ORIYA MIGRANT LABOUR :
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE AGRARIAN CONDITIONS LEADING TO THE CREATION OF AN INDUSTRIAL LABOUR FORCE DURING THE LATE NINE-TEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

(a dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Philosophy)

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Declaration

Certified that the material presented in this dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree in this or any other University.

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Preface

The present study is part of an inquiry into the specific historical conditions which led to the formation of an industrial labour force in Eastern India during the early period of this century.

It is well known that Eastern India stood in many ways in sharp contrast to Western India. The unevenness in the growth of different regions was mainly a product of differential penetration of colonialism into different regions, and different policies pursued by the colonial government in the spheres of industry, trade and agriculture. The specific differences between these regions were marked in the following spheres: production relations in agriculture, character of trade relations in the countryside, pattern of capital investment and the nature of foreign trade relations. Insofar as the regional specificities in the formation of an industrial labour force is concerned, two distinct - albeit related - processes are important for analysis: (a) the process through which the labourers came to be created, more specifically, the manner in which the peasantry and artisans are dispossessed of their means of production; and (b) the process through which the above labourers are mobilised and structured under the discipline of industrial capital. It is necessary, therefore, to study the various regions in their specificities as regards these processes before making all-India generalizations on the character of industrial labour.

Given this framework, the present study, however, is limited in scope. Here we have confined ourselves to the first process, namely the process of genesis of industrial labour - the source of their creation; we have not gone into the questions of recruitment, wage-variations etc. Again, we have analysed only the expropriation of peasantry, and not of artisans. The scope has been further narrowed down by limiting our attention to the agrarian structure of coastal Orissa during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The choice of the area is justified by the fact that this region supplied the maximum number of migrants to Bengal per thousand of its population during the first two decades of this century. We have tried to find explanations for the high exodus of labour from this region, and the semi-permanent character of the migration, in the specific factors operating in the economic structure of Orissa that created a stratum of dispossessed labourers. The limits of our generalizations due to the above delimitation of scope, we hope, will be remedied in our subsequent research work.

Throughout this paper references to geographical regions must be taken to mean the political geography as it existed under British India in 1921.

I am extremely grateful to my supervisor Mr M.N. Panini for his sincere guidance and kind inspiration without which this work would not have been possible. I am also grateful

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Growth of Jute Industry in Bengal

The end of nineteenth century and the beginning of twentieth century saw the gradual growth of an industrial working class based on modern factory system in different urban pockets of India, most importantly, in Bombay and around Calcutta.

Peculiarly, both the cotton industry of Bombay and the jute industry of Bengal started as export oriented industries. They not only supplied the bulk of the manufactured export products, but also accounted for more than half of the total imports of machinery.[1] The jute industry of Bengal, however, stood out as something quite unique in the development of modern industry in India[2] due to several reasons. Unlike the products of the cotton industry those of the jute industry consisted mainly of capital goods and intermediary goods. Whereas in the case of cotton textiles India was only one of the major producers, in the sphere of jute products it had a monopoly over the world market, superseding the Dundee jute industry. Hence, whereas the price of the products of cotton industry was only negligibly determined by the supply of raw cotton in India, the price of jute goods was mainly determined by the supply of raw

1. Bagchi, A., Private Investment in India, p. 6 ff.

2. Jute spinning was practised on an extended scale in India long before the British occupation. But it was a small scale industry and was confined to the peasantry and fishermen of Bengal (cf. Wallace, The Romance of Jute, p. 1). Modern jute textile industry is an affair only of the late nineteenth century.

jute in India. In the case of cotton a home market could be visualized, but in the case of jute such a future was bleak, the industry being solely export-oriented.[3] Thus the effective demand in the world market determined the degree of production of jute manufactured goods- hence the degree of expansion of the industry.

Unlike the cotton industry of Bombay which was controlled by Indian businessmen, the Bengal jute industry was exclusively controlled by Europeans. This was mainly due to the following reasons: (a) Jute being wholly an export-industry, it needed contact in the European market, which only the Europeans could manage at that stage; (b) the necessary close collaboration with the managements of railways, shipyards, etc. where Europeans filled all the important posts, could be sucessfully accomplished only by Europeans; (c) the Europeans were in a better position to mould the government decisions in their favour, e.g. in gaining control over the local and export markets. This was possible not only because the government was a British one, but also because of the fact that the Europeans had organized themselves into various trade associations, e.g. Calcutta Jute Dealers' Association, Calcutta Jute Fabric Brokers' Association, Calcutta Jute Fabric Shippers' Association, Calcutta Baled Jute Shippers Association, The Indian Jute Mills Association etc.[4] The better organization

3. For a detailed discussion on the difference between jute industry and the other industries, see Bagchi, A., ibid., Royal Commission on Labour, Report, p. 8 ff; Buchanan, Development of Capitalist Enterprise in India.

4. See Bagchi, A., op.cit., p. 262 ff. For a brief history of all these associations see Tyson, The Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry, pp. 59-71.

of the Europeans not only helped them solve the problem of labour supply by enabling one to utilise the information regarding labour recruitment from his fellow businessmen, but also enabled them to suppress any organized activity on the part of the working class without much difficulty. It must, however, be noted that such cooperation regarding recruitment of labour was a later phenomenon and did not exist in the beginning; in fact, there was some competition among the employers for labour in the early period of growth of jute industry.

Two events were responsible for the rapid growth of the jute industry: the extensive use of electric power around 1895[5] and the First World War.[6] The application of electricity as a productive force increased the scale of production to a great degree, and by bringing about a closer combination among the different units of production increased the rationalization of production to a very high level. Now it was possible to keep the machine system working for 24 hours by organizing the workers on a shift basis. As a result the number of people to be employed in the industry multiplied several-fold. The jute industry gained another boost due to the increasing demands of jute goods during the First World War. Thus there was an unbroken record of prosperity which continued even after the war. In 1929, however, this prosperity

5. Wallace, op.cit., pp. 46-47.

6. Bagchi, A., op.cit., p. 275 ff.

came to an end when there was a severe depression in the industry which was to continue till 1939.[7] This was part of the world-wide capitalist crisis of the 1930's and its effects were serious -- leading to a drastic cut in the production and mass unemployment. It is necessary to study the growth of jute labour force during its period of expansion as a distinct phase in the growth of working class in the eastern region.

1.2. Railways and pattern of migration

If it is the expansion of jute industry that provided the demand for labour, it is the expansion of railways that facilitated the geographical mobility of people and thus created the basic condition for the emergence of a labour market based on competition among different streams of migrants for employment. The nature of growth of railways thus determined to a great extent the pattern of labour mobility and hence the structure of the labour market.

An analysis of labour market before the expansion of railways in Eastern India shows that there was a definite shortage of labour at that time, the source of labour supply being limited to the narrow frontiers of Bengal. Thus Wallace[8] writes: "In those days [during 1875-82] it was considered by the mills a matter of life and death to prevent a rival company settling down in proximity to their labour supply." The scarcity of local labour supply becomes still

7. Bagchi, op.cit., p. 279 ff.

8. Wallace, op.cit., pp. 45-46.

more significant when it is remembered that at that time the jute industry was not very developed, the total number of mills being below 20 and the total number of looms around 5,000.[9]

Till the middle of the last decade of the nineteenth century the proportion of the local Bengali labourers in the jute industry was about 50 to 75 percent,[10] the rest being migrants. However, though migration had started with the beginning of the first railways joining the port of Calcutta to the hinterland, migration on a large scale started when the railway network was fairly extended and the jute industry started expanding. By the turn of the last century railways had already connected Calcutta with the countryside of the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and Madras. And large scale migration from these areas united the whole eastern region into a huge labour market whose focus coincided with the four industrial districts of Bengal: Howrah, Hooghly, 24-Parganas and Calcutta.

The expansion of the labour market went hand in hand with a decrease in the proportion of local Bengali labour. For example, the proportion of local Bengali labour in certain thickly populated jute mills of Bengal declined from 28 to 10%

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9. Wallace, op.cit., pp. 45-46, Appendix.

10. Numerous historical evidences suggest this. See Foley, Report on Labour in Bengal, para 29, Government of Bengal Resolution of 16th December 1895, quoted in Indian Jute Manufacturers' (After 1901 "Mills") Association Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1895; Indian Factory Labour Commission, Vol. II, 1909, Evidence, witness No. 170, Witness No. 182 (oral evidence).

during 1902 and 1916.[11] Towards 1921, the proportion of Bengali labourers in the total industrial population of Bengal came to be only 31.8% and that in the jute labour force only 20.4%,[12] the rest being migrants from distant regions of United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and Madras. For a still later period (1930) we read from the Report of Royal Commission on Labour: "of the jute mills it may be said that if a circle of 250 miles radius be drawn round Calcutta, the great majority of the workers came from outside that circle; and in the other factories too a large proportion of the labour is drawn from the outer tracts."[13] Thus we see that unlike Ahmedabad and Cawnpore, and like Bombay (though to a lesser extent) modern industry in Bengal was based on large scale migration of labour from distant regions.[14]

On the other hand, the manner of opening of various labour tracts and the pattern of mobility of different streams of migrants were determined by the pattern of expansion of railways in Eastern India and its specific geometry. Railways were built and expanded in India within a short span of time with massive expenditure of public wealth when complaints from many quarters were heard for allocation of funds to other

11. Indian Industrial Commission, Minutes of Evidence, 1916-18, Vol. VI, Confidential Evidence, p. 111.

12. Calculated from Census of India, 1921, Bengal, Tables.

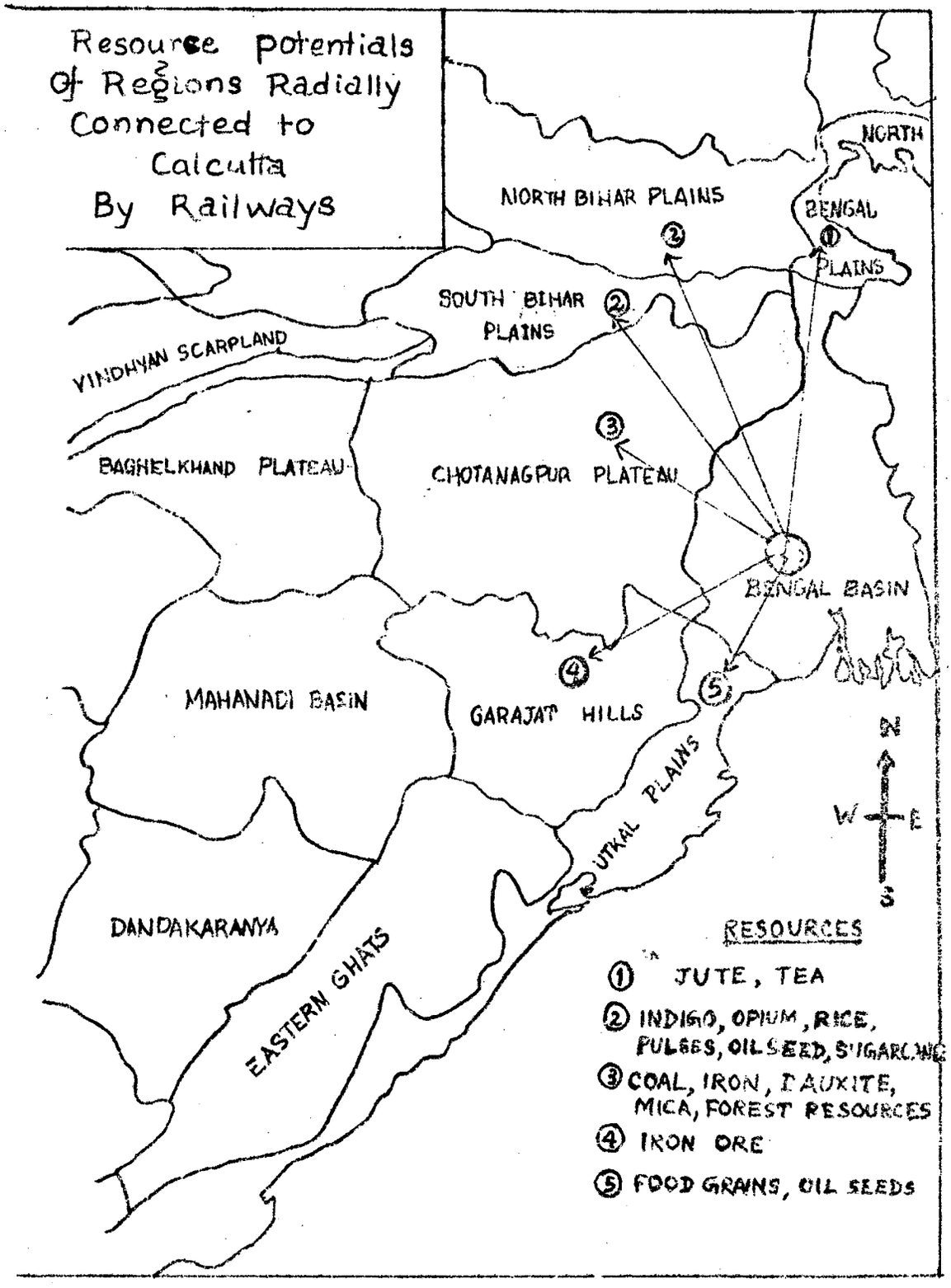
13. Royal Commission on Labour, Report, p. 11.

14. Ibid., p. 10.

activities.[15] This one-sided colonial policy, besides helping the British industry that produced rails and wagons etc. to realize the value of its product, served the interests of colonialism in two major ways: (a) facilitating the export of raw materials (both agricultural and mineral) from the interior of India to Britain and (b) facilitating the dumping of British manufactured goods in the interior where native industries could be competed out. These considerations shaped the nature of railway expansion and its specific geometry. Thus various regions with raw material resources were connected with the port of Calcutta in a radial manner, without any lateral connections, Calcutta serving as the nodal point -- a connecting link between the interior and Britain. The following figure shows an approximate picture of the pattern of railway network in Eastern India, the port of Calcutta being integrated directly to different regions with different resource potentials.

The main routes through which migrat streams moved were — Bihar and United Provinces migrants through routes from Bihar to Calcutta, tribal population from Chota Nagpur Plateau to Calcutta, and those from Orissa and Madras through the coastal line. Thus there was a general population mobility in eastward direction during the first decades of twentieth century.[16]

15. See Cotton, A.T., Public Works in India; Gadgil, The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times, Chap. IX, Sec. I.
16. See Census of India, Bengal, Report, 1911, 1921, chapters on birth-place.


Resource potentials of Regions Radially Connected to Calcutta By Railways
NORTH BENGAL PLAINS
NORTH BIHAR PLAINS
SOUTH BIHAR PLAINS
VINDHYAN SCARPLAND
BAGHELKHAND PLATEAU
CHOTANAGPUR PLATEAU
BENGAL BASIN
MAHANADI BASIN
GARAJAT HILLS
UTKAL PLAINS
DANDAKARANYA
EASTERN GHATS
N
W
E
S
RESOURCES
① JUTE, TEA
② INDIGO, OPIUM, RICE, PULSES, OIL SEED, SUGARCANE
③ COAL, IRON, BAUXITE, MICA, FOREST RESOURCES
④ IRON ORE
⑤ FOOD GRAINS, OIL SEEDS

But the manner in which different routes were opened determined the pattern of labour mobility over the period. From table 1 it will be seen that by 1890 five districts of North

Table 1.

Districts (in Eastern India) first connected by railways in each decade: 1851-1910

Regions	No. of districts first connected by railways						
	1851-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	'91-1900	1901-10	Total
Bengal Basin	4	4	-	-	1	-	9
S.Bihar Plain	1	3	1	-	-	-	5
N.Bihar Plain	-	-	2	3	-	1	6
N.Bengal Plains	-	-	-	1	2	1	4
Chota Nagpur Plateau	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
Orissa Coast	-	-	-	-	4	-	4
Assam Valley	-	-	-	1	3	2	6
Garhjat Hills	-	-	-	2	1	-	3
En. Himalayas	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Purvachal	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
En.Ghats (North)	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total:	6	8	4	9	12	8	47
Cumul.	6	14	18	27	39	47	

Note: Some of the districts were spread into more than one region. In such cases the districts were included in the regions within which lay their major segments.

SOURCE: Prepared by Sunil Munsi, Railway Network Growth in Eastern India 1854-1910, p. 18.

Bihar Plains and five districts of South Bihar Plains were already connected through rail links with Calcutta. Orissa came to be connected only towards the end of the last decade of nineteenth century; the railways actually started functioning only in 1900. Hence the migrants from United Provinces and Bihar were to be found in the industrial region of Bengal much earlier than those from Orissa.

1.3. Oriya Labour in the Industrial Region of Bengal

Table 2 shows that the population of the industrial region

Table 2.

Immigration from Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces into the Metropolitan Districts: 1891 - 1921

	1891	1901	1911	1921
1. Total immigrants	3,34,405	5,16,941	6,95,855	7,11,439
a) from Bihar and Orissa	2,39,059	3,28,398	4,60,368	4,95,474
b) from the United Provinces	95,346	1,88,543	2,35,487	2,15,965
2. Decennial flow of immigrants	-	1,82,536	1,78,914	15,584
a) from Bihar and Orissa	-	89,339	1,31,970	35,106
b) from the United Provinces	-	93,197	46,944	19,522
3. Percentage variation in row 2		54.58	34.61	2.23
a) " " " 2(a)		37.37	40.18	7.62
b) " " " 2(b)		97.34	24.89	8.29
4. Metropolitan District population	44,16,756	48,64,905	54,13,736	56,68,583
5. Decennial variation in population of metropolitan districts.		4,48,149	5,48,831	2,54,847
6. Percentage variation in row 4.		10.14	11.28	4.70
7. Share of 2 in 4 (%)		40.73	32.60	6.12

SOURCES: Census of India Vol. V Bengal Reports for the relevant years.
Prepared by Das Gupta, Ranajit, Jute Industry: Sources of Labour supply, (mimeo), p. 7.

of Bengal varied from 4.4 million in 1891 to 4.9 million in 1901, 5.4 million in 1911 and 5.7 million in 1921, i.e., increased at the decennial rate of about 10%, 11% and 5% respectively. The decennial rate of increase in the number of migrants from Bihar and Orissa and United Provinces taken together, amounted to about 55%, 35% and 2% in the respective decades. Thus during 1891-1901, 41% of the increase in the population of the industrial belt was due to the increase in the number of migrants from these provinces alone; in the subsequent decades the figures were 33% and 6% respectively. But whereas migration from the United Provinces reached its peak in 1911 and then declined in 1921, that from Bihar and Orissa went on increasing. Again among the streams from Bihar and Orissa to the industrial belt, the proportion of migrants from Orissa, especially from Cuttack district, went on rising at a very fast rate. Table 3 shows that of all the districts

Table 3

Major sources of Migration from Bihar, Orissa and the United Provinces to the Metropolitan Area by Districts: 1901 and 1921

	1901	1921		1901	1921
	1	2		3	4
	Number	~~Percent~~			
Saran	48,833	52,138	Cuttack	40,025	94,758
Gaya	48,248	62,483	Balasore	15,454	35,914
Patna	46,602	43,497	Puri	936	N.A.
Shahabad	35,768	47,471	Orissa (Total)	56,405	N.A.
Muzaffarpur	21,423	35,033	Ghazipur	28,874	31,061
Monghyr	17,297	38,713	Azamgarh	24,874	23,924

...Table contd....

	1	2		3	4
Ranchi	11,491	N.A.	Ballia	24,333	25,489
Hazaribag	10,220	N.A.	Benares	20,296	24,554
Darbhanga	5,064	17,709	Jaunpur	17,438	20,511
Manbhum	2,673	N.A.	Allahabad	9,678	N.A.
Bhagalpur	2,121	N.A.	Mirzapur	9,484	N.A.
Santal Pargana	500	N.A.	Rest of UP	53,631	N.A.
Bihar (Total)	253,240		United Provinces (Total)	1,88,511	

Note : N.A. indicates not available.

Sources: For 1901 Census of India Vol. V Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Migration Statements.
For 1921 Census of India Vol. V Bengal part I para 107.

Prepared by Das Gupta, Ranajit, loc.cit.

that sent large number of migrants, Cuttack sent the highest number in 1921. During 1901 and 1921 migration from the coastal districts of Cuttack and Balasore rose by 135% (in the case of Cuttack alone by 137%); the corresponding figures for Monghyr and Muzaffarpur districts of Bihar are 124 and 64 respectively (in the case of Darbhanga it was about 254%, as the migration from this district in 1901 was very low).

It is quite significant to analyse the proportion of migrants over the population of their birth-place. Emigration from the province of Bihar and Orissa to other parts of India was about 5% of total population of the province in 1921.[17] Of this migration to non-contiguous districts of other provinces amounted to 4.5% of the total population of the province.

17. Calculated from Census of India, 1921, Bihar and Orissa, Report, p. 116.

Calculated over the total number of 'actual workers' of the province, it is seen that there were 10 migrants going out of the province for every 100 actual workers of the actual population, out of which 9 were away in the non-contiguous districts of other provinces (mainly in the industrial region of Bengal). In the case of almost all the districts of North and South Bihar, proportion of emigration figures to the actual population of the birth place reached their peaks in 1911, and declined in 1921. The only exception was Bhagalpur, where there was a slight increase. (See Table 4). In 1911, this proportion for

Table 4.

Emigration per thousand ~~(1000)~~ of actual population of birth place

	1901	1911	1921
1. Orissa			
a. Cuttack	58	82	124
b. Balasore	28	35	85
c. Puri	51	72	59
2. South Bihar			
a. Patna	89	108	84
b. Gaya	87	97	88
c. Shahabad	84	96	82
d. Monghyr	92	114	110
3. North Bihar			
a. Saran	102	129	90
b. Champaran	20	25	24
c. Muzaffarpur	57	69	59
d. Darbhanga	38	61	44
e. Bhagalpur	62	79	84
f. Purnea	21	20	14

Source: Computed from Census of India 1911, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Report, p. 162.
Census of India 1921, Bihar and Orissa, Report, p. 104,107.

districts of South Bihar varied from 96 in the case of Shahabad to 114 in the case of Monghyr. In the case of North Bihar, Saran sent 129 persons per 1,000 of its actual population, Bhagalpur only 84. During 1911-21 all these figures declined heavily, except in the case of Monghyr where the decline was by a bare 4. But in sharp contrast to all these, emigration from the Cuttack district of Orissa calculated over every 1,000 of the actual population of the birth place rose from 82 to 124 during the above period, the highest of all the figures for all the districts of Bihar and Orissa that sent labour to the industrial region of Bengal.[18] The other two districts of Orissa, Puri and Balasore, however, give slightly different pictures. Emigrants per thousand of actual population rose from 35 to 85 in the case of Balasore, but declined from 72 to 59 in the case of Puri. Thus we see that during the second decade of twentieth century the pattern of migration from different supplying tracts was undergoing a change, those from Orissa increasing year by year. We also see that even within Orissa two distinct patterns are there: Cuttack and Balasore representing one and Puri the other.

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18. Many districts of Chota Nagpur Plateau show still higher figures. But those people migrated mainly to the tea plantations.

From Table 5 we get figures for the number of skilled and unskilled workers in the industries of Bengal and in the jute

Table 5.

Emigration from Bihar and Orissa per 1,000 of actual population of birth-place, 1921

Birth-place	To the industrial-region of Bengal as a whole			To the jute industry of Bengal		
	Skilled	Unskilled	Total	Skilled	Unskilled	Total
Orissa	3.13	12.97	16.10	2.19	5.82	8.01
S.Bihar	2.84	7.48	10.32	2.25	3.46	5.71
N.Bihar	1.93	2.57	4.50	1.79	1.14	2.93

Source: Computed from Census reports of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for the year 1921.

industry in particular, for every 1,000 actual population of the birth-place, in 1921. The figures for North Bihar are very low. The districts of Orissa taken together sent 16 persons to industrial regions of Bengal (3 skilled plus 13 unskilled) for every 1,000 of actual population of Orissa. Corresponding figures for South Bihar are : 10 persons to all the industries taken together (3 skilled plus 7 unskilled). To jute industry alone Orissa sent 8 persons (2 skilled plus 6 unskilled) per every thousand of its population; the corresponding figures for South Bihar are: 6 persons in total including about 2 skilled and 4 unskilled. As the Government of Bengal evidenced before the Royal Commission of Labour, "The only type of labour emigrant that goes on increasing is the Oriya, as they flock to Calcutta to take up many unskilled and

casual jobs which an expanding city always offers."[19] Thus not only the Oriyas migrated in high numbers to occupy the unskilled jobs in the jute industry, quite a good number also migrated as casual/ labourers and day labourers. Such a massive exodus of labour from coastal Orissa, especially from Cuttack district, however, cannot be understood only in terms of the manner in which the rail link was established. For it is the existence of surplus labour in the countryside -- and their existence in a particular form with a potential to migrate -- that is the key point here. And this point can be understood only by means of an analysis of the process through which the surplus labour originated in a particular form. This point will discussed in detail in a later section. Detailed statistics for composition of the labour force in various industries of Bengal in terms of their place of birth is provided in ~~the~~ appendix 1. One thing, however, must be constantly remembered: the different sources of labour had different populations; hence the number of migrants from a particular place will not make sense unless seen in relation with the actual population of the birth place.

1.4. Occupational background of migrants

In the absence of direct evidence regarding the composition of the industrial labour force according to their previous occupation, it is necessary to analyse the data on caste etc. to indirectly find out the occupational background of the

19. Royal Commission of Labour, Bengal, Evidence (written), p. 10.

industrial work force in the factories of Bengal. The attempt to decipher the previous occupation of the workers in this manner, however, presents very many problems. First, data on caste are far from complete. Only 1921-census provides statistics for caste composition of the workers. Moreover, such data do not say anything about the caste composition of workers from a particular birth place; they only provide figures for the whole of a particular industry or its branches. Secondly, as the traditional caste groups in many cases had given up their old occupations long time back,[20] many problems are created. Thirdly, the most difficult problem is to ascertain that such and such castes have a peasant background and such others have not. For in many cases they followed agriculture along with their traditional occupations.[21] Fourthly, certain castes had entered themselves into a higher caste category in the census enumerations to raise their status, thus making it difficult to follow any strict occupational classification of the caste.[22] This however, occured in a few cases. Lastly, any indirect method of ascertaining the caste composition of migrant workers from a particular birth place becomes very risky when we see that leaving aside certain castes which were specific to certain regions, most of the castes existed in almost all the regions of Eastern India. This becomes still more difficult

20. To get a picture of the proportion of people who had given up their traditional caste occupations, see Census of India, 1911, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Report, Chapters on Occupation, and caste, especially pp. 571-80.
21. Census of India, 1911, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Report, p. 563.
22. See Census of India, 1911, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Report, p. 440 ff.

due to the fact that in the census tables the specific regional declensions of common caste names are obliterated.[23]

With all these limitiations, certain general observations will be attempted below. Of the 25 jute workers who were examined by the Indian Factory Commission, 1890,[24] Tantis numbered 5, Muslim 6, Bagdi 4, Koiborto 2, Bairagi 2, Kayastha 1, Muchi 1, Teli 1, Sankari 1, Jaiswara 1, and Kandick 1. Although this cannot be taken as the representative of the caste compositions of the jute industry, the predominance of the artisans (Tantis, Muslim weavers, Telis etc.) can be easily seen. However, it is very doubtful how far this composition was the representative of the caste-composition of the whole industry. because of the observation of census report.

Detailed data on the caste composition of skilled and unskilled jute workers of Bengal for 1921 are provided in tables 6 and 7.[25] The most striking feature that comes out at the first instance is the preponderance of Mohammedan weavers (Sheikh) in the jute labour force. They constituted about 27% of the total jute labour force of Bengal; about 38% of the skilled labour force and about 21% of the unskilled labour force of the jute industry: Evidence suggests that these

23. Compare, for example, the list of castes provided by Hunter, Statistical Account of Bengal (Cuttack and Balasore), with Census of India, 1911, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Report, Chapter on castes.

24. Misra, B., "Factory Labour during the Early years of Industrialization: An Appraisal in the light of the Indian Factory Commission, 1890," The Indian Economic and Social History Review, July-Sept. 1975, Vol. XII, No. 3, p. 207.

25. For a detailed information about the castes see the elaborate list provided in Census of India, 1911, Bengal, Report, Chapter on castes. In appendix 2 we have given a brief classification of some of the castes according to their traditional occupations.

Table 6.

Caste (or race) composition of skilled workers in the jute industry of Bengal, 1921 -

Castes	Machinery operation and maintenance	Preparing	Spinning	Winding	Beaming and dressing	Weaving	Finishing	Miscellaneous
Sheikh	2,657	958	8,929	4,739	379	25,890	2,402	163
Jaliakaibartta	1,090	252	764	360	136	784	-	28
Chasikaibartta	1,006	-	605	-	230	1,843	-	37
Hindu (unspecified)	763	141	1,344	719	313	590	-	-
Goala	472	184	641	482	170	575	-	31
Sadgop	453	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brahman	437	-	-	274	290	476	211	23
Jagi	405	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bairagi	351	-	-	-	124	-	-	-
Kayastha	342	-	-	-	354	-	-	-
Kamar	337	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chamar & Muchi	-	663	2,133	1,296	-	889	1,484	54
Bagdi	-	325	2,006	-	-	-	-	39
Tanti	-	199	1,166	439	314	1,725	379	26
Teli	-	201	1,371	465	147	621	360	27
Madrasi	-	189	507	-	-	-	-	-
Dosadh	-	159	499	284	-	-	-	23
Kahar	-	146	-	334	-	-	247	30
Khandait	-	135	-	-	769	-	-	35
Mallah	-	-	433	270	-	-	373	-
Jolaha	-	-	719	426	-	3,790	337	-
Pod	-	-	-	-	-	382	-	-
Bhar	-	-	-	-	-	-	959	22
Bind	-	-	-	-	-	-	404	-
Pasi	-	-	-	-	-	-	246	-
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	-	310	-
Kaora	-	-	-	-	241	373	-	28
Rajput								

Source: Census of India, 1921, Bengal, Tables, p. 424.

Table 7.

