

CHAPTER - VII

Public Works and Social Welfare activities of the zamindars of other Estates of Western Assam

(A) Karaibari Estate

7.1. Brief History of Karaibari Estate

Karaibari was one of the Permanently Settled estates of Western Assam. The territories of Karaibari estate are presently, shared by the West Garo Hills district of Meghalaya and Dhubri district of Assam. The estate covered an area of 51 square mile.¹As stated earlier, Karaibari pargana was under Bijni kingdom within the jurisdiction of the *Dhakhinkul sarkar*, as constituted by the Mughal Korari. It was bordering with Garo Hills for which the Garos raided this plain frequently. This led the Mughal Emperor to entrust its administration to its hereditary chiefs conferring title of Choudhury. Thus, Karaibari estate was carved out of Bijni estate as frontier zamindary in the middle of 18th century.

Karaibari estate has its long history of its own. It had been an independent kingdom, known as Kashba kingdom with Kashyapnagar its capital. As mentioned earlier, Dharma Narayan, the king of Kamata annexed Kapili valley to his kingdom by killing its king Suvahu, the last king of Barahi Pal dynasty. His son Padmanabha, after fall of his father, fled to west and wrested the Kalo-Jhingiram valley at the foothill of Garohills from the reigning Garo Chief in the middle of fourteenth century. He married a Dimacha Bodo princess and consolidated his position there. His son Kashyap established an independent kingdom there with its capital in Kashyapnagar, later came to be known as Kashba,

situated near present Garobadha. The name Karaibari came out from Kashba in due course of time.²

During Mughal rule, Kariabari acquired chieftainship from the Mughal Emperor and the chief was called Choudhury. It was separated from Bijni kingdom with a view to resist the Garo insurgency that raided the plain occasionally. The Choudhury of Karaibari was exempted from paying land revenue but had to pay for the Sayer, they levied on the Garo mountaineers in the form of certain elephants to the Mughal Thanadar at Rangamati.³ In the initial stages of the British rule the zamindar of Karaibari used to pay cotton to the British as revenue. The payment of revenue in kind was replaced by money in 1791.⁴ In 1791, the estate brought under the Decennial Settlement which was converted to Permanent Settlement like other zamindari of Bengal and the Jama was fixed at C.Rs.3062-7anna-5 paisa.⁵

7.2. Genealogy of Karaibari Estate

Padmanabha, who is said to be the founder of the Karaibari estate in 1350 was succeeded by his son Kashyap.⁵ He was the real organizer of the Kashoba kingdom, later came to be known as the Karaibari estate, who founded his capital in Kashyapnagar.⁶ No information is available of his works and about of his successor. The history of Kashba is obscure from 1400 to 1495 A.D. When Alauddin Hussein Shah invaded Kamata kingdom in 1498 one Malkumar was mentioned as the Bhuyan of the Karaibari in some of the chronicles. Hussein Shah founded Muslim colony conquering Kamata and his son Danial was left as the Governor of the occupied land before his return to Gauda. Soon after the departure of Hussein Shah, the Bhuyans combined themselves together under Malkumar and uprooted the rule of the Muslim killing Dannial and his garission.⁷ The whole territory of Kamata came under the Bhuyans' which

were divided among them into small principalities, due to lack of central power. Thus Malkumar became independent ruler of Karaibari. Malkumar ruled till 1520 and was succeeded by Nagakha who ruled the territory till 1539. Nagakha was followed by his son Durlabendra, who ruled for one year and was killed by Viswa Singha. Karaibari came under Koch kingdom during the rule of Viswa Singha but this was accepted by Charu Chand, the son and successor of Durlabendra who revolted against Koch King Nara Narayan but he was defeated and killed by the Koches in 1555.

The history of Karaibari dated from 1555 to 1740 is obscure. Ram Govinda and Madusudan are said to be the ruler of Karaibari under the Koches. Due to paucity of the source materials nothing can be said firmly about the ruler of Karaibari or their relation with the powerful Koch kings. However, the Persian chronicles furnishes some information about Karaibari in connection with the war between the Mughal power of Bengal and the Koch Hajo kingdom. The Mughal invaded Koch Hajo kingdom of Parikshit Narayan and annexed it to the Mughal Empire, and thus, Karaibari came under the Mughal administration. It was made a pargana and recognized as the frontier dependency of Bengal and its defacto ruler was allowed to govern it as a border chieftain, called Choudhury. The Choudhury of Karaibari and Mechpara, as stated earlier, were entrusted with the responsibility to resist the Garo insurrection and raiding to the plain of the border areas of the Garo Hills. When British East India Company ascended to the Dewani of Bengal, Surya Narayan was the zamindar of Karaibari estate. Surya Narayan died in 1776 and was succeeded by his son Dharma Narayan, who ruled for two years only. The last ruler was Mahendra Narayan Choudhury, who was most powerful, vigorous and patriot one. Mahendra Narayan carried out

expedition against the Garos and forced them to acknowledge his suzerainty and agreed to pay tribute. The Garos, who had frequently raided plain and harassed the peasants dwelling in the slope of Garo Hills, To resist the further incursion of the Garos, Mahendra Narayan Choudhury built up several forts all along the passes of the Hills, viz, Fulbari, Belbari, Singimari, Bagargoan, Garobada etc. and maintained a regular band of Barkandazes at each fort. He claim control over the extensive territory of the Garo Hills.⁸

During the tenure of Mahendra Narayan Choudhury Karaibari estate brought under the provision of the Permanent Settlement but he evaded payment of revenue to the British East India Company Government. In 1798 the Government had to send troops to realize arrears of revenue. He challenged the British authority and involved in conflict with them sheltering in dense forest. Mahendra Narayan fought for long time with the British. He was declared as a refractory zamindar and in 1809 his estate Karaibari was sold out by the Board of Revenue to Ramanath Lahiri of Rangpur for arrear payment at Rs. C-23,500. Lahiri found it very difficult to take over the possession of the estate. Mahendra Narayan threw himself into the jungle. Unfortunately, a sudden uprising of the Garos in 1815 caused the whole family of Mahendra Narayan slained and Mahendra Narayan was arrested by the British. His territory was attached and managed by the Government officials for some years because of the auction purchaser could not cope with the affairs of the estate.⁹

Karabari estate was partitioned because Ramanath Lahiri, the auction purchaser of the estate, sold $\frac{1}{4}$ of its share to Radakanta Lahiri in 1810, which was called the $\frac{1}{4}$ *anna* proprietor of the estate of Karaibari. The portion under Ramanath Lahiri was called $\frac{1}{12}$ *anna* estate.

