A MARKET SOCIETY IN FORMATION AND ITS WORLD OF PRINT: CUTTACK, 1895-1905

Siddharth Satpathy*

Abstract

Railways arrived in Cuttack in the last decade of the nineteenth-century. With the arrival of the railways, the town's integration into the British world system gathered particular pace. Accepting the advent of the railways as an important marker, this essay seeks to reconstruct a short cultural history of Cuttack's integration into the British world system, broadly between 1895 and 1905. The cultural study I propose to offer is confined to one specific strand of this history. As it integrates with the imperial world system, the local world of Cuttack offers a portrait of complex transition from an ancient regime to a market society. Transition here does not mean a linear teleological movement from one sort of social formation to another. Rather, it refers to a social formation, a way of life wherein features of both the ancient regime and the market society coexist and overlap. This market society in formation had a symbiotic relationship with the local world of print. It is in the local urban public sphere of Cuttack that early discourses on consumer, entrepreneur and markets began to evolve and circulate. The paper studies the formation of some such early discourses in the Odia language and traces their engagement with Odia short story and popular poetry of the period. It thus throws light on an under studied aspect of colonial modernity in Odisha.

Keywords: British World System, Cuttack, Colonial Modernity, Integration, Consumer, Entrepreneur, Patent Medicines, Leisure, Fakir Mohan Senapati, Popular Poetry, Print Culture.

* Fellow, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla. siddharth.satpathyg@gmail.com

Introduction

Lala Nimainchand of Mahidas bazar in Cuttack was an occasional songster. In February 1897, he composed a song on the advent of railways in the region. The poem, in twenty lines and with a less than perfect rhyme scheme, was published in the most prominent weekly in the town, the *Utkal Dipika*.[1] It furnished a popular response to the increasing integration of the region into the British world system. To begin with, the poem takes note of novel empirical details—particularly those which are concerned with movement, manufacture, and time. The *railgadi* runs from Baranga station near Cuttack to Charinala at Puri. It has a freight carrier attached to it. The engine looks as big as an elephant and has an outlet for steam at the top. It runs one *kos* in five minutes, and stops for fifteen minutes at each of the stations. The poem also evokes a complex set of emotions. On the one hand, there are positive associations. People are happy when the train starts running on its course. They get to meet with many other people. As a mode of conveyance, it is comfortable. On the other hand, there are negative associations. The train roars like a demoness in flight. It is a packed with people like a pigeon-house. A traveler usually does not get any sleep through the night. In the final couplet, the wonder of novel empirical details and the ambivalence of the emotional experience are replaced with a sweeping negative assessment of the historical process of integration. The narrative voice dismisses all the modern modes of transportation—the railways, steamers and boats—which had come to the region in the recent years, and were connecting Odisha to the wider world. It sees them as the source of the region's ruin. Nimainchand writes, 'Boat and steamer, [and] this train will take the country of Utkal to its ruin, / How will we survive, anxiously we think; in the river of sorrow, we drown.'[2]

The process of Cuttack's integration into the British world system began in 1803 when the East India Company acquired control of the town and made it the principal seat of colonial administration. The process acquired particular pace in the last decade of the century when railways arrived in the region. The East Coast railways connected Cuttack with Calcutta via Medinipur between 1899 and 1900. The southern section of the East Coast railways connected Cuttack with Madras via Ganjam and Vijayawada from 1892 onwards. Accepting the advent of the railways as an important marker, this essay seeks to reconstruct a short cultural history of Cuttack's integration into the British world system broadly between 1895 and 1905.

The cultural study I propose to offer is confined to one specific strand of this history of integration. As it integrates into the imperial world system, the local world of Cuttack offers a portrait of complex 'transition' from an ancient regime to a market society. I keep the term transition within quotes so as to suggest that it does not mean a linear teleological movement from one sort of social formation to another. Rather, it refers to a social formation, a way of life wherein features of both the ancient regime and the market society coexist and overlap. Nimainchand's poem was representative of such a social formation. His sense of wonder and anxiety was a feature of the local way of life as it began to engage with and slowly adapt itself to the forces of market society. His poem was part of a vibrant local press which offered its devoted reading public a wide range of narratives about the consumer and his choices—news, advertisements, commentaries, letters, popular tracts etc. Taking this popular poem as its point of departure, the paper proposes to study some early Odia discourses about the consumer, entrepreneur and market, and trace their formation and circulation in the local urban public sphere of Cuttack.

The first section will study a variety of languages which the local newspaper press employed to delineate the figure of the consumer. The second section will carry out a similar exercise as regards the figure of the entrepreneur. We will analyze some of the principal meanings these terms—consumer and entrepreneur—acquired in Odia public imagination. The final two sections will reconstruct the pharmaceutical and leisure markets in the town. These spaces saw the most immediate impact of integration into the world system and developed nascent forms of a consumer culture. We will study their representations in newspapers, short story and popular poetry. The paper thus seeks to illuminate some aspects of a provincial market society in formation at Cuttack and underline its close proximity to the local print world. It studies a particular strand of colonial modernity in Odisha that has received comparatively less attention.[3]

Addressing the consumer: impersonal and embodied

The consumer was the principal agent of the process of economic integration in the last decade of the century. His tastes, desires and choices became a legitimate subject of reflection in the local newspaper and periodical press. The urban public sphere of the town employed two kinds of languages to construct the figure of the consumer. The first kind spoke of the consumer in more impersonal,

economic terms. It referred to the consumer only in terms of his buying capacity. This consumer was 'not a known "customer" but an anonymous subject who…[could] only be imagined and constructed as an object'.[4] This consumer was located in a market that was imagined as an 'abstract space of calculation and commercial opportunity'.[5] The impersonal consumer was 'formally free and equal' in the abstract market space—he was in principle 'unconstrained' in his 'choices by legally fixed status or cultural prohibitions'.[6] He was seen as 'rationally calculating and allocating his own interests and means'.[7] The second kind spoke of the consumer primarily in terms of the sociological markers of his identity. This consumer was known by his social status. His social status was not reduced to mere buying capacity. This consumer was located in a market, in a relation of exchange that was more embodied and less impersonal. If the first mode of addressing the consumer was representative of a market society, the second mode was characteristic of an ancient regime. Coexistence of and overlaps between these two kinds of languages marked the commercial life of the local society at Cuttack in the period under study.[8]

As an illustration of the first kind of language, let us consider the advertisements that Sheikh Abdul Aziz of Chaudhuri Bazar brought out in the *Utkal Dipika*. Aziz was perhaps the most prominent 'watch merchant', 'watch importer', 'watch maker and jeweler' in the town. He 'learnt the *arts* at Bombay', set up his shop in Cuttack in 1896 and began to repair 'Watches, Clocks, Timepieces, and musical instruments of any description'.[9] By 1898, he was selling watches in Cuttack at prices at which they were sold in the metropolitan markets of Bombay and Calcutta.[10] By 1901, he was importing watches for sale directly from Switzerland.[11]

