

Natore Raj - Its Rise, Stability and Estate Management

Natore is situated near the main road leading to Dhaka from Rajshahi. It is 30 miles east of Rajshahi. Natore town stands on the Narad river at the degree of latitude 24-6" north and 89-1" east¹. Natore was an important administrative central point during the reign of the Nawabs of Bengal. At the time of the British regime Natore was an important town of Rajshahi district. Natore had great importance as a business center. A great number of Europeans lived at Natore. In 1825 the district head quarter was shifted from Natore to Rampur-Boalia(Rajshahi) because the river Narod was silted up and diseases like malaria and dengue prevailed terribly²... To realize the historical importance of Natore, it was made a subdivision in 1829³. This historical Natore was the capital of Natore Raj family Natore and Natore Raj family were related inseparably. The glory of this place faded since the time of the downfall of the Natore Raj Family.

Kamdev Moitra (Ray) was the ancestor of Natore Raj Family. At the beginning of tenth century, the Hindu Raja *Adisur* of Chandra family brought five well versed Brahmins in Bengal from *Kanyakubja*. This five persons were Narayan of Sandilya lineage, Dharadhar of Batsa lineage, Gautam of Bharadwaj lineage, and Parasar of Sadhan lineage and Susenmani of Kasyapa lineage. Kamdev Moitra was a member of the later generation of Susenmani of *Kasyapa* lineage⁴. Kamdev Moitra was the *tahsilder* at Baruihati- Pargana under Raja Naranarayan Thakur of Puthia⁵. His dwelling place was at the village Amhati situated near Natore town. He had no property other than three thatched huts and eight *bighas* of *Brahmattar* land given out to him at a rent of one rupee. While in service, he also engaged himself as a priest. He was not solvent in spite of doing two jobs simultaneously⁶.

Kamdev Moitra had three sons they were Ramjiban, Raghunandan and Vishnu Prasad respectively^{6a}. As a part of job Kamdev Moitra had to come and go to Puthia Raj Family frequently. At that time Puthia was the centre of learning and higher education. Kamdev Moitra sent his three sons to Puthia for study⁷. Among the three sons the second one Raghunandan was very talented and intelligent. Within a short time he earned knowledge in the Persian Language which was the then state language. The Raja Darpanarayan conducted the study of Raghunandan and Ramjiban with proper care. Ramjiban prayed for a job to the Raja Darpanarayan in order to remove his parents' financial crisis and their sufferings. The Raja Darpanarayan advised Ramjiban to continue his study. But Ramjiban informed the Raja modestly about their miserable financial condition. By getting a job he could remove his parents' sufferings. Raja Darpanarayan was convinced and appointed him a clerk in an office at a salary Rs. 7.00 per month⁸.

After getting the job, Ramjiban began to perform his duties very sincerely and did not accept any money unreasonably or illegally from the subjects. He got excess profit of Rs.30.00 per month though he did not earn money dishonestly⁹. Being a man of liberal temperament, Ramjiban never spent money without any reason, and led a simple life. He cooked food for himself. He was also a hospitable man, and when any guest came to his house he always treated him cordially. For the convenience of his work, he appointed a boy of *Tili* caste named Dayaram Ray of village Kalam of Singra Police Station as a servant at a salary of eight Anna per month¹⁰. Only within two years he paid off all his debts, he could prepare his own house properly, get married himself and his brother Raghunandan.

His brother Raghunandan had been studying attentively for four years and acquired a sufficient knowledge in Persian language. Being attracted with his merit, Raja Darpanarayan appointed him Mir-Munsi at a Salary of Rupee 50.00 per month¹¹. Raja is being satisfied with his work appointed him a representative and

pleader at the court of the Nawab of Dhaka¹². It is known, from the fifth report of Mr. Farminger, at that period the Rajas or Zamindars used to appoint pleaders and advocates to their side. Those legal practitioners explained finalization of all accounts at the *darbar* of the Nawab¹³. Appointment as a pleader for the Raja of Puthia was the main cause behind the rise Raghunandan. At that period Murshidkuli khan was the Nawab of Bengal. Within a short period Raghunandan attracted the Nawab by his work and skill and gained favour of the Nawab. It is said that as per Raghunandan's advice Murshidkuli khan shifted the royal court from Dacca (Dhaka) to Mursidabad¹⁴.

