

Cuttack Exhibition: The Making of a Provincial Agrarian and Industrial Fair, 1898-1903

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Colonial British officials, native aristocracy, and middleclass intelligentsia came together to host an agricultural and industrial exhibition in the town of Cuttack in 1898. The event was a success. It garnered good public support, and the organizers felt encouraged to turn it into an annual event. It continued to be held under the name of Cuttack Exhibition till the year 1903. Thereafter, it became part of a larger political movement in Odisha known as the *Utkal Sammilani*. The *Sammilani* began in the December of 1903, and continued to host an exhibition of agricultural and industrial produce in its annual sessions. This paper seeks to offer a short cultural history of the Cuttack Exhibition from its inception in 1898 to its merger with the *Utkal Sammilani* in 1903.

1. Event History

The first modern 'agricultural show of cattle and country produce' in Odisha was held at Cuttack in February 1865.¹ One more such show was organized in the town in 1886.² A third such show of agricultural and industrial produce was held at Jajpur in the year 1896.³ None of these could grow into an annual event. So, the Cuttack Exhibition of 1898 marked the inaugural of the first annual exhibition in the region.

The exhibition of 1898 opened on the 31 January. It was held inside the Lalbag residence of the Commissioner of Cuttack division. H. G. Cook, the commissioner, granted generous permission for the event, presided over a formal inaugural ceremony and delivered a speech. His wife, Mrs. Cook, chose to make the occasion memorable, and invited European and Indian gentlemen to a house

party on the side. In local memory, this was one of the first instances in the town when Indian gentlemen were invited to a European home for a public festival and socialization. The show lasted for three days. It had only garden and agricultural produce for display.⁴

The exhibition of 1899 opened on 2 February. The venue shifted to a ground near the temple of Gadagadia Mahadev. The commissioner, Mr. Stevenson, chose not to host a formal inaugural ceremony. While the native gentlemen expected, and waited for a formal ceremony at the appointed place and time, the Europeans did not. Local newspapers expressed regret that a formal ceremony was not held. It deprived people of the benefit of listening to a good speech as they had done on the last occasion. Newspapers were not surprised that Europeans had the right to enter the exhibition hall before the informal inaugural, or that they did not deem it fit to participate in the inaugural process. European men and women invested a lot of time and energy to arrange the show, and it was, in effect, their show. In addition to garden and agricultural produce, the exhibition displayed industrial commodities as well.⁵

Next year, that is, 1900, the exhibition opened on 2 February. The venue is the ground near the Cuttack fort. Mr. Harold, the collector, inaugurated the exhibition. We do not know if he held a formal ceremony or not. Madhusudan Das, the local barrister and industrialist, had set up a ceremonial tent for invited gentlemen in front of the exhibition hall. Guests could comfortably sit in it, and watch a variety of amusements which were organized for the first time to draw more people to the exhibition. Amusements for gentlemen included wrestling and crickets matches, circus, sword fight and *jatra*. Separate arrangements were also made for the amusement of people who had come to see the fair from the *mofussil*. The exhibition lasted for three days.⁶

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In the year 1901, the exhibition opened on the 25 January and was originally scheduled to be closed on the 31 January. However, on account of the demise of Queen Victoria, it was closed earlier, on 26 January. Festivities and amusements were also cancelled.⁷ The next year, 1902, the exhibition was held from 7 to 13 February. The commissioner, K. G. Gupta, opened the exhibition with a formal inaugural ceremony and delivered a speech on the occasion. This custom had been laid aside for the past few years. Gupta revived it. Local newspapers appreciated the gesture, and lauded the speech for its sympathy and good counsel, and noted that it was saturated with a desire for the progress of the country. Apart from garden, agricultural and industrial produce, a new class consisting of birds and animals was added to the exhibits.⁸ In its final year, 1903, Cuttack Exhibition was opened on the 3rd of January. K. G. Gupta, the commissioner, hosted a formal inaugural ceremony, and delivered a speech for the occasion. Both the gestures were again well received.⁹

