Change is the basic nature of society and change is universal. Social change occupies a dominant place in the consciousness of humanity. Man and society have evolved through the times immemorial. In this course, both men and their social institutions have undergone changes that generate contradictory feelings of hope as well as anxiety. Even a casual student of history must admit that social change occupies an important place in the human chronicle. Whether this can be proved or not in the case of extinct societies is a matter for anthropological research, but what is evident to the current observer is the reality of change in all living societies. The subject of social change in modern India is vast and complex, and an understanding of it will require the collaboration of a number of scholars in such diverse fields as economics, history, law, politics, religion, demography and sociology. It will have to take into account also of regional, linguistic and other differences.

MEANING OF SOCIAL CHANGE:

Social change may be defined as the process which is discernible in the alteration of the structure and functioning of a particular social system. It is a term used to describe variation in, modifications of, any aspect of social processes, social patterns, social interaction within a social organisation. Social changes and variations from the accepted modes of life, whether due to geographical conditions, in cultural equipment, composition of the population or ideologies and whether brought about by diffusions or inventions within the group. By social change is meant only such alterations as occur in social organisations, that is, structure and functions of society. Usually social change refers to a significant change in social behaviour or a change in social system rather than minor changes within a small group. Social change means

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1 Kuppuswamy, B., Social Change In India. Delhi, 1979, p 43.
such alterations as they occur in social organisation that is the structure of society. Any such ordered arrangement of social phenomena gives a structure to society. When alterations take place in the form of relationships and the pattern of social action within such structure, it is known as social change⁴. The nature and pace of social change are not uniform in each age or period in the same society. There is no inherent law in social change according to which it assume definite forms. It is difficult to make any prediction about the exact forms of social change.

TYPES OF SOCIAL CHANGE:

Social changes are of various types and can be explained by different terms such as process, evolution, growth, progress, development, revolution etc.: Process is a change that takes place continuously in a definite manner. It consists of a series of alterations in an object from one moment to another. When a sense of direction is added to continuity the change is expressed in terms of evolution.

Evolution is a process of progressive differentiation of organic forms, their genetic capabilities and emergence of more complex organic endowments from similar ones. Here the change is merely concerned with the biological modifications and progress of the organism. But social evolution encompasses the gradual development of social norms and technology and helps us in understanding social change. It further discusses the evolution of culture and material life through the Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic and industrial ages. It also concerns itself with the emergence of class, caste, religion, and other socio cultural developments in the society.

Progress is a movement towards an injective, thought to be desirable and the general group, for the visible future⁵. When we speak of progress we imply not merely direction but direction towards some goal or destination.

⁴ Maciver, P. N., Society, New York, 1945, pp 523 - 525.
Revolution means any large scale change in the leadership of a society or some fundamental part of institution of society, such as political and a successful restructuring of those aspects of society in a way deemed in the interest of the new ruling class. Generally revolution signifies a sudden and violent change of Government or a political constitution of a country.

It also refers to any change in society that brings about basic changes, even if they occur over a long period of history for example, the industrial, the commercial and agricultural revolution.

Several terms are used to describe modes of change in human society. But they fail to comprehend adequately varieties of change taking place in different societies. As a result, the concept of social change has been a topic of discussion and generally adopted to refer to all the historical variation in human society.

Social change as ideology:

The study of social change, in view of the nebulous nature of it's theory is a difficult task and it is more difficult in the case of a society like in India which has not only a fathomless historical depth and plurality of traditions but is also engulfed in a movement of nationalistic aspirations under which concepts of change and modernisation loaded with ideological meanings. In this form, change ceases to be viewed as a normal social process, it is transformed into an ideology, that change is in itself desirable and must be sought for.

The study of social change in India has taken different shapes and directions depending on the nature, shape and direction. Sociologists and social anthropologists from time immemorial have done profound research on the subjects of social change, which is a part of their overall observance of society on a larger perspective. The bias in the studies of social change in India by the sociological and anthropological point of view results from too much concern with culture and values. Structural realities are often ignored and studies suffer from 'values bias'. Most studies are focussed on acculturation, diffusion of norms and values; change is identified with "spread" of
these values in regional or national spheres. To understand the process of social change in India, put forth by sociologists, a discussion on them is necessary. The concept and approaches can be grouped as i) Sanskritization and Westernization ii) Little and Great traditions which include the small process of Parochialisation and Universalization.

The term Sanskritization was used first by M.N. Srinivas to describe the process of cultural mobility in the traditional social structure of India. In his study of the Coorgs in Mysore he found that lower castes, in order to raise their position in the caste hierarchy, adopted some ways of life of the Brahmns and gave up their own, considered impure by the higher castes. By doing so, within a generation or so they could claim higher position in the social hierarchy. To denote this process of mobility, Srinivas first used the term "Brahmanization". Later on he replaced it by Sanskritization. Srinivas realised that the process which motivated the lower castes to initiate the custom of the Brahmns in Mysore was a specific case of a general tendency among the lower castes to imitate the cultural ways of the higher castes, in many cases these higher castes were non-Brahmns; they were Kshatrijas, Jats, Vaishyas, etc., in various regions of the country. The crucial idea, however, is that of hierarchy in the caste system theoretically represented by Varna.

Sanskritisation, put forth by M.N. Srinivas, is the process of cultural and social mobility during these periods of relative closure of the Hindu social system.

It is a indigenous source of social change. From a social psychological point, Sankritisation is a culturally specific case of the universal motivation toward "anticipatory socialisation" to the culture of a higher stage in the hope of gaining status in the future. However, Sanskritisation is a unique historical expression of the general process of acculturation as a means of vertical mobility of groups.

