CHAPTER TWO
POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GANJAM DISTRICT

History:

The District of Ganjam has a long history of ups and downs. It had passed through several administrative hands before it was captured by British and latter it amalgamated into Orissa province (1936). Ganjam, the southernmost district of Orissa, formed a part of ancient kingdom of Kalinga. But during the British period it formed the most northern district of the Madras Presidency, called Northern Circars. Gajapati or Gangavansa King (1132-1532) conquered Orissa and later Ganjam was annexed. Nevertheless, once again the district passed into the hands of Musalmans who overran Orissa for the first time about 1560. Around 1571, the fourth Monarch of Kutabshahi took advantage of uncertain rule in Orissa. For about one hundred and eighty years the district including Ichhapore province, then known by "Chicacole Circar" remained under, Musalman authority from Hyderabad. In 1687, the Kutab Shahi's Kingdom came to an end with the Moghul emperor of Delhi. Aurangzeb conquered Golkunda and annexed the whole country under his own empire. The newly captured province was placed under the subedar of Deccan who later designated as Nizam of Hyderabad. Even after the death of Aurangzeb, in 1707, Ganjam remained under ruling family of Hyderabad which had assumed the virtual sovereignty over the tract. However, the possibility of Maratha invasion from Cuttack cannot be ruled out.
with scheduled plan captured the country from west to east, established the administration in the province of Orissa in north of Ganjam, around 1740. And the supremacy on Ganjam continued unchallenged until 1751. In 1753, the northern circars was granted to French by Salabat Jung. Shri De. Busy personally visited northern Circars in 1757 for securing revenue. But in 1758, he had to return back at the call of Governor of Pondichery. Shri Anand Raz, the Raja of Vizianagaram had expressed serious dissatisfaction with French rule. He chalked out plans and contacts to bring an end to French rule. In 1758, by the direction of Lord Clive, Mr. Colonel Cotsford occupied chicacole circar of which Ganjam district formed a part. By the end of 1759, French lost all their ports and settlements at Ganjam and most of the factories in the northern circars. In 1761, Nizam Ali succeeded Salabat Jung as the Nizam of Hyderabad. He granted northern circars except Guntur with the understanding that the British would assist him at the time of requirement. Soon after the expiry of treaty with the help of Nizam Ali, British tried to consolidate their position in the circar. On 2nd December, 1766, British captured the province and appointed Mr. Cotsford as its Resident.

During the Muslim rule, the local Rajas were called as zamindars. The state being full of hills and forests, these zamindars often and while were called as hill chiefs by British. There were 19 zamindars possessing thirtyfour forts and utilized services of thirtytwo thousands of men in the field. The
The number of zamindari raised to twenty-one with the merger of Tekkali and Parlakhimendi. The average size of a zamindari was 20,843 acres. It is evident that most of the zamindars of Ganjam derived their estate and power from the Gajapati king of Orissa, "who granted land on the condition of feudal service and of keeping check on the wild aboriginal tribes of the hills - the Khonds and Savaras - and consequently consolidated their status and position in the estates." Among the several Rajas in Ganjam Krishna Bhanj, the Raja of Ghoomsor; Jaganath Narayan Gapapati Deo of Parlakhimendi; Anangabhim Deo of Vizianagaram; and Narayan Dec of Mohury were most adament and powerful. At the initial stage and later British had to face a lot of serious challenges by these self styled Rajas.

The Parlakhimendi estate being the largest in the district covering the area of 639 sq.miles and having yearly peishcush Rs.87,825-4-0 while the income derived from the state was 4.5 lakhs. The western part of the estate was mountainous inhabited by aboriginals covering 354 sq.miles. British adopted the policy of 'devide and rule' to disintegrate and capture the estate(s). Only in 1766, British established their control in Parlakhimendi zamindari. And till 1803 A.D., it remained as a part of Vizianagaram district. Throughout the middle of eighteenth century, Ganjam passed under a state of unrest and turmoil. Whole of the zamindari in northern cir-cars fought against the British supremacy and its policy of 'divide and rule', disintegrating the country.
To overcome administrative difficulties, the government evolved the modalities of tribal policy of segregating the hill areas, thereby creating Agency areas against administration of plain areas. Some of the former Rajas who were treated as zamindars by the government were allowed unhesitatingly to collect rents from their own Agency areas. Such Rajas, in due course were designated as 'Muthadar.' The earlier records (1768-1802) of the district show that the zamindars were accustomed to pay the tributes under severe pressure for which the country had to pass continuously a state of disturbances and confusion. Plunder, rapine, Murder and incendiaries were common feature in the district. In 1819 the disturbances in Parlakhimendi and Mohuri had risen to such an extent that the government sent Mr. Thackeray to Ganjam as a special commissioner to devise means for quitting the country. In 1834-35 the Parlakhimendi campaign took place. The government was able to succeed the refactory and influential zamindars by reducing their power and authority in the district. In 1836, the British established first control with the aboriginal Khonds. They discovered the practice of human sacrifice (meriah) widely prevalent among the Khonds. The condition of the peasants under the chief-tains was so much miserable that, with much difficulty, they could keep their body and soul together. In the beginning the company relied on these chiefs and Rajas for collection of revenue. Corruption was order of the day specially among the servant of the company. Thus, no definite and uniform revenue policy was enforced till the end of 18 century.
Ganjam was governed from Madras as a part of Ichhapur taluk by successive residents, chiefs in council and collectors. In 1802, the country laying to the south of Pondi river up to Chicacole was added to the district of Ganjam. By 1836, British had full control over the district. However, with the beginning of 20th century the Oriya people of Ganjam took keen interest in the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts which were spread in Ichhapore province of Madras presidency.

Mr. A.P. Patro, a veteran leader, and organiser of Ganjam National Conference sponsored Oriya Movement in the district. The movement for amalgamation spread far and wide touching every Oriya village in Ganjam and Vizagapatnam Districts. It was aptly admitted by the commission to whom a memorandum signed by as many as 1,06,816, persons favouring the issue was presented. Mr. Krushna Chandra Gajapati Deo was in forefront, and whose moral support, even today is highly admired by the Public. Utkal Dipika aptly commented that the "present movement in Ganjam and Jeypore had far surpassed all other movements of past twentyfive years." There were certain practical problems like boundary dispute, language issue and domination of Telugu population in certain pockets and their constant repugnance, against the amalgamation issue stood on the way for smooth and early decision. In fact, it took long time. However, at last, the Oriyas won in the tug of war and procured their due and legitimate demands. With the formation of separate province of Orissa, the present district became a part of Orissa province from 1st April, 1936.
On 1st January, 1948, the feudatory states were merged into Orissa. Consequently, reconstruction and re-organisation of the district Ganjam was required. In this reorganisation process some portion of the district was deleted and added to the adjoining districts. The Khondmal and Balinguda subdivision was separated from it and was added in Phulbani district for administrative convenience. The present Ganjam district, a coastal belt of Orissa is bounded on the north by Boudh-Khondmal and Puri district; in the south by Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh; in the west by Boudh-Khondmal and Koraput district and in east by Puri district and by the Bay of Bengal (See Map XII, and XIII). The district is divided into plains and Maliahs (Agency). The plains are below ghats and mostly inhabited by forward castes. The hill country known as Agency area is chiefly inhabited by Khonds, Savaras and other aboriginals.

