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Port Development and Maritime Commerce in Colonial Orissa (1866-1936)

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Keywords

Colonial Orissa, commercial companies, trade.

Abstract

In Colonial Orissa, the ports were not developing before the Bengal Orissa Orissa Famine. But after the Famine of 1866, these ports were developed for commercial purposes. The most important ports were False Point Port, Balasore Port, Dhamra Port, Churamani Port, Laichanpur Port and Chhanua Port. The port of Chandballi was opened in 1872. There was tremendous growth of trade after the famine of 1866. The influx of several commercial companies gave boost to the rocketing rise of trade. But this trade did not benefit the economy of the province. It economically drained the region. Because there was poor investment for the development of the ports.

Introduction

The main objective of this paper is to delineate the maritime trade of British Orissa from 1866 to 1936. The central theme of this paper is not only to examine developments and decline of maritime trade but also to examine its impact on the economy of the people of Orissa. The period starts Orissa Famine of 1866 and ends with attainment of formation of the province of Orissa in 1936. The work is based on the archival sources collected from Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar and National Archives of India, New Delhi.

Condition of Ports in Orissa before the Bengal Orissa Famine 1866-

False Point was one of the most important Ports in 1866. The Famine Commission of 1866 considered it to be the best harbors on the whole coast of India between Hugli and Bombay. It was situated at the mouth of the river Mahanadi, at a distance of 70 miles from the town of Cuttack. The port had been discovered and opened in 1860 and it was expected to provide protected anchorage. An agency had been established there for the export of rice. But there was no means of disembarking the cargo and passengers at the anchorage. There was also no good communication between the port and the interior of the country.

The Port of Balasore Port was situated on the river Burabalanga. In the 17th century it was seat of considerable trade. Eventually it became much less useful by the formation of sand across mouth of the river. Puri Port was nominally a port, because it was very shallow and steamers could not approach it within a distance of some miles.

In 1866 Orissa did not contain a single harbour capable of sheltering ship of any size. No port offered a secure anchorage during the mansoon. In the same season steamers could not land cargoes on its surf-beaten shore except in such small quantities as surf boats could carry. Great difficulty was experienced in loading and unloading ships and steamers.

In spite of the absence of good harbour, the export trade of Orissa was considerable and averaged 20,000 tonnes of rice exported in a year during the six years preceding 1865. The price of rice had generally remained cheap as compared with most other provinces. Though the people themselves had not undertaken any large mercantile operations, their surplus grain had been sought by others for this reason. The surplus from the crop of 1864 bad been carried off "by the energetic Telingah, Kocmtees of Madras territory who have toured the country to buy up the grain and an enterprising French house (Messrs Robert Cherriol and Company) who have exported largely by way of False Point". The quantity exported was unusually large, viz. 33,000 tonnes of which Balasore alone sent away 26,000 tones. Despite the general panic in 1865-66, 70,727 mounds had been exported from the province by the end of October 1866. The unusual brisk exportation depicted the stocks of a considerable extent and contributed to the Orissa Famine of 1866.

Following strictly to the policy of laissez-faire, the British authorities did not import rice well in time to meet the needs of the famine-stricken people. When the famine reached enormous proportion and starvation became more and more general in June 1866. They had no other option but to order the immediate importation of rice into Orissa. But the importation was very much

obstructed due to the of monsoon on the Orissa coast with terrific problem. Not much rice could be shipped there as there were no good harbors on the Orissa coast. Another difficulty was, when the ships had brought rice to the coast, to get it unloaded and carry up to the interior.

It was not till September that any sufficient quantity of rice had reached the centres in June, July and August were the months in which famine was intensely felt. It left one million people of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts dead. The timely importation of grain would have saved the life in three districts.

Port Development after the Bengal Orissa Famine of 1866-

Geographical factors played an important role in deciding the destiny of of ports in Oriissa.Due to the change in the course of river, shifting of the sea and silting of the river mouths some of the ports had ceased to exist while the position of others had been altered. The ports that existed were not very useful from the commercial point of view. In 1873, John Beams, the Collector of Balasore observed: "A stranger coming by sea to Balasore on seeing our harbours would think he had arrived at the dominions of some independent native chief who did not know what were the requirements of the civilized countries in respect of pörtal accommodation. He would be subject to the greatest maritime power, the world has ever seen ."The famine commission of 1866 dwelt on the necessity of improvement of communication both by land and sea with a view to preventing the recurrence of a similar disaster. It pressed the necessity of improvement of the ports of Orissa so as to accommodate ocean-going vessels. It drew the attention of the Government to the existing defects of the ports and suggested for their development.