There were some causes behind the relation of Raghunandan with Nawab Murshidkuli khan. In 1701 A. D. Emperor Aurangzeb sent Murshidkuli khan as the Subahdar who was also a Dewan of Bangal. At that time Azim-us-Shan, the grandson of emperor Aurangzeb, was the Nawab Nazim of Bengal and Bihar provinces. The Emperor gave his grand son a letter that Nawab Nazim could not spend any kind of money without any consent of the Subahdar. Previously the periphery of work of the Nawab Nazim and that of the Subahdar was not separate. Subahdar used to collect the tax while Nawab Nazim ruled the same area of the country. Arriving in Bangal, Murshidkuli khan found a doubtful figure of tax here. He took some steps to change the tax system. He discontinued the *jaigir* system and brought all land under government's direct ownership. He had taken the permission of the Emperor and conferred *jaigir* to the army generals and courtiers to the hilly area of Orissa in lieu of Bengal. For this he could give the land revenue of one crore rupee to the Emperor of Delhi in the first year¹⁵. Naturally the Emperor of Delhi was satisfied with Murshidkuli khan for giving him so large amount of land revenue. Remaining the Dewan of Bangal he gave tax of Rupee one crore and three lakhs every year. The Nawab Nazim Azimussan of Bangal could never accept so good relation between Emperor Aurangzeb and Murshidkuli khan. He always

tried how to get Murshidkuli khan in trouble. Even he tried to kill Murshidkuli khan secretly. Knowing this news, Emperor Aurangzeb gave the order of transfer of Azimussan to Patna and asked Murshidkuli khan to show his financial accounts¹⁶. Just hearing this news Azimussan became anxious, he thought that if Murshidkuli khan met the Emperor in Delhi, he would tell the Emperor all matters in detail. So, he found the way to create hindrance in showing the accounts by Murshidkuli Khan. According to the rules of that period, the account papers were to be submitted to the Emperor of Delhi through the Nawab with the signature of the accountants. Azimussan told the accountants not to sign on the paper of accounts. Preparing the accounts Murshidkuli khan requested the first accountant Darpanarayan and the second accountant Jaynarayn to put the seal and signature. The first accountant Darpanarayan claimed three lakhs Rupees as commission. Murshidkuli Khan agreed it and promised to pay after returning from Delhi. Darpanarayan informed him that he would not sign without taking the money¹⁷. At this situation Murshidkuli Khan became very worried as without the signature of the accountants the accounts would not be acceptable. Moreover, there was enough probability to lose the post of Nawab. At last he sought the help of the accountant Raghunandan. With the effort of Raghunandan only, one accountant put signature and seal. At last Murshid Kuli khan went to Emperor with that accounts and huge gifts along with money. He even did not enquire the unsigned account papers. Upon receiving the tax and gifts the Emperor gave him a precious *Khilat* (valuable dress) as a symbol of the court and appointed him the only Nawab of Bengal and Orissa.¹⁸ To help Murshidkuli Khan in danger, Raghunandan got an unexpected favour of the Nawab and this made him a dignified man in the *darbar* of the Nawab. After the death of Dewan Bhupati Ray, the accountant Darpanarayan was given the post of *dewan* though he had not helped the Nawab in crisis^{18a}. After some days, when Darpanarayan died, Raghunandan was appointed Dewan and was given the title of "*Ray-E-Raiyan*"¹⁹. In this way Raghunandan became a leading figure and rose to this level from a

lower position. In Mughal period the Zamindaris of the rebel Zamindars or the Zamindars who did not pay revenue were seized and new Zamindars were appointed in their places. Raghunandan was clever enough to utilize this opportunity. He purchased in auction those Zamindaris of the unable Zamindars who were defaulters and made arrangements for purchasing in Ramjiban's name²⁰. In 1113 B.S., i.e., 1706 the famous Zamindars Bhagabat Charan Choudhury and Ganeshram were deprived of their Zamindaris for being failed to pay revenues in time. Raghunandan arranged to buy them on behalf of his elder brother Ramjiban tactfully. This was the first way of gaining Zamindaris by Natore Raj Family²¹. A Raj family was established at Santail belonged to Chatmahar Police Station of Pabna district. A Brahmin Raja named Ramkrishna was the Raja of Santail. He married Sarbani Devi of Ray family of Demra. After ruling the Zamindari for a long period he died in 1710 leaving behind Rani Sarbani Devi who was a childless woman. She conducted the Zamindari for many years²². Rani Sarbani Devi at first took Surjakanta as her adopted son and after the death of Surjakanta she also took Chandrakanta as an adopted son. But the adopted son Chandrakanta died after some years leaving behind his wife Satyavati. After three months' of Chandrakanta's death Rani Sarbani Devi died. At that period Dewan Ramdev Choudhury became almost the only powerful man of the Santail Zamindari. Ramjiban got his Zamindari with the cooperation of Dewan Ramdev after paying the unpaid rent²³.