Caste (or race) composition of unskilled workers in the jute industry of Bengal, 1921

Hooghly		Howrah		24-Parganas		Calcutta	
Chamar	4,272	Sheikh	7,044	Sheikh	17,859	Sheikh	1,320
Sheikh	3,978	Chamar	7,021	Chamar	9,081	Hindu (unspecified)	1,007
Tanti	1,464	Khandait	1,645	Tanti	4,488	Chamar	366
Teli	1,134	Brahman	1,200	Madrasi	3,988	Teli	81
Madrasi	954	Bagdi	1,110	Teli	3,909	Brahman	66
Bagdi	949	Jolaha	1,080	Goala	2,685	Rajput	50
Dosadh	929	Teli	1,019	Khandait	2,624	Goala	48
Brahman	814	Dosadh	967	Dosadh	2,596	Khandait	43
Rajput	778	Goala	956	Brahman	2,533	Kahar	42
Goala	765	Rajput	935	Bagdi	2,369	Dosadh	40
Khandait	719	Kahar	875	Jalia Kaibarta	2,083	Kurmi	31
Jolaha	643	Tanti	860	Kahar	2,020	Kayastha	28
Kahar	617	Madrasi	845	Chasi Kaibarta	1,543	Mayra	28
Kayastha	517	Kayastha	559	Kayastha	1,490	Chasa	25
Chasi-Kaibarta	360	Bhor	541	Bhar	1,386	Nuniya	24
Kurmi	340	Pasi	531	Rajput	1,124		
Halwai	338	Kurmi	530	Pasi	1,114		
Mallah	317	Bairagi	427	Kurmi	1,037		
Bhar	302	Baniya	385	Koiri	992		
Kumar	240	Kaora	365	Dhoba	839		
Bhuiya	229	Namasudra	345	Napit	819		
Kairi	225	Napit	335	Pod	789		
		Mallah	303	Mallah	759		
				Oriya	732		
				Jolaha	675		
				Bairagi	673		
				Muchi	663		

Source: Census of India, Bengal, Tables, p. 432.

weavers were from the 'up-country' -- northern Bihar and United Provinces.[26] With the ruin of the handicrafts due to competition with British manufacture industry, the native weavers were thrown out of employment and forced to remain in the agricultural sector as a surplus labour force. It is natural that they would find the demand for industrial labour due to the growth of jute industry most attractive. Their traditional skill enabled them to get employment more easily in the skilled jobs of the industry, than other castes. Mohammedan weavers also took up many skilled jobs in other industries and other unskilled jobs. However their proportion in the skilled labour market was much higher than in the unskilled one. Among the non-Mohammedan artisan castes that formed a sizable proportion in the jute industry, Tanti (weavers), Teli (oil-pressers), Chamar and Muchi (leather-workers), Jalia-kaibartta (fishermen, boatmen) are important. Among the village menials Napit and Dosadh castes together formed about 2% of the skilled jute labour force and about 1.7% of the unskilled jute labour force.

Leaving aside the artisans, the other most important category of labourers came from agricultural castes. It must be noted here that the division of the castes according to their traditional occupations has got obvious limitations. More specifically, in the case of agricultural sector, almost all the castes except certain "untouchable" castes owned land and engaged in cultivation of land, at least as partial occupations. It must also be noted that it is not easy to find out whether a parti-

26. See Census of India, 1921, Bengal, Report, Chapter on Birth-place.

cular caste belonged to the category owner-cultivator or landless labourer, especially in a situation when the process of depeasantization was very rapidly going on in the supplying tracts. The proportion of castes which traditionally were landless labourers is very small in the jute industry. Khandait, Chasikaibartta, Sadgop, Pod, Goala, Bagdi, Kayastha, Rajput were among the specifically agricultural castes among the jute labour force. Besides, some Brahmans were also present.

As has already been noted, because of observe data it is very difficult to sort out the birth place of specific caste groups, mainly because many of the castes were ubiquitous in the whole of the eastern region, and secondly because the census classification obliterated the specific declensions of the common class-name of a caste. However, in the case of certain castes the regional specificity is discernible. For example, khandaits who formed about 2% of the total jute labour force belonged to Orissa only, traditionally known as a caste of owner-cultivators. Similar cases are very few in number. We conclude by observing that specifically in the case of migrants from Orissa, the traditionally landless-labourer castes like Pana were conspicously absent and that they mainly consisted of people from the cultivating classes. And this feature poses the question as to why this happened and as to what was the specific process by which the surplus labour force came to be created and under that circumstances they had to migrate. We will come to this question a little later.

1.5. Semi-permanent Character of Migration

The census reports distinguished five kinds of migration: Permanent, semi-permanent, periodic, temporary and casual.[27] The type of migration that was predominant in almost all the zones of India was semi-permanent. And since the bulk of the semi-permanent migrants were workers employed in different industrial belts, it is necessary to mark the specific features of this type of migration in different regions. For example, this feature is more prominent in the case of migration to the industrial regions of Bengal where the migrants were from distant areas, and to a lesser extent in the case of migration to Bombay, than in the case of local migrations to industries located in Cawnpore and Ahmedabad etc. Again among all the streams of migrants to Bengal industrial regions, certain streams had a relatively high degree of contact with village than others, e.g., those from Orissa.

The semi-permanent migrants would keep contact with their village where they usually leave their wives and children, would send money home in regular intervals, visit home regularly and would retire there at old age. Two major indices of semi-permanent character of migration, of contact with village, are (a) the low proportion of females in the migrant stream, and (b) the amount of money sent by the workers to their home.

Tables 8 and 9 show the proportion of females in the migrants to Calcutta. Bihar and Orissa supply almost one-fifth of

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27. See Appendix 3 for a definition of these categories.

Table 8.

Proportion of Immigrants in the population of Calcutta and suburbs and proportion of females among them

Birthplace.	Numbers per 10,000 of the population.	Females per 1,000 male immigrants.
Burdwan Division beyond Howrah district.	854	542
Presidency Division outside Calcutta and 24-Parganas	284	540
Rajshahi Division and Cooch Behar	61	426
Dacca Division	395	322
Chittagong Division	75	95
Bihar and Orissa	1,991	183
United Provinces	958	327
Rajputana	230	467
Punjab	79	346
Bombay	66	392
Central Provinces	61	635
Madras	46	813
Assam	30	280
China	24	184
Europe	64	322

Source: Royal Commission on Labour, Bengal, Evidence (Written), p. 8.

Table 9.

Distribution of Immigrants to Calcutta and its suburbs by sex and age

Birth place.	Females per 1000 male immigrants.	Number per mill of each sex aged						Dependants per 1000 workers
		0 - 15		15-40		40 & over		
		Male	Female.	Male	Female.	Male.	Female.	
Midnapore	568	108	109	668	544	224	347	293
Hooghly	497	142	171	569	484	289	345	546
Dacca	292	125	249	639	525	236	226	496
Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Monghyr, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur and Saran in Bihar.	218	99	187	621	546	280	267	247
Cuttack and Balasore in Orissa	62	75	155	699	586	226	259	79
Azamgarh, Benares, Gazipur and Jaipur in the United Provinces.	371	118	179	590	550	292	271	369
Bikanir and Jaipur in Rajputana.	471	183	224	600	539	217	237	353
Normal distribution by sex and age in Bengal.	932	400	400	412	426	188	175	-

Source: Royal Commission on Labour, Bengal, Evidence (Written), p. 9.

the population of Calcutta; but the proportion of females among them is only 11%; whereas in the case of United Provinces it supplies every tenth of Calcutta's population, but the proportion of females is about 34%. From the more detailed table 9

(we find that the percentage of females among migrants from Bihar and United Provinces are 22 and 37 respectively; in the case of Orissa it is only 6%. The same table also shows that only 79 dependants accompany every thousand workers from the districts of Orissa. This can be taken to mean that the Oriyas had a very high degree of contact with their villages.)

One of the general explanations offered for the low proportion of females is that there being a large scale prostitution in slum areas, this acted as a moral pressure on people dissuading them to bring their family to such places.[28] But the high rate of prostitution could be a result rather than a cause of low female proportion. Another more convincing argument is that as the general hygienic condition was very bad and as there was not proper housing facilities, this acted as a factor in discouraging people from bringing their women. Although the latter partially explains the low female proportion in general, it cannot account for the extremely divergent sex ratios among different streams of migrants.

The fact that the migrants sent considerable proportions of their income to their homes is partly evidenced by tables 10 and 11. However, the figures do not say much about the

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28. In 1911, nearly 6% of the females aged 10 and above in Calcutta, returned themselves in the census as subsisting by prostitutes; see Census of India, 1911, Bengal, Report, p. 548. Of the females who came from Midnapore to the industrial region, about one-sixth admitted to being prostitutes; see Census of India, 1921, Bengal, Report, Chapter on Birth-place.

Table 10.

Remittances by money-order by emigrants (to the districts of Bihar and Orissa): 1915-1920.

District	Number of money-orders ('000's omitted).	(%)	Total sum remitted (in millions of rupees).	(%)
North Bihar	6616	31.75	106.8	33.64
Saran	2188	10.50	38.6	12.16
Champaran	524	2.52	7.8	2.46
Muzaffarpur	1888	9.06	27.2	8.57
Darbhanga	1237	5.94	17.9	5.64
Bhagalpur	588	2.82	10.8	3.40
Purnea	191	0.92	4.5	1.42
South Bihar	6888	33.07	106.8	33.64
Patna	1876	9.01	30.1	9.48
Gaya	1964	9.43	26.9	8.47
Shahabad	1511	7.25	29.0	9.13
Monghyr	1537	7.38	20.8	6.55
Orissa	5043	24.21	57.1	17.98
Cuttack (including Angul)	3101	14.89	33.9	10.68
Balasore	1081	5.19	11.2	3.53
Puri	861	4.13	12.0	3.78
Chota Nagpur Plateau	2282	10.96	46.8	14.74
Hazaribagh	556	2.67	9.7	3.06
Ranchi	365	1.75	6.8	2.14
Palamau	115	0.55	2.7	0.84
Manbhum	417	2.00	11.2	3.53
Singhbhum	147	0.71	4.3	1.35
Santal Parganas	427	2.05	7.5	2.36
Sambalpur	255	1.22	4.6	1.45
Total	20,829	100.00	317.5	100.00

Source: Census of India, 1921, Vol. VII, Bihar and Orissa, Part I, Report, p. 108; 109 (for the 2nd table).

Table 11.

Statement showing the total number and amount of Money Orders issued by the Titaghur ~~Post~~ Post Office during the years 1910-28.

Year	Number	Amount Rs.	Year	Number	Amount Rs.
1910	29,828	4,33,039	1920	46,360	8,51,948
1911	27,080	3,83,760	1921	35,284	6,41,806
1912	30,642	4,40,424	1922	35,060	6,89,122
1913	34,304	5,22,484	1923	39,647	8,09,051
1914	31,742	4,84,146	1924	38,928	7,97,758
1915	39,351	5,90,699	1925	37,523	7,69,269
1916	38,562	6,14,047	1926	37,652	7,39,845
1917	35,247	5,54,226	1927	41,958	7,83,307
1918	40,783	6,88,838	1928	39,541	7,58,975
1919	40,117	5,58,167			

Source : Royal Commission on Labour, Bengal, Evidence (Written), p. 302.

number of migrants who sent money to each of these districts. Secondly, since only money order figures are represented in the tables, many transfers of money through visiting friends, through personal visits etc. are missed out; and we do not get a complete picture. Nevertheless the fact that the absolute amount of money sent through money orders was quite high compared to the number of migrants and the low wages they used to get, is clear enough. This even under conditions when the workers are highly indebted to local money lenders in the

industrial area with interest rates varying from 72% to 150%.[29] It could thus be supposed that the money that was being sent home was sent under pressure rather than the necessity of helping the family, e.g., for the payment of debts to village money-lenders.

There is more evidence regarding the high degree of contact between the workers and their villages, e.g., data on labour turnover, evidences submitted to Royal Commission on labour etc.[30] Although the former are highly unreliable, the latter seem to be factually true. At the same time it must be remembered that the assertion that the productivity of Indian labour was low due to a high degree of turnover, seems to be unfounded.[31] Secondly, a contact with village does not mean that the workers were partially agriculturists. In fact, Royal Commission on Labour categorically rejected any such assertion.[32]

If the assertion that the workers kept contact with the village in order to take part in the agricultural operations is unfounded, so are the unfounded generalizations that Oriya workers -- for that matter all semi-permanent worker migrants --

29. J.M. Mitra, Registrar of the Cooperative Societies, Bengal evidenced before the Royal Commission on Labour that about 75 to 90% of the workers were in debt to local money-lenders (who could be the sardars also) - with an interest rate of 72 to 150%; Royal Commission on Labour, Bengal, Evidence (written), p. 49.

30. On the high rate of turn-over of workers, see Royal Commission on Labour, Bengal, Evidence (written).

31. See Das, R.K., Factory Labour in India, p. 42 ff.

32. Royal Commission on Labour, Report, pp. 11-14.

are home-loving and therefore kept high degree of contact with village -- a statement which the colonial census officers often resorted to as a substitute for scientific structural analysis, and post-independent census officers picked up from their colonial masters only in order to give expression to their narrow sentimentalist parochialism.[33] The explanation, therefore, must be sought in the conditions of life that obtain in the economic structure of the village, i.e., the specific conditions that compel the labourer to migrate yet force him to be tied down to it.

1.6. Genesis of Industrial Labour as the object of investigation.

We have already mentioned in the Preface that the process of development of a class of industrial labourers divides into two distinct, though related, processes: one, the genesis of a class of expropriated labourers by dispossession of peasantry and artisans; two, their mobilisation and structuring under the discipline of industrial capital.

The basic prerequisites of capitalist production is that the owner of capital and the owner of labour-power must meet in the market in which the labour-power is sold by the latter and purchased by the former. But in order that the labourer would sell his labour-power and not the products of labour, he must be devoid of all conditions under which he could perform his labour under his own control. Thus, he must be a

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33. Compare for example Census of India, 1921, Bihar and Orissa, Report, Chapter on birth-place with Census of India, 1951, Orissa, Report, Chapter on birth-place.

'free' labourer. But this labourer does not fall from the blue, he is the product of a particular historical process, which must precede the sale and purchase of labour-power. This process of expropriation of peasants and artisans is the universal pre-requisite of capitalist mode of production. However, the presence of a mass of expropriated labourers, though a necessary condition, is not a sufficient condition for the development of capitalist production. On the other hand the general process of expropriation takes various specific forms under various specific historical conditions. Thus the character of the free wage-labourers varies from situation to situation.

It is well known that the labour force in Indian industries were in many ways characteristically different from those in the cases of classical forms of capitalist development, say in England. Our argument is that, though this has been partly determined by Indian social structure, patterns of recruitment pursued in different regions, etc., the main factors lie in the conditions that create the class itself. In this paper we have not taken the case of expropriated artisans. As far as expropriated peasants are concerned, we argue that it is the conditions under which they have been created, more specifically the changes in agrarian conditions, that are responsible in determining the characteristics of the wage-earning class, e.g., its degree of contact with village, its mobility etc. It

is the form in which the expropriated peasants come to exist that conditions the character of the labour force that comes into being based on them. Thus we have attempted to relate the high degree of mobility, and yet the high degree of contact with village, of Oriya migrant labour to factors like high degree of expropriation, decline in agricultural productivity, absence of subsidiary occupations in the countryside etc. Hence, the analysis of the expropriation process has been supplemented by an analysis of conditions of agricultural stagnation. A brief comparative analysis of the agriculture in Orissa and that Bengal has been made as an illustration to support our general explanation of the relatively greater mobility of Oriya labour. On the other hand, the semi-permanent character of the migration has been related to the basic tendencies of the economy that supplies the migrants.

One of the limitations of our analysis is that we have not gone into factors relating to the socio-psychological motives of the migrants. Although the latter are very important at one level, we have not concerned ourselves with such factors because of the nature of questions we have posed. Whereas the structural factors provide the basic framework, the psychological factors become important only as the immediate causes. Hence a socio-psychological approach must presuppose a certain structural analysis; without which it will be superfluous. The lack of any structural analysis of the problem under investigation puts us in a situation in which we must give priority to an approach which emphasizes the structural aspects

of the economic tendencies, over socio-psychological approaches.

Another limitation of our analysis stems from the paucity of adequate historical material on Orissa, both primary and secondary. Although we have not exhausted the sources of data, all major sources have been utilized for our purposes. Our conclusions cannot be absolutely deductive. The limitations of our inferences can be greatly overcome if such analyses are undertaken on other regions of India.

In Chapters II and III we have examined the impact of British colonial administration on the land system of Orissa, with specific reference to the changes in the rural economic stratification. Chapter IV analyses the Orissa famine of 1866 which was precipitated due to the adverse impact of British rule in the agrarian structure. In Chapters V ~~and VI~~ we have analysed the role of usury capital and merchant's capital in the economy; the effects of their domination leading to the expropriation of the mass of peasantry have been shown in Chapter VI. The specific conditions under which the expropriation was taking place, namely a decline in productivity of land, have been described in Chapter VII. In Chapter ~~VII~~ VIII we have concluded by relating the specific conditions in which the expropriation of peasantry took place to the pattern of mobility of Oriyas. Some comparative analysis of Orissa and Bengal in this respect has also been made in the conclusion to strengthen our argument.

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CHAPTER II

IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIALISM ON THE LAND SYSTEM OF ORISSA: EARLY SETTLEMENTS

The period of British rule constitutes probably the most important chapter in the economic history of India, especially from the standpoint of the destructive influence it exerted on the old society and also because of the specific nature of that influence. The colonial system was based upon the direct subordination of the colony to the interests of the metropolitan capital. The colonial state sat upon the society as an alien, external, superstructure thrusting down by force laws and juridical relationships upon the colonized society one-sidedly from the standpoint of the metropolitan capital. The system served various functions at various stages of its development and consolidation: extraction of maximum revenue for the maintenance and expansion of colonies, and for the primitive accumulation of capital in the metropolis; extraction of raw materials and minerals etc. at a cheap rate, and dumping of the British manufactured goods in the Indian market: leading to the rapid expansion of metropolitan industries. The colonial policies in various spheres of the economy, and in various regions were thus directed towards serving these general interests in the best manner in the specific situations concerned. That is, the different historical conditions existing in different regions, the different times at which the various regions came under British rule, the differential degrees of

penetration of colonialism in respective areas due to various historical reasons, the different levels of information and knowledge the British possessed about the regions' resources and conditions and about the best way they could exploit it, and lastly, the different immediate interests that had to be considered along with the general interests -- all these resulted in conditions whose nature varied from region to region, thus leading to a very uneven development of different regions of the colony. It is therefore necessary to examine the specific conditions under which the colonial policies in Orissa came to be formed to understand their specificity and the specific character of the consequences following from these policies. In this section we limit ourselves to analysing the impact of British colonial policy on Orissa's agriculture; questions relating to the sphere of trade will be discussed in a later section.

Before the British took possession of Orissa in 1803 they had already acquired about a decade's experience on the working of the zamindari system based on a permanent settlement in the province of Bengal, which included Bihar and a certain fragment of north Orissa. It is therefore natural that this should have influenced their policies in Orissa to a considerable extent.

(1) The colonial land revenue policy established a set of bourgeois-juridical relations -- e.g., the bourgeois notion of private property in land -- upon a land of pre-capitalist relations of production. (2) The zamindari system by declaring

the mere collectors of land revenue as the exclusive proprietors of land transformed the whole cultivating class into mere tenants-at-will, subject to all sorts of oppression, extortion and eviction by the zamindars. The Permanent Settlement of 1793 created for the zamindars a complete proprietary title, heritable, saleable and subject only to the payment of a perpetually fixed land revenue. Thus all the different classes of revenue collectors etc. with different rights which were created by the customary laws and conventions were levelled into a single class of proprietors.[1]

In the older system the cultivators had rights in land which neither the king nor the revenue-collector (zamindar) could interfere with. Even the authors of Permanent Settlement recognized that the zamindars could not have absolute powers over the tenant;[2] that the tenants' rights were not inferior in validity, although subordinate in degree to that of the zamindar.[3] But the Permanent Settlement granted the zamindars rights which enabled them to extract as much as they

1. For example, the descendants of old Hindu and Muhammedan rulers of the country who had been conquered by Akbar; Great land-holders who with the decline of the Mughals had become de facto rulers; revenue collectors and their descendants; other privileged persons of the old system with enough land in their hands - all these were merged into one single category: Zamindar. See Panandikar, The Wealth and Welfare of the Bengal Delta, Chapter IV.
2. Rights of zamindar is one thing that occupied the central position among all the debates that went on in the circles of British officials during this period; e.g. the famous Grant-Shore controversy. See Papers relating to Permanent Settlement in Bengal. Also see The Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee Report, Madras, 1926, Vol. I, Chap IV, part I; Appendices and Index, Vol. II, pp. 27-74.
3. Panandikar, op.cit., p. 82.

could from the cultivators and evict them whenever they liked. The maximum collection of revenue being the ultimate aim of the government -- hence high assessment, and strict and rigorous enforcement of the law in throwing out the defaulting zamindars[4] -- the zamindars in turn were forced to collect the maximum from the cultivators through intensified exploitation.

The only guarantees that the Permanent Settlement offered for the protection of the tenant -- the requirement of issue of leases or pattas stating the description of the land and the amount of fixed rent, and the provision for the government to intervene from the standpoint of the tenant whenever necessary -- were mere dead letters and did not in any way protect the tenants.[5] The zamindars could take advantage of the technical flaws in the Acts and forbid occupancy right to the tenants, charge as much rent as they liked, collect as much additional cesses or abwabs, and evict them at will. Through the Regulation VII of 1799 the zamindars got almost unrestrained right of distraint of all personal property and belongings of the raiyats, of arresting them for arrears of rent without sending any notice to any court or public officers. Moreover, the magistrates were required by this regulation to punish the raiyats who could not prove their complaints against the zamindar and to indemnify zamindari officers for all losses that they might have to suffer from being improperly summoned.

4. See Sec. 7, Reg. I of 1793 which declared that no claims for remission or suspension of rent were to be admitted on any account, and the lands of the proprietors were to be invariably sold for arrears.

5. Panandikar, op.cit., pp. 85-86.

The government instead of acting for the tenants, helped in the strengthening of the zamindars, in whom it could find a base for its support. The suffering and insecurity of the cultivators led to decline in agricultural productivity, stagnation, and famines.

Although the zamindari system provided a social base for the government, the British had mixed reactions about the operation of the permanent settlement. On the one hand, the assessment had been arbitrary, without much of a basis on the productivity of land, thus leading to overassessment of certain areas and loss of revenue in certain others. Also the government could not receive the benefits of new land brought under cultivation. On the other hand, the oppression of the zamindars had led to a situation of declining productivity and peasant discontentment.[6] In addition, whereas in the early period of the operation of the permanent settlement the low prices of goods was in favour of the government,[7] a rise in prices in the later period would lead to a loss to the government since the assessment was permanently fixed. Thus the British government decided to carry out certain experiments before the permanent settlement could be introduced in Orissa. Thus, apart from the hilly border killas and parganas where a permanent settlement was made with the local chiefs for military considerations, the bulk of Orissa, mainly the plains,

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6. On peasant movements during 19th century Cambridge History of India, VI, p. 38, 249 and 268.

7. Habib, I, "Colonization of the Indian Economy 1757-1900", mimeographed, p. 10.

came under zamindari system with temporary settlements.[8]

Orissa, however, differed from Bengal in three main ways : (a) unlike Bengal, Orissa did not have a fantastic river system, hence the fertility was low; (b) unlike Bengal, Orissa had under-gone a process of heavy oppression and plunder under the hands of the Marathas; (c) the trade and industry of Orissa were far less developed than that of Bengal. Under these circumstances, the introduction of zamindari system on a temporary settlement proved to be far more ruinous for the economy -- in fact, the worst of all British 'experiments'.

Equating the statuses of various middlemen tax collectors etc. who definitely did not have right of ownership and right of eviction over land, a homogeneous class of proprietors were created. In the words of the British officials themselves: "... the only right possessed by the persons admitted to the settlement in 1804 was that of paying over to Government the 'mofasal' or raiyati revenue subject to certain deductions and allowances for expenses of collection. It is true the right was theoretically hereditary... but in practice the right had been constantly degraded. The local officers, however, had been directed by the revenue board to take engagements from the zamindars or 'or other actual proprietors of the soil' and the idea of the non-existence of such persons was repugnant to a Bengal collector's notions of fiscal

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8. See Hunter, Statistical Accounts of Bengal, Vol. 18, Sections on Land Tenure; also see Maddox Report Vol. I, Chapter X.

management. The result was that persons who had previously possessed only a hereditary right of collection were shortly constituted as 'malikani jamin' or proprietors of the land and became known as zamindars."[9] Stirling gave the following reasons for the general extension of the term 'zamindar' in Orissa:

"1) The lack of distinction between the ancient zamindars and talukdars created by the Moghuls with hereditary offices;

2) the confused and inaccurate application of the term by the zamindars;

3) the failure to distinguish between the inheritance and sale of the land with which that office was connected."

While talukdars became exalted to the rank of zamindar, the proper zamindars mounted a step higher and styled themselves as Rajas. Every hill and jungle zamindar of Orissa has been pleased invariably to adopt the style and title of Raja."[10] The crux, however, lies not in the change of titles as such but in the change of the juridical rights and powers which the British imposed on the existing relations of production.

The first British proclamation about land revenue administration on 15th September 1804, which was later embodied in Regulation XII of 1805, promised to make a settlement "as may be most conducive to the prosperity of the country and to

9. Maddox Report, Vol. II, p. 417. Baden-Powell's account that no artificial rights were created from above suffers from an imperialist bias and goes against the fact. cf. Baden-Powell, The Land-System of British India, Vol. I, pp. 561-73.

10. Cited in Maddox Report, Vol. I, pp. 158-59; also see p. 168.

the happiness of the inhabitants."[11] But immediately after the proclamation the revenue assessment was increased steeply without any regard to the productivity of the soil and cost of cultivation. In 1804 it was assured that a decision on permanent settlement would be taken by 1812-13. In 1812-1813 the decision, however, would again be postponed till 1837, when the idea of permanent settlement was given up -- though not altogether abandoned -- in favour of Thirty-year Settlements. During 1804-37 there were eleven temporary settlements. These settlements were not based on any rational arrangement, but were left to the discretion of individual officers.[12] The assessment went on increasing year by year.

The rapid settlements introduced an uncertainty due to which people did not take sufficient interest in improving land. Both zamindars and cultivators felt insecure about their future in the coming settlement. Thus productivity could not increase. The shorter was the period of settlement, the greater was the attempt of the zamindar to collect the maximum and the lesser was his incentive to invest for land improvement. However, the revenue assessment was too high for the zamindar to get any sizeable benefit from the land. The net collections of land revenue in Orissa during 1803 was already about 12% higher than that prevailed during the last decade of the Maratha rule. And a further increase

11. Cf. Maddox Report, Vol. I, pp. 160-61.

12. For a list of these settlements and their durations see Appendix 4.

of 25% occured between 1804-05 and 1818-19.[13] × Tables 12 and 13 show the land revenue assessment and collections in the temporarily settled areas of Orissa during 1804-28.

Table 12.

Land Revenue Assessment during 1804-28, Orissa

Year	Assessment in Rs.('000' omitted)	Year	Assessment in Rs.('000' omitted)
1804-05	1,178	1815-16	1,381
1805-06	1,089	1816-19	1,381
1808-09	1,044	1819-22	1,340
1809-12	1,269	1822-27	1,370
1812-13	1,371	1827-37	1,381
1813-14	1,381		

Source: Jena, ~~op.cit., p. 224.~~ Land Revenue Administration in Orissa during the Nineteenth Century, p. 221

Table 13.

Land Revenue Collections during 1804-28, Orissa.

Year	Land Revenue Collections Rs. ('000' omitted)	Year	Land Revenue Collections Rs.('000' omitted)
1804	1,284	1812	1,425
1805	1,195	1816	1,495
1808	1,203	1820	1,390
1809	1,158	1821	1,420
1811	1,383	1828	1,485

Note - The decrease of 1809 is due to the problem of currency, in 1820 due to the peasant revolt (known as Paik rebellion) that took place in 1817-18.

Source- Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 382.

13. Chaudhuri, B., "Land Market in Eastern India 1793-1940", Indian Economic and Social History Review, 1975, No. 1, p.2.

[f.n. continued on next page]

Unlike the Mughals and the Marathas, the British did not allow any remissions on account of natural calamities, so common in Orissa.[14] During this period Orissa was under a perpetual famine condition. The famine of 1803-04, the drought of 1805-06 and the floods of 1806-07 and 1809-10[15] had made it difficult for the zamindars to collect the high amount fixed by the government. Added to this was the small number of installments (kistis) allowed to zamindars in Orissa[16] which made the task of the zamindars still more difficult to collect a high amount at a time.

Additional factors that contributed to the inability of the zamindars to meet the revenue demands of the government were due to the depreciation of cowrees, which were the native currency before the British, and which continued as such for a certain period of time under the British. The British, however, refused to accept cowrees as means of payment of revenue. The zamindars had to collect the rent in cowrees and get them exchanged for silver siccas from the merchants, money-lenders etc. who derived a considerable amount of profit out of the

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Cont'd... f.n. 13. Even according to the estimates of the British officials themselves, the revenue collection during the Marathas despite their rapacious method of collection was not more than 11 to 12 lakhs of rupees /see Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 160/, which was less than the British collections in 1804.

14. Cf. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 170.

15. Jena, op.cit., p. 216; Cuttack District Gazetteer, p.120; Sahu, N.K., A History of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 399.

16. Whereas in Bengal 12 kists were allowed to the zamindars, in Orissa only 7 kists were allowed during 1803-09 and 9 kists after 1809. Toynbee, History of Orissa, p. 42.

exchange, During a period of five years, 1808-12, cowrees had depreciated by 36% with respect to silver sicca due to the scarcity of silver.[17] This made it difficult for the zamindars to pay the required assessment, the payment of revenue costing much more than before.

