

CHAPTER II (Contd.)

Section III

The Rule of Maharani Indira Devi as Regent and President of the Council of Regency
(21st May, 1923 —6th April, 1936)

After the demise of Maharaja Jitendranarayan on the 20th December, 1922, his eldest son and heir Jagaddipendra Narayan succeeded to the throne of Cooch Behar.¹ Jagaddipendra Narayan's succession was proclaimed by the State Council on the 24th December, 1922 in the following words.

"PROCLAMATION BY THE STATE COUNCIL ANNOUNCING THE SUCCESSION OF HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA JAGADDIPENDRA NARAYAN BHUP BAHADUR TO THE GADDI OF COOCH BEHAR ON THE DEMISE OF HIS HIGHNESS LATE MAHARAJA SIR JITENDRA NARAYAN BHUP BAHADUR, K.C.S.I. OF COOCH BEHAR."

"Where through the demise of His Highness the late Maharaja Sir Jitendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur K.C.S.I., the succession to the 'gaddi' of the State of Cooch Behar has devolved on his eldest son His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan, it is hereby proclaimed for the information of all that Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan is the natural heir in the direct line of his father, the late lamented Maharaja, and that steps have been taken to obtain the recognition of his succession by His Majesty the King-Emperor of India."

The State Council also announced that "for the present, the administration of the state would be conducted by the State Council which would exercise all the authority of the Maharaja pending decision as to the form of Government to be established during the minority of the Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan. All sanctioned existing arrangements would continue until further orders."²

Jagaddipendra Narayan's succession was duly recognised by the Government of India. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal informed the Vice-President of the State Council of Cooch Behar on the 5th January, 1923 that the Governor-General in Council had been pleased to recognise Yuvaraj Jagaddipendra Narayan, the eldest son of the late Maharaja Jitendra Narayan as his successor.³ Accordingly, the State Council issued a proclamation on the 8th January, 1923 announcing the Recognition of the Succession of His Highness Maharaja Jagaddipendranarayan to the gaddi of Cooch Behar by the Government of India.⁴ The Governor of Bengal conveyed his congratulations in a Telegram on the 5th January, 1923 to the Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan on succession to Cooch Behar State with recognition of the Government of India.⁵

The State Council had been recognised by the Government of India to be the Supreme Authority in the State pending the formation of a Council of Regency. This was communicated in a letter dated the 12th January, 1923 from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Vice-President of the Cooch Behar State Council. By virtue of this authority the State Council exercised all the powers of the Maharaja until the Council of Regency was appointed.⁶

The following Kharita dated the 1st March, 1923 from Lord Reading, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India to the Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan conveying the recognition by His Majesty the King-Emperor of India of the succession of the Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan to the gaddi of Cooch Behar was duly presented by W.A. Marr, Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division at a formal visit to Cooch Behar on the 16th May, 1923.⁷

"My esteemed friend,

Your Highness' Kharita of the 4th February, 1923 was duly transmitted to me by the Government of Bengal. I received with profound regret the news of the death of your father, His Highness Maharaja Sir Jitendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, and I take this opportunity to express again to Your Highness my personal sympathy with you and your family in your bereavement. It gives me great pleasure to inform your Highness that His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor of India has been pleased to recognise your succession to the 'Gaddi' of the Cooch Behar State and I offer you my hearty congratulations.

I trust your Highness may be long spared to rule over your people.

Delhi,

The 1st March, 1923

I remain with much consideration,

Your Highness' sincere friend,

(Sd) Reading

Viceroy and Government General of India

To the above Kharita Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan sent the following reply to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division. "I ask you to ask His Excellency the Viceroy to convey my loyal thanks to His Majesty the King-Emperor and to thank His Excellency for his kind congratulation and good-wishes."⁸

The Rajyavisek ceremony of Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan took place on the 10th March, 1923. A Durbar was also held on the same date when the Durbaris presented Nazar to the Maharaja. The Nazar consisting of two silver coins of the new accession coinage struck in the name of Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan.⁹

The young Maharaja was born on the 15th December, 1915 in Cooch Behar and he was in his eighth year at the time of his accession to the throne. The leading title-holders and officials at the time of accession of the minor

Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan were as follows : (i) Kumar Gajendra Narayan, great grandson of Maharaja Harendra Narayan, Superintendent of Police, 1895-1916 and Member of the Legislative Council representing the Rajgung's or persons descended from the Raj family. (ii) Rai Choudhuri Tarani Charan Chakraborty, the only Mokararidar in the State whose status was similar to that of a Zamindar in Bengal. He was a non-official Member of His Highness' Legislative Council. (iii) Rai Choudhuri Satis Chandra Mustafi, one of the leading Jotedars belonging to a prominent family in the State. (iv) Rai Choudhuri Monmohan Buxi, (v) Rai Choudhuri Promoda Ranjan Buxi, (vi) Rai Choudhuri Suresh Chandra Mustafi, (vii) Khan Choudhuri Amanatulla Ahmed and (viii) Rai Choudhuri Ishan Chandra Lahiri.

Mr. H. J. Twynam, I.C.S., was the Vice-President of the State Council and the Head of several administrative departments. Mr. B. Ghose was the Financial Secretary and a Member of the State Council. Other Members of the State Council were Nawabzada Abdul Karim Khan, M.A., Bar-at-Law, who held the post of Secretary to the late Maharaja Jitendra Narayan. Mr. S. Ghose, B.A. was the Fouzdari Ahilkar or District Magistrate. Babu Jagadballabh Biswas, M.A., B.L., was the Revenue Officer of the State.^{9*}

The following memorandum with regard to Cooch Behar State corrected upto date for the half year ending 31st December, 1922 having direct political relations with the Government of India, through His Excellency the Governor of Bengal.¹⁰

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|----|---|---|---|
| a. | Name of State | : | Cooch Behar |
| b. | Name, title and Religion of Chief | : | His Highness Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Hindu |
| c. | Date of Birth | : | 15th December, 1915 |
| d. | Date of Succession | : | 20th December, 1922 |
| e. | Area of State in square miles | : | 1307 |
| f. | Population of State | : | 5,92,489 |
| g. | Average Annual Revenue | : | Rs. 32,20,077 |
| h. | Average Annual Expenditure | : | Rs. 33,04,827 |
| i. | To Government | : | Rs. 67,700, A 15 / Tribute |
| j. | Infantry and artillery | : | 215 / irregular troops |
| k. | Highest British Authority by whom the Chief has hitherto been addressed | : | Viceroy and Governor-General. |
| l. | Commencement and conclusion of letter in English | : | "My esteemed friend"
"I remain, with much consideration Yours Highness" sincere friend." |
| m. | Salutes of Chief in Guns | : | 13 |

Formation of the Regency Council : While the late Maharaja Jitendra Narayan was dangerously ill, he wrote and signed the following document dated the 26th March, 1920 containing an expression of his wishes relating to the administration of the State during the minority of his son.

"In the event of my death before my son and heir, Yuvaraj Jagaddipendra Narayana, attained his majority, it is my wish that the administration of the State, during minority, be carried out by a Council of Regency with my wife, Maharani Indira Devi, as Regent and President of the Council.

The Powers exercised by the Maharaja should be exercised by the Council of Regency, but no title or insignia should be granted. Any grant of land and allowance made by the Council of Regency should terminate with the minority of my son. It is my desire that rupees one lakh per annum be granted to my wife the Maharani, and also suitable allowances for the maintenance and education of my children."¹¹

It was commonly reported in Cooch Behar that after the death of Maharaja Jitendra Narayan, Maharaj Kumar Victor Nityendra Narayan as the nearest adult male agnate of the young Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan had hopes of being appointed Regent himself. But H.J. Twynam, Vice-President of the Cooch Behar State Council was opposed to any such arrangement.¹²

In the same vein, Cooch Behar landholders' Association expressed their views to the Vice-President of Cooch Behar State Council on the 29th December, 1922 regarding formation of the Regency Council. According to this Association, the new Council may be formed as follows : (a) Maharani Indira Devi as President, (b) One European Vice-President of the Council, (c) two Cooch Behari Members of the Council, (d) One Judicial Member of the Council with practical and sound judicial training.¹³

Very significantly, Panchanan Barman, the foremost leader of Kshatriyaisation movement among the Rajbanshi Community, submitted a scheme for the formation of the Regency Council of the State of Cooch Behar before the Bengal Government as well as the Indian Government for consideration on the 19th March, 1923. He was of opinion that Cooch Behar had suffered much in the past years from bad administration and needed a good government urgently. The Regency Council be so formed as to secure a just, stable, efficient and strong government able to wipe out the effect of the previous bad administration.¹⁴ He held that it would be wise that during the minority of the Maharaja, the Regency Council should conduct the administration of the State, and that the Regency Council should be composed as follows : (i) The Maharani, (ii) A British Officer, Vice-President, (iii) An Indian Officer, Member, (iv) Prince Victor, Member, representing Rajguns, (v) A Land holder, Member, representing people.¹⁵

In the meantime, after consulting the views of the Conference of Ruling Princes recently held in Delhi the Governor-General in Council adopted a resolution dated Simla, 27th August, 1917 recognising that the Government of India were "the trustees and custodians of the rights, interests and traditions of Native States during a minority administration. The Governor-General in Council laid down general principles, some of which have been mentioned below :

(i) The administration of a State during a minority should ordinarily be entrusted to a Council. In cases where the appointment of a Regent is in accordance with the custom of the State and a suitable person is available for nomination as Regent, the Council should be styled as 'Council of Regency', and should consist of three to five Indian Members under the presidency of the Regent. The Regent may be either a legitimate mother or widow or a near male relative of the late ruler, provided that the latter was in the full confidence of the late Ruler at the time of his demise.

(ii) In the selection of the Councillors, local talent should be utilized to the utmost possible extent. Where local conditions appear to render it impossible for a Council to administer the State successfully, an officer borrowed from Government Service may be appointed as Superintendent or Administrator of the State.

(iii) Old traditions and customs should be scrupulously observed and maintained.

(iv) Treaty rights should be strictly upheld.

(v) No jagirs or hereditary or personal honours and distinctions should be granted or promised on behalf of the State during the minority.

(vi) The Political Officer is answerable to the Government of India for the maintenance of these principles.¹⁶

Consequently, the approval of the Government of India to the constitution of a Regency Council for the administration of the State during the minority of Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan was conveyed on the 17th May, 1923 to the Vice-President of the State Council by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. The Chief Secretary further informed the State Council on the 28th November, 1923 the intention of Government of India regarding the duties, powers and functions to be exercised by the Regency Council as follows.¹⁷

(i) A Council of Regency should be established with five members as follows :

(a) Her Highness Maharani Indira Devi, Regent and President of the Council.

(b) A Vice-President.

(c) Maharaj Kumar Victor Nityendra Narayan.

(d) A Judicial Member.

(e) A fifth Member.

(ii) The appointment of Members of the Council was to be filled in consultation with the Government of India and no additional Member could be appointed until Government had approved such addition to the Council.

The duties, powers and functions of the Council of Regency, as approved by the Government of India, were as follows :

(i) The Regent should preside over the Council of Regency. If in any case, the members of the Council were equally divided in opinion, the casting vote should rest with Her Highness the Maharani Regent. In case of difference of opinion between the Maharani Regent and the Political Agent the matter should be referred for the decision of the Governor of Bengal.¹⁸

(ii) The Council of Regency should exercise sovereign powers subject to the reservation desired by His late Highness the Maharaja in his will, namely, (a) that no title or insignia should be granted and (b) that any grant of land or allowance made by the Council of Regency should terminate with the minority, and subject also to an obligation to be guided by the advice of the Political Agent in all important questions.¹⁹

(iii) Decisions of the Council taken in the absence of the Regent should be immediately submitted to her for confirmation, and, in the event of her disagreeing, the case should be re-submitted to the Council, and settled by a majority of votes after her Highness' views had been heard and, if possible, in her presence. Questions connected with the peace and security of the State might require instant and irrevocable decisions. When the Maharani might be absent from India such questions would be decided by a majority of the Council subject to the obligation to refer to the Political Agent when important issues were involved. Such decisions should be immediately communicated to the Maharani Regent for confirmation. Other questions would generally be easily distinguished as (a) those in which the Maharani's views should be ascertained before there could be any decisions and (b) questions of routine and unimportant nature upto which the Council might come to a decision without a reference to the Regent, but subject to her subsequent confirmation. Should the Regent be absent at a time when the Budget be passed, the sanction of the Council should be provisional until her views had been obtained and considered.²⁰

(iv) The Budget as passed by the Council should be communicated to the Governor through the Political Agent whose duty it would be to bring it to his notice for the information of the Government of India, if the Budget as passed made no suitable provision for the family of the late Maharaja or for the administration of the State in the

interests of the young Maharaja.

The Council of Regency should be guided by the Political Agent in all important matters, and in particular the concurrence of the Political Agent would be necessary (a) to any change in the distribution among the Members of the Council of the portfolios assigned to them, (b) to any excess over the Budget provision in expenditure under any head, (c) to decisions of major importance regarding the re-settlement of Land Revenue or alteration in the land laws.

(v) The Maharani Regent should refer direct to the Governor in the matter of the young Maharaja's education and appointment of his tutor or guardian.

