

**Leadership and Mobilization:
A Study of Tribal Movements in Orissa
(1835-1999)**

*Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
for the award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DILLIP KUMAR MAJHI



Centre for the Study of Discrimination and Exclusion
School of Social Science
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067
India
2017



Centre for the Study of Discrimination and Exclusion (CSDE)

School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 067, India

Dated: 21/07/ 2017

DECLARATION


I declare that the thesis "Leadership and Mobilization: A Study of Tribal Movements in Orissa (1835-1999)" submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this or any other University.

Dilip Kumar Majhi

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that the thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

CHAIRPERSON
(Prof. Y. Chinna Rao)

 अध्यक्ष/Chairperson
भेदभाव एवं अपवर्जन अध्ययन केन्द्र
Centre for the Study of Discrimination & Exclusion
सामाजिक विज्ञान संस्थान/School of Social Sciences
जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय/Jawaharlal Nehru University
नई दिल्ली-११००६७/New Delhi-110067

SUPERVISOR

(Prof. Y. Chinna Rao)

 प्रो. यागादि चिन्ना राव/Prof. Y. Chinna Rao
भेदभाव एवं अपवर्जन अध्ययन केन्द्र
Centre for the Study of Discrimination & Exclusion
सामाजिक विज्ञान संस्थान/School of Social Sciences
जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय/Jawaharlal Nehru University
नई दिल्ली-११००६७/New Delhi-110067

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List of Tables and Figures

| Table No | Name of the Tables | Page No |
|-----------------|---|----------------|
| Table-1 | Lok Sabha and Different Political Party | 181 |
| Table-2 | Assembly and Different Political party | 184 |

| Figures No | Name of the Figures | Page No |
|-------------------|---|----------------|
| Figure-1 | Nos. of ST Assembly members in different Assembly | 182 |
| Figure-2 | Female representation in different Assembly | 183 |

Abbreviations

| | |
|---------|---|
| AICC | : All India Congress Committee |
| C | : Caberry ed. 1854: Selections from GOI Reports on the Suppressions of Human sacrifice in Orissa. |
| CR | : Calcutta Review |
| HM | : Home Department |
| IHR | : Indian Historical Reviews |
| INA | : Indian National Archive |
| MRC | : Madras Revenue consultant |
| OHR | : Orissa Home Record |
| OJHR | : Orissa Historical Research Journal |
| OJR | : Orissa Judicial Record |
| ORR | : Orissa Revenue Record |
| SCSTRTI | : Scheduled Caste & Scheduled Tribe Research and Training Intuition |

Glossary

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Adivasi</i> | : Aboriginal, tribal (noun and adjective) |
| <i>Anna</i> | : A sixteenth of a rupee |
| <i>Begar</i> | : A Labourer forced into service by government Coolie officials (as coolie, constructing road etc.) |
| <i>Bissoi</i> | : Oriya Chief (of a <i>mutah</i> or other unit) |
| <i>Gomastah</i> | : An Indian serving as a Government Agent (at a Hindu court etc.) |
| <i>Haldi</i> | : Turmeric (Hindu) |
| <i>Havildar</i> | : Indian officer with the rank of sergeant |
| <i>Huzzoor</i> | : ‘Your Honour’, ‘Sir’, ‘Excellency’ |
| <i>Kui, Kuvi</i> | : The northern/eastern and southern/western Kond languages and peoples |
| <i>Mahal</i> | : Palace, i.e. kingdom |
| <i>Mahua</i> | : The drink distilled from flowers of the <i>mahua</i> tree, <i>Bassia latifolia</i> or <i>Madhuca indica</i> |
| <i>Maji</i> village | : Headman or chief of a kuvi or Kuttia Kond |
| <i>Maliah</i> | : Mountains (Hindi, Oriya) |
| <i>Meriah</i> | : A person purchased or kept by Konds apparently for human sacrifice |
| <i>Moliko</i> | : Kond headman or village chief (NB: Hindi <i>malik</i> , master) |
| <i>Mutah</i> | : A territorial unit of allied villages |
| <i>Naik</i> <i>duffadar</i>) | : Indian officer with rank of corporal (below |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Oriya Language | : The Hindu people of Orissa and their |
| <i>Paik</i> | : Foot-soldier, militia-man |
| <i>Patro</i> | : Kond Chief |
| <i>Rajah</i> | : Hindu king |
| Sirdar | : Chief |
| <i>Subedar</i> | : Highest rank of Indian officer, commanding accompany |
| Sundi | : Distiller caste in Kond area |
| <i>Tahsildar</i> | : Government head of <i>tehsil</i> (administrative unit of a District) in charge of revenue Administrative unit of District similar to <i>tehsil</i> |
| <i>Vakil, vakul</i> representative | : Attorney, lawyer, or Government legal |
| <i>Zemindar</i> | : Landlord or <i>rajah</i> |

Contents

| | Page No |
|--|--------------|
| <i>Acknowledgement</i> | <i>i-ii</i> |
| <i>List of Tables & Figures</i> | <i>iii</i> |
| <i>Abbreviation</i> | <i>iv</i> |
| <i>Glossary</i> | <i>v-vi</i> |
| Chapter-1 Introduction | 1-22 |
| Marginalization of Tribal people | |
| Tribal movements and Leadership | |
| Review of Literature | |
| Statements of the problem | |
| Significance of the Study | |
| Aims and Objectives of the Study | |
| Research Questions | |
| Research Methodology | |
| Chapterization | |
| Chapter-2 Early Tribal Movements and Khond Leadership in Orissa | 23-83 |
| Historical background of Orissa | |
| Orissa under Afghan and Mughals | |
| Orissa under Marthas rule | |
| Orissa under British Government | |
| Orissa under Administration | |
| British settlement in Sambalpur | |
| Tribals in Orissa | |
| Language of the Tribal | |
| Tribal in Colonial Orissa | |
| Khond Tribes in Orissa | |
| Geographical Location and Settlement of the Khond People | |

Socio-economic condition of the Khonds
Religious believe of the Khond Tribes
Human Sacrifice and Khond Rituals
Role of British Officer and Human Sacrifice
Khond Movements and cause of Raising
Course of the Rising
Rebel under Dora Bissoi
Chakra Bissoi the Great Leader of the Khonds
Emergency revolt under Chakra Bissoi

Chapter-3 Later Tribal Movements and Bhuyan Leadership 84-116

Geography and Historical Background of Keonjhar
Bhuyan Tribes of keonjhar
British Occupied keonjhar
Role of Ratana Nayak and his Importance in Bhuyan
Movement
Course of the Movements and the Role of British
Suppression of the Rovolt
Dharanidhar Nayak: Importance in Bhuyan Movements
Course of the Movements
Suppression of the Movements

Chapter-4 National Movements and Colonial Movements in Orissa 117-146

The Congress and the Indian National Movements
Origins of National Movements in Orissa
The Language question and Statehood
Tribals and Non- Cooperation Movements
Tribes and the Civil Disobedience Movement
Role of Lakshman naik in national Movements and Early Life
Engaged with the Movements
Early Life of Nirmal Munda
TNirmal Mundas' Roles in Anti-land Revenue Movement

Chapter-5 Leadership Development and Tribals in Post-Independence Orissa **147-190**

Separate Statehood Movement

Language Issue

Movements for Unification

Democracy and Participation

Electoral Politics

Scheduled Areas and Tribes

Constitutional Guarantees and Tribals

Social Safeguards

Economic Safeguards

Education and Cultural Safeguards

Political Safeguards

Services Safeguards

Tribal Leadership

Tribal Representation

Lok Sabha

Female Representation

Different Political Parties and representation of Tribes

Conclusion **191-194**

Bibliography **195-210**

Appendices

Appendix-1: Number of Scheduled Tribes in Orissa & List of Scheduled Tribe in Orissa

Appendix-2: Tribal Rituals and Festivals

Appendix-3: Statement of Mariahs rescued and Possias Registered, since the first establishment of the Agency for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices, to the 13th April 1853

Appendix-4: Causes of Recent Firing in Gangpur State

Appendix-5: Nos of SC, ST and Total Constituencies Lok Sabha

Annexure

Annexure-1: Detail List of ST members in Assembly of Odisha
(1952- 2000)

Annexure-2: Detail List of Lok Sabha ST members from 1951-2000

CHAPTER-1

Introduction

The Scheduled Tribes are the oldest ethnic community in India. Historically the tribal communities are known as indigenous people. Virginius Xaxa (1999) in his study stated that “the term indigenous people, though of recent coinage at the international level, have been in use in India for a long time. In fact, the social workers, missionaries and political activists have been using in the term ‘adivasi’, the Indian-language term for the indigenous people, freely to refer to the tribal people since the turn of the present century”.¹ In India, the local equivalent of the term ‘tribe’ is often assumed to be ‘*jana*’ or ‘communities of people’ based on the usage of the term in ancient Buddhist and puranic texts. In this conception, the term *jana* was used in opposition to the term *jatido* indicate that these communities were outside the *jati* hierarchical caste system of social organisation. This view, however, was not universally accepted; since other scholars point out that the categories of *jana* and *jatido* not neatly overlap with that of tribe and caste in the present context² respectively.

During the colonial period, the tribes came to be seen as the region’s ‘original inhabitants’ who existed outside the caste system and had been marginalized by the more advanced caste-Hindu society. The nineteenth-century ethnographic view of tribes argued that the term referred to both a *particular type of society* based on kinship, ties and a *stage of evolution*. In the former view, standard definitions describe the tribe as a social group with a definite area, dialect, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organization. An amalgam of the various traits ascribed to tribal groups include: relative egalitarianism within the group, the absence of complex political structures, strong and functional kinship bonds, cooperation, territorial integrity, cultural and linguistic distinctiveness, and lower level of technology. In case of latter view, tribes are seen as

¹ Virginius Xaxa, “Tribes as Indigenous People of India”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, December 18, 1999, p. 3590.

² Report of the High Level Committee on Socio-Economic, Health and Educational Status of Tribal Communities of India, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, May, 2014, p. 51.

‘primitive’ societies in the sense of lacking all the traits of modern, western society in that they are non-literate, ‘uncivilized’, non-industrial, rural, and so on so forth.³

The social science discourse of these two views are connected in that tribes were seen as having primitive social organization, implying that, tribal people were at a lower stage in the evolutionary social hierarchy in terms of their socio-cultural characteristics, economy and political structures, often being described as simple as well as insulated from changes in the larger regional polity. Tribes in the Indian context have also been defined as groups remaining outside the structures of State and civilization.

In its each definition of tribes, stresses on a particular aspect of tribal life – their relationship with the state, civilization and processes of development as well as the specific features of their culture, livelihood, and economy. However, the dominant concept of tribe that developed during this period revolved around notions of ‘backwardness’, indigeneity, and separation from the larger Hindu civilization. Tribes were identified largely in terms of what they were not, neither did they practice Vedic Hinduism, nor even, they were Muslim, their societies were marked by the relative absence of economic and ritual stratification, and even they were not integrated into the “modern” economy or civilization.

The Census of India has also played a dominant role in shaping the modern understanding of tribe, through its efforts at enumeration and classification. The proper delineation of tribes began with the colonial census in the late nineteenth century to provide detailed information about the population of the sub-continent. Through this exercise, certain communities were labeled as tribes although the criteria transformed over time. In 1881 census,⁴ the term used, was ‘forest tribes’, a sub-category within the broader group of ‘agricultural and pastoral castes’. In 1901 census, tribes were identified as those who ‘practiced animism’ thus placing religious practices at the centre. Therefore, those practicing Hinduism were viewed as castes, while those practicing animism were labeled tribes, although, this criterion would change in the

³ Ibid., pp. 51-52.

⁴ W.Chichele Plowden, Report on the census of British India , Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1881

following decades such that, at present, Scheduled Tribes can practise any religion, including Hinduism and Christianity. In later censuses, additional references to territory were included, producing the label of ‘hill and forest tribes’ in 1921 and ‘primitive tribes’ a decade later. The new descriptions laid emphasis on the isolation of tribes within hill and forest areas along with their ‘primitive’ way of life. One of the earliest attempts to create a list of tribes in the sub-continent was during the 1931 census which identified ‘primitive tribes’. This was followed by a list of “backward tribes” for the provinces made under the Government of India Act, 1935. In 1941 census, tribes were identified not in terms of their religion but according to their ‘origin’, i.e. Tribes were those who have a ‘tribal origin’.⁵

In the post-colonial period, therefore, certain anthropologists have tended to view the ‘tribe’ as a colonial construction, rendering fixed and rigid those identities which were earlier relatively fluid and contextual. Anthropological accounts of tribal communities have largely provided working definitions of tribe which have often been specific to their site of study, given that, tribes differ considerably in terms of their population size, mode of livelihood and level of integration within the capitalist economy. There is huge differentiation, for example, in the range of occupations practiced among tribes – they may be: hunters and gatherers, shifting cultivators, settled agriculturalists, pastoralists, artisans, farm laborers, and plantation and industrial workers.⁶

The 1950 Constitutional Amendment order with the full list of Scheduled Tribes recognized at the time was largely based on the list of “backward tribes” prepared by the colonial administration in 1936. At the time of the first census of independent, India in 1951, there were 212 recognized Scheduled Tribes in the country. The term Scheduled Tribe itself is a politico-administrative category that does not capture the

⁵ Report of the High Level Committee on Socio-Economic, Health and Educational Status of Tribal Communities of India, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, May, 2014, p. 51.

⁶ K. Suresh Singh, *The tribal Situation in India*, Indian Intuition of Advanced studies, Simla, 1979,pp.37-46

enormous social complexity of the various tribes encompassed within its fold.⁷ The Constitution of India categorized certain sections of the population as Scheduled Tribes to make available special welfare provisions to them – even though this category was never properly defined. In a circular fashion, tribes are defined as those groups enumerated as tribes under the Indian Constitution. Thus, Article 366(25) of the Constitution defines Scheduled Tribes as follows:

Scheduled Tribes means such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this Constitution.⁸

Marginalization of Tribal People

The tribal communities are the most marginalized group in India. There are two principal colonial causes of tribal disaffection and their exploitation — the failure to recognize community property rights over land of tribal communities in the Indian Forests Act, 1927 that rendered them encroachers on their own land and the highly unjust and oppressive features of the 19th century Land Acquisition Act. All talks of their welfare are futile without amending these two laws.

During the last few decades, the tribal communities have to step forward and raise their voice against injustice being perpetrated on them. This voice of injustice only became louder since the mid nineties. The so called economic reforms unleashed by the union government have reduced them to the status of “targeted” people. The incompetent governments at the center never bothered to reach them since 1947. In 1991, the economic policies began changing in favor of the rich in the name of liberalization, privatization, and globalization⁹. Soon the government started the process of tackling over natural resources, mineral mines, and water bodies along with land to

⁷ Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf, *Tribes of India: The Struggle for Survival*, Oxford University press, Bombay, pp.37-50

⁸ Report of the High Level Committee on Socio-Economic, Health and Educational Status of Tribal Communities of India, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, May, 2014, p. 51.

⁹ Ibid., p.1

corporate houses for “development” of industries and other projects. Incidentally, nearly all resources and other raw materials needed by the industrial houses lie in the tribal areas of remote hills and forests. The tribal living in these areas, started seeing visitors and gathered that the government are selling their lands, which meant serious trouble like, loss of livelihood, displacement from ancestral lands, total disruption of their community based cooperative living, forced into undignified labor for rich outsiders and possible migration into outside society which has only exploited them as long as they remembered. The land record bureaucrats never stopped fooling them in favor of the rich and powerful and deprived them from means of survival. Moneylenders always appeared ready to extend help in crisis only to put them in bigger trouble later on.

The tribal community’s inhabitant areas were officially “excluded” by the colonial rulers until 1947 and “neglected” by the new rulers since then. The only interest the colonial ruler had in “excluded” areas was the mineral and other resources. The marginalization of tribal communities has been still persisting in the post independence period. The historic injustice done by the colonial government could not resolved by the successive government in independent India. The so called “developmental” activities, which do not confer any direct benefit to the tribals, merely leave them landless or without means for survival. Monetary benefits do not really count when the lifestyle for generations is changed irreparably. Displacement from their traditional habitations and community and families shattered, they are left to toiling as unskilled labor to survive in some unfamiliar hostile societies. It leaves them under acute trauma and uncertainty¹⁰.

Tribal Movements and leadership

The tribal people rise up to struggle and fight against repression and resist cooption, their acts of heroic resistance serve to highlight the inhuman conditions of the tribal peoples: a cumulative effect of state policy, constructive marginalization, abetted

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 1-2.

subjugation and acquiesced genocide. In some struggles, they are there as people in the forefront, in others they form an important part of and are in the leadership of wider formations of workers, displaced persons, the landless and migrant labor. Some tribal struggles are led by nonparty left formations, some by political party fronts, while in others issue based mass organizations or voluntary agencies. The rich variety of tribal struggles reflects the variations in material conditions, modes of production, social formations, levels of internal and external articulation, mass base and their apparent localized character. This does not lend itself to easy found categories. Like peasant movements, the tribal movements at this state of social formation are bound to remain local, limited and restricted to a dominant tribe or a group of tribes; though in the past decade, we are already beginning to see nation-wide tribal movements emerging. The underlying substratum of these struggles and the similarity of the demands show that these struggles are located in a near same socioeconomic and political base; reflect a shared consciousness of pauperization, alienation and indignity, and indicate all the tell-tale signs of growing economic and political marginalization within the matrix of neo-colonialism coupled with feudal oppression, thereby pointing towards the essential unity of all tribal movements.

According to K.S. Singh,¹¹ the aims of tribal revolts are not confined against the British; it was also against the landlords, kings and the *Sahukar*. Therefore, his framework on tribal movements have divided into two phase. First phase started from 1765 to 1857 and second phase from 1857 to 1920. In the later part tribal movements, it was divided into various segments and became the sub-movements of the national movement.¹² For instance, the forest *Satyagraha* of various tribal groups in different parts of India, the revolts of the Walis, Dubles, Dholias, Bhils and some other movements started against exploiting practices by the landlords, contractors, money lenders and petty bourgeoisie. Such movements were being organized by the Santals

¹¹ K.S. Singh, *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol.2, Manhar, New Delhi, pp.1-33

¹² K.K. Misra, “*The tribal movement in India: visions of Dr.K.S.Singh*”, 2012, 67-90.

and other tribal groups to secure Zara land¹³ in Bihar, Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and in the other part of the country as well.

The study of local leadership is also assuming importance due to behavioral revolution in social sciences, encompassing the impact of leadership influencing group action. Generally, the tribal people do not settle alone. They go in a body with a leader. A tribe is regarded as a political unity and most tribes have traditional tribal institution, which have considerable influence upon them. Each tribe considers as a racial group (sharing a common descent), having a clear linguistic and well-defined boundary. These indigenous tribal social institutions exist both at the village and higher levels. Tradition makes these leadership posts hereditary in nature. But the advent of various social welfare schemes has slowly lead change in the outlook of tribal towards the leadership. Various agents of modernization like improved communication, education, industrialization, urbanization, community development programme and other governments sponsored programmes like TDA(Tribal Development Agency) and ITDP (Integral Tribal Development Programmes) and politicizing agents like periodic election through universalization franchise, introduction of panchayatraj, impact of tribal movements and the changes in the revenue and administrative system from time to time, brought a slow but sure change in the socio-political ethos, which influence the values and belief system, connected with the pattern of leadership.

It is an essential part to study the tribal leadership to understand the significance and importance of tribal movements. According to the L.P. Vidyarthi, the tribal leadership and their cultural way of life are affected by modernization process. The heavy mushrooming of townships, metropolitan cities and urban areas in the industrial process laid a great impact in the tribal lives, which demands a transformative process under the modern democratic system. The political participation of tribal in the electoral process is the necessary cause for experiencing the tribal leaderships as such. However, this domain of proposed study dealing the transformative root that concerned with tribal leadership and their mobility in two phases. First, the study would be looked at the tribal movements and leadership during the British period. Secondly, post-independent

¹³ Zara land means non-cultivable land.

era engaged with larger framework of transformative structure of tribes in terms of their leadership and political participation¹⁴.

The tribal movement in the history of Orissa has significantly demonstrated marginalization and exploitation of tribal communities by the ruling class during colonial and post-colonial period. In this study, the tribal movement in Orissa during 1835 – 1999 has been specifically taken up to discuss the four different phases of tribal movement led by the tribal communities of the state. During this period the first movement was Khond Movement (1835-1854). The major factor behind the movement was that the colonial ruler had intervened against the customary law of *Meriha* Sacrifice (Human Sacrifice) in Khond community. This colonial rule was resulted the Kandha community's resistance to protect their customary law.¹⁵ The second movement was the Bhunya Movement in Keonjhar (1864-69). The new tax system and exploitation of colonial ruler and the king and zamindar of the local area was resulted the Bhunyan movement. The third phase of the tribal movement in this study was Tribal leadership and participation in national movement (1919-47). During this phase, the tribal movement was occurred primarily the growing tribal leadership with the national movement against colonial ruler. The last phase of the Tribal Movement was 1948-99. The issue of identity of tribal community and participation of electoral process of the country in the post independence period was the significant factor of this movement. These above mentioned four phases of tribal movement has been discussed in the subsequent chapters of this study.

¹⁴ L.P. Vidyarthi, *The Dynamics of the tribal leadership in Bihar*, Kitab Mahal, Alahabad

¹⁵ Nihar Ranjan Patnaik, *Social History of 19th century Orissa*, Vohar Publisher, Allahabad, 1989, p.149

Review of the literature:

Literature review is an important stage of research to identify the research problems and research gaps and carry forward the proposed research in its wider dimension. The following literatures have been review related to the area of the study.

Praharaj ¹⁶(1988) in his book “Tribal Movement and Politics in India: A case study from 1803-1949”argues about the tribal movement and the British exploitation in Orissa. The first chapter of this book highlighted about the British policy in Mayurabhanja in 1761-1803. The author also deals with how the British occupy the state and the conflict between the British and the Raja of Mayurabhanja came into existence. He also described the British rule as a dark shadow for the people of Mayurabhanja due to its taxes collection process. The author also describes how the company took a Military action against DamodarBhanja and focuses on the treaty of Deogaon. The book also provides good historical information about the raja of Mayurabhanja and the British policy. The second chapter deals with the trends of the British policy towards Orissa State. In this chapter, the author linked the administrative reorganization, classification and the policy during (1903-08). In the third chapter the author describes about the history of Mayurabhanja under Bhanja rules in the 19th and 20th century. In the fourth chapter he has described the tribal uprising in the state during the period from 1821 AD to 1917 AD and how the chief and British government tackles the situation. The fifth chapter deals with political development in 1947-49,and it focuses on how the power transfers to the local people after independence.

Biswamoya Pati ¹⁷(1993) in his book “Peasants, Tribals and the National Movement in Orissa 1920-50” highlighted the role of the regional leaderships in formation of the state of Orissa, peasant Organizations, tribal etc. He also links the Gandhian movement and its impact in Orissa. Pati’s discussion focuses on popular perceptions and aspirations, the different and at times divergent visions of various classes and the regional traditions,

¹⁶ D.M.Praharaj, *Tribal Movement and Politics in India: A case study from 1803-1949*,Intera India Publication, New Delhi,1943

¹⁷ Biswamoya Pati, *Peasants, Tribals and the National Movement in Orissa 1920-50*, Manohar, New Delhi, Manohar,1994

among other things. The work focuses on the problem of the peasants and tribal has been highlighted. The work shows how the peasants and tribal were being pitted not only against colonialism but also against feudalism, in which the congress leadership tried to wish away and consciously ignore. Pati's discussed the three mass movements, the non-cooperation movement, civil disobedient movement and quite Indian movement in three successive chapters and presents them in all there complexities. He also analyses how the Prajamandala movement and the Kisansangha took a movement in Orissa their long term contribution in enlarging the meaning of the freedom movement and their inherently relations with Congress together with the intraregional variations and the uneven depth and spread of the movements have been well documented and lucidly presented.

The first and the last chapter are of particular interest as far as they focus on the regional specificity, cultural, agrarian problems and unfulfilled dreams. The introductory chapter sheds light on land holding patterns, community rights, the growing monetization of economic, land revenue, the changing political economy under the raja, mechanism of social control. Internal differentiation within peasant and tribal communities, the related problem of the social mobility, language and the formation the regional identity etc. He also pointed out that LaxmanNaik movement in Koraput district. Not with standing these observations of this book provides a good historical perspective. It steers clear the nationalist approach and question some of the basic premises of the subaltern historiography while accepting the specificity of the popular level and the centrality of the common people.

Pati¹⁸ (2011) in his edited book "Adivasis in Colonial India: Survival, Resistance and Negotiation" described the tribal society and their struggle in colonial period. The book is divided into three sections such as the first section content with modern Science, classification strategies, questions of Identity and patriarchy. In this section the different authors point out different issues of tribal people face in Chotanagpur area in colonial era. The authors mainly described about the evolutionary science and colonial

¹⁸ Biswamoya Pati, *Adivasis in Colonial India: Survival, Resistance and Negotiation*, Orient Black Swan, New Delhi, 2011

ethnography and the human relations of past. On the other side, they also point out the Adivasi identity and British Act in Singhbhum. In this section, they also highlighted about the intricate connections between the gender, patriarchy, colonialism and constructions of witches in Adivasi societies of Chotanagpur. The second section of the book describes about assertion and resistance. In this section the Authors describe about the Adivasialabour of Bengal, Gonds of Orissa and tea plantation of Assam. The third section of this book discusses about the medical colonialism and healing systems of tribals. The first part of this section deals with the medical colonialism in Andaman and second part reflect on indigenous knowledge of Bhils and their healing system.

Behura and Panigrahi¹⁹ (2006) in their book “Tribes and the Indian Constitution: Functioning of fifth Scheduled in the State of Orissa” described about the Constitutional Safeguards for the tribal Communities and different government developmental policies and schemes. This book consists of eight chapters, covering various dimensions, problems and tribal development programs of Orissa. First chapter provides a brief account of tribal situation in Orissa described the changes in the jurisdiction of scheduled areas and the list of the scheduled tribe of Orissa. It explains the changing symbiotic relationship the tribal people maintain with the natural resources like forest and land. The second and third chapters deal with fifth Schedule and the social and physical resources of the village and their influence on tribal people. The fourth chapter describes about the alcoholism and excise policy and the problem of alcoholism in the tribal society. The fifth and sixth chapters reflect on tribal indebtedness and land problem in tribal area. The seventh chapter describes the role of government agencies in the welfare of the tribal communities of Orissa.

David Hardiman²⁰ (2006) in his book “History for the Subordinated” argued about the tribal movement and the Adivasi assertion in south Gujarat. Not only he described about the tribal movement but also gave a historical account of the tribal struggle under the colonial rule. The first chapter reflects on a forgotten massacre: MotilalTejawat and his

¹⁹ N.K. Behura and N. Panigrahi, *Tribes and the Indian Constitution: Functioning of fifth Scheduled in the State of Orissa*, Rawat Publication, 2006

²⁰ David Hardiman, *History for the Subordinated*, Parmanet Black, New Delhi, 2006

movement amongst the Bhils 1921-22. In this chapter, he said some argument about the official document about the massacre and he discusses through the ages how the movement interpreted different academia, journal and the politician. He also pointed out that how the tribal are organized under the leadership of MotilalTejawat and also marks that how British killed the more than three thousand tribal in open fire. The author himself collected some official document and oral history to verify the incident. In this chapter, he also gives an argument about the relation among the tribal, Gandhi and congress. The second chapter deals with the Adivasis assertion in South Gujarat the Devi movement of 1922-23. In this chapter the author, describes about the Devi movement in some details in an attempt to gain a greater understanding of such movement in general. The themes concerned the social, economical and political background, the actual history of the movement. He also describes about that high cast moneylenders and Parsi Liquor dealers carried the worst exploitation. The author also pointed on the “Devi movement” bring Sanskritization among the tribal of south Gujarat. The Devi movement has seen as a landmark in the struggle between the adivasis of south Gujarat and exploiting class. However, it represented a stage in the growth of a class of richer peasants within the Adivasis community.

The third chapter discussed about the community, patriarchy, honor and Raghu Bhangare’s revolts. In this chapter, he describes about how Raghu Bhangre a koli tribal leader took a movement against the moneylender as well as the British and other outsider. The author also argues about the honorable behavior within the community, setting out the ways in which family patriarch, mothers, and their sons were expected to behave. It helped to reveal community solidarity and its limits. The chapter mainly focuses on the feudal patriarchal politics in which the male subaltern often followed the violent ways of his superiors, through for example, looting, enforced tax demands, punishment, mutilations, and murder. The fourth chapter deals with the quite India movement in Gujarat. In this chapter he discusses about the Vallabhbhai Patel and Gandhi. He remarks how the lower classes are influenced by congress politics and participated in the movement. In the fifth chapter, he describes about “from custom to crime: the politics of Drinking in colonial south Gujarat. The author describes about that how the laws implemented that designed to make liquor and toddy into purely marketed

commodities that paid high rates of tax. In the process, the wide-scale, popular traditions of distillation of country liquor of toddy trees were into crimes. In the sixth chapter, deals in particular, histories of such responses can help us to understand how the poor have attempted to negotiate, resist and challenge the structures of power which have denied them the necessary means of survival. In the seventh chapter he focus on the forest to water resources, examining the history of an extensive system of small-scale irrigation works in the valleys of the Sahyadri mountain range of western India. In the eighth chapter, he argues about the state affairs and the irrigation history of Gujarat. He also argues that the supposedly free market in water in Gujarat is in fact regulated very strongly by considerations of caste and community, with the dominate caste peasant.

Nihar Ranjan Patnaik²¹ (2008) in his book “Hidden Treasures of Tribal Patriotism Reflects on the Tribal Leaders of Colonial Orissa” analyses life story and tribal revolt in colonial Orissa. He describes about the tribal revolt and the new British law. He explained in the systematic way of the tribal revolt from the Dora Bissoi to KastiDakua. The first chapter of this book explains about the Khonds Rebellion. The author argues that the khonds rebellion was very old. It was started in 1817 with Paik rebellion against the British. He also explained about the socio-economic condition of the Khonds of Orissa. The socio-economic condition became very worst at that time because the British introduced the new colonial policy system. He also describes about the rebellious Khonds attacked a British detachment of thirty-five men in Kurminys pass between UdayagiriDurga Prasad while the troops were escorting the prisoners. In the encounter, thirteen of British troops were killed along with two British Officers.

The next chapter deals with the Chakar Bissoi the nephew of Dora Bissoi, his rebellion in Ghumusar and the other part of Orissa. The 4th and 5th chapters deal with Ratna Nayak and Dhraranidhra Nayak. Ratana Nayak of a Bhuya tribe from Keonjara fought against the British and Zamindar. The 6th and 7th Chapters describe about the impact of Birsa Munda movement in Orissa. The next chapter deals with the Nirmal

²¹ N. R. Patnaik, *Hidden Treasures of Tribal Patriotism Reflects on the Tribal Leaders of Colonial Orissa*, Indian Publisher, New Delhi, 2006

Munda and anti-Land revenue Movement in Gangpur. The last two chapters describe about LakhmanNayak Movement in Koraput and KastiDakua movement in Nayagara.

VirginiusXaxa (2008) in his book “State, Society, and Tribes: Issues in Post-Colonial India” describes about the origin of tribes, tribal movements, tribal livelihood and empowerment, tribal and citizenship, tribal cultural and ecology and so on. In the first chapter, the author argues about the origin of the tribe and the different views about the tribal. He also highlighted that, how the tribe use in different context in academy discourse. The author gives a valuable data on tribal researcher and tribal study in different period of India. The second chapter deals with the transformation of tribes and the term of discourse, here he focuses on difference between caste and tribe, Sanskritizen, Hindunization, tribe and peasants. The third chapter argues about the tribes as indigenous People and the impotent of the tribal identity. The fourth chapter examines the tribes in India in the light of citizenship rights. What have citizenship rights so far meant to tribal People? To what extent have they been able to take advantage of such rights? In the fifth chapter deals with the studies of tribal movements and critiques, some prevailing ideas on tribal movements in sociological and social anthropological literature. The sixth chapter discusses the issue of the empowerment of tribes in India. In the eighth chapter, he argues about a comparison between the scheduled tribes and the scheduled castes in relation to the benefits derived by them from the facilities extended to them so far. The last two chapters emphasized on the tribal cultural and ecology, women and tribal society.

Sanjukta Das Gupta and RajeskharmBasu²² (2012) in this editing volume “Narratives from the Margins Aspects of Adivasi History in India” contend with ten chapters. First the introductory chapter describes about the theoretical and historical study about the tribe in India. In this chapter, the author argued different views on tribe in India. The second chapter deals with the Tulsi Das and the Cone version of the tribal notes for a new reading of the Ramcaritamanas, in the chapter he argues how the

²² Sanjukta Das Gupta and RajeskharmBasu, *Narratives from the Margins Aspects of Adivasi History in India*, Primous Book, Delhi,2012

peasantization of Adivasis groups and their incorporation and assimilation within the Hindu caste fold, both in North India and in Gondwana region. The other chapter of this book deals with different aspects of the histories of Adivasis communities of the central part of India, in a belt stretching from Rajasthan from the west, across Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Jharkhand to Bengal and Orissa in the east, where, the eight percent of Indian Adivasis live. In the ninth chapter, NadiniSundar argues the continuities in government policy from the colonial period still now and the range of contemporary Adivasi responses to the situation of underdevelopment created by government policy. In the last chapter Daniel Rycroft, deals the concepts of subalternity, memory and visual representation into a new configuration, in order to analyze the relation between resistance and indignity in contemporary India.

Bailey's²³ work highlighted the significance of social organisations in the village society in the context of Orissa's village society. The study found electoral process in the village society is a key interest of research. Bisipara village in the frontier of Odisha and Mohanpur village at the coastal part of Odisha took as universe of the study. The villages are mostly based on the structure of functional requirement. Politicians influence people through the economic aid and giving bribery. But, both the villages are quite dissimilar in terms of their political understanding and interest. Mohanpur village associated with the nearby town-ship Cuttack which often goes on its own interest and rational understanding. On the other hand, Bisipara lacks in terms of political understanding and goes with cultural pattern of symbolism in the voting process.

Second part of the book is highlighted on constituencies and political science behaviors. It engages with vote-bank, constituencies, indigenous political unit, Caste, political parties and electoral mechanism. Party organizations seemed as vital force of political parties which always play supportive role in the preliminary levels. Chapter third is dealing with the 'state's politics' which highlights Oriya Nationalism. The freedom fighters were the forefront for propagation of Oriya nationalism.

²³ F.G.Baily, *politics and the social change: Orissa in 1959*, Oxford, U.P, 1964

G.S Ghurye is well known academician in Indian academia whose contribution in social sciences in general and village society in particular reveals a bunch of knowledge and information. He is called the father of Indian sociology because of his significant contribution to the discipline. His work covered range of issues like village society, caste structure, tribal society etc. His work 'The Aborigines- "So-called"- and Their Future' addresses the core area of kinship structure of Tribal society which demonstrates how the tribal communities came into contact with other communities. In Indian tribal experiences two types of contract, namely, one is historic where the accelerate contract with the Hindu civilization and second is the British administration where they came to contract with the Christian missionaries. The British administration protects these tribal from the baneful influence of contract with the Hindu civilization during the colonial period. Ghurye demonstrated anomalies of British policy towards tribal to preserve the culture of neighbor and subject them with the British European laws and economic policy.

Ghurye²⁴ notices the community life of tribal population in the village society. Tribal community represents a unique culture of them with their larger kinship relations. Ghurye tries to distinguish the tribal culture and way of life from the rural poor marginalized Hindu population. He found that both the Hindu in the village society (particularly poor section) and tribal population face the common problem of economic backwardness, disorganized and exploited by the Hindu civilization and the British administration. His argument looks into the British administration and tribal life where he engaged with anthropological literature on the "aborigines" and contested it with the past and present system. Then his argumentation took into shape to understand how tribal came into contract both with Hindu civilization and British administration, which shows how ruling agent become crucial channel to make contract and control the tribal population.

²⁴ G.S.Ghurye, *The Aborigines so called and their Furture*, Gokhale Institute of Politics and economics, Poona, 1943

Alpa Shah's²⁵ work on indigenous people in the central part of India provides a larger understanding on tribal mobility in politics, labor and their changing patterns. The global neoliberal market and capitalist development through the exploitation of resources from the tribal areas led to significant changes in the tribal community. The wave of indigenous right activism empowers tribal population to organize their movement the capitalist state which produces many young leaders. In this ethnographic work Shah demonstrates *Adibasi* society in the contemporary society and their subordinate position. Poor Munda population in Jharkhand becomes victimhood of the state's development programme through the accumulation by disposition where a large section of population loses their livelihood and resources. The political-economy of tribal population drastically changed over the period of time. Tribal people involve in various protest movements and rising their voice against the exploitation. Thus, the representation of tribal is very significant for their development.

Tribal community the Hill Bhuiyas inhabits on the border area of Orissa of Bobai and Keonjhar. Bhuiyas's tribal culture, village exogamy, tribal cult, tribal council and super council reflect royal way of life. The Hill culture is also quite similar with Munda speaking tribes in the region. Bhuiyas cultural practice and life style also similar with the Hindu way of life. Later Bhuiya convert into the Hindu fold and caste system which is noticed the evolution of caste pattern among the Bhuiyas. The name Bhuiya is derived from Sankrit language Bhumi, which means land. Thus, Bhuiya are the owner of the land because their other name is land or Bhumi.

Skariya studied the dense forested Dang region of western India. His conceptual framework '*Hybride History*' considers the meaning of history and mapping of modernity, the culture of wildness and nature of civilization, subaltern space and existing power structure. The study has been done through extensive field work and archival study. The complex narrative of theoretical formation deals with a lot of challenges in terms of theory itself. He noticed memory, history and modernity and suggested that history as pervasive 'myth of modernity'. *Hybride history* interrogates

²⁵ Alpa Shah, *In the Shadows of the State: Indigenous Politics, Environmentalism and Insurgence in Jharkhand*, Duke Prees, 2010

with the history of past with its complex understanding of human life in the modern era. *Hybridehistory* focuses on Bhils and Koknis in the Dangs communities which are classified as 'wild tribes'. The story of Dangi life is a very different picture which shows their genres called *goth* about god and goddess, imaginary goth and vadilchagoth or the story about the past/ ancestors. This posits an intimate connection between time and space.

Statement of the Problem:

The study about indigenous people and their culture are a growing interest in social science research. The fascinating part of this engagement is a systematic enquiry of historical fact on tribal leadership and their mobilization in Orissa. The broader issue here is to look after the tribal communities as historically oppressed masses victimized by several forms of dominations. And how the tribal leadership emerged in this dominating paradigm to revolt against such bourgeoisie practices.

There are many academicians, scholars, activists and administrators those who have done research on tribe in Orissa. Their works mainly focus on tribal live style, tribal movements, tribal economic structure, political systems, and their culture. Here, I highlighted some research literature which fore grounded the existing lacuna. According to Kulke²⁶ (1978) in the medieval period the tribal areas captured by the Non-tribal people, for the control of the tribal area they adopted the tribal diets as their main diets. The system they applied because mainly to avoid the tribal resistance and to control the law and order. The historians like Biswamoy Pati²⁷ and Nihar Ranjan Patnaik said about tribal movements, tribal tax's, the national movement, British policy towards the tribes, tribal patriotism and so on.

Anthropologists like Verrier Elwin and Felix Padel's works on tribes in Orissa is an interesting part. Verrier Elwin described about the Gonds social, economic and

²⁶ Hermann Kulke, *Kings and Cults State formation and Legitimation in Indian and South Asia*, Monohar, 2001.

²⁷ Biswamoya Pati, *Adivasis in Colonial India: Survival, Resistance and Negotiation*, Orient Black Swan, New Delhi, 2011

political life. His study is not only limited with the Gond village but also other tribes. Felix Padel highlighted the human sacrifice in the Khonds society and the bad impact of the mining development over the tribal people.

On the other side, the administrators like P.K. Nayak , N.K. Behura, B.B.Mohanty have dealt with the tribal development, tribal economy, market system, welfare scheme and so on. Even some sociologists also describe about the role of the women in the tribal society, tribal transformation, tribal society and livelihood.

Although, some works have been done on tribal leadership and tribal movements in Orissa but have not sufficiently covered the whole existing issue. This study will be looking at the tribal leadership in Orissa, and transformation of leadership in post-independent era. The study is divided into two parts. In the first part it argues on tribal leadership, how they are involved in the freedom movement. The second part of the study deals with the development issue and the role of tribal leadership in particular. With increased forest exploitation, the forest communities have experienced a progressive loss of control over their habitat. This deprivation has been manifested in the series of tribal movements. While, there were intermittent uprising in fifties and sixties (Singh,1982).²⁸ It is also fact that the present scenario is making sense about various tribal unrests and protest across the country. According to Xaxa(2008)²⁹ the very nature of tribal movement emerged on the basis of protecting the natural resources and their cultural way of life style. The modern society failed to recognize the tribal culture, ritual habitation and their food collecting process. The forest produces are the most sustainable resources for tribal life that no more remains due to the colonial exploitation. The government's policies towards these sections no more benefited. On the other hand tribal were forced to displace from their ancestral land due to industrialization and became land-less unemployed. These are the basic causes for tribal movement in the sub-continent. Thus, the prime focus of this proposed study will be

²⁸ K.S. Singh, *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol.2, Manhar, New Delhi, pp.1-7

²⁹ V. Xaxa, *State, Society, and tribes Issues in Post Colonial India*, New Delhi, Pearson Longman, pp.24-30

connected with the larger issue of forest and land based tribal movements and their leadership in Orissa.

Significance of the Study:

This study will explore indigenous tribal leadership, its history culture and traditions and how it has been affected by acculturation from dominant society. The deeper exploration of indigenous tribal leadership has uncovered perceptions and practices that can contribute to a better understanding and a more harmonious relationship between tribes and the dominant culture. Having a better understanding of tribal leadership practices can improve communication and the ability of non-tribal organizations and institutions to work more cooperatively, progressively with tribal nations. This study is significance because it adds to the limited literature addressing these issues. The study explores various potentials: A) identifies indigenous tribal leadership practices and traditions, B) offer alternatives to leadership practices and relationships between tribal and non-tribal organizations and C) provides tribal leaders with valuable information to strengthen leadership development for all tribal people.

Aims and Objectives:

The tribal leaders played vital role in terms of mobilizing and leading the movements. Therefore, the proposed study is dealing with tribal leaderships to achieve their rights and resist against the persisted practice of marginalization and exploitation of ruling class of the society. These are the following aims and objectives of the study.

- The proposed study will engage with the various tribal movements and its impact.
- The proposed study also deals with the role of tribal leaderships and their mobilization.

- The proposed study will look after the protest movements in Orissa from pre-independent to post-independent period and analyses the historical phenomena.
- The proposed study will examine the political structure and mobilization in the tribal areas.

Research questions:

The research study is dealing with the following research questions.

- What is the role of tribal leaders in the various tribal movements?
- How were the tribal leaders connected with the national movements?
- What is the importance of the tribal movements and the leadership?
- How is the tribal leadership transfer into the non- tribal?
- What is the government role to protect the tribal rights and to protect the political leadership?

Research Methodology:

This research study will be based on both qualitative and quantitative research methodology. As, for the study materials, the study will follow both the primary and secondary data including Newspapers, archival sources, government publications and various other resources.

Chapterization :

The present thesis is organized into six chapters:

The first chapter is the introduction. In this chapter I introduced the theme of the research. This chapter contains the literature review, problem of the study, aims and objective of the study, research question and methodology.

The second chapter is titled “Early colonial tribal Movements and Khond Leadership in Orissa”. The chapter deals with the introduction and the historical Background of Orissa History. The chapter describes about the tribal condition of Orissa in the colonial period and the analysis about the Khond people. In this chapter discussion will be about the settlement of the Khond people, geographical location, living style and organization. The second phase of the chapter discusses about the emergence of Khond Movements and the cause of the movements. The third phase of the chapter describes about the role of the Dora Bissoi in the Khond movements. The Last Part of the chapter discussion about the Khond leader Chakara Bissoi and his Movements.

The third chapter deals with the Bhuyan Movements in the Later Colonial Movements. The first part of the Chapter describes about the historical background of the tribe and their settlements, language, living style, occupation and different types of the Bhuyan tribes. The third part discusses about the Ratan Nayak movements and British suppression. The last part of the chapter discusses about the tribal exploitation and Bhuyan rebellion under the Dharani Dhara Bhuyan.

The Fourth chapter deals with the National Movements and tribal Movements. In this chapter discussion is about the national movements in Orissa, tribal participation in national movements and the leadership. The last part of the chapter discusses about the tribal leader Laxman Nayak and his movement and relation with congress leader and fight with the British.

The Fifth chapter deals with post independence tribal leadership and the electoral participation. In the chapter analyzes about the background and evolution of the excluded area and constructional development and safe guard for the tribal people. It also analyzes about the reservations in assembly and Lok Sabha .

The last chapter deals of the research findings and observation the summary and concluding mark of the thesis.

CHAPTER-2

Early Colonial Tribal Movements and Khond leadership in Orissa

This chapter analyzes the historical background of Orissa. It also discuss about tribal culture, language and population. The main themes of the chapter about the Khond Movements and the leadership, British occupation in the Khond land. Lastly of this chapter discussed about the Khond leadership.

Historical Background of Orissa

Orissa was ruled by different ruler through the ages and it was famous for its different kingdoms. These kingdoms are known as *Kalinga*, *Utkal*, *Udra*, *Kosal*, *Tosali* and *Kangoda*. The territories of theses kingdoms are covered the vast area in the geographical map of the ancient India. Time to time the boundaries of Orissa had undergone many changes. During the Buddhist period, *Kalinga* became a important state. The *Digha Nikaya*¹ states that during the time of king Renuva, *Kalinga Ratha* was one of the seven political divisions of the country and ruled by King Satabahhu with his capital at *Dantapur*. The *Jatakas*² incorporate several references about the kings and the Pre-Buddhist antiquity of the land.³ But *Kalinga* became more famous after bloody battle happened with Ashok. The *Kalinga* battle was the last battle of Ashok after which he renounced the worldly pleasure and accepted the Buddhism.⁴ In this period the *Kalinga* extent the territory from *Krishana* to *Subarnarekha*. According to Andrew Stirling “ the corresponding *Puranic* division of *Utkal Desa* or in the vulgar tongue *Utkal K’hand* reached on the north to *Tumlook* and *Midnapore*, taking in a portion of *Rarha Desa* in Bengal, and south to the *Rasikulia* river or *Rasikolia Nadi*. This flows into the sea at *Ganjam*”.⁵ W W Hunter (1872) also refer in his book , “A History of

¹ *Diganiyak*, is a Buddhist Scripture or collected of long Discourses is the first division of *Sutta Pittak* and consists of thirty four *Suttas*, grouped into three *Vaggas* or divisions.

² *Jatakas*, a story relates an episode of the past life of Buddha.

³ N.K. Sahu, *Buddhim in Orissa*, Utkal University Press, Bhubaneswar, 1958, p.32

⁴ D.R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1925, p.25

⁵ Andrew Stirling , *Orissa Geography, Statistics, History, Religion and Antiquities*, John Snow 35, London, 1846, p.5

Orissa Vol-1” whatever may have been the extent of the mythical realm of *Kalinga* which stretched down the coast from the *Huguli* to the Godavari, Orissa under the Lion-Line (474-1132 A.D) presented a modest dimensions. It formed a strip of about 185 miles long by 60 broad, extending from the *Kansbans* River to the south of the *Baleswar* city, to the *Rasakulia* River in *Ganjam* District and to the sea to the tributary state of *Dhenkanal*. This little kingdom of eleventh thousand square miles included all the richest part of the present province, and yield a revenue of 4,06,250 a year. Its boundaries further extended in the south up to river *Kaveri* during the most popular the *Suryavamsi Gajapati* Kings, who ruled Orissa from 1435 to 1568 A.D. After 1568 A.D there was a crisis looming and Orissa go through a period of the disaster and defeat. The small chiefs fight with each other, so the Orissa faced a political instability. This situation leads to the foreigner invaders Orissa. The successive invaders whom Orissa passed from time to time were the *Afghans*, the *Mughals*, the *Martha's* and finally British.

Orissa under Afghan and Mughals:

During the year 1568 Afghan are the invader of Orissa. Sulaeimenan Qarani first attacked Orissa and killed the Gajapati ruler Mukundadeva and dominated in Orissa. The Afghans are busy to protect their territory other part of India, so they hardly make any effort in subjugating the people of Orissa. Sulaeiman Qarani as succeeded by his son Daud to rule over the Orissa. He was very young at that time and spends his time sensual pleasure, he could not the situation adroitly. Hence this period an anarchy situation created in Orissa.⁶ By the time Akbar sent Munim Khan and Todar Mal in 1576 A.D to invader Orissa. After a keen contest Daud made his surrender to Munim Khan.⁷ But Afghan snaked was scotched far from being killed. After the death of the Maunim Khan, Daud was emboldened, rose in revolt and reoccupied Orissa. But the Mughal army succeeded in taking him and he was killed in 1576 A.D.⁸ After the death

⁶ R.D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa , Vol.I*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1929,p.6

⁷ J. N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal, Vol.II*, University of Dacca, Dacca, 1948, p.192

⁸ H.K. Mahtab , *History of the Freedom Movements in Orissa*, Vol.I, State committee for the Compilation of the freedom Movements in Orissa, Cuttack, p.6

of Daud the Afghan also ruled over Orissa the help of leading noble, Qutul Lohani. The second times Akbar sends the Manshing to capture the Orissa. Mansingh fought the battle with Mughal army in 1592 near the *Subernarekha* River. Orissa finally came under the Mughal ruler and was annexed to the Bengal *Subha*⁹ of the Mughal Empire.¹⁰ Orissa became as a separate subah in 1607 A.D. during the region of Jahangir, the son and successor of Akabar. A *Subahdar*¹¹ was appointed in Orissa and Hashim Khan was the first *Subahdar* who take over chare on 26th September 1607A.D. Mughal rule in Orissa, continued uninterrupted with of varying degree of success, till the demise of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D. Soon thereafter the Mugahal dynast degradation started in Orissa.¹²

With the death of Aurngzeb, the dissolution of the Mughal empire started and proceeded apace. So there was internal disturbance among the Mughal and move towards created so many independent chief in the Mughal occupied territory. Murshid Quli Khan 1 who was appointed on January 21, 1703 A.D. by Aurngzeb as the Subahadar for Orissa for most in this regard.¹³ He held the post first from 1703 to 1708 and again from 1714 to 1727 A.D. He made his son-in-law Shuja-ud-din Mahammad Khan his deputy Governor of Orissa.¹⁴ He was separated the Midinapur subha was from Orissa by him. It was after the death of Murshid Quil Khan 1 that Shujuddin proclaimed himself of the Subhedhar of Bengal and Orissa in July 1727 and remained in power till 1739 A.D. He then appointed his son Taqi Khan as the deputy Governor of Orissa.¹⁵ He is ruled over Orissa from 1727 to 1733 and in this period he faced a repression, persecution and extortion. Then Aliverdhi Khan came in 1740 as the *Nazim*¹⁶ of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But the Naib Nazim of Orissa Mushid Quil Khan

⁹ Subah, the word derived for Arbic. Which means the Province?

¹⁰ J. Patnaik, *Feudatory States of Orissa (1803-1857)*, Vol.1, Vohra Publishers, Allahabad,p.3

¹¹ *Subahdar*, was the head of the Mughal province administration or a governor of subha.

¹² J. Patnaik, *Feudatory States of Orissa (1803-1857)*, Vol.1, Vohar Publisher, Allahabad,p.3

¹³ W. Irvine, *Later Mughal (1707-1720)*, Vol.1, Luzac, London ,1922,p.199

¹⁴ Ghulam Husain Salem, *Riyaz-s-Saltani*, Trans. Calcutta Asiatic Society, Calcutta,1902, p.286

¹⁵ J.N Sarkar, *History of Bengal, Vol.II*, University of Dhacca, Dacca, 1948, p.425

¹⁶ Nazim- head of the Subha in Mughal Administration or as Governor

II was denied his authority over Orissa. So Aliverdhi Khan march towards Orissa with a strong army and defeated the Murshid Quil Khan II and he held sway over Orissa from 1742.¹⁷ But at that time the Marthas appearance in Bengal Orissa border, so came back to Bengal soon.