The general effect of this was that, "Arrears rapidly accumulated, and in 1806 began the system of putting up defaulting estates for sale in Fort William, a policy that proved the ruin of many old Oriya families and allowed Bengali speculators to buy valuable properties at very low prices."[18] Most of the speculators from Bengal were amlas (subordinate officials in the revenue department of Government of Bengal), who had sufficient knowledge about land regulations, and with the help of the British officials, they heavily speculated on landed property.[19] As most of the auctions were carried on in the distant city of Calcutta, and often within a very short notice, this went against the native Oriya zamindars and acted in favour of Bengali speculators from the official class.[20]

The rigorous enforcement of rules to auction the estates of defaulting zamindars led to a radical change in the compo-

17. Chaudhuri, B., op.cit., p. 4.

18. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 162.

19. Chaudhuri, B., "Land Market in Eastern India 1793-1940", II, Indian Economic and Social History Review, 1975, No. 2. Also see Banerjee, R.D., History of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 281; Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 163, 171.

20. Ewer, cited in Jena, op.cit., p. 62.

sition of the zamindar class. Within a period of 12 years, from 1804 to 1816, 1,011 estates passed out from the hands of Oriya landlords for an amount of Rs. 1,070,392.[21] Benoy Chaudhury estimates that out of the 3,000 proprietors admitted to the settlement of 1804, only 1,499 survived till 1818; i.e., 51.6% of the native zamindars were wiped out.[22] Such auctions declined later (after the 30-year settlement). For example, while between 1805-06 and 1818-19 the total revenue of the affected estates amount to Rs. 9.5 lakhs, the amount during the 55 year period 1845-99 was only Rs. 1.5 lakhs.[23] Thus a land market came to emerge as the product of auctioning out the estates of the defaulting zamindars.

In 1806, 17 estates with a revenue of over Rs. 50,000 were sold out in auction. And in 1807, 266 estates paying over Rs. 3 lakhs as revenue came to the hammer; among this was an estate in Balasore district sold for Rs. 5,013, but again sold up in 1818 and bought by the government for one rupee only.[24]

During the first period of the British administration, due to the insecurity of the zamindars, and the very high number of auctions, the prices of estates were very low. Between December 1806 and January 1807, 350,estates with an assessment of Rs. 472,344 were sold out for a sum of only Rs.607,063,

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21. Trower, cited in Jena, op.cit., p. 62.

22. Chaudhuri, B., "Land Market in Eastern India", I, Indian Economic and Social History Review, 1975, No. 1, pp. 5-6.

23. loc.cit.

24. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 162.

or only at 128% of the assessment.[25] In fact, even this was unusually high. The usual price was much lower. Between 1806 and 1808 estates bearing a jumma of Rs. 152,019 were sold out for Rs. 72,540 only, at less than 50% of the assessment.[26] In certain cases the auction price did not even fetch the arrears due from the zamindars. Mentioning about the glut in the land market till 1809, Maddox writes: "valuable estates changed hands for absurdly low prices."[27] The prices of estates sold between 1809 and 1812 exceeded the assessment only by 25%; and it became 40% between 1813 and 1816.[28] Around 1821, Stirling, the Collector of Cuttack district, found that the price of land was 50 to 100% on the sadar jama, or from 15 to 20 years' purchase of the recognized prifits.[29] Because of the uncertainly of ownership and heavy assessment during this period, moneylending capital and merchant's capital were not attracted to invest capital on land. Most of the buyers were Bengali subordinate officials.[30]

The peculiar conditions under which the land market came to be formed had quite far reaching consequences. In the older system, a paternalistic relationship obtained between the

25. Chaudhuri, B., op.cit., p. 8.

26. Ewer, cited in Jena, op.cit., p. 63.

27. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 186.

28. Chaudhuri, B., loc.cit.

29. Cited in Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 186. Price would rise later after the "30-year" settlement of 1837.

30. Chaudhuri, B., op.cit., pp. 10-15.

zamindar and the cultivator; the native zamindars of old families could not altogether neglect the interests of cultivators and were status-conscious and committed to the development of the land and protection of the cultivators. With speculators it is different. The price of land is the capital the speculator has advanced in order to receive an interest upon it in the form of the excess of the collections over and above the revenue assessment. Hence the motive force is to maximize the interest i.e., to collect as much rent as possible by what ever means before the next settlement. Heavy rack-renting and imposition of various illegal cesses led to wide suffering and insecurity of the cultivators. Land was purposefully neglected to avoid the increase of the rental.[31] But despite the heavy collection from the cultivators, no centralisation of wealth could take place with the zamindars during this period, as bulk of the collections was siphoned away by the company.

During the first period of British rule, the economy came to be davastated. The conditions of people became extremely serious. Peasant movements grew up against the British rule, the most important of them being the Paik Rebellion of 1817-1818.[32] Even the British officials admitted the drawbacks of colonial policy during this period, though some of them expressed it in a form which made it appear that it was merely a

31. Karr, Seaton, Cornwallis, p. 68.

32. See Banerjee, R.D., History of Orissa, Vol. II.

question of shortsightedness and errors of early officers and in no way related the colonial system as such. Writing in 1900, the settlement officer Maddox comments, "... the people had been driven to desperation by overassessment and mismanagement, and in 1817 the country broke out in rebellion and the revenue system was temporarily disorganized. The revolt was soon quelled, but it had served to bring home to the authorities in Calcutta the very nature of the discontent and grievances of the Uriyas... His /Ker's/ report gives a most interesting pictures of the errors into which the government had been dragged by their greed of revenue, and by their general ignorance of the resources, wants and prejudices of the people over whom they ruled."[33]

These conditions continued till 1837 when the British gave up the short term settlements in favour of 30-year settlements.

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33. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 163.

CHAPTER III

SECOND PHASE OF LAND SETTLEMENTS: CHANGE IN THE CLASS STRUCTURE

Although the government made a 30-year settlement in 1837, it continued till 1897, as the scheduled settlement of 1867 could not take place because of 1866 famine. During this period of sixty years the economy underwent drastic transformations leading to the emergence of zamindars as a powerful class with the support of the government, on the one hand, and on the other hand to famines, stagnation and creation of a class of expropriated labourers.

During the long period of sixty years the zamindars came to acquire powers and privileges which were not allowed in the beginning : the right of inheritance, of transfer and partition, right of profit in new land, cleared forests and other resources like fisheries, dead trees etc., the right to grant leases out of their zamindaris for the period of the tenure, and the right to re-enter in the next settlement unless they had seriously failed in previous settlements.[1]

Unlike the earlier period, the government allowed remissions during the 30-year settlements, even upto 30% of the jumma.[2] The zamindars on their part, however, never allowed any remissions to the tenants. The government got in this class a powerful means of support and granted a good portion

1. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 170.

2. Jena, K., op.cit., p. 90.

of the collections to them. In addition to the security provided by the new settlement, a heavy allowance from the collections made them a powerful class. x As would be seen from table 14 during the period 1837-97, in most of the estates

Table 14.
Distribution of estates by amount of share of the government in the collections: 1837-97.

Share of the zamindars %age	Percentage of collection taken by the government as revenue	No. of estates in the district of		
		Cuttack	Puri	Balasore
20	80	1	1	-
25	75	4	-	-
30	70	328	47	181
32.5	67.5	5	-	-
35	65	892	101	621
40	60	590	29	371
50	50	124	53	147
60	40	-	1	-
Total :		1,944	232	1,320

Source: Maddox Report, Vol. II, p. 28.

the zamindars received about 30 to 50 per cent of the total collections. During this period the zamindars of all the temporarily settled estates taken together collected about Rs. 2,138,200, but paid a revenue of Rs. 1,138,400 only, with a profit margin of Rs. 999,800 or about 46% of the total collec-

tion. The revenue assessment on the zamindars were fixed almost at the same level as that in the previous decade.[3]

In the areas where permanent settlement was made with the zamindars (tributary kings) for military considerations the zamindari share was still higher. From the 29 tributary mahals, permanently settled, leaving aside the kilajat and 'other permanently settled estates', the collection stood at Rs. 523,250 whereas the fixed revenue paid to the government was only Rs. 118,687.[4]

absentee zamindars

Most of the big zamindars of the temporarily settled areas of Orissa were absentee landlords (Calcutta babus) who spent their incomes in luxurious consumption in Calcutta.[5] Their estates were managed by gumastas, many of whom increased their incomes by illegal practices and even became so rich as to buy estates in their names.[6] The gumastas would not only misappropriate from the zamindar's due income, but also engage in extracting from the tenants more than the due rent.[7] In table 15 is given the number of absentee landlords in some of the districts; the number is the highest in case of Balasore

3. Ibid., p. 221.

4. Ray, B.C., The Foundations of British India, p. 76.

5. Maddox Report, Vol. I, para 274; Vol. II, Appendices N.A. and N.C.

6. Evidences for the latter phenomenon can be found in the biographical accounts on zamindars provided in ibid.

7. On the mismanagement of the estates of absentee landlords, see ibid. On illegal cesses collected from the tenants, see Maddox Report, Vol. I, Chapter XI, para 266.

district, which is geographically close to Bengal.

Table 15.

Absentee zamindars classified according to their religion

Religion	Cuttack	Puri	Balasore	Total
Hindu	76	12	271	359
Muslim	47	5	-	52
Christian	-	3	-	3
Total	123	20	271	414

Source: Maddox Report, Vol. II, p. 184.

Another factor that increased the oppression of the tenants was the rapid growth of the unproductive class due to extensive subdivision of estates according to the Hindu law of inheritance (Mitakshara system). The subdivision of the estates led to a subdivision of the accumulated wealth and their expenditure in activities other than investment for increasing productivity of land. For example, in 1805 there were 5 estate proprietors in Jajpur; in 1897 this figure reached 323.[8] The number of revenue-paying estates of Cuttack district increased from 3,836 in 1880-81 to 4,098 in 1890-91[9] and 4,465 in 1897;[10] in Puri district on the contrary, the

8. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 181.

9. Banerjei, N.N., Report on the Agriculture of the district of Cuttack, Appendix, p. xlii.

10. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 11.

number of estates during 1837-97 practically remained the same, though there was a change in their composition (table 16).

Table 16.
Classification of estates by amount of revenue of Puri district

1837 settlement				1897 settlement			
Revenue range (Rs.)			No. of estates	Revenue range (Rs.)			No. of estates
1	to	10	64	1	to	10	46
11	to	50	131	11	to	50	106
50	to	100	75	51	to	100	78
100	to	1,000	177	100	to	1,000	211
1,000	to	5,000	31	1,000	to	5,000	37
5,000	to	10,000	1	5,000	to	10,000	2
10,000	and over		5	10,000	to	100,000	4
				over 100,000			1
	Total:		484				485

Source: Maddox Report, Vol. II, p.

There was a wide divergence in the composition of this class between the districts of Cuttack and Balasore on the one hand, and Puri on the other. (see table 17). An analysis of the distribution of the estates according to the quantity of revenue paid for different regions in 1897 show that on the total, for all-Orissa, 49% of the total number of estates remained within the revenue range of Rs. 0 to 50, and 63% within

Table 17

Distribution of estates according to size of revenue from estates (Temporarily settled estates of Orissa)
1897

(% in brackets)

Name of district	From Rs. 0 to 10		From Rs. 11 to 50		From Rs. 51 to 100		From Rs.100 to 1000		From Rs.1000to5000		From Rs.5000to10000		Over Rs.10,000		Total	
	No.	Revenue Rs.	No.	Revenue Rs.	No.	Revenue Rs.	No.	Revenue Rs.	No.	Revenue Rs.	No.	Revenue Rs.	No.	Revenue Rs.	No.	Revenue Rs.
Cuttack	981*	5,209	1,457*	37,512	594	49,654	1,204	382,508	186	367,542	22	153,384	5	109,606	4,449**	1,098,415
	(22.05)	(0.47)	(32.75)	(3.42)	(13.35)	(4.52)	(27.06)	(34.82)	(4.18)	(33.46)	(0.49)	(13.96)	(0.11)	(9.98)	(100)	(100)
Balasore	146	796	383	10,540	238	17,559	523	162,713	101	208,562	15	108,820	6	115,617	1,412***	624,607
	(10.34)	(0.13)	(27.12)	(1.69)	(16.86)	(2.81)	(37.04)	(26.05)	(7.15)	(33.39)	(1.05)	(17.42)	(0.42)	(18.51)	(100)	(100)
Puri	46	311	106	3,011	78	6,085	211	63,483	37	74,504	2	13,630	5	215,604	485	376,628
	(9.48)	(0.08)	(21.86)	(0.80)	(16.08)	(1.62)	(43.51)	(16.86)	(7.63)	(19.78)	(0.41)	(3.62)	(1.03)	(57.25)	(100)	(100)
Total	1,173	6,316	1,946	51,603	910	66,298	1,938	608,704	324	650,608	39	275,834	16	440,827	6,346	2,099,650
	(18.48)	(0.31)	(30.66)	(2.46)	(14.34)	(3.16)	(30.54)	(28.99)	(5.11)	(31.41)	(0.61)	(13.14)	(0.25)	(19.91)	(100)	(100)
Khasmahals																
Cuttack	-	-	1	38	-	-	1	102	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	140
Balasore	9	23	1	13	4	244	1	337	2	3,298	-	-	1	31,457	18	35,372
Puri	-	-	1	48	-	-	1	662	1	4,174	-	-	-	-	3	4,884

* Excluding two petty tanki bahals of revenue Rs. 16 and Rs. 6 respectively.

** Excluding killas Ragri (Rs. 1585), Chausathipara (Rs. 697), Balarampur (Rs. 1,453) in Cuttack and Ambo (Rs. 440) Mangalpur (Rs. 1,130) in Balasore.

*** Excludes one estate in Ankura which is wholly waste and pays no returns.

Source: Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 180.

Rs. 0 to 100. However, the amount of revenue paid from these estates amounted to only about 3% of the total revenue in the case of the revenue-range Rs. 0 to 50 and about 6% of the total revenue in the case of the range Rs. 0 to 100. About 31 per cent of the total number of estates remained within the revenue range Rs. 100 to 1,000, and paid a revenue of about 29 per cent of the total. The number of estates within the revenue range of Rs. 1,000 to 5,000 were only 5 per cent of the total, whereas the amount of revenue paid by them amounted to 31 per cent of the total revenue of the tract. The number of estates paying above Rs. 5,000 constituted only about 1 per cent of the total number, but paid 33 per cent of the total revenue. Thus we see that on the one side there are few big estates with very high revenues, and on the other side, very large number of estates of very small size. But unlike Puri district where bulk of the estates are large in size, in Cuttack and Balasore, bulk of the estates were of small size. In Cuttack district alone (table 18) (the figures include permanently settled estates and killajats also), 68 per cent of the total number of estates remained within the revenue-range Rs. 0 to 100, and paid a revenue amounting to only 7 per cent of the total revenue, owning only 4 per cent of the total area. Also we see that the revenue incidence per square mile (leaving aside the permanently settled estates in whose case the figure is extremely low), for estates within the range of Rs. 0 to 50 was much higher than those within the range Rs. 1,000 to 10,000. The

Table 18.

Classification of Revenue-paying Estates of Cuttack District(1897)

(Total area of Cuttack district =3,663 sq.miles).

Class	Number	Area in sq. miles	Revenue (Rs.)	Average revenue/ sq.mile (Rs.)
Permanently settled	11* (0.25)	1835.1** (50.03)	79,700 (6.72)	43.43
Temporarily settled with revenue of				
Over Rs. 10,000	5 (0.11)	150.2 (4.09)	109,600 (9.30)	729.69
Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 10,000	208 (4.66)	897.8 (24.48)	520,900 (44.21)	580.19
Rs. 100 to Rs.1000	1,204 (26.97)	603.1 (16.44)	382,500 (32.47)	634.22
Rs. 50 to Rs.100	594 (13.30)	68 (1.85)	42,700 (3.62)	627.94
Rs. 10 to Rs. 50	1,457 (32.63)	558 (1.52)	37,500 (3.18)	672.04
Rs. 10 and under	981 (21.97)	7.9 (0.22)	5,200 (0.44)	658.22
Killajat	3 (0.07)	49.7 (1.35)	Not yet settled	
Tanki Bahal Estates	2 (0.04)	0.3 (0.01)	22	73.33
Total:	4,465 (100)	3,667.9 (100)	1,178,122 (100)	

* Excludes two petty tankibahal estates, with a revenue of Rs. 22.

** Includes a part of Kanika, situated in Balasore.

Source: Maddox, (S.L.), Report, Vol. I, p. 11.

revenue incidence per square mile for the range Rs. 50 to 100 stands much closer to that for the range Rs. 100 to 1,000. This is quite significant, for it shows that the estates of small size which were numerous were assessed maximum, and in turn the zamindars of these estates must have been extorting quite heavily from the tenants. Although the area under these zamindars is proportionately small, the regional variation and unevenness even within the same district is quite significant. For instance, in Jajpur pargana (Cuttack district) estates were the smallest with an average revenue of Rs. 100 only.[11] Later we will see that in regions like this expropriation of the peasantry was the greatest, and these were the regions which sent the largest number of migrants to the industrial areas of Bengal. Had we had detailed data as to which revenue blocks the estates of small size and high revenue were located in, more specific conclusions could have been drawn, especially with reference to the distribution of various tenures and the change in their composition during 1837-97.

Added to this is the fact of joint ownership over estates, still multiplying the parasite class that produces nothing but consumes a considerable proportion of the social wealth. Maddox calculated that on an average, there were 7 joint holders per estate in Cuttack district, 5 in Balasore and 6 in Puri.[12] It is very difficult to say whether joint ownership in the case of absentee zamindars was relatively more or less prominent.

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11. Ibid., p. 181.
12. Ibid., pp. 180-81.

On the other hand, the fact that zamindari had been very profitable during this period is beyond doubt. One important index of this is the high prices of the estates sold during this period. In the words of the settlement officer Maddox, "Nothing shows more clearly the increased security of tenure and the lighter assessment enjoyed by the land-holding classes under British, as compared with native, rule than the price paid on sales of proprietary right."[13] Making allowances for the imperialist bias, it can still be argued that the increased security of the zamindars and the high profits must have attracted capital and this must have been reflected in the prices of the estates. After the changed land revenue policy of the government, there occured a shift from a land market based on government auctions at low prices to a land market of predominantly private transactions with a very high price level.

During 1840 and 1849, 94 estates were auctioned for arrears of revenue at a price level of 4.5 times the annual sadar jama (revenue assessment); while eleven estates auctioned during 1842 and 1855 brought a price equivalent to 9.5 times the sadar jama.[14] Table 19 gives a picture of the movement of land prices obtained in auction sales during the second half of the nineteenth century in different districts of Orissa. It will be seen that prices (expressed in terms

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13. Ibid., p. 186.

14. Ibid.

Table 19.

Movement of Land Prices 1855-1898 (Price expressed in multiples of jumma)

	1855-65	1866-75	1876-85	1886-95	1896-98
Cuttack	12	20	10	8	8
Balasore	9	N.A.	30	14	26
Puri	15	18	10	2*	N.A.

Note - N.A. means data not available.

* Owing to the low price of Kotdes.

Source- Maddox Report, Vol. I, para 276.

of multiples of the jama) go on rising till a decade or so after the famine of 1866, and after that decline steadily.[15] Similar features obtain if we analyse the prices at private sales. Table 20 shows the prices (average) paid at private

Table 20.

BALASORE DISTRICT:

Prices of certain estates privately sold during decennial periods

	1840-50	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-96	Subsequent to execution of kabuliyats
1. No. of transactions	10	4	10	15	32	25	3
2. Govt. rev. of the estate sold	3,474	39	272	453	3,336	1,722	1,033
3. Purchase price	26,695	720	5,579	14,337	82,196	27,331	22,365
4. No. of yrs. purchase of govt. rev.	7	18	20	31	24	16	22

Note : Row 4 is obtained by dividing row 3 by row 2.
Source: Maddox Report, Vol. II, p. 497.

15. The low price in Puri during 1880-95 is due to the inclusion of figures for Kotdes estate, the greater part of

(f.n. contd.)

sales in the district of Balasore. Here we see that price (expressed in terms of multiples of sadar jama) went on increasing from 7 in 1840-50 to 31 in 1871-80; after that it started declining gradually, 24 in 1881-90 and 16 in 1891-96. Data for Cuttack and Puri districts are not complete. But that there was a general tendency of prices of estates to decline during this period is obvious from the accounts provided by the settlement officers.[16] After 1897 settlement, prices began to recover, but the recovery was not much. Thus the argument that the fall in price of estates was due to the anticipation of a high assessment in the settlement of 1897 that was to come,[17] only partly explains the phenomenon. Moreover, such a general argument cannot account for the fact that prices had started declining almost 20 years before the settlement of 1897; people could not be expected to change their behaviour in anticipation for such a long time. Even the settlement officer Maddox admits this.[18] But he does not provide any alternate explanation for the fall in prices. The only alternative that could be accepted, is fall in productivity of land which could make rent collections difficult; since the estates were quite secure in so far as the government policy was concerned, the decline in profitability could come only from one source: decline in output per acre, which would dec-

Cont'd... f.n. 15. which was maurasi land, where prices were low; ibid.

16. Ibid., p. 187.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., p. 186.

rease in absolute terms the collections of the zamindars, thus reducing the attractiveness of the estates. And this general decline in productivity cannot be wholly due to contingent natural factors like the deposit of sand as Maddox tends to suggest. As will be seen a little later, this decline in productivity was due to the specific social conditions and processes created by the colonial policies leading to stagnation in agriculture and breakdown of the old social relations of production.

It is paradoxical that prices of land should have risen to the maximum in the decade immediately after the famine of 1866, when about one-third of the population of Orissa starved to death and most of the land was thrown out of cultivation and hence decreasing collections. It is true that people who succumbed most to the famine would have belonged to the classes of expropriated artisans and landless labourers in agriculture, and to a relatively less extent the tenant-classes.[19] But a sheer shortage of labour must have led to a further decline in productivity,[20] and would suggest that prices of land should go down. In the absence of adequate research in the field, we could only suggest that the rise in prices immediately after the famine could be due to (a) decrease in supply of cultivable land (in the face of floods etc. associated with 1866 famine making a large amount of land

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19. For a discussion of the Famine of 1866 and its impact on the labouring class see Chapter IV.

20. See Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. 18, p. 101.

uncultivable) on the one hand, and (b) due to the huge supply of money formed as hoard and speculation during the famine in the hands of rich zamindars and merchants, on the other. The subsequent decline in prices might have been partly due to the reclamation of land which was damaged by floods etc. during the famine of 1866.

Leaving aside the zamindars there were the following classes of people subject to different rights and obligations during the second phase of the British land revenue administration in Orissa:[21]

(a) Muqaddams, padhans, sarbarahkars :- These people were tenure-holders with quasi-proprietary rights. Apart from the fact that they did not pay revenue directly to the government but through proprietors of estates, i.e., zamindars, they exercised almost all the rights of the zamindars in their tenures, e.g., leasing out land and collecting rent, right to transfer, privileges from the common land of the village etc. However, there was one limitation, namely, that the zamindar need not necessarily recognize a division in the rents in case the tenure got sub-divided. This class was a product of the hybrid between the old tenural rights and the new proprietary rights introduced by the British. Thus the various types of proprietary tenureholders enjoyed rights and privileges which varied from case to case.[22] The differences,

21. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 167. For a detailed discussion on the rights of each of the following classes of people see ibid., Chapter XI.

22. Ibid.

however, were more a matter of degree, rather than of kind. Again, the existence of this intermediary class was not a feature common to all the estates,but only of some estates, the rest being managed directly by the respective zamindars.[23] It is important to note here that the proprietary tenure-holder was related to the zamindar not as a person holding a subordinate rank in the hierarchy, but as one who shared a certain portion of the zamindari income with the latter because of his proprietary-tenural status and functions.[24]

(b) lakhiraj bahaldars:- Proprietors of lands revenue-free for perpetuity; these people enjoyed all the proprietary rights awarded to zamindars of estates.

(c) Baziaftidars:- Holders of resumed revenue-free tenures (tenures which were revenue-free earlier, but had been assessed later in the settlement). In the case of kamil-baziaftidars, the resumption was done at full rate, in the case of nisfi-baziaftidars at half-rate only.

(d) Kharidadars:- These people were the purchasers of waste-land etc. from the government or from zamindars, the waste-land being subsequently reclaimed and settled. They had proprietary rights.

(e) Thani raiyats:- Resident cultivators who held land at a fixed rate of rent for the term of the settlement. They had the right of occupancy and inheritance subject to the payment

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23. Ibid.

24. See table 21 provided later in this section.

of rent. Although initially the thani raiyats did not have right of transfer, in course of time the government came to recognize this right.[25] Transfer of a part of the holdings without the consent of the concerned zamindar was not legally permissible; but it seemed that this law was not rigorously applied, and in practice even parts of the holdings could be transferred.[26] Chandina raiyats were owners of homestead lands and enjoyed all the rights of thani raiyats. Both these classes enjoyed a certain access to the village wasteland etc.

(f) Pahi raiyats:- They were initially the non-resident cultivators. But gradually this category came to denote all non-thani raiyati holdings. Pahi holdings might be with or without occupancy rights, but did not have any recognized rights like the thani raiyats. The rents of pahi holdings were not fixed; they were competitive contractual rents. Despite the occupancy rights conferred by the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1859 and such other subsequent acts, these tenures remained virtually tenants-at-will. Even the settlement officer Maddox admitted in 1900 that these acts were a mere "dead letter" in Orissa.[27] Although legally pahi tenures were not transferable, such transfers had come to be a fact and the government had come to recognize that.

25. For opinions of various government officials (which were often contradictory to one another) regarding the right of transfer of raiyats, see Maddox Report, Vol. I, pp. 217-27.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., p. 226.

(g) Jagirdars:- Persons holding land free of rent in lieu of their services to an individual or to the community. They could lease out the land like zamindars also.

(h) Under-tenants:- Tenants holding land under the tenures of the kind (c) to (g). They did not have any rights on the land. There could be under-tenants of under-tenants, to second, third... degree. In the case of Orissa, however, the degree of under-tenancy was not very high. Even then it is very difficult to follow the boundary line between under-tenants and hired-labourers.[28]

Given the classification of the different forms of tenure with different rights and obligations, it is now necessary to analyse the changes in the conditions of these classes and in the relations among the corresponding classes during the second phase of the British land revenue administration, i.e., during 1837-97, to understand the dynamics of the rural social structure.

As has already been noted, the proprietary tenure-holders practically enjoyed all the rights and powers of the zamindars, except that they did not pay their revenue directly to the government but did so through the zamindars just above them, the profits being divided between the zamindar and the proprietary tenure-holder. In the settlement of 1837, 65 per cent of the total assets (total rents to be collected) were taken by the government as revenue, the remaining 35 per cent

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28. Ibid., p. 233.

being divided as in the table 21.[29]

Table 21.

Division of the income between zamindar and proprietary tenure-holder: Orissa, 1837
(% of the total rent-assessment)

Class of tenure	Proprietary tenure-holder	Zamindar	Total
Muqaddam	20	15	35
Sarbarahkari (maurasi)	15	20	35
-do- (miadi)	10	25	35
Shikmi Zamindari (a)	35	nil	35
-do- (b)	25	10	35
Padhan	20	15	35
Kharidakar, first class	30	5	35
-do-, Second class	20	15	35

Source : Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 208.

About the settlement of 1897 the proportion shared by the proprietary tenure-holders had increased considerably. From table 22 it will be seen that on an average, proprietary tenure-holders enjoyed an annual income of 19% of the mofassal jama (total collections from the villages) in 1837; in 1897 this proportion amounted to 27.5%.

29. Under the Mughal rule superior officials crystallized into talukdars, so the village headmen and accountants tended to become landholders, and during the British period came to be known as muqaddams, padhans, purushethis and sarbarahkars with minor variations in their rights. Shikmi zamindari means the tenure awarded by the zamindar to his relatives and friends.

1866

Table 22.

Assets and Revenue of the proprietary tenures (1837-1897) (Orissa)

District	Mufassal Jama			Amount payable to zamindar				
	At 1837	At 1897 Existing	At 1897 Settled (now)	At 1837	In 1898	In 1899	In 1900	In 1903
Cuttack	128,600	204,400	238,900	102,700	121,600	149,800	151,500	162,300
Balasore	65,100	103,700	119,400	54,100	69,300	78,800	79,100	85,800
Puri	211,600	267,200	292,500	170,900	206,100	215,600	221,700	224,000
Total	405,300	573,300	650,800	327,700	397,000	444,200	452,300	472,100

Source : Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 208.

An analysis of the transfer of proprietary tenures during 1887-97 (see table 23) reveals that the proportion of purchases

Table 23.

Alienation of Proprietary tenures (Intermediary Tenures of all kinds) during 1890-1900: Orissa

District	Average yearly no. of registered sales of the whole portion	Profession of purchasers					Total amount paid as consideration Rs.
		Traders and money-lenders	Zamindars	Tenure holders	Raiyats	Others	
Cuttack	2,095*	112 (5.35)	358 (17.09)	1,128 (53.84)	118 (5.63)	379 (18.09)	32,075
Balasore	221	10 (4.52)	51 (23.08)	84 (38.01)	37 (16.74)	39 (17.65)	2,040
Puri	380**	48 (12.63)	15 (3.95)	228 (60.00)	103 (27.11)	52 (13.68)	67,206
Total	2,696	170	424	1,440	258	470	101,321

* Nine years figure only.
** Three years figure only.
Source: Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 199.

made by zamindars over the total number of purchases of this kind of tenure was about 17 per cent in Cuttack, 23 per cent in Balasore, and 4 per cent in Puri; whereas the purchases made by people belonging to the same class was 54 per cent in Cuttack, 38 per cent in Balasore and 60 per cent in Puri. It is not known how the area sold was distributed among various kinds of purchasers. But it can be said generally that the high number of transfers within the class itself shows that holdings were getting partitioned and joint ownership over tenures was increasing. On the other hand, the high prices paid for these tenures show that the proprietary tenure-holders were quite a well off class living on rack-renting and various cesses.[30] In Cuttack district the average price of such a tenure (including a portion under nijchas, i.e., a unleased portion under direct cultivation of the tenure-holder) was about 40 times the jama, in Puri the price varied from 10 to 15 times the jama.[31]

During 1837-97 this class expanded at a fantastic rate. Although the number of tenures remained more or less constant, or even decreased, the number of tenure-holders multiplied

30. On proprietary tenure-holder, Maddox writes, "As a landlord the Muqaddam generally collects higher rents than the big zamindars, and while he and his relations enjoy complete security of tenure in the best lands, he recognizes no right of occupancy in his other tenants, and extorts from them the uttermost farthing;" Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 199.

