CHAPTER-6

ECONOMIC SYSTEM
IN KEONJHAR
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A. SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Keonjhar was primarily an agriculture dominated State. Agriculture was the most important item of the economic system of the people of Keonjhar. As in the rest of the country, it provided employment to the largest number of people. Richardson, Settlement Commissioner in 1814, reported that the total cultivable land was only one-eighth of the total land. In Keonjhar, out of a total area of 3,096 square miles, only 346 square miles were cultivable. Most of the State consisted of virgin soil.

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\[\text{1 Feudatory State Gazetteers., P.212}\]
\[\text{3 Feudatory State Gazetteers P.212.}\]
\[\text{4 SRKS P.42.}\]
Keonjhar was broadly divided into two parts, i.e. Upper Keonjhar and Lower Keonjhar. Upper Keonjhar was extensively covered with forests, hills, mountains and rocky land while Lower Keonjhar consisted mostly of plain land. The plains of Anandapur has good cultivable land. Again, Upper Keonjhar was peopled by tribal communities who paid little attention to the development of the land. Their practice of agriculture was perfunctory. They were satisfied with what little they got from the land with the least care and effort, for their needs were small.

The soil of Upper Keonjhar was generally dry, but was for the most part rich as it received every year for its nutriment, the ashes of leaves and other matters burnt down in the self-igniting jungle fire, mostly during the hot months of the year. The depressions and hollows locally termed bera have special ability as they retained more of this washing. The Upper elevations and crests of the hills were generally rocky and as they could not retain water were not suited for any other than Taila cultivation which in the plains below was called dahi. Taila was a fresh clearing on which the jungle, cut from the land is burnt, after which it was ploughed up with the ashes which gave to the soil great ability. These lands did not bear permanent cultivation and had to be

5 SRKS, P.21.
7 SRKS P.21.
8 Ibid.
abandoned after three or four consecutive years of cultivation for an equal or sometimes a longer period by falling back on the jungle, unless as sometimes happens in the plains below, they were converted for “baje fasal” by manure or for saradh by the construction of bundhs or embankments for storage of water and irrigation in places where the site was bad.

The lower Keonjhar or Anandapur soil in its general appearance was remarkable. There was some sand a little lower down Anandapur on both sides of the Baitarani and near the river Kusai, which those rivers and their tributary nalas (streams and rivulets) had deposited during flood.

The system of agriculture remained unchanged over time. It was traditional and depended entirely on rainfall. The land was ordinarily classified under six heads, viz., (1) Jala, (2) Kala, (3) Gora, (4) Dahi, (5) Pala and (6) Dalua. The Jala or wet lands were the wet rice lands. They were of four types. The first type called bera lands was situated at the bottom of a depression. The Kala lands were high homestead lands corresponding to Gharbaris and bustees. The Gora lands were situated on high ground. These classes of land situated close to the villages were better taken care of and manured and so

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9 SRKS, p.21
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid, P.41.
12 Ibid.
they sometimes produced two crops\textsuperscript{13}. The \textit{Dahi} lands, similar to \textit{Taila} lands, consisted of land freshly cleared of jungle. The jungle was first burnt and then the land was ploughed up along with the ashes which rendered the soil very fertile. But, these lands did not bear permanent cultivation and had to be abandoned after three or four consecutive years of cultivation\textsuperscript{14}. Such land was used for the production of either rice or \textit{rabi} (winter) crops\textsuperscript{15}. Such a method of cultivation was usually practised by the tribal people of Upper Keonjhar\textsuperscript{16}. The \textit{pal} land was the alluvial land in a river valley and usually produced two crops\textsuperscript{17}. The first crop, rice, was generally followed by \textit{rabi} crops, such as pulses and vegetables like marsh-melons, onions, brinjals, etc. In lower Keonjhar, \textit{e.g.}, Anandapur, such land was called \textit{garipal}\textsuperscript{18}. The \textit{dalua} class of land was only found in Anandapur Subdivision. Such land was a part of the low land drained by the river Baitarani\textsuperscript{19}.

A different type of cultivation was practised by the tribal people of Keonjhar. This was called \textit{dahi}\textsuperscript{20}. This was an old method of cultivation prevalent in Keonjhar. In this system, large trees were ringed and the smaller ones cleared

\textsuperscript{13}SRKS, P.41. \\
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{16}A.R. (Chhatishgarh States, 1899)P.12. \\
\textsuperscript{17}SRKS, P.42. \\
\textsuperscript{18}Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{19}Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{20}Feudatory State Gazetters, P.72.
by cutting and setting it on fire in the dry season\textsuperscript{21}. The soil was then scratched with a primitive plough. In the land so cleared the tribal people produced crops like rice, maize, millets, oilseeds and turmeric etc.\textsuperscript{22}, for two or three consecutive seasons. Then the land was given a rest which continued till the trees and plants grew again sufficiently to admit of a second felling. Such a cycle continued till the land was completely exhausted and there was no further hope for its regeneration and the growth of plants\textsuperscript{23}. This was the shifting cultivation practised by the Bhuyans and Juangs in the hill tracts\textsuperscript{24}. These people called it \textit{Podu Chasa}\textsuperscript{25} followed by the tribals who were afraid of the plain people\textsuperscript{26}. They thought that the plain people would take away their harvest\textsuperscript{27}. Such incidents had occurred in Keonjhar during the decade of 1850-60, when ten of the tribal villages had taken away from them\textsuperscript{28}. However the practice of \textit{Podu} cultivation by the tribal people of Keonjhar was the result of a long-standing habit. But the practice caused great harm to the land and much destruction to the forest\textsuperscript{29}. The removal of greer

\textsuperscript{21}Feudatory State Gazetters, P.72.
\textsuperscript{22}A.R.(Orissa and Chhotanagpur) 1916-17, P.12.
\textsuperscript{23}N.K.Bose, Tribal life in India (New Delhi 1971 ), PP.14-15.
\textsuperscript{24}N.K.Bose, Tribal life in India (New Delhi 1971 ), PP.14-15.
\textsuperscript{25}S.C.Roy, Hill Bhuyans of Orissa (Ranchi, 1935) P.60.
\textsuperscript{26}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{27}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{29}AR, Feudatory States of Orissa (1909-10), P.30.
cover resulted in was a lot of soil erosion and large areas were rendered permanently barren\textsuperscript{30}.

It was reported that both Dahi and Podu cultivation were found to have caused great damage to the forest as well as the land, since many hill tracts have been denuded of valuable forest growth\textsuperscript{31}. As a result of this rainfall was adversely affected.

