

INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to demarcate the historical frontier of ancient Orissa because of the existence of numerous ethnic settlements and political units like Kalinga, Utkala, Odra and Kosala, which at present constitute modern Orissa. In the medieval times, boundary of Orissa has been presumed to have been extended from the rivers Ganga to the Godavari and from Amarkantak to the Bay of Bengal. In the middle of the fifteenth century, Kapilendra Deva, the founder of the Gajapati dynasty, is said to have extended his empire as far south as the river Kaveri and as far north as the Hooghly district of modern Bengal.¹ In 1568 medieval Orissa lost her independence to the Afghan power, who failed to consolidate its hold over Orissa because of the rapid expansion of the Moghal Empire in Eastern India. Mansingh, the general of Emperor Akbar, conquered Orissa in 1592 which comprised five sarkars, such as Jaleswar, Badruck, Cuttack, Kalinga Dandapat and Rajmahendri. These Sarkars were placed under the Subah of Bengal². The independent chiefs of hill territories of Orissa, became feudatories of the Moghal Emperor and agreed to pay a fixed amount as peshkush (annual tribute). By the end of the sixteenth century, the Sarkar of Rajmahendri and a portion of Kalinga dandapat were annexed by Nawab of Golkunda. As such south of lake Chilka became the boundary between the Moghal and the Bahamani Empires. This part of Orissa, was named later on as Northern Sarkar after the Nizam of Hyderabad annexed it. The death of Aurangzeb marked the disintegration of the Moghal Empire and Murshid Kuli Khan, the nawab of Bengal, refused to remit royal revenue to Delhi and virtually declared himself

independent. The growing Maratha power under Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur took advantage of the weakness and oppression of the Muslim rule in Bengal and conquered Orissa in 1751, which was under the dominion of Nawab Alivardi Khan. By the terms of the treaty between Alivardi Khan and Raghuji Bhonsle I, the Subarnarekha river became the demarcating line between Orissa and Bengal³.

The Maratha subedar divided Orissa into two distinct political divisions ; Mughalbandi and Garjat, the regions which the Mughal naib Subedar had formed earlier. The Mughalbandi regions and was, as such, thickly populated. The Garjat area was a part of the wild tracts of uplands of western Orissa covered by the hills and dense forest and encompassed the kingdom of several feudatory chiefs. However, the Maratha rulers could annex Sambalpur and her group of satellite states only at the fag end of her rule in 1800⁴ (Map No.1).

The British East India Company conquered Orissa in 1803, and immediately established direct rule with the three Mughalbandi districts of Orissa known as Cuttack, Puri and Balasore. Negotiations were made with nineteen garjat kings who agreed to remain as tributary rulers of the Company's government. They were exempted from operation of general regulation system by sections 36, 13 and 18 of regulations XII, XIII and XIV of 1805 respectively. In spite of the fact that the Sambalpur group of states decided to remain under the Company's rule they were restored to Raghuji II, the Bhonsle of Nagpur after negotiation in 1806⁵. But in 1816 the weakness of the Bhonsle led to the annexation

on the northeast, Bihar in North, Madhya Pradesh in the West, Andhra Pradesh in the South and the Bay of Bengal on the East⁸.

The total area of British Orissa in the 19th century was 23907 square miles of which 16184 square miles were occupied by the Tributary mahals. The population in 1815 was estimated at 1,162,500 persons which rose to 3,280,547 in 1872. By the census of 1901 the population of Orissa and the tributary states was estimated at 4,981,842 persons⁹. According to 1971 census of Orissa 21.93 million persons live in 51,417 villages and 81 towns spreading over 156,000 square kilometers. The total areas of the state comprises 4.7% of the Indian Union and it accommodates 4.01% of her people.