Yogendra Singh in his pioneering work on social change has explained the process of Sanskritisation by two levels of meanings, these are 'historical specific'

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and "contextual specific". According to the historical specific approach, Sanskritisation refers to those processes in the India history which led to changes in the status of various castes and their leadership or their cultural patterns in different periods of history. It is indicative of an indigenous source of social change in the broad spectrum of India. In contextual specific sense, however, Sanskritisation denotes contemporaneous process of cultural imitation of upper castes by lower castes or sub-castes, in different parts of India. The nature of this type of Sankritization may sometimes vary from Sankritic Hindu traditional forms to the tribal and even the Islamic patterns.

Sanskritisation as a concept of social change is also loaded with a number of shortcomings, which makes it difficult to use it in a large perspective. This is illustrated by the diversity of patterns found in the contextual process of Sankritisation. Studies show that in many places lower castes imitate the customs and traditions of the Kshatriyas and not of the Brahmans, and at other places tribes are reported to have imitated the customs of caste Hindus. In a few exceptional cases, even the higher castes have been found imitating the tribal ways and undergoing the process called "Tribalisation".

Westenisation: Westenisation is a much simpler and newer concept than Sankritisation. According to Srinivas, Westernisation is the product of changes brought about in Indian society and culture as result of over 150 years of British rule. The term subsuming means changes occurring at different levels, technology, institutions, ideology and values. British rule produced radical and lasting changes in Indian society and culture. The new technology and the revolution in communication which it brought about, enabled the British to integrate the country as never before in its history. The establishment of Pax Britannica put an end once and for all the local wars which were endemic in pre-British India and which were a most important source of social mobility for individuals as well as groups.

During the 19th century the British slowly laid the foundations of a modern state by surveying land, settling the revenue, creating modern bureaucracy, army and police instituting law courts, codifying the law so on. Through the printing and

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8 Singh, Yogendra, above cited, p 8. See also Essays on Modernisation of India, New Delhi, 1989.
availability of books and journals, along with schools, modern knowledge and ideas could reach to a large number of Indians. Christian missionaries from Europe, through their efforts also encouraged education to the Indian people.

In the first half of the 19th century, the British with the support of enlightened Indian opinion, abolished such institutions as "suttee" (1829), female infanticide, human sacrifice and slavery (1835). The establishment of scientific, technological and educational institutions, rise of nationalism, new political culture and leadership in the country are all by-products of Westernization. According to Srinivas, the increase in westernization does not retard the process of Sanskritization; both go on simultaneous lines and to some extent increase in Westernization accelerates the process of Sanskritization, for instance the postal facilities, railways, buses and newspaper media which are products of western impact of India render more organized religious pilgrimages, meetings, castes solidarities etc., possible now than in the past.

Evidently, Sanskritization and Westernization as concepts, are primarily focussed to analyse cultural changes and have no scope for systematic explanation of changes in the social structure. Srinivas himself concedes this point. To describe the social changes occurring in the modern India in terms of Sanskritization and Westernization is to describe it primarily in cultural and not in structural terms. An analysis in terms of structure is much more difficult than an analysis in terms of culture. He further adds that Sanskritization involves "positional change" in the caste system without any structural change.

Contextually, Sanskritization and Westernization are founded upon empirical observations and offer objective insight into some aspects of cultural change. Difficulties, however, arise from the complexity of the contextual frame of reference. As it has been seen, these concepts do not have the same meaning or theoretical implications when used in "historical specific" and "contextual specific" terms. Sanskritization fails to account for many aspects of cultural changes in past and contemporary India as it neglects the non-sanskritic traditions. It is noted that often a non-sanskrctic element of culture may be a localised form of the Sanskritic traditions. Moreover, Sanskritic influence has not been universal in all parts of the country. In
most of northern India, especially in Punjab, it was the Islamic tradition which provided a basis for cultural imitation.

Factors of social change:

All societies are characterised both by continuity and change. Continuity is maintained by social controls particularly by social norms and education which transmit the accumulated social heritage to the new generations. Social change occurs in all societies and in all periods of time. But the rate of social change differs from society to society and as its nature and pace. Some of the main factors of social change are demographic, technological, economic, cultural, planning and legislation and above all education.

The role of education is vital for all round growth of political, social, economic, and cultural aspects in a society. Education is considered to be one of the real factors to take the society and all its other aspects from one stage to another stage. The role of education, particularly the English education popularised by British needs to be assessed in the present light to have a greater understanding of its impact on the society and the change it brought about in the whole system of colonial India.

Colonialism is an important part of the heritage of most third world countries and in many instances still continues to influence relations between these countries and Western nations not only in the sphere of economic but also the domain of culture. Once the dominant powers had established their military supremacy, a new order, a civil society, had to be created and coercion had to be replaced or supplemented by persuasion. It was necessary for the rulers to create a class of collaborators between them and those whom they governed. Since there was a cultural gap between the rulers and the ruled, it was difficult to do so unless the two developed a common language of communication. There had to be a homogeneous cultural space over which persuasion and coercion could operate. In the establishment of this hegemonic power, education played a crucial role. Education was supposed to reinforce culturally what colonial policies aimed at achieving economically and politically.
However, most of what has been written earlier on education and colonialism is written by apologists of colonial rule. But in the last two decades there has been a tendency to attack all forms of colonialism especially its impact on education. Colonial educational systems have been accused of being little more than tools used by capitalists to exploit the underdeveloped world and to keep it in subjugation. At one end of the spectrum education is considered to be most important ideological state apparatus devised by the ruling classes to ensure that society largely conforms to their ideas and interests.

Gramsci is even more specific when he says, intellectuals (the upper sections) of the products of the education system are officers of the ruling class for the exercise of subordinate functions of social hegemony and political government\textsuperscript{10}.

The nineteenth century was a period of transition\textsuperscript{11}. India witnessed changes in its social structure, brought about by the British administration, its economic policies, educational system and introduction of modern means of communication had a far reaching effect on Indian society and economy. The commercial capitalism which took shape at the time resulted in the creation of a market suitable for investment of British capital and converted India into a classic colony for their finished machine goods.

