CHAPTER - V
Chapter V

Spread of Education and Cultural Awakening in Orissa During The Nineteenth Century

(a) Introduction of English Education in Orissa

The advent of Company's rule in Orissa was followed by the introduction of English education and the recruitment of Western educated native Oriya elites in the British administrative setup. These developments prompted a craze for western education among the Oriya natives which, however, did not materialize properly due to costly nature of such education, poverty of the people and lack of English schools and colleges in the province. Despite such a distressing scenario, there emerged some prominent native intelligentsia, who undertook energetic efforts to revive, evaluate and preserve the cultural heritage of Orissa. They were supported in such endeavours through their exposure to English education (as spearheaded by the Christian missionaries) as well as Brahmo Samaj ideas from Bengal. As for the Company, it resorted to a policy of encouraging both the systems of English and Vernacular education in the province. As events unfolded in the nineteenth century, the spread of education constituted a significant factor in promoting an atmosphere conducive to cultural awakening in Orissa.
By way of background it may be observed that the indigenous system of education in the pre-British period consisted of three different kinds of educational institutions namely, the "Chatsalis" or "Pathsalas", the "tols" or "Chatuspathis" and "Maktabs" or Islamic schools. As for the "Chatsalas", they were run by private bodies with the help of a class of village school masters called, "Abadhanas". These village teachers normally provided rudimentary knowledge to their pupils on alphabets and numbers. Some among them, however, imparted traditional teaching in Sanskrit through several pioneering literary works such as "Kamalalochan Chautisa", "Keshab Koili", "Bhagabat Geeta" and "Labanyavati". As regards the "tols", Brahmin pupils were permitted to read in such institutions of higher learning, where the curriculum mostly comprised the study of Sanskrit Grammar and texts with commentaries. As for the Muslims, they developed their own indigenous schools called "Maktabs" and that their teachers were described as "Akhunoor". The Muslim boys were imparted teachings in Persian and Arabic languages and concerning the "Quran". But the over-all picture of indigenous education demonstrated a fact that the common masses were totally deprived from such a system, which remained under the strong monopoly of a small section of caste Hindus such as Brahmins and Karans as well as aristocratic Muslim families of Orissa. A characteristic feature of the system was the emphasis placed on building moral character of the pupils rather than making
them literate. Despite such constraints, the common people sought to lead a life of simplicity. They remained more or less satisfied with the types of learning as available in the pre-British period.

Commenting on this, W.W. Hunter severely criticised the indigenous system as "dull", "monotonous" and "unscientific" and observed:

"... Throughout the length and breadth of the province with its population of two and half million of souls, all was darkness and superstitions. Here and there, indeed a pandit taught a few lads Sanskrit in a corner of some rich landlord's mansion, and the larger villages had a sort of hedge school, where half a dozen boys squatted with the mast on the ground, forming the alphabet in the dust and repeating the multiplication table in a parrot-like sing-song. Any one who could write a sentence or two on a palm leaf passed for a man of letters ..."  

Following their conquest of Orissa, however, the Company did not contemplate any radical change in the existing educational structure of the province for over a long period of thirty two years. It was in fact a sharp contrast to the provisions of the Charter Act of 1813 which earmarked more than one lakh rupees for the development of English education in Bengal. The Chief reason behind such an attitude was to


to safeguard the interests of the Bengali employees serving under the Company in Orissa. It may be mentioned that when the Company required the urgent services of native scribes to run their revenue accounts in Orissa, practically no one was available to occupy such positions. Such a scenario, was principally due to lack of English knowledge on the part of Oriya natives which was taken advantage to by the Bengali people in occupying such positions in Orissa. It was these Bengali community which rather mischievously misled the Company later on not to introduce English education in order to protect its purely selfish interests in the province.\textsuperscript{215}

It was only after a long period of time that the British government decided to open the First English School in November 1835 at Puri called the Puri Free Academy. It was the Commissioner of Orissa, W. Wilkinson who started the Puri English School with Ganga Narayan Bose as the teacher. Such a school, however, did not thrive for long because of "ignorance" on the part of local people as well as "bigotry" by the priests of Puri temple who were totally averse to the introduction of English education in Orissa. Despite this development, the Company government undertook steps to continue such a process. This was evident from the fact that soon after the closure of the English School at Puri, the British took over management of the English Charity School at Cuttack from the Christian

\textsuperscript{215} For details see N. Samantrai, \textit{History of Oriya Literature} (Bhubaneswar, 1964), p. 54.
Missionaries in 1841. This School was very soon upgraded to a higher class English institution in 1845 and by 1851 it became the principal citadel of learning in the province and was designated as the Cuttack Zilla School. Also, to facilitate the promotion of English education, books provided in the form of prizes and scholarship were given to talented students who were poor. Following these developments, the Community of Balasore approached the British government with a request to open an English school on the pattern of Cuttack Zilla School. In the process two such schools were established at Balasore and Puri in 1853. 216

As mentioned earlier, the Christian Missionaries took the initial step to promote English education in Orissa by establishing a Charity School at Cuttack in 1823. They operated four major types of schools namely, the Boys' Schools, the orphanages and the Boarding Schools, the Girls' Schools and the Co-Education Schools in Orissa. Besides, they opened special institutions like the Medical, Industrial and Normal Schools as well as Zenana Associations in the province. As for the British government, it diverted its focus on education from urban to rural areas beginning in 1823. This lent a major boosting to the missionaries to spread their activities in terms of opening new schools at remote places.