The False Port the only port which received some attention of the Government after the famine of 1866. It was surveyed and deepened and the channels were buoyed. Although Government effected some improvement of False Point, the plan was abandoned subsequently. As late as

1866, the False Point at the mouth of the river Mahanadi was largely used. But unfortunately, the sea ceded there towards the east. In rough weather steamers could not go near False Point. They had to anchor at a very considerable distance as it was impossible for the steamers to load and unload their contents there. Owing to difficulties of loading a major portion of trade of this port was diverted towards Chandbali and Coast Canal. S. L. Maddox stated that for all practical and commercial purposes, the port lost much of its utility by the end of the 19th century. No permanent improvement of the port of Balasore was undertaken. Nothing concrete was done to develop this port as it in evolved great engineering difficulties and large outlay. The Government spent a very small sum in buoying channels and dredging sand bars. The opening of the Coast Canal to traffic in 1887 not only further facilitated the silting of Balasore Port at the mouth of the Burabalang River but also diverted large portion of the sea-borne trade of the district through it.?

Puri Port continued to be a mere open roadstead. It was not safe for vessels during the south-west monsoon. The Government did not bother seriously about its development as it involved huge cost. It could never serve the commercial purpose which a port was naturally meant to do.

The establishment of Chandbali Port in Balasore district in 1872 was noteworthy. This was due to the enterprise of Captain Macneil, who sailed up the Dhamra together with T. E. Ravenshaw. Commissioner of Orissa, with an intention of discovering a suitable site. Chandbali which was then a small village occupied by a few fishermen's huts, was found to combine the advantage of high position free from all risks of inundation, and sufficient depth of water in immediate proximity to the river bank. Captain Macneil immediately obtained a lease of a small area of land by arrangement with a Zamindar. Eventually government recognizing the advantage of the site, acquired an area of 179 acres which formed the Chandbali Port. Chandbali Port lay on the north bank of the Baitarani River some 8 miles west of

its confluence with the Brahmani and 20 miles from the mouth. It was connected with the interior by the river Matai, the Bhadrak road, and various tidal creeks.

Gopalpur was the chief port of Ganjam district. The post of Gopalpur was nothing more than an open roadstead similar to other ports on the eastern coast of Madras presidency. During the months of April, May and October more especially, the surf was frequently so high that the communication between the shipping and the shore was interrupted for days together. The formidable looking waves at Gopalpur were considered more dangerous to boats shipping cargo.

Another important port of the Ganjam district was the Ganjam Port, which was about 13 miles northeastwards of Gopalpur. It used to lie on the Rushikuiya River but in consequence of the river gradually shifting, the limits of the port had been changed from time to time. The ships usually anchored in the roads abreast of the fort in eight or nine fathoms, about two miles from the shore". Regarding the port of Ganjam, T.J. Maltby wrote: "Once this was the chief port of the district, now it is a fare thing for a ship to come there, and it is difficult to understand why it has been so thrown into the shade by Gopalpur, unless it be that the latter has had the advantage of British enterprise to bring it forward. Over Gopalpur, Ganjam has the advantages that boats can be loaded in quiet water at the custom-house, and that they can be of greater capacity than boats that have to be dragged up out of the surf when loaded. It is said that the anchorage is not so good, and that there is generally more sea, but with larger boats one would suppose that the sea would not matter, and for anchorage Gopalpur itself is not very good".

In the beginning of the 20th century, the necessity of good ports of Orissa, where sea-going vessels could safely anchor, load and unload, was keenly felt. It was proposed that a port near Dhamra or somewhere in the neighborhood of it should be established. In 1913 Madhusudan Das Imperial Legislative Council as follows:

"Orissa exports a large quantity of rice. A good of it is exported to Ceylon, and a large portion also to Mauritius. Mauritius sends sugar in return to Orissa. At present all these things which are used for export and import have to come to Calcutta, and they have to be rebooked either by steamer to Chandbali or by railway to different parts of the province. There is a large export trade in hides. These hides are exported to Europe and to foreign countries. At present they go by Chandbali to Calcutta or railway to Calcutta and they are reshipped by sea-going vessels to foreign countries. The route to Calcutta, besides being circuitous, is expensive on two grounds: (1) because the Hughly river being what it is there is the cost of the pilot; (2) sailing vessels cannot come, so they have to be towed by steamers, and that means additional expenditure. If there were a port near Dhamra or somewhere in the neighborhood of it, where vessels could safely anchor, and load and unload, there would be a great saving."