Usually the watch merchant's advertisements in Odia address themselves to the bare impersonal figure of the 'grahaka' or 'grahakabarga'. Literally, *grahaka* means a customer or buyer and *grahakabarga*, a class or group of buyers or simply buyers. For instance, in one of the advertisements, he says that he sells a wide range of merchandise at a very fair price, and writes, 'for the information of the buyers, I mention some [of the prices] below. If buyers kindly look in on our shop, they will come to know everything'.[12] This impersonal figure of the customer or buyer is defined solely in terms of its buying capacity. Advertisements carry detailed price lists. Higher range products such as the 'West End Company Gold Watch' could cost between 150 to 200 rupees per piece depending on specific features and sizes.[13] Middle range products included

'watches of Whitefield and Co.' ranging between 14 to 40 rupees for piece,[14] and products from 'John Bull Company' and 'Mill & Co.' ranging between 14 to 18 rupees.[15] At the lowest range, products such as 'Pukka Watch' could cost 7 rupees per piece, and Railway Regulator Watch could cost 6 rupees per piece.[16]

Appearance of the price list, as shown in Figure 1, enables the consumer to encounter his formal freedom. As he peruses the list, he comes to recognize himself as free to compare the costs and benefits of the available options, rationally assess one's desires and means and exercise a choice. In this exercise of his choice, the consumer does not face any prohibition because of his social status or other cultural imperatives. The price list invites the reader to choose for himself what he wants and thereby experience his market-freedom.[17]

In contrast, consider the advertisements that Palumal Bholanath[18] or Shri Gopaldas Murlidhar brought out in local periodical press.[19] Both were merchants based in the city of Banaras, and traded in Banarasi merchandise. Palumal Bholanath's catalogue covered a wide range of items. It included articles of clothing such as *banarasi zaridar sadhi*, *dhoti chadar*, *topi*, *choga*, *kin-khap*, *bapta*, *sangi-dopata-mandil*, *sirare bandhiba pheta*, *rumal*, shawl, and coat etc. It also included articles which could be made to order, such as utensils in gold and silver, howdahs for elephants in gilt-silver and gilt-gold.[20] It also mentioned chairs made of silver with inlay work in gold.[21] As a rule, the advertisements do not offer a price list.[22]

These merchants' advertisements do not address an impersonal economic figure of a buyer. Rather they list out the particular individuals or houses who they have been associated with for long. For instance, Palumal Bholanath says,

> From this mercantile firm of ours in Banaras city, we have long been faithfully providing all kinds of Banarasi merchandise at reasonable rates to the kings and *zemindar*s of various places in India. On enquiry, the kings of Bamanda, Kendujhar, Athamallik, Rayagada, Sadheikala can vouch for our truthful conduct.[23]

Similarly, Shri Gopaldas Murlidhar writes, 'We have long business associations with kings, *zemindar*s and other *bhadralok*. Kings of Boud, Nayagarh, Athamallik, Sadheikala in Odisha, and kings of Ijanagar, Manjusa in Madras know well how truthful is our conduct, and how excellent is our merchandise!'[24] The Banarasi merchants thus underline the social status of the customers they engage with. The relation of exchange they establish with these well-known figures is less impersonal and more embodied.

The two languages—the consumer as a *grahaka*, an impersonal subject who encounters his freedom in the rational calculative space of the abstract market, and the customer as a particular well known subject who is located in a more embodied relation of exchange—speak to the one and same local society. These languages are more often deeply entwined than the examples offered here suggest. The examples serve here more as identifiable archetypes. As it integrated with the wider world system, the local world of Cuttack offered a portrait of a market society in formation. Languages of a newly emergent consumer culture as well as of an ancient regime were in circulation in this world.

On entrepreneurs: Conduct literature for the self-made man

The entrepreneur was another principal figure in the history of integration. Local newspaper and periodical press invested considerable care to formulate a body of conduct literature on ideal entrepreneurship and strove to guide the conduct of their readers. This body of conduct literature included a wide variety of materials—translations of British reflections on principles of successful commerce, short biographical sketches of Anglo-American industrialists who progressed from rags to riches and reports on successful Indian and local entrepreneurship. This body of literature underlined the mid-Victorian ethic of individual effort and popularized the ideal of a self-made man. The scope of the language of self-fashioning was deemed universal and was imported into the colony with considerable enthusiasm.

Gourishankar Ray, the editor of the *Utkal Dipika*, translated and published extracts from the late Victorian monthly journal *Review of Reviews*.[25] These extracts contained reflections on principles of successful entrepreneurship. Founded in 1890 by the reformist W. T. Stead, the *Review of Reviews* aimed to provide short summaries of the best articles and books from around the Anglophone world. Each issue included an article titled 'Progress of the World' in which Stead provided his editorial commentary on the events of the world. It also featured a Carlylean 'Character Sketch' of a major world figure. The digest was immensely popular, particularly among 'clerks and office workers…who were committed to self-improvement and expanding their intellectual horizons'.[26] The monthly relied on and promoted a formal network of reader-activists, Association of Helpers. They were located across Britain and some of its colonies, and encouraged 'local efforts for various causes…'[27] *The Review of Reviews* reached Odia readership via Gourishankar's translation. The Odia journalist

wrote a short preface to the extracts he translated—it ascribed great value to the experience of successful European entrepreneurs and underlined its normative relevance to those who engaged in trade in the colony:

> The rules which we need to follow if we seek to excel in a business, some of the more prominent ones among such rules are mentioned below. These rules are formed out of the experience of some Europeans who have excelled in their trade. For the benefit of those who are engaged in commerce, these are quoted in the journal *Review of Reviews* of England from another journal titled *Young Man*.[28]

The extracts evolved a language of self-fashioning in Odia. This language placed emphasis on desirable qualities of individual character such as purposive action, hard work, intelligence, understanding, patience, and ethical conduct towards others etc. This language is discernible, for instance, in the quotation from Sir Thomas Lipton, the self-made tea baron from Glasgow:

> Sir Thomas Lipton says, "Real results are not achieved through purposeless action. If someone keeps a particular purpose in mind and engages in trade, works hard enough for it, guided by keen intelligence and proper understanding shows care and interest, entertains no thought of making it big overnight, behaves towards others just as he would like others to behave towards him, then there remains no obstacle in the path of his progress in business."[29]

