



ISSN 2278 – 0211 (Online)

## Social Attitude towards Theatre Actresses in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Bengal

**Dr. Sushmita Sengupta**

Assistant Professor, Department of History, Baruipur College, West Bengal, India

### **Abstract:**

*The 19<sup>th</sup> century the 'age of reasons and reform' in Bengal saw the question of the theatre actress come to the forefront. With the gradual introduction of the female actress on the stage, they became the figure head on whom the ambivalences and contradictions of the age was manifested. The colonial government had set out to 'civilize' the 'barbaric' India. The performing artists who had a close association with the courtesan class became the target of the colonizers. Theatre activity was first undertaken by the newly educated Bengali middleclass, who shared the same view of their colonial masters regarding the theatre actresses. The first generation of Bengali actresses remained marginalized in the theatre space. Socially stigmatized and exploited on and off stage, these theatre actresses remained a pawn in the whole set of rules formed by the urban educated middleclass society.*

**Keywords:** Reason, reform, theatre, actress, colonial, government, intelligentsia, marginalized.

Since time immemorial art and culture has been an inseparable aspect of human life. Art in all its forms has preserved the culture and social system of a particular period or era. The visual arts like "natya" have had a direct contact with the minds of the viewers and the impact of such media on the human mind has been like a photo imprint. So whatever the artist has visually created on the stage has influenced the mind and worked slowly and diligently to change the attitudes and habits of the society. Thus the artist have had to be always cautious and restrained about their creative approach out of necessity. <sup>(1)</sup> As the disciplined fire of candlelight or a lamp illuminates the whole place, but an undisciplined wild fire often destroys the whole place. Art has often been equated with life itself and that there can be no life without arts and artistic pursuits. <sup>(2)</sup>

The study of performers and actors has not always been a central and systematic feature of theatre studies. At various times, buildings, social organizations, dramatic texts and performance analysis have seemed to occupy more attention than what one would have normally considered the defining element of the theatre i.e. the performer. There have been many reasons for this periodic disregard. Probably the most important one, being the question of definition. Should one consider only the actor or widen the purview and include the other type of performers like - the dancer, singer, musician, even circus clown and the acrobat. Theatre studies have traditionally not opted for the wider definition, although the growth of performance studies in the past decade has slowly changed the exclusivity of interest in the actor alone. <sup>(3)</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the 'public theatre' came to Bengal, with colonization, the newly English-educated Bengali intelligentsia embraced it with open arms. The affluent sections of the society patronized this theatre at first to imitate and impress their colonial overlords. But gradually theatre started enjoying a larger clientele and become a means of cultural presentation and expression of the Bengali intelligentsia. At first male and female roles were both portrayed by male artists, but eventually women also were brought within the purview of theatrical presentation to make the performances more authentic and attractive. When actresses began performing on the stage in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, their presence became a distinctly contested public issue among the middle class and the upper middle class nationalists and reformers of the Bengali society. <sup>(4)</sup>

Although in the pages of history, only a cursory mention has been made about the actress, their presence was a source of constant tension and controversy. They undoubtedly enlivened the stage with their singing and dancing talents and facilitated large profits for the owner of the companies, as their participation increased viewership by manifolds, they were viewed as defiling the theatre space. Recorded history reveals that the actress had acquired a presence on the modern Bengali stage since the time of Lebedeff's production in 1795. Mrs. Emma Bristow had even hired actresses who also played male roles. In the initial stages, actresses were imported from Europe by the drama companies, which were also run by the colonizers. Mention maybe made of well-known actresses like Mrs. Francis, Mrs. Cohen, Mrs. Bland, Mrs. Atkinson and Mrs. Chester who participated in the theatre in 19<sup>th</sup> century Bengal. Mrs. Esther

Leach of the San Souci theatre, Madeline Taylor, Mrs. Deacle was all actresses who gained a lot of fame and prestige among the theatre clientele of Bengal. Their participation inspired the Indian theatre companies to introduce female actresses on the stage. <sup>(5)</sup>

