

The Zamindars of Rajshahi and the British Raj

Pre permanent settlement period and Post Permanent settlement period.

After the defeat of Nawab Siraj-ud-daullah at the battle of Plassey, Mirzafar Ali Khan ascended the throne of Bengal with the assistance of Lord Clive. At that time a chaotic condition was prevailing in the country and Bengal worst sufferer. Even in such a situation, in 1760, Rani Bhavani was removed from her Zamindari by the conspiracy of Nanda Kumar. There was also a palace revolution in the Natore Raj family. The Nawab of Bengal gave the ownership of the Natore Raj to Gouri Prasad, the son of Devi Prasad. Devi Prasad, one of the family members of the Natore Raj conducted the Zamindari for a few months only ¹. Within a very short time all people were extremely fed up by the oppressive policy of Deviprasad. As he did not pay the revenue regularly it cautioned the Nawab and on this offence he was removed from power and the Zamindari was again given to Rani Bhavani.²

After the defeat of Siraj in the battle of Plassey in 1757, the English had placed Mir Jafar Ali Khan on the *masnad* of Bengal. He could not however enjoy the confidence of the English for long. During his short period of maladministration, the economic condition of the country turned worse and he failed to fulfil the demand of the English. So in 1760 the English dethroned him and installed Mir Kasim, his son-in-law on the throne of Bengal. Unlike Mir Jafar Ali Khan, Mir Kasim was not a stooge in the hands of the East India Company. He directed the native Zamindars to give extra rent for conducting campaign against the English. According to this order of Mir Kashim, the rent of Rani Bhavani was increased to the total amount of Rs. 35,58,485.00³. But the freedom loving temperment of Mir Kasim was not liked by the English and his confrontation on various issues led to the outbreak of the battles of Buxer and Udaynala respectively. Mir Kasim was defeated and ousted

from power. Mir Jafar Ali Khan had occupied the throne again but a clear picture of the then Bengal politics could not emerge till 1765 when the East India Company got the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Though the English East India Company was gifted with the '*Dewani*' of Bengal, it was difficult for them to collect revenue because they did not have enough man power to supervise the collection perfectly. Moreover they could not understand the language of this country properly and all the more the rules and regulations associated with the system were unknown to them. So they decided to collect revenue through the experienced employees who were sons of this soil.

The management of collection of revenue was entrusted to the native Naib Md. Reza Khan and Sitab Ray. An agent of the company, staying at Murshidabad took account from Md. Reza Khan and Sitab Ray and worked as a liason between the Nawab and the Company. This arrangement was changed in 1769 and a new phase of Bengal history started.⁴ In the face of gradual deterioration of economic condition and consequently collection of revenue of the country, Resident Richard Baker advised to appoint in every district an European supervisor whose duty would be to collect necessary data about revenue and to observe the works of the native revenue officers.⁵ According to it Bouton Rause was appointed as the first supervisor of Rajshahi on 19 December 1769 and he came to Natore.⁶ These supervisors were the predecessors of the present district collectors. The works allotted to them were as follows :

- (i) composing a short history of the district with the description of its economic condition;
- (ii) Enquiring about the revenue, if fixed whimsically;
- (iii) keeping an eye on trade and commerce and activities of revenue collectors;
- (iv) making arrangement for impartial justice⁷

Appointment of these supervisors may be regarded as just. This is because it may be said that illegal collection of revenue would be controlled at least to some extent.

In 1770, according to the instruction of the Court of Directors, the post of Resident in Murshidabad was abolished and in that place two Councils of Revenue were established in Murshidabad and Patna respectively to supervise the works of *Naib Dewans* and Supervisors. But no solution of the old problems was found in the new arrangement. The situation was, however, unfavourable because of the difference of opinion among the three authorities – the Supervisor, the Revenue Council and the *Naib Dewan*. Consequently according to the order of the court, the Controlling Committee of Revenue was established in Calcutta in 1771. On 28 August, 1771, the Court removed Reza Khan and Sitab Ray and instructed to conduct the Dewani administration directly. According to the instruction, the Land Revenue Department was transferred from Murshidabad to Calcutta on 11 May, 1772 and the company took over the charge of revenue administration in its own hand.⁸

