Change Management for Organizations

Lessons from Political Upheaval in India

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Acknowledgements

In recent years, the Indian princely states have become a focus of attention among the historians of South Asia. This is to be welcomed as the vast areas of research. These States were not painted pink on the maps of the British Empire and had hitherto been located at the margins of the historiography of the subcontinent. Yet Indian states were by no means negligible in terms of size and political and military presence. They comprised twofifths of South Asia's territory and about one-fifth of its population at the time when the British Crown took over the English East Company in 1858. In Orissa, Garjat states had a total area of 28,656 square miles and a population of nearly five millions. They were divided into 26 small states. Among them, Nilgiri, a small but tribal dominated state, played a decisive role in the history of integration of Indian states. The movements developed by Prajamandal, communist and tribal, created political earthquakes in the national politics. The political movements in the states were complex and their analyses cannot be confined to the usual binary of people versus rulers. Apart from class objectivity, the demands, and characteristics of the exploited peasants, tribals and common people, the struggle included, at various points of time, anti-feudal and anti-colonial components as well as communist ambitions. The complex and protracted dialectics of the Prajamandal movements in Nilgiri have been highlighted in this study.

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Chandan Kumar Sadangi Sanjay Mohapatra

Introduction

Historical Background of Orissa

The Kalinga War of 261 BC was one of the landmarks in the History of Orissa. In this war the Mauryan King Ashoka defeated the people of Kalinga. The *Shagbazagarhi* inscription in the Pakistan–Afghanistan border describes the war. The Mauryan Policy of Imperial aggrandizement came to an end after the Kalinga War. Kalinga became one of the Provinces of the Mauryan Empire. Again, the History of Orissa was illuminated in the first century BC with the ascendancy of Kharavela. He was the third ruler of the Chedi dynasty. The Hathigumpha Inscription describes the childhood and achievements of Kharavela. During his period, the Kalingan Empire extended to the Arabian Sea in the west, the Bay of Bengal in the east, the Pandyan Kingdom in the south and Pataliputra in the north.

The historical boundaries of Orissa changed frequently. Numerous ethnic, historical and political units like Kalinga, Utkal, Odra and Kosala constitute the modern Orissa. Raja Kapilendra Deva, who was the founder of the Gajapati dynasty, had extended the frontier of Orissa to the river Kaveri in the south and to the river Hooghly in the north. During the medieval times the boundary of Orissa was extended from the river Ganga to the river Godavari and from Amarakantaka to the Bay of Bengal. Several dynasties have ruled Orissa in different periods of history. They were the *Chedis*, the *Sailodadbhava*, the *Bhaumakaras*, the *Somavamsi*, the *Gangas*, the *Gajapatis* and the *Bhois*. In 1568, the medieval Orissan Empire disintegrated with the death of Mukundadeva, the last Hindu ruler of Orissa.

The Afghans ruled Orissa for a short period of time. But the extension of the Moghul Empire was brief and the Afghan Empire collapsed in Orissa. In 1592, Raja Man Singh, the General of Emperor Akbar, conquered Orissa. Orissa had five *sarkars* at that time, namely, Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Kalinga Dandapat and

Rajamahendri. The hill territories were kept under a separate head in the revenue accounts of the Empire. The independent chiefs of hill territories of Orissa became feudatories of the Moghul Emperor. The Nawab of Golkonda, by the end of 16th century, annexed the *Sarkar* of Rajamahendri and a portion of *Kalinga Dandapat*. So the *Chilika Lake* became the dividing boundary between the Moghul and the Bahmani Empires.

After the disintegration and collapse of the Moghul Empire, the Marathas occupied Orissa. Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur conquered Orissa in 1751. The river Subarnarekha became the boundary of Orissa. *Mughalbandi* and *Garjat* were two political divisions during the Maratha period. The *Mughalbandi* formed a unit managed by the Maratha governors and *Garjats* were ruled by the ruling chieftains.

The British East India Company unfurled their flag on Orissa soil on 14 October 1803. Orissa remained under the Bengal Presidency. At that time, Orissa consisted of three districts named Cuttack, Balasore and Puri, which were known as *Mughalbandi* area. At that time there were 17 tributary states, under the general supervision of the superintendent of Tributary states. In 1805, Bengal law and regulations were introduced in the province. In 1912, Bihar and Orissa province was formed and Orissa was placed under it. Orissa became a separate province in 1936.

The total area of the British Orissa in the 19th century was 23,907 square miles, of which 16,184 square miles were occupied by Tributary *Mahals*. The population of Orissa in 1815 was estimated at 1,162,500 persons, which rose to 3,280,574 persons in 1872.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PERIOD

The period under reference is most important because of the anti-British and anti-feudal uprisings both in India and Orissa. The major cause of this upheaval was due to the rapid changes the British introduced in the economy, administration and land revenue system to cause colonial exploitation. These changes led to the disruption of agrarian society, causing prolonged and widespread sufferings among the peasants. Similarly, within a short period of time revenue collection was raised to nearly double the amount in Bengal. In Nilgiri, medieval feudalism had perpetuated its tentacles. The state budget was, so to say, being spent at the supercilious decisions of the Royal Administration. The British Government remained an active partner and in 1834,

Henery Rickett asked the people of Nilgiri 'either die or emigrate'. Congress in its nascent age was a silent spectator in the name of non-interference. During the period of limbo, the courageous people of Nilgiri started three anti-feudal movements against the state administration of Nilgiri. In India, from 1763 to 1856, there were more than 40 major rebellions, as well as hundreds of minor ones, had occurred. Most important among them were the Sanyasi uprising of 1766, the Santhal Revolt of 1854, the Indigo movement (1854–1860) and the Deccan Riot in 1874.

