CHAPTER VI

FAMINES AND SCARCITIES AFTER 1866
The 1866 Orissa famine was the outcome of years of misrule and the long neglect of the traditional irrigation facilities in Orissa. The only solutions to combat famine conditions were three fold i.e., development of irrigational facilities, development of communication system and storage of sufficient grains to meet exigencies. But it was true that the British Government in India was not conducive to the welfare of the people. The Britishers were slow in implementing any long-term measures to mitigate the distress prevailing in the country. Orissa was the only province in British India which suffered every year from the natural calamities. Floods, droughts, famines and cyclones followed one after another in quick succession and caused havoc upon the people. During the British administration Orissa suffered more from famines than during Mughal and Maratha rule. Out of 31 famines in India in the 19th century, 18 occurred after 1850. Orissa became the principal sufferer along with Oudh, Bihar, Bombay, Madras and North-Western provinces. As such, the later part of the 19th century is remembered for widespread famines in India.

The occurrence of frequent famines in Orissa impoverished the people and made them permanent destitutes. They were seriously affected by the calamities of 1866, 1869 and 1875. This can clearly be established in the following graph by comparing the price level of normal period with that of distressed period.

GRAPH SHOWING FLUCTUATIONS in the price of RICE from 1836-95


Fig. 12
Though the people of Orissa were sincere and hard-working, yet they had never been able to improve their condition. The natural calamities had crippled the very core of their existence in the absence of any suitable remedial measures by the Government. The famines and scarcities occurred in 1870, 1874, 1877, 1883-39, 1889-90, 1896-97, 1899-1900. Frequent visit of famines upon the poverty stricken people of Orissa brought untold miseries to them. Lack of proper administration by the Britishers to alleviate the distress of the people destroyed the socio-economic condition of the people.  

There were many factors to stimulate the famine, such as copious rainfall, shortage of food supply and lack of transport and communication. The speedy rise of food prices also aggravated the situation. The suffering of the people due to price hike, was clear sign of man-made sufferings during the 19th century. Human and institutional factors contributed more than natural factors to the sufferings in Orissa. Under the modernizing influence of railways and the growing grain trade, the famine problem was transformed from one of intense local sufferings


limited to the area of severe drought to that of high prices of food over a wide area accompanied by the inability due to poverty of a large mass of the agricultural population to feed themselves. Famines before the coming of railways were sporadic, infrequent and local in their incidence and a major famine occurred once in every 50 years. The last phase of the 19th century never saw a countrywide famine.  

The second half of the 19th century witnessed less but routined natural calamities in Orissa. The severity of famines was not high like that of 1866 owing to the application of some remedial measures. These famines and scarcities were like a recurrent feature to the British administration in rural India. Millions of people perished in Orissa due to lack of transport, communication, irrigation and relief measures during the time of famines. Frequent occurrence of famines and scarcities made the condition of people deplorable.

In this chapter an attempt is being made to summarise briefly the famine from 1866 to 1900 and to trace the cumulative impact of continuous impoverishment of the people and how the Government managed the other famines after 1866.

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Famines and Scarcities

Famines and scarcities were recurrent features of Orissa during the 19th century.\(^8\) Frequent occurrence of droughts, untimely rainfall, food export and lack of communication were the immediate causes of scarcities in the latter part of the 19th century. The good year for the crop production is marked when there is an average rainfall in June, a copious rainfall in July, August and September and a more than average rainfall in the first half of October. Any diversification to these causes leads to scarcities in Orissa. The following table produces the same.

Table No.6.1
Rainfall and Crop Production

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rainfall</th>
<th>Crop production</th>
<th>Consequences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1865-66</td>
<td>Heavy and untimely</td>
<td>Less production due to drought</td>
<td>Severe famine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-85</td>
<td>Heavy and timely</td>
<td>Bumper crops</td>
<td>Prosperity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>Less and timely</td>
<td>Good crops</td>
<td>Prosperity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Scarcity of 1869 to 1871

In the year 1869 the biali and sarada crops were seriously affected due to want of rain in the Orissa division. But the heavy rains in July saved the situation. The local distress was felt around the Chilka lake. It was saved because of manufacture of salt which gave employment to the distressed People.9

In 1870 the crop position became bleak owing to want of rain in August. Towards the month of September and October the position became hard. The local officers in Puri and Cuttack informed the Commissioner about the general failure of crops. They also suggested to take measures to relieve the distressed people of the tract suffering from drought.10 When the Government was alert to face another famine, a copious rain in September 1870 saved the situation.11 It was not found necessary to adopt relief measures anywhere except in some parts of Puri and Khurda, where relief works were sanctioned in order to provide labour for those whose crops had suffered.12

Taking these circumstances into account Sir W. Grey addressed the Supreme Government urging "the extreme importance of carrying

9. BAR, 1869-70, pp. 136-137.
10. Ibid., 1870-71, p. 48.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
on irrigation works to completion without delay, and at the same time expressing his opinion that this province would never be thoroughly safe from one of two calamities either drought or inundation, till those works were completed.\(^1\)

In the Orissa division an amount of Rs. 41,381 were remitted, viz., in Puri Rs. 34,139, in Balasore Rs. 6,808 and in Cuttack Rs. 434 on account of loss of crops resulting from drought and inundation and for the lands left uncultivated in consequence of death, desertion or indigence of ryots.\(^2\)

In 1871 symptoms of famine were felt in Ganjam and Isaakpattan (Vizagpattam) areas of the souther part of Orissa due to scanty rainfall. At Issakpattan, rice was selling at 10 Balasore seers for one rupee. Still it was not easily procurable and the prices were rising day by day. So the Government in apprehension of the occurrence of a famine had warned the Collectors of these areas of their duties by which they should try their best not to make the event a great disaster just like that of 1866. The Collectors had made arrangements for the importation of rice from other areas of the province. The Government bore the cost of water supplied to the poor people in wanting areas. But it was a matter of great astonishment that

\(^{13}\) BAR, 1870-71, p.48.

\(^{14}\) Ibid.
there was no rain in the districts but the river Godavari was overflowing with flood waters during the prevailing scarcity period. But the people as well as the areas got no benefit out of this overflowing as they depended much on the rainfall, the want of which caused failure of crops in those places. The people doubted about the coming of a great famine just like that of 1866.15 The prices of rice were increasing highly at some places like Parlakhemundi where rice was sold at 18 seers per rupee. At Ganjam, rice was selling at 24 seers per rupee.16

Paddy and rice were exported to those areas from Puri and Cuttack through the water route of Chilka and by bullock carts through land routes. It was estimated that paddy imported to those areas in January 1872 was 40,000 maunds and rice up to 7,300 maunds. The need of the water was felt more. So the existing water tanks were purified which provided employment to labourers. In spite of these measures some starving people emigrated from Parlakhemundi, Huma and other Telugs and others had made a preparation to start the migration. At some places people suffered from fever and small-pox. The animals were also affected at Putasarapur of Ganjam, and the Government officials continued their works on an emergency basis. But the people were haunted by the fear of a great famine.17

15. U.D., 16 December 1871.
16. Ibid., 3 February 1872.
17. Ibid.
In 1871 scarcity in rice prevailed in spite of land laying between Chilka lake and the sea, comprising Sathpara and estates of Raja of Parikud and of the Talukdar of Malud of Puri district whose crops were entirely lost due to scanty rainfall in September and the repeated failure of crops exhausted stored food and finance in hand. To alleviate the distress of the people of the two estates Commissioner of Orissa was authorised to grant ₹3,000 to ryots, who had land in possession, relief in the shape of loans on the best security. And those who had nothing, relief was given in the shape of charity. Relief works in lieu of repairs of bunds, embankments and tanks were started to afford employment to the destitutes of the two estates. The Commissioner was also authorized to spend further ₹2,000 if the fund proved insufficient to meet the purpose. Added to this, charitable subscription was opened in Orissa for giving help to the disabled, old, and sick who were unable to earn their living.