As a result of such an unstable revenue policy, almost all estates of Zemindars of Bengal were affected adversely. The estate of Rani Bhavani had no exception of this outcome. Reza Khan made settlement with Rani Bhavani of the yearly revenue of Rs.24,51,022.00 for Rajshahi (Natore).⁹

As Rani Bhavani could not pay revenue properly, officers were appointed in Rajshahi estate. In 1768, the whole Zamindari (estate) was divided into 12 parts were respective officer was appointed to conduct the administration. At that time the officers collected the grand total amount of revenue of Rs. 26,94,604.00.¹⁰

The officers were permitted to collect revenue on the contract for one year. The officers oppressed the tenants inhumanly and collected revenue at increased rate and paid revenue to the company properly. The names of two officers are found in the estate of Rani Bhavani – Dulal Ray and Paran Bose. The leases of Bhaturia

and Bhusana were given to Dulal Ray and Paran Bose respectively.¹¹ Because of the collection of excess revenue and the torture of the revenue officers, people were bewildered. Dulal Ray collected much more revenue than what was fixed up by the company Govt. Dulal Ray collected Rs. 17,12,354.00 from Bhaturia Pargana but the revenue fixed by the company was Rs.10,31,276.00¹² Consequently there was much dissatisfaction among the *ryots*. As a result of such arrangement of engaging officers, the future of many big Zamindars of Bengal was sealed.¹³

The only aim of employing employees and *Naib Dewans* was to collect excess revenue. But they were not successful in their effort. Though *Naib Dewans* collected revenue at excessive rate, the company was not much benefited from it because most of the excess money collected by them was embezzled by them. The company doubted that *Naib Dewans* were collecting revenue behind their back. So their work should be supervised because their activities without any supervision was considered unsatisfactory.¹⁴ So Reza Khan and Sitab Ray were removed and the Court of Directors instructed the company to take the Dewani (the duty of collecting revenue) in its own hand. Warren Hastings constituted temporarily the Committee of Circuit consisting of himself and four members of his council.¹⁵

The main object of the company was to collect revenue in excessive rate. But much benefit could not be gained by changing the principle again and again and so they decided to make again the settlement for three years. This three years' settlement was experimental. The three years' settlement of Rajshahi and Purnia was finalised with Rani Bhavani, the Zamindar of Natore under the leadership of Beker, the royal representative of the English in Murshidabad, the three years' settlement for collecting revenue was made in the following rates:¹⁶

- | | | | |
|-----|---------|---|------------------|
| (a) | 1769-70 | - | Rs. 26,01,000.00 |
| (b) | 1770-71 | - | Rs.26,76,000.00 |
| (c) | 1771-72 | - | Rs.27,51,000.00 |

After the settlement was made the Rani was warned that if she failed to pay the revenue properly, she would be deprived of the right of conducting the Zamindari. Rani Bhavani agreed to the proposal of three years' settlement on the condition laid down by the company.¹⁷

Charles William Boton Raus came to Natore on 9 December, 1769 as the supervisor of Rajshahi. He was given the responsibility of supervising revenue collection. He came to Natore at a time when the whole of the region was affected by the great famine of 1770. It was not possible for him to collect revenue fully during the first year. He urged the company to be kind to tenants on the excuse of the famine.¹⁸ During 1769-70 i.e., in the first year, the fixed amount of revenue was Rs.26,01,000.00. Though revenue was not collected fully, the collected amount was Rs.24,38,342.00 and of was collected with much difficulties. Because of the serious drought collection of the full amount of revenue was not possible.