The missionaries, in fact, aroused a new sense of consciousness among the Oriya people by encouraging co-education. It helped the women folk to receive some educational facilities in the province.218

Spurred by missionary activities, the Company government also initiated the process of western education. Such a policy was guided by two major considerations. Firstly, following the outbreak of Paik Rebellion in 1818, the Company government found out to its dismay that local interests were constantly ignored due to strong interference on the part of Bengali and British officials. The Company in fact, realized the urgent need to associate the local people in their own administrative set up so that local issues would not deteriorate rather sharply resulting in domestic conflagrations such as the Paik Rebellion. The major hindrance, however, was lack of education on the part of native population. Secondly, it was also the European officials, who indulged themselves in flagrant official abuses such as bribery, corruption, drinking and racing etc. The immoral behaviour on the part of Company officials reached an incredibly scandalous proportions. It was in this context that some higher authorities in the Company felt that the spread of education and morality might prompt some sobering influence on such corrupt officials.219

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217. For details see N. Samantray, op. cit., p.46.
218. For details see Hunter, Orissa, op. cit., p.144.
The Company's interest on education was considerably heightened following Governor General Lord William Bentinck's historic decision in 1835 to impose the English language as the medium of instruction for the entire country. As regards it has been elaborated as to how the English institution at Puri did not survive for long due to orthodox attitude on the part of native people and non-availability of local teachers. Perhaps lack of adequate and liberal fundings on the part of Company government contributed to such a development. Responding to such developments, the Commissioner for Orissa Henry Ricketts severely castigated the Company government for their utter negligence and apathy in not granting immediate assistance for the opening up of proposed English schools at Cuttack as well as at several other places in the province. Commenting on these developments, W.W. Hunter also observed:

"... Until 1838, no schools worthy of the name existed except in the two or three bright spots within the circle of Missionary influence. Throughout the length and breadth of the province, with its population of two and half million of souls all was darkness and superstition ..." 221

The Company government soon after took strong measures for the improvement of education in India. In this context Lord Macaulay's minutes of 1835 marked a turning point as it strongly argued for the spread of English education in India. According to him, such a process would "bring about a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour but English in tastes, 220.

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221. W.W. Hunter, Orissa, op. cit., p.144.
opinions, in morals, and in intellect and that education would filter down from them to the masses."222 Such developments, however, failed to strike roots in Orissa due to people's conservative outlook, their economic backwardness and negligence on the part of the Company officials. To illustrate, the Oriya people hesitated to send their children to the missionary schools for fear of losing religion. Also, the local people at Bhadrak somehow entertained an absurd notion that their children would be snatched away from them to be sent eventually to England if received western education from English medium schools in Orissa.223 Also, as mentioned earlier, the English School at Puri failed to thrive due to strong opposition from the priests of Jagannath temple. Thus, it was the children of the government officials who mostly attended the English school at Puri. However, some amount of fascination for English education began to develop soon, which was evident from the report of the Council of Education for the year 1849-1850. The report stated: "For Cuttack higher class English school, numerous applications were daily received from the natives for admission, but all were not entertained owing to a strict enforcement of rules."224 Further, some concrete steps were taken by the Company to attract students towards English

223. For details see Prabhat K. Mukherji, History of Orissa in the 19th century, op.cit., p.437.
education through such measures as provision of prizes and scholarships for talented and deserving poor students.

(b) **Progress of Education in the Nineteenth Century**

As mentioned earlier, Company government initially aimed at manufacturing clerks for its colonial administration. But beginning in 1835, radical innovations were introduced into the educational system by replacing the traditional indigenous structure completely. To begin with, the study of English was made compulsory. Along with it, new subjects like Western philosophy and logic, sciences, history, geography and economics were introduced into the curriculum. Active encouragement was also provided for the study of Vernacular literature as well as preservation and evaluation of traditional learning in Oriya and Sanskrit. Besides, a structurally four-tier system comprising Primary, Middle English and High English Schools as well as the Colleges was introduced under which education no longer remained under the monopoly of elite or upper castes. Further, opportunities were afforded to lower castes and women to avail new educational facilities, which, however, did not materialize properly due to the persistence of social conservatism in Orissa. Despite such constraints, three agencies namely, the Christian Missionaries, British government and native intelligentsia worked hard for the promotion of the new system of education during the nineteenth century.
To elaborate, the Christian Missionaries sought to preach in Vernacular medium and treated education as "auxiliary" to preaching. It was the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore who produced the first Oriya version of the "Bible" in 1809 and subsequently translated their pamphlets into the native language for religious propagation. In fact, 50,000 copies of such pamphlets were distributed by them in Oriya language till 1841. Further, they established a number of Vernacular schools both inside and around the city of Cuttack by 1823. The missionaries were pioneers in the preparation of Oriya text books for the Vernacular schools. The missionaries also started the first press at Cuttack in 1837. Apart from publishing the religious literature, the Missionaries brought out three periodicals from this press in Oriya language namely, Jnanaruna (1849), Prabodh Chandrika (1856) and Arunoday (1851).

As regards the British initiative, the first step was the establishment of an English School at Puri in November 1835. Subsequently they took over the Cuttack Charity School from the Missionaries in 1841. They established two more English Schools in 1853. These efforts, however, became practically meaningless, as the caste Hindus, led by the Brahmins, developed strong reservations concerning the nature

225. For details see W.W. Hunter, op. cit., p.145.
227. For details see A.C. Pradhan, Education and Learning in Orissa, op. cit., p.31.
and character of English education as already mentioned in
details earlier. Observing these developments, the Company
government took active interest for the promotion of Vernacular
education along with western education. Also, they took steps
towards the promotion of Oriya language in 1837. For instance,
they ordered that the native Oriya language would used in all
official communication in the province along with the Persian
script. 228

As regards the promotion of Vernacular education,
a major initiative was taken by Governor General Lord Hardinge
in December 1844. According to the new policy, 101 Vernacular
Schools were established throughout the Bengal Presidency in
1845. Out of this, eight schools were opened in Orissa at
towns like Khurda, Puri, Balasore, Remuna, Bhadrak, Kendrapara,
Mahanga and Hariharpur. Further, instead of taking over of the
indigenous "Pathsalas", the British government decided to open
Vernacular schools. 229 As regards curriculum in such schools,
students were taught the Primer, Aesop's Fables, grammar,
arithmetic, elementary geography and Vernacular Reader containing
historical sketches of Orissa. 230 But the progress of Vernacular
along with English education moved at a rather slow place on
account of conservative outlook and economic backwardness of