The introduction and impact of western education and ideas stimulated growth of awareness in the society. The Indian society inclined towards a social change through this new ideas and education and the subsequent rise of a new urban based middle class came into being. Those new classes were the pioneers of spreading and propagating western ideas and arousing social and political awakening. So the various socio-religious reform movements which took place in India during this period of British rule were the expression of the rising national consciousness and spread of liberal ideas of the West among the Indian people.

\textsuperscript{9} Gramsci, Antonio, Selections from Political Writing, (1910-1920), London, 1988, p56
\textsuperscript{11} Ramakrishna,V.,Social Reform in Andhra, Delhi, 1983.
The study of education and social change has always been interesting to evaluate the complementary role of the two concepts. The importance of the study of education and social change arises from the fact that the process and pattern of society of the present period owes its origin to a considerable extent from the developments taken before. Among one of the factors of social change, education has been in the limelight at present times to ascertain the nature and degree of its efficacy as a harbinger of change. As has been the case in most of the third world countries, the process of social change through education has created a class of intelligentsia who are the champions of the society. This necessitates a historical approach of study to the process of education and social change.

In studying the history of education and social change, the various determinant factors for societal regeneration could be explored. For history of education is no longer regarded as a matter of "Acts and facts" as the concept of education has been broadened considerably in recent years- education being no longer considered just a matter of formal schooling, but of all the many influences which go to shape the character of the society. The history of education, is therefore concerned, not merely with institutions such as schools, colleges, universities but with social forces which have affected the quality of life and with the ideas which have been put forward by theorists and practitioners of education in the past. Briefly, therefore, the study of the history of education is best considered as a part of the wider study of the history of the society - social history broadly interpreted through the polity, the economics, and the religion of society concerned.\textsuperscript{12}

The writing of history in India was started by the British in the initial years of their rule. Being mostly interested in political and administrative systems, they ignored the social history. Development of education and social changes were conspicuous in their absence in the writing of history. In addition, they suffered from the imperialistic bias and neglected regional history and concentrated on all India aspects only.

The later historians of modern India after independence, made systematic studies of the history of education and its impact on the social and political events in India. Among the historians, to mention a few, Syed Nurullah and J.P.Naik, H.M.Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee, B. T. Mccullay, K. K. Dutta and Aparna Basu are eminent scholars in the history of education. Their emphasis obviously is on the history of education and its impact on the political development in India. For example, Datta identifies English education as one of the main factors for the dawn of renaissance in modern India. However, his study is confined to Northern and Western India only. Even L.S.S.O’ Malley in his book “Modern India and the West” analyses various aspects which were responsible for modernising India, but ignores the study of the growth of education and its impact on society.

Even if there were some studies on social history, like C.Y.Chintamani (Ed), Indian Social Reform and S. Natarajan, “A Century of Social Reforms in India”, which throw light on the effects of various persons, organisations and associations to bring about social reforms, but they are mainly in the form of collection and documentation of the relevant information. They have not made a special study, however, of the educational system and its impact on social institutions.

S. C. Ghosh, in his book “The History of Education in Modern India 1757 - 1986”, has presented a historical overview, of education in modern India, from its colonial beginnings in 1757 through the implementation of New Education Policy in 1986. This study reviews the controversial issues like the introduction of English Education in India, the authorship of Education Despatch of 1854, the University Reform of 1899 - 1905 by Lord Curzon and also indicates how the New Education Policy

16Dutta, K. K., Dawn of Renascent India, Bombay, 1964.
promulgated in 1986 could be successfully implemented in the view of the shifting political scenario in the country.

Aparna Basu, in her work, "The Growth of Education and Political Development in India 1898 - 1920" has studied, the development of education and the simultaneous political developments in India. She has linked it well with the rise of intelligentsia and their contribution to the ensuing freedom struggle. It is a authoritative work on the area of education and political development.

Kuppuswamy, B., in his book, "Social Change in India" has analysed various types of social change in detail. He has dwelt upon the role of education in bringing about the social change.

The present study is mainly concerned with the growth of education and its contribution to social change in Orissa between 1850 and 1947. In this connection, we shall examine three important themes, viz., (1) the educational policy of the British Government in Orissa from 1850 to 1947 and its implementation, (2) growth of education in Orissa as a result of these policies; and (3) the extent to which education was a determinant factor in bringing about social change.

SIGNIFICANCE AND RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY:

The present study aims at analysing the growth of education and social change that occurred due to educational developments in Orissa during the period 1850 to 1947. The thrust of the study is on social change which manifested in two different forms, one, in the socio-religious reform movements, the second being the emancipation and upliftment of women, closely related to the first. The role of education in contributing to these changes has a vital significance in moulding the public mind towards achieving the end. To examine the extent of educational development in Orissa, both in terms of the quality and quantity is one of the aims of our work. An attempt is being made through this study to have a comprehensive understanding of the impact of education on the nature and extent of social change in the Orissa society.
Numerous scholarly works have been done in the areas of education in different regions of Orissa. There are works which concentrate on the development of education in various parts of Orissa. They concentrate mainly on the growth of education. Other aspects like its impact on the contemporary social set up have been overlooked. Even if work of this nature are there, no substantial attempt is made in them, on the aspect of social change in Orissa under the impact of education. In order to have comprehensive understanding of the processes of change in the society, an attempt is made here to examine this vital aspect in Orissa. More so, the highlights of the present study is on social history, which has been generally neglected or overlooked by the several scholars in their historical researches.

In the broader plane, the study of education and social change has been done in the all India level and other provinces also. To fill the gap, this study has been undertaken in Orissa.

The British occupation of Orissa in 1803 marked a new era in the history of Orissa. The far reaching measures were introduced in social, economic and political spheres of the province. The British contact with Orissa began in the first half of the 17th century. Hunter says; "True to our national character, we settled in Orissa as merchants long before we made our appearance as rulers." One of the earliest British factories in India was established at Hariharpur in Orissa in 1633. Subsequently, other factories were established at Balasore and Pipli. "These two Orissa harbours", writes Hunter, "formed the basis of other future greatness in Bengal."