The middle class male theatre enthusiasts of the 19<sup>th</sup> century felt the need of introducing women actor on the stage to essay female role to make the plays more realistic and attractive to the general spectators. Since women from respectable Bengali families did not venture out of their homes into the public sphere and appearing on stage in full view of the male gaze of society was simply unthinkable in those times. So it was out of compulsion that the prostitutes were recruited as actresses by the 19<sup>th</sup> century Bengali stage. <sup>(6)</sup> It was the general view that the Bengali stage needed reform and the introduction of actresses served this purpose as it elevated Bengali theatre to an art form, as the female roles needed to be portrayed by women even for aesthetic purposes. It is undoubtedly true that the first generation of actresses of the Bengali stage came from the red light areas of Calcutta. But until and unless cultured women of broader views from respectable Bengali families came forward, Bengali theatre had no other option, but to continue with the prostitute actresses. <sup>(7)</sup>

This linking of the female actresses with prostitution was the result of the middle class anxieties felt by the 19<sup>th</sup> century press and the social reformers. It may have emerged out of the unconventional lives of the actresses or derived from the fact that some actresses' mothers were prostitutes. Other reasons including their workings class background and financial circumstances which forced them to join theatre for paid employment. Many women had also left their abusive husbands and joined the theatre for salvation from marital torture. Many other actresses' joined theatre via middle-men, or senior actresses and women from the traditional performers. Probably for these varied and unconventional reasons these actresses were seen as women who had transgressed the norms of respectability, threatening the ideas of domesticity. <sup>(8)</sup> Unavailability of middle class women to perform on the stage thus forced the theatre companies to open their doors to these working class women for sustenance. <sup>(9)</sup>

In the colonial period, respectability was a cornerstone in the debate on reform. Thus the theatre enthusiasts also felt the need of projecting their theatre as a respectable space. They grudgingly allowed the entry of working class women, provided they were reformed. They were to be improved by education and socially uplifted, which would in turn provide respectability to the theatre. There was also a feeling that folk theatre could employ actresses of the working class and dubious background but the urban elite theatres run by the Bengali intellectuals could not do so. <sup>(10)</sup> Thus the female actor became only a figurehead on whom the ambivalences and contradictions of the age was manifested. <sup>(11)</sup>

Gender identities were deeply linked to the fabric of colonialism in 19<sup>th</sup> century Bengal. Issues of health, public morality and reform combined together to create a complex set of images for the colonizers and the colonized. Foucault in his 'Introduction to the History of Sexuality' mentioned that the norms of sexual behavior were laid down by the rulers. The ruling class tried to affirm its own image over the subordinate through modes of coercion and consent. <sup>(12)</sup> Along with the control over the political, economic and social sphere, the colonizers set out to hegemonize the codes of public morality and also shaped the gender identity of their subject people. <sup>(13)</sup> Thus the native public opinion followed the official stand of the colonizers. The embarrassed elites of Bengal started looking down upon many of their age old cultural practices as being debased, degenerate, uncivilized and unsophisticated. The contrast between India's degraded sensuality and the masterly redemption of the British was linked to the larger ideal of Europe civilizing the feminized orient. This unbridgeable gap was seen as inevitable between the 'civilized' and the barbaric world. This sentiment in turn often shaped the administrative action of the colonial masters. <sup>(14)</sup>

The colonizers with the active support of the native elites herded all poor and working class people as immoral and branded their womenfolk as prostitutes. 19<sup>th</sup> century Bengal, in the form of social reform movements brought Indian women and together with it, prostitutions to the forefront. The performances of the singer and dancer were also inducted into the social code of immoral physical display and overt sexuality. As ganika, barangana, nati the female performer had traditionally enjoyed a special place in Indian society. They were also termed derogatively as 'nautch girls' by the colonial rulers and became clubbed with the common prostitutes. <sup>(15)</sup> While the British initiated the process of social reform by bringing the women on the forefront and initiating new legislation regarding sati, widow remarriage age of consent, all of which served to contain female sexuality. The British also constantly undermined the lack of a competent and self-sufficient cultural identity for the Bengali male as they had traditionally belonged to a culture which did not grant freedom and equality of the sexes. There was also a ushering in of the Victorian ideals of demure and chaste womanhood. In reaction to the official and missionary allegation of the immorality of Indian women, the Hindu women was re-characterized within the discourse of nationalism as embodiments of chastity. Her celebrated purity transformed her into the spirited Aryan woman of the past. <sup>(16)</sup>