228. For details see Ibid, p.32.
229. For details see Hunter, Orissa, op.cit., pp.145-146.
230. For details see Prabhat K. Mukherji, History of Orissa
in the 19th Century, op.cit., p.438.
native population as well as official negligence from the British quarters. As regards official negligence, it was highlighted by Commissioner Henry Ricketts rather provocatively in 1837:

"... At the conquest, we found the Ooreahs "Oriyas" in a state of great degradation and to our shame be it recorded that our policy was to perpetuate the degeneracy which prevailed among them ..." 231

Speaking highly about academic potentials of the Oriyas he observed:

"... If schools be established and properly attended to the Ooreahs "Oriyas" will soon show that degeneracy is but the usual consequence of misrule ..." 232

It may be mentioned that an important cause of administrative negligence was the inclusion of Orissa within the jurisdiction of the Inspector for South West Division of Bengal. Since his office was located in Calcutta at long distance in Calcutta and in view of the difficulties of transport, the Inspector rarely visited the province. Observing the scene, the Commissioner for Orissa, G.F. Cockburn strongly pleaded for placing the province under a separate local Inspector. 233 Such difficulties were also presented by E. Roer, the Inspector of Schools for South West Division in his official report as follows:

"... It is to be regretted that no new educational operation can be carried out, for Orissa is at a disadvantage, compared with other districts. For the whole of Orissa, with an area of 52,995 square

233. Ibid.
miles and a population of 4,534,813 souls, less
is expended than for the small district of Howrah,
with an area of 800 square miles and a population
of 750,000 souls ..." 234

It may, however, be observed that despite official
encouragements, the Vernacular schools in Orissa suffered
miserably in terms of their functioning. While poverty was
quite responsible for dissuading the parents from sending
their children to these Vernacular schools, the growing
importance of English education also contributed to such a
process. Further, due to the slow progress in the field of
education, Orissa was not able to produce even a class of
local intelligentsia prior to the outbreak of the Great
Famine in 1866. It may be observed that if such a class
existed during the Famine, the British would definitely
have been compelled to address themselves concerning relief
operations in 1866. Commenting on this aspect, the Commissioner
for Orissa T.E. Ravenshaw observed:

"... No other province in the Presidency was so
deficient of intelligent and public-spirited
residents who could appreciate the facts bearing
on the prospects and means of the people and who
could give practical information to the authorities
as would have been the case in any district of
Bengal proper and in carrying out remedial
measures ... " 235

234. As cited in J.K. Samal, Orissa Under the British Crown:

235. As cited in Ibid, pp.243-244.
Responding to the process of stagnation in the field of English education, the British introduced the famous "Educational Despatch of 1854" or commonly known as the "Wood's Despatch" in India. The Despatch, while outlining the education of the masses through the Vernacular languages, however, placed great emphasis on female education, teachers training, and encouragement of private enterprise to run local schools through a regular grants-in-aid system. It also suggested for the establishment of universities in India. As per the provisions of the Despatch, a separate Department of Education was established for Bengal and that Gordon Young joined as the first Director of Public Instruction in 1855.236 Commenting on the significance of the Despatch, W.W. Hunter observed:

"... This "Despatch" set in motion new forces, intellectual and political, whose magnitude it was impossible to gauge ..." 237  

Almost concurring with the views of Hunter, H.R. James described the Despatch as "the climax in the history of Indian education". He further characterized it as the "Magna Carta" of English education in India.238

236. For details see L.S.S. O'Malley, History of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Under British Rule (Calcutta, 1925), Chapter XXVI.
238. H.R. James, Education and Statesmanship in India, (Bombay, 1917), p.41.
As regards its impact on Orissa, the Despatch sought to bring about both qualitative as well as quantitative improvements in the educational system, especially in the field of primary education. This, however, did not materialize due to callousness on the part of Bengal government as well as the apathy of Oriya people towards modern education. Commenting on these aspects in his report on 23 February 1859 the Commissioner for Orissa observed:

"... It must be remembered that as yet, education at all in Orissa is in its infancy and no doubt, the Government has done its duty in respect to the improvement of the people, lacs and lacs of rupees having been spent in almost every Division in Bengal excepting Orissa ..." 239

It may be mentioned that what ever progress achieved in the field of education was largely due to generosity on the part of some highly articulate English Commissioners and Inspectors besides the Christian Missionaries. 240

Following the Despatch of 1854, a training school was established in 1863 to train teachers for primary schools at Cuttack, which was thoroughly reorganised in 1869 to be re-designated as the Cuttack Normal School. Subsequently, teacher schools were established at Balasore, Puri and Angul.

239. As cited in N.R. Patnaik, op.cit., p.64.

Further, in three government estates namely, at Khurda, Banki and Angul, nineteen primary schools were set up between 1855 and 1859. Such a figure was raised later on to twenty nine. This, however, was quite a meagre number in the context of Orissa's existing population of over three millions. It was further distressing to observe that out of fifty eight Oriya students, who appeared at the Entrance Examination of Calcutta University in 1868 only ten were natives and that the rest belonged to Bengali families settled in Orissa.241

Analyzing the reasons for such tardy progress, J.G. Medlicot observed:

"... The grant-in-aid system was very insufficient for Orissa and the Vernacular scholarship was made available to a very few students. Even then it was not given to all those who were selected. It was in 1869 that the Government did not give a scholarship to the Oriya student Kapatri Das ..." 242

Commenting on the backwardness of education, the Commissioner G.F. Cockburn in his memorandum of 21 September 1859, put the entire blame on the English government. According to him, there were mainly three reasons accounting for such backwardness. Firstly, Orissa came under the British government in 1803 after long years of oppression and misrule under the Marathas whereas other areas like Bengal enjoyed the beneficial effects of British administration since the

241. For details see W.W. Hunter, Orissa, op.cit., p.146.
Battle of Plassey in 1757. Secondly, there was hardly any attempt on the part of British government to provide the Oriya people with adequate means of finance as was extended to the people in Bengal. Thirdly, no official encouragement was given to the Oriya people by officers of the British government.243

It may be mentioned that scarcity of trained and qualified Oriya teachers and reluctance on the part of Bengali people to come to a distant place like Orissa for teaching also contributed to a poor progress in the field of education. Also in the meanwhile, terrible famine struck Orissa in 1866, aggravating the sufferings of the people. The Famine demonstrated the total absence of a genuine class of local intelligentsia, which could provide practical information to the British authorities in carrying out remedial measures.