The language of self-fashioning was also at work in the biographical sketches of successful British and American entrepreneurs which circulated in the periodical press. Consider for instance the short biography of Andrew Carnegie, the Scottish American industrialist and philanthropist.[30] Another self-made man, Carnegie rose from humble origins and became one of the richest entrepreneurs in the world. The biographical sketch puts emphasis on the spectacular transformation that was brought about by personal effort and perseverance: 'A man who at the age of twelve earned twelve rupees a month as a wage laborer—he became the owner of a fortune worth rupees eighty crores at the age of sixty by dint of his sheer intelligence, exertion, and perseverance; we lack words to properly praise such a man'.[31] This story of dramatic transformation became all the more praiseworthy because Carnegie also donated most of his fortune for philanthropic causes. This gesture of renunciation touched the heart of the local writer, 'Truly, he is a deity in the body of a human. Otherwise, could he keep his vow of renouncing business and seek peace, could he resolve to donate half of his earned

fortune for public welfare!'[32] The biographical sketch concludes with fulsome praise for its protagonist, and a moral lesson for its readers, 'Hail Hail Carnegie! Only you know the means for and the purpose of earning money! O readers will you learn something from the biography of this *mahatma*! ...Without proper utilization of wealth, one gains neither *dharma* nor *sukha*.[33]

The discourse on entrepreneurship in Odia public sphere also showered approbation on Indian and local examples of the self-made man. It recounted the story of successful Parsi entrepreneurship in cotton industry and wrote about the remarkable profits of the Empress Mill at Nagpur.[34] Closer home, it enthused about the Odia lawyer and entrepreneur Madhusudan Das, and his heroic personal qualities of intelligence, exertion and perseverance. A newspaper report on his company the Orissa Art Wares wrote about Madhusudan's valiant efforts to revive the fortunes of the local filigree artisans, and recommended his fine luxury products to the local elite:

> He was never trained in any industrial workshop. However, what limitless energy is there in good education and pure, honest desire! Enthusiastic about the progress of his fellow countrymen-artisans, by the dint of his extraordinary intelligence and talent, he opened a factory, built fine mechanical instruments which can produce a range of commodities in a short span of time, trained some of the artisans, and is now able to manufacture such beautiful artefacts….[35]

This evolving Odia discourse on entrepreneurship which imported the Victorian model of the self-made man, was also deeply embedded in the local social world. It encountered local concerns about caste regulations on commerce, and sought to formulate a response. A topical question, for instance, emerged in the public sphere as to whether poor *brahmin*s could resort to trade and agriculture, and lift themselves out of poverty.[36] Gourishankar felt that it was a 'serious social concern', which needed a 'thorough inquiry', and took the occasion to initiate a debate about the relationship between caste and commerce in local Hindu society: 'The subject is so important', he wrote, 'that a thorough inquiry cannot take place in a day, and with a little discussion. But if continuous discussions take place, then people's sense of good and bad will grow sharper, and it will be easier to decide upon one's duty'.[37] Gourishankar's invocation of the classic liberal tool of discussion did not go in vain. A lively public debate ensued.[38] Some felt that *brahmin*s could take up agriculture and trade. Others opposed. The details of the debate are outside the purview of the present essay. What I would like to conclude the section

with is the autobiographical voice of a particular entrepreneur who sought to reconcile the Victorian ideals of the self-made man and individual exertion with some of the protocols of caste society.[39] In a public letter to Gourishankar's weekly, he employed the language of self-fashioning to describe his personal project of becoming a rich farmer in opposition to various social constraints. He wrote:

> Dear Sir, I am a poor Brahmin youth. I am resolved to do farming with my own hands. In this regard, I mention below my everyday routine. If I work regularly according to it, with perseverance and courage, after some time, I will surely become (God willing), like the rich and developed peasants of England, a prominent rich peasant in India. If my brothers and relatives follow my path, then their poor condition will be ameliorated for sure, no doubt about it. Just as a canon kept inside a cave, by virtue of its awesome energy, shatters the mountain apart and throws the boulders around, I [now], by my energy, tear apart the rope of social obstacles, and vow to pursue my intended goal.[40]

The writer's pursuit of self-interest, his commitment to the ethic of self-exertion and his spirited revolt against social obstacles did not mean a radical rejection of caste. The letter goes on to mention the everyday routine this poor *brahmin* youth sought to follow. It began before the day break, concluded late in the night, and alternated between hard labor in the field and careful reading of scriptural texts and sincere practice of prescribed rituals. The tone and the spirit of the letter was representative of the local way of life, of a market society in formation. It imbibed the ethic of the self-made entrepreneur and sought to reconcile it with those aspects of local social protocol which were not incompatible.

So far we have studied two principal agents of the process of integration, the consumer and the entrepreneur, and have analysed some of the principal meanings these figures acquired in the local public sphere. In the next two sections, we will study the markets for patent medicine and leisure at Cuttack. These were more closely integrated into the world system. Consequently, early forms of a local consumer culture developed in these spaces. We will study the ways in which they were represented in the local print world.

Patent medicines: The pharmaceutical market and Odia short story

Integration with the wider world created a local market for British and American patent medicines at Cuttack. Scholars have observed that English pharmacies began to acquire a considerable presence

in the Indian market after the crown took over the administration of the continent in 1857.[41] These pharmacies were first present in the presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and their immediate surroundings. In the 1880s and 1890s, they began to reach smaller urban centers such as Lucknow, Bangalore, and Quetta. In its turn, American pharmaceutical industry began to adopt mass production technologies in the middle of the century. After the civil war, it began to explore new markets and in due course of time arrived in the Indian subcontinent. By the last decade of the century, British hegemony in the Indian pharmaceutical market was being contested by the United States. The lucrative pharmaceutical trade catered not only to the needs of the English and European residents in India but also to the taste of the more affluent Indians.

English pharmacies began to make their presence felt in Cuttack market in the last quarter the of the century. W. D. Stewart, Civil Surgeon at the Cuttack General Hospital, opened the Orissa Medical School on 15 February 1876. It inaugurated formal education in English medicine in the town.[42] Chandra Mohan Acharya, a member of the first batch of students of this school, opened the 'Cuttack Druggist Hall' in 1880 at Balubazar. The Hall sold English medical equipment and patent medicines such as Chlorodine, Pain Killer etc.[43] In the decade under study, we hear about at least three English pharmacies operating out of Cuttack. All three proprietors held the degree of Vernacular Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery or V.L.M.S. which was inferior to the more prestigious degree of Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery or L.M.S. The degree qualified them to be 'hospital assistants'.[44] They often chose to describe themselves as 'medical practitioner', and 'proprietor'. Nagendranath Ghose opened the 'Ghose and Brothers Druggist Hall' at Balubazar in 1896, and supplied English medicines and medical equipment.[45] Maulvi Jahurddin Khan also opened his 'General Medical Hall' at Cantonment bazaar in 1896. It sold 'English medicine, and medical equipment, and English food prepared for patients'.[46] Besides, it also sold 'a variety of medicines prepared by famous doctors'.[47] Khan procured all of his merchandise from the Bathgate Company of Calcutta who in turn imported them from England.[48] Akshoy Kumar Ghose was the proprietor of the 'Ghose's Cheap Dispensary' at Chaudhury Bazar which was renamed 'Victoria Medical Hall' in 1901.[49] It was 'formally recognized and approved by the Inspector General of Civil Hospital Bengal as a fit place for the training of compounders'.[50]

