CHAPTER-III
Politically the transfer of power in 1858 from the hands of the East India Company to the crown in England had brought in the second phase of British colonialism in Orissa as in the rest of the British Empire in India. The 'Queen's Declaration' on the occasion of this transfer of power had assured "in their prosperity will be our strength, in their prosperity will be strength, in their containment our security and in their gratitude our best reward". The espousal of benevolence had been warranted by the insurrectionary turmoil which the empire had just pulled through. But other than trying to conciliate the rulers of Indian States and those sections of the people of India whose interests had been effected a bit-hard, the mere shifting of the reigns of power from the company to the crown brought in little change in the stance of colonial governance. In fact the crown's assuming power left quite a number of incongruities in the social and economic realms. Inspite of the avowed declaration of stimulating industry and public utility works and recasting administration for the benefit of all the "subjects", it achieved little for Orissa. Rather the policy of 'non-interference' was adhered to with characteristic imprudence. It was under such circumstances that the famine of 1866 jolted the colonial
regime out of its intransigence and started the second phase in the history of British Orissa.

The editor of Calcutta Review candidly wrote in October 1866 in the midst of the calamitous famine: "Through the Famine, Orissa has attained the turning point and crisis of her destiny. Every calamity has its moral and the moral of the famine is the adoption of the government of a policy of progress, and of moral and material improvement of Orissa"³.

Run up to the Famine

The long road to the famine was in preparation for over a decade. The peasantry in the whole of the Orissa division was preparing to face the next round of revenue settlement by contracting cultivation for obtaining a lower assessment⁴. Abandonment by the Government of its monopoly over manufacture and sale of salt had all but brought the curtain down this only flourishing industry on the Orissan coast, throwing thousands of malangi's out of employment and into penury⁵. But the Government was advising the local authorities in the midst of the famine to encourage and assist for the emigration of the people from the salt tracts.

In view of the fact that the division had not experienced any grave situation of drought for over twenty years preceding 1865, the cultivators were not careful while selling off their huge surplus of the
unusually good harvests of 1864 and 1865. Balasore as the prime center of rice trade in the Orissa Division alone accounted for the export of 8 (eight) lakhs maunds of rice to Calcutta and to Ganjam. H. Muspratt, the Collector of Balasore, reported to the Commissioner of the Orissa Division on 2nd April 1866, that “agent were spread through the length and breadth of the district purchasing rice and paddy from the cultivators. Everyone was eager to sell his stores and the sales were easily effected”. Even when after an early shower rains ceased completely from September onwards and the possibility of an impending famine was looming large, export of rice continued till the very end of 1865. It pushed the prices up from 32 seers per rupee in January to 16 seers per rupee in October. The rise in the prices of rice did not bring an equivalent rise in the wages of the labourers. Consequently the lot of the people depending upon wage-labour was thoroughly marginalised.

On the other hand, rice dealers in expectation of a still higher sale-price closed ranks to keep all grain out of the market.

At this point, when the market no longer indicated the actual economic condition of the country the Zamindars appealed to the Government to extend the time for payment of their revenue. The petition which accompanied the concurrent report of Muspratt stated that (I) the crops were ruined, (ii) the raiyats, being unable
to obtain advances were not in a position to pay their rents and (iii) that there was no stock left with the cultivators, owing to the over-exportation. The Board of Revenue, however, rejected the Zamindar’s appeal and went ahead with the collection of the last installment of the revenue of 1865 and the first one of 1866 as per schedule.

Normally, a majority of the resident Zamindars did not have these economic strength to withstand the calamity. The revenue demands of the Government, therefore, could not have come at a more critical time. The Company’s rule of over six decades had hardly allowed any scope for material consolidation within the “Province”. And in times of scarcity there was no way, the province could receive immediate supplies from outside. “The Calcutta trunk road was then a mere dirt track trailing through jungles infested with thieves and dacoits”. At important inter-sections the road was unabridged over large rivers making it impassable when it rained. As for the river-ports, “until the introduction of a regular steam traffic in 1871, few of them were accessible during the southern monsoon, the very season in which a famine would reach its maximum intensity”. “The people”, were for all practical purposes therefore, “shut up in a narrow province between pathless jungles and an impracticable sea, were in the conditions of passengers in a ship without provisions".
Unfortunately for Orissa both Ravenshaw and H. Muspratt had taken over their respective assignments only in 1865. For them to reckon a grave situation in such a short span of time was as difficult as it was easier for them to be carried away by erroneous briefings of their subordinate staff. The Commissioner after being misled himself, communicated to the Government that there might be a short-fall of rice in Orissa but there was sufficient stock with the dealers to supply the market for a year. There was no public platform nor was there any association then in Orissa to appraise the Government of the actual situation and take corrective measures. Utkal Dipika, Orissa’s first news weekly was brought out from Cuttack only as an afterthought on the 4th of August 1866.

The Famine

Towards the end of 1865 the signs of the impending famine were clearly discernible. To take stock of the situation a public meeting of the inhabitants of Balasore was called and a Relief Committee appointed which, however, came to the conclusion that “there would be no call on them for funds till February 1866.” But impelled by the specter of starving multitude thronging the town, the Committee at the end of January invited subscriptions and purchased a stone of rice. On the 13th of February gratuitous distribution of food was commenced
at the local Dharmsala. The daily number of applicants for relief in the beginning was 1,300. Subsequently, the number fell to 841 as the committee insisted on the capable among the relief seekers to give physical labour. In March and April the headquarters town of Balasore was overwhelmed by "vagrants". There was a great spurt in the cases of grain robberies even as the people who still had some rice began concealing their store\(^{16}\).

Fakir Mohan in his autobiography has given a heart-rending account of the condition of people during these months. He wrote: "By mid-February the majority of the peasants and almost all the artisans were scattered and chewing anything they could lay hands on. When the tender leaves came out on the tamarind trees, people swarmed up them like monkeys, ten to twenty to a tree to pick and eat the leaves. Every one was just skin and bone with sunken eyes. Many young women, wives and daughters of good family, were roaming the streets wearing ragged, knotted saris, no more than a quarter the normal length. Their signs of motherhood, two flaps of skin, hung against their chests. Some had children in their arms, just skin and bone, with lips glued to those hanging skin-flaps. There was no knowing whether the children were alive or dead. From mid-March on the death-rate mounted. On the roads, the river-ghats, by bathing tanks and in the woods, whenever you looked you saw only corpses\(^{17}\)."
only one "Yell for food". The Government of India sensing the increased requirements of the province provided another sum of rupees 20 lakhs. Government rice-shops were opened early in July both in the town and the interior parts of the district to sell imported rice to all buyers at prices just below the market rate which had reached an all-time high of seers per rupee. Three shops were also opened by the Relief Committee for sale specially discounted prices to those considered in need of such relief. The relief operations were, however, disrupted because of the onset of monsoon which prevented further import of rice. In the southern parts of the district floods caused by heavy rain destroyed what little crop the drought had spared. In the town of Balasore also mortality reached its appalling maximum during the first half of in the month of August. In September a second inundation aggravated the distress of the people. Only in November when the surviving crop of the table-land areas came to the market that the distress was relieved. On November 5th sales on Government account were stopped. The Relief Committee also wound up its operations on 24th of the same month.

The total quantity of imported rice received in Balasore upto 24th of November was 75,427 maunds of which 4,473 maunds were sold for cash to Government departments at full cost prices; 10,526 maunds were sold to public at
below-market prices and 160426 maunds were transferred to the Relief Committee. The Committee distributed 46,816 maunds gratuitously and sold 11,643 maunds at cheaper rates to selected famine victims. The daily average number of persons relieved from the 16th June to the 24th November was 26,497. Out of them 4,552 people were employed on light labour and 21,945 people received gratuitous relief.

The utter distress was over by November. But the full impact of the famine was yet to be relieved. In 1867 the Governor General took personal interest in the matter. He appointed Molony as a special commissioner to supervise the entire relief operation. It was incumbent upon him to look into the rehabilitation of different segments of the famished populace. Accordingly arrangements were made to supply cotton threads to the weavers and cotton for spinning to women to provide them with work in their respective homes and villages. The Relief Committee also made provisions for care and education of Orphaned children thorough the local missionaries at Jallesore, Santipore and Balasore. Relief Committee provided suitable indoor occupations to other destitutes and deserted women. To Orphans numbering 1,553, who were not reclined by relatives, the Government granted a main tenance allowance of 3 rupees per month up to age of 17 for boys and 16 of girls. A marriage
provision for girls and a small bonus for boys after they reached the stipulated age were also fixed.  

The orders for remission of revenue installments due in April and November 1867 were issued respectively. On 23rd February and 23rd September of the same years, Takavi advances for seed were also offered to the Zamindars at the rate of 24 per cent of the Sadar Jumma to be recovered later as arrears of revenue with interest.

Belated though the measures were, the Government took pragmatic steps to stand by Orissa towards the later part of the famine. As Fakirmohan wrote “since nothing in this world lasts for ever, the famine also ended”.

**British Attitude Towards the Famine**

The British attitude in the early stage of the famine was one of the official complacency mired in “doctrinaire economics”. Even as early as October 1865 Revenshaw nurtured the firm view that the short crop resulting out of scanty rainfall might cause high prices and some distress, but certainly not starvation. The Board of Revenue concurred with the views of the Commissioner and for the sake of “the ordinary laws of political economy” insisted that “even if it be true.
the operations of the natural laws in this country is slow and uncertain, it follows only that it is more clearly the duty of the Government to do nothing that can clog or impede their working..."\textsuperscript{22}. Even the Lt. Governor of Bengal laboured "under an incapacity to believe the disaster" till the early months of 1866. In fact when the whole of Orissa was undergoing the agony of starvation and death, the Lt. Governor in his Durbar speech at Cuttack on 17th February, 1866 upheld the merits of free trade. In response to the clamour for food by forcing the grain-dealers to sell their stores at fixed prices, he said, "if I were to do this, I should consider myself, no better than a dacoit or a thief who plunders the neighbour's property for his own use"\textsuperscript{23}. The official intransigence refused to see the importation of Rice into Orissa by the Government during the famine hardly interfered with any private trade. Whatever little private trade was there continued with Government importation of grains when ultimately the Government decided to do so. The Secretary of State in his despatch to Government of India also held the Governor General responsible for not putting pressure on the Government of Bengal for a more vigorous famine policy.