He further urged that the railway lines with the Chandbali port should be opened to facilitate the sea-borne trade. He said:

"Chandbali exported things to the value of about 34 lakhs, and imported about 29 lakhs, and the passenger traffic was about 80,000. Of course it should be taken into consideration that Chandbali is not connected by railway or any other means of communication, not even by decent roads, with the interior of the country; and therefore my resolution is that, if a railway line be constructed connecting Bhadrak with Chandbali or any other place where a suitable site could be had for use as a port, the country will be opened up, commerce will benefit and the public will be benefited by it." Many emphasized the need for construction of a harbour in the Chilka lake for the following reasons. Firstly, not many years before the people in Chilka were used to manufacture salt in abundance and they exported the surplus and made enormous profit. Secondly, since time immemorial, Chilka Lake had been the one of the greatest fish-supplying centre in India. 76,374 maunds of fish were exported from Orissa during 1936-37, 68,061 maunds in 1937-38 and 71,660

maunds in 1938-39. The Chilka Lake continued to contribute the main part of the export. Chilka alone contributed seventy thousand maunds in 1939 out of the total of 71,660 maunds. Calcutta was the greatest market where Orissa's fresh and cured fish were being dumped in abundance. Hence, they urged that Government should not discard it without instituting a thorough investigation into the matter.

With a view of developing trade facilities of the province, the proposal to establish a port at Balasore was taken in hand. It has hailed with delight. The marine survey of the Burabalang river and its approaches was also completed. But consequent upon the outbreak of the Second World War and the resignation of the first Congress Ministry, it was abandoned.

The development of the ports of Orissa did not receive necessary attention of the British authorities for the following reasons. Firstly, the famines in Bengal Presidency and Madras Presidency and consequent financial difficulties prevented them from allotting required funds to port improvement. Secondly, the opening of Orissa coasts canal in 1880s and railways in 1890s provided better facilities of communication and transport. Besides, the absence of the industrial and commercial enterprises of the Oriyas might have been a subsidiary factor for which the Government remained indifferent to the development of ports to make them "independent and profit yielding".

The only ports that were really used for the purpose of exportation and importation after 1900 were ports of Balasore, Chandbali and Gopalpur. But they were maintained at a loss. The ports of Balasore and Chandbali had become worst within the last few years, as the rivers Burabalang and Baitarani had silted up. Balasore port was not in demand after opening of the railways. After 1905, nearly all of the trade were focused at Chandbali and Gopalpur port. The ports which traded with Chandbali were Calcutta, the coastal port from Bombay on the west to Arakan on the east and foreign ports such as the Maldive Islands,

Ceylon and occasionally Mauritous. The ports which traded with Gopalpur were Madras and Rangoon.

Maritime Commerce-

The opening of Port of False Point in 1860 and Chandbali Port in 1872 together with the of communication improved means gave momentum to the maritime trade after 1866. From the ports of Orissa like False Point, Chandbali, Puri and Gopalpur, steamers and sailing vessels plied to the coast of Burma, Madras and Bengal as well as to Ceylon, the Laccadive and Maldive Islands and Mauritius. Plenty of rice was exported to Madras Port, Ceylone, Maldive Islands and Mauritius. The imports were chiefly made from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras Ports.

The canal system was developed in Orissa after 1866. By 1898, there were 205 miles of canals available both for irrigation and navigation. These canals were very useful in carrying on export trade. The Canal which connected to Hugbli at Goonkhali with the river Matai at Charabatia was largely used by the merchants for the exportation of rice through the ports of False Point, Chandbali and Calcutta. The Kendrapara and Gobri Extension Canals connected Cuttack with the Brahmani at Alba, and from there boats went down the river to Chandbali, where Cargo was transshipped and carried by steamers to Calcutta. The Taldanda Canal between the Mahanadi and Kathjuri rivers connected Cuttack with False Point, from which rice was shipped chiefly to the Mauritius. The High Level Canal supplied a direct route between the marts of Cuttack and Bhadrak.

