

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN
NORTHERN ORISSA, 1850 -1947

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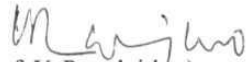
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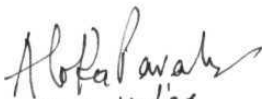
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ABBREVIATIONS

BGP : Bengal Government Proceedings

CUP: Cambridge University Press

DPI: Director, Public Instruction

EPW: Economic and Political Weekly

IHR: Indian Historical Review

NAI: National Archives of India

OHRJ: Orissa Historical Research Journal

OSA : Orissa State Archives

OUP: Oxford University Press

P.I.: Public Instruction

RAB: Report on Administration of Bengal

RAO: Report on Administration of Orissa

UHRJ: Utkal Historical Research Journal

UURJ: Utkal University Research Journal

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PREFACE

The role of education in bringing social change in the British period is an interesting aspect of social history. The introduction of modern means of communication, commercial capitalism and above all English education resulted in the growth of nationalism and led to social change. An urban based, educated middle class emerged in the Indian sponce who shouldered responsibilities and disseminated western ideas of rationalism, scientific enquiry etc. to bring about social change and in a large perspective fought against colonialism.

Education, and its dissemination of ideas, in its wake, created conditions favourable for social change in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Apart from imparting the formal education its spin-off effects contributed to the efforts for socio-religious reform movements to ward off the dogmas and evil practices afflicting the religion and society. The spread of education and the socio-religious movements also contributed in the education and emancipation of women in society. Apart from raising their status in the society, the educated women leaders actively participated in the freedom struggle along with their fighting for rights.

In Orissa, the introduction and dissemination of education created conditions conducive for social change. The emerging intelligentsia under the influence of English education, as their counterparts elsewhere in India, voiced against the dogmas afflicting the society and tried to reform it from inside. The large political struggle at the national level also included the fight against the evils that surrounded the religion and society from within. So both the political and social movements went side by side. Education and Social change in Orissa during 1850-1947 is vital to measure the growth of education and social change which had a bearing on the later resurgence and emancipation of women and national struggle.

I am indebted to many people during the course of my research. First and foremost is Prof. V. Ramakrishna, my thesis supervisor, for his patient guidance, which shaped my academic aptitude. This has been of great help to me while working on this thesis.

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CHAPTER- I

INTRODUCTION

Change is the basic nature of society and change is universal. Social change occupies a dominant place in the consciousness of humanity. Man and society have evolved through the times immemorial. In this course, both men and their social institutions have undergone changes that generate contradictory feelings of hope as well as anxiety. Even a casual student of history must admit that social change occupies an important place in the human chronicle. Whether this can be proved or not in the case of extinct societies is a matter for anthropological research, but what is evident to the current observer is the reality of change in all living societies. The subject of social change in modern India is vast and complex, and an understanding of it will require the collaboration of a number of scholars in such diverse fields as economics, history, law, politics, religion, demography and sociology. It will have to take into account also of regional, linguistic and other differences.

MEANING OF SOCIAL CHANGE:

Social change may be defined as the process which is discernible in the alteration of the structure and functioning of a particular social system¹. It is a term used to describe variation in, a modifications of, any aspect of social processes, social patterns, social interaction within a social organisation. Social changes and variations from the accepted modes of life, whether due to geographical conditions, in cultural equipment, composition of the population or ideologies and whether brought about by diffusions or inventions within the group². By social change is meant only such alterations as occur in social organisations, that is, structure and functions of society³. Usually social change refers to a significant change in social behaviour or a change in social system rather than minor changes within a small group. Social change means

¹ Kuppuswamy, B., Social Change In India. Delhi, 1979, p 43.

² Gillin & Gillin., Cultural Sociology, New York 1950, p 561.

³ Davis, K., Human Society, New York. 1960. p 622.

such alterations as they occur in social organisation that is the structure of society. Any such ordered arrangement of social phenomena gives a structure to society. When alterations take place in the form of relationships and the pattern of social action within such structure, it is known as social change⁴. The nature and pace of social change are not uniform in each age or period in the same society. There is no inherent law in social change according to which it assume definite forms. It is difficult to make any prediction about the exact forms of social change.

TYPES OF SOCIAL CHANGE :

Social changes are of various types and can be explained by different terms such as process, evolution, growth, progress, development, revolution etc.: Process is a change that takes place continuously in a definite manner. It consists of a series of alterations in an object from one moment to another. When a sense of direction is added to continuity the change is expressed in terms of evolution.

Evolution is a process of progressive differentiation of organic forms, their genetic capabilities and emergence of more complex organic endowments from similar ones. Here the change is merely concerned with the biological modifications and progress of the organism. But social evolution encompasses the gradual development of social norms and technology and helps us in understanding social change. It further discusses the evolution of culture and material life through the Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic and industrial ages. It also concerns itself with the emergence of class, caste, religion, and other socio cultural developments in the society.

Progress is a movement towards an injective, thought to be desirable and the general group, for the visible future⁵. When we speak of progress we imply not merely direction but direction towards some goal or destination.

⁴ Maciver, P. N., Society, New York, 1945, pp 523 - 525.

⁵ Ogbum & Nimkolf., A Handbook of Sociology, London, 1950 p 605.

Revolution means any large scale change in the leadership of a society or some fundamental part of institution of society, such as political and a successful restructuring of those aspects of society in a way deemed in the interest of the new ruling class. Generally revolution signifies a sudden and violent change of Government or a political constitution of a country.

It also refers to any change in society that brings about basic changes, even if they occur over a long period of history for example, the industrial, the commercial and agricultural revolution.

Several terms are used to describe modes of change in human society. But they fail to comprehend adequately varieties of change taking place in different societies. As a result, the concept of social change has been a topic of discussion and generally adopted to refer to all the historical variation in human society.

Social change as ideology:

The study of social change, in view of the nebulous nature of its theory is a difficult task and it is more difficult in the case of a society like in India which has not only a fathomless historical depth and plurality of traditions but is also engulfed in a movement of nationalistic aspirations under which concepts of change and modernisation loaded with ideological meanings. In this form, change ceases to be viewed as a normal social process, it is transformed into an ideology, that change is in itself desirable and must be sought for .

The study of social change in India has taken different shapes and directions depending on the nature, shape and direction. Sociologists and social anthropologists from time immemorial have done profound research on the subjects of social change, which is a part of their overall observance of society on a larger perspective. The bias in the studies of social change in India by the sociological and anthropological point of view results from too much concern with culture and values. Structural realities are often ignored and studies suffer from 'values bias'. Most studies are focussed on acculturation, diffusion of norms and values; change is identified with "spread" of

these values in regional or national spheres. To understand the process of social change in India, put forth by sociologists, a discussion on them is necessary. The concept and approaches can be grouped as i) Sanskritization and Westernization ii) Little and Great traditions which include the small process of Parochialisation and Universalization.

The term Sanskritization was used first by M.N. Srinivas to describe the process of cultural mobility in the traditional social structure of India⁶. In his study of the Coorgs in Mysore he found that lower castes, in order to raise their position in the caste hierarchy, adopted some ways of life of the Brahmins and gave up their own, considered impure by the higher castes. By doing so, within a generation or so they could claim higher position in the social hierarchy. To denote this process of mobility, Srinivas first used the term "Brahmanization". Later on he replaced it by Sanskritization. Srinivas realised that the process which motivated the lower castes to initiate the custom of the Brahmins in Mysore was a specific case of a general tendency among the lower castes to imitate the cultural ways of the higher castes, in many cases these higher castes were non-Brahmins; they were Kshatrijas, Jats, Vaishyas, etc., in various regions of the country. The crucial idea, however, is that of hierarchy in the caste system theoretically represented by Varna.

Sanskritisation, put forth by M.N.Srinivas, is the process of cultural and social mobility during these periods of relative closure of the Hindu social system.

It is an indigenous source of social change. From a social psychological point, Sanskritisation is a culturally specific case of the universal motivation toward "anticipatory socialisation" to the culture of a higher stage in the hope of gaining status in the future⁷. However, Sanskritisation is a unique historical expression of the general process of acculturation as a means of vertical mobility of groups.

Yogendra Singh in his pioneering work on social change has explained the process of Sanskritisation by two levels of meanings, these are 'historical specific'

⁶ Srinivas, M. N., *Social Change in Modern India*, Hyderabad, 1992, p 32.

⁷ Singh, Yogendra, *Modernisation of Indian Tradition*. Delhi, 1973. p 6.

and "contextual specific"⁸ . According to the historical specific approach, Sanskritisation refers to those processes in the India history which led to changes in the status of various castes and their leadership or their cultural patterns in different periods of history. It is indicative of an indigenous source of social change in the broad spectrum of India. In contextual specific sense, however, Sanskritisation denotes contemporaneous process of cultural imitation of upper castes by lower castes or sub-castes, in different parts of India. The nature of this type of Sankritization may sometimes vary from Sankritic Hindu traditional forms to the tribal and even the Islamic patterns.

Sanskritisation as a concept of social change is also loaded with a number of shortcomings, which makes it difficult to use it in a large perspective. This is illustrated by the diversity of patterns found in the contextual process of Sankritisation. Studies show that in many places lower castes imitate the customs and traditions of the Kshatriyas and not of the Brahmins, and at other places tribes are reported to have imitated the customs of caste Hindus. In a few exceptional cases, even the higher castes have been found imitating the tribal ways and undergoing the process called "Tribalisation".

Westernisation: Westernisation is a much simpler and newer concept than Sankritisation. According to Srinivas, Westernisation is the product of changes brought about in Indian society and culture as result of over 150 years of British rule. The term subsuming means changes occurring at different levels. . . . technology, institutions, ideology and values. British rule produced radical and lasting changes in Indian society and culture. The new technology and the revolution in communication which it brought about, enabled the British to integrate the country as never before in its history . The establishment of Pax - Britannica put an end once and for all the local wars which were endemic in pre-British India and which were a most important source of social mobility for individuals as well as groups..

During the 19th century the British slowly laid the foundations of a modern state by surveying land, settling the revenue, creating modern bureaucracy, army and police instituting law courts, codifying the law so on. "Through the printing and

⁸Singh, Yogendra, above cited, p 8. See also Essays on Modernisation of India, New Delhi, 1989.

availability of books and journals, along with schools, modern knowledge and ideas could reach to a large number of Indians. Christian missionaries from Europe, through their efforts also encouraged education to the Indian people.

In the first half of the 19th century, the British with the support of enlightened Indian opinion, abolished such institutions as "*suttee*" (1829), female infanticide, human sacrifice and slavery (1835). The establishment of scientific, technological and educational institutions, rise of nationalism, new political culture and leadership in the country are all by-products of Westernization. According to Srinivas, the increase in westernization does not retard the process of Sanskritization; both go on simultaneous lines and to some extent increase in Westernization accelerates the process of Sanskritization, for instance the postal facilities, railways, buses and newspaper media which are products of western impact of India render more organized religious pilgrimages, meetings, castes solidarities etc., possible now than in the past.

Evidently, Sanskritisation and Westernization as concepts, are primarily focussed to analyse cultural changes and have no scope for systematic explanation of changes in the social structure. Srinivas himself concedes this point. To describe the social changes occurring in the modern India in terms of Sanskritization and Westernisation is to describe it primarily in cultural and not in structural terms. An analysis in terms of structure is much more difficult than an analysis in terms of culture. He further adds that Sanskritisation involves "positional change" in the caste system without any structural change.

Contextually, Sanskritisation and Westernization are founded upon empirical observations and offer objective insight into some aspects of cultural change. Difficulties, however, arise from the complexity of the contextual frame of reference. As it has been seen, these concepts do not have the same meaning or theoretical implications when used in "historical specific" and "contextual specific" terms. Sanskritization fails to account for many aspects of cultural changes in past and contemporary India as it neglects the non-sanskritic traditions. It is noted that often a non-sanskritic element of culture may be a localised form of the Sanskritic traditions. Moreover, Sanskritic influence has not been universal in all parts of the country. In

most of northern India, especially in Punjab, it was the Islamic tradition which provided a basis for cultural imitation.

Factors of social change :

All societies are characterised both by continuity and change. Continuity is maintained by social controls particularly by social norms and education which transmit the accumulated social heritage to the new generations. Social change occurs in all societies and in all periods of time. But the rate of social change differs from society to society and as its nature and pace. Some of the main factors of social change are demographic, technological, economic, cultural, planning and legislation and above all education.

The role of education is vital for all round growth of political, social, economic, and cultural aspects in a society. Education is considered to be one of the real factors to take the society and all its other aspects from one stage to another stage. The role of education, particularly the English education popularised by British needs to be assessed in the present light to have a greater understanding of its impact on the society and the change it brought about in the whole system of colonial India.

Colonialism is an important part of the heritage of most third world countries and in many instances still continues to influence relations between these countries and Western nations not only in the sphere of economic but also the domain of culture⁹. Once the dominant powers had established their military supremacy, a new order, a civil society, had to be created and coercion had to be replaced or supplemented by persuasion. It was necessary for the rulers to create a class of collaborators between them and those whom they governed. Since there was a cultural gap between the rulers and the ruled, it was difficult to do so unless the two developed a common language of communication. There had to be a homogeneous cultural space over which persuasion and coercion could operate. In the establishment of this hegemonic power, education played a crucial role. Education was supposed to reinforce culturally what colonial policies aimed at achieving economically and politically.

However, most of what has been written earlier on education and colonialism is written by apologists of colonial rule. But in the last two decades there has been a tendency to attack all forms of colonialism especially its impact on education. Colonial educational systems have been accused of being little more than tools used by capitalists to exploit the underdeveloped world and to keep it in subjugation. At one end of the spectrum education is considered to be most important ideological state apparatus devised by the ruling classes to ensure that society largely conforms to their ideas and interests.

Gramsci is even more specific when he says, intellectuals (the upper sections) of the products of the education system are officers of the ruling class for the exercise of subordinate functions of social hegemony and political government¹⁰.

The nineteenth century was a period of transition¹¹. India witnessed changes in its social structure, brought about by the British administration, its economic policies, educational system and introduction of modern means of communication had a far reaching effect on Indian society and economy. The commercial capitalism which took shape at the time resulted in the creation of a market suitable for investment of British capital and converted India into a classic colony for their finished machine goods.

The introduction and impact of western education and ideas stimulated growth of awareness in the society. The Indian society inclined towards a social change through this new ideas and education and the subsequent rise of a new urban based middle class came into being. Those new classes were the pioneers of spreading and propagating western ideas and arousing social and political awakening. So the various socio-religious reform movements which took place in India during this period of British rule were the expression of the rising national consciousness and spread of liberal ideas of the West among the Indian people.

⁹ Gramsci, Antonio, *Selections from Political Writing, (1910-1920)*, London, 1988, p56

¹⁰ Gramsci., *Op.cit.*, p 74.

¹¹ Ramakrishna,V.,*Social Reform in Andhra*, Delhi, 1983.

The study of education and social change has always been interesting to evaluate the complementary role of the two concepts. The importance of the study of education and social change arises from the fact that the process and pattern of society of the present period owes its origin to a considerable extent from the developments taken before. Among one of the factors of social change, education has been in the lime light at present times to ascertain the nature and degree of its efficacy as a harbinger of change. As has been the case in most of the third world countries, the process of social change through education has created a class of intelligentsia who are the champions of the society. This necessitates a historical approach of study to the process of education and social change.

In studying the history of education and social change, the various determinant factors for societal regeneration could be explored. For history of education is no longer regarded as a matter of "Acts and facts" as the concept of education has been broadened considerably in recent years- education being no longer considered just a matter of formal schooling, but of all the many influences which go to shape the character of the society. The history of education, is therefore concerned, not merely with institutions such as schools, colleges, universities but with social forces which have affected the quality of life and with the ideas which have been put forward by theorists and practitioners of education in the past. Briefly, therefore, the study of the history of education is best considered as a part of the wider study of the history of the society - social history broadly interpreted through the polity, the economics, and the religion of society concerned¹².

The writing of history in India was started by the British in the initial years of their rule. Being mostly interested in political and administrative systems, they ignored the social history. Development of education and social changes were conspicuous in their absence in the writing of history. In addition, they suffered from the imperialistic bias and neglected regional history and concentrated on all India aspects only.

¹² Ghosh, S. C, The History of Education in Modern India, 1757 - 1986, Hyderabad, 1995, p 8.

The later historians of modern India after independence, made systematic studies of the history of education and its impact on the social and political events in India. Among the historians, to mention a few, Syed Nurullah and J.P.Naik¹³, H.M.Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee¹⁴, B. T. McCullay¹⁵, K. K. Dutta¹⁶ and Aparna Basu¹⁷ are eminent scholars in the history of education. Their emphasis obviously is on the history of education and its impact on the political development in India. For example, Datta identifies English education as one of the main factors for the dawn of renaissance in modern India. However, his study is confined to Northern and Western India only. Even L.S.S.O' Malley in his book "Modern India and the West"¹⁸ analyses various aspects which were responsible for modernising India, but ignores the study of the growth of education and its impact on society.

Even if there were some studies on social history, like C.Y.Chintamani (Ed)¹⁹, Indian Social Reform and S. Natarajan, "A Century of Social Reforms in India", which throw light on the effects of various persons, organisations and associations to bring about social reforms, but they are mainly in the form of collection and documentation of the relevant information. They have not made a special study, however, of the educational system and its impact on social institutions.

S. C. Ghosh, in his book²⁰, "The History of Education in Modern India 1757 - 1986", has presented a historical overview, of education in modern India, from its colonial beginnings in 1757 through the implementation of New Education Policy in 1986. This study reviews the controversial issues like the introduction of English Education in India, the authorship of Education Despatch of 1854, the University Reform of 1899 - 1905 by Lord Curzon and also indicates how the New Education Policy

¹³ Naik, J. P. and Nurullah, Syed, A students' History of Education in India. 1800 - 1947, Bombay, 1979.

¹⁴ H. M. Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee, The Origins of National Education Movement, Calcutta, 1957.

¹⁵ Mc Cullay, B. T., English Education and Origins of Indian Nationalism., Mass, 1966.

¹⁶ Dutta, K. K., Dawn of Renascent India, Bombay, 1964.

¹⁷ Basu Aparna, The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898 - 1920. Delhi, 1974.

¹⁸ Malley, L. S. S. O', Modern India and West, London, 1941.

¹⁹ Natarajan, S A Century of Social Reform in India, and Chintamani, C. Y. (ed-), Indian Social Reform, Madras, 1901.

²⁰ S. C. Ghosh, op.cit., cited.

promulgated in 1986 could be successfully implemented in the view of the shifting political scenario in the country.

Aparna Basu, in her work, "The Growth of Education and Political Development in India 1898 - 1920" has studied, the development of education and the simultaneous political developments in India. She has linked it well with the rise of intelligentsia and their contribution to the ensuing **freedom** struggle. It is a authoritative work on the area of education and political development.

Kuppuswamy, B., in his book, "Social Change in India"²¹ has analysed various types of social change in detail. He has dwelt upon the role of education in bringing about the social change.

The present study is mainly concerned with the growth of education and its contribution to social change in Orissa between 1850 and 1947. In this connection, we shall examine three important themes, viz., (1) the educational policy of the British Government in Orissa from 1850 to 1947 and its implementation, (2) growth of education in Orissa as a result of these policies; and (3) the extent to which education was a determinant factor in bringing about social change.

SIGNIFICANCE AND RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY:

The present study aims at analysing the growth of education and social change that occurred due to educational developments in Orissa during the period 1850 to 1947. The thrust of the study is on social change which manifested in two different **forms**, one, in the **socio-religious** reform movements, the second being the emancipation and **upliftment** of women, closely related to the first. The role of education in contributing to these changes has a vital significance in moulding the public mind towards achieving the end. To examine the extent of educational development in Orissa, both in terms of the quality and quantity is one of the aims of our work. An attempt is being made through this study to have a comprehensive understanding of the impact of education on the nature and extent of **social** change in the Orissa society.

Numerous scholarly works have been done in the areas of education in different regions of Orissa. There are works which concentrate on the development of education in various parts of Orissa. They concentrate mainly on the growth of education. Other aspects like its impact on the contemporary social set up have been overlooked. Even if work of this nature are there, no substantial attempt is made in them, on the aspect of social change in Orissa under the impact of education. In order to have comprehensive understanding of the processes of change in the society, an attempt is made here to examine this vital aspect in Orissa. More so, the highlights of the present study is on social history, which has been generally neglected or overlooked by the several scholars in their historical researches.

In the broader plane, the study of education and social change has been done in the all India level and other provinces also. To fill the gap, this study has been undertaken in Orissa.

The British occupation of Orissa in 1803 marked a new era in the history of Orissa. The far reaching measures were introduced in social, economic and political spheres of the province. The British contact with Orissa began in the first half of the 17th century. Hunter says; "True to our national character, we settled in Orissa as merchants long before we made our appearance as rulers"²². One of the earliest British factories in India was established at Hariharpur in Orissa in 1633. Subsequently, other factories were established at Balasore and Pipli. "These two Orissa harbours", writes Hunter, "formed the basis of other future greatness in Bengal"²¹.

It was after the second Maratha war, the British occupied Orissa in 1803 from the Maratha rule. The East India Company ruled Orissa for 55 years and after that it was directly ruled by the crown.

The British conquest of India was carried on according to prevailing political situations as well as military conveniences of the conquering power. In the process of

²¹ Kuppuswamy, B., op.cit.. cited.

²² Hunter, W.W., History of Orissa. Vol. 1. London, 1872, p 108-112.

territorial conquests the traditional compositions of the socio-cultural affinities of the various Indian people were very much neglected. As one of the major linguistic communities of the Indian sub-continent, but placed under several administrative jurisdictions, the Oriyas suffered the injustice of dismemberment for nearly a century since the British conquest of Orissa in 1803. Ganjam and other Oriya-speaking areas south of Chilka lake remained tagged to Madras; Midnapore to Bengal; Singhabum, Saraikella and Kharswan to Chhota Nagpur division; Sambalpur and Chhatisgarh feudatory states in the west to the central provinces. Thus when the British occupied Orissa in 1803, it was confined to the three coastal districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore. Orissa again formed a division in the province of Bengal from 1803 to 1912 and in the province of Bihar from 1912 to 1936.

The British occupation of Orissa in 1803 took place when the province was reeling under, backwardness in all spheres. The Maratha rule before the British occupation was only interested in the revenue collection from the province, neglecting the other developmental initiatives, thereby converting the province backward and dependent. This apathetic attitude of the Maratha rule resulted in the backwardness of the economy and society, education etc., when other provinces were thriving with prosperity. For example, Bengal before the British conquest, was under the able Mughal administration which carried forward the developmental activities and after the British occupation, the development continued to march forward more vigorously, as the ground was well prepared before. It is another matter that the British rule also ruined the Bengal economy. But when the British initiated several benevolent and developmental activities in Orissa, the inhabitants were not prepared or equipped to exploit it for their benefit, instead, they viewed these development programmes with suspicion and never came forward to avail it for their benefit. Because the base was not well prepared for them to make more opportunities.

The establishment of British power in India was a prolonged process of piecemeal conquest, consolidation and colonialisation of the economy and society. This process produced discontent, resentment and resistance at every stage. The first hundred years of the British rule witnessed a series of civil rebellions of different dimensions and

²³ *Ibid.*

magnitudes. As elsewhere in India, in Orissa too, these popular resistances came in the form of civil rebellions. The local grievances led the people to rise against the British, like the revolt of Paralakemidi during 1813-14 and Ganjam in 1825. The major one being the Paik rebellion which threatened the British government was started and continued by the Paiks (local militia) of the Khurda region in Orissa. These uprisings met fates similar to other movements in rest of India and failed due to lack of organised resistance and a common cause.

Apart from these indigenous resistances, Orissa remained in peace for the rest of the Company's rule. The apparent and comparative ease with which the land was governed led the British authorities to suppose that their policies were sound. However, Orissa seems to have been neglected by the British administration. The people in the princely states suffered in their inaccessible seclusion. The coastal districts which linked the Company's territories in Bengal and Madras were paid the minimum administrative attention.

The calamity which occurred within 8 years of the end of the East India Company's rule, in 1866-67, took away one-third of her entire population i.e., more than one million souls. This worst famine of 1866 showed the administrative apathy of the government and the backwardness of the region which was almost isolated from the rest of India. The servants of East India Company looked upon Orissa as a mere source of revenue. But after the famine the attention of the government was drawn and several steps were taken to develop the province to prevent such calamities occurring again.

In 19th century, social movements and growth of natural consciousness grew in Orissa as elsewhere in India. These developments were facilitated mainly due to two factors. First, the rise of a middle-class intelligentsia due to spread of western education and, second, the growth of mass media and communications like press, railways, and postal services etc. The establishment of English medium schools, colleges and universities led to the spread of western ideas and slowly but steadily a new class of intelligentsia with novel hopes and aspirations appeared on the Orissan scene. By the end of first half of 19th century, a conducive climate of social consciousness was

available in different parts of India, especially in the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. But for the people of Orissa, such facilities came very slowly and mostly after the famine of 1866-67.

In matters of education, no interest was shown by the Company for a long time though the missionaries had established an English charity school at Cuttack as early as 1823. Even by the end of the Company's rule, the condition of education was rather lamentable. The report of the Inspector of Schools, South-West Bengal for the year 1857-1858, gave the following picture. There were three Zilla schools in the headquarters of the three districts and the number of pupils on roll was, Balasore English School: 80, Cuttack English School: 113 and the Puri English School: 89²⁴. As regards the women's education, Orissa was still backward. By 1881 the highest standard which the girl's school had reached in Orissa was the lower vernacular scholarship standard. Only towards the end of the century two girls took admission in the Cuttack college. Thus the progress of education in Orissa was rather very slow and the number of educated persons was rather insignificant. However, this enlightened and educated minority formed the 'hard core' of the socio-political movements in Orissa during the last decades of the 19th century.

The growth of nationalist consciousness was slow and one of the most important reasons for this was the lack of good communication in the province. The matter did not improve much even after the famine of 1866 which was aggravated due to non-arrival or late arrival of food stocks from other provinces for the lack of proper communication linkages with Orissa. The government did not consider the construction of railways in Orissa feasible due to enormous cost of bridging a number of rivers in the coastal region. The people had to agitate for the construction of railways in Orissa for a long time and it was not till the end of the 19th century that the railways were completed connecting Calcutta with Puri through Balasore and Cuttack. And, incidentally, when the passenger traffic was completed in 1900, the then Governor-General, Lord Curzon was the first important visitor and the first Viceroy to visit Orissa²⁵.

²⁴ Samal, J. K., Orissa under British Crown, New Delhi, 1979. p 240.

²⁵ Das, M. N. (ed.) Sidelights on Orissan History and Culture, Cuttack, 1977.

In spite of these handicaps, socio-political transformation took place in Orissa in the second half of the 19th century. Several organisations devoted to the cause of all-round improvement of the people were established. These organisations succeeded in awakening the people from their long slumber and prepared the ground for bigger movement against colonial rule in the 20th century.

Indian society in the 19th century presented a complex picture caught in a vicious web created by religious superstitious and social obstruction. Hinduism had become a compound of Magic, animism and superstition. The Orissa society was at a backward stage when the British occupied it in the beginning of the 19th century. Being isolated from the rest of India, the cultural contacts resulting in societal growth was completely absent in Orissa. The exploitation and apathy of the Maratha rule before the British had ruined the people economically and lack of education and knowledge had retarded the human resource development. The result of which is the inward looking view of the society. The British administration also did not take up any immediate measures to fill the gap as initially it was interested only in the revenue collection. Another misconception on the part of the British administration was treating this province on par with Bengal. Bengal, before the British rule and its initial years had developed in every sphere and the British rule there accentuated the process further. But when such experiments were made in Orissa at the beginning of British rule, the response from the people was not the same as that of Bengal. The main reason for this was the backwardness of the people economically, as Maratha rule before British was not really interested in the development of the province. Bengal, for that matter, was not under the Maratha rule that time. So the process of under development in Orissa is historical.

AREA OF THE STUDY:

The British occupation of Orissa in 1803 heralded a new era in the province. The overall changes introduced in the socio-economic and political structures of the province brought about several results affecting the life and culture of the people.

The region of British Orissa, for a considerable part of the colonial rule, formed a division of Bengal Presidency. However, the region constituted a separate geo-political, economic and socio-cultural zone with a distinct tradition and history of its own. For a considerable part of the colonial rule, the British Orissa comprised three directly administered districts of Cutlack, Puri and Balasore and the Tributary Mahals (feudatory states) of 24 in number which were autonomous territories internally. In 1901, the Orissa division had a population of 3,173,375 and an area of 28,046 square miles. Subsequently, other districts were added to the tract, i.e., Sambalpur in 1905 and Koraput and Ganjam in 1936. By 1936, when it was elevated to provincial status, the British Orissa comprised six districts; namely, Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Sambalpur, Koraput and Ganjam; and the Tributary Mahals: with an area of 32,695 square miles and a population of 8,043,681²⁶.

The British occupation of Orissa was not a one time conquest, but piece by piece occupation. The British occupied the southern parts of Orissa in 1765, the coastal region in 1803 and the western part by 1849. What the British wanted infact was the coastal strip of land to link the eastern presidency of Bengal with the southern presidency of Madras for strategic reasons.

After the occupation of Orissa, the British Government introduced various economic and social policies which furthering the revenue collection of the government, antagonised the native people. These antagonisms and displeasure resulted in several resistance movements against them. Orissa's resistance movements against the British government goes by a distinctive and a singular characteristic. Elsewhere in India and, in most places, resistance to the British came from the ruling sovereigns and their armies. But in Orissa such resistances came from the people from the grass-roots level. The Paik rebellion of 1816 or Ghumsor revolt or other sporadic movements, exposed for the first time, weak foundation well as the inherent defects of the new administration.

²⁶ Census Reports of the years, OSA, 1911, 1921, 1931

The comparative ease with which the land was administered led the British to neglect the over all development of the province. On no occasion, they ever thought that Orissa required the same attention as the neighbouring territories of Bengal and Madras. While administrative developments in other parts of India followed more or less a general pattern of elaboration and improvement, Orissa seems to have been left struggling neglected and thereby denied of many advantages.

The princely states were left to suffer their own indigenous systems, while the coastal districts which linked the Company's territories in Bengal and Madras were paid the minimum administrative attention. This negligent attitude and severe apathy demonstrated itself in a catastrophe. After 8 years of the end of East India Company's rule in (1866-67) Orissa witnessed a severe famine which took away one-third of her, entire population, i.e., more than one million souls. The Orissa famine was like an epitaph of East India Company's rule. Speaking on the Orissa famine in the British House of Commons on August 2, 1867, Sir Stafford Northcok, the Secretary of State, made the following remarks:

" This catastrophe must always remain a monument of our failure, a humiliation to the people of this country, to the Government of this country, and to those of our Indian officials of whom we had been perhaps a little too proud"²⁷. Among the several causes creating this catastrophe, the most important factor was the isolation of Orissa from other parts due to lack of communication facilities. The British economic policies, like the land revenue administration, conducted through a number of years, had adversely affected the cultivation in general and had thrown the peasants into a state of perpetual misapprehension. The thirty years settlement which was to expire shortly after the Company's rule had created doubts much in advance regarding the future of the land tenure with no new arrangement in sight. The tendency of such a state of things was undoubtedly to discourage agriculture; hence an inclination rather to contract than extend the assessable area and cultivation, and an uncertainty in the minds of all classes. The famine also revealed the character of the personnel to whose charge the Company had entrusted Orissa. There are evidences to suggest that the

²⁷ Buckland, C.E., Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors, Vol, I, p38.

Company's servants, selected for Orissa, were not of the same standing as for more difficult parts of the British empire²⁸.

The other aspect of under development and the less attention paid to Orissa was the over emphasis and focus of the provincial government was mainly on Calcutta and Bengal. As a result, the people of Bengal, with the seat of East India Company's Government at Calcutta, with the spread of western education and growth of consciousness, with their growing freedom for organisation and association, were in a position to draw the attention of their rulers to their genuine grievances.

Orissa was totally in a different condition. It was remote, inaccessible, and far from educational or political consciousness. The Lieutenant -Governor paid almost all his attention to administer Bengal proper and consequently neither he nor other heads of administration could do justice to the administration of Orissa. Moreover, the British wrongly applied to Orissa principles of administration which were at any rate applicable only to the permanently settled districts of Bengal.

From the very beginning of the conquest and occupation the servants of the East India Company looked upon Orissa as a mere source of revenue.

In matters of education, the governments initiative was less compared to other regions of the British rule, though the missionaries had begun their educational activities as early as 1823 by establishing an English Charity School at Cuttack. The Government took over the management of the said school in February 1861. Nothing more was done for a number of years except establishing a few vernacular schools.

PERIOD OF STUDY:

The present study covers the period from the year 1850 to 1947. The period constitutes a crucial phase in the educational development of the province. Though the growth of education in Orissa was rather slow and negligent due to various factors discussed in the subsequent chapters, there was a continued educational development

²⁸ Patra, K.M., Orissa under the East India Company, Delhi, 1971.p319.

in the province. The Wood's Despatch which is considered to be the Magna Carta of English education in India, did not bring about any spectacular development in Orissa. Moreover, the great famine of 1866 severely hit the people and ruined their life in all aspects. It was after the famine, the British Government, realising the importance and negligent attitude towards education, put emphasis on the development of the same. But it was only after 1880, with the recommendations of Hunter Commission giving emphasis on the Laissez-Faire policy, the impetus in the educational growth was actually carried out. The uneven growth of education of the previous years had failed to establish a proper educational system and the infrastructural deficiencies added to its misery. The meagre allocation of funds allocated for the development of education was low compared to the other provinces of the Raj.

But with the recommendations of Hunter Commission on education, discernible and significant changes were introduced and the results were noticeable more transparently. The provisions of scholarship system attracted pupils to the schools at the primary stage. In the secondary education, the inspection by the Dy. Inspectors through their visits made more meaningful and efficient in the province. The main purpose of India education commission of 1882 was to suggest ways of securing rapid expansion of secondary education. Keeping in view of this goal, private enterprise was encouraged and the government role was minimised to a large extent.

The local bodies and private agencies were encouraged and invited to take control of the secondary and higher education.

In the collegiate education, the Ravenshaw College started in 1868 as a school and became a full fledged college by 1881, thereby heralding a new era in the area of higher learning and education. Simultaneously, the slow and steady progress of female education at every stage also increased, though the number was not satisfactory.

With the dawn of the 20th century, there heralded a new era of progress and development of education in a much bigger way. The initial decades of 20th century were marked by intense political struggle against colonialism at the national level. So

also in Orissa this period contained the elements of fight against colonialism. Being a part of a large struggle, and a separate struggle from inside for a separate province containing fragmented districts of the then Orissa ultimately resulted in the formation of a separate province for Orissa in the year 1936. The freedom struggle was a two-pronged fight; one against the foreign rule and the other against the inside power structure.

On the societal plane, the spread of education and its effects created a suitable ground for change in the society. The rise of a middle class intelligentsia due to spread of education and their attitude towards the practices and dogmas of the social customs were the main targets for criticism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A momentous development of the period was the growth in the quality of female education and their involvement in the areas of social awakening and regeneration. A sizeable number of women leaders of Orissa had taken part in the freedom struggle starting from the Gandhian phase, particularly. As the political activities also involved the ideals of social development and upliftment of various sections, both went side by side in Orissa as elsewhere in India. Another striking development of the period was the growth of middle class as educated and conscious citizens of the province and constituted the most dynamic element of the time. Although they were by-products of the colonial regime, a sizeable section amongst them turned against it by organising several associations and agitating over several issues of concern of the province and thereby became the harbingers of modern Orissa.

The introduction of western education also brought in and led to transmission of western ideas in science, philosophy and humanities in Orissa, which resulted in the improvement of Oriya literature, articulation of Oriya cultural and political identity, nationalist ideas etc., The formation of a number of Sabhas and Samitis during the period by the educated intelligentsia discussing various issues, ranging from social, political, economic and the like, sharpened their ideas and prepared them to involve themselves in the larger freedom struggle later.

The whole range of society, religion, culture were questioned for their validity in the newer lights towards the second half of nineteenth century. The growth of education

particularly English education brought in the ideas of liberalism, scientific enquiry, rationalism and all aspects of life were examined and scrutinised through these ideals.

In the religious sphere also, it criticised the dogma and superstitious practices of the age old customs. The emergence of Brahma Movement in the province also encouraged and popularised the Brahma concept and severely criticised the existing religious practices. It also strove and succeeded in its efforts in influencing the British government to put down the practice of *Sati* through law.

Another indigenous religious reform movement called Mahima Dharma, coming out purely from the socio-religious milieu of that period, challenged the Brahmanical order on one hand and Brahma Samaj on the other. Through its preaching, the lower classes in particular, were attracted to it and in a way gave a place to the masses who were out of the prevalent Hindu/Brahmanical system. In its reformative activities, it discarded the complicated and superfluous rituals involved in the worship and instead advocated pure and direct worship of God, not involving the priests for mediation.

These socio-religious reform movements of the late 19th century had a direct bearing on the developments in the 20th century, more particularly of our period of study. These movements marked the beginning of change in social and religious planes. Most of the reformers and the reforms were influenced by the growth of education during that period. The seeds sown through these movements yielded good results in the 20th century in terms of upliftment of women. As all the social movements in the 19th century had one of their objectives, i.e., the upliftment of women, their activities contributed in the raising the status of women in society.