Scarcity of 1873-74

In 1873 people felt alarmed due to the famine in Bengal. To their bad luck, scarcity conditions also prevailed in Soso of Balasore district. A total area of 100 square miles was hard

18. BAR, 1871-72, Part-II, p.4.
19. Ibid.
hit by drought. The Commissioner had estimated that about 37,000 people were affected. Heavy export of rice in 1873 out of Balasore left little for 1874. The price increased in 1874 when symptoms of drought appeared in Soso. The people of Soso failed in procure rice at such a high rate and sufferings of people continued. 21

G. Stevenson, Assistant Collector of Bhadrak called a meeting on the 30th December 1873 of the zamindars and others in the subdivision who had landed property. A considerable number of them attended the meeting and a relief fund was opened for relief to the sufferers. Importance was given to the supply of water to the people of distressed areas. The supply was not satisfactory. The native gentlemen were empowered to appoint members of committee to administer the relief funds. They submitted the list to the Collector on 3rd January and that was approved. Wells were sunk throughout the pargana where the scarcity of water was most severely felt. A Munshi Abdul Janni agreed to dig a large tank at Namee. For this purpose he was aided by a supply of some 30 kodalahs for the use of the workmen. The offer of Government to advance money to local zamindars for the improvement of their estates was denied by Soso landowners. 22

21. Utkal Putra, No.1, Vol.4 January 1874

22. From G. Stevenson, Assistant Collector of Bhadrak to the Collector of Balasore, No.146, 20 September 1874.
Meetings were held in Cuttack and Balasore with the view of opening subscription list for the relief of the inhabitants of the distressed districts. W. Fiddian, in his memo annexed, estimated the aggregate of subscriptions at Rs. 5,000/-. The Deputy Collector fixed 36 places for the immediate sinking of wells and list of 64 other localities was also selected in the drought areas for the sinking of wells. The average cost of sinking a well came to Rs. 11-14-5.  

With reference to the Commissioner's 2nd para the roads in and about Soso; on which money from the District Road Funds had been expended were:

(a) Agarapara Road - completed in June last at a total cost of Rs. 200/-.  
(b) Aranji to Cowpar finished in the same month at a cost of Rs. 20/-  
(c) Agarapara to Kupari completed during August last at a cost of Rs. 100/-  
(d) Barapada to Maraigaon road worked out at a cost of Rs. 215-4-0.

A sum of rupees 2989-8 annas was collected towards Soso Relief Fund out of which Rs. 500 and Rs. 250 was donated by T.E. Ravenshaw the Commissioner of Orissa and W. Fiddian respectively.

23. From G. Stevenson, Assistant Collector to Bhadrak to the Collector of Balasore, No. 146, 20 September 1874.
24. Ibid.
Rs. 165-1-1½ was spent towards sinking of 10 wells in different places to supply drinking water.

At that time the price of rice had increased due to heavy export of rice to Calcutta. The zamindars were also not in a mood to help their subjects through some contributions. So the people apparently felt the necessity of help of the Government authority as famine was knocking at their doors. 25

Scarcity of 1877

At the beginning of September 1877, the condition of the crops in the tract between the Chilka and the sea was worse than before. As the later rain did not come in abundance there was great distress among the small population of Andhari, Parikud, Malud and Bajrakot. 26 By the early October sufficient rainfall was not received in any part of the district. The sarada rice plants on high lands were reported to be suffering much and in some places they were destroyed. The want of sufficient rain was generally felt. 27 Towards October 12, the sarada rice plants on high lands were affected severely in many places. The same was the condition of crops in low lands. The crops

26. Supplement to Calcutta Gazette, September to December 1877, p. 1010.
27. Ibid., p. 1086.
had almost entirely failed in the tract between the Chilka and the sea. 28

The outturn from low lands was expected to be fair; but on high lands hope of production was disastrous. Not more than $\frac{1}{16}$ of the paddy crop on the tract between the Chilka and the sea could be saved. 29 The rice crops on high lands and on some low lands in some places in the Khurda subdivision had been reported to be suffering seriously. The state of the crops in the Puri subdivision was more gloomy than the reported last. 30 There was also a considerable loss of crops in Banches, Athais, Matkatpatna and parts of Oldhar. 31

As the cultivated lands of those areas were not productive enough, the people depended much on salt manufacture and trade for their livelihood. But faulty policies of the Government on salt trade compelled the people to rely on cultivation. So a bad harvest in 1876 was sufficient to make the people starve. The zamindars of the locality were reluctant to help the distressed people. The people had nothing to eat. The police authorities reported to the District Collector of Puri that the people were living on saga. 32 It was also reported that the ryots of Parikud

29. Ibid., p.1170.
30. Ibid., p.1210.
31. BAR, 1877-78, p.128.
32. U.D., 6 October 1877.
were selling their cattle to buyers who were despatching them to Ganjam.33

In the tracts situated between the Chilka and the sea the condition of the people was worse than before. Relief was being given mainly from funds contributed by private individuals.34 On 24th September 1877 a meeting was held at Puri in order to collect public funds, charity and contribution from the rich persons to help the famine stricken population of the Chilka region. By the initiative of Armstrong the Collector of Puri, a Relief Committee was formed and he was requested by the people to suggest the Collectors of Balasore and Cuttack to collect charity funds. The Secretary of Relief Committee wrote a letter to the Collector of Balasore and Puri in order to make collection by request. The people also became nervous because of the increased prices of rice. In order to meet the situation and to help the people some philanthrophists contributed a large amount not only in cash but also in kind.

Also the condition of the people of Khurda and Mahanga was precarious because of the symptoms of a secret famine. The poor people were eating once in a day. The starved people of Mahanga had looted rice stores of the Mahajans. Now the Government felt

33. From I.S. Armstrong, Collector of Puri to the Commissioner of Orissa division, Cuttack, No.92T, Tanghi, 15 December 1877.
34. Supplement to Calcutta Gazette, op.cit., 1877, p.1269.
the necessity of imparting relief to those areas.  

The Collector of Puri had sent the Sub-Deputy Collector (Baboo Kumudnath Mukhorjee) to those affected regions of the Chilka in order to impart relief and distribute charity. The condition of the people was precarious as there was no stock of paddy in their house and had no money in their hand. The Government started relief operations by beginning works on 6 tanks and on embankment. The destroyed dirty tanks were enlarged, made deep and their water supplied to near by cultivable lands. About 800 labourers were employed. Large number of labourers were returning to their homes without employment due to shortage of money. Only Rs. 100 was to be spent in a day as per the rule. The unemployed labourers had preferred to die with their children and wives in their houses than to go to other places for employment. They were living only on 'saga' and other grass plants.

The Calcutta Committee contributed an amount of Rs. 3,000 in order to help the people of the famine stricken area. The cause of this great scarcity was the exportation of large amount of rice to Madras Presidency due to famine.  

The Lt.Governor sanctioned the suspension of the levy of the District Road Cess and the Public Works Cess in the parganas

35. U.D., 6 October 1877.
36. Ibid., 10 November 1877.
Parikud, Malud and Bajrakot in Puri districts due to total failure of crops. The Lt. Governor had also sanctioned an advance of Rs. 5,000 for the purchase of seed grain to be lent to the most destitute cultivators in Malud and Bajrakot and the loan was to be recovered by instalments from the next year's crop.

Recommendations of Famine Commissions

The famine Commission of 1880 besides other things recommended to grant relief to ryots through remission, by suspending revenue and rent payment in the event of bad harvests and drought. It was accepted by the Government to maintain statistics of harvests of classified agricultural land periodically and inform the ryots about rent and revenue remissions. This policy was also adopted for Orissa to protect tenantry from scarcity and famine. But in practice little was done to improve the condition of tenants.

After the all India famine of 1876-78 a Commission was established in 1878-80 which recommended a 'famine code', a set of rules which was the basis of famine relief works for the able

37. Revenue Department Local Taxation No. 386, Babu Rajendra Mitra Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Land Revenue Department, Calcutta, 6 February 1878.


bodied people and free relief to the rest of people under the domain of destitution. For the supply of food no interference with private agencies was suggested. For efficient distribution of food, increase in the production of food by scientific programmes of irrigation was given paramount importance. Various types of incentives to land owners were given to start farm works. Land owners would get relief through suspension of land revenue and would get loan to start efficient farm work.  

On 9th June 1883 the Famine Commission announced the code. The Commission highlighted not to undertake any isolated case of distress, but it could undertake and solve only the scarcity, afflicting a group of people. Relief works, and other employment opportunities for needy agricultural labourers were recommended.

Gratuitous relief, distribution of doles in the villages and feeding of destitutes in free kitchens were meant for physically disabled, infirm and old people. Following recommendations of the commission, Government of India issued circulars to all provinces to follow the Code.

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40. Famine Relief Codes and other matters pertaining to administration of 9 June 1883, Department of Revenue/Agriculture, Simla, 1892, pp.2-9.

41. Ibid., Prs.1-10.

42. Ibid., Pr.7.
Then the "Famine Code" became a guide to administration, for dealing with famines which was not there before. For this Government committed to undertake the followings:

a) Continuous system of collecting information and statistics from every local areas to provincial Government.

b) The type and nature of relief works to be taken up in times of famines,

c) classification of labourers to provide different sorts of relief and wages to be paid;

d) organization of gratuitious relief,

e) a system of village inspection,

f) suspension of revenue,

g) grant of taccavi loans,

h) relaxation of forest laws during famines,

i) protection of cattle to avert fodder famines etc.