The same symptoms were also reflected in Orissa. A major agrarian outburst exploded in 1817–1818. It is known as the *Paik* rebellion and it was led by Buxi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar. The revolt under the leadership of Surendra Sai (1857–1864) was also an agrarian uprising. After the great famine of 1866, there was rebellion in the Keonjhar state. This was a rebellion against the British administration raised by the *janajati* tribes called *Juanga*, *Bhuyans and Kol* during April 1868.

The *janajatis* with the leadership of Dharanidhar Naik once again revolted in Keonjhar in 1891 against bethi and other forced labour. In 1882, there were sporadic displays of dissatisfaction among the Kondhs of Kalahandi against the Kultas, who economically exploited them. There were also resistance movements in Nayagrah, Khandpara, Ranpur and Dasapalla during the last quarter of the 19th century. Those movements were violent in nature and could not be sustained for a longer period. In Dhenkal, at the end of the 19th century, the manager of the state contemplated enhancement of rent under a new settlement. Nearly 1000 people came and protested; as a consequence of which the idea was abandoned. Talcher was another state where the agitations were organized in 1911, 1922 and 1932. In Dhenkal, agitation and resentment were started against feudal dues. In 1917, a tribal revolt started in Mayurbhani against the recruit of coolies. The uprising was so serious that the Commissioner of Orissa and the political agent of the feudatory states of Orissa reached Mayurbhani and brought the situation under control. There were five uprisings in Bamra state from 1908 to 1928 against unreasonable enhancement of rent and assessment of new abwabs. The risings were suppressed forcibly and leaders were thrown into prison. There was a serious Khond uprising in Dasapalla in 1914. The revolt was suppressed and leaders like Narayan Kaur, Mahantha Jani, Sadai Mallick and a few others were awarded with death sentences and others were sentenced to transportation for life.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The historiography of the princely states of Orissa has yet to receive sufficient attention from scholars. Moreover, the history of Nilgiri is very significant because it was the first state which merged with the Indian Union. The tribal and political movements of Nilgiri were indigenous, unique and were not influenced by outside factors significantly. So it needs a special study.

In 1910, L. C. B. Cobben Ramsay Published *Gazetteers of Feudatory States of Orissa*. It was the first pioneering work on the administration, origin and economic life of all the feudatory states of Orissa. The origin and short history of Nilgiri is described in this book. It narrated the tribal and political lives of Nilgiri.

A second pioneering work titled *The Native States of India* was written by Lee Warner in 1910. It was published in London. It described the different native states of India.

V. P. Menon published his work in 1981. In his book *The Story of Integration of Indian States*, he explained the integration of the different princely states of Orissa. It focused on the different problems of Indian states.

Urmilla Phandis (1986) in her work *Towards Integration of Indian States* (1919–1947) describes the challenges and roles of different states and the roles played by rulers in the resolution of conflicts.

In Orissa, certain pioneering works have been done. Dr. H. K. Mahatab had played a dominating role in Nilgiri since 1930. He played a pioneering role and influenced the then Home Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel for the merger of Nilgiri with the Indian Union. Dr. H. K. Mahatab was the Prime Minister of Orissa during that period.

- P. K. Mishra (1986) in his book *Political Unrest in 19th Century Orissa* has vividly described the different political unrests in Orissa.
- J. Pattnaik (1988)'s *Feudatory States of Orissa* (1803–1857) Vol. II, describes the socio-economic conditions of and British relations with the Feudatory states of Orissa.
- J. K. Samal (1988) in his book *Princely States of Orissa* (1905–1947) highlights the socio-economic conditions and the unrest and merger of the princely states of Orissa.
- S. C. Padhi in his book *British Relation with the Chiefs of Orissa* (1803–1858) describes the political relations of the rulers of Orissa with the British and the obligations and duties of Chiefs to the British.

Orissa State Archives published a book in 1998 titled *Towards Merger* (Integration of Princely States of Orissa). It explains the different aspects of the merger of states in Orissa.

A. C. Pradhan wrote a book titled *Sidelight on Freedom Struggles in Orissa* in 2011. In this monograph, he has described different political movements in Orissa. He has narrated the contribution of the Indian National Congress to the people's movement in Nilgiri.

Distinguished publications of freedom movements in Orissa edited by Dr. H. K. Mahatab and *Who's Who of Freedom Workers* edited by N. K. Sahu and S. C. Dey deal with some aspects of the history of Nilgiri.

A vast plethora of documents on Nilgiri history has remained unused at various places in and outside Orissa.