The spadework done by these social reform movements facilitated the involvement of large number of women in public activities at the beginning of the 20th century, either in political or social movements. Women of Orissa fought against the British, side by side with their male counterparts in their opposition to the foreign rule. They brought out the marginal status of women in society and family through their literary creations. There are innumerable examples of women leaders who involved

themselves and fought against the British rule and simultaneously against the social evils for their upliftment.

This period thus constitutes an important area of study to understand the dynamics of social change through education. Though the main purpose of the British in promoting education was to subjugate the natives for their economic exploitation and to use them for lower administrative requirements, the end result was the enlightenment of the Indians. This enlightenment, in the process, succeeded in bringing an end to colonialism and along with the upliftment of society and social change.

In Orissa, the subject of educational development has been studied by several academicians and the pioneer among them is Prof. J. K. Samal. In his "History of Education in Orissa (1905-1936)",²⁹ he has dealt with the educational growth and progress in detail and it is a major secondary source for further study in this area. But he has not linked it to the aspect of social change that was brought about by the introduction of the education in the 19th century and more importantly, vigorously after 1880. Among other historians of Orissa, Prof. K. M. Patra's authoritative research on the British economic policies and the maintenance of Jagannath temple happens to be one of the best academic efforts to analyse the British economic policies³⁰. But the issue of social change is conspicuous by its absence except for a few references. Prof. Atul Chandra Pradhan taking the lead, published several papers on the female education rightly focused on its growth in the overall educational progress in the province³¹. His pioneering work on the role of women in the Civil Disobedience Movement in Orissa in the Utkal University Historical Journal provides relevant information.

Another noteworthy research in the field of Oriya literature has been done by Dr. Natabar Samantray. Written in Oriya, titled "Oriya Sahityara Ithihasa"³², has elaborately discussed the growth of Oriya literature and mentioned about the

²⁹ Samal, J.K., History of Education in Orissa(1905- 1936), Calcutta, 1984.

³⁰ Patra, K. M., op, cited.,

³¹ Pradhan A. C, Civil Disobedience Movement in Orissa - the participation and awakening of women, Bhubaneswar, 1993, pp 63 -88.

³²Samantray, N., Oriya Saliityara Ithihasa (Oriya), Cuttack, 1964.

educational development during that period. Also highlighted are the rise and growth of various Sabhas and Samithis which discussed and deliberated on various socio - political and economic issues of Orissa.

In the article "Orissa under the British: A political sketch" by Prof. M. N. Das in the book " History and Culture of Orissa", edited by himself ³³, the series of events starting from the occupation of Orissa by British through the National Movement in Orissa have been vividly described. He also throws some light on the educational front but the area of social change has not been highlighted.

The recently published book "A Comprehensive History and Culture of Orissa"³⁴, edited by Prof. J. K. Samal covers the entire gamut of history of Orissa from ancient times till Independence. Every aspect of the history like cultural, political, economic, religion etc., have been dealt with extensively. But the focus on the social front seems to be less. None the less, it is one of the good secondary source material for the study of Orissa.

Analysing the works of above mentioned historians and their historical enquiries, it can be inferred that most of the historical writings and historians in the province focussed their attention on political and administrative history of the modern Orissa . Though pioneers in their respective studies, they have not given the same kind of emphasis on social history. Though the kind of social change and its effects were minuscule compared to other parts of colonial India, most prominently Bengal and Maharashtra, but it is worth recording the process for paying due importance to social history in the overall sphere of historical writing.

In the " Social History of the 19th century Orissa"³⁵, a pioneering work has been done by Dr. Nihar Ranjan Pattanaik and it is major source of information on this area, particularly the Brahma movement in Orissa. So also the Mahima movement has been properly studied and brought out several dimensions of discussion on it in the present light.

³³ Das, M. N., ed, Orissa Under the British in History and Culture of Orissa, Cuttack.

³⁴ Samal, J. K., ed., A Comprehensive History and Culture of Orissa, New Delhi, 1997.

The area of Mahima Dharma has been studied by many scholars, particularly, Chittaranjan Das in his work in Oriya " Orissara Mahima Dharma" ³⁶. It is one of the in depth studies of various dimensions of Mahima Dharma and its influence on the contemporary society. Moreover, it discusses the literature produced by the followers of Mahima Dharma which are mainly in lyrical form.

However, there is no authoritative work on the major aspects of social change in Orissa under the impact of education. It appears to have been studied in different directions and in different time frames. The present work is an attempt to fill the gap between the areas of education and social change in Orissa.

The freedom struggle in Orissa has been dealt with by several historians and researchers. It is one area where a number of researches have been done in recent times. As the political movement incorporated the social development of the time, they were figured prominently in the struggle against the British Raj, as two streams of one common struggle. In their struggle against British for political freedom, the leaders were also simultaneously fighting social evils, practices, beliefs in the society to make the political struggle more meaningful by making it strong in social life of the country.

The period from 1850 to 1947 constitutes a crucial and momentous phase in the educational and social history of Orissa. This period witnessed great social transformation as a consequence of the spread of western education. It was a period when education was given a new orientation by the government, private bodies, and missionaries and non-missionary organisations. Social reformers were active during this period both in educational and social reform movements.

At the all India level and in other provinces, several works have been done on the subject of education and social change. Among them, the study of Y. Vaikuntham, on "Education and Social Change in South India, Andhra (1880 - 1920)"³⁷ is a pioneering work in this field. In this connection, he has broadly examined the following themes

- a) The educational policy of the British government from 1880 to 1920

³⁶ Das. C. Orissara Mahima Dhanna (Oriya)

³⁷ Vaikuntham. Y.. Education and Social Change in South India. Andhra (1880 - 1920). Madras, 1982.

- b) Growth of education in Andhra as a result of these policies
- c) The social change brought about by the education.

Sridhar Narayan Pandey has studied the "Education and Social Change in Bihar 1900 - 1921"³⁸. This study opens with a problem of educational backwardness and social evils in Bihar during the closing years of the 19th century. He has attempted to unfold and analyse the reasons behind the apathy of the people towards English Education. He has described at length the conditions of public life in Bihar during the 19th century and how with the spread of education in the beginning of 20th century there emerged an educated middle class which showed unprecedented enthusiasm in politics and Bihar became the vanguard of National Movement.

Fatima Kutty, in her work "Education and Social Change in Vishakhapattanam district"³⁹, deals only with the general growth of education in the district.

HYPOTHESES:

The study analyses the educational development in the province of Orissa. The major aspects involve the rise and development of education in the province prior to the period of study from 1850 to 1947. The educational system prevalent in the state from Wood's Despatch of 1854 and the negligent attitude of the government towards this division of the Bengal Presidency has been discussed to highlight the extent of educational developments.

As the British Government was only interested in furthering its colonial interests, education was given a secondary place in its scheme of priorities. The policies of different governments in Orissa regarding various stages of education and the experiments to achieve the desired results are discussed. The response and availability of the facilities of education by the natives are also vital for the progress of education.

³⁸ Pandey, S. N., Education and Social Change in Bihar. New Delhi, 1985.

³⁹ Kutty, Fatima, Education and Social Change in **Vishakhapattanam district, New Delhi**, 1991.

Apart from the development of education in quantitative terms, the issue of social change holds an important place to assess the theme of the study. To what extent education and educated intelligentsia were able to bring in changes in social behaviour, ideas, and progressive thoughts are vital to the present study. How far the impact of education on socio-religious movements during the period and emancipation of women in society have contributed are dealt with in our thesis.

METHODOLOGY :

The methodology adopted in this study involves the analysis of the British Governments educational policies starting from the 1850 to 1947. The various stages of education such as primary, secondary, collegiate, technical have been dealt with to assess the progress of education in the province. Moreover, growth of education for women and Muslims also have been examined along with educational administration.

As a result of the growth of education, there emerged a section of middle-class and English educated intelligentsia who were in the forefront of socio-religious reform movements. The emancipation and upliftment of women in the society also became the top priority of this class. As two streams of development, the political struggle against the British also included the social reform in society from within. Both the aspects have simultaneously occurred in the province as elsewhere in India.

SOURCES:

The database has been arranged for the study from various sources. They include Governmental reports and records:

- a) The imperial censuses starting from 1881, called decennial census up to 1931 have been used for the study. These census reports apart from providing population data, mentions the number of population under education in the province.
- b) Annual Administrative Reports which started publishing from 1850 onwards gives statistical information about the educational development of the province and the British Government's policy towards the promotion of education.
- c) Hunters statistical account of Bengal, of which, vols- XVIII and XIX provide statistical information on British Orissa (on Cuttack, Balasore, and Puri Districts and the Tributary Mahals)
- d) Reports on Moral and Material progress and condition of India, These annual reports on various aspects like legislation, finance, trade and commerce,, education, health etc., were published under the purview of government of India. In addition to this, in the present century the quinquennial and decennial review reports on the social and material conditions of the people at the provincial level have been consulted in the present study to analyse education and social conditions of people of Orissa. These reports throw a considerable light on the socio-economic conditions of colonial Orissa. Not withstanding their bias towards government, these sources provide valuable information for the study.
- e) Vernacular literature: (Oriya)

Several works in vernacular Oriya literature were consulted for the present study. These sources comprising of biographical, autobiographical and historical writings provide insights into many events and happenings, which can not be obtained from official sources.

General Report of Public Instruction in Bengal - These annual reports on public instruction have been used massively, primarily during the period from 1880 to 1930s for gathering data on education in the province. Apart from this, the separate

educational records have been used extensively for the information regarding educational development in the province, particularly educational records of **H. Sharp** and **J.A.Richey**.

- g) Proceedings of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, have been used in the **study**.
- h) Papers relating to education preserved in the Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar and Board of Revenue library, Cuttack have been utilised for the study.

ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY:

The thesis is divided into five chapters:- Chapter I: Introduction; Chapter - ii: Education in Orissa (1850-1900); Chapter III: Educational development in Orissa (1900-1947); Chapter - IV; Rise and growth of socio-religious movements and women's upliftment in Orissa; Chapter - v: Conclusion.

CHAPTER -1 : INTRODUCTION

In the introductory chapter, the main themes addressed to in the present thesis have been introduced. The concept of social change and its various interpretations and characteristic features have been dealt with. The educational situation during the British rule in India more particularly in Orissa, is discussed here to familiarise with the developments in educational front. Moreover, of Orissa in 19th century i.e., the analysis of the period of study is also clarified in this chapter. Finally, the scope and constraints involved in the study have been mentioned.

CHAPTER - II: EDUCATION IN ORISSA (1850 - 1900)

In this chapter, the rise and growth of education after the British occupation have been presented in order to understand the educational scenario existing before the period under study. The different stages of educational development like the Wood's Despatch and its effects in the province has been analysed. The period from Wood's

despatch of 1858 to the great famine of 1866, has been discussed to record the progress both in quantitative and qualitative terms. In this Chapter, various stages of education like, primary, secondary, collegiate, technical education and more particularly women's education are dealt with. Apart from these, the educational administration and the case of medium of instruction also figures in this chapter.

CHAPTER - III: EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FROM (1900 - 1947)

This chapter deals with the development and growth of education during the 20th century upto 1940's. Following the tenor of previous chapter, the educational growth at various stages have been discussed and their desired results have been presented. More importantly, this chapter also focuses on the education of the Muslims in the province. So also the prevalence and growth of indigenous education is highlighted which was carried on along with other types of education.

CHAPTER IV: SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN ORISSA.

This chapter discusses the theme of social change that was brought about by the educational development in the province. The growth of the western educated intelligentsia and their responses to the growing social and religious practices have provided a boost to the emergence of socio-religious movements in the province. The socio-religious reform movements of Brahmo Samaj, which had a major presence in the three coastal districts of Orissa have been analysed and their impact on the contemporary society and religion are presented in the chapter.

Also the indigenous Mahima movement and its spread in the second half of 19th century had a major role in countering the Brahmin influence on the Indian religion and competing with the Brahmo Samaj at the same time. It could influence the

backward sections of society mainly the tribes and had drawn into its fold in the province.

Also highlighted in the chapter are the socio-religious evils like female infanticide, widow burning, Meriah practices and their suppression through the initiative of the educated people and the government. The major thrust has been given on the upliftment of women in the society during this period. The education of women, and their emergence in the centre stage of the society is a landmark in the history of Orissa during the period under study. Women leaders of Orissa during the period of our study were deeply involved in the struggle against the British Raj, the social reform activities and women's upliftment. The role of a number of women leaders participating in social and political movements have been discussed.

CHAPTER - V: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION:

A summary and major findings of the present study are presented in this concluding chapter. The role of education in bringing about different developments in the Orissa society and polity have been analysed to measure the contributory factors. Along with it, the shortcomings of educational development in the province compared to the other equally developed provinces like Bengal, Madras have been highlighted. The growth of education in the province could not progress as in other provinces, but it surely laid a strong foundation for more meaningful educational achievements after independence. The linkage between education and the rise of the intelligentsia who later on became the vanguard of freedom movement is certainly an achievement, however, small in nature, it may be. The slow but steady growth of education and the social responses became major source of development in the province.

CHAPTER-II

EDUCATION IN ORISSA. 1850-1900.

Orissa, during the period under review, contained the four regulation districts of Balasore, Cuttack, Puri and Sambalpur and one non-regulation district of Angul. The areas which constitute modern Orissa, besides the above mentioned five districts, were scattered under different political jurisdictions. The major part of these areas remained under a number of small chiefs who ruled in their inaccessible areas but acknowledged British suzerainty⁴⁰. The Northern Orissa contained the coastal districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore which have been considered for the study.

Although Orissa had been under the British administration since 1803, the education in the province was not as good as the other provinces of equal importance by 1866. The extremely backward state of education was mainly due to the indifference of Company's government. There was total absence of any attempt on the part of the government to provide people with the means of education, even though vast sums were annually expended in other parts of Bengal. On the negligence of the government to develop education, Dr. E. Roer, the Inspector of Schools, South-West division said; "It is to be regretted that no new educational operations can be carried out, for Orissa is at a disadvantage situation compared with other districts. For the whole of Orissa, with an area of 52, 995 square miles and a population of 4,534,813 souls, less is expended than for the small district of Howrah with an area of 800 sq miles, and a population of 7,50,000 souls"⁴¹.

Another factor for the slow growth of education in Orissa was the miscalculation of the government of the province. After their occupation the Company government had treated this province on the lines of Bengal. As in the case of revenue administration, so also, in the field of education, the same kind of treatment was shown to the districts of Puri and Cuttack that were known by that time as Orissa. But this was a mistake because both the provinces were at different stages of development at that time. Their

⁴⁰ Samal, J. K., History of Education in Orissa. Calcutta. 1984. p 1

⁴¹ Jena. K. C, Socio-Economic History of Orissa during British Period. Delhi, 1978, p 107

problems varied in many directions and dimensions. Bengal under the Mughals had prospered in education and the progressive measures put it in a much higher and take-off stage. And when the Europeans came to Bengal, it gave them an opportunity to move further and modern education was inculcated throughout Bengal. Unfortunately, Orissa was joined with such an advanced province and as a result, her problems could not be properly projected.

The history of education in Orissa after the British occupation starts with the initiative taken by the missionaries stationed at Calcutta. The main aim of these missionaries was to preach the natives the words of Jesus Christ. The missionaries prepared the Oriya letters and printed the first Oriya Bible in 1804. The New Testament was translated in 1809 by Pandit Mrutyunjay Vidyalkar. This translation was possible due to the efforts of three missionaries namely Mc.Carry, Marshman and Ward⁴².

The Company Government at Calcutta gave their full support to the missionaries as they were driven by the idea of exposing the natives to modern ideas and knowledge. Though the ideas of modernising the natives were partially correct but the practical expediency had compelled them to do this in order to hegemonise the natives and continue their economic exploitation of India. With this in view, in 1813, the Charter Act contained a clause enacting that, "a sum of not less than a lakh of rupees in each year be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of learned natives of India, and the introduction and promotion of knowledge of Science among the inhabitants of the British territory in India"⁴³.

This was a major policy commitment on the part of the East India Company government in the field of expanding education in India in general and their Eastern possessions in particular⁴⁴.

However, there was no immediate growth of education after the Act in India and Orissa in particular. From their year of conquest till 1822, the British officers and

⁴² Samantray, N, History of Oriya literature, Bhubaneswar, 1964, pp 5-7

⁴³ Act 53rd, Chapter 155, Clause 43

⁴⁴ Sharp, W. H., Selections from Educational Records., p-29.

missionaries did not take any interest in any other field of education except the Bible and literature connected with it. The books published during this period included the Bible of William Carrey, a poetry book of one hundred pages written by a Bengalee Christian, a book criticising Lord Jagannath, a primary Oriya book and a small dictionary. The Company government had used their strength to draw the people to the ideas of European culture and for this end in view they started the gospel in a bigger scale. They had distributed two lakhs copies of different books on the subject of Christianity in forty languages of India⁴⁵. The share of Oriya language was negligible compared to the other languages, particularly Bengalee⁴⁶.

The first systematic step by the East India Company was taken in 1822-23 to spread education in the Madras Presidency. The natives were shy about the western education and government desired that as far as possible the natives be associated with the spread of education. It was found that the condition of educational institutions was depressing and teachers were not well paid and there was lack of interest among the students to come to the school. The school fees varied from one anna to four annas per month and it was difficult to produce books and other infrastructure required for the school. The government wanted to open a few schools, at least in each Tahsildary. To motivate the teachers, the salary was raised from one rupee to fifteen rupees a month. But one major handicap in the growth of education was the non-availability of teachers. So in 1834, the number of schools was only three with the strength of 154, 258 and 276 in them⁴⁷.

After the Paik Rebellion in 1818, there was a change in the attitude of the local people towards education. The English system of education was slowly accepted by the natives. There was rising hostility against the Bengalees and growing appreciation for the missionaries⁴⁸. The missionaries had opened a few schools and they had proved successful. The mission school in northern Orissa was opened on 1st June 1822. And after that the government took over the responsibility of fifteen native schools.

⁴⁵ Jena, K. C, Ascendancy of British Raj in Orissa, Calcutta, 1982, p 29.

⁴⁶ Mansingh, N., History of Oriya literature, New Delhi, pp 170-172.

⁴⁷ Jena, K. C, History of Modern Orissa, p 126.

⁴⁸ Peggs, James, A Brief History of general Baptist Mission in Orissa, p389.

between 1822 to 1823. There were four new schools in Cuttack town in 1823. The response from the public was good and there were 350 boys and 70 girls in these schools⁴⁹.

On 31st July, 1832, the then government constituted the General Committee of Public Instruction for enlarging their educational programme. On October 1832, the Cuttack English Charity School was founded. This was a major development in the history of the missionaries in Orissa, and their contribution to the field of education and literature. Hereafter, the missionaries stayed in Orissa, published Oriya books and waged constant war on illiteracy and ignorance. Between June 1822 to December 1823, they founded 13 mission schools and enlarged their activities beyond the town of Cuttack⁵⁰. In 1823, there was an amendment to pay more attention to schools in rural areas. This was conducive for the missionaries to spread their activities and schools were opened in remote areas". The work of the missionaries became easier after 1833, when the government issued a character offering financial help and freedom to spread education.

As a result of these changes, the missionary activities in northern Orissa were more fruitful. The American Baptist mission confined its activities to Sambalpur and Jaleswar, the Roman Catholics preferred Cuttack and Balasore, the Spanish and German missions concentrated their activities in Puri and Southern Orissa. All these missionary activities aroused a new sense of consciousness as never before⁵². The missionaries encouraged co-education and this played an important role in emancipating women of the province. They trained teachers so that education would have its self-generating momentum⁵¹. On 17th July 1823, H.Mackenzye had given a note emphasizing on the extension of education in Northern Orissa and was supported by G. Stockwell, the Commissioner of the Province⁵⁴. The feeling was that more and more school should be opened in Orissa so that Oriya people could be associated with

⁴⁹ General report on the Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of Bengal Presidency. 1857-58, pp115-116.

⁵⁰ Peggs, James, op. cit., p 154.

⁵¹ Samantray, N. op. cit., p 46.

⁵² Rath, B. N., Development of education under the British, p 49.

⁵³ Hunter, W. W., Orissa, Vol. II, p 144.

the administration. The Paik rebellion was an eye-opener and it was realized though late, that the situation could have been averted had there been more Oriya officers in the administration. The large number of non-Oriya officers, who decided the fate of Orissa were responsible for the maladministration and misery of the province. The only remedy was to educate the local people and allow them to participate in administration.

The view of Ricketts, the Commissioner of Orissa was notable in this regard. He said, "I think I may safely assert that there is no place in our dominion where liberality and assistance on the part of government are more called for and I earnestly recommend that the same should be afforded. At the conquest, we found the Ooreahas in a state of great degradation and to our shame be it recorded that our policy was to perpetuate the degeneracy which prevailed among themthe problem could be solved if schools be established and properly attended to, the Ooreahas will soon show that degeneracy is but the usual consequence of misrule"⁵⁵. His suggestions were accepted by the Bengal government and Vernacular schools were started in Northern Orissa⁵⁶. This altered the previous policy of the government. In the minute of Lord William Bentick on 7th March 1835, it was said, "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and Science... and all the funds apportioned for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone and imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and Science through the medium of English language"⁵⁷. As a result of the charter, the first native school in vernacular started on 10th November 1835 at Puri, there were 25 students and they were taught English grammar, Syntax, History and Geometry.

The Wood's Despatch was another milestone in the history of educational progress in the province. This despatch dated 19th July 1854 was to analyse the history and

⁵⁴ Sharp, W. H., op. cit., Vol. I, p 60.

⁵⁵Ricketts, Commissioner to Sudder Board of Revenue, 7th December 1837, quoted in P. Mukherjee, History of Orissa., p 436.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Minutes of His Lordship in Council on 7th March 1835, quoted in the Kaye, J. W., Administration of E IC, p 595.

progress of education in the region. It offered a number of valuable suggestions and after that there were a number of changes, which brought the condition of education in this region to a higher position. In 1858-59, there were 30 schools, in 1868 the number was 63 and it rose to 95 in 1870⁵⁸. The period following Wood's despatch, schools started functioning in the remote areas of the province. A school had come at Kendrapara with 35 students; there was a school at Puri with 59 students. Similarly, schools had sprung at Bhadrak, Balasore, Mahanga, Hariharpur and other places⁵⁹. One obstacle in the educational system was the fee structure of the schools. Even there were cases of students dropping out of schools due to the high fee structure. Ten students had dropped at Kendrapara, 18 at Puri and with much difficulty the students of Bhadrak bore the school fee⁶⁰.

The other problem in the schools was the problem of language and so the educational growth could not achieve its desired effects. The Bengalees argued that teaching in Bengali was easier because of the availability of books and other written materials in that language. As the books in Oriya language were few and printed in small number, the price of books was expensive. And it was not feasible for students to buy books at the expensive prices. Cockburn who succeeded Shore as the Commissioner suggested that books in Oriya should be published in large numbers and to be priced at a lower and affordable rate. By his pioneering efforts he brought to the notice of the Bengal government the negligence and backwardness of the Orissa province and showed the great disparity in the school system of Bengal and Orissa and particularly in the northern Orissa. Considering the haphazard growth of schools in the region he recommended a separate Inspector of schools for Orissa⁶¹. Cockburn also insisted on government contributions for school buildings as the dependence on exclusive private contributions was not possible in the long run. The recommendations of Cockburn greatly improved the condition of education in the province. The momentum in the spread of education being already laid down, there was a slow but steady increase in the educational institutions in the region in terms of quantity. During the year 1870-

⁵⁸ General report on the Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of Bengal Presidency. 1869, pp149-160.

⁵⁹ Jena, K. C, Ascendency of British Raj in Orissa, p 114.

⁶⁰ Mukherjee, P. History of Orissa, p 437.

71, there were 28 vernacular schools in Balasore. The same year, Cuttack had 50 schools with 2755 students and the first girl's school at Cuttack came up. In 1881, there were 25 girls out of whom 4 were Oriyas. Later girls's schools were established at Jaleswar, Puri, Balasore and other important towns. By 1881, the condition of female education was comfortable⁶².

The following is a statement about schools and pupils in the year 1875⁶³.

District	No.of schools	Pupils
Balasore	217	5,972
Cuttack	539	10,196

This position in 1885 was as follows:

District	No.of schools	Pupils
Balasore	2,305	37,707
Cuttack	4,736	65,000

In 1883-84, there were 8,920 primary schools with 10,4953 students on the rolls. The change was in terms of number of schools and students. There was far reaching change in the outlook of the local people. The situation had vastly altered within a few years and people accepted the foreign method of schooling with satisfaction⁶⁴.

The Zilla school of Cuttack was started in 1851 and in Balasore in 1853. In 1882, there were five such schools and they became the centers of higher education. In 1876, there was the first college in Orissa at Cuttack founded by donations offered. a Normal training school was in 1869 by private persons and the Medical School of Cuttack came into being in January 1875. In 1879, the Maharaja of Mayurbhaj

⁶¹ Letter of Cockburn to Secretary, Govt. of Bengal, 28th July 1857, Vol I, p 147.

⁶² Annual Report on Education, 1881-82, WRA.

⁶³ Jena, K.C, op. cit., p 118.

⁶⁴ Hunter, W.W, op. cit., p 147.

donated Rs.20,000 for the improvement of the Cuttack college and it was renamed as Ravenshaw College ⁶⁵.

A large number of students were enrolled in these schools and collages and other educational institutions. Even there was a woman student in the Ravenshaw College in July 1897. These changes in the attitude of the local people could be considered as revolutionary. It was a long way off in 1803 when the company government took over northern Orissa and found that the condition of education in the most deplorable situation. There were many problems thrown from many directions like communal, linguistic, economic and social, creating hurdles. It was fortunate that by the end of the century, most of these problems were over and education in northern Orissa was placed in a satisfactory condition.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN ORISSA, 1850-1900

The progress of education in India between the Wood's Despatch of 1854 and the appointment of the Hunter Commission in 1882 was rather slow. Whatever development was there; it was uneven, and there was imbalance between higher and elementary education, and also the role played by government and private institutions. One of the important constrains in the growth of education was the financial crunch. The Indian Education Commission popularly known as the Hunter Commission, appointed by Lord Rippon in 1882, made many recommendations which influenced the growth of education in the country during the next two decades. The major recommendations of the Hunter Commission were related to the withdrawal of the Government from the management of Higher Education, encouragement to private effort through grants in aid and emphasis on the improvement of primary education⁶⁶.

The Hunter Commission had defined that "Primary Education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernaculars in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of

⁶⁵ Utkal Dipika, 27th July, 1883.

⁶⁶ Vaikhuntam, Y., Education and Social Change in South India: Andhra 1880-1920, Madras, 1982. p. 3.

instructions leading up to the university"⁶⁷. Though the Wood's Despatch was the first deliberate effort on the part of the Government to encourage primary Education but not much success was noticed in this aspect.

Educational development in Orissa took different directions and orientation during the British Period. The changes effected during the colonial rule in the education system were not uniform. It aimed at the furtherance of British hegemony through education in English language. For a knowledge of the education in the province of Orissa before 1850, here is given a brief history of education under the East India Company.

When the British first acquired Orissa in 1803, there was scarcely a single native in the government employment. The language of the court and public offices was Persian. In 1805 orders were passed that all the written communications with the inhabitants of the province be written in Oriya as well as in Persian. This order necessitated the employment of Oriya scribes. In 1821, the Magistrate of Cuttack regretfully reported; "Scarcely a single real Oriya received a salary of more than 10 rupees per mensem, but several were naturalised Bengalis and Musalmans. I always give a preference to Oriyas but at this moment I scarcely know a single Oriya possessing qualification to fit him for being a common scribe"⁶⁸. This statement painfully reflects the extent of education in Orissa.

Until 1838, no school worthy of name was listed except in two or three places within the circle of missionary influence. Sir William Hunter wrote, "Through out the length and breadth of the province with its population of two and a half million of souls, all was darkness and superstition. Here and there pundit taught a few lads Sanskrit in a corner of some rich landholders, mansions, and larger villages had sort of hedges school, where half a dozen boys squatted with the master on the ground forming the alphabet in the dust and repeating the multiplication table in a parrot-like

⁶⁷ Report of the Indian Education Commission. 1882, p 91.

⁶⁸ Malley, L. S. S. O', Bengal District Gazetteer. (Puri). pp 257-25 8.

sing song. Anyone who could write a sentence or two on a palm leaf passed as a man of letters"⁵⁹

During the Governor Generalship of Lord Willaim Bentinck, English education in India received a great impetus. The long controversy between the Orientalists and the Occidentalists was at length settled in 1835, when the government of Lord William Bentinck decided in favour of English as a medium of instruction. As a result, from 1835 to 1854, the energies of the government of Bengal were directed towards higher and secondary education. Nothing was done to diffuse education among the masses through primary or elementary schools⁷⁰.

It was in 1838 that for the first time, the government became interested in education in Orissa. The efforts of the Government began with the establishment of English schools or Zilla Schools. An English school and a Sanskrit school were opened at Puri in 1838. In 1841, government opened a higher class English school at Cuttack. Through a good deal of hardship it survived as a principal seat of education in the province. In 1853 an English school was founded at Balasore while the one at Puri was resuscitated⁷¹.

In 1844 the vernacular education received a new impetus by Lord Hardinge's resolution of October 11 of that year. During his administration two vernacular schools were established in Orissa, one in 1845 and another in 1848. By 1854 the vernacular schools of different grades numbered 8 in Orissa⁷².

In 1854, the Wood's Despatch initiated the modern educational system. Hitherto Public funds had been devoted almost exclusively to government institutions. The goal was henceforth to be the diffusion of education by private efforts. Grants were to be given to private individuals or local committees, provided their schools were adequately maintained. There was to be an inducement to bring private schools

⁶⁹ Hunter, W. W., op. cit., p 145.

⁷⁰ Malley, L. S. S. O', History of Bengal. Bihar and Orissa under the British rule. Chapter XXXVI, p 120

" Hunter, W. W., op. cit., p 145 - 147.

under government inspection and so keep up a proper standard. In 1855, the Education Department of Government of Bengal was created to carry out this policy efficiently⁷³.

On the eve of the transfer of power to the crown in 1858, the education of Orissa was in an extremely backward condition, more backward than any other division of Bengal. English education had become firmly established in Bengal and Bihar but not in Orissa. Fifty-five years after the Company's rule the number of schools through out Orissa had to be counted by units⁷⁴.

The following table shows the number of schools and the pupils in 1858⁷⁵.

Zilla Schools	No. of Pupils	Govt Vernacular Schools	No. of Pupils	Aided Anglo Vernacular School	No. of Pupils	Aided Vernacular Schools	No. of Pupils	Total No. of Schools	Total No. of Pupils
Cuttak- 1	103	10	238	0	0	3	112	14	453
Balasore- 1	16	2	62	1	41	2	65	6	184
Puri - 1	84	6	210	0	0	3	55	9	349

From the above table, it can be found out that the extent of education was absolutely limited.

⁷²Samal, J. K., op. cit., p 148.

⁷³ P.I. Report, 1863 - 64. Inspector of Schools, South West Division to Director of Public Instructions. 30th May 1864

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Samal, J. K., op. cit., p 240.

Progress of Education. 1858 - 66.

After the transfer of Power, there was a positive change towards the progress of Vernacular education. During this period the educational authorities realized the pitiable and negligent status of education in the province. By the order of Government on 18th February 1860, the funds available from the abolishment of aided schools could be transferred to the establishment of new schools. The number of aided schools was thereby guaranteed as there were always applications for grants-in-aid.

The incentive of providing scholarships to students for vernacular schools, as elsewhere, was tried in Orissa in 1863. Those scholarships created a keen competition and gave a decided incentive to vernacular education. In 1864, the Raja of Balarampur was permitted to furnish funds for a Sanskrit teachership in Puri Zilla School. The Sanskrit department was opened on 20 November 1865 and was maintained entirely at the cost of the Raja⁷⁶.

Among all these developments, the most notable event connected with the vernacular education during the period was the opening of a training class at Cuttack in 1863 under the superintendence of the Deputy Inspector of Puri and by 1864, there were 23 students under training and on the completion of their study they were appointed in elementary village schools⁷⁷.

The disastrous famine of 1866 in Orissa indirectly contributed for the scope of further improvement of education in the province. T.E. Ravenshaw, who was then Commissioner of Orissa, remarked that Orissa was more backward than any other province under British administration since the beginning of the century. There were in 1867 in all 77 schools of all grades and the number of pupils was 3536⁷⁸. The reasons for this state of things are not far to seek. The main reason being the indifference of the company government. G.F. Cockbum, Commissioner of Orissa, on 21 September 1859 has rightly highlighted this in a memorandum. He pointed out

⁷⁶ BGP (Education) March 1863, no. 83; Govt. of Bengal to Govt. of India, no. 1207, 17th March 1863.

⁷⁷ P.I. Report, Bengal, 1864-65, p 273.

⁷⁸ BGP (Edn.) June 1868, no. 60, Commissioner of Orissa to Govt. of Bengal, no. 523, 20th Sept. 1867.

three factors, first, the oppressive and misrule of Maratha Government till British took over in 1803 and thereby coming late under British control, many years after other parts of Bengal, had experienced the beneficial effects or had laid the foundation for growth. Second, the Government apathy to provide the people with the means of education, though vast sums were spent on other parts of Bengal. Finally, no official encouragement was provided to the people, as people in Bengal were found to be more convenient to carry on the businesses of administration. So the end result was that education was in its infancy even after a long period of British rule.

This backwardness in the field of education was manifested in the terrible famine of 1866 which demonstrated that how the want of educated persons aggravated the sufferings of the people of Orissa. T.E. Ravenshaw wrote, "No other province in the Presidency was so deficient of intelligent and public spirited residents who would appreciate the facts bearing on the prospects and means of the people and who could give practical information to the authorities as would have been the case in any district of Bengal proper and in carrying out remedial measures"⁷⁹. Government was well aware of the risk of a general want of the enlightenment of the people. After the famine, a policy of progress was adopted for the material and moral improvement of the people of Orissa.

To fill up the vacuum created through the negligence and backwardness of educational development in the province, various systems of educational methods were adopted. For a broader understanding of the various stages of education, a section wise discussion is undertaken in this section. Taking the primary education, we will analyse the village *Pathashala* system of Bhudeb Mukherjee.

There existed numerous *Pathasalas* or elementary village schools throughout the length and breadth of the country. On the eve of the British annexation of Orissa, most of them did not conform to the standards prescribed by the education department. The mode of teaching of village schoolteachers was primitive and in some respects clumsy. After the assumption of powers by Crown, efforts were made

⁷⁹ Ibid.

to develop village *Pathasalas*, to bring them under a prescribed standard and to maintain them. Thus primary education began to spread in Orissa. The lack of well - trained teachers was keenly felt in this endeavor. In 1863, a training school was opened at Cuttack for training teachers in elementary village schools. But due to paying of low salaries and other incentives and absence of proper teaching curricula, nothing much could be expected from them.

With a view to improve the state of vernacular Education, R.C. Martin, the Inspector of Schools, South West Division introduced the village *Pathasala* Schemes of Babu Bhudeb Mukherjee, also called the "Normal School System" in 1867. The objective of the system was to improve the quality of instruction of indigenous schools by training their teachers, and the small financial assistance promised, was nearly intended to induce the teachers to undergo the training course. He suggested that a normal school should be established for the purpose of training the teachers of elementary village schools of Orissa. After the approval of the Government of Bengal, the Cuttack training school was thoroughly re-organized during 1869 in accordance with the scheme of Bhudeb Mukherjee. The school was expected to have an important bearing upon the education of the masses who were in the habit of receiving their only instruction from the '*abadhanas*' of villages' schools⁸⁰.

But the education of the masses did not receive real impetus till 1872, when Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant — Governor, took up the question and gave practical proof of his declaration that the great object was to extend primary education among the masses of the people. In 1872, the indigenous *Pathasalas* were numerous. Writing on those inspected primary schools, the Deputy Inspector of Balasore said, "In a length of time extending over 10 or 12 years the Children learn to read, write and to know a little of simple arithmetic. The method of imparting instruction by the teacher, in stead of developing the mental qualities of the children, invariably spoils where it cannot destroy those qualities. The relation of an '*abadhan*' to his pupils, instead of being that of father to child is made to be that of a task-master to a slave,

⁸⁰ Ibid., May 1868, no. 52, Inspector of Schools, South West Divn. To D.P.I, no. 633, 9th August 1867.

the endeavor of the one being as much to scourge as is that of the other to deceive and avoid"⁸¹.

To correct the lacunae, Sir George Campbell made a substantial attempt to establish a good system of primary education of the simplest character. The main features of his scheme were as follows:

The money granted should be used to encourage and develop in the villages the "reading, writing, arithmetic in the real indigenous language and character of each province". The Lieutenant - Governor did not think it necessary to employ highly trained masters on higher salaries. He rather wanted to give money as a **grant-in-aid** to "men of purely indigenous school master class". But each was required to keep as a school according to local standards, and submit it to inspection and examination. For such purposes an allowance of Rs.2 or 3 per month was considered sufficient, especially in places where the village or landlord other party interested was willing to make up the remainder of the necessary Rs.5 *Pathasala* grant⁸².