In conclusion, the Government of India desired to impress upon the Council that they were the trustees for the young Maharaja, and that in the exercise of their trust duties, it would be incumbent on them to keep themselves in touch with the progress of the administration and to supply such guidance as might appear to them to be needed.²¹

The Regency Council assumed office on the 21st May, 1923 and was composed of the following members : (i) The Maharani Indira Devi, Regent and President of the Council, (ii) Mr. H.J. Twynam, I.C.S., Vice-President of the Council, (iii) Maharaj Kumar Victor Nityendra Narayan, Member, (iv) Babu Jagadballabh Biswas, M.A.B.L., Judicial Member, (v) A fifth member to be appointed later. This was the second Council of Regency in Cooch Behar State, the former being formed during the minority of Maharaja Narendra Narayan.²²

Before the coming of Maharani Indira Devi, the Purdah system was prevalent in Cooch Behar palace. Maharani Sunity Devi worked diligently to encourage the emancipation of women in Bengal, but for some reason she did not attempt to put an end to purdah in Cooch Behar and she lived in the Zenana quarters of the Cooch Behar Palace. It was only a generation later when Maharani Indira Devi arrived in Cooch Behar in an open car, that purdah suddenly ended.²³ Indira Devi was the product of western civilization and went to Europe frequently. Compared with the rigid formality of other Indian royal families in the 1920's, the almost medieval lives they lived, the domination of their courts by ritual and etiquette and the shutting away of their women in zenanas or purdah quarters, the life in Cooch Behar Palace had more the atmosphere of a very large and comfortable country-house.²⁴

Maharani Indira Devi's training for her administrative responsibilities had been remarkably good. She had often been taken into the confidence of her father, the Maharaja of Gaikwar of Baroda, who had discussed many state matters with her and used to say that he wished she had been his eldest son because she had such a good head for government. On his one visit to Cooch Behar he expressed himself as very pleased with the way Indira Devi was running thing.²⁵

Besides, the Indian Government did their best to help Indira Devi run the administration by sending the best available men as Vice-Presidents of the Regency Council. Mr. H.J. Twynam, I.C.S., who had been at Cooch Behar since 1920 was made the first Vice-President of the Regency Council and reverted to Government service in 1923. The following gentlemen successively held this responsible post during the period of the Regency :²⁶

- i) Major C.T.C. Plowden, I.A. (1923-1926)
- ii) Lt. Col. W.G. Hutchinson, I.A. (1926-1931)
- iii) Lt. Col. K.A.G. Evans Gordon, I.A. (1931-1934)
- iv) Lt. Col. J.A. Brett, C.I.E. (March, 1934-1936)
- v) Mr. J.D. Tyson, I.C.S. (March, 1936-April, 1936)

As regards political relations of Cooch Behar State with the Government of India, the Government of Bengal informed the Vice-President of the State Council on the 7th December, 1922 that his Majesty's Secretary of State had sanctioned the proposal of the Government of India that the Governor of Bengal should act as Agent to the Governor-General for the Cooch Behar state with effect from the 15th November, 1922. By this arrangement the Governor would perform exactly the same functions as had hitherto been performed by the local Government or the Governor-in-Council, referring to the Government of India only in matters which, under the existing practice or standing orders, required such references.²⁷

The Maharaja of Cooch Behar State was entitled to a salute of 13 guns. Under the existing arrangements in official functions he ranked immediately after the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council and this was also observed at social entertainments at Government Houses in Bengal. In accordance with the instructions issued by the Government of India on the 5th May, 1923 on the questions of the position and dignity accorded to the Ruling Princes and Chiefs in India, the Maharaja of Cooch Behar State would remain his former position in official functions but would be moved up at social entertainments in Government Houses. In other words, this Maharaja was used to be given seats below the Chief Justice of Bengal and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta at social functions, would henceforth have to be placed above them.²⁸ The minor Maharajas were not ordinarily invited on such occasions. But if he was invited, he should be given his own position. This was done in the case of the minor chief of Kalahandi when he was invited to the Delhi Durbar of 1911.²⁹

The Attitude of the Regency Council towards Missionary Activities and Slavery : The attitude of the Regency Council towards missionary work in the State did not constitute a departure from the policy obtaining before the Regency Council was formed. This decision was arrived at by Her Highness in Council in dealing with the question of missionary activity in the Cooch Behar state and the return to Cooch Behar of a European lady missionary.³⁰ Thus the

wishes of Cooch Behar State regarding missionary activities in the State were forwarded to the Government of Bengal for orders. The Government, in turn, referred the matter to the Secretary of State for India, who, when considering the particular case of Miss Willman, who was not a British subject, observed that christian opinion regarding freedom for missionary enterprise was much more sensitive and influential in England and in America than it was 40 years ago.³¹ He permitted Miss Willman to return to Cooch Behar without mention of conditions proposed by Regency Council. He feared that the example of Cooch Behar might be followed by other States and effect on public opinion in this country would be most unfortunate. Restrictions on admission of missionaries into India had been imposed hitherto only on those of alien nationality for purely political reasons. Policy of avoiding restrictions on missionary enterprise had been following also by His Majesty's Government in case of mandated territories like Iraq. He also added that ordinary law could be applied to prevent abuse of privilege and public disorder.³²

The policy of the Government of India with regard to missionary enterprise in Indian States was laid down in 1883 and the principles which regulated the action of the British Government in this matter were applicable towards all States including Cooch Behar. Though Cooch Behar possessed no treaty precluding interferences in its internal affairs, the British Government decided in February, 1816 to abstain from all interferences, except in the form of advice and representation ... in the unlimited management of the affairs of the State. Accordingly, the Government of Bengal requested the Commissioner of the Rajshahi division who was ex-officio Political Agent of that State, that the principles adopted by the Government of India might be communicated to the Cooch Behar Durbar and that they may be informed at the same time that in view of the state of public opinion in England at the present time, the Secretary of State desired the Durbar to be informed that restrictions on missionary as class were most undesirable and should not be imposed.³³

The Government of Bengal forwarded a copy of the Slavery Convention signed at Geneva on the 25th September, 1926, together with an extract from a declaration made by Sir William Vincent in respect of the Indian States in the sixth Committee of the Assembly of the League of Nations and desired that the Cooch Behar Durbar would work steadily towards the amelioration of any conditions which were not in accordance with the terms of the Convention. The intention of the Convention was to secure the complete suppression of slavery in all its forms and of the slave trade by land and sea. The Government of Bengal in their letter (no. 11433) dated the 28th June, 1928, intimated the Cooch Behar State that His Majesty's Government asked for a summary of any important results that probably followed from the above mentioned communication and requested to be furnished with a report in this respect. In response to this communication, the Regency Council stated that slavery was not practised in any sense nor were any conditions prevalent which might be held to amount to forced labour in any shape was exacted from any one in the State. Therefore, the question of taking action towards the amelioration of conditions which were not in accordance with the terms of the convention did not arise in this State.³⁴

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that in order to suppress the traffic in women and children and thereby to fulfil the obligations arising from India's adhesion to the International Convention on the same subject in 1921, a Bill containing the provisions of Act XX of 1923 and Act V of 1929 of British India was passed into law by the Cooch Behar Legislative Council on the 8th February, 1930 as Act I of 1930 which received the assent of the Regency Council.³⁵

Alteration of the Armorial Bearings of the State : It appeared that the Armorial Bearings of Cooch Behar State had been changed four times since 1868, viz. in 1873, 1877, 1884 and 1902. It also appeared from a letter (No. 10205P) dated the 12th August, 1919 from the Bengal Government that a proposal to alter the Armorial Bearings of the State would necessitate a reference to the Government.³⁶

For the decoration of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi the armorial bearings of the Ruling Princes were wanted. But the Regency Council thought it desirable to introduce some alterations in the existing coat of arms so as to bring it more into conformity with the legendary tales known in Cooch Behar about the founder of the State. In the original banner also presented by the Queen Empress to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar at the Imperial Assemblage of 1877 a tiger was shown and not a lion. So the Regency Council decided that a tiger and not a lion should be one of the supporters. This being approved a new coat of arms was made. Rs. 500 was sanctioned for the decoration. It cannot be said why Maharaja Nripendra Narayan changed the rampant tiger for a lion in 1884. This was perhaps the figure of a lion appealed more to his aesthetic sense and the legendary tales were not placed before him at the time. The description of the new coat of arms is given below :

- (a) Two swords are placed crosswise on a shield.
- (b) A tiger and an elephant are placed behind the shield as supporters.
- (c) A crowned monkey with clubs in hand is made to sit at the top on a globe.
- (d) Two branches and four plants are placed crosswise at the bottom.
- (e) Below the swords there is a ring and over them a scale pan.
- (f) A motto comes at the bottom "যতো ধর্ম স্ততো জয়ঃ" (conquest follows virtue)

Or in other words, a tiger standing on the hinder legs on the left side and an elephant on the right side with faces turned towards each other are supporting a shield with swords crosswise on it holding up the scale of justice on the points of the swords permeated with mercy and rewards (ring and rose plants). The crest consists of the crowned Hanumanji (Monkey) seated on the globe. The new plan was introduced on the 1st April, 1929.³⁷

Restriction on Direct Communication between State Durbars and Foreign Consuls : The Government of Bengal informed the Political Agent of Cooch Behar State on the 15th February, 1928 that the attention of the Government of India had been drawn to certain cases on which direct communications had recently taken place

between Durbars of Indian States and Foreign Consuls or the representatives of foreign powers in this country. The irregularity of this procedure had been pointed out to the several consuls in India. The Government of Bengal also informed him that Cooch Behar Durbar might be informed that if they desired to communicate with foreign consuls etc. such communication should invariably be made through the Political Agent and the Government of Bengal who would in turn address the Government of India.³⁸

As has already been noted, the Cooch Behar State had been placed in direct political relations with the Government of India; and the Governor of Bengal in Council acted as Agent to the Governor-General of India in matters affecting them. The Ruling Princes of Cooch Behar had full jurisdiction. The relation of Cooch Behar with the Government was conducted through their Political Agent. The Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division was the ex-officio Political Agent for the Cooch Behar State and there was a Vice-President of the State Council in Cooch Behar who was an officer lent to the State from the British service. There was no administered areas in the State. The Railway lands in Cooch Behar were included in the Eastern Division of Railway and jurisdiction had been ceded in some areas.³⁹

Proposal for enhancement of Gun-Salutes of the State : The question of number of salutes was re-opened during the Regency period. First, it may be discussed as to the general principles governing the scale of salutes. Permanent salutes (the right to them and the number of guns composing them) were regulated by orders based on the size and importance of the State in question. Personal salutes and personal increases to permanent salutes were sometimes given when the administration or services of a particular ruler had been specially meritorious and there had been rare cases when such personal increases had been made permanent after a period of years as an additional reward or honour. Such cases were very exceptional and the main criterion as regards permanent salutes was the importance of the State.⁴⁰

In 1916 the Government of India contemplated undertaking, after the war, the revision of the tables of salutes enjoyed by the Ruling Princes, with a view to removing existing incongruities. In February, 1917 the Government of India called for the recommendations of the Government of Bengal and the latter proposed that 15 guns should be allowed for two Bengal States - Cooch Behar and Hill Tiperra. It was pointed out that the reasons fixing the salutes at 13 guns were not on record but that judged by the standard of population and revenue. Cooch Behar and Hill Tiperra were inferior to one State only (Alwar) of 16 States which enjoyed a salute of 15 guns. The rulers of Cooch Behar and Hill Tiperra had always been loyal to the British Government and their chiefs had placed the entire resources of their States at the disposal of the Government on the outbreak of the First World War. As regards antiquity they could claim a status hardly inferior to that of any other States in India. On this ground, the proposal was made for an increase in the numbers of guns allotted to them. This proposal, however, was not accepted by the Government of India.⁴¹

The Question was again raised in February, 1920 when a Committee was set up by the Government of India to consider the revision of the salutes' list and a final distribution of war honours. On that occasion the Government of Bengal repeated further contributions which had been made by the two Bengal Chiefs and pressed for the raising of their salutes to 15 guns. But this proposal was also not accepted by the Committee whose opinion on this point was "that the relative status of these princes as compared with that of other states did not justify any increase of the permanent salutes. Moreover neither of them had performed on war services worthy of note." On this, the then Governor of Bengal Lord Ronaldshay remarked, "we have put the case for an increase in the number of guns very fully before the Government of India and we can do no more. The case has been rejected and we have no option but to acquiesce, though we may do so with regret."⁴²

The question of salutes was reopened by the Maharaja of Tripura in 1930 when he had written a letter to the Governor of Bengal for enhancing the number of salutes to his State. The Maharaja observed that all states in central India of far less importance and wealth to Tripura enjoyed a 15 guns salute and thus he found himself placed in a most galling category of inferiority.⁴³

In reply to the Maharaja's letter, the Governor of Bengal admitted that since the adverse decision of 1917 and 1920 the position had to some extent been modified by the development of the Chamber of Princes and by the prospect of still wider co-operation between the Princes and the Government of India. But the Governor of Bengal also added that he was not sure that the moment was altogether opportune for reopening the matter with the government of India.⁴⁴ It was also pointed out that no new facts had arisen which seemed to alter the circumstances of the case. The feeling of inferiority to which the Maharaja of Tripura referred was hardly to carry much weight with the Government of India. Further, by supporting the Maharaja's request the Government of India would find it very difficult to resist the requests from Cooch Behar and also from all other states for an increase in their salutes. Thus the chances of the Government of India accepting any such proposal were too remote.⁴⁵

Regency's Attitude towards Formation of Associations : Since the inception of the rule of the Regency Council various kinds of associations began to appear in Cooch Behar. The Regency Council could not be indifferent to this phenomenon and had to take measures to restrict their activities. With regard to the formation of Associations in the State a Circular Order (No. 5) dated the 28th June, 1923 was drafted on the lines of Bengal Government Circular (No. 4 TM) dated the 29th April, 1910, requiring all associations or public bodies already formed or likely to be formed in the State to be registered in the office of the Registrar of the Regency Council.⁴⁶ The Council had explained reasons for this measure taken as follows.

"The Regency Council have noticed with interest the growth of a recent disposition, among certain sections

of the people of the State, to form themselves into associations or united bodies and give expressions to their ideas and sentiments in social, political and other matters of public interest. Such associations ... have their own duties to perform, ... they are no doubt useful auxiliaries to the administration. But as some times unfortunate aberrations manifest themselves to the discredit of the associations and annoyance of the authorities; it seems expedient that there should be some official checks on these public bodies and their actions and deliberations. To ensure this end it is hereby ordered and notified for general information that such associations or public bodies when properly constituted on a representative basis, should obtain recognitions from the State authorities before they should expect their actions or deliberations to receive the attention of the Regency Council. It should, however, be clearly understood that the Regency Council, or the Departments under them, are neither bound nor expected, to consult the associations or to take into consideration or abide by their opinions."⁴⁷

Circumstances Leading to Expulsion of Thakur Panchanan Barman from the State : It is significant to note that Thakur Panchanan Barman, the undisputed leader of the Rajbanshi community, was banished from Cooch Behar State for a period of five years. Panchanan Barman had already made a petition to the Regency Council criticising its new settlement policy and its consequent enhancement of land revenue.⁴⁸ He had also endeavoured to increase the social consciousness and respectability among the Rajbanshi community of Cooch Behar. These activities of Panchanan Barman were not liked by the State authority.⁴⁹ Not only this, again a petition purporting to have been signed by numerous inhabitants of Cooch Behar State and addressed to His Excellency the Governor-General of India, solicited his intervention in respect of certain allegations made therein,⁵⁰ The chief of which were : (i) Nawab Khasru Jung, a guardian of the minor princes, is stated to be unworthy of the office. (ii) The Maharani Indira Devi apparently so far had not been able to regard herself as a Cooch Behari. She still regarded the State as foreign country and showed an undue preference for things and people belonging to her father's part of the country, as was shown by the appointment of Mr. Vaswani to be tutor in Bengali for the princes. (iii) Nawab Khasru Jung is a man of immoral character involved in the Midland Bank Case, in which Raja Sir Hari Singh figured and ought not to be associated with any department of the State. (iv) Nawab Khasru Jung had brought in one of his nephews a man of notoriously bad character and made him a companion of the princes. (v) Nawabzada Karim, Secretary to the Maharani, ought not to be allowed to associate with the Maharani since he was young and so also was the Maharani. A number of shameful allegations were being circulated and were reaching the ears of the public, causing them considerable grief. In the interests of the good name of the Maharani, Nawab Khasru Jung and Nawabzada Karim - these two officers should be removed from all contact with the Raj family and the State.⁵¹

The allegations made in the petition were serious and full inquiry into these allegation seemed desirable.⁵² This subject had agitated the people of the State.⁵³ But the Government was accused of maintaining silence about the matter.⁵⁴ On the other hand, the Regency Council held the view that this 'forged petition was got up by Rai Saheb

Panchanan Barman, a Jotedar of the State with the aid of his emissaries and agents and that it was circulated to the press and the public by the said Rai Saheb Panchanan Barman with a malicious and mischievous intent.⁵⁵

The following semi-official statement was issued by the Regency Council on the 20th September, 1926 about the aforesaid petition : "Whereas it has come to the notice of the Regency Council that a petition purporting to be signed by a large number of the subjects of the state was sent to the Government of Bengal and was returned by the Government for verifications of the signatures. And whereas it has been ascertained after a full enquiry that all the signatures on the petition were either forged or obtained under false representations.