The Bengali men were also identified as physically and morally weak by the colonizers. The Bengali male was said to be like an effeminate slave and this gendered identification of the colonized men as 'womanly' came to be naturalized by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. <sup>(17)</sup> This double verification forced the Bengali men to reinvent himself and repudiate the claims of their colonial masters. The heroic sati, conjugal bliss transcending the temporal world was upheld by these new nationalists. The over emphasis on chastity was also deeply linked to the notions of masculinity, femininity and conjugality in colonial Bengal. <sup>(18)</sup> For the native Bengalis the public domain was being endangered by the colonial masters as notions of nationhood, citizenship and freedom troubled them. On the other hand the private sphere was based on natural subjection and inequality of their womenfolk. As he had no control over his public domain, he

tried to fashion his private sphere, which was in his control. Thus the cult of domesticity together with the 'chaste', 'pure' and 'uncontaminated' bhadramahila was created.<sup>(19)</sup>

Thus it can be said that since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, British opinion had been divided on how India had to be governed. The 'orientalists' believed that local traditions, languages, customs and political structures should be exploited and encouraged for the effective control of the Indian sub-continent. The 'Anglicists' on the other hand had argued that the country had to be molded to reflect British ideas, beliefs, standards and norms. And the only way according to them was to Christianise the country.<sup>(20)</sup> The Great Revolt of 1857 vindicated the stand of the Anglicists as the Orientalists philosophy of accommodation was proved as a total failure to subjugate the Indian population. The Anglicists thus given a free reign set out to reform and cleanse the Indian society of its impurities.<sup>(21)</sup> Banning of social interaction between the British residents and the Indians, public reprimand of those British residents who dared to associate with Indian women especially the tawaifs, baijis and natis became the norm of this Anglicist group. Large sections of the government officials also prescribed this view.<sup>(22)</sup> Added to this was the fact that these classes of performers had enjoyed a close proximity with the Indian feudal aristocracy and had in large numbers supported the Great Revolt either directly or indirectly through their patrons. After the suppression of the revolt, the British government came down heavily on them and enacted a number of laws which adversely affected them.<sup>(23)</sup>

The class of neo-literate Indians, armed with modern English education in schools set up by the missionaries had freely embraced western ideals. They often ridiculed and looked down upon various aspects of their own culture and traditions especially the performing arts which were now synonymous with a debased and debauched feudal setup dominated by tawaifs, baijis, prostitutes and natis.<sup>(24)</sup> From this class also came the social reformers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They held the performing artists in utter contempt. There was a growing disdain for the Indian art forms as the tawaifs and baijis were the traditional custodians of performing art in India.<sup>(25)</sup> Wide spread protests broke out across the country urging the British government to deliver on its 'divinely ordained duty' of cleansing the Indian society of its evils. The Christian missionaries also joined in and a strong anti-nautch movement was launched with the printing of books, pamphlets, journals and newspapers.<sup>(26)</sup> The British government also came up with an official declaration that all 'nautch-girls' were to be branded as prostitutes. This also led to the hardening of negative public opinion and painted all tawaifs, baijis, devdasis and actresses as prostitutes. All these moves sounded a death knell for the entire class of performing women and many of them died in penury.<sup>(27)</sup>

It was thus no coincidence that historical, social and mythological drama took on the role of social reform with great fervor and turned theatre into a project of imagined nation inhabited by only respectable women. This reformist role of drama invited the audience to seek critical engagement and examine its relevance to the nation.<sup>(28)</sup> While articulating the need of staging stories from the heroic tales of the past, theatre also promoted the idealized Hindu Aryan civilization of the distant past.<sup>(29)</sup> This was needed to shake the sleeping nation out of its inertia and motivate the viewers to recognize the need of collective action against the colonial rule. Along with popular literature that focused on mythological and chaste wives figures of Savitri, Sita, Gandhari, religious reformism which developed in tandem with political nationalism entered the stage and mobilized the process of public enactment.<sup>(30)</sup>