The revenue council got angry with Raus as the collection of revenue in 1770-71 was not more than Rs.21,46,274.00 and it was by and large due to the failure of full payment of revenue by Rani Bhavani. Raus was asked to give the lease of Rani Bhavani's estate to another person. Rani Bhavani informed the company that in the coming financial year she would be able to pay the revenue in full. Though the Rani was given the lease, Raus advised the company to sell the rent free land of the Rani by auction for collecting the arrear revenue.¹⁹ The council accepted the proposal of Rous and gave the order for the lease of the rent free land of the Rani. Of course it was also said that if the Rani wanted to take the lease again through the full payment of revenue, she would be given the lease. When she consented to give Rs. 30,000/- more than the fixed revenue, she was given the lease. During 1772 the total amount of Rs. 1,58,161/- remained outstanding.²⁰ Because of the famine, Rani Bhavani could not collect revenue from the tenants properly and she could not satisfy the company. The company tried to collect revenue through the *Najai* system

(non-realization system). The description of collecting revenue by the company up to 1768-72 is given below.²¹

- (a) 1768-69 - Rs. 26,94,602.00
- (b) 1769-70 - Rs. 24,38,342.00
- (c) 1770-71 - Rs. 21,46,247.00
- (d) 1771-72 - Rs. 26,12,391.00

The description of the amount of revenue fixed and the amount of revenue collected during the three years' settlement is also stated below.²²

Year	The amount of revenue fixed	The amount of revenue collected
1769-70	Rs. 26,01,000/-	Rs. 24,38,342/-
1770-71	Rs. 26,76,000/-	Rs. 21,46,471/-
1771-72	Rs. 27,51,000/-	Rs. 26,12,391/-

From the above mentioned data it may be guessed that the company did not show any mercy to collect the high rate of revenue even during the disastrous famine when $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total population died and many families were extinct. It is obvious that if they did not collect revenue at a very high rate, it was not possible for them to collect so much revenue from those who were alive. It can also be guessed easily that Rani Bhavani, too, collected excess revenue because of the pressure and obligation of the company. Not only the officials of the English company but also a class of greedy collaborators like the Naib Dewan of Bengal took part in the inhuman torture upon the tenants of this country. They became the owner of vast property by plundering the wealth of the people of this country.²³

After Cartier, Lord Warran Hastings took over the charge of the Governorship of Bengal on 13 April, 1772. After taking over the power he made some new experiments of the revenue administration. First of all he abolished the post of *Naib Dewan* and virtually the company itself was declared as the real *Dewan*. The

post of the supervisor was abolished and a collector was appointed in each district. He established a Civil Court and a Criminal Court in each district. The foundation of district administration was laid down in 1772 during the tenure of Warren Hastings.²⁴

In the past Zamindars Judged civil and criminal cases and they had their own prisons respectively and in the name of justice they put many people in the prison illegally by unfair trial. On 15 august, 1772, the judicial power of Zamindars was withdrawn.²⁵

One of the objectives of Warren Hastings was to collect revenue from Zamindars strictly. He formed a committee named the Committee of Circuit.²⁶ The main function of this committee was to travel from *pargana* to *pargana* and finalise long term (for five years) settlement of lease with Zamindars. The committee first went to Nadia and then to Krishnanagar. Revenue was fixed for Raja Krishnachandra and he was informed that his Zamindari (estate) would be given to another person if he failed to pay the revenue assigned to him. In this connection it may be mentioned that for the fall of Siraj-ud-daulah Raja Krishna chandra met Clive in Calcutta to make all plans. After the fall of Siraj-ud-daulah in the battle of Plassey Clive conferred on him the title of 'Raja Bahadur' and presented him a dozen of guns used in the battle of Plassey.²⁷ When the battle of Plassey was over, he raised up his two hands and blessed the English. But when he heard the word of his removal from his estate, he was at a loss. The members of the committee went from Nadia to Kashim Bazar and from there to Rajshahi. After discussion, the Rani was given lease for five years.

The revenue for five years was fixed at Rs. 52,81,997.00. The lease of *Purbabhog* (the eastern side) was also given to the Rani and the revenue for five years was fixed at Rs. 8,95,545.00. But it was not possible for the Rani to pay the revenue thus decided. Rani also could not pay the revenue of the three years term

settled previously. A list of fixed revenue, collected revenue and arrear revenue is given below.²⁸