And whereas the petition contains false allegations and insinuations of a most offensive and scandalous nature against Her Highness the Maharani Regent and her upbringing of His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur, the Maharaj Kumar and the Maharaj Kumaries, which are calculated to lower her Highness in the estimation of the subjects of the State and the general public to create discontent in the State against Her Highness the Maharani Regent and the Regency Administration generally.

And whereas the Council consider it necessary, in the interests of the State, that said Rai Saheb Panchanan Barman should be prevented from carrying on a mischievous propoganda in the State and also to mark their displeasure at his disloyal and scandalous conduct in getting up the forged petition referred to above ...

It is hereby ordered that the said Rai Saheb Panchanan Barman is prohibited from entering the State for a period of five years from the date this order is communicated to him without the special permission, previously obtained, of the Regency Council.

It is further ordered that, if at any time the said Raisaheb Panchanan Barman enters into any part of the state in disobedience of this order, he will be liable to be arrested by the police and removed from the state and that he shall be liable to prosecution ...".⁵⁶

Thus this statement declared, amongst other things, that some of the signature to the petition appeared to be forged. It had also been stated that a certain subject of the state, namely Raisaheb Panchanan Barman, who had been deported, was at the root of this petition. But some questions were raised about this statement. First, if some men had denied having signed, it might be due to fear. The subjects in a Native State were helpless, if they incurred the displeasure of the officials. Secondly, it was not made clear why a certain subject of the state (mentioned in one statement) was deported and whether he was deported after full trial. Thirdly, the official denial said nothing as regards the incompetence of Nawab Khasru Jang.⁵⁷ Lastly, it was inexplicable why the Government of India had so far maintained silence about the matter.⁵⁸

Revolutionary Activities : The Civil Disobedience Movement which had been launched in British India in 1930s failed to make a head way in Cooch Behar State. The failure of the movement in the State may be attributed to the following reasons. Earlier the Non Co-operation Movement was suppressed with an iron hand by the State authority and therefore, the Civil Disobedience Movement in the state did not spread much too far.⁵⁹ Secondly, the Deportation Law of the state was an effective tool in the hands of the State Government providing for banishment of any person from the state engaged in anti-Government activities.⁷² Ramnath Biswas, the globe trotter visited Cooch Behar in 1934 and stated in his account that the subjects of the Cooch Behar State, lived amid great fear of governmental coercion.⁶¹ Singer Siddheswar Mukhopadhyay wrote that he was externed from Cooch Behar State for singing mass-songs.⁶²

It is significant to note that for the first time Cooch Behar State witnessed peasant unrest in some places, particularly in the sub-division of Mathabhanga during the rule of the Regency Council. The root of this peasant unrest was economic.⁶³ The world-wide trade depression of 1930-31 and consequent fall of the prices of agricultural products affected Cooch Behar considerably. Cooch Behar being purely an agricultural State, the people had been hard hit by the low prices.⁶⁴ Though the extension of time for payment of kists and also remissions of revenue granted by the state, but all these produced no desired results. Defaulting jotes were made khas.⁶⁵ Hence, there was large scale land alienation, as a result of which the cultivators had been degraded in the position of Adhiars. It has also been pointed out that all the alienated lands were purchased by the Marwari Community in the sub-division of Mathabhanga.⁶⁶ Incidentally, it should be noted here that Thakur Panchanan Barman, a native Jotedar of Mathabhanga sub-division and also an elected member of Bengal Legislative Council from Rangpur, played a pioneering role in providing debt reliefs to the peasants. These activities of Panchanan Barman undoubtedly provided a source of inspiration to the peasant unrest referred to above, though it did not take the form of a peasant movement. As has been noted earlier, Panchanan Barman being a bitter critic of the Raj family had been banished from Cooch Behar.⁶⁷

It is a historical fact that there was an established revolutionarist tradition in Bengal. Dissatisfied with largely verbal radicalism of the Congress, sections of educated urban youth once again turned towards the methods of revolutionary terrorism towards the end of 1920s.⁶⁸ Despite the repressive measures adopted by the State Government, there was coonnection of the Bengal revolutionaries with Cooch Behar State during the period of Regency Council. It has already been mentioned that Bengal Governement drew the attention of Maharaja Jitendra Narayan to the revolutionary activities in the Victoria College of Cooch Behar and proposed action to be taken in this connection. They also suggested that any reliable information which might be obtained from time to time would be brought to the Maharaja's notice, and both the Bengal Police and the Maharaja's Police might work hand in hand to put an end to such activities. But this joint effort could not curb the revolutionary activities which were carried on in Cooch Behar State even during the period of Regency Council.

On confidential enquiry in February, 1927 it was found out that the revolutionaries A.C. Dasgupta, S.G. Das, A. Biswas, A. Chakravarti, S. K. Roy and A. Nag with others had formed a party and every afternoon they regularly took their bodily exercise in the Shop of Dharendra Nath Sengupta alias Shiren Sadhu of Cooch Behar town and said that they were the disciples of Sankaracharya. They read 'Gita' regularly. They had also got some book with them which were proscribed and of which they were said to read very often "মানুষের ডাক" (call of man) by Barin Ghose. It was also learned that A.C. Dasgupta, S. G. Das and A. Biswas were all residents of Barishal district and the first two persons put up with Dhirendranath Sengupta and the third person put up with Bachpati Thakur. A. Chakravarti and S. K. Roy put up in the College Hostel. They were all College students except A. Nag who was an employee in the settlement office, and put up in a mess near Kalibari and several reports regarding his movements had already been submitted.⁶⁹ It was also learnt that Dhiren Sadhu with other residents of Barishal, including Amulya Ratan Gupta, Professor of Victoria College, decided to hold an anniversary meeting in commemoration of late Aswini Dutta, the great revolutionary of Barishal.⁷⁰ A list of political suspects who were carrying on revolutionary activities in Cooch Behar State is given below.⁷¹

List of political suspects

Class - I

Students

- (a) Active and prominent members
1. Sudhanya Kumar Roy
 2. Sachindra Nath Banerjee
 3. Ajit Narayan Chakravarty
 4. Sudha Sankar Roy
 5. Monindra Nath Dutt.
 6. Birendra Nath Dutt.
 7. Amarendra Nath Sengupta
- (b) Ordinary members
1. Murary Mohan Roy — Victoria College
 2. Satish Chandra Sarkar — Victoria College
 3. Promoda Charan Ghose — Victoria College
 4. Satish Chandra Bhaumik — Victoria College
 5. Sushil Chandra Guha — Victoria College
 6. Haripada Ghose — Victoria College
 7. Sudhir Chandra Sen — Victoria College
 8. Manmatha Nath Gupta — Victoria College

9. Atul Chandra Das — Victoria College
10. Sudhi Goudha Das — Victoria College
11. Ashutosh Biswas — Victoria College
12. Joy Gopal Dutt — Jenkin's school

Bhupati Bhusan Bhowmik, formerly a resident of Mymensingh but later domiciled at Patakura, Cooch Behar and his father worked as a pleader's clerk. He was a student of Third class, section 'A' in the Jenkins school and he was aged about 18 years when his political activity came to the notice of the police in July, 1930. He was an active member of 'Tarun Association' - purely a political one, in the State of Cooch Behar and may be taken into the category of definition 'revolutionary movement'. The members of this association secretly used to meet at the house of Bhupati Bhowmik occasionally and discussed about propoganda work and practised dagger play as well. He possessed some proscribed books with him and was in intimate terms with one Joy Gopal Brahmachari who was suspected to be an 'anarchist' of Bengal. On an occasion the Brahmachari brought some 2½ seers of sulphur from outside the State and gave them to Bhupati who tried to collect materials to prepare explosive articles but to no effect. Bhupati, as a member of 'Tarun Association', had connection with Asitaranjan Dasgupta, an active 'anarchist' of Bengal and others.⁷²

Political suspects like Kalipada Chatterjee and Nilkanta Mukherjee or Nilu of Alipurduars were connected with the Cooch Behar party and that they used to visit Cooch Behar town. Another suspect, Sukumar Sengupta of Jalpaiguri Anushilan Samity, used to visit the house of his uncle Suboth Sengupta who was a Kabiraj at Dinhat.⁷³

Nani Gopal Ghose, son of Nishi Kanta Ghose of Bajrajogini, Police Station, Manikganj, Dacca, a third year student of the technical school, Bogra and his brother Dhiren Ghose who had started a tailoring shop at Bogra town occasionally visited Cooch Behar where his father served under a firm at Bakshihat in Tufangunj of Cooch Behar State. Both Nani and Dhiren were members of Anushilan Samity and used to visit Cooch Behar when his uncle Sarat Chandra Dutta had got a house there. One of his cousins was named Charu Chandra Dutta who worked as a State Librarian. Dhiren Ghose was externed from Cooch Behar State as he was concerned in the theft of a cycle at Cooch Behar towh which was the work of the Cooch Behar Anushilan Party. Dhiren Ghosh was connected with Doraj De who was a student of Class X of the Swedish Mission School and warned since Nani Ghose visited Cooch Behar secretly on the 4th April, 1936 and left on the 5th April, 1936. It was decided by the police that Nani Ghose be kept under surveillance when he visited Cooch Behar and the Bogra DIB to send intimation of his departure if possible. Parimal Pal of Bogra who was a student of the Cooch Behar College was the connecting link between Cooch Behar and Bogra.⁷⁴

Ashapada Ray, an ARC, member of Rajshahi Anushilan Party was connected with the Cooch Behar Anushilan Party. He was reported to be in connection with Bejoy Ballav Dutta, son of Benode Behari Dutta, an Anushilan member of Cooch Behar Party. Bijoy Ballav, a student of the Dacca Engineering School was in Cooch Behar and was kept under surveillance. He was an associate of Doraj De or Kalipada Dutta, and Khagendra Nath Rai or Netai. Nidhi Nath, a Kabiraj of Cooch Behar was connected with the Rajshahi Party.⁷⁵

Khagendra Nath Choudhuri or Netai Ghosh was an important member of the Anushilan. He left Cooch Behar and was in Calcutta at 184 Bowbazar street. He visited Cooch Behar and was kept under strict surveillance. Guru Gobinda Ghose, formerly a student of the Cooch Behar College, was an important member of the Jugantar. Prem Nihar Nandi, an important member of the Anushilan, was then at Gauhati (1936) and was working in the branch of the Comilla Bank.⁷⁶ Jogendra Nath Majumdar of Khemria, Police Station, Itahar, District Dinajpur was living at Cooch Behar and was an important worker of the Anushilan and the DIB had kept an eye on him.⁷⁷

Finally, it should be noted here that a conference was held at Cooch Behar on the 8th April, 1936 when all the DIB officers of all the North Bengal Districts congregated on the occasion of the visit of the Governor of Bengal to Cooch Behar. Among other members present at the meeting was Sub-inspector Satish Chandra Roy of Cooch Behar, DIB. All present were cautioned to be particularly on the look out of the Anushilan activity as it was suspected that this party was working very secretly in North Bengal and Assam.⁷⁸

Celebration of Silver Jubilee of His Majesty the King-Emperor's Accession in Cooch Behar in 1935 : The Regency Council has always taken an anti-nationalistic, anti-revolutionary stand as its predecessors had done in the past. Similarly, following in the footsteps of its predecessors. The Regency Council has always remained steadfast in loyalty and allegiance to His Majesty's Government. Thus it is not surprising that sum of Rs. 1,000 was sanctioned by the Regency Council as the contribution of the Cooch Behar State to His Excellency the Viceroy's All India thanks giving fund started in connection with His Majesty the King Emperor George V's recovery from a serious and protracted illness. The amount was remitted from the treasury to the Private Secretary to His Excellency on the 19th December, 1929.⁷⁹

To mark the 'happy' occasion of the Silver Jubilee of His Majesty's accession, the 6th and 7th May, 1935 were declared public holidays in the State and all the towns were illuminated. In a public meeting held on the 6th May, 1935 in Cooch Behar town under the presidency of Rai Karali Charan Ganguli Bahadur, President of the Silver Jubilee Committee of the State, a Resolution was unanimously adopted in the following terms : "The people of Cooch Behar, in a meeting assembled, express their humble and deep loyalty and offer their respectful felicitations to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor on the happy occasion of the Silver Jubilee, and pray for His Majesty's long life and

prosperity."⁸⁰

This Resolution was forwarded through the usual channel and in due course the following message signed by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal was received by the President, Silver Jubilee Committee, Cooch Behar. "Sir, your message of congratulation on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of His accession to the throne has been laid before His Majesty the King Emperor, by whose Royal command I am to convey to you His Majesty's thanks and to express his appreciation of the sentiments of loyalty and good will which prompted the message."⁸¹

The Maharani Regent of Cooch Behar wrote the following reply to the Kharita presented to her by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal by command of the Viceroy and the Governor- General of India, on this occasion of the twenty fifth anniversary of the accession of His Majesty King George V, Emperor of India :

"My dear Lord Willingdon,

On behalf of my son, I write to acknowledge with many thanks receipt of your Excellency's letter of 25th April, 1935 expressing appreciation of the measures taken in Cooch Behar to celebrate in a manner befitting the occasion, the twenty fifth year of the reign of His most gracious Majesty the King Emperor of India. In doing so, I venture, in my capacity of Regent, to assure Your Excellency that my son, like his father and forefathers, will ever remain steadfast in loyalty and devotion to the Throne and Person of His Imperial Majesty. The warmth of his sentiments in this regard will — it that be possible — be enhanced by your assurance of the continuance of His Majesty's sympathy and assistance, a favour for which the Ruler of Cooch Behar State must always remain sincerely grateful."⁸²

On the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of His Majesty's accession, a Silver Jubilee Medal was sent to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar in England by the India Office. The Maharaja's name had, therefore, been added to the nominal role of the recipients of the Silver Jubilee Medals in the Cooch Behar State, a copy of which is given below :⁸³

Full Names	Titles, designation, distinctions (incase of Women, Mrs. or Miss etc)	Appointments, ranks, gradings, descriptions)
1. His Highness the Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur, Maharaja of Cooch Behar.
2. Her Highness Maharani Indira Devi, Regent of Cooch Behar
3. Brett, J.A.	Lieutenant Colonel, C.I.E.	Vice-President, Council of Regency, Cooch Behar

Full Names	Titles, designation, distinctions (incase of Women, Mrs. or Miss etc)	Appointments, ranks, gradings, descriptions)
4. Chakrabarty, Dineshananda	L. M. S.	Civil Surgeon, Cooch Behar
5. Dutt, Uma Nath	B. L.	Civil and Sessions Judge, Cooch Behar
6. Ganguli, Karali Charan	Rai Bahadur, B.A., B.C.S.	Revenue Officer, Cooch Behar
7. Indrajitendra Narayan of Cooch Behar	Maharaj Kumar	Brother of His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.
8. Majumdar, Sumantha Ranjan	Audit Officer, Cooch Behar
9. Roy, Jogendra Chandra	B.S.C. (Cal. & Glass)	State Engineer, Cooch Behar
10. Sing, Kanwar Rajendra	Captain, Bar-at-Law	Private Secretary to Her Highness the Maharani Saheba, Regent of Cooch Behar.
11. Victor Nityendra Narayan of Cooch Behar	Maharaj Kumar	Uncle of His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