It was after the second Maratha war, the British occupied Orissa in 1803 from the Maratha rule. The East India Company ruled Orissa for 55 years and after that it was directly ruled by the crown.

The British conquest of India was carried on according to prevailing political situations as well as military conveniences of the conquering power. In the process of

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21 Kuppuswamy, B., op.cit., cited.
territorial conquests the traditional compositions of the socio-cultural affinities of the various Indian people were very much neglected. As one of the major linguistic communities of the Indian sub-continent, but placed under several administrative jurisdictions, the Oriyas suffered the injustice of dismemberment for nearly a century since the British conquest of Orissa in 1803. Ganjam and other Oriya-speaking areas south of Chilka lake remained tagged to Madras; Midnapore to Bengal; Singhabum, Saraikella and Kharswan to Chhota Nagpur division; Sambalpur and Chhatisgarh feudatory states in the west to the central provinces. Thus when the British occupied Orissa in 1803, it was confined to the three coastal districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore. Orissa again formed a division in the province of Bengal from 1803 to 1912 and in the province of Bihar from 1912 to 1936.

The British occupation of Orissa in 1803 took place when the province was reeling under, backwardness in all spheres. The Maratha rule before the British occupation was only interested in the revenue collection from the province, neglecting the other developmental initiatives, thereby converting the province backward and dependent. This apathetic attitude of the Maratha rule resulted in the backwardness of the economy and society, education etc., when other provinces were thriving with prosperity. For example, Bengal before the British conquest, was under the able Mughal administration which carried forward the developmental activities and after the British occupation, the development continued to march forward more vigorously, as the ground was well prepared before. It is another matter that the British rule also ruined the Bengal economy. But when the British initiated several benevolent and developmental activities in Orissa, the inhabitants were not prepared or equipped to exploit it for their benefit, instead, they viewed these development programmes with suspicion and never came forward to avail it for their benefit. Because the base was not well prepared for them to make more opportunities.

The establishment of British power in India was a prolonged process of piecemeal conquest, consolidation and colonialisation of the economy and society. This process produced discontent, resentment and resistance at every stage. The first hundred years of the British rule witnessed a series of civil rebellions of different dimensions and

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23 Ibid.
magnitudes. As elsewhere in India, in Orissa too, these popular resistances came in the form of civil rebellions. The local grievances led the people to rise against the British, like the revolt of Paralakemidi during 1813-14 and Ganjam in 1825. The major one being the Paik rebellion which threatened the British government was started and continued by the Paiks (local militia) of the Khurda region in Orissa. These uprisings met fates similar to other movements in rest of India and failed due to lack of organised resistance and a common cause.

Apart from these indigenous resistances, Orissa remained in peace for the rest of the Company’s rule. The apparent and comparative ease with which the land was governed led the British authorities to suppose that their policies were sound. However, Orissa seems to have been neglected by the British administration. The people in the princely states suffered in their inaccessible seclusion. The coastal districts which linked the Company’s territories in Bengal and Madras were paid the minimum administrative attention.

The calamity which occurred within 8 years of the end of the East India Company’s rule, in 1866-67, took away one-third of her entire population i.e., more than one million souls. This worst famine of 1866 showed the administrative apathy of the government and the backwardness of the region which was almost isolated from the rest of India. The servants of East India Company looked upon Orissa as a mere source of revenue. But after the famine the attention of the government was drawn and several steps were taken to develop the province to prevent such calamities occurring again.

In 19’ century, social movements and growth of natural consciousness grew in Orissa as elsewhere in India. These developments were facilitated mainly due to two factors. First, the rise of a middle-class intelligentsia due to spread of western education and, second, the growth of mass media and communications like press, railways, and postal services etc. The establishment of English medium schools, colleges and universities led to the spread of western ideas and slowly but steadily a new class of intelligentsia with novel hopes and aspirations appeared on the Orissan scene. By the end of first half of 19’ century, a conducive climate of social consciousness was
available in different parts of India, especially in the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. But for the people of Orissa, such facilities came very slowly and mostly after the famine of 1866-67.

In matters of education, no interest was shown by the Company for a long time though the missionaries had established an English charity school at Cuttack as early as 1823. Even by the end of the Company's rule, the condition of education was rather lamentable. The report of the Inspector of Schools, South-West Bengal for the year 1857-1858, gave the following picture. There were three Zilla schools in the headquarters of the three districts and the number of pupils on roll was, Balasore English School: 80, Cuttack English School: 113 and the Puri English School: 89.24

As regards the women's education, Orissa was still backward. By 1881 the highest standard which the girl's school had reached in Orissa was the lower vernacular scholarship standard. Only towards the end of the century two girls took admission in the Cuttack college. Thus the progress of education in Orissa was rather very slow and the number of educated persons was rather insignificant. However, this enlightened and educated minority formed the 'hard core' of the socio-political movements in Orissa during the last decades of the 19th century.

The growth of nationalist consciousness was slow and one of the most important reasons for this was the lack of good communication in the province. The matter did not improve much even after the famine of 1866 which was aggravated due to non-arrival or late arrival of food stocks from other provinces for the lack of proper communication linkages with Orissa. The government did not consider the construction of railways in Orissa feasible due to enormous cost of bridging a number of rivers in the coastal region. The people had to agitate for the construction of railways in Orissa for a long time and it was not till the end of the 19th century that the railways were completed connecting Calcutta with Puri through Balasore and Cuttack. And, incidentally, when the passenger traffic was completed in 1900, the then Governor-General, Lord Curzon was the first important visitor and the first Viceroy to visit Orissa.25

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In spite of these handicaps, socio-political transformation took place in Orissa in the second half of the 19th century. Several organisations devoted to the cause of all-round improvement of the people were established. These organisations succeeded in awakening the people from their long slumber and prepared the ground for bigger movement against colonial rule in the 20th century.