Agriculture and Industry:

During the British administration, agriculture in the district remained much neglected. Partly because of British did not intend for its transformation and partly because of the Political alliances which the landlord class entered into and maintained with the state having no motivation to transform the agriculture coupled with high extraction of resource from agriculture - land revenue being its source of funds. The Ganjam district possessed several natural advantages of having rich fertile land, favourable climatic conditions and ample
irrigation facility of having river and rivulets. Mr. C.N. White, one of the members of Board of revenue remarked, "innumerable sources of Industry and Wealth might be introduced by way of Manufacture." Despite of that, agriculture was deliberately neglected. Although cotton was a profitable crop and the yield was comparatively much better, it was cultivated only to a certain extent. The district was producing only one-third of the cotton required for its manufacture. Ganjam was famous for sugarcane cultivation and earned distinction in whole of the presidency producing best varieties of cane which originally came from Aska Pragana. Thus, the extensive cultivation of sugarcane, British established a sugar factory in Aska during its earlier period of administration. It was producing 1150 lbs per acre resulting net profit of Rs.10/- the second highest per acre in the presidency. Dr. White in his report maintained that the yield in Ganjam and Vizagapatnam was nearly equal to the best and exceeding the ordinary American crops. Some sample of sugarcane from Ganjam was sent to England. The court of Directors highly commended it and asked to buy any amount offered. Even then sugar cane was not fully encouraged in the district. Indigo an another important cash-crop was widely cultivated in the district. By 1850 it was greatly neglected. Probably such neglect may be due to the diversion of attention towards rice. It was the most important and widely grown crop in Ganjam. Considerably Ragi, another dry crop was also cultivated. But it never received much importance as today. Chicacole in Ganjam was famous for Muslin products which had a good market in Persia. But by the
middle of nineteenth century the Indian handicraft industry faced a serious setback by the industrial revolution in England whose product captured the Indian market. Besides, the change of fashion and development of taste and craziness for foreign goods adversely affected the markets of Indian products. As a result, the socio-economic condition of artisan castes deteriorated very fastly. Besides, the weaving tax was so high as Rs. 1½, the artisans could ill afford keep the industries running in this fierce competitive market. Thus it further deteriorated economic condition of weavers. Ganjam was famous for salt production. In 1810, Ganjam exported salt to Calcutta by 12,000 mounds. Salt being one of the more profitable industry, British curbed monopoly administration on salt, which later brought many salt movements in the district. Considerable amount of cashew-nuts, coconuts, oilseeds, horsegram, piece goods and sundaries etc., valued Rs. 4,83,635 were exported to Pegu and other places in 1810. Ganjam also acclaimed high reputation in brewing rum and other distilled alcohols. In the year 1810, Ganjam exported distilled rum valued Rs. 87,000 to Madras.

A Brief Reflection on British Administration and Land Revenue Policy in Ganjam:

Before British advent, the land revenue policy in Ganjam was quite different. Hence, at initial stage, British could not understand the system systematically. Moreover, company being a commercial concern, whose prime motive was quicker collection of
land revenue, adopted the policy of "divide and rule." In general the company was neither interested on the general welfare of the cultivators nor the development of agriculture. Moreover, the company was hardly aware of the local terms and conditions, modes of measurement and laws of ownership of property. Thus the only idea before the government to collect revenue was to lease out the right of collection to the highest bidder.

In 1802 to 1804, by the suggestion of Lord Wellesley, permanent settlement was adopted as an alternative policy for land administration. It finally entered into agreement with the Rajas of Ganajam, the "ancient zamindars of Plain and hill areas," who were latter recognised as zamindars Hill Zamindars respectively. For about eight years the land revenue system functioned very smoothly. The tax collection was fair and up to date. However, in a long run, it could yield a desired result as most of the Rajas fell into arrears. Naturally the settlement had to encounter a serious loss of revenue. So the permanent settlement recommended by the special commission was utterly failed in Ganjam. Mr. Peter Cherry the collector of Ganjam reported on its functioning December, 1803, "I consider the introduction of permanent settlement as the offering of only prospect of permanent peace in the district, it is evident that some thing more than permanent settlement is required to enhance peace and tranquility in the district as the experience of thirty four years demonstrated irrefragable evidence of rack renting system."
Hence, a new land revenue policy was administered by British, known as 'ryotwari system.' It was firstly experimented in a few pockets in 1817 and after realising its successful implementation, it was extended to further areas. The very aim behind the system was the destruction of greatest estates and creation of peasant proprietors, "to depress the rich and elevate the poor." In 1806, Lord Bentick, the then Governor of Madras strongly pleaded in its favour. According to his view, "the creation of zamindars, where no zamindars before existed, was neither calculated to improve the condition of lower orders of the people, nor practically wise, with the future security of the government. I have thought that in principle the ryotwari annual settlement from which vast advantage has been derived should form the basis of permanent settlement. The vast importance attached to it demands a great consideration." In view of this, Madras government in its letter No. 241 dated 8 February, 1862 declared the ryotwari settlement as final and permanent with the "leading characteristics of ryotwari tenure having the permanency of assessment."

As per the system a land holder or occupant of land (called ryot) was recognised as its proprietor, whose right being hereditary and transferable by sale, gift or mortgage, particularly implied "ownership." The ryot in theory was treated as a tenant of the state, responsible for paying revenue directly to the State Treasury but could not be ejected by the state so long as he continued to pay the revenue. As per the record,
out of the total area of 8.372 sq.miles in the district, 4,439 sq.miles, (53%) were under ryotwari tenure, 3,509 sq.miles (42%) were under zamindari tract and only 424 sq.miles (5%) were under Inamdeari tenure system (Imperial Gazatteer 1909). As per the Inamdeari tract concerned there was no conformity of opinion as the Collector of Ganjam said, there was no survey at all and he had no knowledge on the extent of rent free Inam land in the district.56 Besides, the term 'Inam' applied to whole village or to small holdings whether held entirely free of land tax or on favourable quit rent called 'Jodi.' The system included a varieties, viz., shortriyans, Agraharans, the whole Inam village, the Jagheers, and the Manyans.57 Thus the origin of 'Inam' is quite old and can be traced from Hindu dynasty who gave beneficial tenure grant known in Sanskrit "Manyam" and later by Arabic term "Inam" after the Muslim conquest.58

Both the systems (zamindari and ryotwari) contained several pitfalls within it. The introduction of private property in land in the form of zamindari and ryotwari produced two distinct classes, (a) the new classes of large estate owners; the zamindars and the peasant proprietors.59 Marx characterised, ".....both of them agrarian revolutions effected by British Ukases opposed to each other; the one aristocratic; the other one democratic; the one a caricature of English landlordism, the French Peasant proprietorship but pernicious, both combining the most contradictory characters, both made not for the people who cultivate the soil, not for the holder but for the government
who taxes it. As a consequence of this, in Bengal, in Madras and Bombay, being under zamindari and ryotwari tenure, the ryots forming 11/12 of the whole Indian population, have been wretchedly pauperised.

In this dwindling economy of zamindari and ryotwari, the peasants groaned under severe exploitation. In comparison, the condition of ryots in zamindari tracts were worse. And in general the condition of agricultural labourers became more than worse. Whole of the nineteenth century agriculture suffered stagnation and impoverishment. And there was hardly any programme to increase the irrigation facilities. In the whole of the district only 352 villages had some irrigation facilities and moreover, development programme on health and communication was very meagre and worse. However, spread of education in the district marked some distinction. By 1904, the district had 1,469 public educational institutions, of these 1,449 were primary schools, 14 were secondary, 4 training schools and two second grade colleges located at Parlakhimendi and Berhampur. The aim of expansion of colonial education was clear as it needed several hands (clerks) to ensure a smooth administration. The spread of colonial educational institution were not meant for the poor and poorest of the poor but for the benefit of elite class, further consolidating their class and status in the society. The land revenue system and administration of company either under temporary or permanent settlement gave no relief to the peasants. They were left completely under the
umbrella of zamindars to procure their proportionate share and possession of land. Being commercial concern the company adopted all means and possibilities for quicker collection of revenue at the cost of the general public and agriculture. As the zamindars were the creation of Lord Cornwallis, they whole heartedly supported the policy and opposed it to some extent when their interest had been jeopardized.