A new initiative in the field of education was spearheaded by George Campbell, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in 1872. By way of background to the initiative, it may be mentioned that R.L. Martin, the Inspector of Schools for South-West Division in 1867 analyzed the state of Vernacular education in Orissa. He lamented that nothing concrete was being done to improve the numerous village "Pathsalas" in the province. He recommended for the introduction of the village "Pathsala" scheme as advocated by Bhudev Mukherji, described as the Normal School System. The objectives of the scheme was

to improve the quality of instruction in the indigenous schools through an exhaustive training programme for the teachers. A small financial incentive was also offered enabling them to undergo such a training course. Martin suggested that Normal Schools be established for training the teachers of elementary village schools in Orissa.  

Following the initiative, Campbell introduced a scheme on 30 September 1872 for the furtherance of primary education in Orissa. Under the scheme grant-in-aids were provided to a large number of existing unaided schools and that stipends, scholarships and rewards were offered to the clever and talented students as well as to the teachers for producing excellent results. It was further decided that the teaching language at the village "Pathsalas" should be either Bengali, Hindi, Assamese or Oriya depending on the situation in the concerned province. It was stipulated that each village boy should receive education in the "Pathsala" so as to occupy positions such as petty shop-keeper, small landholder, "ryots", handicraftman, weaver, village headman, boatman and fisherman as he might choose to become in life. Further, it was decided that the administration of primary schools be transferred the hands of respective District Magistrate (DM) and Sub-Divisional Officers (SDO). This was due to the fact the Inspector of School were unable to

244. For details see Ibid, pp.244-245.
245. For details see L.S.S.O'Malley, Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers: Cuttack (Patna, 1933), p.213.
manage the affairs of the village schools under their jurisdiction. Further, to relieve pressures upon the District Magistrate/Sub-Divisional Officers, Deputy Inspector of Schools were appointed in each district to assist them. Also, District Committees on education were formed to facilitate the process of primary education in the villages.  

While Campbell's scheme achieved a great amount of success in Bengal, it however, encountered stiff opposition in Orissa. For instance, its people interpreted the scheme as a move on the part of the British government to convert them to christianity. Further, at some places the "Abadhanas" closed down their schools at the sight of the Sub Inspectors. They asked village students to run away for the schools by calling out "Padress is coming". Despite such developments, the progress of primary education was quite successful following the introduction of Campbell's scheme in Orissa. For instance, while in 1872 out of 4364 pathsalas, only 182 with 1710 pupils got subsidized. Also in 1874 the number of such "pathsalas" rose to 832 with 15,947 children. Also, in 1875 there were 868 aided "Pathsalas" with 16,436 pupils. The greatest drawback of the Campbell system, however, was that the local people refused to pay their usual fees to the "Abadhanas" who received salary from the government. Another defect of

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246. For details see C.E.Buckland, *Bengal Under the Lt Governors* (Calcutta, 1901), pp.527-529.  
the system was that it aimed at quantity but not on the quality of students on the roll.\textsuperscript{249}

In order to overcome these problems, the government introduced a new scheme in 1877 described as the "Midnapur System". Under the system, "payment by result" the "Abadhana" received a certain amount of fee money for every students who passed the public examination conducted at some centres. This system proved to be of greater success than the Campbell scheme. For instance, 6092 primary schools with 82,706 students on their roll received the government grant under the new scheme in 1881.\textsuperscript{250} Following a review, however, a new system of inspection was introduced in 1879. Under this, a teacher of "pathsala" called "Chief Guru" was asked to inspect the neighbouring "Pathsalas" and to report to the Sub Inspector of School. Such a system, however, was abolished in 1891 and that whole time Inspecting Pandits were appointed for conducting regular inspections of such schools.\textsuperscript{251}

In February 1882, Lord Ripon, the Viceroy of India appointed an Education Commission of Enquiry under the Chairmanship of W.W. Hunter to examine the impacts of 1854 Despatch in India. The Commission, in its report upheld the Midnapur system of extending primary education through "payment by result". It recommended for the employment of female inspecting agency for efficient supervision of girls.

\textsuperscript{249} For details see Ibid, p.253.
\textsuperscript{250} For details see A.C. Pradhan, Education and Learning in Orissa, op.cit., p.35.
\textsuperscript{251} For details see J.K. Samal, Orissa Under the British Crown, op.cit., pp.257-258.
schools. It emphasised on female education and training of lady teachers. The major drawbacks of the educational system, however, were "low standard of teaching", "poor qualification of the teachers", and "inadequate provision for inspection".  

As regards the scenario in 1881, the government had introduced a distinction between two types of primary schools called Lower Primary Schools and Upper Primary Schools. Also, beginning in 1884, they encouraged private efforts for the spread of Primary education. Further, from 1887 onwards, the middle and primary schools were put under the management of District Boards in Orissa. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, primary education attained considerable progress as there were 6341 primary schools with 108956 pupils in the roll. Despite such remarkable progress, the arena of primary education continued to be hampered by paucity of funds, poverty of the people and want of trained teachers.  