District	Mahals	Year	Demand (Rs.)	Collection (Rs.)	Balance (Rs.)
Rajshahi	Bhaturia	1202	6,83,887.00	4,88,590.00	1,95,297.00
		1203	6,43,508.00	4,38,805.00	2,04,703.00
		1204	5,83,295.00	4,24,304.00	
Murhsida	Neez	1202	2,40,476.00	2,21,090.00	19,386.00
	Chakla	1203	2,25,507.00	1,97,099.00	28,608.00
	Rajshahi	1204	1,43,796.00	84,287.00	59,509.00
Madia	Shajeal	1202	1,11,951.00	1,03,346.00	8,605.00
		1203	1,29,236.00	1,03,305.00	26,030.00
		1204	1,29,236.00	1,07,346.00	21,880.00
Jessore	Bhusana	1202	3,28,986.00	2,82,736.00	46,249.00
		1203	2,84,118.00	1,70,312.00	1,13,805.00
		1204	2,84,118.00	2,05,934.00	78,183.00
Total	1202 to 1204		37,88,320.00	28,27,059.00	9,61,260

The Rani hoped that though the three years plan failed, she would be successful by this time. But it was not possible for her to pay the revenue properly. As a result, the Revenue Council took the responsibility of collecting revenue in its own hand. At that time it was directed to stop the ownership of the Rani. For collecting revenue the company appointed Dulal Ray 'Sazawal' or Revenue collecting officer. Even after this arrangement, in 1774, the outstanding revenue was rupees eleven lakhs. It was decided to sell some *mahals* of the Rani. In 1774, the Zamindari (estate) of the Rani was leased out to Dulal Ray Also in 1775-76 and in 1776-77 the estate was leased out to Dulal Ray. Dulal Ray and his associate Paran Bose began to collect revenue mercilessly by means of untold oppression upon the people.

Rani Bhavani applied for the ownership of her estate but failed. Because of the inhuman torture of Dulal Ray, about five hundred tenants went to Calcutta on foot and complained against Dulal Ray, the *ijardar*.²⁹ At last after different disputes and arguments, the *ijardarship* of Dulal Ray was cancelled and Rani Bhavani regained

her Zamindari (estate). This time Ramkrishna, son of the Rani signed for Rani Bhavani the agreement of the last two years.³⁰ Again on 5 February, 1777 Rani Bhavani failed to pay Rs. 2,70,002.00 as the revenue of the last year of the 5 years (for the eastern part).³¹

Later on the company decided to lease out the estate for a short period. The court of Directors directed to collect revenue through the Zamindar and the Talukdar. If any Zamindar failed to conduct the Zamindari (estate) properly, either a salaried *Sazowals* or a member of the company would be appointed there. William Hosia was sent having given the responsibility of Bhaturia, Bhusana and Bajemahal. William Hosia established his head office at Natore. He came to Natore on 14 April, 1777. He sent for the chief officers of Rani Bhavani and wanted to know about the accounts. He warned that from 14 August, 1777, he would conduct the administration of Bhaturia, Bhusana and Bajimahahal which had been conducted by Rani Bhavani previously. To run the administration properly William Hosia appointed Lalaram *Chauth* as his Dewan.³² He appointed *Sazowals* at different centres of the Zamindari (estate). About 27 *Sazowals* were appointed in the eastern region.³³ The company was not benefited much by appointing *Sazowals*. Under the instruction of Hosia, amount of revenue collected in the eastern region i.e., Rajshahi in 1777-78 was not more than Rs. 19,00,000.00 in total.

The deficit payment of the Rani in three years was less than what was incurred by Hosia in one year.³⁴

In 1781, Hastings formed a Revenue Committee consisting of 4 members.³⁵ The main function of the Committee was to collect revenue and to decide the principle for the collection of revenue. The Committee directed the Zamindars and Talukdars to deposit the fixed amount of revenue in the treasury situated in Calcutta properly. In 1781-82 the revenue of the eastern region was fixed Rs. 25 lakhs. In 1781, to make the agreement of lease, Ramkishore, the Dewan of Rani Bhavani

was sent for. As the Dewan was late to make the agreement, the agreement of lease of the Zamindari (estate) of Rani Bhavani was made with another person named Nandalal at the yearly revenue of 25 lakh and 50 thousand. As a result Rani Bhavani lost the ownership of the eastern region of her Zamindari (estate) for the time being. On the other hand the employees of Rani Bhavani helped Nandalal in all respects. They gave Nandalal all papers relating to the conduction of Zamindari (estate). After gaining the responsibility of the Zamindari (estate), Nandalal established his Sadar Katchary (head office) at Amin Bazar.³⁶ He appointed subordinate *ijardars* for the convenience of work in the important parganas and appointed *nayeb*s in the less important parganas. He appointed Nanda Kishore Moitra, Chakladar for the whole of Rajshahi Division. He directed the subordinate *ijaradars* and *naibs* to deposit the revenue to Nanda Kishore, the Chakladar.