31. Ibid., p. 207.

about eight times in Cuttack and three times in Balasore[32] -- mainly due to partition and subpartion of tenures and transfer of portions of the tenures. This feature was very prominent in South Balasore and North Cuttack.[33] Such a high growth of this class could have two kinds of effects on the economy. Since the income was constant and had to be divided among many, either it led to the tenure-holders selling off their land, or ousting the raiyats by manoeuvre and cultivating the land by nijchas. The latter must be preceded by a conflict between the raiyats and the proprietary tenure-holders, most likely to end up in the expropriation of raiyats (the weaker party) out of the land.

The tendency towards the disintegration of the class of proprietary-tenures and appearance in its place a class of independent rich peasants on the one hand and a class of expropriated raiyats on the other, would seem to be a process leading towards the growth of capitalist agriculture. For despite the fact that the tenures, when subdivided and subsequently come to be held under nijchas of the proprietary-tenure-holder-turned-rich-peasant, become smaller in size they could be taken as fairly large compared to the holdings of ordinary tenants. Secondly, from the fact that this class had been getting richer over the period of the sixty years

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32. Ibid., p. 196.

33. Ibid., p. 196. Bulk of north Cuttack came under Jajpur subdivision which sent the greatest number of emigrants later; see Census of India, 1911, Bengal, Report, p. 134.

separating the two settlements of 1837 and 1897, it could be deduced that they would be fairly rich, if not with large concentration of capital, even though the rapid multiplication of the class would have divided the concentrated profits. Thus, given a supply of dispossessed labour, it would be expected that capitalist production should develop in small pockets. However, on closer examination it is seen that these are only two necessary preconditions for the development of capitalist farming, not sufficient. As will be seen in a later section, despite the above conditions, capitalist production in agriculture failed to develop because of two major factors: (a) lack of development of industry proper; and (b) absence of a free market where the farmer could have direct access to the sphere of circulation. The latter two factors were products of colonial policies in the spheres of industry and trade, inhibiting the growth of capitalist agriculture.

We now come to analyse the cultivating classes, i.e., tenants of various types,[34] their conditions and change in their nature and composition during the period 1837-97. As would be seen from tables 24, 25 and 26, thani and pahi forms are the most important forms of tenant tenures. At the settlement of 1837 (see table 24), 21.53% of the total assessed area in Cuttack were held by thani raiyats, and 43.3% by pahi raiyats. At 1897 settlement, however, the composition had

34. For lack of scope we do not go into the examination of the other forms of tenure which were less important from the standpoint of the economy.

Table 24.

Sadar statement of assets and areas by classes of tenures for Cuttack district (% in brackets)

Class or tenancy	No. of holdings (thousands)	Area (thousand acres)		Rents or valuations (in thousands of rupees					Incidence per acre		
		At 1837 settlement	At 1897 settlement	At settlement of 1837	At settlement of 1897		Difference + or -		At settlement of 1837	At settlement of 1897	
					Existing	Settled	Existing	Settled		Existing	Settled
									Rs. A.P.	Rs A P	Rs A P
1. Tanki Bahal	9.1 (0.02)	0.5 (0.08)	0.3 (0.04)	0.1	0.1	0.1	-	-	0 - 3-0	0- 6-0	0- 6-0
2. Kharida Jamabandi	22.6 (3.47)	26.9 (4.33)	30.1 (3.66)	28.6	28.0	45.3	- 0.6	+ 17.3	1 - 1-0	0-15-0	1- 8-0
3. Kamil Baziafti	28.6 (4.40)	37.7 (6.07)	22.5 (2.74)	34.0	19.4	30.0	- 14.6	+ 10.6	0 -14-0	0-14-0	1- 5-0
4. Nisfi Baziafti	98.8(15.19)	87.2(14.04)	94.8(11.53)	35.2	35.7	103.2	+ 0.5	+ 67.5	0- 6-0	0- 6-0	1- 1-0
5. Thani	25.8 (3.97)	133.7(21.53)	41.7 (5.07)	378.7	114.0	120.9	-264.7	+ 6.9	2- 13-0	2-12-0	2-14-0
6. Thani-pahi mixed	20.2 (3.10)	-	84.2(10.24)	-	213.8	225.3	+213.8	+ 11.5	-	2- 9-0	2-11-0
7. Pahi Settled & occupancy	364.7(56.05)	268.9(43.30)	419.2(50.97)	513.5	1,140.4	1,195.7	+626.9	+ 55.3	1- 15-0	2-11-0	2-14-0
Non-occupancy	10.1 (1.55)	-	8.1 (0.98)	-	17.7	20.9	+ 17.7	+ 3.2	-	2- 3-0	2- 9-0
9. Chandna	22.1 (3.40)	10.1 (1.63)	4.8 (0.58)	40.3	23.0	23.3	- 17.3	+ 0.3	3 -15-0	4-13-0	2-14-0
10. Chowkidari Jagir resumed	7.3 (1.12)	-	10.2 (1.24)	-	-	25.4	-	+ 25.4	-	-	2- 8-0
11. Other Jagirs resumed	2.3 (0.35)	-	4.4 (0.53)	-	-	8.2	-	+ 8.2	-	-	1-14-0
12. Tenancies newly assessed	5.2 (0.03)	-	3.3 (0.40)	-	4.2	7.2	+ 4.2	+ 3.0	-	1- 4-0	2- 3-0
13. Tenancies valued for revenue	16.0 (2.45)	-	13.1 (1.59)	-	11.3	27.5	+ 11.3	+ 16.2	-	0-14-0	2- 2-0
14. Lands in the possession of proprietors	26.8 (4.12)	42.3 (6.81)	85.8 (10.43)	75.4	223.2	223.2	+147.8	-	1 -12-0	2-10-0	2-10-0
15. Cultivable	-	10.5 (1.69)	0.02(-)	4.4	-	0.1	- 4.0	+ 0.1	0 - 7-0	-	5- 0-0
16. Biradanan Tanki	-	2.4 (0.39)	-	1.0	-	-	- 1.0	-	0 - 6-0	-	-
17. Chakran Tanki	-	0.8 (0.13)	-	0.4	-	-	- 0.4	-	0- 8-0	-	-
18. Sairat	-	-	-	9.4	16.6	16.6	+ 7.2	-	-	-	-
Total	650.6	621.0	822.5	1,121.0	1,847.4	2,072.9	+726.4	+225.5	1 -14-0	2- 4-0	2 -8-0
		+35.7%									

Source: Maddox Report, Vol. II, p. 327.

Table 25

Sadar statement of assets and areas by classes of tenures for ~~Cuttack~~ Balasore district (% in brackets)

Class of Tenancy	No. of holdings (thousands)	Area (thousand acres) 1837 settlement	Area (thousand acres) 1897 settlement	Rents or valuations (in thousand of rupees) At settlement of 1837	At settlement of 1897 Existing	At settlement of 1897 Settled	Difference, + or- Existing past	Difference, + or- Settled existing	Incidence / acre At 1837	Incidence / acre At 1897 Existing	Incidence / acre At 1897 Settled
Kharida Jamabandi	3.38(0.91)	14.8(3.0)	14.9(2.15)	11.2	10.7	16.9	- 0.5	+ 6.2	0 -12-1	0 -11-6	1- 2-2
Kamil Baziafti	15.68(4.23)	37.1(7.52)	25.2(3.64)	28.1	14.8	23.3	- 13.3	+ 8.5	0- 22-1	0 - 9-5	0-14-16
Nisfi Baziafti	48.30(13.04)	76.8(15.57)	78.2(11.30)	24.2	22.9	68.0	- 1.3	+45.1	0 - 5-1	0 - 4-8	0-13-11
Thani	6.70(1.81)	107 .1(21.72)	11.7(1.69)	185.0	19.8	21.7	-165.2	+ 1.9	1 -11-8	1 -11-1	1-13-8
Thani-Pahi mixed	24.50(6.62)	-	111.8(16.15)	-	179.1	191.6	+179.1	+12.5	-	1 - 9-8	1-11-5
Pure Pahi Settled & occupancy	221.50(59.8)	219.1(44.42)	356.9(51.56)	259.3	604.6	659.4	+345.3	+54.8	1 - 2-11	1 -11-1	1-13-6
Non-occupancy	10.00(2.7)	-	13.4(1.94)	-	13.8	21.9	+ 13.8	+ 8.1	-	1 - 0-7	1-10-2
Chandna	12.40(3.35)	15.5(3.14)	3.3(0.48)	30.8	11.4	11.6	- 19.4	+ 0.2	1 -15-9	3 - 7-3	3- 8-3
Chowkidari jagir resumed	2.50(0.68)	-	7.2(1.04)	-	-	12.4	-	+12.4	-	-	1-11-7
Other Jagirs resumed	1.77(0.48)	-	6.3(0.91)	-	-	5.9	-	+ 5.9	-	-	0-15-0
Tenancies newly ~~resumed~~ assessed	3.18(0.86)	0.2(0.04)	4.0(0.58)	0.2	0.3	4.9	+ 0.1	+ 4.6	1 - 0-0	0 - 1-2	1- 3-7
Tenancies valued for revenue	9.70(2.62)	0.2(0.04)	8.9(1.29)	0.2	15.3	15.3	+ 15.1	-	1 - 0-0	1 -11-6	1-11-6
Lands in possession of proprietors	10.60(2.86)	20.4(4.14)	46.6(6.73)	25.1	81.1	81.1	+ 56.0	-	1- 3-8	1 -11-10	1-11-10
Other tenure holders	0.38(0.10)	0.3(0.06)	3.8(0.55)	0.2	2.8	5.2	+ 2.6	+ 2.4	0 -10-8	0 -11-9	1- 6-0
Cultivable	-	1.7(0.34)	-	0.6	-	-	- 0.6	-	0 - 5-8	-	-
Sairat	—	—	—	1037	12.2	12.2	+1.5	—	—	—	—
Total	370.29(100)	493.2(100)	692.2(100)	575.6	988.8	1,151.4	+413.2	+162.6	1 - 2-8	1 - 6-10	1 -10-7
		+40.35%									

Source: Maddox Report, Vol. II, p. 331.

Table 26

Sadar statement of areas and assets by classes of tenures for Puri district

(% in brackets)

Class of tenancy	No. of holdings (thousands)	Area (thousand acres)		Rents or valuations (in thousand of rupees			Difference, + or -		Incidence / Acre		
		1837 settlement	1897 settlement	At settlement of 1837	At settlement of 1897		Existing past	Settled existing	At 1837	At 1897 Existing	At 1897 Settled
									Rs. A P	Rs. A P	Rs. A P
Kharide Jamabandi	1.0(0.49)	3.7(1.22)	2.4(0.64)	4.0	2.7	3.61.3	- 1.3	+ 0.9	1 - 1-2	1 - 1-8	1 - 7-10
Kamil Baziafti	5.4(2.64)	5.8(1.92)	6.5(1.74)	6.7	6.1	8.2	- 0.6	+ 2.1	1 - 2-6	0 -14-10	1 - 4-1
Nisfi Baziafti	36.4(17.81)	57.3(18.95)	59.4(15.91)	35.2	33.1	67.3	- 2.1	+34.2	0 - 9-10	0 - 8-11	1 - 2-2
Thani	22.4(10.96)	96.9(32.04)	35.2(9.43)	201.6	64.6	68.8	-137.0	+ 4.2	2 - 1-4	1 -13-4	1 -15-3
Thani-Pahi mixed	16.2(7.93)	-	63.0(16.88)	-	118.0	122.8	+118.0	+ 4.8	-	1 -14-0	1 -15-2
Pahi											
Settled & occupancy	93.1((45.53)	82.9(27.41)	128.6(34.45)	122.9	238.5	252.5	+115.6	+14.0	1 - 7-8	1 -13-8	1 -15-5
Non-occupancy	1.5(0.73)	-	1.6(0.43)	-	1.7	2.3	+ 1.7	+ 0.6	-	1 - 1-0	1 - 7-3
Chandna	7.3(3.57)	1.3(0.43)	1.0(0.27)	6.9	6.6	6.8	- 0.3	+ 0.2	5 - 4-7	6 - 6-7	6 - 9-8
Chowkidari Jagir resumed	2.3(1.13)	-	2.8(0.75)	-	-	5.2	-	+ 5.2	-	-	1 -14-1
Other Jagirs resumed	0.5(0.24)	-	1.8(0.48)	-	-	2.6	-	+ 2.6	-	-	1 - 7-5
Tenancies newly ~~resumed~~ assessed	0.2(0.10)	0.3(0.1)	0.9(0.24)	0.4	0.2	0.7	- 0.2	+ 0.5	1 - 1-2	0 - 4-4	0 -13-4
Tenancies valued for Revenue	4.1(2.01)	-	1.7(0.46)	-	3.1	3.4	+ 3.1	+ 0.3	-	1 -13-3	1 -15-5
Lands in possession of proprietors	12.3(6.02)	26.0(8.6)	40.1(10.74)	46.8	80.2	80.2	+ 33.4	-	1 -12-9	0 - 7-11	0 - 7-11
Tanki	1.7(0.83)	28.1(9.29)	28.3(7.58)	13.6	13.4	13.4	- 0.2	-	0 - 7-9	0 - 7-6	0 - 7-6
Cultivable	-	0.1(0.03)	-	0.2	-	-	- 0.2	-	2 - 6-0	-	-
Sairat	-	-	-	3.3	5.5	5.5	+ 2.2	-	-	-	-
Total	204.4(100)	302.4(100)	373.3(100)	441.6	573.7	643.3	+132.1	69.6	1 - 7-4	1 - 8-7	1 -11-7
		+23.4%									

Source: Maddox Report, Vol. II, p. 333.

changed to; thani 5.07 per cent, thani-pahi mixed 10.24 per cent and pahi 51.95 per cent (50.97 per cent with occupancy rights and 0.98 per cent non-occupancy). In Balasore district (table 25) thani and pahi tenures comprised 21.72 per cent and 44.42 per cent respectively of the total assessed area in 1837. In 1897 the composition had come to be; thani 1.69 per cent, thani-pahi mixed 16.15 per cent and pahi 53.5 per cent (occupancy 51.56 per cent and non-occupancy 1.94 per cent). In Puri district (table 26) in 1837, thani and pahi tenures constituted 32.04 per cent and 27.41 per cent respectively, of the total assessed area of the district. In 1897 the composition had changed to: thani 9.43 per cent, thani-pahi mixed 16.88 per cent, and pahi 34.89 per cent (occupancy 34.45 per cent and non-occupancy 0.43 per cent).

Thus it is seen that there was a general decrease in area held by thani raiyats, and an increase in that held by pahi raiyats. In the districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore area under thani tenure decreased by 38, 34, and 57 per cent respectively; and area under pahi tenure increased by 74, 95, and 104 per cent respectively during the period 1837-97. (see tables 27 and 28). Whereas in the case of Cuttack and Balasore almost half of the increase in areas under pahi tenure was due to decrease in thani areas, in the case of Puri, the decline in thani areas amounted to only about one-third of the increase in pahi areas. On an average, for all-Orissa, thani areas decreased by 42 per cent and pahi areas

Table 27.

Decrease in area under thani tenures during 1837-1897, Orissa.

Figures in thousand acres

District	At settlement of 1837	Pure Thani at 1897	Area of Thani-Pahi	Sum of Col.3 and half of Col.4	%age of Col.5 on Col. 2	%age of decrease of Col.5 on Col.2
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Cuttack	133.7	41.7	84.2	83.8	62	38
Puri	96.9	35.2	63	66.7	66	34
Balasore	107.1	45.9	nil	45.9	43	57
Total:	337.7	122.8	147.2	196.4	58	42

Source : Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 219.

Table 28.

Increase in area under pahi tenures during 1837-1897, Orissa.

Figures in thousand acres

District	At settlement of 1837	Settled and occupancy 1897	Add non-occupancy raiyats	Add half of Thani-Pahi.	Totals of Cols. 3,4 and 5.	%age of increase of Col. 6 on Col. 2.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Cuttack	268.9	419.2	8.1	42.1	469.4	74
Puri	82.9	128.6	1.6	31.5	161.7	95
Balasore	219.1	434.5	13.4	nil	447.9	104
Total:	570.9	982.3	23.1	73.6	1,079.0	89

Source : Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 222.

increased by 89 per cent. If we calculate these variations in relation to variation in the total assessed area during the

above period, we see that the deviations of the variations of thani-area composition from the average variations (for all tenures) works out as follows: Cuttack — 74, Balasore —97, Puri — 57 and all-Orissa — 75. The corresponding figures for pahi are: Cuttack +38, Balasore +64, Puri +72, and all-Orissa +56.

Comparing these changes in the respective compositions with the rents of different tenures we find that in all the districts the thani rents stood much above pahi rents. The assessment of thani holdings at 1837 settlement was so high that even during a period of 60 years pahi rents which were competitive rents barely managed to be of the same level, and never exceeded the former by any amount worth consideration. But whereas in the districts of Cuttack and Balasore thani rents remained almost constant over the sixty years, in Puri district, it declined quite heavily, despite the fact that thani rents were fixed rents. This explains the relatively low decline in thani area in Puri district. In Cuttack and Balasore districts the unevenness in rent levels among different revenue blocks similarly explains the difference in the degrees to which thani areas decreased in these blocks.

In spite of the fact that thani tenures entailed certain additional privileges in the village, their extremely high assessment can be inferred from the fact that the areas under thani holdings declined heavily during the two settlements,[35]

35. Cuttack District Gazetteer, p. 120.

and also by the fact that there was a large number of transfers of these holdings just before the settlement of 1897.[36]

The increase in the rent of pahi tenures shows, on the other hand, that the zamindars and proprietary tenures had increased these rents as much as they liked; and the growth of this class in an abnormal proportion shows the rate at which independent peasant cultivators were losing their rights and were being converted into mere tenants-at-will subject to all sorts of oppression by the zamindars.[37]

The fact that 'occupancy' right was merely a 'dead letter' and in practice the pahi raiyats were mere tenants-at-will liable to be thrown out of the land at the mercy of the zamindar, has been admitted by the settlement officer Maddox himself, and by other British officers.[38]

Tenancy acts of Bengal were never fully extended to Orissa, and whenever they were extended, the technical flaws in the acts could be easily taken advantages of by the zamindars and the cultivators refused their rights. Many of the cultivators did not know their rights and whenever they knew, they were not strong enough to enforce these rights.[39] In the

36. Ibid., p. 122.

37. In this context see Maddox's observation, quoted in f.n. 30 above.

38. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 221, 226. Also see Cuttack District Gazetteer, p. 119.

39. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 221.

words of Maddox, "Even down to the time of present settlement this continued to be the case in Balasore District and north-eastern part of the Cuttack District. The zamindars were powerful, cultivation was extending fast, there was a rush for new lands and a few raiyats could prove uninterrupted possession for twelve years of their holdings. The state of change contributed to the insecurity of the raiyati tenure, and the large number of petty proprietors in the estates along the Baitarani is attributed to the purchase by raiyats of the proprietary right over their own holdings in order to protect themselves from eviction."[40] Thus we find that the process of expropriation was a direct result of the land revenue administration of the British. On the other hand, when we remember that the regions along the river Baitarani (Jajpur Subdivision) were precisely the regions from where the emigration was the maximum,[41] the evidence becomes quite significant. The tendency towards the growth of petty proprietors was a tendency that went hand in hand with the tendency towards expropriation. The raiyats who were purchasing the proprietary rights must have accumulated some wealth for doing so.

40. Ibid. Twelve years of uninterrupted ownership was the required qualification for occupancy rights according to the Tenancy Act of 1859. Later, in 1885, this was modified to twelve years occupation of any holding in the village, with a deliberate presumption in favour of the raiyats. The latter was not fully extended to Orissa; see Ibid., p. 226 ff.

41. See Census of India, 1911, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Report, p. 134.

The other possibility -- that they purchased their own tenures with loaned money -- does not seem to be quite probable. Anyway, such raiyats who could manage to purchase the rights of proprietorship over their own tenures, would most probably be very small compared to the total number of raiyati tenures. If the raiyats who got relatively rich were products of a process of differentiation of the peasantry, this could only take place under conditions where the producers would have direct access to the market. But the existing evidence suggests that far from there being free access of the producer to the market, the market was exclusively dominated by the monopolist merchants.[42] In the absence of detailed data as regards specific market conditions prevailing in different local conditions, it becomes impossible to find out what were the sources from which these raiyats got the money to buy the above rights.

However, the fact that the British land policies were leading towards growing impoverishment of the cultivators and progressive deterioration of the agrarian economy, is beyond doubt. The most tangible manifestation of this was the famine of 1866 -- where all the tendencies found their culmination and new tendencies were to start after the famine. It is necessary, therefore, to briefly analyse this famine for a clearer comprehension of the later processes and tendencies.

42. See Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV

THE FAMINE OF 1866

A brief analysis of the famine is relevant for two main reasons. First, it marks the logical culmination of the tendencies operating in the economy; it is the manifestation of an economic crisis precipitated by some immediate causes. Secondly, since the famine marks the catastrophic outburst of the cumulative disequilibrium of the economy, new tendencies and processes come to operate in the system; an analysis of the famine provides the background for understanding the later period. Moreover, the intensity of the famine, and the grave impact it exerted on the economic structure, are of enormous significance for the analysis of the tendencies of the post-famine period.

Whereas 'after 1850 famines were banished from Europe'[1] due to capitalist economic development, they remained the inherent features of colonial and capitalistically backward countries.[2] The fact that famines were the structural characteristics of the colonial economy is borne out even from official data. In the writings of imperialist historiography, however, the less severe famines are brushed aside as 'scarcities', 'droughts' etc. Despite the fact that famines occured in Orissa during the years 1806, 1808, 1809, 1813, 1817,

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1. Bhatia, B.M., Famines in India, p. 8ff.

2. Ibid., p. 11. Bhatia observes that famines became too frequent in India after 1860.

1827, 1828, 1830, 1836, 1837 and 1842,[3] there is no mention of them in the list provided by the Famine Commission of 1880.[4] The famine of 1866, which has been classified as a 'severe famine' was so severe that one third of population of Orissa starved to death in it.

The usual explanation of the famine of 1866 trace the causes of the famine to failure of rainfall and such other natural factors, absence of communication,[5] inefficiency of the British officials,[6] "abnormal rise in prices of rice", hoarding, "selfishness of zamindars" and aboveall "conservatism of the people".[7] A critical analysis of these shows that on the one hand, there has been a confusion between the causes, and the symptoms and effects of the famine, on the other hand, the immediate-causes and the accentuating-factors have been taken as the cause of the famine. For example, the abnormal rise in prices was a symptom rather than the cause of the famine; similarly, the "selfishness of zamindars",

3. See Chapter II, f.n. 15.

4. See appendix 5.

5. Patra, K.M., Orissa Under the East India Company, pp. 317-18; Mukherji, P., "Orissa Famine of 1866", Orissa Historical Journal, 1952, p. 70; Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. 18, pp. 148-69; Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. 10; Famine Commission Report, 1867, Vol. II.

6. Imperialist historiography brushes aside the disastrous impacts of the British policy as mere mistakes of certain administrators.

7. Mukherji, P., loc.cit.

hoarding etc. were the effects of the famine itself which in turn accentuated its gravity. Again, the inefficiency of the officials, the lack of proper communications, can be taken as factors which might have increased the severity of the famine, but they cannot be held as the causes; the latter itself is due to the decline in trade under the British. On the other hand, as S.K. Raut has shown,[8] the climatic factors like shortage of rainfall in proper time are factors that were immediately responsible for precipitating the famine, and cannot be taken as the causes of the famine. The people had become so resourceless that the harvest failure of the year precipitated a famine. Thus it is necessary to emphasize among the host of various factors the basic tendencies operating in the economic structure that were leading towards progressive deterioration in the condition of the people and rising impoverishment. In the words of R.C. Dutt: "the intensity and the frequency of the recent famines are greatly due to the resourcelessness and chronic poverty of the cultivators, caused by the over-assessment of the soil, on which they depend for their livelihood".[9] Again, "if lands have been overassessed in some province of India, if revenue demand has been raised too suddenly and too high, if the population of the country has thereby been rendered resourceless and incapable of helping themselves to any extent in

8. Raut, S.K., The Famine of 1865-66, (unpublished).

9. Dutt, R.C., cited in Raut, loc.cit.

years of drought", them famine would inevitably come in.[10] More specifically, it was the destruction of native salt and handicraft industry, the decline of trade and commerce and the specific land revenue administration pursued by the British in Orissa that outburst into a famine in 1866 on the face of certain immediate natural disfavours.

Our analysis of the agrarian sector has already shown that the cultivators were growing impoverished day by day and that there was a tendency towards decline in productivity. The fact that the condition of existence of primary cultivators -- not to speak of the landless labourers -- existed at a purely subsistence level even in years of good harvest, has been admitted by Hunter.[11] For the pre-famine period we do not have any data on ploughs, livestock etc.; but it is seen from evidences that there was no high level implements used.[12] And cattle diseases like thakuram, tantikata, chowwa etc. were frequent.[13] Moreover, absence of rotation, of manure, in addition to the smallness of the holdings led to decline in productivity.

The British administration never took any serious interest in improving the irrigation facilities. In 1826 the

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10. Dutt, R.C., cited in Raut, loc.cit.

11. Hunter, op.cit., p. 107.

12. Cuttack District Gazetteer, and Balasore District Gazetteer, Chapters on conditions of agriculture.

13. Hunter, op.cit., p. 108.

Churaman canal was planned to be constructed, though primarily for export of salt from the south to Calcutta via the port of Churaman and only secondarily for improving irrigation.[14] But the project failed. By 1862 three coastal canals had been constructed. But the embankments were insufficiently built and the department in charge of these embankments since 1831 had neglected them.[15] Apart from the fact that there was no increase in irrigation, the inefficient management had led to many floods, e.g., a severe flood in 1855, and a still more severe flood in 1866 that accentuated the effects of the famine.[16]

The other most important factor contributing to the resourcelessness of people (apart from high rents and decreasing productivity) was the increasing population pressure on land. This was caused by two main reasons: (a) the natural growth of population;[17] (b) the people employed in a salt industries and weaving etc. were thrown out of employment due to the colonial trade policies and were forced to seek employment in agriculture. The second point needs elaboration. The

14. Cuttack District Gazetteer, p. 105.

15. Balasore District Gazetteer, p. 105.

16. Cuttack District Gazetteer, pp. 127-28.

17. The following is a rough estimate of population growth of Cuttack district : Year 1842: 553,073; 1847: 1,018,979; 1855: 1,293,084; 1866: 1,072,463; 1872: 1,494,784; 1881: 1,738,165. Except for the famine year of 1866, the population grows at a steady rate. See Cuttack District Gazetteer, p. 41.

salt trade, which was a native occupation was monopolized by the Company's government and agents were employed by the Company to supervise its production and trade.[18] The British increased the price of salt almost six-fold[19] and started importing salt which would be sold in the interior, thus leading to the destruction of the salt industry of Orissa, which had been producing the best salt in India. The people employed in the salt industry (mainly Molangis) were thrown out of employment and forced to sink into the class of agricultural labourers.[20] The weaving industry also was destroyed due to competition with British manufacturing industries. Although this competition became sharper in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by 1850's this process had already begun and a fairly large number of people had been thrown out of employment from the native weaving industry by 1866.[21] These people, alongwith the agricultural landless labourers would be the first to succumb to any severe scarcity and price rise.

An analysis of import trade during the decades preceding the famine of 1866 will show the exact manner in which the foreign manufactured goods started competing with the native

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18. Thus the salt trade which was under the domination of the Raja of Berar was now stopped. See Chaudhuri, B., op.cit., p. 4.

19. Paper presented at Indian History Congress, 1972, p.565.

20. Famine Commission Report 1867, Vol. I; Patra, op.cit., Chapters 4 and 5.

21. Cuttack District Gazetteer, p. 149.

industries. Table 29 provides figures for import trade in the Balasore ports from 1848-49 to 1874-75. The main articles of import were tobacco, betel-nuts, twist, piece-goods, turmeric, spices, marine stores and metals. After 1850's the trade starts increasing almost steadily (apart from certain sporadic rises in 1856-57, 1862-63, and 1864-65), and in the late 50's it had reached a considerable high figure. It is quite interesting to see that the import is the highest just before the famine, consisting of Rs. 580 thousand, about 60 per cent higher than the highest figure of 1862-63. The import of twists and piece goods had been fairly high during the late 50's and early 60's. Till 1861 the figures for twist goods go on steadily rising; there is a slight decline during the next three years. In the case of piece goods, the figures rise without any sharp fall, and in the year 1864-65, the year just before the famine, the import is about two-and-a-half times the highest figure reached last. It must be noted that by 1874-75 twist import would be multiplied by about ten times, and piece-goods about twenty times the respective values before the famine. The systematic import of manufactured goods gradually competed out the native industries.

On the other hand, an analysis of the export trade shows how the food resources of the province were systematically drained out, even on the face of the famine. (See table 30). Rice, paddy, timber and stone-platters are the most important items of export. It can be seen that the figures for both

Table 29

IMPORTS INTO BALASOR PORTS FOR EACH YEAR FROM 1848-49 TO 1874-75.