Campbell's **Scheme** of Primary Education:

The real purpose of the education of imparting knowledge and literacy among the masses did not achieve its desired results under the first scheme. A real impetus came to the education of masses in 1872, when Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant Governor, took up the question and gave practical proof of his declaration that the great object was to extend primary education among the masses of the people.

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⁸¹ P.I. Report, 1871-72, p 377.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 1872-73, p 1

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Campbell's scheme also provided for the creation of primary school scholarships on the lines of Government Scholarships for University and other minor examinations. "It was presented that with the development of primary school scheme, or larger share of the scholarship grant would be allotted to *Pathasala* Scholarships"⁸⁴.

The scheme also had pondered over the issue of training to the indigenous schoolmasters. So for this objective, training classes were organized under "normal school system" to impart training to the teachers for middle vernacular as well as primary schools.

The primary education scheme, coming into operation in 1872, began subsidiary village schools. Before the end of 1872, in Balasore and Puri Districts, 213 new *Pathasalas* were brought under control, with an attendance of 4,471 pupils, but little was done in Cuttack district⁸⁵. In spite of the initial hesitation, it was declared on all heads, in course of time, that the progress of primary education was highly satisfactory. In 1872 out of 4,364 *Pathasalas* only 182 with 1,710 pupils were

" *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ RAB, 1872-73, pp 156-160.

⁸⁵ P. I. Report, 1875-76, p 109.

subsidized⁸⁶. In 1874 the number of subsidized *Pathasalas* rose to 832 with 15,497 Children. In 1875, there were 868 aided *Pathasalas* with 16,436 Pupils⁸⁷.

There was no doubt that newly aided *Pathasalas* introduced improvement over the old indigenous *Pathasalas* in several aspects. It had assured the permanency of the grant and discipline it brought to the system. Comparing the improvement shown by the three districts, the Joint-Inspector placed Balasore first and Cuttack last. Balasore stood first because it had the largest member of trained "gurus": Out of a total of 189, a number of 155 gurus went through some kind of training. In Cuttack, on the other hand, 274 out of 435 gurus received no training⁸⁸.

Though the wisdom of spending large sums of money in subsidizing *Pathasalas* was recognized, yet the new scheme was not free from drawbacks. The greatest draw back was that the people refused to pay their usual fees to those gurus who received aid from Government. Another defect was that the system aimed at quantity, but not quality. Hopkins, the Inspector of Schools, remarked, "Much remains to be done to improve these *Pathasalas* in terms of the system of instruction, mental ability and the method practiced in the schools"⁸⁹.

In order to remove the second defect, an improvement in the curriculum of the primary school was effected. A course of study for primary school was prescribed in April 1875. It laid down standards for primary scholarship examination. It was decided that the standard would be gradually raised as the *Pathasalas* improved.

The Midnapur System.

This system was also called the system of payment by result. Payment by result was also cheaper than the system at stipends. The observation of Joint-Inspector of schools can be presented here, "while the average rate of aid to each

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 1873-74, p 20.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, para 173,

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, para 175.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 1873-74, p 22.

Pathasala in Bengal was about Rs.25 a year, little of which was thought to find its way to the pocket of the guru, in Midnapur the average yearly rate was Rs.7, which at any rate was a clear gain”⁹⁰.

The Midnapur system of dealing with primary education was introduced into Balasore district in March 1877 and Cuttack district in November 1877. This was a system of aiding schools in proportion to the quality and quantity of their work as ascertained by the results achieved by their pupils at formal examinations. It naturally involved the institutions of tests which provided a basis upon which the rewards payable to gurus might be equitably calculated. The scheme of tests also enabled the pupils to compete for the scholarships and prizes placed within their reach. For convenience of examinations, every district was accordingly marked out into circles and sub-circles. Sub-Inspector used to conduct pass examination each in his own circle under the general control of a Deputy Inspector.

The Midnapur system proved to be a complete success by 1878. In 1878, the number of primary schools was 794 and the number rose to 2,091 in 1877, and to 4,569 with 51,329 pupils in 1878⁹¹. The Joint Inspector of schools said that the system of payment by result had passed the experimental stage⁹². It was introduced into the sudder sub-division of Puri District in 1879 and in Khurda, too⁹³. In 1880 there were 5,464 aided primary schools with 61,654 pupils in Orissa and un-aided schools were 1,272 with 12,891 pupils⁹⁴. The grant of monthly Government subsidiary to a *Pathasala* had the effect of weakening its hold on the people. They diminished their contribution towards its support in direct proportion to the amount of subsidy. This was the main cause of the change from the stipend to payment by result system.

Another step towards the advancement of Primary education in Orissa was the appointment of Chief Gurus and inspecting Pundits. These systems were originally started by Bhudeb Mukherjee. In 1879, the Chief Guru System was adopted in Orissa

⁹⁰ Report of the Indian Education Commission 1882, p 101.

⁹¹ RAO 1876-77, para 102.

⁹² P. I. Reports 1878-79, p 19.

⁹³ Ibid. 1879 -80, p 47.

and inspecting Pandit system in 1880⁹⁵. The Prime objective of appointing these officials was to provide supplementary help in the work of the sub-Inspectors, who were over burdened with the work as central examiners under the payment by result system. So the primary objective of inspection and monitoring of the schools were weakened because of serious shortage of manpower. And to appoint newer sub-Inspectors would also entail an increase in the expenditure and which will go up in the coming years. So the appointment of Chief Gurus and Inspecting Pandits afforded the best solution to the difficulty. In 1887, the number of Chief Gurus and Inspecting Pandits employed in Orissa was 92⁹⁶.

The Chief Guru was a teacher of a school and he visited other schools within his reach. The returns or reports of his visit to the schools were submitted to the sub-Inspectors and kept the latter constantly informed at the state of each primary school. The Chief Guru was the medium through which orders and notices were conveyed from the department to the schools. In this way he also rendered valuable assistance in collecting statistics and organising central examinations for rewards.

On the other hand, the role of the inspecting Pandit was that of a miniature sub-Inspector and he only inspected schools much larger in area than the Chief Guru.' But both of these functionaries discharged their duties and responsibility successfully in their respective areas.

Classification of Primary Education in the province:

The schools formerly designated as 'Lower Vernacular' and classed as secondary schools, were included in the primary education under the name of "Upper Primary Schools", in the year 1881. The 'Primary Schools' of the previous years had, in consequence, become 'Lower Primaries'. The Lower Primary schools in 1881 were 7,621 with 86,395 pupils and the upper primary schools were 149 with 3,757

⁹⁴ Ibid, 1880-81, p 72.

⁹⁵ RAO, 1880-81, para 261.

⁹⁶ P. I. Reports, 1887 - 88, para 36.

pupils⁹⁷. The nomenclature of lower primary and upper primary in the primary education continues till today with changes in the methods.

Recommendation of the Education Commission of 1882.

Lord Rippon, the Viceroy of India, in February 1882, appointed a Education Commission of Enquiry whose "duty should be to inquire into the manner in which effect had been given to the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest such methods as it might think desirable, with a view to more completely carrying out the policy laid down therein."⁹⁸. The Commission had W. W. Hunter as president and better known as "Hunter Commission". Its recommendations largely determined the future progress of education in India⁹⁹.

The Hunter Commission report touched upon different stages and aspects of the system of education in India. Regarding primary education the Commission recommended: "That while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the state, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the state should now be directed in a still larger measure than here before..... and that possesses an almost exclusive claim upon local funds set apart for education, and a large claim upon provincial revenues."¹⁰⁰

Regarding the method of payment by results for extension of primary education, the Commission left it unaffected. The Commissioner pointed out that the defects of the Bengal system were the comparatively low standards in which school subjects were taught, the extremely poor qualifications of the bulk of teachers and the

⁹⁷ Ibid., 1882 – 83, para 206.

⁹⁸ Reprot of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, pp 1-2.

⁹⁹ Ibid, pp 3.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p 86.

inadequate provision for the proper inspection of the schools¹⁰¹. They suggested that attempts should be made to remove these defects.

But the diffusion and efficiency of primary education, however, largely resolved itself into a question of financial provision. From the beginning it had been obvious that adequate aid to village schools demanded funds which the Government could not supply. Already, about eight lakhs of rupees a year was being spent in Bengal upon elementary instruction. Sir Augustus Rivers Thompson, the Lieutenant - Governor, proposed to increase the allotment to eighteen lakhs. He was prevented from giving effect to his intention. The Government exchequer already crippled by its dependence upon the financial contract in 1882, was called upon to relieve, the widespread distress caused by the great sea-wave which inundated parts of Orissa in the neighborhood of Puri and by the floods of Ganges which devastated the districts of Nadia and Murshidabad.

To make best use of funds available, the Lieutenant - Governor thought fit to do something possible, as no additional funds was forthcoming. The Commission had advised not only expansion of primary education, but also improvement of elementary schools. Expansion demanded increased expenditure, and funds were scarce. Improvement, on the other hand, might be effected by concentrating upon promising schools and withdrawing from feeble ones¹⁰².

Accordingly, a Government resolution on Education called a halt to the proposed new expenditure. It said,

"It is not the wish of the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Augustus Rivers Thompson) to discourage the establishment of new schools in districts where there number was still small in comparison with the extent of the country and population; but there can be no doubt that in many districts the development of the system of primary education had already reached if in some it has not actually exceeded the limits compatible with sound administration, and it is desirable that in these districts

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Stark, Herbert. Alic, Vernacular Education in Bengal, pp 129 - 130.

there should be no further extension for some years to come. The consolidation and improvement of existing schools should now be the main object of local officers, and search for old and indigenous schools should be generally abandoned¹⁰³.

Keeping in view the above resolution, some measures were taken in 1886 to improve and consolidate primary education. A thorough revision of the course of instruction in both lower and upper primary schools was undertaken to make it more meaningful for the students. The use of printed books in aided schools was made obligatory and every school seeking a reward was required to have a roll of at least ten pupils, to keep attendance and inspection registers and to have been in existence for not less than six months¹⁰⁴.

As it was expected, there was a prompt decline in the number of schools. The figures below indicate the number of schools that fell off in each district. However, there was almost no decrease in number of pupils attending the schools¹⁰⁵.

Districts	Number of Schools in 1885	Number of Schools in 1886	Pupils in 1885	Pupils in 1886
Balasore	2,260	1,922	35,803	33,865
Cuttack	4,623	3,932	61,296	61,371
Puri	2,462	1,717	23,005	25,834
Total	9,345	7,571	1,20,104	1,20,070

In Puri district the diminution was partly due to the scarcity prevailing in tracts adjoining the Chilika Lake. However, in a great measure the lower primary schools which were in a rudimentary stage were sacrificed to the new rules. The desire for learning had become so deep in those days that loss of students in the fallen off schools was compensated by the increase of students in the existing ones¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p 130.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p 132.

¹⁰⁵ RAO, 1885 - 86, p 49.

¹⁰⁶ Samal, J. K., op. cit., p 262.

Secondary Education:

Secondary Education, though not accurately defined, is a stage which lead up from primary to collegiate courses. The quality of higher education depends upon the standard in secondary schools, since these schools are feeders to the colleges. It is the main gate of entry to the public services in the lower grades. The Hunter Commission, hence, was to examine the quality and character of instruction of secondary education.

Secondary Education in India had little indigenous foundation. It was exotic, introduced for the most part by the Government and the missionaries. From the beginning, it was received with enthusiasm by the educated classes.

The Hunter Commission made 23 recommendations for the improvement of secondary education. The major recommendations referred to: first, bifurcation of studies: second, transfer of secondary education to aided private agency: third, grants-in-aid and scholarships and, fourth, the medium of instruction in secondary schools¹⁰⁷.

In all of the secondary schools, English was not only taught as a language but was also the medium of instruction except in some of the lowest classes. They were called higher English schools. The Despatch of 1854 laid great stress on the promotion of secondary education through the encouragement afforded to private enterprise by the grants-in-aid system. The rules of grants-in-aid were framed and considerable budget provision for associating private enterprise was made every year¹⁰⁸.

In 1872, there were three Higher English schools, 11 Aided Middle English schools, one unaided Middle English school, 21 Middle vernacular schools, 18 Aided Middle vernacular schools. The total number of students taught in these schools were 2,527¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁷ Report of the Indian Education Commission, op. cit., p 4.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 1863-64, Inspector of schools to DPI, 30th March, 1864.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 1871-72, pp 373-379.

But in 1877, an important change was effected when all Middle English schools were placed on a vernacular basis. This is to say that, it became the rule that the vernacular was to be the medium of instruction. The textbooks were to be in the language of the people and English was to be learnt merely as a language. This order of constituting Middle English schools as a vernacular basis, was intended to have a two-fold result. In the first place, those pupils (and they were the majority) whose education went no further should at any rate receive sound instruction in their vernacular, whatever their English requirements might in addition be. But in the second place, it was hoped that, by this assimilation of the constitution of English and vernacular Schools, a number of the latter category would be encouraged to add an English class. In course of time, when they were sufficiently advanced, they would be turned into Middle English schools. Again, when, the resources of a Middle English school fell off, it might for the time drop its English class and wait for better days. Thus, it would become a middle vernacular school in stead of perishing utterly¹¹⁰.

This manual convertibility of English and Vernacular schools was greatly helped by the scholarship rules of 1882. Under these schemes, students were allowed from all middle schools whether styled English or Vernacular to avail scholarships. There was, therefore, no reason why strong middle vernacular schools should any longer content themselves with teaching vernacular only.

With the declaration of Government Resolution of 29th July 1878, the prospects of secondary education were further improved. The declaration mentioned that the proper duties of deputy inspectors were the immediate personal inspection of secondary schools and the general supervision of primary education through the agency of sub-inspectors. Secondary education, held the first and topmost place in the duties of the Deputy Inspector which resulted in the increased number of visits paid by the officers to the secondary education.

By 1882, Secondary education had not made substantial progress in Orissa. By then there were only 6 High English schools, of those Ravenshaw collegiate school

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 1883-84, para, 155.

and the Balasore and Puri Zilla Schools were supported by the Government. The Cuttack European and Lokannath Schools were maintained on the grant-in-aid principle. The Cuttack Academy was a private school. The middle English schools numbered 23 with an aggregate of 1,411 pupils. Nineteen of these were grant-in-aid and four private schools. Of those 13 were supported by Government, one was a private school and the rest were maintained on the grant-in-aid principle¹¹¹.

From the above information, it is thus clear that the operation of grant-in-aid system failed to elicit adequate private effort in the spread of education. Here it had to contend against poverty and conservatism of the people. But few secondary schools came up by this system, in spite of these obstacles. The reasons are not far to seek as the two incentives to 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 examination¹¹².

The purpose of Indian Education Commission of 1882 was to suggest ways of securing the rapid expansion of secondary education for the entire India. As a suggestive measure the commission held the view that Government ought to withdraw from the field and encourage private enterprise as largely as possible. It was of the opinion that the relation of the state to primary education was different from that of secondary education. It was the duty of the state to provide primary education, recourse being had to statutory compulsion if the people showed unwillingness to be educated. Consequently, it was the duty of the state to provide primary schools not only in places where the people asked for them, but also in all places where they were necessary. Secondary Education on the other hand, did not have such a permanent claim upon the state. Government was not under an obligation to provide it directly although it was bound to encourage all such efforts as the people would make to educate themselves.

¹¹¹ J.K.Samal., op.cit., PP 271-272

¹¹² P.I.Report, 1863-64, Inspector of schools to D.P.1,30th May, 1864.

The Commission, therefore, recommended that secondary education should be provided on the grant-in-aid basis and government should withdraw as early as possible from the direct management of the secondary education. The Government of India, accepting its advice, declared that its policy was to supplement the limited funds of the state by calling for the every available private agency¹¹³.

Keeping in view the suggestion of the Commission, the government of Bengal formulated its policy, where in, higher and secondary education were to be developed by local bodies and private agencies. Government was to withdraw from the direct control of secondary schools, with one, important reservation viz., it would maintain a limited number of institutions to serve test models and keep a high standard. It would retain control, by means of the inspection of all public institutions and otherwise would confine itself to the distribution of grant-in-aid. This policy governed the progress of secondary education in Orissa during the remainder of the period under review¹¹⁴.

Another new scheme of vernacular education in the secondary education was introduced in the year 1902 which specified that Indian boys were not allowed to learn English till they had been well grounded in their mother tongue¹¹⁵.

Another noteworthy event in the history of secondary education was the issue of orders in 1903 to the following effect. After 1904, the middle scholarship examination ceased to be held as public examination. Instead of this process, private examinations were arranged by teachers and managers of schools. The promotions from class to class in schools were decided by the masters and managers subject to the control exercised by the inspecting officers of the education department¹¹⁶.

The emergence and rapid growth of private schools after the Education Commission report of 1882 can be observed in the other provinces of India. But the

¹¹³ Nurullah, Syed, History of Education in India, pp 299-300.

¹¹⁴ Malley, L. S. S. O', op. cit., p 279.

¹¹⁵ Samal, J. K., op. cit., p273.

¹¹⁶ P. 1. Reports, 1903 - 04, pp 120 - 123.

growth had been very slow in case of Orissa. Here the government and the Commission committed a mistake of generalization by taking and equating Orissa as parallel to other provinces of the country. The special circumstances of Orissa were not taken into consideration when the educational policy was framed. The private enterprise did not give adequate response to the new institutions unlike other provinces. The general backwardness of Orissa compared to other provinces of Bengal, in terms of economic backwardness especially, should have been taken into consideration. Another factor which was grossly overlooked was the sluggish and negligent growth of education during the East India Country's rule of the province. As a result, the progress of Secondary Education by 1905 was deplorable. There were only 12 high schools, with 2,394 pupils and 82 Middle English schools with 4,244 pupils¹¹⁷.

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION:

In the field of collegiate education, the growth is much spectacular than the other sectors of education. The most important achievement of the period for 1858 to 1905 was the establishment of a college in Cuttack in 1868. The desire for collegiate education found expression when the proposal was made for raising the Government Zilla school at Cuttack to the standard of a collegiate school. The Cuttack Zilla school, one of the prestigious ones that time and the strength of the school had more than doubled during the last 5 years preceding 1864. This too was in the face of one first class mission school with the aid of Rs 150 a month and several other English schools of minor pretensions¹¹⁸.

The growing importance of the Cuttack high school promoted the school committee to press the necessity of establishing at Cuttack a college as atleast a

¹¹⁷ Quinquennial Administrative Report, Orissa, 1900- 1901, 1904 – 05, paras 182, 183.

¹¹⁸ P.I. Report 1864 – 65, p 258.

collegiate class under the Calcutta University. E.Burton, the Secretary to the Committee, wrote, "The Committee sincerely trusts that it will not be long before this institution which promises fair to become the first institution in importance in the province of Orissa, is converted into a college. The boys of Orissa labour under peculiar disadvantages. They came up to the entrance examination and there is an end to their educational career. The want of a college tells severely on the boy's subsequent career, such a want is prejudicial to the result of the entrance examination also. The boys that read the entrance course do not exhibit same degree of zeal in their studies as they should, and why? Because they know fully well that it matters not much to them whether they pass or not"

H.L.Haarison, the inspector of schools, agreed with the Committee. He said, " I have inspected the division that while I fully admit the hardship under which educated persons labour in Orissa and regret that a career beyond the entrance examination is practically closed to them. I do not think the time has yet arrived by the institution of a college there, that is to say, that the number of students would be too limited to justify the expenditure which it would involve. An experiment on a low scale might be made but cheap experiments are nearly always failures"¹²⁰.

But, the results of Cuttack Zilla School of 1865 and 1866 came out successfully. W.W.Hunter, the inspector of schools, expressed great satisfaction with the results. He wrote, "This stands unquestionably first among the educational institutions of Orissa, having the largest number of candidates at the entrance examination. The number may not sound great contrasted with the result obtained by schools of the advanced Bengal districts, but comparing the work done with the difficulties attending the doing of it, the Cuttack school deserves unqualified praise". He concluded that the time had arrived for the promotion of collegiate education in Orissa¹²¹.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p 258 – 259.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 1864 - 65, Inspector of Schools. South West Division to D.P. I.

¹²¹ Ibid, 1865 – 66.

Considering the views of the local authorities and judging the performance, the Director of Public Instruction recommended the opening of a collegiate class in Cuttack Zilla school, as a preparatory step towards the formation of a college for Orissa. In his letter of recommendations he calculated that the expenses of the proposed collegiate school at Cuttack would be Rs.13,800 a year at the rate of Rs.1,150 a month. He, therefore, proposed that the grant of the existing Zilla school should be increased from Rs.3,616 to Rs.12,000 per annum, the amount sanctioned for the Gauwati school. The excess of the charge over the increased grant would be met from school fees and other sources of local income¹²².

The recommendation was favourably accepted by Sir Cecil Beadon, the Lieutenant Governor and in February 1867, he sent it for the sanction of the Government of India. The Lieutenant Governor cited the reason for sanctioning of a Guwahati Collegiate school should also be applicable to Cuttack. He said,

"Cuttack is similar to Assam in respect of its distance from any collegiate instruction and it will be seen from the 10th Paragraph of Mr.Ravenshaw's letter of the 12th September 1865, that the Oriyas are quite as average as the Assamese to send their children far from their homes in order to obtain a higher class of education that is afforded by a Zilla School. Many of the Government appointments in Cuttack are also held by Bengalees instead of by the natives of the province and there is an equally urgent necessity for giving it facilities for a higher class of education."¹²³

Realising the necessity and the recommendation of the reports, the Government of India in April 1867, sanctioned for the raising of the grants of the Cuttack Zilla School from Rs.3616 to Rs.12,000 per annum" With the view of placing the institution on the footing of a college of the lower class to supply the means of obtaining University education in the province of Orissa¹²⁴.

¹²² BGP, (Edn.), February 1867, no. 41., Govt. of Bengal to Govt. of India, no. 799. 15th February, 1867.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

All these encouraging developments led to the conversion of the Cuttack Zilla School into a High School or Collegiate School in January 1868. The college department consisted of two classes only in which the undergraduate students were prepared to appear at the first examination in Arts. In the beginning, only first year class was opened. Six undergraduates who all passed at the last entrance examination from schools in Orissa joined the class. R.L. Martin, the Inspector of Schools, remarked that if there was no college class at Cuttack, only one of the six would have joined an affiliated college in Bengal and the remainder would have had to content themselves with the amount of learning already acquired¹²⁵.

In January 1869, the second year class was opened. A Law class was opened at the same time. The monthly fee at College Class was Rs.3.00 and at the Law class Rs.5.00. Thus, at the end of the year 1869, the Cuttack High School consisted of three departments, such as, (1) College department (2) Law department (3) usual classes of a Zilla School.¹²⁶

The results of the students in the examination were satisfactory as all the six students reading in the first year college class passed the university examination. There were 16 students reading the first Arts Standard in 1869. Of them 6 were second year students and 10 were first year students. It made the authors of the scheme hopeful that the collegiate education would be gradually appreciated by the people of Orissa¹²⁷.

With the growing and potential trends of educational development in this collegiate school, T.E Ravenshaw proposed in January 1875 to convert the college department of the high school into a college in which the students would be able to complete the entire course necessary for attaining the B.A. Degree. The matter was pressed on the attention of Sir Richard Temple, during his visit to Cuttack in April 1875. He was

¹²⁵ P. I. Report, 1867-68. Inspector of Schools, South West Divn. to D.P.I.

¹²⁶ Samal, J. K. Orissa under the British Crown, p 277.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

convinced that Oriyas were exposed to much disadvantage by their distance from the presidency college in Calcutta¹²⁸.

After his return to Calcutta, he wrote to the Commissioner of Orissa that he agreed to convert it into a college on some conditions. These were, Rs.30,000 should be contributed by Government in consideration of an equal amount subscribed locally to meet the expenses of the college. The classes would be opened as an experimental measure for five years. On behalf of the people of Orissa, T.E. Ravenshaw accepted those conditions and the college was opened in January, 1876. It was placed under the able management of principal S. Ager, Late Joint Inspector of Schools in Orissa.¹²⁹ The Director of Public Instruction said, "the Cuttack College, properly equipped, will civilise Orissa, as the presidency and other colleges have civilized Bengal and as the Patna College is civilising Bihar."¹³⁰

The college was a sense of pride for the people of Orissa and in 1878 **Krushna** Chandra Bhanj, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, made a donation of Rs.20,000 to the college as a permanent endowment. And at his request, the name of the college was changed to Ravenshaw College in commemoration of Ravenshaw's services as Commissioner of Orissa.

The real landmark in the educational history of the province took place in the year 1881, when the college which had hitherto been on experimental basis, was placed on a permanent basis. The munificent gift of Rs.20,000 given by the late Maharaja of Mayurbhanj in addition to the previous local contributions enabled the Government to make the institution permanent. A. Smith, the Commissioner of Orissa, said, "The direct administration of Orissa by the British Government dates from the year 1803, and the province has therefore in point of time had half a century less of the benefits of English rule than its more advanced neighbor, Bengal. It is, however, **advancing** steadily but surely and the constitution of the college is not merely an indication of progress made, but of the establishment to all time of the means of further progress. It

¹²⁸ P. I. Reports, 1868 - 69, Report of R. L. Martin, The Inspector of Schools, S. W. Division,

¹²⁹ P. I. Report, 1875 - 76, paras 380 - 83.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

is very unfortunate that Maharajah of Majurbhanj died soon after the realization of the object for which his liberal gift was made"¹³¹.

The law department was attached to the college in 1881. It prepared the students for B.L. examinations. In 1891 M.A. classes were opened.¹³²

The college expenses amounted to Rs.21,466 in 1900, of which the boys paid Rs.5,921. The rest were met by the Government"¹.

The establishment of Ravenshaw College heralded a new era in the areas of education and learning. Neglected though, from the beginning of British rule in Orissa, due to empathy of the colonial rule and the backwardness of the people, both socially and economically, the domination of Bengal in all spheres of life was more evident and wide pervasive. The opening of this college had far-reaching consequences which followed after it. The Oriyas were introduced to the treasures of western knowledge for the first time in true sense of the term. This brought dramatic change in terms of new and more useful ideas to the young mind and a new self-consciousness emerged which was reflected and demonstrated in the later period of struggle of independence and the growth of literature simultaneously. The practical consequence was more important as Oriyas were eligible and available for the high posts on account of the spread of collegiate education. This development can be examined through the report of the Ravenshaw College read on 24 August, 1901 in a function.

"During the 25 years of its existence as a first grade college it has taken out 4 M.A.s, 94 B.A.s, and of these graduates, 14 are Pleaders, 13 are Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors, 21 are Teachers, 13 are Government and Private Ministerial Officers, it is a professor of college, it is a Munsif, it is a Deputy Inspector of Schools, 3 are Sub-Inspectors of schools - 5 are not traceable and 4 are dead. Of these, 4 M.A.s, one is Lady upto this time the college had turned out 23 B.L.s.¹³⁴

¹³¹ RAO, 1881-82, para 257.

¹³² Samal, J. K., *op. cit.*, p 278.

¹³³ Utkal Dipika, 24th August, 1901.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*,

This report shows the success of the education in the college in terms of achieving government jobs and other employment hitherto dominated by Bengal's people. But there were some principal obstacles. One, there did not take place a marked increase in the number of students in the college. The number was 38 in 1882¹³⁵, 97 in 1900 and 75 in 1905¹³⁶. The reasons for this slow increase in the number of students were first, there were a few High English schools in Orissa. Second, due to the proximity of Midnapur, most of the successful Candidates at the entrance examination from the district of Balasore used to join the Midnapur College. Third, from the year 1896, Orissa was opened by Railways. The improved means of communication attracted some of the most promising students to study in Calcutta, which was still considered to be the best place of learning at that time. Finally, the demands upon the college for the supply of educated young men to recruit the various departments of service in the province were increasing. Consequently, many of them left their studies before taking their degree¹³⁷.

Technical Education:

Orissa was placed at a disadvantageous position in the areas of technical education, compared to the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. The intending students were put to several hardships on account of the distance from the higher educational institutions. To fill up the gap in this direction an important step was taken when a medical school and a survey school were established at Cuttack. Dr. Stewart, the Civil Surgeon of Cuttack, through his pioneering efforts had displayed great zeal in establishing a medical school at Cuttack. He also made a disinterested offer to undertake the duties both of superintendence and of instructor without extra remuneration if the medical school was established. The need for a local Medical

¹³⁵ P. I. Report, 1881 - 82, p 27.

¹³⁶ Quinquennial Administration Report, Orissa., 100 - 1905, p 42.

¹³⁷ P. I. Report, 1881 - 82, p 27.

college was also pressed upon the Government by T.E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Orissa, in whose opinion, such a college would contribute materially to the benefit of the province. In September 1875, Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant Governor, accorded his assent to the scheme and agreed to provide an annual grant of Rs.3,000 in support of the school¹³⁸.

With the assent of the Lieutenant - Governor, the school was opened on 15 February, 1876 with 38 students. And the medium of instruction was in the vernacular languages. Dr. Stewart completed the translation of "Materia Media" into Oriya and under his supervision the Cuttack Medical School made a promising start¹³⁹.

Sir Ashly Eden, the Lieutenant-Governor visited the school in 1877 and was satisfied with the practical character of the instruction and the rapidity with which Oriyas were overcoming their dislike to European Medical treatment. And the results of the final examination after 3 years course, 14 students appeared in it and all of them, except one, were qualified and considered deserving of diplomas in Medicine and Surgery. Dr. Steward claimed that the people of Orissa could be successfully trained to become qualified and intelligent medical practitioners¹⁴⁰. In 1886, a female class of the institution was opened¹⁴¹.

To monitor the progress of education in the school, the Inspector General of Civil Hospital visited Cuttack Medical School and observed:

"The progress of the school amply fulfills the anticipation formed of it by its original founders. The pupils continue to flock to it every year, so that the superintendent is able now to take only those candidates who have a pretty good general education and about 16 fully trained hospital assistants are turned out every year. Up to present time it seems that the province of Orissa also has been able to

¹³⁸ BGP (edn.), Sept. 1875, Resolution of Lt. Governor of Bengal, no. 26.97, 6th Sept, 1875.

¹³⁹ RAO, 1875-76, para 106.

¹⁴⁰ P. 1. Report, 1886-87, para 284

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* p 67.

absorb all the pupils turned out by the school, but lately there have been signs of the supply exceeding the demand and this year would have been a difficulty in providing employment for all the passed pupils, had not a considerable number been taken for Burma. From the repugnance which the pupils of other provinces evince to service in Burma, it is not unlikely that the province will find employment for the pupils of the Orissa Medical school for some years to come"¹⁴².

In 1891, Cuttack Medical School was placed under the management of Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel J.M. Zorab, and he succeeded Dr. Steward¹⁴³. Under his able management, it registered 118 pupils including 6 females by 1894¹⁴⁴. By 1905, under the management of Dr. Steward and Dr. Zorab, the Cuttack Medical School not only supplied doctors to the several hospitals and dispensaries in Orissa but also trained efficient nurses. Thus, the foundation of the future medical college was laid¹⁴⁵.

Another much needed demand was the establishment of a school for imparting instruction in survey. After the assumption of office, T.E. Ravenshaw wrote to the Government of Bengal that the establishment of a survey school in Orissa was absolutely necessary and the Government of Bengal agreed to the proposal and the Cuttack survey school was thus opened in 1776¹⁴⁶. Thirteen Students joined it at first and the period under training was fixed for 2 years and vernacular was the medium of instruction. The school was placed under the control of the principal of Ravenshaw College. In the final examination, out of 13 candidates, 12 were successful and found employment as "ameens"¹⁴⁷.

The Cuttack survey School continued as the only survey school in the province till its conversion into a school of Engineering in 1923.

¹⁴² P. I. Reports, 1891 - 92, para 143.

¹⁴³ Ibid.,

¹⁴⁴ RAO, 1893-94, p 33.

¹⁴⁵ Utkal Dipika 23rd August, 1904.

¹⁴⁶ P. I. Report, 1875 - 76, para 167.

¹⁴⁷ RAO, 1878-79, para 167.

Female Education:

The female education made a beginning in Orissa under the initiative of missionaries. During the famine of 1865-66 the missionaries established orphanages which subsequently developed into centers of female education. One 'Zenana' association was started by Mrs. Smith in 1869 for educating the married girls of Balasore¹⁴⁸.

On female education in Orissa the Joint Inspector wrote in 1874,

"If by female education we mean a little reading and writing, there are more educated women in Orissa than perhaps in any other part of Bengal, but if it means good and sound learning, then it must be confessed very little has yet been done, and for some years to come little more is likely to be done in this respect. The people don't object to give education of some kind to their daughters, but the idea of sending them to public schools, to which the public have access and where they may be subjected to the gaze of the public and will have to mix with girls of all classes, is revolting to their feelings and prejudices. Hence it is that while in the *Pathasalas* carried on in the indigenous method, we often have a few girls writing the alphabets on little pieces of palm-leaf, or with small pieces of chalk upon the ground, we don't find a single Oriya, Hindu or Mohammedan girl of a respectable family in any of our middle or higher class schools....."¹⁴⁹.

There were nine girl schools, and one 'Zenana' association for the instruction of girls. Of these, five were in Cuttack, one in Puri, and the rest in Balasore and all the schools were aided except one. The aided schools were under the management of the missionaries. The total number of girls under instruction on 31 March 1875 was 967, of whom one was in a Middle English School, one was in a circle school, 12 were in Middle vernacular schools, 834 were in girls' schools. The rest frequented *Pathasalas* and the Mission normal school at Santipur¹⁵⁰. It was grossly observed that most of the girls in schools were Bengalis, and a very few Oriyas.

¹⁴⁸ P. 1. Report, 1871 - 72, pp 377 - 380.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 1874 - 75, para 515.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, p 98.

For the first time, girls' schools were classified in the educational returns **under** the recognized standards of instruction in 1880¹⁵¹. The total number of girls under instruction was 2,416 in 1882¹⁵². Of these, 823 attended special girls' schools were 33 in number viz. 25 in Balasore, 6 in Cuttack and 2 in Puri. Of these, 20 were under missionary management and the rest were Hindu Girls' Schools, and the best Hindu Girls' Schools were those situated at Balasore, Cuttack and Bhadrak. The highest standard which girls' schools reached in Orissa was the lower Vernacular scholarship standard¹⁵³.

The expansion of female education was, however, mainly due to the encouragement of girls' classes established in primary schools for boys. The Education Commission recommended that mixed schools for boys should not be maintained except under special circumstances. The Government of Bengal opposed the Commission recommendation for the following reasons. First, there could be no doubt as to the success of the mixed schools system in every division of Bengal. Second, the competition between girls and boys in these schools had been of the utmost value in stimulating the progress of both. Lastly, the necessary limitations to the system were found in the fact that girls seldom attended schools after they were ten years old. Up to that age, boys and girls played together. Therefore, there was no reason why they should not also read together. The Government of India did not contest the Lieutenant Governor's views thus expressed. The mixed system, as a result, continued to be in force in Orissa¹⁵⁴.

Out of the other recommendations, the important one was aiding of girls' schools on easier terms, the grants of 'Zenana' agencies and to local associations, for an increase to the female inspecting agency and the gradual replacement of masters by mistresses. All these proposals were approved of by the Government of Bengal and action was taken on these proposals from time to time.

¹⁵¹ Samal, J. K., op. cit., P 285.

¹⁵² RAO, 1881-82, pp 62 – 63.

¹⁵³ Samal, J. K. op.cit., P 285.

¹⁵⁴ P. I. Report, 1883 - 84, para 329.

A Sub-Inspector was appointed in 1887 for Orissa to inspect girls' Schools lying within the limits of municipalities¹⁵⁵.

The table below shows the progress of female education.¹⁵⁶

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	Remarks
1894-95	107	5,638	Girls in boys' schools
1899-1900	111	6,062	Are included.
1904-1905	214	14,118	

But the progress of female education was rather slow and unsatisfactory. The highest standard reached by the girls in Orissa was the middle vernacular scholarship standard. The slow progress of female education was mainly due to some of the inherent reasons. First, the conservative attitude of a great portion of the people about the idea of female receiving education and in the process girls caring contact with boys, teachers and outsiders. Similarly, the education of their female children was a matter of great indifference to a large portion of parents and guardians. Besides, the system of early marriages prevented an almost insurmountable barrier to education beyond the primary stages, the scarcity of educated female teachers and want of adequate state aid and aid from other public funds hindered the smooth progress of female education¹⁵⁷.

Educational Administration:

The management and administration of educational system underwent several stages and changes with the requirement for the same and the colonial rulers' exigencies. Before the changes introduced by Sir George Campbell, the Control of

¹⁵⁵ P. I. Report, 1887 - 88, para 22.

¹⁵⁶ Quinquennial Administration Report, Orissa, 1900 - 01, 1904-05, para 190.

¹⁵⁷ Review of Education in Bengal, 1897-98.- 1901 -02., p45.

Education in schools of Orissa lay in the hands of the Director of Public Instruction, working through the Inspector of Schools, South-West division and two Deputy Inspectors. The only exception to this was the Zilla School of each district, in respect of which a local committee enjoyed certain limited powers¹⁵⁸. Of the two Deputy Inspectors, one was in charge of Puri and Angul and the other of Cuttack and Balasore. The relation of the District Magistrate to the schools of his jurisdiction varied entirely with his inclinations. He had no direct educational responsibilities¹⁵⁹.