District administrations were assigned to take up these works with intimation to provincial Government.

The deviations from these accepted principles caused famine in the tributary states of Orissa in 1888-89 and Ganjam in 1888-89.

"For seventy years our whole Government of Orissa has been a tale of woe according to the confessious on an English officials".

43. H.Ricketts, "Our Mis. Government in Orissa", Friend of India, 3 October 1874.
Famine in 1878

There was great distress among the landless labourer classes in Daruthung and Andharua of Khurda subdivision. They lived on roots and leaves for about four months, only taking small quantity of rice occasionally. The people noted that five persons among labouring class died from starvation within two months. The people of labourer classes were suffering on account of high price of rice and there was very little demand for their labour.

The condition of the labourer classes of Andharua was worse than that of Daruthung. The people of Andharua were unfit to do any work. They must have died from starvation if they would not have been provided with some relief. The Commission had ordered the Collector to sanction a small sum for village roads and also sanctioned sum of gratuitous relief out of the Calcutta Relief Fund. The rate of rice had fallen from 9 seers to 10 and 11 seers owing to the arrival of boats loaded with rice from Calcutta and other places. The Commissioner also ordered to look after the villages and inform about their progress.

* Their names were (1) Padi Mazhi, (2) Chandro Mazhi, (3) Operti Baoori of Noagaon, (4) Bhagbat Naik of Barman (5) A daughter of Baisnab Jena of Daruthung.

44. No. A Camp Bhubaneswar 2 August 1878, Baboo Srinath Bhadro, Deputy Collector incharge to the Commissioner of Orissa.

45. No.1100, A.Smith Esquire Off. Commissioner, Orissa Division to the Deputy Collector, Khurda, Cuttack, 9 August 1878.
Scarcities in Tributary States 1887-88

The Superintendent of Tributary Mahals of Orissa submitted a report in 1888 to the Lt.Governor of partial failure of crops in most of the states. Rainfall was recorded in Angul, Khondmals, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Talcher, Dhenkanal, Daspalla, Narsinghpur, and Ranpur, and the statement shows the quantity of rain in each of those places during each month of the year.46

Table No:6.2
Average Rainfall in each Station of the Tributary Mahals during the year 1887-88

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Killa</th>
<th>Total rainfall in inches and tenths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1886-87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angul</td>
<td>57.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khondmals</td>
<td>59.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daspalla</td>
<td>59.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talcher</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhenkanal</td>
<td>77.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayurbhanj</td>
<td>61.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranpur</td>
<td>63.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keonjhar</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narsinghpur</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46. No.47 of 1888, Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette, November 21, 1888, p.2308.
The table shows that rainfall during the year under report was everywhere deficient than that of the preceding year.

Dhenkanal, Pal-Lehara, Keonjhar, Talcher, Angul, Athmalik, Khandapara and Daspalla suffered most. So it can be concluded that rice must have been considerably below the average, Narsingpur, Ranpur, Nayagarh and Khondmals suffered less, while in Mayurbhanj, Nilgiri, Hindole, and Baramba little loss was sustained. In Tigiria and Athgarh the crops were average and in Boad the harvest was bad.47

The people of Angul felt alarmed in 1887 about their future livelihood as the crops failed due to scanty rainfall. Both kharif and Winter crops failed badly.

There were a few famines in Angul from 1883 to 1837. These made the condition of people precarious. They had spent everything to live and at the end of 1877 they were expecting death out of starvation. The price of rice was high and became scarce in market. The great difference in price between different states, viz., from 13 seers of rice per rupee in Angul to 26 seers in the Khondmals were due to the lack of better communication.48 Most of the people were living on wild fruits and other cattle edibles.

47. No.47 of 1888, Supplement to the Calcutta Gazette, op.cit.
Many of them migrated to other districts. Robbery and theft increased day by day. The Government servants also suffered due to little procurement of rice. It was considered that death on a large scale would surely occur if an immediate operation would not come in time. The people also dreamt of the happenings of the great famine of 1866. The people necessitated Government's help not in cash but in kind.  

A large number of bullocks and buffalos died of small-pox. The selling and buying of paddy and rice had already stopped. Importation from nearby Garjat areas had come to a stand still. The people made queues to those places where rice was sold. Some got rice with high prices and some did not. Some of the people with their children cried loudly because of hunger. The condition of the poverty-sticken people had reached such a precariously indescribable point. The lower class untouchables even ate the dead bodies. The river, the tanks and all other water resources got dried. The people had remembered the late Madras famine. The local Tahasildar along with the police inspector had enquired the moffusil areas in order to know the extent of devastation. Uparbisi, Tinidesa, Kendhara, Tansee, Pandibeda and Paranagagada were enquired. The subjects carried due to starvation. Many of them fled to other Garjat areas due to

49. U.D., 22 October 1887.
to Government initiative to collect revenue. Many hunger-sticken people had applied to the Commissioner of Orissa to get Government's help through paddy and rice. At some places, death occurred due to starvation. The Government authorities yet paid no heed towards this condition of the people of Angul.  

The people of Dhankanal, Baramba, Narsinghpur, and Ranpur were affected by the cholera. In Dhenkanal medicines were distributed to the people in the affected tracts.  

The partial failure of crops in tributary states in 1886-87 and recurrence of short harvests in 1887-88 had caused some privation among the poorer classes. They were saved from severe distress by an excellent mango crop and making use of jungle roots, fruits and leaves. The aboriginal tribes were living on these jungle fruits for six months every year.

Famine of 1888-89

In the year 1888-89 distress occurred at some places including all the three districts of Orissa. The places were Khurda in the district of Puri, Banki in the district of Cuttack and Bhograi, Baliapal, Chandbali and Basudebpur in the district of Balasore.  

50. U.D., 19 November 1887.  
51. BAR, 1887-88, p.6.  
52. GARCD, 1888-89.
Towards the end of July and beginning of August, 1888, starvation was felt in Khurda. The people reaped no good harvest during previous two years. Their entrance to jungal areas were restricted; they got ruined due to firm settlement also. The Collector of Puri, on coming to know the starved condition, sent the Deputy Gagan Chandra Das and Sub-Deputy Darpanarain Das with Rs. 25,000 to Khurda. The acting Director of the Agriculture Department also made certain arrangements to help the people. An embankment work had started in order to employ the people.53

Towards the latter half of August number of persons employed on Estates Improvements works was 944 (687 men, 54 women and 203 children) at a cost of Rs. 2,839. The daily average number of persons receiving gratuitous relief was 1,524 (315 men, 366 women and 824 children). Taccavi advances, amounting to Rs. 59,353-8, were made to 20,724 cultivators during the month of August, the amount advanced during the fortnight under review having been Rs. 18,944-8.

The stock of food grains in the subdivision was reported to be sufficient and mahajans in some places had begun to resume their business of lending grain. The price of food grains such as rice ranging from 15 to 21 seers, and moong and kulthi selling as much as the same rates.54

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53. U.D., 11 August 1888.
54. C.F. Worsley Commissioner of the Orissa Division to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, No. 1843 R, Cuttack, 20 September 1888.
to the subdivisional officer regarding restriction of advances and to all circle officers for confining gratuitous relief strictly to those who could not work for their living. From the latest sources available 8 persons had died due to starvation. It was not peculiar to Khurda, but was common in most years to all thickly populated countries and districts. It was also reported that all reasonable precautions had been taken for the saving of life.55

The Lt.Governor sanctioned all the grants applied for Khurda, i.e., Rs.15,000 for gratuitous relief, and an additional sum of Rs.25,000 for loans under the Agriculturists Loans Act.

Two deaths occurred in Ghatikia from starvation. "The distress was greatest in Zilla Rameswar", said the officer-in-charge of the circle, "two children died at Talpara, although relief had been given to them and more was promised".

According to the report of H.J.S.Cotton, the officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

"The suffering is greatest amongst the savars and the weavers. Many of the people have been reduced so much in flesh that there is nothing but skin and bone left. One such women died the day before yesterday (14th) in

55. C.F.Worsley Commissioner of the Orissa Division, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, No.1843 R, Cuttack, 20 September 1888.
my present, and near by bungalow, when coming to ask for relief. She came from Zillah Khordha and was going to Chandpore to her fathers house, the husband having failed to maintain her. She dropped on the way at night, and heavy showers of rain passed over her head, and in the morning when she was discovered by me, life was all but extinct. No efforts could bring back life to her. There is no doubt that she died of the effects of cold and hunger. Her home was not in my circle. She was about 40 years old".

"An woman of Damon Bhoi died in the woods while collecting tunga (dioscorea) roots before I came to Jankia".