The settlement adversely affected the economic condition of Paiks, a local Militia, who had been rendering security measures to the kings, variously called Dhulias, Dulbehra, Dalapati and so on. Their rent free land which they had enjoyed from time immemorial brought under heavy assessment. This impoverished them and which ultimately paved the way to militant Paik rebellion in 1817 against the mal and corrupt administration of British Government. The rebellion spread like wild fire to other regions. The supreme power of landlords and their modes of rent collection, occassional interference in their solidarity and culture and rack renting oppression on them became so unberable that the state experienced a number of tribal discontents and risings among Khonds and Savaras in the years 1817, 1819, 1831, 1853 and 1865. As Mahatab rightly depicted, "The Khonds and Paiks freely shed their life blood as rebels against the English who oppressed them and thus left glorious foot prints for all the time to come." Owing to introduction of salt monopoly alarming scarcity of salt continued in the district for decades. In 1905 it was at the extreme
height which immediately called the attention of Congress leaders. As a result salt factory at Huma was raided and a number of Congress Leaders courted arrest. 68

The Madras estate land Act was seriously challenged by the peasants. In 1934, a co-ordinated movement continued under the leadership of communists under the banner of Kisan Sabha. 69 The timely rebellion by paiks and tribals at length shaked the administration and the government. As a consequence the government could not pursue increasing the land revenue consistently. Even then, the tenants and peasants groaned under feudal and colonial exploitation while their localised movements could not be decisive. 70

The tenants had to give fifty per cent or more of their produce as rent. While the zamindars paid to the government only: \( \frac{1}{5} \) or \( \frac{1}{4} \) or \( \frac{1}{3} \) of the rent actually received from the tenants. The rest was pocketed. 71 In most of the cases the assessment was too high, because the money rent substituted for the rent in kind, was burdensome exaction. 72 In many occasions it has been reported, "where the rents are paid in kind, both the parties the zamindar as well as the tenant attempted to seek a large portion of the yield in turn, this has resulted many pitch battles between the ryots and zamindari officials on the threshing floor." 73 On this account, it is worth mentioning the observation of Slater Gisbert, who depicted the life of the peasants in zamindari villages. He vividly describes, "To his visit zamindari village, the zamindar being the absentee land-
lord who appeared never to have done any thing for the benefit of the people or the villagers, but who have exacted half the produce of some crops and more than half of others for rent and who sent his representatives to see the harvesting and measurement of the grain and carry away his share before the villagers are allowed to touch theirs. For the commission of supression and atrocities they always used to maintain a large body of arm followers, who were assigned the duty of raiding the village, forcible capture of grains and cattles, devastating the cultivable land and the acts of rapine. All these inhuman treatment from time to time made life of peasants miserable. Such terror and precarious living conditions made them to suffer from various diseases and they were forced to live in penury and groaned under heavy burden. Furthermore, the absence of storage facilities, compelled them to sale the produce at a throw price immediately after harvest to the sow-cars, merchants and to village landlords. As a result a distinct kind of slavery system prevailed in the district. Even the revenue burden did not spare the traditional landed aristocrats whose land passed into the hands of rapacious moneylenders and speculators. The vagabond way of life, expenditure on luxury items, drinking, gambling, treatment to Brahmin Priets, opera and dancing girls, and race horses in a conspicuous way made the life of these aristocrats miserable. As a consequence, many zamindars had to borrow money from outside shroffs at an enormous rate of interest and within a short span of time many estates passed into the hands of Bengali and Muslim speculators.
In no way the condition of ryotwari peasants were better. The heavy pressure of revenue assessment contributed to the pauperisation of peasantry in vast scale. The peasants were alienated from their land which passed into the hands of merchants and moneylenders. Notwithstanding the both antagonistic land revenue system - A caricature of British - produced a chain of merchants, money lenders and absentee landlords. These classes were completely unknown in pre-British society. When the private ownership in land was encouraged along with the market relation, it brought a dynamic change in their attitude and business. The increasing indebtedness in ryotwari areas was mainly for two reasons, (a) the introduction of money assessment instead of kind in land revenue, (b) the kistibandi was not everywhere fixed, fluctuating at the time of harvest, and much less with the marketing produce. Besides, the money lenders were basically interested in usurping debtors land. The rate of interest varied from 15 to 18 per cent and in some cases even more. Deeply moved by this worst kind of exploitation, Daniel Hamilton wrote, "India requires a law deeped not in ink but in the blood of village money lenders!"

The agricultural wage in Ganjam figured extreme low compared to whole of presidency. In 1850, a male agricultural labourer earned 9 pies to 1 anna per day on an average while the counterpart female was paid 9 pies only. The shrewed Brahmns paid alaway below the average. A big amount of their earning was spent in gambling, cock-fighting and juggelery. On the
recommendation of the overall development and progress of Madras Presidency Mr. Raghaviangner commented, "before the commencement of present century the ryot in zamindari tract as well as the ryots who paid revenue direct to the government were rack-rented and oppressed. During the last 90 years, however, the latter class ryots prospered in consequence of the measures adopted from time to time for melioration of their condition while the former have remained in the most part of the century in much the same condition as before."83

The natural calamities and vagaries of nature had some share with the deteriorating economic condition of peasants and agricultural labourers. Failure of monsoon added much fuel to fire. Many a times starvation persisted in the district.84 As a consequence, many established ryots turned to labourer or village coolies.85 As Brown reported in 1855, "the district was reduced to last ebb of frightful and depopulated waste."86 Famine was a chronic phenomena in the district which can be seen from its occurrence during the years 1770, 1774, 1780, 1792, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1806, 1808, 1813, 1818, 1828, 1837, 1842, The draught occurred in 1864, 1868, 1923, followed by cyclone 1838, 1836 and epidemic in 1815. Due to cumulative effect of all these, the migration of peasants and agricultural labourers increased phenomenonly. In 1896-97, the migration from this district increased from 7,000 to 20,000, while epidemic in 1815 alone took lives of 20,000 people.87 Despite of this horrible situations prevailing in the district, the entire administration
continued collecting the higher revenue with the help of hierarchy of officials and armed forces, completely ignoring the sad condition of the peasants. In this respect "the states of South India may be aptly called as 'Robber States' which existed not to feed the people but to be fed by them."88

Colonial Migration from Madras Presidency and Ganjam:

Any amount of discussion on colonial migration of Indian working class (migration of indentured labour) during the period of imperialist phase of capitalism, must be analysed through holistic approach, that means, it must not examine the workers alone, but the working class family and in particular, the role of women, the connection with land and family and the overall impact it had on the senders' country. However, due to paucity of informations, the analysis in this section will be of limited scope.

Migration of Indentured Labour from Madras Presidency, let alone from the district of Ganjam in whole of the nineteenth century, was encouraged at the interest of colonial capital. The British brought drastic change in the zamindar tenant relationship. The zamindars upon whom the tenants leaned for respite from taxes in lean years, small loans and above all Justice, were denied even such poor concessions by the creation of absentee lords. Besides, the tactical implementation of land revenue policy - the zamindari, ryotwari and inamdari - followed by deliberate neglect of agricultural development with very slow
intensification of cash crop production, coupled with fastly growing population pressure, led decrease in the size of the holding and the increasing rural indebtedness, caused fast land transfer from the hands of the poor peasants to feudal lords and village sowcars. The economic condition of peasants set on deteriorating further by the frequent occurrences of famines and vagaries of nature. Moreover, the burden of hostile ecology perpetuated the economic condition of peasants to some extent. As a consequence, the peasants groaned under severe ruthless exploitation. Thus, the regions like Bihar, United province and Madras Presidency became supplier of Mass Scale Indentured Labour which mushroomed on the ashes of slavery. Tinker described it "as a new system of slavery." The labour recruitment was carried on by the licensed recruiters and agents. (See Appendix B-3). Lord Salisbury, the then the Secretary of the State for India Meticulously commented in the house of lords in 1877, "The condition of labouring class in India had passed to 'Melancholy to contemplate; emigration would afford them an outlet and give new life and energy to whole country."90