Udaynarayan was the Raja of Rajshahi. The capital of the Raja Udaynarayan was at Baranagar near Murshidabad district. His Zamindari extended all over Rajshahi Chakla on both the banks of the river Padma. He displayed good performance in ruling Zamindari and fell into the favour of Nawab. Suddenly there started disturbances in the Zamindari of Udaynarayan. Knowing that, the Nawab sent two Zamindars named Golam Muhammad and Zamindar of Kalia to help him. Two hundred cavalry soldiers also accompanied them as per the instruction of the

Nawab. They were advised to follow the directions of Raja Udaynarayan. Zamindari was maintained in a proper way with concerted effort. The soldiers began to collect tax from the subjects for the non payment of their salary. The subjects were extremely annoyed with their oppression. They stopped giving revenue to the Nawab's *Darbar* for a long period. Nawab sent an army under the leadership of a soldier named Muhammad Jan. Golam Muhammad was defeated in the battle. As a result Udaynarayan lost his strength of mind and many people say that he committed suicide by taking poison. It is also known that Golam Muhammad wanted money as the payment was due of the armed. Udaynarayan refused to pay: Golam Muhammad launched revolt and Nawab Murshidkuli Khan sent soldiers to help Golam Muhammad²⁴. Some, however, hold that when Udaynarayan revolted, Nawab Murshidkuli Khan sent soldiers to give him punishment and he committed suicide for the fear of punishment. In whatever way he might die, after the death of Udaynarayan. Raghunandan arranged to settle that Zamindari for his brother Ramjiban in 1121 B.S, i.e., 1714²⁵.

The Zamindar Sitaram Ray of Jessore became rebellious. Murshid Kuli Khan sent soldiers against him. Dewan Dayaram Ray was sent from Natore to help the Nawab. In the fight that started Sitaram was defeated and was taken prisoner. After the death of Sitaram in Jail, Ramjiban arranged the settlement area of his Zamindari including Pargana Bhusana, Ibrahimpur in his name in 1714²⁶.

Being unable to pay the rent to Nawab, the Zamindar Enaetullah of Jalalpur sold his Zamindari to Ramjiban for payment of revenue to the Government.

In accusation of committing murder, Shamsar Khan, Kishore Khan and, Enayet Khan were arrested and the Nawab cancelled their Zamindari and gave it to Ramjiban the *mouzas* of Habilee, Mahmudpur, Sahuzian, Tungi and Suroppur. In 1122 B.S., i.e., 1715 the Nawab also gave the Zamindari of Naldaha Pargana to Ramjiban²⁷.

The social status of Ramjiban was upgraded because of the Zamindari at Rajshahi of Udaynarayan and helped him for economic prosperity. After this Zamindari of Ramjiban came to be known as Rajshahi Zamindari. The dignity of Ramjiban further increased as a result of gaining the Zamindari of Bhusana and Muhammadpur of Jessore and Shantole of Pabna respectively.

Raghunandan's contributions are worthy of mention for the establishment of the Natore Raj or Estate. But behind such a rise of a new Zamindari, the effective help of Bengal Nawab Nawab Murshid Kuli Khan can not be underestimated. It thus be taken for granted that Murshidkuli Khan was the main patron of Natore Estate²⁸. The Zamindari of Raja Ramjiban extended over 139 parganas during that time.

Raja Ramjiban divided his Zamindari into these following Parganas:

1. Rajshahi	68 parganas
2. Bhaturia	30 parganas
3. Bhusana	29 parganas
4. Bajemahal	12 parganas
Total	139 Parganas

The revenue from total 139 Parganas was Rs. 17, 41987.00²⁹. In addition to income through the Zamindaris he had about 35 lakhs yearly profit. Further, Ramjiban brought under his control other Zamindaris tactfully. To rule this extensive Zamindari and collect revenue properly, he divided all Zamindaris into three centers. These were Sherpur in Bogra district, Baranagar in Murshidabad district and Natore. Baranagar was located half a mile north of Azimnagar railway station by the administrative advantages. Rarely Raghunandan had to go to Nawab *Darbar*, so he stayed at Baranagar most of the time. Staying at Baranagar helped him to maintain the royal duty of Natore. The tax of Chakla and Rajshahi used to be collected from

the Baranagar. He built a *Kachari* house to collect the revenue from Sherpur. That *Kachari* house was called Baroduari and 5 lakhs Rupee of rent were collected there in among these centers, Natore was the main and central point of all.³⁰