According to Talyor, the subdivisional officer, no pressure was being put on ryots to pay up arrears due and the collection was practically at a standstill. The staff were now being employed chiefly in connection with relief works.56

Sir Steuart Bayley had instructed the forest department to relax the Forest Rules and the adoption of useful works within the forest in the Orissa Division. The Superintending Engineer of the Orissa Circle was conveyed through the Public Works Department for the commencement of thorough repairs of.

56. H.J.S.Cotton Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department, No.3066-119 Fam. 10 December 1888.
the Cuttack-Ganjam and the Cuttack-Puri roads. The Lt. Governor was also satisfied that everything within the power of the officials had been done for the relief of distress. 57

In the Government estate of Banki there was a temporary scarcity in September and October when relief works were started on a moderate scale. The total expenditure amounted to Rs.7,500/- and was spent on following heads:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On relief works</td>
<td>Rs.2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taccavi Advances</td>
<td>Rs.5,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Rs.7,500

Of the Rs.2,500 expended in relief works, Rs.500 was contributed by the district board.

The condition of a portion of the tenantry in the Kanika wards estate was also very poor and it was necessary to remit the arrears of rent due from them. 58

In Balasore there was some unmistakable signs of distress in thana Chandabali and Basudebpur on account of the inundation in September. 59 The people had begun to sell their cattle and

58. GAROD. 1888-89.
59. Ibid.
household goods in order to buy cereals. The well-to-do families had also sold their gold and silver ornaments in the bazar. Very coarse rice was selling at one anna a seer or Rs.2-8-0, a maund and in the Chandbali Bazar at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ anna and sometimes even 2 annas a seer Rs.2-8-0 a maund was not a famine price, but it was too high a price for a man who earned only $\frac{1}{2}$ anna a day and had perhaps 4 or 5 persons to feed.60

Private subscriptions were raised at both Balasore and Bhadrak in these thanas and also in thana of Baliapal. Relief Funds were also formed in above thanas. The tract which suffered most from failure of crops was Bhograi, where quite $13/16$th of the rice crop was destroyed in an area of 50 square miles with a population of 32,000. Besides the employment provided by the Public Works Department in repair of embankment and in excavating a large tank in the Bhograi Block, the local board spent money in cold weather and had granted Rs.450 in order to provide the destitute labour. The Collector also granted advances amounting to Rs.4,620 from the subscriptions raised to supply food to a number of women and children. Distress in Bhograi had still continued and about 300 persons received relief and the Collector had been authorised to spend the grant of Rs.1,500 sanctioned by

60. Baboo Atal Behari Moita, Subdivisional Officer to Collector of Balasore, No.22J, 26 September, 1888.
the Government if any emergency arises.  

**Famine in the Tributary States (1888-89)**

The deficiency of the crops of 1888 in many of the Tributary states of Orissa was the cause of some anxiety, to the Government of Bengal, and the necessity for special vigilance in Angul—once a tributary state but confiscated in 1847 by the British, was impressed on the Commissioner of Orissa. The people of Angul suffered a lot towards the end of 1888. The people ate wild fruits and leaves and were reduced to mere skeletons. There was no rainfall in the year 1888 also. In Angul the worst affected areas were Purunagarh, Gandibeda, Tinidesa, Taynsee, Kandara, Teekarpara, Upurbis, Khemba, Kalings and Talamul, because the crops failed there both in the year 1887 and 1888. The number of deaths occurred due to starvation in those areas was twenty four. The people lived in so deteriorating condition that it was though hundred would die unless the Government would protect them. Nothing was done for the middle and higher class people who starved in moffusil areas.

At some places an item of relief had started towards the end of August 1888. Everyday a help of one pie, 3 pie and one rupee were given to every child, woman and man respectively from

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61. **GAROD, 1888-89.**

62. **IFC, 1898, p.14.**
Angul Famine Relief Committee. Apart from providing any substantial help and relief, the Government officials tried to extract revenue arrears from the cultivators, who were reduced to the condition of hewers of wood and drawers of water and they lived only hand to mouth.63

The Angul Famine Relief Committee had imparted relief to the lower middle and higher class people. It gave help to the diseased, distressed, weak, helpless and the disabled labourers to make them alive. The members of the committee had made enquiries about the condition of the people before and after providing relief, the committee also gave salt as an item of relief.

The number of the people increased day by day before the helping committee because of little help by the Government authorities. But the condition of the people had grown worse day by day as the funds were becoming less both in cash and in kind.64

According to the records available, the Government had adopted some charitable relief, viz., the remission by Government of Rs.4,917 arrears of rent, the relaxation of Forest Rules, the opening of Estates Improvement works, and the judicious distribution

63. U.D., 1 September 1888.
64. Ibid., 6 October 1888.
of small sums. The Assistant Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals visited Angul and made a special enquiry and reported regarding the condition of the people, the state of the crops and the sufficiency of the measures taken to relieve local distress. In Angul a remission of rents for the year 1895 amounting to ₹4,917 had been sanctioned by the Government.

The population of Khandapara was 66,296 with an area of 244 square miles in 1889. The Assistant Superintendent described the condition of people as being perhaps in greater distress than that of any of the neighbouring states. It was found that considerable advances of paddy had been made by the Raja to the cultivators; but in many cases such advances were refused to the landless classes. The arrangements for the supply of gratuitous relief were most inadequate and the Assistant Superintendent urged the Raja to take proper relief measures. At Kantilo in Khandapara the Raja had opened an annachhatra, about eight miles off, which was said to be attended by 2,000 people belonging to the lower castes. The Assistant Superintendent was not satisfied with the Raja's helping hand towards the destitutes.

65. C.F. Worsley, Commissioner of the Orissa division to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, 1843R, Cuttack, 20 September 1888.

66. H.J.S. Cotton, Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department, No.3066-119 Fam., 10 December 1888.

67. John Edgar C.S.I. to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal Revenue Department, No.2744, Calcutta, 19 August 1889.
Except few measures like this, the Raja appeared to have made no real attempt to provide suitable relief for the landless classes and aboriginal tribes, for which they migrated to other places.

The king of Baramba provided relief to the distressed people through annachhatras. Some employments were also created by digging of tanks and construction of roads. The jungle restrictions were also withdrawn. In spite of all these measures people migrated to other places in search of livelihood. Relief proceedings were first commenced in this state in August 1888 and the total amount spent up to the 31st July was ₹17,780 of which ₹9,654 had been spent during 1889. The measures taken seemed sufficient to relieve the existing distress. The Manager who carefully handled throughout the distress, hoped all difficulties would be over by the end of October.

Nayagarh with an area of 588 square miles and a population of 114,622 and Ranpur with an area of 203 square miles and a population of 36,539 greatly suffered from the scarcity. The

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68. Scarcity in the Government estate of Angul, Revenue Department Famine, Darjelling, 21 September 1889.


70. Ibid., 1 June 1889.

71. John Edgar to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal Revenue Department No.2744, Calcutta, 19 August 1889.
young and inexperienced Raja of Nayagarh had done little to relieve the distress of his people. A sum of Rs. 15,000 was granted to him for relief operation. Fraser, S.D.O., of Khurda was deputed there to inspect and submit a first hand report of the situation. He reported that the sum granted for relief was totally inadequate to meet the demand.

He also supposed that distress would prevail among the aborigines and semi-Hinduised tribes whose number was about 17,000 in the state. The Manager reported that since rice had been imported from Cuttack, prices have gone down and rice was sold at 11 seers a rupee instead of 10 seers. In lieu of relief works a sum of Rs. 290-2-0 was spent on the road works. Two annachhatras were opened, one at headquarters and the other at Itamati for distribution of cooked rice among weak and infirm persons. Four additional annachhatras were also opened at Mahipur, Sunamuhin, Sarankul and Godipara. The average attendance in annachhatra held at headquarters was 600 and about 200 in other centres of relief.

The distress among the people of Ranpur had been reduced due to the advances of paddy made from the state granaries and by private holders of stocks. The number of the distressed people fed at the annachhatra was 252 and the cost of feeding them during the fortnight was Rs. 115-3-3, of which Rs. 95-3-3 was paid from a fund locally raised for relief. The total expenditure incurred by the state on account of relief during the fortnight.
was Rs.618-7-3 and the total expenditure since the commencement of operations to the end of July amounted to Rs.5,697-6-2, as shown below.72

Table No.6.3
Total amount borne by the Government on account of relief

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure incurred from State Funds</th>
<th>Rs.2,736-14-0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure incurred out of Government loan of Rs.5,000</td>
<td>Rs.2,960-8-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs.5,697-6-2</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hindol was also attacked by starvation and drought due to scanty rainfall.73 The Raja of Hindol in order to help his subjects through employment, ordered for digging of 4 wells, 2 small tanks and 3 big tanks. He also laid down the construction of a big canal embankment. He also provided paddy and crops seed to the cultivators and granted them remission of revenue.74 The superintendent also deputed Patten, the Superintendent of Police to inspect the distress tracks of Hindol.75

72. John Edgar to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, No.2744, Calcutta, 19 August 1889.
73. U.D., 1 June 1889.
74. Ibid., 20 July 1889.
Athamallick was most sparsely populated among the Tributary States. She also suffered as severely as those of any other state by the failure of crops in recent years. The Raja was a benevolent personnel who had devoted fully to the work of relieving distress during the past two years. The scarcity had been felt less in this state than in any other of those affected.