The Demise of the Dowager Maharani Sunity Devi : The State was plunged into deep mourning when the Maharaja Jagaddipendranarayan's grand mother The Dowager Maharani Suniti Devi, C.I. passed away at Ranchi on the 10th November 1932.⁸⁴ Maharani Suniti Devi was born in 1864 in Calcutta and was educated at Bethune College before her marriage with Maharaja Nripendranarayan in 1878. After her marriage, at the express desire of Nripendranarayan, arrangement was made for giving her thorough education in English, music and other accomplishments. Sunity Devi had endeavoured to build Cooch Behar as a modern state by bringing renowned Teachers and Professors into the schools and the college of the state and also by bringing Bengalee officers into the state to modernise its administrative system. She was the instrumental in the propagation of the Brahma religion in the State of Cooch Behar.⁸⁵ She had also made attempts to spread the female education there. The Sunity college (Academy) was founded in the state in 1881 by her sincere efforts. The Sunity Academy has been carrying forward the tradition of female education for last 125 years. Not only she lived the life of the Maharani, but is believed to have also played the role of a social reformer.⁸⁶

Sunity Devi was the first among the Indian princesses who visited England. She was the founder-president of a women's organisation called "Sisterhood of the East" in England. The principal object of this organisation was to solve various problems of the women of the East and also to remove the inequalities between men and women in a society dominated by men. In the aristocratic society of England, Sunity Devi was the most beloved and respected of all Indian ladies. Her relations with Queen Victoria was also very cordial. In 1887, she was decorated with the order of

the Crown of India. Of the Indian ladies Sunity Devi was the first to receive such a prestigious title. In the eyes of Queen Victoria, "She (Sunity Devi) is very pretty and attractive ... such a dear, gentle woman."⁸⁷ She was the first woman in India to write her fascinating 'Autobiography' in English (1921). This work created a sensation among her distinguished readers not only in India but also in England. As a writer in Bengali her notable works were as follows : 'Amrita Bindu' (Vol. I, 1325 B.S.), Amrita Bindu (Vol. II, 1332 B.S.), Sahana (a collection of short stories, 1915) and Sishu Keshab (1922). Her works in English were as follows : The Rajput Princess, The Beautiful Mogul Princess (1918), Nine Ideal Indian women (1919), The life of Princess Yashodhara, The Bengal Dacoits and Tigers, The Autobiography of An Indian Princess (1921), Indian Fairy Tales (1922) and Prayers.⁸⁸

Suniti Devi had given birth to four sons, namely, Raj Rajendranarayan (1882), Jitendranarayan (1886), Victor Nityendranarayan (1888) and Hitendranarayan (1890) and three daughters, namely Sukrity Devi (1884), Pratibha Devi (1891) and Sudhira Devi (1894).⁸⁹

In token of respect to the memory of Her late Highness the Dowager Maharani Sunity Devi, all Courts, Offices, Schools and the College remained closed for five days from the 10th to the 14th November, 1932. A sum of Rs. 9000 was sanctioned by the Regency Council to meet the expenses in connection with the Sradh etc. of her late Highness. According to Hindu rites, her Sradh was performed at Cooch Behar on the 21st November, 1932. All the State Offices, the Courts, the College and the Schools were closed on that day in honour of the occasion. According to her last wishes, her ashes were placed in a Samadhi near her parents' at the Lily Cottage, Calcutta and the Brahmo Sradh ceremony took place there on the 27th November, 1932.⁹⁰ In a memorial meeting held on the 28th November, 1932 in the Caxton Hall for her late Highness Maharani Sunity Devi and presided over by Lady Carmichael, who in her speech paid high tribute in the following words, "... The Maharani (Sunity Devi) held a unique position among Indian women. To begin with she was the daughter of Keshab Chandra Sen and from him must have inherited her religious fervour and profound faith, also that power to enthuse others in movements of a progressive nature among women. She had the pen of a ready writer and has written several charming books She could be a true, loyal and devoted friend, and was always a great lady."⁹¹

Regency Council also received the news with the deepest regret and sorrow of the demise of this Most Gracious Majesty King, George V, Emperor of India, which occurred at Sandringham on the 20th January, 1936. All courts, offices, schools and the college remained closed on the 22nd and 23rd January, 1936⁹² as a mark of respect for his late Majesty's memory. A further Notification was issued in an Extraordinary Gazette on the 25th January, 1936 closing all courts, and offices, schools and the college for the 28th January, 1936 on account of the funeral day.⁹³

Correspondence between the Regency Council and the Chamber of Princes : Cooch Behar being a member

state of the Chamber of Princes, the Regency Council had correspondence with that All-India Organisation and also made yearly contribution towards it. For instance, a sum of Rs. 800/- was remitted by the treasury officers of Cooch Behar on account of the annual contributions of the Cooch Behar State towards the expenditure on the Secretariat of the Chamber of Princes for the year ending December, 1934.⁹⁴ Under decisions from the Regency Council a sum of Rs. 800/- in Government notes payable by the Cooch Behar State as contribution towards the Chamber Fund in the year 1934-35.⁹⁵ The Vice-President of the Regency Council had written a letter on the 14th December, 1934 to the Maharaja of Patiala, the Chancellor, the Chamber of Princes, Motibagh, Patiala in the following terms : "I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Highness' confidential circular letter no. 6, d/27.11.34, requesting His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar to attend the next meeting of the Chamber of Princes, to be held at New Delhi on 21st January, 1935. In reply, I have the honour to state that His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar is a minor and has not been invested with Ruling powers, His Highness will be unable to take part in the proceedings of the Chamber of Princes."⁹⁶

Boundary Disputes with Neighbouring Areas : The boundary questions arose during the period of the Regency Council. The first boundary dispute arose between the Cooch Behar State and the District of Rangpur. It has been referred to in a letter No. 214 T R, dated May 29, 1924 from the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, Jurisdiction Branch, regarding adjustment of boundary between the Cooch Behar State and the Districts of Jalpaiguri, Rangpur and Goalpara. The Bengal Government say, for reasons stated therein, that the question of the 90 acres of land lost to Cooch Behar Durbar as stated in the Regency Council letter no. 1427 dated the 5th January of 1929, should not be reopened now. As regards the retention by the Durbar of the 51 acres as a set off against the lost 90 acres, the Bengal Government say that Colonel Hirst found Mr. Hart's work of the demarcation inaccurate to the extent of only 20 or 30 links. The Bengal Government, therefore, request that the Durbar may be moved to accept the supplementary report of Lt. Col. F. C. Hirst I. A., as showing the correct boundaries. As a consequence, the Regency Council in a meeting held on the 6th July, 1924 resolved that the supplementary report of Lt. Colonel F.C. Hirst, I.A. be accepted as showing the correct boundaries and ordered that the Government of Bengal and the Revenue Officer be informed accordingly. It appeared from letter (No. 13152P) dated the 8th November, 1929 of the Government of Bengal that the Government of Assam had accepted the proposal of the Regency Council as regards the claim of the Cooch Behar State to Village Baniaguri and had directed that the matter be left over till the Maharaja attained his majority. But the Government of Assam pointed out that they were unable to accede to the proposal of the Regency Council for retaining the fishing right and 'Bhery' rights in the Sankosh river in view of its long and uninterrupted possession of those rights.⁹⁷

Another boundary question arose between the Cooch Behar State and the District of Rangpur. Therefore, the demarcation of the Cooch Behar-Rangpur boundary was taken up during the 1933-34 and a Commission was appointed

for the purpose. Mr. M. O. Carter, I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Rangpur, representing the Government of Bengal and Sreejut Nirmal Chandra Mustafi, B.L., Naib Ahilkar, Mathabhanga, representing the State, were appointed Commissioners.⁹⁸ The demarcation of the Cooch Behar-Rangpur boundary was completed in 1934 and the joint report submitted by the Boundary Commissioners was accepted and approved. It was at first decided to erect 531 pillars along the Cooch Behar-Rangpur boundary but the number of pillars was eventually reduced to 376. The cost of erection was shared equally by the Cooch Behar State and the Government.⁹⁹ The demarcations of the Cooch Behar enclaves in the Rangpur District, and of the Rangpur enclaves in the Cooch Behar State was completed in 1934-35. The complete report with maps submitted by the Boundary Commissioners was adopted by the Cooch Behar State and the Government of Bengal in 1935-36.¹⁰⁰

Proposal for Introduction of Factory Legislation in Cooch Behar : J. George, Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal wrote a letter (No. 13862P) on the 20th November, 1934 to the Political Agent, Cooch Behar State informing him that he was directed to forward for his information a copy of letter no. F.179-I-A/34, dated the 31st October, 1934 from the Government of India, Foreign and Political Department and of its enclosures on the proposed introduction in Indian States of factory legislation on the lines of the Factories Act, 1934, and to request that as desired by the Government of India, the Regency Council, Cooch Behar State, may kindly be urged if there are factories of any importance in the state, to consider the desirability of introducing and enforcing legislation on the lines of the Factories Act, 1934 and that this Government may be informed of the result in due course for communication to the Government of India.¹⁰¹ Accordingly, on the 9th November, 1934 the Political Agent forwarded the aforesaid copy to the Vice-President, Regency Council for favour of a report at an early date.¹⁰² This copy was finally forwarded from the Vice-President on the 5th December, 1934 to Her Highness the President, Regency Council for favour of order.¹⁰³

It has been known from the above mentioned letter dated the 31st October, 1934 from the Government of India that the Factories Act (Act XXV of 1934), 1934 will come into force on the first January, 1935. Employing interests apprehended that the Act especially its provisions relating to hours of work will intensify competition between factories in British India and factories in Indian States. The Government of India are of opinion that it is most desirable that factory legislation in Indian States should, as far as possible, be assimilated to the legislation in force in British India. It may be mentioned here that a large number of States have either already adopted, or decided to act upto, the provisions of the Indian Factories Act of 1911 in response to a similar request made in that year.¹⁰⁴

The Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal again sent a reminder on the 28th February, 1935. The Political Agent of the Cooch Behar State on the proposed introduction in Indian States of factory legislation on the lines of the Factories Act, 1934 enquiring how the matter stands now.¹⁰⁵ Copy of the aforesaid letter was forwarded to the Vice-President, Regency Council on the 12th March, 1935.¹⁰⁶ The Vice-President in turn sent the copy to Her

Highness the President, Regency Council, on the 18th March, 1935 for favour of early orders¹⁰⁷ by the Political Agent of the State for favour of submitting the report called for therein, at the earliest possible date.

K. C. Ganguli, the Revenue Officer, Cooch Behar reported on 29th March, 1935 to Her Highness the President that "with reference to the Regency Council Letter No. 2272, dated the 18th February, 1935, regarding the factories in the State, I have the honour to state that the Rice Mill is the only factory of a magnitude where on an average about 100 labourers are employed and work at a time. The power in this Mill is generated by Steam Engine. The maximum number of workers employed in State Electrical Power House at a time does not exceed five men. There is no Railway workshop within the state limits which comes under the operation of Factories Act."¹⁰⁸

A few days later the Registrar, Regency Council also reported on the 2nd April, 1935 to the Vice-President informing him that "regarding proposed introduction in Indian States of factory legislation on the lines of the Factory Act, 1934. I am directed to state for information of Government that if legislation on the lines of the Factories Act, 1934 were introduced in the State, it would affect only one concern at Cooch Behar, namely, the Rice Mill." "In the circumstances the Regency Council do not think that the introduction of Factory Legislation and its enforcement would be justified, more particularly as there is nothing to indicate that the concern in question competes in any way with similar factories in British India."¹⁰⁹

Definition of 'Cooch Behar Subject' : In a significant move the Regency Council issued a notification on the 3rd August, 1932 defining "Cooch Behar Subject". According to this notification, the classifications 'Native of the State' and "Domiciled Native of the State" were henceforth abolished and one classification, namely, "Cooch Behar subject" would henceforth be adopted and such privileges as had hitherto been accorded to "Natives and Domiciled Natives" would in future be accorded to "Cooch Behar Subjects."

A "Cooch Behar Subject" was defined as (i) 'One owes allegiance to His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, his heirs and successors and assigns and renounces the claims to the status of subject of an Indian State."

(ii) 'Whose great grandmother, grandfather and father have continuously resided in the Cooch Behar State, and'

(iii) 'Who has no home or permanent abode without the limits of the Cooch Behar State."¹¹⁰

Last Settlement Operations in Cooch Behar (1912-13 - 1927) : Owing to several causes extensive changes had taken place in the topography of the Cooch Behar State. The maps prepared in 1868-1870 in connection with the Revenue Survey of the State had become out of date and could no longer be relied upon. It was therefore decided to have a Traverse survey as well as a Cadastral survey of the State on the lines adopted by the Government of Bengal. The Traverse survey was concluded in 1916-1917. The Cadastral and preliminary record writing began in 1913-1914

and finished in 1916-1917 and 1917-1918 respectively.¹¹¹ The last settlement operations in Cooch Behar commenced in 1912-13 and finished in 1927 during the incumbency of Lt. Col. W.G. Hutchinson, I.A.¹¹²

The late Maharaja Jitendranarayan had publicly announced on the 10th April, 1922 that the settlement should be made for a term of 99 years.¹¹³ But the Government of Bengal was not inclined to accept this proposal. Therefore, on the demise of the Maharaja, the Regency Council in consultation with the Government made a declaration for 30 years' settlement for all lands, excepting rayati lands, unsettled Khas lands in town and bundars settlement for which was fixed for 10 years. The settlement of Khas land only was to be subject to such terms and conditions as might be decided upon from time to time.¹¹⁴

As a result of the present settlement, the land revenue of the State has increased from Rs. 12,62,154 to Rs. 17,98,984.¹¹⁵ Hence, the revenues from all sources for 1926-27 was Rs. 39,37,448 to which land revenue contributed Rs. 18,97,544.¹¹⁶ It is here to note how the land revenue of the State had increased by successive settlements. The following statement gives a thorough reading :¹¹⁷

	Revenue Rs.
(i) On the eve of the First settlement of 1870-72	3,64,140
(ii) First settlement (1870-72)	9,31,024
(iii) On the eve of the Rakamcharcha settlement of 1889	9,59,830
(iv) Rakamcharcha settlement (1889)	12,41,060
(v) On the eve of the present settlement (1912-13)	12,62,154
(vi) Dewan's settlement effected in 1919-20	18,50,853
(vii) Settlement officer's operation (1922)	17,98,984
(Karali Babu's settlement)	

The final report on the survey and settlement operations carried on in the state during the period of 1912-1927 was received from the Revenue Officer with his letter (no. 1003) dated the 10th July, 1929. The report was submitted to him by Babu Karali Charan Gangulu, B.A., B.C.S., who had been deputed by the Government of Bengal to work as settlement officer of the state during the latter stages of the operations. A detailed resolution reviewing the operations was recorded by the Regency Council and the report was ordered to be sent to the state press for being printed.¹¹⁸