But with Sir George Campbell, the whole system of educational administration was remodelled in 1872. It was his method to give a permanent impulse to the cause of primary education among the masses of the people. And he tried to implement it by localizing educational control as far as possible and at the same time by bringing the members of the educational service into closer connection with the executive officers of the Government¹⁶⁰.

Keeping this in mind, through the Resolution of 30th September, 1872, he tried to put forth his method by handing over the entire control of primary education to the District Magistrate. The Chief authority over education of the higher kinds throughout each district (including the award of scholarships) was also transferred from the management of the professional officers of the department to that of a duly constituted District Committee of which the Magistrate was the ex-officio vice President and the Commissioner was the president. The Deputy Inspectors of Schools and *Pathasalas* were placed directly under the Magistrate's orders. The Inspectors were relieved of nearly all their administrative functions and were directed to look upon themselves as merely the chief advisors of the Commissioner and (if required) of the Magistrates in all educational matters. A general power of supervision was no doubt given to the Inspectors. They were at liberty and indeed were required to inspect schools of all classes. They were specially to see that the local authorities conformed to the rules and policies of the Government. They had to, at the same

¹⁵⁸ BGP (Edn.), July 1877, Resolution of the Govt. of Bengal., no. 2061, 20th July, 1877.

¹⁵⁹ P. I, Report, 1858-59, Inspector of schools, S. W. Division to D. P. I, 1st July 1859.

¹⁶⁰ BGP (Edn.), July 1877, Resolution of the Govt. of Bengal., no. 2061, 20th July, 1877.

time, discharge duties in connection with audit and account. The director ceased to exercise immediate control over the local operations of his department and became an advisor to Government in questions involving educational operations.

The each district committee was entrusted under this scheme with three main functions. They were, 1] The management of the grant-in-aid assignment; 2] The management of the District Government Schools, subject to certain limitations in their power of making appointments; and 3] The distribution and award of primary, vernacular and minor scholarships¹⁶¹.

To reduce the functional burden of the district officers who already held in their hands so many other threads of district administration, Campbell felt it necessary to allow each district chief a special agency to help him in educational duties. His scheme, therefore, provided that a well paid Deputy Inspector should be attached to the head quarters of each districts. As a result, the Deputy Inspector ships in Orissa were increased from two to three, each in charge of a district. Campbell's scheme also attached a Sub-Inspector to each Sub-division educational funds to inspect the primary schools of the sub-division of a district. His function was to administer under the direction of the Sub-Divisional Officer¹⁶². Accordingly, 10 Sub-Inspectors were added to the controlling agency of Orissa¹⁶³.

The primary school system received a favorable encouragement under the Campbells' scheme and the number of schools increased rapidly. But the schools were sparsely scattered over a wide area and could hardly be supervised satisfactorily by the Inspector of the Western Circle, who had, in the Burdwan Division, nearly 35,000 schools¹⁶⁴. Besides, Oriya being a distinct language, it was desirable that the Inspector should possess the knowledge of that language for the effective supervision of the Oriya Schools, nearly all of which were in the elementary stage. Consideration of this kind led to relieve the Burdwan Inspector of the minute supervision of Orissa

¹⁶¹ BGP (Edn.), July 1877, Resolution of the Govt. of Bengal., no. 2061, 20th July, 1877.

¹⁶² RAB, 1872-73, pp 158- 159.

¹⁶³ P. I. Report, 1875-76, p 109

¹⁶⁴ Samal, J. K., op. cit., p 270.

Schools, and to appoint a special officer under the title of **Joint-Inspector**, subordinate to the Inspector of the Western circle, to take charge of these schools¹⁶⁵. But the arrangement could not work satisfactory, as the Joint-Inspector was in complete subordination of the circle Inspector with no independent charges of functioning. T.E. Ravenshaw, who was very determined for the advancement of education in this province, was desirous of the plan of independent functioning of the Joint-Inspector. Considering the issue he wrote to the Government of Bengal which acceded to his argument. As a result in 1875, Orissa was separated from Burdwan division and placed under the independent charge of a Joint Inspector¹⁶⁶.

The review of the result of the system of educational administration established by Sir George Campbell was done by Sir Ashley Eden in the resolution of 20 July 1877. He acknowledged that the system had several advantages and said, "Much important and useful work had been done. A fund of knowledge had been gained as to the educational requirements of the masses. A great stimulus to improvement was given, and the cause of primary education had been placed on a broad and expanding basis."¹⁶⁷

But there were some drawbacks in the new system, in spite of all these advantages. First, the new system had to some extent failed to utilise the accumulated professional experience of superior inspecting officers of the department, partly by encumbering them with formal duties of audit and account and partly by treating them in a great measure, as were advisors and inspectors. Second, for too much was left dependent on the unchecked idiosyncrasies of individual district officers. Many of them had no special task for this branch of administration while all were already fully occupied with the constantly pressing details of their ordinary work. Last, in several respects the principles of the amalgamation were not very clearly formulated, and in consequence, difficulties frequently cropped up.

¹⁶⁵ BGP (Edn.) October 1874, D.P. I. to Govt. of Bengal, no. 4148, 4th Sept. 1874.

¹⁶⁶ P. I. Report, 1875 – 76, p 109.

¹⁶⁷ BGP (Edn.) July 1877, Resolution of the Govt. of Bengal, no. 2061, 20th July 1877.

The Lieutenant-Governor declared that his object was to adjust the educational machinery of the province so as to secure better and more uniform results¹⁶⁸. He expressed full adherence to the leading principles of the system of educational administration which had been established by Sir George Campbell, namely, the direct control by the Magistrate of primary Education and the closer association of the education department with the executive officers of Government. But at the same time he wanted that primary education should be brought more clearly within the final control of the Head of Education Department and that the services of the Inspector and Deputy Inspectors were to be more fully utilized in the matter of direct administration. He, therefore, decided to settle more definitely the relative positions and duties of the various officers concerned in the educational operations in the state¹⁶⁹.

As per the guidelines, the controlling agency was revised and strengthened in 1878 by a Resolution of Government dated 29 July, 1878. The new scheme provided for the following arrangements,

The Director was to exercise general control over education of every kind including primary. The primary grant was still to be administered and primary scholarships were awarded by the District Magistrate through his district officers, the Deputy Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors. For the state of primary education in his district, the District Magistrate was still to be held in the first place responsible. This officer was, however, empowered to consult the Joint-Inspector on any matter connected with primary education and the latter, similarly to offer his independent opinions to the Magistrate. The Magistrate was not bound to follow the Joint-Inspector's advice. If differences of opinion arose the question was to be referred to the Director. His decision would generally be final, subject to a reference to Government in certain exceptional cases¹⁷⁰.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ D. P. I. to Govt. of Bengal, no. 5 T. 18th June 1878.

¹⁷⁰ P. I. Report, 1878 - 79, para 31.

By the rules of 1872, the general control of all the secondary schools of a district and the distribution of grant-in-aid allotment had been vested in the District Committee. By the new resolution, the Joint-Inspector was declared to be the Chief administrative officer of the department and was made immediately responsible for the state of secondary education throughout his circle. He was charged with the local administration of the grant-in-aid assignments, and with the supervision and control of aided schools. He was entrusted with the management of all middle and lower class government schools, including the appointment and promotion of their teachers; the selection of text books in all schools other than primary; the examination for award of middle and lower scholarships; the supervision of Zilla Schools, of normal schools, and of Government College and the appointment and promotion of teachers in Zilla Schools¹⁷¹.

The Joint-Inspectors were relieved of the duty of auditing school bills and accounts by the same resolution in order to utilize their services in the best possible way and to enable him to engage himself more closely in the direct control and supervision of schools. These duties were discharged by a department created in the office of the Director.

The Districts Committee functioned by assisting the Magistrate as a consultative council in matters connected with primary education; the committee was to undertake the general supervision of the Zilla Schools, including the maintenance of the building, the financial affairs of the school, and the settlement of questions of discipline that might be referred to them by the Head Master.

The department also had subordinate officers and the Deputy Inspector was charged with the supervision of all classes of schools in his district. Being posted as subordinate to the Inspector in regard to secondary and to the Magistrate in regard to primary education. In order to avoid any confusion that might arise from this double subordination, it was provided that the Magistrate should have the first claim in his services. The Sub-Inspectors were officers chiefly engaged in primary education

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

under the Deputy Inspector. They were also placed the much closer subordination to the Magistrate. The Commissioner had no position in this new system. But it was declared that he must be kept as fully informed by Magistrates and Inspectors of the progress of education in his division and enjoy ample opportunities of taking an active part in it as he might wish¹⁷².

This system of educational administration worked well as it introduced elements of uniformity and continuity, which were essential for permanent educational progress. It was continued throughout the period under review with some modifications introduced by the local self- Government Act.of 1885.

By 1887, the local self- Government Act III (B.C) of 1885 had been brought into operation in Orissa. The immediate result was the dissolution of the District Committees of Public Instruction and the assumption of their obligation to elementary education by District Boards. To enable them to carry out the duties thus devolving upon them, the services of nearly all the sub-Inspectors were transferred to the District Boards¹⁷³. In 1818, primary schools were transferred to the Local Boards in the Sub-divisions¹⁷⁴. The Deputy Inspector remained a departmental servant and controlled Government Schools. On the Board schools he exercised no authority, although he was expected to visit and report on their condition¹⁷⁵.

In 1904, there were, 7,781 Schools, secondary and primary, under the tuition of 8,532 teachers and under the supervision of one Inspector, 3 deputy Inspectors, and 30 Sub-Inspectors¹⁷⁶.

Medium of Instruction:

The medium of instruction was an issue of much concern and controversy in the educational development during the colonial rule. Orissa, being much closer to

¹⁷² **Ibid**, pp 33 -35.

¹⁷³ **P. I. Report, 1887 - 88, para 40.**

¹⁷⁴ **Ibid**, 1888 - 89, p 11.

¹⁷⁵ **Stark, Herberrrt Alic, op. cit., p 149.**

the province of Bengal, was influenced and dominated to some aspects by Bengali Culture. So was the case of medium of instruction, as for a longer time Oriya was considered by various policy makers, particularly Bengalees as a dialect of the Bengali Language. The discussion about the adoption of Oriya as the medium of instruction in Orissa, arose as early as 1862, when Patterson, the Executive Officer of Balasore, gave a suggestion for substituting Oriya for a Bengali Language in the Government School at Balasore. He wrote, "As however, Bengali and not Oriya is taught in the Government school at Balasore, that Institution, does not, in his opinion, afford to other Departments the assistance it would, were the vernacular substituted for Bengali, and pupils being, as far as the school is concerned, ignorant of the language in which the business of the District is conducted, situations in public officers cannot be held out to them as inducements to, and as the reward of exertion"¹⁷⁷.

In regard to this suggestion, the Lieutenant-Governor decided that Oriya should certainly be taught in the school as the vernacular of the district. The attention of the director of Public Instruction was drawn to this order¹⁷⁸.

In April 1863, Meddicott, the Inspector of Schools, reported that Oriya had been regularly taught in the Balasore Zilla School. On his inspection, he found that in every class, including the highest the boys knew Oriya as well as Bengali. All the boys of the final class had, in 1863, selected Oriya as the second language for the ensuing Entrance Examination. But he said, "They do so, because they say no case of a candidate having failed in Oriya is known, that the language is incapable of furnishing matter for a trying examination".

W.S. Atkinson, the Director of Public Instruction also disfavoured the selection of Oriya as a second language at the University Entrance Examination. He did not consider Oriya, a proper subject of study as a substitute of Bengali, for aspirants to a University Entrance Examination. In May 1863, he submitted for the consideration of the Lieutenant-Governor a definite proposal, which would enable

¹⁷⁶ P. I. Report, 1903-04, p 1.

¹⁷⁷ BGP (Edn), June 1862, no. 15. Commissioner of Orissa to Govt. of Bengal, no. 180, 13th May 1881.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. Govt. of Bengal to Commissioner of Orissa, no. 553, 3rd June 1882.

every student who intended to present himself for the entrance examination to take up Bengalee as his second language.

The Lieutenant Governor, in return, passed the proposal to the Commissioner of Orissa for his opinion on the subject. In June 1863, R.N.Shore, pointing out the great injustice involved in the proposal said " the students from Orissa shall be subjected to disadvantages of being required to pass in two foreign languages while all other candidates are examined only in one." The Lieutenant Governor having convinced in the opinion of the Commissioner, declined to entertain the proposal of the Director Public Instruction (D.P.I) over the two language examination system.

In 1865, T. E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Orissa, called upon the attention of the Government of Bengal to the almost entire neglect of the Oriya language in the advanced classes of the schools in Orissa. Thereupon the government of Bengal wrote to the D.P.I, the Commissioner of Orissa and the Inspector of schools to state their views on the remedy of this state of affairs. Thus there arose a great deal of controversy regarding the extent to which the Oriya language should be employed in the schools of Orissa.

But opinions of officials like W.S. Atkinson and a host of others were totally against the full implementation of Oriya language in the schools. The arguments to support their viewpoints included that the intimacy of the Oriya language with Bengalee language having identical alphabet, vocabularies, grammar with the exception of the reflections of the nouns and verbs.

Atkinson did not believe that there was a literature in the Oriya language. He further held that instead of attempting to develop a new literature and a new education, it would be very much to the advantage of the people to continue to learn Bengalee.

On the other hand, R.L.Martin, the Inspector of schools, differed from Atkinson. He was in favour of the adoption of Oriya as the language of the schools of Orissa for the following reasons;

First, both the languages of Bengali and Oriya are derived from the original Sanskrit. But in all the particles and inflections of the nouns and verbs they varied.

Second, there was not the slightest chance of the Oriya language giving way to Bengali. The reason was that the people who spoke it were inhabitants of a vast track of country bounded on only about one-tenth of its limits by people who spoke Bengali.

Third, Oriya was not only spoken in some districts of Bengal, but also in a number of districts under the Madras and Central provinces' Governments. The districts in the north were placed under the superintendence of an Inspector of schools, who was principally with schools in which Bengali was the vernacular. The districts in the south were similarly placed under a Madras Inspector more intimately concerned with the schools which had Telugu as the vernacular. Consequently, the Oriya language could not progress equally with the languages of the adjoining provinces and the Oriyas themselves were found inferior in education to the people speaking Bengali and Telugu. They had been pushed out of the more important appointments in the province¹⁷⁹.

The views of R.L Martin were supported by the Commissioner of Orissa who was exclusively in favour of establishing Oriya as the recognised language of all schools in Orissa. After much discussions and deliberations, the Lieutenant-Governor accepted the views of R.L Martin and announced that in all schools in the province of Orissa upto Zilla schools, the Oriya language should be the medium of instruction and in the Zilla schools and High school at Cuttack it should be optional with all students to continue their studies in the Oriya language, if they wished it. The D.P.I was

¹⁷⁹ Samal, J. K., op. cit., p 301.

accordingly asked to give early effect as circumstances would permit to this arrangement, in communication with the Commissioner and educational authorities¹⁸⁰.

After these continuous deliberations and convincing of officials, the Oriya language ultimately held its own.

¹⁸⁰ BGP (Edn.) November 1869, no. 7. Govt. of Bengal to D.P.I, no. 3686, 8th Nov. 1869.

CHAPTER - HI

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FROM 1900 - 1947

The beginning of the 20th century marked a great change in the educational policy in India. The Laissez faire system of education introduced by the Woods Despatch of 1854 and reiterated by the India Education Commission of 1882 was reversed by Lord Curzon, who became the Viceroy of India in 1898. The liberalisation of educational policy during the latter half of the 19th century was viewed with distaste by Lord Curzon as it resulted in increased criticism of governmental policies. Therefore, Curzon planned to reform the educational structure by officialising Indian education through higher control¹⁸¹. The policies initiated by him influenced the Indian Educational Systems in the subsequent decades.

Lord Curzon's educational reforms started with the Simla conference held in September 1901, a starting point of an era of increased educational activity and earnest prosecution of educational reforms¹⁸². This was followed by the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission (1902), on the basis of whose recommendations the Indian Universities Act was passed in 1904. In 1913, the next major change was the declaration of the Educational Policy, which was passed through a government resolution. Apart from these changes, initiated by the government, non-officials like Gopala Krishna Gokhale, also moved a Bill to make elementary education free and compulsory. All these changes had a great impact on the growth of education during two decades.

Here, an examination of the changes in the policy made by Lord Curzon is briefly given;

Lord Curzon summoned all the Directors of Public Instruction, after a preliminary survey of education, to a conference at Simla in September 1901, "to consider the system of education in India"¹⁸³. The major resolutions of the conference were; the establishment of model schools in localities where education was neglected,

¹⁸¹ George Hamilton. Secretary of State's Letter to Curzon. May 18. 1899

¹⁸² Vaikuntham Y . - Education and Social Change in South India:Andhra, Madras, 1982, P - 66.

¹⁸³ Majumdar R.C. (Ed), British Paramountry and Indian Renaissance, Part II, Bombay,1960

improvement of female education, primary education, strengthening of inspecting agency for a higher control ¹⁸⁴and putting efficiency first and expansion next. By this the placid calm of ordered progress achieved on the basis of the principles laid down by the Indian Education Commission was suddenly disturbed and was followed by an era of controversies, conferences, commissions, government resolutions and **drastic** changes in educational policy by the government¹⁸⁵.

As a follow-up measure of the Simla conference, the Indian Universities Commission was appointed in January 1902, under the Chairmanship of Thomas Raleigh to enquire into the conditions and prospects of the Universities to improve and elevate the standards of the Universities in British India ¹⁸⁶. The Commission submitted its report in June 1902 and its major recommendations were: enlarged legal powers to the older Universities, local limits of Universities, recognition of Universities as teaching bodies, senate, syndicate, and the faculties to be more representative of the affiliated institutions and properly constituted governing bodies for each college ¹⁸⁷.

The recommendations invited severe criticism both by press and public opinion in India. It was considered as a step checking the spread and the scope of education and virtually destroying the limited independence of the Indian Universities.

On the basis of the recommendations of the Commission of 1902, the Indian Universities Act was passed in 1904. The Act conferred on the Universities of India a working constitution investing them with the authority to control and supervise higher education in accordance with the principles and policy approved by the Government of India. But the unfortunate result of Curzon's reforms was the excessive officialisation of the University administration. No doubt Curzon was trying to bring education under the control of the Government to suppress the nationalist movement in India, but his educational policy introduced efficiency and improvement in the

¹⁸⁴ Higher Education in India (Editorial); The Indian Review, September, 1902, NPR, P.449

¹⁸⁵ Nurullah, Syed & Naik, J.P. A students History of Education in India - 1800-1947, Bombay, 1947. P.167

¹⁸⁶ Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902, Simla, P.7

¹⁸⁷ Ibid - PP 57.

quality of education and was the basis of the educational system for many years to come.

The educational progress received another milestone with the initiation by G.K.Gokhale, the moderate Congress Leader and a member of the Imperial Legislation Council, with the introduction of a Bill to make elementary education free, compulsory, for children aged between 6 and 10 years. The old distinctions between lower primary and upper primary, lower secondary and upper secondary disappeared in 1906 and the institutions were reclassified into elementary and secondary schools¹⁸⁸. Primary Education and Elementary Education used interchangeably hereafter. Government was in favour of it initially but later rejected it on the ground that the scheme was not well worked out and that all the local governments were against it and the suspicion that the intention was to overthrow British Raj¹⁸⁹

Gokhale's efforts had a far-reaching consequences in the subsequent period. His efforts were responsible for the creation of a separate education department and the strengthening of the movement in favour of mass education. When Gokhale's Bill was under discussion, Hardinge, the Viceroy presumed that in the forthcoming coronation Darbar, the Emperor might announce free elementary education¹⁹⁰. Even in his address to the Calcutta University in January 1912, he favoured the spread of education for the enlightenment of Indians. This was followed by the Government Resolution of February 1913 on Educational Policy for expansion and improvement of Primary Education¹⁹¹. With this started the struggle between the quality and the quantity even in the field of primary education.

The Calcutta University Commission was appointed by the Government of India in 1917, under the Chairmanship of M.E.S. Sadler, to study its working. The report of the Commission, which was submitted in 1919, was a great turning point, since its

¹⁸⁸ G.O.No.509, Educational, July 31, 1906, Proceedings of Education Department, Government of Madras, Paras 2, 145. Primary Education Dept, Government of Madras, Paras 2, 145. A.P State Archives. Hyderabad.

¹⁸⁹ Aparna Basu, Growth of education and political developments in India, New Delhi, PP - 64-68.

¹⁹⁰ Hardinge to crewe, June 1, 1911, and July 13, 1911, Harginge Papers (I 13)(NAI) .

¹⁹¹ G.O.No.394, Educational, May 1, 1913, Proceedings of Education Dept.

recommendations were adopted by several other universities. The Montagu Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 introduced Dyarchy and consequently education became a transferred subject.

Thus the period from 1901 to 1920 witnessed great educational activity and changes in Government Policy in India. These changes greatly influenced the educational pattern in the province of Orissa also. In this chapter, the spread of education, in the light of the policy changes discussed earlier, will be examined.

In the province of Orissa, the second phase of educational development started from 1901 and continued apart from the earlier development in that field. In the field of primary education, the focus was emphasised more. Being inspired by the current edition of the regulation of the education department of England, it was laid down that, the purpose of the public elementary schools of India was "to form and strengthen the character and develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available in assisting both girls and boys, according to their different needs to fit themselves practically as well as intellectually for the work of life"¹⁹². It was further stated that the other aims of the primary school were to train the children carefully in the habits of observation and clear reasoning so that they may join in intelligent acquaintance with some of the facts and laws of nature, to arouse in them a living interest in the ideas and achievements of mankind. To give them some power over language as an instrument of thought and expression to develop in them a taste for good reading to encourage their natural activities of hand and eyes by suitable forms of practical work and manual instruction. To train them in appropriate physical exercises, to encourage them in organised games, to instruct them in similar laws of health, to discover and advance individual children of exceptional capacity, to lay the foundations of good conduct and to enable the children not merely to reach their full development as individuals but also to become upright and careful members of the community in which they live¹⁹³.

¹⁹² Samal, J. K., - History of Education in Orissa, Calcutta. 1984. P-25

¹⁹³ H.W.Orange, Progress of Education in India, 1902-07, PP.118-119.

SYLLABUS OF 1901:

The well-known resolution of January 1901 aimed at achieving the above mentioned objectives. The sole purpose was to revolutionise school teaching in Bengal Presidency by the introduction of a system under which 'Children are trained and not taught, this is to say, trained to do and learn things by themselves. It strove to activate the innate intelligence of the children for its proper growth. The school work was to become for children a developed part of their everyday life, while habits of accuracy and obedience were to be inculcated by the process of stick-laying and simple physical exercise and action song ¹⁹⁴.

These high goals were felt quite difficult to realise, but the intention of the authors of resolution of 1901 was that "bad teaching with a good education system will produce better results than bad teaching with a bad and unsound system". The resolution also mentioned clearly that the then prevailing system was quite mechanical system of training, where in the memory was used for imparting education.

As a result of the introduction of the well known Resolution of 1901, the following changes were made in the Lower Primary and Upper Primary courses.

- i) The infant class was to be divided into 3 sections and the course was to extend over a year. Under the new system, the children were to be taught. Kindergarten and object lessons, simple lessons about the human body and about animals, lessons on number, the writing of numerals, rotation and simple calculation, the learning of the alphabet and reading of simple printed and written language etc.,
- ii) In the lower primary course, the class reading book was abolished and a science primer was introduced, which was to consist of certain number of pages on; Botany, Natural History, Agriculture, Physics, Chemistry, Hygiene, Domestic economy etc.,

¹⁹⁴Samal, J. K., op, cit., - P - 26

iii) The Upper Primary course was enlarged by the addition of a historical reader and a literature book, practical geometry and menstruation being also added and the scope of the object lessons on the natural objects being enlarged¹⁹⁵.

The planners of the new system had the objective of creating a new system of elementary instruction which consisted wholly of making children commit to memory certain statements, either taken from book or verbally imparted and mechanically instructing them in certain processes, such as writing, counting and calculating. Realising that for the revivify the masses for elementary education, modern development of infant teaching must be brought in, so as to develop the elementary education.

But these reform measures were encountered by colossal difficulties to function effectively. The teachers of the primary school, where the new system was to work, were poor in qualifications. While writing on this subject in 1902, the Director of Public Instruction remarked, "It was almost impossible to convey to the ordinary educated English man or European even an idea of them. To say that the majority of these men were able to record and write and to do a little arithmetic is to rechange the sum total of their accomplishments. How could these even be got to assimilate the principle of the kindergarten system and to learn to teach their pupils about things instead of confining them to a repetition of words"¹⁹⁶.

The syllabus of 1901 had among its objectives had that every Indian child should under it have a chance of acquiring a proper knowledge of his own vernacular. But with the introduction of science primer, which was the only book in standard I and II, this excellent object was frustrated. The science primer that had been produced in Oriya language had not been good either from the point of view of science or language. Indeed, considering the development of Oriya Language in the first decade of the 20th century, it was impossible to produce vernacular elementary science primer, which could be considered a good book from the point of view of language and style. The working of this arrangement was described by Kuchler as follows:-

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, P.27

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, P - 28.

"This subject (science) not only occupies a disproportionate place in the syllabus but children are actually expected to make their first acquaintance with their own vernacular through the medium of science readers, this being the book prescribed for lessons in reading upto end of standard II. There is a certain amount of ingenuity shown in their attempt to kill two birds with one stone, but the result is that mark is missed in both cases. . . . Under no circumstances is it desirable to teach a child its own tongue through the medium of compilation of an elementary science, but the objections to this method are doubly strong in the present instance as the diction of these publications is open to serious objections"¹⁹⁷.

REVISED SYLLABUS OF 1907:

As the ideas of Resolution of 1901 were not realised, there was a rethinking on how to make suitable corrections in the syllabus. The substitution of Science Primer for the class reading book had not succeeded in compelling children to think for themselves and to draw general conclusions from observed facts. Besides, it was difficult on the part of children to learn Oriya language well through Science Primer. To remedy these defects, the whole system of primary education had been revised in 1907.

The Government Resolution of No. 1028 dated 10th June, 1907, decided to revise the syllabus for the lower primary and upper primary schools. The Chief differences between the new syllabus and the vernacular scheme of education of 1901 were as follows:

- First, books containing easy extracts from general literature were substituted for the science primer of the vernacular system ¹⁹⁸.
- Second, with a view to provide a curriculum of studies suited to the needs and capacities of the children of agriculturists, the syllabus included nature study ¹⁹⁹.

¹⁹⁷ H.W. Orange, op.cit., para 7. pp55-60.

¹⁹⁸ Report on the public instruction in Bengal, 1907-08, pp 28-30.

- Third, English might be taught colloquially by the direct method for an hour every day in the first four classes of a middle school, which corresponded to primary standard.
- Fourth, separate books were prescribed for higher standards in Nature Study, Hygiene and Geography.
- Fifth, time required to pass through the infant stage was reduced from three to two years²⁰⁰.
- Sixth, the Science Reader should be prepared at the expense of Government but the production of other books should be left to private enterprise²⁰¹.

This revised syllabus for primary schools was introduced and taught in the schools of Orissa from the beginning of 1910. For the guidance of the teachers who were often untrained, a junior teachers' manual was prepared at state expense by a body of expert educationists²⁰². The publication of necessary vernacular readers and arithmetic books, which were to be ready by 15th June 1908, were proceeding in much faster way.

By the end of 1908, the majority of the books were ready for the final consideration of the special committee²⁰¹.

By 1914 it became abundantly clear that the courses prescribed for the primary classes should be revised in the light of practical experience. It was urged that matters which were beyond the grasp of teacher and young minds should be removed from the syllabus. Many felt that the courses should be prescribed keeping in view of the limitations of the students and average attainment of the teachers. If the mental capacity of the students were found to be deficient to follow with profit the instructions prescribed, it was necessary that unsuitable text books and complicated matters of the syllabus should be replaced by simpler ones²⁰⁴.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, pp 28-30.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 1907-10, pp 352

²⁰¹ Ibid-para-148

²⁰² Ibid, 1907-08, PP- 353.

²⁰³ Report on the progress of education in Bihar & Orissa, 1912-13, Para - 7.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 1912-17, Para - 234.

The great freedom fighter and eminent leader of Orissa, Gopabandhu Das remarked about the structure of education thus, "The question of education is a very difficult question in this country. It is really a transplantation of the civilization of the west in the East. But the substitution is not possible. It is only grafting that is possible, and in any system of grafting, you have to take into consideration the nature of plants on which you graft the fibre of which it is constituted and the circumstances under which it can grow. Any disregard to these circumstances will make the grafting a **failure**²⁰⁵". The remark of Gopabandhu Das pointed out that due to complicated curriculum, the primary education was growing unpopular.

The spread and popularisation of primary education depended mainly on the introduction of appropriate curriculum, taking into account the mental ability and age of the pupils. The Government had spent a large amount of time to achieve that objective. In its constant endeavour to improve the status and content of primary education, the education committee was constituted in 1923 to look into the whole matter. Another factor which necessitated the revision of syllabus was the problem arising out of the one teacher in most lower primary schools. As it was practically a physical impossibility on the part of the teacher to teach four classes at the same time and in the process the classes also suffered, the correct solution lay on the appointment of a second teacher for each lower primary school. But the financial scarcity rendered this impracticable.

One of the aims of the primary education committee of 1923 was directed to enquire into the problem of teaching in the one-teacher primary-schools and to suggest its remedies. Considering the above facts, the primary education committee made some of the recommendations in regard to curriculum for primary schools like;

The course was to be shortened from six years to five years in consequence of the combination of two infant classes. Second, the following subjects were made optional: nature-study and observation action songs, drawings and modelling in class II; nature-

²⁰⁵ Utkal Dipika, dated 17th September, 1922.

study and observation, drawing and school excursion, stories and collection in class III; and nature-study, drawing and English in class IV and V²⁰⁶.

In 1925, the new curriculum came into effect. The general opinion was that the nominal combination of the two infant classes to be called class I had done little good. The problem being that the parents were in the habit of sending their children to school not at the beginning of the school year but on any date convenient to themselves. The result was that class I always contained boys at several different stages of progress. It certainly required one teacher to itself even if it was conceded that one teacher could manage class II and class III²⁰⁷. In this context, G.E.Faucus, the Director of Public Instruction, commented; "It would be unfortunate if local bodies consider the change in any way lessening the need for a second teacher in each lower primary school"²⁰⁸.

SYLLABUS OF 1933:

It was realised by 1927 that improvement in the quality of primary education was more necessary than the numerical expansion. One of the most difficult problems connected with the primary education was that of stagnation, that is to say, the waste of educational effort. This resulted from the fact that large number of children never got beyond the Class I and therefore, did not learn to read and write. This was also indicated by the Report of Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission stating variety of causes. The most important reason was found to be the defective curriculum²⁰⁹.

In 1933, the Primary Education Committee outlined and came out with a new syllabus after long deliberations. It was intended to improve the very low standard of education existent in the primary schools. The conspicuous feature of the new

²⁰⁶ Samal, J.K., op.cit., p-31.

²⁰⁷ Report on the progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa, 1924-25. Paras-130-131.

²⁰⁸ Report on the progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa, 1924-25. Para-76.

²⁰⁹ J.W.C.Jackson, Bihar & Orissa in 1927-28, p-42.

syllabus was that it provided for modern method of teaching instead of old alphabetical method. The new syllabus covered six years in all instead of five. It would include a lower primary course of four years instead of three. This was in recognition of the fact that the minimum period of schooling normally required, for the attainment of literacy, was four years.²¹⁰

In January 1935, the new syllabus was introduced and it was hoped that it would prove an important step in advance to wipe out illiteracy. In this context, S.Solomon, Secretary to Government of Bihar and Orissa stated: "The achievement of the desired result will clearly depend on the co-operation of parents, many of whom themselves illiterate peasants have in the past appeared to consider that a year or two at most of the Lower Primary Course was ample to give their off-spring the landmark of enlightenment"²¹¹.

This new syllabus had made significant progress by the end of 1936 in the modern method of teaching as how to read. The old alphabet method was gradually being abandoned. Some success had been achieved in breaking the monotony and dullness of school work for beginners by the use of manuscript word cards, locally prepared reading sheets, and beautifully illustrated simple stories and counting sheets. As pointed out by the Director of Public Instruction, the new syllabus represented an important step which should help to bring out a substantial improvement in primary education²¹².

One more factor for the slow and limited progress in primary education was the scarcity of trained teachers - the great majority of the persons who were then working as primary school teachers had not received general education which extended beyond the primary standard. It was said, that if the teachers in the primary school were not properly trained, there was a real risk that the large grants which the government were making for primary education would be more or less wasted. Hence, the question of training of the primary teachers was considered in all seriousness.

²¹⁰ J.W.C.Jackson, Ibid 1933-34, p-49.

²¹¹ S. Solomon, Bihar & Orissa in 1954-35, p-47.

²¹² Report on the progress of education in Bihar and Orissa 1934-35, Para 6.6)

OPENING OF 'GURU' TRAINING SCHOOLS:

As a result of the recommendations of the Simla Conference, the Government of Bengal evolved in 1902 a scheme for the opening in each sub-division of a school for the training of primary school teachers. These institutions were known as 'Guru' Training Schools (Schools for the training of primary school teachers). 10 'Guru' Training schools were established in Orissa and the number of 'Gurus' who received training in each school was limited to ten²¹³.

These schools were designed not only for the instruction of new entrants, but also for the training of teachers already employed. The teachers whose education did not extend beyond the lower primary standard were to continue their general education upto upper primary standard. But in case of a person, who was not employed as a teacher, but who wished to join one of these institutions with the object of becoming a teacher, it was prescribed that he must have reached at least the upper primary standard. The general education of such a man at a training school was carried upto the middle vernacular standard. This was also the arrangement made in the case of a man already employed as a teacher who had passed the upper primary standard. A student who already reached the middle vernacular standard was required to undergo a course of training for one year only.

EXTENSION OF THE SCHEME OF GURU TRAINING SCHOOLS:

As the existing Guru Training Schools were inadequate to supply necessary trained teachers to the primary schools of Orissa, it was decided to open additional schools. That means, steps were taken to establish one extra school in each sub-division²¹⁴. A sum of Rs. 1,91,000/- was allotted in 1906-07 for the building of new schools and the improvement of existing ones²¹⁵. Each school was to accommodate 16 students, 8 in

²¹³ Samal, J. K., op.cit., p-37.

²¹⁴ Ibid., p 38.

²¹⁵ Ibid., p.39.

the first and 8 in the second year and every head master was allowed one more assistant master.

The new schools recently sanctioned were, to start with, to receive none, but teachers who were actually employed in lower primary schools whose general education had been carried upto, at least, the lower primary standard ²¹⁶.

After the operation of this scheme for two years, it was considered to have attained sufficient success to be worth establishing more firmly. The following suggestions were made in this connection.

First, the schools should be regarded as permanent institutions, not peripatetic, and so suitable accommodation should be provided for the teachers and students under training as early as possible.

Second, stipends were to be raised, where necessary to rates ranging from Rs.5/- to Rs. 10/- a month, according to the local requirements.

Third, admissions for the present were to be confined to teachers who had entered the profession and whose education had been at least upto the lower primary standard.

Fourth, the number of students admissible for each training school was to be raised from 10 to 16.

Fifth, the number of teachers engaged upon the staff of each school was to be raised from two to three.

All these suggestions for the improvement of the Guru Training Schools were accepted by the Government and were put to effect at once²¹⁷.

²¹⁶ Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1902-1908, Para 6.1.

²¹⁷ H.W.Orange, Report on the Progress of Education in India, 1902-1097, para 7.05-06.

But the new system was not without any defects. This was pointed by Rai Madhusudan Rao Bahadur, Inspector of Schools, Orissa Division, when he reviewed the reformed system and pointed out the following lacunae;

First, the managers of lower primary schools should re-employ trained teachers on the completion of their period of training. Second, the teachers so trained would return to their schools. Third, the improvement of their position to which they would naturally consider themselves entitled by reason of their increased efficiency would be secured to them. But he believed that this drawback was, however, bound to disappear when the great scheme of free primary education became an accomplished fact.

Further stating the nature of Guru Training School Madhusudan Rao pointed out that no development of Guru Training school would solve to any appreciable extent the question of improving the general body of primary school teachers. But he had no doubt that the system, if worked and maintained with due interest and care, would increase the number of well-organised and well-taught primary schools.

FREE & COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION:

BIHAR AND ORISSA PRIMARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1919:

The education of the masses was one of the most vital and difficult problems with which the Governments of Bihar and Orissa had to confront. No real progress in any sphere could be achieved so long as the education of the masses lagged behind. In British India, 5.6 percent of the male and 1.2 percent of female population were under instruction in educational institutions in 1921. But in the provinces of Bihar and Orissa the percent was awfully low. In March 1921, only 4.21 percent of the male and 0.65 percent of the female or 2.4 percent of the total population of the province were under instruction in both public and private educational institutions²¹⁸.