Litigation was commenced on the question of partition of the zamindary which ended with partition of the estate in two blocks. The partitioned was confirmed by the Board of Revenue on 25th April, 1884 with creation of separate *Touzie* for both the parties. *Touzi* no 16 was prepared for the 4 *anna* share and *Touziem* no 12 for 12 *anna* sharers under the Goalpara collectorate.¹⁰ At that time Balda Sundari Devi and Gunamari Devi were the proprietor of /4/ *anna* zamindary and Nilkamap Lahiri and others were proprietors of the /12/ *anna* zamindary. The formation of Garo Hills district in 1869 caused the loss of territory by the zamindar of Karabari. A large volume land of the /4/ *anna* zamindary and small portion of /12/ *anna* zamindary was taken away from the zamindar to form the Garo Hills district.¹¹

The zamindars of Karaibari (both /4/ *anna* and /12/ *anna* share) were absentee zamindars. They used to run the administration of the estates from their residence from Rangpur and Naldanga through their representatives. The zamindar of /12/ *anna* share resided at Rangpur while the zamindar of /4/ *anna* share resided in Naldanga, presently in Bangladesh. Ramanath Lahiri and his successors, Radhakrishna Lahiri, Bhabani Prasanna Lahiri, Krishna Prasanna Lahiri, and Gauri Pasanna Lahiri hereditarily enjoyed the zamindary of Karaibari.^{11a}

In 1937 /4/ *anna* estate came under the rule of the Bengal Court of Wards which was better called /4/anna Lahiri Wards estate. The Lahiri estate contained two shares, one was under the Court of Wards and other was managed by the proprietor himself. At the time of the abolition of the zamindary system the share holders of both the estates were increased. Following were the share holders of the Karaibari estate:

(a)./12/ *anna* estate

1. Babu Bhabani Prasanna Lahiri.

2. Krishna Prasanna Lahiri.
3. Sarojini Devi, widow of last zamindar Jatindra Mohan Lahiri.
4. Shitesh Chandra Maitra.
5. Bindu Basini Devi.
6. Naraesh Chandra Maitra.
7. Khitish Chandra Maitra.
8. Monoranjan Maitra.
9. Babu Munindra Lahiri, son of zamindar Jatindra Lahir.

(b): /4/ *anna estate*;

1. Naraesh Chandra Lahiri of Naldanga.
2. Kiro Chandra Devi.
3. Nipundra Chandra Lahiri and Nripendra Chandra Lahiri.
4. Sailesh Chandra Lahiri.
5. Dinesh Chandra Lahiri and Bhabesh Chandra Lahiri.
6. Nikhilendra Chandra Lahiri and Suchil Chandra Lahiri.
7. Namita Prabha Devi, wife of Nripendra Chandra Lahiri.

7.3. Benevolent works of the zamindars of Karibari Estate

So far benevolent works of the Karaibari estate is concerned, the estate can be ranked last in the list of the benevolent works of the zamindari of Western Assam. This is because of the reason that the hereditary ruler of Karaibari was ousted from power by the British in early Nineteenth Century and the estate was sold out on auction to Ramanath Lahiri of Rangpur. It is to be mentioned here that the benevolent works done by the native rulers and the land lords throughout the country were started in the second half of the 19th century. But hereditary rulers of Karaibari, who enjoyed power as a tributary chief under various paramount powers, did not find much opportunity to initiate the social welfare activities for their subjects due to their constant

struggle for survival. When the zamindars of other estates of Western Assam endeavoured in benevolent works in their respective estate, the hereditary zamindar, Mohendra Narayan was ousted from power and his estate was sold to Lahiri family who were absentee zamindars. The purchaser of Karaibari estate was outsider who had no direct relation with people of the estate and considered the estate as their colony. Naturally, they ignored the welfare of the people, unlike the other zamindars of Western Assam. Moreover, Ramanath Lahiri and his successors of his successors never could cope with the situation of the estate and preferred to keep away from the estate and resided in Rangpur from where they ran the estate administration. As a result, the zamindar's representatives was more inclined to his personal profit and collected more rent by means of oppressive and coercive methods rather works for the public benevolent. The little works of public benevolent which were done by the Lahiri family are in Naldanga of Bangladesh.¹³ That is why Karaibari estate did nothing significant benevolent works for the tenants and stand far behind of the other estate of western Assam in this regard.

However, some of the petty rulers of Koshba kingdom or Karaibari estate, preceding to the handed of the zamindary to Lahiri family, did little public welfare works, of which special mention can be made of Raja Mahendra Narayan, who endeavoured for the benevolent works for his subjects in the midst of his struggle with the British and the mountaineers.

(I) Raja Mahendra Narayan's benevolent works

Construction of Roads: According to the local sources, Raja Mahendra Narayan erected several roads for the development of the communication in his kingdom. Though the motive behind the construction of the roads was the convenient passes of his army and development of the trade with

the Hill tribes, it resulted in removal of difficulties of the ryots in their communication system. The important roads he constructed were Jungal to Tikrikilla and Jungal to Garobada. Present Jungal is said to be the place, called Kashyapnagar, the capital of Mahendra Narayan. So, capital was connected with the each Kutchery, hat, fort and strategically important places. A road extended from Mahendraganj to Purakashi, which is known as Raja Rama is said to be constructed by Mahendra Narayan. In Garo language the meaning of "Raja Rama" is "road of the king" which indicates its relation with the Raja or the king.¹⁴ He repaired the existing roads in his estate for convenience of the communication. Another important road, which is believed to be constructed by him is the road extended from Fotamari Kutcharighat near Chirakhowa under Mankachar Revenue Circle to Kumarighat via Chumrasali Kudalduwa. He connected capital Kashyapnagar (Jungal) with Jungal Chariali, and Kalapani. The most important road he constructed, was extended from Capital Kashyapnagar to Tura via Mahendraganj, which has been serving till date for better communication among the people of the region.¹⁵ It is to be mentioned that Raja Mohendra Narayan founded numerous forts in the border of Garo Hills, viz, Phulbari, Belbari,, Garobada, Bagargaon etc, and stationed a band of Barkandaz in each fort to keep vigilance there on the Garo incursion. Naturally, roads from capital to the forts had been opened and maintained by him, those have been developed at present time to be modern road communication system among these places.