Orissa under the Marthas rule:

When the Marthas attacked the Orissa, its political condition not stabled .in the time some parts of the territory are ruled by the Mugahal government representative and other part are ruled by some chief and independent ruler. There are so many cause causes why the Marthas proceeded towards the Orissa. The following are the reasons why the Marthas invasion Orissa. Firstly Raghuji Bhonsla , the Raja of the Nagpur who failed to dominate over Sahu,¹⁸ owing to the superior talent and ability of his survival , Baji Rao¹⁹ contemplating plunder towards the north-east of his dominion. Secondly it was just possible that Nizam -ul-Mulk of Hyderabad who was always in fear of Marthas raids was all the more instigating Raghuji in his design. Lastly when the relatives and faithful followers of the dispossessed Governor of Orissa , persuaded him in this matter, he entrusted Bhaskar Pandit, his prime minister with the task of invading the kingdom of Aliwardhi²⁰. Bhaskar came into Orissa, possible through the Barmula Pass on the ill-defended western frontier at the head of an army. The fort of Barabati was captured on 19th April 1742. Mousam was embarrassed at the approached of the Marthas, four time superior in number to his won. He fled towards mountains leaving the country defenseless. Then Bhaskar moved towards Panchet, Midinapur, Burdwan as far as Balasore, where they systematically plundered and fell into his possession. Marthas are engaged in plundering from river Ganga mursidabad all through the rain season. Soon after rainy season the Marthas were defeated Aliverdhi Khan from where fell back Ramgarh to attacked Orissa and plunder. Meanwhile the Marthas plunders so many places and many time fights with the nominal ruler and Aliwardi Khan. The

¹⁷ K.K. Dutta, *Alivardi and his Times*, Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1939, 49

¹⁸ Chatrapait Sahu the grand son of Shivaji

¹⁹ Baji Rao the Last Pesewa of Marthas Empire and governed from 1795-1818

²⁰ B.C. Ray, *Orissa under Marthas (1751-1803)*, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1960,p.10

Martha also defeated so many times at the hand of Aliwardhi Khan. Atlast both the Martha and Aliwardhi Khan signed a treaty inclined for peace. B C Ray refers that the treaty was a triangular compromise amongst three sets of forces in the name of Raghuji, Mir Habib, Aliwardhi , Raghuji for money, Mir –Habib for honor and revenge and Aliwadhi for rest without being unmindful for retaining his nominal over lordship over Orissa. “The Martha also defeated so many times at the hand of Aliwardhi Khan.

The Martha rules in Orissa from 1751 upto 1803. There are many Maratha governors are came to Orissa in between 1751 to 1803, they are Mir Habib(1751-52), Mirja Saleh (1752-59), Sheo Bhatt Sathe (1760-64), Bhawani Pandit (1764-68), Sambhaji Ganesh (1768-70), Babuji Nayak (1770-73), Madhaji Hari (1773-77), Rajaram Pandit (1778-93), Sadashiv Rao (1793-1803). After 1750 the Martha Empire was reduced to a loose confederacy of military chiefs due to the wanted of the central power. By 1800, the Martha powers were the *Peshwa* of Poona, who ruled the Western Ghats Province of Gujarat and Central India, and the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur reigning from Berar to the coast of Orissa²¹. The territories under the jurisdiction of Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur as that of the Peswa was divided into two parts, districts under their control and districts assigned to different chiefs²². The boundaries of Orissa during the Martha rule were to the east – the sea to Martha province Chhattisgarh, to the south Chilika Lake and the Ganjam District, and to the North to the district of Mindinapur and Birbhum. The Martha did not maintain a civil administration; all their efforts were direct towards extorting from the conquered Province the uttermost farthing of revenue. Peasants and officials alike were subjected to every exaction that ingenuity suggests. In the Marth period the peasant of Orissa face more problem, cultivation was attend with no security, right were everywhere neglected and denied, the peasants was accosted to regard of rulers thought him a contempt for right and a disregard for duty. To this period is to be traced a moral and social degeneration.²³ As the Hunter describe that “Fixed property did not exist and the peasantry soon learned the powerless of cavalry

²¹ W. W. Hunter, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.IV*, Trubner & Co., London1885, p.403

²² V.T. Gune, *Judicial System of Maratha*, Deccan college, Poona, 1953, p.44

²³ S.I. Maddox, *Final report on Survey and Settlements of the Province of Orissa. Vol.II*, Superintendent, Government printing, Bihar and Orissa.

amid morasses and forests. The few land holders who had houses worth burning, belated around them round with dense thickets of bamboos. A winding narrow passages offered secure fortifications against invaders, who would only fight on the horseback. Such greenwood defenses survive to this day.

The Maratha administration divided the district into three *chalklas* Viz, Bhadrak, Sora and Balasore. These again were subdivided into *praganas* each of which included a varying number of Taluks. An officer called “*amil*” was responsible for the revenue of each *chkla* and he was assisted by a *sardar kanungo* under whom was a Gomasta also known as *vilyati Kanungo*, who collected the revenue from *mofasil*. It was not long before the Mahrattas commenced to oust the *talukdars* on the ground of unpunctuality in payment of the revenue and towards the close headman and *makdamas*, who had previously paid through *talukdars*. About one eighth of the total revenue paying area was so held the *makadam*s and thought it had previously been the custom to make a yearly detailed computation of rentals on which the *Makadam* was allowed a percentage of collection expenses towards the close of the century the *amils* found it convenient to take engagements from there Lump of sum. This customs was also followed to some extent with those *talukdars*, who were fortunate enough to be left in possession of their estate. The gross collection of land revenue of Orissa of the last twelve years Maratha rule including that from a tributary states shows that the revenue of the last four years was higer then that of proceeding years rising upto 15,00,000 rupees of sorts²⁴. Then in 1803 the British occupied Orissa.

Orissa under the British Empire:

After the establishment of British rule in Bengal, the eyes of the British authorities were set on Orissa, which separated their dominions of Bengal in the north and Northern-Sarcars in the south. Consequently, the English authorities began to set themselves to work for the achievement of that object as early as 1764.²⁵ Before the British attacked the Orissa province it was under the Maratha ruler. In 1751, a treaty was concluded

²⁴ B.C. Ray, *Orissa under Marathas (1751-1803)*, Kitab Mahal, Allahbad, 1960,p.134

²⁵ S.C. De , *British Conquest Orissa and Early British Administration*, Vol.II, No-1, April ,1954 Orissa Journal of Historical Research, p.49

between Aliverdi Khan and the Marathas which made them the de-facto rulers of Orissa till 1803, when they were expelled the British army. The Martharuler took a military action. The contemporary English writers described the Marathas as unscrupulous mercenaries. Thomas Motte wrote that the *Faujadaras* were stationed at Balasore, Jajpur and Cuttack to whose support the rents of the neighboring country is appropriated. It is the custom of the Maratha troops to plunder as much in the *Zmindaries* tribute them, as in any enemy's country; the tenants of such *Zamidaries* therefore desert their villages at the approach of the army.²⁶ Though the British accounts are prejudiced, we cannot summarily reject them. The Marathas lacked the sense of discipline. In 1764, Seo Bhatt²⁷, the *Subahdar*, and his brother Bhaskar Pandit fell into arrears in collection of revenue; Sheo bhatto opposed Chimna Sau who was sent to replace him. Sheo Bhatt continued to create disturbances in the country. The Maratha administration did not able to take root in the soil of Orissa. The chiefs of Orissa did not pay tributes regularly. They never made payment 'without an army at their gates', consequently the *Subedars* used to send force to plunder the territories of the defaulting Rajas.

So at that time there is serious crises shows among the native rule for the power and territories. The Martharuler did not try to maintain law and order in the tributary *Mahals* so long the tributes paid. The *Paiks* of Kanika and Kujang plunder the neighboring territories. In 1794, Balabhadra Bhanja, the Raja of Keonjhar, occupied the Mayurbhanja and imprisoned the queen ruler Sumitra Devi. The Rani of Sambalpur and the Rajas of few tributary States in their petition to lieutenant Colonel Broughton refused to return under Martharuler government.²⁸ "We have never been" they stated, nor shall we be ever proposed under the Maratha government. Indeed our families' honour and property were in continual danger whilst subject to it. We are already reduced to the greastet distress from its oppression. How there can be a voluntary return under the

²⁶ Thomas Motte, *A Narrative of a Journey to the Diamond Mines at Sambalpore :in the province of Orissa*, reprinted by Prafull, Bhubaneswar, 2010,pp.1-20

²⁷ Seo Bhatt, was a governor during Martharuler ruled in Orissa 1760 to 1764.

²⁸ P. Mukharjee, *History of Orissa in the 19th Century*, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, 1964, pp.20-24

dominion of a government from which our families honor and property have received so much injury and how can we be secure under such authority.²⁹ So in this juncture the Maratha government faced the big problem and British take a advantage to communicate Orissa. The opportunity was afforded by the persistent Maratha demand for Nawab Mir Qasim the invasion of Orissa for securing his kingdom against future apprehension of Maratha invasion. The British offered military help in lieu of assignment of the revenue of a *pargana* of Orissa to the company. Thus, the trap was laid for Mir Qasim but he had already tested the bitter pill of English friendship and was inwardly chafing to free himself of encircling tentacles of the English diplomacy. So, he wisely expressed his unwillingness to run the risk. Thus, the first attempt of the English to secure their objective through subtle diplomacy proved abortive. The British however did not give up the hope. Though the British failed to bring about cession of Orissa, never the less, their subtle diplomacy help them to avert a great danger to their stability in Bengal. The hope they dangle before Januji³⁰ about payment of arrear *Chautha*³¹ prevented him from making a common abuse with Mir Qasim when he appealed to Januji for help against the british.

Thus, the British authority failed to take possession of Orissa by diplomacy. Behind the non-compliance of the Maratha with all such British requests evidently worked one factor. Orissa dangled before them as fertile sources of income and its loss would mean the loss of huge sum to them for all time to come. Meanwhile Governor General Marquess of Wellesly arrived in India on May 18, 1798. An imperialist, he took up the question of occupation of Orissa in right earnest. In the first instance, he too made an effort to secure Orissa through negotiation with the Raja of Bera. With this end in view, in 1798 A.D he appointed Henry Thomas Colebrook as an envoy to court of Bhonsle Raja at Nagpur. He was deputed on April 16, 1800 to influence the Raja Berar for the maintenance of a British subsidiary force at Nagpur and as a security for their payment, 'he should assign such a tract of land to the British authorities that would

²⁹ Ibid, pp.26-30

³⁰ Janoji Bhonsle (1755-1772) was the son and successor of Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur, Raghaji Bhonsle (1731-1755 A.D)

³¹ Cautha, was regular Tax or Tribute imposed by the Maratha Empire in the early 18th Century

enable them to contact Bengal and Madras.³² But the negotiation broke down as the Bhonsle raja saw he will lost the territory of Orissa. In such circumstance Wellesley finally send the force to occupation Orissa. He convinced the court of director too for its inevitability and got his views approved.

Orissa under British Administration:

It was arranged that the main body of expedition would start from Ganjam side and capture Cuttack. After the conquest of Cuttack, the Army reinforces towards Balasore, would proceed towards the Barmul Pass and cooperate with Major- General Wellesly's army in Berar. The Madras army consisted of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, 9th and 19th of M.N.I and a small force of artillery.³³ A detachment consisting of two companies of the kings 22nd Regiment, Infantry division and 600 men from the 20th Bengal Regiment were sent from Bengal to Ganjam to reinforce Colonel Campbell. Caption Blunt, an experienced officer, who had local knowledge about Orissa accompanied the detachment. The united force under Campbell consisted of 565 Europeans, 2,200 sepoy, and a party of native cavalry consisting of 50 men.³⁴

A detachment of the Bengal army consisting of 500 *sepoy*, 21 gunners with four six-pounders sailed for the proposed of occupying Baleswar from Cluttack under Captain Morgan. Another detachment was formed at Jaleswar under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Fergusson consisting of 835 *sepoy* and 84 men from the governor general's body-guard for the proposed of advancing south wards by the land root to join the detachment under Captain Margon at Balasore.³⁵ In consequence of serious illness of lieutenant Colonel Campbell, Governor general sent Lt. Colonel Harcourt, his military secretary to Ganjam to take the command .Lt. col. Harcourt took over command over the troops at Ganjam on 11th March 1803. Besides the troops assembled at Ganjam, another detachment of five hundred Bengal Native Volunteers with some

³² *Selections from Nagpur Residence Records* , Madhya Pradesh central record room, Vol.- I, p- IX

³³ P. Mukherjee, History of Orissa in the 19th Century, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, 1964,p.21

³⁴ S. C De, *British Conquest and Early phase of Administration*, O.H.R.J, Vol-II, p.53

³⁵ Owen, Selections from wellesly's Dispatches, I.N.A, p- 368,

additional battering guns was sent to Ganjam under Captain Dick to reinforce the troops there.

Thus, arrangement for attacking from three sides was completed. The main army was to start from Ganjam under Lt. Col. Harcourt, while Lt Col. Fergusson was proceed from Jaleswar towards Cuttack. After Fergusson march to Cuttack, Caption Morgan to stay back at Balasore to consolidate the position and stay guard the passage of the Army under Fergusson from any attack from behind. Col. Fenwick in charge of the troops at Midinapore was order to occupy the Maratha Districts north-east of the river of Subernreeka and the Maratha territory inter mixed with the British possessions in the province of Midnapore. So all eventualities were taken into serious consideration to the authorities before the expeditions actually started and all possible steps were taken for safe and successful operation.³⁶ Troops under Col. Campbell started from Ganjam on the 8th September 1803 A.D. Col. Harcourt took over the charge and 11th September and occupied the Manikapatan without any resistance. From there Harcourt sent a message to the priest of the Jagannath temple offering them British protection. On 16 September, he received a replay and immediately proceeded to Puri which was occupied on the 18th September wit out any resistance. On 24 September, the British move towards Cuttack and they reached there on 10th October.³⁷ According to the Harcourt report to the Governor General 18th October the British occupied the Barbati Fort of Cuttack. The detachment under Capt. Margan landed at Balasore on the 21st September. The details of the operation at Balasore are given in the latter of the Caption Margan to Caption Amstrong, the Military Secretary to the governor General of the 22nd September 1803 A.D.³⁸ on the 30th September Capt. Morgan sent Lt. Slye to attack the Marathas at Sore which was taken possession of the 3rd October without any resistance.

After occupation the then the principal town of Orissa, Puri, Cuttack, Balosore, Col. Harcourt turned his attention to subjugation of rajas of Kanika nad Kujanga who

³⁶ S.C. De, *British Conquest Orissa and Early phase of Administration*, O.H.R.J, Vol-II, P.56

³⁷ S.C. De, *British Conquest of Orissa and Early British Administration*, O.H.R.J, Vol-iii, No-1, April 1954,p.55

³⁸ *Ibid*,p.56

were suspected of carrying on some designs against the British. So Harcourt marched against them. The Raja of Kujanga fled away at the approach of the British troops. His elder Brother who kept confined by the Raja in Pardip was set up on the throne. All fortification was dismantled. The fugitive Raja was shortly capture and kept confined in Barabati fort. Consequently the Raja of Kanika and Harishpur were also abridged.³⁹ After the British conquest of Cuttack, Lieutenant Colonel Harcourt and John Melville were appointed members of the Board of Commissioners for the settlement of the affairs of Cuttack. They concluded engagements with the Rajas of the Tributary Mahals, within the province of Cuttack and granted Qabool- namas to them. Nilagiri, Duspalla, Narsinghpur, Anugul, Talcher, Keonjhar, Khandapara, Ranapore, Hindol, Tigris and Dhenkanal thus come under the British protection.⁴⁰ According to the terms of these agreements, the Rajas acknowledge the British authority promised to pay the stipulate Tribute (fixed quit-rent) and assist the Company with troops if necessary. Besides arrangements were made for the safety of the police and revenue of the company's contiguous possession. The British government in return engaged never to demand an increase of revenue or additional pecuniary demand. Similarly, engagements were made with other Zamindars. The British authorities styled the estates in the province of Cuttack and the Tributary Mahals were exempted from the operations of the Bengal revenue Laws and Police regulations XII and XII of 1805. The government by the section XXXV of regulations XII of 1805 conformed in perpetuity the revenue-tribute or *Peshkush* of Khurda, Aul, Kujang, Kanika, Bishenpur, Harispur and Marichpur, the proprietors being treated as land-owners of superior class.⁴¹

British settlement in Sambalpur:

The Sambalpur group of states, having lost their internal sovereignty had come under direct Maratha control since 1800 A.D. but they were very keen to come out of their contral. Hence soon after the arrival of Major Fobres at Barmul pass on November

³⁹ G. Toynbee, A Sketch History of Orissa from 1803 to 1828, Bengal Secretariat press, 1873, pp.5-6

⁴⁰ P.Mukherjee, History of Orissa in the 19th Century, Utkal University, 1964, p.23

⁴¹ Ibid, p.34

14, 1803, the vakils from Baud, Ramgarh and Bonai hastened to tender their submission to the British seek their protection. Three days after an agent of Sonapur arrived in this camp with a similar request. In the first instance, Major Forbers delivered the proclamation based on the instructions of the Marquess Wellesley. Then he told the Vakils that he would refer this matter to the chief authorities in Cuttack, they should wait until the receipt of the answer. In Cuttack soon after the receipt of this note , Colonel Harrcourt sent letter to the chief of the Sambalpur, Sonpur and Boudh focusing on the advantage that they would gain by forming an alliance with the British government. He also advised them to execute agreements with British Government. Along with these letters, were enclosed the bank copies of the agreements signed by the Commissioners, colonel Harcourt and Molville. Those letters were handed over to the concerned chiefs on December 13, 1803 through their *Vakils* and on the same day agreements were executed with Rani Ratan Kumari on behalf of raja Jayant Singh of Sambalpur, Rani Luxmi Priya on behalf of Prathiv Singh of Sonpur and Beswamber Deo of Baud and Athmallick.⁴²

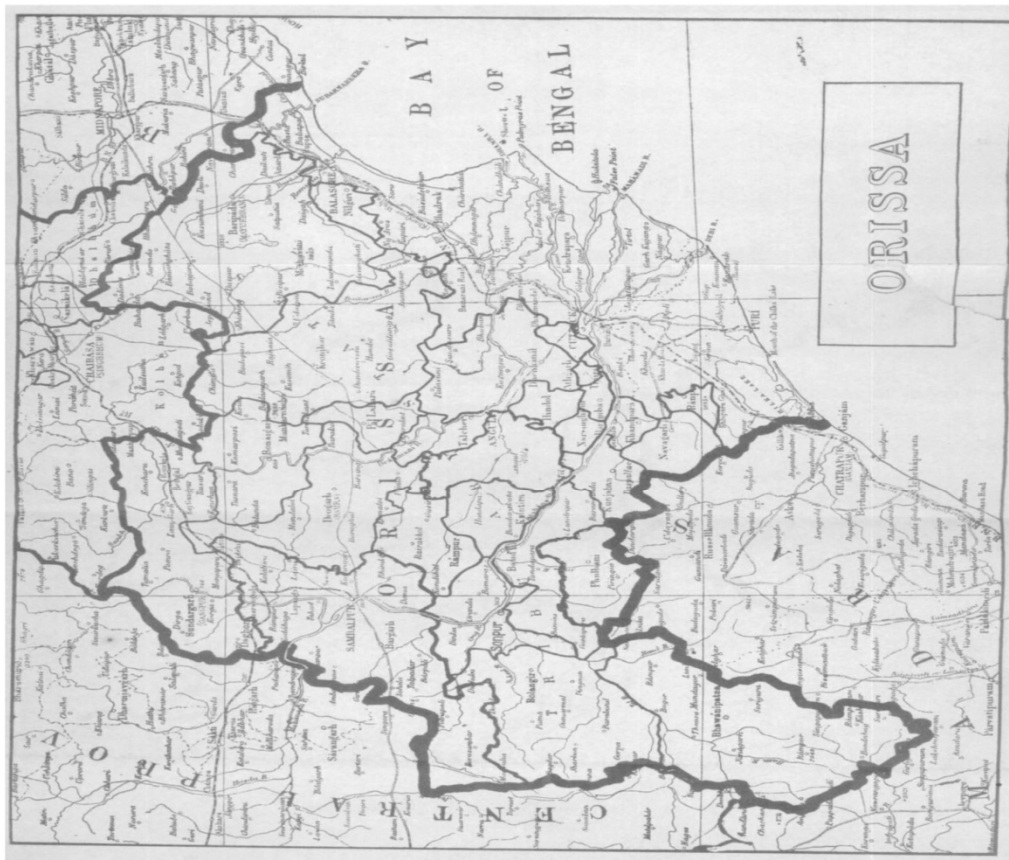
So, the treaty and alliance British established the Administration in Orissa. The new administration set up the new taxes system through which both the ruler and the farmer were faced the problem. Where the ruler lost his territory the farmer lost the agricultural land. So there was a protest voice raised against the British ruler. Which later as take rebellion format in 1817 as known as Paik Rebellion.⁴³ The lands of Paik were formed out and the new lessees rack rent them to realize the enhanced *Jumma*.⁴⁴ Even in 1813, William Trower, Collector of the Cuttack district, brought the distress of the Paiks to the notice of the authorities. “A system of extreme tyranny, violence and oppression has existed which has proved ruinous to this once flourishing country by the consequent desertion of a great proportion of the cultivators of the soil. I am concerned to state too that this system is to be dated from the conquest of Khurda by the British

⁴² Jagannath Patnaik, *Feudatory States of Orissa 1803-1857, vol-I*, Vora Publisher, Allahabad, 1988, pp.104-05

⁴³ Ibid, pp.245-256

⁴⁴ Jumma means a land

troops”.⁴⁵ A semi military order thoroughly disaffected only needed a leader and occasion to break out. In 1817, the Khurda territory was ripe for a general revolt. The leader was foun in Bakshi Jagabandhu Vidyadhar. This park was lightened by the incurision of a body of Kondhs and Panos in March 1817 into the Banapur area, which lead to the Fusion of all the disaffected elements. The paik rose as one man under Jagabandu. The explosion of the Paiks presented a tempestuous scene of tremendous popular upsurge which stirred the country to its depths. The paik rebellion was the first revolt against the British of Orissa.⁴⁶



Courtesy- Orissa in Making, U.Roy & Son's Press. 1925.

(Detail boundary of Orissa)

⁴⁵ W. Trower to G. Warde, Secretary to member, Board of Revenue on Deputation, 20th November 1813, O.S.A, Vol-20, p.130

⁴⁶ P.M. Barik, *The Paik rebellion of Khurda*, Orissa Review, February-March 2008, pp.51-52

Tribals of Orissa:

Orissa occupies a unique position in the ethnographic map of India for having the largest variety of tribal communities. Officially, they have been enlisted as scheduled tribes numbering 62.⁴⁷ Each tribe possesses its distinct identity in terms of social organization, culture, and language. Each tribal group have organized and developed their social relationships, which is distinct from another tribe. Besides organizing them into certain characteristically structured social groups, which are in fact lineal descent groups, they are founded tied to each other through family, marriage, and kinship relationships in specific ways.

Geographical settlements of tribal:

The tribal communities of Orissa are spread in its four geo-physical zones such as the i) Northern Plateau (25.5%), ii) Eastern Ghats Region (29.2%), iii) Central Table Land(24.1%) and Coastal tract (21.2%). The tribal Sub-plan areas of the state lies in the first and second geo physical section which covers about 55% of total geographical area of the state.⁴⁸

The Northern Plateau:

It includes Mayurbhanja, Keonjhar, Sambalpur, Sundergarh, Kalahandi and Anugul covering an area of 15030 Sq miles. The predominant tribal community , santal, Kolha, Munda, Bhuyan , Oran, Gond, Barthudi, Kishan and Bhumij are settled in this region. The other particular vulnerable tribal Groups such as Jung, Hill Kharia, Mankedia Lodha Birhar, Pudi Bhuyan also settled here.⁴⁹

Eastern Ghats region:

The soils of the Eastern Ghats region are mainly laterites. The high level laterite caps are around at 3000-4000ft, plateau in Parlakhemundi and Raygard areas. Sal is a

⁴⁷ See the Appendix no-1

⁴⁸ A.B. Ota and S. C. Mohanty, *Demography profile of the Schudeled Tribes in Odisha(1961-2011)*, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar,p.8

⁴⁹ Ibd,i,p.8

dominate species. The original forest cover is lost in the whole eastern Ghats regions due to the intensive shifting cultivation by the tribals and deforestations. The predominated tribal communities such as the Khond, Saora, Paraja, Koya, Gond, Gadaba are settled here. The Vulnerable tribal groups such as the Bonda, Didayi, Kutia Khand, Dongaria Kondh, Saora, Lanjia Saora, Chukita Bhunjia are settled in the region.⁵⁰

Central table Land:

The region covers of the Brahmani and Mahanadi basins. This belt doesn't come either under the scheduled area or under the Tribal Sub-Plan area of the state. The major rivers flows in the area are Mahandi, Brahmani, Tel, and their tributaries. The famous Gnadhamardan hills are bounded by Bolangir in Northwest, Sambalpur in South, Kalahandi in Southwest. The predominate tribal communities are living here such as Gond, Kishan, Deshia Khond Savar. The two vulnerable tribal groups are find here the Jung and Paudi Bhyan.⁵¹

Costal Tract:

The sea bound track stretches from Rusikulya river to Subarnerkha river. The seven district fully or partly come under the geo-physical gone. Generally the tribal of this region come from district like Keonjhar, Mayurabhanja, Sundergarh, Koraput, Gajapati, Khandhamals, they are the santals, Ho, Munda, Savar, Khond. They mainly derived their livelihood from the construction and road workers, earth workers rickshaw pulling and industrial labour.⁵²

Language of the Tribal

Linguistically, the tribes of India are broadly classified into four categories, namely (1) Indo-Aryan speakers, (2) Dravidian speakers, (3) Tibeto-Burmese speakers and (4) Austric speakers. In Orissa, the speakers of the Tibeto-burmese language family are absent and therefore Orissa tribes belong to other three language families. The indo-

⁵⁰ Indi,p.9

⁵¹ Ibd,i,p.9

⁵² Idbi, p.12

Aryan language family in Orissa, includes Dhelki-Oriya , Matia, Haleba, Jharia, Saunti, Laria and Oriya (Spoken by Bathudi and the acculturated sections of Bhuiyan, Juang, Kondha,Savara,gondetc). The Austric language family includes eighteen languages namely, Birija, Parenga, Kisan, Bhumij, Koda, MahiliBhumiji, Mirdha-kharia, Ollargadaba, Junga, Bondo, Didayee, Karmali, Kharia, Munda, Ho, Mundari and Savara and within the Dravidian family there are nine languages in Orissa .⁵³ see the map for the details about the tribal race and language.

Economic pattern of Tribal People

The tribal are living in the forest and hill areas. They are dependent on forest and Junga for their food and the other necessity of life but the non- tribal are exploited them. Tribal economic based as subsistence oriented. The subsistence economic based on collecting , hunting, and fishing (e.g., the Birhor, Hill Kharia), or a combination of hunting and collecting with the shifting collectivation (e.g, the Junga, Hill Bhuiyan, Lanjia Saora, Khond etc). Subsistence economic is characterized by simple technology, simple division of labour, small-scale unity of production and no investment of capital. Considering the general feature of their economic system the tribal of Orissa classified into six types.⁵⁴ Such as:

- 1) Hunting, collecting and gathering types
- 2) Cattle-herder types
- 3) Simple artisan types
- 4) Hill and shifting cultivation type
- 5) Settled agricultural type
- 6) Industrial urban worker type

⁵³ N.K.Behura, *Tribal societies of Orissa* in Tribes of Orissa, Sc& ST Research Training Intuition Bhubaneswar, Bhubaneswar, 1990,pp.30-40

⁴⁹ A.B. Ota and S. C. Mohanty, *Demography profile of the schudeled tribes in Odisha(1961-2011)*, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar, 2015,p.11

⁵⁴ Ibid. p.12

Culture of the Tribal's:

The tribal people culture such as dance, singing as a integral part of life. The tribal people are expressing their cultural identity and distinctiveness in their social organization, language, rituals and festivals and also in their ornaments arts and crafts. The amazing conglomeration of tradition, beliefs, sorrows and philosophies that together constitute and varsity the ritual and festivals of the tribes has descended from antiquities and has been preserved unimpaired to the present day. Every facts of their life covering round the year activities like connected religious beliefs and ritual practices. The tribal people are believes that their life and work is controlled by supernatural beings, whose abode is around them in hills, forests, rivers and houses.⁵⁵ See the appendix no -2 total festival and cultural of tribal.

Tribal in colonial Orissa:

According to Majumdar⁵⁶ tribal history of Orissa could be studied broadly in its three aspects: one the critical review of the British government's relations with some major tribes of the state, the circumstances in which the relations were forged and the different phase of the relations. This aspect of the study would bring out the basic problem of tribal administration determination of the extent of the accommodation expected of the tribals and the degree of imposition consider necessary by the administrator. Secondly, the changing pattern in tribal life over a period of time could be a theme of absorbing interest, highlighting as it would the extent the pace and the channel of change. In tracing the course of change in tribal life the historian would find that the administration prevalent in the tribal tracts released the force, which local people could neither ignore for a long for effectively, resist. The problem of acculturation and attempts at its solutions by tribal themselves deserves intensive study. Thirdly the inter relation between tribal and non-tribal communities in a specific period and geographical area could be a theme worth studying of historian.

⁵⁵ B.B.Mohanty, *Tribal culture in Orissa* in Tribes of Orissa, Sc& ST Research Training Intuition Bhubaneswar, Bhubaneswar, 1990,p.43

⁵⁶ K. Mojumdar, *Changing tribal Life in British Orissa*, Kaveri Books, Delhi,1998,p.2

The Khonds were the first who raised their arms against the British in the Paik rebellion of the Khurdha in 1817. It followed by the two glorious rebellions of the Khonds of those one lead by the famous Dora Bissoi and the other by the veteran leader Chakra Bisoyee. In the history of Orissa 1835 AD was an inglorious year, that year the British Ghumasar and this occupation lead to sensational rebellion by the Khonds under their celebrated leader Dora Bissoi. Behind this rebellion of 1835 Against the British lay some causes.⁵⁷ Later in this chapter discussed about the Khond rebellion.

Khond Tribes in Orissa:

The Khond tribes have great history. The anthropologists, academicians, British officers and historian give different views about the Khond tribe origin and settlement of the tribe in Orissa. The First theory based on a legendary account. According to that account there were only two females on the earth named *karaboodi* and *tharthaboodi*, each of whom they blessed with a single male child. Those two children are Kasarodi and Singarodi. All these individuals sprang from the interior of the earth. Along with them two small plants called *Nangakoocha* and *Badokuchha* sprang up and on those plants they depended for their subsistence. Subsequently the wet soil dried up and all kind of animal and trees came to existence. Kasarodi and Singarodi were given in marriage to the daughters of Burapenu. The khonds believe this myth that they are belongs to their children.⁵⁸ But Macpherson⁵⁹ denied this theory and said that “No mythology and legend appears to exist amongst the Khonds”. Khonds believe that they are originally belong to Orissa having either sprung from the soil itself, like branch of the Greeks which traced its origin to the Arcadian pelages’ or having been created contemporaneously along with it. In his opinion Khonds are obviously one of the numerous remnants of the primitive population of India. Which have survived the Hindu conquest being favored by social and physical circumstances? According to T.J.

⁵⁷ Dandapani Behera, *Freedom Movemnt in the state of Ghumsar in Orissa (1836-1866)*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta,1984,pp.37-48.

⁵⁸ E. Thurston, *Caste and Tribes of South India, vol.iii*, Madras Government press, Madras, 1909.p-356

⁵⁹ S.C. Macpherson, *An Account of the Religion of the khonds in Orissa*, The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 13,1858,pp.216-274

Maltby⁶⁰(1982) that in origin name of the Khond is coming from the *telgu* ward “*kodu Vandlu*” and it is reprinted in oriya “*Kandho Loka*” and the khond called themselves *Kui*. According to the Thurston (1918) the Telugu people called them *Kotuvandlu*. The origin of the name Khond is doubtful. L. S. S. O’Malley⁶¹ in the Angul Gazetteers refers that “the name Khond or Khond as it should more properly be written, is believed to be derived from the Tamil ward *Kindri*, telugu *Kanda*, that is a small hill and indicate to the hill man. The country in which the khonds reside is called the *Khondmals*, *mal* in oriya signify a hill tract and in the same way in the northern portion of the Ganjam district adjoin the Khondmals is called the Khond Malias (hill), that is the Khond Hill or simply the hills, as distinguish from the rest of the district which is spoken of as the plains. The origin of the Khond name is still obscure.

Geographical location and settlement of the Khond Tribe:

The Khonds are settled in the eastern Ghats, in its northwards, terminates the edge of the valley of Mahandi and turning due to east widens out into a large elevated plateau more abruptly to the valley of the Mahandi in the Boudh state of the north. Geographically this Khond country is not Homogeneous. The western parts of the Kandhamals, which is the most lofty portion of the plateau, is interested in all direction by the numerous lateral ramifications of the Ghats which break up the surface of the country into small depressions of competitively small fertility. The eastern half of the Khondmals are large and more upon and fertile valleys. The ethnography of the Khond country contain with a geographical variations. The western part of the Khondamas are inhabited by the wilder and speaking their own language but eastern half of the khonds habited with oriya people and known the oriya language.⁶² The Khonds are manly settled in Daspalla, Anugul, Ghumsar, kondhamalas, kalahandi and Jeypore. These territories have the different history, which is connected to the Khond society.

⁶⁰ T.J. Maltby, *The Ganjam District Manual*, Lawrence press, Madras, 1882, pp.204-211

⁶¹ L. S.S. O’Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers Angul, logos Press*, New Delhi ,Reprinted 2016,pp.19-32

⁶² L.S.S. Omalley, *Bengal District Gazetteers Angul*, logos press, New Delhi, 1908, reprint 2016, p-46

Daspalla:

Daspalla is said to be a corruption of Jaspalla, meaning village or number of the village acquired by conquest. The state was established about 516 years ago by Sal Bhanja, one of the brothers of the Raja of Baud. The Boundaries of the State of the state at the time of its foundation cannot be ascertained. Narayan Bhanja, the successor of Sal Bhanja, conquered some of the land Khond village. The successor of Narayan Bhanja was Padmnav Bhanja, He conquered other part of the village, is known as Khond Desha. Padmanava Bhanja after the restoration to Nayagarh of Puruna Daspalla defeated a khond Chief or Mallik and established his capital at Kaunja Garh. The population of the khond according to the 1901 census was 12,000. This was contented 23.7 of the percentage total population.⁶³

Anugul:

Earlier Angul was occupied by the tribal people such as Khond , Savaras and Gonds. The Khond was dominated among them. The state was divided into a number of independent principalities, each governed by a khond *Sardar* or a chief. Later the Orissa king succeeded to establishing his rule over the khond, who acknowledge his suzerainty by paying the tribute. The last khond *Sardar* name was Anu, who refuse to give the tribute and followed the way for rebellion. So he sent an embassy to the Sardar with some Rajputan adventures from Matura. They Found the people of the country chafed underlies ruler, enlisted their help. A conspiracy was formed against Anu and it was followed by a struggle. He deposed with the help of Gol that is a battle or plot. Then they were conquest the area and named it Anugul. The majority of the khond people live in the Kandmal subdivision of the Anugul. The khonds claim that they are the real inhabitant of the kadndmals. In the later period under the British rule, they became modernization and adopted some people also became Hindunised. The converted Khond also follow the Hindu manners and customs⁶⁴.

⁶³ L.E.B. Cobden-Ramsay, *Bengal District Gazetteers Feudatory state Orissa*, Logos Press, New Delhi, reprint 2011 P.59

⁶⁴ L.S.S. Omalley, *Bengal District Gazetteers Anugul*, logos Press, New Delhi, 1908, reprint 2016,p.1-2

Ghumusar:

Literary meaning of the Ghumusar means a Bulwark (Guma or Goomah) on the reservoir of water (*Sora or Sara*)⁶⁵. W. W. Hunter also described in his “Imperial gazetteer of India Vol-V” Ghumsar name is derived from the ancient capital called “Gumsur” or “Ghumsur” The Ghumusar became as the independent till 1836, in 1836 the British take a military action against the Ghumusar and connected with the British administration. According to the 1881 census the Khond Population of Ghumusar was 1,12,116.

Jeypore :

Jeypore also another important place where a lots of Khand people lived. The place is still unknown to the British officer up to 1819. In that year, a board of Revenue Officer, Thackeray drew a attention of the British authority through a report. In that report he mention that in the hill tract of Vizagpatnam and in its inter area there are some uncivilized and barbarian people lived. They live like independent there no local government conquest the land. It has been left as a waste corner of the earth to wild beasts and conds. Nobody seems to have known even the boundary.⁶⁶

The settlement pattern of the khond village is of linear type. Two rows of the houses on either side of the central street is the average pattern of settlement. The thatch of the adjacent houses merge in such a way as to give an impression, of a long roof stretching from one end of the village to the other. There is an altar to the earth Goddess called *Jakhri* at the centre of the village street. In some village among the primitive sections, they have well organized dormitories called *dhanger iddu* for both boys and girls.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ R.Bayard, Sub-Collector , *Ganjam*, 10th November, 1823, Ganjam ,District Records, Vol. 3897, p.411

⁶⁶ R.C.Bell, Op.cit, p.33. One of the earliest references to the khond was made by John Garstin, Surveyor-General in his letter to Government Judicial Department 4th July 1810. He wrote thus, the Khonds Who inhabited the country bounded by the Boad on the north, Daspullah on the east and Ghoomsur on the south, are to be considered an independent tribe , in habiting a mountain and difficulty country.

⁶⁷ P.S. Daspatnaik, Khond in Tribes in Orissa, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar 2004, pp.159-60

The Khond houses of the village design very unique style. Before the house construction, the Khond people inform the chief head of the tribe. The layout of a primitive Khond house generally consist of front and rear Verandah, a bedroom in the centre and a small Kitchen. The floor is slightly above the level of the centre street. The wall is made of mud and the roof is grass thatched. Each house has a low ceiling which provides as a garret (attu). The Khond of Phuibani lives in low wooden houses. The house is rectangular in size. Walls are made of wooden planks or bamboos plastered with mud wooden poles are then placed to construct a trellis over the wooden scaffolding to fix the thatch. The construction of the two sloped roof begins either the more acculturated Khond. A carefully look at the Khond house shows use of very simple equipment wooden, bamboo and stone articles and baskets, earward pots and iron implements⁶⁸.

Other peoples settle near to the Khond hill.

Near to the Khond hills there are some other caste people also lived. These people are mainly *Sundi, Pans, Blacksmith* and *Potters* are also found in small number near to the Khond Village. All are from belonging to from the Hindu lower caste but they are settled long ago adopted Khond beliefs, habits and they also known the *Kui* Language.⁶⁹ The earliest infiltration of Oriya settlers into the Khond Hills seems to have taken place at least three hundred years ago. The Oriya established themselves in closely built settlements in many of the wider valleys. The religion, language and village life are separate from the Khond people. Only for the political realm did they wield a limited control. But the Oriya chief only influence to contact the Khond because the British officer who are engaged in the hill tracts they only speak the Oriya language⁷⁰. According to W. W. Hunter (1877) about these areas, believed that:

⁶⁸ Ibid, p.160

⁶⁹ Barbarara M. Boal, *Human Sacrifice and Khond religious Change: The Khonds*, Inter-Indian publication, New Delhi, 1997, p-26

⁷⁰ F. G. Baily, *Caste and the Economic Frontier: A Village in Highland Orissa*, Manchester University Press, 1957, p. 27.

Many Years ago successive waves of the Rajput adventurers, possibly on pilgrimage to Puri, and driven back the khonds finding their loosely formed states and constant feuding made the chiefs fortress an easy prey- Possession of which meant government of that area. Where no feud was in progress, they found it easy to strip up intrigues and take advantage of the dissension size power.⁷¹

Socio-economic condition of the Khonds:

Khonds occupation varies according as the geographical location. The main occupations are Agricultural, Hunting, Food gathering. The Khond who are lived in plain area they are doing more agricultural work. They have the better scope for wage enraging and the other sources of livelihood. The primitive section of the Khond who are living in the inter area or the top of the hill; they are sometime work on the field. But the pattern now changes due to the globalization and modernization. They are now migrated to the other place for the labour work.⁷² The inter area Khonds are also produce cash crops like turmeric, ginger, mustard, ginger, black gram, arrowroots etc. The *Dongria* Khond produced the fruits like bananas, pineapples, oranges, jackfruits etc. They use their domestic animal cattle wealth for the feats and festivals. But the *Desia* Khond use their cattle for the plough the agricultural fields.

Religious believe of the Khond Tribes:

Every tribes of Orissa are believes in some ritual, sprit and prayer. They are worship different tribes of god, goddess and nature. Khond people are also believes in super natural power and natural sprite. They were Animistic.⁷³ They believe the god present in all natural things. So they worshiped the hill, the sun, the fair, trees etc. The

⁷¹ W. W. Hunter, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol-V, Trubnor & Co., London, 1877, P.367

⁷² P.S. Daspatnaik, *Khond in Tribes in Orissa*, SCSTRTI, Bhuneswar 2004, pp.159-60

⁷³ Edward B Tylor, *Primitive Cultural*, Vol-ii, John murray, London, p.92

Khond people are giving the blood to their god and goddess for their protection and for the crops. According to W. W Hunter, “The Religion of Khond is essential one of blood. Gods many and terrible dwell upon the earth and under the earth, in the water and in the sky, each and all of whom must be propitiated by the victims. As the Khond theory of human existence is a normal state of war, broken at intervals by expressly stipulated truces, so their occupation of god is one chronic hospitality to mankind, mitigated at intervals by the outpouring of Blood”.⁷⁴ But Samuel Charters Macpherson had given details about the religion belief, nature of the religion, rules of religion and different types of god and goddess of the Khond tribes. He point out that divinities arise in two ways, first the power which are believed to animate and to control the sensible forms of universe. Secondly the decline energy as it is vaguely associated with the abstract ideas, predominating sentiments and a local object. He divided the Khond deities into two classes,

In the First Class are:

- 1) Bera Pennu (The Earth God)
- 2) Bella Pennu (The Sun God), Danzu Pennu (The Moon God)
- 3) Sandhi Pennu (The God of Limits)
- 4) Loha Pennu (The Iron God or God of Arms)
- 5) Jugah Pennu (The God of Small-Pox)
- 6) Nadzu Pennu (The Village Deity)
- 7) Sora Pennu (The Hill God)
- 8) Jori Pennu (The God of Streams)
- 9) Gossa Pennu (The Forest God)
- 10) Munda Pennu (The Tank God)
- 11) Sgu Pennu (The God of Mountains)
- 12) Piduza Pennu (The God of Rain)
- 13) Pilamu Pennu (The God of Hunting)
- 14) The God of Births

⁷⁴ W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol.ii , Smith, Elder & Co, London,1872, p.92

Second class is:

- 1) The deceased ancestors of each tribe or branch of a tribe.
- 2) Pitabaldi (Great Father God)
- 3) Bandhri Pennu (Local Dieties)
- 4) Bahman Pennu
- 5) Bahmundi Pennu
- 6) Dungarry Pennu
- 7) Singa Pennu
- 8) Dammosinghiani
- 9) Potterghor
- 10) Pinjai
- 11) Kankali
- 12) Bulinda Silenda

They also worshiped the Hindu goddess *Pravati* or Kali by the *Khonds* under her names Bhadrawaullu, Bhairavi and Komeswari.⁷⁵

Human Sacrifice and Khond Rituals

Killing of the Human being and animals have a long history. Human sacrifice not only done by the Khond community but also most of the ancient civilization has the same practice observed. In the ancient civilization not only they observed the human sacrifice calibration but they done also headhunting. According to Adolf E Jensen,

The killing however is an unavoidable concomitant of the respective acts, while the true motives of the ceremonies may be sought in the other contexts.⁷⁶

Henri Hurbert and Marcel Mauss refers that

⁷⁵ S.C. Macpherson, *An Account of the Religion of the khonds in Orissa*, The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 13,1858,pp.176-177

⁷⁶ Adolf E. Jensen, *Myth and Cult among the Primitive Peoples*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London,1951, p.163

The word 'sacrifice' immediately suggests the idea of consecration, and one might be tempted to believe that the two notions are identical. It is indeed certain that sacrifice always implies consecrations in every sacrifice an object passes from the common into the religious domain, it is consecrated. But not all the consecrations are the same kind. In some the effects are limited to the consecrated object, be it a man or thing.⁷⁷

So here discuss about the Khond rituals and Human sacrifice, their nature of the celebration, art and rule of the sacrifice. A form of the human sacrifice known as 'Meriha' was prevalent among the Khonds of Orissa. The Human sacrifice of the Khond tribe was first discovered by the Russel on the 12th August 1836, when he was fought with the Goomsur king.⁷⁸ In the 11th May 1837 Russell describe in his report that

In the Maliash (Hill) of Goomsur, the sacrifice is offered annually to the Thadha Pennoo (the Earth) under effigy of a Bird intended to represent a peacock, with the view of propitiating the deity to grant favourable seasons and crops. The ceremony is performed at the expense of and munity and connected together from the local circumstances. It was not possible to ascertain in the number of the places in which these sacrifices take place, but they are understood to be very numerous. Besides these periodical sacrifices, other are made by single Mootahs and even by individuals to avert any threatening calamity from sickness, murrain or other cause.⁷⁹

Way of Sacrifice practice;

⁷⁷ Henri Hubert , Marcel Mauss, *Sacrifice: its Nature and Function*, The University of Chicago press, Landon, 1964,p.9

⁷⁸ History of the Rise and Progress of the Operations for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice and Female infanticide in the hill tract of Orissa, No. V, Government of India. Extract from Mr. Russell's report 12th August, 1836, describe the manner and customs of the inhabitants of Goomsur, and mentions the existence of Sacrifice. P.1

⁷⁹ Ibid,p.3

The time of the sacrifice is much feasting, intoxication and dancing round the Meriha, to decorate with the garlands. Before the sacrifice the victim is stupefied with toddy and is made to sit or is bound at the bottom of the post, bearing is the effigy above described. The assembled and dance round the music and addressing the earth ‘O god’ we offering the sacrifice to you give us the good crops, seasons and health, after which they address the victim. “We brought you with a price and did not seize you; now we sacrifice you according to the custom and sin with us”.⁸⁰ On the day the Meriha again toxicities and anointed with oil and each individual who present there are touched the anointed part and wipes the oil his own head. Then all are marched in the village and its boundaries, preceded by the music, bearing the victims in their arms. On returning the placed near the village ideal, called the (Zacari Penoo) represented by three stone, a hog is killed in sacrifice and the blood being allow to flow into a pit prepared for the purpose , the meriha who has been previously made senseless from intoxication is seized and through in and his face pressed down till he is suffocated in the bloody mire.⁸¹ Lieutent Hicks in his report describe the manner in which victims are immolated. According to that report;

As soon as he is firmly fixed, the presiding priest advnces and with a sharp and curiously curved axe breaks the joint of the legs and arms at the ankle keen, elbow and wrist; the surrounding mob than fall to and strip the flesh of the bones with knives in contending for the flesh it not infrequently happens that a serious affray is the quivering and bloody morsel to his fields and there buriers it. The bones of the deceased are buried where the sacrifice has been performed and their situation generally marked by a long pole stuck into the earth just above them.⁸²

In Meriha sacrifice time the khonds are singing some songs. These songs are narrated in a beautiful way by the Sitakant Mahapatra, According to him the Meriha songs in

⁸⁰ Campbell, John, 1864: *A Personal Narrative of Thirteen years' Service Among the wild Tribes of Khondistan*, for the Suppression of the Human Sacrifice, London, p.54

⁸¹ Ibd, p.55

⁸² Selection of the records Government of India, Home Department, No.V, p.82

three part. In the first part of the song is the symbolic purchase the object. The second song is sung by jani (priest) on inflicting the first stab on the Meriha. The third songs invokes about the ancestor and gods. Below the songs are here:⁸³

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| <p>Purchase of the Meriah</p> <p>O our Saonta Our village elder Have you baby kurtras Have you got tiny fowls Have you got sons? The season has come Theseason of Dhartani The earth Goddess Baby Kurta</p> | <p>The First Stab the priest and the Overture</p> <p>Here we Sacrifice the enemy, Here we Sacrifice the Meriha The goddess eats up this sacrifice The enemy is thus worshiped Let there be no loss for the village Lat trigger prowl; The god needs so many offerings Let no calamity visit us Let all be happy Let all live in peace</p> | <p>Invocation to Earth Goddess</p> <p>Let no famine Visit our land; Let no calamity Plague our people. Our land and this earth- Let them be peace Let everything be in Plenty Like the siali and guchi creepers Let our crops flourish This offering we make To thee O Dhartani Let onions grow well We commit no sin; We have no guilt We only feed the gods We only feed the Mother.</p> |
|---|---|--|

Role of the British Officer and Human Sacrifice

Mr. Russell, of the Madras Civil Servant, who is settlement of two distinct insurrections, one in Goomsur and the other in similar Zamindary of Pural Kinedy, was the first person who discovered the existence of the rite of human sacrifice among Khonds, which he brought to the notice of the Government in his first Report on the affairs of Goomsur on 12th August 1836.⁸⁴ At the time Russell was busy for collecting

⁸³ Sitakant Mahapatra, *Unending Rhythms Oral poetry of the Indian Tribes*, Inter-India Publications, 1992, pp.51-52

⁸⁴ F. Carbery, *History of the rise and progress of the operations for the Suppression of human Sacrifice and female infanticide in the hill tract of Orissa*, Selections from the records of the Government of India, Home department, No V, Military operation press, 1854, p.1 (here after the document use as the name c of the Study)

more information about the Human Sacrifice. Mr. Steren and Captain Millar had rescued about 30 Meriahs (victims).⁸⁵ Then Russell in his report on 12th August 1836 describe about geographical condition and social issues of inhabitants. In his words

The change from Goomsur to be the cold climate and open country of the table land, where the hill are base of Jungle the inhabitants infinitely more numerous and their house greatly superior to those below, was very strictly. Their language differ from that all other classes and is understood very few low Lander like other nations, they have their feuds and frequently war with their neighbors. Head for head is their universal law. Their love for liquors and tobacco is excessive. They draw no milk from any description of cattle, yet they have none of the ordinary prejudices of caste and eat anything except the dog, domestic car, beast of prey, vulture, kite and snake. Among the tribe of westward of Sooradh, the destruction of female children is common; I believe I may say in general. The expense attending the marriage rites is said to be the motive of this cruel custom. They purchase their women from other parts of the country without reference to their parentage. The same practice does not exist in the Maliabs (hill) subject to Goomsur, but the barbarous ceremony of human sacrifice exists their and among many of the neighboring tribes and is of annual occurrence.⁸⁶

The Madars government replay about the Russell Report that the “vigorous exercised for the suppression of these barbarous rites and the Governor in Council requested that particular attention of Mr. Russel to the point.”

Russell’s produced another report on 11th May 1837 followed immediately after the close of second campaign, when the settled situation allowed more details to be learned

⁸⁵ Miller rescued twelve of these from around Gullery Mutha of the 30 rescued one escaped, 10 were return to their families and eight children, aged between three and ten kept in British care,C.p.9

⁸⁶ Extract from Mr. Russell Report, dated 12th Agust 1836, Describe the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the Hill tracts of Goomsur,C.pp.1-2

regarding Khond life.⁸⁷ Russell use the full account of Meriah (human) sacrifice, describe the ceremony, mentions rescue of 29 victims by Captain Millan and Mr. Stervenson and published in the Journal for July 1837, he followed it with certain reflection and proposal said it

No one is more anxious for the discontinuance of the barbarous custom than myself, but I am strongly with the belief that it can be accomplished only by slow and gradually means. We must not allowed the cruelty of the practice to be blind us to the consequences of too rash zeal in our endeavors to suppress it. The superstitions of age cannot be eradicate a day. The people with whom we have to deal have become know to us only within the last few months, and our intercourse has been confined to a very small proportation of a vast population, among the greater part of whom the same rites prevail and of whose country and language we may be said to know almost nothing. We must not shut our eyes to the fact that, although we may desire to limit our interference to the territory owing subjection to us, any major of coercion would arouse the jealousy of a whole race, possessing the strongest feeling of clanship and weather may be their dissensions in ordinary life likely to make common cause in support of their common religion.⁸⁸

As Russell carefully observed that the consequence of our interference could be restricted could be restricted within our territory. He gave an example that upper Maliahs (hill) of Goomsur, a very inconsiderable, and know the best known portion of the whole, we have no troops within that range and the Bissyys (Hindu life) the only people, whom we are contact and have only few peons, on whom could rely on such an occasion. Further Russell also clarifies that “The prejudices of caste have little influence them and the human sacrifice not a universal practice”. He given the example, it has not

⁸⁷ Ibid.3

⁸⁸ Ibid,C.p.5

existence in Degree, Gooloodoze Boree, the Maliahs (hill) of Bodoghodo, Cordaor, Sooradah.⁸⁹

Further Russell given a proposal “I sincerely believe that allow denouncing human sacrifice and providing for the punishment of person engaged there in, would as general measure prove abortive, and involve a compromise of character which should not be hazarded. He clarify in the report that our aim should be to improve to the utmost, our intercourse with tribes nearest to us with the view to civilized and enlighten them, and so reclaim them from the savage practice using, our moral influence rather than our power.”⁹⁰

The Madras government adopted the proposal and reference that “Every inducement which is consistent with efficiency of the public service should be held out to the Khonds to enter it, either as peons, or in whatever capability they may be found useful.”⁹¹ On the 24th November, 1837 Arbunthont, the acting collector in the Vizaga Patnam district made the practical Suggestion to that the Madras Government “ If the road were made the hills, from the company’s into the Hyderabad and Nagpur territories as might be done, though not without much expenses, the inhabitant of those hills might be brought within the influence of Civilization and then the practice would soon be the discontinued, at that tract of the country is closed not only the Europeans but even to the inhabitants of the plans.”⁹² His suggestion seems to have been overlook with Elphinstone raised it again in 1841.

When Arbunthont argued development can bring back the Khonds to a civilized fold, meanwhile in 23rd December 1837 the Ganjam Magistrate Ingliia reported a case lead on official trail. The case is very important because it first bring the Khonds to a court procedure regarding the Meriha Sacrifice. So the incident of the case narrated here.