Agriculture in Keonjhar depended entirely on rainfall\textsuperscript{32}. With a few exceptions the average rainfall of the State was 47.63 inches. The Rajas of Keonjhar paid very little attention to the problems connected with agriculture. Raja Dhanurjaya Narayana Bhanja paid, some attention to the improvement of irrigation for agriculture. The annual expenditure on Agriculture per head was Rs.5-4-0\textsuperscript{33} (Rupees five and four anna only). For tilling the soil the people of Lower Keonjhar used bullocks and ploughs whereas the Bhuyans of Upper Keonjhar used a type of stick called ‘Ankusbadi’\textsuperscript{34}.

The important agricultural production of the State was rice. In Upper Keonjhar pumpkins, beans and brinjals and other vegetables were produced along with Indian corn. The rice of Upper Keonjhar was better than that of lower Keonjhar, being

\textsuperscript{30}AR, Feudatory States of Orissa (1909-10), P.30.
\textsuperscript{31}ODG, Keonjhar, PP.112-113
\textsuperscript{32}Feudatory State Gazetters, P.226.
\textsuperscript{34}Ibid.
of a finer quality\textsuperscript{35}. Rice was the principal product of agriculture. In Upper Keonjhar 135.6 sq.miles or 86778.43 acres of land produced rice. In lower Keonjhar or Anandapur 105.2 sq.miles or 67,332.737 acres of land produced rice. Besides, rice was also grown on lands which were \textit{pala}, \textit{gcra} and \textit{dahi} areas. The tenants did not stick to growing the same crop every year on the \textit{gora} and \textit{dahi} lands. It was after found a tenant sowing China or guldì or Kangu or Muga or Kolatha on the land where he had grown rice the preceding year\textsuperscript{38}.

Rice was generally of four descriptions viz (a) \textit{Beali} sown on the high lands in May and June and reaped in August and September, (b) \textit{Laghu} or early winter crop harvested in October and November, (c) \textit{Garu} or late winter crop harvested in December and January and (d) \textit{Dalua} which was transplanted in January and harvested in April\textsuperscript{39}. The second and third descriptions of rice were either sown in June or were transplanted in July and August. In \textit{doyam} and \textit{Sayam} or the second and third class lands the cultivators took little interest in sowing seeds. In the ayal or first class lands which were generally situated in beras, transplantation was the only mode\textsuperscript{40} For transplantation they had to sow seeds in a

\textsuperscript{35}Feudatory State Gazeteers, P.72.
\textsuperscript{36}SRKS, PP-42-43.
\textsuperscript{37}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{38}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{39}SRKS, PP-42-43.
\textsuperscript{40}Ibid.
plot of highly manured land locally known as talimunda in the neighbourhood of the tenants home. When the seedlings were about a foot high and of sufficient strength they were transplanted.

The straw was not much cared for in Upper Keonjhar and in hilly dandapats of Lower Keonjhar where the people thatched their houses with a kind of spear-grass known as 'maru'. They cut the crop from a little bera the middle and leave the stumps in the field. After reaping the crops were bound up in sheaves and stacked in the baris or in the vicinity of some rocky floor near by locally known as 'chatyari', where the grains were threshed out. Well-to-do cultivators used bullocks to thresh the grain from the straw by treading over the produce, but in case of seed-paddy, the grains was always beaten out by the former method. The straw trodden over by bullocks was known as 'Pual' and was used as fodder. The method used in the other dandapats of Lower Keonjhar were exactly those in vogue in Mughalbandee. The dhenki or the grain husker was used in Mughalbandee. But in Upper Keonjhar a wooden pounder was in use which was manually operated. The paddy after harvest was preserved in Kothi, Doly and Pudugas.

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41SRKS, PP-42-43.
42Ibid.
43Ibid.
44Ibid.
The other food grains were *makai* (maize) *bajra, arhar, biri, Kulthi, Chana, Muga, Chola (gram) Khossa (Oil-seed)* etc.⁴⁵. Of these *makai* (maize) was the principal grain used as a food stuff both by the Kurmis and other aborigines. With Khossa sesame they sometimes made a sort of cake for meals⁴⁶. The other food stuffs were generally sold out to fetch money for paying land dues and to purchase household articles.

Sugar-cane was an important product of agriculture. The area covered by this crop in Lower Keonjhar was 796 manas or about 402 acres. However there were no special sugarcane growing lands in Upper Keonjhar. The crop was irregularly grown on the banks of river or in the vicinity of 'bundhs' or any class of land *sarada, gora or pal land*⁴⁷.

The crop took almost a whole year's labour after it and demanded an amount of labour and capital not within the reach of ordinary cultivators. The cuttings were planted in rows in March and reaped in November and December. The cares were generally crushed with wooden hand machines.

A small quantity of indigo also grew in Keonjhar⁴⁸. Similarly poppy the tobacco plants were cultivated in

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⁴⁵SRKS, PP-42-43.
⁴⁶Ibid.
⁴⁷Ibid.
⁴⁸Toynbee's Orissa, P.94.
Keonjhar\textsuperscript{49}. However tobacco was produced for domestic consumption\textsuperscript{50}. The Kurmis and Chasas produced Cotton\textsuperscript{51}.

Agriculture was often affected by natural calamities such as droughts, floods and cyclones which damaged the crops. The flood of the Baitarani caused great damages in lower Keonjhar, than that of Upper Keonjhar.

B. INDIGENOUS INDUSTRIES

The economic system of Keonjhar, was reflected in its industry. There was no heavy industry in the state, only small and cottage industries which sought to meet the local demands. The State completely lacked in any kind of industrial infrastructure. Very few people were engaged in industries whereas a very large number of people found engagement in agriculture.

The state produced some cotton cloth in the form of cottage industries. Various things were made with wood and bamboo, such as palanquins, mats and baskets. The tribal people prepared leaf plates and cups, bows, arrows and spears. Ploughs were prepared for the purpose of cultivation\textsuperscript{52}. It was reported that the Pana Tantis, the weavers of Fakirpur of

\textsuperscript{49}Feudatory State Gazetteers, P.72.
\textsuperscript{50}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{51}Ibid
\textsuperscript{52}F.B. Laurie, Orissa the Garden of Superstition and Industry,(London 1850) P.164.
Lower Keonjhar, produced fine fabrics\(^53\). Fine wire used in Sitars was manufactured at Keonjharhargarh\(^54\). Besides agricultural implements like ploughs etc., stone works and bamboo baskets, bell metal utensils and Karuas or pots for drinking water, brass ornaments for women such as anklets etc. were manufactured to meet the local needs of consumption\(^55\). Sabai grass was cultivated extensively and ropes were made out of it chiefly for local use\(^56\).