The assistant Superintendent after inspecting Athamallick told that since April last cholera had appeared which carried away 83 persons. Death due to starvation was 20, of whom six were the residents of the Killa, and the rest were immigrants from other states.

"The Raja informed me that on the first appearance of distress the village headmen were directed to send to him at the state expense all starving persons they found within their respective villages. This, however they failed to do regularly and during his tour he found in one village that two children had died from starvation. On further enquiry a few more deaths from starvation appeared to have occurred in some other villages. The defaulting sarbarakars were punished, and since June 1st every sarbarakar had been bound down under recognizance to send down such persons without fail. Twenty destitute persons were now kept in a poor house at the headquarters, but there were besides, other beggars in the interior who were supported by private charity and did not therefore, wish to come to the poor-house".
The state had suffered from two successive bad seasons, by which the partial failure of the last harvest alone would have caused much anxiety. Before the commencement of the calendar year relief was given to the following extent:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grain advances</td>
<td>3,824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash advances</td>
<td>742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gratuitious relief</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relief Works</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advance for cutting timbers</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,027</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the beginning of January relief had up to date been given to the following extent:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grain advances</td>
<td>6,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash advances</td>
<td>4,723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gratuitous relief</td>
<td>2,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relief Works</td>
<td>3,895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advance to weavers</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>17,877</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the last year Rs. 5,000 worth of rice was purchased and kept in store and in the present year further purchases were made for Rs. 3,167. From this stock rice was sold at market rates and those who had no present means to pay in lieu of credit
Rs.989 worth of rice was given to them. The timely advances made by the Raja helped a lot to the people but in time of calamity, it was the landless classes, the daily labourers, weavers and other handicraftsmen who suffered most. 76

In the year 1889, Angul was affected by a severe famine, which occurred due to the accumulated effects of the starvations which had happened previous to the famine year. (The starvations has been previously discussed in this chapter). The enquiry made by Kalipada Mukherjee, P.A. to Commissioner revealed that death due to starvation was 147 and due to cholera etc., 1910. 77

The whole estate was said to have suffered from a partial failure of crops for some years and some tracts were more distressed than others. The average price for the principal food-grains was estimated as follows:

Table No.6.4
Average price of principal food-grains

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds of rice</th>
<th>Price (in annas) per year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1887-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1888-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biali</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarada</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

76. John Edgar to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, No.2744, Calcutta, 19 August 1889.
77. Scarcity in the Government estate of Angul, Revenue Department Famine, Darjeling, 21 September 1889.
The mahua, mango and palm crops also totally failed in Angul. The high prices of grain in the estate and in the adjoining states had contributed more to the distress, caused by the loss of crops. A sum of Rs.12,000/- was placed by the Government of Bengal at the disposal of the Commissioner of the division for advances to the cultivators. Out of that only Rs.3,000/- had been disbursed. The monthly reports from the native Superintendent of Angul territory at length indicated such serious distress that in July Sir John Edgar, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal was deputed to Orissa. He found the situation more critical than had been realised by the local authorities.

Relief centres gave employment to only 493 persons and gratuitous relief to 1993 persons, and both the amount of wage on the works and the ration given on gratuitous relief were unquestionably insufficient. Measures were at once taken to make relief effective. The estate was divided into 3 circles, each under the charge of a European Officer and assisted by a medical subordinate. Their duties were to visit each village to superintendent the distribution of gratuitous relief to those who could not work, to give light work such as basket working and husking rice, to those capable of light work, to distribute seed and subsistence advances to cultivators, and to other for spinning and weaving and to provide for the able bodied

78. Scarcity in Angul, Revenue Department, Famine, Calcutta, 16 August 1889.
such work on roads and embankments near their villages as it was found practicable to carry out in the rainy season. The cost of these measures was estimated at Rs.41,000/- and to prevent any risk of food supplies in the territory running short, Rs.15,000 was also spent on purchasing forwarding unhusked rice from Cuttack. With these measures and favourable rains the distress was brought under control.\textsuperscript{79}

The hopes of the people were revived, the landless classes obtained agricultural loans, the able bodied labourers found work and helpless of both sexes received gratuitious relief etc. To save the people Government granted the following sums for their relief.

\textbf{Table No.6.5}

\textit{Advance sanctioned by the Lt. Governor for the relief in famine of 1889}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Items} & \textbf{Amount in Rs.} \\
\hline
For works & 7,000 \\
For loans & 12,000 \\
For gratuitious relief & 16,000 \\
For medical relief, miscellaneous and rice & 4,895 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textit{Sources: "Scarcity in Angul", Revenue Department- Finance Resolution of Government of Bengal 16 August 1889 (Calcutta, 1889)}

\textsuperscript{79} IFC, 1898, p.14.
Thus relief works, loans, gratuitous relief and advances granted to the peasants, helped in averting a serious famine.

In the Khondmals, the distress was less severe than in the Angul subdivision. The failure of crops in the Khondmals was as great as in other parts of Orissa. There was the want of rain in the early part of 1889, and there was also failure of the mango and mohul crops. The supply of the jungle products upon which the mass of the people had mainly to depend also began to fail and it was apprehended that, if the rains did not soon break, there would be serious famine. Fortunately, however, before the end of May there was some rain, which though small and insufficient for agricultural purposes, revived the jungle plants and trees. In June there was a rainfall which averaged 5 inches all over the Khondmals and the pressure was relieved. In spite of this, it was found necessary to start relief works, such as the building of rest houses and dhamasalas and cutting of jungles. There was however, less pressure than in the Angul subdivision and the condition of the people was much better.

The state of things was attributed to the fact that the forests in the Khondmals were not reserved or protected and the people were able to fall back on the supplies of grain, edible roots, wild fruits and other products of the jungle which contributed largely to the means of subsistence of aboriginal tribes.

greatest famine within the memory of the present inhabitants since the great Orissa famine of 1866, was partly due to the short harvest of 1887 and 1888, partly to the failure of the mango and mahua crops in 1889 and partly to the effects of a long drought which prevailed from October 1888 to the end of May 1889, on account of which all grain was tightly hoarded for some months and the labourers were deprived of employment.\footnote{31}

The suggestions made by Sir John Edgar for the amelioration of the aboriginal tribes of Orissa and the protection of the people from the results of scarcity was the early construction of the proposed railway from Panchpara to Puri. It was a measure of security against the consequences of failure of crops by which the contact between Orissa and the outer world could be made. The second remedial measure suggested by John Edgar was the reorganization of forest administration because vast numbers of landless paupers were dependant upon the forest products for their very subsistence.\footnote{82}

**Ganjam Famine 1888-89**

Failure of administration and absence of immediate relief measures gave rise to a serious famine in Ganjam in Madras

\footnote{81. L.S.S.O'Malley, BDG, Angul, p.102.}

\footnote{82. Scarcity in the Government Estate of Angul, Revenue Department, Famine, Darjelling, 21 September 1889.}
Presidency in 1388-89.* From the administrative report it was found that the season on 1384-85 was described as a bad one for rice lands and the prices of the principal food grains rose during the latter half of the year. The year 1885-86 was described as worse than its predecessor as regards the wet crops and the prices of all food grains, except wheat, were stated to have gone up, in consequence. The Chilka canal works were opened in that year to furnish work to the people living in the tract of country to the north of the Rushikulya river, because they were in a distressed condition owing to the failure of their crops. A comparison of rainfall of the last four years with that of the 1888-89, up to the end of October, shows (Table No.6.6) that in that year the rains had been fairly scantier than any of the others.

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* Ganjam is now a district in Orissa.