⁸⁹ Ibid, C.p.8

⁹⁰ Ibid,C.p.9

⁹¹ Resolution of the Madrass Government of Mr Russell report, describing the office in charge of the district to ascertain to what extent the practice of sacrifice prevails, and to extent his influence to convince the people of his heinousness. C.p.9

⁹² Ibid,C.p.11

A man called Lutchmen Bheemoo, who had been kidnapped from Parlakhemundi and sold to a Kond headman for Rs. 45 up in Suboornogiri, the most remote of China Kimedya. The kidnapper was caught. There were several eyewitnesses and yet he had to be acquitted owing to a series of legal minutiae. The accused kidnapper dearly proved the inapplicability of the formal ties of the law in this cases, and its inability to secure justice. Later the horrors emerged in the procedure of trial. In the trial procedure the court find that his involvement beyond all doubt for, it appears that on a previous occasion he made an agreement with the Majee, the headman of the village, to procure a victim for sacrifice at the Tonkee festival, and received from him some articles as part payment of the price in advanced and had given his daughter as surety. He was unable to find a victim, than he sold his daughter for sacrifice. Then in the trial it was learned that the release of the man, Lutchemah, had only been obtained by the procuree giving up his second daughter in letchena place. The Kond saw no reason to release two girls, who had fairly purchased according to their custom. The British government to bring the kidnapper further to a new trial. He was a representative procuree of the time, not actuated by the religious values of the Konds, but simple by motives of gain. Bannerman the magistrate of Ganjam was requested to obtain all available evidence. His replays provide clear image of difficulties surround in any such case at the time.

According to Bannerman, “the zamindar’s officers had never before the present occasion penetrated into their country or attempted to exercise the slightest control over them; neither does their nominal chief, the Pater of Soovurnagerry, possess any authority whatever over them, he was do nothing without the consent of the elders of the different tribes and dare not attempt to coerce them. I consider it, therefore, to be utterly impossible, under existing circumstances to bring these uncivilized and barbarous men before the court of circuit as witness, more particularly as those best acquainted with the facts are themselves deeply implicated in the criminal transaction.”⁹³

Simple the Bannerman argument that they are lived independently nobody interfere their land and society. Further he mentioned in his letter that, “to proud and

⁹³ Extract from a letter from Mr Bannerman, acknowledge a precept, C.p.19

suspicious men like them, totally ignorant of everything to our courts and judicial forms of proceeding, a summons to appear as a witness before the court of circuit, would not fail to excite much alarm and disgust, and I think would be calculated to have the worst effects in preventing the other chiefs from affording their assistance on similar occasions.”⁹⁴ Bannerman advised to the court to suspending any steps for summoning him as a witness of the case.

The madras government took as serious action and agreed the proposal of Magistrate of Ganjam. The government planned to resort to violent measures and the abolition of human sacrifice must be avoided.⁹⁵

When Bannerman talked with government about the law and court procedures, the other side two British officer Miller and Campbell refers to the government for and aggressive and negation. On the 13th December 1837, Captain Miller released 12 victims and giving a proposal to the government. “The circumstance of these sacrifices being only offered once in year, in the month of January when the climate is by no means unhealthy, would remove one of the obstacles to the employment of a military force their suppression.”⁹⁶

In the other hand on 16th December 1837, Captain Campbell, the Assistant Collector in Ganjam report to Government for the negotiation with the Khond people. He refers that: “In my humble opinion, would make their conviction of the virtue of the rite still strong besides having other prominent objections.”⁹⁷

Campbell also point out that if they did not convince to stop the sacrifice at which cost they brought the Meriha pay the same amount like 15 to 25 at the same time to use such threats.”⁹⁸ So the governor in council approve that not followed any

⁹⁴ Ibid,p.20

⁹⁵ Minute of the Madras Government, Coinciding in the expressed by the Mr. Bannerman, by hoping that he might nevertheless be successful in offering the liberation of the two girls.

⁹⁶ Extract from a letter from captain Millear dated December 1837,C.p.11

⁹⁷ Extract from a letter from captain Campbell the Assistant Collector in Ganjam dated 16th December 1837,C.p.12

⁹⁸ Ibid,C.p.12

violence measure and supported the idea of Campbell and provided all the facility to rescuer the Meriha sacrifice. So in the 17th 1838 Campbell reported about his experience in the Khond Maliahs(Hill). In his letter he refer that:

I proceeded into the khond Maliash with an escort of 25 privates of the 17th regiment and 44 of my peons and having called together the heads or mulikoos of the different Moothas(country) explained to them what I supposed to be the intentions of the government, that the sacrifice of human victims would no longer would suffered among them to bring all persons whom they might have purchased as Merihas to me. The Moolikoos denied having any such in their possession, but from my having previously taken the precaution to ascertain the names of different chiefs who had Merihas and the persons from whom they had been purchased; they were lead to make a partial discloser.⁹⁹

In the latter also Campbell mentions that how he rescued Merihas from the different places and the negotiation with the chief or the Moolikoos. He also described about Chokapand and Passera district where he rescuer so many children's and talked with the Bissyys for their safety.¹⁰⁰ Then Campbell report that slowly the Mariha sacrifice abolished in the Gumoosar Malihis (Hill).

Later on 2nd July 1838, Lieutenant Hill, an officer attached to the survey of the Ganjam district inform that the Meriha Sacrifice practice is not only limited with the Gumoosar hills, this practice an ever greater extended throughout the Khond country. He reported that the practice also took place in Chinn Kimediy, Pedda Kimediy, Dusspalla, Boad , Jeyopore and Sohonepur. He also pointed out that not only the Khonds are practice the human sacrifice but also the Gonds of the Bustar are practice same inhuman act.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Extract from Caption Campbell's report of his expeditions into the khond Mahilas, Rescue of 100 victims,C.p.14

¹⁰⁰ Ibid,C.p.15

¹⁰¹ T.H.Maddock, Secretary to the GOB, GOI, Foreign Political Consultations 11th January, 1841,no.95-96

Further Mr Bannermans present a report regarding his proceedings in the khond country on 2nd January 1839. Mr Bannerman took the 360 men with him for his safety and proceeds towards the place where the Merihas scarifies happened on the occasion of the Tokini Festival. At the festival time both the man and women full of drunk but somehow Bannerman managed to talked with the elder and make them give of the victim. Barbar M. Boal¹⁰² cited in his book that Bannermans argument to the Khonds was two-fold:

1. The heinous nature of the crime of putting a fellow creature to a cruel death.
2. The folly of supposing that any advantage could possible come from so sinful an act.

The Khond give five reasons in replay:

1. They paid no tribute and owed no allegiance to the British
2. The Meriah had always been practiced from time memorial
3. If the usual ceremonies were omitted, their field were unproductive
4. The victim had fairly purchased with a price
5. They had a right to do what seemed to them fit in the matter.

Meanwhile Campbell further visited the Goomsar for two years from 1840-41. In this time period of his survey of the Goomsur he point out that “ the situation of the Goomusar has now became very difficult from the Maliahs under the neighboring Zamindarees, where our troops have never penetrated and where the power and authority of the Government is nither known nor recognized since the close of the disturbance.”¹⁰³ In the winter of the 1841-2 Campbell left Orissa to serve in the infamous Opium war against China.

In the summary of attempt and failures of the past few years, lord Elphinstone in 16th May 1841 describe that; “it is not the violent measure that we can hope to succeed. Violent measure must necessary be partial ones. We cannot coerce the whole of the wild tract of country and the wild tribes that inhabited it at the same moment and I am convinced that all isolated attempts must end in failure. The delusiveness of partial successes, even when obtained by conciliation, is demonstrated in Major Campbell’s

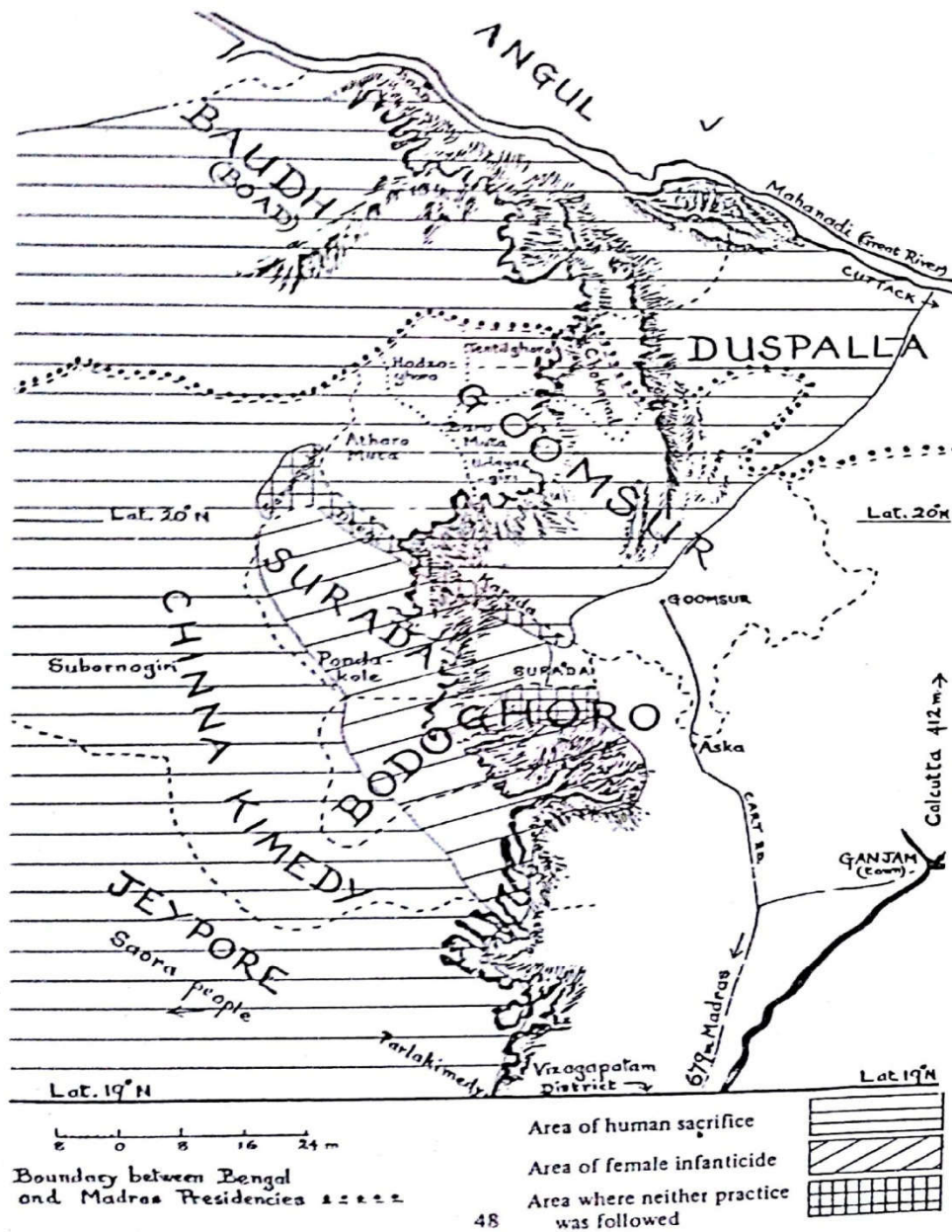
¹⁰² Barbora M. Boal, *Human Sacrifice and Religious Change: The Khonds*, Inter- India Publications, New Delhi,1997, p.87

¹⁰³ Extract from Captain Campbell account, C.p.30

last report.”¹⁰⁴ So further he also suggested that “the main object of our endeavors should be to cultivate friendly intercourse with the Khonds and to lead them to look to us as their friendly intercourse with the Khonds and lead them to look to us as their friend.”¹⁰⁵ See the below map total human sacrifice areas in Madras Presidency

¹⁰⁴ Extract from a Minute of Lord Elphinstone-proposes for the abolition of the rite, C.p.31

¹⁰⁵ Extract from the dispatch from the Hon’ble court of Directors to the Government.C.p.38



MAP 2.2 : Areas of Human Sacrifice in 1841

Courtesy- *Human Sacrifice and Religious Change: The Kondhs*, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1997.

The Madras Government seriously looked the proposal of Elphinstone and issue a order on 16th March 1841 and Lieutenant Macpherson became as the Agent of the Meriha Sacrifice. On the 24th April Macpherson collect some information and described that

“Mutual aid against aggression was its first condition,, whilst the Khonds, besides generally assisted the Raja in their offensive wars”.¹⁰⁶ Also Macpherson gives a account about the Khond religion, division of Khond tribes and Khond Cultural. Further Macpherson explain about that, “the idea of allegiance to our power has necessary never entered their minds. They have no conceptions of any social relations, except those which exist betwixt the different groups of tribe and betwixt these and the Zamindaries.”¹⁰⁷ Macpersion send a report about the human sacrifice nature in Barmutha, Atharmuthand , Hodzoghonor and give proposal to established a law to abolished the sacrifice act. He refers that “for the near tribes submission to laws directly administration by us, for those more remote, the practical acknowledge for our supremacy.”

Human Sacrifice in the Bengal Presidency:

During that all these operations had been took place in Madras presidency , the authorities of the Bengal frontier had not be idle, earlier 23rd February, Mr Rickets, the commissioner and Superintendent of tributary Mahal Cuttack , rescuer eight girls and sixteen boys from Duspulla. In 9th February 1844, lieut-Col Ouseley, Agent to the Governor on the south west frontier also reported that he revised the information and send a notice to the Raja of Sounpore, Patan, Khurriar, Bendra, Nowagurh and Bomra, desiring them to send to make every inquiry of the Human sacrifice. He also further put the notice that “Khond Zamindar should be warned to abstain from human sacrifices and to send in the kidnapped ‘Meriha’ now his possession, on pain of having his Zamindary resumed and the person sacrificing subject to capital Punishment.”¹⁰⁸

Meanwhile on 23rd Febuary Captain Hickens became as the human sacrifice agent of Boad and Dasupallah. He rescued 23 human sacrifice victims from Boad. On the 16th June 1845 Mr Mills submitted details account of his assistant, Lieutenant Hicks second, mission into the Khond Country of Duspallah and Boad. Lieutenant Hicks proceeded

¹⁰⁶ Extract from the Caption Macpherson report, C.p.40

¹⁰⁷ Ibid,C.p.46

¹⁰⁸ Extract from the Colonel Ouseley, Agent to the Governer General on the south west frontier, C.p.77

from Duspallah to Raneegunge in Boad and meet the Khond chief Madhub Khonro. On the way he meets also the Khond Sirdhar of Ruttai Baria, who refuge to give the human sacrifice. Then he apprehended and punished. Lieutenant Hicks rescued 12 victims from there.

So above the rescuer of the Meriha and abolished the inhuman rite brought debate to think about the way they deal with the tribe and the law and order which are followed by British as question mark.



MAP 2.1 : The Kondh Hills in 1838

Courtesy- *Human Sacrifice and Religious Change: The Kondhs*, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1997.

Khond Movement and Cause of the Rising;

In 1800 William Brown collector of Ganjam decided to eject Srikara Bhanja, the fugitive leader of Ghumsar, by force from Zamindari. Two battalions of the 6th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry, under the command of lieutenant-Colonel Mareley, were ordered to march to Ganjam. On 2 May 1801 lieutenant-Colonel Marley reached Ganjam and joined with the first Battalion of the Regiment, Native Infantry, and a detachment of artillery.¹⁰⁹ They all at once proceeded to Ghumsar and reached Gongoon on 9 May 1801. Then lieutenants-Colonel Marely declared the Raja a rebel and offered a reward of Rs. 10,000/- for his apprehension.¹¹⁰

On the other hand, the Raja had good number followers with him who rose in revolt against the British authorities. As a result, exchange of fire took place from both the side of different places of Ghumsar causing casualties in both the parties. Lieutenant-Colonel Merley, at the same time, established posts at suitable places for the protection of the zamindari. On 9 June 1801, he issued proclamation of the government formally deposing Srikara Bhanja and recognizing Dhanajay Bhanja as his successor. In spite of such a decision, Srikara Bhanja and his followers continued their revolt and gave much trouble to the British.¹¹¹

For about six months untiring efforts were made to bring about the Raja under submission, but they did not succeed. In December 1801 Lieutenant-Colonel Marely returned with his detachments to Bengal and thereafter, William Brown was forced to induce Srikara Bhanja to leave the Zamindari in favour of his son Dhanajaya Bhanja. He assured his full pardon by the British Government. After a long discussion Brown agreed to give him the Maliahs of Kokoloba, Utargadatal, Gullery, Jakshabadi and Panchagada for his maintenance.¹¹² Such an arrangement was accepted by Srikara Bhanja and it continued till 1807-8 when the later had a rift with his Khond subjects.

¹⁰⁹ SRG (Madras), Lieutant ColonenantMeraley to Collector of Ganjam, 27 April 1801 and 4 May 1801

¹¹⁰ SRG(Madras), Lieutant ColonenantMerarely to Collector of Ganjam, 9 May 1801.

¹¹¹ Ibid

¹¹² Russell's Report, 12th August 1836, p.20.

Srikars Bhanja abandoned the place and began his wandering life like as a pilgrim. After four years he got the permission from the governor of Madras to enter into Ganjam. After his sojourn for a few months, he moved towards Puri and then to Banki. In 1815 he was captured at Rambha on the apprehension of trouble at Ghumusar. Then he was confined at Berhampur under military guards. But in February 1818, he escaped from his confinement and fled to Ghumusar.¹¹³ In the meanwhile, Ghumsar under Dhanajay Bhanja was seething with discontent. In 1814 the Raja was summoned by the British authorities for his heinous crime of murdering his own mother, son and some of his female relatives. Since he did not honor the summon, the government was forced to send troops against him. On 21 May 1815, a proclamation was issued declaring the Zamindari of Gumusar forfeited to the British Government.¹¹⁴ Although Dhanjaya Bhanja tried to resist the British troops with the help of his Kandh subjects, he was forced to surrender on 24 June 1815. He was charged with many political and criminal offences. First, there was a balance of tribute amounting to Rs. 13, 125/- against him. Secondly, there were allegations of murder and cruelty. He was tried before the Court of Circuit under the Madras Government, but was acquitted later due to want of sufficient evidence. However, he was sent to Chingleput as a state prisoner for confinement.¹¹⁵

The Zamindari, which thus fell vacant, was managed by Dora Bisoi, Pindee Thatraj Jaganntha Bhanja and Few others who were closely associated with Dhananjaya Bhanja. They pretended to run the administration in the name of Balabhadra Bhanja of the royal family. Actually, she was a female child whom they disguised as a son of DhanjayaBhanja.¹¹⁶ Thus, they ruled the Zamindari at least till September 1818 when the rebel fugitive, Raja Srikara Bhanja, exposed the conspiracy of Dora Bisoi and his co-adjustors and sent the female child the spurious Raja, to the collector of Ganjam. Eventually, he was reinstated in the Zamindari May 1819.¹¹⁷ In the agreement that was

¹¹³ SRG (Madras), Extract from the Minutes of Consultation, 30 March 1819

¹¹⁴ OJR, Vol. 19, Magistrate of Ganjam to the Superintend of the Tributary Mahals Cuttack, 20 February 1817.

¹¹⁵ SRG (Madras), H. Spottiswood, Collector of Ganjam to Government of Madras 24 June 1815.

¹¹⁶ OJR, Vol.J/7, R. Bayard, Sub- Collector and Magistrate of Ganjam to Collector of Ganjam, 12 March 1821

¹¹⁷ Ibid

signed with Srikara Bhanja, it was stipulated that the Zamindari would revert to the British government after his death. He was required to pay a sum of Rs. 75,000/- as the annual tribute of the Zamindari. An allowance of Rs. 8,000/- per annum was granted to DhanjayaBhanja and in the event of his good behavior and conduct he might be considered as a successor to the Zamindari of Gumusar after his father's death. Such an arrangement was made as "a measure both of expediency and necessity and not apparently in contradiction to impartial justice."¹¹⁸

As the terms were acceptable to Srikara Bhanja, he ruled Ghumsar and paid regular tributes to the British treasury. In 1830-32 he fell arrears due to the mismanagement of his estate and the appropriation of his resources for religious purposes. As he could not liquidate the arrears amounting to Rs. 77,623-50, he desired to retire from his zamindari and to hand it over to his son, Dhananjay Bhanja. But before the latter's arrival at Ghumsar from Chingleput, the former changed his mind and decided not to retire quietly to Puri on a pension of Rs. 8,000 per annum.¹¹⁹

After expulsion of Srikara Bhanja from Ghumsar, the Zamindari was formally restored to Dhanajajay Bhanja on the same terms and conditions as they accepted by his father. In addition, " he was to discharged the balance due for former years, and that in the event of his failing to pay regularly, the assessment fixed thereon the lands comprising it should be resumed and transferred from him forever." The Raja promptly agreed to it and immediately paid the rents for the years 1832-33 and 1833-34. He also agreed to pay the arrears accumulated during the reign of his father by annual installment of Rs. 10,767, in addition to the current demands. But soon after, he change him mind. Such Vacillating attitudes not only caused his own downfall, but also lead to an insurrection in Ghumsar. As alleged by the British Government, the Raja led a life of debauchery and was under the influence of his courtiers, Dora Bisoi, a sardar of the Kandhs. It was also alleged that his mismanagement led to crisis in the zamindari.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ SRG (Madras) , W.M Thackery, Commissioner for enquiry into the affairs of Ghumusar to Government of Madras, 30 March 1819.

¹¹⁹ SRG (Madras), Vol. II, Russell's Report, 12 August 1836. Para 26.

¹²⁰ Calcutta Review, Vol. V, Jan-June 1846, p.10

Whatever the allegation of the British authorities against the Raja, it was an acknowledged fact that the state of Ghumsar suffered heavily from financial burden imposed by the British. The state had no capacity to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 75,000 to the government. There was no fair or equitable settlement of the revenue or land assessment in Ghumsar. The assessment was very high, that is to the extent of one-third of the gross revenue.¹²¹ The British also levied a duty namely, 'MaloPhoonda' at a certain pass into the kandh areas which led to unnecessary exaction. Moreover, the system of alienation of land in *muthas* created disaffection among the people and administrative difficulty to the Tahslidars. It so happened that a large number of people in the Zamindari were deprived of their usual means support. The British also interfered in the affairs of the local martial classes. The lands were assessed. Thus, different sections of the people in Ghumsar were harassed by the British administrative intervention.

From the days of occupation of Ganjam, the British tried to take over both the financial resources and administration of the Zamindaris in the district. The people on the other hand, misrepresented the truth, and in consequence, a correct picture of the financial recourses of the Zamindari of the Ghumsar could not emerge long after the British occupation. The maximum opposition came from Kandhs. In these circumstances, each successive ruler of Ghumsar was force to rebel against the British supremacy. And at the same time the British tried frantically to establish their authority by means military power. They succeeded in the end, but only after overcoming stiff resistance offered by the people. Those who managed the Zamindari not only violated the security of the traditional system of succession, but also were a burden on the economy of the people and harmed the interest of the state.¹²²

While such as the precarious condition of the Zamindari, Raja Dhananjya Bhanja could not find means to pay the arrears to the British. He tried to delay payment. It leads to suspicion by the British authorities and an *Amin* was sent to collect the rent from the Raja. The Raja promptly objected to it and prevented the *Amin* from entering

¹²¹ J.A.R. Stevenson, Report on Goomsur Zemindari, p.2

¹²² Ganjam papers, H. Spottiswood to president and Member of board of Revenue 6 February 1817.

into his territory.¹²³ Immediately, J.A.R Stevenson, Collector of Ganjam, decided to sell the Zamindari by auction. The Board of Revenue at Madras allowed an extension of time for one month during which it was expected that the Raja would clear the arrears. At the same time, it was also declared that in case of failure to pay the arrears, his Zamindari would be forfeited and he would be taken as a state prisoner. The order was intimated to him on 7th August 1835, and the collector of Ganjam also desired that the Raja should meet him. After several attempt, the meeting took place on 27th August 1835 in which the Raja promised to pay all his arrears within twelve days provided the government Amin was withdraw from his territory. But no payment was made within the scheduled time which ended on 7th September 1835. Such attitude of the Raja compelled the government to send troops to Ghumsar. There was no immediate sign of resistance by the Raja, but soon after there was a widespread conflagration.¹²⁴

Course of the Rising (1835-37)

The British Government immediately issued an emergency proclamation all over the Zamindari and declared the end of the native rule. Troops were requisitioned from Berhampur and were engaged for immediate action. Steps were also taken to capture Dhanjaya Bhanja. On 22nd September 1835 a detachment of troops under Lieutenant Colonel Hodgson reached Aska about fifteen miles from Ghumsar. On 3rd November 1835 he occupied Ghumsar. A few days later the troops occupied Kulada and then move towards Gullery. At the latter place they were severely opposed by the rebel led by the Raja. Such an open rebellion compelled the Collector of Ganjam to issue the proclamation of Martial Law on 12th November 1835, declaring forfeiture of the Zamindaries of Gumsar and Suranda, and offering reward of Rs. 5,000 for the capture of Dhanjaya Bhanja.¹²⁵ As a result the situation was aggravated in Ghumsar and the rebellion spread like a wildfire to the different parts of the Zamindari and to its surrounding territories.

¹²³ Calcutta Review, Vol. V, Jan-June, 1846, p.10

¹²⁴ Calcutta Review, Vol. V, Jan-June-1846, p.11c

¹²⁵ Russell's Report, 12th August 1836, para- 33.

Dhanjaya Bhanja induced his Khond subjects to uphold the authority of the native rule in Ghumusar. They responded to his call immediately. Hiding themselves in the inaccessible jungles and caves, they mounted fierce attacks on the British troops and made their progress extremely difficult. The British troops consequently encounter immense difficulties in their attempts to subdue Dhananjaya Bhanja and his followers. The insurgents who even deserted their villages harassed the troops. It so happened that in large number of villages there was not even a single friendly inhabitant to help the British troops in their movement. Besides, the troops and the officers suffered from the peculiar jungle fever widely prevalent in those areas. In circumstances, they were forced to retreat. Thus Lieutenant –Colonel Hodgson after his futile attempts to capture the Raja, returned to Ghumsar on 15th Novemeber 1835.¹²⁶

Such difficulties in suppressing the rising and the failure to capture the Raja and his khond followers compelled the collector of Ganjam to recommend to the Government of Madras for restoring the Zamindari to Brajaraj Bhanja, son of Dhanajay Bhanja. However, the Governor-e- Council rejects the proposal as it “would be looked upon as an acknowledgement that the government had not the power to enforce the penalty they had proclaimed”. The collector again advocated for the acceptance of his proposal. He pleaded that “the neighboring Zemindaries, the hill chief, the Sirdas, the inhabitant of the country as far as I can judge, and in many instance I suspect our own public servants are adverse to the downfall of the Ghumsar family and the establishment of the power of Government.” It would be a most difficult task, he continued, for obtaining a permanent possession of the country.” His further argument was that if the territory would be conquered, it would not be worth the conquest at least from the fiscal point of view.

But also such arguments of the collector proved futile. There was no change in the attitude of the government. The collector again remained the Madras Government about the state of affairs of Ghumsar, and the deteriorating law and order situation. He reported: “Hitherto neither promise of reward or bribe has had the effect of drawing

¹²⁶ Lieutenant- Colonel Hodgson to Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, N.D., 15 November 1835.

over a single individual of any weight to assist in any material point government is not perhaps aware that its authority is, and has, I believe, ever been little more than a shadow in these districts.”¹²⁷ He suggested once again for the restoration of the native rule in the Ghumsar. However, the Government –in –Council once again rejected the proposal. The government was determined not to acknowledge defeated or show its inability to the rebel Raja and its Khond followers. Therefore G.E. Russell, a member of the Board of revenue, was appointed as the special Commissioner to deal with the situation. Accordingly Russell left Madras on 22nd December 1835 and reached the camp of General Taylor at Natinghi a small village near Ghumsar, on 11th January 1836. Immediately after his arrival, the collector of Ganjam and his subordinate officers met him to apprise him of the situation in Ghumsar.

Rebel under Dora Bisoi:

In this continued state of distress and indignation, a leader was all that was required to fan the lurking embers of rebellion into open flame; and the leader appeared in the person of Dora Bisoi who was destined to play an important part in the events to follow, who ultimately took up arms against of the government under the compulsion of the circumstances.¹²⁸ His being only next to the Raja in rank as the commander-in-chief, brought him to lime light and enabled him to be on the fore- front of any uprising and who gave the British troops “very great Annoyance”.¹²⁹ Several contingents of troops were stationed at several strategic points like Kodanda, Nuagam, Bellaguntha, Nimapara, Chamunda, Buguda, Vishunchakra, Pailapada, Badaborosing, Aska, and Surada to ruthlessly suppress the rebellion which was led by Dora Bisoi.¹³⁰

The Commissioner of Cuttack and the Resident of Nagpur and the Political Agent of Chotanagpur sent their assurance to the Madras Government that they would render all possible assistance to the collector of Ganjam for suppression of rebel under

¹²⁷ SRG (Madras), Collector of Ganjam to Government of Madras, 10December 1835

¹²⁸ Jhon Campbell, *Thirteen Years Services amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan*, Hurst and blackett 1864, p.32

¹²⁹ ibid

¹³⁰ J.A.R.Stevenson, to the Board of Revenue, 7th December 1835, Madras Revenue Consultations of 1835.

Dora Bissoi in Ghumsar, as when would be required. But all such assurances were no avail; disturbance continued in the estate unabated and uncontrolled at the instigation of the Dora Bissoi to the great annoyance and concern of the government all through the rest of 1835.¹³¹ Stevenson the collector, being perplexed at the growing magnitude of rebellion under the Dora's leadership in Ghumusar represent to the Government for annexation of the estate with the British Indian Empire. George Edward Russell when came to Ghumsar as its Special Commissioner in 1836, found the Ghumsar struggle was carried out mainly by Dora Bissoi since the death of late Raja, Dhanjaya Bhanja; the Khonds under his leadership were doggedly resisting to the British authority over the estate. It subsequently became a hazardous task for the Government to deal with the situation arising out of the Dora's rebellion in the estate.¹³²

To prevent the situations from further deterioration a reward of Rupees five thousand was declared for the apprehension of Dora Bissoi, the Khond Patriarch. Despite all their poverty the Khonds extended no assistance to the Government for capture of their leader being least lured by the temptation of the reward. The khond insurgents at the instigation of Dora Bissoi first started cutting of the British troops. Subsequently, the Dora attacked stronger detachments of Government troops led by the British officers with an element of surprise and daring.¹³³

The rebellious khonds attacked a British detachment of thirty-five men in the Kurmingia pass between Udayagiri and Durgaprasad while the troops were escorting the prisoners. In this encounter thirteen of British troops were killed along with two British officers namely Lieutant Bronely and Ensign Gibbon.¹³⁴ The bloody incident impelled the British Government to take some more effective steps in quelling the rebellion;a proclamation was issued under which rewards were offered for the capture of the rebel leader. While five thousands rupees were offered for the apprehensions of Dora Bissoi, a reward of rupees five hundred or more was offered for others. But this

¹³¹ T..J. Maltby, *Ganjam District Manual*, W.H. Moore, Madras, 1981, p.183

¹³² Ibid, p.148

¹³³ Ibid, p.184

¹³⁴ Ibid, p.149

did not work. The Khonds were not tempted to give up their leader, Dora Bissoi. In this connection, A. Duff writes, “Wretched and poverty-stricken though the people were, not one in all Khondistan was found ready, in the case of one of their own chiefs to take the price of blood.”¹³⁵

Meanwhile efforts were made by the Government to prevent any hostilities with the Khonds. They were assured that they had nothing to fear. To counteract the rumor that heavy duties would be imposed, the British Government immediately declared that there was no truth in it. They would only pay the general duty that they had been paying to the Government. Russell suggested to the Government to abolish even that duty within the zamindaries of Ghumsar and Surada or failing that, it might be suspended for a period. The British authorities also tried and the authority also tried to establish friendly relations with the Khonds. Small presents like silk and red clothes were distributed among the Khonds to keep them in good humor. The British troops while passing through Khond villages bartered clothes and tobacco for fowls with the Khonds. Russell also left no stone unturned to win the Chiefs of the different Khond muthas. He offered them kind treatment and distributed among them most acceptable presents like woolen, scarlet or red blankets.¹³⁶

But all these measures had little effect on the Khonds and their chiefs. The Dora Bissoi still kept them aloof and no offer of money or other presents could induce the Khonds to give up their rebellious activities. They still continued to give their ardent support to their leader Dora Bissoi, as their principal chieftain, was an object of the deepest reverence to the Khonds. He had freely thrown himself on their hospitality and protection. And in the feeling of honor, which in such circumstance, such wild tribes, whatever be the others defects of their character, have often been seen to exhibit, he found a refuge of more inviolable security than in the munitions of rocks.

In the meantime British force learnt that Amhajaraha and Jiripada were two centers of Khond insurgency. So they made an attack on these two places with a

¹³⁵ The Calcutta Review Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p.14

¹³⁶ Russell’s Report on the Disturbances in PuralKimedya, Vizagapatnam and Goomsoor, Vol. II, pp. 56-59

bewildering rapidity. But on their arrival they found that Dora Bissoi and his followers had already left the place. They had escaped to the neighboring state of Daspalla and Nayagarh. So Russell himself proceeded to Daspall to apprehend Dora Bissoi. But he did not succeed his mission. On the other hand Stevenson, the Collector of Ganjam, succeeded in capturing some rebels. Dora Bissoi still remained at large. In his capture the Rajas of Daspalla and Nayagarh helped the British to a deliver up the rebels who had sought refuge in their territories. Furthermore, the treachery of some Hindu Oriyas and the Government Revenue Agents helped the British in achieving success.¹³⁷ Through them some Bissoi were also won over by the Government. Meanwhile, Pattamahadei, the widow Rani of the deceased Dhanajaaya bhanja , along with Brundaban Bhanja, his four sons and some other members of the royal family, surrendered to the British authorities. Then Nilamber Bhanja and his son Madhu Bhanaja of the royal family were captured. Now crafty Dora Bissoi played a new trick. He claimed to support the claim of Raghunath Sharana Bhanja to the Ghumsar throne. He was the adopted son of DhanjayaBhanja's uncle Gopinath Bhanja. But this Trick did not succeed;Raghunatha Sharana Bhanja was soon captured by the British and confined at Tekkali.¹³⁸ Here after rebel leaders were captured one after another. Hatiram, the Khond chief of Ragada, Butapali and Buguda was wounded in an encounter and capturing. Then his fellow-rebels dispersed from Ragada, their head-quarters. Subsequently, the other Khond leaders submitted to the British authorities. Some of them were also captured.

Thus the rebellion now came practically to an end. But Dora Bissoi, the ringleader, remained uncaught. He moved from place to place as a wanderer and his influence over the Khond Maliahs helped him. So the British authorities tried to reduce his influence over the Khonds. Russell remarked, "Under any circumstances, whether the Zamindary could be restored or retained, it would be requisite to hold military

¹³⁷ P. Mukherjee, History of Orissa in the 19th Century, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, 1964, p.194

¹³⁸ G.E. Russell's Report on the Disturbances in the PurlaKimedya, Vizagapatnam and Goomsoor, Vol. II, Second report on Goomsar, 3rd March 1837.

possession from the decline of his power and the increase of our own".¹³⁹ The British authorities also desperately tried to learn about Dora Bissoi's movements and whereabouts.

The British force also made attacks on him several time but in vain. A. Duff writes thus, "Dora Bissoi had many hairbreadth escapes. His temporary place of refuge was often invaded, but an hour or two after he had decamped-leaving his cooking vessels still warm wiyh sundry other petty articles behind him". Even his hideouts in the hills of Ronaba, Surada and Chinna Kimedya were attacked. But he could manage to escape. Then for his safety he left Ghumsar and moved to Sonapur. Rom Sonapur heproceeded to Patna and then to Angul. Having the information, Henry Ricketts, the Commissioner of Orissa, asked Sommanth Sing, the Raja of Anugul to hand over Dora Bissoi immediately to the British authorities. But Raja Somnatha Singh wrote to Ricketts thus. "If I seize Dora Bissoi what terms will be allowed him?" The replay he received was, "from your writing I know you have him in you fastness. His life shall be spared, if he is delivered to my officer by such a date, if not, the Cuttack force will march upon you".¹⁴⁰ This threat was effectual in making the Raja loyal. Finally he handed over Dora Bissoi to the British authorities in October 1837. Subsequently Raja Somnatha Singh received the stipulated reward of five thousand rupees from the Government for apprehension of Dora Bissoi. The rebel leaders and the insurgents were condemned to the imprisonment, exile, or execution. A large number of the rebel leaders were executed. The nature of punishment and the number of rebels are as follows.¹⁴¹

Death sentence-40, Transportation for life-29, Confinement for life-3, imprisonment for life-2, Confinement for 8 years-17, imprisonment for 7 Years- 17, imprisonment for 6 years- 5, imprisonment for 5 years-1.

¹³⁹ G.E. Russell's Report on the disturbances in Purlakimedya, Vizagapatnam and Goomsoor, Vol. II, p.55, First Report on Goomsoor, 12th August 1836.

¹⁴⁰ William Rushton, *The Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer*, Calcutta 1841, vol. II, p. 43

¹⁴¹ G.E. Russell's Report on the Disturbances in PurlaKimedya, Vizagapatnam and Goomsoor, Vol.II, Third Report on Goomsoor, 11th May 1837, Appendix-A.

Thereafter some new arrangements were made by the British Government in Ghumsar. In place of the former Chiefs, new chiefs or Mallikas were appointed. Sam Bissoi of Hodzoghoro who had murdered the British considerable assistance was rewarded. He was invested with the office of Dora Bissoi or chief Bissoi to the head all the Khond tribe of Ghumsar. Besides, the British Government conferred on him, the additional honorary title of Bahadur Bakshi. After the suppression of the rebellion, the regular troops were withdrawn from the hills. The tribes remained under the rule of the newly appointed. The salutary services rendered by George Russell were publicly acknowledged by the government. He was applauded for the ability, energy, and firmness to quell the rebellion. So when the Government established a new cantonment in Ghumsar, the place was rightly named after him as Russelkond or Russell's hill (Modern Bhanjanagar). The two years campaign of the British for the suppression of the rebellion was a pathetic tale.¹⁴² The rebellious Khonds were assorted down like wild beasts, and their villages were converted into heaps of ashes. More than three-fourths of the villages in Ghumsar were destroyed and large areas were depopulated.¹⁴³

Dora Bissoi, at first was sent to Cuttack Jail. There he fell seriously ill and even doctor apprehended his death. After his recovery he was sent to Ganjam as state prisoner under strong guards in early November 1837. There he was tried for his offences. At first he was given death sentence, but later on, it was commuted to imprisonment for life. He appealed to the Government not to keep him in Ganjam. His appeal was duly considered. He was sent to Gooty near Madras where he stayed as a State prisoner. Dora Bissoi died at Gooty in 1846.

Chakara Bissoi the Great Leader of the Khonds

The Khandh rising, which covered a period of about twenty years from 1837 to 1856, occurred in the extensive hill tracts of Ghumsar, Surada, Chinakimedi, Parlakimedi, Boudh, Kalahandi, Jeypore and Patna. Besides the Khands, the Savaras and some local militia class also took part in the rising. The Khands lived in the vast hill

¹⁴² Nihar Ranjan Patnaik, *Comprehensive History of Modern Orissa*, Kitab Mahal, Cuttack, p.50

¹⁴³ H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, Thomas De La Rue & Co, London P.96

tracts under the jurisdictions of the Presidencies of Madras and Bengal and of the Central Provinces.¹⁴⁴

The Kandh territories were divided into a number of muthas. A number of Muthas formed a maliah. In each mutha there was a muthadar or Patro or Bissoi.¹⁴⁵ In each maliah there was a maliahsardar. Those local men to who assisted the muthadars were generally, Oriyas and they were styled as 'Dora Bisoi' in Ghumsar and 'Khonro' in Boudh. The Khonds were generally divided into two classes accordingly their religious practices, such as, Bora Khonds and Tari Kandhs. There were several sub-tribes within the Khond community. They were "Dongria or Jungle Kondhs, the Desia or Benia Kondhs, the Kutia Kondhas, and the Jatapu Kondhs."¹⁴⁶ The Khandas as a whole were a militant tribe and were generally armed with a Tangia, a sort of battle axe, or bows and arrows or even swords. As a tribal people, they were independent in their mountains habitats. At the same time they were intimately connected by alliance and bound by various ties of interest with the ruling chiefs. But when the rulers of the plains tried to exert political influence over them, the Khand's resisted violently and never acknowledge their supremacy. They had "a passionate love of liberty and unconquerable resolution,"¹⁴⁷ and that spirit was at the root of their prolonged conflict with the British authorities.

Course of the Rising:

Khond rising spread over about two decades, 1837 to 1856. Two distinct phases were noticeable in the rising. The first phase covered the period from 1837 to 1846 in which the smoldering discontent of the khonds was in real turn against British interference, specially, for the suppression of human sacrifice. In the second phase, that

¹⁴⁴ Standing information of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1893, pp56-9.

¹⁴⁵ The mutha head or muthadar is either anoriya or Savara, Pano or Khand. The title signifies the caste. Oriyas called as Bissoi or Beher-Dalai. Gonds are called as patro or Dal- Behera. Mallicks or Majhis are purely Khand title. (Sashibhusan Thiady, Phulbani- The Khond Land. (Berhampur), 1965, pp.16-17)

¹⁴⁶ E. T. Dalton, *Description ethnology of Bengal*, Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, p.523

¹⁴⁷ S.C. Macpherson, Report on Kandhs, 14th September 1841, p-59

is from 1846 to 1856. Chakra Bisoi lead a direct revolt of the hill tribe against the British.

When the British discovered that human sacrifice was prevalent in the hill tracts of Boudha, Dasapalla, Ghumsar, Chinakimed and Kalahandi, they chalked out a systematic plan to abolish the inhuman practice. It required a sustained effort for a number of years to root out the socio-religious evil, which prevailed in the hill tracts from time immemorial. Boudh, which was under the SouthWest Frontier Agency, came first in the plan of operation. The Raja of Boudh was directed to take steps in this regard. But he conveyed his inability since he had no power over his Kandh Subjects, who on the other hand, were completely under the influence of the Kandh chief, Nabaghana Kahnar, and were actively supported by the Raja of Anugul. Rather the Raja of Boudha sought full protection from the British.¹⁴⁸ The communication between them in this regard created alarm and suspicion among the Kandh chiefs. The councils of Kandhs under the leadership of the Kahnar families made all preparations to resist the British action. The khandhs of Daspalla and Banpur came forward to help long since taken shelter in Boudh and were under the direct protection of the Kahnar families.

The hostile activities of the kandhs put the British in a difficult position. S. C. Macpherson sought the cooperation of Henry Ricketts, commissioner of Cuttack, who agreed to lend the troops to reduce the Kandhs to submission. The Raja of Boudh, however, out of fear of the Kanhar family retreated from active cooperation with the British authorities in the suppressions of the inhuman rites. Therefore, Henry Ricketts decided to induce the kandh chiefs to surrender. He summoned some of them and said: “if they continue such a mode of life the government would at length be called upon to interfere and destroyed them.”¹⁴⁹ Such as a warning as a goodeffect on the Kandh leaders. Madhab Kahnar and two sons of NabaghanaKahnar submitted to the Raja of Boudh. But NabaghanaKahnar himself did not surrender. Most of the insurgent were still active and human sacrifices continue as before. The commissioner of Cuttack then requested the government of Bengal to transfer Boudha directly to his jurisdiction in

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 83

¹⁴⁹ ORR, Vol. 62, H. Ricketts to the Government of Benggal , No. 396, 23th February 1837.

order to achieve immediate result. Second , he wanted to follow a policy of persuasion, by allowing the Kandh chiefs, by money , government services etc., so that they would be amenable to the British regulation.¹⁵⁰

Boudha and Athamallick were transferred to the jurisdiction of the commissioner and the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals of cuttack in 1837 in order to facilitate the Meriah operation. However, the British policy of persuasion was misunderstood by the Khond. It was felt by them that, the British would probably levy taxes on them. With that suspicion, they refused to cooperate with the British agents in any way. In the meantime, Somnath Singh, Raja of Angul, was prepared to render all sorts of assistance to the Khond chief NabaghanKahanar. It acted as an immense morale booster to the tribal chief who now decided to fight against the British to establish his authority.

Daspall one of the neighboring tributary Mahal of Boudha also raised in revolt. The Raja of Daspalla had but little power over his Khond subjects the Commissioner of Cuttack and empowered him with full authority to take drastic action against those who were involved in the Meriah sacrifice in Daspalla. But nobody was prepared to assist him in his efforts to suppress the human sacrifice among the kandhs. Thus the attempts of the government to abolish human sacrifice both in Boudhand Daspalla utterly in the first instance. The initial failure of the British authorities posed a great problem on them. The policy of suppression of human sacrifice by force was abandoned. G. E. Russell observed: “Are the Government prepared to engage in an undertaking which, to be effectual must lead to the permanent occupation of an immense territory and involves in a war with people with whom we have now no connection, and no cause for quarrel in a climate inimical to the constitution of the strangers, and at an expense which no foresight can calculate?”¹⁵¹ He therefore, advocates the use of moral influence, rather than force. In fact, the weak position of the British authorities in Ghumsar and Boudh etc. was not at all suitable for prolonged warfare.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid

¹⁵¹ SRG (Madras), Russell’s Report, 11th May, Para 68.

G. E. Russell was authorized to adopt the new policy. Accordingly, his principal Assistant, Johan Campbell, commenced his first operation against the Mariah sacrifice in December 1837.¹⁵² He was accompanied by some troops as well as some influential chiefs of Upper Ghumusar namely, Sam Bissoi and Panda Naik. For four consecutive years, he continued his visit to the disturbed areas. A road was constructed in the heart of the kandh territories to facilities his operations. Then he extended his field of activities to the neighboring territories such as Boudh and Chinakimedi. By January 1842 he was able to suppress the public performance of human sacrifice at least from Ghumsar. But he could not do away with the sacrifice in the inaccessible areas and also the secret performances in the Kandh territories. However, he was able to resume 125 Meriahs during the period of his operation.¹⁵³ John Campbell was succeeded by Captain S.C. Macpherson in 1842. He tried his best to penetrate into the interior of Ghumsar, but failed. On his proceeding on leave to Bengal in July 1844, he was succeeded by the Assistant Surgeon, Dr J. Cadenhead. During his period of operation against the Meriah sacrifice, the Khonds complained oppression and insult of the native agents to them. They at last, “announced their intention of returning to their superstitions, unless the people of Boad were coerced with themselves. The Khond of Baramutha and Atharamutha started the rebellion.

Emergence and revolt of Chakra Bissoi

During the rainy season of 1846 the insurgent Kandhs decided to take violent steps against all possible attacks by the British troops. They deserted their villages and fled to the inaccessible parts of Jungles carrying all their grains and valuable articles with them. At that juncture, there emerged a leader from among them who directed the Kandhs in their movements against the British till 1856. He was Chakara Bissoi son of Ram Sing Buxi nephew of the chief leader of the earlier Ghumsar rising Dora Bissoi. Chakra Bissoi, a Benia Kandh, was born in the village, Torabadi of Ghumsar By February 1837 he was a boy when his father Ram Sing Buxi was killed in an encounter

¹⁵² Jhon Campbell, *Thirteen Years Services amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan*, Hurst and Blackett 1864, pp.2-12

¹⁵³ *ibid*, p.78.

with the British troops. Chakara Bissoi accompanied his uncle and resided in Angul since 1837. He lived in the village of Balang and paid occasionally visited to Ghumsaar.¹⁵⁴ In course of time, he gained considerable hold over the Khonds.

When the Kandh resistance against the British authorities, they were in a critical position, Chakarabissoi came forward to organize them and give them leadership. In 1844 he left Angul on the inventions of the Kandhs of Boudh to join their insurrection led by Kandh chief's BiraKahanar. He led the insurgents as the "Champion of the Meriah."¹⁵⁵ With the emergence of Chakara Bissoi the Kandh took a new turn.

Even the Chakara Bissoi's power lay untarnished. Adopting guerilla warfare, he went on harassing the British so much so that the then Governor General Lord Dalhousie, became worried. In April he wrote to the president of the Board of Control thus, "Chakara Bissoi Hunted from hill to valley had now taken refuge in the wild tracts behind Baud. At present, he was inaccessible, but we could catch him some day." Since then vigorous efforts were being made to capture Chakara Bissoi. The Government of Bengal declared a reward of three thousand rupees for the purpose.¹⁵⁶

In the meantime, British Government came to know that Chakara Bissoi was then hiding in Sonpur state with the support of its Rani. When question, she answered that she had absolute no knowledge about Chakara Bissoi. But the British Government took no cognizance of her denial. The governor General, Lord Dalhousie, warned her and the Raja of Boudh to refrain from giving asylum or any sort of help to Chakara Bissoi. Simultaneously John Campbell started negotiations with the Rani of Sonpur to persuade Chakara Bissoi to surrender but it was of no avail. Chakara Bissoi still remained at large. For four succeeding years, the British Government did not find any refectory activity of Chakra Bissoi. So the Government refrained itself from disturbing him. Meanwhile, a rift among the Kondhs came to the surface. Some elderly Khonds did not accept the leadership of Chakara Bissoi. An opportunist to the core, John

¹⁵⁴ ORR, Loose Correspondences, A. Dinsdale to F. Gouldsbury, No. & 15th December 1847.

¹⁵⁵ H. D. Taylor, Memoir on the Ganjam Maliah in the Madras Presidency, p.7.

¹⁵⁶ William F. B. Laurie, *Orissa, A graden of Superstition and Idolatry*, R.N. Bhattacharya, reprinted 2000, p.141.

Campbell won over those Khonds to his side. In the work Sam Bissoi worked go between. He brought about the unconditional surrender of many Kondh Chiefs. However, the Younger Khonds continued to support Chakra Bissoi.

In May 1854, the British came to know about the revival of rebellions activities of Chakra Bissoi. A village named Tulasinghee in Ghumsar Maliahas was attacked and plunders by some Kondhs. The Magistrate of Ganjam suspected that behind it the hand of Chakara Bissoi might be there. So he wore to E.A Samuells, Superintenet of the tributary Mhalas, to apprehend him and his other accomplices who had taken shelter in the Khondmals. In his replay Samuelles wrote to the Magistrate that to his Knowaldge ever since the occupation of Angul, Chakara Bissoi had been living in the Khondmals under protection of BiraKhonro. He wrote this under the impression that Chakora Bissoi had been falsely implicated in the incident in question for past record. Continuing his report, he said that the crime was probably committed by some famine stricken people of Ghumsar and the name of Chakara Bissoi had been implanted simply because all hopes of discovering offender had failed. Reiterating further he wrote, “Chakra Bissoi has gone to show that he was living quietly in Biro Kahnra’s country and was principally desirous of escaping notice.”¹⁵⁷ Samuells further reported the inability of the Raja of Boud to control outrages of Chakra Bissoi and his adherents. In this connection the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals in his proclamation of 15 February, 1855 mentioned thus, “whereas the Kondhs have ceased for some years to be the subject of Boud Raja and the Raja himself states that he has no power in the country”. So the Bengal Government took his report seriously and ordered for the annexation of Khonds lying under the control of the Raja of Boud. E.A. Samuells, as the Superintedent of the Tributary Mahals took over its administration. He appointed Dinabandhu Patnaik as Tahasildar in charge of that territory.

After this annexation, Chakara Bissoi had to leave the khondmals. He came to the Ghumsar Maliahs. Here he supported the case of a boy named Pitambar Bhanja, known as Raja Pilla’, whom the Kondhs would accepted as the Raja of Ghumsaar. But

¹⁵⁷ Board Proceedings, Revenue, E. A .Samuells, Superintendent of TributrayMahals, to Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 30th Jnue1854.

this Young pretender to the throne of Ghumsar was soon tired of jungle life and preferred to surrender. He accepted a Government pension to live in peace. This decision of PitambarBhanja shocked Chakra Bissoi. He had no other alternative then to move to Boud.

Having learnt of this, Samuells, the Superintendent of tributary Mahals, at once sent orders to expel Chakara Bissoi from his territory. He also threatened that Raja would be deposed if he failed to accomplish this. So the Raja of Baud could not ignore this order. With great difficulty, he expelled Chakara Bissoi from his state.¹⁵⁸ Chakara Bissoi then took shelter on the bank of the Tel River. Alternatively, he lived in Madanpur, a zamindary in Kalahandi State and Jarasingha, a dependency of the Patna State. While the former was under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Nagpur, the latter was under that of the Commissioner of Chhotanagpur. Samulles made requests to both the Commissioners order the zamindar of Madanpur and the Raja of Patna to deliver the rebel chief of them the Zamindar of Madanpur expressed his ignorance of Chakara Bissoi presence in his State.¹⁵⁹ The Superintendent of Tributary Mahals rightly disbelieved his averment, because soon his presence became evident because of an incident, which was as follows.

In the meantime A.C. Macneill succeeded John Campbell as the Meriah Agent. He arrested Rendo Majhi, the leader of Borikiya Kondhs of Kalahandi in connection with Meriah sacrifice. He long with son Palaso Maji were imprisoned for two years with the view to warning the Kondhs not to involve themselves in Meriah sacrifices. But this humiliation to their leader RendoMajhi could not be swallowed by the Borikiya Kondhs. They attacked the camp of MacNeill at Orladhoni in Madanpur zamindari on 10 December 1855. Their attack was of course repulsed by the British troops with some casualties on both sides. Then the Kuttia Khonds joined with the Borikiya Khonds and together they made a second attack on MacNeill's camp. It was due to the wisdom and help of Dinabandhu Patnaik, the Tahsildar, the MacNill could escape to Russelkonda.