As regards the progress concerning secondary education, it was much slower than in the arena of primary education. The secondary schools were divided into middle schools and higher schools. As for the higher schools, they provided education upto the Entrance level. In both these institutions, however, the medium of instruction was English. There were also, some Vernacular Middle Schools where Vernacular language was adopted.

252. For details see Ibid, p.260.
253. For details see A.C. Pradhan, Education and Learning in Orissa, op.cit., p.36.
as the medium of instruction. As regards the Wood's Despatch of 1854 it recommended strongly in favour of the grant-in-aid system for secondary schools. But such a system did not function properly in Orissa. This was, firstly, due to poverty and conservatism of the people. Secondary, there were very few students who could come up to the Entrance standard. For instance, in 1867 only ten candidates appeared the Entrance Examination from three Zilla Schools of Orissa located at Puri, Cuttack and Balasore and that only three out of them came out successful. Also in 1869, out of thirteen candidates, who appeared ten passed, a figure which was regarded as "grand success".

It may be mentioned that there were six High English schools, twenty three Middle English Schools and thirty five middle Vernacular Schools in Orissa by 1882. Out of six High English Schools, the three Zilla Schools, were government-managed, while two schools namely, Cuttack European and Lakshannath High School in Balasore district were run on the grants-in-aid system. Only one namely, the Cuttack Academy (established by Pyari Mohan Acharya) was a private school. Out of fifty eight middle schools, thirteen were managed by the government, while forty were run on grants-in-aid basis and that five were private institutions. By the end of the nineteenth

254. For details see J.K.Samal, Orissa Under the British Crown, op.cit., pp.269-270.
255. Utkal Dipika, 12 January 1867.
century, there were twelve High English Schools with 2394 students on the roll and eightytwo Middle English Schools with 4244 students on the roll.\footnote{257}

As regards higher education, the people of Orissa were practically deprived of its facilities until 1869. This was due to want of colleges in the province as well as lack of proper communication difficulties between Calcutta and Orissa. It was in January 1868 that two undergraduate classes were opened in Cuttack Zilla Schools with six students on the roll and in the process the Zilla School was converted into a Collegiate School. In 1875, T.E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner for Orissa proposed for opening B.A. classes in the Cuttack College and that Richard Temple, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal agreed to provide an amount of rupees thirty thousand to the college provided an equal amount could be raised locally through subscriptions, on behalf of Oriya people, Commissioner Ravenshaw successfully performed such a task. Following this, B.A. classes were started on an experimental basis for five years. S. Ager, the former Joint Inspector of Schools of Orissa, joined as the first Principal in 1876. The Maharaja Krushna Chandra Bhanja of Mayurbhanj thereafter donated rupees twenty thousand to the Cuttack College in 1878. He suggested that the College be named after Ravenshaw, which was accepted unanimously.

\footnote{257. For details see A.C. Pradhan, Education and Learning in Orissa, op.cit., pp.36-37 and J.K. Samal, Orissa Under the British Crown, op.cit., pp.271-274.}
by all. In the process, Ravenshaw College became a premier institution for higher learning in the province. As regards establishment of colleges in other parts of Orissa, two such institutions were established in Ganjam district. They were namely, Khallikote College at Berhampore in 1878 and Parlakimedi College in 1891. Besides these, law classes were started in the Cuttack Zilla School in 1869, which, however, was attached to the Ravenshaw College in 1881. Besides these, a Medical School and a Survey School were established at Cuttack in 1876. As regards the curriculum of Survey School, it included surveying, road-making, estimating and Mathematics.

A final aspect concerning the progress of education was with regard to female education. To begin with, the Missionaries took the initial lead in this arena by establishing several schools and orphanages at Cuttack, Pipili, Jaleswar and Balasore during the Famine of 1866. These later on developed into centres for female education. But following the Famine, as the higher class natives were reluctant to send their girls to public schools, a missionary lady named Mrs. Smith formed a Zenana Association at Balasore in 1869 to impart education to the married girls at their respective homes. Around this period emerged the Cuttack Hindu Girls School at the residence

of Abinas Chatterji of Balubazar, Cuttack with six students on the roll in 1869. Subsequently, it grew itself as a prestigious institute with financial support and patronage from the British and was named after T.E. Ravenshaw in 1873. Subsequently, however, several girl schools on its model were established at Balasore, Bhadrak and Puri. Thus by 1875 there were nine girls schools and one Zenana association in which 975 girl students received instruction. Most of the students in these were Bengalis and that the number of Oriya girls were really few. Also, the highest education as attained by an Oriya girl during this period was lower vernacular scholarship standard.262

Some educated Oriya natives further sought to popularize female education by holding lectures, writings letters and articles in journals on the issue. For instance, Lala Pakir Charan Ray of Khurdha, along with his student, Shyam Sunder Rai Dalbehera organized a meeting in this regard at Orada on 23 October 1882. Several letters in the columns of Utkal Dipika also sought to highlight the issues concerning female education in Orissa.263 Also, during the 1880s, prominent Oriya poets and nationalists like Radhanath Ray and Madhusudan Das worked energetically for the spread of education among girls. It may be mentioned that while Radhanath Ray

263. For details see Utkal Dipika, 4 November 1882 and 23 December 1882.
and Madhusudan Das worked energetically for the spread of education among girls. It may be mentioned that while Radhanath Ray functioned as the Joint Inspector of Schools for Orissa, Madhusudan Das was actively associated with the management of Ravenshaw Hindu Girls School.

Some educated women in Orissa like Reba Ray and Rani Kanakamanjari of Khallikote also wrote a book for girls namely, Balika Patha. Infact, due to active encouragement from native Oriya elites, two girls namely, Basanti Devi (daughter of Madhusudan Rao) and Nisamayee Das (daughter of Nanda Kishore Das, the Superintendent of Garjat States) passed out successfully from the Ravenshaw Girls School.