While the official response for a great length of time was unscrupulously hedged in the leisze faire posturing, the Government sought to rope in native
contribution from those sections of society who they thought could subsidise government expenditure in an economically hopeless situation. The Government as well as other public spirited Britons waxed eloquent in calling for subscriptions from people in the name of charity. However, the motives inherent in such appeals were not above the basic colonial designs. It was indeed a difficult decision for the government to part with huge sums of money for purpose for relief when the principle of colonial governance dictated otherwise. In matters of land revenue administration allowing remission or temporary suspension of revenue was not a favoured proposition. In matters of investment for permanent agricultural development it could only be in the form of advancing loans to be recovered later. And in social sector, the policy was to raise the necessary funds from amongst the already reck-rented beneficiaries. Any kind word spoken beyond this policy was facile and anything done more than this was only under compulsion.

The Orissa famine of 1866 was one such compelling situation. The Government hardly had any other option but to concede direct relief measures. The distress was too sanguine for any one not to see it. But as long as the appeal went through the strictly hierarchical bureaucratic channel, the Government remained unmoved. It was only when the influential
missionaries, the British chamber of commerce and the British India Association raised a public outcry that the government relented from above. The entire government machinery from the Governor General at the top to the Amla in the sub-divisional level, made a belated turn-around and involved themselves in massive relief operations. Yet a part of the relief fund was handed over to the Christian missionaries to avail their services for the famished people during the course of the famine and later to rehabilitate the survivors. The vernacular press in Orissa condoned the role of the missionaries and the decision of the Government to involve them in this gigantic humanitarian task. The native society clearly lacked the will and the wherewithal to take upon itself the challenging task. But what injured the psyche of a prostrated society was the insidious way in which the missionaries used the opportunity to convert the hapless into Christianity. These converts came to be derided as Bhat or "rice-Christians". Other native members of the 'Church' repudiated government cooked food at relief centers because they were not Bhat Christians. Indeed the increase in the number of Christian population in Orissa was largely ascribed to the famine.
Native Attitude Towards the Famine

Balasore and in fact the entire Orissa division was no stranger to famines. The socio-cultural response to such calamities had always been one of fatalistic surrender. But the attitudinal changes which had come about because of the colonial rule was in sharp contrast to the one that prevailed before. The classical concept of Apādharma always postulated relaxation of commensal taboos. It also embodied an emphasis on activity (Karma) charity (dana), austerity (tapa) and sacrifice (Yajna). The fatalistic theory of Karma could not stand in the way of energetic action by the state, the community and the individual involved in the crisis.

But the famine of 1866, popularly referred to as the Na-Anna Durbhikshya highlighted the fundamental contradiction between the pre-colonial and colonial times. This contradiction was observed not only in the popular perceptions, on famines but also in the inequities which had developed in the emergent socio-economic structure of colonial society. The fact that the event was recorded in public memory after the 9th Regal year of the Gajapati itself denied any moral legitimacy to the British regime in Orissa. The colonialisst regime could only be perceived as the quintessential hegemony yielding political authority to
subserve its imperialist interests. The social structure which the British created in fact subserved this end.

In fact, the Buddhist sculpture which portrays the generous prince of Kalinga giving away the white elephant in an act of sacrifice to the famished men of his kingdom, who came abegging in tattered clothes is irreconcilable with the attitude that the British showed in handling the famine of 1866. The Indian Famine Commission of 1880 stated: "It is a melancholy reflection that while a larger amount of money was spent on this famine than had ever been spent before, it should be associated in history only with the memory of a greater mortality than had ever been recorded." Indeed, when ultimately after the floods of August and September 1866 the Board of Revenue ordered for an unrestricted supply of rice, food situations in the domestic market had already been eased which removed the need for any further importation. The Government had to ultimately dispose huge undischased stock in auction. Thus the net result of the Government functioning ditheringly between the two opposing stands of protecting colonial self-interest through a policy of non-intervention on the one hand and later on succumbing to the humanitarian obligation of governance on the other, was a huge loss of life and money.

The class of Zamindars created by the British in Orissa, as its hand-maiden had the same non-obligatory
exploitative attitude towards the people and the economy. Most of the non-resident Zamindars, the beneficiaries of the Sun-set Law in the early phase of the Company rule, were non-committal in their obligation to look after the welfare of the people of their estates. For them acquisition of Zamindari was an investment in real estate for profit. As for the resident Zamindars, their improvidence not withstanding, there was a clear lack of sensitivity towards starvation and death. The story of saktu-prastha in the Mahabharata, the epic which since the days of Sarala Dasa had molded the belief-system in Orissa, stood out in sharp contrast to the attitude of the Zamindars in British Orissa. Revenshaw himself was present at a meeting of the prominent land-holders and merchants of Balasore where each individual accused the rest of possessing stores of grain, but no one actually came forward to contribute a single grain of rice for relief. Revenshaw finally wrote in indignation to the Government of Bengal on 2nd April 1866 that the meeting broke up without having arrived at any definite arrangement to procure rice in exchange for the money subscribed.

As regards the famished population, Fakirmohan wrote: "As soon as the news of 'relief centers'. reached the rural areas, starving wretches came racing to the town,...over two thirds of them died on the way. The remainder reached the relief center only to gorge
themselves and die, ... The following year there were adults and children of both sexes wandering in the streets with no where to go. They had been out casted by Hindu society for having eaten at the relief centre. The sensibilities of Fakir Mohan was outraged at the unjust abandonment by the Hindu society of its unfortunate children. He squarely held the callous Hindu society responsible for this sorry state of its attitude. The Shastric model of Apadharma placed life above taboos. The notable instance Fakir Mohan quoted was that of Sage Vishvamitra who could resume his seat among the venerable sages even after eating the flesh of a dog cooked by an untouchable to save his life. So defensive the society had become in its suspicion of the alien motives and so fractured had it become in its segmental prejudice that the society overlooked the lessons of its culture. Not a little responsible for this degraded outlook was the loss of freedom and enterprise by the people and specially by those who belonged to the lower economic and social strata.

Recovery of caste by the people who ate at free-kitchens was a real social problem. It threatened to disrupt the social fabric, split families and separate parents from children. The Collector of Puri noted in 1873: "The matter was full of anxiety. There were crowds of women and children daily leaving our Unnochutters (free-kitchens)... Their future could be fourfold with
tolerable certainty; beggary and plundering, every degree of turpitude, and every form of loathsome disease; in brief, a course of life that might go far to undermine the moral and physical well-being of the province for years to come."33.

Indeed the society was called upon to take the decision of the century. The leading pandits of Puri, Cuttack and Calcutta agreed in principle that no act-committed in order to save life occasioned loss of caste. Nevertheless the Pandits in Orissa considered it expedient to lay down prescriptions (Vyavasthas), which consisted of payment of Pawannas, (purifactory offering) and Prayaschita (purificatory penance). However, either for lack of communication or inability of the out-castes to afford the cost of penance, many who had eaten under the roof of food-kitchens were excommunicated.

The persons who lost their castes formed a separate community called the Chhatarkhais. They were looked down upon by others as untouchables. But among themselves they maintained a high-low hierarchy. The former was comprised of Brahmins, Karanas, Khandarits and gop-goallas whereas the latter consisted of the castes ranking below these in the social scale. Members of each sub-caste married within that group only irrespective of the caste to which they might have originally belonged. But no cross-marriage was possible between members of two sub-castes. H.H. Risley, the British census
commissioner and scholar noted: “It can hardly be doubted that much social misery must have been endured before the people adopted a situation so entirely at variance with the principles in which they had been brought up, and that for one who became a chhatarkhai, many died”\(^34\). It was not that the Christian missionaries lifted all the chhatarkhais into their arms. Fakir Mohan noted, a section of the chhatarkhais also joined Alekh movement founded by the Kandh mystic Poet Bhima Bhoi to overcome their social disability\(^35\).

Thus the colonial society had acquired for itself a new rationale. From the cynicism of this rationale were to sprout the elements of the 19th-20th century Orissan renaissance. Also was to ensure from this a perceptible change in the attitude of the Government. The first evident step in this direction was taken in December 1866. A three member Commission of Enquiry into the famine of Orissa was instituted under the Chairmanship of George Campbell, a sitting Judge of the Calcutta High Court. The Commission submitted its report on 6th April 1867 which remarkably bore independent views on the causes of the famine as well as in its prescription of remedial steps for the government to take to obviate the occurrence of any such calamity in future.
Recommendations of the Famine Commission

The Commission had thoroughly realised the impervious character of the British administration in Orissa. Therefore, it laid down unusually bold recommendations to be adopted by the Government in almost every area of administrative and economic concern of Orissa.

1. The commission impressed upon the government the untenability of its land revenue administration rested as it was on the Zamindari system. It suggested that the urgent need for creating definite rights of tenants on land.

2. The Commission also called the government to harness the irrigation potential of Orissa by pushing forward the pending irrigation projects. For the purpose it recommended the establishment of separate Department of irrigation.

3. The Commission emphasised the need to improve both surface and sea-borne communications to put an end to the geographical isolation of Orissa.

4. It favoured the extension of the 1836 settlement for another term of 30 years in toto. The Commission's suggestion in this regard included the creation of a separate establishment to maintain agricultural statistics. The Commission hoped that the
separate establishment would ensure suspensions and remissions of revenue to reach the targeted raiyat.

The Secretary of State still beseeched with the horror of the famine accepted the findings of the Commission and concurred with its recommendations in full.

Social Stratification and Change:
The Post-Famine Experience

1. The sum-total of innovative administrative policies of the British Government in the post-famine period in its most decisive aspect created a social class which acted as the catalyst of modernisation in Orissa. Though a distinguishably economic criterion did not play a great role in shaping this class still fragments of information regarding ancestry, concentration of habitation, caste, educational attainments, profession and ideas of socio-political and economic advancement of the Orissa Division as a whole, point to the fact of this class having come from the elite Brahmin and the land owning Karana and Khandyat castes. These two groups forming the emergent middle order of the colonial society were compelled by socio-economic changes to aspire and struggle for a regenerative Orissa with a nostalgia for the past. But at the same time they swear at pains to forego their social identity and privilege.
2. The post-famine administrative and economic policies which the Government pursued allowed the convergence of interests of the rising middle class. But in their wider effect the government policies wiped out potential economic avenues which would have facilitated a general economic resurgence of the province cutting across the lines of social hierarchies. The salt industry was thoroughly sacrificed on the altar of the imperial economic interests. This deprived thousands of landless labourers of a substantive means of alternative employment. Other native industries had no scope for rising above the compulsive local requirements by over coming the rapidly integrating imperialist market forces. The market in the country itself had become the preserve of manipulative business-interests from outside Orissa and their middlemen.