Mahendra Narayan Choudhury is said to have planted trees on both sides of the road. This was done to shadow the travelers against the sun heat. References are found of the plantation of Simul trees (one kind of cotton trees) by the side of the roads to enhance production of cotton, the article to be paid to the Mughal as revenue.¹⁶

Excavation of Tanks: According to the local sources, Raja Mahendra Narayan erected many tanks throughout his kingdom for water supply to his subjects. Some of these tanks have already been eliminated and we seem still some remains of such tanks in this region. A few tanks are found intact as a witness of his glorious intention of public services. Among the important tanks he excavated are,

1. Nagapara tank near Garobada.
2. *Peerer Dighee*, (tank belongs to Peer), which is covering a plot of land of 80 bighas. This tank is said to be excavated by Raja Mahendra Narayan in the name of the Dargah of Hajrat Shah Kamal, a Muslim *Peer*, who came with Ramsing in his Assam campaign. It is said, in some Assamese history and Persian chronicles, Ramsing brought with him five Muslim saints to protect him from the *Jadu* (magic) of the Assamese people, who were identified as Panch Peer. Except Shah Kamal, other members of the Panch Peer founded dargah at Dhubri where they all died and engrave there, but Shah Kamal founded a dargah in a place two kilometres north west of present town of Mohendraganj in Garo Hills district of Meghalaya where he engaged to preach Islam. Shah Kamal died and buried in this place. Raja Mahendra Narayan donated 1600 bighas land to this dargah for its maintenance and a tank was excavated called '*Peerer Dighee*'.
3. *Jaluar Digheei* in Teparpara.
4. Duajani tank.
5. Pushkurniparar *Dighee*.

Besides, some remains of tanks are found in different places in the Karaibari region.¹⁷

Foundation of Hat: Raja Mahendra Narayan established many *hats* (weekly market) in the important border passes of the Garo Hills. The Mountaineers came down to the *hats* with their articles which were exchanged with the commercial representatives of the Zamindar and the people of the plain. It is to be mentioned here, that the tribute payable to the Mughal Government by the zamindars was assessed not on land but on certain transit and market dues, bulk of which was realized on the trade carried on with the Garoes at the hat established by the zamindar in the frontier passes, viz, Damura, Jira, Nibari, Lakhipur, Tikrikilla were founded by the zamindar of Mechpara, and in Rajabala, Bangalkhata, Singimari, Mankachar, Garobada, Putimari were founded by the zamindar of Karaibari. In these markets the Garo bartered cotton, chilies, wax, lac, rubber and timber with the merchants engaged by the zamindars in the trade with Garos, in return for which they received cows, pigs, goats, fowls, salt, earthenware pots, swords, spearheads and cloths.¹⁸ Raja Mohendra Narayan invaded Garo Hills with a view to subdue the Garos who used to plunder the plain occasionally. Even his predecessor suppressed the Garos in 1775-76. Ultimately, he made the Garo chiefs to pay tribute to him acknowledging the suzerainty of Karaibari. One of the heroes and prominent Garo chief, Ranghta was defeated and placed under his control. Ranghta was thrown into confinement by Mahendra Narayan when he refused to stop trading with Sherpur and Sooshung estate.¹⁹ Mahendra Narayan forbade the Garos from maintaining commercial relation with Sherpur and Sooshung. The Garos used to supply cotton to the market of these estates since long before. Ranghata opposed it for which he was arrested but later on released in the intervention of the British officer. The zamindar of Sherpur and Sooshung complained with the British against Mahendra Narayan.

With a view to draw attention of the Garo traders, Mahendra Narayan provided some facilities to the Garo merchants who came down to the market for selling their products. The zamindar collected *Sayer* from the Garos. According to local sources, the Garos came down from the Hills day before the date scheduled for marketing and the zamindar made arrangement of their staying in the night. After exchanging their articles; the Garos returned back to the Hills. It is said that the present town of Garobada derives its name from such halting place of the Garo traders. The word Garobada is the consonant of the word 'Garo' and 'Bada', means assembling of the Garos. It is that the Garos halted in that place for marketing and the place came to be known as Garobada.²⁰

7.4. Contribution to Religious field

Nothing can be said firmly about the religious activities of the zamindars of Karaibari due to lack of authentic sources. Little informations, those have been gathered are basically oral information and centred round on the activities of Raja Mahendra Narayan. According to local sources, despite of his constant fighting with the Garos and the British, Mahendra Narayan Choudhury is said to have build some temples, repaired old shrines and made land grant to religious institutions, like temples, Than and Dargah.

According to some senior citizen of the locality, referring the traditional belief, the Chamrasali temple of Bagapara, about 20 K.M. north of Mankachar was built by Raja Mahendra Narayan Choudhury. Devi Chamunda, a Diety of the Sakti was believed to be the Kuldevi of Karaibari Rajfamily. Mahendra Narayan built the temple of the Devi and made all arrangement of its regular puja by appointing *Purahit* and paid him by the Royal treasury. *Debtoar land* was donated for its maintenance.

He built a temple in Cacharighat for the Garo subjects. *Religious Pith* was also founded there with the help of the zamindar. He also granted land to the Mahamaya temple in Singimari and Harigaon Mahamaya Mandir near Garobada. He is said to have founded Chenga Benga temple in Putimari. According to the legend, Chenga and Benga, the two brothers, was the wrestler of Mahendra Narayan. They were very popular among the people but their immatured death shocked them in such an extent that every year the people of Karaibari gathered together to remember them. Subsequently temple was built with a view to offering puja to them. Mahendra Narayan is said to have extended financial help to the Farangapara Mahamaya temple, a *jagrta mandir*, and Hatisila mandir of Ampati.²¹

Another important contribution was his land grant to Shah Kamal Dargah of Mahendraganj. He donated 1600 bighas land for its maintenance. A tank covering 80 bighas land was excavated by him, is still visibly existed. As mentioned earlier Hajrat Shah Kamal a Muslim spiritual Saint who along with other saints, known as Panch peer, accompanied Ramsing, the general of Mughal Emperor Aurongzeb who invaded Assam in 1667. Shah Kamal did not return and founded a dargah near Mahendraganj, presently within the district limit of West Garo Hills of Meghalaya, to spread Islam.²² Among the few social works carried out by Lahiri family, one of which was the rebuilding of Kamakhay temple in Mankachar by Krishnakanta Lahiri.

7.5. Other contribution

Mahendraganj, a small town under Garo-Hills district of Mghalaya, bordering Bangladesh, is said to have founded by Raja Mahendra Narayan and it derived its name from Raja Mahendra Narayan who was a very popular king of Koshba kingdom alias Karaibari estate.