Footprints of British and American patent medicines began to

appear in the local public sphere in the late 1890s. Many of these manufacturers had their agents stationed in Calcutta. These agents unleashed sustained advertisement campaigns in prominent Odia newspapers and periodicals. Scholars have studied such campaigns in North America and have pointed out the patterns they followed.[51] Patent medicines were regularly and repeatedly advertised so as to firmly establish the identity of the product in the mind of the potential consumers. Each medicine was based on a supposedly unprecedented discovery. The cure was decidedly unfailing, quick and absolutely safe. Doctors discovered cures in many domains of science—electricity, botany, and chemistry. The lure of the exotic—medicines having associations with 'faraway places and ancient times'—provided the advertisements with particular charm. Many of these observations also apply to the case in Cuttack. Having said that, I would like to draw attention specifically to two narrative structures which these advertisements introduced in Odia public sphere. These were new to the local reader.

The first narrative structure derives its energy from a juxtaposition of the global and local, the universal and the particular. It exhorts the reader to be a member of an abstract global community of satisfied consumers that is spread over the continents of Asia, Europe, America and Africa. It also encourages the reader to listen to the good counsel of prominent members of the local landed elite whose opinion on the drug could be trusted without any doubt and thereby become an authentic local subject. Consider for instance the advertisement for 'Dr. Major's Electro-Sarsaparilla' brought out in December, 1902.[52] The picture, as shown in Figure 2, has the image of a maternal angel giving a bottle of the magical sarsaparilla to an eager younger woman. The female figures belong to a tradition of visual language where women are representatives of geo-political territories. If the mature woman stands for America—'Doctor James Major' is an 'MAMD, Electrician [of] New York'—then, the younger woman stands for India—the new market that American pharmaceutical industry is looking to develop. Both are towering over the image of a partially visible globe suggesting the wide reach of the medicine. The text in English, 'bears world-wide reputation', amplifies the visual message. The text in Odia elaborates further, 'lakhs of people in the continents of Asia, Europe, America and Africa use it every-day…Electro salsa is true—as if it were discovered in an auspicious moment so as to triumph over the wide world !!!'[53] The language of the advertisement, both visual and verbal, is deeply saturated by a global consciousness—by the abstract presence of an

intercontinental community of blessed consumers of the drug and by a triumphal spirit of imperialist-capitalist expansion. At the same time, the advertisement also gestures towards the local. In order to evoke the local, it turns to the landed elite. The Odia text carries the opinion of some prominent local users of the medicine: 'Honorable Maharaja Sir Sudhal Deo writes from Bamada…' or 'Honorable Maharaja Harihar Mardaraj Deo writes from Khallikote…'[54] One of these opinions is worth quoting in full:

> Honorable Maharaja Gour Chandra Deo writes from Redhakhol xxx "caught up in the lure of the advertisement, [I] sent for Danzin medicine. Forget about benefits, only injuries ensued. It was found that it contained mercury. But, I cannot repay the debts of your electro salsa. Send me three dozen more.[55]

Grateful acknowledgement from the well-known local aristocrat added to the credibility of the medicine, devalued the competitor, localized the foreign drug and rendered it more relatable. Thus, the narrative structure of the advertisement invites the Odia reader to cultivate a subject position that is at once global and local. The use of Electro Sarsaparilla affords him an opportunity to be simultaneously a member of the abstract global community of consumers as well as an embedded local subject who faithfully emulates the example of respectable native aristocrats.

The second narrative structure constructs a disease-and-health dialectic, and presents a story of miraculous restoration. It first constructs the figure of a diseased individual, usually a middle-aged male, whose physical and psychological health is ruined because of various sexual or other kinds of excesses in early youth. The patent medicine then promises a dramatic and miraculous intervention. The diseased individual is sure to regain his health and confidence. Consider, for instance, the advertisements for 'Scharmann's Garhasthya Ousadhavali',[56] 'Gonorrhea Specific' or 'Mrutasanjivani',[57] and 'Sutton's Safe Cures'.[58] 'Scharmann's Garhasthya Ousadhavali' begins its address to the readers with a dramatic flourish, 'O people who are afflicted with unfortunate diseases! Do not despair. However severe the affliction may be, there is a cure, there is a cure! When you find that all other medicines have failed, then turn and test Scharmann's Family Medicines'.[59] This dramatic flourish is followed by a listing out of several medicines. Priced at 1.50 rupees, Blood Nectar promises increase in the production and circulation of blood as well as its purification. In addition, it also promised strong digestive powers, smooth clearance of bowels and enhanced strength and vitality. Priced at 3 rupees,

Man Elixir promises cure for all disorders related to loss of semen and erectile dysfunctions. The advertisement counts 'unbridled exercise of the mind' (*mastiskara aparimita chalana*), 'neurological weakness' (*snayabika durbalata*) and 'fear' (*bhaya*) among the reasons of impotency and promises to counteract the affliction. In the same lineup, follow Gonorrhea Powder, Piles Bede, Syphilis Ointment, Fever Pills, Pain Cure, and Bowel Pills. The advertisement thus brings venereal diseases under the purview of family medicine. A parity is established between the cures for syphilis and gonorrhea on the one hand and arthritic pain and constipation on the other. Male sexual promiscuity is thereby positioned as normal, as part of everyday family life. Its debilitating consequences, readers are assured, can be cured completely. Similarly, 'Mrutasanjivani' promises cure to those who because of 'bad habits of early youth' and 'other kinds of ill-advised practices' (*anyanya prakar ahitacharana ru utpanna hoithiba*) are afflicted with various kinds of sexual diseases.[60] The advertisement assures its readers that 'the medicine is recently invented by some of the famous doctors of England, and after due examinations by the government, is included in the new edition of the journal *British Pharmacopia*. Hence there is no more burning proof of its excellence and efficacy'.[61] It also assures that after using 'the *mahashaktisvarupinee* medicine', one can experience a 'great vivacity in body and mind', as if 'an electrical action is being performed inside the body', 'body and life will be immersed in heavenly joy'.[62] 'Sutton's Safe Cures', as shown in Figure 3, employs an image wherein a well-nourished white male hands over a bottle of the patent medicine to an emaciated and diseased Indian, and both hold a banner that exhibits the following text in English, 'Sutton's medicine is exactly what you want'. The narrative structure of these advertisements thus invite the Odia reader to reimagine human life through the key plot device of miraculous transformation. Earlier misconduct and mistakes, and present afflictions are nullified, life undergoes a miraculous transformation, and finds fulfilment in joy.