1. Importance of the Period

The years between 1833-97 was a period of transition in the agrarian economy of Orissa. The year 1833 marked the passing of Charter Act which led to the introduction of laissezfaire policy in British India. In Orissa, the Company abandoned its policy of investment, paving the way for importation of machine made textile goods¹⁰. The Charter Act also facilitated the import of cheap Liverpool salt to Orissa via Calcutta, which led to the change in the Company's salt policy. In the same year the intricate problem of land revenue administration was solved with the passing of regulation VII of 1833. It simplified the methods of enquiry and extended the period of assessment of revenue for thirty years¹¹. This regulation became a basis for the settlement of 1837 in Orissa, discontinuing short term settlements¹². The Regulation XIII of 1833 had also defined political status of the

Tributory Mahals of Orissa. The native states were kept under the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals of Cuttack with a power to suspend and remove the chief after getting the sanction of the Governor of Bengal¹³. Also, in 1833 the neighbouring districts of the jungle mahals was abolished and incorporated within Bengal because of the sporadic tribal resistance movements of Jungle Mahal district of the frontier Bengal. These tribal revolts had also adversely affected the agrarian economy of Orissa in the nineteenth century.

The year 1897, upto which the present studies have been extended, is notable for the land revenue settlement done during that year after a period of sixty years. This settlement gives a graphic picture of the difference in the economic condition in Orissa between two settlements of 1837 and 1897. The railway lines were opened in 1897 connecting coastal regions of Orissa with Calcutta and Madras, the seats of two provincial governments. In the same year important administrative changes like re-transfer of salt Agency of Orissa from Madras to the Raj for extension of irrigation projects in Orissa, took place¹⁴.

But in the economic history of a particular region within a particular period it is difficult to find out suitable starting and terminating points as history is a continuous flow of developments. However, during 1837-97, it is possible to notice the process of changes leading to social tension and paving the way for the rise of a full fledged capitalists class in the agrarian economy of the twentieth century Orissa.



Some Christian Missionaries like J.J. Peggs, and W.F.B. Laurie, had written their historical treatises attacking traditional socio-religious institutions of Orissa. They may not be called as historians as their works ^{centered on} revolved round preaching, teaching and distributing sacred christian literature with a view to civilise the people sunk in the darkness of superstition, ignorance and idoltary¹⁷. The first Indian to write the history of Orissa was Pyari Mohan Acharya, in the second half of the nineteenth century, ^{- a work} meant as a course book for school children. R.D. Banerjee, R.L. Mitra and M.M. Chakravorti, also compiled their works on history of Orissa, stressing on the glory of the Hindu rulers in the ancient and medieval periods¹⁸. They collected different categories of epigraphic, literary and archival source materials, classified them with precision and ^{suggested} laid down avenue for modern historical research on the political history of Orissa. But recent research works have revealed beyond doubt the gaps in their narration and the mistakes they committed. These deficiencies in their works ^{are} is due to their inability to tap all possible source, of information owing to the non-availability of historical data at that particular moment.

In the last two decades of the present century a group of historians like B.C. Roy, K.C. Jena, K.M. Patra, J.K. Samal and B.S. Das have made attempts to write the administrative and revenue history of modern Orissa. Recently three books written by S.C. Patra, P.K. Mishra and Nivedita Mohanty on the nationalist movements in Orissa for the amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts have been published. But none except B.S. Das has attempted to write on Economic history of the state in terms of modern trends of

historical analysis¹⁹. Moreover, they have neglected to utilise socio-anthropological data strewn over the whole of Orissa dependent as they were on archival sources. With the exception of B.S.Das others have highlighted the British view points and do not answer a basic research question as to why Orissa despite so many beneficial measures undertaken by the British Raj for modernisation of the economy, failed to sustain a self-generating economy for her recovery.