A high School was established in Mankachar in 1937 to which Sarojini Devi, the wife of zamindar Jatindra Mohan Choudhury donated Rs. 2000/ and some building materials to the construction of the school building. As a result the High School came to be known as Jatindra Mohan High school. This was the only contribution to the educational field of the Lahiri family of 12 *anna* share of Karaibari estate.²³ According to the official documents, found in Assam Secretariat room The Karaibari zamindar excavated a canal in 1935 extended from the foot of the Garo Hills right down to Jinjiram river, about 3.5 K.M. length for the drainage of overflow rainwater during the monsoon. They also erected protective embankment at their own cost supplemented by the labour of the local people. This had checked the annual flood and the crops were saved. In addition to this, the zamindar made a free gift in the same year to their tenants in Karibari, seeds of various kinds of winter crops worth of Rs.1000/.²⁴

(B) Chapar Estate

7.6. Brief history of Chapar Estate

Like other estates of Western Assam, Chapar estate was also carved out of Bijni kingdom. It was during the rule of Raja Mukunda Narayan, Chapar pargana was taken away from Bijni kingdom by one Joy Narayan who obtained Sanad from the Mughal Emperor.²⁵ Earlier, Joy Narayan had been in possession of five "*chowdhuries*" (a small unit of territory for collection of land revenue) and secured the rank of Choudhury from the Mughal Emperor. Thus, Joy Narayan is said to be the founder of Chapar zamin in 1723. The status of Chapar zamindar was purely a revenue collecting Choudhry. Unlike, other zamindar of Western Assam, Chapar zamindar was not a hereditary chief of the estate. He had to pay a nominal tribute to Mughal Faujdar at Rangamati. The Mughal Emperor

made the settlement with Joy Narayan with a view to extend agricultural domain to increase land revenue. The estate was comprised of the territory mostly of the north bank of Brahmaputra River, extending from the mouth of the river Manas to Pabomari Jan, and from Bagmara darga at the foot of Rangamat Hills to Sotakhawamukh. It had two Chit Mahal, viz, Bamundanga and Paikandara. It had purchased 3417 bighas, 9 kattas and 11 dhar *Debattor* land. The char areas of the north bank of Brahmaputra formed a big part of the Chapar estate. After acquisition of the Dewani by the East India Company, considering Chapar estate to be one of the old zamindaries by the East India Company accepted the tribute paid to the Mughal as land revenue.²⁵ The Company Government made permanent settlement with the zamindar of Chapar and Jama was fixed at Rs. C-566/²⁶

According to Mills Report in 1853, Chapar estate had 197 square mile land with in its possession.²⁷ The zamindary was survived till 1956 when it was acquired by Assam Government along with other zamindaries of Assam under zamindary abolition Act 1951.

7.7: Genealogy of Chapar Estate

Joy Narayan Sarma, the founder of the Chapar estate ran the zamindary for two years only who died in 1725 with out leaving any son. As a result his grand son from the line of his daughter, Ratikanta assumed the power. Ratikanta was succeeded by his son Umakanta. Umakanta died with out leaving any heir to succeed him. He was, thus, succeeded by his brother Kamalakanta in 1162 B.S. He died with out leaving any issue for which Chandra Narayan, the son of his sister ascended to the Gaddi in 1173, B.S.²⁸ Chandrakanta died with out leaving any heir. As a result, his wife Rahini Devi adopted Kriti Narayan in 1847 and governed the estate as the guardian of the minor son. Unfortunately, she died in

1851 and the estate placed under the administration of the Court of Wards till 1859. During this period Dharani Kanta Bagsi worked as the Dewan or the Chief Officer of the estate, who played an important role in the history of the estate of Chapar.²⁹ Although, the adoption of Kirti Narayan was challenged by one Rabiram and his associates, the matter was settled by Col. Jenkins who in his judgment upheld the cause of Kirti Narayan on 23rd May, 1852.³⁰

Kirti Narayan assumed the responsibility of the estate from the Court of Wards in 1859 attaining majority. He shifted the capital of the estate from Chapar to Bilasipara. He was an ablest zamindar of the Chapar zamindari family. Unfortunately, he died in 1882 with out leaving any heir. Before his death he advised his eldest wife, Matangi Devi to adopt a son. Accordingly, Rani Matangi Devi adopted Indra Narayan in 1888 and ran the zamindari on behalf of minor Indra Narayan till 1902 when Indra Narayan assumed the charge attaining majority. Indra Narayan died in 1906 leaving his only son Nripendra Narayan who was one year old. Before his death Indra Narayan issued a Will by which he devised that the estate would be managed by an Executors and each of the family members would receive a monthly pension for maintenance. Thus the estate was managed by the Executor till 1923 when the responsibility of the estate was assumed by Nripendra Narayan in that year attaining his majority. Nripendra Narayan married Bedbala Devi, the eldest daughter of the second Maharaja of Hitampur, Rajkumar Maima Narayan Chakraborty in the district of Birbhum. Unfortunately, Nripendra Narayan was childless, for which he advised his wife to adopt as many as nine sons. Nripendra Narayan gradually loosing his interest on the estate affairs and his wife Rani Bedabala took the advantages of his indifferences. In 1931 Nripendra Narayan submitted an application to

Honble, A.J Laine, member of the Executive Council in-charge of the Revenue Department, Shillong, urging him that he might be declared as a disqualified proprietor under the existing law for the purpose of the management of the estate and his estate might be brought under the management of the Court of Wards.³¹ Upon the prayer of zamindar Nripendra Narayan Choudhury, the Court of Wards decided to take over the charge of the estate under Sec. 7 and 35 of the Act IX of 1879, the Deputy Commissioner of Goalpara acting on behalf of the Court of Wards formally assumed the charge of the estate declaring Nripendra Narayan as a disqualified proprietor.³² After few years, Nripendra Narayan again submitted another application in 1934 praying the release of his properties and hand over of the management to him. Accordingly on 24th April, 1934, the estate was again released and zamindar Nripendra Narayan Choudhury resumed the administration of the estate.³³ He could not enjoy the zamindary long time because of his indifference on the zamindary administration. Ultimately, he handed over the charge of the estate to his wife in 1943 as the Executor of the Trust, constituted for the management of the estate. Under the management of the Trust the zamindary was acquired by the state government of Assam in 1956 along with other zamindari of the state.

7.8. Benevolent works of Chapar zamindars

We have noticed little information about the benevolent works initiated by the zamindars of Chapar estate for the welfare of their tenants. As far the sources are concerned, no zamindars of Chapar estate were involved in any significant public works except the last zamindar, Nripendra Narayan Choudhury. It is to be mentioned here, that the public welfare activities done by most of the native rulers and the zamindars of Bengal as well of western Assam were persistence from the last quarter of

the 19th century, but the period was not in favour for welfare works in case of Chapar zamindary due to absent of direct heir of the estate causing its management under the Court of Wards and the Executors. As a result, no development works was scheduled to be done during this period. However, Nripendra Narayan Choudhury who was an enlighten zamindar, carried out some benevolent works for the welfare of his subjects.³⁴

Public works of zamindar Nripendra Narayan: Zamindar Nripendra Narayan dedicated himself much in study and search of knowledge and wisdom. Though, initially he followed the traditional system of zamindary administration and led a life of luxury and grandeur like other zamindars, gradually lost interest on the glamour of such life and induced himself for the wellbeing of his tenants. Unlike the zamindars of other estate he used to live in his estate among his tenants instead of living in Calcutta. Indeed, he was influenced by the teaching of Swami Vivekananda and tried to follow his path, which converted him to an ordinary people from zamindar Nripendra Narayan Choudhury.³⁵

He was a great donor who tried his best to help his tenants in their utmost need. He was loved by his prajas for his generosity and charity. No body was deprived from his help and sympathy. He exempted land revenue for poor tenants in case of the damage of crops caused by natural calamities. He never evicted his tenants from the possession of land due to default in payment of land revenues. Unlike other zamindars, he never levied additional revenue on the tenants for the cost of pilgrimage and his foreign tour.