Natore was selected as a suitable place for the capital. It was originally a *beel* which was known as Bhatjhara. The Bhatjhara *beel* was the property of Puthia Raj. During their tenure of Bhatjhara services at Puthia, Ramjiban and Raghunandan promised to Puthia Raj that they would not receive any property of Puthia after becoming Raja³¹. So they could never apply to the Nawab rather approached to the Zamindar of Puthia for this. So the revenue assigned for Bhatjhara was only Rs. 27 and 5 *anas*. Since Raghunandan and Ramjiban had a plan to construct house there, the Puthia Raj gave a piece of *Brahamattar* land³². As receiving rent from a Brahman was considered to be irreligious, they sent 100 gold coin as gifts to Darpanarayan³³.

All places of Bhatjhara *beel* (marshyland) were not a plain area, it was being over flooded during the rainy season within other thesis, water dried up and a vast area could be utilized as grazing land. So the Zamindars of Natore took initiative to dig tanks and lakes in order to make the place convenient for domestic purpose.

The *dighis* (lake) of Anandakali, Laldighi, Malpukur (pond), Tarakeswar, Jaltuli, Gopinath, Berchowki were thus excavated and they bear the testimony of the achievements of the Zamindar of Natore-Raj. The Rajbari (the house of the Raja) was built of a place surrounded by *dighis* and ponds. The ponds were dug in such a way that no invader could enter the Rajprasad (the palatial building of the Raja) easily. Arrangements of guards were made at the gate way of the Rajprasad. Perhaps the Rajbari was built during the period between the year 1706 and 1710 A.D. Just after the building of the Rajbari (the house of the Raja) many people including the officers and the employees of the Raja began to come and settle in the *beel* and the *beel* gradually was transformed into a town.

After establishing the head quarters at Natore, Ramjiban began to conduct the administration of the large Zamindari (estate) with much energy and confidence. He exercised his power from the Rajdarbar itself located at Natore. Dayaram Ray his competent Dewan and the founder of Dighapatia Raj family helped him much in this regard. According to a source, Raghunandan at Murshidabad was the creator of the Natore estate, Dayaram Ray only consolidated it, while one was Clive, the other was Hastings of the East India Company³⁴.

Though Raghunandan by the grace of Murshid Kulikhan laid the foundation of Natore estate, Ramjiban and Dayaram Ray protected and improved it upto mark. During the prosperous days of Natore Raj family, its real founder Raghunandan died in 1714³⁵ Ramjiban was much shocked at the death of his brother. In fact Ramjiban conducted the administration of the estate according to the advice of Raghunandan. The wise and experienced person like Raghunandan brought prosperity and fame of Natore estate. Some days after the death of Raghunandan, his only son Kalika Prasad died, again after the death of Raghunandan³⁶ Ramjiban's baby son died. The three deaths, one after another brought an adverse situation and affected the body and mind of Ramjiban. The only alive person in the family was then Deviprasad, the son of Visnuram.³⁷

Raja Ramkanta Ray

As Ramjiban had no male child, many persons advised him to take an adopted son, while many others advised him to give whole property to his brother's son named Deviprasad. At last the decision of taking adopted son was accepted. He took Ramkanta Ray, the youngest son of Raski Ray who was considered as the Brahmankulashrestha and an inhabitant of village Chougram under Singra Police Station. He gave Rasik Ray Chougram Pargana and Islamabad under the district of Rangpur for allowing him to take Ramkanta Ray as his adopted son. The yearly income of the two parganas was Rs. 7760.³⁸

Deviprasad could not appreciate at all the idea of adopted son. Since whole of the Zamindar for himself. At this juncture Ramjiban decided to offer Ram Kanta 10 *anas* share of the Zamindar and the rest (i.e., six *anas*) to Debiprasad. But Deviprasad did not agree to the proposal and so Ramjiban gave the entire property to Ramkanta Ray, the adopted son³⁹. Ramjiban died in 1730⁴⁰.