The state had a number of artisans and skilled manufacturers. The Tantis manufactured fabrics. The Bhuyans were experts at making leaf plates and leaf cups\(^57\). They also manufactured bamboo baskets and palm leaf mats\(^58\). Doms and Ghasis, too, excelled in these crafts\(^59\). Tribal people like the Bhuyans manufactured different articles for their own use, such as pumpkin guard drinking vessels, wooden pestles and threshing apparatus called Dhenkis\(^60\). The women of the Bhuyan community were skillful manufacturers of cups and plates from Sal leaves\(^61\). The Lohars (Blacksmith) were engaged in preparing iron equipments of various kinds. The Bindhanis were

\(^{53}\)SRKS, P.29.
\(^{54}\)Ibid.
\(^{55}\)Ibid.
\(^{56}\)Feudatory State Gazetteers, P.98.
\(^{58}\)Ibid.
\(^{59}\)Feudatory State Gazetteers, P.81.
\(^{60}\)S.C.Roy, Op.Cit, PP.75-76.
\(^{61}\)Ibid.
carpenters who made wooden articles. The Sabai grass was used to manufacture various things for local use.

C. TRADE AND COMMERCE

Trade and commerce as practised in Keonjhar was primitive and traditional. It played only a very small role in the economic life of the State, and provided employment to very few people. It has been estimated that in all the tributary states of Orissa taken as a whole, there were only from 1 to 1.5 per cent of people who were engaged in trade and commerce. The picture in Keonjhar was not in any way different.

The traders of Keonjhar generally imported articles from outside the State. Some traders of Mughalbandee, i.e. Anandapur, carried on a lucrative trade. They imported articles from border areas such as Chainbasa and Kharsuan. Prominent articles brought in were Kerosine Oil and lamps, brass and tinsel ornaments, mirrors, cheap finery including necklaces, intoxicants such as tobacco, Bhanga, Ganja and Opium; match boxes, cotton thread, betel nuts and Sindur (Vermillion). The State levied customs duties on such imported articles which were collected at Chaukey or customs stations. It was reported that a number of people from

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62Feudatory State Gazetteers, P.98.
63Feudatory State Gazetteers, P.120.
64SRKS, P.30.
Keonjhar went to the market at Gadatota in Talcher to buy cattle\(^6\). It was also reported that at Jhumpura in Kalikaprasad Dandapat there was a bustee of Musalman traders from Singhbhum and elsewhere\(^7\).

Keonjhar also exported some of its products outside. The principal articles of export were rice, oil seeds, lac, *tussar* cocoons, hides, linseed, *mahul*, horns, *panasi* grass (used in rope-making) timber, fuel wood, honey and molasses\(^6\). The Mahammadans of Anandapur carried out leather trade and exported leather materials\(^6\). The people of Lower Keonjhar also exported timber and timber products. The export trade was principally carried on by the Mahajans. They carried salt and cotton goods to the interior of the State before each rainy in loads or season a large number of pack bullocks and sold them out to the inhabitants on credit\(^7\).

There were some important trade centres in the State. Anandapur was one such important trade centre in the Mughalbandee tract\(^7\). Besides this Champua and Jaintigarh were also important trade centres in upper Keonjhar\(^7\).

\(^7\)SRKS, P.13.
\(^8\)Ibid.
\(^9\)Ibid.
\(^10\)Ibid, P.29.
\(^11\)A.R.(Central Province States) 1897, P.61.
\(^12\)SRKS, P.29.
There were a number of markets, called Hats, in Keonjhar which sat once or twice a week. They served a number of villages ranging from three to ten or even more. The weekly Hats were held at many important places in the different dandapats. In Udayapur dandapat weekly market was held at Silipada, Patna, Handiasil and Musakori on Mondays, Fridays, Mondays Tuesdays respectively. In Rajnagar dandapat a weekly market was held at Rajnagar on Thursdays. In Jotipur dandapat markets were held at Jotipur and Karanjia on Wednesdays and Sundays respectively. In Kalikaprasad Dandapat markets were held at Rimuli and Jhumpura on Mondays and Wednesdays respectively. In Chamakpur dandapat a market was held at Kandra on Thursdays. In Nayagada dandapat, a market was held at Nayagada on Mondays.

In Lower Keonjhar or Anandapur subdivisions, too; regular markets were held. A market was held at Fakirpur on Sundays and Wednesdays. In Bancho Dandapat a market sat in the village Mugupur every day. In Barapara dandapat a market was held at Dasiamuha on Mondays and Thursdays. In Singri dandapat a market was held at Teluka on Saturdays. In Daur a market was held in the village of Garama on Sundays and Wednesdays. In Saranga a market was held at Sehnia on Sundays.

74 SRKS, P.29.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
and Wednesdays\textsuperscript{77}. The market at Mugupur was an old trading centre on the left bank of the river Baitarani\textsuperscript{78}.

There were many important places in Keonjhar where annual fairs were held on a grand scale. The most important places were Deogaon, Ramtirtha, and Baratipara\textsuperscript{79}. Among these three, Deogaon stood out as the most prominent. The place is situated five miles to the South of Anandapur on the left bank of the River Kusei. There was a huge congregation of people here every year on the occasion of the Sivaratri festival. People came in large numbers from far and wide, the attendance sometimes swelling to as high as seven or eight thousand on the night of the Sivaratri\textsuperscript{80}. At Ramatirtha people congregated on Sivaratri and Makara Sankrati\textsuperscript{81}. Ramatirtha is situated on the bank of the river Baitarani. Baratipara in the interior of Upper Keonjhar near Ghatagaon attracted large numbers of people on Sivaratri and Maker Sankrati\textsuperscript{82}.

Trade and Commerce in Keonjhar was carried on chiefly along the various roads, paths and tracks that linked the various parts of the state. The river Baitarani also helped in the transportation of commodities\textsuperscript{83}. Bullock carts were used.

\textsuperscript{77}AR. (Central Province States) 1897.  
\textsuperscript{78}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{79}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{80}SRKS, P.29.  
\textsuperscript{81}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{82}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{83}LSS O'Malley BDG Angul, PP.90-94  
-Feudatory State Gazetteers, P.5.  
-SRKS, P.29.
for the transportation of goods over land routes. In Keonjhar, the river Baitarani was navigable up to Anandapur.

The system of weights and measures in the State was neither uniform nor standardised. There were different traditional systems in use in different regions. For dry measures people used Mana, Pahi, Khandi, Chella etc. For liquid measure Chhitkas Manas and Pahis were used.

The following is a list of some dry and wet measures as used in the State and mentioned in the Settlement Report.