3. Within the administrative division of Orissa itself the forces of integration fore closed district-wise developmental concerns. Facilities of modernisation became more centralised. Distributive opportunities of economic and consequential social development got perceptively scarce. Under such circumstances, Cuttack as the head-quarters of the divisional administration became the nerve-center of all activities. Flickers of rising socio-political
consciousness, undeniably a product of the changing administrative stance of the government and the emerging sub-continental political environment, that came from the districts met at Cuttack. From Cuttack then radiated the directions of public activity to other parts of Orissa. This process consolidated the class identity for those people who came forward to participate in this phenomenal outburst of public activity. “Although propounding unity with Oriya-speaking tracts of neighbouring provinces for a consolidated market economy and agricultural improvements, the middle class exhibited a double personality of living in urban areas and investing their surplus income for land purchases in the villages”38. The middle class, while fostering its sectional interests was also plagued by inter caste conflicts. The Brahmin, Karana and Khandayat associations were formed to promote the interests of the members of their respective castes. Superficially, however, there was definite reciprocity between the contending castes. The English educated lawyers supported the cause of the landed gentry. The landed aristocracy championed the cause of the administrative re-integration of the Oriya speaking areas and the middle class press held the colonial administration as responsible for the sufferings of all social classes. Theoretically members from non-upper castes, could aspire to and, indeed, found entry into this widening social
strata. The definite course for them was to take to English education and get government service. But nevertheless distinctive caste consciousness almost always remained palpable within the emergent middle class.

4. Outside the boundary of this emerging social strata, the socio economic scenario presented a picture of stagnation. The land revenue administration haltingly moved towards safeguarding the rights of the tenants on land. But as cultivation had reached its ultimate limit, in all the districts of Orissa, the land reform measures only contributed to further fragmentation of land holdings and increased litigation. Recognition of the 'rights of tenancy' created sub-infeudational interests down the line. Lack of alternative sources of employment created and irreversible process of agricultural indebtedness and consequent pauperisation of the peasantry.

However, since investment in land was still a recognised pass-port to upward social mobility aspirants for such mobility increasingly took to business and other professions for earning enough to acquire landed properly. In the intensely differentiated peasant economy this emergent body of Khusbas raiyats acquired stability and prosperity by combining cultivation with other trade. But the small and medium farmers in the context of widespread "debt-trap" gradually lost their
land and means of production. The massive rural labour-force which came into existence made outmigration among the landless labour a long term social tendency in Orissa.

5. While the post-famine Orissan society saw the conspicuous rise of a middle class with a vested interest in both land and government jobs, it also experienced another kind of social transformation in the 20th century, that was sweeping the whole of the Indian sub-continent on the make of the nation wide freedom movement. The Gandhian ideals of social harmony and rural reconstruction influenced a whole generation of men, literate and illiterate, high and low alike. Orissa was fortunate in having a crop of leadership, who harnessed the Gandhian values to bring about social transformation. The attempt did not succeed in the structural plain but made a tremendous impact in the realm of caste and class attitude of the people.

In the saga of social transformation between 1866 and 1947 which this chapter along with chapter four seeks to analyse will demonstrate the above hypothesis. For convenience sake, the post-famine administrative policies of the government have been analysed in the present chapter while the two-fold native responses to the colonial rule are dealt with in chapter four.

In the first place there were effort till 1920s by the emerging middle-class to garner the opportunities
offered by the colonial government. This manifested itself in the movement for administration reintegration of the Oriya speaking tracts and in the concern expressed for all-round development of the province. In the second place, there was expressed since the 1920s, an abiding faith and participation in the national movement for swaraj. In both these movements, the common 'process' of social transformation was discernible. Political integration of the province, its economic regeneration and finally swaraj were all parts of this common 'process'. As for the district of Balasore, it had a prominent share in both the movements.

British Administrative Policies:

The Status of Industry:

(I) Salt

Salt making was a flourishing industry in the coastal districts before and after the British occupied Orissa in 1803. The industry provided supporting means of sustenance to agricultural labourers in the off-season which coincided with the period of salt production. Balasore which had eight aurangas (centers of salt production) for producing panga salt provided employment to people mainly of low castes viz, Kouta, Bauris and Kandaras. Salt was an important article of export as well. It was exported through the great road leading
along the Mahanadi river to Sambalpur, Berar and central provinces. Salt was also exported to Chotanagapur through river Savarnarekha which deposed itself in the Bay of Bengal flowing on the northern border of the district of Balasore. Every year the tributary states and the Central Provinces used to send large quantities of rice, grain, oil-seeds, cotton and other articles of rural commerce to coastal Orissa in exchange for salt. According to the Report on the possibility of establishment of salt industry in coastal areas of Orissa, 1938, aurangas of Balasore alone engaged 3177 chulias (contractors) and 12,467 mulangis (salt makers) in the year 1854-55 who produced 7 lakh maunds of salt. This constituted two and a quarter percent of the total population in the districts. The quantum of production continued unabated from 1854-55 to 1860-61 averaging 11 lakh maunds per year, after accounting for wastage in transit.

However, in pursuance of its colonial agenda, the alien government sacrificed the only commercially thriving industry in coastal Orissa to the detriment of the interests of thousands of landless labourers. As early as 1836, the Select Committee of the House of Commons at the instance of the Cheshire producers had sought to limit the Company’s monopoly to a monopoly of manufacture only. In 1853 the committee had further recommended a complete cessation of the company’s
monopoly in favour of a system of excise on salt. In view of the growing parliamentary pressure, the Plowmen committee set up by the Government of India to inquire into the practicability of such a substitution opined in 1856 for a “slow and gradual extension of the excise system”.

Although the Government of Bengal and Governor General, Lord Dalhousie, stoutly defended the monopoly system in the interest of the home-producer and “thousands of persons” who had been “engaged all their lives”, the sales under the head “sea-imported salt” increased in an inverse ratio to the decrease in demand for Government salt. Greatly responsible in this fall of the native commodity was a conspiratorial design by the Salt Agency to suddenly raise the cost of Panga salt in Orissa from a low of Rs.37-8-0 and Rs.43-12-0 in 1860-61 to Rs.62-80 per 100 maunds in 1862-63. Consequently huge stocks of native salt at Calcutta depots remained indisposed leading to the necessity of contracting the manufacture of salt by Government. The taidad (contract) was accordingly squeezed to rupees 2 lakhs for Balasore Aurangs. Finally, the excise rules under notification No.20, dated the 9th January 1863, were published in the Calcutta Gazette of the 14th January. Following this notification, all manufacturing of salt in Balasore under the monopoly system was stopped on 28th February 1863.
The immediate effect of the abrupt cessation of manufacture was seen in an unprecedented scarcity of salt. The Board of Revenue reported a "salt famine" in Balasore. At Bhadrak the price of salt went up from 2 1/3 annas in May 1867 to 8 annas per seer in June of the same year.

The cessation of salt manufacture also affected general trade and communications between the ports of Balasore and Calcutta. River boats and boat-men to a great extent disappeared, rendering, rice import and transport operations difficult during the famine. People who indirectly depended upon this industry like "everyone in the Banksal area, i.e. where the ships were made sea-worthy, owners, artisans, contractors, boatmen, sailors and office workers" other than a "hundreds of Brahmins" who were employed to worship the town's deities and recite Chandipatha for continued prosperity of the salt industry, suffered grievously for lack of income. As Fakir Mohan concluded, when the Government issued orders to wind up the industry, "Lady luck left Orissa for Liverpool and elsewhere".

In 1865, a beginning was made in Balasore with one license to manufacture salt under the excise system. But the factory which led to the abolition of Government monopoly also operated to cripple the industry under the new system. The Salt Act and Rules passed by the Government were extremely harsh. No warehouse below the
capacity of 10,000 maunds was approved. The entrepreneur was not permitted to dispose of his salt until the whole season's outturn was stored. Even when these conditions were met, the entrepreneur was required to sign a fresh bond for payment of duties and penalties to be permitted to dispose of the stock.

Charges incidental to manufacture were removed with the abolition of Government's monopoly but in their place excise duty was enhanced from Rs.2-8-0 to Rs.3-4-0 per maund. Besides, the cost of preventive establishment was maintained till 1884 at the rate of Rs.1-1-0 per maund. H.W. Bliss, Commissioner of Salt Revenue, Madras Presidency, in his special report on Orissa salt in 1884 stated: "...it may safely be said therefore that the whole of the salt sold in Orissa during the time this rule and its even more severe predecessors have been in force, has cost the consumer at least 2 annas 3 pies to 3 annas per maund more than it would otherwise have done". Pandit Gopabandhu Das who quoted Bliss informed that the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council in 1918, that "this differential treatment of the industry in Orissa and its immediate neighbourhood in Madras greatly handicapped and discouraged the Orissa manufacture and caused it gradually to decline". 48

The rate of salt duty varied from Rs 3-4-0 in Bengal to Rs 1-13-0 in Madras per maund. The inland customs line could not prevent the Ganjam
merchants from importing salt into Orissa. The Rowana system, despite its failure to provide protection against illicit trade continued as an impediment to the trade in locally produced salt. Besides the Sew system which disallowed unrestricted admission of Orissa salt into the Tributary Mahals, left the wide market instead open to the Madras merchants.

The introduction of a rationalised structure of internal duties in Orissa by the Act X of 1874 allowed the Balasore manufacture some leeway in the direction of Cuttack for a while. But the advantage was lost to the cheaper Liverpool salt. In November, 1887 all manufacturing at Balasore ceased and the quantity of import from Liverpool went upto 1,62,185 maunds.

Measures taken by the Government to resuscitate the dying industry such as: (I) making the rate of duty on salt equal throughout India in 1882; (ii) abolishing the rowana system in 1885; (iii) shifting the salt administration in Orissa to the salt Department of Madras, (iv) attempting to restart manufacture on Government account in 1891, at Sartha in Balasore all failed to withstand the foreign competition. Liverpool salt which came at very low rates "often indeed as ballast" flooded the Bengal and northern markets of Orissa. The Sartha factory was closed in 1893. This put
the proverbial last nail on the coffin of the only employment oriented large-scale industry in the district.

(ii) Miscellaneous Manufacturers

Other than salt, products like brass and bell metal utensils and ornaments of Remuna, fine mats manufactured in the villages of Jellasore, stone utensils of Mugunipur, Barikpur and other villages of Thana Soro and coarse cotton cloth woven in all parts of the district supplied nearly all the wants of the people. There were few requirements of such articles of foreign manufacture. The artisans who manufactured these articles were a component part of the village organisation. Some of them continued to hold service lands for their work51.

As regards modern industries, the rice-mills at Jellasore, started by a Marwari in 1918, was the first of its kind in the district. Subsequently, rice mills were started at Basta and Balasore, also by Marwaries who controlled a good deal of the district’s rice-trade52.

The Industrial School in Balasore town, conducted by American Missionaries turned out some wooden furniture and iron-ware. But by their very nature these industrial activities did not have much employment potential or enough spatial spread to make an impact on the economic life of the district. Consequently, the teeming population of Balasore had to unflinchingly
depend on agriculture. It is in this context that agrarian administration and policy changes effected by the government in the wake of the famine of 1865-66 assumed importance in delineating the social structure of the province and that of the district in the post-famine period.