From available data, it is possible to argue that the financial health of the exhibition remained robust. The scale of arrangements kept expanding every year. In 1898, a total of rupees 1197 was raised via public subscription for the event. The expenditures came up to 1091 which left a balance of 106 in hand.¹⁰ The next year, 1899, public subscription brought 1447 to hand. There were other sources of income, for instance, a small grant of 100 rupees from the agriculture department of the colonial state. The total amount raised for the event went up to 1757. Due to better management, expenditures declined to a total of 880, leaving a balance of 876 in hand.¹¹ Data is not available for the year 1900 except that a balance of a little more than 800 was left in hand after all the expenditures.¹² In 1901, the amount raised through public subscription alone went up to 1200, and expenditures were estimated not to have exceeded 700 to 800 rupees.¹³ The total number of exhibits in the 1899 show was 489. It increased almost 40 per cent and went up to 700 in the year 1900.¹⁴ The number of exhibits went further up to 812 in 1901.¹⁵ The numbers peaked in 1902; it stood at 1038.¹⁶ In the final year, it declined to 890. This was most likely because attention was also engaged in the organization of the coronation durbar at Cuttack.¹⁷

2. Networks and Negotiations: A Model of Public Life

The success of the exhibition relied on the cooperation between three classes of people in the town and region. The first consisted of high-ranking officials of the colonial state, both European and Indian. In their private capacities, these officials of Her Majesty's government provided leadership. In the first year, H. G. Cook, the

commissioner presided over the organizing committee of the exhibition. W. A. Inglis, the superintending engineer of the canal works in Odisha, served as the honorary secretary. Gopal Ballabh Das, the personal assistant to the Commissioner, served as the honorary assistant secretary. The inaugural year set up a template, and it was closely followed in the subsequent years.

The local civil society at Cuttack provided the second set of actors who were involved in the organization of the exhibition. The organization of the first show in 1898 coincided with a parallel development in Cuttack civil society. Madhusudan Das, the wealthy barrister and entrepreneur, began to host weekly meetings at his house to discuss the economic development of the region. Several prominent figures of the town used to attend these events. This small body searched for and located the reason for a people's progress not in the work of its government but in the energy of its civil society. They felt that Indians have learnt to be dependent upon the government for everything. If this attitude persisted, and the cause of independent effort is not espoused, then even the hope of national progress will be lost in a generation or two. In order to create a common working ground, these weekly assemblies consciously avoided the divisive subjects of politics and religion. In due course, Madhusudan and his circle began to form and execute plans to revitalize economic life of the people. This parallel impulse of the local civil society provided an impetus to the exhibition. Madhusudan himself was the prime mover. Art works from his workshop were regularly on display at the exhibition.¹⁸

Landed aristocracy of the region provided financial muscle to the Cuttack exhibition. Divided into the land revenue categories of *mughalbandi* and *gadjat*, the region featured several princely states and estates of varying degrees of size and independence. In the year 1897-98, the colonial state carried out land revenue settlement after a gap of about sixty years. The Cuttack Exhibition provided an opportunity to the landed aristocracy to be visible on a progressive platform that was endorsed by the colonial government. In 1898, these houses donated rupees 960 out of the total 1197 raised for the event. The largest princely state in the region Mayurbhanj, donated a paltry 10. Whereas, one of the smallest estates, Darpani, donated the highest amount of 200.¹⁹ In 1899, landed aristocracy donated about 700 out of the total raised 1447. Small estates like Darpani, Hindol, and Athamalik paid 100 each. In their munificence, they again matched the donation from a large state like Mayurbhanj which contributed 100, and at times exceeded the subscription from other large states such as Keonjhar and Boud which paid 50 rupees each.²⁰ Given the context of the land

revenue settlement, perhaps the small estates stood more to gain from cultivating the good will of the colonial officials.

3. Women and the Exhibition

Both European and Indian women were involved in the exhibition. The archives acknowledge the role of women but offer no elaboration. Mrs. H. G. Cook, the wife of the Commissioner, hosted a party to bring European and Indian communities together on the occasion of the first exhibition. Local newspapers noted the beautiful and efficient arrangements she had made for food, music and general comfort of the guests, and lauded her efforts to build goodwill between the communities. Barring the efforts of a lone collector earlier, Mrs. Cook was considered a pioneer in this regard.²¹ European women of the town regularly sent English fruits, flowers and vegetables from their gardens to the show. They were also closely involved in the decoration and arrangement of the displays in the exhibition hall.²² In the inaugural exhibition, special awards were announced for ‘a gentleman’ who best decorated a table with the leaves and flowers of her own garden, who best made a bouquet with the flowers of her own garden.²³ Indian women of the landed aristocracy are mentioned among the donors to the event. Queen of Kanika contributed rupees 50 in 1898. One Annapurna Devi of Kujanga contributed 30 in 1899. The queen of Kanika also won prizes for her roses.²⁴ Women’s involvement also shaped the format of the event. The first day of the show was exclusively reserved for donors and their families from the very beginning. In 1901, the printed rules and regulations particularly mentioned that members of donors’ households could visit the exhibition on the first day.²⁵ In 1903, the second day of the exhibition was exclusively set aside for women visitors.²⁶