### Dry Measures

- 1 Man = ¼ Cuttack Seer
- 4 Man = 1 Pahi
- 20 Pahi = 1 Khandi
- 2 Khandi = 1 Chella
- 4 Chellas = 1 Bharan
- 10 Khandi = 1 Pouti

### Liquid Measures

- 4 Chhitaks = ½ Man
- 1 Man = ¼ Cuttack Seer
- 4 Man = 1 Pahi
- 20 Pahi = 1 Khandi

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84 W.W. Hunter Orissa, Vol.I P.2
85 AR (Central Province) 1847, P.21.
86 SRKS, P.30.
The unit of land measurement was the biswa or one Pajika. Sixteen of these biswas made a guntha and 25 Gunthas in Lower Keonjhar and 20 Gunths in Upper Keonjhar made a Mana\textsuperscript{87}.

In Keonjhar Sahukaras, Mahajans and Mahantas acted as the indigenous bankers. They used to provide loans to the needy people, including agricultural finance in the shape of paddy\textsuperscript{88}. The Amars or granaries attached to some of the richer temples also played an important role in the field of rural credit\textsuperscript{89}. Loans were extended against the pledge of gold and silver ornaments, land etc. In the harvest season, money lenders used to buy up the crops at a nominal rate. The price of the crops was adjusted against the interest as well as the principal\textsuperscript{90}.

The entire trade and commerce system in the Feudatory State of Keonjhar was going on by barter system, the method of purchase of goods in exchange of another good.

Thus it is to be observed that the trade and commerce in the Feudatory State of Keonjhar were a negligible importance. When large number of people were engaged in the agricultural land very few people were engaged in trade and commerce. Again in the State like Keonjhar many people depended upon forest and forest product.

\textsuperscript{87}SRKS, P.30
\textsuperscript{88}ODG, Keonjhar, 150.
\textsuperscript{89}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{90}Early European Travellers in Nagpur Territories, P.156.
Keonjhar, being a land full of hills and forests, was singularly deficient in the matter of roads and communication facilities. Its rugged terrain made the construction of roads very difficult indeed. Till 1857 it was reported that the Killah was without any road at all. In addition to the terrain, the apathy of the State’s administration was also responsible for such a sad situation. A.J.M.Mills reported, "The Rajas were afraid of opening roads as they wanted impenetrable jungles around their residence". About the first major road in the State was the Sambalpur-Midnapur Service Track. The road opened as early as 1842 and passed through Mayurbhanjs, Keonjhar, Pal-ahera and Bamra. During 1861 and 1868 the Bonto-Bhadrap road connecting Anandpur with Bhadrak was constructed. But the road was fit for only bullock carts. A new road from Jaintigah to Keonjihar was constructed under direction of Capt. J.Johnstone. The Government thereafter ordered its Agent to extend the road up to the border with Bhadrak over a distance of 106 miles. It can be mentioned in this connection that the Settlement Reports of 1892 pointed out. "It is essential to open out the communication for this territory, which hitherto has been

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91Bd. Proc (Rev) (OSA Acc No. 116),AJM Mills to Secretary to Govt. of Bengal, Dec.31 842.
93Ibid
inaccessible from the Orissa side. No elaborate road is needed, but there must be a track on which loaded bullock carts will be able to travel during the fair weather⁹⁴. The road connecting Keonjhargarh with Jaintigarh a distance of 36 miles, was opened in 1893.

As time passed, a few other tracks fit for carts were opened for traffic in the State. The most important of these tracks were the following:⁹⁵

(a) Anandapur to Byas Sarovar, (b) Soso of Telluka, (c) Barundei to Fakirpur, (d) Deogaon to Charigada, (e) Ghatagaon to Champua via Rajnagar and Jotipur, (f) Dhubadiha on the Mayurbhanj border, Gobindpur (on the Pallhera border) (g) Keonjhar to Kalika Prasad via Banspal, Nayakot, Nayagada and Chamakpur.

Soso, situated on the bank of the river Slandi. The road from to Taluka, covering a distance of 10 miles, was fit for carts. The Barundei-Fakirpur road, covering 17 miles, opened up communication to the important trading centres of Mugupur. The Deogaon-Charigada road was important in so far as it opened up a major rice producing dandapat in Upper Keonjhar. Charigada, better known as Chasa pir. The road was one of the few all-weather roads in the State. The Ghatagaon-Champua road was important as it established a link with an important

⁹⁴SRKS, P.24.
⁹⁵Ibid., P.25.
dandapats in Upper Keonjhar. The track greatly helped trace and commerce in the dandapats. Pilgrims from Singhbhum, Chainbasa and Mayurbhanja used this road for their journey to and from Puri. Another road linked Dhubadiha, a place in Upper Keonjhar bordering Mayurbhanj with Govindpur on the Pallahara border. The road between Keonjhar and Kalika Prasad ran through Banspal, Nayakot, Nayagada and Chamakpur. The road opened in 1894 and ran through the Bhuyan dandapats. This road had some political importance during the British period.

In addition to the roads, the river Baitarani provided some navigation. It was navigable as far as Anandapur.

In the older days in Keonjhar elephants, bullocks and buffaloes were used as media of transport.

During the second rising of Keonjhar in 1891 Fakirmohan Senapati, the manager of the State, travelled by an elephant. The Maharaja also travelled by elephant during his marriage.

F. MINERAL WEALTH

A kindly providence has bestowed extensive deposit of mineral wealth on Keonjhar. Lower Keonjhar which is plain land does not have much of this wealth, but Upper Keonjhar is a store-house of minerals. The extensive deposit of iron-ore lay

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97 Fakirmohan Atmarchita (Cuttack, 1963) P.187.
98 Bd. Procd. (Rev) (OSA Acc No. 617 S). Resolution Dated 19th March 1894
in this region. Besides this mica, gold, Manganese ore were found. A vast reserve of high grade iron are found in Keonjhar. Until 1917 the remarkable potentialities of vast mineral resources of Keonjhar were in the dark. Mr. Dundas Whiffer the then Manager M/s Bengal Trading Company in Gangpur State, who visited Keonjhar to explore the possibilities of extending their timber business has brought to light the existence of extensive deposits of rich iron ore. In recognition of Mr. Whiffer service to the ex-state by way of discovering the mineral wealth, he was favoured with the grant of first prospecting licence for one year for iron ore over an area of 93 sq. miles. Finally he could not prospect the area and subsequently it was transferred M/s Bird and Company. The first mining lease of twenty five sq. miles was granted for iron and Manganese for thirty years with effect from 1st October 1924. Actual mining and dispatches started from 1926-27 and an amount of Rs. 3000 accrued to the ex-state in the shape of royalty.