Education had assumed great importance for the creation of an intelligent electorate for the newly introduced reformed institutions. The requirement of a literate mass was

²¹⁸ G.E.Owen, Bihar and Orissa in P.P.-i 11-112.

very much felt to be actively participated and comprehended the affairs of the Legislative Council.

As early as 1905, the Government of India recognised the necessity of introducing free and compulsory education to counter mass illiteracy²¹⁹.

In 1918, the Bill was introduced in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council for the free and compulsory education. Participating in the debate on the motion, Gopabandhu Das, the eminent legislator of Orissa spoke: "... The necessity and importance of making primary education free and compulsory can not be highly emphasized at this stage. The principle has not only being recognised with success in almost all the civilized countries of the world. The Government of India have accepted it in as much as they have accorded their sanction to the introduction of the Bill, not only in the Council but also in some other provincial councils. It has been recognised and put into action by some of the advanced national states of India. The time required and the country demands it. I am sure the Government will not fall behind. I do not doubt that this government will hesitate in recognising the principle of compulsion as desirable and necessary for the wider diffusion of education among the masses. If the principle is recognised, there can be no possible objection to the motion"²²⁰.

The Bihar and Orissa Primary Education Bill was passed into Law; but it did not satisfy the nationalist aspirations fully and was subjected to severe criticism for the following reasons.

First, it was absolutely necessary that primary education should be compulsory so that even boys and girls might receive the benefits of primary education. But this measure was confined only to boys, girls being definitely excluded from it.

Second, the provision had also been made for the exclusion of the children of backward communities from joining public institutions.

²¹⁹ Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bengal, Index to Vol.XXXIX, Jan to Dec - pp. 175.76.

Above all, the measure had restricted to municipalities and to Unions under the local self-government, where organised bodies already existed, by whom the expediency of such a measure, its cost, and its working could be considered and supervised²²¹.

PRIMARY EDUCATION COMMITTEE OF 1923:

The Primary Education Committee of 1923 held the view that free and compulsory education was the only way of eradicating the illiteracy of the masses. The committee recommended that early steps should be taken to introduce free and compulsory education for boys in all municipalities and rural areas throughout the provinces of Bihar and Orissa.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN BANKI UNION IN ORISSA:

The Banki Union in the district of Cuttack agreed to the extension of Bihar and Orissa Primary Education Act of 1919. It had finally been brought into operation there with effect from 1st January, 1925²²². Compulsion has been introduced in 24 villages within an area of 10 sq. Mts. under the management of the Banki Union Board.

Incidentally, the Cuttack district continued to maintain its reputation of being the most progressive region in primary education in the entire Orissa. The number of pupils in its primary schools was 83,205, a number that was far higher than that of any other district in proportion to the population in Orissa²²³.

The Banki Union got a non-recurring grant of Rs.3,800 and a recurring grant of Rs.4,470 a year for 3 years to enable it to put scheme into operation. The number on the rolls of the schools was 297 before the compulsion scheme and by February 1926,

²²⁰ Proceedings of Legislative Council of the Lt.Governor of Bihar & Orissa, 1918, P.63.

²²¹ Proceedings of Legislative Council of the Lt.Governor of Bihar & Orissa, 1918, P.63.

²²² Report on the Progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa, 1923-24, Para - 64.

²²³ S.Solmon - op. cit., p-49.

it had risen to 629. The number of cases referred to courts against the guardians for not sending their boys to schools was 23 in 1920 and 36 in 1927²²⁴.

The successful implementation of the scheme was evident from the enrolment of pupils of school going age and their attendance. At Banki, compulsion was started with the help of Government grant, but it was terminated at the end of the year, 1930-31. Since then, the cost was borne by the Cuttack District Board from its ordinary grant for primary education²²⁵. The Director of Public Instruction inspected the area in 1930 and expressed satisfaction with the progress of the experiment in the Banki union.

SECONDARY EDUCATION:

At the opening of the twentieth century, the state of Secondary Education was far from satisfactory both from the quantitative and qualitative point of view. The famous Government resolution on Education Policy of the year 1908 aimed at improving and extending secondary education in very many ways. The suggestion contained therein included;

- i) employment of only trained teachers in secondary schools;
- ii) enhancement of salaries of the teachers;
- iii) proper school accommodation;
- iv) introduction of improved courses of studies;
- v) introduction of manual training and improved science teaching;
- vi) enhancement of grants-in-aid and encouragement for the establishment of new aided institutions;
- vii) establishment of training college and improvement of training school system;
- viii) foundation of government schools where necessary;

²²⁴Samal, J.K, op. cit., - p-19

²²⁵ The Fourth **Quinquennial** review on the progress of education in Bihar and Orissa , 1927-32, p - 209.

The period from 1900 to 1930 saw the extension and improvement of secondary education on the basis of guidelines indicated above²²⁶.

Lord Curzon considered secondary schools as hotbeds of sedition. Hence, the new educational policy under him was one of "quality rather than quantity and preferred the method of control to one of laissez faire"²²⁷. His policy was aimed at the encouragement of privately managed schools under suitable bodies and maintained efficiently through government inspection, recognition and control with the aid of government funds.

The Government policy was to concentrate attention on primary education and avoid a real danger of over-interference in the more advanced type of educational institution, the management of which was to lay within the sphere of local control. As per the policy, government provided and maintained one high school at each district head quarters to serve as a model to other schools. The secondary schools aided by government were generally managed by Managing Committees and developed almost entirely on the government grant and the fee income.

In 1905, the rules for Grant-in-aid to schools were revised. Without changing the principle, the scope of government assistance was slightly enlarged and new conditions were included. The employment of graduates and trained teachers were made one of the conditions of government aid. The rule fixed the maximum limit of grant to high schools should not exceed one half of the income generated from private sources, except in backward areas, where the grant might equal to two-thirds of the amount so guaranteed. For middle schools, grants were not ordinarily to exceed two-thirds of the whole of the income guaranteed from private sources, except in backward areas. The "private sources" used here included fees²²⁸.

Accordingly, the rules for grant-in-aid to high schools were modified in 1923 in accordance with the recommendations of the committee appointed by the **government**. But the grant-in-aid rules were modified once again in 1925-26 as per the resolution

²²⁶ Utkal Dipika, dated 5th September, 1908

²²⁷ Nurullah & Naik, History of education in India, N. Delhi, P-431.

of the Board of Secondary Education. The revised grant-in-aid rules were based on the principle that the grant should "be equal to the difference between a standard cost of the school and the income that would be produced by fees charged at the standard rate"²²⁹.

This rule regarding grant-in-aid was in operation during the rest of the period under review. But the grant-in-aid system did not work well in Orissa as the private enterprise did not give adequate response. Hence, the progress of secondary education by 1936-37 was far from satisfactory. In 1936, the number of High schools for boys was 24 with 7,290 pupils. Of them, sixteen High schools were aided. The number of middle English schools for boys was 92 with 10,121 pupils. All middle English schools were aided. By 1936, middle vernacular schools almost became extinct in Orissa owing to the marked preference on the part of local bodies for middle English schools²³⁰.

SECONDARY TRAINING SCHOOL AT CUTTACK:

The requirements for the appointment of eligible and efficient of teachers is a sine qua non for a meaningful educational development. As was evident from the schools, there was hardly any doubt that teachers employed in the secondary schools were generally not upto the expectation. One of the pressing needs in regard to the secondary education of boys was the improvement of instruction by the reform and extension of the present system for the training of teachers²³¹.

There was one secondary training school at Cuttack for the training of teachers of the secondary schools, but there was not actually any provision for the training of the masters solely for High School stages of education of boys. It was alleged that quality of students passed out by this institution was worse than it had been in the past. The main causes of the deterioration of standards were the reduction of the

²²⁸ H.W.Orange, op. cit., 1902-07, para-252.

²²⁹ Report on the progress of education in Bihar and Orissa, 1923-24, Para 59.

²³⁰ Utkal Dipika, 9th October, 1936.

²³¹ Ibid., 12th November, 1909.

course to two years and abolition of the practice of holding a public examination at the end of the middle school of inferior material resulting in the actual lowering of the standard of acquirement attained during the school course. Rai Madhusudhan Rao Bahadur, Inspector of Schools, Orissa Division, wrote that, "The supply of trained vernacular masters is quite adequate to the local requirements, but the quality of such masters has undergone some deterioration in the matter of general scholarship, in consequence of the period of study, having been reduced from three to two years, and of the further circumstances that public examination for middle schools which has recently been instituted is not a test sufficiently stringent and uniform for the purpose of providing eligible students for first grade training school²³².

The year 1910 marked an advance in the history of first grade training schools. The scheme for the introduction of a revised course of studies was given effect to, from the beginning of the session, 1910-11. Secondly, the term of the training was extended from two to three years. Moreover, a system of examination had been devised to secure that as many students as possible should undertake the full three years course, the grant of the final departmental certificate being conditional upon one year approved teaching in a recognised school.

CUTTACK TRAINING COLLEGE:

There was no training college in Orissa upto the year 1923. Realising the difficulty in obtaining an adequate supply of trained teachers of English for secondary schools, the Cuttack Training College was started in July 1923. The college provided a course of training for intending graduates to be employed as teachers in the High schools and Sub-Inspectors of schools. The course of study extending over one academic year comprised both theoretical and practical teaching²³³.

By 1927, the Cuttack Training College had improved as regards the trained teachers of English. The college was provided with all the infrastructural facilities like hostel, required staff etc. Over a period of time, keeping the growing demand in mind, the

²³² W.W.Hornwell, *Progress of education in Bengal, 1902-03, 06-07, paras 330-331.*

²³³ J.N.Kuchler, *Report on the Public Instruction in Bengal, 1910-11, Para 49.*

number of seats in the training college was raised from time to time until it reached 30 in 1936. The total number of graduate teachers in the different types of schools in Orissa was 220 in 1936, of whom 150 were trained teachers and most of them had received training in the training college at **Cuttack**²³⁴.

INTRODUCTION OF VERNACULAR AS THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

The subject of medium of instruction in the schools was a much debated and emotional issue in the province. With the growing nationalist movement in the province, the leaders had given emphasis on the vernacular in education, without compromising the status of English language. They were of the view that for the proper growth of education and literature, the use of vernacular held an important place.

With the growing demand for adoption of vernacular medium, it was decided in 1922 that translation to and from the oriental classics at the Matriculation stage should be from and to vernacular in place of English used in the past from the next year onwards. This step was well supported by the educationists in particular and people in general in the province²³⁵.

But the question of introducing vernacular in the secondary schools brought both several inherent practical problems. According to the education committee of 1923, the students should be given the option of being educated in their own mother tongue upto the stage of matriculation examination and vernacular should be the medium of instruction in the four highest classes of high schools²³⁶.

As the difficulties inherent in introducing the vernacular for the medium of instruction were well recognised, the attempts of the policy makers were diverted to that. The number of vernaculars used in the different parts of the province was more and to make the correction of written work, in particular, was a serious problem for introducing it in High School classes, without hampering the interests of the

²³⁴Utkal Dipika, 21st March, 1936.

²³⁵ The 2nd Quinquennial review on the progress of education in Bihar and Orissa 1117-22, Para 130.

minorities and incurring high expenses. And it was found that pupils instructed in the vernacular definitely lost ground in English.

But the Ministry of Education, after considerable deliberation in weighing the merits and demerits, ruled in 1930 that teaching upto Matriculation standard should be continued through the medium of vernacular for sometime. The experiment of teaching certain subjects in upper classes of some high schools through the medium of vernacular was continued. But it was always a debating issue in the educational progress of the province.

It was being more and more realised that, the emphasis of English as the medium of instruction in place of Oriya prevented the spread of education of the masses. The Utkal Union Movement which struggled for and culminated in the creation of separate province of Orissa in 1936 demonstrated the success of first linguistic movement in India. It, no doubt, afforded considerable stimulus to the agitation for making vernacular the medium of instruction in the High Schools of Orissa.

In accordance with the new regulation of the Patna University, Oriya became the medium of instruction in all High Schools in Orissa for the Matriculation examination of 1943 and onwards. It was reported that owing to the difficulty of **technical** terminology in science subjects and the want of suitable text books in Oriya, the various other subjects could not be taught well through the medium of Oriya.

Another area where the focus was given was the middle vernacular schools teaching vernacular courses and middle English schools, in addition to vernacular courses taught English during four years study from class IV to class VII. Due to the importance given to the teaching of English, the middle English schools were popular and demand for its increase in number was more. As a result, the middle vernacular schools teaching same as the middle English schools except English, were generally unpopular. But to promote more vernacular method as a medium of instruction in

High schools, the conversion of middle vernacular schools into middle English schools were not encouraged, when sufficient demand did not exist"⁷.

Taking into consideration the increasing popularity of English education by the parents and students, it was considered desirable to encourage the conversion of middle vernacular schools into middle English schools. But it was taken into consideration while taking decision to convert the middle vernacular schools to middle English schools that the English teaching schools conformed to the quality standard of English teaching. Taking decision in this conversion process, orders were issued regarding the conditions for the conversion of vernacular to English Schools in the beginning of 1925. One of the main conditions was that half of the difference between the standard cost of English and Vernacular schools would be borne either through local sources or extra fees to be paid by the students a reliable subscriptions or endowments"⁸. As the local bodies were in favour of the spread of English education, they allowed this conversion where local income from fees and subscriptions would be sufficient to cover half the extra cost.

With the increase in number of middle English schools, there was opposition to it from several quarters, citing the example that the middle vernacular schools were more efficient than the English ones which left much to be desired. To fill this gap of inefficiency in the middle English schools, it was decided to introduce a public middle examination for a school certificate from 1927²³⁹. The increase in number of English schools gave every promising student a chance to secure some knowledge in English education without going from his home. It was also beneficial in the sense that it helped "to break down the barrier which at present exists between the educated young men and the rural occupation of his family"²⁴⁰.

In the process, the middle vernacular schools to which the government looked for the supply of the best type of primary school teachers had been extinct by 1936. Many expressed regret at the preference on the part of local bodies in Orissa for Middle

²³⁷ Bihar and Orissa, First Decennial Review, 1912-22, PP-225-228.

²³⁸ Report on the progress of education in Bihar and Orissa, 1924-25, Para- 60.

²³⁹ The third quinquennial review on the progress of education in Bihar & Orissa, 1722-27, Para - III.

²⁴⁰ R.L.Gupta, Bihar & Orissa in 1932-1933, Chapter - V.

English Schools. It was remarked that , "It is possible that a complete reversal of the process which has gone so far will be necessary if we are to attain to a best type of rural secondary school. . . .These seems no doubt however that the best school for rural areas is one from which English is entirely excluded"²⁴¹.

With the burgeoning of the number of middle English schools, the number of middle vernacular schools began to decrease in the districts of Cuttack, Puri, and Balasore, owing to the marked preference on the part of local bodies for the former. In order to improve the efficiency of the English schools and also incidentally of High schools, it was decided to introduce a public middle examination for a school certificate from the year 1927-28. Henceforth, a student from a middle English school in Orissa would have to produce this certificate before admission to class VIII of a High school. This was a common examination and was to be conducted by the School Examination Board²⁴².

CHANGES IN CURRICULUM:

The continuous examination and evaluation of the curriculum in the secondary schools had one most important objective i.e., to upgrade and designing of the curricula for better utilisation by the students. In the words of W.W.Hornwell, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, "A secondary system of education ought to be able to do more for a boy than squeeze him through the matriculation examination of the Calcutta University"²⁴³. It was pointed out that every boy, who got admission into a high school, should not study the same course. On the contrary as much a diversity in courses should be allowed as the varying capacities and requirements of boys demanded.²⁴⁴. The above considerations led to several changes in the curriculum of

²⁴¹ The Samaj, dated ,21st November, 1936.

²⁴² The Third Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bihar & Orissa 1922-27, **Para-III.**

²⁴³ Samal, J.K, op. cit., p.81-82.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.81-82

secondary schools during the period 1900-1936. Subjects like drawing, manual trainings etc., and the changes in the curriculum of secondary schools made during the period from 1917 to 1922 were the introduction of a wide series of optimal subjects like Mathematics, Sanskrit, Civics etc.,

During the period from 1930 to 1936, some middle schools introduced vocational training, chiefly in gardening, farming, tailoring, weaving and carpentry. All these show the growing popularity of technical education ²⁴⁵.

In this period, undoubtedly there was real progress in secondary education in terms of quality and not much on quantity. The improvements were apparent in the staffing of the schools, development of vocational and science education, establishment of training institutions and trained teachers, inspectors, rise in grants etc., The conversion of middle vernacular schools to middle English schools also witnessed and popularised English as a medium of instruction. The changes in the curriculum gave the much needed fillip to the adoption of several new subjects in the schools. Though the English language was promoted, at the same time vernacular language was not neglected. So both the languages found their due places in the education system.

Thus the educational policy from the time of Curzon onwards aimed at checking unrestricted growth of higher education and raising of standards. In fact, during this period, there was a comparative increase of students and improvements of standards in schools. Thus qualitative rather than quantitative improvement was perceptible in secondary instruction, during this period in Orissa.

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION:

Higher education in University and colleges aims at dissemination of knowledge and training for life and also renders intellectual service to the community at large. But in the province of Orissa, higher education was not well developed. The students were exposed to much disadvantages in respect of collegiate education because of their

²⁴⁵ W.W.Hornell, op. cit., 1902-03, 06-07 paras 184 - 185.

distance from the Presidency College in Calcutta. The promotion of collegiate education began in Orissa when Ravenshaw College was established at Cuttack in 1868. The Cuttack Zilla School was converted in January 1868 into a collegiate school and then a college in 1876, which has been thoroughly discussed in the previous chapter.

There was no marked increase in the number of students in the college by 1900. The strength being 38 in 1882, 97 in 1900 and 75 in 1905²⁴⁶. Owing to the obstacles like less number of High English schools in Orissa, and proximity to the Midnapur College and the Railway connection of Orissa with Calcutta, the College education did not pick up in the province.

Notwithstanding, the various barriers mentioned above, the period under review saw continued increase in the number of students at the Ravenshaw College, which indicated the growing popularity of English Education in Orissa. The reasons for this popularity being the increased prospects of lucrative employment and improvement of social standing by means of a University degree.

By the end of 1907, there were 158 students on the rolls of the college and the staff consisted of a principal and seven professors. The total cost of the college during 1906-1907 was Rs.31,914, the cost to Government being Rs.23,766²⁴⁷. Though science subjects were taught in the college, it was not satisfactory. But the strong demand for provision of B.Sc courses and teaching of some more subjects at the B.A. stage forced the officials to include new subjects. The new subjects which were included consisted of Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics upto B.Sc standard. Political Economy and Political Philosophy upto B.A. standard. At the same time, there was an increase in the number of staff by adding a Professor and Lecturers. Simultaneously, Honours courses on each of the subjects were opened.

²⁴⁶ J.K.Samal op. cit., 92.

²⁴⁷ Report on the public instruction in Bengal, 1907-1908, P-73.

With these changes for better educational development, the number on the roll at the Ravenshaw college rose to 280 in 1912 and 375 in 1915 ²⁴⁸. The **infrastructural** facilities were also increased to cater to the needs of increasing strength. In 1922, the teaching staff had been increased once again from 27 in 1917 to 31 in 1922, to teach the additional subjects added in the college.

The college was shifted to a new building where it could house the increasing number of students and a library was provided by the generosity of the Raja of Kanika. In recognition of the donation of Rs.50,000 for the Library building by the Raja of Kanika, Government had sanctioned a grant of Rs.25,000 for the purchase of books and in course of time, it became a full-fledged library ²⁴⁹.

The students of the college not only excelled in the field of educational knowledge, but they participated in the ongoing freedom struggle both at provincial and national levels. In 1921, in the wake of non-cooperation movement, many students of Ravenshaw College participated in it courting arrest and spoiling their educational carrier. The students after passing out of the college, joined the mainstream of national movement in Orissa and also participated and fought for a special province for Orissa.

By 1936, the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack was the solitary governmental institution in Orissa to impart purely collegiate education to men and women. The sad state of affairs was mainly due to the fact that although the government depended mainly on private enterprise for the expansion of higher education, it did not get required response in Orissa. The policy pursued by education was clear from the resolution no.6235-E dated 26th November, 1927. It ran; "it may not be out of place to emphasise the growing need for private generosity in the development and extension of this **form** of education. Existing colleges are continually pressing for additional teaching facilities. It was no longer possible for government to finance such developments entirely from their own resources, nor would such a course be in the best interests of education since it was calculated to stifle and ultimately kill all **private** effort. A local

²⁴⁸Samal, J. K., op. cit., p-94.

²⁴⁹Ibid., p-29.

demand for the extension of facilities for collegiate education should be backed by local financial support, and government will always be ready to assist to the best of their ability a Legislative demand which receives such sacking" ²⁵⁰. The Ravenshaw College was not yet a fully equipped institution, as all the subjects included in the curriculum of the Patna University were not taught in it. The Institution had 595 students including 14 women students in 1936-37. It had provision for post-graduate course in English up to this time.

The proper functioning of Ravenshaw College as the Premier college in the province reduced the extent of dependence on the study at Calcutta and other places. It also provided an initiative to study in the medium of English so that the students passing out of the college could be employed in the government services.

But apart from this college, there was not any other college coming up during this period. So, for all practical purposes, collegiate education remained negligent in the province.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

In the field of technical education, nothing substantial and new was initiated during the reviewing period. The earlier initiatives were further consolidated in this period to make them more efficient and worth while.

As mentioned in the earlier chapter that the survey school was established at Cuttack in 1876 for training youths for survey and enabling them to be absorbed as "Ameens" after finishing their studies.

On 31st March 1907, there were 99 students undergoing instruction in the school and of them 61 were Oriyas and 38 non-oriyas . Forty-three candidates appeared at the

²⁵⁰ Resolution of the Government of Bihar & Orissa (Ministry of Education) No, 6235 - dated 26th November, 1927.

final or second year examination held in 1906-07 and of them 37 were successful. All the passed candidates had been provided with appointments ²⁵¹.

Simultaneously another survey school called "Angul Survey School was established in 1902. It was especially intended for teaching surveying to the sons of Sabarakakars in the Government estates. The course of studies prescribed for this school was almost equivalent to that of the first year class of Cuttack survey school. And the progress of the school was satisfactory as the total number of students passed during the five years form 1902 to 1907 was 38. By 1917, the number of successful candidates rose to. 37²⁵².

ORISSA SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING

In order to give an opportunity to the students of the province to undergo technical training without leaving Orissa, the Orissa Engineering School was established at Cuttack on 1st July 1923. It was opened with 28 students in the lower sub-ordinate class and 20 in artisan class. The school presented its students for the first time the sub-overseers examination in 1924 and 16 out of 19 who took the examination were passed²⁵³.

To enable the students to qualify as an 'Overseer', (previously it was only upto sub-overseer), the course was offered in this school in 1926. It helped the students in taking the course and examination in the school at Cuttack itself, in stead of going to Patna for the above purpose, which was the case earlier. Gradually, several departments were added in the school, mainly the inclusion of Industrial Diploma course went a long way in imparting training and equipping the students in various technical and industrial services. The growing number of students joining the school demonstrated amply the interest of the people of Orissa towards technical education,

²⁵¹ W.W.Hornell, op. cit., 1902-03, 1906-07. Paras

²⁵² Ibid

²⁵³ Report on the progress of education in Bihar and Orissa, 1925-26, Para - 112.

which was hitherto, not seen due to several constraints. The total numerical **strength** of the school was 116 in 1936²⁵⁴.

The Orissa school of Engineering was by far the most important technical institution in the whole of Orissa. It mainly trained students in the diploma course of Civil Engineering and the result in the Diploma course of Civil Engineering examination continued to be satisfactory. The most important achievement was that most of the successful candidates were provided with suitable employment either under government or the local bodies. By 1936, the school had produced 160 subordinate Engineers, all of whom were employed. But the most ironical aspect of the technical education was that, Orissa had no engineering college of its own by 1936, which would have contributed to the increasing in the number of engineers and development in technical education.

FEMALE EDUCATION:

Education for girls occupies a central place in the overall educational development as their education and enlightenment reflect the progress and culture of the society. The education for female was in a neglected condition during the period under review. Though, the Governments' intervention and policies were directed towards the attainment of literacy development of this section, much progress was not achieved in this front.

In Orissa, the progress of female education was not in a comfortable position by the year 1900. Even if education was imparted to them, it was upto the primary stage of instruction. In 1905, there were four aided middle English schools for girls under the management of American Baptist Missionaries. There had never been any high school

²⁵⁴ Report on the Progress of education in Bihar and Orissa, 1936 Para 44.

for girls in Orissa by 1905. Of the 16,127 female pupils only 224 were in the secondary stage in that year ²⁵⁵.

The reasons for this retarded growth of female education are many. The conservative attitude prevalent against the education among girls, the gender disparity always put them in a disadvantageous position compared to boys, the system of early marriages prevented them from availing education and last, not the least, the scarcity of educated female teachers, adequate state-aid and aid from other public funds hindered the smooth progress of female education.

PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR THE GIRLS UNDER THIS PERIOD:

At the primary education level, there was a substantial number of girl students during the period from 1858 to 1905 and this was mainly due to the provision for co-education in most of the primary schools. In 1902-07, there were more girls in primary boy's schools than in primary girl's schools. Hornwell, the Director of Public Instruction was of the opinion that it should be encouraged by every possible means as it was impossible to establish a girls school in every village ²⁵⁶.

To promote girls' education more vigorously, eight model primary schools for girls were established in Orissa during the quinquennium, 1902-1907 and each of the four districts got two such schools. These model schools were well equipped with in respect of teaching, curriculum, women teachers etc. In order to meet the deficiency of female teachers, three training schools for females were opened, one in Cuttack and two in Balasore districts by the Christian Missionaries during the period 1902-1907. But in spite of all these measures, the required number of female teachers could not be fulfilled. On the other hand, there was an increasing demand for literacy among the girls which was evident from the advancement of girls education in all districts as it revealed in the following table.

²⁵⁵ Report on the progress of education in the Orissa division for the **quinquennail** ending 31" March, 1907, p-67

²⁵⁶ Samal, J. K., op. cit., - p-124.

Place	Number of Girls' Schools		No. of girls at schools	
	1912	1917	1912	1917
Cuttack	103	135	8,732	17,121
Balasore	149	157	6,496	9,432
Puri	50	127	3,251	6,135
Angul	19	22	2,465	1,996
Sambalpur	8	8	2,991	2,304

Source: History of Education in Orissa, J.K.Samal, Education for the girls, backward classes and Muslims 257.

Gradually the importance and necessity of female education were increasing among the people and the women in particular. The emergence and demand of women's association for the cause of female education in the province also contributed in drawing the attention of the people and the government to this neglected but crucial area of education. Mention may be made about two such women's associations like women association at Cuttack and 'Mahila Bandhu Samiti' at Puri, who persistently demanded for the education of women. The increase in the number of girls schools and students during the period, 1912-1917, indicate that there was an awakening among the people about the appreciation and efficacy of female education.

The female education committee of 1914, formed to review and suggest measures for the progress of education among the females suggested some measures to be adopted. These were;

First, the committee did not wish to discourage co-education, but considered that if funds permitted, a separate girl's school should be established whenever the number of girls in a boys school reached 20.

Second, they laid stress on the fact that the appointment of male teachers in the girls schools should be avoided as far as possible.

²⁵⁷ Samal, J.K., op.cit., p189. 1

Third, they thought that a quarter of the total number of lower primary scholarships should be reserved for girls together with a certain member of upper primary scholarships in districts where meritorious candidates were likely to be forthcoming.

Fourth, they wished to see survey made to fix the places where training classes of the difficult grades could be established with a reasonable prospect of success.

Finally, they suggested that a considerable increase was necessary in the staff of Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors and preparation of draft curriculum for the use of girls primary schools ²⁵⁸.

All these recommendations of the female education committee were accepted by the government and implemented in due course. In order to overcome the difficulty of obtaining trained teachers for government girls schools, a special scale of pay was sanctioned in 1927 for trained women matriculates in the vernacular teachers service ²⁵⁹.

Another measure taken for the promotion of female education was the government's encouragement given to coeducation at the primary stage. Keeping in view the fact that more number of girls receiving education in boys' school than in girls' school, the primary education committee of 1931 approved the coeducation for girls.

It also incurred less expenditure and paucity of female teachers were also overcome. Co-education provided these advantages and the government followed the policy of avoiding the opening of separate girls primary schools as far as possible ²⁶⁰.

As a result of these incentives, the number of primary schools rose upto 380 in 1936 and there were 12,280 girls under it. The number of girls attending coeducation schools was 12,319, the training institutes managed by Baptist missionaries with

²⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 126.

²⁵⁹ W.Graham Locey, Bihar & Orissa in 1926-27, pp-49-50

²⁶⁰ Report on the progress of education in Bihar and Orissa for the year 1934-1935, Para-135.

substantial aid from the government imparted training to the female teachers and in 1936, there were 45 mistress under training's ²⁶¹.

SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

The condition of secondary education for girls during the period under review was in a neglected stage with the government completely indifferent towards the opening of schools for the girls in Orissa. As a result of this, very few girls could be able to receive secondary education. Even the female education committee of 1914 had overlooked this stage of education, putting major emphasis on the primary education. The real status could be observed in the number of schools existed in 1936 as only one high school at Cuttack, three middle English Schools at Cuttack, Puri and Sambalpur and five middle Vernacular Schools for girls ²⁶².

The Girls' High school at Cuttack was opened by Mrs.Reba Roy in 1906 with the higher section consisting of two classes corresponding to the 4th and 3rd class of High English school ²⁶³. Subsequently, the institution became a full-fledged High school and was named as Ravenshaw Girls' school and this continued to be the only High school for girls till the end of the period under review ²⁶⁴. In the course of time the control of the Ravenshaw Girls school was assumed by the government with effect from 1st Mach, 1913 and by 1917 there were 45 pupils in the High school classes and 112 in the middle and primary classes.

The overall status of the secondary education for the girls was unsatisfactory and there was a lack of educated girls at the secondary level. The main cause being the government attention focusing mainly on the primary education in Orissa. Other factors such as inadequate number of trained female teachers, lack of further sympathy among the public, inadequate inspectorate, lack of incentives to the girls and their parents and above all paucity of funds took its toll on the progress of secondary education for girls.

²⁶¹ Rai Sahib Jadunath Mahapatra, Orissa in 1936-1937 to 1938-1939.

²⁶² *Ibid.*,

²⁶³ Sama, J.K, *op.cit.*p128.

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION FOR THE GIRLS

Collegiate education for girls in Orissa, though was less in number, but it progressed constantly. Regarding the progress, the female education commission of 1914 had made several recommendations and the important are, Intermediate classes should be opened in connection with the Girls High School at Cuttack. If the member of girls rose to 10, the question of seeking applications to the intermediate standard should be considered. If it rose to 29, the establishment of a separate college should be taken up²⁶⁵.

With the opening of Intermediate Arts Classes in Ravenshaw Girls' School at Cuttack in the year 1915-16, a Commencement was made in the progress of collegiate education of women. A variety of subjects were taught to the pupils and the number of pupils was 8 in 1916-17 out of which 2 girls were sent up for the intermediate examination of whom one passed²⁶⁶. And the number continued to increase and by 1922 the number rose to 22.

Since the intermediate classes at the Ravenshaw Girl's school provided the only opportunity of College education for girls in the province of Bihar and Orissa, it attracted girl students from Bihar also. But the progress in terms of number of pupils and colleges was far from satisfactory. The very limited number of women students in the intermediate arts classes, which had never exceeded a dozen by 1936, showed that the required interest was lacking. It indicated that all students who passed the matriculation did not come up for collegiate education. That was the reason for the absence of degree college exclusively for women. A very small number of women who wished to take a degree course, were having co-education in colleges for men where they had greater choice of subjects, efficient staff and an academic atmosphere²⁶⁷.

²⁶⁴ Report on the progress of education in the Orissa Division for the **Quinquennial ending 31st March, 1907.**

²⁶⁵ The 1st quinquennial review of the progress of education in Bihar and Orissa, 1912-17, **Para 268.**

²⁶⁶ *Ibid* - para-268.

²⁶⁷ **Raja Sahib Jadunath Mohapatra, op.cit., P.57.**

EDUCATION FOR THE MUSLIMS

The colonial interests and development always guided the policies of the British government in India especially after the Revolt of 1857, which gave a severe setback to the British Government. The Revolt forced the British to shift their policies towards different directions. In order to avoid and suppress this kind of events in future, the colonial government tried to progress education to satisfy the demands of people. As education among Muslims remained at the lowest ebb, the government tried to formulate policies for its growth.

The Government of Bengal formulated its policy with regard to Muslim education in accordance with the recommendations of the Education commission of 1882. Without neglecting their traditional studies, the Commission stressed the encouragement and development of studies to raise their position. The government continuously recognised the fact that the Muslims had fallen behind the Hindus in respect of education. Hence, they followed generous policy of affording special encouragement to Muslim education by the adoption of various measures of liberal concession ²⁶⁸.

Most of the important centres of Muslim population in Orissa were well equipped with schools and there was scarcely an important Muslim village in Orissa which was not within an easy reach to either a secondary or an advanced primary school. No school in Orissa had been more successful in promoting the higher education of Muslim boys than the High English school of Kendrapara.

The Muslims of Orissa were better off than the other sections of the populations in respect of educational facilities. Apart from the advantages which they enjoyed in common with others, they had some special educational facilities, such as;

²⁶⁸ Report of the progress of education in Orissa Division for the quinquennium ending 31st March, 1907, P-130.

- 1) the privileges of free studentship to the limit of 8 percent of the school pupils in any aided high school and 12 free studentship in any middle English or primary school,
- 2) the benefits from the Muslim fund chiefly, in the shape of remissions of a part of fees payable to schools and colleges,
- 3) Several special scholarships created by government with a view to enable them to receive collegiate education, and
- 4) the relaxation of rules regarding the age of admission in their favour ²⁶⁹.

The British Government made all possible efforts not to allow Muslims to lag behind others in the race for progress. In filling up vacancies in the posts of sub-inspectors and teachers in schools under public management, preference was generally given to Muslim applicants on the principle that the number of appointments held by Hindus and Muslims should be made in proportion to their numbers in each district. In fixing rates of stipends to primary schools, special consideration was shown to those that were attended by Muslim pupils ²⁷⁰.

But there were special schools for Muslims and in 1905-1906 in the districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore. There were 9 "Maktabs" attended by 217 pupils. Three of them, with an attendance of 100 pupils, were in receipt of aid from District and Municipal funds. The Koran Schools numbered 42 of which 25 schools with 480 pupils were private schools ²⁷¹. Those private schools were being gradually changed into public schools in expectation of receiving aid from government.

For the promotion of education among the Muslims, several measures were adopted during the review period. In 1905, to improve the efficiency of Maktabs the

²⁶⁹ Report on the public instruction in Bengal, 1902-1903, P-41.

****Ibid.

²⁷¹ Report on progress of education in Orissa division for the quinquennium ending 31st March, 1907, P-14.

government sanctioned a scheme of giving grants-in-aid to the Maktabs who conformed to the simple departmental standard. Accordingly, many of the indigenous Muslim primary schools or Maktabs adopted the standards prescribed and were transferred from the class of private schools to that of public primary schools. As a result of this there was an increase of 7 aided Maktabs and considerable increase in the number of Muslim boys and girls attending the Maktabs during the year 1907-1908. As special schools for Muslims grew in number, a special officer known as inspecting Moulavi was appointed for them from 1910²⁷². In 1912, one model Maktab was opened in the Cuttack district and in 1913, Muslim teachers training school was opened at Cuttack to impart training to teachers of the special school for the Muslims²⁷³.

According to the circular issued by the Government of India in April 1913 suggesting for the appointment of a Urdu teacher in the ordinary primary schools, in 1914-15, one Urdu teacher was appointed for the 1st grade, training school at Cuttack. The object was to give the teachers under the training a sufficient knowledge of the Urdu vocabulary and script to enable them to teach their Muslim pupils, wherever necessary.

Despite all these measures, it seemed that Muslim education was not progressing as it was expected to be. It was far behind the education of the high caste Hindus even after many years. The fact remained that the Muslims failed to seize their opportunities in the same degree as the Hindus²⁷⁴. The table gives the distribution of Muslim Scholars (public and private) in all types of schools in Orissa during the years 1914-15 to 1917-18).

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Sama, J.K, op.cit., P146.

²⁷⁴ Memorandum of Indian Statutory Commission on working of reforms in **Bihar and Orissa**- 1930, PP - 208,-212.

Districts	Muslim Population of school going age according to census	Muslim pupil as on 31 st March.	
	1914	1915	1918.
Angul	50	20	-
Balasore	4646	1767	1809
Cuttack	9508	5522	4949
Puri	2902	1337	1233
Sambalpur	531	183	199

Source: J.K.Samal, History of Education in Orissa, 1905-36.

The dearth of Muslim trained teachers was a great obstacle in the way of the spread of elementary education among the Muslims.

By the year 1936, there were 6 Madrasas, 202 Maktabs including 56 for girls, 16 middle schools having an Urdu section and 14 upper primary schools conducted entirely on an Urdu basis, for the educational development of Muslims. On the basis of the census figures of 1931, Muslims formed about 1.66 percent of the total population of Orissa. The percentage of Muslim pupils to the Muslim population was roughly 7.6% in 1936, the total number of Muslim pupils under instruction was 8,213. Of them, 40 and 350 were in the collegiate and high school stages respectively. The total expenditure on Muslim education was Rs.38,962 in 1936. A separate inspecting staff for Muslim education was maintained ²⁷⁵.