3. Objective of the present study

The European political historians writing on nineteenth century Orissa have mainly narrated the revenue and administrative experiments of the East India Company and of the Crown over the poverty stricken people of Orissa. Some Indian historians followed their beaten tracks, in so far as they depicted the beneficial aspects of the British Raj. But the modern historians in dealing with the nineteenth Century agrarian history of Orissa is confronted with two problems which require serious studies, First the question arises, whether contrary to claims made by British historians, despite modernisation measures adopted by the British Raj, the agrarian economy of Orissa had declined. And, if so, why. Secondly, whether there was a crisis in the traditional leadership in the social framework of Orissa for a possible regeneration of the economy and, if so, why there did not emerge a national leadership to complete modernisation of Orissan economy irrespective of reforms from outside. To many historians, ^{The} answer ^{lies} lies parallel to the analysis of the Indian economic backwardness in the nineteenth century. To them India's backwardness and, ^{consequently} as such of Orissa, an

integral part of India, was the outcome of colonial exploitation. The Raj, for her very existence, wanted to create a gridle of underdeveloped economy at the periphery of her metropolis to maintain the prosperity of her imperial market economy. The themes of works of these British and Indian historians were more or less the same and as such may be summored^{up} as follows :-

- i) The British Raj restored law and order in the country through reforms and regenerations in terms of administrative, economic and cultural modernisation.
- ii) But inadequacy of financial investment in agriculture and industrial development for Orissa commensurate with her need led to the economic underdevelopment of the country.
- iii) Consequently, there was a stunted growth of the middle class leadership when the old traditional aristocracy failed to respond to the challenging situation arising out of the modernisation measures adopted by the Raj.
- iv) Because of the challenges of the Raj, response came from both the tribal and traditional societies through peasant resistance movements generally known as revolts.

These historians failed to answer a basic question for the economic history of nineteenth century Orissa : ^{namely} as-to why the modernisation of the administrative and political set up of Orissa by the Raj could not arrest the crisis in the agrarian economy and end the crisis in leadership in the socio-economic set up by enhancing the potentiality for leadership in the middle class. It has been argued by the Marxist economic historians of India

that economic exploitation of India by the British Raj was the main malady for her economic underdevelopment as also for the crisis in the leadership for a possible economic regeneration of India. Following their arguments it is easy to explain Orissa's economic backwardness. It is true, that in the 19th century frequent natural calamities like draughts, famine and flood, besides other socio-political causes, led to the economic decline of Orissa. Salt and textile industries of Orissa declined under the stress of capitalist competition from the colonial metropolis. In the traditional society caste rigidity and superstitious and religious beliefs paralysed the backbone of socio-economic entrepreneurship. But for all these man made and natural shortcomings it would be unjust to historical scholarship if one explains them in terms of colonial exploitation of Orissa, industrial revolution in England, or capitalist challenge of a highly civilised western world to the traditional, stagnant economy of Asiatic feudalism.

Some Russian Marxist scholars and historians like Reisner, Pavlov, Levkovsky explained the economic backwardness of Orissa and attributed its causes to the failure of the emerging middle class to respond to the exploitative tendency of the foreign rule, which was a catalytic agent of modernism. To Marx and his followers foreign domination was the main force behind modernism in India as it was for the Italian cities which after the fall of Constantinople under the hands of the Ottoman Turks in 1453 felt the pinch of the blockade of the Mediterranean commerce and blossomed a new awakening called Renaissance leading to the emergence of the nation-states under the leadership of the enterprising middle class. Susobhan Sarker and a host of other Marxist historians ^{held the} viewed that the

British rule contributed to the emergence of an enlightened middle class in Bengal, and this class was responsible for the economic and cultural regeneration of Bengal which the historians termed as 'Bengali Renaissance',²⁰. But then again H.R. Ghoshal, N.K. Sinha and Binay Chaudhuri have explained that despite spectacular regeneration in the fields of education and socio-cultural framework in the Bengal Presidency the village level industries languished, her oceanic trade came to a standstill, and the agrarian economy registered a crippling decline owing to the capitalist challenge of an alien rule following the 'laissez faire' policy. The impelling forces of Industrial Revolution converted India into a monopoly market for selling her machine made finished goods and purchasing raw goods at a cheap rate. To these economic historians, the British rule though responsible for social regeneration, acted as a catalytic agent to the economic underdevelopment of India, which stunted the growth of the middle class leadership for possible national regeneration and modernity. But the question arises as to how far the views of these historians may be accepted for a case study of an Indian province like Orissa, a neighbouring state of Bengal.