The Feudatory States of Orissa endowed with a vast reserve of high grade iron-ore. The ex-state of Keonjhar played a major role in contributing sizable production of iron ore. The most important Singhbhum-Keonjhar-Bonai iron ore belt

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99W.W.Hunter, Orissa Vol.1, P.75.
100AR (Orissa and Chhotnagpur 1917-18) P.23.
101Ibid (1919-20) P.58.
102Ibid.
ran through the region. The chief patrons which gave rise to iron-ore deposits by supergene residual enrichment are the banded, hematite, quartzites, jaspers of the Iron-Ore Group and the Kaira-Simlipal group. The iron formations of the Kaira-Simlipal group associated with basic lavas and shales are exposed as a major low north-plunging horseshoe shaped area in the Bonai-Keonjhar belt.

At present iron-ore of high grade hematite are also found in huge quantities in Barbil area with iron contents as high as 66 per cent. The main ore masses are in Thakurani and Joda east hills.

Extensive deposit of Manganese Ore are found in Keonjhar where more than 90 per cent of Orissa's production comes from the Keonjhar-Bonai area. The Manganese ore deposits are scattered over an area of five hundred sq. kilometer. The mining lease over an area of 19.20 sq. miles for Manganese Ore was granted to M/s Bird & Company for thirty years with effect from 15th August 1926.

F. STANDARD OF LIVING

The standard of living of the people of Keonjhar was reflected in their food, drink, items of common comfort,
clothing, jewellery, household condition and conditions of work. Each of these items has to be studied in some detail.

(i) Food drink and popular luxury

The food, drink and common items of comfort and luxury varied from one class of people to another in Keonjhar. Rice was the staple food for all. The Raja used to partake of other delicious items of food like curry etc. along with rice. Brahmins as well as people of the other higher classes also took rice as their staple food. They used to take fish in the form of fry and curry. The Brahmins were reluctant to eat pork and fowl. People caught fish from the river Baitarani and other rivers and hill streams. The Raja as well as other people including the Brahmins took meat.

The food of the common peasant was boiled rice, pulse, vegetable and fish. Among the people cooked rice soaked in water called 'pakhal' was very popular. Besides rice, the people ate jalli, maize, and ragi. They ate meat from deer, sambar etc. hunted in the forests. On festive days they made special preparations such as cakes, Khiri or sweet rice cooked in milk sweets and other delicacy.

The food of the tribal people was somewhat different in composition. Such people like Bhuyans, Juangs, Bathudis,

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107 K. Mishra, Kendujhara Itihasa (Cutack 1930), P.41.
108 ODG (Keonjhar) P.99.
Sauntis, Kols and Kurmis inhabited the forest regions. Basically they depended on the forest and forest products. Rice and maize constituted their principal items of food. These were supplemented by jungle products like important fruits and roots, fibres and herbs etc. The important fruits of the forests were kendu, mahua, mango, jack fruit, podhrai and roots such as pitai konds, bainga, saiga and edible green leaves called koliarisag and bengulisag. Edible roots and leaves were used as substitutes for vegetables and taken with the staple or principal food. These roots and leaves were also dried and preserved for use when required. Mohua flowers collected and preserved throughout the year were cooked and eaten with other food stuff. The tribals also derived a part of their livelihood from hunting and catching fish from the hill stream. In fact, hunting and fishing were two of the main economic activities of the tribals.

There were popular luxuries, too, but they differed from class to class, and depended on the social and economic status of a class.

The Raja was fond of chewing betel. This was, in fact, a practice common to people of all classes. Tobacco was a very common item of luxury for many. The common people

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109LSS O'Malley, BDG, Angul, PP.90-94.
110Ibid.
111R.V.Russel Tribes and Castes of the Central Province of India (London 1916) P.322.
113SRG (India) Vol.V, P.42
including the tribals used tobacco leaves which went to the name of 'dockata' or 'dukta'. People of a higher status smoked tobacco through a pipe and container called 'hooka' or a short pipe called; chillum'. Common people rolled up tobacco in sel or kendu leaves which they smoked. These rolls of sal or kendu leaves were known as Bidis. Tobacco was a popular luxury in the tribal communities too. Both men and women smoked tobacco in a rolled up form known by the name of 'pikka'.

Liquor was another popular luxury of all sections of the people. It was almost a part of their daily lives, a thing to be offered to the Gods and necessary for hospitality. However drinking was almost obligatory on festive occasions. The tribal people drank a kind of liquor locally known as Handi. It was prepared from rice.

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113 Continued from previous page...

114 LSS O'Molley BODG, Sambalpur, P.96.
115 Farly European Travellors in Nagpur Territories, P.13.
116 LSS O' Molley BODG, Sambalpur, P.98.
117 Ibid.
118 Feudatory State Gazetteers, P.221
-SRG Madras, Vol.II, P.28
-E.T.Dalton, Descriptive Enthology of Bengal (Calcutta 1872) P.177.
ii. Dress and Ornaments

Since the economic standard of the people was not uniform as a whole, their dresses and ornaments varied from class to class.

The Rajas used gorgeous robes. They wore a turban or Siropa (a head dress). Raja Govinda Bhanja (1603-1634 A.D.), however, was an exception: being rather ascetic he dressed almost like a hermit.119 The Ranees also dressed in a gorgeous manner. They used Saris of high quality. Women of the higher classes generally veiled themselves.120

The dress of a male person of the Hindu community consisted of a dhoti (waist band), a gamuchha (towel) and Chaddar (wrapper).121 The cloth which the common people used were made from cotton and in rare cases from silk.122 In the winter the people wore some warm clothing. The women of the society wore Sari as their garments. Women of different houses had their ward robes. On the other hand, women of the poorer houses often had to make the robe with a single sari. In case

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120Chatinaya Charitamrita, Part-I, P.4.
121V.P.S. Raghuvansi, Indian Society in the 18th century (New Delhi 1969), P.220.
122ODG, Keonjhar, P.98.
of extreme poverty often a common man was obliged to go naked with barely a loin cloth covering their middle parts.\(^{123}\)

The tribals clothed themselves in a simple way. The male persons used clothing consisting merely of a small coarse cotton cloth fastened front and back to a string round the waist, one end having down like tails and some time a turban. The Juangs of Keonjhar were known as Patuas since they used leaves of trees to cover their nakedness. Sir William Wilson Hunter called the Juangs of Keonjhar the leaf wearers of Orissa.\(^{124}\) The women of the Juang community were first introduced to clothing in 1871.\(^{125}\) In the words of Col. E.T.Dalton, "The females of the group had not amongst them a particle of clothing; their sole covering for purposes of decency consisted in a girdle composed of several strings of beads from which descended before and behind small curtains of leaves.\(^{126}\) The Juangs were introduced to clothing by Captain J.Johnstone and T.E.Ravenshaw, the then Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals and the Raja of Keonjhar.\(^{128}\) Captain J. Johnstone writes, "I have on several occasions offered to

