CHAPTER - VIII
Summary and Concluding Observations

The present work relates to an in-depth study and analysis embracing the socio-cultural history of Orissa in the nineteenth century. Such a study has been examined in the background of cultural re-orientation in Modern India during the "Colonial Era". To begin with, cultural re-orientation in all aspects of Indian life was one of the most significant developments of the nineteenth century. It may be highlighted that the first century of British Rule (1757-1857) witnessed the remarkable outburst of intellectual activities and a radical transformation in socio-cultural setting of India. As it transpired, the activities of Christian missionaries and socio-religious reform movements paved the way towards the origin and evolution of socio-cultural regeneration and resurgence in India. As regards the present study, socio-cultural developments in the national setting strongly influenced the process of socio-cultural regeneration in Orissa during the nineteenth century.

The present work is divided into eight chapters. While Chapters I and II provide the "Introduction" as well as the "Theoretical Framework" to the study, Chapter VIII incorporates the "Summary and Concluding Observations". The Chapters from III to VII contain substantive research work pertaining to the study.
Chapter I contains the "Introduction" to the study and is entitled, "Introduction". It has seven sections namely, "Statement of the Problem", "An Overview of Literature", "Research Questions", "Universe of the Study", "Method of Data Collection", "Research Methodology" and "Data Processing".

Chapter II provides the theoretical framework to the study and is entitled, "Cultural Re-Orientation in India Under Colonial Rule: A Study of the Nineteenth Century". It contains three sections namely, "Advent of British and Socio-Cultural Setting India", "Socio-Religious Movements in the Nineteenth Century", and "Cultural Re-Orientation in India During the Nineteenth Century".

It has been observed in Chapter II that the advent of British rule and the march of renaissance witnessed the emergence of modern ideas such as "social protest" and "religious dissent". These concepts prompted English policy-makers to debate whether it was in their national interest to maintain a low profile or to adopt a vigorous stance vis-a-vis political developments in India. While the conservatives and orientalists advocated for a soft line, the Evangelicals and Utilitarians exhorted for hard postures in India. A third group, consisting of younger elements of British Officers, however, pleaded for "moderation" and gradual change with due regard to Indian "sensitivities" and "susceptibilities".
The advent of British rule and consequent dissemination of "Colonial Culture" and "ideology" prompted some serious-minded Indians to make an introspection into the strength and weakness of indigenous culture and institutions. Out of such developments emerged a commonly-share conviction concerning an urgent need for socio-religious reforms in India. Armed with English education and a humanitarian outlook, some leading intellectuals spearheaded reform movements in Bengal and Maharasra under the leadership of Raja Ram Mohun Ray, Keshub Chandra Sen and Mahadev Govind Ranade. They were joined subsequently by other prominent Hindu revivalist leaders namely, Dayanand Saraswati and Ramakrishna-Vivekananda. In fact, the nineteenth century witnessed a "cultural-ideological" struggle between the backward elements of "traditional" culture on the one hand and the dominating "Colonial" culture on the other.

It was Kenneth W. Jones, who used the term, "Colonial Milieu" to analyze the evolution of socio-religious movements in India during the British rule and to categorize them into two major heads namely, "Transitional" and "Acculturative". According to him, while "transitional" movements evolved out of indigenous forms of "socio-religious dissent" with virtually no influence from the "Colonial Milieu", the "acculturative" movements on the other hand emanated from the "Colonial milieu" and that its leaders were strongly influenced by western and especially the English
culture. The Indian Sociologists also divided these reformers into two major types namely, "Liberal-Reformers" and the "Revivalists". It was, however, their combined efforts which resulted in a powerful wave of socio-cultural regeneration and resurgence in the nineteenth century.

As regards the nature of Colonial Re-Orientation in Modern India, some historians offered differing perspectives on the subject. According to K.M. Panikkar, the "Cultural-ideological" struggle in Colonial India was expressed through a variety of "socio-cultural" movements and "individual initiatives". However, such a process, according to him, was not a "unilinear and undifferentiated progression", as it was "riven with contradictions, contentions and ruptures" within the Indian society. Further, according to Panikkar, while the impact of such "intellectual-cultural" consciousness was "significant", it did not necessarily "merge with nationalism". But another powerful group led by Bipan Chandra held the view that socio-cultural regeneration in India was "occasioned by Colonial presence, but not created by them". According to the group, the "cultural-ideological" struggle, as represented by socio-religious movements, paved the way towards "nationalist consciousness" and "modern cultural traditions" in India.