This was also the period which saw women taking new role in public life. Meanwhile the traditional female roles changed the famous courtesan group who had enjoyed a significant position as custodians of art were aligned with the prostitutes by the British. The courtesans who had enjoyed some sort of respectability were constantly pitted against the so-called middle class ideal of the demure, docile, chaste wife engaged in domestic bliss.<sup>(31)</sup> The female actress opting for a very public life became the censure of the voyeuristic male gaze as even her private life became open to speculation. They were treated as consumer objects and exploited on and off stage. The co-sexual working environment of the actress was also seen as a moral transgression. Acting was an unusual socio-economic profession and the actress' identity was further demarcated by social constraints.<sup>(32)</sup> Social respectability was merited as long as women met the prescribed ideals of the age and the class. Her talent was completely ignored and all questions of her respectability were simply overruled. The actresses were both despised and desired and they soon became the status symbols to be kept by the babus. Actresses were stigmatized on all fronts. Their earnings were lower than their male counterparts and the lucrative and desired positions of directors, authors, playwright, producer or other such artistic pursuits remained illusive to them.<sup>(33)</sup>

The actresses of the 19<sup>th</sup> century inhabited the murky social and legal domains and though she was less vulnerable than the common prostitute, patronage was crucial to her socio-economic stability. There was a whole range of social levels designated for women of these professions in 19<sup>th</sup> century Calcutta, based on degrees of exclusivity. The highly talented singers and actresses occupied the higher status. The status of stage actresses was more complicated.<sup>(34)</sup>

The actress prostitutes remained a main theme of debate among the reformers of 19<sup>th</sup> century Bengal. The Bengali press, the harbinger of the social reform in 19<sup>th</sup> century Bengal criticized the presence of the prostitute actress on the stage, who would corrupt and pollute the youth of Bengal.<sup>(35)</sup> E.g., The Hindu Patriot on 18<sup>th</sup> August 1873 recorded the performance of professional actresses in Michael Madhusudan Dutta's play *Arista*. Though grudgingly accepting the presence of the actresses from the standpoint of aesthetics, the article lamented that the elite Bengali theatre had sunk morally to the level of jatrwallahs. Another newspaper article of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of January 1874 upheld the view presented by the former. Even a few British newspapers like *The Englishman* shared the general disapproval of the vernacular press at the introduction of 'professional women of pleasure', though ruefully applauding the

performance.<sup>(36)</sup> Even Vidyasagar, the savior of the Hindu women was totally against the introduction of prostitute actresses on stage.<sup>(37)</sup>

The first generation of the prostitute actresses of the Bengali stage were Jagattarini, Golap Sundari, Elokeshi, Shyama followed by Binodini, Teenkori, Sushilabala, Vasantakumari among a few. Many of these actresses had lacked the so called 'bhadralok' taste and respect for basic artistry, but they were immensely gifted.<sup>(38)</sup> These actresses strongly believed and hoped in theatre, they will be able to earn their livelihood by their talent alone. Many of them stayed on for the love of the stage, ignoring the temptations of the worlds' oldest trade.<sup>(39)</sup> A few of these major actresses had even paid their tributes to a man who recruited them from the red light area to give them an alternative livelihood in their memoirs, either by them or by other later artists. Theatre had given them some sort of respectability and a career option.<sup>(40)</sup>