At the time of Ramjiban's death, Ramkanta was a minor child. As a result the responsibility to conduct the administration was vested in Dayaram Ray, the competent Dewan of Natore estate. Dewan Dayaram Ray carried on the responsibility vested in him very sincerely till 1734. Due to experience and ready wit of Dayaram Ray, Deviprasad, the claimant of the property was to materialize his conspiracies.⁴¹

When Ramkanta was 18 in the year 1738, Dewan Dayaram Ray handed over him the charge of conducting the administration of the estate. Raja Ramkanta was efficient and eleven enough to look after the administration and in this matter his trusty adviser Dayaram Ray was his right hand. He incorporated the Zamindari of two other new parganas " namely Patildaha and Swaruppur in 1740. During the tenure of Raja Ramjiban, the total number of Parganas was 139 and he paid the revenue of Rs. 17,41,987.00 to the Nawab. During the tenure of Ramkanta the area was increased to 164 Parganas in place of 139 Parganas. The revenue was fixed Rs. 18,53,325.00. This revenue was Rs.1,11,338.00 more than what had been paid previously.⁴² Mr. K.C. Mitra, the historian, called Raja Ramkanta "a pious man without worldly wisdom."

But if the tenure of Raja Ramkanta Ray is taken into account, it appears that Natore estate achieved its glory during his tenure. So the opinion of Mr. Moitra can not be accepted in this regard. Of course, it is true that at the end of his tenure, he showed negligence in his administrative work and mainly engaged in the work of gods and goddesses and religious activities.⁴³

Ramkanta Ray and Rani Bhavani

As soon as Ramkanta got his maturity, the proposal of his marriage began to come from different places. The competent Dewan of the Raja of Natore made arrangements of his marriage with Bhavani Devi, the daughter of Atmaram Choudhury of village Chhatiagram.⁴⁴ The name of Bhavani's mother was Joydurga. Bhavani's mother came from an aristocratic family. Hari Dev Thakur (Tagore) the father of Jay Durga was the second son of Raghav Thakur. The father of Jay Durga was the second son of Raghav Thakur of Pakuria.⁴⁵

At the time of her marriage Bhavani was 15 only and Ramkanta was 18. On the occasion of his son's marriage, Ramjiban was also present in village Chhatiagram⁴⁶. Atmaram Choudhury gave away a part of the village, as the dowry of the marriage⁴⁷.

In an auspicious day at the end of the marriage, all with the new couple returned to the head quarter at Natore. Since then Bhavani Devi became well known as Rani Bhavani. Raja Ramkanta was a simple natured man. On the other hand, Rani Bhavani possessed extraordinary talent. She was as experienced in worldly affairs as she was wise in religious deeds. Had Raja Ramkanta acted according to Rani Bhavani's advice from the very beginning, he would not have been removed from the estate⁴⁸.

Depriving of Raja Ramkanta Ray of the Estate

Alivardi Khan became the ruler of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1740. Raja Ramkanta was surrounded by some dishonest officials and neglected the duties of the administration of the estate and as a result a lot of revenue fell arrear. He failed to pay the revenue in due time Dayaram Ray, his adviser then first advised him to pay the revenue regularly and to be attentive to the administrative duties of the estate. But Raja Ramkanta did not pay heed to it. This is because on one hand he was a juvenile youth and on the other hand he possessed much honour, influence

and power – all combined together and made him lost in himself. Thought after the death of his father Ramjiban, Ramkanta became the Raja, the real power was in the hand of Dayaram Ray. It was Dayaram Ray who looked after everything of the estate. Perhaps because of this the Zamindari (estate) was being conducted properly at the first stage of his receiving the Zamindari (estate).

The fact that the Zamindari (estate) was running well is proved by the fact that the estate was gaining other pieces of landed property. Dayaram Ray on one hand was old and he was eager to establish the new Dighapatia estate. On the other hand Ramkanta being surrounded by the flatterers neglected the advice of the old adviser Dayaram Ray and even he dismissed him from job⁴⁹. In these circumstances the estate was facing danger. Thought at the time of gaining power by Alivardi Khan, Raja Ramkanta helped him and lent him money from time to time. It was natural that the estate would not exist if revenue remained unpaid. Perhaps he was ousted from the estate for keeping the revenue unpaid.

On the other hand Rankanta's standing enemy, his nephew Deviprasad had always been trying to get the Zamindari (estate). When Ramjiban was alive, he did not try to claim it openly. Again there was still sufficient influence of Raghunandan in the court of Murshid Kuli Khan. Change of the Nawab and revenue being arrear brought opportunity for Deviprasad. He alleged against Ramkanta in the court of the Nawab of Murshidabad in different ways. As a result Alivardi Khan ousted Ramkanta from the Zamindari (landlordship)⁵⁰ and offered the Zamindari (landlordship) to Deviprasad by issuing a *Sanad* (certificate).