An impartial view on the question of economic backwardness of Orissa has not been established by these historians because many source materials both archival non-archival and socio-anthropological have escaped their scrutiny. The present scholar confronted with a mass of documented sources demanding an analytical framework of necessity, differs from their conclusions. The economic decline of Orissa started in the sixteenth century,

when Muslim rule brought about a change in her agrarian institutions. This process of decline was accelerated by the short lived Maratha rule (1751-1803) ^{which had} breeding pernicious effects on her economy. Her ^{uncongenial} geographical condition ^{together with} was a mate to this political phenomenon ^{to} hinder her sustained economic developments. The British rule since 1803, acted merely as a catalytic agent to the creeping degeneration of the Orissan economy. The present study makes a probe into the causes of Orissa's proverbial poverty and economic underdevelopment which continued unabated despite the benevolent measures resorted by the Raj during the nineteenth century. The study also aims at explaining the constraints both socio-economic and political, which put impediments in the way to leadership-formation for a possible economic regeneration and as such self-generating modernity of Orissa. Therefore, in the present study, some fundamental questions have been probed and some cogent arguments have been put forward to explain the following :-

- i) Why economic degeneration of Orissa could not be arrested despite beneficial measures adopted by the British Raj for the modernisation of the administrative set up of Orissa ?
- ii) Why no regenerative force could emerge on the surface of the social framework in terms of national leadership and middle class entrepreneurship for accelerating the process of modernity, in the economic life of nineteenth century Orissa?

Only since the early twentieth century national leadership has taken a matured view for national regeneration of Orissa. The nineteenth century marks only its formative phase. In the 19th century, however, the emerging nationalist middle class had no answer to remove the economic malady that the country was suffering from since the medieval period. Instead, they confined themselves to bewail the lost glory of Orissa, an unattainable utopia and engaged themselves in reforming the social evils and religious prejudices, refusing to remove the real cause for the poverty of the people by restoring the agricultural and industrial infrastructure of Orissa.

4. Basic hypotheses tested

The basic hypotheses tested in the present study are :

(i) British rule had a beneficial aspect but not to the extent of the socio-economic necessities of Orissa. (ii) The problems of the nineteenth century Orissa are not only economic and administrative but also socio-cultural and religious. The tradition of successive foreign rule, natural calamities, uncongenial geophysical condition for a sustained economic development, socio-religious values, all combined to imprint their impact on the impoverished economy of Orissa. (iii) There was a slow growth of middle class potentiality for national leadership throughout the nineteenth century because of the socio-religious values and institutions stood on the way to national regeneration. (iv) In the nineteenth century, creeping decline of the agrarian economy could not be arrested owing to the exploitative tendencies of the British Raj which exposed the

traditional economy of the Asiatic feudal Orissa to the challenges of the world capitalist market. (v) The economic decline of Orissa in the final analysis was partly the result of her degeneration in the traditional socio-economic framework owing to its inherent contradiction reinforced by her socio-religious values and geophysical condition and partly the result of the colonial exploitation of the alien British Raj.

5. Methodology followed

To test the above hypotheses the following methodological framework has been undertaken :-

- A.
- a) To visualise the total picture of economic degeneration of Orissa consequent upon the administrative and revenue experiments of the Company and British government the official records, kept in different archives in India have been consulted.
 - b) To understand socio-cultural environment of nineteenth century Orissa it is necessary to catch up with the main trends of modernisation in the mental consciousness of the emerging middle class. To do this contemporary literary works, vernacular journals, and contemporary printed government reports kept in different archives and in the private and government libraries in India have been consulted.
 - c) To establish the hypotheses so derived from the archival and literary sources the process of quantitative and comparative analysis of the statistical data has been

undertaken to assess the economic underdevelopment of the country.