These first generation of *barangana*- abhinetris or prostitutes, actresses were recruited by the new group of theatre enthusiasts from middle and upper class families. These men made modern Bengali drama a force to reckon with. They belonged to an English-educated society, where class, caste and education were the indices of respectability. Their conjunction with the prostitute actress was an uneven and uneasy alliance.<sup>(41)</sup> The different social positions occupied by them also signified that they inhabited in distinctly different social worlds outside the theatre. While actors and play writings like Amritlal Basu and Girish Chandra Ghosh moved comfortably between the two worlds of the prostitute actresses' social circle and that of respected wealthy families, the actresses were denied from doing so. They were even denied permission to attend the Town Hall memorial meeting when their co-actor, teacher and mentor Girish Ghosh passed away.<sup>(42)</sup> The actresses were often compelled to enter into relationships with wealthy individuals, who would act as patrons of the theatre. Yet their sacrifices were ignored and most of them led near destitute lives after retiring from stage.<sup>(43)</sup>

The presence of the actress became very significant in the nationalist agenda. There was a metamorphosis of the actress and a path of her rehabilitation was also mapped out by the reformers. They applauded theatre's anti-colonial and nationalist stand and started advocating reforms and changes in social and customary behavior of the actresses.<sup>(44)</sup> They also felt that the role of the theatre should be to educate the masses and reform the society because of the irresistible force of a message being made pleasant through entertainment.<sup>(45)</sup> The reformers felt that drama should be used as an instrument of social reform. The influence of this reformist rhetoric also reshaped the ways women had to be represented on stage. The wayward wife of the scandalous plays was gradually being replaced by chaste and strong wives to mythological heroines of the past.<sup>(46)</sup> The encouragement of the use of historical and mythological themes was seen as a step taken by theatre to distance itself from immorality, obscenity and sexual desire and had a regenerating influence in the eyes of the middle-class nationalists and reformers.<sup>(47)</sup>

The Dramatic Performance Act of 1876, was passed to censor dramatic performances that were 'seditious', 'obscene' and 'detrimental to public interest'. The colonial government used this legislation to outlaw, censor and proscribe plays which posed a threat to the imperialist mission. This convergence of the reformist idea with the colonial agenda demonstrated the presence of ideologically opposed groups whose mutual interactions produced the complexities of the age. The question of the theatre actresses also has to be studied within this framework. The dialectical relationship between male desire, public censure and the overwhelming colonial and nationalist politics shaped the society's views about the theatre actresses.<sup>(48)</sup> The actress hitherto vilified was reinvented within the nationalist agenda, which brought them from the marginal existence to the center stage. The actresses became successful in setting the standards of domestic conjugality within melodramatic sacrifices, self immolations and nationalistic declarations. Bankim Chandra himself an avid theatre lover, praised the portrayal of his heroines by these actresses. In contrast they also may have provided him with inspiration to create his heroic women figure to be adapted and presented on the stage.<sup>(49)</sup>

Though the Bengali actresses were not formally educated, they could sing, dance and speak eloquently beside their male counterparts. The new theatre produced or set out to produce women schooled in the languages and sensibilities of the age. They were taught to think about themselves as professional career artists and yet were stigmatized by the society for being immoral. The lives of the 19<sup>th</sup> century theatre actresses were thus indicative of the contradictions of a newly emerging middleclass cultural construct. Thus it seems that though the ages, the acting professionals especially women bore the brunt of society's prejudiced view towards their class despite of contributing greatly for their cultural enrichment and providing wholesome entertainment for them. Society held a jaundiced view towards the theatre personals based on a few assumptions and condemned the entire class.

#### End Note

(1) Dhananjayan .V.P - Beyond Performing Art and Culture;Delhi, 2007, B.R. Rhythms. p .182.

(2)Ibid., p .182.

(3)Balme Christopher - The Cambridge Introduction to the Theatre Studies; New York,2008,Cambridge University Press. p .17.

(4) Bhatia Nandi -Performing Women: Performing Womanhood;Theatre,Politics And Dissent in North India; New Delhi, 2010,Oxford University Press.p.1.

(5)Ibid.,p.6.

(6)Mulk Raj Anand -Marg : A Magazine of the Arts; Mumbai, Vol 62no.4, June 2011, The Marge Foundation.pp.28, 29.

Chatterjee Sudipto - Colonial Stage; Calcutta, 2007, Seagull Books.p.180.