Despite these developments it may be concluded that a substantial majority of Oriya people were quite conservative in nature. They would not appreciate their girls to come into contact with boys, teachers or any other resident. Further, they would not think in terms of giving education to their girls to enable them even to hold decent jobs such as teaching. For most men, the women (whether married or unmarried) were meant to become only housewives. As a result, there was want of female teachers, which proved to be a great hindrance to the spread of female education in Orissa.

264. For details see Utkal Dipika, 18 November 1882.
265. Ibid, 12 March 1898.
While the progress of education in the Mughalbandi and Coastal plains witnessed a steady trend, in the Gadjet areas, however, it remained more or less "static" and "stagnant" for a long period. As regards, the Gadjet areas they were ruled by native feudatory Rajas under the indirect control of the British government. But they were by and large "inaccessible" with a climate which was highly "incongenial" and "unhealthy" to outsiders. There was little inclination on the part outside population to settle down in these hilly and tribal-infested areas. As a result, the Gadjet people developed a strong feeling of "isolation", as they were deprived from the mainstream of socio-cultural life as enjoyed by coastal people under the British rule.

To elaborate, the progress of education in the Gadjet areas moved at a much slower rate as compared to the coastal plains. Several obstacles stood in the way of such a progress which, in course of time became rather "formidable". To begin with, lack of proper communication facilities and indifference on the part of local Rajas severally hampered the spread of education in the Gadjet areas. 266

266. Utkal Putra, 1 July 1873 and Sambada Bahika, 1 January 1875.
In this context, the Commissioner for Orissa A.J.M.Mills observed in 1847:

"... As regards the education of the people, the time is, I fear, far distant when the march of intellectual improvement will reach these wilds; it is hardly yet commenced in the plains, and it has not there received that encouragement from the people not given gratuitously, which was expected ..." 267

Several factors were attributed to such developments in the Gadjat area. To begin with, the inhabitants were quite apathetic and indifferent to education because of large-scale habitation of the tribals whose language was rather difficult to follow. Secondly, there was no affinity between their spoken language with those of the non-tribals. Thirdly, due to inaccessibility of the region, the influx of settlers from more civilized parts in the plains to tribal areas was not possible. 268 Finally, the lack of proper communication and an indifferent attitude on the part of native Rajas deterred the progress of education in the Gadjat areas.

Despite such obstacles, the progress of education in the Gadjat areas reached some headway in the nineteenth century. To begin with, the Christian Missionaries took up cause of education in Orissa mainly to spread their own religion. In such a context they moved over to the Gadjat areas where some

268. For details see L.S.S.O'Malley, Bengal District Gazetteers Angul (Calcutta, 1908), p.127.
Chiefs seemed to have patronised them. For instance, one Chief in the district of Ganjam after visiting a prominent missionary James Peggs at Ganjam evinced interests "in the Christian manner and the religion itself". Maharaja Krishna Chandra Bhanja of Mayurbhanj donated a large tract of land in 1879 to the Catholic Missionaries to establish their mission at Nangalkata in his estate. Also, the Raja of Nilgiri allowed the American Baptists to establish their mission in his estate, while the Raja of Athgarh permitted the missionaries to start a school in his estate. Such cordial relationship between the missionaries and local Rajas promoted the cause of education in the feudatory states.

As regards the British government, it undertook certain steps to spread education in the feudatory states of southern as well as Western Orissa. The progress in this regard, however, was rather slow. To begin with, they established a number of schools at places like Ganjam, Ichhapur, Russel Konda, Purushottampur and Tekali in southern Orissa. But their major concern was to impart education to the tribals and more so the Khonds of Ganjam and Khondmal who resorted the superstitious

inhuman practices. The British also opened hill schools for tribals in Ghoomsar and Chinna Kmedy areas and took steps to attract the tribal students by providing them books and slates as well as scholarship for study. The salaries of the teachers were also enhanced to attract efficient teachers. But despite such allurements, the attendance of tribal students was quite discouraging. This was largely because the medium of instruction was in Oriya language and in Khond language as spoken by the tribals. Thereafter a British official, Captain Fryre took steps to prepare text books in Khond language which helped the tribals to get in touch with the more advanced races in the plains. In the process a Community feeling was fostered. Following this example, Gobinda Chandra Mohapatra of Mayurbhanj also wrote a book in Santali language.

More vigorous steps were undertaken in the Khondmal region thereafter. For instance, Dinabandhu Patnaik, the Tahsildar opened a school at Bisipara, the headquarters of Khondmal tehsil. Also, another Canadian Baptist Missionary, Mr. Hutchinson joined hands with Dinabandhu Patnaik in his work. In the process another school was established in a Savar village around the town of Parlakhemundi. Thus, by March 1887, the tribal student strength in primary schools increased considerably to 926.

As regards the British efforts in Western Orissa, an Anglo-Vernacular School was established at Sambalpur during 1857-1858. To improve the quality of the school, the government recruited a large number of teachers from the coastal areas. The number of schools in Sambalpur region reached 249 in 1862 with 13,276 children on the roll. By the end of the nineteenth century, the figure increased further to 6351 schools with 1,08,956 students on the roll.

In the Gadjat areas, coupled with the patronage of local Rajas, the government took steps for the promotion of education in the region. In this context the British official A.J.M.Mills made Banki in Cuttack district as the nucleus of education. Further, among the Rajas, Bhagirathi Mahindra Bahadur of Dhenkanal took a pioneering role by establishing a large number of primary schools, Sanskrit Tols and Middle English Schools in his estate. Also, the Middle English School established by him in 1868 to impart English education became a renowned one throughout the Eastern States of Orissa.