American, British and French ships visited five important ports i, e., False Point, Puri, Balasore, Chandbali and Gopalpur at regular intervals. The vessels of British India Steam Navigation and Co. Ltd., the Scindia Steam Navigation and Co. Ltd., and the Asiatic Navigation and Co. Ltd., were engaged in carrying on export and import trade with these ports. The vessels of the first two companies had regular services between Gopalpur and Rangoon for cargo and passengers. A regular service for carrying cargos and passengers was kept up, between Chandbali and Calcutta by the Bengal and Orissa Steamship Company and the Chandbali Steamship Service Company.

A considerable quantity of grain exported came from the Garhjats and several traders from Balasore visited princely States of Nilgiri and Mayurbhanj and purchased the crops upon the fields. At Chandbali also, it was a common practice for the exporters to send out agents among the villages, who purchased the crops before they were reaped by making advances to the cultivators. Rice was shipped overseas to Ceylon and Mauritius and sugar was obtained from the latter island by merchants who kept up a connection with Mohamadan traders controlling the sugar industry there. But with these exceptions trade, both import and export, was carried on chiefly with Calcutta and Madras.

As regards the ports of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore district (North Orissa) the largest imports were salt, spices, cotton goods and kerosene oil and the principal exports were oil-seeds, hide and rice which in favorable seasons was dispatched in enormous quantities. The following table shows the growth of sea-borne trade from 1868-69 to 1886-87.

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Year	Value of Imports	Value of Exports	
	in Rs.	in Rs.	
1868-69	3,69,4682,	69,545	
1869-70	7,15,632	7,77,034	
1870-71	13,56,087	13,36,755	
1871-72	15,88,000	12,11,411	
1872-73	11,74,994	14,16,170	
1873-74	28,91,288	30,07,175	
1874-75	35,92,857	43,91,035	
1875-76	34,73,774	32,70,714	
1876-77	47,25,117	76,61,260	
1877-78	90,55,184	101,01,291	
1878-79	56,40,958	81,48,501	
1881-82	66,99,026	68,42,784	
1882-83	54,96,242	74,04,748	
1883-84	74,95,108	85,87,718	
1884-85	91,15,021	96,53,531	
1885-86	88,14,173	92,06,142	
1886-87	76,19,599	76,31,225	

From the year 1887 the maritime trade of North Orissa showed a tendency towards decline. The coast canal immersed a large portion of the external trade of North Orissa by providing a new waterway. With the abandonment of salt manufacture in Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts the exports received further setback. After the construction of the railways during the

closing years of the 19th century, the major portion of the external trade of North Orissa was carried on through the railways.

There was a rapid decline in the value of trade at all the parts of North Orissa after 1887 as the figures in the following table reveals,

Value	Value of Imports	Value of Exports	
	in Rs.	in Rs.	
1887-88	72,44,347		68,01,237
1888-89	58,82,047		54,46,839
1900-1901	41,61,364		43,37,101
1901-1902	39,72,039		42,35,809
1902-1903	37,78,550		46,60,757
1903-1904	28,94,052		53,81,461
1904-1905	27,70,767		63,33,985

The maritime trade of South Orissa was practically handled by the Gopalpur port. The decline was invariably noticed both in the value of imports and exports at the Gopalpur port after 1900. It was due to the competition of railway companies which offered special low rates for transport of goods by rail. The principal articles of export from Gopalpur where rice, paddy, fish, hide and skin, horns, oilseeds, salwood and

sleepers. The principal imports were cotton twist, piece goods, gunny bags and kerosene oil.

The railways monopolized the export and import trade of Orissa after 1900. After 1930, imports and exports were practically confined to the coasting trade between Calcutta and Chandbali, and between Madras and Gopalpur. There was considerable decline of maritime trade of Orissa as revealed from the following table.