Following, the migration of labour was directed to the British overseas dependencies, such as Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Fiji, South Africa, Mauritius, British Guiana and even Colonies of Assam (See Appendix -A). Throughout, the public protested against the modes of drafting of Indian labour and even Bombay Government candidly withstood it, as it would incur a big loss of revenue to India.92 Despite the oppositions, the Indian Government wholeheartedly supported the policy and encouraged
the system of indentured labour with the intention that not only it would yield benefit to the individual families, but also it would help enhance prosperity among the labouring class as a whole.93

During the period between 1834 and 1959, as Kingsley Davis estimated, 31,000,000 labourers left India which constituted little less than 11 per cent of total population in 1900. More significantly, the migration of labour during the period exhibited largely the cyclical nature. Gross emigration always exceeded net migration. Gross emigration out of Madras between 1881 and 1901 was about 5-6 times net emigration; gross emigration to Burma between 1913 and 1929 was four times net migration. And gross emigration to Ceylon, Burma and Malaya between 1927 and 1935 ranged from 7 to 15 times net emigration.94

In a systematic way the drafting of Indian labour (indentured labour) started to Ceylon in 1828. The massive development of coffee plantation in 1830 further augmented the labour demand in a quite substantial way.95 The heavy increase in demand of labour around 1880 to 1890, brought a change in recruitment policy. Keeping in view, Kangani System (Mistri, Sardar, Jobber) was introduced which replaced former system of labour recruitment. The advantage with the system, as Royal Commission highlighted, "The Kangani or Mistri System as its best system evolved...., it is strictly Patriachal." They mostly hailed from the same district, same village and recruited labour mostly, from their castes, kin-groups, speaking the same language.
The head Kangani was regarded for all purposes as the father of the estate, and was accorded all powers to control the labour and supervise the work performance. Besides, they also enjoyed additional power of making the payment to the labourers. Several studies have found that the Mistries or Sardars pocketed a big amount of commission while making payment to the labourers.

The choice of drafting South Indian labour fell on with regard to their nature of hardwork, enterprising and possession of extra-ordinary quality of adaptability and adjustibility to the new environment, what so ever. Besides, migration of female labour from the South India was considerably encouraged throughout as women could do a great deal of work in coffee plantations.

The working conditions was so horrible that nearly 350,000 migrants of 1,447,000 during the period 1843-1867 were unaccounted and presumed to be dead. As Jayawardanee poignantly described the working situation in Ceylon. The worker was not a free agent in the capitalist sense that he could sell his labour power on a competative labour market.... Plantation Labour in many respects was semi-wage labour. By means of certain 'feudal' practices such as payment in rice, housing tied to employment, the state or Kangani owned shop, ties of indebtedness and limitations on mobility, the freedom of these workers was severely restricted.
Emigration to Burma was encouraged by the Government of India after annexation of Pegu in 1862. Besides, the opening of Suez Canal in 1876\textsuperscript{101} which increased the demand of Burmese rice further augmented the need of more labour, and that was filled in by the Indian labour.

Emigration to Mauritius and Boubon — British colonies — resumed in 1819. Following the abolition of slavery system in Britain in 1834, large scale labour drafting from Indian was put into operation.\textsuperscript{102} Similarly, emigration to British Guina started in 1838 and majority of the migration embarked from Calcutta Port. The figure shows, Madras and Calcutta Port embarked 14,026 and 156,995 labourers during the period 1838 to 1890 respectively.\textsuperscript{103}

Emigration to Holand and France started a little late, in 1861 and 1868 respectively. This was made possible by the government of India after having detailed dialogue with both the countries. However, the migration of labour to both the colonies constituted a very small segment.\textsuperscript{104}

Systematically large scale labour drafting to Malaya and strait-settlement was put in operation in 1833. To avoid difficulties of exportation and quick clearance, Government of strait settlement opened an addition depot at Nagapatam.\textsuperscript{105} In 1870, the sub-collector of Tanjore stationed at Negapatam made a statement that the recruitment is not illegal but a a regularly organised system of kidnapping.\textsuperscript{106} Three to five years was
estimated as normal stay in Malaya, the most distant source of typical Colonial Migration. The working and living condition was no way comfortable than Ceylon. And a total of about 4,250,000 gross Indian emigrants to Malaya between 1886 and 1957, nearly 750,000 were estimated to have died. Thus the fact hardly need further elaboration on the life and working condition in the Colonies.

Recruitment to Natal started in 1860, a quarter of a century after Mauritius imported labour from India. The choice of Indian labour arose not because of meeting the scarcity of labour but because of abundant availability of cheap labour for undertaking more intensive agriculture. The planter regarded the system as much better than slavery due to its cheapness. In the words of the company Gillanders and Arbuthnot: "Their cost is not that much of slaves." As Henry Binns reported; the rates paid in Natal to be the lowest of all colonies. Considerable numbers of the indentured labour were not paid right legitimate pittance; employer made large deductions from small transgressions, rations were withheld from the women and though the law laid down ten hours working day, fourteen hours were common. The plight of labourers continued unchanged upto the end of indenture system 1911.

Unlike, the first Indian Girmityas (Indentured Labour) landed Fiji in 1879. Though they constitutes nearly half of the Fiji's Population by 1979 and stayed more than a century yet they have not received adequate share in country's resources.
They live in much wretched poor conditions. During 1981, Mrs. Gandhi in her first visit noted that Indians own only 3% of the land and the 86% Indians among the sugar farmers were totally dependent on Fiji landlords. And moreover they do not have due representation in country’s government.¹¹⁰

Several evidences on colonial migration vividly account the tremendous contributions made by the migrants to their respective host countries, despite their worst kind of hardship and sufferings in life. In a report of UNESCO, Oscar Handin observed, "immigrants made positive contributions to their receiving countries. The mere fact that these movements of population were tolerated and in many instances were encouraged as a prior indication that their host considered their service valuable."¹¹¹ In return the migrants had to undergo various kinds of sufferings in the host colonies which had no bounds. These includes, hard-work, poor living condition, supply of low quality provision, denial of actual wage; and the psychological sufferings like years together absence from family and sexual urge. To evade monotonous and suffering life, the government of India enacted a special legislation and permitted emigration of women to some of the colonies in 4:1 proportion, who were mostly drawn from the low castes.¹¹² The Oriya and Telugu speaking emigrants had to live in slum settlements due to their deplorable lot.

In India, overseas emigration was religiously objected and it was strictly observed among the certain trading castes.
According to rigid observance any one who crossed 'Kalapani' the black water sea had to lose his caste. And many of those who returned to India after certain period overseas stay found themselves completely alien from the society and culture.\footnote{113} In the words of Gandhiji, they were regarded as 'social hepers'.\footnote{114} Moreover, the indentured labourers were forced for mixed habitation in the colonies irrespective of caste, culture and religion which was constantly resented. And in several occasions force was implied on them for conversion to Christianity. All these stood against Indian tradition and culture. Thus it bred repugnance against the process in the minds of countless Indians. Similarly, a study conducted Malaya buttress the fact, "there was a strong repugnance to emigration in general.... the traditional conservatism of the essential agrarian society of India. Social customs and institutions militating strongly against emigration further reinforced this stay-at-home attitude."\footnote{115}

Commenting on the overall life, living condition and torture of Indentured Labourers, HINDU observed, ".... If we turn to actual conditions of service and treatment, it is another sad pitiable tale of extreme hardship and injustice. The safeguards against these are the protector of the immigrants and the magistrates. These safeguards though excellent in theory, are in actual practice more illusory than real. The following frightful figures regarding the suicide rate and murder rate will speak for themselves, while only one in every twenty thousands committed suicide in India, among the Indentured Indians one in
every nine hundred fifty has committed suicide in each year. Taking the average for last eight years the suicide rate is 20 times as great as that of India.... To get the cause of this horrible state of affairs, we must take into consideration the fact that the labourers were recruited at the rate of forty women for every hundred men. The life in coolie lines, where no privacy is possible for woman, where every regard for the modesty and gentility of women is flung to the winds, has undermined all ideas of sanctity of marriage and condition of sex in coolie line is described as 'the moral of the poultry ward,' over and above, the sufferings and the hardship of the people, the very high death rate, the frightful 'morality which is inseparable from the system.'