- d) To find out the echoes of leadership crisis in both the Mughalbandi and Garjat areas studies of private papers have been undertaken. These papers are kept by eminent individuals, nationalist leaders and litterateurs. Due emphasis has been made on oral history and folklore for possible explanation of the hypotheses.

To substantiate the above enquiries research data and historical source materials have been extensively collected from both the archival and non-archival sources and categorised in the shape of different problems of historical analysis.

B. Collections of archival materials preserved in the different record rooms of the government :

- i) From the State archives of Bhubaneswar, Board of Revenue records, records of different districts of Orissa, private papers like Duspullah, Khariar and Kalahandi papers have been consulted. The Board of Revenue records contained correspondence of Commissioner of Orissa related to both revenue and judicial matters of the province. The volumes of Cuttack and Balasore Salt records and six volumes of correspondence related to Keonjhar disturbances were of great importance for the studies of the nature of and sequel to the peasant resistance movements in Orissa, events leading to decline of salt and textile industries in Orissa.

- ii) Orissa was^a part of Bengal Presidency in the nineteenth century. Most of the original administrative papers the copies of which are not available in Orissa State Archives have been preserved in the West Bengal government record room, Calcutta. From this record room the proceedings of Lt. Governor of Bengal in revenue, judicial, miscellaneous, general, salt and public works departments have been consulted to study the correspondence between the local administrators and central administration at Calcutta on administrative and economic matters.
- iii) From the National Archives of India, New Delhi, besides Foreign and Home Departments Proceedings, the present scholar has had the privilege of collecting data from public works, revenue, agriculture, famine branch, and Home Departments which the historians on Orissa have so far overlooked. The papers preserved separately like Sambalpur papers, threw new light on the state of Sambalpur in 1849 before it lapsed to the British rule. Thus in the Orissa state archives local and regional problems of administration have been studied while at Calcutta the British revenue and administrative policy and the correspondence between the local administration and the Lt. Governor of the Presidency on administrative problems could be studied. At Delhi the formulation of the British policy and its implementation in Orissa could be studied. Thus three categories of archival sources depict the British policy in Orissa.



iv) Attempts have also been made to go through the contemporary printed reports, census reports, and Gazetteers published by the authority of the British Government. These reports were found in the West Bengal Government Secretariat Library (from official library of the Lt. Governor of Bengal), National Archives of India, and State Archives, Bhubaneswar. These reports, accounts and narratives, like the archival sources not only depict a clear picture of the view point of the civilian administrators but significance of the reports lie in depicting the then native society and complete bankruptcy of the traditional leadership to catch up the main trends of developments with the innovations of the Raj.

C. Collection of non-archival materials :

Simultaneously with the collection of data from the archival sources emphasis has equally been laid on the materials from the works of contemporary litterateurs who formed the elite section of the emerging middle class. Contemporary vernacular newspapers and periodicals like Utkala Dipika, Sambalpur Hitaisini and Utkala Putra have been studied. These valuable works preserved in the Utkal Sahitya Samaj at Cuttack not only gave the socio-economic picture of the nineteenth century Orissa but revealed the formative phases of the contemporary political and national consciousness. Thus archival records throw light on the British view point while the vernacular literature and newspapers echoed the native response to the exploitative aspect of the British rule.

Different court records kept by erstwhile kings of former native states like Kalahandi, Khariar and Bamra have been consulted. These states marked their excellence for literary and socio-economic development activities during the period of the present study. The Durbar literature written by the Garjat princes of Bamra and Khariar threw light on the response of the landed magn^{age}ts to the existing social evils and their endeavour to eradicate them. From literature and newspaper sources a list of litterateurs have been made who represented the then elite section of the society and tabulation works have been done on their parentage, locality of their birth, caste, educational attainments and their attitude towards socio-political problems. A table has been prepared to collect the list of new graduates to explain the locality, caste and heredity which responded to the spread of education, while it failed to form the nucleus for social entrepreneurship for capital formation necessary for economic regeneration of Orissa.