Women’s presence rendered *respectability*, a key operating word in the exhibition space. Respectability became a crucial denominator which determined a visitor’s access to the show. At the same time, there was no fixed criterion as such to determine some one’s respectability. It was often a contingent and negotiated quality. In 1899, a letter to editor, originally written in English, complained that the writer was turned away from the exhibition on the first day despite possessing an invitation from W. A. Inglis, the organizing secretary. The detail of the complaint is worth listening to:

While I was going round the exhibits, a constable came to me to say that I was wanted by Babu Gopal Ballabh Das who was then at one of the entrances to the Show. On my seeing him he kindly (?) advised me to the effect that I was in my native dress, I had better leave the place

that the ladies may not be shocked at our hideously indecent dress. I followed his sage advice and expected to see the place almost emptied as excepting the Europeans and a very few of the native gentlemen the whole assembly were in their national dress. But to my great surprise I found that he let many gentlemen—professors, Pandita, Zemindars, relatives of Rai Bahadoors, graduates, Amlas & c.—go unmolested although they too were dressed in the native fashion.²⁷

The national dress of Indians thus could not become a stable criterion to determine the visitor’s respectability. Gopal Ballabh, the assistant organizing secretary, ostensibly invoked the subject of native clothing, and the sentiment of European ladies present at the show. But, the actual criteria of respectability in this case, to borrow an archaic phrase, was perhaps always already elsewhere. The letter to the editor then offers us an opportunity to recreate the environment in which respectability became a contingent and locally produced quality.

4. A Desire for Ceremonial Speeches

The exhibition created a public desire for a certain kind of discursive prose. People expected speeches to be delivered. They expected to read news reports about them. Between speeches and reports, a prose of celebration and deliberation evolved which created among the local public a desire for more. So much so, as we saw earlier, newspapers felt that the exhibitions were less satisfying without inaugural speeches.

Archives provide access to six speeches. Two of them were delivered by the commissioner K. G. Gupta in the inaugural ceremonies of 1902 and 1903. These were originally in English, and were printed in full in local newspapers.²⁸ Two speeches, one by the commissioner H. G. Cook and the other by the superintending engineer W. A. Inglis, both delivered in the inaugural ceremony of 1898, were reported in local newspapers.²⁹ Two more, by W. A. Inglis and Madhusudan Das, delivered in various public meetings concerning the exhibition, were also reported.³⁰

These speeches mobilized a language of imperial co-operation. That is, they put an emphasis on forging alliances between Europeans, and ‘the aristocratic and cultured classes’ of Indians so as to work for the progress of the region. Cook praised the loyal and peace-loving nature of the local people and hoped for an increase in the goodwill between them and the English. He felt that the innocent nature of the locals also tilted slightly towards indolence, and expressed hope that with the recent advent of railways to the region, their inertia will not last for long.³¹ Inglis hoped that the exhibition would become an annual event and proposed the formation of a committee consisting of both European and Indian gentlemen to

supervise the organization. Such a committee, he felt, will also help proper investigation into the benefits of canal works, condition of the embankments, state of agriculture in the region, and can communicate proper information and public opinion to the government. In the absence of such committees, the state is compelled to rely only on what the government servants say.³² In his turn, Gupta felt that 'contact with our friends and fellow subjects from the West has produced a general reawakening' in India, and invited 'attention to the words of admonition which the Viceroy addressed at the opening ceremony' of the Delhi exhibition of Indian wares in 1902-3 'to the aristocratic and cultured classes of this country,' and hoped that 'the encouragement which has thus come from above will give a fresh and lasting impetus to our work' at Cuttack.

