as a forerunner to it, sometimes as a complementary and sometimes as a contradictory force to the state. Besides, the happenings in Indian voluntary sector today also indicate that this collective force need to be assessed and partnered scientifically at micro level as each region of this vast subcontinent has its own cultural roots and societal framework.

A perceptive analysis of the history, culture and archeological remains of Odisha corroborates that the story of Odishan history is largely the story of voluntary actions. The voluntary actions of the masses have been the moving spirit of the

historical events. Globalization juxtaposed with strengthening of neo-liberal ideology has reasserted the crucial role of Voluntarism in developmental landscape of the State in recent times.

##### Genesis of Voluntarism in Odisha

Voluntarism in Odisha is antique. The roots of voluntarism in Odisha can logically be traced back to the days of Kalinga War (261 B.C.) wherein voluntary militarism in defense of the sacred territory of the *Jagannath Desh* i.e. mother land Kalinga was quite evident through mass participation in the war. Without large participation of the people, the war would not have been as devastating as recorded in the Ashokan rock edicts.<sup>1</sup> Large participation of Kalingans in Kharabela's expedition for conquering *Magadha* and restoring military dignity of Kalinga<sup>2</sup> is still another striking evidence of organized voluntarism in military services.

The foot prints of voluntarism are also distinctly observable in maritime trade activities during this period of time. The trade, along with the lure of economic gain was backed by the voluntary spirit of Odias for expanding Kalingan art & culture in far off lands by showcasing its artistic precision and

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preeminence. Voluntarism was also exhibited in the growth of Odia language. Reference can here be made to the voluminous poetic works of Sarala Dasa, Jagannath Dasa, Vasta Dasa, Balaram Dada, Yosabanta Dasa and many others. Because of collective voluntarism and people's participation in socio-economic and cultural matters of the State, *Kalinga* could be established as a sovereign and prosperous state up to 15<sup>th</sup> Century even when many of its neighboring states succumbed to Mughal rule. Thus, up to 15<sup>th</sup> Century, voluntarism in the State can be located in the matters of militarism for protection of the motherland's territory, expansion of Odishan art & culture and contribution to growth of Odia literature. The *JagannathVaishnavism*<sup>3</sup> with its doctrines of attaining liberation while serving the motherland provided ethical and moral boost for such type of voluntarism.

However, during 16<sup>th</sup> Century there was a decline in these types of voluntarism under the spell of *shajiya vaishnavism* of Jayadev's *Gitagovinda* and *Nama sankirtana* of Chaitanya Dev. This impacted the sovereignty and prosperity of *Kalinga* and led to gradual downfall of Kalingan empire. Odisha lost its freedom to Afghans in 1568. The onset of Muslim rule systematically mutilated the voluntary patriotism and militarism of the people. Such spirits were viewed as rebels and were oppressed by the ruler and his rule even by the application of force and violence. The oppression continued for about two centuries (183 years). The self-identity of Odias remained confined with the deity *Jagannath* and Odia language.

During this time the voluntary activities were mostly theocratic in nature. The activists tried to spread the sects of *Bhajan* and *Sankirtan* before lord *Jagannath*. The driving force for these actions was to keep up the sovereignty of *Jagannath Dharma*. The military voluntarism of people was replaced by enraptured exaltation through *Bhajan*, *kirtans* and passive submission before lord *Jagannath* as the savior. This type of volunteering was unique to Odisha and was functional in protecting the religious identity of Odias against the onslaught of the invaders.

Recognizing this historical cultural reality, Wellesley while giving orders for occupation of Odisha instructed the British Generals to "employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the pagoda and to the religious prejudices of Brahmins and pilgrims."<sup>4</sup> Almost un-resisted or very little resisted occupation of Odisha by British itself revealed the lower extent of voluntary dedication of people towards sovereignty of the Motherland. By bribing the feudal kings of Odisha, cajoling the smaller ones and threatening the common men with show of power they overpowered the province of Odisha in no time like a walkover match.<sup>5</sup>

With the onset of British Rule in Odisha at the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> Century a 'cultural fear' grew up in the minds of people. The fear was that the western culture and Christianity would despoil and subdue *Jagannath Vaishnavism*. This cultural fear gradually culminated into a cultural movement for safeguarding of the sacredness of the culture and religion. Saving of Odishan culture from the slain of the Christian culture became the concern of the religious leaders and linguistic activists and social workers. This soon percolated to the common Odia minds and people voluntarily got consolidated to protect the religion and culture of the land.