YEAR.	Tobacco		Betel-nuts.		Twist.	Piece-Goods.	Gunny-Bags.	Drugs.	Turmeric.	Spices.	Marine Stores.	Cotton.	Coal.	Rice.		Paddy.		Metals.	Specie.	Total value of Imports.
	Mds.	*Rs.*	*Mds.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Mds.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1847-48	2,649	10,586	4,282	5,471	7,162	1,387	...	26	1,416	736	51	1,170	...	...	...	...	...	3,326	...	48,419
1848-49	4,262	26,033	5,242	21,242	10,141	326	...	198	198	5,330	279	480	...	...	...	...	...	8,672	...	83,954
1849-50	3,979	21,531	3,732	15,925	14,842	1,216	...	79	338	4,743	6,211	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,963	...	83,253
1850-51	4,029	24,168	5,792	23,132	10,549	1,240	148	200	235	9,133	11,510	1,334	...	...	...	...	...	18,707	...	116,022
1851-52	5,801	34,039	7,157	28,329	17,534	1,133	...	486	3,004	8,418	290	...	...	...	...	...	...	29,929	...	152,832
1852-53	7,374	34,307	6,832	10,843	11,296	926	...	68	7,575	6,398	2,468	...	...	...	...	...	...	10,548	...	103,585
1853-54	5,113	30,321	6,625	26,545	19,863	1,083	...	501	20,246	10,132	5,041	3,163	...	...	...	...	...	17,434	...	157,098
1854-55	7,610	46,804	11,093	40,085	32,664	2,582	6	436	17,992	10,130	4,425	11,877	...	...	...	...	...	75,263	...	271,527
1855-56	7,061	44,794	10 736	47,264	26,305	5,174	818	189	10,002	9,462	10,003	13,782	...	...	...	...	...	22,990	...	202,839
1856-57	10,332	61,902	13,930	59,604	38,680	10,137	1,689	446	3,584	29,175	5,081	7,801	...	4,750	5,110	...	...	31,985	6,900	325,543
1857-58	3,132	31,106	10,717	46,978	29,367	5,300	41	243	...	11,904	4,240	154	...	...	...	...	...	34,683	...	181,096
1858-59	6,461	62,022	13,327	46,955	26,062	3,426	130	455	19,833	11,968	2,704	...	...	...	...	...	...	37,415	...	243,593
1859-60	8,209	49,343	11,907	47,754	27,689	8,151	49	823	8,214	15,238	3,631	...	...	...	...	...	...	51,286	...	237,276
1860-61	5,832	40,685	16,052	55,692	34,108	11,942	63	801	22,448	13,179	7,923	...	...	...	...	...	...	29,930	13,000	242,754
1861-62	5,894	59,029	13,730	53,657	28,017	5,210	959	619	194	16,130	8,035	2,485	...	6	12	...	...	33,496	33,700	265,986
1862-63	5,986	87,522	20,406	81,629	14,722	11,773	774	2,883	17,138	17,125	8,563	...	...	...	...	...	...	32,550	36,970	347,863
1863-64	5,394	74,452	11,768	51,289	9,533	10,359	4,775	2,330	268	19,983	2,393	4,615	10,168	15	21	1	8	32,184	80,700	342,982
1864-65	4,099	55,830	22,241	99,450	7,717	26,654	15,809	3,127	1,104	26,790	6,482	1,136	...	26	63	...	...	27,778	279,604	579,928
1865-66	...	...	...	...	...	...	13,729	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,898	9,519	...	...	...	60,800	271,434
1866-67	...	...	3,202	21,482	4,496	1,840	137	27,983	814	8,850	503	...	...	23,735	110,970	12,399	30,060	298	3,000	240,936
1867-68	...	...	23,717	83,375	14,178	12,142	...	208	14,420	32,070	615	...	...	1	5	...	...	9,857	...	265,383
1868-69	...	...	15,776	74,207	7,810	10,645	1,215	981	27,561	12,752	1,531	...	...	15	53	...	...	11,554	5,000	312,810
1869-70	2,943	39,803	...	...	8,262	8,177	...	...	...	29,775	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17,481	112,600	356,556
1870-71	3,712	32,961	...	...	3,657	7,446	...	...	...	16,583	...	2,888	...	...	...	...	...	11,179	115,000	300,784
1871-72	5,643	72,379	...	...	26,321	80,728	...	...	...	46,079	...	5,739	...	...	...	...	...	49,891	105,600	614,126
1872-73	1,572	18,139	...	...	22,992	31,395	...	...	...	7,912	...	2,718	...	...	...	...	...	9,819	68,700	250,487
1873-74	8,585	115,017	...	...	245 681	340,785	...	...	...	35,695	...	11,235	300	...	...	...	...	426,984	123,004	1,773,158
1874-75	10,556	125,978	...	...	318,459	514,707	...	...	...	60,017	...	2,296	2,283	...	...	...	...	625,537	270,611	2,626,836

Source: Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. 18, p. 341.

Table 30

EXPORTS FROM BALASOR PORTS FOR EACH YEAR FROM 1848-49 TO 1874-75.

YEAR.	Turmeric.	Paddy.		Rice.		Other Grains.		Oil-seeds.		Timber.		Stone Platters.		Hides.		Deer Horns.		Jute.		Galinuts.	Specie.	Total value of Exports.
	Rs.	*Mds.*	*Rs*	*Mds.*	*Rs.*	*Mds.*	*Rs.*	*Mds.*	*Rs.*	*No*	*Rs.*	*No.*	*Rs.*	*No.*	*Rs.*	*Mds*	*Rs.*	*Mds.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1847-48	22	576,719	151,768	121,753	58,676	618	654	...	...	2,916	1,319	4,490	1,494	2,499	2,534	292	1,637	...	...	...	...	221,695
1848-49	...	335,354	86,592	31,870	12,748	209	254	...	...	1,589	406	5,173	1,798	...	...	285	1,579	...	...	...	...	106,952
1849-50	10	572,730	134,760	106,131	47,170	933	604	...	...	2,209	2,422	5,080	2,072	...	...	243	1,855	...	...	...	...	195,350
1850-51	...	659,293	178,818	329,252	154,943	239	233	...	...	396	3,960	7,730	3,282	...	...	247	1,482	46	69	...	...	349 549
1851-52	...	288,823	131,227	56,251	34,219	...	...	...	...	1,408	1,754	5,252	1,969	...	...	181	902	...	...	...	...	174,079
1852-53	...	417,713	169,523	23,000	15,037	590	433	136	336	3,440	4,365	1,641	395	...	...	323	1,625	463	364	...	...	199 774
1853-54	...	351,126	164,936	47,153	34,880	2,280	2,410	...	...	11,664	19,589	4,238	1,118	...	...	379	1,984	1,299	1,519	...	...	235,204
1854-55	...	307,651	100,764	132,079	88,775	583	495	...	...	193	3,762	3,523	1,073	...	...	98	506	524	533	...	...	207,990
1855-56	...	390,051	128,056	185,296	121,976	708	322	1,621	4,071	455	1,038	2,413	615	...	...	234	1,185	149	179	1,559	950	268,051
1856-57	...	728,453	...	...	...	3,757	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	355	...	...	...	...	...	...
1857-58	10,605	322,571	203,956	46,609	50,228	4,444	7,583	1,048	2,675	1,500	24,000	24,091	10,663	...	...	536	2,471	448	728	...	...	326,438
1858-59	...	561,250	443,969	61,983	87,940	79	170	1,185	3,190	10 895	16,455	15,246	6,244	...	...	275	1,559	1,307	1,426	307	...	609,292
1859-60	...	470,588	364,151	65,978	76,124	1,713	1,602	60	149	13,201	28,791	8,942	4,776	...	...	277	1,872	125	163	...	...	494,843
1860-61	...	317,640	187,330	61,186	53,191	1,165	1,590	...	...	34,667	15,802	2,025	736	325	81	306	1,813	308	380	1,807	...	295,648
1861-62	2,330	359,899	167,521	113,806	102,418	486	584	3,104	2,036	5,501	6,480	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	38	294	...	292,474
1862-63	...	201,076	86,708	188,279	203,558	60	115	1,567	887	7,639	6,645	...	...	...	...	105	597	522	805	27	...	313,318
1863-64	...	229,820	92,847	442,232	496,503	107	114	2,870	3,229	1	23	134	52	...	...	166	857	...	...	928	...	624,724
1864-65	265	176,254	112,449	630,423	823,920	1,327	2,260	1,035	2,721	...	...	100	28	...	...	11	49	31	58	291	...	957,795
1865-66	...	31,362	20,242	38,009	68,343	...	...	...	...	...	6,800	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,783	131,926	281,392
1866-67	...	26,196	25,133	8,313	8,480	5,336	2,257	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,500	27,000	82	531	1,990	974	2,032	24,500	94,570
1867-68	1,537	104,290	49,544	8,469	8,893	428	764	69	257	...	1,537	...	...	...	...	392	1,397	1,527	679	1,848	3,000	93,233
1868-69	...	89,637	82,956	38,446	56,641	125	250	...	...	...	794	...	...	...	...	276	2,505	18	90	6,594	...	166,815
1869-70	...	...	...	305,078	334,341	425	844	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	117	182	...	...	365,079
1870-71	...	...	...	443,067	390,595	1,135	2,014	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	614	1,335	...	...	443,075
1871-72	...	...	...	483,353	452,536	464	872	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10,579	24,271	...	...	547,240
1872-73	...	...	...	493,534	338,723	8	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	57	149	...	...	399,206
1873-74	...	...	...	890,940	1,304,809	4,245	14,372	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,193	5,853	...	27,500	1,631,708
1874-75	...	...	...	1,941,168	1,709,917	5,038	23,573	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,907	8,560	...	39,170	2 138,305

Source:- Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. 18, p. 342.

paddy and rice are quite high from the very beginning itself, and maintain a slow and steady rise till 1861-62, after which the rise is spectacular. It is quite interesting to see that export of paddy and rice was very high during the three years after 1861-62, the figures for rice almost doubling every year over the figure of the previous year. This continues right upto the famine. This shows that the heavy export of food grains continuously for a period of three years had left the people absolutely resourceless (foodgrainless) to face a single harvest failure of 1866.

Thus the British trade policy had been doubly responsible for bringing about the impoverishment of the people: throwing out the people employed in native industries off their jobs by importing manufactured goods, and draining out the food grains of the province and thus creating material resourcelessness.

Given these conditions, when the peasantry was absolutely without stock, a failure of winter-rice crop (the major crop of Orissa) due to absence of rainfall during September-October (precisely the time when winter rice crop needs it most) of 1865 precipitated a famine.[22] The flood of June-July 1866 due to heavy rain, on the other hand, added salt to the injury.[23] Price of rice went up to about one-fourth to one-fifth of a rupee per seer, in certain places even a rupee

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22. Mukherji, P., op.cit., p. 70.

23. Balasore District Gazetteer, p. 41.

per seer;[24] whereas under normal conditions the average price of rice during the decade just preceding the famine was about 29 seers per rupee, and during the decade preceding that (1847-56) it was about 58 seers per rupee.[25] Even then rice was not available in the free market.[26] On the other hand, due to the laissez faire policies of the government and repeated assurance by the British officials that the government would not intervene at all, even when the price was too high and rice was not brought to the market, traders and dealers went on hoarding rice.[27] While the government went on blaming the dealers for not "understanding" free-trade and competition, the dealers persuaded one another and combined among themselves to keep the grain out of the market.[28] Even the mahajans and zamindars hoarded considerable amount of rice.[29] The government, despite its knowledge of the hoarding, allowed

24. Hunter, The Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. X.

25. See appendices 6 and 7.

26. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. 18, p. 148 ff.; Also see Famine Commission Report, 1867, Vol. II.

27. Ravenshaw's letter to Lieutenant Governor (dated April 1866) cited in Raut, S.K., op.cit., pp. 36-7. See Famine Commission Report 1867, Vol. II.

28. Evidence given by Radhasyam Narendra, zamindar of Kendrapara, before Famine Commission of 1867; ibid.

29. Ravenshaw's letter to the Secretary, Government of Bengal 2.4.1866), See Famine Commission Report 1867, Vol. II.

the grain to be hoarded and let the price rise in an unrestricted manner.[30] The government never seriously organized the import of rice in sufficient quantity to meet the famine needs. The argument that this was due to the absence of proper communication seems to be partly incorrect; for in the year just before the famine there had been huge amounts of rice-exports out of Orissa. However, it is true, large scale import in time of necessity was hindered by lack of proper communication;[31] e.g. bulk-import of rice from Burma was hindered to a great extent as big ships could not enter the Orissa ports, where the depth of water had decreased over a period of time. This was due to a decrease in their use during the early British rule when the trade of the province declined considerably, as a result of the policies of the Company's government. The relief measures were extremely insufficient and could not prevent starvation.[32]

The landless labourers and the artisans thrown out of their old occupations were the first to succumb. Where money wages prevailed the effect was more serious; for the labourers were already indisposed due to the price rise when wages were

30. See Sir Cecil's speech in Famine Commission Report, 1867, Vol. I.

31. Mukherji, P., loc.cit., On decline of trade and hence of ports, see Chowdhury, B., op.cit., pp. 4-5; Hunter, A History of Orissa, p. 180; Cuttack District Gazetteer, p. 138.

32. A comparative analysis of relief measures taken in Orissa and other affected regions of India during 1865-66, suggests that the relief measures were very inadequate. See Famine Commission Report, 1880, Vol. I, p. 24.

not increased.[33] Most of the lower caste people -- Chasas, Goalas, Pans, Teli, Bauri, Kandara, Tanti, Keut, Sudra, Napit, Dhobi, Bania, Kumbhara, Barhai, Kaudu, Lohar, Chamar, Mali, Hari, Madak, Dom, Jugi, Sunri and Tambuli -- who were day labourers, menials, agricultural labourers, small handicraft men etc. perished in the famine.[34] A large section of the raiyati classes also died.

The total population of Orissa in 1865 was 3,015,826. During the famine 814,469 perished and 115,028 either emigrated or disappeared, making a total loss of 929,497 persons, i.e., about 31 per cent of the total population.[35] The famine left a very strong and lasting impact on the social and economic life of the people.

After the famine there was an acute shortage of labour for agricultural work; this shortage lasted for many years.[36] A considerable portion of land lay uncultivated. On the other side, the zamindars, traders and dealers emerged richer and more powerful -- not only through hoarding and speculation, but also through the acquisition of the mortgaged property of the poor classes, who in their last bid for sur-

33. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. 18, p.110.

34. Hunter, Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. X, p. 436.

35. Balfour, E., Article on Orissa in the Cyclopedia of India and of Eastern and Southern Asia, p. 48; Cf. Raut, S.K., loc.cit.

36. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. 18, pp. 117-18, 297-300.

vival must have disposed of their belongings.

After the famine the economic tendencies would start afresh. As almost all the landless labourers would have perished in the 31 per cent of the population that the famine extinguished, the new class of landless labourers that would come to exist towards the turn of the century was entirely the creation of a process of expropriation of peasantry.

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CHAPTER V

MERCHANT'S CAPITAL AND USURY CAPITAL

5.1. Industry and Trade: Merchant's capital.

"The sudden expansion of the world-market, the multiplication of circulating commodities, the competitive zeal of the European nations to possess themselves of the products of Asia and the treasures of America, and the colonial system -- all contributed materially toward destroying the feudal fetters on production".[1] However, the same process that led to the development of capitalist mode of production in Britain by the destruction of feudal fetters, had a quite uneven impact on the colonies. In the latter, the destruction of the old mode of production did not necessarily lead to development of capitalism. In fact, the colonial system contributed to the backwardness of the colonies.

There have been ~~two lines of~~ argument on the impact of colonialism on Indian economy. The first line argues that colonialism contributed towards growth and prosperity in the economy of India.[2] This view has been found to be factually wrong and unfounded. The opposing school, which argues that because of colonialism there was not any tendency towards capitalist development in agriculture at all,[3] seems, however,

1. Marx, Capital, Vol. III, pp. 332-32.

2. Morris, M.D., in Morris, M.D., et al, Indian Economy in the Nineteenth Century: A symposium.

3. See Bipan Chandra and other critics in ibid.

to be equally one-sided, though fundamentally correct in its attribution of the backwardness of India to its colonial past. The latter school, especially when it comes to argue on the backwardness Indian agriculture, commits the error of not seeing the specific differences in different regions of India, in terms of the character of market relations and the nature of the crop cultivated. For example, in the cotton growing tracts of Bombay, the peasants had relatively free access to the market and this led to a tendency towards differentiation of the peasantry and initiative on the part of rich peasants to take up capitalist farming.[4] On the other hand, in regions like Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, commercialization of production of certain crops, because of the specific character of the market where merchants had monopolies over the market, led not towards capitalist farming but towards growth of bonded labour.[5] Even here the pattern varied from crop to crop as different rates of profit existed in different cases, and since the fluctuations in the demand in the world-market were of differential nature for the whole range of commercial crops. For example, in the case of jute, where the world market demand was very high during the first three decades of the twentieth century, despite the predominance of

4. Shri Prakash, Cotton and Commercialization in Bombay Presidency (unpublished); Guha, S., Growth of Cotton Trade in Khandesh (unpublished).

5. Chowdhury, B., Growth of Commercial Agriculture in Bengal 1757-1900, Vol. I.

merchants' monopoly, we find that with the expansion of jute cultivation, individual initiative towards investment on the part of peasants themselves developed in certain limited pockets.[6]

The overall feature of the eastern region, however, was that commercialization of cultivation did not lead to capitalist production, especially in the case of common rice crop where the rate of profit was relatively low. More specifically, in the case of Orissa, we find that because of a very high degree of monopolization of the market, development of commercial agriculture in rice crop did not lead to capitalist production based on increased productivity but to stagnation and decline in productivity in agriculture. The general framework within which the uneven impact of different kinds of markets were felt, was one of extremely slow industrial development. And this is the key point in analysing agricultural changes. There has been no systematic attempt at analysing the process of industrial growth and changes in agriculture as a unified process. This appears to be the major drawback of all the studies that generalize about Indian agriculture.

The development of capitalist production in industry proper is a pre-condition for capitalist development in agriculture in many ways: (a) industry in general creates the

6. See Indian Central Jute Committee, Report on the Marketing and Transport of Jute in India (1940); also see Famine Commission Report, 1945.

effective demand for means of subsistence, especially food-grains, by creating a class of workers paid in money wages; (b) the industries that use as raw material products of agriculture create a demand for these raw materials; (c) industries producing means-of-production goods (capital goods) for agriculture provide the necessaries for the technological transformation of agriculture; (d) industries supplying manufactured consumption goods to the rural areas increase the dependence of the latter to the former and make it necessary that money-wages be paid in agriculture; (e) industrial capital because of its control over the direct production process acquires a real autonomy -- as different from mere formal autonomy of capital in the sphere of circulation, e.g., usury capital and merchant's capital -- which makes it capable of subordinating all other forms of capital to itself and thus provides the basis for subordination of agricultural production (direct production process) to capital. Because of the specific constraints imposed by the colonial system, e.g., laissez-faire policy in trade, lack of tariff protection for indigenous industries, India remained backward industrially, tied to the world economy in a subordinate position.[7]

Whereas the absence of protective tariff policy led to the dumping of British manufactured goods in India, hence to

7. See Bagchi, A., Private Investment in India, Conclusion; Bipan Chandra, Colonialism and Modernization, Presidential Address, Indian History Congress, Jabalpur, December 28-30, 1970. Bhattacharya, S., Financial Foundations of the British Raj.

deindustrialization of the existing industries and slow and sick growth of new ones, the export of raw materials from India was carried on at unfavourable terms of trade, thus siphoning off the effects of increased agricultural production. Moreover, commercialization of agriculture under conditions of monopoly of merchants reduced the possibility of capitalist production, within the general framework of lack of rapid indigenous industrial development.

Table 31 shows that during 1901 and 1911 the agricultural population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa taken together increased by 15 per cent, whereas the population supported by industry increased only by 3 per cent. There was a distinct decline in population supported by textile industry, dress and toilet industries, and trade. This shows the tremendous destructive influence exerted by the colonial system. Detailed figures for the decline of the indigenous industries are not available. Hence, it is very difficult to make any comparative analysis of the process between different branches of industry and between different regions.

Coming specifically to Orissa we find that among the manufacturing industries of Orissa salt industry was the most important industry in terms of the number of people employed and value produced, for which some data are available. As has already been mentioned, after the introduction of monopoly in salt trade by the Company's government, the native population were forbidden to make salt from the sea water and

Table 31.

Bengal, Bihar and Orissa : Variation in occupation distribution of population:

~~in~~ 1901-1911

Figures in thousands (figures rounded off)

Occupation	Population supported in 1911	Population supported in 1901	% Variation
A. Production of raw materials	66,606	57,679	
I. Exploitation of surface of earth	66,326	57,569	+ 15
1. Pasture and agriculture	65,540	57,009	+ 15
a) Ordinary cultivation	64,080	55,785	+ 15
b) Growers of spl. products and market gardening	370	341	+ 9
c) Forestry	84	49	+ 71
d) Raising of farm stock	962	754	+ 27
e) Raising of small animals	43	79	- 45
2. Fishing and hunting	786	560	+ 40
II. Extraction of minerals	280	110	+154
B. Preparation and supply of raw materials	11,419	11,351	+ 1
III. Industry	6,152	5,958	+ 3
Textiles	1,317	1,379	- 4
Jute spinning, pressing and weaving	345	143	+140
Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom	62	34	+ 56
Wood	660	566	+ 17
Metals	386	393	- 2
Ceramics	474	439	+ 8
Chemical products etc.	286	263	+ 9
Food industries	903	877	+ 3
Dress and toilet	1,098	1,150	- 4
Furniture industries	11	4	+141
Buildings "	367	272	+ 35
Construction of means of transport	41	40	+ 1

Cont'd... table 31.

Occupation		Figures in thousands: Population supported in 1911	Population supported in 1901	% Variation
	Production and transmission of physical forces (heat, light etc)	5	1	+274
	Luxury etc.	449	420	+ 7
	Refuse matter industries	93	113	- 18
IV.	Transport	1,316	1,009	+ 30
	Transport by water	362	330	+ 10
	Transport by road	669	516	+ 30
	Transport by rail	242	129	+ 87
	Post Office etc.	93	33	+ 30
V.	Trade	3,951	4,384	- 10
C.	Public administration and liberal arts	1,809	1,941	- 7
D.	Miscellaneous	4,162	7,522	- 45

Source: Census Reports for the concerning years.

were forced to purchase salt from the government.[8] The process of destruction of the native salt industry that had begun in the early period of British rule came to acquire striking dimensions after the famine, throwing increasing number of people out of employment.[9] The manufacture of salt in Cuttack district declined from 136,901 maunds in 1881-82 to 39,641 maunds in 1887-82. And the total stock of salt at the beginning of the year declined from 63,865 maunds in 1883-84 to 27,438 maunds in 1887-88.[10] Besides the salt industry, the spinning, weaving and shipping industries of Orissa were also destroyed due to the colonial policy.[11]

Data regarding trade are, however, far from complete. From table 32 we get a rough picture of the sea-borne import and export trade of the province. It appears that the total value of both export and import trade declined steadily during 1884-94. In 1895-96 there seems to be a recovery. But as the commodity - composition is not given, it is very difficult to interpret these data. Banerjei provides a detailed set of data for Cuttack district. But even from these, we could not draw any definite conclusions regarding the import of foreign manufacture goods.

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8. Senapati, F., "Galpa Salpa" (Oriya), Fakir Mohan Granthabali, pp. 642-43.

9. Agarwalla, S.C., Salt Industry in India, pp. 231-32, Sinha, N.K., Midnapore Salt Papers, p. 5.

10. Banerjei, N.N., Report on the Agriculture of the district of Cuttack, Appendices, p. xlvi.

11. Ray, B.C., Orissa Under Marathas, pp. 2-5; "Shipping and Maritime activities of Orissa during Muslim Rule", Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Jaipur, 1951; Banerjee, R.D., History of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 94-98.

Table 32

Total value of the sea-borne trade of the Orissa ports
(exclusive of govt. transactions) 1884-96

Year	Value of Imports (Rs.)				Value of Exports (Rs.)				Exports + Imports (Rs.)			
	Cuttack Rs.	Balasore Rs.	Puri Rs.	Orissa total imports Rs.	Cuttack	Balasore	Puri	Orissa total exports Rs.	Cuttack	Balasore	Puri	Orissa total
1884-85	199,327	8,902,197	13,497	9,115,021	2,648,000	6,250,216	755,315	9,653,531	2,847,327	15,152,413	768,812	18,768,552
1885-86	179,442	8,458,057	10,610	8,648,109	2,938,564	5,095,908	533,055	8,387,527	3,118,006	13,553,965	363,665	17,035,636
1889-90	77,397	5,656,252	1,384	5,735,033	1,678,346	4,084,296	215,392	5,978,034	1,755,743	9,740,548	216,776	11,713,067
1890-91	141,519	5,560,694	9,814	5,712,027	3,015,454	4,611,559	532,984	8,159,995	3,156,973	10,172,251	542,798	13,872,022
1894-95	133,350	6,108,380*	-	6,241,730*	2,018,819	3,119,177*	373,038	5,511,034*	2,152,169	9,227,557*	373,038	11,752,764*
1895-96	326,061	5,994,021	65,128	6,386,210	2,978,955	5,384,432	639,578	6,202,970	3,305,016	11,378,458	704,706	15,388,180

* The figures for 1894-95 have been altered in accordance with the corrections made by the Collector of Customs /note in the original source/.

Source: Report on the Administration of Bengal for the years concerned.

Regarding Banerjei's data on export trade, however, it can be said with certainty that export of rice goes on increasing during 1881-91. Figures for export trade in a certain selected food grains for Cuttack district are provided in table 33. Decline in trade figures after 1886 is due to the diversion of trade route from False Point of Cuttack district to Chandbali of Balasore district,[12] and hence does not show a decline in rice-export. Thus it can be argued that the increase in export trade of rice is an index of the rise in commercialization of that crop.

The most significant fact about the trade of the province is that virtually all the trade were monopolized by a few merchants, either British, or people who got the right of monopoly in collaboration with the British. For example, towards the end of the 19th century, in Bhadrak town of Balasore district, the rice trade was monopolized by Bombay Nacoda merchants; salt was imported from Liverpool by Messrs Turner, Morrison and Co. (of the value Rs. 125,000 per annum, and supplied at the rate of Rs. 3-10-6 per maund); kerosine trade was also monopolised by the same company (of Rs. 27,600 annually at Rs. 3-11-0 per case); four merchants monopolized import trade of British cotton goods (of the value Rs. 125,000 annually); export trade in cattle was monopolized by Sheik Imam and five other merchants (of the value Rs. 90,000 annually, at the

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12. Banerjei, op.cit., p. xxxiii.

Table 33.

Sea-borne Export trade of Cuttack District for certain selected grains and pulses:
1881-82 to 1890-91

Year	Wheat		Gram and pulse		Husked rice	
	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.
1881-82	3,163	8,524	2,944	7,552	458,045	1,022,504
1882-83	2,719	5,437	37	54	876,599	1,808,951
1883-84	1,025	2,770	4,038	6,272	1,109,258	2,239,456
1884-85	3,524	7,744	1,241	2,146	1,088,685	2,619,905
1885-86	192	384	6,532	12,330	1,060,941	2,886,575
1886-87	3,966	12,167	7,530	22,654	600,036	1,648,851
1887-88	3,636	8,518	-	-	528,275	1,352,776
1888-89	2,889	7,886	468	1,136	346,513	951,918
1889-90	-	-	678	1,017	480,235	1,622,138
1890-91	312	936	5,442	10,615	981,065	2,979,711

Source : Banerjei, N.N., Report on the Agriculture of the District of Cuttack, 1893, Appendices, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

rate of Rs. 10 per head of cattle on an average);[13] hides trade was monopolized by Golab Khan and half a dozen others (of Rs. 72,000 per annum); three Marwari merchants traded in turmeric, chillies, sugar (molasses and kanda) and cocoanuts; Sankar Sahu and others monopolized trade in betel nut, spices, wheaten flour, refined sugar, potatoes and plantains (of total value Rs. 10,000 annually).[14] The same phenomenon of monopoly in trade existed in Cuttack district also.[15]

The merchants who monopolized the export trade in various commodities operated through various kinds of middlemen at different levels.[16] The merchants through these middlemen advanced money for cultivation and fixed the price in advance. Because of the monopsonistic position of the merchant, the cultivators were forced to sell their produce to him at prices which were in his favour. The pricing mechanism is arranged in such a manner that the whole surplus produce of the cultivator (excluding the cost of the family consumption, rent etc. from the total produce) is appropriated by the

13. Such a huge export of cattle is an index of the stagnation in the economy; the relationship between the declining live-stock and indebtedness will be discussed in a later section.

14. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 40.

15. Banerjei, N.N., op.cit., p. 156.

16. Banerjei, N.N., loc.cit.; Cuttack District Gazetteer, pp. 141-42; Indian Central Jute Committee, Report on the Marketing and Transport of Jute in India, Chapter III.

merchant. The merchant stands outside the production process, yet exploits the cultivators from that position. Gradually the cultivators would become indebted to the merchant, and the merchant would expropriate the means of production from the cultivators. The subjugation of the cultivator to the merchant may mean a lessening of the power of the zamindar on the cultivator. But it is very difficult to separate the effects of the zamindar as a mahajan (whenever the case is like this) and that of the petty middleman-deputy of the merchant, on the cultivator.

Analysing the two paths of transition to capitalist mode of production (path I : the producer becomes a merchant, i.e., through direct access to the market the rich peasants accumulate and engage in capitalist production; path II: the merchant expropriates the cultivators and carries on agricultural production with wage-labour on a capitalist basis), Marx[17] referred to the latter as the non-revolutionary path, which though creates one of the conditions of capitalist development by expropriating the peasant of his means of production, does not necessarily lead to development of capitalist production, to which it may lead only in the presence of additional circumstances. In the absence of these additional conditions it may lead to stagnation and transform the expropriated cultivators into bonded labourers. Because of the

17. Marx, Capital, Vol. III, Chapter XX. See also Dobb, Maurice, Studies in the Development of Capitalism for historical illustrations of Marx's point.

specific conditions imposed by the colonial system, most importantly, lack of native industrial growth and unfavourable terms of trade etc., commercialization through monopolistic merchants based on the system of advances led to conditions of semi-slavery in Eastern India. In the case of almost all the commercial crops like indigo and poppy cultivation in Bihar and Bengal, commercialization on this system led to expropriation of the cultivators and their disposition in the hands of the merchants as bonded and semi-bonded labour.[18] The decrease in the number of bonded labour due to migration to different industries, provides ample evidence of this.[19] The same process happened in Orissa. Lack of data, however, impede any determination of the exact degree to which it took place. The only index we have used is growth in export of rice which took place under conditions of monopoly. The transformation of the expropriated labourers to bonded labourers, however, must not be seen as a finished process, but only as a tendency. Emigration to industrial regions acted as a counter-tendency and thus dissipated the effects of the former process. More on it in the last chapter.