Also, out of "cultural-ideological" battle between "traditional" Indian and "hegemonizing" western cultures, emerged a highly articulate conservative and Hindu Revivalist Movement under the leadership of Dayanand Saraswati and Bankim
Chandra Chatterji in the second half of the nineteenth century. Further, the legacy of such cultural transformation and resurgence paved the way towards the origin of women's movement in India.

Chapter III provides the historical background to the study and is entitled, "The Setting: Socio-Cultural History of Orissa in the Eighteenth Century". It contains three sections namely, "Location, Topography and A Brief Historical Account of Orissa Upto the British Occupation", "The Social Setting of Orissa in the Eighteenth Century" and "The Cultural Setting in the Eighteenth Century".

It has been mentioned in the Chapter that prior to foreign occupation, Orissa witnessed a high degree of cultural, literary, art and sculptural excellence as well as glorious warfares during the ancient and medieval periods of its history. Its political decline and disintegration began in 1568, when its last native Hindu ruler, Mukundadeva Harichandan received a crushing defeat at the hands of the Afghan ruler of Bengal. The inglorious Afghan rule continued for twenty years until it was replaced by the Mughal rule, which prolonged for a long period of time. As the Mughal empire began to disintegrate following the death of Aurangzeb, the territory of Orissa passed into the hands of his Bengal Nawab, Murshid Quli Khan and later on to his successor, Ali Vardi Khan. As the struggle for power intensified in Bengal, the Marathas successfully pressurized Ali Vardi to Cede Orissa to them in 1751.
Maratha rule continued for over fifty years, when British took over Orissa through a military conquest beginning in 1803.

As regards socio-cultural setting in the eighteenth century, the Oriyas while somewhat "intellectually dull", were also "most mild, quiet, in offensive and easily managed" people by nature. The tribal people, however, were somewhat different in nature and character from the plains people. But in general, the Oriya people were quite religious and hospitable, who led a happy and contented life against heavy socio-economic hardships under foreign rule. In the cultural sphere, however, the Muslim rule promoted the development of native language, literature and architecture. In the field of religion, the process of religious "synthesis" between Hinduism and Islam as well as an atmosphere of "toleration" prevailed in Orissa.

Chapter IV describes the activities of Missionaries in the province and is entitled, "Role of Christian Missionaries in the Socio-Cultural Life of Orissa". It has three sections namely, "Advent of Missionaries in Orissa", "The Famine of 1866 and The Role of Missionaries", and "The Missionaries and Their Socio-Cultural Activities in Orissa". To begin with, the Company following its occupation of Orissa in 1803, did not permit the missionaries to undertake "proselytization" activities in Orissa for fear of disturbing the "religious equilibrium" through propagation of "progressive" western ideas.
But under strong pressures from the Evangelicals and enthusiasm of William Carey, the first Orissa Mission was established at Cuttack on 12 February 1822. From Cuttack, the missionaries moved their headquarters to Puri in order to concentrate their religious activities at the Chief citadel of Hindu religion namely, the temple of Lord Jagannath. Preaching, teaching and distributing pamphlets were their Chief methods of religious propagation. They preached in native language after they made a deep study of local history and mythology. They also used local anecdotes effectively in support of their religious condemnation of Hinduism. Besides preaching, they resorted to the distribution of pamphlets and scriptures written in Vernacular languages, as contributed either by the missionaries themselves or by the Indian converts. Using the native language, newly converts successfully impressed upon the Oriya people concerning the darkside of the superstitious Hindu customs such as "Sati", "Infanticide" and "Meriah". They also sowed the seeds of "liberalism" and "modernity", which resulted in socio-cultural awakening among Oriya people. Their role, however, was most outstanding during the period of the Great Famine of 1866. They raised funds, organised relief operations for the distressed and took good care of the Orphans. Sheer public service and benevolence acted as the major motivation behind such activities, which endeared them most to the Oriya people. They also played a pioneering role in socio-cultural activities such as spread of western education and eradication of social evils leading to a climate of social
reforms in Orissa. Further, they established a large number of educational institutions as well as boarding, medical and technical schools in the state.