Table No.6.6
Monthly Rainfall in Orissa from 1884-85 to 1888-89

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>1884-85</th>
<th>1885-86</th>
<th>1886-87</th>
<th>1887-88</th>
<th>1888-89</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>The figures here given are taken from the Collector's office. They differ slightly from those compiled in the office of the Board of Revenue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4.64</td>
<td>5.98</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>8.47</td>
<td>8.19</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>10.15</td>
<td>9.45</td>
<td>7.42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>11.12</td>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>4.47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>15.71</td>
<td>7.12</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>39.47</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>64.92</td>
<td>41.18</td>
<td>20.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prices of rice and ragi, the grains consumed mostly in the district, were far higher during the month of October 1888. The price-rise was evident due to the failure of north-east monsoon.

34. Madras Presidency loose records, op.cit., p.3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>First week</th>
<th>Second week</th>
<th>Third week</th>
<th>Fourth week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ending</td>
<td>ending</td>
<td>ending</td>
<td>ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td>20th</td>
<td>27th</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>Rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seers</td>
<td>seers</td>
<td>seers</td>
<td>seers</td>
<td>seers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per</td>
<td>per</td>
<td>per</td>
<td>per</td>
<td>per</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rupee</td>
<td>rupee</td>
<td>rupee</td>
<td>rupee</td>
<td>rupee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There was no rainfall in 1888 between 1st October and 31st December and only one cyclonic storm occurred which gave 7.7 inches of rain between the 29th October to the 9th November. The crops which consisted chiefly of unirrigated rice and ragi had failed seriously by the 15th October over large areas. Water and pasturage became very scarce, grain-dealers in panic, refused to sell grain; prices rose rapidly and grain riots and robberies occurred. Madras Government deputed Garvin, Member of the Board of Revenue to proceed to Ganjam at once and report on the condition of affairs. He arrived in the district on the 4th November 1888. He considered it beyond doubt that the high prices of food grains would affect the prospects of the people especially the poorer classes and the weavers. He recommended for the opening of large works to be carried out as ordinary public works by professional agency. And under the powers vested in him by Government at once opened the Rushikulya canal project on the ordinary price work system through contractors. He recommended advances to the weavers and in retard to gratuitous
relief to the helpless and those unable to work. The Rushikulya project was important as a famine-relief work. The scheme had two objects the diversion of the water of two rivers - the Mahanadi and the Rushikulya into a canal which was to be navigable, and also to supply water for irrigating about 120,000 acres of land in the Ghumsur and Berhampur taluks. It involved the construction of two large reservoirs, four anicuts and seventy-three miles of canal, besides a large number of subsidiary works, such as bridges, under tunnels and irrigation sluices etc.

The Revenue Board mentioned scarcity rates for Ganjam as per the following:

Table No.6.7

Ganjam scarcity rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Seers per rupee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cholam</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ragi</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumbu</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was found that five people had died of starvation that year in the village of Koratoli about four miles from Chatrapur.

The inhabitants of the village also prayed for relief works, gratuitious relief and grants of money and food.\textsuperscript{87} The statistics of Garstin noted that the current season in Ganjam had proved exceptionally unfavourable owing to the failure of the south-west monsoon. There was a very large decrease in the breadth of cultivation and exports of grain suddenly ceased. He also recommended the Ganjam Gopalpur canal be put in hand at once as an ordinary P.W.D. work. It would give employment to about 4,000 coolies for five months and an allotment of Rs.60,000 would, in Garstin's opinion, suffice for this work. The Governor in Council also approved the immediate execution of this project.\textsuperscript{88}

The summary of the seasons reports for the week ending 30 March 1889 noted that due to the absent of rainfall the dry crops injured severely in Ganjam. Among the cereal prices as compared with the previous week, rice was higher. Number of coolies employed on the last day of the week on the Rushikulya work was 11,097, on Gopalpur canal 8,149 and on Taptapani ghat road 338. Their number for the week on Rushikulya work was 70,316, on Gopalpur canal 56,781 and Taptapani ghat road 2,157. Total number on gratuitious relief week ending on 23rd March was 2,868.\textsuperscript{89}

\textsuperscript{87} Madras Presidency loose records, 1888, \textit{op.cit.}, p.17.
\textsuperscript{88} \textit{Ibid.}, p.20.
\textsuperscript{89} Fort St. George Gazette, Supplement from January to June 1889 (April 9, 1889).
It was found from the weekly report of the 6th April 1889, that the paddy crops had suffered to an enormous extent, especially in Ghumsur taluk owing to the failure of rains, the average output being only between 3 and 4 annas. There was total loss in some villages. The ryots demanded for loans under the Agricultural Loans Act, to purchase seed grain for the ensuing cultivation season. The villagers were in a great distress owing to the failure of crops and the consequent high prices of food-grains, the scarcity of water, the prevalence of epidemic and the occurrence of accidental fires, frequently resulting in loss of considerable property. The labouring classes, those able to work, resorted to reservoir works to earn their livelihood, but the wages earned by each man were not sufficient to maintain the whole of his family. The agricultural classes were mostly in a distressed condition because many of them were denied to resort to reservoir works owing to caste prejudices. Many of them borrowed money from sahukars on interest. They paid the loans by selling rice bringing from Sambalpur, Puri, Rambha and other places by carts and kept the rest for their consumption.

Minor irrigation works, at an aggregate amount of Rs.10,512 had been executed in 88 villages in Ghumsur taluk and sanctions also had been received to repair drinking water tanks and to sink wells in some villages in Ghumsur taluk. The number of deaths from cholera during the week was 51 and the number reported since January last was 299, viz., 249 in Ghumsur taluk and 50 in Aska.
Persons who were actually suffering from starvation were paid batta under the famine code up to the sanctioned scale. The number of persons who were receiving such help was 170 in Ghumsur and 139 in Aska. It was difficult to find out the correct stocks of food grains in this division, for the week ending on 13th April shows that there were large falling of number of labourers both in Rushikulya and Gopalpur canal works owing to an outbreak of cholera. Carr (Additional Special Assistant Collector, Ganjam) reported about the death of a person from starvation from a village in Dharakot estate. The Government sent two additional medical subordinates to Ganjam.

Towards the end of April 1889, the average rainfall was 11 inches. Among the cereal prices, as compared with the previous week, rice was lower and rest were higher. Cholera was prevalent which took 1,070 souls. Number of coolies employed on the last day of the week on the Rushikulya works was 6,991, on Gopalpur canal 4,862, and on Taptapani ghat road 536.

90. Letter from J.G. Horsfall, Collector of Ganjam to the Secretary to Government, Revenue Department Chatrapur, April 1889, No. 2389 Enclosure No. 3.
91. Resolution by Board of Revenue, 18 April 1889, No. 191.
92. Miscellaneous, 26 April 1889, No. 317, Revenue.
Towards the end of May, the average rainfall was 0.70 inches. Scarcity of water was still prevalent. Prices in the last week of the month, as compared with the previous week, was higher and second sort rice was selling at scarcity rates. The number of coolies employed on the last day of the week on Rushikuliya works was 5,731, on Gopalpur canal 5,180, on Taptapani and four other ghat roads 1,461. The number of distressed relieved on last day of the week ending 18 May was 2,728. 94

Great distress was reported from all quarters of the district, except Balluguda. Due to prevalence cholera, coolies were afraid to remain on works and stayed in their villages without any means of subsistence. In Purushottampur and Berhampur they were becoming emaciated. In Ghumsur and Sura they were unwilling to accept the famine rates of hire and rather "preferred to die of starvation".

The mortality from cholera during the end of fortnight had reached of 2,500. It had spread everywhere but the Berhampur taluk suffered the most. Gratuitous relief was taken on a larger scale. 95

The Government was of the opinion that it was not desirable to grant advances for the purchase of seed-grain without security.