It is very difficult to separate this system of expropriation of peasantry from that due to usury capital; for often usury capital and merchant's capital operate by co-

18. Chowdhury, B., Growth of Commercial Agriculture in Bengal (1757-1900).

19. Patel, S.J., Essays on Economic Transition, p. 21.

agulating their functions. It is necessary therefore to analyse the process of expropriation due to the dominance of usury capital for a fuller understanding of the exact manner in which the process takes place.

5.2. Usury Capital and Indebtedness.

The predominance of usury capital on a social scale marks a characteristic feature of the colonial impact on Indian agriculture. In the early period of British rule usury capital started expanding at a very fast rate. It got under its clutches not only the cultivators who had to borrow money to pay cash rent in time, but also the members of the old zamindar class, who incurred heavy loans[20] for their luxurious expenditure and for clearing up the arrears of the government within the scheduled time, as the revenue demand was very high in this period, and as collections were not upto the mark and often not punctual. But in the second phase of British rule in Orissa, the composition of the zamindars had already undergone a change, being dominated by speculators. It has already been shown how with a change in the pattern of settlement this class came to emerge as a powerful force. Now usury capital came to exist in a double form, or rather in what are the two modal forms of existence of usury capital performing the same function: one, as the professional money-lender; two, as zamindar performing the functions of a usurer in many cases. Since one of the characteristic functions of usury capital,

20. Maddox Report, Vol. II, Appendices N.A., N.C.

that of ruining the members of the old zamindar class, was more or less complete, the second characteristic function, namely, appropriation of the surplus produce of the cultivator in the form of usurious interest, became the most important function of usury capital in the second period. The impact of this form of exploitation on the social division of labour is extremely important, for it shows the tendencies that operate in the economy.

Usury capital belongs together with merchant's capital to the "antediluvian" forms of capital which long precede capitalist mode of production.[21] The only premises for the development of usury capital are: (a) atleast a portion of the products must have been converted into commodities; (b) along with the development of trade, money should have developed with its various form-determinations (Form-bestimmung), especially as means of payment.[22] With the development of the form of money as means of payment (e.g. cash-rent), money as hoard gets transformed to usury capital. And the professional hoarder, who stored up the bodily form of money by suspending its function as medium of circulation in the circuit C-M-C (commodity-money-commodity) transforms himself into a usurer and his hoard into usury capital with the circuit M-M' (money-

21. Marx, Capital, Vol. III, p. 593.

22. For a discussion on different form-determinations of money and its corresponding functions, see Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Chapter II.

more money).[23]

Usury, however, confronts the small peasant production in a double way. Because of the low degree of development of commodity economy, money is very scarce. And money as means of purchase is necessary for the small producer for buying implements of production, even for buying a part of his means of subsistence. But the really important domain of the usurer is the function of money as means of payment.[24] The necessity of paying cash-rent, of paying it at a definite limit of time, makes it incumbent upon the small cultivator to loan money from the usurer. But usury capital also operares in forms other than money-loans, e.g. loans in kind. Ordinary crop failures causing a shortage of the product available for the cultivator's subsistence (after the payment of the rent), for example pushes the cultivator into the clutches of the usurer; in which case the loan may be given in the form of grains.

What signifies the characteristic feature here is the fact that the cultivator is related to the usurer in his capacity as a producer, even when the loan is spent as means of subsistence. This form must be distinguished from the debt of a labourer in his capacity as a consumer, for example, the indebtedness of the labourers of the jute industry to the local money-lenders. In the latter case, since the labourer

23. Ibid., pp. 122-48.

24. Marx, Capital, Vol. III, p. 599.

does not own any means of production his consumption merely reproduces his labour-power, hence he is a mere consumer. But in the former case, the cultivator is the master of his (direct) production system, hence, even when he uses the loan for his subsistence, the reproduction of himself is the reproduction of one of the elements of the production process which is controlled by the cultivator himself, i.e., by the producer, the controller of production. Hence, the cultivator's relationship to the usury capital is in his capacity of a producer.[25] This aspect is extremely important to understand the impact of usury capital on production.

Usury capital, as well as merchant's capital (in the form of system of advances), employs the method of exploitation characteristic of capital yet without the latter's mode of production.[26] This system of exploitation, though exerts a destructive influence on the old mode of production does not necessarily lead to capitalist mode of production, and in fact may lead to conditions where the relations of production take up regressed forms. Because of the fact that usury capital does not control the production process directly, its autonomous existence is a mere formal autonomy. For its general existence in the form of capital as such -- as self-augmenting value -- demands that it must continually expand itself, otherwise it would cease to be capital; and since the surplus value is not created in the realm of circulation, i.e.,

25. Ibid., pp. 594-96.

26. Ibid., p. 597.

in the relation between the usurer and the cultivator, and the direct power of usury capital is limited to this realm, not to the realm where surplus-value is <u>created</u> -- the realm of direct production, where the cultivator controls -- the real reproduction of capital in the form of usury capital appears to be dependent on factors on which the usurer does not have any immediate control. The real reproduction of usury capital in its expanded form thus takes place only in the form of appropriating the already produced surplus, which lies outside the determination of the usurer. The usury capital often takes away part of what constitutes the cultivator's means of subsistence, thus reducing the latter to misery and degradation, but does nothing to develop the basis so that the source of its expansion could expand. That is, the usury capital does nothing to increase the surplus that is produced, it only appropriates the given surplus. Hence, it does nothing to increase the productivity through which alone can the amount of surplus (in its <u>relative</u> form) go on increasing. The <u>external</u> existence of usury capital (external to the production process) thus leads the usurer, in his effort to expand his capital, often to impinge into the cost of cultivation itself -- leading to break down of the reproduction of the condition of production of the cultivator. The process thus leads to the emergence of a class of ruined peasants, expropriated from their means of production on the one hand, and declined productivity and stagnation in agri-

culture on the other.

The predominance of usury capital on a social scale in the British Orissa is admitted by the administrators themselves. According to the estimates of the officers in charge of settlement in Orissa, made around 1900, based on information provided by "officers who have for years worked among the people and gained their confidence", 80 per cent of the cultivators were "more or less permanently indebted" to the village money-lenders.[27] Again, "excepting a few lakhirajdars and well-to-do cultivators, and excepting the poor classes who cannot borrow because they have no security to offer, there are very few ryots who are not indebted to the zamindar or the mahajan for loans of grain or money."[28] According to an earlier estimate by N.N. Bannerjei who had been in charge of agriculture of Cuttack district and who being a Bengali is likely to have better understood the life of the neighbouring Oriyas, it could be said "with some degree of confidence" that 75 per cent of the people were in debt.[29]

The same Banerjei, however, attributed the low standard of living of the cultivator to the latter's indifferent attitude towards improving his conditions: "it is a querry whether the ordinary Oriya raiyat cares to raise himself above a hand

27. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 124.

28. Kingsford, officer in charge of settlement in Balasore, quoted in Balasore District Gazetteer, p. 126.

29. Banerjei, N.N., op.cit., p. 36.

to mouth existence".[30] He never poses the question what factors constrained the cultivator to lead a life of bare minimum. Maddox, on the other hand, satisfied himself with the observation that "it is very few indeed who cannot fill their bellies with food which, if not appetising, is certainly satisfying".[31] Making deductions for this "satisfying" diet (see appendix 8) and cost of cultivation for a raiyat family of 5 members with 6.7 acres of land, Banerjei estimated that the raiyat's expenditure exceeds his income by Rs. 17 per annum (see appendix 9). If an annual average of extra-ordinary expenditures (like those on marriage, death etc.) are included in the expense-side, the deficit comes to Rs. 35 per annum, or about 22 per cent of his income, which he must borrow from the money-lender or mahajan. And thus the cumulative principal of the annual loans would become more than the annual income of the cultivators within about five years -- leave aside the compound interests on these principals borrowed every year. For average cultivators who held land between 3 to 4 acres[32] the deficit would be still higher, and the rate at which his loans would exceed his annual income would be still faster.

According to another estimate (see appendix 10) for a raiyati family of 5 (3 adults + 2 children) with 3 acres of

30. Ibid.

31. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 124.

32. Ibid., p. 129.

land and 0.25 acre of homestead, deducting the cost of cultivation and cost of living of the family including services from the total annual income, there is a deficit of Rs. 11-3-0 per annum. If an annual average of extra-ordinary expenditure is included in the debit-side, the total deficit must be still higher. According to a third estimate (see Appendix. ~~table~~ 11) there would be an annual deficit of Rs. 46-10-0 in the case of an average cultivator of Balasore, which Kingsford managed to adjust as follows: children earning Rs. 34 per annum and other members of family by odd jobs earning from Rs. 6 to 16 per annum. If annual average of extra-ordinary expenses (~~see table 12~~) are included, the deficit must go up. In any case, the deficit had to be adjusted by getting loans either from the zamindar or mahajan.

In addition to loans of this kind, any arrear of rent is always treated as a loan given by the zamindar to the cultivator and interests calculated upon it.

If these are the deficits under the normal conditions, then the conditions of the cultivator under conditions of natural calamity, so common in Orissa, can be easily discerned. The cultivator would thus be forced to borrow on a scale much higher than even his total income.

The loan might be taken in the form of grain with an interest rate of 25 per cent, 50 per cent, or even 100 per cent per the time period from May (when the loans are usually taken) to December (month of harvest). If it is taken in the

form of cash, the interest rate varied from about 3.13 per cent to 6.25 per cent per month.[33] There could be loans on mortgages also. In simple mortgage (Rahan Bandhak), the rate of interest is about 3.13 per cent per month. In the case of usufructuary mortgages (Dakhal Bandhak) no interest is charged but the mahajan possesses the land till the debt is paid.[34] Various other forms of mortgages like mortgages of utensils, ornaments were also prevalent. In almost all the cases, the interest would be calculated at a compound rate.[35]

Once the cultivator is indebted, he can never make himself free again from the clutches of the usurer. The interest goes on multiplying at a rate faster than even the new loans he might need. And often, the money-lender keeps a bond, generally in the form of a signature or thumb-impression of the loanee on a blank stamped paper, without the particulars of the loan being mentioned therein.[36] This bond finally ruins the cultivator, as the money-lender could tamper with it if he liked, and often he did so. But the money-lender (or the zamindar as the money-lender) does not go to the extreme immediately. He does not want to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. Interest on the loan is the form through which the surplus produce of the cultivator is extracted out

33. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 133.

34. Ibid.

35. Balasore District Gazetteer, p. 127.

36. Cuttack District Gazetteer, p. 129; Balasore District Gazetteer, p. 128.

by the money-lender. Nay, more; the amount exacted often trespasses into the boundary of what is necessary for the bare physical existence of the cultivator and his family. The women and children come out to work, but even then they cannot fill their bellies fully. Ever more dependence on debts gradually tends to transfer the cultivator and his family into conditions of semi-slavery. This form of exploitation creates the tendency towards decline in productivity and creation of a class of bonded labour.

Describing the condition of the indebted cultivators O'Malley writes, "They know that the surplus of their produce will be taken both in the shape of rent and of repayment for previous loans, and they know also that unless they prove refractory, the zamindar will allow them at least a competence. They have nothing to expect but to cultivate lands and to be allowed to retain so much of their produce as is necessary for their maintenance; and they can rely upon their landlord for assistance in times of scarcity. They are, therefore, indifferent as to the amount of their debts and content to be bled in the knowledge that the operation is necessary and that it is in their landlords' own interest not to allow it to terminate fatally".[37] But this is only the innocent side of the money-lender or zamindar. Nevertheless, the passage brings out quite clearly the utter indifference, the sense

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37. Balasore District Gazetteer, p. 128.

of detachment that the cultivator develops towards production. Usury capital by reducing the incentive to produce leads to a decline in productivity and utter poverty and degradation of the cultivators.

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CHAPTER VI

EXPROPRIATION OF PEASANTRY: CREATION OF A CLASS OF LANDLESS LABOURERS

Having examined the functions of merchant's capital and usury capital separately, it is now necessary to examine the effects of both usury capital and merchant's capital on the production process as a single process, especially insofar as the process of expropriation of the cultivators is concerned.

In the absence of direct evidence on the nature and ~~con~~ extent of expropriation, we have taken some quantitative data on transfer of raiyati holdings as an index of degree of expropriation (see table 34). However, there are certain major limitations in drawing general conclusions on the basis of these data. Firstly, the registered transactions represent only a small franction of the actual number of transfers of land.[1] This is more so in the case of Cuttack and Balasore

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1. Maddox Report, Vol. I, pp. 217-27.

Table 34.

Transfer of raiyati holdings : Orissa 1890 - 1900 (% in brackets)

District	Class of holding	Average annual No. of transactions	Status of purchasers: Money lenders etc.	Landlords of the holding	Other landlords	Raiyats	Others* including unspecified	Rent Rs.	Area sold in acres.	Price paid in Rs.
Cuttack	Thani	596	40 (6.71)	44 (7.38)	97 (16.28)	103 (17.28)	312 (52.35)	1,655	774.8	26,891
	Others**	581	41 (7.06)	30 (5.16)	75 (12.91)	123 (21.17)	312 (53.70)	3,269	606.9***	31,671***
	Total	1,177 (100)	81 (6.88)	74 (6.29)	172 (14.61)	226 (19.20)	624 (52.02)			
Balasore	Thani	210	19 (9.05)	-	73 (34.76)	73 (34.76)	45 (21.43)	-	388	11,374
	Others	1,008	100 (9.92)	-	354 (35.12)	446 (44.25)	108 (10.71)	-	876.6	37,368
	Total	1,218 (100)	119 (9.77)	-	427 (35.06)	519 (42.61)	153 (12.56)	-		
Puri	Thani	1,439	104 (7.23)	-	63 (4.38)	247 (17.16)	1,025 (71.23)	-	-	140,786
	Others	5,664	646 (11.41)	5 (0.09)	677 (11.95)	3,423 (60.43)	913 (16.12)	-	5,326.6	381,287
	Total	7,103 (100)	750 (10.56)	5 (0.07)	740 (10.42)	3,670 (51.67)	1,938 (27.28)			

* Others here mainly includes businessmen, merchants, officials etc.

** "Others" in this statement comprise pahi holdings as well as chandina and houses, and probably kamil baziafti and tanki.

*** Figures for last four years only.

Source: Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 223.

districts than Puri. For the latter included certain regions under Khasmahal (where the cultivators were proprietors of their land and paid their rents directly to the government; hence, in khasmahal areas the raiyats had rights of transfer of their holdings). On the other hand, there were a lot of legal restrictions on transfer of raiyati holdings in other areas (non-khasmahal areas), despite the fact that such transfers had come to be a fact and the government had recognized them.[2] Moreover, transfer of portions of holdings was not legal without the permission of the zamindar concerned, though many such transfers were registered by the local officers and Maddox drew their attention to the legal constraints on them.[3] Again, the figures represent number of transactions and not area transferred insofar as the purchase by different kinds of purchasers are concerned. However, the distribution of the total number of transfers among purchasers of various statuses can be taken as an approximate representation of the distribution of the area transferred. Thirdly, the figures for different districts are not comparable.[4] More specifically, in Puri district the proportion of the recorded transactions to the actual transaction would be fairly high compared to the corresponding proportions in the other two districts. Finally

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2. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 223.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

the figures for Puri districts represented the average of transactions of only three years' figures, when the number of transactions for some reason or other were unusually high;[5] hence, they cannot be taken as the normal pattern.

We find that in all the districts, the majority of the purchasers were money-lenders (mahajans) and zamindars on the one hand and merchants (constituting bulk of the category 'others') on the other. The proportion of the number of transfers to usury capital and merchant's capital thus appears to be about 80 per cent in Cuttack, 57 per cent in Balasore, and 48 per cent in Puri. It also appears that in Puri merchant's capital was relatively more predominant than usury capital. In Cuttack and Balasore, on the other hand, we see a different pattern. In Cuttack district both usury capital and merchant's capital were dominant, whereas in Balasore usury capital was relatively more preponderant over merchant's capital.

The high number of transfers to mahajans, merchants and zamindars, thus represent the fact that the indebted cultivators were being expropriated out of their land, as the debt went on multiplying over a period of time. The progressive increase in the number of transactions would indicate that the expropriation of the cultivators and their transformation into the ranks of proletariat was a wide social process. For example, in Cuttack, in 1890, the number of recorded transfers

5. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 223.

was 305 in the case of thani and 58 in the case of other holdings (including pahi); in 1898 the respective figures stood at 743 and 1,782. In Balasore, the number of sales of pahi lands in 1897-98 was about 3,000 or three times the average of the decennial period 1890-1900. In Puri district, the number of transfers trebled during the period 1897-1900, the average size of the holdings sold being 1 to 1.33 acres. These transactions took place at extremely low prices, which suggests that they were distress sales.[7]

The fact that the zamindars induced the raiyats to execute registered mortgages of holdings in their (zamindars') favour, and that the sub-registrars quite cooly registered such mortgages, can be easily verified.[8] This point is also substantiated by the fact that the value of the mortgages went on rising steadily during the decade 1890-1900 (see table 35).

Table 35.
Instruments of mortgages of the value of Rs. 100 and upwards (compulsory) and optional for instruments of value less than Rs. 100.

District	1885-86		1890-91		1895-96		1900-1901	
	Compulsory	Optional	Compulsory	Optional	Compulsory	Optional	Compulsory	Optional
Cuttack	662	390	650	619	686	830	1,253	3,246
Puri	480	630	468	590	686	1,064	1,105	3,800
Balasore	259	234	324	470	327	849	1,090	3,427

Source: Bengal Administration Report for the corresponding years.

6. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 223.

7. In Cuttack district the average prices of thani holdings was Rs. 40 per acre, and that of pahi holdings Rs. 25 to 30 per acre. In Balasore district the respective figures were Rs. 40 to 50 and Rs. 20 to 25. See Ibid., p. 224.

8. Ibid., p. 223.

One limitation of the latter data is that the purpose of the mortgages are not explicitly stated. But increasing mortgages, like increasing land transfers, under conditions of declining productivity, signifies the destitution of the cultivators, and not investment in land.

The fact that this was a steady and continuous process is borne out by another set of evidence showing increase in the number and area of transfer of tenant holdings during 1908-16 (see table 36). The area of tenant holdings transferred annually in Cuttack district by orders of the courts increased from 1,031 acres to 2,400 acres during the above period; that by private transactions increased from 27,712 acres to 31,005 acres. In Balasore district the respective changes were, from 1,429 acres to 1,867 acres in the case of transactions by orders of court, and from 22,550 acres to 28,846 acres in the case of private transactions. In the case of Puri, the area transferred by court orders changed from 903 acres to 2,416 acres, and that transferred by private transactions from 20,976 acres to 16,106 acres during the above period. Thus it can be concluded that the tendency was stronger in Cuttack and Balasore districts than in Puri. Such a high degree of expropriation of peasantry resulted in the creation of a class of landless labourers. The extent to which this had been the case can be discerned from the fact that towards the end of nineteenth century there existed in Balasore district landless labourers constituting about 10 per cent of the population of the district.[9]

9. Kingsford, cited in Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 470.

Table 36.

Transfer of tenant holdings,
Orissa:1908-1916.

	Cuttack			Balasore			Puri		
	1908-09	1914-15	1915-16	1908-09	1914-15	1915-16	1908-09	1914-15	1915-16
No. of transfers by order of court	671	1,093	1,016	282	578	743	199	475	263
No. of transfers by private contract or gift.	36,891	33,305	39,621	19,637	21,175	28,798	21,324	17,720	18,377
Area transferred by order of court (acres)	1,031	1,807	2,400	1,429	1,086	1,867	903	1,344	2,416
Area transferred by private contract or gift (acres)	27,712	32,230	31,005	22,550	20,125	28,846	20,976	16,862	16,106

Source: Agricultural Statistics of India for the corresponding years.

The fact that the class of landless labourers were a product of the tendencies operating in the economy and were not there from the beginning, is beyond doubt. For in the famine of 1866 whatever number of landless labourers existed in the economy perished to death. The processes operating in the society during the second phase of the British rule and the dual impact of usury capital and merchant's capital, are thus the main forces that created the class of expropriated, landless labourers. It is now necessary to examine the specific conditions under which this class came to be created and the specific form in which the class remained in agriculture.

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CHAPTER VII

DECLINE IN PRODUCTIVITY AND STAGNATION IN AGRICULTURE

Before going on to explain the characteristics of migrant labour in terms of the specific form in which the expropriated labourers came to exist, it is necessary to examine the general economic conditions that existed in the society in the context of which the class originated. The main point of argument will be to show that this expropriation took place not under conditions of any revolutionary transformation of agriculture, but on the contrary, under conditions of stagnation and declining productivity. These conditions, as will be seen subsequently, were responsible for the specific form of existence of landless labourers in agriculture and the specific characteristics of the labourers who migrated out of Orissa from this stratum.

The direct impact of usury capital and merchant's capital, and the general effect of colonial administration of Orissa manifested themselves not only in the creation of a class of expropriated peasants but also in declining productivity and stagnation. Data regarding low development of irrigation, decline in livestock, ploughs etc., decrease in output per acre will be used below to prove the point.

In our analysis of the famine of 1866 we saw that as a result of the famine many lands lay fallow and there was a shortage of labour for cultivation, thus contributing to decline in production. Gradually some of the fallow land were

reclaimed. But as the settlement of 1897 approached, the zamindars deliberately neglected the land often throwing it out of cultivation,[1] in anticipation of a permanent settlement when they could record a low rent-collection and hence would be assessed low. It is estimated that about 80 per cent of land in Orissa was either not cultivated or insufficiently cultivated during this period.[2] Whatever irrigation facilities were provided by the East Canal Company were not utilized as the zamindars did not want it. The Company had invested £ 1,768,069 in major canals and £ 298,625 in minor canals, and it was running at a loss, receiving only £ 976 from major canals and £ 767 from the minor canals,[3] until 1892 only when the government would finally declare that there would be no permanent settlement in Orissa.

An analysis of the income and expenses of the irrigation department of the government shows that the department, from its very inception, ran at a deficit (see table 37). In 1886-1887, when the working expenses were highest of all the annual expenditures during the decade 1882-92, the receipts were the

1. There was no legal obligation on zamindars to irrigate land. In fact, on the contrary, they were not obliged to repair even their own private tanks. If they neglected the works of irrigation, the tenants had no remedy against them. Evidence by Babu Jamini Mohun Das, Deputy Collector, Cuttack, Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission 1901-03, Appendix, p. 245.

2. Despatches of the secretary of state on 9-11-1862; cited in Maddox Report, Vol. II, p. 85.

3. Jena, K., op.cit., p. 228.

Table 37.

Revenue Receipts and working expenses of Orissa Canals : 1882-1892

Year	Total receipts Rs.	Total working expenses Rs.	Net revenue Rs.
1882-83	319,625	354,896	(-) 35,271
1883-84	237,800	305,889	(-) 68,089
1884-85	143,507	329,288	(-) 185,781
1885-86	207,344	356,672	(-) 149,328
1886-87	179,519	520,543	(-) 341,024
1887-88	222,679	502,450	(-) 279,771
1888-89	243,294	405,019	(-) 161,725
1889-90	304,124	456,910	(-) 132,786
1890-91	344,936	467,603	(-) 122,667
1891-92	370,922	423,086	(-) 52,164

Source : Banerjei, N.N., op.cit., Appendix X, p. xxv.

second lowest.[4] The deficits went on increasing till 1886-87, after which they started decreasing slightly. But from the beginning of the Orissa Canal System till the year 1891-92, the total expenses were Rs. 7,053,596 whereas the total receipts amounted to Rs. 4,051,765 only, leaving a deficit margin of Rs. 3,001,831, or about 43 per cent of the total expenses.

On the other hand, analysis of area under irrigation over the years 1866-92 shows a very inconsistent pattern. Till 1877 the acrage under irrigation was very small (see table 38). After this there was steady irrigation in the

Table 38.

Extension of Irrigation in Orissa

YEAR	CANALS						Total leases.
	Kendrapara canal system	Taldanda canal system	High level, Ranges I and II	High level Range I	High level Range II	Jajpur	
	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres
1866-67	--	--	--	--	--	--	667
1867-68	--	--	--	--	--	--	1,842
1868-69	--	--	--	--	--	--	9,378
1869-70	1,564	--	165	--	--	--	1,729
1870-71	8,967	999	12,162	--	--	--	22,128
1871-72	3,860	292	7,501	--	--	--	11,653
1872-73	4,318	198	237	--	--	--	4,753
1873-74	7,825	1,733	3,013	--	--	--	12,571
1874-75	11,105	4,094	7,260	--	--	--	22,459

...table contd...

4. The figures include income and expenses on head riverine "traffic" also.

Cont'd... Table 38.

YEAR	CANALS						Total leases.
	Kendrapara canal system	Taldanda canal system	High level Ranges I and II	High level Range I	High level Range II	Jajpur	
	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	
1875-76	11,577	1,271	5,561	--	--	--	18,409
1876-77	17,206	5,157	8,019	--	--	--	30,382
1877-78	53,769	32,604	12,122	--	--	--	98,495
1878-79	61,083	36,097	14,070	--	--	--	111,250
1879-80	57,641	37,278	13,905	--	--	--	108,824
1880-81	61,871	39,400	14,205	--	--	--	115,476
1881-82	70,627	43,941	15,871	--	--	--	130,439
1882-83	72,468	44,731	14,244	--	--	--	131,443
1883-84	23,685	10,300	12,260	--	--	--	46,245
1884-85	32,118	10,369	11,914	--	--	--	54,401
1885-86	35,179	18,796	--	13,609	265	--	67,849
1886-87	47,631	22,112	--	13,612	407	--	83,762
1887-88	51,890	29,975	--	14,605	744	--	97,214
1888-89	72,796	40,391	--	18,092	2,385	--	133,664
1889-90	77,246	40,246	--	26,599	2,563	--	147,282
1890-91	74,970	41,806	--	21,984	2,503	--	141,263
1891-92	74,180	41,906	--	22,423	2,513	452	141,474

Source : Banerjei, N.N., Report on the Agriculture of the District of Cuttack, Calcutta, 1893. Appendices, p. xxvii.

province for five years, and then a decline, and then again a rise. Commenting on these fluctuations N.N. Banerjei, in his report on agriculture of the Cuttack district, wrote: "irrigation from canals is altogether voluntary. The raiyats as a whole do not enter into new leases unless and until they are compelled to do so for fear of a failure of their rice crop due to deficiency of rainfall from July to October, a critical period for the cultivation of rice. Hence it is, in a season of drought the leases quickly run up".[5] However, it is very difficult to find any strict correlation between rainfall and irrigation. From table 39 we get figures for rainfall in different months at Cuttack for the years 1848-91. Comparing tables 38 and 39 we find that in 1876, 1877 and 1885, despite the low rainfall, the acrage under irrigation continues to be very low. On the other hand, the irrigation figures are high precisely in those years when the rainfall is adequate, e.g., 1880-83 and 1889-91.[6] Comparison with rainfall figures for the months when rice crop needs rainfall, namely, June to October, also yields no significant correlation. Hence, it can be argued that the area under irrigation was determined by factors most of which were extraneous to the technical

5. Banerjei, N.N., op.cit., Appendix, p. xxvii.

6. The limitations of this sort of a comparison due to the fact that rainfalls might be quite uneven in the different regions of the district, can be neglected for purposes of generalization, as in the agricultural seasons, the rainfalls do not seem to vary much in the different regions of the district. See Banerjei, N.N., op.cit., Appendix II, p. iv, for grounds of such an assumption.

Table 39.

Statement showing rainfall at Cuttack for the years 1864-91

Years	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Total
1864	..	1.7	3.0	..	2.0	2.3	10.0	10.8	13.6	5.5	3.9	..	25.8
1865	1.10	2.30	3.60	0.70	5.26	10.23	12.33	8.08	7.44	1.47	..	0.50	52.91
1866	0.78	1.17	1.17	4.16	2.30	7.65	8.90	22.00	14.80	11.90	1.85	..	75.51
1867	0.10	0.30	1.30	2.30	7.80	18.70	10.83	9.51	10.11	5.40	0.35	..	66.70
1868	0.10	0.05	0.10	1.40	3.23	17.13	12.12	8.92	9.80	1.96	..	..	52.81
1869	0.40	1.37	1.74	1.65	0.85	6.75	15.04	8.76	9.23	5.35	..	..	48.14
1870	1.05	..	0.90	1.22	1.85	7.42	7.33	10.01	8.80	8.61	2.73	..	49.92
1871	..	0.56	0.43	5.77	4.20	7.44	15.32	5.93	9.67	0.91	..	0.16	50.39
1872	..	0.63	..	0.65	2.38	17.73	12.72	9.54	8.76	16.16	2.39	0.20	71.76
1873	..	..	2.71	1.66	1.12	2.54	11.59	9.45	7.33	1.50	0.30	0.41	38.61
1874	1.82	2.23	0.68	0.42	3.06	17.22	16.41	19.81	11.31	11.53	2.20	0.05	86.74
1875	0.9	0.10	0.55	1.99	3.27	15.51	31.72	7.34	19.26	10.25	..	..	91.92
1876	..	..	0.05	0.20	2.88	4.63	9.49	7.20	11.22	4.85	0.07	..	40.59
1877	1.04	1.72	0.86	3.69	6.05	6.34	9.36	5.23	6.10	3.38	0.03	..	43.80
1878	..	0.16	0.46	0.84	5.06	8.18	9.85	13.53	6.73	8.48	2.96	0.41	56.66
1879	..	0.07	1.39	..	8.09	2.55	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1880	0.04	2.08	..	1.32	6.68	8.01	10.93	21.18	10.29	5.17	1.36	..	67.06
1881	..	..	2.20	0.95	1.23	16.94	14.03	10.05	11.27	2.33	0.51	0.18	59.69
1882	0.06	0.57	0.03	1.33	5.63	6.79	24.57	14.71	11.86	7.64	2.77	..	75.96
1883	..	0.18	1.26	0.08	4.96	23.09	14.32	8.61	12.93	0.55	0.30	0.96	67.24
1884	0.03	0.72	2.10	3.52	1.97	17.83	9.90	11.82	8.68	2.40	..	0.45	59.69
1885	..	3.40	1.06	1.91	5.74	3.08	11.64	6.90	8.33	2.60	1.47	1.61	47.74
1886	0.34	0.35	5.66	..	5.44	20.02	11.03	8.63	13.99	11.77	1.99	0.48	79.70
1887	1.76	..	1.83	0.90	3.20	15.23	10.70	10.56	7.14	1.29	0.25	..	52.86
1888	0.84	0.64	2.13	..	2.80	1.12	8.44	25.41	9.85	1.41	2.81	..	55.45
1889	..	0.33	0.03	..	3.29	18.34	12.73	14.59	5.59	9.84	11.49	..	76.23
1890	..	..	2.40	..	4.44	12.34	21.80	14.03	20.89	8.61	2.04	..	86.55
1891	..	0.60	5.62	..	5.67	3.72	10.59	21.99	30.95	1.83	4.87	..	85.84

[redacted]eriei, N.N., op.cit., Appendix II, p. iv.

requirement of cultivation. In Cuttack district, again, bulk of the irrigated area were under kharif crops (table 40);

Table 40.