According to local sources, Nripendra Narayan planted trees on both sides of the road from Bilasipara to Fakrigrām. With a view to supply drinking water to the people, he excavated tanks, erected water

reservoirs, and deep well in various place within his estate. The remains of such deep well are visible in Bilasipara and Kadamtala under Bilasipara subdivision. He arranged street light in front of the Sadar Kutchery at Bilasipara with the help of kerosin lantern posting high on some wooden post by the side of the road.

Zamindar Nripendra Narayan provided shelter to many people in his Rajbari for about a week due to the continuous earthquake in 1934.³⁶ He endeavour to initiate anti erosion measure to check the erosion of river Gauranga, creating hurdle with bamboos, trees, stone etc, with the estate fund.

Another significant work of great value was the opening of a hospital in Bilasipara under estate management called Susma Clinical Hospital. The doctors and nurses were paid by the zamindar. Now it is State Dispensary in Bilasipara.

Patron of Learning: Nripendra Narayan Choudhury was a patron of learning who visited numerous foreign countries, viz., England, France, Belgium, and U.S.A. for the search of knowledge. During his tenure of office the M.E school of Bilasipara founded by Indra Narayan was promoted High School in 1928 which came to be known as Indra Narayan Academy. The only higher educational institution he founded to spread higher education among the children of this backward region. All expenditure of the school including the salaries of the teaching and non teaching staff of the school was borne by the estate till 1956. According to the records found in the zamindar's office, Rs 23 to Rs.150 was paid to the staff as their salary in 1950.³⁷

He provided financial assistance to the poor and the meritorious students for higher education. One Durlabh Das, a meritorious student who passed Matriculation Examination in 1939 from Indra Narayan High

School with First division was awarded and provide accommodation in Bilasipara house, the residence of zamindar of Chapar, in Calcutta for his higher study. All expenditure of Durga Das was borne by the estate exchequer. Hon'ble. Sarat Chandra Singha, ex-chief minister of Assam, who was a student of Indra Narayan High School, was sanctioned financial assistance by zamindar Nripendra Narayan Choudhury.

Apart from foundation of school building for Indra Narayan Academy, Zamindar Nripendra Narayan allotted 11 Nos. of building of the estate for the use of the teachers and the students. Of these buildings one Muslim hostel and one Hindu hostel was opened for the students of the Indra Narayan Academy. He granted land for play ground, new hostels for the students, teachers quarter etc. The outsider teachers were provided quarters by the zamindar. The students were provided free education. Of course, he received extra revenue from the ryots for education.

Sankar Dev Sisunikatan: He founded another institution called Sankar Dev Sisunikatan in Bilasipara for the spread of primary education in Assamese.

Bilasipara College: After abolition of zamindari system in Assam, the zamindar families underwent financial hardship. But the zeal of public welfare of Nripendra Narayan was not submerged by the poor economy of the family. He made a huge contribution to the proposed Bilasipara College. It was due to him the foundation of a college in Bilasipara in 1962 became possible. He granted land and building of Rajbari to the college. The Darbar Hall of the Rajbari "Kirti Bhawan" was allotted Bilasipara College which has been college office till date. Initially the College was named as Nripendra Narayan College; unfortunately, it is converted to Bilasipara College.³⁸

Foundation of Library: Nripendra Narayan Choudhury opened a Library in Rajbari with the collection of numerous precious books. The books were mostly of English and Bengali. He was a studious zamindar who spent most of the time in reading ignoring zamindary luxury and comfort. He collected books from Calcutta and abroad. Another library was founded in Indra Narayan Academy with huge collection of books. Library of Indra Narayan Academy was one of the prominent libraries of the contemporary Assam. Unfortunately, it was set on fire in 1947, burning all the valuable books.³⁹

Donation: Apart from the foundation of schools and college in Bilasipara he donated too many institutions for his zeal to spread education. Following are some of the examples of his donation:

1. Nripendra Narayan donated Rs. 10,000/- to Dhubri Girls High School.
2. Donated Rs. 5000/- to Viswa Bharati University of Santinikatan.
3. Rs. 5000/- was donated to Defence fund of India in 1962 during Indo- China war.
4. Rs. 5000/- was donated to Cancer Institution of Calcutta.
5. He donated Rs. 40,000/- to Bisudananda Kanan Ashram in Benaras, founded by his Guru, Yugirajadhiraj Bisudananda.

He was always thinking for the wellbeing of the subjects. He is said to have exempted revenues of the poor tenants whenever prayed so and in many occasions of the damage of crops caused by natural calamities. He allotted lakhraj land to poor people for rehabilitation. One of such prajas was Haran Sanakar who was granted land for his residence.⁴⁰

His greatness and affection to his subjects can be traced from the fact that in 1956 when the zamindary was acquired by the state

government by paying off compensation, there was at that time about Rs 2.5 lakh arrear in payment of the land revenue of the tenants. In response to the government inquiry of the land revenue arrear payable by the tenants, Zamindar Choudhury concealed the real fact and replied nothing of arrear of land revenue, of which he had 25% share. Thus he saved his subjects from burden of arrear revenue in the cost of his in own loss.

7.9. Festivals and Public Entertainment

Like other zamindars of the Western Assam, Chapar zamindar family took keen interest in religious activities within their estate. They founded temples of various Gods and Goddesses, granted land to the temples for its maintenance and extended help in conducting religious functions. They arranged puja and religious festivals in Rajbari with great pomp and grandeur.

“*Devi Ashtabhuj*a was treated as *Kuldevi* for chapar zamindar family. It is said Rani Matangi Devi discovered the “*Bigrah*” of *Astabhuj*a from one of his Muslim praja and founded it in Rajbari and started offering regular puja to it. Since then it had been treated as *Kuldevi*. They conducted Durga Puja in Rajbari with great joy and pleasure. The occasion was graced with observing festivals. Huge crowd gathered to share the entertainment of the festival.

During the time of Durga Puja, *Mela* was held which continued for one month. Various shops of the merchants came from Kashmir, Calcutta and different places of Assam taking part in the *Mela*. On occasion of religious festivals wide entertainment programme were chalked out for all the days of the *Mela*. Local artists held their musical programme with their traditional musical instruments, like *dotara*, flute, drum, *Jhori*, etc. The *Kushan* song, *Khemta dances*, with the boys dressed as girls took

part in such programme giving immense pleasure to the audiences. The local culture, thus, got encouragement due to such festivals under Royal patronage.