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1934-35	1935-36	1936-37	7 1937-	38 1938-39	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs
Cl 11 1:					
Chandbali					
Imports	8,45,907	9,98,495	13,86,870	9,51,743	8,60,905
Exports	3,87,168	11,51,052	12,40,515	12,40,515	13,11,697
Puri					
Imports		10,000			
Exports	26,914	58,135	5,80,751		6,21,971
Gopalpur					
<i>Imports</i>	7,25,634	8,05,717	4,94,287	4,31,629	2,53,037
Exports	41,367	3,83,042	3,62,680	2,35,770	1,60,770

After the opening of railway, the sea-borne trade of Orissa had become a thing of the past. All the ports of Orissa recorded appreciable fall in the sea-borne trade. False Point had neither foreign trade nor coasting trade. Balasore and Puri ports had no importance after the opening of railways. Chandbali and Gopalpur were the only ports which were frequented by vessels and steamers from outside. Owing to the silting of the Baitarani River near the port, Chandbali port was not a place where sea-going vessels would go and was used by small steamers which plied between that port and Calcutta.

Maritime Trade and its Impact on Colonial Economy-

Maritime trade of Orissa adversely affected the economy of Orissa. It proved to be more harmful than helpful. It contributed to the impoverishment of peasants and artisan classes. It was one of the major causes of the famines and scarcities that occurred during the British rule.

In course of time markets of Orissa were flooded with machine-made goods which were obviously of superior quality and sold at a cheaper rate. The collapse of the rural artisan industries was caused largely by competition with the cheaper imported machine goods from England. The cotton weaving and spinning industries were worst hit.

As regards the weaving industry as a whole, it might be said that the products of the local looms

could not, at any rate in the towns and larger villages, compete with the machine-made articles of English manufacture, though some were prized for their fine texture. Even then hand-woven cotton cloths still held their own in rural tracts, owing to their durability. On the whole, the industry was not thriving and the weavers were taking up other means of earning their livelihood in increasing numbers.

Gopabandhu Das raised voice in order to improve the lot of the country weaver, blacksmith, goldsmith or the shoemaker. He stated that "It is needless to say that weaving has from time immemorial been the chief cottage industry in this country but most of the handloom weavers I have under the peculiar economic pressure caused by foreign influences, been driven out of their family occupation and are now reduced to extreme poverty. A movement organized for the revival of the industry will not only help a dying community but will foster a spirit for new industries among our artisan classes"

The sale of the imported salt was increasing after 1863. By 1898 the salt industry in Orissa becomes almost extinct due to the unhealthy competition of Liverpool and Madras salt. Consequently nearly 40,000 indigent people of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri districts were deprived of their means of livelihood. Dislocation of any single community from its proper economic position affected other economic groups. Pandit Gopabandhu Das rightly observed:

"When I see the great body of laborers suffering year by year for want of employment and hopelessly leaving their wives and children, going out to Burma and Assam in quest of wages, I cannot but bewail the loss Orissa has sustained at the hands of officers who should have looked at the situation with sympathy, a liberal spirit and in a states man like way."

Most of the ruined handicraftsmen, artisans and salt-makers failed to find alternative employment. The only choice open to them was to crowd upon Agriculture. The increasing pressure on Agriculture resulted in the steady deterioration in the material condition of the rural people.

Rice was the chief article of export. The Seaexport of food grains from the Province continued to rise. It amounted- to 1,28,000 maunds in 1868-69, 3,00,000 maunds in 1869-70, 4,00,000 maunds in 1870-71, 4,83,000 maunds in 1871-72, 4,00,000 maunds in 1872-73, 12,84,881 maunds in 1873-74 and 17,54,654 maunds in 1876-77. It so happened that even at the time of scarcities, the export of food was as briskly as ever. Although in 1873-74 the crop was only an average one in Balasore, it exported about one million and a third of maunds of rice. In 1877-78, exportation was carried on to such a dangerous extent that there were unmistakable signs of exhaustion of surplus stock. Although Puri was the least important of the Orissa ports, its export of rice was too high.

Several factors were responsible for the increasing exportation of rice from Orissa. Rice was cheaper here in comparison with other provinces of India. The deep poverty of the people compelled them to sell rice at a low price during the harvesting season. Besides, the Orissa's long coastline had some ports affording ample scope for carrying on export of rice.

With the increase in export of rice, the price of rice showed a constant rise and Rice became scarce. In 1865, the normal rate of rice was 30 to 40 seers per rupee. Whereas the average price of the rice between 1867 and 1876 was 26 seers per rupee, it was 21 seers between 1877-1886 and 18 seers between 1886-1898.