### ***Thus, the exogenous cultural threat, in its turn, stirred indigenous voluntarism in Odisha***

British Raj believed in transferring money and wealth from India to British exchequer. They reformulated land revenue policies and levied heavy taxation. The exploitative land revenue and land settlement rules of British Government, police oppression, salt monopoly and strategic relation with tributary *Mahalas* caused a lot of loss to the agriculturists, land lords. This evoked a general annoyance of the people. The agriculturists and the *Paikas* of Khurdha were the worst sufferers. The *Paikas* prepared themselves for agitation. The social activists and the voluntary workers turned their faces from theological activities towards the unjust policies of British Govt. The land lords who were affected by the policies of the Govt. provided financial and moral support to the agitators against the Govt. The 'cultural-fear' of the slaughtering effects of Christianity which was already there in the minds of the people provided socio-cultural ground for mobilizing the people. The voluntary workers came forward to organize the masses. The annoyance of the people brewed up to revolutionary outbreak. The people voluntarily convinced and organized each other. Such a situation led to emergence of the heroic leadership of Baxi Jagabandhu. He emerged as a natural leader of the *paikas* and peasants. The first ever organized revolt against British Rule broke out in Odisha with a red-warrant to the British administration.<sup>6</sup> The revolt spread out. The feudal Chiefs and the Zamindars in other parts of the State also raised similar agitations against the exploitative land policies of the British. The revolts derived their strength from the voluntary participation of the people and indomitable spirit of the leaders.

From 1817 there took place a reawakening of voluntary spirit among the masses after long time; but, this time with a different nature and goal. Primarily it was a revolt against wrong policies of land settlement & revenue collection. Thus resistance to policy tyranny became another exogenous source of voluntarism in Odisha during early part of 19<sup>th</sup> century. The strength and momentum of the revolts took the Govt. by surprise. The British officers were alarmed. Though with their strategic policy of 'divide and rule' juxtaposed with power of gun they managed to suppress the revolts, it gave sufficient warning to British administration. The British authorities were constrained to take steps to mitigate the distress of the people at least to some extent. The forceful control of the British Raj had to compromise with the demand of Public Raj stirred by rising voluntarism.

### ***Voluntarism under the spell of Christian Missionaries***

Another wave of exogenous trait in Odishan Voluntarism is noted with the arrival and activism of Christian Missionaries in the land. The Baptist reached Odisha towards the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> Century. They propagated the ideas of western humanism, rationality and modern scientific education. The Baptist missionaries arrived at Serampore, Cuttack on 12<sup>th</sup> February 1822 and soon they started their work of giving education to the children of Europeans and natives. It is from this time that the voluntary actions through state recognized organization on social issues reappeared in Odisha after almost 3 centuries.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> June 1822, the Missionaries established the first Odia School at Cuttack. In October 1823, the Missionaries also established an English charity school at Cuttack. That was the first institution in Odisha which imparted English education to few natives. The number of students increased to 50 within four months. By 1823 the number of such schools increased to 15. The total number of students in these schools was 368 including 63 girls by 1943.<sup>7</sup> This was a landmark in the growth of organized voluntarism for educating people and tapping human resource through western education.

The response of the people towards these schools was very little. The schools could not attract peoples' interest because of three main reasons.

1. The 'cultural fear' of people against Christianity and cultural rejection among natives towards Missionary schools.
2. The primary intention of these schools was to impart religious instructions.
3. The schools were mostly confined to the town of Cuttack and its adjacent places.

Even with these limitations the Missionaries formed watersheds of state recognized voluntarism in Odisha. They continued their efforts. For a long time the Missionaries alone took active interest in the establishment and management of such schools in Odisha. Under its influence the Government also took some steps for educational development of the Province. Government financed some of the schools established by the Missionaries.

The Christian Missionaries have also pioneered in many other activities including establishment of printing press, reformatory teaching against blind faiths, organized relief activities for victims of the natural calamities, publication of journal & text books etc. The first printing press was established in 1837 by the Missionaries. The first Odia Journal named *Jnyanaruna* was published by the missionaries. A large number of Odia books for vernacular schools were written and published by them. These educational efforts were no small contributions in the early days of British rule. It influenced the Government to follow an effective educational policy. It also encouraged the people to imbibe the new spirit and to emulate their examples by helping the spread of education. The people were also motivated through the enthusiastic efforts of the Missionaries for improvement of the language & literature.