Earth Quake of 1930 and Its Impact on Cooch Behar : On the 3rd July, 1930 there was a severe shock of earth quake which damaged more or less almost all the state buildings both in the Sudder and the Sub-divisional towns. It was not possible to provide funds necessary for repairing all the damaged buildings at a time. Therefore, Rs. 1,06,939

was spent to effect possible repairs to some of the principal buildings including the palace, the Vice-President's house, the Council office building, the Treasury building and the Sudder Thakurbari building were repaired during the year 1930-31. The amount was met by making an additional provision of Rs. 20,462 and by effecting a saving of Rs. 86,477 in the existing public works department Budget grants of the year 1930-31.¹¹⁹ repairs were being done almost every year. The most damaging earthquake in the state within living memory occurred in 1897. But this earth-quake of 1930 was not less damaging to property, though no loss of life had been reported.¹²⁰

The Great Economic Depression and Its Impact on Cooch Behar : Not only this, the state economy was also severely affected when the state fell under the grip of the world-wide economic depression of 1930-31. During the year 1931-32 various retrenchments had to be effected owing to the final stringency caused by the economic distress prevailing in the state. Cooch Behar being purely an agricultural State, the world-wide trade depression and consequent fall of the prices of agricultural products affected it considerably resulting this economic distress in the state.¹²¹ In view of the financial situation, in December, 1931 the Regency Council considered it imperative that a reduction in salaries of all state officials should be effected and decided to revert as far as possible to the scale of salaries in force prior to the 1st April, 1927 the date from which the recommendations of the last salaries committee were given effect to. Until a general reduction on that basis could be brought into effect, the 'ad interim' emergent reductions were ordered to be effected on salaries due for December, January and February of the year 1931-32.¹²² With effect from the 1st April, 1932 improved time scale of pay sanctioned from the 1st April, 1927 was abolished and the scale existing immediately before that date was re-established. All personal allowances were discontinued with effect from the 1st April, 1932.¹²³

Thus various retrenchments had to be effected owing to the financial stringency prevailing in the state. The state Engineer Mr. N. K. Nag's services were dispensed with.¹²⁴ The B.Sc. classes of The Victoria College of the State having been abolished during the year 1932-33, the services of two professors of the college were dispensed with.¹²⁵ As a measure of economy the post of the Fouzdari Ahilkar (District Magistrate) was suspended with effect from the 16th February, 1934, the Revenue Officer of the state being vested with the all the powers of a Fouzdari Ahilkar under the Criminal Procedure Code and other laws.¹²⁶

It is interesting to note that policy of retrenchment arising out of the economic depression has also been applied to the allowances of an influential member of the royal family. There was a proposal made in January, 1934 at the instance of Her Highness the Maharani to reduce the allowances of Maharaj Kumar Victor Nityendra Narayan,¹²⁷ the surviving uncle of the present Maharaja. The history of the case was as follows.

During the life time of Maharaja Nripendra Narayan the four Maharaj Kumars, Raj Rajendra Narayan, Jitendra Narayan, Victor N. Narayan and Hitendra Narayan, received an allowance of Rs. 2000/- per month each. Maharaja

Nripendra Narayan died in September, 1911 and his eldest son Raj Rajendra Narayan succeeded him. The terms of the Will and Codicil of His late Highness Maharaja Nripendra Narayan directed that the Maharaj Kumars Jitendra Narayan, Victor N. Narayan and Hitendra Narayan should receive an allowance of Rs. 500 per month from the state and Rs. 10,000 per annum or Rs. 833 5-4 per month from the revenues of the Darjeeling and Panga Estates. In addition to the recurring allowances paid under the will to the Maharaj Kumars a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs in cash was also paid to each of the three Maharaj Kumars.¹²⁸

On the death of Maharaja Raj Rajendra Narayan in September, 1913, Maharaja Jitendra Narayan on accession to the 'Gadi' ordered that his allowance of Rs. 10,000 from the Darjeeling and Panga Estates should be divided equally between his two younger brothers, Victor N. Narayan and Hitendra Narayan. Thus Victor N. Narayan received a total allowance of Rs. 500 per month from the state and Rs. 15,000 per annum (or Rs. 1,250 per month) from the revenues of the Darjeeling and Panga Estates.

In 1915, Maharaja Jitendranarayan made a gift of the Panga Estate to his younger brother Maharaj Kumar Victor N. Narayan. The net income from this Estate then stood at Rs. 10,300 per annum. Victor N. Narayan twice mortgaged this Estate and subsequently in 1926 his indebtedness led the Regency Council to take over the Panga Estate and liquidate his debt amounting in all to approximately six and half lakhs of rupees in connection with the Estate. From the budget of 1917-18 it is seen that Victor N. Narayan was granted an additional allowance of Rs. 6,000 per annum making a total annual allowance of Rs. 27,000 or Rs. 2,250 per month but no order of His Highness can be traced in support of this. The Maharaj Kumar was made a member of the State Council on the 15th January, 1920 and was granted an additional allowance of Rs. 1,000 per month in consideration of the duties he performed as member. His allowance from this date thus totalled Rs. 39,000 per annum or Rs. 3,250 per month. The Maharaj Kumar resigned from the Council of the 1st April, 1922 but by special order of His Highness he was permitted to retain the emoluments of Rs. 1000 granted to him as a member of the Council.

On the death of His Highness in December, 1922 Victor N. Narayan was again appointed a member of the Council and it was ordered in a letter from the Government of Bengal dated the 17th May, 1923 that the present allowances of the Maharaj Kumar should be regarded as including remuneration for the performance of his duties as a member of the Council. The Maharaj Kumar proceeded to England in April, 1927 and resigned from the Council on the 13th February, 1929. His marriage was annulled in 1926. There were two children of the marriage Kumar Nidhendra Narayan who died in 1927 and Kumar Gautam Narayan who was still living.¹²⁹

From the 15th of January, 1915 to the 4th June, 1929, therefore, Victor N. Narayan has been drawing an allowance of Rs. 3250 per month of which Rs. 1000 per month has, since the 21st March, 1929 been applied to the

liquidation of his debts as it has been seen that on the 4th June, 1929 the aggregate amount of the Maharaj Kumar's indebtedness was Rs. 81,664-14-6 The successive increments to the Maharaj Kumar's allowance have been as follows¹³⁰

	Per annum	Per month		
	Rs.	Rs.	A.	P.
Allowance under the Will	16000	1333	5	4
Increments in 1913	5000	416	10	8
Increments in 1917	6000	500	0	0
of the Council in 1920	12000	1000	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	39,000	3,250	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Therefore, Her Highness the Maharani was of opinion that the allowance of Rs. 39000 per annum payable to Victor N. Narayan is too great a burden for the resources of the state. The Maharaj Kumar now lives permanently in England and has no encumbrances since he has no wife to support and the education of his only son has been under taken by the state. The state will take over the Maharaj Kumar's liabilities. Her Highness the Maharani desires strongly that the Maharaj Kumar's allowance should, during the minority of His Highness the Maharaja, be definitely fixed at a figure which the state can be expected to afford. Her Highness also realizes that the Maharaj Kumar should receive an allowance consistent with his position as uncle of the ruling chief and in consideration of this she recommends that the allowance of Rs. 2000 a month be granted henceforth to him. The Vice-President of the Regency Council is also in full agreement with Her Highness on this point. He is also of opinion that the Maharaj Kumar has extremely generously treated in the past both in respect of allowances and also in respect of the discharge of his liabilities by the State.¹³¹

The Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division and Political Agent of the Cooch Behar State is also inclined to agree with the Regency Council that the Maharaj Kumar's allowance is too generous and there is room for retrenchment, especially in the present financial situation of the state, when considerable retrenchment has had to be effected in the expenditure of the state including the Civil List. According to Political Agent of the State, the proposal for reduction of the Maharaj Kumar's allowance from Rs. 3,250 to Rs. 2,000 a month is also justifiable to another reason. There seems to be very little reason for continuing an additional allowance originally granted to the Maharaj Kumar for carrying out the duties of a member of the Council. The Government of India while approving of the appointment of the Maharaj Kumar as a member of the Regency Council made it clear that the existing allowances are to be regarded as

including remuneration for his performing the duties in the Council. Justification for this additional allowance may be said to have disappeared when the Maharaj Kumar ceased to be a member. The Political Agent referred the case in a letter dated Jalpaiguri, the 5th March 1934 to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal for favour of orders¹³² the Government of Bengal approved the proposed reduction of the allowances of Maharaj Kumar Victor N. Narayan and requested the Political Agent of the Cooch Behar State in a letter dated the 11th October, 1934 that the Regency Council should be informed accordingly.¹³³

Owing to the low prices of agricultural products, there had been an acute distress among the people throughout the State as in British India. Cooch Behar being purely an agricultural territory, the people had been hard hit by the low prices. A large number of Jotedars failing to repay the revenue due to the State applied to the Regency Council either for remission of revenue or for extension of time. At first the Regency Council granted time in each of the three 'Kists' for payment of arrears of revenue. The tenants of the Chaklajat Estates had been similarly affected by the prevailing economic distress. The Manager of Chaklajat Estates could not even realise the money required for the payment of revenue and cesses as also for the entertainment of the establishment under him. Accordingly the Regency Council sanctioned the grant of an advance of Rs. 40,000 for the aforesaid purposes.¹³⁴

To mitigate the hardships to the subjects of the State attributable to the prevailing economic depression, the Regency Council granted remissions of revenue to the Jotedars and extended similar concessions to all classes of under-tenants.¹³⁵ The Council issued a notification on the 14th January, 1932 announcing such remissions and concessions.¹³⁶

Despite extensions of time for payment of 'Kists' and also remissions of revenue granted by the State to enable the Jotedars to pay up their arrears, but this produced no desired effect. Provisions therefore were made to make jotes 'Khas' and effect collection from defaulting Jotes on fetching no bid at the Revenue sales. To carry out the scheme a regular Khasmahal Department had to be opened at first by establishing some Tehsil Centres for realisation of rents direct from the under-tenants under the Khas Jotes in 1934 and then placing the Department under an experienced Naib Ahilkar, Srijut Karali Charan Ganguli of khasmahal experience had been recruited as the Revenue Officer of the State and the head of the Khasmahal Department.¹³⁷ Of jotes in respect of which default had been made for many kists, a small number were made khas and brought under the Khasmahal Department.¹³⁸ A new form of lease was adopted during the year 1934-35, in connection with the resettlement of areas on the khas possession of the state. The new system involved the conclusion of separate agreements with the actual cultivators of the soil, who acquired an occupancy tenancy of their respective holdings but had no power to create under-tenures or to alienate their land without permission.¹³⁹ It has been officially claimed that the result of the policy followed had been on the whole satisfactory in as much as it gave relief to the jotedars to some extent while the revenue collections of the state

showed a marked improvement.¹⁴⁰ However it has already been seen how the economic depression caused large-scale land alienation turning cultivators into 'adhiars' and thereby preparing the ground of the peasant unrest in one of the sub-divisions of the State.

The Government of Bengal had directed Mr. Robertson, the Political Agent of Cooch Behar State to review the financial situation of the state and prepare for the Governor a forecast of the financial position before the 31st March, 1936 in view of the impending assumption of ruling powers by the Maharaja. The Political Agent of Cooch Behar State informed the Government of Bengal on the 5th June, 1934 that Lt. Col. Brett, the Vice President of the Regency Council was looking into the finances of the state and he would be able to make a report within a short time.¹⁴¹

J. A. Brett, the Vice President, Regency Council prepared a report on the 15th June, 1934 for submission to the Government of Bengal containing the budget estimate of the Cooch Behar State for the year 1934-35, together with the revised estimate for the year 1933-34. The budget estimate and revised estimate for 1933-34 are compared below.¹⁴²

	Revenue	Expenditure	(+) Surplus
	Rs.	Rs.	(-) Deficit
Budget Estimate for 1933-34.....	26,20,687	26,00,980	+19,707
Revised Estimate for 1933-34.....	24,73,369	25,96,801	-1,23,432

It will be seen that the revised estimates for 1933-34 provide for receipts amounting to Rs. 24,73,369 and for an expenditure of Rs. 25,96,801, thus bringing the margin between income and expenditure to a deficit of Rs. 1,23,432 as against the surplus of Rs. 19,707 which was anticipated when the original estimate was prepared in May, 1933. According to the Vice-President, the main reason for this heavy deficit is the continuance of the world-wide trade depression and the slump in the prices of agricultural products. The estimated deficit of Rs. 1,23,432 was met from the actual opening cash balance of Rs. 3,77,516 available when the financial year 1933-34 commenced. The cash balance was thereby reduced to Rs. 2,54,084 which has been estimated as the closing balance of 1933-34 and the opening balance of 1934-35.

The Vice-President, Regency Council, is of opinion that the financial condition of the state cannot be described as satisfactory. For the last four years, the administration has been carried on at a loss, notwithstanding the fact that the actual cost of the administrative services has been progressively reduced from Rs. 18,48,901 in 1930-31 to Rs. 10,79,571 in 1933-34. If the revised estimate for 1933-34 should prove to be correct the state cash resources will have been depleted during this period to the extent of Rs. 7,69,885 while an asset in the form of arrears of land revenue has

accrued: On paper arrear revenue is recoverable to the extent of nearly 30 lakhs, but the prospect of recovering any considerable portion of it from an impoverished population is doubtful.¹⁴³

F. W. Robertson, Political Agent for the Cooch Behar State, submitted a report on the 14th July, 1934 to the Government of Bengal making a general review of the financial position of the state. His reports gives the following figures showing the very serious drop in the state revenues since the year 1930 and steps which have been taken to reduce the expenditure with a view to balancing the budgets :-¹⁴⁴

Year	Total Revenues Rs.	Civil List Expenditure Rs.	Cost of Administration Rs.
1923-24	36,31,376	3,25,000	11,00,604
1924-25	39,07,065	3,43,285	11,08,419
1925-26	38,66,879	3,43,000	12,99,405
Year	Total Revenues Rs.	Civil List Expenditure Rs.	Cost of Administration Rs.
1926-27	39,85,817	3,93,642	18,20,603
1927-28	41,58,104	5,07,773	18,71,629
1928-29	41,61,797	5,01,982	20,42,815
1929-30	41,06,037	4,34,167	19,44,288
1930-31	29,31,763	4,15,759	18,48,901
1931-32	26,11,308	4,01,946	12,32,807
1932-33	26,53,228	3,63,276	10,80,210
1933-34	24,63,675	4,07,534	10,64,718

(Approximate actuals)

It will be seen that the total revenues of the state have decreased from their maximum in 1928-29 of 41,61,797 to their minimum in 1933-34 of 24,63,675. The cost of administration took a steep upward trend in 1926-27 and reached its maximum in 1928-29 when the cost amounted to Rs. 20,42,835. With decrease in the revenues of the state the cost of the administration has been drastically reduced since 1931-32 and in the year 1933-34 it amounted only to Rs. 10,64,718.

On the other hand, expenditure under the head Civil List with the exception of the two years 1927-28 and 1928-29 when it exceeded 5 lakhs owing presumably to some special expenditure, has remained fairly constant at a little over 4 lakhs and even in the past year 1933-34 when the revenues touched their lowest level showed no decrease.