Indian society in the 19th century presented a complex picture caught in a vicious web created by religious superstitious and social obstruction. Hinduism had become a compound of Magic, animism and superstition. The Orissa society was at a backward stage when the British occupied it in the beginning of the 19th century. Being isolated from the rest of India, the cultural contacts resulting in societal growth was completely absent in Orissa. The exploitation and apathy of the Maratha rule before the British had ruined the people economically and lack of education and knowledge had retarded the human resource development. The result of which is the inward looking view of the society. The British administration also did not take up any immediate measures to fill the gap as initially it was interested only in the revenue collection. Another misconception on the part of the British administration was treating this province on par with Bengal. Bengal, before the British rule and its initial years had developed in every sphere and the British rule there accentuated the process further. But when such experiments were made in Orissa at the beginning of British rule, the response from the people was not the same as that of Bengal. The main reason for this was the backwardness of the people economically, as Maratha rule before British was not really interested in the development of the province. Bengal, for that matter, was not under the Maratha rule that time. So the process of under development in Orissa is historical.

**AREA OF THE STUDY:**
The British occupation of Orissa in 1803 heralded a new era in the province. The overall changes introduced in the socio-economic and political structures of the province brought about several results affecting the life and culture of the people.
The region of British Orissa, for a considerable part of the colonial rule, formed a division of Bengal Presidency. However, the region constituted a separate geopolitical, economic and socio-cultural zone with a distinct tradition and history of its own. For a considerable part of the colonial rule, the British Orissa comprised three directly administered districts of Cutlack, Puri and Balasore and the Tributary Mahals (feudatory states) of 24 in number which were autonomous territories internally. In 1901, the Orissa division had a population of 3,173,375 and an area of 28,046 square miles. Subsequently, other districts were added to the tract, i.e., Sambalpur in 1905 and Koraput and Ganjam in 1936. By 1936, when it was elevated to provincial status, the British Orissa comprised six districts; namely, Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Sambalpur, Koraput and Ganjam; and the Tributary Mahals: with an area of 32,695 square miles and a population of 8,043,681.

The British occupation of Orissa was not a one time conquest, but piece by piece occupation. The British occupied the southern parts of Orissa in 1765, the coastal region in 1803 and the western part by 1849. What the British wanted in fact was the coastal strip of land to link the eastern presidency of Bengal with the southern presidency of Madras for strategic reasons.

After the occupation of Orissa, the British Government introduced various economic and social policies which furthering the revenue collection of the government, antagonised the native people. These antagonisms and displeasure resulted in several resistance movements against them. Orissa's resistance movements against the British government goes by a distinctive and a singular characteristic. Elsewhere in India and, in most places, resistance to the British came from the ruling sovereigns and their armies. But in Orissa such resistances came from the people from the grass-roots level. The Paik rebellion of 1816 or Ghumsor revolt or other sporadic movements, exposed for the first time, weak foundation well as the inherent defects of the new administration.

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26 Census Reports of the years, OSA, 1911, 1921, 1931
The comparative ease with which the land was administered led the British to neglect the over all development of the province. On no occasion, they ever thought that Orissa required the same attention as the neighbouring territories of Bengal and Madras. While administrative developments in other parts of India followed more or less a general pattern of elaboration and improvement, Orissa seems to have been left struggling neglected and thereby denied of many advantages.

The princely states were left to suffer their own indigenous systems, while the coastal districts which linked the Company’s territories in Bengal and Madras were paid the minimum administrative attention. This negligent attitude and severe apathy demonstrated itself in a catastrophe. After 8 years of the end of East India Company’s rule in (1866-67) Orissa witnessed a severe famine which took away one-third of her entire population, i.e., more than one million souls. The Orissa famine was like an epitath of East India Company’s rule. Speaking on the Orissa famine in the British House of Commons on August 2, 1867, Sir Stafford Northcok, the Secretary of State, made the following remarks:

"This catastrophe must always remain a monument of our failure, a humiliation to the people of this country, to the Government of this country, and to those of our Indian officials of whom we had been perhaps a little too proud". Among the several causes creating this catastrophe, the most important factor was the isolation of Orissa from other parts due to lack of communication facilities. The British economic policies, like the land revenue administration, conducted through a number of years, had adversely affected the cultivation in general and had thrown the peasants into a state of perpetual misapprehension. The thirty years settlement which was to expire shortly after the Company’s rule had created doubts much in advance regarding the future of the land tenure with no new arrangement in sight. The tendency of such a state of things was undoubtedly to discourage agriculture; hence an inclination rather to contract than extend the assessable area and cultivation, and an uncertainty in the minds of all classes. The famine also revealed the character of the personnel to whose charge the Company had entrusted Orissa. There are evidences to suggest that the

Company's servants, selected for Orissa, were not of the same standing as for more difficult parts of the British empire.  

The other aspect of under development and the less attention paid to Orissa was the over emphasis and focus of the provincial government was mainly on Calcutta and Bengal. As a result, the people of Bengal, with the seat of East India Company's Government at Calcutta, with the spread of western education and growth of consciousness, with their growing freedom for organisation and association, were in a position to draw the attention of their rulers to their genuine grievances.

Orissa was totally in a different condition. It was remote, inaccessible, and far from educational or political consciousness. The Lieutenant-Governor paid almost all his attention to administer Bengal proper and consequently neither he nor other heads of administration could do justice to the administration of Orissa. Moreover, the British wrongly applied to Orissa principles of administration which were at any rate applicable only to the permanently settled districts of Bengal.

From the very beginning of the conquest and occupation the servants of the East India Company looked upon Orissa as a mere source of revenue.

In matters of education, the governments initiative was less compared to other regions of the British rule, though the missionaries had begun their educational activities as early as 1823 by establishing an English Charity School at Cuttack. The Government took over the management of the said school in February 1861. Nothing more was done for a number of years except establishing a few vernacular schools.