Revenue Administration and Changing Agrarian Structure:
Basic Policy Initiatives:

The major policy initiatives taken by the colonial government in the realm of revenue administration between 1865 and 1937 were four fold. These pertained to: (I) terms of revenue settlement, (II) proportion of assets to be taken as revenue, (III) extension of rights of occupancy to cultivators, (IV) irrigation and embankment.

(I) Terms of Revenue Settlement

During the famine in an emotionally surcharged atmosphere, the issue of conceding a permanent settlement to Orissa was again raised by no less a person than the Commissioner of Orissa, T.E. Ravenshaw. In his view, fulfillment of this long-held promise would out-balance any perspective chance of increasing revenue by permanently improving the country. This was a misconstrued opinion. Most of the permanently settled estates in Orissa were the ones most
mismanaged owing either to debauchery on the part of the zamindars or recreating of the peasants by them.

The Government of India in its wisdom, deferred the matter. Instead, the 30 years 1837 settlement was given another term by the Act X of 1867. The decision relieved the agricultural community of uncertainties of another settlement. It enabled Orissa to recoup both in terms of population and extension of area under cultivation.

The question of permanent settlement was finally put to an end in February 1892. Lt. Governor of Bengal, Charles Elliot while responding to an earlier petition by the Orissa landlords association, informed the people during his visit about the improbability of a permanent settlement ever being made in Orissa. The policy of the government to make 30 years settlement afterwards became a norm in deference to the wish of the Secretary of State.

II. Proportion of Assets Taken as Revenue:

In view of the strong opinion of George Francis Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, Governmental demand on assets was reduced from a high of 64 per cent fixed at the 1837 settlement to 55 per cent at the 1897 settlement. The reduction in demand did not affect the revenue gains of the government. There was in fact an incidental increase of rupees 7,08,200 in 1897, a whopping 52.28 per cent over the 1837 settlement.
The gain was obtained partly by reducing the income of the zamindars, by 13 per cent and partly by increasing the rents of the tenants giving an average incidence of Rupees 1.77 pies per acre.55

Previously, rents used to be settled under executive orders of government. In 1897 settlement, rent was fixed under section 104 of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885. Rent under this Act was not correlated to the classification or productivity of the land but to its extent. According to the findings of Douglas H. Kingsford, Assistant Settlement Officer in charge of Balasore district, the increase in the incidence of rent was 56 per cent due to extension of area under cultivation but 44 per cent by way of pure enhancement.56 The consequence of this enhancement after a lapse of 60 years told upon the financial circumstances of the raiyats. Sales and mortgages of their holdings even aroused the apprehensions of zamindars and district officers.

III. Extension of Rights of Occupancy to Cultivators:

Unfolding of tenancy rights on land and progressive elimination of intermediary interests between the owner, cultivator and the state is basic to any agrarian reform. In this context the relationship between the landlord and the tenant had seized the attention of the Orissa Famine Commission of 1866.
Since the rural population in Orissa compelled by the general economic condition was inexorably bound to the soil, serious attention of the government was called for to adopt emancipatory legislative measures for securing the rights of ordinary tenants on land.

Act X of 1859 had fallen short of the expectation of both the government and the cultivating peasantry in general. There was an ever-increasing tendency towards the incidence of peasants losing occupancy rights on holdings in the post-famine period. Growing pressure of population on land, extension of cultivation to the point of saturation and partial opening up of the country to canal irrigation, enabled the Zamindars to take undue advantage of the Act’s loopholes to reck-rent and dispossess the raiyats from their holdings forcing out-migration of scores of them in search of work and sustenance. According to Kingsford’s estimate, out of 2,103 number of transactions of Thani holdings, 189 were bought by Mahajans/traders/money lenders, 734 by Zamindars, 730 by Raiyats and the rest by unspecified persons. Similarly in case of 10,083 number of transactions of Pahi holdings during the decennial period of 1889-98, 1,009 holdings were bought by Mahajans/traders/money lenders, 3,536 by Zamindars, 4,459 by Raiyats and the rest 1,083 by
unspecified persons. Under the three categories of mortgages viz., Jaibandhuk (non-transferable and redeemable on repayment of principal loan and interest), Katanlibandhuk (the mortgage enjoys the land for the term of the mortgage) and Bhagabandhuk (the mortgage enjoys the land in lieu of interest only), between 1888 and 1897 a total number of 3,674 instruments of mortgage of the value of rupees 100 and upwards were effected. There was also a very marked increase in the number of smaller mortgages during this period.

Distressed selling and mortgages led to fragmentation of holdings to an unsustainable extent. Excluding Zamindars and Bahaldars 79 per cent of the population relying on agriculture were caught in a vicious cycle of indebtedness and out-migration. Statistics compiled by Kingsford for representative villages shows that the average number of holding held by each tenant was 3 2/3 acres and taking villages in which there were lands of more than one estate it was found that out of the total number of holdings 58 per cent were held in the chief estate, 18 per cent in other estates, 14 per cent in neighbouring villages and 10 per cent under Behaldars (holders of revenue-free Lakhiraj lands).

Smallness of holdings invariably encouraged subletting or indebtedness. Very few among the ordinary class of peasant cultivators had stocks to last them
longer than nine months from harvest time. None ever had money to meet extraordinary calls. A marriage entailed expenses of 50 to 60 rupees and that at a time when the son is of fifteen and the daughter of ten. The family increased rapidly without any corresponding increase in its resources. But still keeping up the social practice the raiyat, approached the Mahajan or the Zamindar for the sum involved in a marriage. In the former case he was required to mortgage his holdings or ornaments to twice the value of the debt. Calls for interest depleted his stock of paddy and in September much before the next harvest he was required to borrow again for food.

Apart from this depression of circumstances, there was certain to come a season every ten or fifteen years when the crop failed due to flood or drought, "a misadventure which plunged thrifty and unthrifty alike into debt from which they seldom managed to recover". As per Kingsford's own projection, "there is reason to fear that in the course of the next thirty years the occupancy right will lapse to a large extent, and that the Zamindars, who are already purchasing holdings in considerable quantity, will be in possession of an area of nij-chas lands much in excess of that which they now hold".

The Land Improvement Loans Act introduced in 1884 for providing advances to any person legally entitled to
make improvements or with his consent, to any other person chiefly for the excavation of tanks, for reclamation and for the erection of embankments for the purposes of irrigation, did not evoke any interest in Balasore. The decline of public spirit amongst the land holding class apart, the fear of further harassment at the hands of the Zamindars by an impoverished and ignorant peasantry were mainly responsible for no loans having been granted since the law came into force. John Beames, the Collector of Balasore, between 1869 and 1873 gives an interesting account of illegal collections (Abwabs) by Zamindars. He recollected particularly the instance of Zamindars collecting tikkus (tax) for tar vigili (telegraph line) which was laid by the government all along the Trunk Road. When the Hakims (officers) declared the tikkus to be illegal, it led to the Illegal Cess Agitation in the whole of the Bhadrak sub-division. This was in addition to all other illegal collection by the Zamindars.

The Agricultural Loans Act was of much avail in the district of Balasore. Coming into force in 1885 the Act was chiefly directed towards supplying the wants of tenants in the matter of seed and cattle. Agriculturists often resorted to this provision in times of distress. Since 1886 till 1889 loans amounting to rupees 33,800 had been disbursed to some 5,000 raiyats under this Act.
However, the Act was of little avail to marginal farmers and the swelling land-less class. The latter comprising not less than 10 per cent of the population of the tract under Maddoz Settlement included three social categories viz., (1) untouchable castes: *Pans* and *Mehtars*, (2) low castes: *Goala*, *Rarhi* and *Guria*, who earnt a living from industrial pursuits though not infrequently owning agricultural holdings and (3) *Khusbas* (easy living) castes: poor *Brahmans* and *Karanas*. Out of these the low caste population who mostly worked as agricultural labour i.e. *mulia* or *baramasia*, formed the majority of the land less class.

Driven by economic desperation it is from this class that most emigration to Calcutta and to the nearby tributary states used to take place. In ordinary years the number of emigrants from the south of the district never fell short of 50,000. Incidentally, the landless class was commonest in the south of the District where the population was denser and the demand for land was keener than in the north. Babu Manmatha Bose, who managed the Malok's estate in Ankura in the south of the district informed Kingsford that about 1,000 persons migrate each year from the east of Ankura to cut the hay crop in the Sunderbans. The other areas from where large scale emigration took place were Dhamnagar, Bhera, Kaima and Bayang in the south.
The states and other proprietary holdings were also not immune to the debilitating influence of the structural reality of such an agrarian system. Whereas the total cultivated area increased by 34 per cent from 521,300 acres at 1837 settlement to 697,300 acres at 1897 settlement, the increase in the recorded numbers of shares in the estates by 396 per cent from 1509 to 7481, showed the extent to which fragmentation had affected the estates which numbered 1414 at the 1897 settlement. Fragmentation of estates occurred partly due to partition for inheritance and partly by way of private sale, sale for arrears and sale under civil court decree. Out of the total number of 13 wholly sold estates, 3 estates were bought by Mahajans/traders, 5 by Zamindars and 6 by Bazyafidars (holders of resumed tenure). Out of the 2018 numbers of partially sold estates, Mahajans bought 127, Zamindars 1814, Bazyafidars 496, raiyats 164 and others 63.

The area under Makaddami and Sarbarakhari tenures was reduced from 34,406 acres to 22,574 acres and 62,487 acres to acres respectively. Correspondingly the area under Pursethi Kharida and Sikmi Kharida alongwith Kharida Jamabandi increased from 740 acres to 760 acres and from 751 acres to 955 acres respectively

People who emerged as chief purchasers during the long sojourn of the 1837 settlement mainly belonged
to Khandait, Teli Brahman and Tambuli castes. The Khandaits recorded an increase of 8 per cent in number, the Telis 5 per cent, Brahmins 3 per cent and Tambulis 2 per cent. Khandaits who numbered nearly one fifth of the entire population had always supplied one of the most considerable classes of proprietors. In several parts of Balasore, as in pargana Soro and Senant, considerable improvement was noticed in their circumstances.

The Telis and Tambulies were classes of growing importance. The former were the largest holders of ready-money. They did a thriving business as Mahajans and acquired the means for purchasing land. Babu Bhagban Chandra Das was the best known Teli in Balasore. Another noted Teli family was that of Chandrapara in Adarapeya.

The increase in the Tambulies was also due to purchases of land. Raja Baikunthanath De Bahadur of the De family and the Kar family of Balasore town were the more conspicuous buyers of land. Another large holder of land was a shop-keeper of Bhadrak.