Following the end of Colonial rule, the colonies enacted different policies of mass scale repatriation of Indian indentured labour, undermining their several years stay and overall contributions. Several thousands who could manage to stay either evading the infiltration policy or otherwise, were denied of citizenship rights, language rights and practice of indigenous cultural rights. Repatriation of Indian labour from Burma started in 1930's, after it went on race riots and nationalist war. Similarly, several thousands Tamil plantation workers were deprived of citizenship and other rights which bred on going ethnic war, a demand for a separate Tamil State in that Island. This has caused a considerable amount of tension to the
Indian government. The continuing bilateral talk on the vexed problem, how could it solve the interest of minority Indian Tamils is yet to be seen. Repatriation from Malaya has brought down the Indian workers from 73.5 per cent in 1931 to 48.5 per cent in 1965, a minority group there even.\textsuperscript{117}

Here we will briefly discuss on the British Policy in Internal Migration which resumed operation in the middle of nineteenth century.

Around 1840, internal migration to tea plantation of Assam was encouraged substantially. As per the tea garden licence Act V of 1866, the recruitment was assured to all contractors and recruiters extending recruitment jurisdiction beyond the state boundary, up to South India. For a brief period 1867 to 1868, the recruitment to tea garden was prohibited due to internal difficulties. However it again resumed operation in 1899 and the demand of labour was so high that the authority extended the recruitment jurisdiction up to Vizagapatnam District, the adjoining district of Ganjam, but not beyond. During this period a considerable number of migration took place from Ganjam. The emigrants were mostly drawn from the landless labourers including untouchables while the Savars and Khonds - the tribal - of Ganjam\textsuperscript{118} also constituted the bulk of such labour force. Later the company decided to recruit female labour\textsuperscript{119} and the families instead of male adult labourer on several counts as (a) women would do a great deal of work in tea garden, (b) the stay of family would reduce frequency of home visits...
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(c) the children of the families can be gainfully utilised.

One estimate shows that nearly 17,150 labourers came to Assam from Orissa alone. Following the severe famine of 1896-97, the number of such emigrants to Assam went high. During this year as many as 1,044 were registered emigrants to Assam. In 1898 the number was 269 which slumped to 197 by 1899. And by 1900 none emigrated to Assam. Yet, the occasional scarcity of labour in the tea gardens of Assam whenever arose was meted out mainly by the tribal workers - Savaras - of Ganjam, while the Oriyas from the same district provided railway labour and other industrial work.

The density of migration from Ganjam district can be attributed to the low wages paid to the labourers and overall distress and poor conditions. In the year 1866 a male coolie was paid ₹0-1-4 per day which his counterpart, a female coolie was paid ₹0-1-0. This amounted to ₹2-8-0 and ₹1-18-0 for both the male and female coolie respectively for a month. The low wage paid to workers in turn forced several of them to lead a confinement life with the feudal lords. In several occasions in order to meet the increasing demand of labour at tea plantations, the contractor had to clear the debts and make free the labourers from the landlords. Particularly in the case of Ganjam district, the system was used extensively. The recruitment costed maximum ₹40, the average ₹8-10, making free the indebted Khonds under the gonti marriage debt system. While in the case of other tribals indebted under khambari
system, the contractors failed to pay off loan partly because the loan often ran to hundred rupees and partly the zamindars did not intend to free the labourers.\textsuperscript{124}

All these migrant labourers suffered both physically and financially in the tea plantations. The wage paid to workers in the tea gardens of Assam was not encouraging. The workers were paid very miserable pittance. As Henry Cotton rightly pointed out that the labourers in Assam earn "a miserable average pittance inadequate to maintain them in health and comfort."\textsuperscript{125}

The authentic testimony of a manager who said, "From my experience the 6 annas and 5 annas which I give are not sufficient for them to live on! It may be sufficient for a man and his wife, but if they have children, it is a case of starvation."\textsuperscript{126}

Statistics on internal migration to other parts of India were frequently incomplete and inadequate. Further, it is also too much difficult to focus on the caste background of the emigrants which create impediments in determining caste class linkages.

Colonial Labour emigration has been widely acclaimed for the benefits it has delivered particularly to the workers and rural areas in general. The emigration has helped in (a) reducing the population pressure; (b) wage hike due to scarcity of labour supply; and (c) freeing the emigrant and his family members from feudal ties etc. The migration to Ceylon
and Malaya has been described by census report of course with a slightly different meaning, "act as a safety valve to South India."\textsuperscript{127} In the words of Patel,\textsuperscript{128} migration has helped in "weakening the bonds of semi-feudal serfdom," or as Patnaik argues, "migration probably did more to modify the severe forms of agrastic servitude."\textsuperscript{129} No doubt, the system has helped in considerably freeing more and more labourers from feudal ties but to what extent it has contributed to the development of the migrant families and rural areas is a problem worth probing. With the limited data we shall try to examine this.

Several studies on colonial migration depict that the workers were not paid a family wage which induced the labourer to migrate alone leaving all his family members (wife, children and other dependents) at village who heavily depended on agriculture. Despite the fact, British officials highly acclaimed that huge amount of money passed into the rural areas in different forms of, cash advances, remittances, and savings brought back.

Dharam Kumar's figures pertaining to Ceylon show that in 1901 about 437,000 migrants of Indian origin sent back a total of slightly under Rs 40, per person in remittances.\textsuperscript{130} Another survey on saving brought back by return emigrants in five ships from West Indies in 1916 which carried 2175 passangers of which 306 brought back Rs 150 or more each while 1654 passangers brought nothing.\textsuperscript{131} Similar was the condition found with the Rangoon emigrants, which figured only a small amount. The
condition of Burmese emigrants were worse and pathetic. The wage paid to the emigrants allowed them just to survive. In this context, it is worth examining the statement made by British officials, the collector of South Arcot, who in 1850, said the Ceylon and Mauritius emigrants returned with cash varying from Rs. 50 to 200 each, which increased the wage of agricultural labourers in the district.132

Similarly, another account on remittances of 1921, of course confined within the boundary of the country, shows that 725,000 emigrants from North Bihar, who moved to Bengal including Calcutta, received about Rs 107 million remittances from 1915 to 1920. The per annum per capita remittances figured Rs. 30 and per month it stood only Rs. 2.50. During the same period another account on 500,000 tribal emigrants from Chhota-nagpur going to Assam remitted 32,500,000 in five years or about Rs. 13 per person per year.133 Money sent from Titagarh post office, Calcutta (where an estimated 45,000 stable jute workers were employed) ranged from Rs. 433,000 in 1910 to Rs. 852,000 in 1920 and then sank slightly to 759,000 in 1928; this works out to form Rs. 10 to slightly under Rs. 20 per worker.134

Agricultural Situation in Orissa and Ganjam After Independence:

Orissa is one of the most backward Eastern States of developing India. Historical as well as post independence factors have played significant role in this regard. As a part of 'divide and rule' policy of British the state was scattered
into various provinces. And accordingly it had three broad types of land tenure system - the zamindari in five districts; the ryotwari in a part of the district; and subsidiary alliances in a number of princely states covering as many as seven districts of present Orissa. Besides the occasional interference by the British, the class interest of these zamindars and princes were protected and encouraged. Thus it created insurmountable havoc in the lives of tenants and peasants who groaned under severe ruthless colonial exploitation. Increase of land revenue and constant threat to eviction ultimately paved way for serious and sporadic peasant movements. Among these the movements of 1817, 1833 and 1847 are glorious in the peasant history of Orissa.135