However, the Missionaries had the latent intention of eclipsing Hinduism and transplanting Christianity in India. This was manifested when they fought against Company's policy regarding management and maintenance of *Jagannath* temple on the ground that Christian Government should not maintain a Hindu temple. They stirred public opinion in England. The matter was brought to the House of Commons and ultimately the Company had to sever the direct connections with the temple of lord *Jagannath*. Missionaries undertook their usual activities of preaching Christian gospels, distributing Bible, religious pamphlets etc. In course of the time, several settlements were established by them in Cuttack, Balasore, Jaleswar, Ganjam and Sambalpur. By 1835 the American Missionaries were associated with the evangelical works in Odisha. For a few years the main center of their activities was Sambalpur. Later on they came to settle at Balasore. The rigid

caste hierarchy associated social exclusions, polytheism and ritual rigidity within the Hindu society also indirectly contributed towards the proliferation of evangelical activities.

Odisha being the hunting ground of natural calamities like flood, cyclone, draught and famine provided another concrete ground for institutionalized philanthropic activities of the Missionaries. They opened some orphanages in different parts of the province for destitute boys and girls. The orphanages provided food and shelter, vocational education and employment to the destitute. Of course, many of them accepted the new creed. But without the Christian charity the death toll certainly would have been much greater and the condition of the survivors extremely miserable, as the orthodox Hindu society shut the doors against them. In the famine of 1866, there were 353 boys and 429 girls in the Cuttack orphanage alone.<sup>8</sup>

#### ***Impact of Christian Missionaries on indigenous voluntarism***

In spite of the limitations and shortcomings, the activities of Christian Missionaries in Odisha reignited the indigenous voluntarism in Odisha in a number of ways. Some major direct impacts were:

- The organized works of the Missionaries demonstrated the worth of institutionalized voluntary efforts in the field of direct social action.
- Missionaries initiated a kind of progressive outlook among people towards the changing conditions of life and emerging socio-cultural realities.
- The activities of the Missionaries also triggered Indigenous voluntary activities at many places throughout the State. More particularly, the new groups of progressive educated Odias were moved to direct social action through organized efforts.

#### ***Voluntarism during later part of 19<sup>th</sup> Century.***

The activities of the newly emerging educated class during later Part of 19<sup>th</sup> Century brought about resurgence of voluntary efforts in various fields. Prof. Pritish Acharaya rightly observes, 'though a microscopic minority this class showed interest in common societal issues concerning the general welfare of the people'. By virtue of their knowledge, wisdom, nationalistic spirit and commitment to the people's cause they could influence ruling class to review and relook their policies and to reset their priorities for people. This brought about a change in socio-political spheres of the State. Politics no longer remained confined to the old feudal class or the then ruling British elite. The new educated class "through its active intervention broadened its scope and extended the radius of politics in the region".<sup>9</sup>

The devastating famine of 1865-66 called *Na-anka Durbhikshya*<sup>10</sup> (it is so called because it occurred in the 9<sup>th</sup> regal year of the then King Dibyasingha Deb) was a turning point of voluntary activities. When people in Odisha were dying in want of food the British Government in India exported rice of worth more than 200 million pound in the same year.<sup>11</sup> This made the intelligentsia to relook their attitude towards British Government and its bureaucratic machinery. They openly criticized the faulty policies of Government and apathetic attitude of British officers towards suffering of the

natives. The spelt out that poverty, backwardness and sufferings of the people were due to the factors like:

1. Apathetic attitude of British Government towards concerns of the people
2. Lack of communication between people and the Government.
3. Exploitative policies of British Govt.
4. Mass Illiteracy and dominance of blind faiths.

As such, they took up the causes of spreading literacy, eradication of blind faith and irrational beliefs, imparting of scientific & rational education and spread of women education. They advocated that education could be spread only through vernacular language. The scholars and reformists like Gangadhar Meher and Fakir Mohan Senapati vehemently argued that teaching and learning through vernacular language would make the youth self-reliant and would catalyze the process of nation building.

The modern educated class influenced local rich men to support the cause of education. Slowly and steadily the 'cultural-fear' against modern education started by Missionaries and Govt. sponsored schools started diluting towards second part of the nineteenth century. Some schools were set up by the organized efforts of charismatic leaders like Dr. Pyari Mohan Acharya, Fakir Mohan Senapati, Madhusudan Rao, DrRadhanathRoy, MadhusudanDas and a number of voluntary workers from the group of Zamindars (land lords) and rich. More than 9 High Schools were established in different parts of Odisha between 1870 to 1848 A.D. The dedicated efforts of Dr. Radhnath Roy (1848-1908) and Madhusudan Rao (1853-1912) led to establishment of many new schools and manifold increase of enrolment of students. Madhusudan Das, the master inspiration of voluntarism in Odisha focused his attention on educational development in the State after he became member in Bengal Council in the year 1896.<sup>12</sup> With such beginnings initiated through voluntary efforts of benevolent personalities, the educational development started gathering inertia throughout 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The leading literati of Odisha also promoted establishment of printing press and publication of text books and newspapers. Around 13 such printing presses and newspapers came up in different parts of Odisha between 1866 to 1899 A.D.<sup>13</sup> Establishment of printing press, publishing of newspapers and journalism was not started as a business enterprise in Odisha. It came up as a committed voluntary effort for spread of education and raising the consciousness of people. Press and journalism was taken up as the means for reflecting people's voice and communicating concerns of the people to the Government. Prof Acharaya writes, "Journalism was seen as a means of nationalist struggle rather than a lucrative profession. They were, in general, published as a public service and financed as objects of philanthropy."<sup>14</sup>