At the 1897 settlement 44 per cent of all properties were without ostensible professions. The figure for the same at the 1837 settlement was 61 per cent. It is natural that the non-professional proprietors, without additional sources of income, should suffer some decline. On the other hand the proportion of
Zamindar-Mahajans increased from 9 to 15 per cent, as also the proportion of pleaders and Mukhtiar. This emerging social class combined extensive cultivation with money-lending and trading euphemistically called by the administration reports as “other business”\(^6\). Arbitrary determination of prices by the rice merchants from outside of Orissa was rendered difficult in relation to this enterprising class. This class land-holders along with the Khusbas raiyats could bargain effectively and hold back grain for higher prices. Thus the commercialisation of agriculture that was effected during this period was characterised by relative growth of this stable productive forces in the district between 1857 and 1897. Because, so far as the crop-economy of Balasore was concerned, it did not undergo “much change either in cropping pattern or in agricultural technology”.

**Tenancy Reforms**

Various sections of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, extended to Orissa between 1891 and 1896 amidst local controversy failed to alter the emergent agrarian structure to any appreciable extent. Its chief merit was only in obtaining for the raiyat, the benefits of statutory recognition regarding accrual of “occupancy right”. The Act, by definition extended the principle of the Rent Act X of 1859. It was provided that “any person who had continuously held land as a raiyat in any village
for twelve years became a settled raiyat of that village and that every settled raiyat shall have a right of occupancy in all lands held by him as a raiyat in that village". Consequently, the old distinction between Thani and Pahi raiyats became out of use in subsequent settlements. The Act also protected the "occupancy raiyats" from ejectment for arrears of rent and enhancement of rent beyond certain limits. Instead, the raiyats were given the right to apply for commutation of produce rents.

The non-occupancy raiyats were placed on an even keel. The power of landlords to oust them or to enhance their rents was subjected to limits. The granting of proper rent receipts was made obligatory on them. Simultaneously all tenants were given the right to pay rent into court. The effect of these provisions of the Act was theoretical. The settlement officer, Sir. Madox pointed out: "It is impossible to exaggerate the educational effect that settlement operations had from the first in teaching the Pahi raiyats, the nature of their previously existing rights, and in granting them security of tenure; but up to September 1891, when the status sections of the Bengal Tenancy Act were extended to Orissa, I do not think that they had much influence on customary wage". 
Some of the provisions of the law introduced were also ill-adopted to local conditions. From the very outset the Orissa Association, an outfit of the landed aristocracy, petitioned the Lt. Governor of Bengal, Sir Charless Elliot against the deleterious effect of the Act on agrarian relations in the Orissa Division. The ire of the Association was primarily against the provisions of the settlement laws which armed the settlement officers to adjudicate on the rights of parties.

Naturally, the Bengal Tenancy Act had a disturbing effect on the rural agrarian power-structure. Petty Zamindars who could not follow the intricacies of the Act found their estates sold up for failure to keep their accounts properly. The well-off among them were bogged down by litigation against their raiyats.

Other inadequacies of the Act on important subjects such as (I) making of improvements; (ii) the acquisition by landlord of a portion of a holding for building or other purposes (iii) the surrender and abandonment of holdings; and (iv) contract and customer came to light during the Revision Settlement conducted by J.F.W. James between 1906 and 1912.

The formation of a separate province of Bihar and Orissa brought into prominence, the need for a self-
contained agrarian code for Orissa. Madhusudan Das, taking part in the discussion on the Orissa Tenancy Bill in March 1912, said: "we came here to legislate, to have a code which is particularly suited to the conditions of Orissa and we deny that the Bengal Tenancy Act should be adored, worshipped and strictly followed because it has been successful in Bengal; ... we can show that there are conditions in Orissa, to which the Bengal Tenancy act ought not to apply." The bill was passed into an Act and came into force on 12th September 1913. It redefined the rights and obligations of all types of tenants and made more or less complete provisions on all matters governing tenancy relations.

The Act divided tenants into four classes viz., (I) tenure holders i.e. Zamindars and under-tenure holders i.e. Mukadams, Sarbarakhars and Pradhans; (ii) raiyats i.e. raiyats holding at fixed rents, occupancy raiyats and non-occupancy raiyats; (ii) under-raiyats i.e. tenant holding either immediately or mediately under raiyats; and (iv) Chandanadars.

The Act defined a tenure-holder as "a person who or whose predecessor-in-interest has acquired from a proprietor or from another tenure-holder a right to hold land for the purposes of collecting rents or bringing it under cultivation by establishing tenants on it. A
raiyyat was defined as "a person who or whose predecessor-in-interest has acquired a right from a proprietor or a tenure-holder to hold land for the purpose of cultivating it by himself or by members of his family or by hired servants, or with the aid of partners" 69.

The Act held a person possessing more than 33 acres of land as a tenure-holder on the presumption that larger holdings were not prima facie meant for personal cultivation. This provision passed substantial rights to the lessees of big land-holders anticipating, as it were, the future ideas of "Land to the actual tiller".

In an attempt to restore the cultivators of the fruits of their labour, the Act also allowed the raiyats to approach the Collector for settling a fair rent for the reclaimed land. It was provided that the rent of an occupancy raiyat could be enhanced by a contract upto 12 and 1/2 per cent and once enhanced, it could not be done again for a period of 15 years. The occupancy raiyat was also vested with the "right of transfer" on payment of 25 per cent of the consideration money to the landlord.

The rights of the non-occupancy raiyat was secured to the extent that such a raiyat was only liable to pay such rent as might have been agreed on between himself and his landlord at the time of his admission as a tenant. An under-aiyyat was not liable to be ejected, except on the expiration of the term of the written lease
or otherwise before the end of the agricultural year for which a six months notice was to be served.

As regards Chandanadars, the Act regarded them as another class of tenants holding land which had been so-recorded in course of a settlement and for which rent had been fixed for the term of that settlement.

The Act statutorily recognised the Mukaddams, Sarbarahkas and Pradhans as sub-proprieters. The Act also left scope for existence of temporary tenure-holders though almost all tenures in practice were hereditary. Section 154 of the Act secured to all these categories, the right to hold private lands duly protected from accrual of occupancy right.

Finally, in order to secure the landlords and the tenants effective enjoyment of their respective rights the Act envisaged powers for the government to institute fresh survey of the entire area and prepare elaborate record-of-rights. Accordingly between 1922 and 1932 the area was re-surveyed during the Revision Settlement under the superintendence of W.W. Dalziel whose diligent inquiries revealed a definite shift in the dominance over land, from the Zamindar-money-lender complex to the raiyat. Important indices of the survey showed marked improvement in the raiyat’s circumstances. However, the existing agrarian power-structure did not buckle completely under the impact of the new Act. For the Act, as B.K. Mishra states, "... led to the
inevitable result of creating a very large number of sub-infeudations under the proprietors and very much complicated the land tenure system in these districts.

Out of 7,39,804 acres of cultivated land which covered 79 per cent of the total temporarily settled areas, an increase by 9.1 per cent over the 1897 settlement, the raiyats possessed under occupancy holding 549,039 acres accounting for nearly 74 cent in Balasore. In comparison to this the landlords including proprietors and sub-proprietors between themselves possessed only 50,000 acres cultivating possession.

The number of sales of occupancy holdings recorded for the twelve years period of the 1932 settlement in comparison to the ten years figures of the 1912 Revision Settlement registered a decline from 61,978 to 60,000. The area sold comprised about 5 per cent of the total area held by raiyats. Out of the total number of buyers 91.7 per cent were themselves raiyats. Landlords, Lawyers and money-lenders formed only 3.3, 0.6 and 4.4 per cent respectively.

In the great majority of mortgage cases which indicated some decrease since the introduction of the Orissa Tenancy Act the mortgagees themselves were raiyats. For the corresponding periods as noted for sale, the number of raiyat mortgagees went up from 61.8
per cent to 84.1 per cent. The percentage of mortgages to landlords and money-lenders dropped from 38 to 15\textsuperscript{71}.

On the other side of the picture partitions since 1897 became more numerous. This led to an increase in the number of private estates from 1,398 to 2,394 in Balasore. Out of these there were 1,046 sub-proprietary tenures. Makaddams had 157, Sarbarahkars 802, Pursethi Kharidadars 49, Kharida Jamabandi 36, Shikmi Zamindars only 2. There was less intrusion by the landlords and moneylenders into the raiyat holdings so in a scenario of agrarian polarisation. The raiyatas had little scope to penetrate the ranks of land-holders. Of the total number of transfers of proprietary rights by way of sale, 76 per cent went to men of landlord class, 12 per cent to moneylenders and only 9 per cent to raiyats\textsuperscript{72}.

The spurt in the men of money lending class acquiring estates and raiyati-holdings alike noticed during the 1897 settlement considerably declined due to several factors. From the figures of the Provincial Banking Inquiry Committee of 1929-30 presided over by J. Hubbock it appears that about one fifth or more of the households were free from any debt. About one half were lightly in debt from rupee 1 to rupees 105. Only 16 1/2 per cent were heavily in debt over rupees 211.
As regards indebtedness of landlords the analysis made by the Committee revealed that 50 per cent of the landlords were free from any debt. Among the indebted, the proportion of those lightly indebted from rupee 1 to rupees 945 was 70 per cent. Rise in the prices of rice due to increased export after the introduction of railways in 1900 A.D. brought about an improvement in the material condition of the raiyat.

After an initial marginal rise in wage between 1911 and 1916, the condition of the agricultural labourers brightened with a sharp rise between 1916 and 1924. The increased rate of wage remained constant afterwards.

The cooperative movement also made some progress in Orissa since 1897. In 1912 there were 2 central societies with a working capital of rupees 1,13,671/-. This figure in 1928 went up to 10 with a working capital of nearly forty lakh rupees. Though the proportion of 'bad societies' was very high, yet with a wide net work of 1,730 affiliated societies for both agricultural and non-agricultural sectors, co-operative credit afforded critical assistance to projects such as development of valuable crops like sugarcane and bell-metal works. 73.[.1]

The improved agrarian situation was reflected in a number of caste-groups claiming for a higher status in the District. The changes were given effect to in the
settlement records where the claim was found well-grounded. Many families designated as Jena at 1897 settlement were recorded as Rays or Mahapatras at the 1932 settlement. There was obvious in this a graduated aspirations for upward social mobility. Chasas sought to be recorded as Khawaiits and the KhandaitTs wished to become Karanas or Mahanayaks. There was a marked decline in the number of chasas in Balasore from 18,168 to 11,541 consequent upon such upward social mobility. Amongst the Brahmins the Utkalia Pandas sought to style themselves as Satpathies or Mahapatras.

However, quite inconsistent with this pattern of graduated social mobility was the case of Bariks or Lenkas who though much lower in the caste-ranking, aspired to become Patnaiks.