The speeches also mobilized a language of capital. That is, they reflected on a range of subjects which are associated with capital: competition, new markets and commodities, transfer of knowledge and skills, trade etc. Madhusudan Das felt that the exhibitions of 1898 and 1899 provided a lot of amusement to the residents of Cuttack town but they did not accomplish the proper aim of an exhibition. In future, the exhibition needed to draw the attention and sympathy of traders in agricultural produce and industrial commodities. Thus, he reminded his audience that the Cuttack exhibition needed to make the transition from a public diversion to a capitalist enterprise.³³ W. A Inglis spoke about increasing the spirit of competition among the participants of the exhibition. He advised the organizing committee to carry out a survey and find out what major crops are produced in the region, hold discussions on how to improve their quality and quantity, and then advise the peasants accordingly. It should also bring better quality seeds from outside and distribute among the people. Prize money should be commensurate with the amount of labor that goes into the production of a commodity. These measures would create a spirit of competition over and above the usual desire to earn one's livelihood.³⁴ In his turn, Gupta, recounted the benefits of the exhibition: 'it brings together the products and the producers and enables the latter to compare notes, mark progress and benefit by each other's experience,' 'It helps to introduce new staples, new trades and new industries, for exhibitors come from other parts with their novel wares and articles some of which at least are found suitable for adoption in localities in which they were unknown before.' 'It is a potent agency in finding new centres and new markets by bringing the various articles to the notice of intending buyers, or in other words, by enlarging the area of consumption,' 'it conduces materially to secure progress and improvement by affording incentive to good work...'³⁵

Finally, the speeches also invoked a language of local revival. Gupta took the lead, and spoke with considerable nostalgia about the past excellences of the local people:

As regards arts, Orissa did not at one time occupy an inglorious position. One cannot view the exquisite carving, engraving and sculpture of her world-renowned temples or the engineering feats of her earlier workmen who were able to forge huge iron beams and hew out gigantic blocks of stone, transport them many miles across a roadless country and place them in position several hundred feet above ground. Truly has it been said of them that they built like Titans and finished like jewellers.³⁶

This invocation of the glorious past was accompanied by an acknowledgement that 'the artistic instinct has not quite disappeared, that the latent and inherent talent is still to be met with,' in present times. It often concluded with conferring recognition on those local entrepreneurs and patrons who are presently engaged in reviving the lost tradition, for instance, Madhusudan Das and his Orissa Art Wares, or the chief of Khandapada who worked to preserve indigenous weaving traditions. Thus, a language of cooperation, capital and revival provided a heady appeal to the discursive prose that the exhibition gave rise to.

5. Moral Taste

In July 1900, the organizing committee convened a public meeting to plan for the event next year. In the meeting, Thomas Baily, the Baptist missionary in the town, raised a moral objection: a range of sports, amusements, popular theatrical shows, and nautch were added to the just concluded exhibition. Such events, he argued, should not really be a part of the exhibition. They were certainly not approved by refined moral taste. Baily proposed to cut them out completely from the next event. A certain Dinshaw seconded the proposal, and added an economic objection to the list. The expenditure on the amusements, he submitted, ate into the budget of the event and thereby reduced the prize money for the exhibits. A debate ensued. Local newspapers recorded the variety of opinions offered on the subject.³⁷

One speaker felt that there was no harm in organizing innocent sports and performances to enthuse and amuse the people who came from the mofussil to participate in the exhibition. Another felt that only dance shows involving prostitutes can be objected to on moral grounds, and noted that such performances were not permitted in the last exhibition. In response to it, someone else observed that dancing boys from music-communities do not have a great moral reputation. And, those boys who perform as females in theatrical shows were no better either. One returned to the subject of the mofussil, and said that people in villages have a special fondness for

theatrical shows, and often rural folk of good castes form performing troupes. Another said that people generally love a dance-music performance, and if someone comes forward to bear the expenses, there should be no objections.

Finally, it was resolved that there will be no dance or theatrical performance at the next exhibition as such. Money raised for the exhibition should only be spent on the exhibition. Prize money can be increased which will attract people from the mofussil. However, if someone comes forward to host dance and theatrical shows at his own expenses, and without interfering in the routine of the exhibition, that will be considered as a bonus.