After the independence, Orissa government enacted land reforms which constituted tenancy laws and land ceiling acts. The former aimed at abolishing the intermediaries between the filler and the state; the later was meant for curtailing the size of the holdings. Besides, the government also enacted laws to abolish the system of bonded labourers who were under the clutches of feudal-lords and money lenders.136 Behind these measures, the pious intention of the government was to liberate the peasants and tenants from the unaccountable feudal exploitation, to ameliorate the agricultural growth and to bridge the gap between the rich and poor. But these legislations could not fetch desired results. Even now many of the landlords and feudallords have tactfully evaded the laws and continue to
possess huge acres of land with them by adopting various means like transferring the land on the name of near relatives. Studies covering different states of India corroborate the same process.¹³⁷

Orissa economy is predominantly agricultural. And 80 per cent of her population still lives in rural areas and 75 per cent of the working force directly or indirectly depends upon agriculture.¹³⁸ The concentration of working force in agriculture has gone up from 70 per cent in 1951 to 76 per cent in 1971.¹³⁹ Agriculture alone contributes 62 per cent of the total state income.¹⁴⁰

Ironically, only 40 per cent of the total land is available for cultivation of which 30 per cent is cultivated more than once. While irrigation covers only 20 per cent. Paddy being the major crop, it covers one half of the total cropped area with yield of 9.3 quintals per hectare, the lowest among the rice growing states of India.¹⁴¹ Wheat covers only 1 per cent of the cropped area having production equal to National average.¹⁴² Though wheat is a profitable crop it has not been cultivated substantially. Further it has been observed that, the area and production of rice is gradually declining over the years,¹⁴³ which has been compensated by increased cultivation of "other cereals."¹⁴⁴ Though the area under cultivation for foodgrains has more or less remained the same, yet there has been a marked decline in the productivity of foodgrains which has gone down between the periods 1962-65 and
It has seriously affected gross per capita production which has gone down to 7 per cent. That means, by and large, it has resulted negative return of - 0.8 per cent. Similarly, the agricultural saving only accounts 5 per cent, the third lowest in the country. The area and production of other cashcrops like jute and sugarcane is still low. The low irrigation facilities in fact has restricted the growth of agriculture, its major area of cashcrop production and indirectly it has restricted the massive use of chemical fertilisers. At present, the state accounts only 11 kgs per acre average consumption of fertilisers which is much below the national average. On the contrary, there is an increased use of tractors and pumpsets for intensive agriculture. The number of tractors and pumpsets have increased from 2000 and 600 to 2830 and 9,266 respectively, between the periods 1971 and 1977-79. The pump sets energised constitutes 0.26 per cent of the country. In Orissa, the average holding size stands only 1.6 hectares and the small size of holding prevent the massive use of tractors, energisation of pump sets, which has thwarted the agricultural modernisation to a great extent.

Since, major means of production is land, its unequal distribution maintain structural inequality, growth of state economy and cause increase of rural poverty. The distribution is highly skewed. Seventy six per cent of the households (marginal and small) own only 39 per cent of the total cultivated area while another 11 per cent of households control 40 per cent.
By the lapse of six years (1976-77) the percentage of holdings of marginal and small farmers and big farmers and the percentage of area operated by them remained almost the same. Thus the Gini-ratio of inequality of operational holding has shown a small fall from 0.5242 in 1961-62 to 0.5076 in 1971-72. That means it shows the negligible achievement of the successive government to eradicate the structural inequality in the ownership of means of production and rural poverty altogether.

In Orissa, agricultural tenancy is widespread and common. Around 32 per cent of the agricultural population are tenants. The above said percentage is too high in coastal belt (50%) where 43 per cent of land owners owning between 15-19 acres and 59.9 per cent owning between 20-24 acres lease out their land. Several other village studies in Orissa emphasise the prevalence of various forms of tenancy. The threat of eviction is quite frequent and common. The share of tenants vary from 25 to 50 per cent of the total produce. The impoverishment of rural peasantry helps to stiffen the terms and conditions of tenancy. In the words of Appu "So Long as a class of Land owners who are reluctant to engage themselves as manual labour and a vast army of landless agricultural labourers co-exist, any legal ban on tenancy in the Indian rural society will remain in a dead letter."

Likewise 9 per cent of the total population constitutes agricultural labourers whose wage appears to be lowest in the country being Rs.1.00 to Rs.4.00 per day. And the wage
fluctuation during the busy seasons hardly help these exploited class. On an average agriculture provides them employment around 120 days in a year. Thus with the very low wage and no increase in the level of employment the real income of agricultural labourers has been declining steadily. Altogether it has adversely affected the per capita expenditure which figured only Rs. 34.96, the third (state wise) lowest in the country. And as per the per capita expenditure is concerned, it is the last state in the country. Another study shows that the share of labourer in total agricultural production has drastically gone down from 32 per cent to 20 per cent between the period 1960-61 to 1970-71. As a consequence, these staggering army of surplus labour commits themselves as bonded to the overlords and turn to victims of super exploitation. By 1982-83, the Orissa government claims to have rehabilitated 12,841 bonded labourers, but how many of them have really been rehabilitated can only be revealed by a pioneering study.

Industrially, Orissa is much backward. The backwardness is not simply because the state does not possess any natural resources but because of lack of skill, low investment in infrastructure and poor bargaining of the state government at central level. The industries scattered here and there can be counted on the finger tips. By 1979, there were only four registered working factories which provide employment to only 1 per cent of the total working force. The slow and poor expansion of industrial growth is not in a position to lessen
the burden of agriculture and thereby ameliorate the socio-economic condition of peasants.

Thus, it is no wonder to see the vast masses of rural poor (66.4%) the highest in the country live below poverty line, while per capita income stand only Rs. 1,147/- once again the lowest in the country. Since the last two decades the poverty ratio is oscillating between 60 to 70 per cent.

With such a vicious circle of highly unequal land control, widespread tenurial system, low wage, paucity of employment, low growth of industry and little modernization of agriculture have further helped in agricultural stagnation.

Moreover, the functioning of modern credit institutions like Bank and Credit Society is of little help. The co-operative societies advanced loan worth Rs. 16,49 lakhs and the amount per member turned out Rs. 512/- which is much below the national average. Similarly, the financing of commercial banks are no way better. The per capita loan advanced in 1982 stood only Rs. 153 against the national figure of Rs. 454. As a result of the poor performance of modern credit institutions, the village money lenders have been receiving much importance in rural areas. Nearly 68 per cent of the rural credit comes from village moneylenders, who have been popularly recognised as 'poor man's Bank' in rural areas. The interest rate normally vary from 25 per
cent to 50 per cent and even more depending upon the nature, time and terms of repayment. Most of the loans are meant for family consumption, to meet family ritual and ceremony and little for agriculture. Many of the defaulters who failed to repay the debt, and whose land is partially or fully usurped, fell into the clutches of moneylenders being semi-bonded labourers. Besides, the usurious capital help faster parcelisation and alienation of land, thwarting agricultural stagnation, poverty, malnutrition and hunger.

The unprecedented climatic condition and vagaries of nature substantially affect the growth of agriculture. The frequent visits of cyclone, flood and draught completely wash out the standing crops leaving the peasantry hard hit. These inhibit agricultural production in the succeeding years. As a consequence the purchasing power of the peasantry gets further reduced.