There were other ways of seeking social respectability and status. The Gaurs who traditionally worked as Palanquin-bearers began treating the work as degrading. According to Dalzie, "this is consequent on the contact with civilisation which many of their members obtained by working as servants in Calcutta. 74. The Telis who chiefly employed themselves in trading by means of pack-bullocks were generally well-off. Some of them who purchased Zamandaries got themselves recorded as Kubera, a mythological term signifying the lord of wealth. The leading man amongst them, Babu Bhagban Chandra Das of Balasore went to the extent of adopting
Brahmoism. Members of the Tambuli community occupied positions of influence in Balasore town by taking to English education and government service. On the other hand, the Shasan system by which the Brahmins had been previously settled in villages with a sort of spiritual jurisdiction over surrounding area, survived only in the village names but for practical purposes becoming defunct.

The process of empowering the raiyat through various legislations was hastened between 1937 and 1947 after the creation of the separate province of Orissa. Some of these were, (1) right of transfer without payment of mutation fee to the proprietor; (2) free right of sub-letting or mortgaging occupancy holding; (3) free partition of holdings without the consent of the landlord; (4) right over trees; (5) confirmation of occupancy right over homesteads of service tenure holders, (6) conversion of jagirs relating to personal service to occupancy holdings on payment of fair and equitable rent; (7) reduction of rent of interest on arrears of money rent from 12.5 per cent to 6 per cent and (8) provision of penalty for illegal imposition on the tenants etc.

Although passing much of the right on land to the raiyats accentuated the problem of sub-infeudation enormously creating a situation where the raiyat himself became an "intermediary", yet in its most redeeming
aspect, these measures helped removed one of the compelling ills of the colonial yoke by freeing the raiyats from the shackles of an artificially created class of land lords.

iv. Irrigation

The only canal in Balasore that predated the famine of 1865-66 was the Churamon or Ricketts' canal. Built in 1826, the canal connected Churamon with the Matai River for the transport of salt from the Aurangs in the south of the district to the port of Churamon, when it was shipped by sloops to Calcutta. The canal was, however, never entirely completed and soon had fallen into dis-repair.

It was only after the famine that the Government was awakened to the urgent requirement of a canal system to protect the province from the twin evils of drought and inundation. The East India Irrigation Company incorporated in 1861 by an Act of British Parliament to accomplish the task had run a ground for acute paucity of funds by the time the famine broke out. It was, therefore, at the instance of Lord Lawrence, the Governor-General, that the Government took over the entire project in 30th November, 1868 after duly indemnifying the Company for past expenditure. For sometime, the work was carried out "with an energy in
some degree commensurate with its true importance". By the beginning of 1870 Kendrapara section of the high level canal was opened to tidal water. But it was not until another famine scare was reported in Calcutta newspapers, that the government approved sanction for the prosecution of the project to the north of river Brahmani.

However, as the entire scheme was evaluated more as a commercial venture, works on Balasore section did not advance to any appreciable extent. By 1891, the canal had only a range of 19 miles in the district between Bhadrak and Akhoypada whence it flowed to Cuttack. Further extension of the Canal to Balasore town was abandoned on the flimsy ground that there were no rivers of sufficient size to afford and adequate supply of water.

There was no public demand in Balasore to complete the project. On the contrary, the raiyats showed reluctance to adopt artificial irrigation. According to the report of John Beames in 1869 when the raiyats of Randhia-Orgara in Bhadrak sub-division were advised to use the water of river Salandi to tide over the dry spell, they feigned unwillingness on the plea that "...it was not the custom; that the proprietors of lands on the river banks would object to channels being cut through
their lands for the purpose of carrying water to fields further inland; that it would be very hard work; that it would not pay and that river water was not so fertilising as that which came from heaven”. At all events the river water was not used and the crops perished in consequence.79.

In view of the public perception on the efficiency of artificial irrigation, the collector’s specific suggestion was to maintain a general irrigation rate not exceeding a rupee upon all fields within reach of the canal water. But the government charged the long-term leases at an exorbitant rate of Re.1-8 or 8 annas per acre according to the height of the land. The seasonal leases were charged at an unvarying rate of Re.1-8 per acre. This was discouraging because the difference between the yield of irrigated and non-irrigated lands was not more than two or three maunds. For sugarcane leases which depended our canal irrigation the most, the charge was rupees 5 per acre. During the few years preceding 1897 settlement, the Zamindars discouraged the growing of sugarcane to avoid additional rents. After the settlement, acreage under sugarcane cultivation increased from 282 in 1895-96 to 510 in 1899-1900. But the area irrigated for other crops remained stationery. Consequently the settlement report suggested
no enhancement of rent on account of irrigation. Nevertheless the total area under irrigation in Balasore was only 29,537 acres by 1898-99 a figure that remained more or less same until after the country achieved independence. The chief merit of irrigation, was only realised in its being a method of insurance which minimised the risk of loss.

The only canal to have been completed in the district was the coast canal. Running along the sea-face at a distance between two and ten miles from the coast, the canal was partially opened on the 15th July 1885 and entirely in September 1887. With a total length of 71 miles in the district, Coast Canal connected in north, river Hooghli at Geonkhali and in the south river Matai at Charbatia. Constructed primarily for the purposes of navigation its inauguration, however, did not precede much in time the opening of the railways in the district. People preferred railways to shipping goods by the coast canal even by paying a higher tariff at the rate of 5 to 6 pies per ton per mile and 4 1/2 pies on grain for long distances because apart from security, the railways possessed the advantages in rapidity of carriage.

Upto the close of 1898, the capital outlay for the coast canal was rupees 45,17,000 exclusive of
interest charges of which no account was kept; while the net revenue obtained by deducting the working expense from the gross receipts showed a total deficit of rupees 1,17,000.

The canal's use as a famine protection scheme was one of the motives for its construction. However, even the ultimate benefit that the canal would have provided to the district by preventing flood was also belied. Landlords and raiyats alike complained of its deleterious effect both on agriculture and the flood situation in the district. The Flood Committee of 1928, finally recommended abandonment of the Balasore section of the Coast Canal.

Numerous agricultural embankments were the other means of irrigation and protection against flooding in Balasore. In this regard the government accepted the proposal of the committee appointed to inquire into the effects of the inundation of 1866 that embankments should be constructed as far as might be possible pari passu with the canals. Accordingly, the Public Works Department, undertook the responsibility of maintaining major embankments of which a length of 74 miles was under classes I and II, and situated on the Rivers Subarnarekha and Suma in the north, the Baitarani, Salandi and Genguty in the south and along the sea face in Pargana Ankura.
Simultaneously the notification under the Embankment Act in 1894 rendered illegal the erection and repair of embankments within three miles from the river bank with regard to Subarnarekha, Sartha, Panchpara, Buchabalang and Matai.

However, the implementation of this notification was rather lax. While the raiyats continued to make their own arrangements adding confusion to the system, the length of embankments under the P.W.D. decreased from 84 miles in 1898 to 53 miles in 1928. The main embankment which continued to survive were (I) the Bhograi embankment on the left bank of the Subarnarekha, (ii) the Baitarani left embankment above the High level Canal, (iii) the Salandi embankment protecting the civil station of Bhadrak; and (iv) the salt water embankment in Thana Basuderpur 85.

Infrastructure Sector

Rail Link

Extension of railways into Orissa nearby five decades after it was introduced in India, was the most crucial of all modes of communication that the government cared to implement in the post-famine period. The measure was delayed because the local and the provincial administration had expressed itself strongly in favour of
first completing the ongoing canal works\textsuperscript{86}. Once the Coast Canal was opened the Government decided in 1895 to proceed with the construction of railways in Orissa. The Kharagpur- Balasore extension of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway comprising a rail distance of 115.70 Kms was first inaugurated on 17th December 1898. Next, the section of 177.69 Kms from Balasore to Cuttack was opened to traffic on 10th January 1899. This extension completed the east-coast link between Calcutta and Madras. A 2′-6″ gauge Brach line from Rupsa in Balasore to Baripada, also served the district’s internal trade with the princely state of Mayurbhanj since 1904 onwards.

The Railways effect on the economy of Balasore is evident from the administration reports. Its strategic importance depended primarily on the easy accessibility of the entire rice-area of the district to the railway stations, the distances being less than in the other two districts\textsuperscript{87}. For the most part the beneficiaries of this improved trade were, however, the substantial cultivators, rich land owners and non-Oriya businessmen.

The railways did not particularly affect the prices of rice. The quinquennial average price of rice plummeted only marginally to 17 seers per rupee, while the same for the corresponding period before the introduction of railways was 18.29 seers. The railways
facilitated exportation of rice to an alarming extent. On the wake of the first world war Gopabandhu Das brought it to the notice of the Bihar and Orissa governments in his budget speeches on 1st April 1919 and urged "this government" to impress "upon the Government of India" to allow the local government to have the full control of their food-stuffs.  

Balasore's prime needs against her rice were cotton, oil, salt and spices. The import of these items predated the introduction of railways. But the railways broke the trade equation. The increase in the import of cotton piece goods particularly affected over half a lakh of weavers in the district. The weavers of Bhadrak, Kedarpur in Pargana Banchas and Balasore town could not continue in competition with the imported clothes. Already dis-oriented, these weavers by the turn of the 19th century, lived on the verge of starvation.

The railways thus contributing to the furtherance of metro-centric economy and village industries faced the threat of extinction. Consequently more and more of rural artisans and landless labour took to emigration. Writing in the Gazetteer, O'Malley stated in 1907, "The advent of the railway... has greatly stimulated migration. Natives of the district employed in Bengal return home at much more frequent intervals.
than formerly, and, on the other hand, the number seeking employment elsewhere has greatly increased". The Census of 1901 recorded the number of male emigrants from Balasore as 4,000 more than in 1891. The volume of emigration at the same time diminished due to the lack of economic opportunities in the districts. The greater number of immigrants to Balasore came only from the adjoining districts.

On other important aspects, however, the railways rendered signal service to the people. It was primarily due to the railways that a famine like 1865-66 did not visit Orissa again. The railways also broke Orissa's proverbial geographical isolation and brought it into the mainstream of twentieth century sub-continental awakening. Students, nationalists, pilgrims followed merchants and emigrant labour in taking to rail travel. Besides, as Yogendra Singh suggests, railways made a dent on the normative structure of the caste system by breaking down the strangle hold of communal restrictions and related ideas of pollution and purity of the people.

Road Communication

The Grand Trunk Road which ran for a length of 95 miles within Balasore afforded communication with Midnapore and Calcutta on the north and with Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam on the south. Besides 38 roads
maintained by the District Board with a total length of 309 miles provided the inter-district communication. The construction of bridges over Salandi and Burhabalanga in 1917 and 1928 respectively facilitates plying of motor buses along the main road between Bhadrak and Balasore. Otherwise bullock cart was the most common means of transport.