It seems the debate on moral taste had an implicit local versus non-local sentiment at work. On the one hand, from sources available, Baily was born in the English midland village of Barton Favis in Leicestershire, and had joined the mission station at Cuttack in 1886.³⁸ Most likely, a puritanical aversion towards shows was part of his worldview. Dinshaw was most likely a Parsi merchant. And, modern Parsi theatre companies from Bombay were touring the town of Cuttack in the period under concern.³⁹ Dinshaw was possibly in favour of the new aesthetics of modern theatre companies. On the other hand, it was most likely Madhusudan Das, the local eminence, who hosted dance and theatrical shows at the exhibition in 1899. He had set up a tent in which invited gentlemen could sit watch cricket matches and *jatra*. Newspapers chose to appeal to this local sentiment as the final arbiter in the matter:

*It came as a surprise that some chose to condemn tout court all kinds of dance performances. The good and the bad exist everywhere. Is it fair to condemn everything without taking into account what deserves opprobrium and what does not? Intoxicated with love, devotees also dance in sankirtans! Dance and music shows exist in all the countries. Are gentlemen condemned because they watch these shows? Odisha lags behind others in civilization. Understandably, then, it is no surprise that there will be a degree of uncivility in its dance and music. But it is not reasonable to condemn all forms of dances of this place.'*⁴⁰

6. Commodities

Contemporary sources often classified the commodities on display into two broad categories, agrarian and industrial. In the year 1903, agricultural and garden produce accounted for 701 out of a total number of 890 exhibits. The rest were made up of industrial products and animals. Similarly, in 1902, nearly two thirds of the total number of 1038 exhibits were from garden and agricultural produce. Remaining one third was made up of industrial products, and birds and animals.⁴¹

Accordingly, in a prize list of 1899, garden and agricultural produce were further divided into several sub-categories. Under 'native garden produce' came brinjals, pumpkin, cucumber, radish, onion, garlic, English potatoes, tuber, betel leaves, the long yam, red pepper, bottle gourd. Under the category of 'fruits' came plantains, sour lemon, orange, guava, papaya, and water melon. Under 'agricultural produce' were listed five different varieties of rice, green gram, pulse, mustard, sesame, castor, turmeric, sugarcane, and coriander-seed. Finally, in the category 'processed farm produce,' were included various kinds of oils, molasses, jute, tobacco, arrowroot, and flax.⁴²

A similar prize list of 1899 was available for industrial products on display. The first category consisted of filigree work in gold and silver; various articles made in steel such as sword, spear, chopper and wires; and, various kinds of works in wood, blackstone, brass, and bell metal. A second category titled 'local' included textile products such as saree and dhoti in *tassar* and cotton; fine work in ivory; toys made in clay; shoes made at Cuttack; various kinds of baskets made in cane etc. Finally, there was a category devoted to brick masonry. Various kinds of tiles to be used both inside and outside homes, and earthen drain pipes were on display.⁴³

Thus, the Cuttack exhibition remained primarily an agrarian show. Most of the commodities on display were agricultural produce. The industrial aspect of the event was more properly concerned with cottage industry. In both the categories, largely, it is the skill of the hand, as opposed to that of the machine, which was on display.

7. Constructing the Local

The exhibition constructed a sense of the local in two different ways. On the one hand, it strove to engage with the local geographical region. It was meant to work for the development of local agriculture and industry, and provide a mirror to reflect the gradual progress of the region. Not surprisingly, as a matter of stated policy, the exhibition conferred awards and certificates only on those commodities which were produced within the boundaries of Odisha. Its advertisements often delineated Odisha as the three districts of Cuttack, Baleshwar, Puri, and the *garhjat mahal* or various princely states. This geographical criterion was closely followed all through the years. It helped the exhibition have a local character.⁴⁴

On the other hand, even as it engaged with the geographical region, the exhibition also positioned the *mofussil* as more authentically local. European and Indian gentlemen of the town of Cuttack and their families played a significant role in the organization of the exhibition. Invariably their gardens supplied the European fruits and

flowers which were a major attraction of the exhibition. However, public opinion strove to closely associate the event with the *mofussil*. The exhibition was supposed to bring about the welfare of the country peasant, and manufacturer. It was supposed to engage the attention of the zamindar and mahajan of the *mofussil*. Without the participation of the countryside, the event, it was feared, would remain a mere amusement of the urban elite. Newspapers proposed that the organizing committee should bring each year a hundred prominent peasants from different parts of the countryside to the exhibition. It should bear the cost of their travel, accommodation and fare. The measure was expected to create interest among the countryside.⁴⁵