D. Comparative statistical data :

In the present study a comparison has been made between the data given by the British administrators and ^{the} same derived from the native newspapers and periodicals to test the reliability and validity of the data collected. The paucity of economic data have been greatly felt as the government only made a systematic attempt to compile the agrarian statistics from 1884²¹. But these compilation, could not be scientific under the socio-political constraints and inadequacy of the government machinery to collect them on scientific basis. The statistical tables derived from the vernacular newspapers are mainly based on from the government

statistics, reports and studies of local native reporters. In this thesis careful preparation of tabulation works of the economic data have been undertaken by collecting them from authentic government reports and from the archival sources and comparing them with the same type of data available from the private papers and native newspapers. The table may at best present the trends of development but not the actual facts.

6. Chapterisation

This thesis may be outlined in six chapters. The first chapter deals with political and administrative changes brought about in Orissa by the British rule which marked a departure from the medieval values and social~~s~~ political institutions of the society. The objectives of the Raj were centralisation of the government machinery, introduction of welfare measures, implementation of modernisation measures in the society, which led to the emergence of a middle class, supporting the alien government for consolidation of her hold over Orissa to realise her colonial and imperial goals in India and outside. Within the five sections of the first chapter the impact of geography on the Orissan socio-economic institutions, tradition of successive foreign invasions before the British conquest of the province, which acted as a constraint to capital formation and growth of her indigenous entrepreneur class, administrative objectives of the Raj, and reorganisation of the provincial units, have been discussed. Besides, a systematic review of the first thirty years of administration has been dealt with. The establishment of British law and order, ensuring rule of law, and its relation with the Garjat states and

the Jagannath temple has been discussed, to explain the question, to what extent the British rule was beneficial or injurious to the economy of Orissa. As agricultural yield was the major source of revenue of the province, the Company's government undertook measures to systematise land revenue system culminating in the settlements of 1837 and the crown ultimately took another sixty years to undertake the settlement of 1897.

The second chapter deals with the welfare measures adopted by the government to improve the economic condition of the people of Orissa. Within the five sections it has been shown how the irrigation and embankment projects failed to achieve their success; how the government undertook halting measures to develop means of communication and attempted to introduce scientific farming but failed to bring about commercialisation in agriculture, and how the late measures of the Raj saved the forest from complete denudation in the province.

The third chapter deals with consequences of the British administration in Orissa. The beneficial measures of the British rule have been analysed and to what extent agricultural development took place and the interest of the primary producers was protected have also been discussed. It has also been shown that in spite of the beneficial measures implemented in the agrarian sector, the production of trade in salt had perceptively declined, not because of the capitalist competition but owing to its inherent contradiction of supply restriction and demand constraints in the undeveloped agrarian economy within the economic set up and also due to the imbalance between the agrarian and

the urban sectors which Orissa inherited since the 16th century. Besides, the decline in the agricultural output leading to the lowering of the wage of the labour class, resulted in the lessening of the buying capacity of the agrarian producers, which have cumulative effects on the textile and other village level industries and failure of commercialisation of agriculture due to constraints in both economic and political institutions for the capitalist formation mainly led to the famine of 1865-66. The commodities exported through the ports were rice and salt, which indirectly affected the fate of the primary producers by eating away their saving capacity leading to natural calamities like scarcity and drought which was the result of inadequate investment of the government and private individuals. It has also been shown that government took measures to avert the crisis and passed legislations to protect the interest of the primary producers. But in absence of increased saving capacity of the people and no industrial development with slow rate of capital formation economic development in the agrarian sector could not be noticed despite modernisation measures.

The fourth chapter begins with the pertinent question as to why there was no economic growth despite restoration of law and order and the welfare measures adopted by the colonial government. In this regard certain problems have been analysed to find answers to the following questions :

- 1) Why was there no preceptable change in the technology and other means of production ?
- 2) Why was there dislocation in the distributive pattern of manpower ?

- 3) What impeded the exploitation of mineral resources ?
- 4) What were the problems which checked the growth of animal power ?
- 5) What led to large scale alienation of land ?