These narrative structures animate Fakir Mohan Senapati's famous Odia short story, 'Patent Medicine'.[63] First published in 1913, it tells the story of a dissolute son of a *zemindar* and his virtuous wife who are residents of Cuttack. Given to all sorts of addictions and excesses, babu Chandramani Pattanayak ruins his health. Sulochana Dei tried her best to counsel him into good habits and sound health. Nothing worked. Finally, in the climax of the story, much irritated by his thoughtless conduct, Sulochana gives Chandramani a sound beating by a household broom. It miraculously cures Chandramani of all his

addictions and excesses. He feels his guilt keenly and vows to give up his bad habits. Neighbors are soon surprised to see a reformed Chandramani enjoying conjugal bliss with Sulochana—

> Both sit together, speak to each other with joy and laughter, read books. [They] Read *Utkal Sahitya*, *Mukura*, *Dipika* newspaper. Babu had incurred a lot of debts via hand notes. In a year, almost half is already paid off. Babu does not step out of the house much. If an invite comes from somewhere for *nata* and *tamsa*, even if *saantani* [Sulochana] asks him to, he does not step out. On occasion, in the evenings, both sit in a buggy and take a tour through the city.[64]

This state of personal and domestic good health that Chandramani comes to enjoy makes people curious, 'However much [his] father had counselled, however much [his] father-in-law had counselled, nothing had made any difference. Suddenly, in a single night, how could [he] turn into such a good man?'[65] A character in the story, the author's surrogate, responds to this curiosity. His response makes the denouement of the story resemble a pharmaceutical advertisement.

> Gopibabu is fond of jokes. With a laugh, [he] said, "that night, the ceaseless broom-shower that *saantani* had administered, this is the result. Addictions and ill-humors—all the grave afflictions of the kind, are cured by the medicine of broom-shower." With a smile, Shyamaghana babu joined words, "But then, no *vaidya shastra* or *doctori*-book prescribe this medicine for this affliction!" Gopibabu responded, "Ah! You do not get it. This is a discovery of *saantani*—Patent Medicine![66]

The narrator then addresses the reader directly, and concludes the story 'If some beauty's favorite, due to the ill conduct of earlier times, is afflicted with such diseases, the author humbly requests, they should kindly try and examine this patent medicine once and see!'[67]

I propose to read the story as a response to the pharmaceutical market and consumer culture prevalent in the town in late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It deploys the narrative structures we have identified only to create a mock advertisement. First, the global-local juxtaposition is present. As a patent medicine, broom-shower has a potentially universal reach—any woman anywhere in the world can apply it to cure her man's addictions to drink, and prostitutes. But, the dominant direction of integration is reversed in the story. This patent medicine is a local Cuttack-manufacture that is looking out to the world. Second, the disease and health dialectic is also present. Chandramani, a member of the local landed elite, is miraculously and swiftly cured of the afflictions. But the work of the

advertisement is not to underline his identity as a model consumer. Rather, the emphasis tilts towards Sulochana, and her reluctant capacity to administer the appropriate cure.[68] Thus the logic of the market, the aim to create model consumers who desire the medicine more and more, is given the lie. The medium of the mock that Fakir Mohan adopts to respond to the pharmaceutical market culture of his time enables him to both accept the American and English patent medicines, and gently smile at the pharmaceutical industry's need to create new and newer markets.

Production of Leisure and Popular Odia Poetry

Apart from the pharmaceutical market, the impact of integration was closely felt in the leisure market of the town. Cuttack began to host newer forms of professional recreation such as balloon flight exhibitions, touring theatre shows and circus. It also continued to host more traditional forms of popular entertainment such as the *nautch* and *majlis*. In the period under study, commercialization of leisure acquired pace. A middle-class paying public began to slowly form itself. Having said that, the scale of commercialization was limited. It went hand in hand with forms of elite patronage. Local *zemindar*s and kings extended their financial support to various forms of public recreation. This combination of commercialization and patronage created a particular social role for leisure. It served to bring the middle sort of people and the elite together. This alliance was a feature of the local way of life.

Scholars agree that a modern phase in the history of leisure in Britain begins in the middle of the nineteenth-century. Technological advancement such as the railways, inaugural of capitalist entrepreneurship in leisure industry, state and private intervention to build public facilities for leisure such as parks and museums, availability of more leisure time, higher wages[69]—all these contributed to the formation of a new kind of environment where 'more and more leisure was "produced"' for consumption.[70] As a particular form of product, leisure had social and political roles. The middle sort of people expected it to bring together the classes, to create better understanding between the rich and poor[71]—'in the provision of "well-ordered amusements" by the rich for the poor, class conflict might be stilled, and the level of civilization raised'.[72] On their part, working class leaders 'lamented the displacement of political energy into apolitical and hence conservative leisure'.[73] By and large, scholars have argued, 'recognizably modern forms of

leisure' emerged in the third quarter of the century.[74]

A comparison between metropole and colony is helpful. On the one hand, some of the social conditions which led to 'the making of leisure' in Victorian Britain were present at Cuttack. Railway was opening up opportunities for travel. Sashibhusan Ray, a middle-class intellectual of the town, boarded the East Coast Railway from Rambha on his journey to Madras in 1895. On return, he compiled his diary entries and published a travelogue, *Dakshinatya Bhraman*. It was meant as a guide for future railway travelers. Ray wrote in the preface, 'Presently, railways to the south are being laid down. If any Odia traveler to the south reads this [account] and gains even a grain of experience, then the purpose of its publication will be fulfilled'.[75] The colonial state was willing to co-build public facilities for recreation. An early effort to build a public park in the town was mounted on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee celebration of Queen Victoria in 1887. The Cuttack municipality and elite private donors came together to raise funds for it.[76] On the other hand, there were profound differences as well. Industrialization was hardly a presence at Cuttack. It was primarily an agrarian world. This mixed character of the local society needs to be kept in mind as we study commercialization and patronage of leisure in the town and the region.

There is room to study two specific cases of production of leisure in the town. These events generated wide interest in the local newspaper press. An analysis of their representations in print shows the dominant paradigm of collaboration between elite patrons and middle-class consumers at work. The first case concerns 'Lawrence', a hot air balloon flight operator who visited Cuttack in March 1896[77] . He stayed in the town for a week, and made arrangements for a ticketed show.[78] The show generated massive public interest in the town and its vicinity. However, the massive public interest did not translate into adequate sale of tickets. As the middle class could not mobilize the required funds, the local landed elite stepped in to partly finance the event. In a report in his news weekly, Gourishankar celebrated the 'new and extremely astonishing show,' and conferred public recognition on the local elite, '…immense gratitude to raja Vaidyanath Pandit, who brings a shine to the face of this city, without whose liberal munificence, it would not have been possible to witness this spectacle…' [79] Having said that, the report devoted much of the print space to a lament and a self-critique: the middle-class public of the city could not offer a reward to the balloon-entrepreneur that equaled the excitement and joy he provided.