¹⁵⁸ H. K. Mahtab ed. *History of the Freedom MOvemnt in Orissa*, Vol.II Manmohan Press, cuttack, 1957, pp.5-9

¹⁵⁹ E.A. Samuells, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Secretary to Government of Bengal, 1 February 1856.

But Chakara Bissoi was unnecessarily accused of uniting the two rival Kondh tribes against the British authority and instigating the attacks on MacNeill's camp. Consequently, an enquiry was ordered. Simultaneously the conduct of Zamindar of Madanpur was to be inquired into. G. F. Cockburn who succeeded Samuells as the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals in 1856 was appointed for the purpose. On inquiry the zamindar of Madanpur was accused of dereliction of his duty in not reporting the presence of Chakara Bissoi and the other rebels to the British authority. The Zamindar of Madanpur was removed from the management of his zamindari. He was detained under the surveillance of his chief the Raja of Kalahandi.

Vigorous efforts were then made by the British Government to capture Chakara Bissoi. Information reached them that he had moved to the Patna State and taken shelter under Dharam Singh Mandhata, the Maji (headman) of Athagaon. So R.M. Macdonald, Assistant to the Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa, sent some troops under Dinabandhu Patnaik to capture Chakara Bissoi. But the wily rebel chief escaped into the Jungles. Only his principal follower Bhitari Sardar Bhoori along with other adherents was captured. Dharam Singh Mandhata was also taken captive for affording assistance openly to the rebels.¹⁶⁰

Chakarabissoi could not sit at rest. Having learnt of the Savaras of Parlakhemundi rising against the British under their leader Dandasena of Gaiba in May 1856, Chakra Bissoi moved to Parlakhemundi zamindari. Under his instigation both Savaras and khonds set fire to and plundered such villages as did not support their rebellious action. So the British troops under Captain Wilson moved there and ruthlessly suppressed them. Dandasena was caught and hanged.¹⁶¹

Surprisingly Chakara Bissoi escaped from Parlakhemundi and appeared on the banks of the Tel River again near the border of Patna State. So that commissioner of Orissa G. F. Cockburn wrote to instruct the Raja of Patna for his cooperation in the

¹⁶⁰ Board proceedings, Revenue (Orissa State Archives Accession No. 170), E .A. Saamuells, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Commissioner, Chotanagpur, 24th March 1856

¹⁶¹ H.K. Mahtab(Ed), History of the Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol. II, Manmohan Press, Cuttack, p.5

seizure of Chakara Bissoi. Thereafter Chakra Bissoi took shelter in the forest of Khondmals. It was reported to G. F. Cockburn that he was being helped by the Raja and some Kondh Chiefs of Boudh. Cockburn summoned Chakra Bissoi. After October 1856, nothing was known about the great leader Chakra Bissoi. Mysteriously, he disappeared into the oblivion of History sometime before the beginning of the Great Revolt of 1857. We can depend on the statement of G.F. Cockburn who has thus recorded, "it is nearly certain that Chakara Bissoi has entirely left his former haunts where he could be no longer safe and no one appears to have the last idea as to where he has gone. My own impression is that he has abandoned this part of the country and sought refuge in the more central parts of India, where he is comparatively unknown and without influence." After a few months he further wrote, "Chakra Bissoi has not been heard of for about 18 months past and his adherents are in prisons or scattered so that the peace of the Kondh country, formerly so disturbed..Has during the trying crisis in the history of India enjoyed a remarkable degree of quiet, which I had scarce ventured to hope for.

Conclusion:

The chapter basically argued about the British policy in the tribal area and their new law for the eradication of the Meriha rite. It discuss about the different British agent how to adopted some policy and plan to stop the Human sacrifice. The last part also analysis the heroic role of the two tribal leader name as the Dora Bissoi and chakra Bissoi.

However, it was to improve the situation in hill tracts of Orissa, that, thereafter the government took all necessary steps. Importance was attached to the task of checking the oppression of the local officers of their subordinates, side by side; some constructive measures for a lasting peace were also taken. In fact, the rebellion of the kondh's under the leadership of Chakara Bissoi received no doubt a jerk with the disappearance of their leader. Nevertheless, the way he fought against the British and inspired the Kondh insurgents and led those to the resistance movement form a landmark in the tribal history of India. Thus, a great patriot, mysteriously, disappeared into the oblivion of History leaving behind him a glow of Patriotism never to be extinguished.

CHAPTER-3

Later Tribal Movements and Bhuyan Leadership in Orissa

Orissa is the home for various tribal groups. They lived in the hills and forests of the region towards maintaining their own culture, customs and traditions in their own independent habitat. There are over sixty two tribal groups, in which Kandh, Gond, Santal, Saora, Kolha, Munda, Paroja, Bhuyan, Uraraon, Koya, Gadaba and Kisan are considered to be the major tribal groups.¹ The British have occupied Central Orissa in 1803 and it has remained in the Presidency of Bengal. The areas of South Orissa have been administered by the Madras Presidency. And the Sambalpur region was under the Central Provinces.²

The conquest of Orissa was followed by the submission of eleven tributary chiefs of Athgarh, baramba, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Khandpara, Narasinghpur, Nayagarh, Nilgiri, Ranpur, Talchar, and Tagiria. In 1804, the other eight chiefs of Boudh, Daspalla, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Athmalik, Pal-Lehra, Banki and Angul have accepted the sovereignty of the British.³ These states were the tributary states of the native governments and have followed their own administration. They were exempted from the general administrative system which was prevailing in the British Orissa. They had to show their loyalty towards the East India Company and had to pay an annual tribute to the company.

During the Nineteenth century, Keonjhar was divided into Upper Keonjhar and Lower Keonjhar. The territories were further divided into 'pirs' and 'danpads'. In upper Keonjhar, there were thirteen danpads or pirs and in the lower Keonjhar, there are only a few. The Bhuiyan pir was part of the Upper Keonjhar. The Bhuiyan 'pir' was further divided into six 'pirs' there revenue from these 'pirs' was collected

¹ Reflections on the National Movement in Odisha, Odisha State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 2013.p 51

² Prasanna Kumar Mishra, *Political unrest in Orissa in the 19th Century*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1983, p. xvii

³ Ibid,p.xvii

by a 'sardar' he collected the revenue on behalf of the king. The Sardars generally had two assistants under him to work on his orders, namely 'Karan' and 'Amin'.⁴

Presently, Keonjhar district is located in the northern part of Orissa. It shares its borders with Pashmi Singhbhum district of Jarkhand in the north, Dhekanal and Jajpur districts of Orissa in the south, Sundargarh and Angul districts in the west, and Mayurbhanj, Balasore and Bhadrak in the east.



Courtesy- *The Hill Bhuiyans of Orissa*,
Catholic Mission Press, Ranchi, 1935.

⁴ Ibid, p. 185.

This chapter would deal into the details about the Bhuiyans tribes in Keonjhar district, their socio-economic situation, religion, living patterns and the relations they shared with the other tribes and non-tribals. It would be historically look into the tribal movements and the leadership provided by Ratna Naik, Dharanidhar Naik and others in the struggles against the colonial masters. It would be specifically looking into the uprisings which took place in the Keonjhar in 1867 and 1891. The leadership for these struggles were provided by Ratna Naik and Dharanidhar Naik respectively. These uprisings also played an important role in the formation of Keonjhar state which was carved out from Mayurbhanj.

The Bhuiyans were the majority in the Keonjhar state and they have steadfastly participated in the struggle against ‘begari’⁵. They have been violently suppressed by the colonial government when they rebelled against the installation of the ruler, against their wishes.

Geography and Historical Background of Keonjhar

The Keonjhar was earlier part of the Mayurbhanj tributary. The movements of the Bhuiyans have forced the carving of the Keonjhar tributary. Before the formation of the separate tributary state of Keonjhar, the people of Keonjhar had to go for long distance in order to reach Mayurbhanj.

The early history of Keonjhar, as of other Garjat States, is fragmentary. If tradition and the papers in the Maharaja’s possession is to be believed, Upper Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj formed part of a State called Hariharpur. Keonjhar became a separate State about 1128 A.D. From that date down to the present time, there is a list of 36 Chiefs, with the dates of their accession and death supposed to be accurately recorded.⁶

Keonjhar is bounded on the north by the Saranda (Government Forest tract), the district of Singhbhum and the Maurbhanj State, south by the Sukinda Killa and other portions of the Cuttack district; east by the Maurbhanj Tributary State and the

⁵ Begari means unpaid labour.

⁶ Settlement Report of Keonjhar State, Revenue Department, 1901, p. 1

district of Balasore, and west by the Tributary State of Bonai (Chota Nagpur Division) and Pal_Lahera and Dhenkanal (Orissa).⁷

Like other tributary States of Orissa, Keonjhar has possessed many mountain possessions. The wild range of lofty hills and the vast quantity of dense jungle which form a natural boundary line between this and the neighbouring States of Dhenkanal, Pal-Lahera and Bonai, run parallel as far as the Keonjhar Garh and gradually diminish into a plateau scarce 900 feet above the level of the sea towards Singhbhum and the Daspur side of Maurbhanj State.⁸

. With the exception of an isolated hill here or a jungle there, this portion is generally open and comprises the prosperous *dandpats* (parganas) of Gandiberh, Gourdesh, Kalikaprasad, Jatipur, Rajnagor and Udepur. Numerous villages have sprung up of late in these parts by the influx of the Kurmis and Sonthals from the Singhbhum and Chaibassa side, and there has been development in these areas.⁹

Below the belt of hills, towards Bhadrak and Jajpur district, is the Athgarh, or what is better known as the Lower Keonjhar Zilla, as distinguished from the Upper Keonjhar. It emerges out in a slope for about 10 miles from a little above the foot of the high belt, and then spreads out into an open plain towards the Mogalbandi, guarded with two long ranges of hills on its flanks to the Sukinda and the Maurbhanj and the Maurbhanj borders. The country, specially the lower terraces, has quite the appearance of the Mogalbandi tracts, and is very well cultivated and thickly peopled. It contains 27 *dandpats*.¹⁰

Writing about the different groups of people and about the Bhuiyan tracts, in the settlement report, the Settlement Officer, Babu Ajoy Chandra Das, has mentioned only three classes, viz (1) Deshua, (2) Mathurabasi and (3) Magadhas; but he has omitted one other very important class, called Anlapataks. They are as a class well-to-do, own lands and herds of cows and buffaloes. There are a number of Goals, a Goala or any other man who owns 15 herds, which they call *ek pakhya*, is

⁷ Ibid, p.4

⁸ Settlement Report of Keonjhar State, Revenue Department, 1901, p. 12.

⁹ Bhabani Charan Ray (ed), *Freedom struggle in Orissa*, Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 2004, p. 201

¹⁰ Settlement Report of Keonjhar State, Revenue Department, 1901, p.12.

considered wealthy. Among this class of the Goalas, *i.e.* the Anlapataks, a vacuous system of selling wives was prevalent. That is to say, if one so wished, he would sell his wife for money.¹¹

The Bhuiyans literally “from the earth” is perhaps the most high spirited and the largest wild tribe in Orissa, the Khands excepted. They are seen in the neighboring States of Dhenkanal, Lehera and Talcher, and in Bonai, Bamra and Singhbhum. The number residing in this State can at present be fairly estimated at 25,000. This tribe is divided into four principal classes- (a) *The Desh or Paharya Bhuiyans* heading to the list. This is the present clan, and retrains all the strong passions of a wild semi-nomadic tribe. They live in the hills generally and are known as the hill Bhuiyans. Tolia is the only cultivation they known about, and all that they have to pay to the State are certain taxes and cesses of which I will speak hereafter. The next three classes are (b) the *Rajkoli* (c) *the Rantoli* and (d) the *Pabanos*. These live mostly in the plains below, cultivate wet lands and pay land rent like the ordinary tenants. They are considered by their brethren of the hills as a degenerate type of their own tribe. They have lost many of the quaint old customs, and want in the fire of their hill kinsfolk.¹²

Bhuiyan Tribes of Keonjhar

The Bhuiyans are one of the interesting tribes of India. The word ‘Bhuyan’ means ‘the son of the soil’. The word Bhui means ‘earth’. Bhuiyans were located across the states and territories such as in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Chota- Nagpur, Assam, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Central India Agency, and the Madras Presidency.¹³

In Orissa, the Bhuiyans are scattered over large areas of land and they have mainly lived in the tributary Mahals of Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Gangpur, Bonai,

¹¹ Ibid, p. 04.

¹² Prasanna Kumar Mishra, *Political unrest in Orissa in the 19th Century*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1983, p 139.

¹³ Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, Report of Anthropological Work in 1932-33: The Bhuiyas and their Congeners, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1935, p. 2.

Bamra, Pal-Lehra, ranpur, Boudh, Kalahandi, Nilgiri and Dhenkanal. But the Bhuyans have mainly stayed in the Bonai, Pal-Lehra and Keonjhar.¹⁴

The name 'Bhuiya' and its variants are 'Bhumia', 'Bhuihar', 'Bhuiyar', 'Bui or Bhui' etc. The meanings of these words are from the Samskrit word 'Bhumie' meaning 'land'. These variants of the name have been applied in different parts of India for different communities in the sense of the term children of the soil (Bhumi or Bhui), or in the sense of reclaimers or owners of the land (Bhuimihar) or as simply implying some connection with land.¹⁵

The Bhuiyans are broadly divided into two groups, 'Hill Bhuiyans' and the 'Bhuiyans of the Plains'. There have followed different customs and and divided into primarily four clans, 'the Mal of Desh Bhuiyans', 'the Rajkuli Bhuiyans', 'the Rautali' and 'the Pabana-ansha Bhuyans'.¹⁶

For administrative convenience the old division of the State into two sub-districts, viz., (1) Upper Keonjhar ruled directly by the Maharaja with the help of a Manager known as the Nijgarh Manager, and (2) Lower Kenojhar in the charge of one officer as Manager has at present been changed into three, viz., (1) Nijgarh (2) Nayagarh and (3) Athgarh or Lower Keonjgar. Nijgarh comprises of all the *dandpats* of Upper Keonjhar except Kalikaprasad, Chamakpur, Nayagarh, Nayakote and the Bhuiyan hills, which form the Nayagarh subdivision. The Maharaja as heretofore directly administers the affairs of Nijgarh with the assistance of a Manager, whose post has fallen vacant since the death of Babu Durgaprasad Shome in 1899. The Nayagarh subdivision is in the charge of D.A. Macmillan, Esq., who exercises second class criminal powers in addition to that of a Munsif and Revenue Court.¹⁷

¹⁴ Prasanna Kumar Mishra, *Political unrest in Orissa in the 19th Century*, opcit, 1983, p.135.

¹⁵ Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, Report of Anthropological Work in 1932-33: The Bhuiyas and their Congeners, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1935, p. 3.

¹⁶ Prasanna Kumar Mishra, *Political unrest in Orissa in the 19th Century*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1983, p 135.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 137

There was no fixed revenue payable by the hill Bhuiyans before the disturbances of 1868 they only paid a certain tribute in kind and rendered some personal service. As natural in such cases there would be no limit to the demands and any amount of service might be exacted. This was really excessively harassing and Colonel (then Captain) Johanstone, who was stationed in the Killa after those disturbances, commuted the services and other dues for a fixed plough- tax of 8 annas, and in the case of those who had no ploughs a house-tax of four annas besides a school cess of one anna per every house. The settlement took effect from 1870 and was for ten years. After the expiry of Captain Johnstone's settlement, the present Chief raised the rates and had two settlements made in 1881 and 1890, respectively. Naturally wayward and suspicious of innovations, they did not inwardly like the enhancement, and when the Maharaja's the Manager, the notorious Bichitanand exacted from them various modes of forced labour from which they believed they had been exonerated by the terms of Captain Johnstones's settlement they grew discontented.¹⁸

This was soon quelled and under Government orders Mr. Wylly, then Government Agent made a fresh settlement for 1302 *amli* corresponding to the English year 1894 and 1895. The Maharaj's rates were retained but the services they have to render were specifically recorded in the leases granted to village padhans. For scarcity and other reasons, resettlement could not be made on the expiry of the term of Mr. Wylly's settlement which remained to force for 1303 and 1304 *amli*. A five years re-settlement was made as directed by Government in 1305, and this is now force, the terms of the leases of 1301 not having been changed in this re-settlement as ordered. The only new features in the re-settlement was the taking of agreements from the Sirdar's as well from whom no *kabuliyats* had been taken in 1301. The terms of the Sirdar's lease are the same as those granted to the padhan's except that dor padhan's malikana of Rs. 3-2, the rate of Rs. 6-4-0 has put for the Sirdar's.¹⁹

¹⁸ Bhabani Charan Ray (ed), *Freedom struggle in Orissa*, Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 2004, p. 204

¹⁹ Bhabani Charan ray (ed), *Freedom struggle in Orissa*, Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 2004, p. 204

British Occupied Keonjhar

The Bhuiyans had believed that, they have an inalienable right to install their own chief. They also claimed to have a prospective right to approve of or resent the administrative acts of the chief. It is this belief which caused the the outbreak of the two major rebellions in keonjhar in 1867 and 1891. As we have seen earlier, the Bhuiyans were instrumental in carving out the tributary state of Keonjhar from Mayurbhanj. The difficulty which the tribes of Keonjhar faced with respect to the approaching the king, when Keonjhar was part of the Mayrbhanj was one of the prime reasons for the tribal's of Keonjhar to install their own chief. They have no installed, from the ruling Bhanja family of Mayurbhanj as the chief. The installed chief was provided with all the facilities such as milkman etc, were imported to the hills to serve the installed chief.²⁰

The Bhuiyans played an important role and participated prominently in the coronation of the king. The leader of the Bhuiyans would present a pumpkin to the king, showing the allegiance. They used to go into the courtroom with drums. When the musical instruments were played, the king was brought on the back of the Bhuiyan, as there were no horses or elephant present at that time, the new king was brought on the back of the man.²¹

When Orissa was ceded to East India Company in 1803, the state of Keonjhar such as the other estates was recognised by the British government as the rule of native sei0independent chief. Janardan Bhanja was the chief. He was considered to be strong and independent. Keonjhar produced most of the iron ore which was exported from Balasore port to Calcutta.

In 1815, the tribute, which the chief paid to the British Company was Rs 2790/- per annum, where as the total revenue which was left to the king after paying the tribute was nearly 30, 000 rupees, per annum. This was comparatively low, as

²⁰ Reflections on the National Movement in Odisha, Odisha State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 2013.p 52

²¹ Bhabani Charan ray (ed), *Freedom struggle in Orissa*, Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 2004, p. 201

the area of Keonjhar was abundantly producing, rice, sugar, cane, cotton, timber, fuel, salt, gums, wax, iron and honey.²²

In 1821, when the insurgency of Kols of Singhbhum was underway, the king Janrdhan Bhanja of Keonjhar opposed the movement of British troops from his domain. His son, Bisweswar Bhanja opposed the construction of a road from Sambalpur to Midnapore. The relations between the kings and British in the earlier days were dependent on the interests and the will of the rulers of Keonjhar. They acted very independent. But later, in 1838, when Gadadhar Bhanja succeeded to the throne, the relations were changed to mutual cooperation and loyalty towards the British. On the advice of his bebarta²³, chief minister, the king of Keonjhar refused military assistance to his own maternal uncle, Arjun Singh, the Raja of Porhat, which is the part of the Singhbhum district of present day Jharkhand.²⁴ He refused to provide him any elephants or military assistance for his insurrection against the British. On the contrary, he supplied elephants, 'rashad', and other military assistance to the British. He also assisted the British in suppressing the rebellion of Dorunda. For his services, the British waived 1000 Rs from his annual tribute. The British also conferred the title of 'Maharaja' to Gadadhar Bhanja.²⁵

The Bhuiyans have empowered the king to administer justice and punish the offenders of crime. There was a contractual relationship between the chief and the subjects of Keonjhar. Over the years, the relationship with the British have changed, they rulers of Keojhar became more loyal subjects of the British.

The kings did not pay anything for the services rendered by the Bhuiyans. There was also no fixed revenue payable by the hill Bhuiyans to the kings before 1868. They only paid certain tribute in kind and rendered some personal services to the kings. As such there was no limit as to demands and the amount of service which was exacted by the kings and at times this lead to excessive harassing. In 1819, the then Berbhata, Guni Pathak imposed many illegal cesses on the Bhuiyans, which

²² Bhabani Charan ray (ed), *Freedom struggle in Orissa*, Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 2004, p. 202.

²³ Bebarta was the term used in the Keonjhar state as a title for the Chief Minister.

²⁴ Bhabani Charan ray (ed), *Freedom struggle in Orissa*, Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 2004, p. 201

²⁵ Ibid, p. 202.

they have resisted. From the imposition of these cesses and excessive harassment by the kings have led to series of protests and occasional encounters between the kings armies and the Bhuiyans.²⁶

Raja Gadadhar Narayan Bhanja made a settlement which was carried out by his chief minister, Chandra Shekhar Dhal Mahapatra, he measured the land with a padika (rod) of 7 feet 5 inches, which did not satisfy the *ryots* in Upper Keonjhar. The *ryots* resentment against the Berbatta's settlement was one of the strong factors for the uprisings in 1867.²⁷

The immediate cause of the revolt of 1867 was a dispute between the British government and the chief queen Bishnupriya Pattamahadevi over the question of succession of the throne. In 1861, Raja Gadadhar Bhanja passed away in Triveni, while he was on a pilgrimage mission. The chief queen Bishnupriya Pattamahadevi was not consulted and the chief minister, Chandrashekahr Dal Mahapatra on 3rd April, 1861 had announced that, the minor son of the Raja, Dhanunjay Narayan would be the successor. On 9th April 1861, the Raja of Mayurbhanj declared his grandson, Brundaban Bhanja, who was earlier adopted by the Raja of Keonjhar as the legitimate successor to the throne.²⁸

Role of Ratna Naik and his importance in the Bhuiyan Movement

The Bhuiyans have opposed the Dhanurjay, as he was he protégé of the berbatta and they did not have a high opinion of the Berbhatta. These and the other factors have led to the Bhuiyans to revolt against the new chief and the British government in the leadership of Ratna Naik. The British asked the king of Mayurbhanj not to meddle in the affairs of Keonjharh. The Rani, gave credence to the adoption of Brundaban Bhanja and as such there was a fight for succession. Ratna Naik of the Bhuiyan tribe was born in Tarour village in 1820.²⁹

²⁶ Ibid, p.203.

²⁷ Prasanna Kumar Mishra, *Political unrest in Orissa in the 19th Century*, opcit, 1983, p 135

²⁸ Utkal Dipika, 9 May 1868, p.68

²⁹ Nihar Ranjan Patnaik, *Hidden treasures of Tribal Patriotism*, Bhubaneswar, p. 71

Rani Bishnupriya Pattamahadevi³⁰ carried out the secret communication with the hill tribes in order to include them against the proposed succession. Her efforts became fruitful when Ratna Naik and the leader of Bhuiyans declared that he and his fellow Sardar would revolt if Rani would leave the royal place at Keonjhar. One group of Bhuiyan moved towards Mayurbhani and another to Anandpur to enlist the support in favour. Yet a third party interested person proceeded to Calcutta to meet the Lieutenant governor of Bengal and to persuade him to reject the claims of Dharnujay Bhanja. The Government of Bengal was, however, determined to uphold the authority of Dharunjay Bhanja. Accordingly, against the will of the people, Ravenshaw formally installed the Raja in December 1867. According to the, old custom of Keonihar the new Raja, must be consecrated by the Bhuiyan sardars in a ceremonial fashion. But that ceremony was not observed at the time of the installation of Dhanurjay Bhanja. Naturally Ratna Naik and his fellow Sardar's stoutly opposed the manner in which the British authorities had thrust upon them a new Raja.³¹

On 16 January 1868, the widow Rani left Keonjhar for Basantpur where she held consultations with the Bhuiyans and Juangs and her own. They decided to oppose the actions of the British authorities. After the move of the Rani was known, T.E. Ravenshaw with the help of the Commissioner of Chotanngpur and the chief of Sareikela, 'who was relation of the Rani, tried to dissuade her and her followers for their course of action. The Rani yielded to the persuasion, but Ratna Naik was not reconciled to the new raja. The chief of the Sareikela prevailed upon Rani, who at last consented to withdraw her opposition and agreed to the recognise Dhuranjay as raja. In return, she was granted a pension of Rs.550 per month and also a village yielding revenue of Rs 50 per month. On her return to the Keonjhar on 17 February 1868, the final ceremony of installation of Dhuranjay Bhanja took place.³²

³⁰ Rani Bhishnupriya Pattamahadevi is the widowed Rani of Raja Ghadhar Bhanja.

³¹ L.E.B. Cobden-Ramsay, *Feudatary States Of Orissa*, Logos Press, reprint 2011, New Delhi, pp.215-17

³² Bhabani Charan Ray (ed), *Freedom struggle in Orissa*, Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 2004, p. 207

Course of the Movement and the Role of the British

On 21 April 1868 Ratna Naik declared open revolt against the authority of raja. He organised an assembly of the Bhuiyan, Kols and Juangs. In the assembly it was decided that they would not recognise Dhuranjay Bhanja as their raja and will not obey his orders. Rather, they would revolt till they succeeded in installation Brundaban Bhanja in the Gadi of Koenjhar. Any person of the raja Dhuranjay Bhaja sent for negotiation with rebel was either arrested or detained.³³

A letter written to The Duke Of Argyll, K.T. the Secretary of State of India explaining that there were measures carried out by the British to create some sort of understanding between the Ruler of Keonjhar and the Bhuiyans writes, “We have the honor to forward for the information of Her Majesty’s Government, a copy of further papers from which it will be seen that we have expressed our satisfaction at the success which has attended the efforts of Lieutenant J. Johnstone, Special Assistant Superintendent in the Tributary Mehals, Cuttack, to effect a reconciliation between the Bhooyas and the Raja of Keonjhar”.³⁴

T.E. Ravenshaw, the Superintendent of Tributary Mehals, Cuttack in a letter to A. Eden, Secretary to Government of Bengal has written the following to explain the reasons for the rebellion of the Bhuiyans, “On 21st December a general movement on the part of the Bhooya Chiefs was reported; they had heard of the execution of the leader, Butna Naik, who they believed up to the last movement, would be reprieved. The intelligence of his death removed all further idea of support in the quarter, and the chief’s were preparing to come in a party to present themselves before the Raja. Captain Johnstone immediately proceeded to communicate personally with the Bhuiyans people, and to ascertain their feelings, and to guide and direct their councils. Kooar and many of their neighboring villages were visited; the people were quite and contented and busily engaged in repairing and rebuilding their villages. They gave Captain Johnstone a hearty welcome; it was here arranged for a general assembly for of the Sirdars to meet Captain Johnstone some days later at Banspal. All the Chiefs with one or two exceptions were present and the cause of

³³ P.Mukherjee, History of Orissa in the 19th century, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, 1964,p.406

³⁴ Foreign Political, Political A,1869, No 501. NAI

non-appearance of the absentees sufficiently explained. They recapitulated the old story of their fear of being oppressed by the Raja and his officers, and quoted instances of having suffered ill usage at the hands of his ancestors. They express a wish that whole of Upper Keonjhar including the Bhooya Peers Nyakot, Nowagurh, and Chamukpore, might be brought into direct management by Government and placed under an European officer. They declared their intention to obey the present Raja so long as he deals with them direct and according to ancient custom, and not through the medium of his subordinate officers, who, they say, are their enemies. They alleged that they had heard of the Raja having spoken of the Bhuiyans in terms of reproach, calling them "Bhuiyans Sala", and added that the Raja's amlah would cause the Raja's death by driving the Bhuiyans to insurrection. They concluded by requesting the expulsion of eight of ten of the Raja's amlah and added that they the Bhuiyans were perfectly willing to do their duty to the Raja if he reciprocated and permitted them to occupy the honorable position they claim to have formerly enjoyed. Their bearing towards Captain Johnstone and the Raja was respectful and they acknowledged fully that whatever they had brought on themselves."³⁵

The insurgents ran-sacked the Bazar of the Koenjhar and carried off the chief minister of the raja. They also carried off Baharjal, the head of the Sourlias, a strong supporter of the raja, and killed him afterwards. The insurgents burnt many villages and induced the dissatisfied ryot to join them. The Paiks of the raja remained neutral. About one hundred oppressive officials of the raja were carried off the hills by the insurgents. They even disarmed the police force and dismounted the guns at Koenjhar. The entire upper Koenjhar was disturbed. The insurgents gradually numbered 20,000, who burnt the houses sacked the government daks and disobeyed the authority. Armed with the bows, arrows, axes, and swords they virtually imprisoned the raja and boldly declared that they did not recognise him as legitimate ruler. Thus the authority of the raja Dhuranjay Narayan Bhanja, was almost at an end. Whereas that the Rani Bishnupriya Pattamanhadevi, who was also in the same place, prevailed. The Rani who had been persuaded by her brother, The raja of Sariekela, to recognise the Dhuranjay Bhanja as the legitimate raja of Koenjhar, subsequently changed her mind at the instigation of the raja of Mayurbhanj and her Bhuiyan and other followers, and once championed at the cause of Bhrundaban Bhanja whom she had

³⁵ Foreign Political, Political A, October 1868, No 353/354, NAI

selected earlier to adopt as a son. Although she had agreed to accept the pension offered by the British authority earlier yet under such circumstances, she had to take the side of the insurgents and thus broke off her allegations to the British. On her advice and under her patronage, gradually the rising took a violent turn. The raja being panic stricken, sought, military help from the government.³⁶

In a notification issued on 19 May 1868, T.E. Ravenshaw declared that the governor General India was determined to bestow the authority of Raja Dhuranjay Narayan Bhanja in Keonjhar and support him at all costs. Therefore, anybody supporting or aiding the insurgent or their leaders would be liable to serve the punishment. Further for the better administration of Keonjhar, Dr Hayes was empowered with the authority of the magistrate, collector, and sub-judge in that estate and was placed under the superintendent of tributary Mahals.³⁷

On the other hand, about 2,000 insurgents were still at arms in Keonjhar and its neighbourhood to Keonjhar. Some policemen were taken to the custody by the rebels. "On the 21 May 1868 a large body of insurgents attacked a police party led by Captain Ritchie. They closed the communication between the Cuttack and Chai Bass, and plundered the Dakhs.

In the meantime the police force under David J. Poole was attacked by the cholera and the lieutenant R Hunter replaced him. He rescued a party constable confined by the rebel he attacked the village of Ratna Naik and rescued many plundered mails. However, Ratna Naik escaped. Hunter asked the Bhuinyas to surrender and promised them clemency in case they did. However there was no immediate response. He succeeded in capturing some insurgents and restored peace in one part of Keonjhar."³⁸

On 6th March, 1869, T.E. Ravenshaw, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, Cuttack explaining to A. Eden, Secretary to Government of Bengal has written about

³⁶ Bhabani Charan ray (ed), *Freedom struggle in Orissa*, Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 2004, p. 205

³⁷ P.Mukherjee, *History of Orissa in the 19th century*, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, 1964,p.408

³⁸ C.E. Buckland, *Bengal Under the Lieutenant Governors*, Vol.1, S.K. Lahiri, Calcutta,1901,p.123

the differences which have been highlighted by the Bhuiyans and what were the conciliatory and military measures taken by the British government against the insurgents, The British officers before resorting to indiscriminate military measures against the Bhuiyans have tried and explained about the problems created and how much loss the rebellion, they have resorted to have taken place in Keonjhar. Explaining, what the British has said to the rebellious Bhuiyans have written, "The list of objectionable persons whom the Bhooyas wish banished from the killah contains chiefly those men whose property they plundered, or whose relations they murdered during the insurrection or who were instrumental in procuring punishment of the ringleaders. The unreasonableness of this demand was pointed out to them, and the people informed that none of the men against who they are so bitter would be allowed to interfere with them in any way. I called on captain Johnstone for further report on the subject; and in replay he states that although the Bhooyas are extremely bitter against the men whose expulsion they demand they openly say they owe the Raja no grudge but they only fear he may be led way by the individuals they wish expelled. Captain Johnstone adds, "I firmly believe the people are inclined to submit peaceably and everyday does much to restore confidence; and that though the Bhooyas wish for peace and quiet the old spirit of loyalty is dead, and they are not in a temper to submit to being in any way brow-beaten or oppressed. They retain an intense hatred against the objectionable individuals who in their turn are well aware of the fact and intend to leave the country voluntarily as soon as Government supervision may be withdrawn". Captain Johnstone thinks that they will certainly run great risk of their lives by remaining though he has full-confidence there is not the smallest fear of any violence being attempted so long as he is there. Subsequently the promised visit of ceremony to the Raja was fully carried out as reported in captain Johnstone's letter No. 5 of 24th January, copy of which in enclose; the results are very satisfactory. I have recently on my way from Balasore, had an opportunity of conferring with Captain Johnstone, who came to meet me at Bhuddruck bringing with him several of the Bhooya Pradhans, who wished to see me. He reports that the Raja's Poita ceremony had taken place when the Bhooya Chief's again attended and received presents. Everything went off amicably and satisfactorily. The Raja has removed for a few months to Anundrop. Captain Johnstone, after remaining there for a few days will return to Keojhur Gurh, and again visit the Bhooya Peers. The Pardhans expressed themselves as extremely

satisfied with present arrangements, and showed by their happy and contented looks and conversation that Captain Johnstone has acquired their full confidence. He appears to take very great interest in his work, and is sanguine of success. Several schools have already been established in Bhooy's villages which are well attended. The people are now resorting to Keonjhar market and are less shy and reserved. Captain Johnstone hopes very shortly to be able to dispense with greater part of the special Police Force posted at Keonjhar.”³⁹

Suppression of the Revolt

Captain J. Johnstone, who was the Special Assistant Superintendent of Tributary Mehals in a letter to T.E. Ravenshaw⁴⁰, Cuttack explains about the response of the Bhuiyan Tribals for the conciliatory measures carried out by the British. The response of the Bhuiyans and what had transpired with the king of Keonjhar have been explained in detail, “I have the honor to report that yesterday evening the whole of the 60 Bhuiyans Pradhans having come in; they did homage to the Raja for the New Year according to ancient custom”⁴¹.

Captain Johnstone, had been detailing and discussing to bring about a formal reconciliation between the Bhuiyan and the Raja, but have had much to contend with owing to extreme distrust on the part of the former and their unwillingness to take the first step; but during my visits to the Bhooya country, I have used every effort to remove this distrust and to bring the people Gradually around, and I succeeded so far that, for some weeks past, a Sirdar, with a party of Bhooyas has been in attendance on the Raja. When about to set out my last tour, several Sirdars and Pradhans came to Keonjhar to escort me out, and remained with me while I was at Ooroomoonda; and before leaving me they agreed to visit the Raja if I would accompany them. I accordingly promised to return to Keonjhar as soon as they were ready. Captain Johnstone was at Jojang, 36 miles from Keonjhar, on the borders of Chamukpore, when I received the Bhooy's, “Gunte”, to tell me that they were ready, so I at once made a forced march in. on arrival at the Gurh I have delayed a day or two owing to the absence of these chiefs, but at once sent for them and they seeing

³⁹ Foreign Political, Political A, 1869, No 353/354, NAI

⁴⁰ T.E. Ravenshaw is the superintendent of tributary mehals

⁴¹ Foreign Political, Political A, January 24th 1968, No 5, NAI

that there was no way out of it, came and all did homage, as I have already stated. The Raja was seated on a cushion in the Devi Mehal situated in the west face of the principal court of the palace; the Bhooyas advanced from without preceded by drums and trumpets playing a wild air; the band halted opposite the great entrance and the chiefs with chundun in their foreheads and flowers in their hair came up the steps and prostrated themselves before their Raja.

On raising an old Perdhan whose hereditary right it is to be spokesmen, came to the front and told the Raja that the 60 perdhans had come to see him, and enquired as to his health, the health of his Sirdars, paiks, elephants, horse &c. to each question the Raja replied that all was well, and afterwards in return, through his “Nirkkurun”, or private secretary enquired after their old men and women, young men and maids, cattle, fowls, goats, and village gods. The Bhooyas then came forward and one after another took the Raja’s foot and placed it first on one shoulder then on the other and lastly, on their foreheads; drums and trumpets struck up another wild air, and the ceremony was ended.

The attitude of the Bhooyas throughout was most respectful and though much yet remains to be done the gain in the moral effect is something and confidence has in measure already been restored in the minds of the Keonjhur people, who since the plundering of the guruh in May last, have been in constant dread of the Bhooyas. The Raja’s “Poita” ceremony comes off on the 1st proximo and I have ordered all the Bhooya Perdhans to be present, and they will then have another interview with the Raja.”⁴²

Ratna Naik, played a prominent role in the the uprising of the tribals in Keonjhur in 1861, the British have deposed an army for his capture. He had held meeting with the other Sardars among the Bhuyians and Kols in order to galvanize them against the British. He played an important role where he had sided with the Rani Bishnupriya and had said that, the Bhuyians have the historically took part and coronation of the ruler. He was against the interventions of the British, who wanted to install a king without the consent of the Rani Bishnupriya and the Bhuyians.

⁴² Foreign political, Political A, January 1869, No 5.

The following is the number of soldiers and officers deployed by the British and the conditions they have faced in the hills of Keonjhar. A large army was sent to subdue the rebels and make an example of punishment out of them so that, there will not be any rebellions among the Bhuiyans and the neighboring areas. The list of the officers and the soldiers and the kind of problems faced by these groups are as given below. The following is the letter giving the details,

“SIR,

I have the honor to report my arrival at Keonjhgurh on the 29th ultimo.

2. I continuation of my last communication, No. 17T, of the 27th ultimo, I beg to add that whilst encamped at Polasbonga on the 28th idem, I was visited by all the naiks and village heads and Sirdars of the Gurdesh Peer in which it is situated, and my camp supplied with everything that was required.

3. Mr. Thomson, District Superintendent of Police of Puri, at the head of a force of Police from Balesore and other Districts, entered Keonjhgurh simultaneously with my self.

4. Major Hawkes arrived on the 26th ultimo with two Companies of the 37th Madras Grenadiers from Cuttack.

5. I was accompanied by two Companies of the 10th Madras Native Infantry under Captain Peeching.

6. There is now present at Keonjhgurh, our Head-Quarters, a force composed as follows:-

10th Madras Native Infantry.

2 European Officers.

7 Native Commissioned Officers.

244 Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates

37th Regiment Grenadiers

2 European Officers.

4 Native Officers.

163 Non-Commissioned Officers and men.

7 The police Force numbers 376 at Head-Quarters of all rank with two European Officers.

8 Of the above forces at Head-Quarters, the total on the sick list numbered 140, mostly fever cases.

9 Besides the above the following out-posts are garrisoned by Police:-

At Balliband, about half way between the Singbhoom boundary and Keonjhgurh.

1 Assistant Superintendent,

14 Native Officers,

139 Constables,

At Hoonda, fifteen miles south of Keonjgur,

5 Native Officers,

69 Constables,
 At Melan, on the Annundpore road,
 5 Native Officers,
 80 Constables

At Anundpore,
 1 Head Constable,
 21 Constables.

10. The following outposts are garrisoned by Paiks furnished by the neighbouring Native Chiefs:-

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| Raisowa Seraikilla Paiks..... | 40 |
| Polosbonga ditto..... | 40 |
| Kalikaprosaud Khursown Paiks..... | 50 |
| Jyntigurh Kera Paiks..... | 50 |
| Chumuckpore Bonaie Paiks..... | 30 |

 210

Nongaon Mohurbhunj Paiks.....25 Cuttack Tributary Mehals.

 235⁴³

The European officers who have reached Keonjhar to cull the insurgency of the Bhuiyans, they had to take up a long journey which has drastically affected the health of these officers. Some of them have fallen ill with fever leaving only few officers who were in the condition to participate in the military actions against the insurgents. In the letter detailing about the health, the conditions prevailing in Keonjhar and the condition of the officers who have reached Keonjhar writes, "I found four of the European Officers of the force suffering from fever, all, in fact, that had been any time in Keonjhar Major Gahagan, Dr. Hayes, Lieutenant Wimberley and Mr. Ridsdal the only effective men amongst the officers were those who had just arrived. Dr Hayes and Lieutenant Wimberly having been greatly weakened by repeated attacks of fever, I have relieved them of duty and permitted them to return to Chyebassa at the recommendation of Dr. Fonsworth, the Medical Officer of the Force." ⁴⁴

⁴³ Foreign Political, Political A, July 1868, No 3439.

⁴⁴ Foreign Political, Political A, July 1868, No 3438

The climate which was not conducive for the operations in these regions owing to the deteriorated health of the officials, the harsh weather conditions throttled the plans of the British. Owing to the heavy rains the lines of communication including the roads became unviable for the troops to pass. This has adversely affected the operations of the British. The tribals of Keonjhar on the other hand also remained silent because of the weather. As the rains stopped, an immediate attack was carried out on the Hoonda out post states, "During the heavy rains there as a complete cessation of all communications between Keonjhar and its out-posts and other of the world. No operations could be carried on and the insurgents remained quiet. Since the change in the weather an attack was made on the Hoonda out-post which was repulsed by the Inspector in charge and a force under Mr. Ridsdale was sent to act against the Hoonda insurgents, as reported in my memorandum Nos. 13T., and 16T., dated 24th and 25th ultimo. Owing to the sickness of the troops and officers no further operations had been attempted and no aggressive movements were by the insurgents. There can be no doubt that the whole of the twelve Dundpats of Keonjhar approved of the violent measures resorted to against the Rajah and Bewurtah, or at least acquiesced in them through fear of the principal promoters."⁴⁵

The attacks on the outposts were carried out strategically. The attacks were restricted to short raids owing to the rains and its after affects on the communication. Though there were short raids but they were effective enough to break the different tribal groups who were participating in the uprising. The Naiks had submitted to the British and after that the British have concentrated their military might against the Bhuiyans in the hills.

"Under the measures adopted and arrangements made by Dr. Hayes, the combination between the people of the plains and hills has been broken up. The limit of the insurrection has been further reduced by the submissions to me of the Naiks of Chumuckpore Dundpat, reported in my letter No. 17T. of the 27th ultimo, and the opposition is now confined to the 'Paori Desh', the hill country of the Paori Bhoonyas, the Hoonda Dunpat in which there are Paoris and a great number of the wild "Juangas" and the hill tract of Nowagurh, also chiefly inhabited by Paoris.

⁴⁵ Orissa Records, Keonjhar Papers, Vol 812s, Report on Keonjhar Rebellion of 1868, OSA

There are also great number of Kole villages in the hostile country, and it is on their fighting qualities that the Paoris for any acts of daring mainly rely. The tract comprises of a wide extent of difficult hilly country, much intersected by streams that occasionally in the rains are impassable, operations therefore in this season must be undertaken with great caution and be restricted to short raids.”⁴⁶

As there were reports and the Bhuiyans were gathering to attack the outposts of the British at Hoonda, these outposts were reinforced. There were concerted attacks planned by the British as the Bhuiyans have consolidated and planned an attack on the British out-posts. Some of the British constables were kidnapped by the Bhuiyans. The details of the attack and the rescue of the constables is given below in detail.

Since my arrival and just before it several of the persons captured and carried into the hills have come into camp, released by the insurgents. Receiving from them information as to where the Head Constable and eight Constables of Mr. Poole’s party were confined I arranged with the senior officer Major Hawkes to send out this morning a force consisting of 100 Regulars and about 160 Constables to release them and take other measures to punish the insurgents in places indicated. A copy my letter to Major Hawkes I have the honor to submit. It has been reported that the Bhoonyas were at the same time gathering for another attack on Hoonda. The Hoonda out-post has been reinforced since the last attack and there is no reason to fear the result in the report be true but I am inclined to think that the march into the hills of the force above alluded will considerably disconcert their arrangement.⁴⁷

As the health deteriorated, Dr. Hayes had left the field. He had been instrumental in quelling the attack on the palace he had defeated and dispersed the tribals. He had tried for reconciliation between the Raja and the tribals. He had gone great lengths to disperse the untamable Paoris and the Jaongas. He was located in the palace after dispersing the rebels from the palace. With a small force, he has held the palace from the attacks in deplorable conditions with rains and other

⁴⁶ C. E. Buckland, op cit, p.423

⁴⁷ Utkal Dipika, 13 June 1868, p.74, 11th July 1868,p.76

disturbances. “The unavoidable departure of Dr. Hayes is a great loss to me. That Officer came here on first hearing of the outbreak attended only by a *posse* of Singbhoom Koles armed with bows, arrows and axes. He found the Rajah’s gurh occupied by the insurgents and dispersed them, he has been ever since, till his health failed him, working hard to coerce and conciliate and it is only the Paoris and Joangas that have withstood his influence. The small force at first with Dr. Hayes was all located in the Rajah’s gurh which became during the heavy rains a most unhealthy situation. The troops are now all encamped on open ground, high and fairly drained, and I am in great hopes that the change will tend to diminish the number of sick list. On this ground sheds for the men and hospitals are being constructed as rapidly as possible.”⁴⁸

Colonel Dalton reached Keonjhar by the end of June, 1868 and operations against the insurgents. With the help of small flying columns of soldiers, he burnt many villages inhabited by the insurgents and recued many the captives. Afterwards, some comprising total of 2200 sepoy and 13 officers ransacked the whole of Keonjhar in order to capture the rebels. Most of the insurgents hid themselves in the inaccessible jungle. It was no longer feasible for them to defy openly the British authorities. Both Colonel Dalton and Ravenshaw pressed hard upon them to surrender. They were not granted respite even for a day. The Bhuiyans petitioned to the authorities to grant them 15 days’ time to prepare for their submission. At the same time British authorities offered rewards for the capture of principle leader like Ratna Naik, Nanda Naik, Ranaiya kol, Tuni Rana etc. gradually the inaccessible hill territories of Keonjhar were penetrated and several rebel leaders were captured. On the August 1868, 25 bhuyan leaders surrendered to the raja of Bonai and same number of Juangs leader surrendered to raja of the Udaipur. On the 15 august 1868 Ratna Naik and Nanda Naik were captured respectively by the raja of Pal-Lehra and Dewan of raja of Bonai. By the end of august 1868 all the rebel chief surrendered or captured. Thus the rising was stamped out and “the country was entirely subjugated”⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ Foreign Political, political A, September 8, 1868, No 43/82

⁴⁹ C. E Buckland, op cit, p.426

Col. E.T. Dalton and T.E. Ravenshaw, in their letter to H.L. Dampier, the officiating secretary of Calcutta explaining the arrest of Ratna Naik and others writes, “We had in the meantime several parties on the lookout for Ratan Naik, Nuno Purdhan, and his brother, Sokeera, an equally notorious rebel. They were known to be hiding in the hills between the outpost at Tomakant held by the Pallehra Contingent, the outpost of Banspal held by the Bonaie Contingent, and Rajah Bindessuree at Byturni, and Runia Sirdar with his Koles were also on the track. The great prize, Ratna, fell to the Pallehra Zemindar on the 23rd we were informed that he had been arrested, and next day the Pallehra Zemindar appeared in the camp with Ratna and two other leading rebels, Chemta Purdhan and Dhurni Deorie, of Gundola, as prisoners. Chuckerdhur Sing, of Pallehra, has performed a very important service in the securing the person of the great fomenter of the Keonjhar insurrection a chief whose appearance stamps him as a man of mark, of great bodily strength, and with features indicative of firmness, boldness, and intelligence”.⁵⁰

Explaining the difficulties faced by the soldiers during the quelling of the rebels in Keonjhar, the field officer has explained below in detail about the problems. Apart from the problems which the soldiers have faced such as Cholera and other diseases, there soldiers were also picked up by the Bhuyians. The conditions in which the soldiers were picked up, the conditions they have faced in the captivity and also how they were rescued has been explained below in detail. The letter here written by the field officer has excruciating details about the 9 soldiers who have been in captivity is also given below. The letter also has details about the problems which the soldiers and the officers have faced when they were going on into the hills, the narrow paths into the hills and the obstruction they have faced from the Bhuiyan tribals also has been explained in detail. The letter states that, “With reference to paragraph 17 of my letter No. 28T., of the 21st instant, I do myself the honor to report that the force sent out on the 1st to release the constables and otherwise act against the insurgents, returned yesterday afternoon, and though, from the circumstances reported in the annexed copy of letter from Major Hawkes, Commanding Keonjhar Field Force, they did not proceed so far as I intended, they satisfactorily achieved the main object of expedition. It appears that the village in which the head constable and eight constables of the Cuttack Tributary Mehal Police

⁵⁰ Foreign Political, Political A, April 1869, no. 234-238

were detained under close custody has been, for some time, the head-quarters of Rutna Nail, the insurgent Chief. He was there when the detachment appeared, and fled over the hills at the sound of bugle.”⁵¹

The constables who were picked up by the Bhuiyans were rescued and important information was gathered from the rescued constables. The whereabouts of the secret houses and the mails which were stolen by the tribals were also taken back from the Bhuiyans.

The mails plundered at different times were found in his house. From information given by the released head constable it appears that, if the force has gone on as directed, they would probably have released a number of Bamboos, and in fact all the respectable people that have been carried off, except the Bewurta and two or more of whom we have no reliable information. The head constable states that the above captives were all imprisoned in the village of Sonkrai, one of those indicated by me; but the force could not with safety have proceeded further in the hostile and difficult country, embarrassed as they were with sick. It is chiefly the Madras detachment that suffered. The force left this all well; they returned with 20 of .7, all with fever. The release of the captured constables is undoubtedly matter for congratulation. They were informed by their captors that they were to be detained until the question regarding the Rajship was settled in accordance with the Bhooyan wishes, and if the troops attacked them, the constables were to be killed.