Chapar zamindar, like other zamindars of western Assam invited Jatraparties, and theatre parties from Calcutta to stage their acts on occasion of the festivals. Films were displayed in zamindar's hawli with artificial lights. Apart from these, circuses, *latikhela*, boat racing and other local games were played under zamindars' initiative. Encouraged by the Calcutta drama and theatre, local artists organized jatra and theatre parties and played them in public stages, which touched the heart of the music loving people of this region. From 1910 A.D. the Drama movement (*Natya Andalan*) stepped in a new turn in Bilasipara. Zamindar Nripendra Narayan Choudhury of Chapar estate and Surendra Nrayana Choudhury of Bagribari (Parbotjoar) played important role in the development of the *Natya Andalan* in Bilasipara and Bagribari. In Bilasipara Drama party was organized by Shasimahan Chakraborty, Rudra Chakraborty Mannath Nath Bhattacharjee and Bipin Chakraborty. They were assisted by the zamindar and the *Drama movement* was flourished in this region.⁴¹

In the *Andar Mahal* of the Rajhawli, on occasion of Kartik puja and *Sabitri broth*, huge entertainment programmes were carried out. The female of the localities took part in such programme. A colourful procession was led out on the main road of Bilasipara with the image of Gopinathjeu, placing on the back of an ornamented elephant before its installation on the *Mandap*. The devotees enjoyed the occasion playing with colours. The zamindars observed the *Ekadoshi* (eleventh day) as the *punnah* in which he received gifts from the revenue collectors, influential tenants and the jotedars.⁴²

(C) Parbotjoar Zamindary

7.10. Brief history of Parbotjoar Estate

According to Santo Barman, "Due to paucity of information nothing can be said definitely about the origin of the Parbotjoar estate. It is believed that the estate was created out of the Badshahi grant some time after the Ahom the Ahom Mughal confliction the seventeenth century. It is likely, that the originator rendered valuable service to the Mohammedans in in their campaign against the Ahoms and as a token of reward the estate was granted to him".⁴³ B.C.Allen, expressed the view that the estate was granted to one Hatibar Baruah twelve generation ago.⁴⁴ According to Khan Choudhury, the tract was taken away from Bijni to form separate estate and it covered an area of 276 square miles.⁴⁵

The estate went under the British when the East India Company acquired the Dewani of Bengal together with the other zamindaries in the district of Goalpara. The estate was included in the Permanent Settlement and the land revenue demand of the estate was C. Rs. 547, anna 13 and ganda 9.⁴⁶

Zamindar family of Parbotjoar was descended from Hatibar Baruah who is said to have founded Parbotjoar zamindary. But the history of Parbotjoar down to the beginning of twentieth century was obscure. The estate was partitioned off into three shares, viz, *1/8/ anna*, *1/5/ anna* and *1/3/ anna*. The Headquarter of *1/8/anna* share was in Bagribari, *1/5/ anna* share in Rupsi and *1/3/ anna* share in rear Mahamaya Hills, few miles west of Bagribari. In the beginning of twentieth century, Surendra Narayan Singha Choudhury was the zamindar of *1/8/ anna* share of Bagribari, Bimala Sundari Choudhury held *1/5/ ann* share and resided at Rupsi and Sushila Sundari was the zamindar of *1/3/ anna* share who used to live in Calcutta.

Towards the second half of the 20th century the estate was divided further as seen in the records of Dhubri collectorat. Parbatjoar estates were acquired by the state government of Assam in 1956.⁴⁷

7.11. Social welfare activities of Parbotjoar Estate

Nothing can be said firmly about the socio-cultural contribution of the zamindars of Parbotjoar estates due to lack of authentic sources. Whatever little information is available about their activities are related with the zamindars, ruled in the closing stages of their zaminadary rule. The nature of their public works was very much religious and few secular works are also noticed.

Zamindar of Parbotjoar discovered the image of Devi Mahamaya in the jungle of the Parbatjoar Hills, being reported by one timber merchant of Kishangonj of present Bangladesh who happened to visit the Parbatjoar Hills and got information in his dream. Accordingly, he reported to the zamindar of the estate, which discovered the image in the jungle and installed it founding a temple there. It is said the zamindar, thus, founded the famous Mahamaya Pith and temple in Mahamaya Hills under Parbotjoar estate. He introduced the system of offering regular puja in this temple appointing pujari and granted huge quantity of land for its maintenance.⁴⁸ Zamindar of 1/8/anna share of Bagribari, Sri Harendra Narayan Singha Choudhury rebuilt the Mahamahaya temple in 1280 B.S. His son Surendra Narayan Singha Choudhury established a Natmandir in the premises of the temple. During the rule of zamindar Jyotindra Narayan Choudhury, the temple was again repaired and erected the brick boundary around it. In 1293, B.S, a tank was excavated by the then zamindar Harindra Narayan Singha Choudhury.⁴⁹

Foundation of Schools: Like other zamindar of Western Assam a High School founded in Bagribari, by zamindar Surendra Narayan Singha Choudhury of Eight anna share holder zamindar of Bagribari in 1914. The School was named after his father, Harindra Narayan Singha Choudhury, for which it came to be known as H.N. SemiNaray. The zamindar bore all expenditures of the school, including construction of its building, hostels for the students, and quarters for the teacher and the books for the library. Free education was provided to the students with the facility of hostel to the students coming from distant place. H.N. Seminary played an important role in the expansion of education in this region.

The five *anna* share zamindar of Rupshi founded a High School in Rupshi by Jagadabindra Narayan Choudhury. The School came to be known as J.N. Academy after name of the zamindar Jagadabindra Narayan Choudhury. A Girls High School was also founded in Rupsi under patronage of the Rupsi zamindar family. The Girls High School came to be known as Jogendra Narayan Girls High School.

7.12. Contribution to other field

Zamindar Jogadabindra Narayan Choudhury was an enlightened land lord who induced himself in the welfare of the prajas and always visited through out of his estate to take stock of the grievances of the tenants. He was loved very much by the prajas for his kindness and simplicity. He even supported the freedom fighters unlike the other landed gentry of the country. He took part in the Non Co-operation movement and under his leadership the people of his estate took part in the movement. In 1934 Mahatama Gandhi visited Rupsi Rajbari in response to the request of zamindar Jagadabidra Narayan Choudhury, Jogat Chandra Roy, Ganesh Chandra Choudhury, Ketketu Prodhani and

some others. And a meeting was held in Rupsi where huge crowd took part in this meeting. All the joteders, tenants of Rupsi estate enthusiastically, participated in the Non Co-operation movement.