Construction of the local also involved a dialogue with various non-local elements. Though it conferred awards on local producers, the exhibition granted display space to products from different parts of India. Thus, the colonial government's department of agriculture in Calcutta sent rice husking machines to be displayed at the Cuttack exhibition. Aluminum utensils were brought over from Madras. Local weavers were sent to Serampore to learn new techniques of machine weaving. On their return, they displayed these techniques at the exhibition. An awareness of developments unfolding elsewhere, deeply informed the sense of the local which saturated the Cuttack exhibition.

Conclusion

The paper offers a short account of the first annual agricultural and industrial exhibition held in Odisha. Between 1898 and 1903, it brought together colonial officials, native aristocracy and local civil society to promote the cause of development in the region. The paper argues that the exhibition created a desire for a specific kind of discursive prose among the reading public. This prose mobilized a language, which reflected on co-operation between the colonizers and colonized, capitalist enterprise and revival of local industry. The exhibition also led to the formation of public debates about moral taste. If puritanical aversion towards theatrical shows, dances and sports was on the one side of the debate, sentimental affection for local traditions of performance stood on the other. These debates often generated discussions on what should or should not count among the legitimate purposes of the fair. Both European and Indian women were closely involved in the organization of the event. They contributed donations, supplied flowers and fruits, and supervised the arrangements. They were also heavily present among the audience. Specific days of the exhibition were reserved only for them. Women's presence rendered *respectability*

a key requirement for access to the exhibition space. The exhibition aimed to construct a sense of the local. It conferred awards and recognition on entrepreneurs residing within a specific geographical region. Also, it was quite aware of its urban origins, and self-consciously tried to position itself as an event meant primarily for the producers and consumers of the *mofussil*. It presented the *mofussil* as most authentically local. At the same time, it provided space for display to skills and commodities from Calcutta, Madras and other far-off places, and, thus, the sense of the local it constructed was deeply in dialogue with developments unfolding elsewhere.

Notes

1. "Kataka Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 15 February 1902, p. 53. Also see, "Jajpur Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika*, 21 March, 1896, pp. 91-92.
2. "Jajpur Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika*, 21 March 1896, P.91-92. Dinanath Bandyopadhyay, a prominent public figure in the town, organized the event.
3. "Jajpur Agricultural and Industrial Show" in *Utkal Dipika*, 22 February 1896, P.62. Mon Mohan Chakravarti, Sub-Divisional Officer at Jajpur, organized the event. Chakravarti faced criticisms for alleged financial frivolities and irregularities. He received an exorbitant sum of more than five thousand rupees via public subscription for the show. Most of it was contributed by the rich *zemindars* of the region. Nearly three thousand rupees were spent on amusements such as "theatrical performances," "fire-works," "nautch," and "other silly purposes." A letter to editor, originally in English, published in the *Utkal Dipika* on 14 March 1896, described the event as a "gross violation of public trust," and alleged that "Grave doubts are entertained whether the sums collected for the purpose of the Show were voluntary contributions." The controversy continued to simmer. On the occasion of his transfer from Jajpur, a letter written to the *Utkal Dipika* on 16 October 1897, originally in English, advised Mon Mohan Chakravarti to publish an account of the money he had received via public subscriptions for the show, and of the consequent expenditures incurred. The measure, the writer reasons, "will allow the public to check any mistake or oversight," and since "[the] money belonged to the public," it "can fairly demand this." A second letter in English appeared in the *Utkal Dipika* on 13 November 1897. It informed that no account had yet been published in any local newspaper. "Under the circumstances, the public, whose patience the Sub-Divisional officer has sorely tried, cannot but think that, for reasons known to him only, he has either kept no accounts of the money received and spent by him in the name of the Show, or that he does not venture to publish them." See, "Letter to the Editor," "Atirikta," *Utkal Dipika* 14 March 1896; "Letter to The Editor" *Utkal Dipika*, 16 October 1897, P. 317; and "Letter to the Editor" *Utkal Dipika*, 13 November 1897, P.350. Besides, see, Gourishankar's reports