The rise of price of rice caused great hardship to the laboring classes. Because their wages did not rise in the same proportion as the rise in prices. Whereas their daily wages was 2 annas in 1814, it was 3 annas in 1889. The rise of price did not benefit small farmers as they did not have much to sell. Besides, most of them sold their produce either to money lenders or to rich traders at a lower rate during the harvesting seasons. Rise of price was a source of trouble for the shop-keepers and Government employees. Actually big farmers and landlords reaped the benefit of high prices.

The merchants of Orissa did not gain from the export and import trade. Oriyas had little commercial enterprise. They did not posses capital to invest directly in trade. Orissa's import and export trade was practically in the hands of outsiders. The rice merchants were principally Muhammadans from Bombay and Koomutees from Madras and the cloth merchants, Marwaries from Jeypore and Marwar and hide dealers, Cabulies from Afghanistan. Besides several English firms like Messers Brett Brothers, Messers Chambers and Company and Messers Valetta and Company kept up their agencies in Cuttack, Puri and Chaadbali to look after their commercial interests. There were hardly one or two Oriva merchants.

But there is no denying the fact that the maritime trade of Orissa in the 19th century (before the opening of railways) conferred some benefits on the people of Orissa. Firstly, the increasing import of consumer goods (machine-made articles) was indicating of improvement in the standard of living of the people. Secondly, people in general got salt and cloth of fine quality at a cheaper rate. Thirdly, the rising export trade in rice brought about improvement in the material condition of the big farmers. Furthermore, export of such minor items like hide, oilseeds, cocoanut, fish, dried fish and jungle products yielded some profit to the people of Orissa who were supplying them.

Conclusion

After 1866, several factors fostered maritime trade in Orissa. They were improvement of False Point, establishment of Chandabali Port, opening of navigable canals and development of road system. The principal export was rice and largest imports were salt and European piece goods. The ports of Orissa exported large quantities of rice to Madras Ports, Ceylon, Mauritius, Laccadive and Maldives Islands.

The continued silting of the sands at the river mouths and almost total lack of proper care of the ports proved fatal to the functioning of the ports of Orissa. The ports of Orissa which were of any use were Puri, Chandbali and Gopalpur. The abandonment of salt manufacture was a great blow to the export trade of Orissa. The opening of the coast canal in 1887 and extension of the railways during the closing years of the 19th century facilitated the decline of the maritime trade of Orissa. After 1900 much of the Orissa's export were sent to important cities and ports of India by railway communication. The railways had a paralyzing effect on the entire tea-borne trade of Orissa.

Maritime trade of Orissa was designed to serve the interests of British imperialism. The worst feature of maritime trade of British Orissa was that outside Vessels had displaced Orissa's seagoing vessels and outside merchants (Indian and foreign) had captured her trade. The influx of foreign goods and consequent destruction of Orissa's weaving and salt industries, continuous export of rice from Orissa and consequent scarcity of food-grains and handling of the maritime trade of Orissa by the out-side merchants proved most harmful in their effects. The redeeming feature of the maritime trade was the displacement of indigenous products by machine-made articles, indicating a changing pattern of living.

Towards the end of the British rules, Orissa had some minor ports with no considerable volume of trade and commerce. So much so that they found it difficult to pay their own way. The few seagoing vessels (Indian and foreign) that

touched them unloaded a limited quantity of cargo and still smaller number of passengers, Most of the out-going and in-coming travelers were Rangoon passengers.

In order to infuse a fresh lease of life into the maritime trade of Orissa, it was strongly pointed out by the eminent public man of Orissa that it needed good harbor in long range of her coastal area or in the vicinity of the great lake of Chilika, inter-communication among different land areas, rivers and the sea as to render transmission of goods easy and profitable and greater industrial enterprise. The Modern Review commented: Orissa has a long sea-coast. When the earliest maritime and mercantile history of Orissa is properly written by some Oriya scholars, the maritime and commercial enterprise achievements of the province will be fully understood and her present and future possibilities measured to some extent. If the Oriyas were sufficiently educated and had a Government under popular control, they would certainly try to have some good harbours along their sea-shore. A progressive Government ought certainly to make arrangement for teaching shipbuilding navigation to the people of Orissa,"

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