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\(^{123}\)Abul Fazal, (Ed), H.S.Jarrett Aini-I-Akabari, P.121.
\(^{124}\)LSS O'Malley, India's Social Heritage (London 1932), P.98.
\(^{125}\)W.W.Hunter’s Orissa, Vol.II, P.121
\(^{126}\)LSS O’Malley Op.Cit, P.98.
-ODG, Keonjhar, P.82
-SRKS, P.35
-Utkal Deepika, May 5 1871
clothe the whole of the Juang women at my expense if they agreed to wear garments, but the men declared that women will be eaten by tigers if they wore anything but leaves. The real objects as some have admitted is a selfish one; namely I give the women clothes once, the husband would be obliged hereafter to provide them. The Bhuyans with the influence thereafter came into the folds of civilized living through their contact with the Hindus, and took to using clothes. But the Kurmis, both men and women, used cotton garments. The Raja and Rari both used ornaments of pearls and gold. The necklaces, ear-rings or Kundals, ring or Mudi, armlets etc. were some of the ornaments used by the Raja and his family.

The upper class Hindus of well-to-do families were reported to have ornaments. The important items of jewellery were necklaces (Malas) armlets (Bahuti) ear rings (Kundala) and finger rings (Mudi) made of gold. It was seen that the Raja of Keonjhar Balabhadra Bhanja used such ornaments unlike his father Gopinatha Bhanja. The women took pleasure in adorning their bodies with various kinds of ornaments. Ornaments were worn on hands, feet, necks, noses and ears. The principal ornaments used by the women were Mathamani (hairpieces). Pins, padaka or Tankamala, Rupa Chandra. (moon-shaped silver trinkets) Bala (wrist bands), Bahuti (arm

130 R. V. Russell, Op. Cit, P.60
131 K. M. Mishra, Op. Cit, P.76
bands), Mala (necklaces), Kundalas (ear ring), Guna (nose ring) Mudi (finger ring) on the fingers. They used ghagudi (silver anklets) around their legs. They used ornaments on auspicious occasions and religious ceremonies.

The middle class women used ornaments of an inferior quality. They could afford gold ornaments only in rare cases. Ordinarily they used brass and silver ornaments.

The tribals were very fond of ornaments to bedeck themselves. The males in the tribal community, however, did not use any jewellery in their everyday lives; they used necklaces only when dancing. The Juang women were reported to use various ornaments. Regarding the ornaments of the Juangs Colonel E.T.Dalton writes, "The beads that form the girdle are small tubes of burnt earthenware made by the wearers. They also wore a profusion of necklaces of glass beads, and brass ornaments in their ears and on their wrists, and it was not till they saw that I had a considerable stock of such articles to dispose of, that they got over their shyness and ventured to approach us. The women of the Bhuyan community in particular had a passion for jewellery. The Bhuyan girls and women wore a number of thick brass bangles, on both arms, brass kankanas (bangles) on each wrist, one brass ring (ear ring) with pendants (Phirphira) and also nose rings (Guna)."
The girls and women of the Kurmi community also used ornaments of various descriptions.

Thus the ornaments of the different classes of people in the society had an important place in the economic system of the State.

The Ryots, and their condition

In the feudatory State of Keonjhar broadly there were four kinds of Ryots. They were 1. Mahal Koth, (a) Sadharana or ordinary, (b) Garpurani (c) Patna Chandan, 2. The Tikayat, 3) The Pat Mahadei 4) The Debottara Ryots.

1) Ryots of Mahal Koth

The number of the Ryots of Mahal Koth was 23,329 in Upper Keonjhar and 28,399 in lower Keonjhar. They were formerly liable to supply grains to the Maharaja at favourable rates and had to bear the brunt of bethi (forced labour) and other demands. They were mere tenants at will and considered as not having any permanent interest in the land. Right of occupancy would be divided to them when the land in their occupation were wanted for any favorite or dependant of the Raja. They had no claims to any remissions for bad harvest and whether the ryots got an out turn from his land, or not he was liable

135SRKS, PP-72-76.
to pay rent and extra demands so long as his name continued to be retained in Karan's 'bihan'\textsuperscript{136}.

However to the last part of the Nineteenth century the Kiran (the obtaining of supplies at unduly cheap rates) was entirely abolished and the various demands or porterage \textit{bethi} etc was limited to four kinds:

1) \textit{Ratha Bethi} or service to be rendered in connection with the Car of the 'elaka' where the tenants resides.

2) \textit{'Gastha bethi'} or porterage, when the Maharaja or any officer was on tour\textsuperscript{137}.

3) \textit{'Sadigemi bethi'}, or service to be rendered on the occasion of certain important ceremonies in the Raja's household\textsuperscript{138}.

4) \textit{'Chauni Bethi'} or employment in thatching the State houses of the ryot's dandapat\textsuperscript{139}.

"Perfect security of property in land has been afforded to him by declaring that the right was transferable with the permission of the Raja and a clause was inserted which provided for remission of rent in part or in whole for bad seasons. Another clause relieves him from the burden of State

\textsuperscript{136}SRKS, PP.72-76
\textsuperscript{137}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{138}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{139}Ibid.
demand in the event of his duly giving notice before the beginning of the harvest year of his intention to abandon his holding”.

A kabuliyat or a written agreement was afforded to the Ryots to give perfect security of property in land. Those clauses of the Kabuliyats as follows\textsuperscript{140}.

(1) “I do hereby engage for manas, gunthas and biswas of ryoti lands as per detailed scheduled given in the patta at an annual rent of Rs. ________ for 15 years from 1305 to 1319 Amli years and do hereby agree to cultivate the land or cause to be cultivated and to pay the rents assessed thereon in 3 instalments to the village padhan or any person authorised by the Maharaja to collect the same and shall take counterfoil receipts. I shall not pay any rents without taking such receipts in default. I shall not be entitled to get credit for such payment”.

(2) “I shall be responsible for the rent, whether I cultivate the land or keep it fallow. Should I fail to pay the rents on the date fixed they shall be realised from me or any heirs with interest at Re.1 per cent per annum and costs of certificate filed against me or my heirs”.

(3) “In the event of any loss of crops by flood or drought or by both in any year, I shall get remission of rent

\textsuperscript{140}SRKS, PP.72-76
in part or whole as may be given by the Maharaja, or any duly authorised officer after due enquiry”.

(4) “If I want to abandon my holding or any part thereof, I shall notify such intention in writing before the commencement of the agricultural year (i.e. before the month of Chaitra) to the Maharaja or any duly authorised officer. In default I shall be liable to pay the rent for the entire holding for the year”.