PERIOD OF STUDY:

The present study covers the period from the year 1850 to 1947. The period constitutes a crucial phase in the educational development of the province. Though the growth of education in Orissa was rather slow and negligent due to various factors discussed in the subsequent chapters, there was a continued educational development...
in the province. The Wood's Despatch which is considered to be the Magna Carta of English education in India, did not bring about any spectacular development in Orissa. Moreover, the great famine of 1866 severely hit the people and ruined their life in all aspects. It was after the famine, the British Government, realising the importance and negligent attitude towards education, put emphasis on the development of the same. But it was only after 1880, with the recommendations of Hunter Commission giving emphasis on the Laissez-Faire policy, the impetus in the educational growth was actually carried out. The uneven growth of education of the previous years had failed to establish a proper educational system and the infrastructural deficiencies added to its misery. The meagre allocation of funds allocated for the development of education was low compared to the other provinces of the Raj.

But with the recommendations of Hunter Commission on education, discernible and significant changes were introduced and the results were noticeable more transparently. The provisions of scholarship system attracted pupils to the schools at the primary stage. In the secondary education, the inspection by the Dy. Inspectors through their visits made more meaningful and efficient in the province. The main purpose of India education commission of 1882 was to suggest ways of securing rapid expansion of secondary education. Keeping in view of this goal, private enterprise was encouraged and the government role was minimised to a large extent.

The local bodies and private agencies were encouraged and invited to take control of the secondary and higher education.

In the collegiate education, the Ravenshaw College started in 1868 as a school and became a full fledged college by 1881, thereby heralding a new era in the area of higher learning and education. Simultaneously, the slow and steady progress of female education at every stage also increased, though the number was not satisfactory.

With the dawn of the 20" century, there heralded a new era of progress and development of education in a much bigger way. The initial decades of 20" century were marked by intense political struggle against colonialism at the national level. So-
also in Orissa this period contained the elements of fight against colonialism. Being a part of a large struggle, and a separate struggle from inside for a separate province containing fragmented districts of the then Orissa ultimately resulted in the formation of a separate province for Orissa in the year 1936. The freedom struggle was a two-pronged fight; one against the foreign rule and the other against the inside power structure.

On the societal plane, the spread of education and its effects created a suitable ground for change in the society. The rise of a middle class intelligentsia due to spread of education and their attitude towards the practices and dogmas of the social customs were the main targets for criticism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A momentous development of the period was the growth in the quality of female education and their involvement in the areas of social awakening and regeneration. A sizeable number of women leaders of Orissa had taken part in the freedom struggle starting from the Gandhian phase, particularly. As the political activities also involved the ideals of social development and upliftment of various sections, both went side by side in Orissa as elsewhere in India. Another striking development of the period was the growth of middle class as educated and conscious citizens of the province and constituted the most dynamic element of the time. Although they were by-products of the colonial regime, a sizeable section amongst them turned against it by organising several associations and agitating over several issues of concern of the province and thereby became the harbingers of modern Orissa.

The introduction of western education also brought in and led to transmission of western ideas in science, philosophy and humanities in Orissa, which resulted in the improvement of Oriya literature, articulation of Oriya cultural and political identity, nationalist ideas etc., The formation of a number of Sabhas and Samitis during the period by the educated intelligentsia discussing various issues, ranging from social, political, economic and the like, sharpened their ideas and prepared them to involve themselves in the larger freedom struggle later.

The whole range of society, religion, culture were questioned for their validity in the newer lights towards the second half of nineteenth century. The growth of education
particularly English education brought in the ideas of liberalism, scientific enquiry, rationalism and all aspects of life were examined and scrutinised through these ideals.

In the religious sphere also, it criticised the dogma and superstitious practices of the age old customs. The emergence of Brahmo Movement in the province also encouraged and popularised the Brahmo concept and severely criticised the existing religious practices. It also strove and succeeded in its efforts in influencing the British government to put down the practice of **Sati** through law.

Another indigenous religious reform movement called Mahima Dharma, coming out purely from the socio-religious milieu of that period, challenged the Brahmanical order on one hand and Brahmo Samaj on the other. Through its preaching, the lower classes in particular, were attracted to it and in a way gave a place to the masses who were out of the prevalent Hindu/Brahmanical system. In its reformatory activities, it discarded the complicated and superfluous rituals involved in the worship and instead advocated pure and direct worship of God, not involving the priests for mediation.

These socio-religious reform movements of the late 19th century had a direct bearing on the developments in the 20th century, more particularly of our period of study. These movements marked the beginning of change in social and religious planes. Most of the reformers and the reforms were influenced by the growth of education during that period. The seeds sown through these movements yielded good results in the 20th century in terms of upliftment of women. As all the social movements in the 19th century had one of their objectives, i.e., the upliftment of women, their activities contributed in the raising the status of women in society.

The spadework done by these social reform movements facilitated the involvement of large number of women in public activities at the beginning of the 20th century, either in political or social movements. Women of Orissa fought against the British, side by side with their male counterparts in their opposition to the foreign rule. They brought out the marginal status of women in society and family through their literary creations. There are innumerable examples of women leaders who involved
themselves and fought against the British rule and simultaneously against the social evils for their upliftment.

This period thus constitutes an important area of study to understand the dynamics of social change through education. Though the main purpose of the British in promoting education was to subjugate the natives for their economic exploitation and to use them for lower administrative requirements, the end result was the enlightenment of the Indians. This enlightenment, in the process, succeeded in bringing an end to colonialism and along with the upliftment of society and social change.