> It is a matter of shame and sorrow that we saw many who are known as *bhadralok*—whose financial health is such that it is nothing for them to spend two or four rupees on amusement at one go—sitting in the rows worth a paltry eight or four *annas*. And, some more of such people had apparently hired buggies to travel to the location, but, did not enter the venue as they were scared of spending four or eight *annas*. Even if a small part of the audience that had gone to see the show with such enthusiasm and in such numbers would have attended to their duty of helping the showman, then it would not have been impossible to sell tickets worth a thousand rupees. However, sale of tickets has not fetched more than two hundred and fifty rupees, and this is nothing but a mark of the fall, decline and deterioration of the people of this province.[80]

Despite their financial good health, the *bhadralok* did not prefer to buy enough tickets and turn the event into a financial success. Amusement was not yet fully deemed to be a consumer product. Commercialization of leisure was seen as a mark of civilizational progress. Its absence is deemed as a failure of the public, particularly of the middle classes. In this context, alliance with the progressive elite acquired significance.

The second case concerns travelling theatre companies. Companies based in Calcutta and Bombay began to visit Cuttack and stage ticketed shows in the period under study. The summer of 1898 was particularly memorable. 'The Royal Bengal Theatre' visited Cuttack in April.[81] Close on the heels, a Parsi theatre company from Bombay came to town in May-June.[82] The educated middle order rose to defend theatre as a morally legitimate form of recreation. It threw its weight behind the touring companies and thereby endorsed commercialization of leisure. An anonymous author, 'A Non-Puritan Uriya', wrote a letter to announce and welcome the arrival of the theatre company from Bengal. The letter constructed a fictional scene wherein a dialogue takes place between the writer and his 'philosopher friend.'[83] This philosopher friend argued in favor of theatre's persuasive capacity—theatre can persuade its audience towards abiding moral feelings. He also presented theatre as the 'handy work' of God, 'the Great and Glorious Author', and upbraided 'ungrateful', 'frail' and 'fickle' man who was unable to recognize the 'master mind' at work behind the scenes and characters. Such moral-pious defense of theatre was by no means original. However, it underlined the local educated intelligentsia's support for commercialization of leisure. Gourishankar himself wrote a defense of the Parsi theatre company from Bombay.[84] He took note how the company had cultivated its ability to cater to modern taste. It offered a new and more western form of aural and visual aesthetics

which connected well with the paying public at Cuttack, both Indian and British. The company enjoyed great commercial success.

If the middle classes provided a moral defense, the elite provided the built environment which rendered theatrical productions possible in the urban space of Cuttack. The town did not have a permanent theatre hall or a town hall in the period under study. Most of the performances took place in the private buildings or *kotha*s of the local elite. An early instance of this practice was seen during the jubilee celebration of queen Victoria in 1887. An amateur group performed in the house of *babu* Kalipada Bannerjee before an audience that consisted of both local British families as well as Odia elite. Kalipada played the host, and provided high tea at great personal expense.[85] This practice continued into the twentieth-century. The Bengal theatre company, for instance, put up its ticketed shows in the building of a local grandee in 1901. A report in the local press noted the alliance between middle-class consumers and elite patrons and wrote, 'The performances of the Calcutta theatre group are going well in the building of Bali *babu* near the *gokhana* of the town. [Shows are staged] every Saturday, Sunday and Wednesday, and they draw enough audience.'[86]

Thus, production and consumption of leisure at Cuttack followed a dominant paradigm. Its social role was to forge an alliance between the middle class and the elite. However, the dominance of the paradigm did not mean that it went without an occasional censure. Such censures are not rare to find in the local world of popular print. An anonymous tract in verse, 'Katakare Banarasi Bai', furnishes a satire of the elite and middle class alliance.[87] We will conclude the section with a brief look at this narrative.

The narrator adopts the traditional meter of oral folk songs, 'kela-keluni-prashnottara-brutta', and tells a story about the mismanagement of a leisure event. A rich absentee *zemindar* of Cuttack who resides elsewhere and occasionally visits the town, desires to cultivate the acquaintance of the local 'bhadrajana' or genteel society. He spends a lot of money and gets a *nautch* girl from Benaras to perform for three days in the town. See Figure 4. He prints invitation cards, invites the genteel people of Cuttack, and seeks to entertain them with song and dance. There is a conventional description of the *nautch* girl—her frame is slight, she walks as enchantingly as an elephant, her clever eyes twinkle like those of a deer, her voice is as soft as that of a cuckoo; her age, some say, is sixteen or seventeen, and others feel, it is beneath twenty-five. 'She who is laden with such beauty and exquisite qualities / has come

to Cuttack / truly, she is enchanting'.[88] A *wakil* and a *muktar* take over the management of the event. It is their mismanagement of the event that the narrator offers a critique of. He writes,

A hand on the mouth of the people
No one can ever put—
[I] do not know whether [what they say] is true or false (23)[89]
Some say with joy
All things happened in an excellent manner
Some say with anger (24)
The responsibility of management
A *wakil* and a *muktar* took up,
And ruined it all (25)
Obeying no rule,
The two went tending to weeds,
[They] Put a fly in the milk. (26)

The precise nature of mismanagement involved an alleged lack of social discretion on the part of the organizers. They extended invitations in such tactless a manner that people of diverse social standing got mixed up at the event. Worthies and grandees were but few in number at the event. More invitees were of an inferior social standing.

They distributed the invitation cards,
They stirred and mixed all together
Oil got mixed with the dregs (20)
Wakils, and deputies
Two or four amlahs, and worthless sahibs
The rest were like so many petty buyers and sellers in a market (28)
Some say this
Wakils and mohorirs were a few,
They rest were all like so many petty weavers (29)

Mismanagement also involved an alleged lack of social regard on the part of the host. He distributed invitation cards. But, he himself did not come to invite the guests personally. This absence of personal warmth also put off the guests. They did not turn up at the event.

[some] said, he did not come [to us],
the karta himself, with the invites
how could we go to his house? (32)

The narrator does not oppose an alliance between the middle-class *wakil* and the elite *zemindar*. He does not censure the form of leisure this alliance produces in the town of Cuttack. Having offered his criticisms, he expresses a desire to return to his own station or

'swasthana'. He describes this station as that of a spectator who stands among the crowd and gazes upon the *nautch* girl. This station is that of the lower-class connoisseur who day dreams to spend 'two paisa' from his own pocket on soda or 'bilati pani' that is laced with alcohol, and take his place among the spectators. What the narrator criticizes is rather the occasional mismanagement or mis-production of this leisure. He concludes with a prayer to lord 'Madhusudhan' to impart 'susiksha' or good education to the concerned people. Such education will prevent in future the sort of mismanagement that he seeks to censure.