Chapter V describes the spread of education in Orissa and is entitled, "Spread of Education and Cultural Awakening in Orissa During the Nineteenth Century". It contains three sections namely, "Introduction of English Education in Orissa", "Progress of Education in the Nineteenth Century", and "Spread of Education and Cultural Awakening in Orissa". It has been mentioned that the advent of British rule in Orissa was accompanied by the introduction of English education and recruitment of western-educated natives in its Colonial administration. These developments prompted a "craze" for western education among natives, which, however, did not materialize properly due to costly nature of such education, poverty of Oriya people and lack of English schools and colleges in the province. Despite such a distressing scenario, there emerged some prominent intelligentsia, who undertook energetic efforts to revive, evaluate and preserve the cultural heritage of Orissa. Armed with English education, they were supported rather enthusiastically in their endeavour by 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 during the nineteenth century. Thus, the spread of education constituted a significant factor in promoting an atmosphere conducive to cultural awakening in Orissa.
Chapter VI enumerates the role of socio-religious movements in the province and is entitled, "Socio-Religious Movements in the Nineteenth Century and Their Impact on Orissa". It contains three sections namely, "The Quest For Social Reforms in Orissa", "Socio-Religious Movements in the Nineteenth Century", and "Mahima Dharma and Its Impact on Orissa". To begin with, following their occupation of Orissa, the Company government witnessed several gruesome forms of social abuses such as "Sati", "Polygamy", "Infanticide" and "Meriah" (Human Sacrifice) systems. With their reforming zeal, they sought to deal with the situation rather firmly. But after watching stiff opposition from the native quarters, the government decided to deal with the problems of wiping out these social abuses rather slowly. As for the missionaries, they attacked the idolatry of Lord Jagannath and magnified the greatness of the Christian doctrines. After successfully converting some Oriyas to Christianity, they brought about a lot of change in their attitude and behaviour. In the process, a great impact was created on the Oriya society during the first half of the nineteenth century. As the missionary activities gained momentum, the Brahma movement entered Orissa through the immigrants, absentee landlords, teachers and civil servants hailing from Bengal. Apart from preaching the religion, they promoted indigenous literature, press, social reforms and cultural developments during the second half of the nineteenth century. But the movement could not make much headway in Orissa, as it was pioneered by progressive middle
class families and landlords who mostly hailed from urban areas. Also, its Bengali culture was quite difficult for Oriya people to assimilate, in view of the first language agitation that engulfed the province in the recent past. Its activities, however, coincided with the "Mahima Dharma", which constituted the most revolutionary of all religions in Orissa during the nineteenth century. Its foundations, could be attributed to the strong feelings of reactions and resentment as aroused against socio-cultural domination by both the Christian and Brahmo groups operating in Orissa. The movement also worked strongly against Orthodox Hindu Jagannath Worship and spearheaded socio-religious activities under the leadership of Mahima Goswami for the upliftment of the downtrodden, and for the abolition of the caste system. It emphasized on social service based on religious practices. While Brahmo Samaj belonged to the "acculturative" category, Mahima Dharma constituted a "transitional" movement on the model of Kenneth W. Jones. Following the death of Mahima Swami in 1876, the blind poet Bhima Bhoi became the "greatest exponent" and the "foremost missionary" of Mahima Dharma.

Chapter VII analyzes the origin and evolution of cultural nationalism in Orissa and is entitled, "Growth of Oriya Press, Literature and Cultural Nationalism During the Nineteenth Century". It contains three sections namely, "Development of Press in Orissa", "Evolution of Oriya Literature in the Nineteenth Century", and "Growth of Cultural Nationalism in Orissa". As regards the origin of cultural awakening in
Orissa, it emerged with the activities of Christian missionaries as well as the establishment of English and Vernacular schools by the British government in the Pre-Famine period. It was, however, in the post-Famine period that cultural resurgence and nationalism took concrete shape with the evolution of an indigenous intelligentsia class, which voiced its consciousness, hopes and aspirations through press, journals and public associations. From a purely cultural perspective, modern Orissa came into being with the publication of *Utkal Dinika* in 1866.