In Orissa, the subject of educational development has been studied by several academicians and the pioneer among them is Prof. J. K. Samal. In his “History of Education in Orissa (1905-1936),” he has dealt with the educational growth and progress in detail and it is a major secondary source for further study in this area. But he has not linked it to the aspect of social change that was brought about by the introduction of the education in the 19th century and more importantly, vigorously after 1880. Among other historians of Orissa, Prof. K. M. Patra’s authoritative research on the British economic policies and the maintenance of Jagannath temple happens to be one of the best academic efforts to analyse the British economic policies. But the issue of social change is conspicuous by its absence except for a few references. Prof. Atual Chandra Pradhan taking the lead, published several papers on the female education rightly focused on its growth in the overall educational progress in the province. His pioneering work on the role of women in the Civil Disobedience Movement in Orissa in the Utkal University Historical Journal provides relevant information.

Another noteworthy research in the field of Oriya literature has been done by Dr. Natabar Samantray. Written in Oriya, titled “Oriya Sahityara Ithihasa,” has elaborately discussed the growth of Oriya literature and mentioned about the

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30 Patra, K. M., op. cit.,
31 Pradhan A. C, Civil Disobedience Movement in Orissa - the participation and awakening of women, Bhubaneswar, 1993, pp 63 -88.
32 Samantray, N., Oriya Sahityara Ithihasa (Oriya), Cuttack, 1964.
educational development during that period. Also highlighted are the rise and growth of various Sabhas and Samithis which discussed and deliberated on various socio-political and economic issues of Orissa.

In the article "Orissa under the British: A political sketch" by Prof. M. N. Das in the book "History and Culture of Orissa", edited by himself 33, the series of events starting from the occupation of Orissa by British through the National Movement in Orissa have been vividly described. He also throws some light on the educational front but the area of social change has not been highlighted.

The recently published book "A Comprehensive History and Culture of Orissa"34 edited by Prof. J. K. Samal covers the entire gamut of history of Orissa from ancient times till Independence. Every aspect of the history like cultural, political, economic, religion etc., have been dealt with extensively. But the focus on the social front seems to be less. None the less, it is one of the good secondary source material for the study of Orissa.

Analysing the works of above mentioned historians and their historical enquiries, it can be inferred that most of the historical writings and historians in the province focussed their attention on political and administrative history of the modern Orissa. Though pioneers in their respective studies, they have not given the same kind of emphasis on social history. Though the kind of social change and its effects were minuscule compared to other parts of colonial India, most prominently Bengal and Maharashtra, but it is worth recording the process for paying due importance to social history in the overall sphere of historical writing.

In the "Social History of the 19th century Orissa"35, a pioneering work has been done by Dr. Nihar Ranjan Pattanaik and it is major source of information on this area, particularly the Brahmo movement in Orissa. So also the Mahima movement has been properly studied and brought out several dimensions of discussion on it in the present light.

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33 Das, M. N., ed, Orissa Under the British in History and Culture of Orissa, Cuttack.
The area of Mahima Dharma has been studied by many scholars, particularly, Chittaranjan Das in his work in Oriya "Orissara Mahima Dharma" 36. It is one of the in-depth studies of various dimensions of Mahima Dharma and its influence on the contemporary society. Moreover, it discusses the literature produced by the followers of Mahima Dharma which are mainly in lyrical form.

However, there is no authoritative work on the major aspects of social change in Orissa under the impact of education. It appears to have been studied in different directions and in different time frames. The present work is an attempt to fill the gap between the areas of education and social change in Orissa.

The freedom struggle in Orissa has been dealt with by several historians and researchers. It is one area where a number of researches have been done in recent times. As the political movement incorporated the social development of the time, they were figured prominently in the struggle against the British Raj, as two streams of one common struggle. In their struggle against British for political freedom, the leaders were also simultaneously fighting social evils, practices, beliefs in the society to make the political struggle more meaningful by making it strong in social life of the country.

The period from 1850 to 1947 constitutes a crucial and momentous phase in the educational and social history of Orissa. This period witnessed great social transformation as a consequence of the spread of western education. It was a period when education was given a new orientation by the government, private bodies, and missionaries and non-missionary organisations. Social reformers were active during this period both in educational and social reform movements.

At the all India level and in other provinces, several works have been done on the subject of education and social change. Among them, the study of Y. Vaikuntham, on "Education and Social Change in South India, Andhra (1880 - 1920)" 37 is a pioneering work in this field. In this connection, he has broadly examined the following themes

a) The educational policy of the British government from 1880 to 1920

36 Das, C. Orissara Mahima Dharma (Oriya)
b) Growth of education in Andhra as a result of these policies
c) The social change brought about by the education.

Sridhar Narayan Pandey has studied the "Education and Social Change in Bihar 1900-1921"\(^{38}\). This study opens with a problem of educational backwardness and social evils in Bihar during the closing years of the 19\(^{th}\) century. He has attempted to unfold and analyse the reasons behind the apathy of the people towards English Education. He has described at length the conditions of public life in Bihar during the 19\(^{th}\) century and how with the spread of education in the beginning of 20\(^{th}\) century there emerged an educated middle class which showed unprecedented enthusiasm in politics and Bihar became the vanguard of National Movement.

Fatima Kutty, in her work "Education and Social Change in Vishakhapattanam district"\(^{39}\), deals only with the general growth of education in the district.

**HYPOTHESES:**

The study analyses the educational development in the province of Orissa. The major aspects involve the rise and development of education in the province prior to the period of study from 1850 to 1947. The educational system prevalent in the state from Wood’s Despatch of 1854 and the negligent attitude of the government towards this division of the Bengal Presidency has been discussed to highlight the extent of educational developments.

As the British Government was only interested in furthering its colonial interests, education was given a secondary place in its scheme of priorities. The policies of different governments in Orissa regarding various stages of education and the experiments to achieve the desired results are discussed. The response and availability of the facilities of education by the natives are also vital for the progress of education.

\(^{39}\) Kutty, Fatima, Education and Social Change in Vishakhapattanam district, New Delhi, 1991.
Apart from the development of education in quantitative terms, the issue of social change holds an important place to assess the theme of the study. To what extent education and educated intelligentsia were able to bring in changes in social behaviour, ideas, and progressive thoughts are vital to the present study. How far the impact of education on socio-religious movements during the period and emancipation of women in society have contributed are dealt with in our thesis.