Thus, establishment of modern schools, advocating for women education, pointing out the irrational traditions, and setting up of the printing press and publication of newspapers became the major fields of voluntary action during second part of the nineteenth century. These in their turn, inspired the native landlords and farmers who raised skirmishes in different parts of the state against the exploitative policies of British Government.

These modern educated leaders also took up various reformative and agitational programmes at different places. Though they were organized in a sporadic manner, all had the underlying commonality of arousing love for motherland, mother tongue and national consciousness among the people. This educated class adopted the technique of creating 'social praise & blame' for harnessing the support of rich and landlords towards these causes. They publicly praised those who contributed towards establishment of schools, extending financial help to poor and needy students and printing of newspapers. On the other side, they criticized those who neglected these causes.

Many of these journals were folded up during very short period of time. Only a few journals like the *Utkal Dipika*, *Balasore Sambad Vahika*, *Nava Sambad* and *Sambalpur Hiteisisni* survived for long years. Others saw their pre-mature end mainly because of financial constraints. Fakir Mohan, the editor of *Balasore Sambad Vahika* wrote in spite of the huge losses, the efforts continued "as press was essential for public education."<sup>15</sup> These journals played a very significant role in the socio-religious ferment of Odisha in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The language & literature of Odisha which faced severe attack from some Englishmen and non-Odias could be saved only by the sustained efforts of some of these journals. The establishment of printing press made definite contributions towards bringing the classical literature of Odisha to lime light and at the same time laid the foundation of modern Odia literature. These magazines were instrumental for molding people's opinion. This also fostered a sense of unity in the minds of the Odia speaking people who were the than under different provinces of British India and feudal rulers.

Such reformatory zeal and works of the intelligentsia paved the way for Odishan Missionary initiatives in the areas of socio-religious reform. Two powerful socio-religious reform movements known as (i) *Mahima Cult* and (ii) *Bramho Samaj* also grew up in zealous spirit. The principal driving forces of these movements were:

- To counter the impact of Christian Missionary in the field of religious preaching.
- To safeguard the purity of Hinduism and *Sanatanadharma* against the external attack of Christianity and the internal erosion caused by *Brahminic* dominance.

#### ***The Bamhoo Samaj***

The BramhoSamaj in Odisha grew up under the direct influence of *Bramhoo* preachers from Bengal. It may be recalled here that the *Bramho* movement emerged in Bengal mostly as an indigenous reform movement as a form of response to the attack of Christianity on Hindu religion. Among many preachers of the movement who came to Odisha, the most noted one was Maharshi Devendranath Tagore who arrived the province as early as 1850. Balasore became the hot bed of *Bramhoo* movement during 1867-68. Cuttack *Samaj* was organized on 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1869. Some other young men also established another Samaj at Cuttack known as Utkal Bramhoo Samaj. Fakir Mohan with his friends like Damodar Das, Govind Das, Jayakrishan Choudhury, Radhanath Ray and Bholanath Basu joined the *Bramhoo* movement. Other prominent reformists who joined the *Samaj* were Madhusudan

Rao, the poet and the educationist, Bhusan Chandra Bhattacharya, Ramnarayan Datta, Girish Chandra Mitra, Biswanath Banarjee and many others. Haranath Bhatarya and Prasanna K. Ganguli started branches of the Bramhoo Samaj at Balasore and Puri during the year 1870 and 1872 respectively.

The *Bramhoos* established several schools and published books and journals. The overall effect of the movement was that it mostly captured the middle class intelligentsia. It stirred their minds and made them conscious of the limitations of their socio-religious system. It also influenced people a lot against the irrational faiths and ritualistic rigidity of religion thereby triggering a progressive outlook in Hinduism.