- on the show, "Jajpur Pradarshani," *Utkal Dipika* 14 March 1896, pp. 82-84, and "Jajpur Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika*, 21 March, 1896, pp. 91-92.
4. See, "Bandhu Milana" in the *Utkal Dipika*, 5 February 1898, p. 43; "Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 5 February 1898, pp. 44-45; and *Utkal Dipika*, 29 January, 1898. Also, see, "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 4 February 1899, p. 34.
 5. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 4 February 1899, p. 35, and "Bigyanpana: Pradarshani...Pradarshani... Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 14 January 1899. Also, see, *Utkal Dipika*, 10 September 1898, p. 290.
 6. "Bigyapana: Dekha! Dekha! Dekha!" in *Utkal Dipika*, 20 January 1900, p. 23. *Utkal Dipika* 3 February 1900. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika* 10 February 1900, p. 44.
 7. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 12 January 1901, p. 12. Also, "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 2 February 1901, p. 34.
 8. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 15 February 1902, p. 52.
 9. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 10 January 1903, p. 14.
 10. "Krushil Shilpadira Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 15 October 1898, p. 332. Also, see, "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 12 August 1899, p. 251.
 11. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 12 August 1899, p. 251.
 12. "Cuttack Pradarshani O Nacha" in *Utkal Dipika*, 14 July 1900, p. 219.
 13. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 2 February 1901, p. 35.
 14. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika* 10 February 1900, p. 44.
 15. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 2 February 1901, p. 34.
 16. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 15 February 1902, p. 52.
 17. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 10 January 1903, p. 14.
 18. "Hitakara Milana," in *Utkal Dipika* 26 February 1898, p. 67.
 19. "Krusi Shilpadira Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 15 October 1898, p. 331.
 20. "Kataka Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 12 August 1899, p. 252.
 21. "Bandhu Milana," in *Utkal Dipika* 5 February 1898, p. 43.
 22. "Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 5 February 1898, p. 45. Also, "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 4 February, 1899, p. 35.
 23. "Phula Phaladira Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 18 December 1897, p. 388.
 24. "Krusi Shilpadira Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 15 October 1898, p. 331. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 12 August, 1899, P.35. "Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 5 February 1898, p. 45.
 25. "Cuttack Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 12 January 1901, p. 13.
 26. "Cuttack Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 10 January 1903, p. 14.
 27. "To the Editor" *Utkal Dipika*, 11 February 1899, p. 45.
 28. "Cuttack Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 15 February 1902, p. 53. "Cuttack Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 10 January 1903, p. 14.
 29. "Bandhu Milana," in *Utkal Dipika* 5 February 1898, p. 43. "Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 5 February 1898, p. 44.
 30. "Cuttack Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 11 November 1899, p. 338.
 31. "Bandhu Milana," in *Utkal Dipika* 5 February 1898, p. 43.
 32. "Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 5 February 1898, p. 44.
 33. "Cuttack Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 11 November 1899, p. 338.
 34. "Cuttack Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 11 November 1899, p. 338.
 35. "Cuttack Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 15 February 1902, p. 53. Gupta's speech is in English.
 36. "Cuttack Pradarshani," in *Utkal Dipika* 15 February 1902, p. 53. The speech is in English.
 37. "Kataka Pradarshani O Nacha," in *Utkal Dipika* 14 July 1900, p. 219.
 38. Jayananda Simha, *The Rise of Christianity in Orissa and the Lives of Some Leading Oriya Converts*, 1914, pp. 20-22.
 39. In June 1898 for instance, a Parsi company stayed for a month in Cuttack, and ran ticketed shows. These were immensely popular among both the Indian and European residents of the town. Theatre companies from Pune and Calcutta were also touring the town. Local papers took notice of the modernity of the music and dances, and appreciated the new Europeanized aesthetics of the performances. See, *Utkal Dipika*, 18 June, 1898, pp. 194.
 40. "Kataka Pradarshani O Nacha," in *Utkal Dipika* 14 July 1900, p. 219. My translation.
 41. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 10 January, 1903 p. 14. Also, "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 15 February, 1902, p. 52.
 42. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 21 January, 1899, p. 19.
 43. "Cuttack Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 28 January, 1899, p. 27.
 44. "Krusi Shilpadira Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 15 October, 1898, p. 332. "Bigyapana: Pradarshani, Pradarshani, Pradarshani" in *Utkal Dipika*, 14 January 1899.
 45. *Utkal Dipika*, 27 January 1900.