The above arrangement was so secretly that neither Ramkanta nor Rani Bhavani could know even a bit of it. When Raja Ramkanta realized the fact, he had nothing to do. Then Deviprasad entered the house of the Raja with his men and compelled Raja Ramkanta and Rani Bhavani to leave the house of the Raja⁵¹. Deviprasad with his men plundered the house of the Raja. Though Raja Ramkanta was inside the

house, he had nothing to do. At that time Rani Bhavani was then pregnant and finding no alternative he left the house of the Raja with Rani Bhavani. The Rani had nothing but at last her wearing cloths only. She had much trouble to walk on for the reason stated above and had no vehicle even to travel upto Murshdabad. Other side the way was difficult to be traveled over. With much difficulty, however, they met Jagatseth in Murshidabad as requested for shelter⁵². They began to live in Murshidabad like with much poverty and led life just like poor men. The banker Jagatseth had much access to the Nawab. When the Zamindars of Bengal went to Murshidabad, they had much opportunities to assemble together of the house of Jagatseth and they were also appreciated in terms of covering reports of Bengal as a whole.

The *Punnah* celebration, the day on which Zamindars paid the first payment of their revenue to the Nawab was held in the house of Jagatseth in the month of *Jaistha* at the end of each year. After the end of the audit of accounts of one and all, Zamindaris were re-distributed⁵³. Raja Ramkanta and Rani Bhavani went to the house of Jagatseth many times in various occasions. As there was a good relation with Jagatseth, the latter was their ultimate shelter.

Jagatseth's relation with the Nawab was very good. As a result it was difficult for the Nawab to refuse any request of Jagatseth. He requested the Nawab to give back the estate of Ramkanta to him. It was his effort that Raja Ramkanta was given back his Zamindari (estate) again⁵⁴.

As to the removal of Raja Ramkanta from the Zamindari, a group of scholars have the opinion that the reason may be sought in a plot hatched by Dayaram the Darbar of Murshidabad. In this light these scholar have the arguments that the question of the arrear of revenue and mismanagement in the work of the Zamindari (estate) had nothing to cause for the removal as has so far been recorded by the scholar⁵⁵.

After the removal of Raja Ramkanta from Zamindari, Raja Ramkanta and Rani Bhavani begged for the pardon of Dayaram Ray for regaining the estate. Seeing the misery of Raja Ramkanta and Rani Bhavani, Dayaram Ray's became soft and he again made effort in the court of the Nawab in favour of getting Zamindari (estate) back to Raja Ramkanta. With the effort of Dayaram Ray, Raja Ramkanta regained the Zamindari⁵⁶.

The opinion that Raja Ramkanta lost his Zamindari (landlordship) due to disagreement with Dayaram Ray can not be accepted. This is because in those days a Zamindar could enjoy Zamindari (landlordship) till his later generations if he paid the revenue regularly. Zamindaris were seized only from those Zamindars who were disobedient or unable to pay the revenue. Perhaps the root cause behind the seizure of Zamindari of Raja Ramkanta was non payment of revenue. Of course, it may be assumed that Dayaram Ray also had some contribution along with the contribution of Jagatseth to regain Zamindari by Raja Ramkanta. After regaining Zamindari, Dayaram Ray was reinstated to the post of the advisor⁵⁷.

Some days after regaining the Zamindari, Raja Ramkanta went to Bhavanidham with his wife Rani Bhavani and his son Kalu Tarkavagis. He stayed at Bhavanipur about one year and devoted himself to the worship and service of mother Bhavani. The large building lying in front of the temple of Bhavani was built by Raja Ramkanta. He built a bungalow and a temple to Bhavanipur. In the temple he established the idol of Viswanath Shiva in the name of his father Ramjiban. He also established another idol of shiva in the bungalow.⁵⁸ The retirement of Dayaram from the service had disturbed the smooth running of administration and Ramakanta was rather helpless in the functioning of the estate under the given circumstances.