In Orissa, the big landlords hardly invest more than 2 per cent of their surplus in agriculture. Thus the rackrenting usurious money lending and speculative trade have been their principal method of appropriation of agricultural surplus, which they largely spend on conspicuous consumption and luxury items. The abundant availability of cheap labour, absense of secondary employment avenues, the heavy indebtedness of peasantry and quick profit through the trade further strengthen the hands of their counter productive role in agriculture.
To sum up, the continued feudal/semi-feudal/production; the upper caste absentee landlords enjoying absolute privileges of economic and political power and failure of land reform measures have strengthened the hands of this feudal and semi-feudal class. Besides, the highly unequal distribution of means of production; land-man ratio; inadequate investment in agricultural infrastructure; low speed of agricultural modernisation followed by near stagnation of agriculture have resulted in tardy economic growth, object poverty and starvation. Thus capitalist relations of production could not make much penetration into Orissan agrarian structure. In such dwindling economy, any progressive patch work on rural development can neither deliver a desired change nor it can set free majority of working force free from the continued feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and starvation. The only alternative to such an agrarian structure is radical agrarian reform which can be only possible by the awakening of exploited masses of rural poor.

Contrary to the above generalisations, the district of Ganjam, especially those parts which alone experienced peasant proprietorship through ryotwari tenure during the British rule and being situated at coastal belt relatively better known for cashcrop production may give certain clue to the process of out migration of peasants and agricultural labourers. With this brief statement, I shall switch over to analyse the present agricultural situation in the district for determining its relative position in the state.
The district has an area of 12,556 sq. miles and it has 20 small to big towns and 4,757 villages. And 86 per cent of its total population live in the villages, thereby reflect the predominant rural character. The district has recorded moderately literacy rate 31 per cent (45 per cent for male and 17 per cent for female) against state's and country's literacy rate of 34 and 36 per cent respectively.

The economy of the district continues dominantly agro-based. Hardly any infra-structural change towards industrialization after independence has been attempted. About 66 per cent of the total area is under cultivation of which around 40 per cent is cultivated more than once, while irrigation covers 40 per cent, more than double of the state. Besides, canal irrigation, L.I points and Dug wells have added tremendously to its coverage. During the year 1971 to 1975, the number of dug wells have increased from 1979 to 6919 in the district. Most of them are privately owned. Thus the extensive irrigation facility has increased the sown area used more than once by 36 per cent, meaning thereby significantly, more and more areas have been coming under the fold of multicrops. Besides, about 51 per cent of the working force, much higher to state 33 per cent, directly or indirectly depend upon agriculture. Thus it reflects on one hand the heavy burden and on the other emerging capitalist production in agriculture.
Paddy, being the major crop, covers only 38 per cent of the total cropped area and produce 10.3 quintals per hectare, much higher to that of the state. Eventhough the paddy cultivation area is gradually declining over the years, the production of food grains have registered balanced increase from 0.676 tons in 1974-75 to 0.834 tons in 1982, producing an equivalent of Rs. 1163 (E.I.S. 1980). Cotton another cash-crop is widely cultivated by the peasants while sugarcane is intensively cultivated in two talukas of the district. The yield of cotton has significantly gone up from 160 bales to 750 bales within short interval of 1976-1978. Thus agriculture during the plan periods shows a vigorous and rapid growth in the district. The achievement in second and third plan period covered only 55.3 thousand hecaters which registered increase to 236.2 thousand acres by fourth plan and by fifth plan it has gone upto 322.2 thousand acres. In other words, the production and production relations in erstwhile ryotwari district of Ganjam seem to stand apart the general backwardness of the state.

Extensive irrigation, multi crop cultivation and high growth of productivity in agriculture required higher use of chemical fertilizers. The average consumption of fertilisers stands at 14 kgs per hectare and the district alone share near about one fifth of the state's fertiliser consumption. The better performance in agricultural production and extensive use of chemical fertilizers may be due to the progressive net-
work of modern credit institutions. A recent study completed in the district reveals that financial institutions including commercial banks and co-operative societies constitute 64.3 per cent of the borrowed capital, while the government loans and private agencies like moneylenders, relatives and friends covered only 4.8 and 29.7 per cent respectively.\textsuperscript{177} Even then the Kumutis and Tellis best known for money lending trade, still operate on the socio-economic profile of the village.\textsuperscript{178}

Since major source of livelihood in rural area is land, its unequal distribution maintains structural inequality and cause serious hindrance in the growth of state economy and removal of poverty. The distinctive feature of the district marks with highest productivity in agriculture maintaining greatest inequality in land control. The Gini-coefficient concentration of landownership in 1971 was 0.527, notwithstanding its ryotwari history.\textsuperscript{179} Accordingly 86.3 per cent of the cultivators operate land below two hectares and the area operated by them constitute only 54.4 per cent. While another 4 per cent cultivators operate land four and above ten hectares and the area operated by them cover 20.3 per cent of the total cropped area.\textsuperscript{180} Although the district has marked greatest structural inequality, it is not that much severe during the British period. To a considerable extent, peasant proprietorship in land has emerged, and land reforms became partially successful by the massive guerrilla activities launched by communists against the local zamindars and
landlords. The Ganjam was a veritable bastion of communist party and even now the ideology still strongly pervade in some pockets, being influenced by Naxalites of Srikakulam - a sister belt - a border district of Andhra Pradesh.

The district has witnessed heavy population growth. In 1901 the density of population was just 60 which has gone up nearly four times (211) by 1981 against state density of population 169 per sq. miles. The population pressure in fact has squeezed/average per capita land which has gone down 0.25 hectares in 1961 to 0.18 hectares by 1981. Besides, the land holdingsize is very fragmented and scattered. On an average each fragment land constitutes half an acre. The small landholding size has restricted the use of modern technologies. Thus, over years the number of tractors used in agriculture has fallen down from 117 in 1972 to 49 by 1979. Nonetheless, the small land holding size has ushered the interest of peasants favourably toward iron ploughs whose number has registered increase of eleven times more (2103,000) than the wooden ploughs.

The structural inequality of land control along with small size holdings, labour saving multicrop practice, followed by erratic rainfall have restricted the scope of employment in agriculture. A recent study on block level planning reveals that on an average a worker gets work for 171 days in a year, signifying acute state of underemployment in the district. Within such a state of prevailing underemploy-
ment, the daily wage of workers has not gone up with the tune of development. The wage of a male and a female labour remained Rs. 4.50 and Rs. 3.50 respectively, much below the state's statutory wage. Within such context, the overall income of agricultural labour remained very low. Thus it adversely affected to per capita income in the district which remained low Rs. 491/- to that of state per capita income Rs. 500.00.

In the district, industrial development has been terribly neglected. Hardly there is a big industry, except three medium and 273 small scale industries, besides some cottage industries spread over the district. All these industries provide employment to a very meagre portion of workforce.

To sum up, the prevailing agricultural situation in the district reveals the gradual penetration of capitalism, in spite of slow trend of agricultural modernization. None-the-less, the domination of semi-feudal relations of production simultaneously co-exists in a substantial way. Thus it can be tentatively asserted here, that the out-migration of peasants and agricultural labourers from the district may be due to overwhelming surplus population facing acute unemployment and underemployment, labour saving cropping pattern, small landholding size and the present day de-peasantisation of peasantry in the earstwhile Ganjam district. The subsequent chapters on field data will examine the propositions in detail.
Internal migration of labour continued unceasingly from the district even after amalgamated into Orissa province in 1936. Three districts i.e., Ganjam, Balasore and Puri - a migration zone - situated on the Bay of Bengal, the coastal belt are (has been) in forefront of expelling enormous migrants unhaltingly to Kashmir, Assam, Bengal and North-East Frontier. The migrants are engaged mostly in mines, plantation economy, construction while a few of them could manage to secure a better paid job in the jute industries of Calcutta. The recruiting agents never spared the tribals from the labour hunt. However, in the last two decades the direction of migration particularly from Ganjam district has favourably been shifting toward western small and medium scale textile industries of Bombay, Surat and Ahmedabad. The textile industries being far away from trade union politics, the employers prefer these migrant labourers on several considerations. Besides several others are found working in domestic and other allied sectors. Such shift in the direction of migration from east to west is incongruence with the unionisation of former sectors and development of parochialism, sons - of - the - soil, which closed the door for the aspiring entrants all time to come.