The paragraph 18 of the letter, informs about the impending attack on Hoondah and the elaborate plans drawn by the British to quell the attack. The Bhuiyan tribal who was imprisoned in the attack was sent back to Ratna Naik and other tribals to give them a chance of recocialation. The letter states, “The insurgents were collecting for another attack on Hoondah, one of the outposts, about 15 miles due south of Keonjhur, but that I anticipated one raid into the hills would disconcert their arrangements. Small armed parties of insurgents threatened Hoondah yesterday morning, but did not venture to attack, and disperse at the first movement towards

⁵¹ Utkal Deepika, 23rd May,p.72

them of the Police stationed there. They were quite unable to collect the force they had calculated on. The detachment under Lieutenant Hunter brought in one prisoner, supposed to be a spy of Rutna's. I shall send this man back with a written notice to the Bhooyans, recommending them to submit and give up the remaining prisoners if they wish to avoid devastation of their country, and promising to treat those who come to me with due clemency.”⁵²

Agreeably to the request contained in your letter No. 21T., of 30th ultimo, I have now the honor to inform you that on 1st instant Lieutenant Hunter with a detachment of 37th Grenadiers, as per margin, left Thompson, on the duty indicated by you in your letter under reply. The party returned yesterday afternoon, having only reached as far Banspaul, where they arrived afternoon of 2nd instant. Lieutenant Hunter, in his letter to me, states that the expedition could not proceed further on account of so many men falling sick with fever; he had no means of taking them on, nor providing for their safety if left behind. Moreover, rain began to fall, and he did not think, it is wise, having fears of the weather and the health of his men appearing so shaken, to enter the valley in which Poda Kesada is situated, particularly as one principal portion of the duty he proceeded on, namely, the rescue of nine constables of Mr. Poole's Police, was effected at village named Kesada, a spot about 12 miles from here to the westward, and which, he states, sheltered the insurgent Rutna Naik up to within a short time of the arrival of the force. It being between 5 and 6 P.M. when the force arrived at Kesada, Lieutenant Hunter states no pursuit of Rutna Naik could be organized, particularly as the insurgent was said to have taken his way through the dense jungle over the hill at foot of which the village stands, accompanied by a very few followers. Previous to reaching Kesada, a spy sent out by Rutna Naik was seized and brought in yesterday with the Force.⁵³

⁵² Forigen Political Department, Political A,6th March 1869, No-424, NAI

⁵³ Orissa Records, Keonjhar Papers, Vol.612s, Report on Keonjhar Rebellion of 1868, OAS

The villages of Kesada and Sarrapur were attacked by the British. Over 100 houses in Kesada and the village of Sarrapur were destroyed. The force after destroying these villages marched onwards. In the villages and enroute, the granaries were attacked and destroyed. “Kesada, containing about 100 houses, was burnt, the next morning the force quitting and a large depot of grain, distant about $\frac{3}{4}$ miles up the hill, was likewise entirely destroyed. The houses in the village presented all the appearances of having been occupied up to last moment, but no inhabitant remained on the arrival of the force. On completion of this duty the troops moved on to Banspaul, which was reached on afternoon of 2nd instant, and during the march, though armed parties were observed they keep at distance and offered no opposition en route to Banspaul the village of Sarrapur was destroyed, but no depot of grain was discovered.”⁵⁴

The village of Banspaul was deserted when the British troops reached the village. Some of the villagers who were present in the village were arrested and among them one woman and a man were sent to talk to the other villagers and ask them to surrender. The man and the women never returned back to the Britishers. The constables who were kept captive by the tribals were rescued unhurt, their health has deteriorated owing to the weather and the conditions prevalent in the village. The records state, “On arrival at Banspaul the village was deserted, the inhabitants having taken refuge in the top of a small hill adjacent. Endeavors were made to get them to come in, but without success, a man and three women only falling into the hands of the force; of these, the man and a woman were sent to induce the inhabitants to return; they never come back, and the two other women were too infirm to be brought away. This village, with upwards of 100 houses, was burnt on morning of 3rd instant; no depot of grain was found. The troops now, as before explained, determined to return, which they did by a direct road, through Daunlah (which also was destroyed), skirmishing in the front and rear from Banspaul to within two miles of this. The march occupied the troops from 6 A.M. to 4 P. M. yesterday: no casualties occurred on our side, nor, as far as I can learn, on the side of the insurgents. All property but cattle found by the troops was destroyed, there being no means at the disposal of the force to bring any of the grains in with it. Mr. Thomson, who, I understand, is addressing you also on the subject of the

⁵⁴ Ibid

proceedings of this expedition, will, I have no doubt, give you his reasons for departing from the place suggested in paragraph 6 of your letter under reply; I having arranged with him for the police to enter the range of the hills direct to Poda Kesada and a smaller body to watch Byturnee. Though the rescue of the nine constables from captivity cannot but be a source of satisfaction to you and myself, I much regret the health of the men obliged the party to return before your directions had been carried out to the fullest extent.”⁵⁵

He further adds, “In our telegram of the 24th instant we had the satisfaction of reporting, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant- Governor, the capture of RutanaNaik and Nundo Prudhan, the chief leader and fomenters of the insurrection in Keonjhar. We have now the honor to submit a narrative of the event of the last fortnight that led to the result, promising with intelligence that we have now in camp all the Purdhans of the BhooyaPirs, and with the exception of the one individual, the actual perpetrator of the murder of the Bewurta, a person of no political importance, who has fled the country, every proclaimed offender has been arrested.”⁵⁶

Ratna Naik and his accomplice, around 183 tribals were arrested by the British. They were transported for the proceedings where, all of them were subjugated to different periods of punishment. Along with Ratna Naik, seven tribals from Keonjhar were sentenced for capital punishment. The details according to the records are, “A total number of the 183 prisoners were sent for trial among them Ratna Naik and six other were sentenced to death, 27 to transportation for life, and the rest, different periods of imprisonment. 200 policemen under the assistant superintendent of police were kept in Keonjhar to maintain peace and order. Lieutenant James John stone empowered with subordinate judgship was placed in charge of civil administration to advise Raja Dhurnjay Bhanja at least for period of three years. After making such arrangement in Keonjhar, Ravenshaw returned to Cuttack on 1 November 1868. On 30 November he ordered the execution of Ratna Naik Dasarathi Kunar, Baikuntha kol, Padu Naik, Tuni Purdhan, Margasiri kol, and

⁵⁵ Foreign Political, Political A, 1868, No 234/235

⁵⁶ C. E. Buckland, *Bengal Under Lieutant Governors*, Vol. 1, S. K. Lahir, Calcutta, 1901, pp.423-426

Bairagi kol. A severe but necessary example was thus made, as a warning against similar outbreak in future.”⁵⁷

W. S. Seton-Karr, Secretary to Govt. of India, Foreign Dept., with G.G. To-H.L. Dampier, Officiating Secretary to Government of Bengal acknowledging the letter have accepted that the Government of Bengal would be giving the general guidelines as to how the leaders and other members who have rebelled against the King and the British have to be treated, where the punishments to the people participating have to be simpler, but the leaders have to be dealt sternly and the punishment meted out to them have to become an example so that others would not dare to rebel again and the punishments have to be in such a way that, they become warning for the others. He writes, “I am directed by the Viceroy and Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 4759, dated 6th instant, and, in reply, to state that His Excellency in Council, in the communication of the 22nd ultimo, to which your letter is a reply, merely intended to lay down general principles in regard to the treatment of the ring leaders and of the mass of the inhabitants, who have either instigated or been led into disturbances and to resistance to the executive authorities, such as it becomes a just, vigorous, and human Government to observe and apply when authority is re-established. But His Excellency in Council by no means intended, when indicating the mode in which even the leaders of the insurgents should be ordinarily dealt with, to lay it down as a positive rule that in no case whatever, however distinguished by features of peculiar atrocity and cruelty, should capital punishment be inflicted. There may be facts affecting some of the prominent ring leaders of which His Excellency in Council is not fully aware, and he feels, in regard to such cases, that the conformation of the trials of heinous offenders and the measures of punishment to be meted out to convicted persons, as a warning to others, may safely be left in His Honor’s hands.”⁵⁸

The tribal leader who sacrificed his life for championing the cause of his own community, Bhuiyans, was Ratna Naik a Bhuiyan Sardar. He neither compromised with British nor surrendered to them. And gradually went to the gallows. The British mercilessly hanged him and six of his close followers as an

⁵⁷ Ibd, p.246

⁵⁸ Foreign Political, Political Department Proceedings, No 43

exemplary punishment. However, the memory of ratnanaik inspired another man of his tribe once again to take up arms against the British authorities failed to analyse the deeper cause and the matter of revolt. They suppressed the rising by their superior military power but could not establish the lasting peace. The widowed Rani who had been sent off the Cuttack, finally lived at Puri. Raja Bhuranjay Narayan Bhanja ruled the territory for some years.

Dharanidhar Nayak: Importance in Bhuiyan Tribal Movement.

Life History of Dharanidhar Nayak

Dharanidhar Nayak, a hill Bhuiyan, was born on May 5th May, 1864 in a remote village, Kusumita, in the foot hills of Gandharmardan hill, a few miles away from Keonjhar. His parents Laichhan Nayak and Baigani Devi were interested in the education of Dharanidhar Nayak.⁵⁹ After his primary and middle school, the king Dhanurjaya Narayan Bhanj noticed the interest and commitment of Dharanidhar and sent him to Cuttak to reside at Keonjhar palace at Tulashipur and study surveying.⁶⁰

After his education, the king appointed Dharanidhar as the Survey Observer. As Dharanidhar was not receiving any remuneration for his work, he left the job, went to Mayurbhanj State and started working as a Surveyor. Four years later Dharanidhar came back to his native village and joined in the services of the Raja of Keonjhar.⁶¹

During his service period he was seen with contempt by Bichitrananda Das, the assistant manager of the state. Bichitrananda Das was also jealous of Dharanidhar's formal education. He filled the ears of the king against Dharanidhar and complained to him on the false pretext of negligence; as such Dharanidhar lost his job.

In 1890, there was a boundary dispute between Keonjhar and Singhbhum. The king deputed Dharanidhar to Lungikuda, a village on the border of the two states. This land was grabbed by the people of Singhbhum. Mr. Higgs was deputed

⁵⁹ Nihar Ranjan Patnaik, *Hidden treasures of Tribal Patriotism*, Bhubaneswar, p.48

⁶⁰ H.K. Mahtab, *History of Freedom Movement in Orissa Vol II*, Manmohan Press, Cuttak, p. 105.

⁶¹ Nihar Ranjan Patnaik, *Hidden treasures of Tribal Patriotism*, Bhubaneswar, pp. 48-49

by the government to settle the dispute but before the settlement, on the advice of Bichitrananda Das, the king later dismissed Dharanidhar from the job. Bichitrananda Das, who was also deputed to the area, in his report has stated that 'Dharani did not survey the disputed line properly according the directives of him or Mr Higgs'. He alleged that Dharanidhar is 'insubordinate and wayward'.

The Bhuiyans constituted the majority of the population in the region were exploited and oppressed by the king. They were used as forced labour, bethi. They supplied resources such as timber, ropes and animals for sacrifice. The king collected these items from the hill Bhuiyans for free. The simmering anger among the Bhuiyans was channelled by Dharanidhar after a meeting with all the chiefs of the Bhuiyans. In the meeting, the chiefs decided to continue under the king's administration but demanded that there has to be British supervisor. The king agreed to the demand and as such Captain J. Johnstone was posted as a special supervisor of the Keonjhar administration.

Course of the Movement

The immediate cause for the uprising at Keonjhar in 1891 was provided by the construction of canal known as 'Machhakanada Jora' from the north of Keonjhar to the east through a hill rock. The cutting of the stone for canal was done completely by the bethi system in which the bhuiyan were required to render inhuman physical labour. Bichitrananda Das, Assistant manager of the state, was a supervisor of the project. Not only that the Bhuiyans were not paid for their hard physical labour they were also not allowed even time to cook their own food. Those who could not bring their food from the home, were forced to work without it. Such inhuman oppression by the Bichirananda Das and Naryan Poi, the head constable created immense resentment in the mind of Bhuiyans. They became furious against the men who compelled them to work and also against their feudal chief, Raja Dhanurjay Narayan Bahaja. They conveyed a panchayat to discuss the ways of redressing their grievances.⁶²

⁶² Prasanna Kumar Mishra, *Political unrest in Orissa in the 19th Century*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1983, p. 147

A significant even of the rising was the dramatic capture of Fakir Mohan senapati, manager of the Keonjhar, while the former was proceeding from the Ghatagram to Keonjhar with 250 paiks, 4 constables and 3 elephants. While the raja on hearing the fresh attack on his palace. On 14 may 1891, stayed at Anadpur for safety. Fakir Mohan Senapati desired to march to the garh to save from the insurgent. On the 14 may he reached Basantpur where he comes to know that the nearby, Basant Purghati was the strong hold of the insurgents. He, therefore sent to the local foujdar to ascertain the fact. The man was an informer of the insurgents. Consequently, when he and his follower left Basantpur the next morning, insurgents, who had already hid themselves in the hills came out and forced him along with his followers to come to Dharnidhar without any protest. They were taken to Dharanidhar at Raisuan where he had made a rebel camp. Fakir Mohan Senapati cleverly saved his life from the insurgents and even employed as one of the principle officer of Dharnidhar who had also established the rebel government. Dharnidhar issued parwanas in his name as so called 'Tikat of Keonjhar'. He called upon different section of people to capture the previous employees of the raja and to pay the rasad to his government. He also issued proclamations informing the people of Keonjhar about his position and also wrote to the British authorities to help him in taking over the charge of the government of Keonjhar from the raja. Such action of Dharnidhar was at the instigation of "some person or persons in Calcutta, to get up this rising". The insurgents attacked jails released the prisoners and looted the state treasury. Gradually they moved from the Keonjhar to the south up to Aandpur and thus captured almost the whole estate.

In such critical state of the rising, H. Dawson reported thus "the rising is more serious than anyone has hitherto imagined".... And he felt certain that "nothing but military force can stop the tide of rebellion and they should be sent without an hour delay. At the same time, he ordered Bichitrananda das, assistant manager of keonjhar, to report to the superintendent of tributary of Mahal regarding the state of affairs. The government of Bengal sent a wing of 17th regiment with some guns to chakradharpur from where the force would march through Chaibssa to Jaintigarh and then to keonjhar. The superintendent was ordered to possess " sole control of all political business connected with the disturbance and if necessary, will get special power".

Suppression of the Revolt

Dawson made all arrangements to capture dharnidhar. Armed with a large number of military and police force and good number of officers, he started for the operations on 21 may 1891 from the chakradharpur and reached jaintigarh the next day. Simultaneously R.F Guise marched from anadpur to taking with him raja dhrunajay Narayan bhanja. At Jaintigarh Dawson come to know that about 4900to 6300 insurgents had “placed cannons in position in order to make a break in the walls of the keonjhar fort”, and had also captured the arsenal of raja. In order to know the exact position, Dawson sent Sashi Bhusan Ray, sub inspector of police and one bangbhansardar. On 25 may 1891 he moved with the troops through the heavy rains crossed the river Baitarani on 26, and reached a village called Majja next day he got the news that his two emissaries has been detained in the rebel camp with consisted of about 10,000 rebels. Early in the morning of 29 may Dawson march to the rebel camp with the intention of capturing Dharnidhar.⁶³

In the meantime, Sashi bhusan ray exerted his influence on Dharnidhar. Fakir Mohan Senapti also cleverly persuaded the rebel chief to meet the British officers. Dharnidhar proceeded to greet the British officers accompanied by the only few followers. About half way between Putulia and Rugaree, Dharnidhar saw Dawson and got down from the elephant to greet him. But to his astonishment, he saw surrounded by the troops of Dowson and was imprisoned.

Dharnidhar Naik, the chief of leader of the Keonjhar rising, was sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment in the Cuttack jail under section of 125,127 and 340 of Indian penal code, in June 1891. But before the expiry of his term of imprisonment, he was released in October 1897. He was ordered to stay at Cuttack with the pension of Rs. 8 per month for his maintenance. He was also allowed to go to the Keonjhar once a month to receive his pension from the raja who had been asked by the government to bear the expanses. At the same time the movement of Dharnidhar was strictly watched.⁶⁴

⁶³ Bhabani Charan ray (ed), *Freedom struggle in Orissa*, Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 2004, p 214

⁶⁴ Ibid, p 215

H.P. Wylly, agent of Keonjhar after making satisfactory settlement with the bhuyans and juangs, left the Keonjhar in October 1894. Subsequently the government of Bengal decided to abolish the post of agent and allow to the raja to appoint his own manager for the administration of estate.

CHAPTER-4

National Movement and Tribal Leadership in Colonial Orissa

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of the anti-colonial national movement in the Indian subcontinent. The colonial attack on the political, economic and cultural rights of the Indian people and the aspirations of the Indian elite, led to the formation of the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885, which marks the beginning of the organized nationalist struggle. This chapter deals with the national movement in Orissa and emergence of the Tribal leadership in the state. Though the national movement started in the late nineteenth century, in the context of Orissa, first mass movement can be marked only in the year 1921, when the Gandhian Non-Cooperation movement started. This chapter briefly deal with the socio-economic and political factors which led to the emergence of the national movement in Orissa and various mass movements till independence, the role of Tribal people in the national movement and the emergence of a Tribal leadership and the chapter will finally conclude by looking at the life and struggles of Lakhman Naik, who emerged as the tallest amongst the Tribal leaders of that period.

The Congress and the Indian National Movement

With the establishment of the British rule, colonialism brought along with it a number of socio-political and economic changes. Introduction of colonial education, Christian missionary activities and efforts at political representation, gave rise to a new class of middle-class intellectual elite.¹ The formation of the INC did not happen all of a sudden or sudden realization of a person or a group of people. It was a process of political awakening which began in the 1860's and 70's, which became more rigorous during the latter half of the 1870's and which finally culminated in the formation of the INC in 1885.² The formation of the Indian National Congress (INC) was the first political expression of the newly emerged middle-class intellectual

¹ ShekharBandopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition and After: A History of Modern India*, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, 2004, p. 186.

² Bipin Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence: 1857-1947*, Penguin Publishers, New Delhi, 1989, p. 71.

elite, at their attempts at the formation of a national organization.³ Until then, there were many organizations functioning at the regional level run by the regional elite, which mostly got integrated into the Congress.⁴ The INC was never construed as a political party, rather as a political platform which could integrate diverse sections of the society as possible and any resolutions which were opposed by the majority of the Hindus or Muslims were not be brought up for discussion.⁵ The Congress became the symbol of nationalist politics and represented a new national awakening.

The process of political awakening started during the 1860's led to the formation of native associations in major presidencies. They were the British India Association of Bengal, the Bombay Association, Madras Native Association and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. The increased political awakening during the period between 1875 and 1885, produced a younger crop of nationalist intellectuals who took a more radical stance, "... established new associations, having found that the older associations were too narrowly conceived in terms of their programs and political activity as well as social basis".⁶

The new associations which were formed by these young political Indians were the Indian Association of Bengal in 1876, Madras Mahajana Sabha in 1884, Bombay Presidency Association in 1885 and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was the only organization which continued as it was already taken over by nationalist intellectuals.⁷ These organizations fought for civil liberties and organized national level protests on issues affecting the whole country. Protests against intervention of missionaries, against the Lex Loci Act of 1850, against the proposal of income tax demanding a balanced budget in 1867, between 1877-80 demanding Indianisation of the civil services and against the huge expenses incurred on the Indian revenues due to Lord Lytton's expedition to Afghanistan, against the obnoxious Vernacular Press Act of 1878, against Plantation Labour and Inland Emigration Act between 1881-82, in 1883 in favor of the Ilbert Bill, to join the volunteer corps in 1885, were

³ ShekharBandopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition and After*, op.cit. pp. 221-222.

⁴ Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence*, op.cit. p. 72.

⁵ ShekharBandopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition and After*, op.cit. p. 222.

⁶ Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence*, op.cit. p. 72.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

organized by these native associations.⁸ These agitations had its impact on other provincial towns and were not restricted to presidency towns alone. Two major factors brought these regional associations together, which was Western education and English language, apart from the brewing sense of economic, political and social deprivation which was common amongst these different regional elites.⁹

The efforts at forming an all-India political organization were attempted at from much before, which materialized in 1885. The need for a national organization came up time and again because the above-mentioned demands of the Indian political class remained unfulfilled. Hence, the founding of a national political organization, according to Bipan Chandra was rather an "objective necessity", which was a popular opinion among the nationalist across the country and not something which sprang up spontaneously or a sudden event.¹⁰

The first twenty years of the Congress movement is popularly known as the moderate phase. The moderates in the first twenty years were only confined to petitioning to the colonial government of their demands and holding annual conferences, in which they debated and adopted resolutions. They did not function as a full-time political party. The leadership of the Congress of mostly from the middle-class elite, who had other professions to look after, hence political activism was only a part-time venture for them. They believed that Indians were not still capable of ruling themselves and their primary criticism was the "un-British rule" in India.¹¹ The moderates did not demand any extreme measures, they demanded increased representation in the legislative councils and democratic rights that too only for the educated class in the Indian society.¹²

The kind of politics propounded by the moderates died a slow death by 1907.¹³ They did not reach out to the masses, because of which they did not enjoy

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 73.

⁹ ShekharBandopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition and After*, op.cit. pp. 220-221.

¹⁰ Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence*, op.cit. p. 73.

¹¹ ShekharBandopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition and After*, op.cit. p. 223.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 228.

¹³ Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence*, op.cit. p. 135.

popular support. Moderates¹⁴ did not understand the changing undercurrents with the launch of the Swadeshi movement and demand of mass boycott of British goods. The Swadeshi movement for the first time brought radicalism to the fore in Indian politics and the moderates subsequently lost ground to the extremists.¹⁵ The year 1905 roughly marks the beginning of the extremist phase¹⁶ of the national movement. The Swadeshi movement brought to the fore the internal contradictions between the moderates and the younger generation of extremists who believed that time for Self-Rule has arrived.

The Swadeshi movement began as a protest against the proposal of the partition of Bengal. In December 1903 the Government of India made their idea for partition of Bengal public.¹⁷ This did not go well with the nationalists and for the first time, huge protests were witnessed which included masses from urban as well as rural in opposition to the move hold demonstrations in large numbers. The decision for partition of Bengal was obviously political. Bengal was an important center of the activities of the nationalists and a state which had the large population of minorities. The colonial government wanted to weaken the national movement by bringing a divide in the Bengal society.¹⁸

The period between 1903 and the date partition which was July 19, 1905, witnessed the moderate methods of public meetings, speeches, petitions and press campaigns happen in full-swing.¹⁹ The failure of the moderates to stop the partition of Bengal made it evident that these methods of protest were not working anymore and on August 7, 1905, a radical call Swaraj for the Swadeshi movement. In the

¹⁴ Some of the well-known moderates were Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Pherozeshah Mehta, H.A. Wadia, Rash Behari Ghose, etc.

¹⁵ A. K. Biswas, *Paradox of Anti-Partition Agitation and Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1905)*, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 23, No. 4/6 (Apr. - Jun. 1995), pp. 39-40.

¹⁶ The extremist phase is the break away from the moderate methods of petitioning, holding conferences and passing resolutions. The moderates did not want to overthrow the British government as they felt Indians are not yet fit for self-rule, whereas extremists felt it is time for self-rule and the British should quit India. Their methods also changed to more militant ways.

¹⁷ A. K. Biswas, *Paradox of Anti-Partition Agitation and Swadeshi Movement in Bengal*, op.cit. p. 38.

¹⁸ Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence: 1857-1947*, Penguin Publishers, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 124-125.

¹⁹ A. K. Biswas, *Paradox of Anti-Partition Agitation and Swadeshi Movement in Bengal*, op.cit. p. 40.

same meeting, another call was also given for boycott of British goods.²⁰ Attempts were made for the spread of the movement across the country and the nationalists were successful to large extent as they got support from other presidency and other provincial towns.²¹ All this was happening not without any tensions within the Congress organization. There were heated public debates between the moderates and extremists, many of the extremists came to the conclusion that in order for the Congress to be saved the moderates were to be expelled. The moderates and extremists took head-on in the Surat session of the Congress in 1907 where the party faced a split.²² This was a kind of victory of the ulterior colonial designs of splitting the Congress. The Swadeshi movement too was severely affected because of the split. Despite all these drawbacks, the split in the Congress ushered in a new era, a new form of politics in the Indian subcontinent, which was more radical and the demand for complete 'Swaraj' came into existence. The political practices changed, which laid the foundation and proved to be a precursor for the Gandhian politics to emerge.²³

Swadeshi movement and the rise of extremist thought in Indian polity made the Government of India bring about certain constitutional reforms. The Indian Councils Act of 1909,²⁴ popularly known as Minto-Morley Reforms, proposed for limited self-government. This proposal was not acceptable to any of the political groups in the country and it was short-lived. The British in 1919 proposed the Government of India Act,²⁵ though many scholars have varied opinions on this Act, at that point of time in history, it was clear that the Indian political class had moved beyond the demands of representation in the legislature and 'Swaraj' became the

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.39.

²¹ Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence*, op.cit. p. 128.

²² *ibid.*, p. 135.

²³ *ibid.*, p. 169.

²⁴ The Indian Councils Act, 1909, popularly known as the Minto-Morley Reforms, was an Act which was passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. This Act enabled the increase through the limited participation of Indians in the governance of the country.

²⁵ The Government of India Act, 1919, was an Act passed in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. It was enacted with the motive of expansion of participation of Indians in the functioning of the Indian government. For the first time Diarchy (a dual form of government) was introduced by the government of India. The Act represented the experiment with the beginning of responsible government in India.

overwhelming demand among the nationalists.²⁶The political atmosphere was such that none of the sections seemed to settle for anything less.

The period of 1910's also witnessed the emergence of extreme radical tendencies among Indians living in India and those settled abroad. The Ghadar movement which originated in the North of America among migrated Indians, largely Punjabi working class, planned to overthrow the British rule by taking up arms. Even though they did not succeed, because they could not sustain the movement due to lack of leadership, the movement did create a stir and fright to the imperialist forces.²⁷ Next was the Home Rule League started in 1915, by BalGangadharTilak and Annie Besant. The demand of the Home Rule League was to grant self-government same as it was granted to the white colonies after the end of the first world war. This spread as a mass movement across the country and efforts were made to reach even the rural villages.²⁸

All the above-mentioned events mounted pressure on the British administration which was already in the middle of a world war. This set the platform for the most extremist phase of the national movement, which was the beginning of the era of Gandhian politics. The entering of Gandhi in the freedom struggle and his methods of nonviolence ushered in a new hope among the masses. For the first time, the doors were thrown open to the masses, urban and rural and it was also seen that Gandhian politics managed to get huge support from the masses. There were a number of mass movements called by Gandhi like, the Non-Cooperation movement, Civil Disobedience movement and the Quit India movement, which finally culminated in gaining independence in the year 1947.

Origins of the National Movement in Orissa

The founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 had its influence felt in Orissa too. For the first time, an all-India organization was formed to adhere to the nationalist interests. Delegates from Ganjam, a place in Orissa attended as delegates

²⁶ ShekharBandopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition and After*, op.cit. pp. 281-284.

²⁷ Harish K. Puri, Revolutionary Organization: A Study of the Ghadar Movement, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 9, No. 2/3 (Sep. - Oct. 1980), pp. 53-66.

²⁸ Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence*, op.cit. pp. 160-161.

in the first session of the INC conducted at Bombay from 30-31 December 1885. A public meeting was held on March 3, 1886, at Cuttack to welcome the formation of the INC. Most of the prominent personalities in Orissa representing different sections participated in the meeting. The meeting was chaired by the charismatic Madhusudan Das, except a partial modification to one resolution, rest of the resolutions of the first session of Congress conference was accepted without any modification.²⁹

An UtkalSabha meeting was organized on December 19, 1886, with KalipadaBanarjee as the chairman of the meeting. This meeting was to discuss on the introduction of elective principles in the Bengal Legislative Council. Madhu Sudan Das, GokulanandaChaudhury, Ram Sankar Ray, Hariballabh Bose, Pundit GovindaRath and Golak Chandra Bose and participated in the discussions to evolve an understanding of the Sabha.³⁰ For the second Calcutta session of the Congress, held under the presidentship of DadabhaiNaoroji, prominent personalities like Surendra Nath Banerjee and others attended. For this session, four delegates represented the UtkalSabha; Madhu Sudan Das, HariBallav Bose, Golak Chandra Bose and Kalipada Banerjee. Three delegates were sent from National Society of Balasore, namely Ramesh Chandra Mandal, BaikunthNath De and Baghban Chandra Das.³¹ Thus delegates of these organizations/associations were sent to annual conferences of the Congress every year held in different places and they participated in the deliberations.

A meeting of the UtkalSabha was held on January 29, 1888, in Cuttack Printing Company, in which members of the Sabha who participated in the Madras session of the INC, propagated the aims and objectives of the Congress, and urged people to join the INC. Another public meeting was organized on February 16, 1888, to expound the resolutions passed in the Madras session. The meeting also called out to people to join the INC.³² Ekram Ali, Jagmohan Ray, Madhu Sudan Das

²⁹ Utkal Dipika, March 6, 1986.

³⁰ Harekrushna Mahtab, *History of the Freedom Movement in Orissa*, Vol II (1857-1911), State Committee for Publication of Freedom Movement in Orissa, Cuttack, 1957, p. 121.

³¹ Utkal Dipika, December 25, 1986.

³² Ibid., January 29, 1888.

and Raghu Sahu participated in the deliberations.³³ To reach the message of the Congress in the rural areas, Madhu Sudan was assigned the task of carrying out the campaign in Kendapara. He toured the kindra para area organizing meetings and appealed to people to join mainstream national politics by becoming members of the INC, explaining that joining INC was only in the interest of the country, but also it's for their own interest.³⁴

After organizing campaigns in different parts of Orissa, Madhu Sudan emerged to be the leader of the national movement in Orissa. In a meeting organized on October 4, 1888, of the UtkalSabha under the chairmanship of Madhu Sudan Das, LalbehariGhosh, Jagamohan Ray and Janakinath Bose were elected as representatives of the Bengal branch of the INC. On December 4, 1888, a meeting was organized by the UtkalSabha, in which delegates for the Allahabad session of the INC were elected. ShyamsundarRajguru, Samson Raut, Madhu Sudan Das, Behari Lal Pundit, Munshi Sultan Ahmad, Jagamohan Ray and Munshi Muhammad Atahar were elected by the UtkalSabha to attend the Allahabad Congress session as delegates. However, out of seven elected delagates, only Samson Raut and Minshi Muhammad Atahar attended the Allahabad session, Madhu Sudan due to illness could not make it to the conference. The National Association of Balasore too sent delegates to the Allahabad session of the INC. Bhagaban Chandra Das, Ramesh Chandra Mandal, and Bhuyan Abdusobhan were the elected delegates who represented the association.³⁵

After the Allahabad session, on February 7, 1889, the UtkalSabha organized a public meeting, in which Samson Raut and Muhammad Atahar who attended the conference as delegates reported to the audience the significance of the resolutions passed in the Allahabad session. Madhu Sudan Das chaired the meeting.³⁶ Another meeting of the UtkalSabha was organized to elect delegates for the Bombay session of the National Congress on December 19, 1889. Madhu Sudan Das, Janakinath Bose, BepinBehraMitra, NimaiCharanMitra, LalBehariGhosh and BepinBehari

³³ Harekrushna Mahtab, History of the Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol II (1857-1911), State Committee for Publication of Freedom Movement in Orissa, Cuttack, 1957, p. 121.

³⁴ Ibid., p.121.

³⁵ ibid., p. 122.

³⁶ ibid., p. 122.

Mitrawere elected as representatives to attend the Bombay session of the Congress. In the same meeting Madhu Sudan Das, Janakinath Bose, Nimai Charan Mitra and Lal Behari Ghosh were elected as representatives to the Bengal Provincial Congress as well.³⁷

A new organization Utkal Hitaishini Sabha was formed by Kumar Padmanabh Narayan Deb at Parlakimedi with the assistance of Shyamsundar Rajguru. The sabha sent delegates to the Madras, Poona and Calcutta session of the Congress.³⁸ The Utkal Sabha and the National Association of Balasore too sent members to the yearly sessions of the Congress. There were more activists who joined these organizations and new nationalist leaders too emerged from their ranks. The new leaders were sent as delegates to the following sessions of the INC. It was these organizations; particularly the Utkal Sabha which laid the foundation in the 19th century for the Congress movement emerges in Orissa. Similar to the moderates they struggled for rights through constitutional means and thus helped spread of the Congress in the state.

The Language Question and Statehood

The early phase of the nationalist movement in Orissa saw the participation of leaders and associations with full spirit and eagerness. But the initial zeal started to fade because other issues of immediate importance became prominent. The struggle was launched for the survival of the Oriya language and for integration of different Oriya tracts which lay in different presidencies; they wanted to bring it into one administrative unit. The leaders of Orissa diverted from the nationalist politics and went into a whole different course of action because the then political situation in Orissa demanded so. They had to disassociate and did not participate in the nationalist activities of the Congress. The Congress session of 1901, was the last session which Madhu Sudan Das attended. He led the delegation of UtkalSabha, of which Janakinath Bose, Ram Sankar Roy, Nimai Charan Mitra and others were part of the delegation.³⁹ Even after the 1901 session, the UtkalSabha continued to send delegates to the Congress annual conferences for some more time, but then it was of

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 122.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 123.

³⁹ UtkalDipika, December 14, 1901.

little significance because they did not have relevance to the changed socio-political scenario in Orissa.⁴⁰ The Congress could not attach to the people because they could not attach with the popular sentiments in Orissa of that time of language and regionalism, because of which the first two decades the nationalist movement could not rise in Orissa.

In 1903 an organization called *Utkal Sammilani* was formed.⁴¹ It is said that the organization was the creation of Madhu Sudan Das. The organization came to represent the expectations and ambitions of the middle-class and few landed elements, which is mostly the princely state rulers and zamindars. The period between 1903 and 1920 the Utkala Sammilani was the most important political organization. The main aim of the organization was the attempt at unification of Orissa on language basis and integrates the regions which were under Central Provinces, Bihar, Bengal and Madras Presidency. Sambalpur since 1895 was under the Central Provinces, was integrated with Orissa in 1905.⁴² On April 1, 1912, the new provinces of Bihar and Orissa were created with Ranchi as capital. This administrative decision came under severe criticism from the Oriya leaders and the press. The Oriya's were deeply antagonized by the attitude of the Government towards their long standing genuine demands.⁴³ They again looked up to Madhu Sudan Das to rake up a movement, as it was completely non-acceptable to them and they would settle for nothing less than an integration of all the Oriya speaking tracts under one administrative unit.⁴⁴ The decision of creating two new provinces was based on administrative and political considerations and not because of pressure on the administration created by Utkal Sammilani.

Towards the latter half of the 1910's emerged a younger crop of radical leaders, who attained leadership position of the UtkalSammilani and the most

⁴⁰ Ibid., December 19, 1903.

⁴¹ Amal Kumar Mishra, *The Raj Nationalists, and Reforms: Land, Law and Government Orissa: 1912-1939*, Elite Publications, Bhubaneshwar, 2007, p. 37.

⁴² BiswamoyPati, *Resisting Domination: Peasants, Tribals and the National Movement in Orissa 1920-50*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1993, p. 61.

⁴³ Amal Kumar Mishra, *The Raj Nationalists, and Reforms*, op.cit. p. 44.

⁴⁴ UtkalDipika, April 13, 1912.

prominent was Gopabandhu Das among them.⁴⁵ Though he was considered disciple of Madhu Sudan Das, by 1918 there were clear differences in their thought process. In 1918, at the annual session of the Sammilani held at Cuttack, Das was the president of the session. His presidential address stressed primarily on the failure of the moderate means of protest as it is not yielding any positive results. He suggested various other extremist forms and also appealed to join the mainstream nationalist politics.⁴⁶ In the Nagpur session of the Congress in 1920, a resolution was accepted for the formation of Provincial Congress Committees on the basis of linguistic geographical divisions.⁴⁷ There was a famine in 1919-20, during which they failed to get relief through constitutional means. Such events created a realization among leaders about the negative side of the colonial rule and leaders like Gopabandhu moved closer to the Congress. The above-mentioned factors, by 1920, brought the Utkal Sammilani to be identified with the prospects and goals of the INC.⁴⁸

There was a sense among one faction of the leaders of the Sammilani that it was detached from the masses. According to Gopabandhu, "The sole objective of the Utkal Sammilani so far had been to unify Orissa. For the last seventeen years, all the resolutions had been passed for achieving this goal. As a result, the Sammilani had little relevance to the common man."⁴⁹ By 1920, Gopabandhu felt that the situation had changed and further argued that "Orissa could aspire to achieve unification only through national independence." In the Chakradharpur session in December 1921, of the Sammilani slogans such as 'Bande Matram' and 'Bharat Mata Ki Jai' were raised by the delegates, which started of a new phase of mass politics in Orissa.⁵⁰ The moderate type politics gave way to extremist phase in Orissa with the launch of the Non-Cooperation movement. This also laid the ground for the political integration of Orissa, which was interlinked to the ultimate aim of linguistic

⁴⁵ Amal Kumar Mishra, *The Raj Nationalists, and Reforms*, op.cit. p. 48.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴⁷ B.P. Sitaramayya, *History of Indian National Congress*, Vol. 1, Delhi, 1969, p. 43.

⁴⁸ Biswamoy Pati, *Resisting Domination*, op.cit. p. 61.

⁴⁹ *The Samaj*, January 29, 1921.

⁵⁰ Biswamoy Pati, *Resisting Domination*, op.cit. p. 61.

unification of the state. There was a strong belief set in that linguistic integration of Oriya tracts will be possible only with the attainment of national independence.

Tribals and the Non-Cooperation Movement

Apart from the political and cultural developments discussed in the earlier sections, for the Non-Cooperation movement to start in 1921-22, it is interesting to look at the transformations that happened between 1893-94. In 1893, there was an introduction of the *Khas* system, which led to the decreasing of income of the *mustagirs*,⁵¹ by which the privileged lease held by the mustagirs were taken away from them.⁵² Due to this deprivation, the mustagirs were reduced to the status of cultivators. It could also be seen throughout the history of 19th century Orissa that these mustagirs were traditional leaders and had organized quite a few *Melis*.⁵³ The mustagirs gradually had to forego their privileges and came to be identified with the peasantry, which was reflected in the melis of 1906, as some of them were led by ex-mustagirs like DinabandhuKhandaitrai.⁵⁴ Apart from this certain demographic changes in the estates during the period and there are references to the increase in rents collected by the estates which also formed the basis for the Non-Cooperation movement. The immediate cause for the beginning of the Non-Cooperation movement can be said to be the floods which badly affected the estates in 1920 and the apathy shown by the king towards the peasants. He did not give any concessions to the peasants, rather he stopped the distribution of rice and takavi loans by the government saying he himself would do it. The government opened the rice distribution centers at the estates, but they were soon to be closed down and grains were sold at high prices to the peasants.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Mustagirs were Village Revenue Officers who held certain privileges like obtaining the certain share in the revenue. They were deprived of such privileges with the introduction of the Khas system.

⁵² S.S. Hossein, *The Completion of Report and Settlement for the Kanika Ward's Estate (District Cuttack) 1889-94*, Calcutta, 1895, p. 4.

⁵³ Melis were tax resistance movements against colonization and its various forms. It was also called as Bidroha.

⁵⁴ S.S. Hossein, *The Completion of Report and Settlement for the Kanika Ward's Estate*, op.cit. pp. 65-66.

⁵⁵ Biswamoy Pati, *Peasants, Tribals and the National Movement in Orissa*, op.cit. pp. 27-28.

This was the brief historical background of the Non-Cooperation Movement in Orissa. The first places the movement spread in Orissa was Kanika and Aul. The Raja of Kanika sent out a congratulatory message to his peasants for not getting influenced by the protestors and denounced the Non-Cooperation movement. Oriya newspapers like UtkalaDeepika, Seba, and Samaj carried articles condemning the Raja of Kanika for obstructing the Non-Cooperation Movement.⁵⁶ The "no-rent" slogan of the non-cooperators had enthused the peasants as it appealed to their anti-feudal struggles and the PCC also was very much interested in getting Kanika into the movement. Hence in July-August, 1921, the movement spread to areas of Kanika and Aul. The nationalists, in fact, made the peasants believe that by the end of 1921 'swaraj' would be achieved and there would be no necessity of payment of rent.⁵⁷

Ram Das Babaji gave a speech in Aul on August 15, 1921, in which he appealed to the peasants to derecognize the Court of Wards. He condemned the Raja of Kanika and characterized him as the "... creature of the Satanic Sarkar opposed to the Non-Cooperation Movement in the interest of the Sarkar".⁵⁸ Efforts at stopping the non-cooperators from meeting the peasants proved futile, as the exploitation in the estates was immense.⁵⁹ Ram Das traveled to Kanika and gave a number of inflammatory speeches and was said that "being in the garb of a sadhu he commanded great influence over the masses".⁶⁰

The movement having got the support of PCC gradually got organized and the activities quickly got strengthened in the estate. There was a Kanika high school, the students of the school canceled their admission and tried to break the school. This reflected the anti-imperialist character of the movement. There was an establishment of a *swaraj ashram* and the swaraj flag was raised on a tree and it came to be popularly known as Gandhibrata. The Secretary of the PCC, Bhagirathi

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵⁷ Government Report, cited by McPherson, in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Assembly Proceedings; session on the "Kanika Disturbances", August 15, 1922, Vol. V, pp. 1007-1051.

⁵⁸ BiswamoyPati, Peasants, Tribals and the National Movement in Orissa, *op.cit.* p. 28.

⁵⁹ Anonymous Letter to Samaj, August 6, 1922.

⁶⁰ Government Report, cited by McPherson, in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Assembly Proceedings; session on the "Kanika Disturbances", August 15, 1922, Vol. V, pp. 1007-1051.

Mahapatra and JadumaniMangaraj a PCC worker, made a visit to the estate to strengthen the propaganda and build the Congress organization. The police arrested Ram Das on September 21, 1921, and on the same day, Mangaraj delivered a vociferous speech, which he anticipated that the Raja of Kanika would soon feel the heat for his actions. A young fiery activist from the estate, ChakradharaBehera, went around requesting people not to give any false witness against Ram Das.⁶¹

By the year 1922, there were people like Ananda Chandra Jena, JoyramRai, UpendraSubudhira, Bisuni Madhual and BasuSethi, who in association with MadhusudanPattanaik, actively worked among the peasants and started several sabhas at different centers. GramyaSabhas and Circle Sabhas were established and a Mahasabha was set up at Ayetan by January 1922. DinabandhuKhandaitrai actively supported the Congress workers.⁶²The most militant phase of the struggle of the Kanika peasants was from January 1922 to April 1922. The "no-rent" demand was implemented which was a prominent feature of the Non-Cooperation movement. Melis covering over 100 villages and which had a membership of almost 4000 was formed. To coordinate the activities of the Melis, a formal council with office-bearers was founded at Meghpur.⁶³ Apart from the peasants, the tribals too made inroads into the jungles and violated the forest laws.

The Congress had called off the Non-Cooperation movement on February 12, 1922, and the PCC had instructed its workers in Kanika to "expedite the payment" of the rent, the charged up peasants kept the struggle going.⁶⁴ By this time, the Raja of Kanika wanted to was getting impatient with the protests and started seeking the intervention of the government. The opportune time for him to act came on April 18, 1922, when 400 peasants beat up four peons who had gone to serve notices to "certain judgment debtors" in Patarpur. In retaliation on April 23, 1922, between Jolera and Meghpur, 1000 people arrived at this place. Assuming there would be the attack on the police, they opened fire, in which according to

⁶¹ BiswamoyPati, Peasants, Tribals and the National Movement in Orissa, op.cit. p. 28.

⁶² *ibid.*, p. 29.

⁶³ Government Report, cited by McPherson, in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Assembly Proceedings; session on the "Kanika Disturbances", August 15, 1922, Vol. V, p. 1024.

⁶⁴ Searchlight, February 19, 1922.

official figures one person died and six injured,⁶⁵ whereas the actual figures appear to be three killed and 144 people were injured.⁶⁶ Post this incident severe repression was unleashed on the peasantry, the PCC by this time had retreated and the rebellion was put to rest once and for all.

In Ganjam area of Orissa, it was Gopabandhu who made efforts to build the base for Non-Cooperation movement.⁶⁷ He concentrated on bringing in volunteers from among the educated people. A daily newspaper was also started to propagate the ideas of the movement.⁶⁸ In Ganjam the response of both tribals and peasants was encouraging as their anti-feudal expressions were in consonance with the Non-Cooperation movement. In May 1921, a rally against *Rashad* and *bethi* was held in Keonjhar. To spread awareness among people a bandh call was observed along with *sankirtans* on May 17, 1921, which got the support of some of the shopkeepers.⁶⁹ In order to suppress the protests, the state authorities made arrests and implemented section 144 in the area. The Bhuyantribals, around 500 in number angry because of the state actions, surrounded the bungalow of the superintendent and protested for the release the arrested people.⁷⁰ Nothing much came out of the protests, the people who were arrested were punished and the movement slowly faded.

The forest rules were revised in the state of Dhenkanal, which had already created resentment among the tribals. In addition, the administration attempted to revise the rents in the state led to protests by peasants. There was severe oppression of the protests by the state authorities. They arrested four leaders which led to a weakening of the movement. The most interesting aspect of the Dhenkanal protests is that people rose in rebellion independently and PCC had literally no role to play in the whole Non-Cooperation movement.⁷¹ Alluri Sitaram Raju led the Rampa rebellion, which had its resonance felt in the Koraput tract. The tribals of the region

⁶⁵ Sibaram Das, "KanikaraSahidBasu-Bisuni", *Samaj*, April 23, 1981.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁷ BiswamoyPati, Peasants, Tribals and the National Movement in Orissa, *op.cit.* p. 32.

⁶⁸ Home Political, File 18/1922, National Archives.

⁶⁹ BiswamoyPati, Peasants, Tribals and the National Movement in Orissa, *op.cit.* p. 32.

⁷⁰ BinodeKanungo, *UtkalamaniGopabandhu*, Cuttack, 1976, p. 122.

⁷¹ BiswamoyPati, Peasants, Tribals and the National Movement in Orissa, *op.cit.* p. 32.

were severely affected by *bethi* and the stringent forest rules. The Koya tribes enthusiastically participated in the rebellion.⁷²

Tribals and the Civil Disobedience Movement

The abrupt end to the Non-Cooperation movement did not satisfy the masses. There always remained pressure to build up a mass movement and Congress yielded to it. A resolution which discussed for the first time regarding the internal contradictions in the Indian society was passed in the Lahore session of the INC in December 1929. This was the background in which the Congress decided to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement. Immediately after the death of Gopabandhu, Gandhi traveled to Orissa in 1927. This trip was to prepare the ground for launching the Civil Disobedience Movement.⁷³

There were also socio-economic and political reasons for the emergence of the Civil Disobedience Movement in Orissa. Balasore was completely devastated because of the floods in 1927. Nilgiri and Bamra witnessed two major uprisings in 1928.⁷⁴ These uprisings were symptomatic of the underlying discontent amongst the tribal people. The Meefar Settlement in 1928, added burden on the already existing heavy land rent on the people of Bamra. Persons numbering around 4000 sought redress from the Political Agent at Sambalpur. They launched the non-rent campaign because they failed to get redress. The leaders were imprisoned and the movement was stifled. Some of them who led the movement were village headmen, amongst whom four of them were removed from their head posts. In 1928, a very high tax was imposed on the people in lieu of the marriage of the princess, which created a lot of resentment among the public and protests started. They brought out a pamphlet pointing out to the instances as to how the oppression has increased in the state, which complicated the matters. Around 2000 peasants were forcefully sent to Balasore, where already it was reeling under the crisis because of the floods of 1927.⁷⁵ The major development happened when the salt issue was linked to the Civil Disobedience Movement which created high resentment among the people living in

⁷² *ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

⁷³ *ibid.*, p. 33.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 34.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 34.

coastal districts, as colonialism had created the monopoly over the salt manufacturing industry, because of which many people lost their traditional livelihood. The above-mentioned developments created huge resentment among common people which formed the basis for the Civil Disobedience Movement to emerge in a big scale in Orissa.

Another significant aspect of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the forest satyagraha movement which was started by tribals. This movement got major impetus in Puri district. In 1929, it was quoted saying that “there is continued pressure and agitation for increased liberty to use both the protected and reserved forests.”⁷⁶ The *Paikos* were employees whose work came to be that of forest officers as per the Indian Forest Act, which gave them the power to seize property, arrest lawbreakers without the warrant and the items which were confiscated they had the right to accept the charge in case of unknown criminals. In order to guard the forests and stay close to the area given to them, the jagir land was gotten to be redistributed which was under the control of the Paikos. The Paikos were also rewarded when they found out offenses.⁷⁷ The Sub-Divisional Officer got new powers in Khurda in 1932 were vested with new powers to grant rewards in forest cases, which points to the satyagraha movement in Puri district. In the district of Angul, the British government was compelled to open up a part of the reserved forest area in 1933, because the Sub-Deputy Magistrates or the Sub-Divisional Officers of the sub-division of Sadar were given special powers.⁷⁸ There was significant participation in this movement in Angul. There are records which suggest that in Sambalpur Division too, there was violation of forest laws.⁷⁹ There was widespread support in the Ganjam district for the Forest Satyagraha, which merged with the Civil Disobedience Movement, because the tribals faced extreme repression, which was the fallout of the system of *bethi*, *kumutis*, rigorous forest laws, etc. The Koraput region was not a stronghold of the Congress. If we analyze the Salt Satyagraha did

⁷⁶ L.S.S O’ Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers-Puri*, Patna, 1929, p. 161.

⁷⁷ “Forest Offences in Puri Division”, Revenue File No F/1-3/32, Board of Revenue (Cuttack), Letter from Commissioner, Orissa, to Collector, Puri, dated January 19, 1932.

⁷⁸ “Proposal to Vest S.D.O. Khurda with Powers to Grant Rewards in Forest Cases”, September 15, 1935, Revenue File No M/1-46/32, Board of Revenue, Cuttack.

⁷⁹ “Working Scheme Prepared by the Zamindar of Kolabira for his Zamindari Forests”, Revenue File No. F/1-3/33, Board of Revenue, Cuttack; Letter from Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur, to Commissioner, Orissa Division, Cuttack.

not see much participation in this region, but the Forest Satyagraha shook up the whole establishment. The Sauratribals of Gunpur started a no-rent struggle by which forced the administration to bow down to pressure and they waived off rent for the whole year.⁸⁰ Similar militant agitations were waged by the Khonds in Kalyansingpur and Jeypore in all the instances the administration was forced to yield to the pressure of the movement and waive rents.⁸¹

Role of Lakshman Naik in National Movement and Early Life

Koraput district in Southern Odisha is well region in the country for its tribal population. Koraput geographically located as isolated areas where there is a lack of communication and inhospitable climate surrounded by dense forest and wildlife. Although, there is various type of tribal communities inhabits in this region, but their collective voice against the oppressive administration and resources exploitation culminates many tribal leaders. Lakshman Naik is one of among them who well known for his brave and strong movement against exploitative British rule. The United Koraput district was combined by both Koraput district and Malkandiri district earlier which is naturally a tribal land that shared different tribal culture and indigenous life style of tribes. Lakshman Naik was born on 22nd November 1899 in Tentuliguma of Koraput district.⁸²

The British Government took control of this region and admin is referred their own way. There are different types of tribal groups who were categorized into two groups- the Kolhas and the Dravidians.⁸³ There was Bhumias tribal community who comes under the Kolhas group. Bhumias meaning is in the Sanskrit language is *Bhumi* which means soil⁸⁴. Lakshman Naik was born in this Bhumias community. Lakshman Naik father PadhamNaik was a popular tribal leader. He was a fearless, competent and intelligent because of which Raja of Jeypore appointed him as Mustadar. Being a son of an influential Mustadar, LakshmanNaik could have lived a

⁸⁰ Biswamoy Pati, Peasants, Tribals and the National Movement in Orissa, op.cit. p. 37.

⁸¹ Home Political, File No F5/41/31.

⁸² D . Nanda, Sahid Laxman Naik, pp. 14-15

⁸³ Patnaik, Nihar Ranjan, *Hidden Treasure of Tribal Patriotism: Reflection on Tribal Leadership of Colonial Orissa*, Indian Publication, Delhi 2008.

⁸⁴ Gazetteer of the Central Province, 1870

happy life, but he had chosen a different life.⁸⁵ He used to go to the field and work like other villages. In his early life, LakshmanNaik used to do a small game which is hunting in the nearby jungle. He developed a strong fascination for hunting from his childhood. Shooting down flying birds or scurring animals greatly enthused him. He was also not interested in formal schooling or education although he had some accessibility of education in his village. He learned himself. The folk culture and songs were part of his fascinating life in the Bumias community. He was loving the nature and natural life in his village community. He married at the age of nineteen to ManguliBhumia, the daughter of GhasiBhumia from a village of Sanagumma⁸⁶. His wife was a household working woman who served all the surrounding work single handedly.

LakshmanNaik was a very brave person since his childhood who always protests against oppression and injustice. The poor tribes of this region were oppressed by the Government and feudal lords. The Amins, Revenue Inspectors, Forest Guards and Policemen often used to visit his village. They used to stay in LakshmanNaik's home because his father was Mustadar of the village. The 'masters' or 'Lords' were playing a significant role in the village community who were controlling the resources and command over the poor tribal people. LakshmanNaik revolted against this oppression and victimhood of the poor population. He often fought with his father to not pay revenue to the Government official and did not accept his father's suggestion about revenue payment to the official. He thought that they were the root of all trouble, the central point of all oppression and exploitation. They wanted the tribal to remain illiterate and neglected forever so that they could exercise their authority upon them without any opposition and their authority would be far more deeply entrenched. Then he made up his mind to revolt against such exploitative activities.

LakshmanNaik raised his voice against the oppressive structure and exploitative customary practice. He called for a collective protest against it. And for fighting against such oppression he spent his whole life as a struggle leader of the tribal community in the tribal belt of the country Koraput⁸⁷. He was naturally a

⁸⁵ Patnaik, Nihar Ranjan, *Hidden Treasure of Tribal Patriotism: Reflection on Tribal Leadership of Colonial Orissa*, Indian Publication, Delhi 2008.

⁸⁶ Jagannath Patnaik's *Orissa Review*, Vol. XLVI, No.1, August 1989, p. 172.

⁸⁷ A.R.N. Srivastav, *Tribal Freedom Fighters of India* (New Delhi, 1986)

person who couldn't bear social evil like Goti, Bethi and Gudem practice in their community and out his effort to revolt against such exploitative revenue practice. Thus, Lakshman Naik's revolution influenced many young tribal leaders.

Engagement with the movement

Lakshman Naik spent his whole life in social movements and protests against the exploitative structure of the British bureaucracy and feudal land lordship. The anti-British movement in this region was the forefront of the people's fighting against their rights where a large section of the tribal population joined hands with their local leaderships.⁸⁸ People of Koraput had a strong desire for freedom where they were looking for a strong leadership from their community. It was the Lakshman Naik's leadership, which stand as strong leadership in the region. He was enrolled as "Four Anna" member of the Congress.⁸⁹ He played a significant role in the congress party and led his movement against the British in this region. Thus, Mahatma Gandhi led anti-British movement had a remarkable influence in this region and supports the local leadership likes Lakshman Naik. He adopted the principle of Congress life and ideas to continue his battle.

Swaraj was the fundamental goal of Lakshman Naik whose vision indicates complete freedom of the tribal population. Lakshman Naik was standing in every problem with villagers so their village people called him as 'Messiah' of their community. He was hearing people sufferance with his kind heart and people also faith in him and extended their support. He was mobilizing his voice among the poor to fight against the oppressive rulers during his work in the Congress. In this context following revolutionary poet has been quoted from Banchhanidhi Mohanty from the citation of Nihar Ranjan Patnaik.

“Brothers, leaving the life of comfort
And the job of slavery

Eat the Coarse and put on the coarse
For the God is the last refuge

⁸⁸ N. Senapati (ED,) Orissa District Gazetteers, Koraput, P.74

⁸⁹ H.K Mahtab (Ed.), History of the Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol. IV (Cuttack, 1957, P. 91)

Without 'Swaraj', there is
No hope ever for redress

No hope ever for release
From the shackles of misery

People, not free to speak
Without fear or favour

Cannot make a great nation
Fascinated by the foreign cloth

Giving up our own,
We invited our doom".⁹⁰

Freedom movement was the very crucial period for LakshmanNaik where he took many responsibilities. He took initiative for prevention of illegal taxation of British. Lakshman Naik's contribution in quite India movement is very relevant in a way he fought with the British people. Many times he was jailed and beaten up by police for his movement.⁹¹ People of Koraput emotionally attached with leadership and part with his Satyagraha movement. During the quite India movement LakshmanNaik and his followers block the police station. Meanwhile, the police partly led by the Divisional Inspector had returned to the police station. On the arrival they held detailed discussion and took such measure and they tried to protect the police station. In this movement LakshmanNaik and his followers demonstrate their fearlessness, LakshmanNaik reached the police station and shouted slogan like 'Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai (Victory to Mahatma Gandhi) and 'BandeMataram (Homage to the motherland). They all advanced to enter the compound, but police took lathi-charge on them where many of them injured including LakshmanNaik.