(5) “On the occasion of marriage, death or investiture of thread in the Raj family, I shall in company with our dandapat and village Ryots construct leaf huts that will be required and provide the firewood and leaf-plates and shall receive “Khoraki” of 5 paisa per diem. If on the occasion of a marriage ceremony, the procession halts in our dandapat, I shall supply ‘russud’ at market rates, and shall provide firewood straw and leaf plates without costs and shall construct leaf-huts for accomodation”.

6) “Whenever the Maharaja or any member of his family or his manager or Assistant Manager or Sub-divisional officer is on tour or if any of his vakils or that of any other state passes through our State, I shall in company with other ryots carry his luggages or shall in lieu of personal service, supply labour and shall get Khoraki expenses. I shall on such occasion construct free of cost leaf shades and supply
firewood, straw and leaf plates and shall supply russud at market rates”.

7) “If, on the occasion of marriage etc. the Maharaja or any of his officer named in clause 6 above, travels outside the killa jurisdiction, I shall carry his luggage on Khoraki till his return. If detained on such occasions for more than 21 days, I shall get 2 annas 6 per diem as my wages. Besides, I shall provide materials and shall thatch every year the kutcha houses of any garh in our dandapat on Khoraki”.

8) “When any officer of the British Government travels in our State I shall carry his luggages and supply russud and attend on him as provided in clause 7 above”.

9) “Of the logs required for Thakur of village I shall in company with other ryots, supply those required from our dandapat or village, and shall get the Khoraki allowance while engaged on such work. I shall also supply on such occasions sal and simili logs of inferior description, free of cost provided they are carried within a limit of 10 miles. Car festival being an ancient institution I shall if a proper caste man, drag the car free of charge”.

10) “In the event of my wishing to reclaim any cultivable waste lands not included in my holding, I shall engage for it separately with the village Padhan, if such lands be included in his kabuliyat and shall take patta of it.”
from him I shall pay separate rents for such lands; if however
the area be not so included in his kabliyat or in the event of
my wishing to reclaim my scrub jungle, I shall take permission
for it from the Raja Sarkar and shall pay rent for it
separately”.

11) “I shall transfer my holding, or any portion of it
only with permission of the Maharaja”.

12) “I shall abide by the rules to be enforced in the
State with regard to forest and forest-produce”.

13) “In accordance with the previous customs, I shall
present through the village padhan” every year, pumpkins to
the Maharaja as a symbol of homage on the occasion of
Dashahara.”

14) “I shall not supply any produce at cheap rates. The
old system of Kiran (the obtaining of supplies at unduly cheap
rates) shall no longer be enforced on me. I shall be at
liberty to sell my produce as I like”.

15) “I shall not rebel or join or take part in any
‘melee’ or revolt. I shall be always loyal to Maharaja and
shall abide by all his orders”.

16) “I shall not possess any firearms without the
written permission of the ruling chief”.

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‘melee’ or revolt. I shall be always loyal to Maharaja and
shall abide by all his orders”.

16) “I shall not possess any firearms without the
written permission of the ruling chief”.

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17) “I shall not infringe any of the above conditions; in default, I shall be liable to punishment and ejection from my holding”.

GARH PURANI RYOTS

There were certain tenants of Lower Keonjhar who held land under the ‘bhag’ or produce system. Originally most of these holdings were the Maharaja’s own Khamar or nij-chasa land, which on his ceasing to retain under his direct cultivation, were made over to tenants at higher rates of money rent. In the settlement of 1892 the Kiran system of obtaining grain from the tenants was abolished, and it was considered necessary to have a stock of paddy in the subdivision. The Maharaja’s proposal to substitute ‘Bhaga’ for cash rent for these holdings was accepted by the Superintendent, and six annas of the grain out turn only, instead of the usual demand of eight anna of the whole produce, was sanctioned as the State demand for those holdings. Some ‘fout ferari’ or abandoned holdings had been included in this area which came upto 592 manas held by 231 Ryots. The terms of the Kabuliyaat as sanctioned by the Superintendent tributary Mahal for this class of Ryots were\textsuperscript{141}.

1. “I do hereby engage for ........ of Garh Purani lands as per detailed scheduled given in the patta for 15

\textsuperscript{141}SRKS, P.76.
years from 1305 Amli Year to 1319 Amli Year and do hereby agree to cultivate the land and to by annually without fail six annas of the grain-produce of the land duly to the Tahasildar or other duly authorised officers as rent for the lands”.

2) “In the event of my keeping the lands fallow, I shall be liable to the payment of my bhag to be computed after the produce of neighbouring lands or any portion of it become unfit for cultivation, I shall get remission of my bhaga in part or whole by the Maharaja or any duly authorised officers after due enquiry”.

3) “In the harvest season I shall in the presence of the Tahasildar or other authorised officer, reap and gather and store the produce and shall make over six annas share of the grain-produce to the Usulkuninda (rent-collector) at the prescribed place and shall get counterfoil receipts from him.

4) “Should I wish to abandon my holdings or any part thereof, I shall notify such intention in writing before the commencement of the agricultural year (i.e. Chaitra) to the Maharaja or any of his duly authorised officer. In default I shall be liable to pay grain-rent for that year to be computed after the produce of neighbouring fields”.

5) “I shall be at liberty to sell the produce of my lands as I like”.
6) "I shall abide by the rules to be enforced in the State with regard to forest and forest produce".

7) "I shall not possess any fire arms without the written permission of the Maharaja".

8) "I shall not rebel or join or take part in any melee or revolt, and shall be loyal to the Maharaja whose orders I shall abide by. I shall not infringe any of the above conditions".

"Should I do so I shall be liable to punishment and ejection from my holding".

c. Patna Chandra Ryots

There were certain traders occupying certain Patnabanci villages at the Garh who did not have any agricultural lands, but had the monopoly over trade in the interior areas of the State. The Maharaja besides assessing their homesteads at ordinary rates used to obtain provisions from them at Kiran rate for himself, the Tikait, the Pata Mahadei and the Baldevjew Temple. They were not called on to do 'bethi' and enjoyed the privilege of carrying the Thakur's Pat (Umbrella) and Pataka (Flag) on the occasion of the Suniya, Dashahara and Patparba festivities. Again their pack bullocks were often requisitioned for the Maharaja's private use\(^{142}\).

\(^{142}\)SRKS, P.73
Their patta as sanctioned were the same as those for a Sadharan Ryot with the 'bethi' clauses struck out and the clause for carrying Pat and Pataka of the Thakur inserted instead. They were bound to assist a Government Officer and this was noted in their Pattas.