Conclusion

The paper offers a short cultural history of a market society in formation at Cuttack in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It studies some Odia discourses on consumer, entrepreneur and market, analyses their formation in the urban public sphere of the town, and traces their engagement with Odia short story and popular poetry.

A perusal of advertisements in the most prominent local weekly suggests that two kinds of languages were employed to construct the figure of the consumer. The first spoke of the consumer in more impersonal and economic terms. As a *grahaka*, this figure was defined solely in terms of his buying capacity, and was located in a market that was imagined as an abstract space of rational calculation. The second kind spoke of the consumer in terms of the social markers of his identity. As a *zemindar* or a *raja*, this figure was known by his social status, and was located in a relation of exchange that was more embodied and less impersonal. Taken together, these two kinds of languages help us to better understand a world that was in transition from an ancient regime to a market society.

Local newspaper press also invested care to formulate a discourse on the ideal entrepreneur. A body of conduct literature was produced on entrepreneurship in a variety of modes—digests, biographical sketches, reports, and public letters etc. This literature put an emphasis on the mid-Victorian ethic of individual effort and popularized the ideal of a self-made man. This language of self-fashioning also encountered and negotiated with local social concerns such as caste regulations about trade and commerce. This combination of the languages of liberal self-fashioning and negotiation with local social constraints was characteristic of a world that was in transition.

The pharmaceutical and leisure markets at Cuttack were more closely integrated into the world system. Consequently, early forms of a local consumer culture developed in these spaces. British and American patent medicines ran sustained advertisement campaigns in the local newspaper press. The language of these campaigns introduced two new narrative structures in the public sphere. The first narrative structure derived its energy from a juxtaposition of the global and the local, the universal and the particular. The second constructed a disease-and-health dialectic, and presented a story of miraculous restoration. Invariably, these campaigns relied on the appeal of the local landed elite to make their cases. The paper studies how Odia short story of the period engaged with these narrative structures.

Collaboration between the elite patrons and the middle-class consumers produced leisure in the town. Commercialization of leisure was partial—the middle-class public partly paid for its recreation. This was supplemented by patronage of the local *zemindars* and kings. This combination of commercialization and patronage provided leisure its social role—it served to bring the newly educated middle-class intelligentsia and the elite together. A study of representations of leisure in the local press of the town reveals this social role at work.

References

Anderson, Stuart. 'Travelers, Patent Medicines, and Pharmacopeias: American Pharmacy and British India, 1857 to 1931', *Pharmacy in History*, Vol. 58 (3-4), 2016, pp. 63-82.

Bai Naacha, Cuttack: Arunodaya Press: 1897. odiabibhaba.in.

Brown, Stewart J. *W. T. Stead: Nonconformist and Newspaper Prophet*, Oxford, 2019.

Cunningham, Hugh. *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c.1780-c1880*, London, 1980.

Dash, Debendra Kumar. ed., *Fakir Mohan Granthavali: Tritiya Khanda*, Cuttack, 2019 [2008].

Forbes, Geraldine. 'Medical careers and health care for Indian women: patterns of control', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 3 (4), 1994, pp. 515-530.

Gandhi, Ajay et. al. eds., *Rethinking Markets in Modern India: Embedded Exchange and Contested Jurisdiction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Katakare Banarasi Bai, G. P. Nanda Collection, Srujanika, Bhubaneswar, Odisha. Accessed at the Society's website, odiabibhaba.in.

Ray, Sashi Bhusan. *Dakshinatya Bhraman*, Cuttack, 1896. Srujanika,

Bhubaneswar, Odisha. Accessed at the Society's website, odiabibhaba.in.

Slater, Don. *Consumer Culture and Modernity*, Cambridge, 2002 [1997].

Slater, Don, and Fran Tonkiss. *Market Society: Markets and Modern Social Theory*, Cambridge, 2001.

Utkal Dipika. Volumes 30-40, 1895-1905. Srujanika, Bhubaneswar, Odisha. Accessed at the Society's website, odiabibhaba.in.

Young, James Harvey. *The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America before Federal Regulations*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1961.

Page numbers cited from the *Utkal Dipika* refer to the numbers in the portable document format copy of the weekly digitized by the Srujanika.

Notes

1 'Gita', Utkal Dipika, 13 February 1897, p.51.
2 ibid. My translation.
3 For discussions of colonial modernity in Odisha see, Pritipuspa Mishra, Language and the Making of Modern India: Nationalism and the Vernacular in Colonial Odisha, 1803–1956, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020; Sachidananda Mohanty, Periodical Press and Colonial Modernity: Odisha, 1866-1936. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016; Satya P. Mohanty Ed., Colonialism, Modernity and Literature: A View from India, Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2011; Biswamoy Pati, Situating Social History: Orissa (1800-1997), Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2001. etc.
4 Slater, Consumer Culture, p. 26.
5 Slater and Tonkiss, Market Society, p. 14.
6 Slater, Consumer Culture, p. 27.
7 Slater and Tonkiss, Market Society, p. 17.
8 Such coexistences and overlaps are the subject of recent histories of the markets in India. See, Gandhi et.al. eds., Rethinking Markets, p. 8.
9 'Notice', Utkal Dipika, 23 May 1896, p. 169. Originally in English.
10 'Bigyanpana', Utkal Dipika, 17 September 1898, p. 309.
11 'A Bargain—A Bargain', Utkal Dipika, 12 October 1901, p. 355.
12 'Bigyanpana', Utkal Dipika, 17 September 1898, p.309. My translation.
13 Ibid.
14 'A Bargain—A Bargain', Utkal Dipika, 12 October 1901, p.355.
15 'Bigyanpana', Utkal Dipika, 17 September 1898, p.309.
16 Ibid.
17 Slater, Consumer Culture, p. 27. Slater and Tonkiss, Market Society, p. 27-28.
18 'Banarasi Mal', Utkal Dipika, 7 October, 1899, P. 343-344. Palumal Bholanath was located at 'Kunja gali phatak, Banaras City'.
19 'Banarasi', Utkal Dipika, 7 October, 1899, P. 343. Shri Gopaldas Murlidhar was located at 'Mohalla Siddheswari, Banaras City'.
20 'Banarasi Mal', Utkal Dipika, 4 December, 1897, P. 385-386.
21 'Bigyanpana: Banarasi Mal', Utkal Dipika, 5 September, 1903, P.364.
22 An exception was made in the case of the silver chairs. Each piece cost 600

rupees.