Irrigated area under different crops: Cuttack district, 1882-1892

Year	Kharif (Acres)	Rabi (Acres)	Perennial (Acres)	Total (Acres)	Rainfall (Inches)
1882-83	128,530	4,100	398	138,028	59.03
1883-84	47,035	1,381	344	48,760	57.21
1884-85	54,181	2,994	197	57,372	50.40
1885-86	70,563	1,605	171	72,339	52,59
1886-87	75,115	2,440	154	77,709	60.07
1887-88	108,867	502	137	109,506	47.84
1888-89	156,319	2,779	194	139,292	49.07
1889-90	180,568	5,897	162	186,627	67.95
1890-91	175,829	4,250	220	180,299	63.17
1891-92	173,453	3,943	289	177,685	61.03

Source : Banerjei, N.N., op.cit., Appendices, p. xxviii.

and irrigation started increasing only after 1887-88, there seems to be no correlation between irrigated area under different crops and extent of rainfall. But there cannot be any doubt as to the fact that the area under irrigation was very small compared to the total area under cultivation. Thus the Indian Irrigation Commission 1901-03 in their report mention that the proportion of average irrigated area to average

gross area under crops around 1901 was about 17 per cent in Cuttack and about 4 per cent only in Balasore.[7]

Despite the fact that the marginal profitability of irrigated area over non-irrigated area under paddy cultivation went on increasing steadily after 1888 (during 1885-88 there was a decrease in the marginal profitability of irrigation) (see table 41), this did not create incentives for irri-

Table 41.

Outturn of paddy from irrigated and unirrigated land in Cuttack district: 1885-90

Year	Value of outturn per acre (grain and straw together in Rs.		Net profit per acre due to irrigation (Rs.)
	Irrigated	Unirrigated	
1885-86	18.02	13.16	+ 3.36
1886-87	18.01	14.15	+ 2.36
1887-88	13.92	10.50	+ 1.92
1888-89	18.47	12.58	+ 4.39
1889-90	23.57	15.31	+ 6.76

Source: Banerjei, N.N., op.cit., Appendices, p. xxviii,xxix.

gating the land. Maddox[8] observed in his report that rice land irrigation was hardly profitable for the raiyat; it merely minimized the risk of loss due to inadequate rainfall. In the case of special crops like sugarcane where profit of irrigated

7. Calculated from data provided in Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission 1901-03, Appendix, p. 378.

8. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 32.

cultivation would be very high, the rental was also very high and all the profits would go into the pockets of the zamindar. Thus there was no incentive for the cultivators for irrigating land and going in for special crops. Hence, despite the irrigation facilities there was no marked extension of cultivation specifically due to irrigation.[9] However, in areas where there was extensive irrigation, the pressure of population on land went on increasing at a very high rate, as would be seen from the rise in density of population over 1881-1911 in certain thanas of Cuttack district (table 42). It must be noted that emigration was the lowest in these regions. It may be suggested as an inference that the rate of emigration varied inversely as the productivity of land. The extension

Table 42.

Increase in density since 1881 in thanas where over 5 per cent of area is under canal irrigation, Cuttack: 1881-1911

Thana	% of area under irrigation	Density/Sq. mile			
		1881	1891	1901	1911
Jagatsinghpur	21	685	725	764	770
Tirtol	9	438	432	461	470
Salepur	31	874	893	899	963
Kendrapara	19	650	714	771	832

Source: Census of India 1911, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Report, p. 75.

9. Cuttack District Gazetteer, p. 85; Maddox quoted in Census of India, 1911, Bengal, Report, p. 75.

of cultivation in Orissa during 1837-97 was 18.3 per cent on an average (averages for Cuttack, Balasore and Puri being 32.2, 40.00 and 22.1 per cent respectively; the high figure for Balasore is due to the reclamation of land rendered uncultivable by the cyclone of 1828). But compared to the population-increase of the province, which was 162 per cent during the same period (Cuttack district alone 372 per cent)[10] this rise was very small.

Despite the fact that the zamindars received a very large proportion of the total produce (27 per cent in 1822, 30 per cent in 1833, 35 per cent in 1840 and 46 per cent in 1897) they hardly invested it in improving land.[11] Firstly, because they wanted to avoid an increase in revenue assessment in the event of a permanent settlement by avoiding any increase in productivity, and often going in for keeping the lands fallow; secondly, because luxurious consumption and not accumulation of wealth being the motive they were interested in rackrenting and illegal exactions rather than improving the productivity. Similarly, usury capital and merchant's capital, because of their external relation to the production process, were not interested in improving the technical condition of production; they were mainly interested in appropriating the given surplus and by no means in improving the source of that surplus. The cultivators, on the other hand, lacked the incentive to in-

10. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 20.

11. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. III, p. 266.

crease the productivity as any such increase was immaterial to their own conditions of life. Whenever they had the incentive, they lacked the required resources for that. Any attempt to get the resources by loan from mahajans would only lead to increasing indebtedness. Wherever facilities for government loans existed, they could not be utilised because the cultivators could not adhere to the strict time limit imposed on its repayment.[12]

Lack of irrigation on an increased scale, however, was not the only reason for agricultural backwardness. In addition to this there occured a definite process leading towards a steady decline in the means-of-production stock ("capital stock") and stagnation in agriculture. From table 43 are obtained figures for live-stock in different districts of Orissa over the years. Leaving aside the years of cattle disease, i.e., the first decade of the twentieth century, when the live-stock of the province was extremely low in number, there is a sharp decline in almost all the live-stock like bulls, bullock and cows etc., and also in ploughs and carts. It can be suggested that the decline in live-stock, especially cattle, is mainly due to the fact that the cultivators had to sell off their cattle for repayment of their debts; for there was a huge export trade in cattle from Orissa to the meat market of Calcutta.[13] The merchants who had monopoly in such

12. Evidence by Babu Jamini Mohun Das, Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission 1901-03, Appendix, p. 245.

13. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 40.

Table 43

Live-stock, ploughs, and carts in Orissa: 1908-09 to 1919-1920

	Year	Bulls and bullocks	Cows	Buffallos		Young stock (calves& buffallo calves	Sheep	Goats	Horses and ponies	Mules and donkeys	Ploughs	Carts
				Bull	Cow							
Cuttack	1908-09	60,456	67,326	687	5,954	39,846	4,809	13,282	1,000	300	30,228	24,676
	1909-10	60,456	67,326	687	5,954	39,846	4,809	13,282	1,000	300	30,228	2,748
	1912-13	588,082	604,053	4,563	141,459	232,152	50,705	78,715	1,000	300	329,120	35,935
	1913-14	433,044	444,274	2,978	28,954	435,371	57,586	115,434	1,171	123	267,806	18,531
	1919-20	420,495	415,489	2,739	25,408	400,908	40,395	34,473	1,021	86	195,735	17,767
Balasore	1908-09	362,520	407,190	1,010	11,184	207,317	12,440	79,350	903	74	293,267	5,700
	1909-10	363,975	415,270	1,297	12,070	217,810	12,020	73,840	952	70	273,633	5,787
	1912-13	407,885	526,825	1,121	10,615	262,081	5,375	105,640	1,025	66	188,135	5,435
	1913-14	290,207	230,102	810	11,672	261,651	9,998	80,632	618	50	188,354	3,378
	1919-20	259,480	215,664	953	11,622	221,480	5,860	42,976	475	67	132,948	2,506
Puri	1908-09	164,600	177,600	12,121	30,118	27,947	17,940	8,230	790	17	75,200	20,915
	1909-10	147,780	199,381	12,849	33,613	34,827	14,783	18,344	845	14	86,453	24,838
	1912-13	160,031	185,950	13,458	31,873	39,412	13,865	24,294	854	80	76,000	21,305
	1913-14	204,520	198,675	4,337	19,153	216,363	35,774	46,981	552	54	138,348	36,939
	1919-20	187,646	182,420	4,964	15,932	170,776	18,608	18,730	396	25	91,139	32,701

Source: Agricultural Statistics of India for the corresponding years.

trade would collect the cattle from local markets through various kinds of middlemen, either directly from the cultivators, or from the zamindars etc. who would have expropriated the cattle from the cultivator for non-payment of rent or loans.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, per-acre output of winter rice declined quite heavily in all the districts of Orissa (table 44). In Cuttack and Balasore

Table 44.

Average yield of winter rice:Orissa

Year	Pattern of sowing	Cuttack		Balasore		Puri	
		Irrigated	Unirrigated	Irrigated	Unirrigated	Irrigated	Unirrigated
1903-04 to 1907-08	Transplanted	1,275	1,083	764	694	1,461	-
	Broadcast	1,157	1,010	1,006	802	1,280	903
1917(March)	Transplanted	1,061	884	630	726	-	-
	Broadcast	1,124	1,036	659	523	1,071	1,003

Source: Agricultural Statistics of India for the corresponding years.

districts the decline in productivity (in terms of declining output) is quite prominent. During 1906-1917, productivity per acre for transplanted irrigated rice crop in Cuttack district decreased by 17 per cent; in the case of transplanted non-irrigated crop the decline was by 20 per cent and in the case of broadcast irrigated crop by 3 per cent. Peculiarly, there was a slight increase in productivity, by about 2 per cent in

the case of non-irrigated broadcast rice. In Balasore district, there was a slight increase (5 per cent) in the per-acre output of unirrigated transplanted rice crop; apart from that there was a heavy decline in the case of all other kinds of cropping: irrigated transplanted by 18 per cent, irrigated broadcast and unirrigated broadcast by 35 per cent each. In Puri district, output of unirrigated broadcast crop increased by 11 per cent, whereas that of irrigated broadcast crop declined by 16 per cent. The peculiar, relatively higher rate of decline in output in the case of irrigated land and transplanted crops is very significant. We do not have any specific explanation for this peculiarity; but it clearly signifies that there was a stagnation in the agrarian sector of the economy.

These conditions were responsible in determining the specific <u>form of existence</u> of the landless labour. Because of the stagnation in the economy the landless labourers could not be fully employed in agriculture. They would thus provide the source for emigration to different places of employment outside the province. On the other hand, the specific <u>form</u> in which they existed made it incumbent on them to maintain some kind of contact with their village. In the next chapter we go on to examine this question with specific reference to pattern of labour mobility in Eastern India, and more specifically within the context of industrial labour market in Bengal.

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CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION : FORM OF EXISTENCE AND PATTERN OF MOBILITY OF EXPROPRIATED LABOUR

In this dissertation our attempt has been to describe the process of expropriation of peasantry as a historical process, moulded by determinate socio-economic conditions in the specific context of Orissa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We have tried to show that this process of expropriation took place under conditions of stagnation and declining productivity in agriculture, the specific impact of which was the tendency towards converting the expropriated labourers to a class of bonded labourers. In this conclusion, we will analyse the specific form of existence of this kind of labour and try to relate it to the specific characteristics of the labour market that came to be formed based on this kind of labour. In this context we will try to provide some explanations for the migrant character of the industrial labour force in Bengal (i.e. the absence of a sizeable proportion of local Bengali labour), and the semi-permanent character of the migration.

Given the structural features of an economy where there exists a class of landless labourers and lack of proper employment due to stagnation in agriculture, it would be expected that a job prospect outside the province would ensure a steady rate of mobility of this class.[130] As late as 1893, however, we do not find any substantial migration out

of the province. Thus Banerjei writes, "Emigration with its proper and intended purpose of relieving the country of its surplus population is unknown in the district".[1] Banerjei, however, mentions of a periodic annual migration of a considerable number of people from the district of Cuttack as day-labourers, domestic workers, porters and workers in gas companies. Among the migrants the following castes of people were prominent: "(a) Brahmans, who are found as cooks in the thakurbaris of Bengalis and Hindustanis; (b) Gowallas, who form the majority of palanquin and domestic bearers; (c) Khandaits, who serve as durwans; (d) Gurias and banias, who are to be seen presiding over counters as murimurki, chura and masala vendors; and (e) Bhandaris, who work in the gas companies."[2] These people migrated on a temporary basis, returning home once a year. We also read in Banerjei, "Their savings Rs. 30 to Rs. 100 per annum -- are spent on their return home on marriages, in payment of debts, in luxuries and ornaments. Their pockets get empty in a short time, and they migrate again."[3]

The low rate of migration during this period is mainly due to the absence of an affective means of communication. It is only after the railways were extended to the province of

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1. Banerjei, N.N., op.cit,
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

Orissa that migration on a large scale really started.[4] The three main places of employment that attracted migrants were industries of Bengal, rice mills of Rangoon and tea gardens of Assam.[5] Data regarding the migration of Oriyas to the latter two places are very scarce. In the introduction, however, we have seen that migration to the industrial region of Bengal was the most important stream of migration from Orissa, mainly from the standpoint of its size.

The preponderance of Oriya labour in the Bengal industries -- and for that matter of migrants from other distant regions -- begs the question as to what were the factors responsible for the scarcity of local Bengali labour and what were the factors that put the migrant workers in a better position of getting employment in the industries. From a comparative analysis of the conditions of production in agriculture in Bengal and Orissa, we find that this is mainly due to the following reasons: because of the specific form of land revenue administration based on permanent settlement, relatively fertile land and availability of subsidiary occupations, the surplus labour in the countryside of Bengal existed in a sub-infeudated, non-mobile form, and hence were not capable of migrating to the cities on a large scale, despite its underemployment in the countryside. The labour of Orissa

4. See Census of India, 1911; Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Report, pp. 133-34.

5. On migration to Burma, see Andrew, E.J.L., Indian Labour in Rangoon; on migration to tea gardens see Census of India, 1911, Assam, Report.

countryside, because of the specific conditions under which it came to originate, was much more mobile and capable of migrating to distant regions for employment. Thus, it is the specific form of existence of labour in the countryside that determined its potentiality for migration. This point needs to be elaborated in greater detail.

Because of the permanent character of the settlement in Bengal, the zamindars grew as the most powerful class in Bengal than elsewhere. The Act of 1859 failed to protect the cultivator from the oppression of the zamindars. There were various defects in the Act, which alongwith widespread agrarian riots of 1860's and 1870's,[6] led to the passing of Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885. It divided the tenants into tenant-holders, raiyats and under-raiyats, and facilitated the grant of occupancy rights to raiyats. And not only the law protected the raiyats against eviction, it also allowed for the growth of a whole series of middlemen by a process of subinfeudation. The process of subinfeudation acquired such a massive dimension that, often the rent collected from the direct cultivators amounted to about 50 times the revenue paid to the government.[7] Table 45 gives a picture of the degree of subinfeudation in certain districts of Bengal. Although

6. See on 19th century peasant revolts, Cambridge History of India, VI, p. 38, 249 and 268.

7. The estimates on degree of sub-infeudation, however, vary from author to author. See Panandikar, op.cit.; Mukerjee, Radhakamal, Land Problem of India; Census of India 1921, Bengal, Report, p. 381 ff.

Table 45

Percentage of sub-infeudated tenures and their distribution by degrees of sub-infeudation (1870-1880)

Districts	% of tenures sub-in-feudated	Percentage distribution of sub-infeudated tenures							Total No. of sub-infeu-dated tenures.	Maximum rate of rent in Rs.~~(0.00)~~ per bigha
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh		
Burdwan	85.97	47,577 (76.9)	13,275 (21.5)	939 (1.5)	79 (0.1)				61,870 (100)	6.00
Bankura	23.12	1,189 (77.3)	297 (19.3)	50 (3.3)	2 (0.1)				1,538 (100)	3.25
Birbhum	63.35	4,721 (82.9)	941 (16.5)	29 (0.6)	-				5,691 (100)	3.00
Hooghly & Howrah	46.19	6,559 (94.4)	375 (5.4)	15 (0.2)	-				6,949 (100)	6.00
24-Parganas	28.87	4,119 (90.1)	357 (7.8)	54 (1.2)	29 (0.6)	14 (0.3)			4,573 (100)	4.00
Nuddea	42.72	2,539 (72.8)	875 (25.1)	75 (2.1)	-				3,489 (100)	0.78
Jessore	51.92	18,729 (72.4)	5,691 (22.0)	1,296 (5.0)	125 (0.5)	14 (0.1)			25,855 (100)	1.50
Murshidabad	55.72	5,659 (66.5)	2,318 (27.2)	521 (6.2)	10 (0.1)				8,508 (100)	4.00
Rajshahi	35.87	2,962 (81.2)	557 (15.3)	125 (3.4)	3 (0.1)				3,647 (100)	1.50
Bogra	6.69	193 (67.5)	93 (32.5)	-	-				286 (100)	2.00
Pabna	20.75	725 (91.1)	69 (8.7)	2 (0.2)	-				796 (100)	1.50
Dacca	19.04	3,309 (99.9)	2 (0.1)	-	-				3,311 (100)	1.00
Faridpur	8.51	966 (99.5)	5 (0.5)	-	-				971 (100)	1.00
Backergunj	73.28	130,578 (68.0)	46,611 (24.3)	11,712(6.1)	2,463(1.3)	572(0.2)	176(0.1)	11 (0.01)	192,123 (100)	2.00
Mymensing	27.64	6,647 (86.4)	985 (12.8)	60(0.8)	-				7,692 (100)	1.50
All:-	63.35	236,472 (72.2)	72,451 (22.1)	14,878(4.6)	2,711(0.8)	600(0.2)	176(0.1)	11 (0.01)	327,299 (100)	-

The table does not contain data on Midnapore, Rangpur, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Tipparah and districts in the Chittagong Division.

Source: Hunter's Statistical Accounts, Board of Revenue and Road Cess Valuation Statistics. Computed by Ashok Sen, circulated in a seminar held in Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in April, 1975.

the number of holdings is not coterminous with the number of under-tenants of a particular degree, because one could possess more than one holdings, it gives a fair representation of the form in which surplus labour existed in agriculture.

Because of the extremely small size of land under the possession of tenants of various order,[8] most of this kind of labour were underemployed. But their specific form of existence decreased their mobility, even potential mobility. The fact that even within the countryside mobility of labour was very limited, can be seen from the wide divergence of rural wages between the districts of Bengal (see table 46). Even between adjacent regions like Rajshahi and Malda, Noakhali and Chittagong Hill tracts etc. there prevailed wide divergence in rural wages.

In the case of Orissa, on the other hand, we find a sharply contrasting picture. The form of land settlement though based on zamindari system like that of Bengal, was unlike Bengal made on a temporary basis. This system together with the dual impact of merchant's capital and usury capital because of the specific conditions prevailing in Orissa, produced a class of expropriated labourers at a greater scale than the system of permanent settlement, because of the relatively greater freedom of transfer of raiyati holdings in

8. The average size of holdings varied from 2.2 to 3.8 acres according to different estimates. See Saha, K.B., Economics of Rural Bengal, p. 116; Census of India, 1921, Bengal, Report, p. 382.

Table 46.

Daily wages of agricultural labour in Bengal: 1916-25

District	1916 A.	1916 P.	1925 A.	1925 P.	District	1916 A.	1916 P.	1925 A.	1925 P.
24-Parganas	7	0	10	0	Nadia	4	9	9	0
Murshidabad	4	6	8	0	Jessore	8	0	12	0
Khulna	8	6	13	0	Burdwan	7	3	11	0
Birbhum	9	0	7	0	Bankura	4	9	9	0
Midnapore	5	3	8	0	Hooghly	7	3	12	0
Howrah	6	9	12	0	Rajshahi	8	3	15	0
Dinajpur	7	6	11	0	Jalpaiguri	8	3	12	0
Darjeeling	5	9	10	0	Rangpur	7	9	10	0
Begra	7	9	11	0	Pabna	6	9	13	0
Malda	5	0	6	0	Dacca	7	6	12	0
Mymensingh	7	6	13	0	Faridpur	9	0	13	0
Backerganj	7	6	12	0	Chittagong	8	6	13	0
Tippera	5	9	11	0	Noakhali	6	6	8	0
Chittagong Hill Tracts	8	0	16	0					

NOTE :- The cash rates given here include the value of the supplements, where they are paid in addition to cash wages.

Source: Reports on the Wages Census of Bengal, 1916, 1925, cited in Saha (K.B.), Economics of Rural Bengal, Calcutta, 1930, p. 232.

Orissa. In this context, we may remember that the Acts of Bengal (especially those of 1859 and 1885) relating to non-transferability of raiyati holdings were not extended with full force to Orissa; that the officials of the government in charge of Orissa came to have varied, often contradictory, opinions on the rights of raiyati holdings.[9] And in course of time the government came to recognize the right of transfer of the raiyati holdings and the sub-registrars recorded such transactions; even pahi-holdings were accepted as transferable.

This provided the basis for expropriation of land on a greater scale than the situation in Bengal. The fact that surplus labour in Orissa existed more in the form of expropriated labour on the verge of getting transformed to bonded labour, than in the form of sub-infeudated labour can be seen from a comparison of the degrees of subinfeudation in Bengal and Orissa (see table 47; and compare it with table 45). The former table is not complete and doubts can be raised against its accuracy. But even when we discount for that, the picture gives a fairly general idea about the low degree of sub-infeudation in Orissa. In Cuttack district under-tenancy holdings of various types constituted 18.44 per cent of the total number of holdings, and only 7.57 per cent of the total assessed area. In Balasore district they formed 27.14 per cent of the total number of holdings of the district, and only 12.28 per cent of the total assessed area of the district. On an average for both the districts, they constituted 21.59

9. See Maddox Report, Vol. I, pp. 217-27.

Table 47.

Number and area of under-tenants in Orissa, 1900 (Figures in thousands; area in thousand acres; (percentage in brackets)

District	Raiyats holding under tenure-holders		Under raiyats of baziaftidars who are raiyats		Under-raiyats of right and jagirdars		Under-raiyats of under-tenants and of raiyats of Nij-jote		Total	
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
Cuttack	74 (61.66)	39.1 (62.8)	21.9 (18.25)	10.0 (16.0)	24.1 (20.8)	13.2 (21.0)	No figures		120.00 (100) [18.44]	62.3 (100) [7.57]
Balasore	71.1 (70.0)	57.5 (76.67)	0.1 (0. 1)	0.1 (0.13)	26.7 (26.57)	15.7 (20.93)	2.6 (2.59)	1.7 (2.27)	100.5 (100) [27.14]	75.0 (100) [12.28]
Total	145.1 (65.8)	96.7 (70.43)	22.0 (9.98)	10.1 (7.36)	50.9 (23.0)	29.0 (21.12)	2.6 (1.18)	1.7 (1.24)	220.5 (100) [21.59]	137.3 (100) [9.07]

Note :- The figures in square brackets under the column "Total" show the percentage of the total number of holdings and area leased to under tenants over the total assessed land of the district, computed from settlement data.

Source : Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 233.

per cent of the total number of holdings with 9.07 per cent of the total assessed area of both the districts taken together. Analysis of the distribution of the under-tenants according to the degrees of subletting shows that under-tenants of the second degree constituted only about 2.59 per cent of the total number of holders with 2.27 per cent of the total assessed area, in the case of Balasore district. The small degree of subinfeudation was mainly because of the fact that it did not fetch sufficient profit (only about Rs. 1-7-0 per acre in Cuttack and Rs. 1-4-0 in Balasore),[10] compared to the average rental. Bulk of the under-tenants (more than 73 per cent in Cuttack and more than 85 per cent in Balasore) paid cash-rents, the rest rents in kind (see table 48). Keeping in mind the fact that kind-rents constituted a much greater portion of the produce than cash rents, the small proportion of holdings under kind-rent in Orissa, compared to that under Bhagchasi and Barghadar systems in Bengal, is quite significant in this context.[11]

10. See Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 233.

11. In Dhulibhag system all the products and bye-products were equally divided between both the parties of the lease; in Phalabhag system only the fruits were divided. Under sanja system a fixed quantity of grain was exacted irrespective of the actual yield, amounting to about 6 maunds per acre (Cuttack District Gazetteer, p. 123) or equivalent to 40 per cent of the total produce (if average productivity is taken as 14 maunds per acre; Maddox Report, Vol. II, p. 456). In all these cases kind-rents were much higher than cash-rents. In Bengal share-cropping was the dominant form. See Saha, N.K., op.cit.; Mukerjee, R.K., "Economic Structure of Rural Bengal: A survey of six villages." About 20 per cent of land of Bengal were under share-cropping. Report of Bengal Land Revenue Commission, p. 50, 84. In some districts it constituted about one-third of the cultivated area; See Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha, memorandum to the Bengal Land Revenue Commission, p. 42 f.

Table 48.

Rents of under-tenants : Orissa, 1900 (Percentage in brackets).

District and Class	Paying rent in cash		Paying rent in kind				Total(both cash and kind-rent)	
			Dhulibhag		Sanja system			
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
Cuttack								
Raiyats of tenure-holders.	7,815 (77.84)	4,760 (78.47)	2,220 (22.11)	1,295 (21.35)	5 (0.05)	11 (0.18)	10,040 (100)	6,066 (100)
Under-raiyats	5,036 (68.04)	2,504 (63.07)	2,363 (31.92)	1,463 (36.85)	3 (0.04)	3 (0.08)	7,402 (100)	3,970 (100)
Total	12,851 (73.68)	7,264 (72.38)	8,583 (26.28)	2,758 (27.48)	8 (0.05)	14* (0.14)	17,442 (100)	10,036 (100)
Balasore								
Raiyats of tenure-holders.	68,120 (92.02)	51,460 (92.07)	5,660 (7.65)	4,140 (7.41)	250 (0.34)	294 (0.54)	74,030 (100)	55,894 (100)
Under-raiyats of raiyats of the Mahal.	16,410 (76.65)	9,630 (72.11)	4,980 (23.26)	3,525 (26.39)	20 (0.09)	200 (1.50)	21,410 (100)	13,355 (100)
Under-raiyats of undertenants	2,305 (79.48)	1,325 (75.71)	590 (20.34)	420 (24.00)	5 (0.17)	5 (0.29)	2,900 (100)	1,750 (100)
Total	83,835 (85.25)	62,415 (87.91)	11,230 (11.42)	8,085 (11.39)	275 (0.28)	499* (0.07)	98,340 (100)	70,999 (100)

* Corrections introduced by us.

Source: Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 233.

Thus the peculiar land system of Bengal led to a situation where there was not enough work for the cultivators but there was restriction on the movement of labour. Census Superintendent Thompson writes: "The very rights which the cultivator has in his land and which it has been the object of tenancy legislation to preserve to him, stand in the way of an adjustment between the supply and demand for labour in this province. He cannot be expected to sacrifice these rights and go in search of work in industrial centres except in the last extremity...."[12] Thompson also quite correctly recognized that only a fast development of modern industry could ~~only~~ exert a sufficient pressure on this class of labourers and force them to migrate.[13] The absence of such an industrial revolution naturally inhibited the rooting out of the surplus labour from the countryside.

Another very important factor that caused a scarcity of local supply of labour to industries of Bengal, is the relatively high productivity of land due to a unique river system. Under the given conditions the cultivators preferred to get subsidiary employment in seasons of high demand for labour in the locality. The development of jute cultivation at a fan-

12. Census of India, 1921, Bengal, Report, p. 383. See Chaudhuri, B., "The Process of Depeasantization in Bengal and Bihar 1885-1947", The Indian Historical Review, July 1975, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 105-65, for an analysis of why depesantization led to sub-infeudation in Bengal.

13. Census of India, 1921, Bengal, Report, p. 383.

tastic rate provided such kind of an employment to many and thus partly neutralised the pressure to migrate.[14] Permanent migration of Bengal peasants to certain regions of Assam where new land could be colonized and cultivated also acted as a factor in decreasing the migration to industrial areas.[15] Thus the pressure that was sufficient to motivate the Oriya cultivator expropriated from his land, to migrate to distant Bengal, was not enough to root out the native Bengali cultivator, subinfeudated to various degrees.[16]

The specific condition that created the greater mobility of the Oriya migrant labour, however, was not congenial enough to allow him to migrate out on a permanent basis. Thus the people who migrated did so on a semi-permanent basis; left their families in the village, visited them every year and sent money regularly. We will attempt below to explain this phenomenon on the basis of the specific conditions under which the expropriated class came to be formed.

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14. On expansion of jute cultivation see Indian Central Jute Committee: Report on the marketing and transport of jute in India, Introduction. During 1892-1908 the area under jute got almost doubled from 1.99 million acres to 3.88 acres in Bengal. See also Chapter I.

15. See Census of India, 1921, Bengal, Report, Chapter on the movement of population.

16. The only district of Bengal that supplied a sizeable number of migrants to the industrial region of the province was Midnapore. It was mainly due to the extremely poor conditions of cultivators there. See Census of India, 1921, Bengal, Report, p. 384.

We have seen that the rapid growth of a surplus population in agriculture was not because capitalist mode of production had encompassed agriculture and revolutionized the technological conditions of production, but on the contrary through a process of decline in productivity and growth of perpetual indebtedness of the cultivator to usury capital and merchant's capital; not under conditions of saturated employment in agriculture, but under conditions of lack of enough employment due to decline in cultivation and productivity.

The labourers who migrated did not do so because of any revolutionary transformation of agriculture forcing them to migrate; they, on the contrary, did so to check their transformation from independent labourers to bonded labourers. It was not the effect of a forward tendency in the development of social production, but the measure for the labourers to prevent the backward tendency in relations of production. For the transformation of expropriated labourers to bonded labourers was not a finished process but a <u>tendency.</u> Otherwise the labourers would not be allowed to migrate. As the main interests of the usurer and zamindar lay in extracting as much as possible from the expropriated peasants the latter were allowed to migrate out, as this would provide a source of expansion of the capital of the usurer in the form of the high rate of interest. Thus the motive force behind migration was to earn money to pay back the debt, to come back to the village. For the labourer always cherished the hope,

though in vain of becoming a free cultivator again.