The only year in which a decrease in this expenditure was apparent was in the year 1932-33 when Her Highness the Maharani agreed to a cut of 10 per cent in the civil list expenditure which was thereby reduced to Rs. 3,63,276. Thus it is found in the year 1929-30 the cost of administration absorbed 47 per cent of the total revenues of the state, while the civil list expenditure accounted for only just over 10 per cent of the total revenues.

In the year 1933-34, on the other hand, the cost of administration amounted to 43 per cent and the Civil list expenditure to 17 per cent of the total revenues of the state. In fact the cost of administration has been reduced to nearly one half while the Civil list expenditure has remained almost the same. It is clear that in order to make income and expenditure balance such drastic cuts have been made under every head of the budget that no further economy is possible if any kind of efficiency is to be maintained, except economy in the Civil list expenditure. In spite of the drastic cuts in expenditure there has been an excess of expenditures over revenues between 31st March, 1922 and 31st March 1933 of about two and half lakhs.¹⁴⁵

G. P. Hogg, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal in a letter dated the 10th October, 1934 has informed the Political Agent of Cooch Behar State that the Government in Council has carefully examined the budget estimate of the Cooch Behar State for 1934-35 and the revised estimate for 1933-34. The Chief Secretary observes that in order to obtain a correct view of the revenue position, the receipts and expenditure on account of loans and advances should be excluded from the figures. Excluding these figures, therefore, the figures for the years 1932-33 (actuals), 1933-34 (provisional actuals) and 1934-35 (estimate) are as follows :-¹⁴⁶

(Figures in thousands of rupees)

	Revenue	Expenditure	Deficit
1932-33			
Actuals.....	26.53	26.77	24
1933-34			
Provisional Actuals.....	24.64	24.99	35
1934-35			
Estimate.....	24.76	25.00	24

With regard to the figures of the State in general, the Governor in Council considers it necessary to insist that, while it is true that the financial position would immediately improve with a rise in the prices of agricultural produce above the present low level there appears at present little prospect of a substantial rise and that, therefore, it would be unwise to act on the assumption that revenue will improve within the next few years sufficiently to produce

a surplus of revenue over expenditure. The substantial reserves which would be necessary to meet deficits which might occur in the meantime, should such an attitude be adopted appear in this case not to exist. The financial position of the state seems, therefore, far from satisfactory, less satisfactory indeed than an examination of the budget for 1934-35 and the actuals for the last years by itself discloses, for the Governor in Council cannot but bear in mind the abnormal expenditure which appears to be inevitable in the near future in connection with the accession of His Highness the Maharaja and the marriage of his sisters.¹⁴⁷

In these circumstances, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal has requested the Political Agent of the State that the attention of the Regency Council may be drawn to the implications of the analysis of the position set out above and the particular to the large fall in land revenue collections and the very heavy arrears outstanding Rs 30 lakhs. The Chief Secretary is to request also that the Political Agent will impress upon them the need to make every endeavour to improve the collections during the year 1934-35. The attention of the Regency Council should also be drawn to the abnormal expenditure which appears inevitable in the near future and they may be asked to state their proposals for meeting it.

The Chief Secretary has also pointed out that in the year 1932-33, a considerable saving in expenditure was secured by a reduction amounting to 10 per cent in the Civil List expenditure. This reduction was not repeated in the year 1933-34, but in view of the urgent need for economy the Chief Secretary is to enquire whether it would not be possible to effect during the current year some economy under the head Civil List in addition to any saving which it may be possible to effect under the subshead "Household Department." Not only this, the Governor in Council is of opinion that the Regency Council should also explore the possibility of reducing expenditure under heads other than those to which particular reference has been made above.¹⁴⁸ In a confidential note dated the 10th November, 1934, which had been prepared for the Maharani Regent's information, Lt. Col. Brett, the Vice President of the Regency Council expressed his opinion that financial position of the state so unfavourable that the exercise of strict control by the Regency Council over every item of expenditure was a vital necessity. Prior to 1930-31 the State Revenue from all sources amounted to more than 41 lakhs, While the total amount collected in 1933-34 was less than 25 lakhs, that is, a fall of 40 per cent. The year 1934-35 opened with an apparent working cash balance in the treasury of nearly five lakhs, but shortly after making over charge, the Vice-President discovered that this was not the true working cash balance in the sense ordinarily accepted i.e. it was not a surplus remaining over from the incomes and disbursements, of former years.¹⁴⁹

According to Lt. Col. Brett, it appeared that on occasions in 1921 and 1927 the total amount of state cash in the treasury was insufficient to meet the immediate requirements of the administration and to tide over the difficulty, sums aggregating Rs. 2,82,000/- were transferred from the general balance of the "Funds and Deposits" to State

Cash. In other words, this amount was borrowed and added to the opening cash balance of those years, in order to meet immediate requirements. Such borrowings should of course have been repaid to "Funds and Deposits" as soon as the revenues began to come in but it appeared that the only repayment of this nature occurred in 1928, when a sum of Rs. 25,000/- was debited to State Cash and credited to "Funds and Deposits". The balance (Rs. 2,57,000/-) so far as could be ascertained, still remained unadjusted, and prima facie it would appear that the opening working cash balance as on 1st April, 1934 was unduly inflated to that extent.¹⁵⁰

Nevertheless, the official version of the State Government has claimed that though the Regency Council had to move through the world-wide trade and financial depression, they went on with head erect and had been able to hand over the state to the Maharaja Jegaddipendra Narayan at the time of his accession to the Gadi with an honest conscience. Though the cash balance in the treasury was not heavy like that which Mr. Dalton was able to hand over to Maharaja Nripendranarayan (Mr. Dalton's Report shows that he left a sum of 20 lakhs to the Maharaja to bring about the yet unfinished town improvements) the Regency Council 'hope with all the improvements effected during this period they will be able to hand over a decent treasury cash balance including all trust funds at the end of the financial year 1935-36 to the Maharaja to carry out the duties and functions of the Head of the Ruling Family and those of the Ruler himself.'¹⁵¹

Mr. John Anderson, the Governor of Bengal, expressed his satisfaction, on the whole, with the works of the Regency Council in Cooch Behar.¹⁵² While delivering an address on the 6th April, 1936 on the occasion of Maharaja Jagaddipendranarayan's assumption of ruling power, the Governor said, "Your Highness is fortunate in that during your minority the affairs of the State have been in the competent hands of Her Highness the Maharani Regent and the Regency Council. In common with those of Bengal, the revenues of the State have been hard-hit by the fall in the price of agricultural products which set in with the economic crisis of 1931. Cooch Behar is pre-eminently an agricultural State and in consequence has felt the effect of the economic depression more severely perhaps than other states or provinces, so that the gross revenue of the State which amounted to rupees 41 lakhs in 1929 - 30, fell to less than Rs. 25 lakhs in 1933 - 34. It redounds greatly to the credit of Your Highness' Mother and the Regency Council that during the period of their administration, the outstanding debt of more than 30 lakhs was oaid off and, at the same time many schemes for the improvement of the state were carried out." The Governor also added that the five years before 1930 had seen the establishment of water works and electric installation, the opening of Sunity Academy for girls, and the erection and improvement of many state buildings, and at the end of that period a general overhaul of the state police force together with improvements of the police buildings was taken in hand.¹⁵³

Changes in the Constitution of the Regency Council : It may not be out of place to note the changes in the consitution of the Council of Regency during this period. Just after the demise of Maharaja Jitendra Narayan the

constitution of the State Council underwent some changes. Rai Choudhuri Satish Chandra Mustafi was appointed a Member and was placed in charge of the Education Department. Babu Pramatha Nath Chatterjee, Judicial Member, having retired, Satish Chandra Banerjee, Civil and Session Judge of the State, was appointed member of the State Council. Subsequently, Jagadballabh Biswas, Revenue Officer of the State was appointed Member in place of Satish Chandra Banerjee.¹⁵⁴

Mr. H. J. Twynam, the Vice-President, Regency Council, having reverted to service under the Government of Bengal, Major C.T.C. Plowden of the Political Department of the Government of India had been appointed Vice-President of the Council of the Regency of Cooch Behar with effect from the 8th November, 1923. The portfolio of the Revenue Department of the State including the Chaklajat Estate was transferred from the Vice-President to the Judicial Member of the Regency Council, who is also the Revenue Officer, with effect from 8th March, 1924. The Governor-General in Council appointed Major C.T.C. Plowden, Vice-President, being a European subject, to be a Justice of the Peace within the State of Cooch Behar on the 11th February, 1924.¹⁵⁵

Rai Choudhury Satish Chandra Mustafi had been appointed an additional Member of the Legislative Council for a term of three years due to the death of Rai Choudhuri Tarini Charan Chakravarty to represent the Hindu Jotedars. Kumar Gojendra Narayan and Khan Choudhuri Amanatulla Ahmed had been re-appointed to the legislative Council for a further term of three years, the former to represent the Rajguns and the latter to represent the Muhammedan Jotedars. The three appointments referred to above took effect from the 17th November, 1924.¹⁵⁶

Jagadballabh Biswas, Revenue and Judicial Member, Regency Council having died on the 28th July, 1925, Rajani Kanta Bhaumik, Fauzdari Ahilkar of the state, was temporarily appointed to officiate as Revenue Officer and Judicial Member, Regency Council with the approval of the Government of India on the 4th September, 1925. He was relieved on the 12th November, 1925 by Rai Bahadur Lal Khastagir who had recently retired from service under the government of Bihar and Orissa and who had been appointed with the approval of the Government of India on the 22nd August, 1925 Revenue Officer of the state for a period of three years. Kumar Gojendranarayan was appointed fifth Member of the Regency Council, with effect from the 22nd August, 1925. By the death of Jagadballabh Biswas, Revenue Officer and Judicial Member, Regency Council, the State lost an experienced and capable officer who served the State well for many years. All the courts, offices and schools and the college remained closed on the 4th August 1925 as a mark of respect to his memory.¹⁵⁷

Under section four of Cooch Behar Act II of 1909, Kumar Nagendra Narayan was appointed during the year of 1925-26 as an additional Member of Cooch Behar Legislative Council for a term of three years to represent the Rajguns in place of Kumar Gajandra Narayan who, by virtue of his being appointed a member of the Regency Council,

became a member of the Legislative Council and in consequence ceased to be an additional member of the Cooch Behar Legislative Council to represent the Rajguns.¹⁵⁸

Lieutenant Colonel W. G. Hutchinson was appointed under the orders of the Government of India Vice-President of the Regency Council for a period of two years. He took over charge from Major C. T. C. Plowden, Vice-President, Regency Council on the 20th November, 1926. He was afterwards appointed to be a Justice of Peace within the Cooch Behar State under the orders of the Government of India. To mark the occasion of the departure from Cooch Behar of Major C.T.C. Plowden, all the courts, schools and the college of the state remained closed on the 17th November, 1926.¹⁵⁹

The Regency Council in their Notification dated the 5th September, 1927 announced that 'whereas in the memorandum of Administration dated the 4th December, 1891 remodelling the constitution of the Council, it was laid down that a Full Bench on the Judicial side should consist of all the Members with the Maharaja as President, and whereas, in the present circumstances, it had become necessary to amend the aforesaid existing rule for convening a Full Bench, the Regency Council, with the approval of the Government of Bengal, ordered that during the period of the present Minority Administration in the State, a Full Bench should consist of three or more members of the Regency Council, with the Vice-President, Regency Council, as President in the absence of Her Highness the President.¹⁶⁰

Maharaja Kumar Victor Nityendra Narayan, Member of Regency Council, left India for England in April, 1927. He tendered his resignation on the 18th July, 1928, as Member of the Council and the portfolio left vacant in the Regency Council by this resignation had not been upto July, 1929.¹⁶¹ The Government of India sanctioned the extension of the appointment of the Lieutenant Colonel W. G. Hutchinson, as Vice-President, Regency Council on the existing terms for a period of two years with effect from the 21st November, 1928, the date on which the period of his appointment expired. The Government of India noted with satisfaction the Maharani Regent's appreciation of the services of Lt. Col. W. G. Hutehinson. Mr. H. L. Khastagir, Rai Bahadur, was appointed Judicial Member, Regency Council and Revenue Officer of the State for a period of 3 years in the first instance with effect from the 12th November, 1925, on which he took over charge. Her Highness in Council confirmed his appointment with effect from the 12th November, 1928, on which the period of 3 years mentioned above expired.¹⁶²

Satindra Nath Guha, the Civil and Session Judge of the State had to be co-opted as a member of the Judicial Committee of the Regency Council to form a full Bench on the 25th March, 1930 and a Special Bench on the 9th July, 1929 and the 8th January, 1930 to dispose of certain revenue appeals, motions and references against the decision of the present Revenue Officer who is also the Judicial Member of Regency Council.¹⁶³

Lieutenant Colonel W. G. Hutchinson, Vice-President, Regency Council, was granted by the Government of India an extension of his appointment on the existing terms till he proceeded on leave pending retirement in April, 1931. His appointment would, otherwise, have terminated on the 20th November, 1930. On the expiry of the extended period of service of Col. Hutchingson, Major K. A. G. Evans Gordon took over charge as Vice-President, Regency Council, on the 31st March, 1931. Kumar Gojendra Narayan, Member of the Regency Council, died on the 8th November, 1930.¹⁶⁴

Mr. H. L. Khastagir, Reveue Officer and Judicial Member, Regency Council, retired from the service of the state on the first January, 1932 and Jatindra Mohan Sengupta, Fouzdari Ahilkar, was appointed from that date to be Revenue Officer and a Member of the Regency Council. The duties of the Judicial Member of the Regency Council had been provisionally taken over by the Vice-President, Regency Council.