### **Mahima Cult**

In second half of the 19th century when the educated urban people of Odisha were inclined to accept Bramhoo faith because of their zeal for social reform, another indigenous cult known as Mahima dharma brought a large number of rural people to its fold and probably checked mass conversion to Christianity in the province.<sup>16</sup> The philosophy of *Mahima Cult* was very much compatible with the teachings of *Vedas* and *Upanishads*. It accepted their authority but made an attempt to reform Hinduism from within.<sup>17</sup> It fought against two ritualistic doctrines of Hindu society viz. idolatry and rigid caste system. *Mahima Goswami* (the Father preacher) tried to remove idol worship by preaching that worship was due not to any material or anybody (idol) but to the external Gurus called *Parambramhan*. One God, One religion, no caste were the ideals that he preached. The impact of Mahima cult was distinctly visible in stimulating reforms in the socio-religious life of the people.

Along with these socio-religious reform movements, the voluntary activities were also visible in several aspects of socio-political systems during later part of the 19th century. The important civil society organizations which spearheaded the cause of the people during this period were Utkal Sabha, Ghumusur Sabha and Utkal Hitabadinisamaj.

Ghumusur Sabha started as a socio-political voluntary efforts in Odisha on the issues relating to abolition of Odia from the courts and Government offices by the than British Govt. The dominance of other languages like Bengali, Hindi and Telgu over Odia language also added fuel to the movement. First such movement was started in Ghumusur area of Ganjam district. The movement was led by the tireless efforts of the leader Dinabandhu Pattanaik in 1870. Many others joined him in this trial. The movement demanded for reintroduction of Odia in courts and unification of all those areas where Odia was being used in Government offices and courts. The leaders from Cuttack and Puri supported the movement. The then leading Odia journal *Utkal Dipika* in its issue on 20th October, 1870 published the resolutions of the *Ghumusur Sabha* under the heading 'letter from *Ghumusur*' with editorial note of univocal support to the movement.<sup>18</sup> The movement was so powerful that British Government had to agree for reimplementing of Odia in the offices of these regions. But unfortunately, the Telgu officials who outnumbered Odias in the offices did not allow this to happen in actual practice.

Utkal Hitabadini Samaj movement was raised in Bramhapur under the leadership of a leading journalist William Mohanty in

the year 1873. The movement was built against a conspiracy between British and Telgu Officials who urged upon the Zamindars of Ganjam district to appoint Telgu people in their offices instead of Odia people. The situation became such that Odia people did not get employment anywhere. William Mohanty convened a large public meeting in the premises of District *Pathasala* (school), Berhampur in which *Utkal Hitabadini Samaj* was constituted. The Samaj vehemently opposed such conspiracy and called upon the local Zamindars not to become prey to such conspiracy against their own mother tongue. *Utkal Dipika* took up the issue and the movement gathered momentum. Finally British Government in its Ganjam Gazetteer dated 24th January, 1874 notified that Government had no objection if Odia people submitted their documents in Odia script. But, Very tactfully it was mentioned in the order that there would be late in replying to the documents submitted in Odia script.

Utkal Sabha was another significant improvement in the direction of rising socio-political awareness during 2nd half of the century. It was started in Cuttack during 1882-1885 to spearhead socio-political activities of the people. It soon became most prominent political organization of the intelligentsia in the principal towns of Odisha division. This platform wielded considerable influence in molding public opinion in the province during last two decades of the 19th century.

In spite of the arguments and protests, the British lords were adamant in their decision, and, by the end of 1895 Odia was abolished from the courts of Sambalpur. Such a decision deeply wounded the sentiments of the Odia speaking people and efforts were made in all directions to reverse the step taken by the Government. The agitation in Sambalpur for restoration of Odia as the court language continued unabated.

All these voluntary efforts in their collective effect drew attention of the Government towards increasing mass poverty & deprivation. The leaders ascribed the causes of poverty to high taxation, faulty salt policy, shipping on coastal areas and negligence of vernacular language by the Government. Even the leaders went up to the extent of criticizing the Government of paying meager salary to low level officials. The movement Utkala Bharati-Utkala Balika in Sambalpur region was an emotional appeal to the people of Odisha to come together in safeguarding the interest of Odia language and Odisha region.<sup>19</sup> The journal *Sevak* in its issue on 22nd December, 1866 put note of dissent to observation of some people in administration that people of India are progressing under British Government. The pilgrim tax imposed by British Government was severely criticized by *Utkal Dipika* in its issue on 10th February, 1868. The *Navasamabd* in the year 1895 criticized imposition of municipal tax on an essential commodity like kerosene.<sup>20</sup> The nationalist intelligentsia also took up politico-administrative issues like repeal of the Arms Act-1878, engagement of Indians in higher military positions and Indianization of Public Services.