Similar arrangement was made for Bhaturia, Bhusana and Bajemahal. For conducting the administration of the whole Zamindari (estate), *ijaradar* Nandalal appointed Lokenath as *Sazawals*. But in spite of doing all these, the revenue of Rs.60698.00 fell arrear.³⁷ During the second year, the amount of arrear of revenue stood Rs.1,52,685.00. In July, 1782 the arrear stood Rs.1,86,079.00 At last the amount of arrear revenue stood Rs.3,87,445.00³⁸ At the end of 1781-82, the amount of arrear revenue stood Rs. 4,56,935.00.³⁹ This time he was able to pay only Rs.21 lakhs. Nandalal paid less amount of 2 lakh than what was paid by Rani Bhavani. He agreed to pay less amount of Rs. 3 lakhs and 50 thousands than what was agreed by Rani Bhavani. Considering all these the agreement with Nandalal for 1782-83 was cancelled. To collect the outstanding revenue from Nandalal his house in Murshidabad was sold by auction.⁴⁰

After cancelling the agreement of Nandalal the Zamindari (estate) of the eastern region of Rajshahi was divided into three parts.⁴¹

Only three persons came forward to take lease of the estate, they were Dulal Ray, Paran Bose and Ganga Prasad, the son of Gouriprasad. Judging their past

activities, their proposal was rejected. Later on three Sazowals were appointed for three divisions.

The list of the Sazowals and the amount of revenue fixed are given below:⁴²

Names of the Sazawals	Names of the regions	Amount of revenue fixed
(i) Jagu Mohan Ray	Rajshahi	Rs. 8,17,952.00 and 7 <i>anas</i>
(ii) Paran Bose	Bhaturia	Rs. 9,57,760.00 and 11 <i>anas</i>
(iii) Rupram	Bhusana and Bajemahal	Rs. 7,59,936.00 and 7 <i>anas</i>
	Total	Rs. 25,35,649.00 and 9 <i>anas</i>

Mr. Ivllion was given the responsibility to supervise the works of the *Sazowals* of the three divisions. But this time again it was seen in 1788 that the arrear revenue remained Rs. 2,96,572.00. After the failure of the three Sazowals, the settlement on lease was introduced again. The lease of Rajshahi was given for Rs. 8 lakhs on condition of joint agreement signed by some interested persons like Balaram Sharma, Jaynarayan Sen, Rudranarayan sen, Ramkanta Sharma and Kamal Choudhury. Similarly the settlement on lease was made for Bhusana, Bajemahal and Bhaturia. But in 1783, the arrear stood more than Rs. 2 lakhs. Afterwards for the year 1785, Hastings made settlement of lease again with Rani Bhavani for Rs. 24,00,000.00. In 1785-86 the arrear was Rs. 36,107.00. To collect the arrear revenue Pargana Sahujian was sold to another person by auction.⁴³

The company changed the principle of collecting revenue frequently and collected excess revenue without any survey and only because of this, Rani Bhavani could not pay the revenue properly. Beside this the other Zamindars of Rajshahi had to face the same problems as Rani Bhavani had to face. The situation became more serious at the time the famine broke out in 1770. Even after the famine was over, it was not possible to collect revenue as per direction and agreement. Moreover the revolt of Fakirs and Sanyasis had been still continuing. Consequently farmers

suffered from insecurity and could not pay attention to produce crops. Besides these, people were extremely annoyed with the torture of the dishonest employees of the company and collaborators of the country. For these reasons not only Rani Bhavani but also nearby *ijaradars* could not pay revenue properly. Maharaja Ramakanta faced various troubles in his time and he was even imprisoned by the company Govt. for his failure of payment.^{43a}

As like as the Natore Raj family, the other Zamindars also sustained a loss as a result of the rule of the English East Company. Among these the Zamindari estate of Nadia, Dinajpur and Burdwan estates are worth mentioning.