It has been observed in the study that the establishment of printing press facilitated the promotion of classical literature. It also provided the foundations of modern Oriya literature. Infact, the period from 1866 to 1903 has been described as the "renaissance" in Oriya literature. As regards the evolution of cultural nationalism in Orissa, it has been analyzed from two major perspectives namely, national and regional. From a national perspective, it has been viewed as part of the nineteenth century Indian renaissance in which neighbouring Bengal played a pioneering and dominating role. The factors which contributed to such a process were the spread of English education and socio-religious activities of Christian Missionaries and Brahma Samaj Movement in Orissa. But as analyzed in the study, their impact was rather limited as it was confined to a few English educated native elites residing in the province.
As regards the regional perspective, the evolution of cultural nationalism was attributed to the significant role played by Oriya intelligentsia in articulating their cultural identity. It has been mentioned that native intellectuals led by Madhusudan Das, Gouri Shankar Roy and Gopabandhu Das spearheaded the "Oriya Andolan" (movement). They all developed a strong feeling of neglect and being ignored due to lack of a separate administrative entity for Orissa. But major developments which contributed to the process of cultural nationalism in Orissa were, the emergence of newly-educated middle class, growth of press, journals and public associations as well as contributions of native writers in the arena of social reforms and Oriya nationalism.

On the basis of "Sumarry" as presented above, some concluding observations are attempted as follows: To begin with, the pre-nationalist era witnessed the remarkable outburst of intellectual activities and a radical transformation (concerning socio-religious ideas) due to close contacts between the English and Indian societies. As a result of these developments emerged "modern ideas" in terms of "social protest" and "religious dissent", leading to socio-religious movements in the nineteenth century. While some scholars have viewed these developments as the contribution of Christian missionaries to the Indian Cultural life, others have ascribed such "modern" trends to the influence of "western education". Secondly, the two most outstanding intellectual and ideological strands in the nineteenth century were "rationalism" and "religious universalism"
as advocated by Brahmo Samaj leader Ram Mohun Ray. He was
described as the father of modern cultural renaissance in India.
But as the Brahmo movement began to decline, religious
"universalism" gave way to religious "particularism" under the
influence of Bankim Chandra Chatterji of Bengal and Dayanand
Saraswati of Arya Samaj. In the process, "universal theism" of
Rammohun was changed to a "Hindu-Centric theistic" ideals.
Thirdly, Cultural re-orientation in all spheres of Indian life
was one of the most significant developments of the nineteenth
century. To begin with, the dual struggle cultural-ideological
became part and parcel of the resistance movement against
"colonial culture" and "ideological hegemony". Also, the dual
struggle, as pioneered by socio-religious movements eventually
culminated in the cultural transformation of India towards the
close of the nineteenth century. Fourthly, the eighteenth
century Orissa, despite its political instability and economic
hardship was noted for its "religious tolerance" and excellence
in the fields of literature, art and architecture. Fifthly,
the Christian missionaries, despite their controversial
proselytizing activities played an exemplary role in the
field of socio-religious reforms and reconstruction programmes
by taking into account the socio-cultural needs of the Oriya
people. Sixthly, the spread of education, (in both plain and
Gadjat regions) as well as the growth of indigenous education
(both Vernacular and Sanskrit) constituted significant factors
which promoted an atmosphere conducive to cultural awakening
in Orissa. Seventhly, according to Kenneth Jone's model, Brahmo Samaj in Orissa constituted an "acculturative" movement, whereas Mahima Dharma comprised an "indigenous" movement. Also, while Brahmo movement sought for "cultural synthesis", between the new western norms and cultural themes along with the traditional systems of Hindu culture, the Mahima Dharma, acted as a powerful force to counteract, on the one hand, the evangelical activities of the missionaries and on the other, the spread of Brahmo movement in Orissa. Since an ordinary Hindu always longed for the revitalization of the traditional Indian society with a new religious fervour, the emergence of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement in Bengal and the Mahima Dharma in Orissa fulfilled such a religious need in the province. In fact, Mahima Dharma was a most revolutionary movement in the context of Caste-ridden Oriya society and that its principal mission was to liberate the down-trodden from the bondage of superstitious beliefs and traditions, ritualistic idolatry and the pre-dominance of priests.

By way concluding observations it may be mentioned that the nineteenth century witnessed the evolution of cultural resurgence and nationalism in Orissa which manifested in several fields such as literature, journalism, associations, reform movements and the emancipation of women. The nineteenth century proved to be golden era of cultural resurgence and nationalism for both its society and
culture. Thus, while the eighteenth century represented the period of "darkness", the nineteenth century symbolized the period of socio-cultural nationalism and progress in Orissa.