Zamindar Surendra Narayan Singha, who was childless, adopted Bhupendra Narayan Singha Choudhury from Koch Bihar Raj family, who succeeded him. Bhupendra Narayan Singha Choudhury was an enlightened zamindar of Parbotjoar estate that did lots of public welfare works for his tenants. Among others he opened a tea garden in Rupsi Hills. He brought labourer from Bihar, Jharkhond, and Chota Nagpur.⁵⁰

Besides, the road extended from Rupsi to Gauripur was constructed by a joint effort of Raja Prabhat Chandra Bauah of Gauripur estate and Jagadabindra Singha Choudhury of Rupsi estate. In Rupsi Rajbari a rich library was founded by the zamindar. Various books in English and Bengali were preserved there. The library was one of the important libraries in North East Region. Monthly journal from England were sent to Rupsi library regularly.

Among the zamindars of Parbotjoar estates, zamindar Surendra Narayan Singha Choudhury of Bagribari Eight *anna* proprietor was patron of Music, Drama and local Culture. Like other zamindar of Goalpara district he arranged *Mela* during Durga puja and wide entertainment programme were carried out by him with the Royal cost. During the festival musical programme of local artist as well as artist from out sides were held. Jatra parties from Calcutta were invited during the Puja festivals. Being encouraged by the Calcutta Jatra party local artist organized Drama Group in Bagribari with the help of zamindar Surendra Narayan Singha Choudhury. The first Jatra party was organized in Bagribari by Krishnamohan and Surat Adhikary called "Krishnajatra". It was the beginning of *Natya Andalan* in Bagribari. Zamindar Surendra

Narayan Singha Choudhury contributed a lot to the Natya Andalan in Bagribari. He invited teacher from Calcutta to train the artists of the Drama. Not only had that he built an extra ordinary stage for theatre that was considered a unique *Theatre Mancha* in Assam. There were about 50 pieces of cloth for the screen of the *Theatre Manch* of Bagribari. He had a very large library with numerous books of different languages and faculties. Of these books more than 200 were in Drama, which stands as an evidence of his great zeal for the Drama and Theatre. Under Royal patronage the Bagribari Theatre Party staged numerous theatres on the Manch in which zamindar himself acted. Among the Dramas they played were Shahjahan, Panipath, Kalapahar, Alibaba, Misor Kumari, Harichandra etc. Surendra Narayan himself wrote a comedian drama "Akkhelgurum" and he played a role in it.

(D). Sidli Estate: (temporarily settled Estate)

7.13. Brief history of Sidli Estate

Sidli was a small principality under the Mughals, comprising the Duars of Sidli, Chirang, Ripu and Guma, lying in the foot of the Bhutan Mountain. The ruler of the territory was conferred the title of Raja by the Bhutani king because of their dynastic line with the Koch Raj Family. Sidli kingdom was occupied by the Bhutan Government during the weak rule of the later Mughals. When the East India Company assumed the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Mughals, Sidli king held it on payment of Rs. 2960/ to the Company in lieu of the 40 elephants that had been paid to the Mughals as tribute.⁵² It was during the Governorship of Warren Hastings in 1784, Sidli was passed over to the Bhutan Govt. as a part of the understanding between the two Governments. Thus, Sidli again became the tributary chieftain of the Bhutia kingdom till 1865. That is why Sidli estate was excluded from the purview of the Permanent

Settlement, what made with the other estates of Goalpara district of Western Assam. Sidli passed over to the British in 1865 as a result of the Anglo Bhutias war. It is to be mentioned that after Anglo Bhutan war in 1864-65, the Bhutia King ceded all the Duars (passes) including Sidli to the British. The British authority divided the Bhutan Duars in to two parts, Eastern Duars and the Western Duars. Sidli Raja Gauri Narayan claimed Sidli tract from the British because of his hereditary right and his claim was acknowledged by the British authority. Ultimately an agreement was made with the Sidli king in 1870 assigning him the charge of revenue collection for a period of seven years commencing from first April, 1870 with an allowance of 30% of revenue assessed. After the first year of Settlement, Sidli Raja defaulted in payment for which the management was taken out of the hands of the Raja. The estate was placed under the management of the Court of Wards.⁵³

According to the local source, the founder of the Sidli dynasty was Bhim Sing, who established the principality after the fall of the Kamata kingdom. He was succeeded by Chikna Narayan Dev. Next in the line of the succession to Sidli Raj were Shymukh Narayan Dev, Viswa Narayan Dev, Bhuja Narayan Dev, Laksmi Narayan Dev and Surya Narayan Dev.⁵⁴

After death of Surya Narayan Dev, his nephew Indra Narayan Dev succeeded him. Indra Narayan Was succeeded by his son Gouri Narayan during whose time British annexed all duars of the Bhutan Hills. Gouri Narayan retained the ownership of the principality under the British. Gouri Narayan died in 1884, leaving a minor son Bishnu Narayan. During his minority management of the estate was placed under the Court of Wards. Bishnu Narayan entered ten years Settlement with the Government of India in 1896 and he was treated as a zamindar like other

zamindars of Goalpara district. Tenant Act VIII of 1869 was extended to it, and as such placing him in the same footing with regard to collection of rents similar to that occupied by the other zamindars of Goalpara in the Permanently Settle tract.⁵⁵ Bishnu Narayan was succeeded by his son Abhay Narayan shifted his capital from Sidli to Bidyapur in 1901. His son Ajit Narayan was the last zamindar of Sidli estate, during his time zamindari system was abolished in 1956 under zamindari abolition Act of 1951.

7.14. Contribution of Sidli Raj Family to the Socio Cultural Development

No such significant contributions were made by the Raj Family of Sidli to the development of the region. We find that during the tenure of Raja Abhaya Narayan Dev, some Muslim farmers were brought from East Bengal to expand agriculture in his estate and thus, not only agricultural product and revenue were increased, it also resulted in the expansion of the population in the estate too. He shifted the capital from Sidli to Bidyapur near present Baitamari. He built a beautiful Rajbari in Bidyapur which stands as a witness of the feudal architectural development of the contemporary time.