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277. Utkal Dipika, 12 December 1868.
278. N.Samantray, Oriya Sahitya Ka Itihas (Cuttack, 1964) in Oriya, p.91.
In 1868 the Chiefs of Gadjat states requested the Commissioner T.E. Ravenshaw to provide them with qualified teachers to run their schools. Following his consent, several Chiefs established schools in their respective estates. To begin with, the Raja of Daspalla took steps to establish a "Pathsala" in 1878 and that the Raja of Mayurbhanj Krushna Chandra Bhanja started a Middle English School at Baripada. It was upgraded to a High School in 1889. Further, the Raja of Rewa in Central Provinces made a donation of rupees three hundred in 1857 for the establishment of a new school house at Puri. In the State of Keonjhar, the Raja exempted the students from paying fees and also supplied them with books and slates. In 1877, the Mayurbhanj ruler donated rupees five hundred for awarding scholarship to the students of Cuttack College. Similarly, the Raja of Keonjhar donated rupees five thousand for the construction of a hostel for the College students at Cuttack in 1883. Also in 1894, Raja of Athmalik donated five thousand rupees for popularizing Ayurvedic education in Orissa and rupees one hundred for the poor students of Cuttack Normal School. The Raja of Bamunda also provided financial assistance to the students for higher studies. The famous Zamindar of Balasore, Raja Baikunthanath Dey also pioneered the growth of education in his estate. Further, some Chiefs of Western Orissa along with some counterparts in the Central Provinces, instituted

281. Utkal Dipika, 12 December 1868.
the "Woodburn Scholarship" amounting to rupees twenty per month to a deserving student for study in the Medical College. Thus, the Rajas and Zamindars made significant contributions for the promotion of education in their respective states as well as in the whole of Orissa.282

As regards the spread of education for the Islamic population, it may be observed that the Muslims in Orissa were not such a backward or neglected community as they occupied a large number of official and clerical posts in the province. This was in sharp contrast to the scenario of their correligionists in Bengal. Infact most of the important places where there was a thick concentration of Islamic population, education was within their easy reach in terms of either a secondary or an advanced primary school. In this context, the contributions of the Higher English School at Kendrapara was considered significant. Further, the educational facilities as provided to Muslim boys was accompanied with special advantages such as free studentship and remission of a part of school/college fees as well as relaxation of rules in respect of the age of admission to such institutions. In fact, the British government made sincere efforts to the effect that the Islamic Community would not lag behind others (especially the Hindu Community) in their struggle for educational progress.283 Thus, the progress of education among the Islamic Community quite satisfying from the British point of view.

282. For details see N.R. Patnaik, op.cit., pp.70-71.
The spread of indigenous education was another characteristic feature of the nineteenth century. It was conducted through two streams namely, Sanskrit and Vernacular system as well as in native methods by "Tols", "Maktabs" and Pathsalas. As regards, the Tols, they were indigenous institutions for the prosecution of Sanskrit studies, while the "Pathsalas" constituted the indigenous primary schools where elementary education was imparted through the Vernacular language of the district. As for the "Maktabs", they were schools in which the elements of Arabic, Persian and Urdu literature were taught. The Hunter Commission (1882) in its recommendations encouraged indigenous schools, whether high or low, for purposes of secular education in India. Following the recommendation, the majority of elementary schools in Orissa were incorporated under the system of primary education. To ensure such incorporation, rules were framed in 1899 to the effect that primary schools with an attendance of less than ten pupils would become ineligible for any reward and that they would be classified as "Pathsalas". But as soon as the Pathsalas would collect more pupils, they would be classified as primary schools. Thereafter, they would be brought under the system of regular inspection by government officials as well as financial assistance from public funds.284

284. For details see Ibid, pp.287-288.
As for the qualitative improvement of Sanskrit education, a new scheme was introduced by the government in February 1893, under which the "Tols" were asked to conduct two examinations annually, leading to the Sanskrit Title Examination and that separate standards were prescribed for each subject in the curriculum. Provisions were made for reward to successful candidates on the results of both first and second examinations as well as the reward of monthly stipends to Pandits whose pupils distinguished themselves in such examinations. In the process, they were brought under governmental control. As regards the number of tols in Orissa, its figure reached sixty eight by 1893. Prominent among them were Puri Sanskrit Tol (established by the Maharaja of Balrampur), the Sriram Chandra Tol in Balasore and the Ganja Tol in Cuttack. However, enthusiasm for Sanskrit teaching received a great impetus following the visit of Mahamahopadhyya Mahesh Chandra Nayaya Ratna, a great scholar of Sanskrit to Orissa around this period. For instance, under his guidance, associations were formed in three districts headquarters for the purpose of conducting periodical examination for Tols as well as for rewarding them under the system of "payment of results". The associations so formed were the Jagannath Samiti at Puri, the Orissa Sanskrit Samiti at Cuttack and the Balasore Sanskrit Samiti at Balasore.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵. For details see Ibid, pp.288-289.
Despite these developments it may be observed that the Sanskrit system of education and culture was chiefly professed by men of priestly classes and patronized by some princely rulers. It was almost the monopoly of the priestly class. It also could not become popular like the Vernacular education, due to lack of support from the British quarters as well as because of the simple fact that it was not a spoken language. The knowledge of Sanskrit, in fact, was misutilized by a section of conservative Brahmins to oppose social changes and to uphold traditional customs. There were, however, several exceptions to these accusations. For instance, a Brahmin Sanskrit scholar of Puri, Pandit Harihar Das, used to wear western dresses. He disregarded social customs and made arrangements for giving English education to the students at his Sanskrit Tol. Also, he himself planned to visit England in defiance of caste rules. Besides him, some Sanskrit scholars like Kapileswar Vidyabhusan contributed significantly to the growth and development of Vernacular literature in Orissa. Further, Samanta Chandra Sekhar, the famous astronomer and astrologer, was a typical product of the indigenous system of Sanskrit education who published his work, Sidhanta Darpan in 1869. Written in Sanskrit and on palmleaf, Chandrasekhar displayed the errors of the traditional pandits and ancient

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astrologers. For such excellent work, he was honoured nationally by the British government with the title of "Mahamahopadhyaya" in course of a special ceremony held at Cuttack in 1894.\textsuperscript{287}