Maharaja Ramkanta was the father of two sons and a daughter. Only Tarasundry, the daughter was alive and the two sons died an immature death.⁵⁹ As

there was no son alive, Raja Ramkanta permitted Rani Bhavani to keep an adopted son and died in 1748.⁶⁰

After the death of the Raja, Rani Bhavani became the only owner of the Zamindari (estate). Alivardi Khan entrusted Rani Bhavani with the charge of administering the Zamindari (estate). Rani Bhavani, too, showed her fitness and ability to the administration of Zamindari (the estate).

After the death of her husband and sons Rani Bhavani did not have much attraction towards wealth and property. Her only concern was to give her only alive daughter Tara in marriage to a suitable bridegroom and entrust the son-in-law with the charge of administering the estate. Rani Bhavani's all dreams cantered round Kumari Tarasundari. At that time female education was not so much in vogue. But in many cases it seen that in the ancient Raj families arrangements were made to educate their daughters.

Accordingly, education of all kinds were given to Rajkumari Tarasundari even from her childhood.⁶¹ Dewan Dayaram Ray was entrusted with the work of finding out a good bridegroom of a respectable family for Kumari Tarasundari. Khajura was a famous village under Natore Sadar Police Station. Many Brahmins of respectable family lived there. At last Dayaram Ray gave Tarasundari in marriage to Raghunath Lahiri of village Khajura.⁶² Tarasundari was only eight when she was married. Rani's intention was to entrust the administration of her estate with Raghunath, her son-in-law and had the name of Raghunath proclaimed in the court of the Nawab as the future Zamindar of the estate. The charge of administration of the estate was also entrusted on the son-in-law. But Raghunath Lahiri, her son-in-law died in 1758.⁶³ After the death of her son-in-law Rani Bhavani herself took over the charge of administration of the estate again.⁶⁴ Tarasundari became widow at an early age. As soon as she arrived at womanhood, she became more beautiful

and some rumors about. Tarasundari and Nawab Siraj-ud-daullah became popular in those days.⁶⁵ Only the conspirators against the Nawab and the Rani propagated these false stories to put the black stain of infamy on the character of the Rani and the Nawab.

Rani Bhavani's patriotism and love for subjects :

Alivardi Khan was a competent Nawab who was sympathetic to his subjects. He showed his affection to all without any distinction to Hindus and Muslims.⁶⁶ Just after taking the charge of administration, he first paid his attention to establish law and order of the country. Though he established law and order in the country, he failed to check the frequent inroads of the '*Bargi*' (the Maratha cavalry).⁶⁷ Consequently the effect of the inroads of the *Bargi* influenced the whole of the country. The effect of these inroads, however, disturbed the Zamindari of Rani Bhavani. The inroads of the *Bargi* had also been found before the reign period of Alivardi Khan but it was found more frequent and troublesome during his reign. Bhaskar Pandit, the commander-in-chief of Raghubir, the chief of Maharashtra came to attack Murshidabad with about forty thousand horsemen to collect choutha ($\frac{1}{4}$ th of the total crop). They suddenly attacked and went away after plundering. Public life was disrupted due to this kind of attack. In these circumstances, Nawab Alivardi Khan wanted, to make an amicable settlement with the '*Bargis*'. He voluntarily wanted to offer rupees one lakh but the demand of Bhaskar Pandit was rupees was more and of amounted to one crore.⁶⁸ So no amicable settlement was possible. Battles were being conducted in this way. In the absence of Alivardi Khan they entered Murshidabad and plundered the town. They entered the house of Jagat Seth, the banker and took away rupees two crores and some valuable things. Some parts of the town were also plundered.⁶⁹ Rani Bhavani tried her best for the security of life and property of the subjects. As a result of the attack of the *Bargi*, a part of

the estate (the region situated to the southern bank of the Padma) was affected. With the administrative policy of Rani Bhavani many parts of Rajshahi situated to the northern side of the Padma were protected.⁷⁰ Considering the point of security, Alivardi Khan transferred necessary papers and documents from Murshidabad to Godagari situated on the northern bank of the Padma. The members of his family were also shifted with furniture to Godagari under the leadership of Nawajes Muhammad Khan, the then Deputy Governor.⁷¹ During the attack of the Marhathas, Zamindars helped the Nawab with a lot of money. To cheek the attack of the Bargis, the Nawab collected additional amount of money from Zamindars. To protect the subjects from the attack of the 'Borgi', the Nawab was compelled to make the treaty with the 'Borgi' on the condition of paying the 'choutha' (¼th of the crop) of Rs. 12 lakh annually. After consulting with Zamindars the Nawab fixed an extra tax called Choutha for the Marathas. This tax was collected from the Zamindars. At that time Rani Bhavani helped the Nawab with Rs. 3,02,480/-.⁷²