Lakshman Naik and other demonstrators dragged and brutally beaten up. LakshmanNaik fell down after being severely injured. In order to add to his suffering, the police even burnt his mustache. The police force was inclined to think that the cruel treatment meted out to Lakshman Naik made his followers stronger to fight for rights. The angry mob tried to force their way into the police station by

⁹⁰ Patnaik, NiharRanjan 1992 (Patnaik quoted from BanchhanidhiMohanty).

⁹¹ Who's Who of Freedom Workers in Orissa, Koraput District.

breaking the bamboo. The policemen and peons who tried to obstruct them were pushed down in the scuffle. In this incident probably some police. Then, they suddenly opened fire upon the unarmed people. The Government Report indicated that the police altogether fired twelve rounds under the order of the Magistrate on duty. The police Sub-Inspector Dora used his twelve bore gun and fired three rounds.⁹² Linga Bhumia, a Congress worker from Timasguda village, climbed atop the thatched roof of the Police station to host a Congress flag. But his dream could not be fulfilled. Before he could hoist the flag, a bullet hit him in the head and he fell down dead. Nakul Madkami of village Sargiguda promptly caught hold of the flag which he also could not hoist as, shot in the chest. According to the Government Report, five persons were killed and seventeen injured in the police firing.⁹³

This incident happened in front of Lakshman Naik, where he was laying helplessly on the verandah with his severely injured body. He could do nothing in such a barbaric incident where he lost his many close friends. The incident was historic in the history of Indian national movement where a tribal leader like Lakshman Naik and his followers were shown themselves as genuine leaderships for rights. Some tribal leaders also sacrificed their lives for fighting against the exploitative and oppressive rule.

Lakshman's entire life was involved in complexity and struggles. He faced many charges and court trial by the British Government. During the quiet India movement, Lakshman Naik and fifty-three other Congress men were charged with murder, looting, and violent activities.⁹⁴ Lakshman Naik and his friend Blaram Pujari were charged, under Section 302 of I.P.C with murder and other were prosecuted for being involved in rioting, looting, and arson. Later, the Session Court of Koraput convicted Lakshman Naik in following way:⁹⁵

‘V. Ramanathan, the Additional Session Judge, Koraput, held the deposition made by Lakshman Naik and others as untrue and was satisfied with the statements of the prosecution as true. After

⁹² H.K. Mahtab (Ed.), History of Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol. IV, Appendix-C (Patna High court Judgement).

⁹³ H.K. Mahtab (Ed.), History of Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol. IV, Appendix-C (Patna High court Judgement).

⁹⁴ The number of this case in Matili Police Station was 58/1942, U/S 302, 148, 149, 120-B, 323, 325 I.P.C.

⁹⁵ Patnaik, NiharRanjan, 1992.

recording the evidence given by both the sides, he stated in his judgment, " I do hereby convict Lakshman Naik of Ramayya's murder, under section 302 of I.P.C. and sentence him death. He is to be hanged by the neck till he dies. Moreover, though found guilty and convicted under the Defence of India Rules, no other sentence is passed". Other forty-nine were convicted life imprisonment for looting and rioting. And Lakshman Naik was sent to Berhampur Jail for execution'.

LakshmanNaik, being under a death sentence and kept under condemned cell since the 16th of Movement 1942. No other inmate of the jail was allowed to meet him even if they so desired. He was kept in Cell No.14.⁹⁶ Many of the detainees were eager to see him, So they would go near Cell No. 14, on some pretext to see him.⁹⁷Once Lakshman Naik told a relative who had gone to see him, " I am leaving. Because of Gandhiji's endeavors, India shall be independent. You should all enjoy the benefits of independence together."⁹⁸

Some other Congress workers also staying in the Berhampur Jail were disturbed by this news and advised Lakshman to appeal in the Patna High Court. His letter to Lawyer RadhaCharan Das was as follows:

“Dear Sir,

I have been sentenced to death on the charge of murdering G.Ramayya, a forest guard of Jeypore Estate. Even though innocent, I am now under the penalty of death as a victim of the malafide intentions of the police. I have been working as a sincere Congress worker for the last so many years. I look upon Mahatma Gandhi as my ideal and his principle of non-violence as the supreme as the supreme vow of my life. I have always been very careful so as not to deviate from this path of non-violence under any circumstances. That day after I had spoken on the resolves of independence, a large

⁹⁶ S.N. Dwibedy, August Biplab, P. 143.

⁹⁷ Interview with Dolagobinda Pradhan, a freedom fighter, and former Minister of Urban Development, Orissa.

⁹⁸ S.N. Patnaik, OdissareSwadhinataAndolana, P. 185

number of people, in defiance of the Police order, stood peacefully in front of the Police opened on the innocent people. I had been struck with lathis and bayoneted in the face before the Police opened firing. I lay unconscious as a result of this Police torture. In these circumstances in was utterly impossible on my part to be able to attack and kill Ramayya. I am innocent before God and also in my conscience. I now look upon you as my only savior. I have already filed my appeal in the honourable High Court. I would request you to kindly keep touch with me and furnish all relevant information to my counselor in the High Court after examining the necessary documents.

Yours Faithfully
LakshmanNaik
(Convict No.661)⁹⁹.

The Patna High Court also passed the same judgment and convicted LakshmanNaik as guilty. The order was passed to the effect that LakshmanNaik was to be hanged on 29th March 1943 inside the Berhampur Jail. The information about hanging was revealed just one day before the execution. All Congress workers, those were in jail shocked. Other Congress workers also felt very angry, anguish and dissatisfied with the judgment¹⁰⁰.

In his last day, when he was asked what he would like to eat, he replayed that “ I would like to see my fellow prisoners and eat what they are given to eat”. Before the day LakshmanNaik was informed by the jail authority that RadhakrushnaBiswaroy, Radhamohan Sahu, and SadashibTripathy wanted to have the last meeting with him¹⁰¹.

RadhakrushnaBiswaroy and RadhamohanSahu were so grief stricken that they couldn't go to Lakshman Naik's Cell and meet him. SadashibTripathy went to meet him. LakshmanNaik greeted him with a smile. He said " I have nothing more to say; many of my fellow brothers laid down their lives; many others including the

⁹⁹ Patnaik, Nihar ranjan1992 P 123-124

¹⁰⁰ Patnaik, NiharRanjan, 1992.

¹⁰¹Radhachandra Ram, Sangrami, P. 69

leaders languish in jail under these circumstances; what should I say, or why should I grieve for myself? But there is one thing. I regret that I cannot see ‘Swaraj’ for which we have been struggling hard. This is all that I miss in life”.¹⁰²

All the inmates of LakshmanNaik in jail were very sad and break down when Naik was taken to the gallows. All were raised slogans like Bande Matram, InquilabZindabad, Hail Free India, Victory of Mahatma Gandhi and LakshmanNaik. After reciting lines from the ‘Gita’ LakshmanNaik marched towards the gallows. He was singing Gandhi’s favourite devotional song:¹⁰³

“ Ram, the glory of the Raghu dynasty,
And who is called Raghavan
Is the savior of the downtrodden
And the Lord of Sita
Let the Supreme One
Who is also known as Allah and Iswar
Imbue people with good sense”

When he was asked by the Jail Superintendent to mention his last wish, Lakshman Naik said, "If the Sun is true, and so is the Moon, it is then equally true that Mother India shall be independent. Now show me your gallows"¹⁰⁴.

It was the life of great freedom fighter and leader of Indian national movement whose contribution and leadership is very crucial for them not only for the Indian freedom struggle but also against the exploitative or oppressive rules.

Early Life of NirmalMunda

The life of NirmalMunda is very interesting part of in the modern of Odisha, which demonstrates the tribal movement in term of fighting for justice against exploitation

¹⁰²D, Nanda, Orissa Pradesh Congress, Plenary Session, Bhubaneswar, December 1988, S.M. Ali’s BiplabiSahidlaxmanNaik.

¹⁰³Orissa Legislative Assembly Debates, Ninth Assembly, Sixth Session, August 9, 1987, Vol, VI, No. 1, P. 15

¹⁰⁴ Ramchandra Ram, Sangrami, p. 69.

and oppressive structure. Munda is a tribal community in the central India who later divided into different religious group and sub-sections because of changes in social structure over the period of time. The Munda tribes in Sundergarh district is known for their brave fighting against the British. Tribal leader NirmalMunda was the leader this fighting who sacrifice entire life for the cause of his community. Anti-land revenue movement under the leadership of Nirmal Munda led to outbreak the unjust oppressive structure of the British administration¹⁰⁵.

The place where NirmalMunda is Sundergarh situated in north-west part of Orissa. The Sundergargh district was made up the erstwhile princely state of Gangpur and Bonai. Earlier these two states were under the territorial administration of Maharastra, later which was controlled by the British. When Gangpur and Bonai came under the British control in 1903 the region was brought under control by the authority of the Commissioner of Chhotnagpur. Gangpur is the present day of Sundergarh where NirmalMunda was working¹⁰⁶. The population of the Gangpur in the year of 1939 was about 3,20,000 and it was thus the first most populous state in Orissa¹⁰⁷. The measure chunk of the population was composed of people belong to the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Caste, where the majority of tribes were from the Munda and Oraon communities of tribes. The Munda's way of life is quite similar to the other tribal communities like the 'Ho' and 'Santhal' communities¹⁰⁸. The Words 'Munda' has been derived from a Sanskrit word meaning village chief or headman¹⁰⁹. They depend on cultivation for their livelihood. Besides that, they also used to sell forest produces in the local market and earn some extra money. Forest land was their inherent land since a long past from their ancestors.

Although the farming is not an easy job because it requires hard labour and the lengthy period in the field whether it may be rain, winter, and summer. Munda tribes were doing hard work in the field to fulfill their basic requirement. But, the circumstance of Zamnidary and higher taxation under the British administration led to poverty and hardship of life in this community. The inhuman practice like Corvee and bonded labour practice drove real misery in the life of the tribal population. The

¹⁰⁵ NiharRanjanPatnaik 2008, P103.

¹⁰⁶ N. Senapati (Ed), Orissa District Gazetteers, Sundergarh, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰⁷ Desha Kantha, 30 April 1939.

¹⁰⁸ NiharRanjanPatnaik 2008, P 74.

¹⁰⁹ H.H. Risley, The Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol.II, P. 101.

Kings and the Zamindars were entirely enjoying their right over the labour of tribal population. The simple and helpless subjected had to starve out themselves and their dependence families in doing the king's job. They would not even get a square of meal a day¹¹⁰. This evil practices of bonded labour rendered condition of labourers, like those the Negroes in Africa. These incidents of bonded and forced labour practice, without any wage for such hard work generated a deep sense of abhorrence among the people of the Scheduled Caste and Tribes, for the Kings, the Zamindars and the administrative setup¹¹¹.

Gangpur in those days offered very poor communication facilities. Lack of road transportation and road communication remained this reason in isolation and backwardness. This backwardness of Gangpur in social and economic sphere was mainly due to the apathy showed by both the Royal Court and the British Government in tackling this issue. Administrative mismanagement itself created hurdle in the way of early redressal.

Narmal Munda was born in the year of 1803 in Baratoli village which was a border area of Bihar State. Most of the inhabitances of Baratoli village were Munda tribes. His father MurhaMunda was the village headman called 'Gountia' in the village. His mother Gomi was an accomplished lady. Being a village headman MurhaMunda had to deal with the King and Zamindar in the local area. Son NirmalMunda can have a happy life because his father was a village headman¹¹². But, he made a choice for a different kind of life. He decided to fight against the oppressive structure and end the exploitative British administration.

Since his childhood Nirmal Munda interested in working in the forest and collect forest products. He led a life of struggle full and hard work. He accompanied with his father farming. For his education, Nirmal was admitted in a lower primary school which was situated nearby his village. He was very mindful of his studies and very daring personality.

A Roman Catholic Missionary then stayed near the village. He not only preached to the villagers the tenants of Christianity but also he endeavored for their educational

¹¹⁰ Desha Kanta, 29 June 1939.

¹¹¹ Desha Kanta, 30 June 1939.

¹¹² Brajmohan Mohanty, AmkoSimko, p. 26.

and social development. After finished the Primary Education, Nirmal informed his family that he is desired to go Rajgangpur for higher study. His brother and family ready to give him consent. Nirmal got admission in Upper Primary School in Rajgangpur and started his study by the time both his parents passed away¹¹³.

Nirmal's elder brother expressed his unwillingness to Nirmal go for his further study. He said to Nirmal that whatever he achieved is good, but now because of their patents absence, he should take care up to their land and resources. Normal denied this view and said that their land belongs to them and nobody can take away their traditional resources. He will continue his study. Nirmal left for Ranchi in the year of 1917. He got admitted to a German Missionary School in Ranchi. Within a short period, he became well-known in the school for his scholarship. He was unbeaten in his studies. His extraordinary courage and talent made him appreciable from everybody.

The year 1914 was an epoch-making as well a very tricky period for the whole world. This period saw the outbreak of the First World War. This devastating war took in its grip of the whole world. The British Government in India dispatched Indian troops to France to take part in the war. Thus, those recruited for Indian Army were sent to the France. With regard to this reason, the Government of India released advertisement for the employment opportunities in abroad. It was the good salaried job so many people attracted to this job. Similarly, Nirmal Brother came to know this new and suddenly rushed to Ranchi and deposited the form on behalf of Nirmal. Nirmal had the desire to go abroad so he was unwilling to deny the proposal. Finally he ready to go abroad. He joined the work with the Porters as Mate whose salary was Rs 20. After one year he came back home and bought land and a house in Simko village from his saving. He married and got children. He also started farming and tried to teach to the tribal students from the native¹¹⁴.

¹¹³ sun and Singh Routia, AmkoSimko (In Sadai Language Pub: Academy of Tribal Dialects and Culture, Bhubaneswar, 1993).

¹¹⁴ BrajmohanMohanty, AmkoSimko, p 30.

Nirmal Munda's Role in the Anti-Land Revenue Movement

Nirmal Munda's Role in the Anti-Land Revenue Movement is very significant. The first account of revenue collection system was prepared in 1885. The record book had laid down the exact amount to be paid by each village in form of land revenue. The village chiefs would be employed to collect tax from their respective village delegates and they could collect any higher amount of tax than stipulated without the record book. It was most probably an agreement which was made with the village chief about the quantum of land revenue payable by his village on the basis of a rough estimate of the total land area under it. Because of this system, there was no contact between the Government and farmers¹¹⁵. Gradually different rules have been made and revenue price was hiked. The British Government gradually captured tribal land and collected revenue from that too. This system of cooperative or joint farming was followed by the tribals generation after generation. This system was known as the Khuntikati Practice, meaning the cutting of trees. It was also vogue in the neighbouring Chhotnagpur area. The Government had granted recognition to this practice of Khuntikati under the Tenants' Rights Act of Chhotnagpur introduced in Bihar in the year 1908. Even though the tribal people had been given rights to the land of this category, the Court of Gangpur refused to recognize this right of the tribals¹¹⁶. This was a major reason that causes public discontent.

In 1923, a new land revenue scheme was introduced in Gangpur which was to withdraw the privileges enjoyed by the local tribal communities. Then in 1929 and 1935 more detrimental law was made. It led to protest from the local tribals against such exploitative laws. The Gangpur court made the charge against these protesting people where some of them faced serious charges and warrant order. The tribals were threatened with dire consequences. The court officials forcibly took away their livestock¹¹⁷. Nirmal Munda's leadership was very crucial in this movement. All repressive measures employed by the State administration proved futile, in the face of Nirmal Munda's astute leadership. In 1937, the people of

¹¹⁵ N. Senapati (Ed.), Orissa District Gazetteers, Sundergargh, p.p 292-293.

¹¹⁶ N. Senapati (Ed.), Orissa District Gazetteers, Sundergargh, p.p 295.

¹¹⁷ Desha Kantha, 9 May 1939.

Gangpur not only revolted against this steep rise in land revenue but also strongly demanded that the practice of Khuntikati be given recognition by the State Government¹¹⁸.

The tribal population under the leadership NirmalMunda took revolt against the excessive burden of taxation imposed on them. The anti-revenue movement reverberated in many other areas. NirmalMunda lodged a protest with the Royal Court against the unjust hike in the tax structure. The movement in Gangpur under the leadership of NirmalMunda was reached at the pick level in the year of 1939. On 30th March 1939, the Political Agent Visited Gangpur and convened the meeting in the village, but the people boycotted the meeting. This incident took arrest of many tribal leaders but NirmalMunda escaped. The agitation turned into firing where many innocent tribal people lost their life. The bloody inhuman firing shocked in many levels in terms of how barbarism took place. April 25th, 1939 the incident happened where 32 people were killed and 19 were injured.¹¹⁹ Many people faced sedition and lodged cash against them including NirmalMunda. They were arrested and jailed. Later, NirmalMunda released from the jail and became the leader of his people. People supported him as their leader and elected from the Birsa Constituency of Sunadargh district for the Orissa Legislative Assembly¹²⁰.

¹¹⁸ Orissa State Archives, Accession No. 1026S, Note on Munda Agitation in Gangpur.

¹¹⁹ See the Index.

¹²⁰ NiharRanjanPatnaik, Comprehensive History of Modern Orissa, p.499.

CHAPTER-5

Leadership Development among Tribals in Post-Independence Orissa

The socio-economic and cultural history of a society plays significant role in shaping the leadership of a community. The leadership of tribal society is closely associated with their socio-cultural system. The tribal leadership has long history of the society that the village head of the tribal society regulates the day to day affairs of the community. On the other side, the head of the tribal village plays an important role in taking decision, coordinating the community and address the issues related to the village. In this process the tribal people built themselves their leader to participate in the traditional village governance system and electoral politics as well as social and economic activities in the post-independence period. This chapter carries about the tribal leadership development in post-independence Orissa. Leadership from village institutions to electoral democratic institutions have brought a sea change in the history of tribal communities in the post-independence Orissa. Before discussing about the tribal leadership it is important to discuss the formation of Orissa as a separate statehood and how the tribal communities accommodated themselves in different structures of democratic institutions of the state. The chapter would conclude by discussing the tribal leadership and challenges they face in the social and political institutions of the society.

Orissa is rich with its glorious cultural and religious heritage. Geographical situation facilitated the assimilation and fusion of different races, cultures and religious traits in Orissa. Having no barriers like Vindhyas, Orissa was the meeting ground of North and South and therefore the process of fusion of Dravidian and Aryan culture was started in ancient Orissa. Before coming of Dravidian and Aryans, Orissa was inhabited by the tribal savaras who inherited the rich Mundarian culture. Although Savaras were ultimately overwhelmed by Dravidians and Aryans, their culture had its impact on them. In a planned process-Mundarian Dravidian and Aryan culture were synthesized

and assimilated into one integrated culture.¹ The initiative of formation Orissa state took new turn in the social and cultural structure of tribal community.

The formation of the linguistic province of Orissa took place a landmark initiative in the history of the evolution of the Indian union. The demand of oriya speaking people for a separate province on the basis of language gained its movement during the later half of the British rule. This movement had a long history ranging from the last quarter of the nineteenth century till the new province was created on 1st April, 1936.² The present state of Orissa is a conglomeration of Khas Mahal areas or British Orissa which constituted mainly six coastal districts, namely, Balasore, Cuttack, Puri, Ganjam, Sambalpur, and Koraput and twenty four big and small Tributary Mahal or princely states. The Khas Mahals were directly administered by the British Paramountcy. The princely states were known as Garhjats and some of them were ruled by benevolent rulers and others were under ruthless despotism. After independence of India, 25 out of 26 Garhjat states were merged with Orissa on 1st January, 1948 under the states-merger (Governor's Provinces) Order, 1949. Mayurbhanj was the last Garjat state to merge with Orissa on 1st January, 1949.³

Separate Statehood Movement:

Language Issue

The issue of language identity took a vigorous role in creation of separate state in the oriya speaking regions during British period. The language issue took a serious turn when Bengalis made deliberate attempts to substitute Bengali for Oriya in the courts and schools of Orissa. Uma Charan Haldar, a Bengali Officer, who was appointed as the Deputy Inspector of Schools suggested introducing Bengali in place of

¹ N.K. Sahu, et al., *History of Orissa*, Nalanda, Cuttack, 1998, p. 13.

² S.C.Patra, *Formation of the Province of Orissa: The Success of the First Linguistic Movement in India*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1971, p. xvi.

³ Pravakar Das, "Emerging pattern of Leadership in a Tribal District in Orissa: A Case Study of Mayurbhanj", Utkal University, 2016 (Unpublished Thesis), p. 53.

Oriya.⁴ But H.L. Harrison, the Inspector of Schools, did not accept his opinion. Again, it was openly stated in one of the letters of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal on 8th November, 1869 that the idea of the Bengali teachers and the educated Bengali people, who served in Orissa, was to neglect the Oriya language and to throw it far off.⁵ Gradually the language problem became a prominent issue. The conscious sections of Orissa made determined efforts to protect their mother tongue. At Cuttack a group of people sent an application to the Government of Bengal through T.E. Ravenshaw,⁶ the then Commissioner of Orissa, who strongly recommended in favour of Oriya language. On 16th July 1868, the Bengal Government sent that application to the Director of Public Instruction of the Bengal Presidency for his final decision. In his recommendation, the Director advocated that Bengali was a rich language and there was much similarity between Oriya and Bengali. He further referred to financial difficulties to create a separate Oriya literature. For those reasons, he recommended that Bengali should be used in Orissa in place of Oriya. But the Bengal Government did not entirely agree with those recommendations. It not only recognized Oriya as a separate language, but also instructed the Director to allow it to be used as a medium of instruction. The Government also directed the education department to spend more money for publication of Oriya text books.⁷ On 9th October, 1869 the Government ordered the Director to form a committee in Cuttack to help the School Book Society of Calcutta for the consideration, selection and translation of Oriya text-books. That committee was formed with W.C. Lecey as its president and Rajah Bhagirathi Mahendra Bahadur, Bichitrananda Das, Banamali Singh and Dwerikanath Chakravarty as members⁸. The movement continued further to organize an identity of formation of separate oriya language as well as a statehood.

⁴ Pabitra Mohan Barik, "A Movement for Restoration of Oriya Language", *Orissa Review*, April, 2006, p. 5.

⁵ S.C. Patra, *Formation of the Province of Orissa: The Success of the First Linguistic Movement in India*, Op Cit., p. 102.

⁶ T. E. Ravenshaw worked for the civil servant as the Commission of Revenue at Cuttack from 1865-1877

⁷ Ibid., p. 102.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 102-103.

The relationship between the Bengalis and the Oriyas got disturbed when there were various incidents took place during the British rule. In December 1868 Rajendralal Mitra, a prominent scholar and archaeologist delivered a lecture on patriotism in a meeting of the Cuttack Debating Club. There he declared that a great injury was inflicted on the Oriya race by their attachment to a provincial patriotism which they wished to exact into a distinct language. He pointed out that it was impossible on the part of the Oriyas to maintain a separate language since a very few among them were literate. Oriyas were poor, he said, and they were not in a position to publish a single book whereas in Bengal book making had already become a profitable trade. In Bengal about five hundred books were published every year. But in Orissa not even one was published. He therefore, advocated introducing Bengali in Orissa in place of Oriya.⁹ Another Bengali gentleman who was equally responsible for embittering the relation between the Oriyas and the Bengalis was Kantichandra Bhattacharya, a Pandit of the Balasore High School. He wrote a book entitled “Oriya not an Independent Language”.¹⁰ In that book he advocated that Oriya was a dialect of Bengali and recommended for the substitution of the latter for the former. The author was profusely praised by Rajendralal Mitra who once again pronounced, “The Oriya, instead of being a self contained and independent member of the Aryan Indian vernaculars, is most closely and intimately connected with the Bengali”.¹¹ Encouraged by such scholars, a group of Bengali gentlemen launched a signature campaign in Orissa. They collected signatures from the illiterate Oriyas on a printed form in favour of the Bengali language. They also organized meetings to convince the Oriyas to support Bengali. In a meeting held at Jajpur, in the Cuttack district, an Oriya gentleman was bribed to speak for the substitution of Bengali for Oriya.¹² The scholars like John Beames pointed out that Oriya contained unchanged forms which were older than the oldest Bengali and Hindi.

⁹ Pabitra Mohan Barik, “A Movement for Restoration of Oriya Language”, Op Cit., p. 5.

¹⁰ S.C. Patra, *Formation of the Province of Orissa: The Success of the First Linguistic Movement in India*, Op Cit., p. 104.

¹¹ Ibid., 104.

¹² Ibid., p. 104.

He said, “At a time when Oriya was already a fixed and settled language, Bengali did not exist”.¹³ The next section discusses about the unification of Orissa state and how it took its momentum for the separate statehood.

Movement for Unification of Orissa

The demand for separate statehood of Orissa started gaining its momentum in the mid of 19th century. In the process of the movement, in order to protect the interest of the common people different social, cultural and religious organisations were formed. The inhabitants of Ganjam and Sambalpur started protest meetings and agitations for the unification of odia speaking region. The process of introducing the Odia language at the government level succeeded in the year 1890 and 1901 respectively.¹⁴ The emergence of Utkal Gaurab Madhusudan Das in the socio-political realm of Orissa created new force in the minds of odia young men. At the same time Madhusudan Das inculcated the patriotism and odia nationalism in the hearts and minds of young masses.

In the year 1903 “Ganjam Jatiya Samiti” was formed at Rambha.¹⁵ The first session of the samiti was inaugurated at Berhampur. The resolutions of the session were passed regarding the all round development of odisha. Utkal Gourav Madhusudan Das and Vyasa Kabi Fakirmohan Senapati attended the session. The success of “Ganjam Jatiya Samiti” meeting inspired Madhu babu. As a result of which an organisation namely “Utkal Sammilani” was formed to solve different problems of odias. The first session of “Utkal Sammilani” was held at Idga Padia of Cuttack on 30th December 1903.¹⁶ Maharaja Sriram Chandra Bhanja Deo, the king of Mayurbhanj presided over the meeting. This session of Utkal Sammilani was attended by Garjat Kings, Zamindars,

¹³ N.K. Sahu et al., *History of Orissa*, Op. Cit., p. 369.

¹⁴ Swadhin Shakti Prasad, “Role of Vernacular Newspapers in Odisha’s Struggle for Independent State Province”, *International Journal of Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 9, 2014, 86-94, p. 87.

¹⁵ S.C. Patra, *Formation of the Province of Orissa: The Success of the First Linguistic Movement in India*, Op Cit., p. 130.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 131-132.

government employees, lawyers and students and took the form of odia nationalism.¹⁷ Later on the leaders of Utkal Sammilani had drawn the attention of British Government regarding various problems through seminars, symposiums, youth sessions and general meetings.

It was Madhubabu who had determined to fulfill the hopes of odias by keeping good rapport with the Englishmen. The primary motto of Utkal Sammilani was social reformation, women emancipation, eradication of untouchability, development of farmers, unification of odia speaking tracts and above all creation of odia nationalism. The odia newspapers “*Asha*”, “*Utkal Dipika*”,¹⁸ “*Prajabandhu*” and English newspaper “*The Odia*” had drawn attention of British rulers regarding the various demands of odias. In different annual sessions of Utkal Sammilani, resolutions were passed regarding unification of odia speaking region which often yielded results. At the later stage Sambalpur was merged with Orissa Division in 1905 AD by the British Government.¹⁹

The British government was formed the Bihar-Orissa province in 1912. In 1914 the annual session of Utkal Sammilani was held at Paralakhemundi under the Presidentship of Bikram Devburma, the king of Jaypur.²⁰ For the first time Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati the king of Paralakhemundi opined in this annual session of Utkal Sammilnai regarding the formation of a separate Odisha province instead of unification of odia speaking region.²¹ In the year 1919, Maharaja of Paralakhemundi met Montague Chemsford Committee to put forth the demand of giving facility of voting rights to odia residents in Madras province. As a result the odia residents of

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁸ Swadhin Shakti Prasad, “Role of Vernacular Newspapers in Odisha’s Struggle for Independent State Province”, Op. Cit., 132.

¹⁹ S.C. Patra, *Formation of the Province of Orissa: The Success of the First Linguistic Movement in India*, Op Cit., p. 87.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 87.

²¹ F.G. Bailey, “The Oriya Movement, *The Economic Weekly*”, *The Economic Weekly*, September 26, 1959, p. 1331.

Madras were capable enough in electing ten odia members to represent in Madras assembly. But the Government of Madras vehemently opposed the demand to bring odias under one province. In the year 1922, Utkal Gauraba Madhusudan Das, while he was a minister of Bihar-Odisha, a resolution was approved in Bihar-Odisha provincial council in favour of bringing odia language dominating area under one province.²²

The Phillip-Duff committee was formed, in which the British commissioner and political agent C.L. Phillips and Collector A.C. Duff were members, in 1924.²³ While the committee touring Ganjam, the inhabitants of that locality strongly demanded for merger of Ganjam, Jaypur and Bisakhapatna with odisha division through a memorandum. Starting the investigation since the month of October 1924, the Phillip-Duff committee completed the preparation of its final report regarding the unification of odia speaking tracts in the month of December, 1924. This committee had stated in favour of merger of odia speaking region with Orissa division which were under the Madras Presidency. In 1927, presenting the resolution in Central Council Pandit Nilakantha Das said that “for formation of a separate odisha province, the united effort of odias was badly necessary”.²⁴ In 1928, Sir John Simon came to India as the Chief of seven members Parliamentary commission for investigating the constitutional reformation system. At that time the Indian National Congress called on the people of India to boycott the Simon Commission primarily because there was not a single Indian member included in that commission. Responding to the call the Congress workers staged protest meetings, demonstrations and processions showing black flags and placards containing slogan “Simon Go Back” in every nook and corner of India.²⁵

²² S.C. Patra, *Formation of the Province of Orissa: The Success of the First Linguistic Movement in India*, Op Cit., pp. 87-88.

²³ N.K. Sahu, et al., *History of Orissa*, Op. Cit., pp. 381-382.

²⁴ S.C. Patra, *Formation of the Province of Orissa: The Success of the First Linguistic Movement in India*, Op Cit., p. 88.

²⁵ N.K. Sahu, et al., *History of Orissa*, Op. Cit., p. 383.

The call of Indian National Congress was never stopped Utkal Gaurab Madhusudan Das to greet Simon Commission at Patna railway station on behalf of Utkal Sammilani and handed over a memorandum to the commission regarding formation of a separate Orissa province. Simon commission formed a sub-committee appointing C.R. Atley as a Chairman to look into the matter. The sub-committee recommended in favour of formation of a separate Orissa province. Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati went to London in 1930 with a view to attend the Round table conference. He was able to influence the British authority through a leaflet titled “The Odias their needs and reasons for a separate Orissa province”. The British appointed a Boundary committee which recommended in favour of formation of separate Orissa province in the month of April 1932.²⁶

Sir Samuel Hoare through a white paper published on 18th March, 1933 had excluded the odia speaking region of Paralakhemundi, Jaypur and Jalantar from the proposed orissa province. A special session of Utkal Sammilani was called for in May 1933 to discuss regarding the high – handedness of Britishers. In that session it was unanimously resolved to stage people’s movement and protest meetings against the decision of British government. On 11th February, 1934 it was resolved in the annual conference of Utkal Sammilani held at Berhampur that “if Jaypur and Paralakhemundi were not included with the proposed Orissa province, the odias would not accept that Orissa province.”²⁷

Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati again proceeded to London leading a group of odia representatives in which the Rajasaheb of Khalikote, Lingaraj Panigrahi , Bhubananda Das and Shyam Sundar Das were included. Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati gave a memorandum to the secretary of state of the joint select committee for merger of Paralakhemundi in the proposed Orissa province. At last a report was published on behalf of the joint select committee which was accepted by the British

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 383-384.

²⁷ S.C. Patra, *Formation of the Province of Orissa: The Success of the First Linguistic Movement in India*, Op Cit., p. 88.

Parliament. As a result the formation of separate Orissa province took the real shape. On 21st January, 1936 the orders of Government of India regarding formation of Orissa province was presented before the emperor of Britain for its final approval on 7th March, 1936.²⁸ After the approval of the emperor this order on 1st April, 1936, Orissa became a separate province. The outlying region to the south (parts of the district of Ganjam and the Koraput Agency in Madras) were taken into the new Orissa province. Orissa then consisted of the following districts: Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Ganjam, Koraput, and Sambalpur. This is an area of 32,198 square miles.²⁹

Democracy and Participation

Democracy is a system in which people decide matters together or collectively. It is a system that can be applied to any of the group.³⁰ In democracy, participation has been seen as a civic duty which can never be denied or neglected.³¹ This indicates the involvement or to take part by the incumbents in every system for ensuring a common form of development. The idea of this participation is the principal means by which consent is granted in a democracy for a high level of popular involvement.³² In every society political power is monopolized by just a few and the incumbent of political power has been found to be very keen on ensuring at least some amount of participation by the people. In other words political participation intends an individual to learn about popular attempts to influence the authoritative allocation of values for a society.³³

Thus, an individual actually gets involved in the system through the process of participation. Political participation gives an opportunity to everyone to express his own

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 88-89.

²⁹ F. G. Bailey, "The Oriya Movement", *The Economic Weekly*, September 26, 1959, p 1333

³⁰ Alex Woolf, *Democracy: Systems of Government*, Evans Brothers Ltd., 2007, p.4.

³¹ Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay, *Political Sociology: An Introductory Analysis*, K.P. Bagchi & Co., Calcutta, 1977, p. 54.

³² Ibid., p. 55.

³³ Ibid., p. 56.

opinion in the process of electoral politics.³⁴ Political participation also enables the state to get new talents and skills of the largest possible number of people. Participation is of the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled.³⁵ In the larger context, the power politics remains in the hands of a few people in every political system. But it is interesting to note that irrespective of the form of government every political system allows some amount of political participation to the people. In any society of anytime, if a substantial section of the population is denied in participation the situation may be highly explosive. There will be no understanding between the ruler and the ruled.³⁶ The rulers will be unable to understand the bare needs of their citizens. So, without people's participation the very purpose of establishing the state will remain unfulfilled. Moreover, if a person is given the opportunity to give vent to his own feelings and opinion then it built a healthy effect on the individual and on the society at large.³⁷ Political participation also promotes the dignity and value of the individual. It alerts both the rulers and the ruled towards their duties and responsibilities within the democratic structure.

Electoral Politics

Electoral politics in a participatory democracy assumes great significance and it indicates the popular consciousness, articulation and participation of the electorate in the decision making process.³⁸ Electoral politics are the primary mechanism of citizen's mobilization in democracy. The public regular choice of political leaders through elections is one of the bases of representative democracy, and the rationality of the public choices is a measure of the meaningfulness of the democratic process. Electoral

³⁴ Ibid., p. 57.

³⁵ Robert E. Dowse and John Hughes, *Political Sociology*, John Wiley, New York, 1972, p. 23.

³⁶ Ibid., p.24.

³⁷ Lester Millbrath and M.L.Goel., *Political Participation*, United Press of America, Maryland, 1977, p. 14.

³⁸ V. Grover, Elections, Electoral Mechanism and Behaviour, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 479-480.

politics, the ideas and actions behind the process of choosing by vote among candidates to govern the state is a vital part of the democratic functioning of the state.³⁹

Election is one of the important components of democracy. The right to vote is essentially an individual right. In an elections, it is the individual who is supposed to decide whom to vote and why without any compulsion whatsoever to make the reasons for a particular choice. The translation of the individual into an aggregate outcome, however, remains problematic. This is where the community, association, group, ideology, resources, language, symbols, communication, mobilization and local issues assumes significance as mediating factors which integrate the individual choice into a collective expression.⁴⁰ Elections open up channels between the polity and the society, the elites and the masses, the individual and his government. They are the major agencies of political socialization and political participation.

Democratic forms and elections ironically became the very vehicles to acquire power. Mass voting by the people usually associated with the concept of participatory democracy led to the emergence of Fascist rule rather than to a healthy democracy.⁴¹ Elections were identified with democracy and the voting pattern with the strength and viability reflected in western forms of democracy. The dynamics of human behavior and its fallout in their 'Political' behavior came to be the focus of many a study on the political system. The elections manifesting this periodic political behavior acquired a deterministic rule, in judging the strength and weakness of the political system and its future trends.⁴²

³⁹ Ibid., p. 480.

⁴⁰ Bishnu N. Mohapatra, "Tribal-Dalit Conflict Electoral Politics in Phulbani", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXI, Nos. 2&3, January 11-20, 1996, p. 60.

⁴¹ Susheela Kaushik, *Election in India: Its Social Basis*, K./P. Bagchi & Co, New Delhi, 1982, p. 44.

⁴² Ibid. pp. 3-4.

In some countries democratic freedoms are valued as being good in themselves. But most people in India judge democracy by its capacity to raise the level of production, to implement the plans and to govern efficiently and justly. Democratic government is always a muddle. Muddle is a luxury which can be afforded in conditions of stability and prosperity. But in India the economy is in an almost permanent state of crisis. This is the background against which the politician-people relationship must be examined. But it might be argued, no matter how weak the social base of democracy and no matter how confused the elections, a government may yet be strong and efficient. Corrupt or muddled elections have put great men in power. How the government gets into power does not matter: what matters is how they govern. Yet the two things are not independent. In a system based on patronage, inevitably power is misused and money is miss-spent in order to keep political machines in existence.⁴³

Tribal people have very distinct identities; they have always lived away from non-tribal population enjoying their community based lifestyle in intimate contact with the forest surroundings; unfortunately their unique eco-friendly lifestyle appears in danger due to their marginalization by non-tribal community. The study of F.G. Bailey on Orissa stated that it is mass illiteracy and ignorance⁴⁴ preventing the tribal leaders to build a leadership among the tribal community. On the other side, British ruler made the administrative differences in the tribal concentrated region as excluded and partial excluded areas that special provisions were drawn to administer these areas for better development of this community. In this context the following section discusses the scheduled areas and the tribals.

⁴³ F.G. Bailey, "Traditional Society and Representation : A Case Study in Orissa", *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1960, p. 139.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.140.

Scheduled Areas and Tribes

The tribals are not a homogeneous group. There is a vast diversity in them. They vary from very small communities to large groups, and from hunters/gatherers to modern Indians entrap in the industrial culture. They have their diversity of languages and traditions. The tribal people are associated with a territory and depend for livelihood on their habitat. Their very cultural roots depend on these lands. Tribals also have their own system of governance and dispute redressal mechanism.

During the colonial rule, the British accepted this fact after a number of unsuccessful expeditions in tribal territories. Harassed by the repeated tribal rebellions and uprisings, chose to leave them alone and not to interfere with their day to day administration. The British provided a special status to those areas, which variously came under different nomenclatures as, '*agency areas*', '*excluded areas*', '*partially excluded areas*' and '*scheduled areas*' under different dispensations.⁴⁵ The British ruler formally designated these territories as '*excluded areas*'. They, however, continued to extend their influence and authority insidiously, especially over the forests and minerals through carefully planned ordinances. They designated the areas that were amenable to some influence as '*partially excluded areas*'. The general laws of the centre or the provinces did not extend to these areas in routine. The Governor was empowered to extend any law with necessary exceptions and modifications to these areas in his discretion.

In the post-independence period after adaptation of Constitution, some of the '*excluded areas*' and '*partially excluded areas*' were designated as '*Scheduled Areas*' under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution. The Part X of the Constitution of India deals exclusively with the '*Scheduled Areas*' and '*Tribal Areas*'. According to sub-

⁴⁵ Balchandra Mungekar, Third Report of the Standing Committee on Inter-Sectoral Issues Relating to Tribal Development on Standards of Administration and Governance in the Scheduled Areas, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi, February, 2009, p. 29.

clause (1) of Article 244, the provisions of the Fifth Schedule shall apply to the administration and control of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in any State other than the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.⁴⁶

The Sub clause (2) envisages application of the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the administration of the Tribal Areas in these states. The Governor, however, has full powers to direct that any law of the centre or the state shall not extend to these areas or shall extend with exceptions and modifications as may be specified. However, as it happened, all laws of the centre and the states got extended to these areas in routine.

The President can declare an area to be a '*Scheduled Area*' under Para 6 of Fifth Schedule. The original provision was that the President could reduce this area but not increase it. This provision was amended in 1976 to authorise the President to increase the area of any Scheduled Areas in consultation with Governor concerned. On the other hand, the areas specified in Paragraph 21 of the Sixth Schedule are designated as '*Tribal Areas*'. The Parliament can amend this provision from time to time.

The Fifth Schedule comprises '*Provisions as to the Administration and Control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes.*' The scope of 'administration' is comprehensive and inclusive covering all aspects of people's life and all facets of 'administration', executive as well as legislative, with the clear objective of ensuring 'peace and good government' in these areas.

- Paragraph 2 of Fifth Schedule makes executive power of the State in respect of Schedule Area therein 'subject to the provisions of this (Fifth) Schedule.'
- Paragraph 3 extends executive power of the Union 'to the giving of directions to the State as to the administration of the said (Scheduled) area.'

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 29.

- Moreover, Article 339 specifically envisages control of the Union over the administration of Scheduled Areas and the welfare of Schedule Tribes. The executive power of the Union extends to *‘the giving of directions to a State as to the drawing up and execution of schemes specified in the direction to be essential for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the State.’*

While sharing of executive power between the Union and States, the final authority on Schedule Areas vests with the Union. The states are expected to manage their affairs in accordance with the law subject to directions of the union.⁴⁷

The Para 4 of the mandates the Tribes Advisory Council (TAC) shall be constituted in every state having Schedule Areas. But President may direct a state having Scheduled Tribes, but no Schedule Areas too, to constitute a Tribal Advisory Council. The TAC comprises not more than 20 members, out of whom not less than two-third shall be tribal Member of Legislative Assembly. It is the duty of TAC to advise Governor on any issue concerning welfare and advancement of Scheduled Tribes that may be referred by him. Consultation with TAC is mandatory before framing a regulation relating to the Schedule Areas. In the administrative side the Autonomous District/Regional Councils are unique institutions of self-governance. They have legislative, executive and judicial powers as envisaged in the Sixth Schedule.

The detail of Fifth Schedule is presented in the following table.

Fifth Schedule Areas

| State | Areas |
|----------------|---|
| Andhra Pradesh | Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Adilabad, Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Mahboobnagar, Prakasam (only some mandals are scheduled mandals) |
| Jharkhand | Dumka, Godda, Deogarh, Sahabgunj, Pakur, Ranchi, Singhbhum (East&West), Gumla, Simdega, Lohardaga, Palamu, Garwa, |

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

| | |
|------------------|---|
| | (some districts are only partly tribal blocks) |
| Chattisgarh | Sarbhuja, Bastar, Raigad, Raipur, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Bilaspur, Sehdol, Chindwada, Kanker |
| Himachal Pradesh | Lahaul and Spiti districts, Kinnaur, Pangi tehsil and Bharmour sub-tehsil in Chamba district |
| Madhya Pradesh | Jhabua, Mandla, Dhar, Khargone, East Nimar (khandwa), Sailana tehsil in Ratlam district, Betul, Seoni, Balaghat, Morena |
| Gujarat | Surat, Bharauch, Dangs, Valsad, Panchmahl, Sadodara, Sabarkanta (partsof these districts only) |
| Maharashtra | Thane, Nasik, Dhule, Ahmednagar, Pune, Nanded, Amravati, Yavatmal, Gadchiroli, Chandrapur (parts of these districts only) |
| Orissa | Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh, Koraput (fully scheduled area in these threedistricts), Raigada, Keonjhar, Sambalpur, Boudhkondmals, Ganjam, Kalahandi, Bolangir, Balasor (parts of these districts only) |
| Rajasthan | Banswara, Dungarpur (fully tribal districts), Udaipur, Chittaurgarh, Siroi (partly tribal areas) |

Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India.

Constitutional Guarantees and Tribals

The Scheduled Tribe is one of the largest ethnic communities in India. Since time immemorial, these communities have been isolated from mainstream society. The traditional life style and cultural norms and value have been unique identity of tribal community. However, in the economic and political spheres, they have never been at par with the non-tribal communities except the few sections among the tribal communities. In the light of their isolation and marginalization, special provisions and policies were being enacted and implemented in order to address the issue of tribal communities in comprehensively both in colonial and post-colonial rules.

During the colonial period and after independence the continuities of special provision for upliftment of tribal communities have been emphasized. This could happen largely due to the impact of representation tribal leaders like Thakkar Bapa and Jaipal Singh. The interaction of all these leaders totally altered the perspective of Constitution maker. They were induced to provide for excluded and partially excluded

areas, special protections for the tribals as well as reservations policies have been implemented for all round development of tribals. The debates in the Constituent Assembly do not reveal any reappraisal of the previous stand taken by nationalist leaders in the matters of tribal welfare and protection.⁴⁸

During the colonial period the administrators felt a sense of moral responsibility for the protection of the tribals to the point of their exclusion from fast moving political processes. They had no perception of the larger issues of social change and economic development and some of them even thought that status quo was good for the natives. The guarantees of rapid development of tribal communities through combination of provisions and programmes did not figure in the colonial regime. In post-independence India, the emphasis was on bringing the tribals into the mainstream. With the grants of universal suffrage, the tribals were given an opportunity for shaping their own destiny through the political process.⁴⁹ However, despite several provisions for tribals, they are still suffering from social and political marginalization and remained vulnerable to exploitation. The transformation in tribal areas was to be organized not through schemes of tribal welfare but through a process of participatory development.

In order to redress this situation to alleviate the suffering of tribal communities and to remove obstacles to their development, different constitutional amendments have been introduced. It is expected that, by bringing suitable amendments, the acts should create an enabling environment for promoting the interests of the tribal communities and for harnessing their untapped potential for overall social and economic development of the state and nation.

The framers of the Constitution took note of the fact that certain communities in the country were suffering from extreme social, educational and economic backwardness arising out of age-old practice of untouchability. Certain others groups on

⁴⁸ J.S.Bhandari and Subhadra Mitra Channa, *Tribes and Government Policies*, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1997, p. 61.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

account of the primitive agricultural practices, lack of infrastructure facilities and geographical isolation, and who need special consideration for safeguarding their interests and for their accelerated socio-economic development. These communities were notified as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as per provisions contained in Clause 1 of Articles 341 and 342 of the Constitution respectively. With a view to provide safeguards against the exploitation of SCs & STs and to promote and protect their social, educational, economic and cultural interests, special provisions were made in the Constitution.⁵⁰

India has the second largest tribal population in the world. In India, Scheduled Tribes are mainly spread across the forests and hilly regions of India. Tribes in India are mainly characterised by their geographical location and distinct culture. In India, tribes are treated very low, are execrated and are even treated as untouchables by the prevailing adherence to social norms and caste system. The tribal people were compelled to perform duties which were considered inferior because of their economic backwardness and illiteracy. Since, these people were ill treated and were not enjoying equal status with other people which is guaranteed to all the citizens of India by Article 14 of The Constitution of India i.e., “The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India”, so there was a need to provide these tribal people some rights for their welfare and development. After Independence in 1947, the Government of India spent lot of resources to improve the standard of living of tribal people and also helped them through legislations and developmental programmes and in safeguarding their rights.

Tribal population consists of 8.6% percent of the total population in India (2011 census).⁵¹ It is the duty of Government to take care of their interests and ensure them equal rights in the society. In India not only the Central Government, State Government

⁵⁰ A Handbook, National Commission for Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, New Delhi, 2007, p. 1.

⁵¹ Census 2011, Office of Registrar General & Census Commissioner, Government of India, New Delhi.

or authorities are helping the tribes to ensure their rights but other voluntary organizations.

Article 46 is a comprehensive provision comprising both the developmental and regulatory aspects. It provides that “The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation”. In terms of these enabling provisions, various safeguards have been provided for socio-economic and educational development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Constitution of India.

Social Safeguards

- (i) Article 23 prohibits traffic in human beings and beggar and other similar forms of forced labour and provides that any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. It does not specifically mention STs but since majority of bounded labour belong to STs, this Article has a special significance for members of Scheduled Tribes. In pursuance of this Article, Parliament has enacted the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976. For effective implementation of this Act, the Ministry of Labour is running a Centrally Sponsored Scheme for identification, liberation and rehabilitation of bonded labour.
- (ii) Article 24 provides that no child below the age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment. There are Central and State laws to prevent child labour. This Article is also significant for STs (as also of SCs) as a

substantial portion of child labour engaged in hazardous jobs belong to these groups.⁵²

Economic Safeguards

The provisions of Articles 23, 24 and 46 mentioned above also form part of the economic safeguards for Scheduled Tribes as also of Scheduled Castes. The specific safeguards provided for the Scheduled Tribes are as mentioned below:

i) Article 244: According to Clause (1), the provisions of the Fifth Schedule shall apply to the administration and control of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in any State other than the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura.

According to Clause (2), the provisions of the Sixth Schedule shall apply to the administration of the tribal areas in the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura.

ii) The First Proviso to Article 275(1) of the Constitution of India guarantees grants from the Consolidated Fund of India each year for promoting the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and in pursuance of this Constitutional obligation, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs provides funds through the Central Sector Scheme “Grants under Article 275(1) of the Constitution”. The objective of the scheme is to meet the cost of such projects for tribal development as may be undertaken by the State Govts. for raising the level of administration of Scheduled Areas therein to that of the rest of the State. The scheme covers all the 21 Tribal Sub-Plan States and 4 other tribal majority States of the country. The grants are to be used essentially for creation and upgradation of critical infrastructure required to bring the tribal areas with the rest of the country. The basic purpose is to create opportunities conducive to income and employment generation. Due emphasis is given to infrastructure in

⁵² National Commission for Scheduled Tribe, A Hand Book, 2007 (<http://www.aicte-india.org/downloads/handbook%20for%20Scheduled%20Tribes.pdf>, p. 4

sectors critical to enhancement of human development indices such as in health, education, income generation etc.

iii) Fifth Schedule contains provisions regarding the administration and control of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes. There are nine States having Scheduled Areas, viz., Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. The Governors of these States have special responsibilities and powers. These States have Tribe Advisory Councils (TACs). (In addition, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal, which do not have any Scheduled Areas, also have statutory TACs). The Governors of these States have the power to make regulations for the peace and good governance of any Scheduled Area particularly for the following purposes:-

(a) to prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the Scheduled Tribes in such areas,

(b) to regulate the allotment of land to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area,

(c) to regulate the carrying on of business as money lender by persons who lend money to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area.

iv) Sixth Schedule contains provisions relating to the administration of the Tribal Areas in the States of Assam (North Cachar Hills District and Karbi Anglong District), Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura (Autonomous Hill District). There are Autonomous District Councils and Autonomous Regional Councils in these areas which have a long tradition of self-management systems. These Autonomous Councils not only administer the various Departments and developmental programmes but they also have powers to make laws on a variety of subjects, e.g., land, forest, shifting cultivation, village or town administration including village or town police

and public health and sanitation, inheritance of property, marriage and divorce and social customs.⁵³

The following Orders are in operation at present in their original or amended form in respect of the Scheduled Areas: -

| Sl. No | Name of Order | Date of Notification | Name of State(s) for which applicable |
|---------------|--|-----------------------------|--|
| 1 | The Scheduled Areas (Part A States) Order, 1950 (C.O.9) | 21.1.1950 | Andra Pradesh |
| 2 | The Scheduled Areas (Part B States) Order, 1950 (C.O.26) | 7.12.1950 | Andra Pradesh |
| 3 | The Scheduled Areas (Himachal Pradesh) Order, 1975 (C.O.102) | 21.11.1950 | Himachal Pradesh |
| 4 | The Scheduled Areas (States of Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha) Order, 1977 (C.O.109) | 31.12.1977 | Gujarat and Odisha |
| 5 | The Scheduled Areas (States of Rajasthan) Order, 1981 (C.O.123) | 12.2.1981 | Rajasthan |
| 6 | The Scheduled Areas (Maharashtra) Order, 1985 (C.O.123) | 2.12.1985 | Maharashtra |
| 7 | The Scheduled Areas (States of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh) Order, 2003 (C.O.192) | 20.2.2003 | Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh |

Source: National Commission for Scheduled Tribe, A Hand Book, 2007, p. 5.

Educational and Cultural Safeguards

- i) Article 15(4) empowers the State to make any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for SCs and STs. This provision was added to the Constitution through the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, which amended several Articles. This provision has enabled the State to reserve seats for SCs and STs in

⁵³ Ibid., p. 5

educational institutions including technical, engineering and medical colleges and in Scientific & Specialized Courses. In this Article as well as in Article 16(4), the term 'backward classes' is used as a generic term and comprises various categories of backward classes, viz., Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes, De-notified Communities (Vimukta Jatiyan) and Nomadic/Seminomadic communities.