95. Proceeding of the Board of Revenue (Revenue Settlement Land Records and Agriculture), 25 May 1889, Mis.No.2062.
The Collector also authorised not to exceed Rs.10,000 in the purchase of seed-grain for gratuitous distribution in case of undoubted need and further allotment of Rs.5,000 was also sanctioned for the improvement of the water supply. In accordance with the provisions of the Famine Code the Collector was authorised to commence the road from Digapudi to Govindapur as a relief work and the payment was made early. 96

The Lt. Governor of Madras visited Ganjam and immediate order was given to start relief to save lives. 97 But the Lt. Governor of Bengal never visited famine stricken tracts of Orissa during the famine of 1866 or later. Numerous kitchens were at once opened for the distribution of cooked food and orders were passed for the formation of relief circles, appointment of circle relief officers and the distribution of doles and grain or money in the villages to the aged, the poor, the sick and the destitute. Seed grain for the cultivators was also imported from the Godavari district. The Madras Government put the Collector instead of the Revenue Board, in direct communication with itself in regard to management of famine. The careful inspection of the villages and opening of the kitchens revealed the existence of severe and wide spread distress. Numerous gratuitous relief to the villagers who were

96. Government of Madras, Revenue Department, Miscellaneous, 28 May 1889, No.431.
97. IFC, 1898, Ch.II, Pr.27, p.16.
incapable for labour increased rapidly. The numbers on village relief increased from month to month.98

The month of August marked the highest point in relief. Messrs. McMurray, Story, Marshall, Sherman, Powell and Brown had joined the district as famine officers and were posted respectively at Purushottampur, Ballipadar, Ichapur, Ganjam, Russelkonda and Berhampur to exercise strict control.99 The total imports during the week amounted to 16,446 cwts, or 823 tons, of which 7,353 cwts were by sea, 4,845 from Orissa and 4,268 cwts from the central provinces.100 With a good harvest on the ground the numbers in gratuitous relief were reduced to 28,000 by the end of September. Relief was discontinued at the end of October and at some places by the end of November.101

The expenditure on the famine account amounted to Rs.3,64,000 on professional works, Rs.2,45,000 on civil agency works and Rs.3,50,000 on gratuitous relief. Rs.1,70,000 was advanced to weavers and for seed-grain Rs.2,68,000 was suspended. This heavy expenditure could have been cut short if relief had been moved freely given in the first stage of distress.102

98. IFC, Pr.29, p.17.

99. Government of Madras, Revenue Department, 17 August 1839, Nos.711, 711A.

100. Ibid.

101. IFC, 1839, Pr.29, p.17.

102. Ibid., Pr.30.
Deaths from direct starvation were nearly recorded during famine, but they were usually attributed to the secondary causes of diarrhoea, dysentery, dropsy, anaemia or debility. The average number of recorded deaths per annum in the Ganjam district for the ten years at the end of 30th September 1888 was 19,000 from all causes, and 18,400 excluding cholera. From the 1st October 1888 to the 30th September 1889, the recorded number of deaths was 38,463 from all causes, and 24,422 excluding cholera.

The Collector also mentioned in his weekly report about private charity. The zamindar of Chikiti estate was feeding over 500 people daily with food. Food was also distributed in Parlakhemedi by the zamindars though the number was not exactly known.

As regards the position of the affected area, as to local trade, food-supply and communications, the Government of India was aware that the district was totally destitute of railway communication and was dependent for its supplies in times of scarcity on imports by road and by sea. These means of access during the monsoons, was impracticable. The district was liable, therefore, to be cut off for a time from all external supplies when a failure of the crop occurred simultaneously in the

103. Government of Madras, Revenue Department, 31 October 1889, Nos.888, 888A.
104. IFC, 1898, Pr.31, p.17.
neighbouring districts and provinces. 105

The Government of Madras Presidency had learnt something from the Ganjam famine of 1888–89 and considered some principles of famine procedure. It also considered the code scarcity rates for all districts. It was recognised that the rise of prices to a particular rate should not be taken as criterion for granting relief". In Ganjam, wages and prices were ordinarily lower than in any other district of the presidency, and any rise in the price of food grains was felt more quickly and acutely by the low paid labourer there then by the better paid one elsewhere".

The Madras Government considered the difficulty of caste scruples relating to the distribution of cooked relief food among people would be removed, when Brahins remained in charge of preparing food in kitchen, to which none other than the Brahmins had the access. Some discretion must had been given to officers in special cases to substitute grain doles for cooked food. 106

Some important lessons which were recorded by the Government of India in its Famine Commission report of 1898 107 were realised in the following manner:

105. From C.A. Galton, Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George to the Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agriculture Department, Ootacamund, 12 June 1889, No.486 Rev. IFC. 1898, Pr.32, p.13.
106. Ibid., 1898, Pr.32, p.13.
107. Ibid., Ch.III, Pr.76, p.45.
(a) Precautionary arrangements to be permanently maintained in ordinary times and timely information to the Government by which the approach of famine or scarcity may be detected and to provide for a state of preparedness in respect to measures of relief.

(b) When the information received indicates the imminence of famine or scarcity and immediate action to be taken.

The great scarcity occurred in Ganjam due to the negligence of the authority. The Government had not dug any new tanks during the last thirty years, with merely repairing existing tanks, deepening them and cleaning them.\(^{108}\) After the famine of 1877 and 1878, those Oriyas who had taken relief were put out of caste. They were called in true sense of the term "Chatrokyas".\(^ {109}\)

**Famine of 1896–97**

In spite of remedial measures adopted by the Government and readiness to meet any famine, there occurred an all India famine in 1896–97 in which, it was reported that, 60 millions of people suffered and about 4 millions died. Heavy flood in 1896 and complete failure of monsoon in October 1896 caused


\(^ {109}\) Ibid., p.96.
crop failure everywhere. Puri, Balasore and Tributary states of Orissa suffered more from this calamity and Cuttack was less affected. Still affected area in this district was 1/3rd with a population of 6,24,840.\textsuperscript{110} Sudden calamity occurred relating to export of rice and crop failures due to drought and laisezz faire attitude of Government. Due to protection afforded by irrigation works etc., mortality was not very high in Orissa like other parts of India. A huge amount was spent on relief measures throughout India, still the mortality reached the highest in the history of famines.\textsuperscript{111}

Since 1866 no famine occurred in the district of Cuttack due to the protection afforded by the Government through irrigation work. But there was some scarcity in 1897 in consequence of unprecedented high flood followed by short rain in September and an almost complete failure of the monsoon in October 1896. All the great rivers overflowed their banks simultaneously and thereby, breached embankments. They submerged the low lands, which remained water logged for more than a month


\textsuperscript{111} P.N.Chopra, op.cit., pp.190-195.
owing to the long duration of the rise in the rivers, and not only was the crop ruined, but also much land was thrown out of cultivation by the deposit of sand. On the subsidence of the flood the cultivators replanted as soon as possible, but the next sowings were sacrificed to drought as the old ones had been to flood. The drought was also of long duration, the rains ceased at the end of September, in some places the winter rice crop which was the main stray of the district failed entirely and in others the harvest was very poor.

The affected area was 1,360 square miles or more than one-third of the district with a population of 6,24,840 souls but distress existed more or less throughout the whole district. Relief was given in all the subdivisions from the middle of March to the end of September 1397, from the Indian Charitable Relief Fund and from the Court of wards fund in Kanika and Kujang. It was given gratuitously in the shape of grain and money doles except in the Kuhunda-Jajpur Circle, where arrangements were made to take from the able bodied recipients of relief such light work as paddy husking, rope making, cotton spinning and cotton weaving. Though there was considerable local distress, very little relief was found necessary and the total distress needed little relief and the expenditure amounted to only Rs.18,718.112

An area of 231 square miles lying along the Chilka lake was flooded in July and August 1896 and was subsequently exposed to drought which ultimately converted into a famine in 1897. The chief cause was the shortness and unseasonal distribution of the rains of 1896. The rainfall was deficient during the month of July and August when the sowing and transplanting of rice were in progress and from the 19th September, rain ceased altogether till the close of the year, thus depriving the young crops at the critical time of the moisture necessary to bring them to maturity. 113

According to the official statistics and the opinions of all persons of experience, native and European official and non-official the out-turn of food grains was worse than the previous year. 114

The total area affected in the district of Puri* was 274 square miles with a population of 89,000. The general condition of the distressed tracts remained unchanged. 115

114. Minute by his honour the Lt. Governor on the services of Government officers and private gentlemen in connection with the Famine of 1897 and 1898 and final resolution of the Governments of Bengal upon the Famine 1898, p.51.
115. M. Finucane, Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agriculture Department, Agri.No.1449(Fam), Calcutta, 22 July 1897.
The above table shows the number of the Government relief works undertaken whether by civil agency or under the supervision of the public works department in the affected area. 116

It was noted in a letter from the Collector of Puri to the Commissioner of the Orissa division dated 26th May 1897, that through the distressed tracts on the Chilka, the district board opened a large road work and an equally large embankment work was opened as a famine relief measure for the first time. These gave employment to a large number of men who were so much in need of it in these tracts. 117 The following table shows the proportions of men, women and children to the total number gratuitously relieved. 118

Table No.6.8
Percentage of people gratuitously relieved in Puri district

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analysis of the descriptions of persons gratuitous relieved</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orissa Division, Puri</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>58.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

116. Minute by his Honour the Lt. Governor on the services of Government officers and private gentlemen in connection with the Famine of 1897 an 1893 and final resolution of the Government of Bengal upon the famine 1898, p.51.
118. Minute by his Honour the Lt.Governor, op.cit.
The district of Puri ordinarily exported largely and imported practically nothing in the way of food grains but the export by sea and rail during the famine period amounted to 1,08,000 maunds only as against 361,642 maunds during 1895-96. In out-of-the-way parts of the distressed area round the Chilka lake, it was found necessary to stimulate the import of grain, and Rs.3,100 was advanced on loans to traders for the purpose. At Satpara also Rs.860 was spent in importing grain at Government expenses for sale at cost price. 119

The death rate for the affected area in Puri was 0.25 against 2.36, the death rate for the whole district. 120

There was some distress in 1897 due to the partial failure of crops in the Angul subdivision. In 1896 the rainfall was favourable until the middle of September but after that it ceased till November. The injury done to the winter rice crop by this sudden cessation of rain at the time when it was most needed, was aggravated by the visitation of an insect pest locally known as Mohua. The out-turn of this crop was thus not more than 8 to 12 annas in the average. The distress caused by the partial failure of the rice crop was, however, not great and it was

119. Minute by his Honour the Lt.Governor, op.cit., p.65.
120. M.Finucane, Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner of the Orissa Division, Revenue Department, Agri.No.661, T.R.Darjelling, 23 June 1897.
found sufficient to open a few relief works and to advance Rs.20,000 in loans.  