Port:

Chandbali serviced the district as the lone port providing sea-borne trade and communication facilities in the post-famine period. Established due to the enterprise of Captain Mc Neil on the north bank of the Baitarani river some 8 miles west of its confluence with the Brahmani, Chandbali was connected with the interior by the river Matai and the Bhadrak Road. Before the construction of railways, it accounted for most export-import trade and passenger traffic to and from Orissa. The Indian General Navigation Company Limited discontinued their service between Calcutta and Chandbali at the end of 1928. The number of vessels that entered the port in the same year was merely 13 with a tonnage of 2,062, as compared with 156 with a tonnage of 33,452 in 1909-10.
Social Sector:
Public Health

The Balasore pilgrim hospital the first of its kind in the district had been established in 1853 with the object of providing medical relief to the pilgrims passing along the Trunk road to Puri. Otherwise there was no semblance of modern health services in the district.

Superstitions allowed great latitude to endemic diseases like Malaria, elephantities, Cholera, dysentery, diarrhea and small pox. Propititating the village deities through pervasive rites constituted the only panacea to get rid of these diseases.94.

The native practitioner was essentially an herbalist. Most of his potions were administered in the form of infusion or decoction.95.

The high mortality of people from cholera during the Na-Anka famine brought the glaring deficiencies in public health services to light. Under such circumstances the leading citizens of Balasore as well as government took the initiative to put the health services on modern lines.
To begin with two branch dispensaries, one at Balasore town and the other at Bhadrak, were established in 1868. During 1890-94, there were 8 of them treating on an average 21,000 patients annually.

By 1903, the number of dispensaries went up to 11, of which 3 had accommodation for 71 inpatients. Of these, a charitable dispensary known as Raja Shyamananda De charitable Dispensary was founded by Raja Baikunthanath Dey in 1874. In 1894 a female out-door named as Rani Sreemati Female Charitable Dispensary was attached to it. Grouse, the Commissioner of Orissa Division amalgamated these two dispensaries into one institution in 1905, which ultimately was made into the District Headquarters Hospital of Balasore in 1944.

Similarly, the alloepathic hospital at Bhadrak founded on donation by Bhagat, a philanthropic person from Cuttack, was provincialised in 1944 and remained as sub-divisional hospital, Bhadrak.

Other than establishing dispensaries and entreating patients, efforts were also made from time to time to wean the people from their superstitious practices. The first organised efforts at sanitation were made under the then Magistrate John Beam. Tanks
were cleared out, drains opened and conservancy rules rigidly enforced. 

Vaccination against small-pox was made compulsory since the turn of the present century in Balasore Municipality. People were not found averse to this measure and 24,000 persons, or 23.2 per 1000 of the population, were successfully vaccinated in 1903-4.

After the revision settlement of 1912, the government made concerted efforts to eradicate water hyacinth. In 1918, local bodies were empowered to frame by-laws for issuing notices for removal of the weed and to prosecute persons who failed to comply.

However, in spite of these efforts sanitary condition in Balasore remained poor. This was not just because villages were ignorant of the principles of public health, but because and more importantly the grim struggle for subsistence did not allow sufficient margins of money and energy for the creation of a conducive social mechanism which could provide healthy conditions.

Artificial means adopted to improve cultivation hastened the process of siltification and decay of rivers. Drainage channels and distributors carved out of them were frequently the breeding grounds of endemic germs. Similarly, pilgrimages, fairs and festivals helped supply
ripe conditions for the onset of cholera and then served as viaducts for the spread of infection from district to district. "The British frequently judged their policies by fair but limited economic indices, whose fault was not that they were purposely deceptive, but that they excluded some of the vital areas of the impact of British development policies. Public health was one of these areas..."  

**Education**

Until after the famine the general educational level of people in Orissa from the colonial point of view was limited to "forming the alphabets in the dust and repeating the multiplication table in a parrot-like song".

Oriyas had little scope for obtaining English education which was of imperative necessity in the changed context. There was only one English High School set up by the government under the auspices of Lord Auckland's minute on 1st November 1853 in Balasore. There were two other government vernacular schools and five aided vernacular schools, which together turned out 271 pupils by the year 1860-61. In addition there was one English School of the Entrance Standard at Malikaspur founded by Raja Baikuthanath Dey of Manikhampa in 1853. But there were not many public spirited men in Balasore
to follow in the footsteps of Raja Baikunthanath to take advantage of the government’s grants-in-aid policy. Under the circumstances carving out of a separate educational division at Bengal comprising Orissa with its headquarters at Balasore in 1854 at the instance of Charles Wood’s Despatch had little impact in changing the educational scenario in Orissa.

Initial, misgivings nurtured by the Orthodox cross-section of the people towards English education apart, the government’s own skewed policies in discharging its developmental responsibilities was to a great extent responsible for this sad state of affairs. Sutton Karr, a leading missionary of the time lamented the consequent meager representation of Oriyas in government jobs. In his lengthy letter to the Government of Bengal he reeled out statistics saying: out of 550 employees in the offices of the Collectors and the Salt Agency, Oriyas in 1859 accounted for only 226. In his opinion, had the Oriyas been given preference over the ‘strangers’, there would have been a ‘desiderated impetus to education’^101. Similar sentiments were expressed by the Commissioner of Orissa. T.E. Revenshaw in his letter to the Government of Bengal, in the immediate aftermath of the famine. It was ultimately due to his efforts that a more vigorous policy of progress was adopted by the government for the material and moral improvement of the
people as had become the pre-requisite of the colonial state.

**Post-Famine Period**

In the post-famine period the government made a systematic effort in providing and re-orienting English education at all levels.

The Cuttack Training School was re-organised in 1869 as per the normal school system devised by Bhudev Mukherjee. The object was to train the indigenous gurus of village pathshalas. The school from its commencement was held in high esteem by the natives. The "Uriyas" generally referred to it as the "Dharma school".

**Primary Education**

In 1872 on the basis of Sir George Campbells scheme, primary education was expanded "among the masses of the people". The new scheme provided for subsidising village pathshalas by making monthly grants to the gurus and scholarship to the pupils. It created the necessary educational atmosphere in the villages of Orissa by encouraging "reading writing and arithmetic in real indigenous language" and as per the character of the province. Gurus were brought under the supervision of the district administration through regularly constituted district School Committees. A well paid Deputy Inspector
of schools was attached to the district headquarters to assist the district officers and the district school committees. A sub-inspector of schools was also attached to each sub-division of a district to improve the quality of primary schools.

The Campbell scheme too provided for the establishment of a model high class normal school at the headquarters of the commissioner-ship at the cost of Rupees 65000 per year. Second class normal schools were set up at each of the district headquarters costing about rupees 3,000 a year. These model schools were entrusted with the responsibility to impart training to the teachers for middle vernacular and primary schools respectively. According to the Commissioner of Orissa the measures obtained cordial approval of the people.

Within six months of the implementation of the new scheme, the number of schools brought under the inspection of the educational department increased to 189 and that of the pupils to 4446.

In 1875 the curriculum of primary school was further standardised. In response to the complaint that the villagers reduced their fees in proportion to the amount of stipend that a teacher received from the government, the Midnapore systems of dealing with primary education was extended to Balasore in March 1877. This
system pre-supposed aiding schools in proportion to the result achieved by pupils at formal examinations. A decade after, in 1886 in pursuance of the recommendation of the 1882 Education Inquiry Commission, the use of printed books in aided schools was made obligatory. Any school seeking aid was required to have a roll of at least ten pupils. Keeping attendance and inspection registers was made incumbent upon them. Further to be so aided a school had to be in existence for not less than six months. Consequently there was a fall in the number of schools in Balasore from 2260 in 1865 to 1922 in 1866. The number of pupils also declined from 35,803 to 32,865.104. Besides, Guru Training Classes attached to middle English schools were closed in 1897. The first grade Training School at Cuttack remained the only training school in Orissa. Two classes were opened in it for the training of English teachers for secondary schools in 1896.

In the next stage of evolution kinder-garten classes were introduced in 1902 at the primary level. Training schools for the purpose were sanctioned in all the sub-divisional headquarters and the policy of remuneration according to results ascertained by inspection was effected. The foundation which was thus laid continued to guide the course of primary education during the ensuing decades of the 20th century.
Grants-in-aid was the *sine quanon* of the government's policy pursued in regard to secondary education from the very outset.

By 1872 Balasore had one government High school, two aided middle-class English schools, three government middle class vernacular schools and six aided middle class vernacular schools imparting secondary education to a total of 588 students. In the Government High School alone the average attendance was 74 out of which 60 per cent were relatives of government servants and 35 per cent of traders. This representative character of the pupil was more or less the same in all other secondary schools\(^{105}\).

In 1877 an important change was effected by making the middle English schools into vernacular ones where English was taught merely as a language paper. Scholarship rules of 1882 allowed candidates from these schools whether styled English or Vernacular to appear in the same examination. After 1904 this examination was completely scrapped in favour of private examination to be conducted by the respective schools. Besides, the provision of vocational subjects in the curriculum,
emphasis on teaching of science and physical education and strengthening of inspecting staff brought perceptible improvement in quality of secondary education.

The two incentives for English education imparted in secondary schools were the increased prospects of lucrative employment and the chances of obtaining a university career by means of scholarships given at the entrance examination. Therefore, even if it was difficult to find enthusiastic public effort in setting up schools, secondary education grew considerably. By the turn of 1903-04, there were as many as 32 secondary schools of all kinds in Balasore. The main schools were the Government and Baptist Mission high schools at Balasore town, an industrial school at Alalpur, a Madrasa at Dhamnagar and 8 schools for depressed tribes and castes.

Higher Education

The avenues of higher education opened in Orissa immediately after the famine of 1865-66. Following the recommendation of the Director of Public Instruction, a collegiate class was started in January 1868. In 1876, the collegiate institution was raised to the standard of a college at the instance of T.E. Ravenshaw. The institution was made permanent in 1881 with the liberal donation of rupees 20,000 from Krushnachandra Bhanj, the
Maharaja of Mayunbhanj. The college was named Ravenshaw college at the specific suggestion of Maharaja to commemorate Ravenshaw's services as Commissioner of Orissa.

During the first 25 years of its existence, the college turned out 4 M.As and 94 B.As of whom 14 became pleaders, 13 Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors, 21 teachers, 13 government and private ministerial officers, 1 professor of the college, 1 munsiff, 1 Deputy Inspector of Schools and 3 Sub-Inspector of Schools. Besides, in its broader contribution, the college opened the gateway to western ideas for the younger generation who became instrumental in ushering a new era of socio-political consciousness in Orissa.