The English rule caused much harmful effect on Nadia Zamindari (estate). It appears from the available data that during the tenure of Raja Shibchandra, the Zamindar of Nadia Raj family, Pargana Kujebpur was sold by auction because revenue was not paid per expectation and agreement.⁴⁴

The English rule caused much harmful effect on Nadia Zamindari (estate). It appears from the available source that during the tenure of Raja Shibchandra, the Zemindar of Nadia Ray family, pargana kujebpur was sold by auction because revenue was not paid properly.⁴⁵

After Shibchandra, Iswarchandra, his son inherited the Zamindari (estate). The Company made 10 years' settlement with him from 1197 to 1206 B.S. (i.e., 1790 to 1799)

The revenue was fixed Rs. 84,602.00 for the first year. During 1206 B.S. i.e., 1799. the revenue was increased and was fixed Rs. 8,51,512.00. Later on, the 10 years' Settlement was converted into Permanent Settlement. Because of too much increase of revenue, it was not possible for Iswar Chandra to pay the revenue in time. As a result, the Zamindari (estate) started to be sold by auction. Girish Chandra, the son of Iswar Chandra, too, could not pay the revenue properly and as a result,

the Zamindari started to be sold by auction.⁴⁶ It may be assumed from the data available that the Zamindari (estate) started to decline since the tenure of Krishna Chandra and it continued to the tenure of his successors. The influence and dignity of the Zamindari (estate) started to decline because of insolvency. Like Natore Zamindari (estate), this Zamindari (estate), too, endured almost in a dead like condition.

Dinajpur Raj family of Bengal had another large Zamindari (estate). Too much revenue was also fixed on the estate of this Raj family. It was not possible for this Raj family to pay the excess amount of revenue and soon the Raj family began to suffer from economic crisis and as a result revenue fell arrear which could not be paid off and the estate started decline.

The Burdwan Zemindari (estate) also sustained a loss as a result of the English rule. In 1761 the revenue of Burdwan estate was increased from Rs.28 lakhs to Rs.30 lakhs by the English. An excess amount of Rs. 2.5 lakhs was added to the amount of revenue to maintain the military. In 1764 the revenue was increased again and it was fixed to Rs. 36,29,789.00 It was not possible for the Raja of Burdwan to pay off the increased amount of revenue and as a result the Zamindari (estate) had to face great difficulty.⁴⁷

The above story records a shocking picture of the revenue policy of the East India Company Govt. which only intended to collect excess amount of revenue without bothering about the condition of the people or the capacity of the respective Zamindar. The Company Govt. had no concern about the development of the Zamindari rather to pressurise for collection as much as was possible. The net result was as may be expected. This policy not only affected the future of the Zamindari but also precipitated the process of decline.

Though the Zamindaris (estates) of Dubalhati, Tahirpur and Puthia were established before the establishment of Natore Zamindari (estate), they were not as

large as that of Natore. No authentic and acceptable data are available about the effect of the rule of the English upon these Zamindar families. But it is noteworthy that rise and fall of these Zamindaris were connected with the consolidation of the company Govt. during the period under consideration.

Dighapatia Raj family faced great difficulty after the English had gained **Dewani**. It is a fact that these was the growth of the zamindari at the cost of the decline of the Natore Raj. The members of this family had to face economic crisis during the famine of 1770. but they could manage the situation by various means including selling the personal property. In our previous study we have shown how they could maintain their Zamindari till its abolition in 1951 by the Acquisition Act of the Govt. It is also a fact that the traditional Zamindar families of Rajshahi could not survive at any cost and a new development was the emergence of some petty Zamindars who were either service holder or businessmen and had the means to purchase the whole or a part of the Zamindaris in any favourable circumstances.

It may be said in conclusion that British revenue policy did not bring any welfare for the Zamindars or the people of Rajshahi nay Bengal rather because of their revenue policy, large Zamindars had to sustain loss and common people had to pay excess revenue. The great famine of 1770 was also one of the reasons of such a situation. If they did not stock food and face the famine by importing food from abroad, the famine would not have been so dreadful as it was experienced.