The education of Muslim girls was in a deplorable condition. The main reason being the backwardness and intense feelings among the Muslims against education and outgoing of girls for superstitions thinking. In 1905, the total number of Muslim girls in all types of educational institutions represented only 9 percent.

But encouraged by the grant-in-aid system, special schools for them were opened at Balasore and Cuttack districts. Due to special consideration towards Muslim education by way of free studentship, scholarship etc., the number of girls at these

primary schools continued to increase. By the year 1911-12 there were altogether 1,112 girls and women under instruction in Orissa.

Miss Brock, Inspector of schools, wrote in 1913, "There is quite evidently a growing feeling among Muslims in favour of the education of their girls and women. This tendency seems to have come into being during the last 2 years. The act has been strongly noted by all the Assistant Inspectresses as well as by myself"²⁷⁶.

But it did not prosper the way it was desired to be. The social prejudices stood on the way of girls education. The purdah system prevented many promising pupils from pursuing their studies beyond the elementary stages.

The table given below shows the number of girls under instruction in the years 1915 and 1918²⁷⁷.

Districts	Muslim girls of school going age, census of 1911	Muslim girls pupils on March 31, 1915 to 1918.		Percentage of scholars on March 31, 1915 to 1918, to population of school going age, census of 1911.	
		1915	1918	1915	1918
Angul	17	1	-	5.9	-
Balasore	2374	459	481	16.5	20.3
Cuttack	5154	1000	1163	19.4	22.6
Puri	1474	293	329	19.9	22.3
Sambalpur	255	4	6	1.5	2.4

The above table indicates that there was a steady increase of Muslim girl students in all districts except in Sambalpur where the state of affairs was miserable. In the year 1936-37, there were 56 under primary schools for girls in Orissa with 2310 girls under instruction. The special facilities such as, provision of scholarships, appointment of special teachers and inspecting officers etc., were provided by the government to encourage elementary education among them²⁷⁸. The main factors that prevented the

²⁷⁵ S.Soloman - op.cit., p - XXVII.

²⁷⁶ Report on Public Instruction in Bengal. 1908-1909, P-52.

²⁷⁷ Report on the progress of education in Bihar & Orissa, 1914-1915, P-5.

Report on the progress of education in Bihar & Orissa, 1914-1915, P-5.

²⁷⁸ Report on the progress of education in Bihar and Orissa. 1736-37, P-37.

education from progressing among the Muslim girls were strong social prejudice, strict adherence to purdah system, and lack of qualified female teachers, suitable syllabus and text books²⁷⁹.

PROMOTION OF INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

The indigenous education had carried forward the process of education from times immemorial in the country. The indigenous education can be defined as one established or conducted by the natives of India on native methods²⁸⁰. In Orissa the purely indigenous education was carried on in Tols, Makhtabs, and elementary village schools or *Pathasalas*. Various types of studies were taught in these institutions like tols, for Sanskrit studies, *Pathasalas* in elementary education like Primary schools, and the makhtabs were schools in which the elements of Arabic, Persian and Urdu literature were taught.

The Education Commission of 1882 recommended that all indigenous schools, whether high or low, should be recognised and encouraged if they served any purpose of secular education²⁸¹. The recognition and encouragement of indigenous schools, therefore, became an essential part of the educational system of Bengal²⁸².

As a criteria for primary education, the majority of the elementary schools in Orissa conformed to the departmental standards and were included in the system of primary education. In 1899, in order to bring the rest of the *Pathasalas* under this system of primary education rules were framed like Primary Schools having an attendance of less than 10 pupils were ineligible for any reward and were classified under the head of *Pathasalas*²⁸³. But as soon as they could collect more pupils, they were classed as primary schools, brought under regulation of departmental officers and aided from public funds²⁸⁴.

²⁷⁹ The Samaj dated 24 July 1936.

²⁸⁰ Report on the Indian Education Commission, 1882, Par 675.

²⁸¹ Ibid., Para 675.

²⁸² Annual report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1885-86, Para-26.

²⁸³ Ibid - 1895-96, Para 244.

²⁸⁴ Ibid , 1899-1900, Para 129.

In the year 1883, the Sanskrit tols numbered 68 in Orissa. Of these tols, the most advanced were Puri Sanskrit Tol established by the Maharaja of Balarampur, the Sriram Chandra Tol in Balasore and the Ganja Tol in Cuttack ²⁸⁵.

To encourage the Sanskrit tols, a scheme of two examinations every year and scholarship to the successful candidature as monthly stipends were sanctioned by the government in 1893. This scheme proved a success and evoked much enthusiasm in the course of Sanskrit teaching . As a result, associations were formed at the three district head quarters for the purpose of organising periodical examinations of tols and for rewarding them, under a system of payment by results. The associations so formed were the Jagannath Samiti at Puri, the Orissa Sanskrit Samiti at Cuttack, and the Balasore Sanskrit Samiti at Balasore ²⁸⁶.

The performance and progress of tols were satisfactory and they adopted the standards prescribed for these examinations. Thus, the tols were improved and brought under departmental supervision. But ironically, no attention was paid to organise the village *Pathasalas* having provision for the teaching of Sanskrit ²⁸⁷.

Regarding the Maktabs, the government had taken steps to introduce a scheme of grant-in-aid to maktabs on condition that they conformed to the departmental standards. As discussed earlier in this chapter, many of the maktabs were successful in conforming to the standards and coming under the supervision and provision of the government.

PROMOTION OF SANSKRIT EDUCATION

To promote Sanskrit education, the government had endeavoured through various policies and incentives in the scheme of development of indigenous education. A Committee was appointed in 1914 to advise and recommend measures to the Bihar

²⁸⁵ Ibid, 1895-96, Para 244.

²⁸⁶ Annual General Administration Report of the Orissa Division, 1892-93, Para 134.

²⁸⁷ Annual Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1892-93, Para 208.

and Orissa governments on the subject of Sanskrit education. They recommended that a Sanskrit association should be constituted for the provinces of Bihar and Orissa to conduct examinations in Sanskrit and to distribute stipends and rewards. It will also advise government on all questions connected with grants-in-aid to tols, and generally all matters relating to Sanskrit studies. They wished that a Superintendent of Sanskrit studies to be appointed in the provincial service and to be given four assistants of the Status of Sub-Inspectors. The Committee also favoured the existing system under which stipends and rewards were given to teachers and pupils on the result of the different Sanskrit examinations rather than a general system of grants-in-aid. The committee expressed the hope that these recommendations would lead to an improvement in many tols in the province²⁸⁸.

Accordingly, a Sanskrit Association consisting of a Convocation and a Council was established in October 1915, consisting of 100 and 18 members respectively²⁸⁹. A superintendent of Sanskrit studies and a Second Assistant Superintendent of Sanskrit were appointed during the year 1918-1919²⁹⁰.

In 1915, there were 12 Sanskrit *Pathasalas* in Orissa. These *pathasalas* taught in addition to Sanskrit, the departmental curriculum in reading, writing and arithmetic for two hours a day. Sanskrit *Pathasalas* were eligible for aid from local bodies, while tols had to rely on assistance from the limited amount at the disposal of the Sanskrit Council. But the number of tols in Orissa decreased from 78 in 1922 to 57 in 1927. The decrease in the number of tols appeared to be largely, due to the fact that some tols called themselves *Pathasalas* in order to be eligible for aid from local bodies. In other words, they began to teach some sort of primary curriculum in addition to Sanskrit. As might be expected, it was the number of *Pathasalas* that showed the increase. The number of Sanskrit *Pathasalas* was 14 in 1922 and 26 in 1927²⁹¹.

²⁸⁸ The first quinquennial report on the progress of education in Bihar and Orissa, Chapter - XVIII, para -355.

²⁸⁹ Ibid, Para 356.

²⁹⁰ Ibid - Para 357.

²⁹¹ The Third Quin-Quennial Review on the progress of education in Bihar and Orissa - 1922-27, para 10.

By the year 1936 the tols and Sanskrit *Pathasalas* were running properly, in terms of improvement in the daily attendance, discipline, examination results and general work. This improvement was achieved through the combined efforts of ordinary and special inspecting officers as well as the active interest taken by the Sanskrit Association.

THE SATYABADI VIHAR

A new form of education, different from the official education which involved enormous cost, a simple and indigenous method of teaching, easily accessible to the people, both rich and poor, came up in Orissa. The founder and pioneer in this type of education was the great freedom fighter Pandit Gopabandhu Das. The institution was started on 12th August, 1909 at Sakhigopal in the district of Puri and had a band of highly educated and dedicated workers to implement the ideas of the school.

The Satyabadi Vihar was the outcome of serious experiments in ideal and was entirely independent of government help and control. Though education engaged the immediate attention of its workers, they set before them also an ambitious programme of social and political advancement of their people.

As an experiment in sound natural education, the Satyabadi Vihar had certain peculiar features, entirely distinct from other educational institutions in the country. While appreciating some of the liberalising effects of modern day education, the Satyabadi workers attempted at restoring the old Ashram life, marked for its plain living and high thinking. The school intended to mark a combination of old and new methods²⁹².

Besides theoretical education, due importance was attached to technical training in order to train the boys for the practical life. Vocational training in skills like trainings in carpentry, agriculture, institutional training were imparted to them. Though started independently of the government system, for the requirement of fund and recognition it had to come under the government education system. In 1917, it was affiliated to

²⁹² Ibid p 170.

the Calcutta and subsequently to the Patna University as a High School called the Satyabadi School ²⁹³.

The increasing financial pressure led to the rapid decline of the institution in course of time. It was felt that, unless the Satyabadi Vihar was placed on a sound and permanent financial basis, national education could not long commend itself to the people nor could its objective be attained. The attendance fell down considerably. A popular institution having a long and glorious history behind it, came to an end in 1926. There is hardly any doubt that the Satyabadi Vihar made **outstanding** contributions in social, cultural and national life of the then Orissa.

Educational Administration

The educational administration held a special position in the overall educational development during the colonial period. The objective of ensuring meaningful education through experimenting with various measures required a systematic administrative apparatus to fulfil it. The administration changed with changing interest. In this sub-section, the administration of various stages of educational system would be discussed.

Management of Primary and Middle Schools by the local bodies

The responsibility of fostering and superintending primary education rested with the local executive officers, that is , with the Magistrate and Collector, up till 1885. With the introduction of Bengal local Self-Government. Act of 1885, the direct responsibility of primary education was entrusted to the local bodies. After the introduction of local self government by Lord Rippon, the **government**. passed resolution laying down the policy of administering local affairs largely through rural and urban local bodies, a majority would be elected by the people wherever and

²⁹³ **Ibid, p 170**

whenever officials felt that it was possible to introduce elections . The resolution also permitted the election of non-official as Chairman of a local body ²⁹⁴.

To implement this resolution, acts were passed in different provinces. By passing the Bengal Local self- Government Act of 1885 in the Bengal Legislature the object was two fold; viz. (I) to educate the people to interest themselves and to participate in the management of public affairs, and, (ii) to lighten the burden of administration of which the strain on the Government Offices was continually increasing. The Act contemplated the constitution of three classes of local authorities viz. District Boards, Local Boards and Union Committees.

The Bengal local self Government Act of 1885 was in force in all districts of Orissa, except Sambalpur. There were, therefore, District Boards in the Cuttack, Puri and Balasore and District Council in Sambalpur. They were responsible for upkeep of communication for the provision of sanitation and medical relief and the maintenance of primary and middle schools ²⁹⁵.

According to the rules of the Act, every District Board should be charged with and be responsible for the maintenance and management of all primary and middle schools under public management within the District, the construction and repair of all buildings connected there with, the appointment (subject to certain special conditions) of all masters and assistant masters thereof and the payment of their salaries ²⁹⁶.

During the quinquennium, 1902-07, a section was added into the Act empowering District Board to appoint an education committee consisting of members of the District Board, and such other residents of the District as might be selected by the Board and approved by the commissioner of the Division ²⁹⁷. Its duty was to offer

²⁹⁴Samal, J.K op. cit. p179..

²⁹⁵ Bihar & Orissa, First Decennial Review (19120-22) of the Administration **and Development of the** province, PP-97-101.

²⁹⁶ Jena, K.C, op. cit., p-180.

²⁹⁷ W.W.HornWell, Progress of Education in Bengal. 1902-1903, 1906-1907, para 41.

suggestions for the consideration of the authorities of the school or the Education Department ²⁹⁸.

By 1905 it was found that the officers of the Education Department generally worked in complete harmony with the District Boards. The District Board was dependent on the Director of Public Instruction in the sense that the educational expenditure provided in a District Board Budget had to be approved by him ²⁹⁹.

Even after the transfer of direct responsibility for primary education to the District Board and its Chairman, the local self-government Act, however, did not really alter the position of the District Magistrate with regard to education for two reasons.

In the first place, he was responsible to Government for the working of the District Board. Second, the Magistrate was invariably the Chairman of the District Board and its executive authority.

But the Bengal Local-Self-Government Act of 1885 was amended from time to time according to the necessity of the issue. At the beginning of 1906, Sir Alexander Pedler issued a circular to inspecting officers explaining the position of executive officers in relation to primary education and emphasised the necessity of co-operation. By equally dividing the area of administration he suggested that while the Magistrates, Collectors and other executive officers who have the responsibility of fostering and developing primary education in their districts and overseeing that a sufficient proportion of fund is devoted to this purpose and the other hand, charged with the duty of rendering help, and consulting officers for the improvement of primary education, like educational standards, teaching and inspection of schools ³⁰⁰.

As a result of the Act of local self Government local boards had been formed in all the sub-divisions of Orissa by 1922 and there were eight local Boards in Orissa, to which powers over primary schools were delegated³⁰¹.

²⁹⁸ Ibid -para-37.

²⁹⁹ Ibid-para-44.

³⁰⁰ Ibid- Para-7.

³⁰¹ Bihar & Orissa, First Decennial Review (1912-22) of the Administrative and Development of the Province, PP-97-101

The Education Department with local bodies continued its work satisfactorily. The District Inspectors, in addition to their duties as inspecting officers and other activities like selection of candidates for scholarship examination, management and supervision of middle schools, were practically the executive officers of the District Boards as far as primary schools were concerned and a large number of bills and similar documents passed through their hands.

At several times, there were instances of interference in the educational administration from the Government functionaries like Sub Inspectors and members of local Boards. In the districts of Cuttack and Balasore, particularly, such cases of usurpation have been found. The sub-Inspectors were resented many times the interest which the members of the local Boards were taking in their field. The Government after taking note of these short comings, came to the decision in 1926, that the Sub-Inspectors should remain Government servants but the local bodies had been given large powers in the matter of control and supervision of the educational progress. With the government order the vested question was ultimately settled.

The District Boards, on the whole, provided a congenial field for educational development. Being empowered with the responsibility of supervising and controlling education they were able to effect modifications through bringing it to the notice of the government.

The second phase of educational development in the province started after 1905 when Orissa entered the mainstream of India's national life. In the backdrop of two important movements, starting around that time, also affected the educational development. These were, the Utkal Union Movement for the unification of all Oriya-speaking areas and secondly, the National movement for freedom. The British socio-economic policies after 1905 were influenced by those two movements.

The important factor which profoundly stimulated the progress of education was the progress of national struggle. The grave illiteracy drew the attention of the nationalists who vociferously criticised the government apathy towards this. With a view to **pacify**

the growing opposition to the British Policies, several concessions were offered from time to time. The Acts of 1909, 1919 and 1935 were passed to counteract the growing demand giving concessions in administrative matters to the Indians in local bodies.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Government of India's educational policy of 1900 laid maximum emphasis on primary education and grants for primary education were increased greatly. But such grants did not prove enough to carry education to the masses of the people. Striking changes were introduced in the field of primary education during the period under review. Attention was directed not only to the establishment of new schools but also to the improvement of those already established. The greatest drawback of the primary education was the wastage and stagnation.

This was attributed to different causes such as poor teaching, irregular attendance of the pupils, the admissions of very young children and lack of interest on the part of parents.

Several measures were adopted to overcome these lacunae to progress the primary education among the masses. The measures included among other things, the provision of properly trained teachers, higher remuneration to them, strengthening of supervision over primary schools, changing of curriculum. In spite of these remedial steps, the progress of education was not satisfactory even after three decades of experiments in the field of primary education. In 1936, the percentage of literacy in British India was 12% and in Bengal it was 20%, but Orissa had the literacy rate of only 7%³⁰².

In the field of secondary education, following the pattern of grants-in-aid by private enterprises, this period under review also gave much emphasis to it. Unlike Bengal or Bihar, the province of Orissa did not give the required response due to Orissa's comparative economic backwardness and the state of secondary education was far from satisfactory from quantitative point of view by the end of 1936. On the other hand, as a result of the reorganisation of First Grade Training school at Cuttack, the

³⁰² Samal, J.K, *op. cit.*, p204.

provision of vocational subjects in the curriculum, strengthening of inspecting staff, the improvement in quality of secondary education was perceptible.

The collegiate education started during the earlier phase could not make its progress in terms of numbers during the period under review. First, only one college was painfully inadequate to meet the needs of entire Orissa. Second, the costly nature of higher education tended to make it a monopoly of the higher classes and the urban people. Third, supreme attention was concentrated on the study of English, even though the standard of English teaching was not of high order and finally and not importantly, the products of the college were not successful in finding suitable employment.

During this period, the British administration did not put proper attention on scientific and technical education. By 1936, there were only one Medical school and one Engineering school in Orissa and a few industrial schools to impart industrial training. But there were no Engineering and Medical colleges in the entire province of Orissa to impart higher education.

For the promotion of female education, several measures were adopted to achieve the goal. Co-education was encouraged as far as possible along with girls' schools wherever necessary. The special inspecting agency was created for the supervision of female education. Trained teachers were appointed for imparting quality education. In spite of all these measures, the female education presented a disappointing picture as the rate of the literacy among women was mere 2.4% by the end of 1936. For the promotion of higher education among the women of Orissa, intermediate classes were opened in the Ravenshaw Girls' School.

Several measures were undertaken to spread education among Muslims. The Muslim educational institutions like Maktabas and Madrasas were selected and improved upon to impart the instruction. To suit the needs of Muslim people, various examinations in Islamic subjects were conducted and for the training of Muslim teachers like training schools of Muslim teachers at Cuttack and Bhadrak played an important role in this

regard. Besides, a separate inspecting staff for the supervision and promotion of Muslim education was maintained.

Out of the total population of Orissa, the Muslims formed only 1.66 percentage. But the percentage of Muslim pupils to the Muslim population was roughly 7.6% . Around 9,713 Muslim pupils were under instruction in different stages in 1936. However, the disappointing factor in the education of Muslims was that no Muslim girl passed the Matriculation Examination by 1936. Overall, the Muslims of Orissa never lagged behind others in the race for educational progress.

Simultaneously, with the English education, indigenous institutions of Orissa thrived during the period under review in the form of Tols and primary Sanskrit schools, mostly imparting instruction in Sanskrit studies. The establishment of Sanskrit college at Puri in 1917 was a landmark in the history of Sanskrit education in Orissa.

Another notable event in the history of education in Orissa from 1900 to 1947 was the establishment of 'Satyabadi Vihar', commonly known as Satyabadi Bidyalaya. It was the outcome of a serious experiment to educate the people of Orissa on indigenous lines, different in content from the regular kind of education.

Being different from the formal type of educational system, it gave emphasis on the moral and progressive kind of education, with sacrificing spirit as the central point. The highly educated and self-less workers of Satyabadi Vihar made educational advancement of the people a mission of their life. Their contributions to the building up and strengthening of the national life and character of Orissa were remarkable.

The educational development in the period of 1900-1947 made far-reaching changes in terms of specific policies, measures and the outcome. But in the wider context of general history, this period did not provide Orissa with satisfactory educational progress. In terms of quantity and quality in the education development, there remained so much to be done. The number of schools and the percentage of school going children did not show any great change between 1900 - 1947. In 1936, the percentage of children at School to the total population was 9.1.

In spite of the measures and the initiatives taken by the government, the development of education was not quite comparable compared to other provinces of Bengal and Bihar. Some inherent factors hindered the progress of education. Firstly, though the initiative taken by the government for the spread of education in the province was quite late compared to the neighbouring provinces due to several factors discussed in the chapter, the government never spent more than a scanty sum which hindered the growth. Moreover, the funds allotted for girls education was abysmally low resulting in unequal distribution of progress of education. This was partly due to the governments policy of not hurting the susceptibility of orthodox Oriyas.

Even more it was because of female education lacked immediate usefulness in the eyes of the foreign officials since women could not be employed as clerks in the government offices.

Third, the emphasis on English as the medium of instruction in place of vernacular language at the High School level prevented the spread of education of the masses. So in the subsequent college education, the number of students was very less.

Fourth, the local bodies, which could have carried the system to its natural size, themselves became factional in approach, political in motive and slow by nature. All these factors retarded the progress of education instead of its growth, actually planned. And to the government such weakness of the local bodies, provided an opportunity to avoid the required attention.

Fifth, the remoteness of rural areas, lack of communication resulted in the improper supervision and inspection of schools by educational agencies. A number of schools virtually remained isolated due to this factor.

Sixth, the economic backwardness of the province and growing poverty of the people continued to be a stumbling block in the path of education.

Seventh, in the matters of female education the genuine conservatism of the people in general stood in the way of progress.

The noteworthy feature of the period from 1900-1947 was the growing demand for high school education throughout the province. The number of high schools was 15 in 1905 and 35 in 1936. In 1942, the number of high schools was 48, to which as many as 41 were added during 1942-47.

There was no progress in collegiate education till 1942, apart from the Ravenshaw college which was started in 1868. Between 1942 –1947, the number of colleges in Orissa rose to 11. The establishment of Utkal University in 1943 was a landmark in the history of higher education in the province.

This progress in education, particularly between 1936 - 1947, was due to several factors like separate statehood for Orissa in 1936 and formation of the first Congress ministry of 1937–38, which gave a fillip to the growth of education.

Yet it may be said that the foundations of modern education were clearly laid during the period under review. The most notable of these were, the introduction of trained personnel to take charge of primary and secondary schools, revision of curriculum on modern basis, composition of text books on each subject, appointment of necessary inspecting staff at every stage and proper attention towards buildings and equipment. Side by side, female education and Muslim education were brought within the orbit of the educational system. These foundations were consolidated later on after independence to be more fruitful.

Thus, even though quantitative growth was yet a far cry by 1940's, the qualitative growth had received a standard shape. On the basis of those qualitative achievements, the quantitative growth became almost phenomenal in the post-independence period.

CHAPTER- 4

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN

ORISSA

This chapter deals with the major aspects of socio-religious reform movements that came up in the 19th century Orissa. Various factors which contributed for the emergence of these movements to play a significant role have been discussed. The impact of education, emergence of educated intelligentsia, the role of Christian missionaries etc., have been examined to assess their contribution in bringing out reform in the society.

The socio-religious movement like Brahma Samaj, which had a major presence in the 19th century Orissa, is being presented in this chapter. The district-wise presence and activities of this movement have been studied in detail.

Indigenous religious reform movement of 'Mahima Dharma' or Mahima movement is another area of study which also figures in this chapter. This movement had arisen individually from the Orissa soil which discarded and disbelieved the superstitious and complicated rules and rituals of Hinduism. Above all, it severely criticised the Brahminical interpretation of the religion and condemned the role of Brahmins in the religious affairs. In its reformatory zeal, it encompassed large number of followers, mainly from lower castes and spread to various parts of the state and outside it.

The various social practices existent in the 19th century Orissa which have a bearing on the later on movements in the 20th century like female-infanticide, widow remarriage, child marriage etc. have been highlighted in this chapter. Because the 19th century socio-reform movements prepared the ground and formed a base for later developments in other fields. As a result of these movements the status of women was raised and they were joining the social movements and political struggles against the British rule in the 20th

century. The continuity of these movements contributed for the larger national struggle against colonialism in the succeeding century.

After discussing all these developments in the socio-religious fronts, attention has been focussed on the change that was brought out in the society. The major thrust has been given on the status of women and their upliftment. The various contributory and facilitating factors like education through government and Christian missionaries have been analysed. The emergence and role of some of women leaders in the freedom struggle in Orissa are being discussed to highlight the role of education in bringing the women leaders to the forefront. As the social reform and women upliftment were connected with larger political struggle against colonialism, so also in Orissa, it was the women leaders who plunged into national struggle, simultaneously, strove to bring change in the society.

An attitude of revolt against the superstitious practices grew in the minds of the enlightened people in the 19th century. Some factors usually worked for a long time in providing inputs and background for such happenings. Some of the factors are discussed below;

The 18th century was marked by growing social insecurity and demoralisation prejudicial to the general interests of the people in India. Orissa was no exception to it. Being under the control of the Mughals and then the Marathas, the province of Orissa was neglected in every sphere by these rulers and economic exploitation was their supreme interest. This state of affairs in the 18th century Orissa indirectly contributed in creating a favourable condition to usher in social reforms in the 19th century. It was given a fillip and a proper direction with the British occupation of Orissa in 1803. With their ideas of liberalism and scientific attitude and rationalism, the age-old practices and customs were put to serious scrutiny. The growing emphasis and spread of education and teaching of western ideas and practices and moreover the activities of Christian missionaries helped the people of Orissa to re-examine and re-evaluate their superstitious beliefs, traditions and customs.

Last but not the least, Orissa was fortunate to have pioneers who were posted as Commissioners at that time like, Henry Ricketts, A.J.M. Mills, G.F.Lockburn and T.E. Ravenshaw³⁰³.

Despite their proselytising efforts, the role played by missionaries is conspicuous in preparing the ground for social reforms in Orissa. The Christian missionaries are the ones who initiated modern and meaningful educational system in Orissa. Bringing with them the store of western knowledge to Orissa, they became pioneers of education among the people, particularly among the backward classes in Orissa. The perceptible success of the missionaries was reflected in the education of girls including those of non-Christian and tribal families in Orissa. Even for the education of married women they started 'Zenana' schools to provide some kind of education and learning. Initially, the missionaries were not able to receive any support from the British Government and they sustained their movement through persistent effort. Though evangelisation was their prime motive, but the process of it and the spin-off effects helped in the wiping out of several superstitions and blind faiths, particularly concerning women.

Activities taken up by the missionaries included fighting against social evils like widow burning and issues related to women suffering. To educate and make aware of the people, they used to explain them the contents of their sacred text where there was no mention of the practices of social evils like Sati. They also tried to explode the myth relating to the cruel practice of self-immolation under the car of Lord Jagannath³⁰⁴. In their efforts to rid the society of these blind faith system, they even entered into the tribal areas mostly 'Khond' dominated areas hither to untouched, where the natives resorted to horrid practices like human sacrifice and infanticide. They tried to bring the khonds under the spell of civilisation by instilling in them the ideas of getting rid of superstitious beliefs concerning human sacrifice and infanticide.

³⁰³ Patnaik, N.R, Socio-religious Reforms in the 19th Century Orissa, in **Comprehensive History and Culture of Orissa**, Vol.2, New Delhi, 1997, P-624.

³⁰⁴ See, C. Bychanon, An Apology from Promoting Christianity in India, London 1813, James Peggs, **India's cries to British** humanity, London 1830 -Asiatic Review.

In their ensuing efforts of reform in the society, the missionaries also involved themselves and succeeded to a considerable degree in removing caste prejudices. As the caste system was antagonistic to Christianity, their intervention was more vigorous. They criticised caste prejudices, their rigidity and restriction, particularly the superiority of the Brahmins³⁰⁵.

Thus the missionaries through various efforts produced a sort of reaction leading to reform and reconstruction of the socio-religious system in accordance with the contemporary needs of Orissa¹⁰⁶.

But the single most important factor which facilitated for the ground for social reform was education. Spread of education in the beginning and middle of in the 19th century created an atmosphere conducive to social reforms in the society. Considering the number of schools growing gradually both by missionaries and by the government, it reflected a change in the attitude of people towards education hitherto neglected and looked in suspicion. The spread of education, particularly western oriented education, drew the attention of the people to understand the need of their society on the basis of modern ideas. The upper class people having received such education started to examine their old customs and conventions in the light of the new knowledge that they acquired³⁰⁷. Side by side, the common men, being literate, became keen for social change. "The spread of education" writes Hunter, "broke the old prejudices"³⁰⁸. With the spread of education, the influences of rigorous of caste system were lessened in the society. For example, the Brahmins of Puri also held the post of Sub-Inspector of Police and other professions, wearing leather belt which was forbidden by the custom, even the accidental touching of it invited wrath and expulsion. This practice was prevalent even as late as eighteen fifties.

³⁰⁵ W.W. Hunter, op.cit., PP. 141-142.

³⁰⁶ Patnaik, N. R- op. cit., P-614.

³⁰⁷ L.S.S.O'Malley, India's social heritage, London, 1934, PP, 173-174.

Thus with the spread of education in Orissa, there dawned a sense of enlightenment in the minds of the people and their conservative attitude underwent a **change**³⁰⁹. Another side effect of the spread of education was the establishment of printing press and consequent publication of journals and periodicals gave a further momentum to social reforms of the 19th century in Orissa. Besides other matters, the evils of social prejudices and superstitions were reflected therein to bring in public consciousness about its validity. All those writings enlightened the readers and trained their minds to revolt against the pernicious practices prevailing in their society.

Another important development in the 19th century Orissa, as elsewhere in India, was the emergence of societies, associations and clubs. The main objectives of these were found to have discussed the social customs and religious prejudices with a broad objective of bringing a rational approach to society and religion. Issues ranging from window marriage or child marriage, women's education and caste rigidly, drinking liquor, and gambling etc., were brought under scrutiny and led people to know of the evils and virtues of their social customs and get rid of such evils.

These associations and debating clubs involved in social gatherings, free mixing, discussions and debates and seriously pondered over the **socio-religious** problems affecting the society. As a result of this, the rigidity disappeared and in its place liberalism and rationalism prevailed. Especially in the cultural meetings, the address of persons of repute and erudition broadened the mental horizon of the people. In this respect, the founders of such associations, like the educated middle class and the local Rajas and Zamindars, contributed most to the ushering in of a general consciousness among the people.

³⁰⁸ W.W.Hunter, op.cit., P- 149.

³⁰⁹Patnaik, N. R., Renaissance in the 19th century Orissa, Quarterly journal.)

These societies were assemblage of persons brought together for fulfillment of a noble cause. In various fields of national life and thought, encouraging efforts, and unending interests were revealed through these societies. Among these, some were purely cultural and literary, while some were engaged in social reforms or activities relating to common welfare.

In Orissa with the spread of English education in the second half of the 19th century, the educated elite came in close contact with the English people. They were initiated into their ideas and there was considerable interest to establish cultural societies. Bengal in respect of modern education, initiation of English ideas and thought was half a century ahead of Orissa. With the establishment of Royal Asiatic Society they started the opening for more societies for Socio-cultural awakening in the society.

Raja Rammohan Ray established Atmiya Sabha in 1815 and social issues such as caste distinction, Child Marriage, Polygamy, early widowhood etc., were discussed and denounced. The conservative aristocrats namely Radhkanat Deva and other established 'Dharma Sabha' to save Hinduism from the attacks of Christianity and Brahmoism. So these societies dealing with the socio-religions issues in the neighboring state of Bengal gave enough impetus towards the establishment of such societies in Orissa. In the 19th century any sort of cultural and academic activity in Bengal had its corresponding impact on Orissa.

Dr. N. Samantaray has given a long list of such societies in Orissa³¹⁰. The details of some of leading cultural societies of the 19th century Orissa are given below;

1. Mutual Improvement Society (Cuttack - 1859): The English elite living in Cuttack were active participants in it. There were deliberations on social and literary topics, papers were read and discussed.

³¹⁰ Samantray, N, op.cit., pp 232-258.

2. **Utkal Bhasa Unnati Vidhyayini Sabha:** (Balasore- 1866) F.M. Senapati, Radhanat Ray and other prominent personalities were members of this society. The society had in view the new useful books published in Bengali and tried to publish such books in Oriya.
3. **Utkal Bhasodhi Puri Samaja (Cuttack-1867):** The object of the society was to prepare a catalogue of old Oriya Books, to move the government for getting the privilege of approving suitable text-books for schools. Gourisankar Ray, the famous editor of Utkal Dipika was the secretary of the Samaj.
4. **Cuttack Debating Club - (1868):-** The educated persons of Cuttack started the society for discussing about English language. The famous ideologist of Bengal, Rajendra lal Mitra read a paper in the society advocating Bengali language in Orissa Schools in place of Oriya language as the former was very rich compared to latter, which created deep resentment among the Oriyas there.
5. **Utkal Varsini Sabha (Cuttack - 1869):-** The language issue stirred the minds of the educated persons in Orissa and through this society they tried to fight for cause of Oriya languages.
6. **Utkal Brahmo Samaj (Cuttack - 1869):-** The society was established to propagate Brahmoism.
7. **Ganjam Utkala Hitavadini Sabha (Berhampore - 1872):-** Most probably this was the first political association. It represented to the Government for submitting petitions in Oriya, maintaining records in Oriya, conducting examinations in Oriya and arranging classes in Oriya in the schools. As Ganjam, mostly an Oriya speaking district, was then in the Madras presidency the aspirations of the people were expressed through this association.

8. Utkala Bhasoddipani Sabha (Cuttack-1873):- The object of the society was the development of Oriya language, through discussion about Oriya text-books, improvement of the creative faculty and debating capability of the educated persons.
9. Utkal Sabha (Cuttack - 1877) :- This was primarily a society for literary deliberations. A comparative assessment of ancient and modern Oriya literature was made. In 1878 under the auspices of this society a periodical titled 'Utkal Madhupa' was brought out and many literary writings were published in it.
10. National Society (Balasore - 1878):- Fakirmohan Senapati as a delegate of the society went to Madras to attend the Indian National Congress.
11. Unity Association (Balasore - 1881): This society was striving hard to bring about a unity and amity among the Oriya and Bengalis by solving their differences.
12. Utkal Hitaishini Sabha (Paralakenedi):- Towards the end of the 19th century, the Raja of Paralakemedi, established this society. They agitated against the injustice done to Oriyas in Ganjam. This society sent delegates to India National Congress held at Madras, Poona and Calcutta.
13. Utkala Sahitya Samitani (Cuttack - 1886):- Through the initiative of Radhanath Ray, Madhusudan Rao and some other literatures, this society was formed. Its main object was to conduct discussion on Oriya language and literature and a critical estimate of newly published Oriya books.
14. Cuttack Alochana Sabha (Cuttack - 1893):- This society was established for the improvement of Oriya language and literature. The main object of the society was to discuss about old and modern Oriya literature. To work in a wider sphere and express the literary aspirations of Oriyas this society was renamed as Utkala Sahitya Samaja in 1903 and subsequently it became a premier literary organization.

15. **Sanaranartha Sabha** (Cuttack - 1898):- This was another society of the Brahmo,s where persons from different sects participated and discussed about the achievements of Ram Mohan Ray and Keshab Chandra Sen. Deliberations were conducted in Oriya, Bengalis and English.

16. **Observer Club** (Cuttack - 1898):- English and Oriya Poems and essays were read and discussed.

17. **Graduate and Undergraduate Association** (Cuttack - 1890):- Madhusudan Das was the president of the Association. In the sessions, resolutions regarding reforms of Hindu Society, glorification's of Women's education, denouncement of Child marriages and introduction of Widow remarriage. This gave expressions to the reforming ideals of the educated youth and their reaction against social superstitions and blind faith.

From the above mentioned societies the general characteristics of the cultural and social conditions can be examined in the 19th century Orissa. The societies functioned in the leading towns of Orissa such as Cuttack, Balasore, Puri and Berhampore where the newly emerged educated middle class group came into existence. These societies tried to express their ideas and ideologies for social upliftment and the growth of these societies by the third quarter of the 19th century was a remarkable development. An Oriya periodical remarked: "Orissa is gradually being flooded with societies in the western state like infectious diseases. For the last six and seven years it has become rampant. There are societies for school-founders, societies relating to social and political issues by the new youths, the exciting societies by the pandits and normal schools teachers, societies of old people also adorn this town of Cuttack."¹¹

These societies had some avowed purposes. During the period of language movement, different societies advocated for and against the presentation of Oriya language. Some

societies were formed for the propagation of Brahmoism and as its reaction **some other** societies tried to advocate the cause of old Hinduism. Same societies were formed in the towns of Cuttack, Balasore and Puri. In Cuttack, Puri and Balasore, Sanskrit societies worked for safeguarding the interests of Sanskrit. Barring a few, these societies did not engage themselves in political activities and were whole hearted by supporting the cause of social reconstruction and upliftment.

It is very interesting to study the growth and activities of different cultural societies of the 19th century which brought about radical changes in the cultural life of Orissa Society, formed public opinion and self consciousness in the minds of countrymen who with their relentless efforts tried to improve work state of Orissa in various fields. The spade-work done in the 19th century yielded results in the 20th century.