- ii) Article 29(1) provides that "any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same". This Article has special significance for all the Scheduled Tribes. Santhals have a script of their own, viz., Olchiki. But this provision needs not be understood to educate Tribals only in their language and thereby making them isolated. Tribals should be educated in the language of the State as well as National Language to expose them to the outside knowledge.
- iii) Article 350 A provides that "It shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instructions in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups, and the president may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities". Most of the tribal communities have their own languages or dialects, which usually belong to a different family of languages than the one to which the State's official language belongs.⁵⁴

Political Safeguards

- i) Article 164(1) provides that in the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa there shall be a Minister in charge of tribal welfare who may in addition be in charge of the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and backward classes or any other work.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p.6

- ii) Article 330 provides for reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People.
- iii) Article 332 provides for reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assemblies of the States.
- iv) Article 334 originally laid down that the provisions relating to the reservation of seats for SCs/STs in the Lok Sabha and State Vidhan Sabhas (and the representation of the Anglo-Indian community in the Lok Sabha and the State Vidhan Sabhas by nomination) would cease to have effect on the expiration of a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution. This Article has been amended five times, extending the said period by ten years on each occasion. This provision will now expire in January, 2010.
- v) Article 243D provides for reservation of seats in Panchayats
- vi) Article 371A contains special provisions with respect to the State of Nagaland.
- vii) Article 371B contains special provisions with respect to the State of Assam
- viii) Article 371C contains special provisions with respect to the State of Manipur
- ix) Article 371F contains special provisions with respect to Sikkim.⁵⁵

Service Safeguards

The main objective for providing reservations for Scheduled Tribes (as also for SCs & OBCs) in civil posts and services of the Government is not just to give jobs to some persons belonging to these communities and thereby increase their representation in the services but to uplift these people socially and educationally with a view to empower them to join the national mainstream. The relevant Articles of the Constitution which govern the entire reservation set-up are mentioned below:

- i) Article 16(4) : This Article provides that "Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation in appointments or

⁵⁵ Ibid., p.6

posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State”

- ii) Article 16(4A) : This Article was added in the year 1995 to provide for that “Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for reservation in matters of promotion to any class or classes of posts in this services under the State in favour of the Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes which, in the opinion of the State, are not adequately represented in the services under the State”. [Constitution (Seventy-seventh Amendment) Act, 1995]
- iii) Amended Article 16(4A) : Article 16(4A), inserted by the Constitution (77th Amendment) Act, 1995, was further amended in the year 2001 to substitute the words " in matters of promotion to any class" by words "in matters of promotions, with consequential seniority, to any class" vide the Constitution (Eighty-fifth Amendment) Act, 2001. This amendment was made operative retrospectively from 17 June 1995, i.e. the date of addition of this Article vide the Constitution (Seventy- Seventh Amendment) Act, 1995.
- iv) Article 16(4B): This Article provides that “Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from considering any unfilled vacancies of a year which are reserved for being filled up in that year in accordance with any provision for reservation made under clause (4) or clause (4A) as a separate class of vacancies to be filled up in any succeeding year or years and such class of vacancies shall not be considered together with the vacancies of the year in which they are being filled up for determining the ceiling of fifty percent reservation on total number of vacancies of that year”. [Constitution (Eighty-first Amendment) Act, 2000].
- v) Article 335: This Article provides that "The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State". The following proviso was added to this Article by the Constitution (Eighty-second Amendment) Act, 2000-

“Provided that nothing in this article shall prevent in making of any provision in favour of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for relaxation in qualifying marks in any examination or lowering the standards of evaluation, for reservation in matters of promotion to any class or classes of services or posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State”.

vi) Article 320 (4): Clause (3) of Article 320 of the Constitution, inter alia, provides that the Union Public Service Commission or the State Service Public Commission, as the case may be, shall be consulted on all matters relating to methods of recruitment to civil services and for civil posts, and on the principles to be followed in making appointments 8 to civil services and posts and in making promotions and transfers from one service to another and on the suitability of candidates for such appointments, promotions or transfers. Clause (4) of this Article, however, provides that "Nothing in clause (3) shall require a Public Service Commission to be consulted as respects the manner in which any provision referred to in clause (4) of article 16 may be made or as respects the manner in which effect may be given to the provisions of article 335".⁵⁶

In order to maintain the traditional governance system of the rural India in general and the tribal community in particular the Constitution framer considered the provision of constituting village governance system. The Directive Principle of State Policy in Article 40 envisage organization of ‘Village Panchayats’ as virtual ‘Village Republics’. The spirit of this vital provision that had eluded even in the 73rd Amendment of the Constitution has been capture in the provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA). It brings the community at the village level in the form of Gram Sabha to the centre of governance. It ensures its competence to manage all its affairs in accordance with its customs and traditions. PESA covers all aspects of people’s life and restores their control in management of their natural resource. The

⁵⁶ Ibid.,p. 7

enactment of the PESA Act reinforces the need of recognizing separate identity of the Scheduled Areas.⁵⁷

Tribal Leadership

Leadership has been defined in various ways by social scientists. Ordway Tead defines “Leadership is the activity of influencing people to cooperate towards some common goal which they come to find desirable”. Pigors says, “Leadership is a process of mutual stimulation which by the successful interplay of relevant individual differences, controls human energy in the pursuit of a common cause”. E.S. Bogardu in ‘Leaders and Leadership’ defines a leader as a person who exerts special influence over a number of people.⁵⁸

The typology of leaders and leadership, several attempts have been made by scholars to do so. Social Scientist S. C. Dube concisely made several attempts to develop typologies of leaders on the basis of different criteria of classification. For example, on the basis of personality types and social roles, they have been classified as the political boss, the democrat, the bureaucrat, the diplomat, the reformer, the agitator and the theorist. On the basis of the mode of exercise of their leadership, they have been classified as authoritarian, democratic and charismatic. Using the criterion of the relation between the leader and the led, Bartlett has divided them into three groups; institutional leaders, dominant leaders and persuasive leaders. Following the criterion of the origin of leadership, they have been classified as self-appointed leaders, group-appointed leaders and executive appointed leaders. Finally, on the basis of the objectives of leadership, they have been classified as executive leaders, intellectual leaders and artistic leaders. Bogradus has used multiple criteria in his classification, and identified the following types: the direct and the indirect leaders, partisan and scientific

⁵⁷ Balchandra Mungekar, Third Report of the Standing Committee on Inter-Sectoral Issues Relating to Tribal Development on Standards of Administration and Governance in the Scheduled Areas, Op Cit., p. 30.

⁵⁸ B.S. Bhargava, *Emerging Leadership in Panchayati Raj System: A Study in a District of Rajasthan*, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, 1977, pp. 3-4.

leaders, social, executive and mental leaders, autocratic, paternal and democratic leaders, and finally prophets, saints, experts and bosses. Conway classifies them into three groups; Crowd compellers, Crowd representatives and Crowd exponents.⁵⁹

In the context of emerging leadership of tribal communities it is moreover the deep rooted culture of this community greatly supported the leaders. However, contentious issue is that the tribals have been marginalized multiple spheres of their life which negates their very spirit of leadership. The post independence Indian state treats tribals with the same condescension as its colonial rulers. The ethnographer stated that colonial official saw the tribal as the Noble Savage and there is an urgent need of their protection and development. Experts on tribal affairs says the Constituent Assembly set up to frame independent India's Constitution did not question the validity of tribal areas being marked out as excluded area under colonial rule. This was the colonial legacy of "special development package" for tribals. Overall, there was agreement in the Constituent Assembly that special measures were required for so-called backward tribes. These included reservation of seats in Parliament and State Legislatures, educational institutions and services.

Secondly, tribal leaders have also become prisoners to that great bane of Indian democracy, identity politics. They find it convenient to mobilize their communities for electoral gains. Once they find a place in the political system, their cultural bond with their community soon overtaken by an increasing misrecognition of what tribals want. It becomes a repetition of the state's so-called development agenda. Tribal leaders have very little significant in mainstream political parties. There are no tribal heavyweights in the higher echelons of the parties to influence. In the process of distribution of tickets they never stand by the promises made infavour of tribal politician. Many tribal leaders says that it is impossible to represent tribal interests within the fold of political parties. The money for the elections comes from the corporations, the interests of whom run

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

contrary to tribal communities.⁶⁰ Within this the leadership among the tribal communities only confined to get elected to democratic institution but they are being controlled by the political leader of higher caste.

Before discussing the leadership of tribal communities in Orissa it is also essential to present brief profile of tribal community of the state. Tribal communities of Orissa display an interesting profile of the states ethnic diversity. It is because of Orissa has occupied a unique position in the ethnographic map of India. It is therefore, essential to have a close look at the distribution of tribal societies in Orissa. They belong to different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups. They maintain socio-economic and cultural characteristics. Except a few, most of them are known for their direct dependence on nature because of which they are mostly noticed to inhabit the remote forest-clad regions of the state. As a result, their life and culture are found to be intrinsically linked with the environmental setting of these areas.⁶¹

The Scheduled Tribe as the name denotes are the tribes listed in the scheduled to the order by the President of India. In accordance with the provisions of the Article 341 and 342 of the Constitution, Scheduled Tribes are listed under a Presidential order for each state or local area and only such communities are enumerated as Scheduled Tribe at a census.⁶² Tribal communities received special mention for the first time in the Government of India, 1935, where a reference was made to the 'Backward tribes'. As per 13 scheduled to the Government of India order of 1936, some of the tribes were identified as backward in the then provinces of Assam, Bihar, Bombay, central

⁶⁰ "Have India's Tribal leaders failed their people", *Down To Earth*, 31st July, 2003, <http://www.downtoearth.org.in/coverage/have-indias-tribal-leaders-failed-their-people-13197> , access on 15th March, 2017

⁶¹ Jagannath Dash and Suresh Chandra Pradhan, "Tribes of Orissa and their population", in Rabintra Nath Pati and Jagannath Dash (eds.), *Tribal and Indigenous People of India: Problem and Prospects*, A.P.H. Publishing Co., New Delhi, 2002, p. 39.

⁶² A.B. Ota, "Changing Demographic Scenario of the Scheduled Tribes in Orissa (1960-91)", in R.S. Mann (ed.), *Tribes of India: Ongoing Challenges*, M.D. Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1996, p. 151.

provinces, Madras and Orissa. However, the specification of tribes and tribal communities as “Scheduled Tribes” was finally made in the Constitution of India.⁶³

As early as in 1901, Census Organisation of India under the stewardship of Sir Herbert Risley had done some pioneering work of the tribal communities. In 1931, Dr. J.H. Hultson, the then Census Commission of India resolved to continue and extend the Anthropological investigations which were initiated by Risley, and as a matter of fact Dr. Hultson who made the first serious attempt to list the primitive tribes at the Census of 1931. But, the list of Scheduled Tribes was first notified by the President of India in 1950 which was revised and further modified lists that there are 62 Scheduled Tribe communities in Orissa. However, the Scheduled Tribes in Orissa were systematically enumerated for the first time in 1961 Census wherein 60 tribes were enumerated and from 1971 Census onwards 62 tribes were taken for enumeration.⁶⁴

As Orissa occupies a unique position in India for having the largest variety of Scheduled Tribe communities, this state is popularly known as the home land of the tribals where no less than 62 different tribal communities. Since, about one-fourth of the total population of Orissa is tribal. The Scheduled Tribe population is not uniformly distributed in the districts of Orissa. The concentration of Scheduled Tribe population is higher than the total population of the districts they are seven districts. Those districts are Mayurbhanj, Koraput, Sundargarh, Keonjhar, Phulbani, Kalahandi and Sambalpur. Though the tribals are distributed in all the districts of the state, their major concentration is in the districts of Koraput, Sundargarh and Mayurbhanj where more than half of the total strength of Orissa’s tribal population.⁶⁵

The leadership is associated with political consciousness, i.e., knowledge about political affairs. Political consciousness has strong correlation with participatory

⁶³ Ibid., p. 151.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 151.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 152-154.

orientation, cynicism and political efficacy of the people. The level of political consciousness among people has far reaching consequences for successful functioning of democracy. Political participation not only depends upon political awareness but also promotes it. In tribal society, political participation is closely associated with the social characteristics of the society. The political behaviour of tribals is not very much individual. Casting ballot of an individual represents his consciousness towards political system.

Generally, any person can claim a right to contest election for a seat in Lok Sabha or Vidhan Sabha from any area. But the Constitution put a restriction on this right of non-tribals to protect the interests of the tribals.⁶⁶ This restriction is based on the presumption of 'who can speak for or on behalf of another'. The recognition of community based identities led to special representation, so that the representatives and those represented share common aspect of socio-economic life. The choice of legislators among the tribals obviously reflects the similar socio-economic characteristics within their representative community at large. The tribal communities of Orissa have strong group consciousness, often cutting across kin, class and political loyalties. This trait reflects in the voting behaviour of their concerned leaders in Orissa.

Thus, while providing reservations in the legislatures, it was believed that his/her own community than a non-tribal legislator would be in a better position to comprehend the problem faces a tribal representative. As John Bumheim believes that "Our interests are better protected when we are represented by those who share our experience and interests and that this similarity of condition is far better indicator than whether people might share our shaky opinions."⁶⁷ So, they decides whom to vote and why without any compulsion whatsoever to make the reason for a particular choice of public. They cast their ballot in favour of the rivalry candidate, who represents the mirror of preferences and interests of the people that ideally translate people's will into

⁶⁶ Jagannath Ambagudia, "Standing at the Edge: Representation and Electoral Reservation for Scheduled Tribes in Orissa", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 67, No. 2, April-June, 2006, p. 287.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

governmental decisions. The translation of different choices into aggregate outcome, however, remains problematic.⁶⁸

Had there been no policy of reservation for tribes, would they have been able to represent themselves? It is unlikely, at least in the earlier phase of electoral politics. The participation of the tribals in the freedom struggle through involvement in the activities of political parties was marginal if not rare. Neither would there have been serious and systematic efforts to recruit tribals into party cadres. It was only the constitutional provisions that extended the opportunity for tribals in India. It is also realised that even though in a predominantly tribal dominated constituency, due to the situation of backwardness and their continuous struggle for subsistence, they have not emerged as an independent political force in Orissa.

Reckoning their continuing condition of abject poverty, it would otherwise have been difficult for them to provide an alternative leadership in State level politics. On the other hand, the tribal leadership in Orissa has in general functioned more or less as a junior partner of the upper caste coastal leadership. The tribals have, on the whole, been excluded from holding important party positions.⁶⁹ According to F. G. Bailey, the Karans of Orissa generally and those of Cuttack particular, are clever enough and occupy important positions in the State. Because of their political dominate the administrative aspects of Oriya society.⁷⁰ Most of the Zamindars were from these castes. In the urban centres, middle class opportunities were also monopolised by them. In other words, the subordination of tribals and lower castes has historical approach, which continued from the colonial period.

The provision of preferential treatment for Scheduled Tribes through reservation stands out as the most powerful instrument of state policy for their development. The

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 287.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 287.

⁷⁰ F.G. Bailey, *Political and Social Change in Orissa*, Oxford University Press, London, 1961, p. 173.

system of preference in favour of backward communities in India is nothing but a process of state intervention in a constitutional manner to overcome the plight and backwardness, which suffered for centuries. The quantitative presence of STs at different levels of power is due to the political base provided by the policy of preferential treatment. The policy aimed at integration of the deprived in the political system in order to secure accommodation of their raising aspirations and to provide for their integration with non-tribal elite on equal terms. The state wedded to the principle of equality and universality in the political system to ensure political participation of deprived sections of the community through the measure of preferential treatment. In other words, following the principle of universal adult franchise, the state has become 'more inclusive' in nature. Thus, the policy represents a major political innovation to guarantee 'proportional self-representation' to weaker sections whose long experience has left them with such low levels of resources for political competition that they would normally be unable to compete effectively in a democratic system.

The competitive politics within the parliamentary framework, with the provision of reservation of seats, has created political consciousness among the tribals of Orissa to an unprecedented scale. They have begun to feel that a few of them can occupy political offices and be in a position to change their condition. Political leaders emerged with a skill to bargain and manipulate the ruling elite at all levels- from village to the panchayats to Parliament. That will ideally help to formulate policies with an aim to address political demands of the society and the need to foster desirable changes according to those demands. The policies can be formulated to meet the wider goals like socio-economic development, liberty and equality as its objective or narrow goals, which are more tangible, concrete and immediate such as educational development.

Tribal Representation

India is an Independent and democratic country. Like other state of India, there are certain number of representation from each social category is to send to state assembly. The representation is a constitutional compulsion. There are certain numbers of seat

reserve for Scheduled Castes (ST) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) both in Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha. Figure -1; here explain number of representation belongs to tribal community in Odisha state assembly. The data explain from the year 1952 to 2000. In the first assemble (1952-1957) of Odisha where there are 13 number of representation belongs to Scheduled Tribe community of 86 total assembly members. There are positive growth both in term of total number of assembly member and representation of tribal community. But during the 5th Assembly and 6th assembly when the total number of assembly has increased, which is not in case of ST. Again during 8th assembly (1980-1985), the representation of ST is less than the previous assembly.

Lok Sabha:

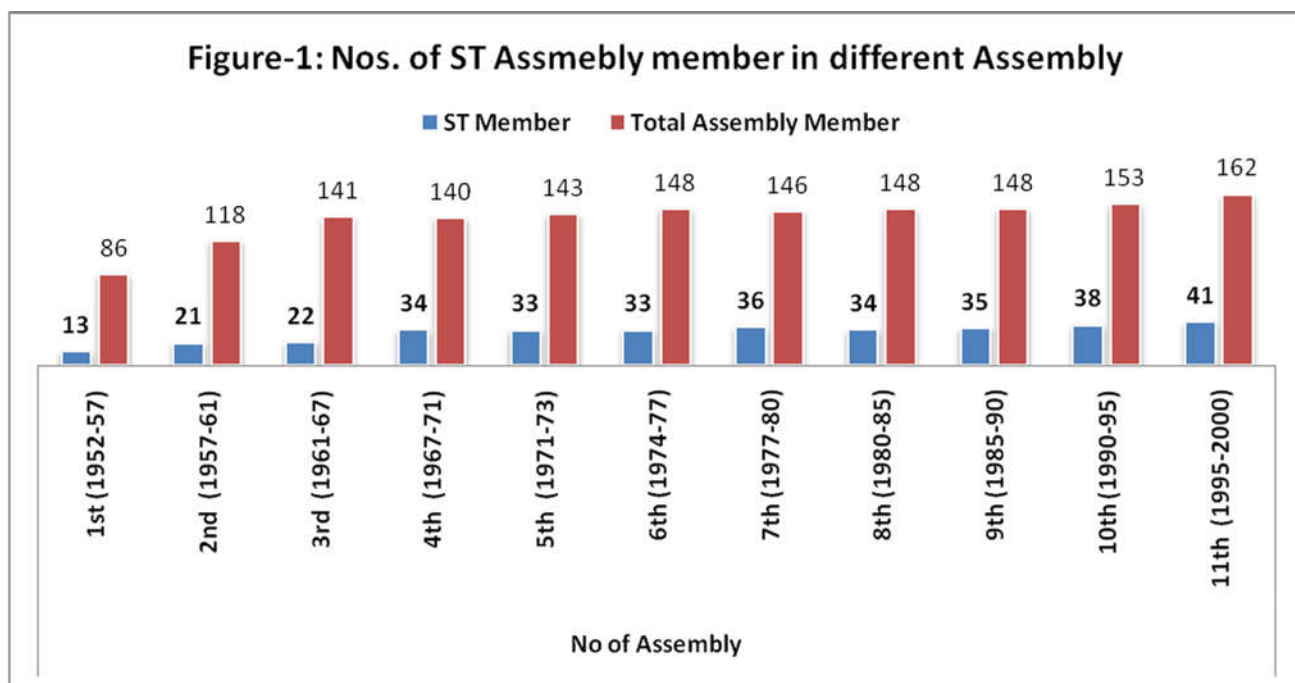
Lok Sabha is composed of representatives of the people chosen by direct election on the basis of the adult suffrage. The maximum strength of the House envisaged by the Constitution is 552, which is made up by election of upto 530 members to represent the States, upto 20 members to represent the Union Territories and not more than two members of the Anglo-Indian Community to be nominated by the Hon'ble President, if, in his/her opinion, that community is not adequately represented in the House. The total elective membership is distributed among the States in such a way that the ratio between the number of seats allotted to each State and the population of the State is, so far as practicable, the same for all States.

The table-2 presenting information regarding ST members of Lok Sabha of Odisha from the year 1951 to 1999. There are 20-22 members sending to Lok Sabha from Odisha, out of that 5 to 7 member from scheduled tribe community.

| Table-2: Lok Sabha and Different Political party | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Name of Party | Lok Sabha | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 1 st (1951-57) | 2 nd (1957-62) | 3 rd (1962-67) | 4 th (1967-70) | 5 th (1970-77) | 6 th (1977-79) | 7 th (1979-84) | 8 th (1984-89) | 9 th (1989-91) | 10 th (1991-96) | 11 th (1996-97) | 12 th (1997-1999) |
| GP | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Congr ess | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| AIGP | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| NUA C | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Ind. | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| JKD | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| SwP | - | - | 1 | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| UC | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| JP | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cong(I) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 | 5 | 2 | 5 | - | - |
| INC | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 | 2 |
| BJP | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| JntD | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 1 | - | - |
| Total | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 |

Source: based on Annexure-2

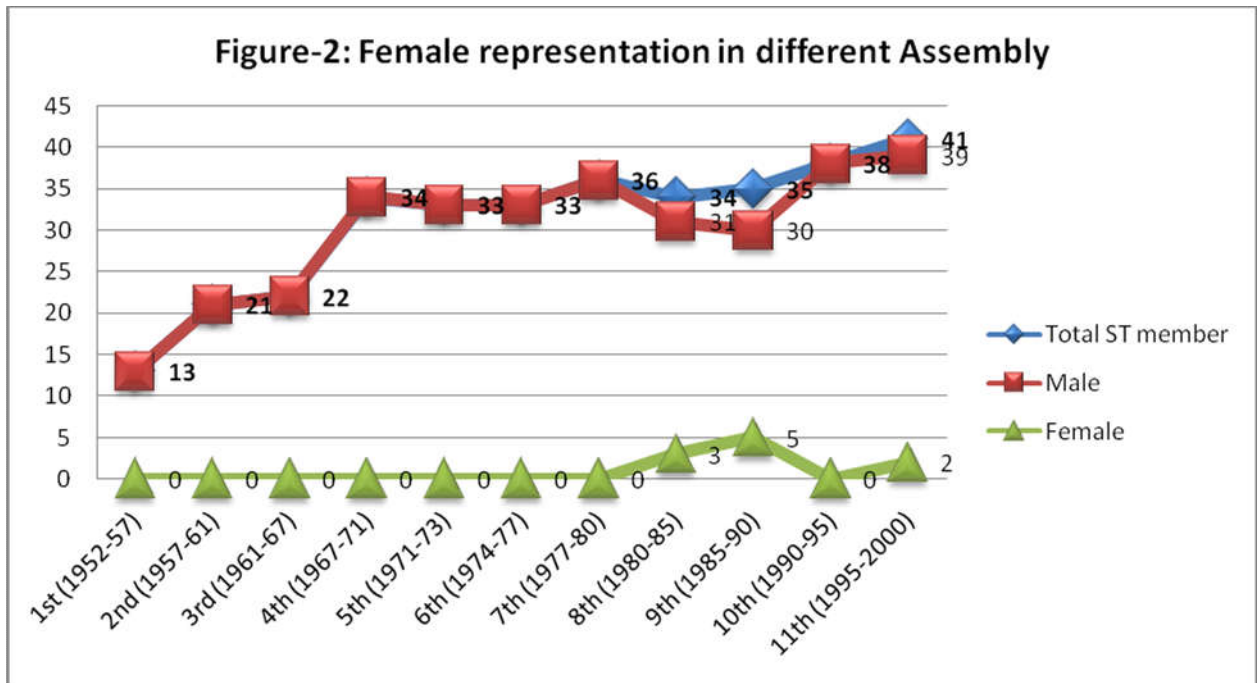
Note: INC-Indian National Congress; AIGP- All India Ganatantra Parisad; Ind-Independent; Swp-Swatantra Party; INC(I)- Indian National Congress (I); JKD-Jharkhand; UC- Utkal Congress; Jnt-Janata; JntD- Janata Dal; BJP- Bharatiya Janata Party;



Source: Based on Annexure-1 & information calculated and collected from <http://odishaassembly.nic.in>, access on 25th March 2017

Female Representation:

Females are important part of the society and their representation in assembly is crucial to formulation of different policies for empowerment of society. The figure illustrates information of female representation in different assembly of Odisha. Starting from 1st assembly to 8th assembly, there were not a single female belonging to ST community. During 9th state assembly, there were 3 ST female members. There is increase during 9th state assembly but again it is zero and two during 10th and 11th assembly respectively.



Sources: Based on Annexure-1

Different Political Party and representation of Tribes

In India, there are many political parties. The table-1 talks about the political party existed during the period from 1952-2000 and send representation from Scheduled Tribe. It does not mean that there is no possibility of change contest election individual. There are people contest election and successfully represent Scheduled Tribe community in state assembly. For instance, during 2nd assembly, 7th assembly, 9th assembly, 10th and 11th assembly, there are 4, 1, 2, 2, 2 respectively represents the scheduled tribe in state assembly by contest election own. Not all political party were present during 1st, 2nd and 3rd assembly. The emergency of polical party has diffent time and different political vantage point.

| Table-1: Assembly and Different Political party | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Name of Party | Assembly | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 1 st | 2 nd | 3 rd | 4 th | 5 th | 6 th | 7 th | 8 th | 9 th | 10 th | 11 th |
| | (195 2- 57) | (195 7- 61) | (196 1- 67) | (196 7- 71) | (197 1- 73) | (197 4- 77) | (197 7- 80) | (198 0- 85) | (198 5- 90) | (199 0- 95) | (199 5- 2000) |
| INC | 5 | 6 | 10 | 11 | 5 | 22 | 9 | 2 | 28 | 3 | 25 |
| AIGP | 6 | 11 | 3 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| SP | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Ind | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| SwP | - | - | 9 | 17 | 9 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |
| JCong | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Cong(R) | - | - | - | - | 8 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| INC(I) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 29 | - | 1 | - |
| JKD | - | - | - | - | 4 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |
| UC | - | - | - | - | 5 | 6 | - | - | - | - | - |
| PD | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Jnt | - | - | - | - | - | - | 26 | - | 4 | - | - |
| Jnt(s)C h.S | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | - | - | - |
| JntD | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 31 | 7 |
| BJP | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 2 |
| JPP | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| JMM | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| Total ST Membe r | 13 | 21 | 22 | 34 | 33 | 33 | 36 | 34 | 35 | 38 | 41 |

Source: Based on Annexure-1

Note: INC-Indian National Congress; AIGP- All India Ganatantra Parisad; SP-Socialist party; Ind-Independent; Swp-Swatantra Party; Cong(R)- Congress (R); INC(I)- Indian National Congress (I); JKD-Jharkhand; UC- Utkal Congress; PD- Pragati Dal; Jnt-Janata; Jnt(S)Ch.S- Janata(S)Ch.Sing; JntD-Janata Dal; BJP- Bharatiya Janata Party; JPP- Jharkhand People's Party; JMM- Jharkhand Mukti Morcha; JCong-Jana Congress

The socio-cultural structure of each tribe is unique. With slight variations, the Tribes have a highly egalitarian society. With high status for women, dignity of labour and love of freedom as basic planks of their ethos. They have a completely different world view of their own. Despite centuries of onslaughts of external civilizations and modern influences some of them have been able to maintain their values as seen in their rites and rituals as also traditional institutions. They have a coherent code of conduct. The traditional leadership pattern based on the erstwhile city states of Greek model of direct democracy continues to operate despite the emergence of new political structures including the Panchayati Raj Institutions and representative legislatures⁷¹.

The institution of Panchayati Raj is as old as civilisation itself. Gram panchayats have always been a part of the Indian social fabric in one form or another. The experiment of Panchayati Raj has been made to provide firm and deep roots to democracy and a broad base to the democratic structure so as to make the common man a real partner in the conduct of his own civic and political affairs. The PRIs have been considered an important aspect of socio-economic structures. PRIs are expected to serve the interests and meet the aspirations of various sections of the Indian rural society. Democratic decentralization is not merely devolution of powers. It must also comprise devolution of responsibility⁷². Panchayati Raj Institutions are breeding ground of local leadership. These institutions at village, block and district levels create a chain of political leadership. They provide best opportunity for training in the art of leadership. The following table provides tribal representation in local self-governance system.

⁷¹ B.B. Jena and J.K.Baral, *Government and Politics in Orissa*, Print House (India), Lucknow, 1988, p.461.

⁷² Vasant Desai, *Panchayati Raj: Power to the People*, Himalaya, Bombay, 1990, p. 4.

Local level institutions

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| Zilla Prishads | 30 |
| Panchayat Samitis | 314 |
| Gram Panchayats | 6234 |
| Total | 6578 |

Source: Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Government of Orissa

Number of Elected Representatives

Gram Panchayat

| | General | Scheduled Caste | Scheduled Tribes | Total | Women |
|-------|---------|--------------------|---------------------|-------|-------|
| Total | 52582 | 15746 | 25453 | 93781 | 33602 |

Source: Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Government of Orissa

Panchayat Samiti

| | General | Scheduled Caste | Scheduled Tribes | Total | Women |
|-------|---------|--------------------|---------------------|-------|-------|
| Total | 3498 | 1025 | 1704 | 6227 | 2188 |

Source: Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Government of Orissa

Zilla Parishad

| | General | Scheduled Caste | Scheduled Tribes | Total | Women |
|-------|---------|--------------------|---------------------|-------|-------|
| Total | 496 | 139 | 219 | 854 | 296 |

Source: Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Government of Orissa

Although the representation of tribal leaders have been recorded as per the provision of reservation policy of the country but the leadership in true sense have been subverted upper caste. At the legislative assembly level they are just a voiceless leaders and representation not wholly for the interest of the tribal community. At the local level institutions they are being controlled by the upper caste leaders. The historical injustice,

marginalization and discrimination are still persisting in the democratic structure of the country. Development model of the country have never been in favour of the tribal community in true sense. It is the process they face the challenge of losing their traditional customs and ethos, source of livelihood and the social integration.

Conclusion

Scheduled Tribes are mainly spread across the forests and hilly regions of India. Tribes in India are mainly characterised by their geographical location and distinct culture. In India, tribes are treated very low, are execrated and are even treated as untouchables by the prevailing adherence to social norms and caste system. The tribal people were compelled to perform duties which were considered inferior because of their economic backwardness and illiteracy. Since, these people were ill treated and were not enjoying equal status with other people which is guaranteed to all the citizens of India by Article 14 of The Constitution of India i.e., " The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India", so there was a need to provide these tribal people some rights for their welfare and development. After Independence in 1947, the Government of India spent lot of resources to improve the standard of living of tribal people and also helped them through legislations and developmental programmes and in safeguarding their rights.

In the tribal society the conformity to customs, norms and social integration continue to be maintained through their traditional organizations. As the traditional leaders continue to wield influence over their fellow tribesmen, it is worthwhile to discuss here in the context of leadership in post independence Orissa. Tribal leadership has been subverted by outside influences and agencies such as the police, the courts and political parties. In the case of political parties, tribal leaders are often manipulated for the block of votes they can deliver rather than encouraged to take the initiative of leading their people to find locally derived solutions to local problems. As a result, village autonomy was destroyed, law and order has deteriorated, and respect for

authority was lost. Tribal leaders began to exploit their own people politically, socially and economically.

A vibrant leadership is not emerging among the tribals. Grassroots level institutions are not functioning vibrantly because of local leadership and bureaucracy. Lack of education within the tribal society is a major factor obstructing the emergence of an effective leadership. Other reasons included electoral politics is based not on developmental issues but on monetary gains; the tribals themselves have been failed to attain the political power to decide their own interests. Poverty is another reason that makes the condition worse regarding tribal leadership and its healthy growth. The tribal community is manipulated to use their franchise in favour of their money lenders who are least concerned with tribal interests. Such economic compulsions resist the political mobilization of tribals.

With the legalized reservation provisions in tribal areas paved the way for tribal leadership, there is a wide range of non-representative actors possessing actual power to perform according to their whims. The non-representative actors are socially and economically dominant and oppose the emergence of strong tribal leadership. They don't want to lose their traditional privileged political status. The elected tribal representatives are wholly dependent on non-tribal politician. Due to its political mobility and strong socio-economic position non-tribal hegemony enjoys wider support and acknowledgement.

Party politics is another factor to weaken the emergence of tribal leadership. While the tribal leaders are affiliated to one or another political party, hence they are bound to work on the party line and at the higher-level parties prefer non-tribal leadership and freely sacrifice tribal interests. Tribal elite class, a group of tribals having a sound socio-economic background has nothing to do with the interest of their own community. They are transformed into an elite political culture antithetical to their own culture. Their role can be vital and give impetus to tribal emergence.

The non-tribals have a strong political network to maintain their traditional privileged status and dominate over the under privileged, i.e., tribals. They have command to control, to a great extent, local, state and national politics. This is more or less same in throughout the state.

Tribal development and welfare can't be achieve through governmental efforts alone. Political empowerment of a community is needed for its overall development. Political empowerment is a two-way process: first, it may backed by socio-economic empowerment and vis-a-vs, it can be a reverse device. If a community or a section of society is provided full opportunity to get the political power, still it's incapable to take decision it puts a matter to query. Socially alienated, economically backward, marginalized, administratively ignored, landless, jobless, food insecurity, inaccessibility to common services and property, displacement due to development, lack of education, apathy towards political participation etc. are the indications of half-hearted efforts of governmental agencies including employees since independence.

The main organizing principle of the tribal society is the kinship system with little stratification. The traditional political organization of the tribes follows a hierarchical order, with the King [symbolizing the State] is at the apex and the family is at the bottom most rung, preceded by the lineage, village and pargana. The roles of the lineage and village heads are very crucial in maintenance of social and political order. After, the introduction of the statutory Panchayati Raj system, the traditional tribal political organizations are gradually becoming feeble, yet are considered as important socio-cultural institutions.

The feudalistic character of grassroots politics prohibits the emergence of competent leadership in tribal community. Tribal leadership is still far away from the real empowerment in post independence Orissa. The predominant sections are more empowered through the powers of tribal leadership. It is the fact that the local governance institutions are the breeding ground for building leadership but tribal leadership in panchayats is just providing reservation facility and increasing the number

of tribal representatives at the panchayat level. The social dominance of non-tribal upper caste still preventing this community to exercise their responsibility as a leader of tribal community.

Conclusion

In all the modesty, the present thesis does not claim a theoretical frame work. Rather it merely outlines a set of process through which tribal leaders and their movements narrated through their own view point. The study attend to show how from the very beginnings of the colonial rule and ruler are negotiated with the tribal. The four main chapter of the study immediately suggested diversity within the broad subject of the tribal movements and leadership, in term of different place, times,, experiences, methodological concerns and historiographical debates. The one part of study explores the tribal leadership and their importance in the different movements. The other parts of the study explore about the electoral participation of the tribal leader in independent India.

The first chapter of the thesis an introduction chapter, this chapter content with the objective, argument , literature review which so the way to do the research about the tribal leader and the movements of the tribal. The second chapter basically deals with the khond tribe, human sacrifice, khond leadership and their movements. The chapter also cover the believe system of the khond tribe and their own view of the idea of god and their ritual. The argument is that from outside view point such as early British officer, ethnographer, Anthropologist in their writing, letter and report describe about that the tribes are Barbarous, inhuman, uncivilized, cruel etc. The chapter not justified their views, it investigate how the tribal are worship the nature for their cure, protection of the society, healthy life, good harvest and protection from the devil. The study also find that in one hand, the British how created law and order to civilized the khond tribes the other side it also reflect that hegemonies, exploitation and domination nature of the British. The study also narrated the human sacrifice act of the khond tribes and British suppression. The study is not support the Human sacrifice but asked a question the way British suppressed the Human sacrifice. Generally speaking, contact with the tribals was the result of the campaigns against them, and then followed a gradual control of tribal life which disturbed its traditional tenor. British authority interposed itself between the tribals and their accustomed rulers, non-tribal Rajas and

the Zamindars. The traditional closed the bond between them was not snapped, but the British government made sure that the bond furthered its interests rather than harmed them. The study also analysis about the contractual development theory of Russell, Campbell, Macpearsion, Miller applied to stoped the Meriha sacrifice. Here a question is raised, from our or colonial view point the human sacrifice a inhuman work but for the it was a protected theory, they also argued that and demand for the rite in the time of the British rule. So the study is tray to understand about the tribal view point of the sacrifice and asked a question of the way of suppression of the tribal.

The second part of the chapter also describe about the Gumoosar war and emerged the tribal leader Dora Bissoyee and Chakara Bissoyee. The study defines the importance of the Dora Bissoyee and Chakara Bissoyee. This chapter shows up the tribal religion custom and traditional leadership. The tribal had no earlier experience of a strong and regular administration which impinged on their accustomed life in many ways. British rule stop the endemic feuds and bloody inter-clan skirmishes peace and order was established no doubt, but form the tribal point of view, it damaged tribal society: fights and feuds constituted the traditional test of the leadership, besides being the essential unifying factor for the individual clans.

The second chapter of the thesis constructed through the archival primary sources, it deals with the historical background of tribal of Keonjhar. In the first chapter the study finds that the British interventions in the tribal custom and religion but in the second chapter of the study explore about the Zamindar, Raj and British how they exploited the tribes of Keonjar. The first phase of the chapter deals with socio-economic condition, keonjhar settlement, revenue and tax system. The study find that how the tax system affected the tribal people. There was no fixed revenue payable by the hill Bhuiyans before the disturbances of 1868 they only paid a certain tribute in kind and rendered some personal service. As natural in such cases there would be no limit to the demands and any amount of service might be exacted. This was really excessively harassing and Colonel (then Captain) Johanstone, who was stationed in the Killa after those disturbances, commuted the services and other dues for a fixed plough- tax of 8 annas, and in the case of those who had no ploughs a house-tax of four annas besides a

school cess of one anna per every house. The chapter explores the Bhuiyan tribal organization called as pir or meli. In the chapter carefully analysis the archival sources to created a tribal history and the importance of the tribal leader.

In this chapter discous about the relation of the Raja of Keonjhar with the colonial officers like Johanstone, Ravensaw, Major Hawkes, Hayes, H.P, wylly . The study find that how British and the local chief are systemically exploited the tribal and later how there was a movements started by the Bhuyan. The study also explore the role of the Ratan Naik and Dharanidar Nayak movements and their leadership. How they organized the movements, British occupation in Keonjar, capture and sentence of the Ratana Nayak and Dharnidhar Naik. The chapter discover about the British negation , dialogue and the new administration system of the British, the effect of the new tax sysem on tribal society are explore here. Periodical revolts in tribal tracts led to a shift of emphasis in the tribal policy through not in the policy itself as such. Government interested would now have to be reconciled with tribal fears and hopes tribal reactions would now measure the merit of any scheme from tribal uplift. This civilizing mission was of not give up only its pace was slowed down and its scope carefully considered stricter control was imposed on the government's functionaries in the tribal attracts and greater accountability was insisted upon to prevent any gross misuse of power by them. The government was now far keener to safeguard tribal interests many local officers even crying halt to some ongoing measure. The Government was far more sensitive to the tribal feelings and susceptibilities as indicated by its regular monitoring of the tribal reactions to the administrative measure adopted in their tracts.

The historian of India always giving more importance to the National Movements but they did not discussed about the tribal role, participation in the national Movements. The subaltern history school only give some priority of tribal people and discussed there heroic practice in the national movements. Recently the Indian economic and social history reviews in 2016 published a special issue about the tribal History. Otherwise tribal movements and leadership little bit emphasized through the historian. The third chapter of the thesis is deal with the tribal movements and national movements. This the chapter discuss about the Noncooperation, civil disobedient

moments, quite India movements and how the tribal are participate in the movements. The studies find that in the National Movement time the tribal leader Laxman Nayak paly a Measure role and took a revolt against the British Officer. He was a follower of the Gandhi. Lakshman Naik, being under death sentence, and kept under condemned cell since the 16th of Movement 1942. No other inmate of the jail was allowed to meet him even if they so desired. He was kept in Cell No.14. Many of the detainees were eager to see him, So they would go near Cell No. 14, on some pretext to see him. Once Lakshman Naik told a relative who had gone to see him, "I am leaving. Because of Gandhiji's endeavors India shall be independent. You should all enjoy the benefits of independence together.

The study not only explained about the Laxman Nayak but also study of the Nirmal Munda. There are very few people are Known about the Nirmal Munda. He was very aggression and prominent Munda leader. The last phase of the study found that the participation of Nirmal Munda in anti land revenue. Another important incident describe here the Amaco- Simico firing and how they killed the 31 tribal. So in the chapter explore the experience and practicpation of tribal in National Movements.

The fourth chapter explore about the debate of exclude area, language movement, and tribal participation in the electoral process. The chapter explore the language based discrimination and how the tribal are affected in the state formation .It also explore the safe gurd policy of the constitution and protection of the tribal people. Later in the chapter I discussed the representative and participation of the tribal in the Election. The study find very interesting that, Females are important part of the society and their representation in assembly is crucial to formulation of different policies for empowerment of society. The figure illustrates information of female representation in different assembly of Orissa. Starting from 1st assembly to 8th assembly, there were not a single female belonging to ST community

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Appendix-1

Table 1.1: **Number of Scheduled Tribes in Odisha**

| Sl No. | Census Year | Odisha |
|--------|-------------|--------|
| 1 | 1951 | 42 |
| 2 | 1961 | 62 |
| 3 | 1971 | 62 |
| 4 | 1981 | 62 |
| 5 | 1991 | 62 |
| 6 | 2001 | 62 |

Source: various census report, Govt. of India

Table 1:2 **Lists of Scheduled Tribes in Odisha**

| | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|
| 1. | Bagata, Bhakta | 23. | Dhur Gond |
| 2. | Baiga | 24. | Ho |
| 3. | Banjara, Banjari | 25. | Holva |
| 4. | Bathudi, Bathuri | 26. | Jatapu |
| 5. | Bhottada, Dhotada, Bhotra | 27. | Juang |
| | Bhatra, Bhattara, Bhotora, | 28. | Kandha Gauda |
| | Bhatara | 29. | Kawar, Kanwar |
| 6. | Bhuiya, Bhuyan | | Kharia, Kharian, Berga Kharia, |
| 7. | Bhumia | | Dhelki Kharia, Dudh Kharia, Erenga |
| 8. | Bhumij, Teli Bhumij, | | Kharia, Munda Kharia, Oraon |
| | Haladipokhria Bhumij, Haladi | | Kharia, Khadia, Pahari Kharia |
| | Pokharia Bhumija, Desi Bhumij, | 30. | Kharwar |
| | Tamaria Bhumij | 31. | Khond, Kond, Khandha, Nanguli |
| 9. | | | Kandha, Sitha Kandha, Kondh, Kui, |
| 10. | Bhunija | | Buda Kondh, Bura Kandha, Desia |
| 11. | Binjhal, Binjhar | | Kandha, Dungaria Kondh, Kutia |
| 12. | Binjhia, Binjhoa | | Kandha, Kandha Gauda, Muli |
| 13. | Birhor | | Kondh, Malua Kondh, Pengo |
| | Bondo Poraja, Bonda Paroja, Banda | | Kandha, Raja Kondh, Raj Khond |
| 14. | Paroja | | |
| 15. | Chenchu | 32. | Kisan, Nagesar, Nagesia |
| 16. | Dal | 33. | Kol |
| 17. | Desua Bhumij | 34. | Kolah Loharas, Kol Loharas |
| 18. | Dharua, Dhuruba, Dhurva | 35. | Kolha |
| 19. | Didayi, Didai Paroja, Didai | 36. | Koli, Malhar |
| | Gadaba, Bodo Gadaba, Gutob | 37. | Kondadora |
| | Gadaba, | 38. | Kora, Khaira, Khayara |
| | Kapu Gadaba, Ollara Gadaba, | 39. | Korua |
| 20. | Parenga Gadaba, Sano Gadaba | 40. | Kotia |
| 21. | | | |

| | | | |
|-----|--|-----|--|
| 22. | Gabdia | | |
| 41. | Ghara | | |
| | Gond, Gondo, Rajgond, Maria Gond, Koya, Gumba Koya, Koitur Koya, | 59. | Saora, Savar, Saura, Sahara, Arsi Saora, Based Saora, Bhima Saora, Bhimma Saora, Chumura Saora, Jara Savar, Jadu Saora, Jati Saora, Juari Saora, Kampu Saora, Kampa Soura, Kapo Saora, Kindal Saora, Kumbi Kancher Saora, Kalapithia Saora, Kirat Saora, Lanjia Saora, Lamba Lanjia Saora, Luara Saora, Luar Saora, Laria Savar, Malia Saora, Malla Saora, Uriya Saora, Raika Saora, Sudda Saora, Sarda Saora, Tankala Saora, Patro Saora, Vesu Saora |
| 42. | Kamar Koya, Musara Koya | | |
| 43. | | | |
| 44. | Kulis | | |
| 45. | Lodha, Nodh, Nodha, Lodh | | |
| 46. | Madia | | |
| 47. | Mahali | | |
| 48. | Mankidi | | |
| 49. | Mankirdia, Mankria, Mankidi | | |
| 50. | Matya, Matia | | |
| | Mirdhas, Kuda, Koda | | |
| 51. | Munda, Munda Lohara, Munda | | |
| 52. | Mahalís, Nagabanshi Munda, Oriya | | |
| 53. | Munda | | |
| 54. | Mundari | 60. | Shabar, Lodha |
| 55. | Omanatya, Omanatyo, Amanatya | 61. | Sounti |
| | Oraon, Dhangar, Uran | 62. | Tharua, Tharua Bindhani |
| | Parenga | | |
| | Paroja, Parja, Bodo Paroja, Barong Jhodia Paroja, Chhelia Paroja, Konda Paroja, Paraja, Ponga Paroja, Sodia Paroja, Sano Paroja, Solia Paroja | | |
| 56. | Pentia | | |
| 57. | Rajuar | | |
| 58. | Santal | | |

Source: Census report, 2011, Govt. of India,

Appendix-2

Tribal Rituals and Festival

| Name of the Tribe | Ritual/festival | Timing | The Event in Brief |
|-------------------|---|---|---|
| Bagata | Dussehra | Aswina (Sept.-Oct.) | Worshiping of fishing basket and trident |
| Baiga | Chaita Navami | March-April | Perform <i>Shail</i> dance wearing wooden mask. Baiga priest is the main functionary |
| Banjara | Guru Nawami Dussehra | Sept.-Oct. | Puja performed by Brahman priest |
| Bathudi | Dussehra Makarsankranti Raja, Gambha, Kalipuja | Aswina (Sept.-Oct.) Pusa (Dec.-Jan.) | <i>Dehuri/Guru</i> performs the Puja, sacrifices goats and cocks |
| Bhotada | Chaita Parab Akhiturtia Nuakhia Dussehra | Chait (March-April) Baishakha (April-May) Bhadrab (Aug.-Sept.) Aswina (Sept.-Oct.) | <i>Pujari</i> worships earth goddess and sacrifices goats, sheep and fowls for soil fertility and bumper harvest. Also the same is repeated for eating of new mango. New eating rice |
| Bhumia | Balijatra Budhi Thakuranipuja | March- April Caitra (March-April) | <i>Disari</i> sacrifices goat during fertility rites. Young girls dance in trance and act as a medium for the spirit called <i>Debata</i> . Village deity <i>Budhithakurani</i> is worshiped on all important occasions. |
| Bhumij | Karama | Aug-September | <i>Naya/ Dehuri</i> performs the |

| | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|
| | Dhulla Puja | Baisakha (April-May) | ritual for prosperity of the village. For well-being of the village. |
| | Vadhnaparab | Kartika (Oct-Nov) | New eating ritual |
| Binjhal | Karama | Bhadrab (August-September) | <i>Jhankar</i> worships <i>karamasani</i> deity for good fortune. <i>Badakarama</i> is observed in every three years in which unboiled rice, milk, sweets and liquor are offered. |
| | Haral parab | Sravan (July-August) | Ancestor worship for welfare of the children by keeping unboiled rice and milk on their feet. |
| | Pusapunei or Madhen parab | Pausa (Dec- Jan) | Village deity is worshiped with rice, pulses, and animal sacrifices. |
| | Maghaparab | Magha (March) | Dongar debata is worshiped and fowl and goat are sacrificed. |
| | Makulbhaja parab | Caitra (March-April) | First eating of Mahua flowers. |
| Binjhia | Dusserha Rathajatra Karama | Sept.-Oct. (Aswina) July(Asadha) August/September | <i>Kalo</i> worships the village deity, Gramsiri and sacrifices cocks and goats before the deity. |
| Birhor/ Mankirdia | Megheparab | Megha (Jan.-Feb.) | Fowls are sacrificed. Dehuri officiates in all the rituals. The Supreme deity, Sing Bonga (Sun God) and the village deity (Dasuali) at Jahira are worshiped. |
| | Hero Baha | Mahga (Jan-Feb.) Chaitra (Mar-April) | Dancing and merrymaking Ritual for first fruit of Mahua and ceremonial hunting. |
| | Makarparab | January | Fire festival, take holly dip in the hill stream, eat cakes. |