Thus, Odisha exhibits a long tradition of voluntarism. The contours of Odishan voluntarism have been many and their impact has penetrated into basic fabrics of society and culture. It is enriched with both the indigenous and exogenous traits. Throughout the second half of the 19th century a number of

organized voluntary efforts grew up in the fields of education, philanthropic services, religious reforms, eradication of social evils like caste & Sati systems, cultural reawakening and search of separate identity of Odisha. The generic fields of voluntary activities in Odisha during 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century are presented in Table-3 at Annexure-1.<sup>21</sup> Of course, many of the voluntary initiatives could not achieve the desired goals because of the than prevailing socio-political conditions. Yet, the works of these organizations clustered together, succeeded to rouse the common mass for macro actions in the next century. These were the predecessors of modern day voluntarism in the State. They set the ground ready for greater movements like Creation of Separate province of Odisha, Kanika Peasant Movement (1921-22)<sup>22</sup> Gadjat Andolan (1931 till merger of states)<sup>23</sup>, Bhoodan Andolan (1951-1971)<sup>24</sup> and National Freedom Movement in 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

### Annexure 1

**Table No 1** Important vernacular Printing Presses established through efforts of the native intelligentsia

SI No	Name of the Printing Press	Year of establishment	Place
1	Cuttack Printing Press	1866	Cuttack
2	Balasure Printing Press	1868	Balasure
3	P.M.Senapati & Co Utkal Press	1868	Balasure
4	Utkal Hiteisini Press	1873	Cuttack
6	Ganjan Nisa Nisedhini Samaj Press	1875	Ganjam
6	Victoria Press	1885	Cuttack
7	Bamanda Press	1885	Bamanda, Sambalpur
8	Puri Printing Corporation Press	1890	Puri
9	Arunadoya Press	1893	Cuttack
10	Roy Press	1894	Cuttack
11	Utkal Sahitya Press	1897	Cuttack
12	Darparanj Press	1899	Cuttack
13	Binod Press	1899	Cuttack

**Table No 2** The leading Journals published during latter half of the Nineteenth Century

SI No	Name of the Journal	Year of Publication	Place	Founder/Editor
1	Utkal Dipika	1866	Cuttack	Gouri Sankar Ray and Bienhitrananda Das
2	Sambad Bahika	1868	Balasure	Fakir Mohan Senapati and Govind Pattanaik
3	Utkala Hiteisini	1868	Cuttack	Zamindar Kalipad Banerjee
4	Utkala Putra	1873	Cuttack	Pyari Mohan Acharya
5.	Utkal Darpana	1873	Balasure	Zamindar Baikunthnath Dev
6.	Swadeshi (quarterly)	1873	Bramhapur	William Mohanty
7.	Barta Lahari	1873	Bramhapur	William Mohanty
8.	Samskara	1883	Cuttack	Charurbhuj Pattanaik
9.	Odia (bi-lingual)	1887	Balasure	Dwarakanath Das
10.	Sambalpur Hiteisini	1889	Bamanda Sambalpur	Prince Sudhal Dev and Nilamani Bidyaratna
11	Utkal Prava	1891	Baripada	Maharaja Sriramchandra Dev.
12.	Utkala Sahitya	1897	Cuttack	Biswanath Kara

Source- Collected from various libraries and State Archive in course of the present study

Apart from these journals a number of other journals also came up in different parts of Odisha during 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup>

Century. Some such journals were Cuttack Argus (Cuttack,1869), Cuttack Star (Cuttack,1869 ), Utkala Hiteisini (Cuttack ,1869), Cuttack Standard, (Cuttack,1869), Purushottam Chandrika ( Puri, 1874), Swadeshi (Berhampur,1876), Utkal Madhupa (April, 1878), Kohinoor (Cuttack, 1880) , Prajabandhu ( Balasure,1882), Odia and Nava Sambad ( Balasure,1888), Ganjam News ( Berhampur, August,1896) and Ganjam Odisha Hitabadini ( Paralakhemundi , 1899).