Therefore, an attempt has been made in this study to bring to light the history of Nilgiri in a comprehensive manner with the help of mostly the original and unpublished documents.

The work has the following objectives:

- To assess the geo-historical background of Nilgiri.
- To explore economic conditions in Nilgiri.
- To evaluate how the precarious economic conditions affected the people.
- To evaluate tribal and political upheavals in Nilgiri: people's participation, the role of Raja and the British response.
- To delineate Political movement in Nilgiri in 1930, congress policy, national consciousness and people's participation.
- To assess the political situation in Nilgiri after the Quit India Movement.
- To assess the tribal problem and awareness after 1942.
- To assess how state administration wanted to sabotage the political movement after 1942.
- To assess the role of Communist, Prajamandal, Congress and Pro Raja parties in the political situation in Nilgiri.
- To assess the civil war in Nilgiri and the events leading to its merger.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The topic of our study is tribal and political upheavals in Nilgiri. The topic is so comprehensive and broad based that it is not possible to deal with every minute aspect of the topic. Hence, it

contains mainly the geography, location and dynastic history, economic conditions, tribal and political movements in 19th century, political movements in 1930 and political movements after the Quit India Movements.

Statistical tables have been prepared from official data published in the British official records. These data were not available from newspapers and local literatures. So the present scholars are compelled to be very selective and have worked under various constraints to give the final shape to this study. In fact, tribal and political movements in Nilgiri are the integral part of socioeconomic and political movements developed in India and Orissa. So, within this broad framework the present study was conducted.

METHODOLOGY

To examine the issue, the study mainly uses contemporary source material from official records, both published and unpublished, additional published secondary data and materials from various sources, such as academic, institutional and official, to gain an unbiased rational view.

Available statistical data, which have remained unutilized to date, have been used extensively. Comparison of data has been made with contemporary conditions of other states of British India. Wherever possible, every effort has been made to incorporate relevant new information and data in the study. To make the works comprehensive and unbiased, the socio-economic life has been portrayed by examining literary and archival sources also. All necessary authoritative views and information have been collected to explain the tribal and political upheavals in Nilgiri.

CHAPTERISATION

The study is divided into seven chapters including the Introduction. It is again sub-divided into sections and subsections.

The first chapter is titled 'Nilgiri: Its location, Geography and Dynastic History'. It is again sub-divided into land and its people. It explains the types of soil, rivers and its ethnography. In its subsequent sections it explains the early history of Nilgiri, feudatories during the Hindu period, feudatory states during the Afghan and *Mughal* Periods and feudatory states during the Maratha Period.

The Second chapter is 'Feudal Economy: The Genesis of Socio-Economic Problems'. It delineates how a poor and stagnating economy became an important factor for the increasing grievances of the people. This chapter is sub-divided into agriculture, irrigation, revenue, transport, trade, forestry, etc. It basically discusses how the feudal economy became an explosive factor for generating grievances among the people.

The third chapter is 'Tribal and Political Movements in the 19th Century'. It mainly discusses the three main revolts in Nilgiri in the 19th century. In the first section, the uprising of 1838–1840 is discussed. In the second section, the Khadpur Meli of 1873–1876 is discussed. The agitation of 1884–1886 is also discussed. In the last section the fundamental characteristics of popular movements are analysed.

The fourth chapter is 'Political Movements (1930–1942)'. The first section discusses the agitation in different states of Orissa. In the next section it discusses movements in Nilgiri. The subsequent section elaborates the support of the congress. The last section describes people's participation in the movement.

The fifth chapter is 'Tribal Upheaval and Merger of Nilgiri after Quit India Movement (1942–1947)'. The first section discusses the effects of the Quit India Movement in Nilgiri. The next section discusses the influence of the Congress in Nilgiri. The next subsection elaborates the illegal effort of Raja to occupy power. The formation of *Praja Sabha*, Indian Independence and civil war in Nilgiri, and the integration of Nilgiri are discussed in the subsequent sections.

The last chapter is 'Conclusion'. It analyses the fundamental causes of revolt in Nilgiri. Administrative manouvering, outrageous actions of tribals against the non-tribals and vice-versa and, finally, how Nilgiri got integrated with the Indian Union are discussed in this chapter.

Abbreviations

AICC All India Congress Committee

AISPC All India States' Peoples' Conference

BNR Bengal Nagpur Railway

CMD Chairman-cum-Managing Director

Col Colonel

CP Central Province

ESA Eastern States Agency

Hon'ble Honourable

INC Indian National Congress

IPC Indian Penal Code

Judi Judicial
Lt Lieutenant

MLA Member of Legislative Assembly
M&SMRy Madras and South Maratha Railway

NAT National Archives of India

NMML Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi
OGMMCL Office of the General Manager, Mahanadi Coalfields

Limited

OSA Orissa States Archives

OSCT Office of the Sub-Collector, Talcher
OSPC Orissa States' Peoples' Conference

Pol Political

SECL South Eastern Coalfields Limited SUA Sambalpur University Archives

SRT Sub-Divisional Record Room, Talcher

TJRR Talcher Jail Record Room
TPRR Talcher Palace Record Room

WWCC Who's Who Compilation Committee