- (7)Ibid.,p.178.  
 Bhatia Nandi.,op.cit.,p.8.  
 (8)Ibid.,p.8.  
 (9)Ibid.,p.8.  
 (10)Ibid.,p.9.  
 (11)Chatterjee Minoti -Theatre Beyond the Threshold : Colonialism, Nationalism and the Bengali Stage (1905 – 1947); New Delhi, 2004, Indialog Publications Pvt. Ltd.p.25  
 (12)Chanda Anuradha, Mahua Sarkar, Kunal Chatopadhyaya(ed) - Women in History; Kolkata, 2003, Progressive Publishers.pp. 149, 150.  
 Sen S.P(ed) -The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies; Kolkata, Vol XL vino. 3&4. Oct 2006. March 2007, Institute of Historical Studies.P.110.  
 (13)Ibid.,p 110.  
 Chanda Anuradha.,op. cit.,p.150.  
 (14)Sen S.P.,op. cit.,p.110.  
 Metcalf T.R - Ideologies of the Raj; New Delhi, 1998, Cambridge University Press.pp.66, 72, 93, 94.  
 Chowdhury Indira - The Frail Hero and Virile History : Gender and the Politics of Culture in Colonial Bengal; New Delhi, 1998, Oxford University Press.p.42.  
 (15)Chanda Anuradha.,op.cit.,pp.154, 157, 160, 164.  
 Sen S.P.,op.cit.,p.108.  
 (16)Mulk Raj Anand.,op. cit.,p.15.  
 Chowdhury Indira.,op.cit.,p.66.  
 (17)Ibid.,p 66.  
 Metcalf T.R.,op.cit.,p.93.  
 Dasgupta H.N - The Indian Stage Vol ii ; Delhi, 1988, Gian Publishing House.p.228.  
 (18)Chanda Anuradha.,op.cit.,pp.130, 134, 135.  
 (19)Ibid.,p.135, 137.  
 (20)Sampath Vikram - My Name is Gauhar Jaan : The Life and Times of a Musician; New Delhi, 2010, Rupa & Co.p.185.  
 Metcalf T.R.,op.cit.,p.86.  
 (21)Sampath Vikram.,op.ct.,p.185.  
 Chowdhury Indira.,op.cit.,p.66  
 (22)Sampath Vikram.,op.cit.,p.185.  
 Sen S.P.,op.cit.,p.112.  
 Dutta Bishnupriya, Urmimala Sarkar Munshi - Engendering Performance: Indian Women Performers in Search of an Identity; New Delhi, 2010, Sage Publications.p.10  
 (23)Ibid.,pp.11,12.  
 Sampath Vikram.,op.cit.,p.185.  
 Sen S.P.,op.cit.,p.112.  
 (24)Sampath Vikram.,op.cit.,p.185.  
 Mulk Raj Anand.,op.cit.,p.15.  
 Dutta Bishnupriya.,op.cit.,p.42.  
 (25)Ibid.,pp.42, 50.  
 Sampath Vikram.,op.cit.,PP.185, 186.  
 Mulk Raj Anand.,op.cit.,p.15.  
 (26)Dutta Bishnupriya.,op.cit.,pp.50, 56.  
 Chatterjee Minoti.,op.cit.,p.27.  
 Bhattacharya Rimli(ed) - Binodini Dasi:My Story and My Life as an Actress; Delhi, 1998, Kali for Women.p.66.  
 (27)Sampath Vikram.,op.cit.,p.186, 187.  
 Chanda Anuradha.,op.cit.,pp.154, 160.  
 Sen S.P.,op.cit.,p.108.  
 (28)Bhatia Nandi.,op.cit.,pp.xi, v, vi.  
 (29)Ibid.,p.xv.  
 Dutta Bishnupriya.,op.cit.,p.51.  
 Chatterjee Sudipto.,op.cit.,pp.187, 188.  
 (30)Bhatia Nandi.,op.cit.,p.xv  
 Dutta Bishnupriya.,op.cit.,pp.51, 52.  
 (31)Mulk Raj Anand.,op.cit.,p.15.  
 Chatterjee Sudipto.,op.cit.,pp.206.  
 Chatterjee Minoti.,op.cit.,p.25.  
 (32)Chatterjee Minoti.,op.cit.,p.26, 27.