Lieutenant Colonel K. A. G. Evans Gordon was appointed to be a Justice of the Peace within the State of Cooch Behar under orders of the Government of India on the 30th July, 1931.¹⁶⁵ Under orders of the Government of India, dated the 11th march, 1933 the period of employment of Lt. Col. K. A. G. Evans Gordon, as Vice-President of the Council of Regency, was extended for a further period of two years with effect from the 1st April, 1932, on the existing terms. Satindranath Guha, Civil and Session Judge and Dineshananda Chakravarty, Civil Surgeon were, with the approval of the Government of India, appointed to be Members of the Regency Council with effect from the 15th June, 1932 due to the resignation of Maharaj Kumar Victor N. Narayan and the death of Kumar Gojendra Narayan (Junior).¹⁶⁶

Lt. Col. K. A. G. Evans Gordon made over charge to Lt. Col. J. A. Brett. on the 13th march, 1934. Satindranath Guha, Civil and Sessions Judge, retired on the 15th February, 1934, and was succeeded by Umanath Dutt, who became a Member of the Council of Regency with effect from the 16th February, 1934 under orders conveyed in Bengal Government letter , dated the 1st February, 1934. Under the orders of the Government of India, dated the 11th April, 1934, Lt. Col. J. A. Brett, Vice-President, was appointed a Justice of the Peace within the State of Cooch Behar.¹⁶⁷

Jatindra Mohan Sengupta, Revenue Officer and Member of the Council of Regency, died at Calcutta on the 11th July, 1934.¹⁶⁸ With the approval of the Government of India Rai Bahadur Karali Charan Ganguli and Sumatha Ranjan Majumdar were appointed as Members of Regency Council on the 12th February, 1935 and the 28th May, 1935, respectively. The Regency Council then and for the remainder of the year 1935 consisted of the Vice-President, the Revenue Officer, the Civil and Sessions Judge, the Civil Surgeon and the Audit Officer with the Maharani Regent, as President.¹⁶⁹

On the other hand, the Legislative Council of the State consisted during the year of 1934-35 of the following:

(i) Regent and President : Maharani Indira Devi, (ii) Vice-President : Lt. Col. J.A. Brett, C.I.E (later replaced by Mr. J.D. Tyson), (iii) Members : S.J. Umanath Dutta, B.L., Dr. D. Chakravarty, Nitibisharad, one vacant (iv) Additional Members : Khan Choudhuri Amanatulla Ahmed, Surendrakanta Basu Majumdar, B. L., Duli Chand Sethia Oswal, Susil Kumar Chakravarty, M.A., and Kumar Rabindra Narayan, Secretary, H. K. Sengupta, B.L.¹⁷⁰

The Regency Council as constituted after the death of the Maharaja Jitendranarayan continued to function until the 6th April, 1936 when Maharaja Jagaddipendranarayan had been invested with full ruling powers. It had consisted towards the close of the Regency period of the following : (i) Regent and President : The Maharani Indira Devi, (ii) Vice-President and Judicial Member : Mr. J. D. Tyson, I. C. S., (iii) Revenue Officer : Rai Karali Charan Ganguli Bahadur, B. A., B. C. S., (Retired), (iv) Audit Officer : S. J. Sumatha Rajan Majumder, (v) Civil Surgeon : Dr. D. Chakrabarti, and (vi) Civil and Sessions Judge : S. J. Umanath Dutt.¹⁷¹

Conclusion : The minority administration conducted by the Regency Council came to an end on the 6th April, 1936. Maharani Indira Devi was the Regent of the Cooch Behar State for thirteen years. She was thirty years old while resuming the responsibility as Regent after the death of her husband the late Maharaja Jitendra Narayan. She was the only daughter of the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaikwar of Baroda and was one of the first Indian princesses to go to school and to graduate from Baroda College. She accompanied her parents on their trips to England.¹⁷² Indira Devi was married to the late Maharaja Jitendra Narayan on the 25th August, 1913 in London.¹⁷³ One eye-witness to her wedding later described the impact she had on their lives : "I can well remember the sensation all this caused. Indians were rare in England and the saree was still strange enough to attract considerable attention. Indira Devi, in any case, attracted more than attention, for to describe her beauty as ravishing would by no means be using an over worked cliché. Reporters flocked to our home, endless photographs were taken and we small boys lived in a haze of reflected glory. The marriage was the big news of the season. Every illustrated paper gave it full page treatment and for a long time we kept a thick file of cuttings over which we used nostalgically to pore."¹⁷⁴

Indira Devi became the Regent of the Cooch Behar State on the 21st May, 1923 with the approval of the Government of India.¹⁷⁵ As has been noted earlier, Indira Devi's training for her administrative responsibilities had been remarkably good. She had often been taken into confidence by her father, the Gaikwar of Baroda, who had discussed many state's matters with her because she had a good head for Government. On his one visit to Cooch Behar he expressed himself as very pleased with the way Indira Devi was running administration. Gayatri Devi wrote in her Memoirs that 'Indira Devi wished to walk around the palace garden with some government officials on one side and her son Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan on the other, discussing budget or the plans for new hospital or school. She was very serious when people came to advise, consult or inform her.'¹⁷⁶

Five or six A.D.Cs, had the responsibility of managing different departments of the Household. They also escorted Indira Devi wherever she was going, helped to entertain guests at the palace and acted as buffers between her and whoever came to see her. 'In running the extensive menage', Indira Devi relegated a good part of the responsibilities to comptrollers, clerks, A.D.Cs and even relatives who lived with them (the royal family) but the final decisions always had to be hers. Indira Devi relied on Victor N. Narayan, the late Maharaja Jitendra Narayan's only surviving brother, for advice because he knew Cooch Behar so well and spoke the Cooch Behari dialect perfectly. But while he took his son Gautam Narayan to England, the whole life of the palace lost much of its Cooch Behari character. The people who now assisted Indira Devi in the ruling of the State all came from other parts of India. Indira Devi's Private Secretary, several senior members of the household retinue, and even Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan's young companions all came from outside Cooch Behar.¹⁷⁷ Among them names of Nawab Zada Abdul Karim, M.A. (Oxon). Bar-at-law, and Major Nawab Khasru Jung can be mentioned. The former was appointed as her Secretary while the latter was appointed as comptroller of the household and also guardian to the Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan and Maharaj Kumar Indrajitendra Narayan. Both of them came from Hyderabad and were appointed on the 1st April, 1923.¹⁷⁸ Besides, Khasru Jung happened to be a superb horseman and began to supervise the care and training of Maharani Indira Devi's string of hunters' as well as all their ponies.¹⁷⁹ Indira Devi was also known to be a personal friend of Khasru Jung.¹⁸⁰

The Maharani the Regent was always anxious to meet representatives of the people and to receive first hand information of their grievances and aspirations. At times people without previous intimation assembled in large numbers in the expectations of obtaining an audience of Her Highness.¹⁸¹ Indira Devi's own passionate interest and concern for others made her both special and accessible to anybody. She was always called "Ma", not only by her children but also by the peasants of Cooch Behar.¹⁸²

Maharani Indira Devi could speak several languages - 'switching rapidly from one language to another - English to her friends, Marathi to any visiting relatives from Baroda, French to her Swiss maid and Bengali to her children and to any other Cooch Beharis. Indira Devi pursued a very busy scheduled life. At the same time she arranged her hair (something she liked to do for herself) or made notes on a little pad she always kept in front of her as she planned some future projects; a list of guests, perhaps or a meeting with her ministers or a 24 hour party in Calcutta.¹⁸³

Indira Devi was the foremost hostess in India, known internationally for the excellence of parties and at home because she broke new ground for Indian women. She proved that a woman - a widow - could entertain with confident charm and flair. Her hospitality was famous, partly because her expert attention to detail made her friends so supremely comfortable. It was not surprising that every one wanted to be entertained by "Ma Cooch Beharis."¹⁸⁴ It is needless to

say, Indira Devi was one of the most attractive beautiful and elegant women. She had so many admirers, not only in India but abroad as well.¹⁸⁵

When Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan resumed full ruling powers on the 6th April, 1936, his mother Maharani Indira Devi kept herself aloof from the affairs of state administration and spent a good deal of time away from the State visiting Delhi, or especially Bombay, to be with her mother.¹⁸⁶ In the first week of September, 1968 Indira Devi's health had been deteriorating with a variety of illness, the most severe of which was cardiac asthma. She died on the 12th September, 1968 in Bombay. Gayatri Devi wrote in her autobiography that "Even when she (Indira Devi) was ill, her involvement with life had been so intense it was impossible to grasp the fact that she was dead."¹⁸⁷

Notes and References

1. Annual Administrative Report of Cooch Behar State (A.A.R.C.B.S.), 1922 - 1923, Cooch Behar State Press, 1923, p-1.
2. Cooch Behar Gazette, January 1, 1923, No. 1, p. 2. The State Council as originally constituted in 1883 consisted of three members under the presidency of the Maharaja. The three members were the Superintendent of the State, the Dewan and a Judicial Officer. The office of Dewan was abolished in 1920 and the Revenue Department was placed under the Vice-President (who was designated the Superintendent of the State until 1916). The late Maharaja Jitendra Narayan increased the membership of the State Council and it consisted of H.J. Twynam, the Vice-President, Maharaja Kumar Victor Nityendra Narayan, who was a member without portfolio, Mr. B. Ghosh, formerly Secretary and at present designated Financial Secretary to the Maharaja, Nawabzada Abdul Karim Khan, Secretary to the Maharaja, Mr. S. Ghose, Fouzdari Ahilkar (District Magistrate) and Rai Choudhuri Satish Chandra Mustafi, a landholder belonging to a prominent family in the state, who was a state-servant and at present in charge of education department. — Confidential letter No. 2768, dated 28th December, 1922 from H. J. Twynam, Vice-President of Cooch Behar State Council to the Chief Secretary of the Government of Bengal, Govt. of Bengal, Political Department (Political), File No. 71, Sl. No. 9, p. 4.
3. Letter No. 106P dated the 15th January, 1923 from Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to Vice-President, the State Council, Cooch Behar. Govt. of Bengal, Political Department, Political Branch, Collection No. 1, File No. 7, Diary No. 832.
4. Cooch Behar Gazette, Extraordinary, January 8, 1923.
5. Chief Secretary's office, Calcutta, Political Department, collection No. 1, File No. 7, Diary No. 833.
6. Cooch Behar Gazette, Extraordinary, January, 1923.
7. Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, Political Department (Political), May, 1923, P. 26.
8. Cooch Behar Gazette, Extraordinary, May 21, 1923.
9. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1922-1923, p. 1. With regard to the Rajyavisek ceremony the State Council issued the following Notification on the 7th March, 1923, which gave a vivid description of the procedure of the ceremony.
 - (i) "In modification of all previous orders, the Rajyavisek ceremony of H.H. the Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur will be performed on Saturday, the 10th March, 1923 at the palace.
 - (ii) The Pujas in connection with the Ceremony will commence at 3:45 A.M., on the arrival of His Highness at the ceremonial shamiana.
 - (iii) The Debutter Department will arrange the details of the religious ceremonies to be observed in accordance with the shastras and the Raj family custom.
 - (iv) A Durbar will be held in the Sinhasan at 11 A.M., when all Durbaris will be entitled to attend and present Nazar. The Nazar will consist of two silver coins of the new accession coinage which will be available from the Revenue Officer on payment of the price fixed for their sale to the public.

(v) His Highness will arrive at the Shamiana at 11 A.M. to take his seat on the Sinhasan, when the Band will play the Cooch Behar Anthem, the Military will present arms and a salute of guns will be fired, after which the Durbaris will present their Nazar.

(vi) The ceremonial Department will make the necessary arrangements for the Durbar and provide the Insignia etc., required for the Rajyavisek ceremony.

(vii) A limited member of the public will be admitted to witness the Durbar on presentation of passes obtainable from the Household Office, the general public will be admitted to witness the religious ceremonies which will be performed under a Shamiana to be pitched in the palace grounds." — Cooch Behar Gazette, Extraordinary, March 7, 1923.

- 9*. A Brief Account of the Cooch Behar State (1929-30 to 1936-37), General Department, Cooch Behar State, collection No. 1, File No. 6 (Preserved on Cooch Behar District Record Room) . The minor Maharaja's mother was the Maharani Indira Devi, who was the only daughter of the Maharaja Sayani Rao Gaikwar of Baroda. The Maharaja Gaikwar was not only an enlightened ruler but he was also a patriot. He was the only ruler who not only won the heart of his people by introducing reforms, some of which, the literary drive, were ahead of those of British administration; but he also by cautious word and deed refused to stand humbly at the footstool of the British authorities. Loc., cit. Confer also Kulkarni, V. B. : Princely India and Lapse of British Paramountcy, (Delhi, Second edition, 1994), pp 115-116.
10. Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, Political Department, (Political), February, 1923, P-5. (Preserved in the W.B. State Archives, Kolkata)
11. Letter No. 2749 dated Cooch Behar, the 21st December 1922 from Vice-President, state Council, to the Bengal Govt., Government of Bengal, Political Department (Political), confidential, 1923, File No. 71, Sl. No. 6, pp. 2-3.
12. Government of Bengal, Political Department (Political), 1923, Confidential, File No. 71, Serial No. 11, p. 10.
- H.J. Twynam, Vice-President of the Cooch Behar State Council, informed the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the 28th December, 1922 that any such arrangement appeared to him to be most inadvisable because (a) it was contrary to the late Maharaja's wishes, (b) the Maharaj Kumar was overwhelmed with debt, (c) he was vain and easily misled and likely, sooner or later, if appointed he would become progressively more dangerous, (d) he had given evidence of extreme political incapacity. He coquetted with non-co-operators in order to gain cheap popularity and was in discredit with the land holders on this account. Moreover, it might be anticipated that the Maharani would be opposed to the appointment of the Maharaj Kumar as Regent. Loc., cit.
13. Letter No. 1024, dated Cooch Behar, the 29th December, 1922 from Secretary, Cooch behar Land Holders' Association to Vice-President, the state Council. Government of Bengal, Political Department, (Political), 1923, Confidential, File No. 71, p 19.
14. Letter dated Calcutta, the 19th March, 1923 from Babu Panchanan Barman to the Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal — Government of Bengal, Political Department, (Political), 1923, Confidential, File No. 71, Serial No. 23, pp 29-30.

According to Panchanan Barman, with the death of the Maharaja Nripendra Narayan and the removal of the Dewan Rai Calika Doss Dutt, one of the ablest administrators in India, the cliques and intrigues gained ascendancy and had, during the reigns of the two late Maharajas, practically ruled good administration out of the country. Though Maharaja Jitendra Narayan was of very generous mind and tried his best to do what could be done, matters could not be mended and palpable wrongs corrected, owing to the great difficulties created during the Dewan Narendranath Sen's administration and the want of good advice and strong determination to carry out well-considered and just measures. Some times steps taken with a view to correct some wrongs, and give some relief to the people disappointed and sufferings from apparent injustices acted quite the contrary way. The recent troubles in the State from April to August 1922 had been the outcome of it. This was the state of things before the death of the Maharaja Jitendra Narayan. The administration had been weak, the parties and cliques were trying to have their own. — *ibid.*

15. *ibid.*, p 30.
16. Government of Bengal, Political Department, (Political) 1917, Confidential, File No. 469, Sl. No. 1, pp 1-4.
17. Cooch Behar Gazette, Extraordinary, May 21, 1923.
18. A Short Historical Sketch of Cooch Behar (1773 - 1935), 1936 - 1937, The State Council, Cooch Behar, Collection No. 1, File No. 2, Batch No. 223 (Preserved in Cooch Behar District Record Room).
19. *Loc. cit.*
20. Government of Bengal, Political Department, (Political) 1926 - confidential File No. 595, p 9 (Preserved in West Bengal States Archives, Kolkata)
21. The Regency Council, Cooch Behar, 1926-27, Collection No. 1, File No. 9, Batch No. 303.
22. *ibid.*
23. Das, Diwan Jarmani and Dass, Rakesh Bhan, "Maharani, S. Chand & Company Pvt. Ltd., 1973, Delhi, p 80.
24. Devi, Gayatri and Rau, Santha Rama, *op. cit.* p 52.
25. *ibid.*, pp 70-71.
26. Cooch Behar Gazette, April 1, 1936.
27. Letter Nos. 17142 - 17143 P, dated Calcutta, the 7th December, 1922 from T. M. Steven, I.C.S., Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Political Department to the Vice-President, the Cooch Behar State Council. Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, Political Department, (Political), December, 1922. p 39.
28. Government of Bengal, Political Department, (Political), 1923, Confidential, File (Con.) No. 202, p 1.
29. *ibid.*, p 2.
30. Annual Administrative Report of Cooch Behar State (A.A.R.C.B.S.), 1923-1924, p 3
31. Letter No. 8266 P., dated Calcutta, 23rd August, 1924 from Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division and Political Agent, Cooch Behar State. - Govt. of Bengal, Political Department (Political), confidential, 1924, File No. 293, Serial No. 3, p 45.
32. Telegraph R, dated London, the 1st May 1924 from Secretary of State to Viceroy, Home Department No. 1297 Govt. of Bengal, Political Dept. (Political), confidential, 1924. *op. cit.* p 3.
33. Letter No. 8266 P, dated Calcutta, 23rd August 1924 from Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal (offg.) to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division and Political Agent, Cooch Behar State, *op. cit.* p 45.
34. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1928 - 1929, p 3.
35. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1929 1930, p 3.
36. A Short Historical Sketch of Cooch Behar, *op. cit.* p 26.