Raja Ajit Narayan Dev, the last species of the Sidli Raj Family was the most popular zamindar in the dynasty. His benevolence and simplicity was the sources of love and affection of the subjects. He founded a High School in Sidli, known as Ajit Narayan Memorial High School. After Independence, Raja Ajit Narayan Dev, elected M.L.A in 1951, in the first election of Republic India, from Bilasipara constituency. His wife Rani Manjula Devi was elected as a M.P from Dhubri constituency. Being the descendant of the Royal family of Sidli, both Raja Ajit Narayan and Rani Manjula Devi ignoring Royal comfort, dignity and tradition served for the

wellbeing of the poor and distressed people of Assam. They crossed the traditional boundary of the distinction of Raja and Praja and used to live with the ordinary people, for whom they served. Rani moved village to village and took stake of the problems of the people and tried to remove these with utmost sincerity. She was elected as M.L.A from Kokrajhar constituency in 1967 to Assam Legislative Assembly.⁵⁶ Raja Ajit Narayan served as the Chairman of Oil India Ltd. and employed many Assamese youth in the Oil Company. He was also member of the Assam Loka Seva Ayogh, (Assam Civil Service Commission) and tried to dispense justice to the candidates. Rani Manjula Devi also served as the Chairman of the Assam Social Welfare Department, who, during her tenure of office stressed more for the awakening Assamese women for their right and privileges. The people of Assam, can never forget them for their service for the socio economic development of Assam in general and Goalpara in particular. Being the descendant of the Royal blood, both Raja Ajit Narayan and Rani Manjula set an example of the public services that the Royal blood can do under the democratic form of the government.⁵⁷

Sidli zamindar, like other zamindars of Western Assam, founded temples and granted Debottar land for the maintenance of the temples. They made wide arrangement for public entertainment during Durga puja. As a part of it various musical programme, presented by the local as well as the outsider artists. Drama and theatre parties of Calcutta were also invited to stage their plays. They also encouraged the local artists to work for the development of traditional folk culture.

7.15. References.

1. Allen, B.C, Assam District Gazetteers, Goalpara, Shillong, 1905, p-118.
2. Nath Raj Mohan, The Background of Assamese Culture, Second Edition, Guwahati, 1978, p-51.
3. Barman, Santo, Zamindary System in Assam, During British Period: A Case study of Goalpara District, Guwahati 1994, p-59.
4. Letter to the Board of Revenue by Nripendra Narayan, last zamindar of Chapar estate, 1931.
5. Hamilton Walter, A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindustan and Adjacent Countries, London, 1959, Vol. II, Reprint, Delhi, 1971, p-762.
6. Nath Raj Mohan, *op cit*, p-5.
7. Bhuyan, S.K, Annals of Delhi Badshahete, Guwahati, 1942, p-183.
8. Hamilton, Walter, A geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindustan and Adjacent Countries, *op cit*. p-757.
9. Makanzie, A, reference made by Barman Santo in Zamindary System of Assam. *op cit*, p-62.
10. Report of Bedford's partition of Karaibari (954/Ass) Assam Secretariate Archives, Dispur, Guwahati.
11. Report of Backett to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 20th March, 1874, Karaibari pargana.
12. Zamindary System of Assam during British Rule, *op cit*, p-12.
13. *Ibid*, Zamindary System of Assam during British Rule. p-66.
14. Interview with Kholin Koch, a resident of Karaibari pargana, well acquainted with the information of Karaibari zamindary, dated 14 June 2008.
15. Interview with Upen Hari Koch of Manjuri Gaon under Karaibari pargana, acquainted with zamindary information of Karaibari estate, dated 1-10-2009.
16. *Ibid*,
17. *Ibid*,
18. Hunter, W.W, A Statistical Account of Assam, Vol.II, New Delhi, 1975, Reprint, pp, 152,153.
19. Sarma, Sibananda, Goalpara Zilar Etahas, Assames, Bilasipara, 1076. p-139.
20. *Ibid*, p-144.
21. Upen Hari Koch, *op cit*.

22. *Ibid.*
23. Smiriti Granth of centeNaray celebration of Mankachar Police Station, 2009, an article published by Manjurul Islam.
24. Revenue B, September 1937.
25. Khan Choudhury, Amanatulla Ahmed, Koch Biharer Etahas, Bengali, Koch Bihar, 1936. p-262.
26. Assam Land Revenue Manual, Vol.I, Sixth Edition, Shillong, 1910, p-XIII.
27. Mills, A.J.M, The Report of the Province of Assam, Second Edition, Guwahati 1984, p-PXIII.
28. Hazarika, B.B, *op cit*, p-53.
29. Karmakar Amukya, Etihaser Alope Chapar estate. Bilasipara, 2004.P-26.
30. Hazrika B.B, *op cit*, p-7.
31. Revenue A, December, 1931, *op cit*.
32. Letter from Nripendra Narayan Choudhury, the last zaminder of Chapar estate, to D,C. Dhubri, 1931.
33. Cout of Wards paper, Archives of Secretariate, Dispur, Assam.
34. Etihaser aloke Chapar estate, *op cit*, p-26.
35. Interview with Sri Birendra Das, a resident of Chapar having experienced with zamindary activities whu was interviewed by amulya Karmakar on 28.8. 2003.
36. Etihaser Alope Chapar estate, *op cit*, p-36.
37. Record of Chapar zamindary found in Rajbari.
38. Etihaser Alope Chapar estate, *op cit*, p-37.
39. *Ibid*, Etihaser Alope Chapar estate, p-37.
40. Interview with Suryakanta Roy, a senior resident of Bilasipara.
41. Kalita Jogadish, Bilasi-parar Anchalik Natya Charsa, an article published in the Smiriti Granth, Chanderding, Assam Sahitya Sabha, Bilasipara Session, 1997, pp-28-31.
42. *Ibid*, Bilasiparar Anchalik Natya Andalan, *op cit*, p-34.
43. Zamindary System of Assam during British Rule, *op cit*, p-71.
44. Assam District Gazetteers, Goalpara, *op cit*, p-116.
45. Koch Bihare Etahas, *op cit*, p-262.
46. Report of the province of Assam, *op cit*, p-301.
47. Zamindary System of Assam during British Rule, *op cit*, P-72.

48. Patgiri Jagannath edited *Obibhakta Goalpara Zilar Satra Aaru otmandirer Etibrita*, Guwahati, 1991, pss-124.
49. Shastri Rajanikanta, *Parbotjoar Mahamaya*, pp-19-20.
50. Ali Samser, *Rupsi Zamindar*, an article published in *Pobatjhari Aroshi*, a *Smiriti Granth* of Bodo Sahitya Sabha, 2009.
51. *Bilasiparar Anchalik Natya Charasa*, *op cit*, p-28.
52. Kalita Ranjit, 'About the Status of Sidli Estate' an article published in the *Smiriti Granth* of Abhayapuri College, Golden Jubilee Issue, Abhayapuri, 2008. p-188.
53. Revenue A, June, 1897. No. 1-7, Directorat of District Land Records.
54. Record found with Sibananda Sarma, the writer of *Goalpara Zilar Etihas*.
55. Barman Santo, *op cit*, p-75.
56. Interview with Ambikacharan Choudhury, a reputed writer of local history, resided in Bongaigaon, dated 3-11-2011.
57. *Ibid*,