If the cause of this danger be analysed, it appears that three issues interacted together- (a) inexperience of the company to collect revenue, (b) eagerness of the Company to collect excessive revenue, and inability of the common people to pay revenue on account of the famine. As a result of the British rule, the large Zamindaris (estates) were ruined and small Zamindaris (estates) emerged.

Notes and references

1. Kalinath Choudhury, *Rajshahir Sankshipta Itihas*, Calcutta, 1398 BS, p. 160.
2. Samar Pal, *Natorer Itihas*, Vol. I, Natore, 1988, p. 22.
3. Moksudur Rahman, *Natorer Maharani Bhavani*, Rajshahi, 1988, p. 75.
4. Sirajul Islam, *Banglar Itihas : Aupanibeshik Shasan Kathamo*, (henceforth *Banglar Itihas.....*) Dhaka, 1984. p. 190.
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6. Bimal Prasad Ray, et al. *Natorer Katha O Kahini*, Calcutta, 1981, p. 10.
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8. Sirajul Islam, *Banglar Itihas*, p. 190.
9. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* p. 79.
10. Loc. cit.
11. Loc. cit.
12. A.B.M. Mahmood, *The Revenue Administration of Northern Bengal (1765-1993)* Dacca : 1970, p. 35.
13. Loc. cit.
14. Cited in Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.80.
15. Sirajul Islam. *Banglar Itihas.....*, p. 191.
16. A.B.M. Mahmood, *op. cit.* pp. 37-38.
17. Loc. cit.
18. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* p. 82.
19. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* p. 82, 83.
20. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* p. 83.

21. A.B.M. Mahmood, *op. cit*, p. 60.
22. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit*, pp. 83-84.
23. Skuprakash Ray, *Bharater Krishak Bidraha O Ganatantrik Sangram*, Calcutta : 1980, p. 12.
24. Cited in Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit*. p. 85.
25. Md. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit*, p. 85; Hastings took a good step by withdrawing the Judicial power of Zamindars. If the judicial powers of Zamindars were not withdrawn, subjects would have been the victims of much more torture. Subjects were tortured even after the withdrawal of the judicial powers of Zamindars.
26. Warren Hastings appointed this committee with 4 members : Middleton, Daker, Lawrence and Graham.
27. Cited in Md. Moksudur rahman, *op. cit*. p. 65.
28. Sirajul Islam, *The Permanent Settlement in Bangal : A study of its Operation (1790-1819)* Dacca : 1979, p. 89.
29. A.B.M. Mahmood, *op. cit*, p. 87; N.K. Sinha, *The Economic History of Bengal – From Plassey to Permanent Settlement*, Vol. 2 (Calcutta : 1962), p. 75.
30. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit*, p. 91.
31. A.B.M. Mahmood, *op. cit*, p. 96.
32. Loc. cit.
33. For detail list of the Sazawals see, A.B.M. Mahmood, *op. cit*, pp. 132-133.
34. A.B.M. Mahmood, *op. cit*, p. 128.
35. David Enderson was the *Chairman* and member was Jarsur, Sannual Kartar, Charls Crokts.
36. A.B.M. Mahmood, *op. cit*, p. 139; Aminbazar was situated near Murshidabad town.
37. A.B.M. Mahmood, *op. cit*, p. 140.
38. A.B.M. Mahmood, *op. cit*, p. 145.
39. A.B.M. Mahmood, *op. cit*, p. 147.

40. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit*, p. 98.
41. Three Divisions are (a) Rajshahi Sadar (B) Bhaturia (C) Bhusana and Baja Mahals.
42. A.B.M. Mahmood, *op. cit*, p. 150.
43. A.B.M. Mahmood, *op. cit*, pp. 168-69.
- 43.a. For detail see Chapter-III
44. Kalinath Choudhury, *op. cit*, p.177.
45. Kumud Nath Mallik. *Nadiakahini*, Calcutta: 1986, p.302.
46. Kumud Nath Mallik. *op. cit*. pp.302-303.
47. Habibur Rahman. *Subah Banglar Bhu – Abhijatantra*, Dhaka : 2003, p.212.