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| Chuktia Bhunjia | Kali puja Dussehra | (Oct-Nov) Oct-Nov) | Also observed Hindu festivals Pujari (priest), Kataria (sacrificer) and Chhatria (Umbrella holder) worship Sunadei- Chief deity- of the Bhunjias. Bucks and Parrots are sacrificed for good rain, prosperity of villages and to be free from illness. Fowls are sacrificed and wine is offered before the deity for bumper Mahua crop. Buck, fowl and pig are sacrificed for bumper crops. Buck sacrificed for preventing illness of all kinds. |
| | Dussehra | Aswin (Oct-Nov) | |
| | Viemsen puja | (March-April) | |
| | Mati puja (Earth) | (Sept- April) | |
| | Dharani puja | (Nov-Dec) | |
| Dal | Puspuneii | (Nov-Dec) | Bhoi/ Jani/ Bisal sacrifice fowls before the home deities of all Communal worship at village and then at forest Earth worship Brahmin worship under a Tulsi plant in the middle of village |
| | Asadhakhai | (June-July) | |
| | Matijatra Penchhadapuja | (May-June) | |
| Dharua | Lendipanda | Magha (Jan-Feb) | Palasi, village priest, sacrifices fowls, goats, pigs etc. before Birbu (Mother Earth) goddess at the begging of agricultural cycle first eating of new fruits, mango, Mahua flowers etc. Annual hunting ceremony |
| | Ghia Panda Goesendia Hia | April-May | |
| Dongria Kondh | Meriah | (March-April) | Ritual with buffalo sacrifice. For well-being of the people, better fertility of the soil and |

| | | | |
|-------------|---|---|--|
| | Ghantaparab Mandiarani Dhannuakhia Pidika Punapadi Bihanpuja | Baisakha (April-May) Shraban (July-Aug) Bhadrab (Aug-Sept) Aswin (Sept-Oct) Kartik (Oct-Nov) Chaitra (March-April) | health and happiness of the villagers for fulfillment of wants. For harvest of ragi First rice offering to village deity Bumper crop of castor seeds first eating of red gram, small millets and jawar. Ritual of sowing seeds. |
| Gadaba | Bandapana Parab Dusserhra parab Puss Parab Chait Parab | July (Sept-Oct) December March-April | Disari sacrifices fowls before Thakurani (Represented by a slab of stone) at a Hundi (place of worship). Disari officiates in all the worships. |
| Gond | Chaitra Parba | March-April | Devaril (village priest and Katora (clan priest) sacrifice pig and fowls in the rituals like worship of Akipen (village god) during first eating of new crops and for successful germination of seeds and Auwal (Mother goddess) before sowing new millets. Blood of the sacrificed animals is sprinkled over the seeds and the charmed seeds offered to gods are shown in the fields for good harvesting. |
| Hill Kharia | Dusserha Makar Sankranti Bhandar Puja | October January January-February | Dehuri sacrifices fowls and goats to venerate plough and axe. Ancestor worship-take holly dip in the hilly stream. Gather around fire and eat cake. Worship the village deity and Bhandar Thakurani for good quantity of honey collection and sacrifice goats and fowls. |

| | | | |
|--------|---|---|--|
| | | | Make community feast perform songs and changu dance. |
| Ho | Maghe Baha Damurai Heru Jamnama Kolon Batuali | Magha (Jan-Feb) | Dehuri officiates in all the rituals. The Supreme deity, Sing Bonga (Sun God) and the village deity (Dasuali) at Jahira are worshiped. All festivals are associated with agricultural operations. |
| Holva | Chaitra Amus | March-April August-September | Pujari worships during new mango eating ceremony New eating ceremony |
| Jatapu | Pongal (Pondugu) Bhagudi | January March-April | Disari officiates in social function and Jani worships the village deity Jahar is the Supreme deity and Jakeri is the goddess. Fowls pigs and goats are sacrificed |
| Juang | Pus Punei Amba-Nua Tirtia Pirh puja Dhan Nua | Pus (Dec-Jan) March-April June (Aug-Sept) | Nagam or Dehuri sacrifices a pig and sprinkles its blood over the grains for good germination purpose Deities, Dharam Deobta (Sun God), Basumata (Mother Earth) and Gramsiri (Village deity are worshiped in the occasions |
| Kawar | Dusserha | (Oct-Nov) | Worshipped two- edged sword (Jhagna Khanda) and sword of strife. |
| Kisan | Bihanbuna Gamha Nuakhai Dusserha Puspune | Baisakha (April- May) Sraban (July- August) Bhadrab (Aug-Sept) Aswin (Sept-Oct) Pus (Dec-Jan) | First sowing of seeds. Installation of Kendu twigs in crop fields Eating new- rice Worshiping village deities Ancestor worship with dance and merrymaking |
| Kol | Maghapudi Baparaba/ | Magha (Jan-Feb) Chait (Mar-April) | Post harvesting ritual Eating new- mango, jackfruit |

| | | | |
|----------------|---|---|--|
| | Phulbhaguni Jamnamparab Makara Asadhi Gamha | Aswin(Sept-Oct) Magha (Jan-Feb) Asadha (June-July) Sraban (July-Aug) | And use of sal flowers Eating new- rice Ancestor worship Ritual for agriculture Ritual for cattle wealth |
| Kollohar | Karama Dusserha Makara Nuakhai | Aswin (Sept-Oct) Aswin (Sept-Oct) Magha (Jan-Feb) Bhadrab (Aug-Sept) | Well-being of people, dancing, drinking and enjoying special foods Rituals and sacrifice of animal and birds before village shrines Ancestor worship & Community Feast Eating new- rice. |
| Konda Dora | Makara Dhan Nuakhia Dusserha | Magha (Jan-Feb) Aswin (Oct-Nov) Aswin (Sept-Oct) | Ancestor worship Eating new- rice Sacrifice of animal and birds before village shrines |
| Kora | Dusserha Puspuernima | Aswin (Sept-Oct) Pus (Dec-Jan) | Sacrifice of goats and sheep and fowls before village shrines Post harvesting ritual |
| Koya | Bijapandu Kurumpandu Dusserha Sikudpandu Bimudpandu | April-May Bhadrab (Aug-Sept) Aswin (Sept-Oct) Aswin (Oct-Nov) (Jan-Feb) | Mango eating festival, Worship earth goddess and offering sacrifice of fowls, pigs and eggs Ritual for first eating small millets New rice eating New bean eating Worshiping of rain god and seeds consecration |
| Kutia Kondh | Korubiha Dakina (Meriah) | | To appease <i>Dharni Penu</i> , Earth goddess for soil fertility buffalo sacrifice is given. Jani is the religious head. |
| Lanjia Sora | Uroy-n-a-Adur Ganugey-n-a- | | Related to a kind of millet Related to sweet potato |

| | | | |
|----------|--|--|---|
| | Adur Kondem-n-a- Adur Kuroj-n-a-Adur Osa-n-a-Adur Rago-n-a-Adur Tanku-n-a-Adur Uda-n-a-Adur | | Related to a course variety of corn grow in the hills Related to a kind of grass First eating of a minor millet First eating of Kandul (red gram) Storing of mango kernel Ritual before village deity for eating new mango |
| Lodha | Sital Puja Manas puja Jathel Asthani puja Bandanapuja Nateunhanri | Baisakh (April-May) Jesta (May-June) Shraban (July-Aug) Aswin (Sept-Oct) Kartik (Oct-Nov) Chaitra (April-May) | Sacrifice of animal and birds to village deity Seed sowing ritual Ritual to protect the cattle from diseases Offering sacrifice to village shrines Eating new rice ritual Annual ancestor worship ceremony |
| Mahali | Baha Sharai Maa-mane | Falgun (Feb-March) Kartik (Oct-Nov) Magha (Jan-Feb) | Naya worships the village Pirha for welfare Naya worships sacrifices fowls at the village outskirts Ritual for harvesting and using new fruits, leaves, wild grass for thatching and collection of wood |
| Malhar | Makarsankranti | Magha (Jan-Feb) | Ancestral worship |
| Munda | Sarhul Karma Jitia Dusserha Saharai Shivaratri | October | Reaping of paddy by the magico-religious head Well being of people, dancing, and enjoying special feast Ritual for cattle worship and enjoyment of special food |
| Omanatya | Pusapurnima Amnua Akshimuthi | Pusa (Dec-Jan) Chaita (March-April) Baisakh (April-May) | Post harvesting festival New mango eating Pujari offers ritual for sowing seeds |
| Oraon | Fagu | Falgun (Feb-March) | Naega offers sacrifice before |

| | | | |
|---------|--|--|--|
| | Sarhul Bisu Sikar Karama | Chaita (Mar-April) Baisakh (April-May) (August/Sept) | village deity Ritual for using Sal flowers Ceremonial annual hunting Ritual before village shrine |
| Parenga | Pusapunei Chaitaparab Bandapana | Pusa (Dec-Jan) Chaita (March- April) Shraban (July-Aug) | Offering sacrifice to cattle god Worship <i>Nangasery</i> and offer goat and fowl sacrifices before proceeding for annual hunting Eating of pumpkin leaves |
| Paroja | Asadhiparaba Nuakhia Chaitaparab Bihanthapa Langaladhua Bhadparab | Asadha (June-July) Bhadrab (Aug-Sept) Chaita (March- April) Baisakh (April-May) Sraban (July-Aug) Bhadrab (Aug-Sept) | Ritual to protect the cattle from diseases Eating of new rice Annual ceremonial hunting Seed sowing ceremony Ritual for consecration of Agril Implements Eating of new rice |
| Pentia | Nuakhia Ambanua | Bhadrab (Aug-Sept) Chaita (March- April) | Eating of new rice, Disari sacrifices a goat before village shrine New Mango eating |
| Rajuar | Makar Nuakhia Karam | August/September Bhadrab(Aug-Sept) Magha(Jan-Feb) | Ancestor worship & Community feast Eating of new rice Ritual before village shrine |
| Santal | Erok-sim Hariham-sim Iri-guldi-sim Jantal Saharai Magha-sim Baha | Jeytha (May-June) Sraavan (July-Aug) Bhadrab (Aug-Sept) Pusa (Dec-Jan) Kartik (November) Magha (Jan-Feb) Chaitra (Mar-April) | For sowing seeds At the time of Sprouting seeding Offering small millets to deity First eating of rice Cattle worship Dancing and merrymaking Ritual for first fruit of Mahua and ceremonial hunting |
| Sunti | Raja Gamha Makara Nuakhia | Jestha (May-June) Sraban (July-Aug) August/September (Dec-Jan) | Ritual before village deity and dance and merrymaking Installation of Kendu twigs in crop fields Ancestor worship and sacrifice of fowls First eating of new rice |

| | | | |
|--------|-----------------|-------------|---|
| | | | |
| Tharua | Makara | January | Ancestor worship and eating of special food |
| | Randia Gamha | July-August | Ritual for cattle and enjoy special food |

Appendix-3

Statement of Mariahs rescued and Possias Registered, since the first establishment of the Agency for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices, to the
13th April 1853

| Zemindarries and seasons | Meriahs Rescued | | | Possias Registered and Restored | | | Total Meriahs | | | Total Poossas | | | Remarks |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|---------|-------|---------------------------------|---------|-------|---------------|---------|-------|---------------|---------|-------|---------------------------|
| | Males | Females | Total | Males | Females | Total | Males | Females | Total | Males | Females | Total | |
| From Boad in 1846-1847 | 14 | 27 | 41 | 16 | 1 | 17 | | | | | | | |
| From Ditto in 1847-1848 | 111 | 94 | 205 | 26 | 9 | 85 | | | | | | | |
| From Ditto in 1848-1849 | 40 | 29 | 69 | 24 | 9 | 33 | | | | | | | |
| From Ditto in 1850-1851 | 16 | 14 | 30 | 7 | 2 | 9 | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | 181 | 164 | 345 | 73 | 21 | 94 | Total from boad |
| From Chinna Kimeddy in 1848-1849 | 58 | 93 | 151 | 36 | 19 | 55 | | | | | | | |
| From Ditto in 1849-1850 | 110 | 90 | 200 | 92 | 134* | 226 | | | | | | | |
| From Ditto 1850-1851 | 86 | 117 | 203 | 75 | 133 | 208 | | | | | | | |
| From Ditto in 1851-1852 | 14 | 9 | 23 | 4 | 1 | 5 | | | | | | | |
| From Ditto 1852-1853 | 37 | 35 | 72 | 34 | 38 | 72 | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | 305 | 344 | 649 | 241 | 325 | 566 | Total from Chinna Kimeddy |
| From Muddunpore | 33 | 26 | 59 | 4 | 8 | 12 | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|-----|------|----|----|-----|---|--|--|
| of Kallahundy in 1850-1851 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| From ditto | 9 | 4 | 13 | 15 | 10 | 25 | | | | | | | | | |
| Ditto in 1852-1853 | | | | | | | 42 | 30 | 72 | 19 | 18 | 37 | { Total from Muddunpore of Kallahundy} | | |
| From Patna in 1850-1851 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 62 | 32 | 94 | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | 2 | 0 | 2 | 62 | 32 | 94 | Total from Patna | | |
| From Jeypore in 1851-1852 | 48 | 82 | 130 | 12 | 7 | 19 | | | | | | | | | |
| From Ditto in 1852-1853 | 29 | 33 | 62 | 2 | 1 | 3 | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | 77 | 115 | 192 | 14 | 8 | 22 | Total from Jeypore | | |
| Grand Total of Meriahs and possiahs to the present date | | | | | | | | | 1260 | | | 813 | | | |

OFFICE OF THE AGENT IN THE HILL TRACTS OF ORISSA
Camp Berhampur, 13th April 1853 }

(signed) J. CAMPBELL, Lieut...Col.,
Agent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa.

Statement showing the manner in which the Meriahs rescued from 1846 to the 13th of April 1853, have been disposed of.

| Particular | Sex. | | | Total |
|--|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| | Males | Females | | |
| In private services | 3 | 0 | | 3 |
| Given in Marriage to eligible person | 0 | 247 | | 247 |
| Deserted | 63 | 14 | | 77 |
| Died | 69 | 79 | | 148 |
| Supporting themselves by labour | 10 | 8 | | 18 |
| Employed in the public service | 12 | 0 | | 12 |
| Sent to Missionary Schools at Berhampore and Balasore | 116 | 84 | | 200 |
| Given for adoption to persons of character | 112 | 55 | | 167 |
| Settled as Ryots | Males | Female | Total | |
| At 1 Tickabully | 1 | 0 | 1 | |
| At 2 Jodabondo | 14 | 14 | 28 | |
| At 3 Bahadajolo | 13 | 7 | 20 | |
| At 4 Sooropadah | 17 | 10 | 27 | |
| At 5 Sedapodro | 46 | 28 | 74 | |
| At 6 Gullery | 18 | 7 | 25 | |
| At 7 Muskabady | 11 | 1 | 12 | |
| At 8 Bramanapodro | 10 | 3 | 13 | |
| At 9 Mahasinghee | 16 | 14 | 30 | |
| At 10 Moddopore | 24 | 15 | 39 | |
| At 11 Chundragherry | 8 | 1 | 9 | |
| At 12 Oopur Bago | 17 | 11 | 28 | |
| | 195 | 111 | 306 | |
| Remaining to be settled | | | | |
| At Sourradah | 16 | 43 | 59 | |
| | 16 | 43 | 59 | |
| Meriah unable to work from old age, blindness &c., and supported by the state..... | 11 | 12 | 13 | |
| | 11 | 12 | 23 | |
| Grand Total..... | 607 | 653 | 1260 | |

OFFICE OF THE AGENT IN THE HILL TRACTS OF ORISSA
Camp Berhampur, 13th April 1853 }

(signed) J. CAMPBELL, Lieut...Col.,
Agent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa.

CAUSES OF RECENT FIRING IN GANGPUR STATE

Mob's Attack On Political Officer

AGITATION COLLAPSES WITH REMOVAL OF THE LEADER

BIRMITRAPUR, May 7.

The circumstances leading to the firing at Simko, in Gangpur, on April 25 and how, armed with bows and poisoned arrows, the Mundas, an aboriginal people, organised themselves with a view to defying the State's authority and used drums for inter-village warnings are related in a Press communique issued by the Gangpur Durbar on the completion of a judicial inquiry into the causes of the incident, as a result of which 32 people were killed and 19 injured.

Prior to this occurrence, the communique adds, there had been set on foot a "no-rent" campaign among the Mundas, most of whom are converts to Christianity. The Durbar approached the Church Council of the Lutheran Mission at Ranchi who, in their turn, sent out a deputation to tour the State, but the Secretary of the Church Council wrote to the Dewan that he despaired of "persuading the Lutheran Mundas to see reason unless some strong action was taken against these agitators."

Military assistance had to be requisitioned and among those who tried to pacify the mob was the Assistant Political Agent, who was made the object of attack. When he was attacked firing was decided upon and this, according to the communique, probably prevented a repetition of the recent Ranpur incident, in which Major Bazalgette, Political Agent, was killed.

REGENT RANI AMONG RYOTS

The communique continues: "The Regent Rani Sahiba herself visited the area where the agitation was most acute, accompanied by her Secretary and the Dewan. She held five meetings and explained to the ryots that the object of her visit was to listen to their grievances and to give them relief.

The Mundas put forward a demand for the reduction of the rents assessed at the recent settlement. The Regent Rani Sahiba examined this question with great concern, and, after full inquiry, decided that the demand for a summary reduction of the rents was unjust when the rents were found by comparison to be lighter than those in the adjoining districts.

"It was also not a practicable proposition to upset a settlement so recently completed at the expense of the equivalent of two years' land revenue. The Rani Sahiba consulted the Lord Bishop of Ranchi and Roman Catholic priests in the matter and they quite agreed with the justice of the State's position and advised their followers to refrain from opposing the State's authority

LEADER OF AGITATORS

"The Lutheran Mundas, however, continued to oppose the State, and attempted to influence other communities not to pay rent. In this they were led by one Nirmal Munda, who was instigated by certain people in the province of Bihar. The Regent Rani Sahiba, meanwhile, announced that she would give every consideration to any other grievances the people might have and give them every possible relief.

"Nirmal and a section of the Lutheran Mundas boycotted the Regent Rani's meetings and told the people not to pay any rent until a direct reply was received by them to some petition they had sent to Delhi. This they did in spite of having been

shown that their petition had been returned to the Durbar for disposal.

"On December 26, 1938, on the occasion of her second son's succession to the *gadi*, the Regent Rani Sahiba announced several concessions. These concessions, however, failed to satisfy the Lutheran Mundas who only interpreted her announcement as a response to their agitation and continued their 'no-rent' campaign with renewed vigour.

"With the hot weather approaching its peak, the Durbar decided that action must be taken, and so, with the support of troops, the village of Dahijira was surrounded at the end of March and a number of leading agitators were arrested. Nirmal, however, escaped and continued to hold meetings, in which he preached sedition and violent opposition to the authority of the State and the collection of rent.

"This opposition to the authority of the State reached its climax on the afternoon of April 25, when a party of police which went to Nirmal's house at Simko was confronted by a crowd of 500 defiant Mundas, armed with *lathis*, axes and *tabalas*. The help of troops was asked for and two platoons (50 men) of the 18th Punjab Regiment under a British officer, accompanied the Sub-Divisional Officer. Several police officers and the Assistant Political Agent went to the scene. The magistrate explained that he had come with a warrant for the arrest of Nirmal for attacking a chowkidar. He advised the crowd to disperse quietly to their homes and to give up the accused without resisting the police.

"The crowd only grew more defiant and eventually the sub-divisional magistrate had to declare them an unlawful assembly and order them to disperse.

ATTACK BY CROWD

"The crowd, however, were determined to provoke a battle, and resisted the police, attacking them with *lathis* and axes and attempting to seize their rifles. The Circle Inspector of Police received serious injuries on his head, several constables were hurt and the Assistant Political Agent was the victim of a concerted attack when he went to prevent the seizure of a rifle. When this attack took place it was reluctantly decided that the crowd would not disperse unless the order to fire was given, and this was accordingly done, probably saving a repetition of the recent Ranpur incident. As the police opened fire part of the crowd attempted to attack the troops as well, and though firing only lasted half a minute, severe casualties were inflicted as the Mundas rushed at the troops.

"After the firing, the mob immediately dispersed and the police entered Nirmal's house, found him concealed in the roof and arrested him. Twenty-eight Mundas were killed and 25 injured, of whom four have since died in hospital. Two of the police officers were severely injured, as well as one of the sepoy's and two constables.

"With the removal of their leader, the opposition of the Lutheran Mundas has very largely collapsed, order has been restored in the area, and both rents and arrears are being brought in by the Gauntias (village headmen) every day. The ordinary administration of the State is proceeding normally.—Associated Press

Appendix-5

Nos of SC, ST and Total Constituencies Lok Sabha

| S.No. | State/ Union Territory | Number of constituencies | | |
|-------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|----|----|
| | | Total | SC | ST |
| | States | | | |
| 1. | Andhra Pradesh | 42 | 6 | 2 |
| 2. | Assam | 14 | 1 | 2 |
| 3. | Bihar | 54 | 8 | 5 |
| 4. | Gujarat | 26 | 2 | 4 |
| 5. | Haryana | 10 | 2 | - |
| 6. | Himachal Pradesh | 4 | 1 | - |
| 7. | Jammu & Kashmir | 6 | - | - |
| 8. | Karnataka | 28 | 4 | - |
| 9. | Kerala | 20 | 2 | - |
| 10. | Madhya Pradesh | 40 | 6 | 9 |
| 11. | Maharashtra | 48 | 3 | 4 |
| 12. | Manipur | 2 | - | 1 |
| 13. | Meghalaya | 2 | - | - |
| 14. | Nagaland | 1 | - | - |
| 15. | Orissa | 21 | 3 | 5 |
| 16. | Punjab | 13 | 3 | - |
| 17. | Rajasthan | 25 | 4 | 3 |
| 18. | Sikkim | 1 | - | - |
| 19. | Tamil Nadu | 39 | 7 | - |
| 20. | Tripura | 2 | - | 1 |
| 21. | Uttar Pradesh | 85 | 18 | - |
| 22. | West Bengal | 42 | 8 | 2 |
| | UNION TERRITORIES | | | |
| 23. | Andaman & Nicobar Islands | 1 | - | - |
| 24. | Arunachal Pradesh | 2 | - | - |
| 25. | Chandigarh | 1 | - | - |
| 26. | Dadra & Nagar Haweli | 1 | - | 1 |
| 27. | Delhi | 7 | 1 | - |
| 28. | Goa, Daman & Diu | 2 | - | - |
| 29. | Lakshadweep | 1 | - | 1 |
| 30. | Mizoram | 1 | - | - |
| 31. | Pondicherry | 1 | - | - |
| | Nominated Anglo-Indian Islands | 2 | - | - |
| | Total | 544 | 79 | 40 |

Sources: Election Commission of India

Annexture-1

Detail List of ST members in Assembly of Odisha (1952-2000)

| SL NO | NAME | Gender | CONSTITUENCY | PARTY |
|---|---|--------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| First Assembly(20/02/1952-04/03/1957) | | | | |
| 1 | Late Mandangi Kamaya | Male | RAYAGADA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 2 | Late Bhagirathi Gomango(Titimiri) (Bye) | Male | GUNUPUR(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 3 | Late Sarangdhar Pradhan (Bye) | Male | PHULBANI UDAYAGIRI(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 4 | Late JanardanMajhi | Male | BHAWANIPATNA(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 5 | Shri Manohar Singh Naik | Male | JHARSUGUDA-RAMPELLA(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 6 | Late AgapitLakra | Male | RAJGANGPUR(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 7 | Shri Guru CharanNaik | Male | CHAMPUA(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 8 | Late Govinda Chandra Munda | Male | KEONJHAR(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 9 | Late HarachandHansada | Male | KAPTIPADA(ST) | Socialist Party |
| 10 | Late Sakila Soren | Male | KHUNTA(ST) | Socialist Party |
| 11 | Late Sonaram Soren | Male | BAHALDA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 12 | Late HaradebTriya | Male | RAIRANGPUR(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 13 | late Jadav Majhi (B.posi) | Male | Bangriposhi(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| List of Members in Second Assembly(01/04/1957-25/02/1961) | | | | |
| 1 | Shri LaxmanaPujari | Male | KORAPUT(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 2 | Late MaluSantha | Male | POTTANGI(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 3 | Late Mandangi Kamaya | Male | RAYAGADA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 4 | Late SanyasiCharanPidikaka | Male | GUNPUR(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 5 | Shri LokanathPatra | Male | BALLIGUDA(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 6 | Late Sarangdhar Pradhan | Male | GUDAIGIRI(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 7 | Late JanardanMajhi | Male | DHARMAGARH(ST) | All India Ganatantra |

| | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| | | | | Parishad |
| 8 | Late GhasiramMajhi | Male | NAWAPARA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 9 | Shri Manohar Singh Naik | Male | JHARSUGUDA(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 10 | Shri Gangadhar Pradhan | Male | SUNDARGARH(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 11 | Shri Santi Prakash Oram | Male | RAJGANGPUR(ST) | Independent |
| 12 | Late Arjun Naik | Male | BONAI(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 13 | Shri Guru CharanNaik | Male | CHAMPUA(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 14 | Shri Krushna Chandra Mahapatro | Male | KEONJHAR(ST) | Independent |
| 15 | Late KaliaDehuri | Male | DHENKANAL(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 16 | Late ManmohanTudu | Male | UDALA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 17 | Late MochiramTiriya | Male | JASHIPUR(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 18 | Late HaradebTriya | Male | RAIRANGPUR(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 19 | Shri Sundar Mohan Hemrom | Male | BAHALDA(ST) | Independent |
| 20 | Late RadhamohanNayak | Male | BANGRIPOSHI(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 21 | Shri SamaiMajhi | Male | BARIPADA(ST) | Independent |

List of Members in Third Assembly(21/06/1961-01/03/1967)

| | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | Late ToyakaSangana | Male | KORAPUT(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 2 | Late PangiMusuri Santa | Male | POTTANGI(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 3 | Late Mandangi Kamaya | Male | RAYAGADA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 4 | Late DuburaPodra | Male | BALLIGUDA | Swatantra Party |
| 5 | Late Sarangdhar Pradhan | Male | GUDAIGIRI(ST) | All India Ganatantra Parishad |
| 6 | Late AnchalMajhi | Male | BHAWANIPATNA(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 7 | Late GhasiramMajhi | Male | NAWAPARA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 8 | Late Chandra Sekhar Singh Bhoi | Male | BOLANGIRI(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 9 | Late BinodBehari Singh Bariha | Male | JHARSUGUDA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 10 | Late BinodBehari Singh | Male | JHARSUGUDA(ST) | Indian National Congress |

| | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|------|----------------|------------------------------|
| | Bariha (Bye) | | | |
| 11 | Shri Gangadhar Pradhan | Male | TALSARA(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 12 | Late PremchandBhagat | Male | BISRA(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 13 | Shri Hemendra Prasad Mahapatra | Male | BONAI(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 14 | Shri Guru CharanNaik | Male | CHAMPUA(ST) | All India GanatantraParishad |
| 15 | Shri Karunakar Pradhan | Male | KEONJHAR | Swatantra Party |
| 16 | Late Govinda Chandra Munda | Male | TELKOI(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 17 | Late KaliaDehuri | Male | GONDIA(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 18 | Late ManmohanTudu | Male | UDALA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 19 | Late MochiramTiriya | Male | JASHIPUR(ST) | All India GanatantraParishad |
| 20 | Late Chandra Mohan Singh | Male | RAIRANGPUR(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 21 | Late Sonaram Soren | Male | BAHALDA | Indian National Congress |
| 22 | Late Sakila Soren | Male | MURUDA(ST) | Indian National Congress |

List of Members in Fourth Assembly(01/03/1967-23/01/1971)

| | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|------|------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | Late Prafulla Kumar Das | Male | KARANJIA(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 2 | Shri DurgaCharanNayak | Male | JASHIPUR(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 3 | Late Kartick Chandra Majhi | Male | RAIRANGPUR(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 4 | Late Sonaram Soren | Male | BAHALDA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 5 | Late RadhamohanNayak | Male | BANGRIPOSHI(ST) | All India GanatantraParishad |
| 6 | Late Sakila Soren | Male | KHUNTA(ST) | Socialist Party |
| 7 | Late HarachandHansada | Male | KAPTIPADA(ST) | Socialist Party |
| 8 | Late ManmohanTudu | Male | UDALA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 9 | Late NilamaniSethy | Male | NIMAPARA(ST) | Jana Congress |
| 10 | Late TareniSardar | Male | MOHANA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 11 | Late Arjuna Singh | Male | RAMAGIRI(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 12 | Late Bhagirathi Gomango(Dibirisingh) | Male | GUNUPUR(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 13 | Late AnantaramMajhi | Male | RAYAGADA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 14 | Late BidikaMallana | Male | NARAYANPATNA(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 15 | Late MaluSantha | Male | POTTANGI(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 16 | Late GangadharMadhi | Male | MALKANGIRI(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 17 | Late Surjya Narayan Majhi | Male | KOTPAD(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 18 | Late JhitruNaik | Male | KODINGA(ST) | Swatantra Party |

| | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| 19 | Shri DamburuMajhi | Male | DABUGAM(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 20 | Late Rabi Singh Majhi | Male | Umerkote(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 21 | Sri Onkar Singh | Male | Nawapara(ST) | indian National Congress |
| 22 | Late Anchal Majhi | Male | BHAWANIPATNA(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 23 | late Gopal Pradhan | Male | Udayagiri(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 24 | Late Naresh Pradhan | Male | Baliguda(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 25 | Late Barada Prasanna kanhar | Male | Phulbani(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 26 | Shri Lal Rajendra Singh | Male | Laikera(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 27 | late Kanhai Singh | Male | Kuchinda(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 28 | Sri Gangadhar Pradhan | Male | SUNDARGARH(ST) | All India GanatantraParishad |
| 29 | late Premchan Bhagat | Male | Bisra(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 30 | Late Krushna Chandra Naik | Male | Birsa(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 31 | Sri Hemendra Prasad Mahapatra | Male | Bonai(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 32 | Sri Ramaray Munda | Male | Patna(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 33 | Late Govinda Chandra Munda | Male | KEONJHAR(ST) | All India GanatantraParishad |
| 34 | Late Bhagirathi Mohapatra | male | Telkoi(ST) | Swatantra Party |

List of Members in Fifth Assembly(23/03/1971-03/03/1973)

| | | | | |
|----|---|------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | Late Prafulla Kumar Das | Male | Karanja(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 2 | late Lal Mohan nayak | Male | Jashipur(ST) | Congress (R) |
| 3 | Late Sidhala Murmu | Male | Rairangpur(ST) | Jharkhand |
| 4 | Late Sashi Bhusan Marandi | Male | Bahalda(ST) | Jharkhand |
| 5 | Late Radhamohan Nayak | Male | Bangriposhi(ST) | All India GanatantraParishad |
| 6 | Late Kuanri Majhi | male | MURUDA(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 7 | Shri Birabhandra Singh | Male | KHUNTA(ST) | Utkal Congress |
| 8 | late Manmohan Tudu | Male | Udala(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 9 | late Bhimasena Mandola | Male | MOHANA(ST) | Congress (R) |
| 10 | Late Gorsang Savara | Male | RAMAGIRI(ST) | Congress (R) |
| 11 | Late Bhagirathi Gomango(Dibirisingh) | Male | Gunupur(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 12 | Late Praska Sreepathi | Male | Bissam-Cuttack(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 13 | Late Himirika Raghunath | Male | RAYAGADA(ST) | Congress (R) |
| 14 | Late Tadingi Jogi | Male | NARAYANPATNA(ST) | Congress (R) |
| 15 | late Gangadhar Madhi | Male | MALKANGIRI(ST) | Indian National Congress |

| | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|------|----------------|---------------------------------|
| 16 | Late Dhansai Rondhari | male | KOTPAD(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 17 | Shri Damburu Majhi | Male | DABUGAM(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 18 | Late Rabi Singh Majhi | Male | Umerkote(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 19 | late Gansiram Majhi | Male | Nawapara(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 20 | Shri Dhaneswar Majhi | male | Narla(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 21 | Late Gopal Pradhan | Male | Udayagiri(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 22 | Late Naresh Pradhan | male | Baliguda(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 23 | late Jagadish Jani | Male | Phulbani(ST) | Congress (R) |
| 24 | Late Ramesh Singh Naik | Male | Laikera(ST) | Congress (R) |
| 25 | Late Jagateswar Mirdha | Male | Kuchinda(ST) | Congress (R) |
| 26 | Shri Gangadhar Pradhan | Male | SUNDARGARH(ST) | All India GanatantraParishad |
| 27 | Late Ignace Majhi | Male | RAJGANGPUR(ST) | Jharkhand |
| 28 | Late Kulian Bage | Male | Birsa(ST) | Jharkhand |
| 29 | Shri Hemendra Prasad Mahapatra | Male | Bonai(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 30 | Shri Saharai Oram | Male | Champua(ST) | Utkal Congress |
| 31 | Late maheswar Majhi | Male | Patna(ST) | Utkal Congress |
| 32 | late Chhotaray majhi | Male | KEONJHAR(ST) | Utkal Congress |
| 33 | Late Niladri Nayak | Male | Telkoi(ST) | Utkal Congress |

List of Members in Sixth Assembly(06/03/1974-30/04/1977)

| | | | | |
|----|---|------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Late karunakar Naik | Male | Karanja(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 2 | Late Sashi Bhusan Marandi | Male | Bahalda(ST) | Jharkhand |
| 3 | shri Arjun Majhi | Male | Rairangpur(ST) | Utkal Congress |
| 4 | late Rudramohan Das | Male | Bangriposhi(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 5 | late Sarat Chandra Singh | Male | Kuliana(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 6 | Late Kaunria Majhi | Male | Baisinga(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 7 | Shri Ramesh Soren | Male | KHUNTA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 8 | late Rabaneswar Madhel | Male | Udala(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 9 | Late NilamaniSethy | Male | NIMAPARA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 10 | Shri Chakradhar paik | Male | RAMAGIRI(ST) | Utkal Congress |
| 11 | Late Bhagirathi Gomango(Dibirisingh) | Male | GUNUPUR(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 12 | shri Dambarudhara Ulaka | Male | Bissam-Cuttack(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 13 | late Ulaka Rama Chandra | Male | RAYAGADA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 14 | Late AnantaramMajhi | Male | Lakhshmipur(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 15 | late Gangadhar Madhi | Male | Chitrakonda(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 16 | Late Basudev Majhi | Male | KOTPAD(ST) | Indian National Congress |

| | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 17 | late Sambaru majhi | Male | KODINGA(ST) | Utkal Congress |
| 18 | late shyamghan Majhi | Male | DABUGAM(ST) | Utkal Congress |
| 19 | Late Rabi Singh Majhi | Male | Umerkote(ST) | Utkal Congress |
| 20 | Shri Dhaneswar Majhi | Male | Narla(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 21 | late Sarat Chandra Singh | Male | Kesinga(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 22 | Shri Sahura Mallick | Male | Baliguda(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 23 | late Gopal Pradhan | Male | Udayagiri(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 24 | Shri Hemananda Biswal | Male | Laikera(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 25 | Late Jagateswar Mirdha | Male | Kuchinda(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 26 | late Premananda kalo | Male | Talsara(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 27 | late Christopher Ekka | Male | RAJGANGPUR(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 28 | late Christodas Lagun | Male | Biramitrapur(ST) | Jharkhand |
| 29 | Late AgapitLakra | Male | Raghunathpali(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 30 | Sri Guru Charan Naik | Male | Champua(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 31 | Late maheswar Majhi | Male | Patna(ST) | Utkal Congress |
| 32 | Late Govinda Chandra Munda | male | KEONJHAR(ST) | Swatantra Party |
| 33 | Late Niladri Nayak | Male | Telkoi(ST) | Pragati Dal |

List of Members in Seventh Assembly(26/06/1977-17/02/1980)

| | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | late Raghunath Hemabram | Male | Karanja(ST) | Janata |
| 2 | late Kanharam Hembram | male | Jashipur(ST) | Janata |
| 3 | Late Sonaram Soren | Male | Bahalda(ST) | Janata |
| 4 | shri Arjun Majhi | male | Rairangpur(ST) | Janata |
| 5 | Shri Purusottam Naik | Male | Bangriposhi(ST) | Janata |
| 6 | Shri Niranjan Hembram | Male | Kuliana(ST) | Janata |
| 7 | Late Ramachandra Kisku | Male | Baisinga(ST) | Janata |
| 8 | Shri Ramesh Soren | Male | KHUNTA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 9 | Shri Birabhandra Singh | Male | Udala(ST) | Janata |
| 10 | Shri Ajaya Kumar Jena | Male | Brahmagiri | Janata |
| 11 | Late Gorsang Savara | Male | RAMAGIRI(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 12 | Late Bhagirathi Gomango(Dibirisingh) | Male | Gunupur(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 13 | Shri Damarudhara Ulaka | Male | Bissam-Cuttack(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 14 | late Ulaka Rama Chandra | Male | RAYAGADA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 15 | Shri Akhilo Saunta | Male | Lakhshmipur(ST) | Janata |
| 16 | Shri Jayaram Pangi | Male | POTTANGI(ST) | Janata |
| 17 | Shri Prahlad Dora | Male | Chitrakonda(ST) | Janata |
| 18 | Late Basudev Majhi | Male | KOTPAD(ST) | Indian National Congress |

| | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 19 | Shri Damburu Majhi | Male | KODINGA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 20 | late shyamghan Majhi | Male | DABUGAM(ST) | Janata |
| 21 | Late Rabi Singh Majhi | Male | Umerkote(ST) | Janata |
| 22 | Late GhasiramMajhi | Male | Nawapara | Janata |
| 23 | late Tejraj Majhi | Male | Narla(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 24 | Late Sadananda Konhar | Male | Baliguda(ST) | Independent |
| 25 | Late Ranjit Kumar Pradhan | Male | Udayagiri(ST) | Janata |
| 26 | Late Ramesh Singh Naik | Male | Udayagiri(ST) | Janata |
| 27 | Late Jagateswar Mirdha | Male | Kuchinda(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 28 | Late Ignace Majhi | Male | Talsara(ST) | Janata |
| 29 | Late Brajamohan Kisan | Male | RAJGANGPUR(ST) | Janata |
| 30 | Late PremchandBhagat | Male | Biramitrapur(ST) | Janata |
| 31 | Shri Rabi Dehury | Male | Raghunathpali(ST) | Janata |
| 32 | late Hemanta Kumar Singh Dandapati | Male | Bonai(ST) | Janata |
| 33 | Shri Saharai Oram | Male | Champua(ST) | Janata |
| 34 | Late maheswar Majhi | Male | Patna(ST) | Janata |
| 35 | Late Kumar Majhi | Male | KEONJHAR(ST) | Janata |
| 36 | Late Niladri Nayak | Male | Telkoi(ST) | Janata |

List of Members in Eight Assembly(09/06/1980-09/03/1985)

| | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | late Raghunath Hemabram | Male | Karanjia(ST) | Janata(S) Ch.Singh |
| 2 | Shri Sundar Mohan Majhi | Male | Jashipur(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 3 | late Rama Chandra Hansadah | Male | Bahalda(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 4 | Late Sidhala Murmu | Male | Rairangpur(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 5 | late Kango Singh | Male | Bangriposhi(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 6 | Smt. Saraswati Hembram | Female | Kuliana(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 7 | Late Kaunria Majhi | Male | Baisinga(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 8 | Shri Ramesh Soren | Male | KHUNTA(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 9 | late Rabaneswar Madhel | Male | Udala(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 10 | Late Gorsang Savara | Male | RAMAGIRI(ST) | Indian National |

| | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| | | | | Congress(I) |
| 11 | Late Bhagirathi Gomango(Dibirisingh) | Male | GUNUPUR(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 12 | Shri Sambarudhara Ulaka | Male | Bissam-Cuttack(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 13 | late Ulaka Rama Chandra | Male | RAYAGADA(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 14 | Late AnantaramMajhi | Male | Lakhshmipur(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 15 | Smt. Chandrama Santha | Female | POTTANGI(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 16 | late Gangadhar Madhi | Male | Chitrakonda(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 17 | Late Basudev Majhi | Male | KOTPAD(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 18 | Shri Damburu Majhi | Male | KODINGA(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 19 | late Phulamani Santa | Male | DABUGAM(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 20 | Smt. Parama Pujari | Female | Umerkote(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 21 | late Tejraj Majhi | Male | Narla(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 22 | Shri Sahura Mallick | Male | Baliguda(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 23 | Shri Nagarjun Pradhan | Male | Udayagiri(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 24 | Shri Hemananda Biswal | Male | Laikera(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 25 | Late Jagateswar Mirdha | Male | Kuchinda(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 26 | Late Gajadhar Majhi | Male | Talsara(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 27 | shri Mukharam Naik | Male | RAJGANGPUR(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 28 | late Junas Bilung | Male | Biramitrapur(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 29 | Shri Nelson Soreng | Male | Raghunathpali(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 30 | Late Basanta Kumar Singh Dandapat | Male | Bonai(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 31 | Shri Saharai Oram | Male | Champua(ST) | Janata(S) Ch.Singh |

| | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|--------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 32 | Shri Hrusikesh naik(Patna) | Male | Patna(ST) | Janata(S) Ch.Singh |
| 33 | Late Jogendra naik | Male | KEONJHAR(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 34 | Shri Chandrasena Naik | Male | Telkoi(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| List of Members in Nineth Assembly (09/03/1985-03/03/1990) | | | | |
| 1 | Late karunakar Naik | Male | Karanja(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 2 | Shri Shambhu nath naik | Male | Jashipur(ST) | Independent |
| 3 | late Bhagey Gobardhan | Male | Bahalda(ST) | Janata |
| 4 | Shri Chaitanya Prasad majhi(Bye) | Male | Rairangpur(ST) | janata |
| 5 | late Kangoi Singh | Male | Bangriposhi(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 6 | Smt. Saraswati Hembram | Female | Kuliana(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 7 | late Pruthu nath Kisku | Male | Baisinga(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 8 | Shri Biram Murmu | Male | KHUNTA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 9 | late Rabaneswar Madhel | Male | Udala(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 10 | Shri Haladhar Karjee | Male | RAMAGIRI(ST) | Independent |
| 11 | Late Bhagirathi Gomango(Dibirisingh) | Male | Gunupur(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 12 | shri Dambarudhara Ulaka | Male | Bissam-Cuttack(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 13 | late Ulaka Rama Chandra | Male | RAYAGADA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 14 | Late AnantaramMajhi | Male | Lakhshnipur(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 15 | Smt. Chandrama Santha | Female | POTTANGI(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 16 | late Gangadhar Madhi | Male | Chitrakonda(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 17 | Late Basudev Majhi | Male | KOTPAD(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 18 | smt. Bhagabati Pujari | Female | KODINGA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 19 | Shri Damburu Majhi | Male | DABUGAM(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 20 | Smt. Parama Pujari | Female | Umerkote(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 21 | Late GhasiramMajhi | Male | Nawapara | janata Dal |
| 22 | Shri Kumara Mani Sabar | Male | Narla(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 23 | Shri Laxmi kanta Mallik | Male | Baliguda(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 24 | Shri Nagarjun Pradhan | Male | Udayagiri(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 25 | Shri Hemananda Biswal | Male | Laikera(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 26 | Late Jagateswar Mirdha | Male | Kuchinda(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 27 | Late Gajadhar Majhi | Male | Talsara(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 28 | Shri Mangala Kisan | Male | RAJGANGPUR(ST) | Janata |
| 29 | Shri Remis Kerketta | Male | Biramitrapur(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 30 | Ms. Frida Topno | Female | Raghunathpali(ST) | Indian National Congress |

| | | | | |
|---|---|------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 31 | Late Basanta Kumar Singh Dandapat | Male | Bonai(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 32 | Shri Dhanurjay Laguri | Male | Champua(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 33 | Shri Hrusikesh Majhi | Male | Patna(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 34 | late Chotary Majhi | Male | KEONJHAR(ST) | Janata |
| 35 | Shri Pranaballay Naik | Male | Telkoi(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| List of Member in Tenth Assembly (03/03/1990-15?03/1995) | | | | |
| 1 | late Raghunath Hemabram | Male | Karanja(ST) | janata Dal |
| 2 | Shri Mangal Singh Mudi | Male | Jashipur(ST) | janata Dal |
| 3 | Shri Khelaram Mahali | Male | Bahalda(ST) | Independent |
| 4 | Shri Chaitanya Prasad majhi | Male | Bahalda(ST) | janata Dal |
| 5 | Shri Sudam Marndi (Declared void on Jan 9 1992 12:00Am) | Male | Bangriposhi(ST) | Independent |
| 6 | Shri Kanhu Soren | Male | Kuliana(ST) | janata Dal |
| 7 | late Ananta Chandra majhi | Male | Baisinga(ST) | janata Dal |
| 8 | Shri Birabhandra Singh | Male | KHUNTA(ST) | janata Dal |
| 9 | late Rohidas Soren | Male | Udala(ST) | janata Dal |
| 10 | Shri Ajaya Kumar Jena | Male | Brahmagiri | janata Dal |
| 11 | Shri Haladhar Karjee | Male | RAMAGIRI(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 12 | Shri Rammurty Gomango | Male | GUNUPUR(ST) | janata Dal |
| 13 | Shri Sarangdhar Kadraka | Male | Bissam-Cuttack(ST) | janata Dal |
| 14 | late Ulaka Rama Chandra | Male | RAYAGADA(ST) | Indian National Congress(I) |
| 15 | Shri Akilo Saunta | Male | Lakhshmipur(ST) | janata Dal |
| 16 | Shri Jayaram Pangi | Male | POTTANGI(ST) | janata Dal |
| 17 | Shri Prahlad Dora | Male | Chitrakonda(ST) | janata Dal |
| 18 | Shri Sadan Naik (Kotpad) | Male | KOTPAD(ST) | janata Dal |
| 19 | late shyamghan Majhi | Male | KODINGA(ST) | janata Dal |
| 20 | late Jadav Majhi(Dabugaon) | Male | DABUGAM(ST) | janata Dal |
| 21 | Late Gurubaru Majhi | Male | Umerkote(ST) | janata Dal |
| 22 | Late GhasiramMajhi | Male | Nawapara | janata Dal |
| 23 | Shri Duryodhan Majhi | Male | Khariar | janata Dal |
| 24 | Shri Balabhadra Majhi | Male | Baliguda(ST) | janata Dal |
| 25 | Shri Bhagban Kanhar | Male | Udayagiri(ST) | janata Dal |
| 26 | Shri Nagarjun Pradhan | Male | Padampur | indian National Congress |
| 27 | Shri Bijaya Ranjan Singh Bariha | Male | Laikera(ST) | Janata Dal |

| | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 28 | Shri Hemananda Biswal | Male | Laikera(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 29 | Shri Brundaban Majhi | Male | Kuchinda(ST) | janata Dal |
| 30 | Shri Ranjeet Bhitria | Male | Talsara(ST) | janata Dal |
| 31 | Shri Mangala Kisan | Male | RAJGANGPUR(ST) | janata Dal |
| 32 | Late Satyanarayan Pradhan | Male | Biramitrapur(ST) | janata Dal |
| 33 | Shri Rabi Dehury | Male | Raghunathpali(ST) | janata Dal |
| 34 | Shri Juai Oram | Male | Bonai(ST) | Bharatiya Janata Party |
| 35 | Shri Saharai Oram | Male | Champua(ST) | janata Dal |
| 36 | Shri Kanhu Charan Naik | Male | Patna(ST) | janata Dal |
| 37 | late Chhotaray majhi | Male | KEONJHAR(ST) | janata Dal |
| 38 | Late Niladri Nayak | Male | Telkoi(ST) | janata Dal |

List of Member in Eleventh Assembly (15/03/1995-29/02/2000)

| | | | | |
|----|--|--------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | late Raghunath Hemabram | Male | Karanja(ST) | janata Dal |
| 2 | Shri Shambhu nath naik | Male | Jashipur(ST) | Independent |
| 3 | Shri Khelaram Mahali | Male | Bahalda(ST) | Jharkhand Peoples' Party |
| 4 | Shri Laxman Majhi | Male | Rairangpur(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 5 | Shri Ajen Murmu | Male | Bangriposhi(ST) | Jharkhand Peoples' Party |
| 6 | Shri Sudam Marndi | Male | Kuliana(ST) | Jharkhand Peoples' Party |
| 7 | late Pruthu nath Kisku | Male | Baisinga(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 8 | Smt. Saraswati Hembram | Female | KHUNTA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 9 | late Rabaneswar Madhel | Male | Udala(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 10 | Shri Haladhar Karjee | Male | RAMAGIRI(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 11 | Late Akshya Kumar Gomango | Male | GUNUPUR(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 12 | Late Bhagirathi Gomango(Dibirisingh)(Bye) | male | GUNUPUR(ST) | Independent |
| 13 | shri Dambarudhara Ulaka | Male | Bissam-Cuttack(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 14 | late Ulaka Rama Chandra | Male | RAYAGADA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 15 | Late AnantaramMajhi | Male | Lakhshmipur(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 16 | Shri Giridhar Gomango (Bye) | Male | Lakhshmipur(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 17 | Shri Rama Chandra Kadam | Male | POTTANGI(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 18 | late Gangadhar Madhi | Male | Chitrakonda(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 19 | Late Basudev Majhi | Male | KOTPAD(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 20 | shri Sadan Nayak (Kodinga) | Male | KODINGA(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 21 | late Jadav Majhi(Dabugaon) | Male | DABUGAM(ST) | janata Dal |
| 22 | Smt. Parama Pujari | Female | Umerkote(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 23 | Late GhasiramMajhi | Male | Nawapara | Janata Dal |

| | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 24 | Shri Duryodhan Majhi | Male | Khariar | Janata Dal |
| 25 | Shri Balabhadra Majhi | Male | Narla(ST) | Janata Dal |
| 26 | Shri Sahura Mallick | Male | Baliguda(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 27 | Shri Nagarjun Pradhan | Male | Udayagiri(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 28 | Shri Surendra Singh Bhoi | Male | Saintala | Indian National Congress |
| 29 | Shri Bijaya Ranjan Singh Bariha | Male | Padampur | Janata Dal |
| 30 | Shri Hemananda Biswal | Male | Laikera(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 31 | Late Panu Chandra Naik | Male | Kuchinda(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 32 | Late Gajadhar Majhi | Male | Talsara(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 33 | Shri Mangala Kisan | Male | RAJGANGPUR(ST) | Janata Dal |
| 34 | Shri George Tirkey | Male | Biramitrapur(ST) | Jharkhand Mukti Morcha |
| 35 | Shri Mansid Ekka | Male | Raghunathpali(ST) | Jharkhand Mukti Morcha |
| 36 | Shri Janardan Dehru (Bye) | Male | Bonai(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 37 | Shri Jual oram | Male | Bonai(ST) | Bharatiya Janata Party |
| 38 | Shri Dhanurjay Laguri | Male | Champua(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 39 | Shri Hrusikesh Naik(Patna) | Male | Patna(ST) | Indian National Congress |
| 40 | Late Jogendra Naik | Male | KEONJHAR(ST) | Bharatiya Janata Party |
| 41 | Shri Chandrasena Naik | Male | Telkoi(ST) | Indian National Congress |

Sources: Information calculated and collected from <http://odishaassembly.nic.in/>

Annexure-2

Detail List of Lok Sabha ST members from 1951-2000

| Sl. No | Name of the ST Member | Constituency | Party |
|--|--|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1st Lok Shaba (17/04/1951-04/04/1957) | | | |
| 1 | Deo, H.H. Maharaja Rajendra Narayana Singh | Kalahandi Bolangir-ST | GP |
| 2 | Bhoi, Shri Girdhari | Kalahandi Bolangir-ST | GP |
| 3 | Majhi, Sri Ram Chandra | Mayurbhanj-ST | Congress |
| 4 | Rao, Shri Ponnada Subba | Nowrangpur-ST | AIGP |
| 5 | Sanganna, Sri Toyaka | Rayagada-Phulbani-ST | NUAC |
| 6 | Mahapatra, Shri Sibnarayan Singh | Sundergarh-ST | Congress |
| 2nd Lok Shaba (05/04/1957-31/03/1962) | | | |
| 1 | Deo, Shri Laxmi Narayan Bhanja | Keonjhar-ST | Ind. |
| 2 | Sanganna, Sri Toyaka | Koraput-ST | Congress |
| 3 | Rao, Shri Rachakonda jagarnnath | Koraput-ST | Congress |
| 4 | Majhi, Sri Ram Chandra | Mayurbhanj-ST | Jharkhand |
| 5 | Chandramani, Shri kalo | Sundergarh-ST | GP |
| 3rd Lok Shaba (02/04/1962-03/03/1967) | | | |
| 1 | Deo, Shri Laxmi Narayan Bhanja | Keonjhar-ST | Congress |
| 2 | Ulaka, Shri Ramachandra | Koraput-ST | Congress |
| 3 | Naik, Shri Maheswar | Mayurbhanj-ST | Congress |
| 4 | Rao, Shri Rachakonda jagarnnath | Nowrangpur-ST | Congress |
| 5 | Singh, Shri Yagya Narayan | Sundergarh-ST | Swatantra party |
| 4th Lok Sahab (04/03/1967-27/12/1970) | | | |
| 1 | Naik, Shri Gurucharan | Keonjhar-ST | Swatantra party |
| 2 | Ulaka, Shri Ramachandra | Koraput-ST | Congress |
| 3 | Majhi, Shri Mahendra | Mayurbhanj-ST | Swatantra party |
| 4 | Pradhani, Shri Khagapati | Nowrangpur-ST | Congress |
| 5 | Amat, Shri Debananda | Sundergarh-ST | Swatantra party |

5th Lok Sabha (15/03/1971-18/01/1977)

| | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1 | Majhi, Shri Kumar | Keonjhar-ST | Congress |
| 2 | Gamang, Ms. Bhagirathi | Koraput-ST | Congress |
| 3 | Gamang, Shri Giridhar | Koraput-ST | Congress |
| 4 | Sinha, Shri Chandra Mohan | Mayurbhanj-ST | Utkal Congress |
| 5 | Tudu, Shri Man Mohan | Mayurbhanj-ST | Congress |
| 6 | Pradhani, Shri Khagapati | Nowrangpur-ST | Congress |
| 7 | Majhi, Shri Gajadhar | Sundergarh-ST | Congress |

6th Lok Sabha (23/03/1977-22/08/1979)

| | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1 | Munda, Shri Govinda | Keonjhar-ST | Janata Party |
| 2 | Gamang, Shri Giridhar | Koraput-ST | Congress |
| 3 | Sinha, Shri Chandra Mohan | Mayurbhanj-ST | Janata Party |
| 4 | Pradhani, Shri Khagapati | Nowrangpur-ST | Congress |
| 5 | Amat, Shri Debananda | Sundergarh-ST | Janata Party |

7th Lok Shaba (18/01/1980-31/12/1984)

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1 | Soren, Shri Harihar | Keonjhar-ST | Congress(I) |
| 2 | Gamang, Shri Giridhar | Koraput-ST | Congress(I) |
| 3 | Tudu, Shri Man Mohan | Mayurbhanj-ST | Congress(I) |
| 4 | Pradhani, Shri Khagapati | Nowrangpur-ST | Congress(I) |
| 5 | Ekka, Shri Christopher | Sundergarh-ST | Congress(I) |

8th Lok Sabha (31/12/1984-27/11/1989)

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1 | Soren, Shri Harihar | Keonjhar-ST | Congress(I) |
| 2 | Gamang, Shri Giridhar | Koraput-ST | Congress(I) |
| 3 | Murmu, Shri Sidha Lal | Mayurbhanj-ST | Congress(I) |
| 4 | Pradhani, Shri Khagapati | Nowrangpur-ST | Congress(I) |
| 5 | Kujur, Shri Maurice | Sundergarh-ST | Congress(I) |

9th Lok Sabha (02/12/1989-13/03/1991)

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1 | Munda, Shri Govinda Chandra | Keonjhar-ST | JD |
| 2 | Gamang, Shri Giridhar | Koraput-ST | Congress(I) |
| 3 | Bhagey Gobardhan, Sri | Mayurbhanj-ST | JD |
| 4 | Pradhani, Shri Khagapati | Nowrangpur-ST | Congress(I) |
| 5 | Amat, Shri Debananda | Sundergarh-ST | JD |

10th Lok Sabha (20/06/1991-10/05/1996)

| | | | |
|---|----------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1 | Munda, Shri Govind Chandra | Keonjhar-ST | JD |
| 2 | Gamang, Shri Giridhar | Koraput-ST | Congress(I) |
| 3 | Tiriya, Kumari | Mayurbhanj-ST | Congress(I) |
| 4 | Bhagey Gobardhan, Sri | Mayurbhanj-ST | Congress(I) |
| 5 | Pradhani, Shri Khagapati | Nowrangpur-ST | Congress(I) |
| 6 | Topno, Kumari Frida | Sundergarh-ST | Congress(I) |

11th Lok Sabha (15/05/1996-04/12/1997)

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------------|-----|
| 1 | Sardar, Shri Madhaba | Keonjhar-ST | INC |
| 2 | Gamang, Shri Giridhar | Koraput-ST | INC |
| 3 | Tiriya, Kumari Sushila | Mayurbhanj-ST | INC |
| 4 | Pradhani, Shri Khagapati | Nowrangpur-ST | INC |
| 5 | Topno, Kumari Frida | Sundergarh-ST | INC |

12th Lok Sabha (10/03/1998-26/04/1999)

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---------------|-----|
| 1 | Nayak, Shri Upendra Nath | Keonjhar-ST | BJP |
| 2 | Gamang, Shri Giridhar | Koraput-ST | INC |
| 3 | Murmu, Shri Salkhan | Mayurbhanj-ST | BJP |
| 4 | Pradhani, Shri Khagapati | Nowrangpur-ST | INC |
| 5 | Oram, Shri Jual | Sundergarh-ST | BJP |

Sources: information calculated and collected from

<http://164.100.47.194/Loksabha/Members/lokprev.aspx>