The recruitment of labour from these pockets continues in the mixed form. The contractors were found active in
grass root levels maintaining several connections recruited labour by the reserved agents and henchmen while others moved on their own, through the strong network of kinship relation. The contractors never felt to cheat the labourers and recruited them with several false promises like better wage, comfort work, services of good provision, clothes and medical facilities. But all promises turned to illusions at the worksite. The migrant had to undergo ruthless exploitation like arduous work for more than twelve hours for a paltry wage, supply of ordinary provision, mal-treatment and harassment etc. In many cases the labourers had to leave without payment and even the transport fare. This requires at length an illustration.

In 1975 and onwards, the local press reported frequently on the harassment, mal-treatment and loss of lives of migrant labourers at the construction sites of Kashmir, Assam and other places. This in fact drawn the attention of public and the government at end. Besides, opposition leaders in the state assembly demanded a detailed inquiry on the gruesome event. Being much pressurised, a bill was brought on the floor of assembly to curb the illegal labour drafting by the contractors. The bill Orissa Dadan Labour (C and R) Act of 1975 came into force in 1st January, 1976. This act was replaced by a new Act inter-state migration workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) came into force in 22nd October, 1980. The intention
behind the new act was to channelise the process of migration only through registered contractors and to safeguard and protect the interest of the workers at the work site.

Since then, Orissa government managed to keep some informations systematically recorded on the agents and migrants. As per the information, there were only 126 recruiting agents in 1976 which registered nearly threefold increase (327) by 1980. While during the same period the migration has slumped down from 45,830 to 30,693 only. (See: Appendix-C-I, II). The slow down figure on migration is actually much lower to the reality. That meant the estimation has not included the unregistered bogus migration, which the labour contractor do always to evade the legal aspect as far as possible and the voluntary migration.

Recent figure (1980-83) on out-migration from the state compiled from different sources, which is highly disputed, show that the migration figure has gone up to 1,50,000 on an average 50,000 per year. The Ganjam district alone shared 40 per cent of the total pull, closely followed by Puri, in lower order. Alone Kashmir has housed 35,000 migrants followed by Assam 18,000. The rest other migrants are spread all over the country.

Recently Orissa government conducted a survey on working, living and related issues on 7601 migrant (Badan) families spread over the above three districts. Seventy per
cent of the migrants own some land and eighty per cent of them expressed the allurement of lump-sum amount, which they got from the contractors. Almost all expressed anguishment on inter-state migrant workmen Act which never adequately preserve and protect the rights of labourers in other states.191

Although, over the years the proportion of migration has been increasing phenomenally, in reality, it hardly bear any impact on the socio-economic development of the migrant families and village, let alone the district and state. The issue is worth attempting. Due to obvious limitations, I cannot give any explanation for such an exodus migration at this level. This requires a detailed and systematic empirical exploration on the prevailing agrarian structure and overall conditions of peasants, in the district. The remaining chapter will take up the issues in detail.
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63. Letter from A. Robertson, Esq., Collector, Vizagapatnam to W.H. Bogely, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort, St. George No. 78, DC 25-7-1854.


75. Report on Slavery, 1840, pp. 185-186.


80. The Indian Banking Enquiry Committee Report, 1931, pp.75-76.


83. Memorandum on the Progress of Madras Presidency During the last 40 years of British Administration, by Shri S. Srinivas Raghavianger, Ch. 11, p. 217-218.

84. *A Short Account of the Ganjam Famine, 1866*, pp. 11-12.


87. Manual of Administration of Madras Presidency, 1855, Vol.II, Madras Government (Famine data has been compiled from various sources).


91. See Appendix-A which shows chronologically migration from Madras Presidency and Ganjam District to different pockets of British Colonies.

92. *India, E.P. February 1880, A4-29 The North West Provinces referred to the area not the North-west Frontier Province but an area which latter formed part of united province. Also, See, Geoghegam, J.1873, Note on Emigration from India, Calcutta Government Press.*

94. The figures are quoted from Omvedt, Gail, 1980, Migration in Colonial India: The Articulation of Feudalism and Capitalism by the Colonial State, "Journal of Peasant Studies," VII(2), p. 188.

95. Sarkar, N.K. 1957, The Demography of Ceylon, Colombia, p. 27.


102. Geogheam, Note on Emigration from India, p. 2. The Act of Emigration was passed in 1833 but put into force on August 1st, 1834. And also D. Kumar, 1965, Op. Cit., p. 130.

103. D.W.D. Comins, Notes on Emigration from India to British Guiana (George town 1894), p. 20.


105. Ibid, p. 130.

106. Ibid, p. 132.


114. Gandhiji's Characterisation of return immigration was published in young India (June, 1981), was based on investigation carried out by that time. Also see, Tinker Hugh, 1974, *Op. Cit.*


123. A Short Account of Ganjam Famine, 1866, by an officer of the District, 1867.


136. The Orissa Government enacted and Amended the following Acts:
   (i) Orissa Tenancy Act, 1936.
   (ii) Orissa Estate Abolition Act, 1951.
   (iii) Orissa Tenant Protection Act, 1948.
   (iv) Orissa Land Reform Act, 1965.
   (v) Orissa Land Reform Act, 1974.
   (vi) Orissa Debt Bondage Act, 1945.


143. The area Cultivation of Paddy in Orissa has declined from 81.4 per cent in 1950-58 to 77.1 per cent in 1959-67 and 71.0 per cent in 1968-77.


146. Griffin, K. 1979, "Growth and Improvement in Rural Areas of Asia," *World Development* VII(4 and 5).


169. The Figures Stated here are as per 1981 Census.


172. Basic Statistics, District of Ganjam 1982, Govt. of Orissa. According to 1978-79 the figure on percentage of area under paddy to total cropped area was 42.22 and by 1982 it has come down to 38 per cent.

173. The figure is calculated in the respective years.


176. The figure is calculated from District Statistical Book, 1979, Govt. of Orissa, p. 8.
177. See the Report Block Level Planning: An Indicative Plan for Development of Parlakhimendi Block with Special Thrust to Support, Identify Poor Households, AVARD, New Delhi, 1982, p. 45.


184. Bureau of Statistics and Economics, Govt. of Orissa, Bench Mark Survey SFDA, Ganjam 1972, Though the average is 0.58 acres, some of the fragments are much smaller than this which prevent the use of modern equipments like tractors, private tube well etc.


187. The figure on wage is according to 1979.


189. There are nearly 90,000 Oriya workers mostly hailing from the district of Ganjam, are working in Surat Textile Industries and other sectors. The magnates of textile industries preferably
recruit these migrant labourers on several considerations:
(a) they agreeable to wage whatever employer offer.
(b) They cannot help entering trade union politics in those industries.
(c) They cannot resent to work for twelve hours and cannot demand permanency in their job even they work for years together.


190. The researcher had such an account which took place at his village in 1971. A batch of 21 labourers mixed from both forward and untouchable caste, were drafted to Kashmir by a recruiting agent from Ganjam. Three of them were high school educated. No formal legal bond was executed before their embarkment. On their arrival at Kashmir, they were engaged in heavy construction work for more than twelve hours. A Good provision and warm clothes were not served to the migrants. Besides, they were kept under strict vigil and provided with a bogus letter box so that they cannot make contact with local police authorities and even to home. Due to adverse climatic condition, poor diet and hard work, their health deteriorated tremendously. In manytimes the poor workers were beaten mercilessly if they failed to
attend the duty regularly. Five of them died at work site while another one breathed his last in the en-route train to home. On average they were paid Rs 200 each for two months' work. The gruesome event never reached to political door of State capital but remained within the boundary of village four walls. The fortunate survivals often feel pride that they could visit Kashmir 'Swargadesh' before their death.