23 'Banarasi Mal', Utkal Dipika, 7 October, 1899, P. 343-344. My translation.
24 'Banarasi', Utkal Dipika, 7 October, 1899, P. 343. My translation.
25 'Uddhruta: Karabara ra Unnati', Utkal Dipika, 1 July 1899, P.220.
26 Brown, W. T. Stead, p. 106.
27 Ibid., p. 104.
28 'Uddhruta: Karabara ra Unnati', Utkal Dipika, 1 July 1899, P.220. My translation.
29 Ibid.
30 'Gotie Adarsha Jibana', Utkal Dipika, 31 August 1901, P. 291-292.
31 Ibid. My translation.
32 Ibid. My translation.
33 Ibid. My translation.
34 'Prasiddha Parsi Banika', Utkal Dipika, 5 August 1899, P.263.
35 'Odisha Shilpagara', Utkal Dipika, 24 November 1900, P. 363-364. My translation.
36 An anonymous author, 'Shri—Sharma,' first posed the question in a letter to the editor of the Utkal Dipika. See, 'Samajika Prashna', Utkal Dipika, 14 January, 1899, P.15.
37 'Jati O Byabasaya', Utkal Dipika, 4 February 1899, P.44. My translation.
38 Several writers joined the debate and wrote letters in response. Some of these letters were from individuals, and others were from representatives of societies. See, 'Letter to Editor', Utkal Dipika, 4 February 1899, P.45. 'Letter to Editor: Samajika Uttara', Utkal Dipika, 18 March 1899, P.96-98. 'Letter to Editor: Tad Dharmam Sanatanam', Utkal Dipika, 25 March, 1899, P.104-106.
39 'Letter to Editor', Utkal Dipika, 22 April 1899, P.137.
40 'Letter to Editor', Utkal Dipika, 22 April 1899, P.137. My translation.
41 Anderson, 'Travelers, Patent Medicines, and Pharmacopeias'. For the details about the pharmaceutical market in India, see pages 66, 67, 69, and 71.
42 News item, Utkal Dipika, 19 February 1876, P. 35. Also, see, 'Bigyapana', Utkal Dipika, 22 January 1876, P.20.
43 'Bigyapana', Utkal Dipika, 13 November 1880, P. 205. 'Bigyapana', Utkal Dipika, 12 February 1876, P.34.
44 On medical education in colonial India, and the degrees of L.M.S. and V.L.M.S., see, Forbes, 'Medical careers and health care', p.520.
45 'Nutana Ayojana', Utkala Sahitya, Number 5, Volume 1, 1901, P.3.
46 'Bigyapana', Utkal Dipika, 19 September 1896, p. 305. My translation.
47 Ibid. My translation.
48 Ibid. Khan also informs that English medicines for horses are available in his Hall as well. Bathgate was the first English pharmacy to enter the Indian market. It was opened by a Scottish entrepreneur in Calcutta in 1811. See, Anderson, 'Travelers, Patent Medicines, and Pharmacopeias', p. 64.
49 'Notice', Utkal Dipika, 25 May 1901, P.176. Originally in English.
50 'Notice', Utkal Dipika, 25 May 1901, P.176. Originally in English.
51 Young, The Toadstool Millionaires, p. 166-173.
52 'Dr. Major's Electro Sarsaparilla', Utkal Dipika, 27 December 1902, P.524-525.
53 Ibid. My translation.
54 Ibid. My translation.
55 Ibid. My translation.
56 'Scharmann's Garhasthya Ousadhavali', Utkal Dipika, 14 March 1896, P. 85.
57 'Bitarana: Gonorrhea Specific', Utkal Dipika, 19 September 1896, P. 304. 'Bitarana', Utkal Dipika, 2 January 1897 p. 7.
58 'Bigyanpana: Sutton's Safe Cures', 14 December 1901, P.424.

59 'Scharmann's Garhasthya Ousadhavali', Utkal Dipika, 14 March 1896, P. 85. My translation.
60 'Bitarana', Utkal Dipika, 2 January 1897 p. 7. My translation.
61 Ibid. My translation.
62 Ibid. My translation.
63 The story was first published in the periodical Utkal Sahitya in 1913. See, Dash ed., Fakir Mohan Granthavali, p. 42.
64 Dash ed., Fakir Mohan Granthavali, p. 55. My translation.
65 Ibid., p. 55. My translation.
66 Ibid., p. 55-56. My translation.
67 Ibid., p. 56. My translation.
68 Immediately after she administers the broom-shower, Sulochana repents that she has beaten up her husband and prays, 'O divine deities, please forgive me! I have beaten my godly husband, a great transgression have I committed, forgive my crime. And, give good understanding to my husband'. Dash ed., Fakir Mohan Granthavali, p. 54. My translation.
69 Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, p. 140-141.
70 Ibid., p. 198.
71 Ibid., p. 110.
72 Ibid., p. 121.
73 Ibid., p. 184.
74 Ibid., p. 183-184.
75 Ray, Dakshinatya Bhraman, 'Bhumika'. My translation.
76 See, 'Rajotsava', Utkal Dipika, 5 February 1887, P. 48-49; 'Kataka Viktoria Uddyanara Bheda', Utkal Dipika, 26 March 1887, p. 109, and 104; and news item, Utkal Dipika, 25 June 1887, P. 220. There was also a proposal to build a Public Library and Town Hall in the memory of Victoria after her demise. 'Letter to the Editor', Utkal Dipika, 30 March 1901 P.113.
77 'Manusya Uda', Utkal Dipika, 28 March 1896, p. 99. Also see, Utkal Dipika, 21 March 1896, p.89.
78 The show was held on Saturday, 21 March 1896.
79 'Manusya Uda', Utkal Dipika, 28 March 1896, p. 99. My translation.
80 Ibid. My translation.
81 'Letter to Editor', Utkal Dipika, 23 April 1898, P.140.
82 News item, Utkal Dipika, 18 June 1898, p. 202.
83 'Letter to Editor', Utkal Dipika, 23 April 1898, P.140. Originally in English.
84 News item, Utkal Dipika, 18 June 1898, p. 202.
85 News Item, Utkal Dipika, 26 February 1887, p. 72.
86 News item, Utkal Dipika, 1 June 1901, P. 179. My translation.
87 'Katakare Banarasi Bai' G. P. Nanda Collection, Srujanika. The title roughly translates into 'The Nautch girl of Benaras comes to Cuttack'. The verse narrative might have been inspired by the historical visit of the 'famous' Kamala Bai of Banaras to Cuttack in 1897. See, news item, Utkal Dipika, April 03 1897, p. 100. 'Katakare Bnarasi Bai' generated some amount of controversy. An anonymous rebuttal of it was also published. See, 'Bai Naacha.'
88 'Katakare Banarasi Bai' G. P. Nanda Collection, Srujanika. Stanza 14. My translation.
89 Ibid. This and the other stanzas are my translation. Stanzas are identified by their numbers given in the original.