In this process of social change, the development of communications in the plains as well as the high lands of Orissa played an vital role³¹². In its wake, there came the cultural contact between the people of the plains and those of the hinterlands namely the tribal people. The dissemination of ideas and awareness were made much easier and widespread due to the well developed communication system which in its way brought progressive changes in the society. It was against this background that the British Government in Orissa decided to intervene and suppress several gruesome practices such as widow burning, a mild and continuous policy in the beginning, extreme intervention later on became the landmark of their policy³¹³. In their effort, the government was supported by the educated middle class who with their newer ideas influenced by the western education strove to put an end to these social evils. As elsewhere in India, in Orissa, the newly emerged educated class gave the much-needed spirit through supporting and demanding the spread of education, particularly for women to achieve the objective. Due to the support of these educated classes, the government could step in and

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Annual Administrative Report, 1873-74, P.5.

³¹³ Patnaik, N. R, op. cit., P-615.

pass laws against the practices of various social evils. A brief account of the social evil and practices and their suppression is given below;

Suppression of widow-burning:

The practice of widow-burning (Sati) was socio-religious in nature in which a woman burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband. Though prevalent from the medieval times, its suppression was seriously thought with the advent of the British. It was after strengthening the foundation of the British rule that Governor General Wellesley, sincerely tried to combat the practice. Being cautious in his approach he tried to discourage the practice in a mild form in the beginning. Circulars were sent to the local officials asking them to dissuade the widows from recourse to this practice.

But in spite of these mild measures, the practice continued to take place in Orissa and during 1815-1816, eighteen instances of Sati were detected in Cuttack district³¹⁴. And in other districts, the numbers were also similarly alarming. However, the government adopted other measures to discourage the practice. Orders were passed to give a small sum as subsistence allowance to all those widows who were refrained from committing Sati³¹⁵. Another additional step was taken in disallowing the Zamindars to exercise any more the right of taking half of the property of the widows who have no children, as they did before. All these measures had some effects and brought down about a considerable reduction in the number of Sati in Orissa. The complexity of the social evil was such that even the government had two different kinds of views among various officials. One was active intervention through law to put down the practice and the other one through gradual and indirect approach to it. In 1828, Thomas Pakenhom, the Commissioner of Cuttack examined the cases of Sati to explore the possibility of suppressing the rite. He

³¹⁴ Patnaik, N. R. op. cit., p 615.

³¹⁵ Papers relating to East India Affairs, Viz. Hindu Widows and Voluntary Innovations, 10th July, 1820.

made a mention of his findings with his suggestions for its complete suppression. The Commissioner opined that it would be far better for the government at once to enact a law in prohibition of the custom as regards this province³¹⁶. The question of abolishing the practice by legislation was discussed thread bare and a few British officials working in Orissa were still reluctant to abolish it by legislation. Even the successive Governor General till 1828 while condemning this practice still remained firm to the policy of non-intervention and the Governor General Lord Amherest (1823-1829) went further by saying that any stern action against the practice might cause unrest³¹⁷.

But by the year 1829, the British Officers working in Orissa saw the reason and felt the time was ripe for abolishing the practice by law. Thomas Pakenham was first to write to the Government that the prohibition of Sati might be ordered with perfect safety, although such a resource would occasion great dissatisfaction³¹⁸. Similarly, W.Winkson, the Collector of Cuttack and Puri and H.Brownlow, the Magistrate of Santhem Division of Cuttack district, reported to the Government that the Sati might safely be put down by authority³¹⁹.

In the endeavour of doing away with the social evils, the British Government was not the only campaigner, but the natives of India also provided the much-needed support to the cause. These emerging social reformers being educated and impressed upon by the ideas of rationalism, liberalism and scientific temper viewed the practices in a more suspicious way. There emerged then a galaxy of social reformers who strove to convince their countrymen that "Sati" was not enjoined by the code of Manu and it was opposed to the gentle, benign spirit of their original faith¹²⁰. Most prominent among them was Ram Mohan Roy who was the first to get himself involved in the campaign for the abolition of

³¹⁶ Patnaik, N. R., op. cit., p - 615.

³¹⁷ Dodwell, H.H, ed., The Cambridge History of India, Vol.VI, New Delhi, 1958,p-140.

³¹⁸ Board proceedings, Judicial (West Bengal State Archives, Vol.- 541.)

³¹⁹ Ibid,p.274,417-419, W.Winkinson, Collector of Cuttack and Puri to Govt. of Bengal, 25 April, 1829,Board Proceedings, Judicial (Orissa State Archives) Accession no.223, H. Brownlow to G. Stockwell, 1st August,1829.

³²⁰ G.D.Oswell, Sketches of rulers of India, Reprint, Delhi 1972, Vol.111, PP 141-142.

Sati. It was mainly his vehement denunciation of this practice, and the agitation that he fought against it which ultimately helped in the enactment of the statute of 1829 aiming at the abolition of Sati throughout British India.³²¹

The process of abolition of Sati was hastened with the appointment of Lord William Bentinck as Governor General in India, who represented the age of utilitarianism in India. After consulting the British Officers of whom majority were known to have favoured immediate suppression of the practice³²². It was on December 4, 1829 that a regulation was passed in the Governor-Generals in council declaring the practice of Sati as illegal and punishable in the criminal courts through out the territories immediately subject to the presidency of Fort William. And all Zamindars, Talukdars and other proprietors of the land and all native officers were to be accountable for the immediate communication to the officers of the nearest police station of any incident of state³²³.

In spite of the clear-cut prohibition of Sati, the practice continued to occur in few tributary states of Orissa. The Government of India directed the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals to prepare some definite rules for the management of the Tributary Mahals. While preparing such rules a clause was incorporated therein making the practice of burning alive widows of Hindus within the Tributary Estates illegal and punishable³²⁴. Any Raja or any other person convicted of aiding and abetting such sacrifices, whether voluntary or otherwise would be deemed guilty of the defiance of the government orders³²⁵.

Notwithstanding the strict law prohibiting Sati, there were instances where it was violated. One such case of violation was the state of Khandpara where, upon the death of the Raja in January 25, 1842, his queens and two slave girls immolated themselves on the

³²¹ C.H Phillips, ed., *The Correspondence of Lord William Bentick*, Oxford, 1977,p-49.

³²² Patnaik, N. R, op. cit., p-627.

³²³ Ibid,-p.616.

³²⁴ Patnaik, J, *Feudatory States of Orissa*, Allahabad, 1988, Vol. II, p-571.

funeral pyre¹²⁶. The government taking the case as violation of the law accorded punishment to all those involved in the case and this also restricted similar cases to occur due to the heavy punishment. The rulers of the tributary states agreed to forbid this practice of Sati, undertaken either voluntarily or under compulsion. Thus by 1842 the Sati was accepted to have been abolished in Orissa.

MERIAH SACRIFICE AND ITS SUPPRESSION:

Another gruesome practice which prevailed in Orissa was the human sacrifice which was based on socio-religious custom of the tribes of Khonds. Since the victim was called Meriah, this practice was popularly known as Meriah sacrifice or simply Meriah³²⁷. Besides the Meriah, human sacrifice was also known to have prevailed among other tribes namely Kols, Santals, Gonds and Bhuiyas. Even the more enlightened people of the plains used to sacrifice human beings to please some imaginary spirits.

Meriah sacrifice among the Khonds originated from their superstitious belief of keeping the Earth Goddess in a pleased state of mind by propitiating her with most valuable sacrifices, lest she should cause failure of rains leading to famines and droughts. And for this they considered human blood as the most precious offering³²⁸.

Being practised by a number of tribes and also by people in the plains, the British discovered it 1836 and efforts for the suppression of this cruel practice finally succeeded. But the suppression of this practice proved to be a Herculean task for the British government as it was deeply rooted in the cultural traditions of the Khond society. Its religio-cultural belief of benevolent nature almost made it difficult to stop this practice.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid., Mills Minute, 23rd January, 1847.

³²⁷ Patnaik, N.R, Meriah Sacrifice Ceremony, A Historical Study., Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Bangalore, LXXVIII,3-4, 1987,p-1.

³²⁸ Ibid., Influence of Religion upon Khond society in the 19th century, Manav, Journal of Anthropological society of Orissa, IV, 1990-1993,p-52-53.

The people of the place almost equated this practice with the nature God. Moreover, the British association with the people was established very recently.

Thus it is to be observed that the British Government rightly realised that the character of the khonds and the physical nature of their country combined to preclude any attempt to effect the suppression of their great religious rite by force as a primary measure. Moral influence, rather than power be more effective. Coercion, they thought, could not succeed. Thus the primary policy pertaining to suppression of the practice as suggested by G.E.Russel, was to accomplish it by slow and gradual process and not by rash action³²⁹. On the whole the policy of the British government was to make the Khonds integral, central and progressive members of the British Indian Empire from their heathen practices, and win them over to start humanitarian reforms themselves³³⁰.

Knowing the fear and superstitious practices of the khonds against famine, disease and worldly misfortunes, the Government started initiating measures during such calamities through redressing their miseries and setting their tends and disputes.

In 1845, a Meriah Agency comprising the whole tracts of Madras and Bengal Presidencies was constituted by the British Government and Capt. Macpherson was appointed the first Agent for the suppression of Meriah practices³³¹. The agency officers like Macpherson and Campbell made plans and executed programmes such as making roads, easing and safeguarding transport, increasing markets and fairs, establishing schools and encouraging communications between the hill tracts and the plains for lasting effects and impact.

To generate awareness among them the British officers called periodical assemblies of the Khond chiefs and explained to them the cruelty of human sacrifice. Furthermore, the agents also put necessary pressures on the Rajas and Zamindaris to use their moral

³²⁹Patnaik, N.R, op. Cit., p-618.

³³⁰ Ibid.

influence and power for the effectual suppression of human sacrifice. Other measures like promotion of education and medical aid, construction of roads, establishment of fairs and appointment of the police were taken up to develop the area. All these efforts gradually penetrated into the minds of the tribes and slowly they were drifted away from the practices. The cruel practice was at the end came to an end with a policy of persuasion and development and not by coercion.

Widow-marriage:

The practice of Sati and its abolition discussed earlier in this chapter, saved the women from the gruesome killing. After it was suppressed and young widows were allowed to live, there was an positive response from the people about their remarriage in order to remove their sufferings and at the same time to get their valuable services for the family and the society at large. The social reformers around that time, prominent being Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar, were pioneers in taking the cause of widow suffering and advocating their remarriage. Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar published his work on widow remarriage in 1853 to broad base and advocate his points. In the year 1856, the widow Remarriage Act was passed permitting the widows to remarry if they so desired, and declaring the legitimacy of the issue of such marriage"².

The 19th century Orissa, though not fully observing and accepting the idea, did not oppose it either. It stirred the imagination of the people so much so that they started to discuss its merits and demerits at different forums. One such forum was "*Aryani Pradip Samaj*" of Biranarasinhapur, where a discussion on the social problems was held on 1st March, 1885 and regular debates on widow-remarriage were held thereafter³³³. Yet another forum called "Cuttack Graduate Sabha", where a meeting was held on 29th December, 1889 and Kalidasa Mukherjee delivered a speech on "Hindu Social Reforms"

³³¹ Ibid., History and culture of Khond tribes, New Delhi, 1992,p-256.

³³² Desai, Neera, Women in Modern India, Bombay,1957,p-72.

³³³ Utkal Dipika,21 March, 1885.

in which he spoke in favour of widow remarriage and also evil consequences of child marriage³³⁴.

Apart from this, through various literary activities like poems and stories, the idea of widow remarriage was popularised. One of them was the greatest writer Fakir Mohan Senapati who reflected the miseries of the widows in his literary works. His poem entitled "*Bidhabara Abhisapa*" (Curse of the widow) dealt with the cruelties inflicted on the widows and he appealed therein for the amelioration of their condition³³⁵. Although no widow-remarriage was known to have taken place in Orissa in the 19th century, it was permitted by certain classes in the 20th century. In this century widow marriage and divorce were permitted among the Khandaits in the Feudatory states of Orissa³³⁶. Similarly in the coastal region to a certain degree it was permitted except in the high caste Hindu families. In this context, S.L.Maddox has made a mention in his report of 1900 thus, "in most cases of Orissa, widows may remarry and even among the **Brahmins** and **Karans** the widows do not lead the hard life they do elsewhere³³⁷."

Child-marriage:

Another social evil widely prevalent in the 19th century Orissa was the child marriage. It was found most common among the Bralimins who were liable to ex-communication of their daughter if attained puberty before marriage. Different socio-cultural forms took up and raised the issue of evils of child marriage in order to bring consciousness among the practitioners and the people of the state. A society called "*Balyabidhaba Nibarini Sabha*" was established at Cuttack³³⁸. In its monthly session in 1873, this Sabha discussed child-marriage and then fixed the age of the girls and boys for marriage as

³³⁴ Patnaik, N.R, op. cit., p-625.

³³⁵ Senapati, F.M, Fakir Mohan Granthabali, Reprint, Calcutta,1963,Vol.I,pp-545-546.

³³⁶ Patnaik, N.R, op. cit., p-622.

³³⁷ S.L Maddox, Final Report on the survey and settlement of the province of Orissa, 1890-1900, Calcutta, 1900,pp-123.

³³⁸ Ibid.

above 14 and 21 respectively³³⁹. Another Sabha called, "*Aryaniti Sabha*" of Biranarsimhapur was a centre of discussion on child-marriage³⁴⁰. The emerging and conscious intellectuals of Orissa like Pyarimohan Acharya, fired with reformatory zeal, came forward to discuss the matter before the public. Pyari Mohan Acharya delivered a talk at Cuttack on February 24, 1879, against child-marriage, focussing on its evils like physical weakness and even ruination of certain families³⁴¹.

Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar was the first Indian to speak both against the consummation of child marriage. Being pressurised by British public opinion and persuaded by the Indian humanitarians, the Government of India contemplated legislation in 1890 to raise the age of marriage for a girl. From Orissa the opinion of about six professors of the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, in favour of proposal was voiced to the government³⁴². The Rajas and Zamindars in Orissa were asked to mobilise public opinion in its favour and the local periodicals also highlighted the matter³⁴³. Sambalpur Hitaishini, in its issue of June 18, 1890 appealed to the Rajas and Zamindars to use their influence against child marriage³⁴⁴.

Finally, the introduction of an Act, entitled Act of 1891, the Governor-General of India and his Council, which raised the age of Consummation of marriage of girls from ten to twelve years and provided absolute legislative protection to the girls upto the age of twelve³⁴⁵. These measures ultimately led to the minimisation of child-marriage in the 19th century Orissa.

³³⁹ Patnaik, N.R, op. cit., p-622.

³⁴⁰ Utkal Dipika, 5 April, 1873.

³⁴¹ Patnaik, N.R, op. cit., p-622.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Patnaik, N.R, Social history of 19th century Orissa, Allahabad, 1989, p-280.

³⁴⁴ Sambalpur Hitaishini, 18 June, 1890.

³⁴⁵ Journal of Indian History, XLIX,145-147, April-December, 1971, p-300.

Socio-religious reform movements:

In the 18th century, the Indian society and religion presented a gloomy picture - bundle of superstitions, society grew rotten and stagnated culture. As the Hindu social system is strongly based on and mostly guided by religion, it is difficult to say where religion ends and social institutions begin. All most all social evils were given the garb of religious sanction by Brahmins and religious leaders in the name of Hindu Dhanna. Religious sanction was accorded to rituals, caste hierarchy, superstitions and idol worship.

But with the advent of the Europeans, Western ideas, thoughts and learning were gradually disseminated in India. Educated Indians after a careful examination and scrutiny of their religion in the light of western education and ideas realised that superstition and barren formalism had sapped much of the dynamism of Hinduism. Hence, to restore the original purity and simplicity were established to carry out the crusade of reform. These religious movements revived in the people's minds, memories of their glorious past and contributed to the new conscience among the educated people.

The educational system in Orissa before the British rule was mainly oriented towards religion, philosophy, logic etc., But with the emergence of British rule in India, secular education was imparted and religious neutrality was maintained generally³⁴⁶. The Government was not keen to touch the moral and religious subjects as it feared that any interference in social and religious institutions would endanger their power in India. Even the Commission of 1882 prohibited religious teaching in government and board schools during school hours since it could not cater to the needs of pupils of all faiths³⁴⁷.

The strict religious neutrality of government encouraged beliefs that, (1) religions had no relevance to the main course of curriculum, (2) education was for all, not only for the higher castes and classes unlike previously practised, (3) superstitions and customs which

³⁴⁶ Religion ,philosophy etc., were taught in the Hindu Gurukul schools. In Mission schools Bible was taught even in the 19th and 20th century though it was not forced on the unwilling students.

were taught traditionally in the name of religion and pure social life were given up and secular and scientific forces emerged gradually. This ultimately developed rationalism, scientific attitude, dissociation of religious institutions from social institutions and finally helped in the formation of new socio-religious reform movements like Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, Theosophical Society and other organisations and conferences.

Brahma Samaj Movement:

The Brahma Samaj was a socio-religious reform organisation born as a sequel to the introduction of new education. The liberal, rational and scientific knowledge, clubbed with the knowledge of Hinduism led to a decision to reform Hindu society. The Brahma Samaj was started in 1828 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy to stop the tide of proselyzation and to introduce reforms in religious and social spheres on an organised basis. He wanted to shape the religion according to needs and exigencies of social relations³⁴⁷. His aim was to acquaint the people with the original Hindu scriptures which did not profess the crude forms of idolatrous worship. He also condemned the Brahmin priest who were adept interpreting the worldly desires of the Gods and Goddesses.

With these objectives Ram Mohan Roy established Brahma Sabha which subsequently became Brahma Samaj. Brahma faith propounded by Ram Mohan was a reformative trend of Hinduism questioning the infallibility of the Vedas and also coming up against some of the institutions of Hinduism, as widow-burning, child-marriage, prohibition of widow-remarriage, caste restrictions and the like. The Brahmaism believed in the worship of the universal God, the infinite benefactor of the universe.

Brahma movement appeared in Orissa in the beginning of the second half of the 19th century. It was the accidental visit of Orissa province by Devendranath Tagore in

³⁴⁷ Report of the Indian Education Commission(1882), pp-128-129.

³⁴⁸ Pannikar, K.M, Culture and Consciousness in Modern India, New Delhi, 1990, p-7.

connection with the supervision of his estate paved the way for Brahma movement in Orissa³⁴⁹. It was in 1849, that Mahesh Chandra Roy, the Munsiff established a Brahma Samaj for the first time at Cuttack³⁵⁰. Later on, Jagan Mohan Roy, the Dy. Magistrate of Cuttack organised this Samaj on the model of Adi Brahma Samaj of Devendranath Tagore and it was named as Cuttack Brahma Samaj. A journal named 'Utkal Subhankari' was published in 1869 to reflect Brahma faith in Oriya language and a beautiful Brahma temple was constructed in 1871, where prayers were held³⁵¹. Another Brahma organisation entitled 'Utkal Samaj' was established at Cuttack in 1869 under the leadership of Prof. Haranath Bhattacharya³⁵². It was a branch of Brahma Samaj of India' founded by Keshab Chandra Sen. However, both Cuttack Brahma Samaj and Utkal Brahma Samaj were established by Bengali gentlemen and the pastors made their living by some secular vocation, receiving no stipend for their ministrations³⁵³. But this reformed faith was not regarded in Cuttack as a distinct religion from Hinduism.

Another extension of Brahma Samaj called Prarthana Sabha was founded at Mangalabag of Cuttack town 1883. In the same year few students of the medical school of Cuttack established a Brahma Samaj in the name of Prathana Samaj³⁵⁴. A Mahila Samaj, was founded in the residence of K.C.Gupta, where his wife assembled other ladies from well-to-do families and used to hold religious discussions every fortnight³⁵⁵. In 1886, Chaturbhujia Pattanaik, renowned Brahma reorganised another Brahma Samaj and named it as "Bidhan Samaj"³⁵⁶.

The Brahma organisations continued to work in Cuttack, though it was not so popular and progressive. In the second half of the 19th century the Brahma preachers from Bengal made frequent visit to Cuttack. Performing Upasana at various places, they delivered

³⁴⁹ Sivanath Shastri, A History of Brahma samaj Vol.I & II, Calcutta, 1912, p-520.

³⁵⁰ Utkal Dipika, 18 December, 1869.

³⁵¹ Samantray, N, op.cit., p-34.

³⁵² Utkal Dipika, 18 December, 1869.

³⁵³ Patnaik, N.R, op. cit., p-625.

³⁵⁴ Utkal Dipika, 15 September, 1883.

³⁵⁵ Das, B.S, (Ed.), Glimpses of Orissa, Calcutta, 1986. P-139.

³⁵⁶ Utkal Dipika, 23 January, 1886.

talks to the people about Brahma faith. Many persons, particularly the educated Bengalis serving in the town came under the influence of these preachers and joined the Brahma movement³⁵⁷.

The main activity of the Brahmans centred around the 'Upasana' a congregation of all the Brahmans to discuss about the main contents of Brahmoism. This also served as a prayer congregation, and prayer halls were opened for workshop of universal God and it also served as a meeting place of the devotees of all faiths.

The Brahmans of Cuttack used to assemble once a week for Upasana. After singing Brahma songs, the religious discussions were held. The discussions ranged mostly against idolatry, casteism, child marriage, polygamy, addiction and other irrational socio-religious customs. Learned persons of Cuttack town or the Brahma preachers coming from outside also delivered talks on Brahma faith. On special occasions, community prayer and Nagar Sankirtan were held. The Brahma prayers were also attended by the women¹⁵⁸. Sometimes, the local British officials were invited to Brahma functions. The Brahma function held on 22nd February 1870 in the house of Ramnath Roy Chowdhary was attended by W.W.Hunter, the Commissioner of Orissa Division³⁵⁹. On certain occasions, food and clothes were given by the Brahma Samaj to the poor and the handicapped. To promote charitable activities, Utkal Brahma Samaj opened a small dispensary in November 1866 to provide medical help to leprosy patients³⁶⁰. The Brahmans of Cuttack town also tried to perform missionary activities. In the gathering of festivals like *Balijatra*, they used to preach their faith like Christian missionaries. With all these activities, the Brahmans of Cuttack could influence and bring the youth of Cuttack, particularly the students, even students from conservative Brahmin families. In July 1887 two students of Cuttack Medical School were converted to Brahma Dhanna. They were Loknath Kar and Raghunath Singh. Loknath Kar, the first Brahmin in

³⁵⁷ Patnaik, N.R, Brahma Movement in Orissa, UURJ.Bhubaneswar, 1987. P-7.

³⁵⁸ Utkal Dipika,7, July, 1883.

"Ibid, 28, February, 1870.

³⁶⁰ Ibid, 6, November, 1886.

Cuttack District who had embraced this new faith openly³⁶¹. Same **Brahmo** marriages were solemnised in Cuttack, according to Brahmo rituals. Same marriages were attended by the Hindus, Muslims and Christians³⁶².

Apart from Cuttack, Balasore was yet another chief centre of Brahmo movement in Orissa. As early as 1885 Isan Chandra Basu of Adi Brahmo Samaj of Cuttack came to Balasore to preach Brahmo faith. Another Brahmo, Prasanna Kumar Chatterjee came to Balasore from Bengal and started Upasana in a home located near Jhadeswar Mahedeva temple. A Brahmo Samaj was founded in Balasore town in October 1869³⁶³, and a Brahmo periodical named "Dharmabodhini" was published from Balasore town in 1874.

The activities of Brahmos gradually spread from town to village areas of Balasore and in the village of Sindhia of Balasore, a Brahmo Samaj was established³⁶⁴. In its weekly Upasana, the ladies of upper Caste used to join along with male members³⁶⁵. So also many low caste people were participating in the Upasana showing the popularity of the movement. Similarly other villages also started their own Brahmo Samajs at the same time. Few other Brahmo centres located in and around Balasore town were at Manikhamb, Amara, Sorisakotha, and Vimadin³⁶⁶. Thus, next to Cuttack, Balasore emerged as a leading centre of Brahmo movement in Orissa.

After the formation of Balasore Brahma Samaj, the Brahmos were interested to organise different Samajs outside the town area. The Samajs developed outside the Balasore town were, Dinamaradinga, Navagama, North Nuapur, South Nuapur³⁶⁷. At different places of these centres, Brahmo Maunders were established for Brahmo Covenant advocated that the members should carry out the Samaj work at the instruction of their leaders.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 16, July, 1887.

³⁶² Ibid., 9, June, 1888.

³⁶³ Hunter, W.W, op. cit., p-278.

³⁶⁴ Patnaik, N.R, op. cit., p-626.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., p-622.

³⁶⁶ Utkal Dipika, 18, June, 1881.

³⁶⁷ Nayak, G, Brahmo Movement in Balasore, Published in Our Documentary Heritage, Vol. I, Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar. 1992-1993.

In its endeavour for educational developments, the Brahmo followers opened one Sangeet school at the Balasore district working every Saturday. Besides a number of members from both the Adi Samaj and New dispensation order, used to attain the school. The subjects discussed in the Samajs covered various problems related to human life and its course.

Apart from this, the Balasore Brahma Samaj also opened one middle English school, one night school, one girl's school, school for spiritual and educational upliftment of the students.

To its credit, the Brahmo Samaj of Balasore adopted various humanitarian activities like setting up of different ashrams such as, orphan ashram, leprosy ashram and destitutes homes to shelter the needy and to preach the Brahmo cult among them. In 1875, a Brahmo teacher called Ram Kumar came to Balasore and established two schools in town, one school spread this idealism and another imparted general education³⁶⁸.

The Brahmos also organised 'Tatwa Bodhini Sabha' in 1871 for discussion of different religious and Brahmo philosophy and Ram Kumar Bhattacharya, a member of Brahmo Samaj of India, visited different places of Orissa to supervise the Brahmo Vidyalays³⁶⁹.

The spirit of earnest work and active participation was started by Nandalal Banerjee, a missionary of New Dispension in 1887, who made Balasore station as the Principal sphere of work. The Samaj mission work contained lectures, delivered in English, Bengali and Oriya at different places of Orissa by prominent Brahmo teachers and kirtans were chanted in the streets and towns, which seemed to have caused great sensation among the people of different areas.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p-33.

³⁶⁹ *Annual Report of Brahmo Samaj of India*, p-38.

The Brahma movement in Balasore attracted the attention and later on the involvement of people and most importantly prominent persons of the area. For example, Fakir Mohan Senapati, a great literatureur of Orissa was attracted towards the Brahma philosophy, though he was not formally initiated to it. In one of his short stories, '*Revati*' Fakir Mohan emphasises the women education and women liberation and in '*prayaschita*' one of his greatest novels, he narrates the Brahma concept of realisation³⁷⁰. Fakir Mohan launched a crusade against social labours and advocated widow remarriage. Fakir Mohan published a number of short stories, novels criticising the social evil customs of Hindusim which was the aim of Brahma movement.

Brahma movement also spread to Puri district. In 1866 Brahma Samaj was founded in the town by Prasanna Kumar Ganguli³⁷¹. During 1880-1890 Brahma Samajs were established at different places of Puri district. In Puri town, Nilachal Brahma Samaj was founded with Narendra Nath Sarkar as its secretary³⁷². The Brahma Samaj in Puri also involved themselves with the kind of activities, their counterparts at Cuttack and Balasore used to do.

However, the Brahma movement in Orissa could not spread much as it was expected. The major lacunae of the movement was that it could not attract the masses resulting the absence of mass base. It remained confined mainly to the urban elites of Orissa society. The people of Orissa also did not consider Brahmaism as a distinct religion from Hinduism³⁷³. The strong orthodox section of the state, afforded small prospect of conversions on a large scale³⁷⁴. The pioneers of Brahma movement had little contact with the common people. And the high ideals of Brahmaism could not be grasped by the people and there were not any proper attempt by the reformers to do that. Furthermore, the Brahma movement elsewhere in India did not adopt any spectacular programme for the socio-economic regeneration of Orissa. It was towards the last decade of 19th century

""Nayak, G, op. cit., p-38.

³⁷¹ Mukherjee, P, History of Orissa, New Delhi.

³⁷² Samantray, N, op. cit., pp-36-37.

³⁷³ Hunter, W.W, op. cit., p-69.

there was a growth of political consciousness in Orissa due to the national movement for independence. And its dominance over socio-religious reforms affected the progress of Brahma movement. The political activities took precedence over the socio-religious reforms of the young men. Furthermore, the persons who joined the Brahma Samaj were socially boycotted by the conservative Hindus. The internal quarrels and subsequent division in the Brahma Samaj weakened the movements in Orissa.

Though the Brahma movement could not succeed as a religious movement in Orissa, it had its deep repercussions on the socio-religious set up of Orissa.

First the Brahma movement helped to spread education in Orissa. That was because Brahma adherents of the province created consciousness among the people for education. Madhusudan Rao founded the Victoria Town High School. By the effort of Haranath Bhattacharya, Cuttack Abaitanika Vidyalaya was established. Pyari Mohan Acharya established an educational institution entitled "Cuttack Academy" which was subsequently known as "Pyari Mohan Academy". The female Brahmans of Cuttack opened a Sunday school to impart moral and spiritual education to the children. Many teachers of the schools were Brahmans. All these helped in the growth of education in Orissa.

Second, the Brahma movement led to the publication of new periodicals which were the mouth-piece of Brahma Samajas. Those were *Utkal Subhenkari*, *Dharmabodhini*, *Brahmo*, *Naba saampad*, and *Asha*.

Third, the renowned Brahmans like Chatterbhujia Pattanaik, Madhusudan Rao and Biswanath Kar contributed a number of creative writing to Oriya literature. Thus the Brahma movement played an important role in the growth of Oriya literature and language. Lastly, the Brahma activities created social consciousness among the people of Orissa. It advocated the women education and their gradual emancipation from social

³⁷⁴ *ibid*, p-278.

restraints. The Brahmo professed widow-remarriage and inter caste marriage and opposed polygamy and child-marriage. The Brahmo faith devoted too many rituals of Hindu marriage, which were also expensive. Some Brahmo marriages were also solemnised in Orissa. Furthermore, Ram Mohan Roy's campaign against the Sati custom influenced the British officials and the people of the Orissa to prevent Sati occurrences in Orissa. The **Brahmos** also spoke against the addiction of opium and liquor. The **Brahmos** also criticised the eroticism in literature and architecture ³⁷⁵.

The Brahmo movement helped in synthesising religions such as Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. As the exponents of the Brahmo faith were much influenced by Christianity, the Hindus of Orissa tried to assert the supremacy of Hinduism over Christianity.

MAHIMA MOVEMENT

In the last quarter of 19th century, an indigenous religious cult, prevalent among lower castes and tribals of the hilly regions of central and western Orissa, called **Mahima Dharma** gave an unqualified challenge to Brahminical orthodoxy. As else where in India, during that period, the supremacy of the Brahminical and traditional order were challenged by the newly emerged religious reform cults. About Mahima **Dharma**, Anncharloff Eschamann observes:

"Mahima **Dharma** is an autochthonous Hindu reform movement that turned against Jagannath workshop in Particular. Unlike the so-called neo-Hindu reform movements, as for instance the Brahmo Samaj which came into being as a sequel to the encounter with Christianity and the philosophies of west and obtained from there, i.e., from outside, the criteria of their criticism of its own tradition, no intrinsic direct western influence in the emergence of Mahima Dharma can be traced. On the contrary, this movement derives criticism of the Hindu tradition directly from the tradition itself, thus standing an almost

³⁷⁵ Patnaik, N.R, op,cit.,p-628.

paradoxical two-fold relation to the tradition which it accepts on the one hand and rejects on the other ³⁷⁶.

In the 19th century the Mahima cult spread through out Orissa and common people were very much attracted towards it. It was a powerful challenge to counteract on the one hand, the aspects of the Christian missionaries, and the other hand, the appeals of **Brahmo** movement.

Mahima Movement was the latest religious movement in Orissa originated from an indigenous cult known as Mahima Dharma or Alekha Cult. Mahima **Swami** was its founder and his life-history is still shrouded in mystery. It is said that Mahima Swami went to the Kalizas hills of Dhenkanal in 1838, where he betook himself to severe meditation for 22 years. Thereafter, in 1862, he started to propagate his faith among masses. In 1876, Mahima Swami passed away at Joranda in Dhenkanal **district** ³⁷⁷. This Joranda has now become the chief centre of Mahima Dhanna.

The emergence of this movement in Orissa can be attributed to several factors inherent in the socio-economic and cultural life prevalent at that time. Orissa after coming under the British rule in 1803, was experiencing various upheavals in the **socio-economic** and cultural spheres. The people were worst-hit on account of the repeated famines, in accessible roads, non-recognition of the native language, division among the native rules some of whom exploited the men of the soil, some others supported the British rule and, were in conflict among themselves. The age old values were in course of time, lost sight of. In the circumstances, it is natural to find protests and programmes of action in operation both from within and without from time to time with a view to arresting the pace of degradation and degeneration and also to reviving the restoring truth, **non-violence**, equality etc., in the light of these developments, Orissa was environment conducive for Mahima Swami, as he was called the originator of the faith. The decadence

³⁷⁶ A. Eschman, Mahima Dharma, An Autochthonous Hindu Reform Movement, in **Eschmann**, ed., The Cult of Jagannath in the Religious traditions of Orissa, New Delhi, 1978, p-375.

of moral and spiritual heights, polytheism and stratification of caste/sex structure being rampant and corruption, inaction and despondence being widespread made the ground necessary for some kind of reform and regeneration. Moreover, the colonial rule itself was considered by people as a kind of imposition of alien values and culture as the society and practices of the native people.

The essence of teaching of Mahima Swami i.e., Mahima cult is that people should workshop Brahma who is said to be Alekh (indescribable) Anadi (without beginning), Nirakara(formless), Anent (endless), Nirvana (attributes) and Niranjana (spotless)³⁷⁸. Mahima cult did not believe in any form of idol worship. Even the Mahimites completely disclaimed the famous Jagannath deity. Their chief place of worship and meditation at Joronda is Sunya Mandira where clsuarz or Bralima is directly meditated upon without any medium of image or idol. Mahima Dhanna gave emphasis to prayer, but it should be directly to the Lord himself, the form less 'Sunya Brahma' not to any particular image of the Lord. Besides idol worship and meaningless rituals, Mahima cult went against irrational social practices like casteism, child-marriage and polygamy. The salient features of the code of the conduct prescribed for Mahimaities are as follows; Brahma is one and the only one. Except Brahma no other deities should be worshipped. Polytheism should be discarded. A casteless society should be made. Any type of rites and rituals are forbidden for the Mahimaites. The followers of Mahima Dhanna should not attend dance, dram, musical performances and any other type of recreational activities, rather they should spend their leisure time in *Bhajan, Kirtan and Smarana*. Intoxicants should refrain themselves from egoism, anger, cruelty, passions, unholy deeds and robbery. Being the believers of non-violence, they should not go for animal sacrifice ³⁷⁹.

³⁷⁷ Patnaik, N.R, op. cit., p-628.

³⁷⁸ Nath. S, Mahima Dhanna, Retrospects and prospects, in *A Comprehensive History and Culture of Orissa*, N, Delhi, 1997,p-480.

³⁷⁹ Patnaik, N.R, op.cit.,p-628.

The Mahimaites contend that the **Mahima** (real) is also Iswara. They hold that the realisation of Brahma can be attained by Bhakti (devotion) primarily ⁷⁷.

For the highest attainment (Moksha), the rigorous yogic practices are prescribed in Mahima Dharma. The Mahima Cult has got same affinity with the Hindu religion. It believes in doctrine of Karma, rebirth and transmigration of souls which are similar to Hinduism.

In the true sense, Mahima Dharma synthesised the Vedic traditions with a reformative trend. Its aim was to purify Hinduism by denouncing the blind beliefs and irrational practices. Therefore, Mahima Dharma can be considered as a reformist movement within the Hindu fold.

Mahima Dharma attracted many low-caste Hindus into its fold³⁸⁰. They got admitted in order to raise their social status. Some tribal people of Orissa also embraced this faith³⁸¹.

Like other religious movements coming of during that period, Mahima movement was also radical socio-religious movement seeking to change the vices afflicting the socio-religious spheres, like breaking the age-old customs and practices of Hindu society. It never intended to promote a new religion in the society. But it made an attempt to force human beings from the narrow social divisions in the case-ridden society of Orissa. It denied the priesthood and did not require the services of Brahmins to perform socio-religious rituals. The Mahimaites discarded the idol worship and never attended the feasts and festivals associated with rituals. Even the tribal people who used to take liquor and indulged in dances, gave up them after converting to Mahima Dharma. The greatest disciple and preacher of Mahima was Bhim Bhoi, a greatest poet through his lyrical poetry. A tribal by birth, Bhim Bhoi popularised the main tenets of the Dharma through

⁷⁷ Nath, S, op. cit., p-483.

³⁸⁰ Mansingh, M, The unique Alekha cult in the saga of the land of Jagganath, J. Mohapatra & co., Cuttack. No date.

³⁸¹ Patnaik, N.R, op.cit.,p-630.

his Bhajans and songs. According to a report in Utkal Dipika in 1881, some **followers** of **Bhim** Bhoi raided the Jagannath temple. They declared that under the command of Alekha Swami they had come to burn the images of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra and they had come upto the central part of the temple. In the scuffle between the temple guards and the intruders in which one of the intruders died. The other intruders were tried and sentenced jail terms for their severe act. Similarly several lower caste people being sidelined and oppressed by the higher caste people had joined the **Dharma** in all districts and the regulation districts also. Notable example of the Dharma is the 'Panas; of **Angul**, a lower caste notorious for stealing seemed to have given up their hereditary profession of burglary under the influence of Mahima religion, but the followers of this new religion were seen to have outcasted or ex-communicated by their Hindu brethren and to have formed a community of themselves³⁸².