- Chatterjee Sudipto.,op.cit.,pp.181.  
 Bhattacharya Rimli.,op.cit.,p.28.  
 (33)Ibid.,p.28.  
 Chatterjee Minoti.,op.cit,pp.26, 77.  
 (34)Ibid.,p.79.  
 Bhattacharya Rimli.,op.cit.,P.15.  
 Bhatia Nandi.,op.cit.,p.xxiv.  
 (35)Mulk Raj Anand.,op.cit.,p.16.  
 (36)Bhattacharya Rimli.,op.cit.,p.16.  
 Chatterjee Minoti.,op.cit.,p.27.  
 Dutta Bishnupriya.,op.cit.,pp.56.  
 (37)Chatterjee Sudipto.,op.cit.,pp.176, 177.  
 (38)Ibid.,p.178.  
 (39)Bhattacharya Rimli.,op.cit.,p.15.  
 Chatterjee Minoti.,op.cit.,p.79.  
 Dutta Bishnupriya.,op.cit.,p.62.  
 (40)Ibid.,p.73.  
 Bhattacharya Rimli.,op.cit.,p.15.  
 Chatterjee Minoti.,op.cit.,p.79.  
 (41)Dutta Bishnupriya.,op.cit.,pp.62, 63, 64.  
 (42)Mulk Raj Anand.,op.cit.,p.18.  
 (43)Ibid.,p.18.  
 (44)Ibid.,p.18.  
 Chatterjee Sudipto.,op.cit.,pp.199, 208.  
 (45)Dutta Bishnupriya.,op.cit.,pp.51.  
 Bhatia Nandi.,op.cit.,p.xii,xiii.  
 (46)Ibid.,p.xiii.  
 Dutta Bishnupriya.,op.cit.,p.51.  
 (47)Bhatia Nandi.,op.cit.,pp.xiii,xiv.  
 (48)Ibid.,p.xiv.  
 (49)Dutta Bishnupriya.,op.cit.,p.52.

#### References

- i. Balme Christopher, (2008). The Cambridge Introduction to the Theatre Studies. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- ii. Bhatia Nandi , (2010). Performing Women: Performing Womanhood ; Theatre, Politics And Dissent in North India. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- iii. Bhattacharya Rimli (ed) (1998). Binodini Dasi:My Story and My Life as an Actress. Delhi: Kali for Women.
- iv. Chanda Anuradha, Mahua Sarkar, Kunal Chatopadhyaya (ed) (2003). Women in History. Kolkata: Progressive Publishers.
- v. Chatterjee Minoti,(2004). Theatre Beyond the Threshold : Colonialism, Nationalism and the Bengali Stage (1905 – 1947).New Delhi: Indialog Publications Pvt. Ltd.
- vi. Chatterjee Sudipto ,(2007). Colonial Stage. Calcutta: Seagull Books.
- vii. Chowdhury Indira ,(1998). The Frail Hero and Virile History : Gender and the Politics of Culture in Colonial Bengal . New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- viii. Dasgupta H.N ,(1988). The Indian Stage Vol ii . Delhi: Gian Publishing House.
- ix. Dhananjayan .V.P , (2007). Beyond Performing Art and Culture . Delhi: B.R. Rhythms .
- x. Dutta Bishnupriya & Urmimala Sarkar Munshi ,(2010). Engendering Performance : Indian Women Performers in Search of an Identity. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- xi. Metcalf T.R ,(1998). Ideologies of the Raj . New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
- xii. Sampath Vikram ,(2010). My Name is Gauhar Jaan : The Life and Times of a Musician.New Delhi: Rupa & Co.
- xiii. Journals and Magazines :
- xiv. Mulk Raj Anand , (June 2011). Marg : A Magazine of the Arts,Vol 62no.4. Mumbai: The Marge Foundation.
- xv. Sen S.P (ed) ,(Oct 2006. March 2007). The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies,Vol XL vino. 3&4. Kolkata: Institute of Historical Studies.