The benefit of college education could have accrued to many more had the government been more liberal in subsidising higher education for which the representatives from Orissa incessantly argued in the Central and Provincial legislatures. But unfortunately, Ravenshaw college remained the only institution of its kind in Orissa for nearly the whole of colonial period. Moreover, the costly nature of higher education tended to make it a preserve of the richer classes and the urban people.
Professional Education

Some headway was made in the realm of scientific and technical education in setting up in 1876 one medical school and one engineering school in Orissa. Situated at Cuttack these two institutions turned out trained hospital assistants and surveyors for the whole of the Orissa Division.

Female Education

Education of girls was an added dimension to the educational scenario. The American Baptist Mission had founded in Balasore a Primary school for girls as early as 1839. This school was converted to a Middle English School in 1896. There was also a Hindu Girl’s school under the native management attended by 33 pupils. In the beginning of the 20th century, increased number of girls attended schools owing to the popularity of co-educations at the primary level. In the year 1904-05 there were as many as 128 girls schools in Orissa and the number of girl students receiving instruction therein was 3,884.

Literacy in Balasore

In the district of Balasore as a whole, as per the census of 1901, 7.8 per cent of the total population including 15.7 per cent males and 0.4 per cent females
could read and write. At the time of creation of the province of Orissa, i.e., on 1st April 1936, the percentage of literacy in the district was reported to be 6 per cent. As regards the social composition of the literates, S.L. Maddox assumed that Karans and Kayasthas, who formed about 4 per cent of the people, could all read and write. Inspite of this narrow social base of western education, however, there could emerge an organised effort for cultural diffusion which contributed in no small measure to the cross-current of modernisation that strod the socio-political firmament of Orissa in late 19th and early 20th centuries.

**Administrative Reforms:**

**Introduction of Local Self-Government:**

The justification for the introduction of local self-governing institutions in India owed its origin to "the financial exigencies which the Central Government had to face in the mid-nineteenth century". The huge debt of 98 millions incurred by the British Government in India by 1858 was ground enough to think in terms of meeting local needs through local taxation. When the matter finally went through a series of governmental resolutions and Acts, "it served first as an efficient instrument of relief to the imperial finances and later as an agency for providing relief to the District Officer from some of the details of his work."
The institution of a municipal government in Orissa, under the Bengal Presidency, dated back to 1869 when Town Committees were established in Cuttack, Kendrapora and Jaipur under the District Towns Act of 1868. Later these Town Committees were converted into second class Municipalities by the revised Act of 1876. Under this Act, the first municipality in Balasore town was constituted in 1877 comprising a total area of 8.05 square kilometers. The first municipality in Balasore town was constituted under this Act in 1877 comprising an area of 8.05 Kilometers.

Following Lord Ripon's famous resolution of 18th May 1882, a significant change came about in these units of local government by the Act III (B.C) of 1884. The Act introduced the elective principle and considerably liberalised the Franchise. All the residents of the municipal area who attained the age of 21 years got the right of electing two third of the Commissioners. The remaining one third were nominated by the Government. The official elements in the municipal council were, however, not allowed to exceed one fourth of the total membership.

The first election held for six wards of the Balasore Municipality under this Act displayed the hold
of the upper and the emergent middle class over public affairs. Most of the elected Commissioners were either Zamindars, advocates or other officials. These Commissioners elected from among the members their own chairman and looked after works like conservancy, primary education, building of roads, community centers and works of other public utility.

The Municipality was yet to provide better provision for health, sanitation and water supply. "To the great majority, local self-government meant only the imposition of new regulations and new taxes and in consequence the boon was often little appreciated". The Government exercised enormous control over the municipality through the District Magistrate. The D.M. possessed over-riding powers to suspend any resolution of the Municipality and in case of incompetence default or abuse of powers even to summarily supersede it.

In 1921 Madhusudan Das, a representative from Orissa in the Bihar and Orissa council and minister in charge of local self-government introduced the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Bill to make the municipalities more autonomous. Based on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation of 1909 and the Government of India Act of 1919, the new Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act of 1922 increased the number of elected
commissioners. In a revolutionary measure the Act extended the franchise to women. It reaffirmed the Municipal Commissioner’s full power to elect their own chairman and prohibited them from appointing salaried servants of the government. The commissioners were also given the powers to frame their own Budget and By-laws.

The comparative autonomy so granted to the municipalities of Orissa and Bihar was further bolstered by the Local Government Act of 1923. Consequent upon this statutory improvements, direct responsibility of the District Officer to manage the affairs of the municipalities ceased. At the provincial level, it was now the Minister of local self-government, who remained responsible for the local administration. Despite the various shortfalls that dog the local self-governing institutions to this day, the Act continued to regulate the municipalities in Orissa till 1950.

Outside the Municipality of Balasore, the administration of local affairs were vested in the District Board, two local Boards constituted for each sub-division and the Union Committees formed at different places of the district. Constituted in 1887 under the Local self-government Act of 1885, these Boards looked after public works of considerable local importance. By 1905-06 the District Board was maintaining 494.27 K.M. of
roads of which 64.40 Kms were metalled. The board also maintained 77 pounds under the control of a Pound and Ferry Inspector. Its educational expenditure sustained 2 Middle schools, aided 18 schools of the same class, 65 upper primary schools, 866 lower primary schools and 9 other schools including 5 schools for the education of the children of tribal people. Besides, the Board maintained 4 dispensaries and aided 2 others. Altogether 6.4 per cent of the ordinary income of the Board was expended on medical relief and sanitation. The Board also maintained a veterinary dispensary at Balasore town and when necessary, deputed the Veterinary Assistants to deal with the outbreaks of epidemic diseases among cattle in the interior of the district.

Like the Municipality the District Board "represented the best and most educated classes of the district and that influential persons of high standing were Chairman and members of the District Board."\textsuperscript{112}

Thus in every respect, the post-famine period marked the foot-prints of a changing time. Partly induced from above, Orissa decisively entered a period of transformation. The momentum tenancy legislation, spread of English education, the growing influence of a free press, substitution of rule of law for discretionary administration, progress of railways and telegraphs,
easier communication with the burgeoning eastern metropolis and the more ready influence of European ideas produced a marked effect on the people. Most momentous of it all was the emergence of a middle class intelligentsia. Though still small in size it yet pitched new ideas, galvanised popular aspirations and in turn gained itself in strength with each passing day.
Note and References


4. The first long term (30 years) settlement was to expire in 1867.


9. *Report of the Orissa Famine Commission, 1866* (OFC), Vol. I, Part-I, Para 47. Note: Orissa was not a separate province at that time. The term “Province” is used here as an eulogy to indicate the separate identity of Orissa.


17. Fakir Mohan's *Atmajivana Charita*, op.cit., p.28.
18. A.P. Halwel, Under Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, No.706, 10th May 1866, B.R.P., May, 1866.
19. Ashley Eden, Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, No.1943, 26th June, 1866, B.R.P., July, 1866.
20. Molony to A.B. Shekleton, Secretary to Orissa Famine and Orphan Relief Fund Committee, No.394, 3rd May, 1867, B.R.P., June, 1867.
21. H.L. Dampier, Secretary to Government of Bengal to Secretary, Government of India, No.3345, 22nd October, 1868, B.R.P., 1868.
22. R.B. Chapman, Secretary, Board of Revenue (Land), Proceedings to Secretary, Government of Bengal, No.373-A, 25th November, 1865, B.R.P., December, 1865.

26. Fakirmohan’s Atmajivana Charita, op.cit., p.27 and W.W. Hunter, op.cit., p.278.


29. Report of The Indian Famine Commission 1881, Vol. I, Section I, Part-II, Para.43. Note: Total sum of money expended by Government in addition to relief in the form of supply of grain was rupees 25,292 in the district of Balasore while the total number of death alone in the town of Balasore between June and October 1866 was 8,400.

30. The net monetary outlay for relief was Rs.62 lakhs. Yet the total mortality in the province reached one third of the population.


32. In 1867 about 2/3rd of the orphans were from the Bhuinya and Santal tribes. The rest belonged to the Chasa and other occupational castes.


34. Ibid.,


39. Annual General Administration Reports of the Orissa Division (AGAROD), 1871-72, p.7.


41. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

42. The Final report on the Survey and settlement of the province of Orissa, 1890-1900, by S.L.Maddox (p.36, para 61) puts the total population of Balasore at 7,32,280 on the eve of the 1865-66 famine. Putting aside the decennial growth of 8.32 per cent from the total population between 1854-55 and 1864-65, the proportion of population depending upon the salt industry in the year 1854-55 could by no means have been less than 2.21 per cent.

43. Sub-joined statement in G.Rundall's Report on the Manufacture of Salt and the System of Administration of Salt Revenue of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri Districts forming the Orissa Division of Bengal Presidency, Calcutta: 1883.


45. Ibid.,

46. B.R.P. (M) September 1867, T.E.R. to Secretary, B.R.(L)P. No.920 1/2, 5th March 1867.


49. *Annual Administrative Reports of Bengal, 1871-72*, p.341.

50. Selections from Divisional and District Annual Administration Reports and Government Resolution on them, 1872, 73, p.496.


53. *B.R.P. February, 1867, No.136; T.E.R. to Secretary, Government of Bengal, No 370, 10th August, 1866.*

54. *B.R.(Land)P. April 1898; Secretary of State’s Despatch No.20, (Rev), 3 February 1898.*

55. *B.R.(L)P. February, 1902, E.B. Harris. Commissioner of Orissa Division to the Director of Department of Land Records and Agriculture, Bengal, No.551, O.S. 3rd July, 1900.*


57. *B.R.(L)P. April 1898, Nos.1-2; E.W. Collin Secretary B.R.(L)P 8 to Secretary, Government of Bengal (Revenue), No.240-A, 10th March 1898.*


59. Ibid.,


62. i.e. 90,000 persons precisely.


8, (b) and (X).
64. Annual General Administration Reports of Orissa Division (AGAROD), 1876-77, pp.7 - 11.
66. Ibid., P.610.


69. The Orissa Tenancy Act, 1913, Bihar and Orissa Act II of 1913, Section 5, p.6.

71. Ibid., paras; 240 and 250.
72. Ibid., Paras 237, 238 and 251.
73. Ibid., Paras 14, 15, 8, 9, 17 and 16.
74. Ibid., para 18.
75. Ibid. Chapter X, pp.93 and 94.
76. Ibid, Chapter II, P.48.

84. W.A. Inglis, op.cit.,


89. B.R.P. April, 1898, Nos.74-75: Monographs on Cotton Fabrics.


93. Ibid., p.95.


100. W.W. Hunter, op. cit., P 353.


104. Ibid., 1885-86, p.49.

106. Utkal Dipika, 24th August, 1901.


110. Calcutta Gazetteer, dt. 17.3.1869.