METHODOLOGY:

The methodology adopted in this study involves the analysis of the British Governments educational policies starting from the 1850 to 1947. The various stages of education such as primary, secondary, collegiate, technical have been dealt with to assess the progress of education in the province. Moreover, growth of education for women and Muslims also have been examined along with educational administration.

As a result of the growth of education, there emerged a section of middle-class and English educated intelligentsia who were in the forefront of socio-religious reform movements. The emancipation and upliftment of women in the society also became the top priority of this class. As two streams of development, the political struggle against the British also included the social reform in society from within. Both the aspects have simultaneously occurred in the province as elsewhere in India.

SOURCES:

The database has been arranged for the study from various sources. They include Governmental reports and records:
a) The imperial censuses starting from 1881, called decennial census up to 1931 have been used for the study. These census reports apart from providing population data, mentions the number of population under education in the province.

b) Annual Administrative Reports which started publishing from 1850 onwards gives statistical information about the educational development of the province and the British Government's policy towards the promotion of education.

c) Hunters statistical account of Bengal, of which, vols- XVIII and XIX provide statistical information on British Orissa (on Cuttack, Balasore, and Puri Districts and the Tributary Mahals)

d) Reports on Moral and Material progress and condition of India, These annual reports on various aspects like legislation, finance, trade and commerce, education, health etc., were published under the purview of government of India. In addition to this, in the present century the quinquennial and decennial review reports on the social and material conditions of the people at the provincial level have been consulted in the present study to analyse education and social conditions of people of Orissa. These reports throw a considerable light on the socio-economic conditions of colonial Orissa. Not withstanding their bias towards government, these sources provide valuable information for the study.

e) Vernacular literature: (Oriya)

Several works in vernacular Oriya literature were consulted for the present study. These sources comprising of biographical, autobiographical and historical writings provide insights into many events and happenings, which can not be obtained from official sources.

General Report of Public Instruction in Bengal - These annual reports on public instruction have been used massively, primarily during the period from 1880 to 1930s for gathering data on education in the province. Apart from this, the separate
educational records have been used extensively for the information regarding educational development in the province, particularly educational records of H. Sharp and J.A. Richey.
g) Proceedings of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, have been used in the study.
h) Papers relating to education preserved in the Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneshwar and Board of Revenue library, Cuttack have been utilised for the study.

ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY:

The thesis is divided into five chapters:- Chapter 1: Introduction; Chapter - ii: Education in Orissa (1850-1900); Chapter III: Educational development in Orissa (1900-1947); Chapter - IV; Rise and growth of socio-religious movements and women’s upliftment in Orissa; Chapter - v: Conclusion.

CHAPTER -1 : INTRODUCTION

In the introductory chapter, the main themes addressed to in the present thesis have been introduced. The concept of social change and its various interpretations and characteristic features have been dealt with. The educational situation during the British rule in India more particularly in Orissa, is discussed here to familiarise with the developments in educational front. Moreover, of Orissa in 19th century i.e., the analysis of the period of study is also clarified in this chapter. Finally, the scope and constraints involved in the study have been mentioned.

CHAPTER - II: EDUCATION IN ORISSA (1850 - 1900)

In this chapter, the rise and growth of education after the British occupation have been presented in order to understand the educational scenario existing before the period under study. The different stages of educational development like the Wood’s Despatch and its effects in the province has been analysed. The period from Wood's
despatch of 1858 to the great famine of 1866, has been discussed to record the progress both in quantitative and qualitative terms. In this Chapter, various stages of education like, primary, secondary, collegiate, technical education and more particularly women's education are dealt with. Apart from these, the educational administration and the case of medium of instruction also figures in this chapter.

CHAPTER - III: EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FROM (1900 - 1947)

This chapter deals with the development and growth of education during the 20th century upto 1940’s. Following the tenor of previous chapter, the educational growth at various stages have been discussed and their desired results have been presented. More importantly, this chapter also focuses on the education of the Muslims in the province. So also the prevalence and growth of indigenous education is highlighted which was carried on along with other types of education.

CHAPTER IV: SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN ORISSA.

This chapter discusses the theme of social change that was brought about by the educational development in the province. The growth of the western educated intelligentsia and their responses to the growing social and religious practices have provided a boost to the emergence of socio-religious movements in the province. The socio-religious reform movements of Brahmo Samaj, which had a major presence in the three coastal districts of Orissa have been analysed and their impact on the contemporary society and religion are presented in the chapter.

Also the indigenous Mahima movement and its spread in the second half of 19th century had a major role in countering the Brahmin influence on the Indian religion and competing with the Brahmo Samaj at the same time. It could influence the
backward sections of society mainly the tribes and had drawn into its fold in the province.

Also highlighted in the chapter are the socio-religious evils like female infanticide, widow burning, Meriah practices and their suppression through the initiative of the educated people and the government. The major thrust has been given on the upliftment of women in the society during this period. The education of women, and their emergence in the centre stage of the society is a landmark in the history of Orissa during the period under study. Women leaders of Orissa during the period of our study were deeply involved in the struggle against the British Raj, the social reform activities and women's upliftment. The role of a number of women leaders participating in social and political movements have been discussed.

CHAPTER - V: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION:

A summary and major findings of the present study are presented in this concluding chapter. The role of education in bringing about different developments in the Orissa society and polity have been analysed to measure the contributory factors. Along with it, the short comings of educational development in the province compared to the other equally developed provinces like Bengal, Madras have been highlighted. The growth of education in the province could not progress as in other provinces, but it surely laid a strong foundation for more meaningful educational achievements after independence. The linkage between education and the rise of the intelligentsia who later on became the vanguard of freedom movement is certainly an achievement, however, small in nature, it may be. The slow but steady growth of education and the social responses became major source of development in the province.