The Ryots of 'Tikait and Pata Mahadei' were to serve to the Tikait and Pata Mahadei only instead of the Raja. At the time of their guest, chauni and subasubha (ceremonial) they were to do bethi and had to supply things required for their use at market rates. However, according to the settlement of 1305 Amli or 1892 the total number of the Ryots of this group were 1825 and the total area held was 3845.16 acres143.

4. Debottara Ryots

The debottara lands were generally in the possession of a Marfatdar or Shebait. These tenants or Shebaits were known as Debottara ryots. They enjoyed lands of petty Thakurs and village Thakuranis144.

In the Feudatory State of Keonjhar the conditions of the Ryots was not so good. They were to render service to the Raja. The 'bethi' was a common thing for the Ryots. However nobody was encouraged for Kiran. The people by nature were innocent and were well content to remain idle. The tribal

143SRKS, P. 73.
144Ibid.
people like Bhuyans and Juangs suffered from poverty. However it was the common feature in their life. Their living could not be anything other than from hand to mouth. But they remained contented with whatever they had.

G. **Feudal Exploitation**

Feudal exploitation was too rampant in Keonjhar. Their system of *bethi* (forced labour) and *begari* (unpaid labour) was the chief means of feudal exploitation. However the system originated long years ago in Orissa in general and Keonjhar in particular. The Raja of the State forced the subjects to work for him, but such workers were not paid any wages. The Raja made extra demands on the people in addition to the tribute they owed him. The tribal people were more exploited in this way than the people of other classes. The Bhuyans had, since the inception of the State, a special relationship with the Raja. So they were inclined to render him free service on special occasions. But with the passage of time the voluntary labour of the subjects was converted into forced and free labour. The Raja was not the only one who upheld the bethi system; the other officials of the palace like the *Dewan*, the *Bebartha* and the *Amalas* also made use of the system in his name. Even the village head men, (*Padhans*), *Garhnaiks* and *Kanungoes* (Head of the Dandapats) made use of the *bethi* system. This caused economic hardship for the subjects in so
far as they often found no time for their own work. Therefore they resented the system.

The history of the 'Bethi' system can be traced back to a very early age in the history of Orissa. Richard Temple in his report mentions that the Great Baladev Jew Temple in Keonjargarh was constructed by Laxmi Narayan Bhanja (1716-1730 A.D) by making use of the bethi system. It was also used on a large scale when royal personages went on their hunting expeditions. Such expeditions often occurred more than forty times a year in Keonjhar.

During the British period the system of 'Bethi' consisted of forced and free labour. Mr. Willy called the system, cf bethi an organised institution. The tribal subjects like the Bhuyans and the Juangs rendered some service voluntarily for the Raja. For instance, they supplied ropes and wood and all types of labour for the car festival. They supplied free labour for Government officers travelling in the Bhuyan pirs. They carried the Maharaja's luggage whenever and whereever he travelled. They also supplied russels (articles of consumption) for the Maharaja on his travels. They had to thatch the Government houses and provide all materials without:

145 Richard temple's, Report on Zamindaris and other Chieftains in the Central Province in 1865, P.8.
146 Ibid.
147 Ibid.
149 Ibid
any charge. They had to supply a certain number of goats from each pir during the time of the Durga Puja free of cost.\(^{150}\) Lastly they were to make certain offerings to the Maharaja after the harvesting season was over. The Bebartha and the Pradhans had a share in the *Bheti* or offering\(^{151}\). All these claims of the Raja upon the subjects were known as 'Bethi'\(^{152}\).

In addition to the Raja, State officials of the higher echelons also made use of the system of Bethi for their own ends. Such officials included the *Diwan* or *Bebartha* the *Vakils*, the *Amlas*, the *Garhnaiks* and the *Pradhans*. Bichitrananda Das, the then Assistant Manager of the State who was in charge of excavating the Machhakandana canal, engaged Bhuyan workers under the *Bethi* system for the purpose*. Mr. Shyamsundar Raj the former Garhnaik of Udayapur Dandapat also introduced forced labour or bethi in his area. All types of roads and public buildings were constructed in the Udayapur Dandapat by the bethi system. The system thus became an all-embarrasing one in its scope as time went by.

Usual tributes were rigorously demanded by the Tax collectors in addition to Bethi. The Garhnaiks and the Pradhans sometimes even whipped the subjects for the collection of taxes. The tax collectors did not consider the


\(^{151}\)Ibid.

\(^{152}\)Ibid.
economic condition of the subjects and forced them to pay up even when they were apparently unable to do so.

Besides bethi there was another system called 'kiran'\textsuperscript{53} which affected the economic life of the common people. It means the obtaining of supplies at unduly cheap rates. However the tenant had to undertake such state burden. Sometimes they supplied the materials with nominal rent or without rent.

There was another system called Russud\textsuperscript{154}. It also affected the economic life of the people adversely. In the Feudatory State of Keonjhar the ryots were required to make supplies of provisions to the Raja and his men like his Manager, Assistant Manager, Sub-divisional Officer or Vakil or that of any other State passing through or touring the villages. Besides that the ryots had to carry his luggage or in lieu of personal service had to supply labour. In return he would get only Khoraki expense\textsuperscript{155}. On the occasion like the Marriage ceremony, sacred thread ceremony or other ceremony the ryots had to supply 'russud'. Of course there was provision to get the 'Russud' at the market rate. But it was seen that the russud was taken off from the ryots forcefully free of cost.

\textsuperscript{53}Bd. Procd (Rev) (OSA Acc No. 617S) Resolution No. 1064P, 19th March 1894 Calcutta;.
\textsuperscript{154}- SRKS, P.75
\textsuperscript{155}Ibid.'
It was seen that practically no payment was made for Russud, though there were provisions for payment. It was rigourously demanded from the ryots. Sometimes pains were entrusted to collect Russud forcefully. Even they tortured the Ryots physically to get the Russud.

Thus it is observed that there prevailed in the Feudatory State of Keonjhar a mixed economic system. That was because there lay a gulf of difference between the one at the apex and other at the lowest strata. The Raja’s economic condition was absolutely sound when the condition of the Ryots was not so good. The Feudal exploitation was so rampant that the ryots sometimes were reduced to begging. A humorous couplet survives in some places of the Feudatory State which appropriately of Keonjhar, which appropriately expressed the Ryot’s idea about the State demand. That is "Athagada Khanja Kete, maripiti nebu jete" or How could one tell Athagada rent rates? Thus in general the economic condition differed from one strata to another in the society. The unequal economic conditions marked a great difference in their food, drink, luxuries, standard of living, dress and ornaments.

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156 States Report, P.95.