In 1897 when other parts of the country suffered from one of the worst famines of the 19th century, Sambalpur was scarcely affected. The out-turn of the rice crop was fair, being 70 per cent of an average crop and good prices obtained from it. Famine was declared only in a small area of 228 square miles with a population of 62,000 comprising the Chandarpur and Kalkharoda zamindaries which were later transferred to then central provinces. In this area famine relief measures had to be undertaken and in Barasambar, where there had been a partial failure of crops owing to the premature cessation of the monsoon, some relief work on roads was started by the estates. Elsewhere it was found sufficient to provide some work on tanks with the help of loans and private subscription. The report of Chaddocks notes that "In Sambalpur with a very fair rice crop, large exports and high prices, money poured into the district and private charity amply sufficient to support to poor whom the high prices affected. A single road work was opened in April and continued till October but this was chiefly intended to meet the needs of a corner of the district where the local crops had been poor and immigrants from Bilaspur were numerous. The numbers on this work only reached 2,200 and rapidly fell as the rains advanced".  

122. Ibid., Sambalpur, Patna, 1932, pp.143-144.
This famine gave rise to the appointment of 1898 commission. The commission recommended the programme of irrigation works as a means to avert famines in India. This created avenues for the irrigation commission of 1901-3 to devise ways and means to avert famines.

**Famine of 1899-1900**

Another famine still terrible in its appearance occurred 1899-1900. To Lord Curzon this was the severest of all throughout the 19th century. But Orissa suffered less in comparison to other parts of India. Scarcity of food grains and high prices of food were the immediate causes of this famine. A commission was appointed for this which submitted its report in 1901.

In 1899 scarcity prevailed in Khurda and its surrounding areas. Relief operation started in those areas under the organised efforts of four appointed relief officials. Road works started in the areas of Khandagiri, Kaipadar, Kuradinall, Tulasipur and Banapur in order to provide employment to the people of those areas.

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In 1899 starvation was felt in Parikud tract near the Chilka lake in the district of Puri. Some people became beggars and some left for Assam to work there. Raja Bahadur in order to help the people provided employment to them since October 1899. Also the Raja caused for the supply of little amount of rice to the poor but gentle families. He reported the matter to the Government authorities who provided relief after making an enquiry of the tract. 126

After 1897, the people of Angul had felt a series of bad years owing to short crops which exhausted their resources and culminated in general scarcity in 1900-01. This was most felt in the Khondmals, specially by those who depended for their sustenance on Jungle produce, such as yams and edible bulbs, the supply of which grew scanty in July. Famine conditions prevailed, loans were given to cultivators, relief works had to be opened and gratuitous relief was given to the old and infirm and to those who were physically unfit to do any work. In the following year their condition generally improved, but in the next year there was a slight falling off. In the third year all signs of distress appeared and there was a marked improvement in their condition. They had mostly paid off their debts, their condition and standard of living had improved and the higher classes of agriculturists now spent larger sums on sumuries, special ceremonies and wearing apparel. 127

126. U.D., 18 November, 1899.
As described above famines occurred in different parts of India during the time of Lord Lytton. Since then Rs. 15 lakhs was kept for relief and prevention of famines. Lord Curzon appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Sir Anthony Macdonald to find out ways and means to deal with famines in India. The "Famine Code" of Lord Lytton's time was amended to make it more workable and helpful at different times.  

Provision for prompt famine relief, when it occurred and measures to prevent famines were given paramount importance, because it was thought to be difficult to face a famine (due to its huge expenditure and mortality) than to prevent it by timely action.  

But Orissa never gained anything from the provisions of 'Famine Code'. The code made a distinction between Famine and Scarcity. When there had been a crop failure compelling people to live upon wild shrubs, it was declared by the Government as scarcity and not famine. In case of a famine elaborate relief operations had to be undertaken. In 1920 Pt. Gopabandhu Das agitated that the Government should declare famine in Puri and grant relief according to 'Famine Code' when people were starving in large numbers. All his labours remained fruitless because the...


129. Quoted in letter from India to Bengal No. AIII-F/9-13, 31 October 1884, Pr. 5.
Government never declared it to be a famine. In 1943 when hundreds of people were dying on the streets of Ganjam and Balasore and thousands in Bengal, the Famine Code was not brought into operation.

However the recommendation of the Famine Commission of 1898 and 1901 and Irrigation Commission of 1903 brought amendment of the Famine Code of 1883 and paved the way for progressive irrigation policy. The famine policy and prevention of famines underwent changes after 1903. Agrarian reforms and improving the condition of the people were given importance with the march of events and time. The post famine measures laid a strong foundation for the future economic growth of Orissa from 1866 to 1897. The period was comparatively one of rising economic activities without severe famines. Still conditions of people were no better in 1900 as compared to 1869, because more scarcities occurred after 1866 and starvation and poverty were general. The free trade policy up to the end of 1900 was the cause of starvation in Orissa. Since the famine of 1866 Orissa got a better attention and the Government thought not to neglect the people. The apathy of the Government ceased and recommendations

130. H.K. Mahtab, _op.cit._, p.447;
M.K. Gandhi, _Young India_, 12 May 1920.


132. B.M. Bhatia, _op.cit._, pp.271-308,
R.C. Dutt, _op.cit._, pp.445-51.
of the commissions were considered seriously for implementation in practice. The recurring famines brought a general awakening in Orissa. The policy of passive observation was replaced by a policy of active initiative and participation. Forest however is right when he says,

"Famines however will not again be able to claim its victims owing to a blind following of laissez-faire school".  

The severity of famines in a laissez-faire situation was the outcome of mass poverty in Orissa, because it is proved that every scarcity or famines left the affected population much poorer than before when survival is in question. People were compelled to sell their possessions. They tried to get back things again in normal years. As a matter of fact they spent more to procure for what they sold in a distress period. Thus they gradually became poorer. The inaction of the Government too worked to the detriment of the standard of living of the people and they were rather pushed to poverty and indebtedness. This apart, as the people very often had no reserve for scarcity


period and got no employment, the purchasing power came down and they faced difficulty while purchasing their basic commodities.\textsuperscript{136}

Again unrestricted export of rice was the cause of famines, scarcity and poverty in Orissa. The cumulative impact of a number of scarcities and famines in Orissa impoverished people more and more.\textsuperscript{137} High prices of food made it more difficult to purchase and death was inevitable unless the Government devoted adequate resources to save lives. Adhoc measures were taken to relieve distress and a better food policy was not adopted throughout the 19th century.\textsuperscript{138} Thus more deaths due to starvation were seen. The Government also adopted a lenient policy on production and distribution of grains.\textsuperscript{139} According to Shlomo Reutlinger, a senior world bank expert, "People suffer from food security mainly caused by lack of purchasing power".\textsuperscript{140}

All these man-made factors as discussed above gathered together and caused havoc in Orissa during the period under study. The ultimate solution to famine in Orissa i.e., economic

\begin{enumerate}
\item[Drought in Orissa, during 1954-55 (Final Report), Government of Orissa, Revenue (Special Relief) Department, Bhubaneswar, pp.7-8.]
\item[Bipin Chandra, \textit{Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India}, New Delhi, 1969, p.163.]
\item[Debidas Roy, \textit{op.cit.}, p.VI.]
\item[B.M.Bhatia, \textit{op.cit.}, p.25.]
\item[The \textit{Statesman}, 29 December 1985.]
\end{enumerate}
development through increase in agricultural production, improvement of transport, communication, irrigation etc., were neglected in comparison to the neighbouring states. The people of Orissa died in large numbers whenever the Government neglected or failed to take proper preventive efforts. The frequent famines in Orissa became the stumbling block to the economic prosperity of the people of Orissa.