37. *ibid*, pp 26-27, Cooch Behar Gazette, April 15, 1929. A photograph of the new coat of arms has been appended vide Illustration, Plate No. -----, p. -----
38. Letter Nos. 2360 - 2361 P, dated Calcutta, the 15th February, 1928, from Under - Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, Political Dept. to the Political Agent of Cooch Behar. Proceedings of the Govt. of Bengal, Political Dept. for the quarter ending March 1928. p 3.
39. Letter No. 15001 P, dated Calcutta, the 6th December, 1928 from Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, Legislative Department, - Proceedings of the Govt. of Bengal, Political Dept., (Political), for the quarter ending December, 1928, p 3.
40. Government of Bengal, Political Department, (Political), confidential, 1931, File No. 14, p 2.
41. *ibid*, pp 2, 6.
42. *ibid*, p 6.
43. Letter dated 59, Baligunge Circular Road, Calcutta, the 31st December, 1930 from the Maharaja of Tripura to the Government of Bengal. - Govt. Of Bengal, Political Department, (Political), confidential, 1931.
44. Letter from Sir F. S. Jackson, the Governor of Bengal, to the Maharaja of Tripura, the 14th January, 1931. - Government of Bengal, *op. cit*.
45. Government of Bengal, Political Department (Political), confidential, 1931, p 7.
46. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1923-24, P 3, General, Paragraph 3.
47. Cooch Behar Gazette, July 16, 1923.
48. Petition No. 9, from Rai Saheb Panchanan Barman of Chenger Kuthi Khalisamari in Pargana Lalbazar, Sub-division Mathabhanga, dated Rangpur, the 4th December, 1924, — The Settlement Department, Cooch Behar State, State Tak No. 1, Batch No. 7, CBDRR.
49. Bandhopadhyay, Sekhar : 'Protest and Accommodation : Two Caste Movements in the Eastern and Northern Bengal, c. 1872 - 1937', *Indian Historical Review*, Vol XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987 - January 1988, p. 225.
50. The Ananda Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, March 25, 1926.
51. *Loc. cit*. Navajuga, Calcutta, April 10, 1926.
52. The Modern Review, Calcutta, May, 1926. It was also stated here that it should be ascertained whether the person who was appointed on the 24th May, 1923, guardian to the Minor Maharaja of Cooch Behar and his Younger brother and also Controller of the Household was the same person who was the native secretary to "Mr. A" in the notorious Midland Bank Blackmailing case in which a Mrs. Robinson figured, should it be found on inquiry that he is the same person, then he should be removed. If the guardian to the Young princes and the Controller of the Cooch Behar royal household be really a man of the antecedents referred to above, the innocent princes and their mother were likely to suffer and also be prejudiced in the eyes of the public through no faults of theirs.
53. Dainik Basumati, Calcutta, March 18, 1926.
54. The Ananda Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, June 14, 1926. On the other hand some believed that the aforesaid petition submitted to the Government of Bengal by Certain inhabitants of Cooch Behar State. Calling for the removal of Nawab Khasru Jung and Prince Karim, two Muhammedan officers employed about the persons of the Maharani and the Cooch Behar Princes was the outcome of the racial hatred. — The Hanafi, Calcutta, March 26, 1926.
55. Cooch Behar Gazette, September 20, 1926 (Part I)
56. *Loc. cit*.
57. The Ananda Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, April 24, 1926.

58. *ibid.*, June 14, 1926.
59. Ghose, Ananda Gopal and Sarkar, Sekhar : 'Koch Bihar Rajye Rajnaitik Andoloner Ruprekha' in Mahuparni, special Cooch Behar issue, 1990, pp 405-406.
60. Ghose Ananda Gopal and Bhattacharya, Malay Shankar : 'Indian Nationalist Movement and the Maharajas of the Cooch Behar State', in North Bengal University Review (Humanities and Social Sciences) June, 1986, Vol. 7, No. 1, p 69.
61. Biswas, Ramnath, Bharat Bhraman, p 141.
62. Chattopadhyay, Partha (edited) : ' Paribartan', December 21-27, 1983.
63. Ghose, Ananda Gopal and Sarkar, Shekhar : 'Koch Bihar Rajye Rajnaitik Andoloner Ruprekha', op. cit. p 405.
64. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1930-31, general, p 3.
65. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1935-36, general, p 4.
66. Ghose, Ananda Gopal and Sarkar, Shekhar, op. cit.
67. *ibid*, pp 405-406.
68. Sarkar, Sumit : Modern India, Macmillan, reprint, 2000, p 267.
69. Letter of offg. S.I., D.I.B. dated Cooch Behar, 24th February, 1927 to the Superintendent of Police, Cooch Behar. - Government of Bengal, I.B. Department, confidential, 1927, File No. 194/27, p 35 (Preserved in W.B. States Archives).
70. *Loc. cit.*
71. Govt. of Bengal, Home Political (Political), I.B. Department, confidential, 1927, File No. 256/15, part - II, p 55.
72. Letter dated 24th February, 1931, from Police Officer, Cooch Behar to Mr. N. C. Majumder, Intelligence Branch, C.I.D., Calcutta. *ibid*, p 153.
73. Proceedings of the Conference of the D.I.B. officers of North Bengal districts - held on 8th April, 1936. - Govt. of Bengal, Home Political Dept. (I.B.), confidential File No. 256/15, Part - II, p 17.
74. *Loc. cit.*
75. *Loc. cit.*
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77. *ibid*, p 14.
78. *ibid*, pp 10, 14.
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81. *Loc. cit.*
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91. Devi, Sunity, op. cit., pp. 10-11.
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93. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1935-36, General, p 5.
94. Letter No. 1780 dated the 17th December, 1934 from the Vice-President, Regency Council to the Maharaja of Patiala, the Chancellor, of the Chamber of Princes. - Regency Council, Cooch Behar, Collection No. 17, File No. 12, Batch No. 182 (Preserved in the Cooch Behar District Record Room).
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97. Proceedings of the Regency Council, Cooch Behar State, vol. XL-II, 1924 - 25, p. 118 (Proceeding No. 18) and confer also A.A.R.C.B.S., 1929-30, general, p 3
98. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1933-1934, general, p 3.
99. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1934-1935, general, p 4.
100. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1935-1936, general, p 3.
101. Regency Council, Cooch Behar, 6th December, 1934, Collection No. 17, File No. 26, No in File - I, (C.B.D.R.R.).
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103. *ibid.*
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107. Memo No. 5024, office of the General Department, dated, Cooch Behar, the 18th March, 1935. — R.C., Cooch Behar, March, 1935, op. cit.
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111. A Short Historical Sketch of Cooch Behar Administration, op. cit, p 16.
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114. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1925-26, general, p 8.
115. A Short Historical Sketch of Cooch Behar, *ibid*, pp 19-20.
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118. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1929-30, general, p 5.
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120. A Short Historical Sketch of Cooch behar, *op. cit.*, p 21.
121. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1930-31, general, pp 4-5.
122. *ibid*, p 4, Letter dated 12-12-1931 from Registrar Regency Council, to the Vice-President, Regency Council, Office of General Department, 1931-32-36, collection No. 28, File No. I, Batch No. 203 (Preserved in the Cooch Behar District Record Room).
123. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1932-33, general, p 6.
124. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1930-31, general, p 4.
125. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1932-33, general, p 7.
126. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1933-34, general, p 4.
127. Letter No. 2428, dated Cooch Behar the 31st January 1934 from Lt. Col. K.A. G. Evans - Gordon, Vice-President, Regency Council, Cooch Behar to the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division and political Agent for the Cooch Behar State - Proceedings of the Government of Bengal ,political department, political. for the second quarter ending December, 1934. Proceeding No. 5, File No. 3-C-5 (1), p-7.
128. *ibid.*
129. No. 433 dated Cooch Behar, the 4th June, 1929, from Registrar, Regency Council, Cooch Behar to Maharaj Kumar Victor N. Narayan, Proceedings of the Bengal Government, Political Department, Political *op. cit* pp 10 - 11.
130. *ibid*, pp8-9
131. *ibid*, p10
132. Letter No. 851 J, Dated Jalpaiguri, the 15th March, 1934 from the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division and the Political Agent of the Cooch Behar State to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal - Proceedings of the Govt. of Bengal political department, political *op. cit*, p7.
133. No. 1772 p - D., dated Darjeeling, the 11th October, 1934 from Chief secretary to the Govt. of Bengal to the Political Agent. Cooch Behar State - Proceedings of the Bengal Govt., political department, *op cit*, proceeding No. 6. File No. 3-C-5(2) p-10.
134. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1930-31, general, p 3.
135. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1931-32, General, pp 3-4 and A.A.R.C.B.S., 1935-36, General, p 4.
136. Cooch Behar Gazette, Extraordinary, January 15, 1932.
137. A Short Historical Sketch of Cooch Behar, p 31.
138. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1935-36, general, p 4.
139. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1934-35, general, p 4.
140. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1935-36, general, p 4.
141. Government of Bengal, Political Department, Political, Confidential, 1934, File No. 933, Sl. No. 11, p 1.
142. No. 519, dated Cooch Behar, the 15th June, 1934 from Lt. Col. J.A. Brett, Vice-President, R.C., Cooch Behar to the Commissioner of the Rajsahi Division and Political Agent for the Cooch Behar State — Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, Political, for the quarter ending December, 1934, p. 15.
143. *ibid.*
144. No. 2498J, dated Jalpaiguri, the 14th July, 1934 from F.W. Robertson, Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division and

Political Agent for the Cooch Behar State to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. — Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, Political Department, Political, For the Quarter ending December 1934, File No. 3-C-12 (1). Proceeding No. 7, p. 13.

145. *ibid.*

146. No. 1060 P.S. - D, dated Darjeeling, the 10th October, 1934 from G.P. Hogg, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Political Agent, Cooch Behar State. — P.G.B., Political Department, Political, For the Quarter ending December, 1934. Proceeding No. 8, [File No. 3-C-12(2)], p. 20.

147. *ibid.*

148. *ibid.*, p. 21.

149. Confidential letter No. 22/D dated the 10th November, 1934 from the Vice-President, the Regency Council to the Maharani Regent, Cooch Behar State, General Department, 1934-35, File No. 2. Collection No. 7 (Preserved in the Cooch Behar District Record Room).

150. *ibid.*

151. A Short Historical Sketch of Cooch Behar, *op. cit.* p 14.

152. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1936-37, Chapter - I, general, p 3. It may be mentioned here that during the financial year, 1934-35, a sum of Rs. 80,678 on account of principal and interest was remitted to the Baroda State Bank in part payment of the debt due to that state. The principal outstanding at the close of the year, amounted to Rs. 38,560. This outstanding balance of the Boroda loan in the beginning of the year, 1935-36, together with interest - Rs. 5,888, accruing upto the 20th January, 1936, was remitted to Baroda State Bank during the year 1935-36 in full satisfaction of the debt due to that state. — A.A.R.C.B.S., 1935-36, general, p 6.

153. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1936-37, Chapter - I, general, p 3.

154. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1922-23, Cooch Behar State Press, 1923, p 1.

155. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1923-24, p 1.

156. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1924-25, p 1.

157. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1925-1926, p 1.

158. *ibid.*, p 2.

159. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1926-27, p 1.

160. Cooch Behar Gazette, September 5, 1927.

161. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1928-1929, Cooch Behar State Press, 1929, p 1.

162. *ibid.*, p 3.

163. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1929-1930, Cooch Behar State Press 1930, p 1.

164. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1930-31, Cooch Behar State Press, 1930, p 1.

165. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1931-32, Cooch Behar State Press, 1932, chapter one, p 1.

166. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1932-33, C.B. State Press, 1933, chapter one, pp 1-2.

167. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1933-34, C.B. State Press, 1934, chapter one, p 1.

168. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1934-35, p1.

169. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1935-36, chapter one, p 2.

170. A.A.R.C.B.S., 1936-1937, general, p 19.

171. Registrar, Regency Council, Particulars of the Cooch Behar State, 1934-35, Collection No. 31, File No. 10, Batch No. 206 (Preserved in the Cooch Behar District Record Room).

172. Devi Gayatri, and Rau, Sonatha Ram, *op. cit.*, p 7.

173. A Brief Account of the Cooch Behar State, op. cit.
174. The Evidence is quoted in Devi, Gayatri, and Rau, Santha Ram, op. cit, pp 36-37.
175. Regency Council, Cooch Behar, 1926-27, Collection No. 1, File No. 9, Batch No. 303.
176. Devi, Gayatri, and Rau, Santha Ram, op: cit, p 70.
177. *ibid.*, p 52.
178. Cooch Behar Gazette, Extraordnaty, May 25, 1923.
179. Devi, Gayatri and Rau, Santha Ram, op. cit. p 55.
180. The Maharaja Jugaddipandra Narayan having been at school in England, Major Nawab Khasru Jung found that there was very little work for him in the nature of Guardian to His Highness. In the circumstances, he felt that he was not justified in continuing in a position which practically amounted to that of a sinecure. Besides, his absense from India for a protracted period, as would be necessary was not conducive to his interests. He, therefore, submitted his resignation as Comproller of the household and Guardian of the young Maharaja on the 2nd April, 1928. His resignation was accepted with effect from the 1st June, 1928. - A.A.R.C.B.S., 1928-29, Cooch Behar State Press, 1929, pp. 2-3.
181. Cooch Behar Gazette, Aparil 1, 1933.
182. Devi, Gayatri and Rau, Snatha Ram, op. cit, p 29.
183. *ibid*, p 54.
184. *ibid*, p 60.
185. Dass, Diwan Jarmani and Dass, Rakesh Bhan, op. cit., p 81. Indira Devi was the idol of British aristocracy. She was fond of alcohol and the gay life. She was often seen in a completely hillarious state at private dinner parties in London. Her social life in London was very active. While in Le Touquet in France, Indira Devi concentrated on the gaming tables where she cut a dazzling and exotic figure. Mrs. Evelyn Walsh of Philadelphia, a friend of hers, described her as "The embodiment of charm and grace, the Princess of the One Thousand and One Nights." She wrote about seeing for the first time, at the casino in Le Touquet, "The most fabulously beautiful young Indian lady, holding the longest cigarette holder I had ever seen, wearing a beautiful silk sari and covered with pearls, emeralds and rubies The crowd was totally mesmerized by her." — Dass, Diwan Jarmani and Dass, Rakesh Bhan : Maharani, Delhi, 1973, p 80. and also confer Devi, Gayatri and Rau, Santha Ram, op. cit., p 85.
186. Devi, Gayatri and Rau, Santha Ram, op. it. p 126.
187. *ibid*, pp 305-306.