The Mahimaites also condemned polygamy, child marriage and even expensive forms of marriages. The marriageable age of them was fixed. For the males it was 24 and for females it was 16. This measure indirectly helped to reduce the number of child widows in the society by increasing the marriage age. By introducing and adhering to the ideals of monogamy, the Mahimayites did not marry more than one wife. All these practices helped to improve the status of women in the then society.

The Dharma initially started as a socio-spiritual renaissance movement, both revolutionary and humanistic in the 19th century. Within the boundary of the state, it gradually spread to the country particularly in the neighbouring states such as Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam etc., Anthrative text in Itihas, Darshan, Bhajanas, etc, have been translated into Telugu, Hindi, Bengali, English etc., Thus the Dharma had spread beyond the boundary of the country and is available in USA, UK, and Germany etc.,

³⁸² Bulletin of History Seminar, Utkal University, 1983-84, p-66.

But Mahima movement failed to bring about any innovation in the socio-religious life of Orissa on a large scale. It was because of slow rate of conversion. Moreover, it also found difficult to wipe out casteism, idolatry, polytheism and other deep rooted customs and practices in the traditional Hindu society.

The followers of this faith were reported to have been tortured by the Brahmins and some Zamindars. But it established itself as a radical socio-religious doctrine of the subaltern classes.

In any case, this socio-religious reform of 19th century Orissa influenced later the life of the people so much so that those can be rightly called the harbingers of the prosperity and progress which came in the 20th century. The entire society and culture underwent a transformation.

The ideals of Mahima Dharma indirectly contributed for the raising of status of women. The Principle and practice of monogamy helped in reducing polygamy in the society, at least the followers adhered to it. By stipulating the marriageable age of girls and boys, it continued the incidence of child marriage to a large extent, thereby reducing the number of widows at a early age.

The conversion of tribals into this cult helped in raising their status in the society. A process change occurred in them where in gave up their traditional practices and took up healthy and simple life like other people from plains.

Above all, Mahima movement was a indigenous reform movement arising out of the existent socio-religious milieu and not influenced by any other religion. In that way, it stands as a supreme challenge to the Hinduism and its practices in the 19th century.

WOMEN EDUCATION AND THEIR UPLIFTMENT:

The two main issues on which the socio-religious movements of 19th century focussed on were the abolition of the rigorous practices arising out of superstition, blind faith etc., and the improvement of the conditions of women in the society. All most all the reformers laid emphasis on the necessity of the upliftment of women from the subordinate and marginal status in the society. For this to achieve, the approach adopted was the education of women so that they will be in a better position in terms of literacy and awareness. This awakening of women was much required to rid them and the society from the clutches of medievalism and conservatism.

Women occupied a very low status in medieval and early modern society in Orissa. Lack of educational facilities, child marriages, Prohibition of widow remarriages etc were some of the social factors responsible for the low status and misery of women who were reduced to the position of glorified slaves. Social barriers, conservatism and female ignorance reigned supreme. Therefore, the crusade for the emancipation of women became the first objective of the social reform movement, in the 19th and the early 20th centuries. Because they were of the firm believe that with the emancipation of women, the family and later the society progress in the modern way.

The efforts of various socio-religious reform associations, reformers and government were aimed at the progress and emancipation of women. The female emancipation and the reform movements were the direct off shoots of western humanism which came along with the introduction of English education ³⁸³.

In these efforts education received greater attention as it encountered less resistance and secondly, it was felt, through education people in general and women in particular could be made to know the consequences of social evils and would develop an awareness about

³⁸³ Chatterjee, N. British rule and India's cultural Renaissance, *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XXXVI, part HI, December 1958, p. 300.

the magnitude of the problem. Other reforms like the abolition of child marriages, enforced widowhood etc., could be neutralized with comparatively less resistance because of education. Therefore, education and other reforms engaged the attention of the rationalists, revivalists and people in Orissa in the second half of the 19th century and more particularly in the first decade of 20th century.

In the second half of 19th century Orissa, the slow progress of women education was started when certain enlightened families of Orissa thought of educating their female children.

But the first step in this regard was taken by the Christian Missionaries. They opened schools to remove the ignorance of the Oriya females³⁸⁴. The missionaries spread the female education through the Zenana agencies. The lady missionaries and teachers formed groups who entered into the inner apartment of the ladies and taught them. In this type of system "Zenana", the teachers went to the pupils' house. The lady teachers generally visited the houses of educated men to impart education to their ladies³⁸⁵. Zenana work was first commenced in Balasore in April 1869 and one Zenana Association was started by Mrs. Satish in 1869 for educating the married girls of Balasore³⁸⁶. One hundred and twenty-six women were taught in their houses by Mrs. Satish and her associates. In 1936, there were six centres at Cuttack and Balasore under the supervision of missionaries³⁸⁷. Furthermore, the indigenous schools in the country side also helped in promoting women's education in Orissa.

In Balasore a boarding school for native girls was started in 1841 with Bachelor as its patron³⁸⁸. Likewise in the missionary school at Pipli, Orphan girls were given excellent training. At reaching the marriageable age, they were given in marriage to Christian

³⁸⁴ Sutton, A. Orissa and its Evangelisation. pp 263-264.

³⁸⁵ General report of public instruction in Bengal, 1871-72, pp 377-380.

³⁸⁶ Swaro, D. Christian Missions and their activities in the nineteenth century, p 466.

³⁸⁷ Orissa History Congress, vol. II, no. 1, January 1981, p 33.

³⁸⁸ Sutton, A. op. cit., p 297.

cultivators at the missionary settlement³⁸⁹. Similarly in 1871 Miss Crawford, an American Missionary, started a missionary girls schools at Jaleswar. That year in September Abinash Chatterjee started Cuttack girls' school at Balubazar area of the town. Side by side with increasing number of girls attaining schools, books for them were also published. It was in 1878 that B.N.Dey published "Balikapatha" in Oriya which was the first ever book of its kind³⁹⁰. Bhadrak, under the patronage of Chaturbhujia Pattanaik, a girls' school was established in 1879. Financial support for its maintenance was known to have been received from Zamindars like Baikunthanath Dey of Balasore and Brajabullah Pandhi of Eram, paying Rs. 6 and Rs. 10 respectively³⁹¹. Further at Soro, it was under the patronage of the same Chaturbhujia Patnaik that another girls' school was established in 1879 with twenty students on the roll. Similarly at Dhenkanal garh some girl students were found on the rolls of Madhyayubraj school³⁹². Another Hindu Balika Bidyalaya was established by some Bengalis in 1881 at Balika Bidyalaya was established by some Bengalis in 1881 at Cuttack in which there were 45 girls students on the rolls in 1882³⁹³. For the maintenance of the school, financial help was received from the Maharaja of Keonjhar, the Rani of Talcher and others. The Government also extended its help in running the school³⁹⁴.

All these schools were of the lower vernacular standard and it was only in 1882 that some girls for the first time appeared at the middle English examination³⁹⁵. They were pupils of the girls schools started by Miss Crawford at Jaleswar and the Cuttack Municipality also opened four lower primary girls schools in 1883³⁹⁶.

³⁸⁹ Hunter, W. W., *op. cit.*, p 171.

³⁹⁰ Orissa Historical Research Journal, XV, 1-2, 1967, p 123

³⁹¹ Utkal Dipika, 1st February, 1879.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 12th April, 1879

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 2nd October, 1880

³⁹⁴ Patnaik, N. R., *Social History of nineteenth century Orissa*, p 283.

³⁹⁵ Annual report on education, 1881-82.

³⁹⁶ OHRJ, XV, 1-2, 1967 p123.

One orphanage for women called the 'Cuttack Female Orphanage' was established at Cuttack under the patronage of Rev.J.Buckley. Though its inmates were Christians yet education was not religion-oriented ³⁹⁷.

It was towards the end of the 19th century that Ravenshaw Girls school was started at Cuttack. By 1897 a few more girls' schools had been established in Cuttack. In the same year in July 1897, two women students took admission in the Ravenshaw College³⁹⁸.

However, despite all these efforts the progress of women's education was not satisfactory and was definitely slow. But undoubtedly the introduction of female education improved the status of women in the contemporary society.

These educational development certainly increased the number of schools in the province for the girls. But there was stagnation in the higher education for girls, as after passing out of the schools very few of them joined the collegiate institutions. And in the technical education the number of girls was abysmally low. The reasons for this state of affair was mainly the conservative attitude of the people and particularly the parents of the girls. Due to these reasons, the desired change in the society was very slow. Because age-old customs and traditions do not change over-night and as a process it takes a lot of time which picked up after independence. Nevertheless the social reforms laid a strong foundation of social prosperity over which the superstructure was built in the 20th century.

THE GROWTH OF FEMINIST CONSCIOUSNESS:

The feminist consciousness usually involves the realisation and achievement of the role and rights of women in the society. This consciousness resulted in the participation and contribution of women in the activities and issues afflicting society, economy, culture etc., This feminist consciousness first came in Bengal in the last phase of the 19th century

³⁹⁷ Utkal Dipika, 6th June, 1885.

³⁹⁸ Mukherjee, P. op. cit., p 448

among the women. The most powerful periodical '*Banga Mahila*' appeared in 1876 expressing the nationalistic thought of Bengali women³⁹⁹. The social reform movements of 19th century also involved the marginal status of the women and highlighted their issues like widow re-marriage, Sati, education etc., Due to these developments some of the cruel practices like Sati and female infanticide were stopped officially. It also created a platform for further progress of women in the coming years. Emphasis on women education by the British and the reformers resulted in the breaking up of social restrictions and women advancement in different fields of the society.

It was in the second decade of 20th century only the Oriya women got their first periodical '*Paricharika*' to express their feelings⁴⁰⁰. There were women poets like Sulochana Devi and Sulakshana Devi who had the courage to speak against orthodoxy in a well-known periodical like *Sambalpur Hitaisini*, but the tone was very mild and was not still comparable with that of the Bengali women. Orissa till the 20s of this century lacked the leadership of the powerful woman like Sarala Devi Chaudhurani - the first Bengali women leader in the national movement⁴⁰¹.

In the 20th century Gandhian phase, women in India participated in large numbers against British colonialism. Their involvement in the national movement had a linkage with the women's movement and its implications for the sharing of feminist consciousness⁴⁰². Orissa like Bengal, during the Gandhian phase provided a good ground for female participation. In Orissa the role of women in the anti-colonial struggle led to the concurrent progress of feminist consciousness about realities of a patriarchal culture. This feminist consciousness along with women participation in the national movement constitutes a vital aspect of the history of freedom struggle.

³⁹⁹ Ray, Bharati, **The freedom movement and feminist consciousness in Bengal (1905-1929), in From the Seams of History**, ed. Bharati Ray, 1997 p 174-218.

⁴⁰⁰ **Asha, 8th September 1919**

⁴⁰¹ See Bharati Ray, op. cit., p324.

⁴⁰² Ray, Bharati, op. cit..

During the first quarter of 20th century, the consciousness for female education became more intense and meaningful. There emerged a group of enlightened educated Oriya women who played an important role in the general awakening of women in Orissa. This group of women including Reba Ray, Sailabala Das, **Kuntala Kumari Sabat**, Sarala Devi, Rama Devi and Malati Devi made their efforts at reforming the society and raising the standard of female education through various means and methods.

In Orissa women writings were not found relating to the political problems in the country even in the beginning of the 20th century. Kuntala Kumari Sabat, Sarala Devi and Basant Kumari Devi actually set a stage, for women consciousness which became widespread with others participation. Kuntala Kumari through her patriotic poems stimulated the Oriya women and particularly her '*Ahwana*' and Gandhian movement became very popular with women in rural areas⁴⁰³.

It was Sarala Devi who stood as the most prominent women activist in the anti-colonial struggle in Orissa. Her participation in the national movement and her consequent effort to feminize political and social discourse to create feminist consciousness in Orissa are interesting aspects of social change during that period.

When Sarala Devi started her political, social and literacy career, a band of women activists had already come to the forefront-Manorama Mahapatra, Nishibala Naik, Pramoda Devi and Jahanavi Devi. They were actively engaged in the reforming activities for women's uplift in the society⁴⁰⁴.

As early as 1928 women's demand for reform of the society was forceful in Orissa. Sarala through her discourses created a new consciousness regarding the marginal and subordinated status of women. Her important articles containing the problems of women in India - '*Hindu Samajare Nari Samasya O Samsthit*' (women problems in the Hindu

⁴⁰³ Mahapatra, Chakradhara "Kuntala Kumari Jeevan Charita" (Oriya).

society) 'Adhunika Yugare Odia Nari; (Oriya women in the modern age), 'Kana sunarkatha' (about the purchase of girls on payment for marriage) appeared in the periodical Asha, in 1929 and subsequently by 1935 she had composed booklets like 'Utkalara narisamasya,' Narina Devi, Bharatiya Mahila Prasanga, Narira Jagator and Virangana⁴⁰⁵. These discourses were bent upon creating feminist consciousness in Orissa. No women writer could write such powerful prose pieces like that of Sarala Devi in the thirties and forties of the 20th century particularly with the purpose of activating the women and consciously engaging their attention to the constructive works in the society as well as articulating the neo-identity of the Oriyas. Sarada Devi was responsible through the feminization of social and political discourages in creating feminist consciousness in Orissa. The articles written by her were full of revolutionary and radical ideas and they were intended to attempt to reform the patriarchal cultural set up prevalent that time in Orissa⁴⁰⁶.

In her association with the anti-colonial struggle, she also strove to and participated to improve the standard of the villages. Her commitment and dedication for female education was total. A good example of this was her admiration for nationalist institutions like Alakasrama of Jagatsingpur and Gandhi Sevasram of Champapur, which was established by the famous Gandhian, Govinda Mishra. In 1931, Sarala Devi visited the area and presented an account of the institution and wished to convert this centre to be a centre of congress constructive programmes.

In the thirties and forties she was very busy in the making of the feminist consciousness in Orissa. In her paper published in different periodicals and journals she demanded economic independence for women. She gave a new discourse on womanhood in another article.

⁴⁰⁴ Rama Devi, "Jeevana Pathe" (Oriya) Cuttack, 1984, p86.

⁴⁰⁵ Das, K. C, Role of Women of Orissa in the freedom struggle, Bhubaneswar, 1998, p-84.

⁴⁰⁶ Nanda, C. P. Towards Swaraj, Nationalist Politics and popular movement in Orissa, 1998, p 98-99

Her articles in large number focussing specifically women's movement in Orissa were published in the well-known periodicals like *Asha*, *Nabeen* and in the journals like *Utkala Sahitya* and *Sahakara*. Highlighting her contribution in 1934 *Modern Review* of Calcutta (in its November issue remarked):

"**Srimati** Sarala Devi of Utkala is the first lady to be appointed as the director of the Cuttack Central Co-operative Bank. Orissa owes much to her activity, both in the political sphere and social reform activities. She has given a strong impetus to the progress of the women's movement in that province. She has broken through the long-standing purdah system prevalent in her community. She is a member of the All-India Congress Committee. She presided over the Tamil Nadu Women's Conference held at Erode in the Madras Presidency. She is a self-made lady, having fought her way in all her struggles with orthodox society and adverse circumstances."⁴⁰⁷

Some feminist magazines were published in Orissa during this phase. The first was *Paricharika* or *Sikshya Darpan* which was edited by Basanta Kumari Devi in the middle of the second decade of the 20th century. For its publication Sarala Devi had contributed Rs.24 in 1919⁴⁰⁸. She edited a women's magazine named '*Sabita*' which was short lived. On behalf of Bihar and Orissa women council, Shakuntala Rao had published and edited '*Aloka*' which contained women writings⁴⁰⁹.

Sarat Kumari Samantrai on behalf of Utkal Christian Association also edited for some time a women magazine called *Prabhat* which was more on missionaries activities in Orissa than on women problems in general. However, from 1937 Sarala Devi published her views for feminist consciousness in Orissa in a permanent column called *Mahila Mahala* in an well-known monthly magazine named *Sahakara*⁴¹⁰.

⁴⁰⁷ Rajkumari Amrita Kaur, *The women movement in India*, *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, April 1984, p 403.

⁴⁰⁸ *Asha*, 8th September 1919.

⁴⁰⁹ Nanda, C. P. op. cit., p 85-88

⁴¹⁰ *Sahakara*, 18th March, 1937.

Another leading and renowned women leader of Orissa was Rama Devi, who by all means is considered the greatest woman freedom fighter and pioneer in women and social upliftment in the state. Being born in a family of great freedom fighters of Orissa, Rama Devi displayed untiring efforts for the cause of social evils. Though her main involvement and contribution lie in the freedom struggle against colonialism side by side she also contemplated to bring about reform and change in the society. Rama Devi fits very well into the Gandhian paradigm of the man-woman relation in the context of Satyagraha⁴¹¹.

Enlightening family influences and affluence notwithstanding, she had to face difficulties which Oriya women in those days were subjected to. But by sheer dint of merit and committed work she called overcome all the hurdles coming in her way.

Towards the end of 1932 Rama Devi and her woman co-workers, such as **Kokila Devi**, **Susila Devi**, **Godavari Devi**, **Tulasi Devi**, **Manika Devi**, **Chandramani Devi**, **Annapurna Roy**, **Amiya Ghose**, **Malati Choudhary Purabai** and **Nathibai** took up **anti-untouchability work**⁴¹². For some time Rama Devi worked as she Secretary of Orissa Branch of **Harijan Sevak Sangham**. In **Cuttack town** Rama Devi, **Malti Devi**, **Binapuri Devi** and **Kiranabala Sen** rendered services to the untouchables. They went to the scavengers' colonies and rendered such services as teaching their children persuading them to give up **wine** and **beef** and reading out scriptures like **Ramayana**, while carrying on anti-untouchability work, Rama Devi, became convinced that women as mothers had great roles to play in the society and that the awakening of the country was impossible without the awakening of its material force. Rama Devi and **Malati Devi** and a number of other women workers participated in **Gandhi's Harijan Padayatra** (foot march) which began at **Parion 9th March**, 1934.

⁴¹¹ Pradhan, A. C. Rama Devi, The Profile of a Gandhian Congress woman., in *Role of Women of Orissa in the Freedom Struggle*, OSA, Bhubhaneswar, 1998, pp 26-27

⁴¹² *Ibid.*

After the Civil disobedience movement, a number of women workers took up constructive work in the villages, following Mahatma Gandhi's line of action. According to **Annapurna** Maharana, about twenty women workers worked in various rural areas of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts. Six other ladies - Godavari Devi, Sushila Devi, Tulasi Devi, Mangala Sengupta, Annapurna Devi, Manika Devi and Shobha Panda, also joined hands with Rama Devi in the constructive work at **Bari**⁴¹³. They propagated and implemented such items of constructive programme as promotion of **Khadar**, service to the Harijans, spread of Hindi as the national language, women's upliftment, basic education, prohibition, adult education etc., Being trained by them some village women took up spinning and tried to implement other items of the constructive programme⁴¹⁴. The constructive work, undertaken by Rama Devi, Gopabhandhu Chowdhary and their co-workers, prepared the ground for large-scale participation of the common people of Bari in the subsequent movements especially Quit India Movement.

As the social consciousness and movement were deeply linked with the political struggle against colonialism, the women leaders being actively engaged in the larger struggle, also put emphasis on the social front and reform simultaneously. The Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930s undoubtedly brought about an unprecedented awakening among the women of Orissa as elsewhere in India.

"The eternal problems of female education and emancipation that has been baffling social workers 'seemed' to have solved themselves". The participation of women in the movement of 1930s in an appreciable number was itself an index of awakening among them. Women leaders like Rama Devi, Malati Choudhary, Sunamani Devi, Janhavi Devi, Subhadra Devi made praiseworthy efforts to mobilize women in the nationalist movement as well as bring about awakening among them. By their exertions they elevated the position and role of women in public life. These women leaders belonged to the congress-oriented families. Rama Devi, Malti Choudhury and Kiran **Bala** Sen mostly

⁴¹³ Choudhury Rama Devi, op.cit., p 113.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 70-71.

worked among women in the Cuttack district. Sarala Devi worked among the women in the Puri District. Janhavi Devi, Kokila Devi and Subhadra Devi worked in the Balasore District⁴¹⁵.

The woman workers generally belong to the caste Hindu middle class families. Out of forty five line resisters who were in Cuttack jail in 1932 sixteen belonged to the Karan caste, seven to the Khandayat, seven to the Brahmin caste and ten to other castes (which included one Harijan woman named Hiramani Behera) and five to Bengali families⁴¹⁶.

The women's participation in the public life particularly in Cuttack to bring gender justice in the society is another aspect of ensuing freedom struggle. The women, especially those belonged to the middle class and those who had early education, did show the political and social consciousness by showing interest and by actively participating in the public affairs, as their sisters elsewhere in India. The twenties of the present century witnessed the heightened women's activism in the political and social life of Orissa, particularly in the context of Gandhian era of freedom struggle. Mrs. Sailabala Das had organised a women's conference in the Ravenshaw Girls School in 1918, with a view to establish a branch of All India Women's Conference. During his visit to Cuttack in February 1921, Mahatma Gandhi addressed a meeting of about forty women at Vinod Vihari, Cuttack⁴¹⁷. Though efforts of the leading women of Cuttack such as Sarala Devi, Rama Devi, Sarojini Chowdhury, Hiramani Devi, an All India Women's Conference was held at Cuttack on 30th June, 1924 and it was participated by around 200 women. Women such as Rasamani Devi, Sarala Devi etc., participated and addressed the conference on the subjects varied as education, Oriya nationalism untouchability, and pleaded for opening a branch of All India Women's Conference in Orissa at Cuttack⁴¹⁸. At the all India level, several women from Cuttack, Rama Devi, Hiramani Devi, attended the Gaya

⁴¹⁵ Pranakrushna Padhiary's reports.

⁴¹⁶ Pradhan, A. C, op. cit., p 37.

⁴¹⁷ Choudhury Rama Devi, op. cit., p 85.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

session of Indian National congress in 1922⁴¹⁹. Further, the Calcutta session of Indian National Congress in 1928 was also attended by heading women leaders of Orissa like Rama Devi, Sarojini Chowdhary, Sarala Devi, Jahnvi Devi, **Kokinal** Devi and others.

However, an analysis of the nature and the types of women's participation in the freedom struggle and other public activities shows that the lead was taken by women only from the heading, respectable and educated families. They came mostly as wives, daughters, sisters etc., of the leading public figures of Orissa.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the women's leaders participation in the local and national level struggle was quite creditworthy. They were arrested and put in jails several times during the Civil Disobedience movement and other movements. These women despite heavy odds against them as natural in an obscurantist society as Orissa of the time, through their untiring efforts continued in the mobilisation of rural women in various social and political movements.

⁴¹⁹Utkal Dipika, 26th July, 1922.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The interrelationship between education and social change had a far reaching impact in the society, polity and culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in India. The birth of a new social consciousness in the modern period and the resurgence of India were mainly the result of English education introduced by the British. In its wake, it disturbed the various social evils and practices of the 18th and early 19th centuries and sowed seeds of rationalism, renaissance and contributed for social transformation in Orissa.

The intimate interaction between education and social progress was very prominent during the second half of 19th century onwards. In India, the spread of English education which was secular in spirit, worked as a good preceptor of the people about the existing social evils and awakened them to the need for social development. The progressive expansion of education helped in the faster realisation of people about the social conditions and assisted the reformers and socio-religious reform movements in the late 19th and early 20th centuries Orissa.

Orissa from the 19th century, till 1936, consisted of three coastal districts of Balasore, Cuttack, Sambalpur and one non-regulation district of Angul. The development of education in the province was not to the level of satisfaction by the first half of 19th century, though the British occupied it in 1803. The reasons for this state of affairs was due to the fact that the negligent attitude of the administration and miscalculation of the Government by equating it with Bengal, but both the provinces were at different stages of development.

The Wood's Despatch of 1854 which provided a comprehensive outlook to the system of education, helped to a considerable extent in the expansion of education in the province.

But the diffusion of education to all classes in Orissa was still a distant dream by 1880 due to indifference of the Government and lack of enthusiasm from the public towards the process of education. This backwardness in the field of education was manifested in the terrible famine of 1866, which demonstrated that how the lack of education and educated people aggravated the sufferings of the people.

After the great famine, the British administration woke up to the problem and seriously thought over to improve the standard of education in the province. Its objective was to improve the condition of the primary schools which was shaped through the Campbell's scheme of primary education and Midnapur system. The Campbell's scheme provided funds for the village schools and primary school scholarship, training to the teachers etc.,. This system could not take off, because of the lack of interest among the parents to send their children to the schools and due to the emphasis of the Government on quantity not on quality of the kind of education. The Midnapur system was called the system of payment by result and it turned out to be successful in Orissa.

The Indian Education Commission of 1882 gave a new emphasis and outlined the priorities in education. After 1882, the educational system in Orissa underwent great changes and there was perceptible improvement in both quantity and quality. As a result of the combined efforts of the individuals, institutions and government, educational expansion became much faster. The Laissez-faire system of education adopted by this Commission, continued till the end of 19th century, in which the government withdrew from direct control and management of educational institutions.

During this phase, there was a perceptible expansion in the number of schools and various segments of education like primary, secondary and collegiate education received importance. The technical education also registered progress during this period. In collegiate education the most important achievement was the coming up of the Ravenshaw College, which was a school to start with. Another major achievement of this

period was the emphasis on female education. Through the encouragement given to the girl's classes in primary schools for boys etc., promoted the female education as well.

This period did not register the required growth in education as it was expected. The reasons attributed for this shortfall are, the general poor economic condition of the parents, which debarred them from sending their children to the schools, lack of trained teachers in the schools, particularly in the secondary schools. The growth in female education was not upto the level, compared to other provinces. The traditional conservatism prevalent in the society during that time did not permit girls to join schools. Moreover, the funds allocated for the development of education was quite less compared to other provinces. The lack of proper infrastructural facilities also hindered the growth of education during this period.

The beginning of 20th century heralded a new era in educational development. The policy of freedom in educational system advocated by the educational commission of 1882 was reversed by Lord Curzon at the beginning of the 20th century. The political compulsions and the anti-government agitation by the educated people, Curzon felt, were due to the Laissez-Faire system. Therefore, he preferred strict rules of recognition, more controls, adequate provisions etc., to officialise and control the educational system.

During this period, there were sincere efforts on the part of the government to spread and popularise primary education in the province of Orissa. In order to attract and impart meaningful academic instruction, the syllabi were changed from time to time. The other factor for the slow and limited progress in primary education was due to the scarcity of trained teachers. To overcome this shortcoming training centres for primary school teachers in each sub-division were created, called the 'Guru' training schools. Extra funds were allocated for the infrastructural development at the schools in order to create an ambience for the education.

The period also witnessed the extension and improvement of secondary education in the province. The training for the teachers was upgraded and the grants-in-aid scheme was revised without changing the principle and thus the scope of government assistance was slightly enlarged.

In spite of the measures and the initiatives taken by the government, the development of education was not quite comparable with other provinces such as Bengal and Bihar. Some inherent factors hindered the progress of education. First, though the initiative taken by the government for the spread of education in the province was quite late, compared to the neighbouring provinces, due to several factors discussed in the chapter, the government never spent more than a paltry sum which hindered the growth. Moreover, the funds allotted for girl's education was abysmally low resulting in unequal distribution of progress of education. This was partly due to the government policy of not hurting the susceptibility of orthodox Oriyas.

Even more, it was because of female education which lacked immediate usefulness in the eyes of the foreign officials since women could not be employed as clerks in the government offices.

Third, the emphasis on English as the medium of instruction in place of vernacular language at the High School level prevented the spread of education of the masses. So in the subsequent stage of college education the number of students was very less.

Fourth, the local bodies, which could have carried the system to its natural size, themselves became factional in approach, political in motive and slow by nature. All these factors retarded the progress of education instead of its growth, actually planned. And to the government the weakness of the local bodies provided an opportunity to avoid the required attention.

Fifth, the remoteness of rural areas, lack of communication resulted in the improper supervision and inspection of schools by educational agencies. A number of schools virtually remained isolated due to the factor.

Sixth, the economic backwardness of the province and growing poverty of the people continued to be a stumbling block in the path of education.

Seventh, in the matters of female education the genuine conservation of the people in general stood in the way of progress.

Yet it may be said that the foundations of modern education were clearly laid during the period under review. These foundations were consolidated later after independence to be more fruitful. Through a series of experiments for the growth of **education**, definite conclusions were attained. The most notable conclusions were, the introduction of trained personnel to take charge of primary and secondary schools, revision of curriculum on modern basis, composition of text books on each subject, appointment of necessary inspecting staff at every stage and proper attention towards buildings and equipments. Side by side, female education and Muslim education were brought within the orbit of the educational system.

Thus, even though quantitative growth was yet a far cry by 1940's, the qualitative growth had received an impetus. On the basis of those qualitative achievements, the quantitative growth became almost phenomenal in the post-independence period.

Female education grew at a slow pace throughout the 19th century and even in the first two decades of the 20th century due to the lingering social prejudice against it. It was believed that education of women brought misfortunes to the family. People did not consider education necessary for making women ideal housewives and mothers. On the contrary, there was an impression even in well informed quarters that education has a

tendency to make girls independent of their lawful guardians and less observant of established customs and domestic duties.

Moreover, girls were not normally sent to schools for co-education in conservative rural belts specifically because of conservatism of the higher castes. Therefore, special schools for girls were founded to encourage the enrollment of girls in primary and secondary schools. But the funds spent on such educational enterprise were too meager to be of any significant use. In terms of financial gains, female education lacked immediate usefulness, since women could hardly be employed in offices as clerks, the main plank of job-holders in the control system of employment.

Apart from the conservative attitudes of the parents and the society, there were other functional problems in the educational system. Due to lack of trained teachers, most schools were manned by educators who scarcely understood the basic elements of child psychology and the technique of teaching.

In Orissa where the per capita income was half as compared to West Bengal and one-third as compared to Bombay, the expansion of secondary and collegiate education should have been the responsibility of the government. But it was left to the private bodies, to the mercy of local landlords and power welding lackeys of the government. Most of them being uneducated, they did not take interest in the proper functioning of the system.

However, the introduction and progress of education in the province in its wake brought about several socio-cultural changes and reforms in the religious practices prevalent in the society. By the end of 1947, the impact of modern education was perceptible in the life and culture of Oriyas. The newly educated people in the urban sectors became gradually aware of the decay of the Hindu society and culture. The uniform pattern of education, curriculum, job opportunities, rationalism, individualism and scientific approach, which were the result of English education, gave birth to new forces, which had great impact on the social institutions in Orissa.

In the sphere of socio-religious reform **movements**, there emerged progressive trend which tried to purify the evil practices prevalent in the society in the 19th century. The socio-religious movement of Brahma Samaj is such a case in point which grew up in the 19th century and tried to purify the Hindu religion and counteract the spreading of Christianity and its tenets in Orissa, as elsewhere in India. The liberal, rational and scientific knowledge clubbed with the knowledge of Hinduism led to a decision to reform Hindu society. The Brahma movement spread in Orissa mainly in Cuttack and Balasore districts in the second half of 19th century. It organised various samajas and promoted the cause of education. Apart from its reforming of Hindu religion, it also involved itself in humanitarian activities like setting up of different ashrams such as, orphanage, leprosy ashram and destitutes ashram etc., But the major lacunae of the movement was that it could not attract the masses to its faith. It remained confined to the urban elites of Orissa society. The high ideals of the Brahmoism could not be grasped by the common man. With growing political consciousness, after the birth of Indian National Congress, political activities took precedence over the socio-religious movements and young men joined the larger struggle against British Raj.

However, Brahma movement in its endeavour, laboured to reform the religious practices of Hinduism. It also opposed and mobilised public on several social evils like Sati, child marriage, etc., Through their educational propagation it imparted education to the people. It posed a serious challenge to the spreading of the Christianity by providing reforms in the Hindu religious practices.

Another important religious cult called Mahima Dharma emerged in Orissa which was practised by the lower castes and tribes in the last quarter of the 19th century. Mahima **Dharma** was an autochthonous Hindu reform movement as a response to the supremacy of the Brahmanical and traditional order dominant in the Orissa society and religion. It is an indigenous movement arising out of the prevailing socio-cultural conditions of the 19th century Orissa. It believed in the worship of Brahma and discarded idol worship,

meaningless rituals and irrational social practices like casteism, child-marriage and polygamy. In the true sense, Mahima Dhanna synthesized the Vedic traditions with a reformative trend. Its aim was to purify Hinduism by denouncing the blind beliefs and irrational practices. Therefore, it can be considered as a reformist movement within the Hindu fold.

The another aspect of this indigenous movement was its social base which attracted the lower castes of the society. These castes and classes being sidelined from the main Hindu religion by the Brahmins and other upper castes found solace in this religion and readily joined it after its formation. So this movement can be called as a movement from below.

But this movement was not free from shortcomings. It failed to bring about any innovation in the socio-religious life of Orissa on a large scale. The slow rate of conversion made its numbers marginal at a given point of time. And in its endeavour to wipe out the age old traditions and practices of casteism, idolatory, polytheism, it could not succeed.

However, Mahima Dharma had some contributing factors, like it contributed in the raising of status of women in family and society through the practice of monogamy and advocating the marriageable age for both boys and girls, thereby reducing child marriages and number of widows. Being indigenous, in its origin, this religio-reform movement could check the spreading of Brahmoism and Christianity, especially among the lower classes.

The next vital change in the society brought out by educational development was the emancipation of women. As else where in India, so also in Orissa, the women members were subjected to the rigors of superstitions and tradition bound societal practices.

The entire spectrum of events represented a new social awakening among the educated elites of Orissa. The thickly populated coastal strip comprising of four districts was the

matrix where the western education worked as a catalytic agent to cause new social fermentation that ruffled traditional social system.

With the spread of education among the people and women themselves, the evil practices of the society against women underwent a transformation. The practice of sati, female infanticide, widow-remarriage though, put up by the government rules and laws, had the support and sanctions of educated and progressive minds of the society. The spread of education among women gave scope for their awakening and helped them to come up from their subordinate position, however little it may be.

The statistics of the education for women, both secondary and college education, during the thirties of 20th century reveals a steady, progressive increase of higher learning. This signalled a progressive change in the male attitude towards educating and giving women, social and cultural parity. The spread of western education fostered liberal humanism among the ranks of the educated people. Transport, communication, urbanization effected great change in the attitude of the literate. The women members of Orissa were joining more and more in the freedom struggle which has been discussed in detail in the fourth chapter. The freedom movement was not only having certain political objectives in its agenda. It was rather broad based, all encompassing movement that was tied to objectives of social reform that might in long run lead to a restructuring of Indian society. During the struggle for freedom, women leaders were organised to fight against social evils like untouchability and rigidity of caste system. Harijan activists and political workers from low castes began to increase along with the members of upper castes. This was due to the "Harijan Seva" works done by the leaders, particularly women leaders like Rama Devi, Sarala Devi, and a host of others.

The feminist and anti-caste movement in Orissa owed their genesis to the great days of nationalist movement in 30s and 40s of the present century. The **untouchables** and women had already come into the arena of politics surpassing all the hardships in the society.

However, inspite of the impact of the scientific and humanist ideology through the spread of western education and reform agencies, Orissa society still remained imbued with deep religiosity which stood as a barrier for further progress. The women leaders who were in the forefront of the political movements, social reforms and upliftment were a microscopic minority, coming from urban, elite families of Orissa. In spite of their tireless endeavours they could not fully emancipate the women of rural Orissa. The spread of education and consciousness, were rather slow among them. Even if they were eligible and conscious they were hardly allowed by the social system of male domination to come forward. The post-independence period witnessed a rapid development in this front when education became a national policy and priority.

The 19th century spread of education and subsequent development of modern Oriya literature ushered in an era of nationalistic spirit thus paving the way for social change and nationalist struggle. The literary creations of the period included the sufferings of the multitude as well as floods and famines that devastated Orissa and their reflections in the literary production.

With the spread of education, another development which took place was the growth of Oriya literature. The spread of new education, the impact of liberal humanism enshrined in the curriculum and social reform movements along with a national spirit inspired the newly educated Oriya authors to adopt the western forms in their literary production. During the period of national struggle for freedom, the most important phase in Oriya literature was known as "Satyavadi Age". It was well known for the patriotic commitment of the writers like Gopabandhu Das, Nilkantha Das. The women writers from Orissa were no less creative than their male counterparts and the herald of new age of feminism and psychologism in poetry. Kuntala kumari sabat wrote poetic strain which was lyrical and mystical.

The formation of various sabhas and samitis discussing various issues of society and political situation were the products of educational growth in the 19th and 20th centuries. These forums consisting of educated people involved in discussing and debating various issues, both social and political, brought consciousness among the people.

The spread of modern education was instrumental in bringing about these changes. The education and its effects enabled the people of Orissa to usher in changes in society, however less they may be, and also was able to fight against colonialism as elsewhere in India.

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