The specific conditions that obtained in agriculture, however, did not permit any repayment of the debt. Despite the fact that the migrants sent considerable sums of money home, even at the state of indebtedness in the industrial place, and even at a state of under-nourishment, this was not sufficient for the rate at which the usurious interest was getting multiplied. Kingsford made an interesting observation about the migrant labourers and the extraction of the zamindar: "On their return home.... they are then subjected to a process of squeezing by the zamindars" and after "spending all their money they sell their 'chadars' to provide funds for the journey, and return to Calcutta."[17] In this paper, however, we have not gone into the questions of pattern of recruitment and psychological motives behind migration. We have limited our queries into the structural features of the economy where the migrant labourers came to be created, and within that framework tried to provide some broad generalizations.

The lack of a permanent, steady labour force is a product of the specific conditions under which the labour force have came to be created, specifically, the absence of an agricultural revolution. Hence, it can be argued that the character of the labour market in the colonies show a divergence from the pattern evolved during the industrialization

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17. Cited in Maddox Report, Vol. II, p. 471.

of advanced capitalist countries, due to the specific constraints imposed by colonialism, in terms of its policies regarding industry, trade and agriculture.

However, more research needs to be done on the specificities and regional variations of different streams of migrants for further generalizations.

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APPENDIX 1-A.

Birth-place of skilled workers classified according to their industry

Description of establishment	Total No.	Bengal percentage				Percentage of the total of a particular industry							
		Total	Distri- bution	Adjoin- ing Dists.	Other dists.	N.B. %	S.B. %	N.P. %	Orissa %	V.P. %	Madras %	Output %	Outside %
Grand total	181,974	39	28	7	3.6	14.9	13.6	1.3	6.8	19.7	2.2	1.7	0.3
Colluries	3,175	68.6	63.7	0.37	0.1	-	7.5	20.1	-	2.3	-	0.7	-
Cotton spenning & weaving etc.	6,109	36.2	30	4.5	1.1	1.5	4	0.2	24.6	18	6.3	8.7	-
Jute Mills	125,121	31	22.7	4.7	3.5	20	15.6	0.8	7	22.4	1.6	0.4	0.1
Silk filiatures and mills	2,418	92.5	90.9	1.3	0.3	0.2	1.3	-	3.0	3.1	-	-	-
Iron foundaries	4,560	57.2	46.6	8.1	2.5	2.6	19.8	10.4	2.6	7.1	-	0.1	-
Iron & steel works	2,588	64.2	36.1	21.8	6.2	3	10.3	1.6	2.4	15.3	0.3	1.8	0.7
Machinery & Engineering works	10,685	72.0	45.6	21.1	5.2	2.7	8.4	0.3	3.9	9.5	1.0	0.8	1.0
Paper mills	729	60.9	36	12.2	12.6	3.7	5.2	0.6	7.1	10.9	0.1	0.9	4.3
Flour mills	141	53.9	34.7	14.8	4.2	4.2	17.7	-	11.3	8.5	-	-	4.2
Railway workshops	19,124	38.6	29.4	6	3	6.3	9.9	0.5	4.1	21.4	8.3	8.9	1.1
Steam workshops	725	94.3	40.5	25.2	28.5	2.0	2.0	0.2	0.6	0.9	-	0.2	1.3
Shipwright & dockyard workshops	7,441	68.9	32.8	31.9	4	2.4	6.2	0.9	9.5	9.1	-	2.2	0.4

Source: Census of India, 1921, Bengal, Tables, pp. 422-29.

APPENDIX 1-B

Birth place of unskilled workers classified according to their industry

		Percentage of total of a particular industry											
		Bengal				North Bihar	South Bihar	C.N. Plateau	Orissa	U.P.	Madras	Other parts of India	Outside India
	Total No.	Total %	Dist. of enumeration %	Adjoining dists. %	Other dists. %	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Grand total	589,443	29.5	23.0	3.6	2.8	6.1	10.8	20.8	8.7	11.5	2.2	9.7	-
Collieries	37,168	55.7	47.5	7.9	0.2	1.1	6.0	32.6	-	1.7	-	2.5	-
Cotton spinning weaving etc.	7,288	18.3	14.0	3.0	1.1	1.9	4.7	0.7	33.0	32.1	4.3	4.6	-
Jute mills	155,633	18.3	13.7	3.2	1.2	10.2	19.0	1.5	14.9	23.7	6.9	5.2	-
Silk filiatures and mills	1,761	98.0	95.7	1.7	0.5	-	0.1	-	1.4	0.2	-	-	-
Iron foundaries	10,277	36.1	31.9	1.4	2.7	3.3	11.3	30.4	2.6	13.4	0.2	2.4	-
Iron & steel works	3,852	25.9	16.2	2.1	7.6	5.3	12.1	6.0	11.4	34.9	-	4.2	0.2
Machinery and engineering works	6,691	25.1	15.8	2.2	7.2	7.0	7.9	3.0	31.5	23.1	0.6	2.0	-
Paper mills	3,835	21.4	13.0	6.8	1.7	5.2	10.5	1.1	4.3	56.5	0.1	0.8	-
Flour mills	987	5.5	3.7	0.9	2.6	4.0	7.0	1.2	51.3	27.5	-	1.8	-
Railway workshops	10,836	24.6	19.6	2.5	2.6	5.9	9.1	2.1	6.3	23.0	8.8	20.2	-
Steamer "	140	58.6	43.6	2.1	12.9	9.3	0.7	-	11.4	19.3	-	0.7	-
Shipwright dockyard workshops	4,221	30.4	9.5	3.4	17.5	12.5	12.1	0.4	18.3	23.9	-	2.4	-
Teagarden coolies	215,611	32.0	30.3	1.3	0.4	0.9	0.5	46.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	18.9	-
Steamer and Rly. coolies	32,260	36.3	27.9	4.9	3.5	11.4	15.1	7.2	5.7	15.6	0.6	8.1	-
Day labourers & coolies (including workers in docks. ships.)	97,883	30.8	11.7	8.1	11.0	11.8	21.8	2.3	18.8	12.4	0.1	1.7	0.3

Source: Census of India, 1921, Bengal, Tables, pp. 432-43.

APPENDIX 2.

Castes classified according to their traditional occupations

I	Landholders	Babhan, Khandait, Rajput (Chhatri).
II	Cultivators (including growers of spl. products)	Barui and Barai, Bind, Chain, Chasa, Dhanuk, Gond, Gangauta, Kaibartta (Chasi), Koch, Koiri, Kolta, Kunjra, Kurmi, Mal, Namasudra, Pod, Rajbansi, Sadagop, Sudh (Sudha).
III	Labourers	Bagdi, Bauri, Kaora, Musahar, Rajwar.
IV	Forest and hill tribes.	Bhogta, Bhuiya, Bhumij, Ho, Kandh, Kharia, Kharwar, Munda, Oraon, Santal, Savar (Sahar), Tipara.
V	Graziers and dairy men.	Gareri, Gaura, Goala.
VI	Fishermen, boatmen and palki-bearers.	Gourhi, Kaibatta (Jaliya), Kahar, Kewat, Khatare, Mallah, Malo, Tiyar.
VII	Hunters	- - - -
VIII	Priests and devotees.	Baishnab and Bairagi, Brahman.
IX	Temple servants	- - - - - -
X	Geneologists	- - - - - -
XI	Bards and Astrologers	- - - - - -
XII	Writers	Karan, Kayasth.
XIII	Musicians, singers, dancers, mimics and jugglers	- - - - - -
XIV	Traders and pedlars	Baniya, Gandha, Banik, Rauniar, Shaha, Subarnabanik.
XV	Carriers by pack animals	- - - - - -

Cont'd... Appendix 2.

XVI	Barbers	Bhandari, Hajjam, Napit.
XVII	Washermen	Dhoba.
XVIII	Weavers, carders and dyers.	Ganda, Jogi and Jugi, Jolaha, Kapali, Pan (Panika), Tanti and Tatwa.
XIX	Tailors	- - - - - -
XX	Carpenters	Barhi, Sutradhar.
XXI	Masons	- - - - - -
XXII	Potters	Kumhar.
XXIII	Glass and Iac workers	- - - - - -
XXIV	Blacksmiths	Kamar and Lohar.
XXV	Gold and Silversmiths	Sonar.
XXVI	Brass and Coppersmiths.	- - - - - -
XXVII	Confectioners and grain-parchers	Guria, Halwai, Kandu, Mayra.
XXVIII	Oil-pressers	Kalu, Teli and Tili.
XXIX	Toddy drawers and distillers	Kalwar, Pasi, Sunri.
XXX	Butchers	- - - - - -
XXXI	Leather-workers	Chamar, Muchi.
XXXII	Basket-makers and mat-makers	Dom.
XXXIII	Earth, salt, etc. workers and quarriers	Beldar, Nuniya.
XXXIV	Domestic servants	Sudra.

Cont'd.... Appendix 2.

XXXV	Village watermen and menials	Dosadh, Kandra (Kadma).
XXXVI	Sweepers	Hari.
XXXVII	Others	- - - -

Source: Census of India, 1911, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Report, pp. 521-22.

Appendix 3

Types of Migration

1. Casual migration: Minor movements between adjacent villages across the boundary of the district.
2. Temporary migration: Journey, business, fair, pilgrimage, temporary labour demand for construction of new roads, buildings, railways etc.
3. Periodic migration: A particular type of temporary migration associated with the seasons of the agriculture year.
4. Semi-permanent migration: Persons residing in one place and employed at a different place. They retain connexions with their families, visit them at intervals, and return to at the old age.
5. Permanent migration: Settlement at a new place.

Source : Census of India, 1921, Bengal, Report, section on migration.

APPENDIX 4

List of short-term settlements in Orissa (1804-1837)

Regulation under which made	Period of settlement	Year of settlement
Regulation XII of 1804	One year	1804-1805
Regulation XII of 1805	Three years	1805-1808
Regulation VI of 1808	One year	1808-1809
Regulation VI of 1808	Three years	1809-1812
Regulation XII of 1811) Regulation I of 1813)	One year	1812-1813
Regulation I of 1813	Two years	1813-1815
Regulation III of 1815	One year	1815-1816
Regulation VI of 1816	Three years	1816-1819
Regulation XIII of 1818	Three years	1819-1822
Regulation VIII of 1822	Five years	1822-1827
Regulation III of 1826	Ten years	1827-1837

Source: Maddox Report, Vol. I, Chap. X.

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APPENDIX 5

List of famines in India : 1769-1878

Years	Bengal			N.W. Provinces & Punjab			Rajputana and Central India			Bombay			Madras			All - India		
	Years			Years			Years			Years			Years			Years		
	Severity	Duration	Interval	Severity	Duration	Interval	Severity	Duration	Interval	Severity	Duration	Interval	Severity	Duration	Interval	Severity	Duration	Interval
1769-70	** *	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	***	1	-
1782-83	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1	13	**	2	13	**	1	12
1783-84	*	1	13	***	1	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	***	1	-
1791-92	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1	22	***	1	8	**	1	7	***	1	7
1802-03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1	10	**	-	-	**	1	10
1803-04	-	-	-	**	1	19	**	1	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1	-
1806-07	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1	13	**	1	2
1812-13	-	-	-	*	1	8	*	1	8	**	1	9	-	-	-	**	1	5
1823-24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1	16	**	1	10
1824-25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	1	11	-	-	-	*	1	-
1832-33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	***	1	8	***	1	7
1833-34	-	-	-	*	1	20	*	1	20	*	1	8	-	-	-	*	1	-
1837-38	-	-	-	***	1	3	**	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1	3
1838-39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	1	4	-	-	-	*	1	-
1844-45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	1	5	-	-	-	*1		5
1853-54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1	20	**	1	8
1860-61	-	-	-	**	1	22	*	1	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1	6
1865-66	***	2	81	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1	11	***	2	4
1868-69	-	-	-	**	1	7	***2		7	-	-	-	-	-	-	***	2	1
1873-74	**	1	6	*	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1	3
1876-77	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	***	2	31	***	2	10	***	2	2
1877-78	-	-	#4	**	1	3	**1		7	-	-	-	-	-	-	**	1	-
Total No. of Famines and Scercities	4	-	-	9			8			9			8			21		
Total No of years affected by famine	5	-	-	9			9			10			10			24		
Total No of years of Interval without Famine	-	104	-	-	100	-	-	100	-	-	99	-	-	99	-	-	85	

Cont'd.... APPENDIX 5.

Average No. of years of Interval without famine	- - 26 - -	11 - -	13 - -	11 - -	12 - -	4

* Denotes a severe scarcity.

** Denote a famine.

*** Denote an intense famine.

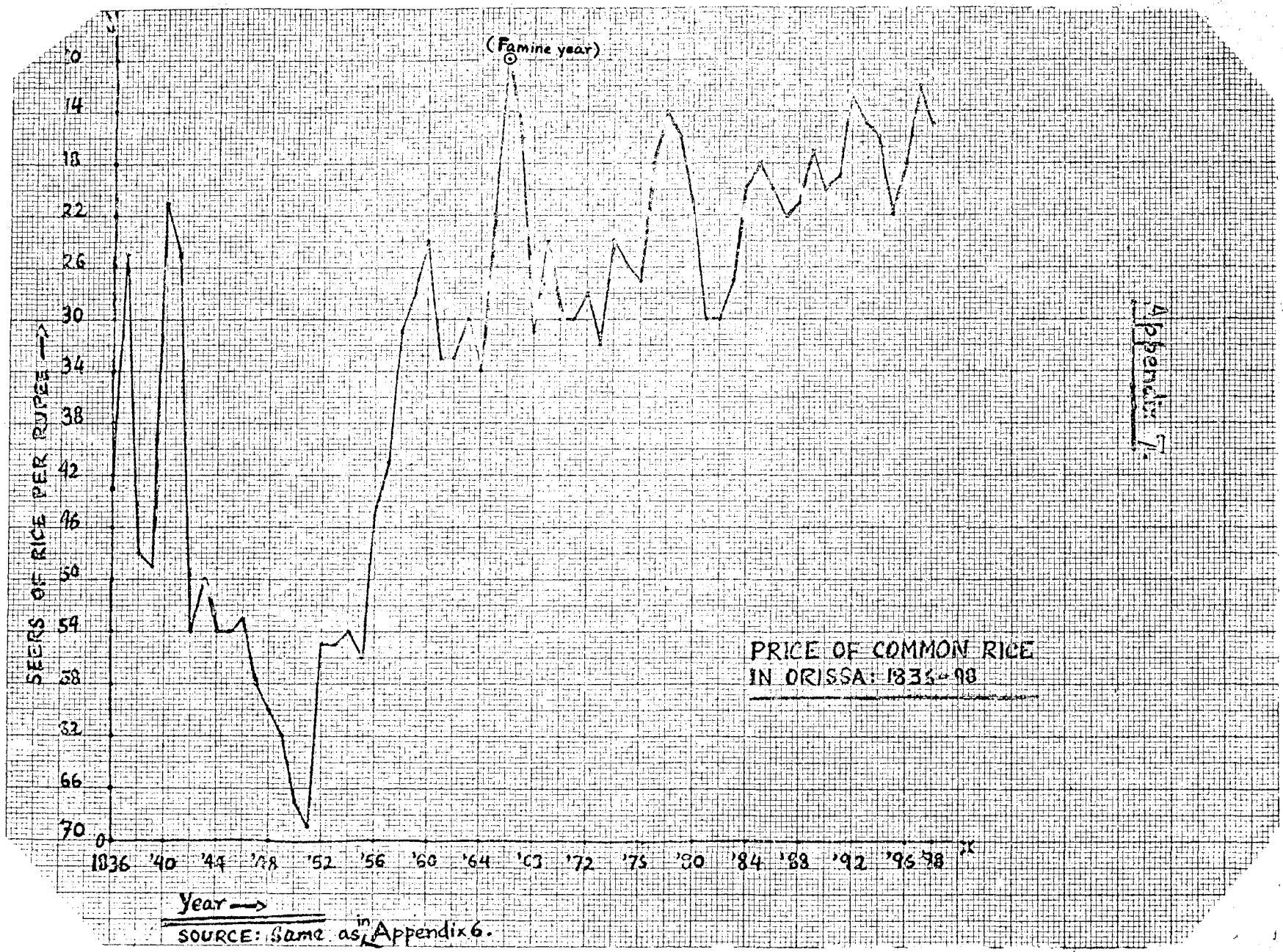
Source: Famine Commission Report, 1880, Vol. I.

APPENDIX 6

Statement showing the average price of Common rice in Orissa.

Year	Annual Average price in seers (of 80 tolas) per rupee	Decennial average	Year	Annual Average price in seers (of 80 tolas) per rupee	Decennial average
1836	43.13		1867	16.37	
1837	24.56		1868	31.27	
1838	47.75		1869	24.14	
1839	48.85		1870	29.71	
1840	21.16		1871	29.66	
1841	24.50	43.20 & 48.14 (excluding 1837 and 1840).	1872	28.47	
1842	54.00		1873	32.43	26.87
1843	50.00		1874	24.37	
1844	54.37		1875	35.61	
1845	53.79		1876	26.72	
1846	52.50		1877	17.65	
1847	57.87		1878	13.70	
1848	59.56		1879	15.69	
1849	61.94		1880	20.59	
1850	67.19		1881	30.38	
1851	68.69	57.94	1882	29.98	21.26
1852	54.75		1883	26.70	
1853	55.19		1884	19.86	
1854	53.81		1885	18.34	
1855	55.50		1886	19.77	
1856	44.94		1887	22.09	
1857	40.56		1888	20.99	
1858	31.25		1889	17.08	
1859	28.31		1890	19.68	
1860	23.87		1891	18.57	
1861	33.18		1892	13.39	
1862	32.84		1893	14.78	
1863	30.29	28.58	1894	15.68	18.28
1864	33.87		1895	21.63	
1865	21.90		1896	18.40	
1866	9.76		1897	11.87	
			1898	14.84	

Source: Maddox Report, Vol. I, pp. 119-21.



PRICE OF COMMON RICE IN ORISSA: 1835-98

SOURCE: Same as in Appendix 6.

Appendix 7

APPENDIX 8

Daily diet of an average Oriya cultivator

	Rs. A.. P.
Rice ..	0 - 2 - 0
Dal or fish ..	0 - 0 - 1½
Vegetable ..	0 - 0 - 1
Salt ..	0 - 0 - 1
Oil ..	0 - 0 - 1
Spices (turmeric etc.)	0 - 0 - 1½
Tobacco ..	0 - 0 - 1
Betel and betelnuts	0 - 0 - 1
Total ..	0 - 4 - 0

Source : Banerjei, N.N., op.cit., p. 31.

APPENDIX 9

Income per annum of raiyat holding 10 mans of land
(1 man = 2/3 acre)

	Rs. A. P.
6 mans sarad dhan yielding 6 large bharans, at Rs. 10 per bharan.	60 -0 - 0
4 mans biali dhan yielding 4 large bharans, at Rs. 10 per bharans	40 -0 - 0
Straw of above dhan, chiefly sarad.	18 -0 - 0
1-1/8 man birhi, yielding 75 gaṇnis, at 5 gaṇnis per rupee.	15 -0 - 0
1 man muga yielding 40 gaṇnis, at 4 gaṇnis per rupee.	10 -0 - 0
1¾ man kulthi yielding 120 gaṇnis at 10 gaṇnis per rupee.	12 -0 - 0
Total	155 -0 -0

Ordinary expenses per annum of the above raiyat

Clothing for five members of the family.	11 -4 - 0
Valuation of food for 5 members of the family.	90 -0 - 0
Rent of 10 mans of land at Rs. 3 per acre.	20 -0 - 0
Cost of day-labourers (in kind and money).	24 -0 - 0
Wages of washerman, barber, carpenter etc. in kind and money.	2 -0 - 0
Purchase of baskets for paddy, dung etc.	0 -12- 0
Feed of one pair of bullocks.	12 -0 - 0
Hire of bullocks for agriculture operations.	12 -0 - 0
Total	172- 0 - 0

The man's expenses exceed his income by Rs. 17 for ordinary expenses only. To this must be added extraordinary expenses, such as those incurred at births, deaths, marriages and religious festivals, and the interest to be paid to the mahajan, amounting to about Rs. 18 as an yearly average: Total deficit per year=Rs. 35/-, which has to be borrowed from the mahajan in money and kind.

Source: Banerjei, op.cit., pp. 36-37.

APPENDIX 10

Budget of an average cultivator (Cuttack district: 1900)

- A family of 5 (3 adults + 2 children) with 3 acres of rice land and ½ acre homestead land.
- Land unirrigated; sarad rice grown.
- Outturn = 57.2 maunds of paddy + 75 maunds of straw.
- Accounting for seeds (3 maunds of paddy), the cultivator gets 33 maunds 35 seers of clean rice.
- Annual food consumption in the form of rice = 2⅔ maunds of rice.

Estimate of other expenses

		Rs. A.
1.	For weeding, 30 labourers besides himself, at one anna six pice each.	2 - 13
2.	For reaping, binding, carrying to the thrashing floor, 24 paid labourers at 2 annas each besides himself and badla labourers or labourers working in exchange for his own labour.	3 - 0
3.	Rent. ..	10 - 2
4.	Carpenters and blacksmiths for repairing agricultural implements (18 seers of rice).	1 - 2
5.	Chowkidar ..	0 - 8
6.	Washerman and barber ..	1 - 0
7.	Salt and oil ..	5 - 0
8.	Spices, betelnut, tobacco etc.	2 - 0
9.	Fish, dal and other petty expenses	3 - 0
10.	Cloth ..	7 - 0
	Total :	35 - 9

Maddox calculated the value of rice left over after feeding the family (11 maunds 5 seers) as Rs. 24-6. So there is a deficit of Rs. 11-3 equal to another 5 maunds of rice. (If the land were wholly irrigated then there would be an additional margin of 4½ maunds, so that the expenses and receipts would nearly balance).

Source : Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 130.

APPENDIX 11

Budget of an average cultivator (Balasore : 1900).

According to Kingsford the amount of paddy left with a cultivator after paying the rent = 57 maunds the whole of which will be required for food according to the following estimate:

1.	Rice for 4 persons at 10 *chataks* per head per day.	= 2½ seers
2.	Infant's rice cake	= 22½ maunds per annum.
3.	*Arua* rice for festivals	= 60 seers per annum.
4.	*Khai*, fried rice.	= 24 seers per annum.
5.	Rice for gifts.	= 24 seers per annum.
	Total:	= 25 maunds and 32 seers of rice ≡ 57 maunds of paddy.

Total expenses of family

			Rs. A. P.
1.	*Living:*	Paddy to be husked by women of the family 57 maunds.	Nil.
		Dal from his own *bari* or obtained in exchange for some of the rice which would otherwise be consumed.	Nil.
		Condiment etc. (at Rs. 2-2/ per month)	25 -8 -0
2.	*Thatching:*	Straw from his own field	Nil.
		Labour, his own ..	Nil.
		Bamboo and twine. ..	0 -10-0
3.	*Clothing:*	..	9 - 1-0
4.	*Miscellaneous:*	Barber, washermen, Chaukidar- One mond of paddy. ..	Nil.
5.	*Comforts and Luxury:*	Ornaments average per annum.	1 - 5-0
		Utensils	0 - 8-0
		Stimulants	2 - 8-0
6.	*Agricultural:*	*Abwab* (illegal cess to zemindar)	2 - 8-0
		Seed grain, 32 seers per acre.	2- 12-0
		Total:	46 -10-0

Cont'd... Appendix 11.

Kingsford estimated that this deficit of Rs. 46-10-0 is met by the children earning two annas a day which is equal to Rs. 34 per annum and other members of family by odd jobs - total up to Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 / annum.

Source : Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 131.

Glossary

Abwab	Illegal cess.
Bari	Homestead land.
Bazyafti Tenures	Tenures held rent and revenue-free before the settlement of 1837 and resumed and assessed at the settlement.
Bazyaftidars	Holders of resumed tenures.
Bhag or Dhulibhag	Means literally a 'sharing' of the dust. A rent in kind equal to half the produce, including bye-products.
Bhagchas	Land cultivated by a raiyat for his landlord on condition that he would pay a certain share of the produce, generally half-share.
Bhandari or Napit	A barber.
Biali (Oryza sativa)	Autumn rice sown in May-June and harvested in August and September.
Birhi (Phaseolus radiatus)	A kind of pulse.
Chandina	Homestead lands of shopkeepers artizans, and those of the labouring classes, who, having no arable land in the village, pay rent for homestead lands only.
Chaukidar or Choukia	Village watchman.
Dakhal bandhak	Loans on a usufructuary mortgage. No interest in charged, but the Mahajan obtains possession until such time as the debt is repaid or for a certain period, at the expiration of which the Mahajan returns the lands to the mortgagor, the enjoyment of the lands,for that period being considered equivalent to principal and interest.
Dal	A general term for pulses.
Dalua (Oryza sativa)	Spring rice sown in November-December and harvested in March.
Debottar (Bestowed on the Gods)	Lands assigned for the worship of an idol.

Dhoba	Washerman.
Dhoti	Cloth for wearing.
Gamcha	A towel-like piece of cloth generally used for bathing, etc.
Gauni (Grain measure)	This is a basket with a capacity varying locally from 1½ to 6 seers of rice and called accordingly tin siriagauni; 'charsiriagauni', etc. etc.
Gharbari	Homestead lands including bari.
Gomasta	A servant of the Zamindar or the Ijaradar who collects rents from the tenants.
Gunth (land measure)	One twenty-fifth of a man.
Jagir	Service lands.
Jagirdars	Persons holding lands free of rent in consideration of their services to an individual or the community.
Jama	Revenue or rent.
Jogi	A religious mendicant.
Kabala	Deed of sale.
Kabuliyat	Terms of settlement between the government and the zamindar.
Kamar	Blacksmith.
Kanungo	A subordinate revenue official.
Karja	Money loan.
Karji	An agent appointed by the talukdar for collections where there were no hereditary headmen or where the padhan had been dispossessed. The term is now generally applied to rent collectors.
Kar-pahi or thani-pahi	Lands cultivated by a thani raiyat which did not previously form part of his thani holding or tenure.
Khai	Fried rice, sometimes seasoned with sugar, when it is called mudki or ukhda.

Khairat	The name was used of grants of lands to mendicants and other poor Hindus, and sometimes also of grants for charitable purposes.
Khandait or Bhuyan	Literally, swordsman, i.e., the wearer of the khanda kharga or sword, Was originally chief of paiks; a khandait is now scarcely distinguishable from a paik.
Kharida (lands)	Land sold rent-free or at a quit rent by the proprietors during the Hindu, Moghul, or Mahratta rule.
Kharidadars	Purchasers of Kharida lands.
Kharida	Jamabandi (lands) Kharida lands assessed to revenue.
Khewat (form)	An abstract record of the rights of proprietors and tenure-holders.
Killajat	Estates of which the revenue was fixed by Regulation XII of 1805 are known as Killajat estates.
Kist	Instalment of revenue or rent.
Laghu (Chota, Majhla, Bara) (Oryza sativa)	The winter rice is sub-divided according to the amount of water it requires into guru or heavy and laghu or light, and the latter again into small medium and large.
Lakhiraj	Revenue-free land.
Lakhiraj bahaldars	Revenue-free properties, holding their lands free of revenue in prepetuity.
Malikana	Allowances paid to a proprietor on his becoming recusant.
Man	A local measure, contains from .33 to 1.21 of an acre.
Maund	Forty seers (one seer = 2.0532 lbs. Avoirdupois).
Maurasi	Hereditary.
Mauza	Village.
Milan khasra	Is a total of the khasra pages showing the different classes of land into which the total area of the village is divided.

Mulia	Day labourer.
Muqadam or muqaddam or mukadam or mukaddam	(An arabic word meaning headman) A class of proprietary tenure-holders or sub-proprietors.
Nijchas	Land cultivated by the proprietor or proprietary tenure-holder, but which is not true sir.
Nij jot	Is the private land (or true sir) of the proprietor or proprietary tenure-holder.
Padhan	A class of proprietary tenure-holders or sub-proprietors.
Pahi	Raiyats whose rents were not fixed for the term of settlement; non-resident raiyats as distinguished from thani or resident raiyats.
Pahikasht	Lands cultivated by pahi raiyats.
Paiks	Hereditary landed militia. They are road and ghat patrols occupying a position similar to that of the village chaukidars.
Pan (piper betel)	Betel leaf.
Pargana	Name of a fiscal division of the Moghul period. It is still in use.
Parsethis or pursethis	A class of proprietary tenure-holders or sub-proprietors.
Patna	It means primarily homestead rather than arable lands. Small villages are also called Patnas.
Peshkas or Peshkush	Quit revenue.
Phalbhag or Rajbhag	A division of the fruits or grain only, the straws or other bye-products being left with the cultivators; a less common form of produce rent.
Rabi	Spring crop.
Rahan bandhak	Loans on simple mortgage usually bearing interest at six pies per rupee per month.

Rasad	Supplies.
Sadar	An abstract.
Sanad	Deeds by which grants of lands were made by Hindu, Muhammadan or Mahratta Rulers, also certificats granted by the British Government to Tributary Chiefs and proprietors of peshkas' estates describing their status, etc. etc.
Sanja	Means a contract, and is used of a rent in kind fixed at a certain quantity, which is payable whatever the otturn may be.
Sarad (Oryza sativa)	Winter rice sown in June-July and reaped in November-January.
Sarbarahkar	Originally a farmer of the revenue, who has now in many cases become a properietary tenure-holder.
Seer	Weight of 80 tolas = four paos = 2.0532 lbs. Avoirdupois.
Sherista	An office where records are kept.
Tanki (rent)	A quit rent.
Tankibahal	These are tenures which were assessed at the last-settlement with quit rents fixed in prepetuity. In Khurda the rates, but not the rents, are fixed in perpetuity.
Tola	Is the weight of one standard rupee = 180 grains Troy.
Thani	Raiyats resident in the village whose rents were fixed for the t erm of the last settlement.
Thani-pahi	(See karpahi).
Zamindars or Malguzars	Proprietors directly responsible to the State for the revenue of the land they own.

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