**Table No 3** Generic Fields of voluntary activities in Odisha at the turn of 19<sup>th</sup> Century

SI No	Generic Field of Voluntary Action	Prominent Organizations / Institutions	Time Period
1	Spread of education and Advocating for Women education	Cuttack Academy, Laxman Nath ME School, Cuttack Odia School, Remuna High School, Balasure High School, Balasure Girls High School ,	6 such schools by 1876-77 along with 2 Missionary Schools established in 1822 and 1823. Women education advocated by Fakir Mohan in the epoch making story Rebati during 1898
2	Establishment of Odia Printing Press	Cuttack Printing Press, Balasure Press, Utkala Hitaisini Press, Cuttack, Ganjam Nisa Nisedhini Samaj Press, Utkal Sahitya Press, Cuttack, Puri Printing Corporation Press	13 such printing Presses were established between 1866-1899. ( Ref-Table No----- above)
3	Preservation & development of Odia literature	Publication of Odia text books and magazines like Utkal Dipika, Balasure Sambad Vahika, Sambalpur Hiteisini, Utkal Hiteisini, Utkal Putra etc., printing of classical Odia literature, transcribe of Odia literature from palm leaf to modern print forms.	Around 16 Odia magazines/periodicals between 1866-1997 ( Ref-Table No----- above)
4	Socio-Religious Reform Movement, Movement against blind beliefs and irrational faiths	Cuttack Bramhoo Samaj (1869), Utkal Bramhoo Samaj, Barmhoo Samaj, Balasure ( 1870), Bramhoo Samaj , Puri(1872) – Publication of reformative Bramhoo journals like Utkal Subhankari ( 1869), Dharmabodhini( 1874), Sevak(1883) etc. Mahima Cult ( peak period 1838-1848)	1869 to the turn of 19 <sup>th</sup> century
5	Raising people's cause, More representation in local self Govt,	Utkal Sabha ( 1882)	1882-85
6	Fight against British Tyranny & Exploitative policies and Congress Movement	Baud Parjameli Mayurbhanj Santalameli Nilagiri Prajameli Dampada Meli Narsinghpur Meli Utkal Congress Sabha Nayagarh Meli	1862 1862 1875 1876 1876 1886-87 1893-95
7	Philanthropy, charity, and bringing social issues to public forum	Orphanages, movement against sati, caste system, relief during natural calamities etc. Cuttack Debating Club (1868), Cuttack Young Men's' Association (1869) Ganjam Utkal Hitavadini Sabha ( 1881) Utkal Hiteisini Sabha of Paralakhemundi (1881) Cuttack College Students Association (1882) OG&UGA Orissa Graduates & Under-Graduates Association ( 1893) Ghumusura Movement, Movement started by Raja Baikunth Nath Deo at Balasure, Bichitranaada Kara at Cuttack and later on carried forwards by Utkal Sabha.	From 1835 to turn of the century epitomized with Utkalmani Gopandhu Das in 1915 flood
8	Unification of Odia speaking tracks	National Society of Balasure (1878), Utkal Sabha, Cuttack ( 1882),Utkal Hiteisini Sabha, Paralakhemundi (1881). News Papers – Sambad Bihika, Utkal Dipika, Utkal Darpan, Sevak, Odia O' Navasmbad, Gadjat Basini, Sambalpur Hiteisini etc.	1870 till formation of Odisha in 20 <sup>th</sup> Century.
9	Spreading of socio-political awareness.		1878-1900 Many such movements continued to 20 <sup>th</sup> Century

Source- Logical derivation from the information about the movements collected from various books as referred in the article.