As a corollary to this, evolved a movement in the second half of the nineteenth century for an enquiry into the past and adoption of measures for the preservation of the cultural heritage in Orissa. For instance, \textit{Utkal Dipika} in its column published narratives highlighting the importance of "Manikpatna" as a maritime port in ancient Orissa as well as the ancient cultural glory of Jajpur town. In September 1869 the local education committee at Jajpur announced an offer of reward to the author of an original history of Orissa written in Oriya language. In response to this, Pyarimohan Acharya wrote his \textit{Odisara Itihas} (History of Orissa) published in 1879. Besides Pyarimohan Acharya, Rangalal Bandopadhyay (Deputy Collector at Puri), Dinanath Bandopadhyaya and Sitanath Roy (authors of \textit{Utkal Itibruti} in 1888) began collecting data about the antiquities in Orissa. Besides, a fortnightly periodical called \textit{Mayurbhanj} \textsuperscript{289} published from Baripada in 1879\textsuperscript{289} sought to review the dynastic history of Orissa.\textsuperscript{289} Towards the end of the nineteenth century cultural movements began in Orissa for preservation of famous ancient temples like the temple of Jagannath at Puri and the Lingraj temple at Bhubaneswar.\textsuperscript{290}

\textsuperscript{287}. \textit{Utkal Dipika}, 8 September 1894.
\textsuperscript{288}. Ibid, 11 September 1869 and 20 September 1879.
\textsuperscript{289}. A.C. Pradhan, \textit{Cultural Awakening in Orissa}, Op.Cit., pp.\textsuperscript{74-75}.
\textsuperscript{290}. \textit{Utkal Dipika}, 13 January 1894.
All these developments undoubtedly contributed to the process of cultural awakening in Orissa.

The development of Oriya language also contributed to the process of cultural awakening in Orissa. To begin with, the British government ordered the use of Oriya language in all official correspondence beginning from 1833. Also, there was instructions from Lord Hardinge in 1844 to encourage Vernacular education, which resulted in the establishment of several Vernacular schools in Orissa. These strong initiatives were followed up by later on some British officials who helped to promote the cause of Oriya language. For instance, the Executive Officer of Balasore, Patterson suggested in 1862 for substituting Oriya for the Bengali language in the government schools at Balasore. Also, in April 1863, the Inspector of Schools, Medlicott suggested for allowing Oriya as the second language in place of Bengali for the ensuing Entrance examination, a view which was endorsed by the then Director of Public Instruction, W.S. Atkinson. Following this, the opinion of R.N. Shore, the Commissioner of Orissa was sought on the issue. Shore, however, did not concur with the views of Patterson and Medlicott, as he felt that acceptance of the proposal would deprive the children of Bengali parents serving in Orissa from entering the University system. 291

The first phase of language agitation in Orissa, however, commenced with the activities of some Bengali officials and intellectuals residing in the province. These Bengalis, who held important positions, strongly argued for the abolition of Oriya medium of instructions from local school on the ground of non-availability of text book in the native language. They also demanded that their children be taught in the Bengali medium.  

Certain remarks made by them in this regard conflagrated the issue. For instance, K.C. Ghosh, an advocate at the Calcutta High Court, read a paper on "Patriotism" at "Cuttack Debating Club" on 9 December 1868. Speaking on the occasion, Rajendralal Mitra, a famous antiquarian scholar of Bengal, focussed on the theme "false patriotism" and pointed out that the Oriyas, by their strong attachment to native language, retarded the progress of education in Orissa. According to him, the Oriya language originated from the Bengali language and that it was spoken only by twenty lakh population residing in the coastal region. According to him, Oriya it would not be able to develop itself into a full-fledged language like Bengali.

Such remarks aroused a furore as well as a bitter language controversy in Orissa. The Utkal Dipika in its columns responded to the remarks by condemning such observations. If

293. As cited in A.C. Pradhan, Cultural Awakening in Orissa, op. cit., p. 66.
castigated Rajendralal Mitra for his total ignorance concerning the origin of the Oriya language as well as the number of Oriya-speaking people residing in the province. This was unfortunately followed up by the suggestion from Uma Charan Haldar, a Bengali Deputy Inspector of Schools in 1869. Haldar strongly suggested that the Oriya language should be written in Bengali script. Further, Kantilal Bhattacharya, a Bengali teacher of Balasore High School in his booklet propounded a theory in 1870 that Oriya was a mere dialect of Bengali language with no separate identity. Supporting the contention of Kantilal Bhattacharya at a meeting held at Cuttack, Rajendralal Mitra, strongly argued for the abolition of Oriya medium of instruction from the schools in Orissa.

Such efforts on the part of Bengali intellectuals, however, did not fructify due to strong support as provided to the Oriya cause by English officials like R.L. Martin, Inspector of Schools, T.E. Ravenshaw, Commissioner of Orissa and later on by John Beams, an official of Bengal Civil Service. Both Martin as well as Ravenshaw strongly supported the cause of Oriya language by successfully persuading the Lt.Governor

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294. For details see Utkal Dipika, 13 March 1869 and 20 March 1869.
295. For details see Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, June 1870, pp.210-216.
296. For details see Utkal Dipika, 13 March 1869.
of Bengal to agree to their points of view. Referring to the controversy John Beams observed:

"... We are bound to fight tooth and nail against the Bengalee theory by upholding the speech of landfolk and helping them to purify and improve it, to render it impossible for interested persons to establish any barrier between the free intercourse of all classes of society ..." 297

The cultural awakening in the process was indirectly stimulated by some Bengali intellectuals to abolish the Oriya medium of instruction from the schools in Orissa.

To conclude, several developments contributed to the origin and emergence of cultural awakening in Orissa during the second half of the nineteenth century. These developments were namely, the spread of education, growth of indigenous education preservation of Orissa's cultural heritage, and the agitation over the language problem.

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297. As cited in Ibid, 22 June 1875.