This chapter consists of six more sections. The first section deals with the problems of land alienation leading to the process of depeasantisation. The second and third sections explain the changing agrarian relations due to the transfer of land and the compulsive credit relation leading to formation of usury capital. The fourth section explains the problem connected with demographic changes of the period. In the fifth section, the consequences of the above constraints for agricultural development have been catalogued to explain the causes of paucity of capital formation and pauperisation of the primary producers. The chapter ends with the sixth section, showing the emergence of the Mahima cult, which a large section of the peasantry embraced to find out an escape route from material sufferings and the inevitable process of pauperisation.

The fifth chapter discusses the economic consequences of the indirect rule of the British Raj in the Garjat states and the influence of western law, culture, and thought on the rulers of these native states known as Tributary mahals of Orissa. These rulers tried to modernise their states and strove for the capitalist development, paving way for the emerging middle class to play a pivotal role in the administration. There was sporadic peasant movements in the native states, an outcome of the then social tension, due to loss of land, control of tribal and peasant economy by the new men coming from outside, the exacting spree of

money lenders, and the excessive differential taxation on the peasantry to bring about capitalist development.

The sixth chapter delineates the picture of regeneration to explain the phenomenon that the British rule generated a recuperative force for developing Orissa within the framework of crisis in the colonial agrarian economy. An analytical study has been made to explain the economic aspects of the growth of the middle class and the economic results of the introduction of the modernisation measures in the country. The spread of education, leading to Brahmo movement, activities of Christian missionaries to fulfil the whiteman's burden, the modernisation in the administration in the Garjat states and the language agitation of 1890's, which swayed the province, resulted in the two important movements: movement for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts and nationalist movements in the first half of the twentieth century. These factors responsible for the movements have also been elaborated to explain economic consequences of these movements in the course of historical developments.

These chapters end with a conclusion in which the present scholar attempts to present his views on the topics discussed in these six chapters. It is futile to fathom the crisis in the peasant economy of the nineteenth century Orissa, a seed time for

new developments like nationalism and educational as well as socio-cultural progress. The answer to the question, why there cannot be any sustained economic growth in Orissa, lies partly on the injurious effects of the successive exploitative rule of the foreign communities of which the British rulers were the last in the succession line, and also on the consequent stunted growth of native entrepreneurship which failed to respond to a challenging situation after the British paramountcy in Orissa.

7. Limitations of the Thesis

The present scholar would also like to submit before the academicians the constraints under which he had to continue his studies and the problems he could not overcome in the interest of the future generation of scholars on the subject.

Orissa with both Mughalbandi and Garjat areas is a vast field taken for his studies to draw the outlines of the changes and continuity in the socio-economic life of the nineteenth century. Though strenuous efforts have been made to assess the changes and continuity, the author has failed to procure socio-anthropological data from the grass-roots level of tribal and peasant settlements situated in many inaccessible parts.

The source materials for 19th century economic history of Orissa, available at different archives, record rooms of India and abroad are of such a vast number that the author has to become selective. Besides, records of the India Office library, London, is simply inaccessible to him which prevented him from examining some valuable records like Meriah records and private papers of different Lt. Governors of Bengal and the Governor-General of India.

Another problem he encountered is with the time frame of his studies. One cannot fix a deadline or demarcate a period by ascertaining that development or degeneration started from a definite point of time. The causes of slow growth of national consciousness and economic nationalism in the 19th century, which later took the shape of national movement, obviously could not be dealt with properly.

The statistical tables prepared by the author are not fully complete because of the paucity of the economic data for the period of present study to explain the decline of the agrarian economy in its quantitative aspects.

On the same subject voluminous works have been done in West Bengal because of the abundant availability of private papers, documents and literary works of the contemporary litterateurs but in Orissa owing to natural calamities and ignorance of the people, such materials have not been preserved and even when sources have survived they could not be collected and presented before the enlightened scholars in the last lap of the nineteenth century.

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