## References

1. Panigrahi K.C (1981), Kitabmahal, Cuttack Odisha. P-12- The book reproduces the English version of the rock edict.
2. Panigrahi K.C. (1981) *ibid.* The book reproduces English version of Kharabela's expedition during 12<sup>th</sup> year reign engraved in elephant cave of Khadnagiri near Bhubaneswar, Odisha. It mentions that in 12<sup>th</sup> year of his reign the King made an expedition towards Magadha to restore the military fame of Kalinga demolished by Ashoka. In his expedition the Kalingans joined him in large number as warriors. After conquering the Magadhan King, Kharabela brought back the seat of Jaina which was taken away by the Nanda King (the historian identifies this Nanda King as the emperor Ashoka)
3. Jagannath Vaishnavism grew up in Odisha as a distinct religious tradition within the broad framework of Veda and Upanishads of Hinduism. This tradition was a powerful force for binding the people with the State so much so that the then kings of Odisha declared themselves as Devadas (servant to lord Jagannath) and thus servant to the people. Such traditions were also dominant in other parts of the then Odisha where the feudal Kings declared themselves as servants of the respective royal deities of that region.
4. Dhir Anil (2016), Odisha .org, Order 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1803- "On your arrival at Jagannaut, you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the pagoda and to the religious prejudices of Brahmins and pilgrims. You will furnish the Brahmins with such regards and shall afford perfect security to their persons, rites and ceremonials and to the sanctity of the religious edifices and you will strictly enjoin these under your command to observe your orders on this important subject, with the utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance". Wellesely further warned, "You will understand that no part of the property, treasure or valuable article of any kind contained in the pagoda of Jagannaut, or in any religious edifice or possessed by any of the priests or Brahmins, or persons of any description attached to the temple or religious institutions is to be considered as prizes to the army. All such property must be respected as being consecrated to religious use by the customs and prejudices by the Hindus. No account is to be allowed to enter the pagoda or sacred buildings without the express desire of the Brahmins".
5. Das Prafulla (1997)- Kendrapara's Contribution to Freedom Struggle, The Wonder that is Kendrapara, edited by U.K.Mohapatra (present scholar) & A. K.Jena, published on the occasion of 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Indian Independence, Mani Press, Kendrapara
6. Wikipedia.org (2018)-Paika\_Rebellion, retrieved on 23<sup>rd</sup> Jan, 2018.
7. Patra P.K.(1943)-History of the Baptist Missionary Society in Orissa, Cuttack,P-19.
8. State Archives (1990)- Two Bachelors of Arts, The Oriya Movement, Appendix D.Risley Circular PP-312-18
9. Acharya Pritish (2008)- National Movement and Politics in Odisha, Sage Publications, New Delhi, P-3 Senapati Fakir Mohan (1969), Atmajivan Charita, Cuttack, (5<sup>th</sup> Reprint 1991), P-29. Fakir Mohan Senapati, the veteran leaders of the masses who also served as a Dewan was an eye witness to the famine. He wrote "The death toll including the post-famine death was around 3 million".
10. Wikipedia describes-"The Orissa famine of 1866 affected the east coast of India from Madras upwards, an area covering 180,000 miles and containing a population of 47,500,000; the impact of the famine, however, was greatest in Orissa which at that time was quite isolated from the rest of India. In Odisha, one third of the population died due to famine. Efforts to ship the food to the isolated province were hampered because of bad weather, and when some shipments did reach the coast of Odisha, they could not be moved inland. The British Indian government imported some 10,000 tons of rice, which reached the affected population only in September. Although many people died of starvation, more were killed by cholera before the monsoons and by malaria afterwards. In Odisha alone, at least 1 million people, a third of the population, died in 1866, and overall in the region approximately 4 to 5 million died in the two-year period.
11. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orissa\\_famine\\_of\\_1866](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orissa_famine_of_1866). Dadabhai Naoroji used this as evidence to develop the Drain Theory, the idea that Britain was enriching itself by "sucking the lifeblood out of India"
12. Pattanaik Prafulla Kumar Dr. (2007)- Yasadehe Ayushman, Part-II, Vidypuri, Cuttack- P-21
13. A list of the major printing presses established under the leadership of these educated natives is presented in Table-1 at Annexure-1. The list of leading journals published during later part of 19<sup>th</sup> century is presented in Table-2 at Annexure-1.
14. Acharya Pritish, *op.cit.* P-9
15. Senapati Fakir Mohan- *op.cit.*, p-32
16. Mahima Dharma was founded by Mahima Goswami. The followers of Mahima Dharma believed in adoration of Alekhpambrahm. Its' philosophy is that the Parambrahma (the ultimate Reality) is Alekha (beyond description), Anakar (shapeless) and Anadi (origin less & endless). Brahma alone is the cause of world-creation. It is because of Brahma's wonderful yearning and charisma or Mahima that this world has been created. It is only through this Mahima that the whole creation is preserved or destroyed.
17. Biswanath Baba (1963) History of Satya Mahima Dharma, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Cuttack, P-14.
18. UdalDipika (1870)- the issue of Utkal Dipika dated- 22.10.1870 quoted by Pattanaik Sunbhas Chandra in his report Odisha Pradesh Srustire Ganamadyama (Role of Mass Media in creation of the Province of Orissa), 2015 published by Sabda Sparhsa, Bhubaneswar, P-15
19. Sambalpur Hitesisni(1896)- 49<sup>th</sup> Issue, dt- 6<sup>th</sup> May,1986.
20. Acharya Pritish( 2008)-*op cit*,P-22
21. Generic Fields of the voluntary activities in Odisha during second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century is presented in Table-3 at Annexure-1.
22. Mahananda Rashmita (2017), Kanika Peasant movement in Odisha, 1921-22, A Historical Perspective, Imperial Journal of Interdisciplinary Research, Vol-3, 2017, <http://www.onlinejournal.in>

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24. Parida Sarat (2010), Twenty-Five Years of Bhoodan Movement in Odisha, Odisha Review, May-June-2010, P-70-72.

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