After the death of Alivardi Khan, Nawab Siraj-ud-daullah came to the throne, Siraj had to face different kinds of dangers and difficulties. The Zamindars of the country desired his fall, specially Raja Mahendra, Raja Ramnarayan, Raja Rajballav held a closed door meeting in the house of Jagat Seth. Raja Krishnachandra of Nadia played a leading role in the fall of Siraj. He decided that the help of the English was necessary to cause the fall a Siraj. So he chalked out the programme with Clive secretly.⁷³ Before the battle of Plassey, Rani Bhavani urged Raja Krishna Chandra and all other Zamindars of Bengal not to help Clive. Rani Bhavani was the first to realize that if Siraj was defeated it would bring unlimited troubles for the people of Bengal. She thought before hand that the English would gradually spread the net of power and the people of Bengal would become their slaves.⁷⁴ Rani Bhavani sent army to help the Nawab in the battle of plassey, but the Nawab had been defeated before the soldiers of the Rani reached there.⁷⁵

Rani Bhavani as an administrator

After the death of her husband in 1748 Rani Bhavani became the legal owner of Natore estate and was running the administration of the estate excellently. To conduct her administrative duty, her daughter Tarasundari and Dewan Dayaram Ray helped her in all respects.

Holwell, an English historian said about the estate of Rani Bhavani, "At Natore about ten day's travel, north-east of Calcutta reside the family of the most ancient and opulent of the Hindu princess of Bengal. Raja Ramkanta of the race of Brahmin Who died in 1748 was succeeded by his wife, a princess named Bhavani Rani whose Dewan or minister was Dayaram Ray of the *Tili* caste or tribe, they possess a tract of country about 35 day's travel and under a settled governments that Stipulated annual rent to the crown was 70 lakh of *sicca* rupees, the real revenue about one crore and a half".⁷⁶

It may be said that Rani Bhavani conducted the administration of her estate successfully. During the period of Rani Bhavani three kinds of rent were collected.

- i) Legal revenue for the land in possession;
- ii) Monetary fine as the punishment for committing crime;
- iii) *Abwab* or extra charges;
- iv) Miscellaneous.

During her tenure farmers had to pay very small amount of rent, but businessmen had to pay more.⁷⁷ At that time the rent for the homestead was of very small amount and nobody had to pay rent for the houses having doors at northern side. The causes for which *abwabs* extra charges were collected are as follows:

- i) Tax on the profit of business;
- ii) A lot of taxes were collected on the social and family festivals like *annaprasan* (the ceremony of giving rice to a child for the first time), *churakaran*

(leaving a lock of hair uncut on the head), marriage, Shradhya of parents (ceremony in honour and for the benefit of dead parents)⁷⁸ The money collected in this way was spent on various religious and development works. When Rani Bhavani was running the administration of her estate beautifully, some unforeseen troubles occurred which have been stated above.

Rani Bhavani and Her Benevolent Works

Rani Bhavani was not only an administrator but also a well wisher of her subjects. Considering the all round development some scholars conclude that, "Rani Bhavani's tenure is the golden age for the welfare of the subjects. She administered a big Zamindari (estate) in Rajshahi with peace and order for a long period of 50 years. During her tenure the subjects were out of poverty and scarcity.

She spent about rupees fifty crores for donation and welfare works.⁷⁹ She was devoted to education. She conducted various primary schools and Chatuspathies (Sanskrit schools for teaching the four Vedas, grammar, philosophy etc.) in the district of Rajshahi. She offered stipends/scholarships for maintaining those primary schools and *Chatuspathies*. Sripati Vidyalankar was one of those who got scholarships from Rani Bhavani. He was the professor of the Chatuspathy of village Tajpur under Singra Police Station. To maintain Tajpur Chatuspathy, Rani Bhavani contributed Rs. 90.00 per year.⁸⁰ The scholars named Rudrakanta of Chougram, Ramanath Talukdar of Matikopa, Kalikaprasad Chakravarty of Amhati, Kashikanta, Panchanan etc. got scholarships from Rani Bhavani. Professor Rudrakanta Bhattacharya of the *Chatuspathy* of Bariagram under Singra Police Station got yearly scholarship of Rs. 60/- from Rani Bhavani.⁸¹ In 1752, a man named Gadadhar Siddhanta established a *Chatuspathy* at Amhati, Rani Bhavani granted there a monthly scholarship of Rs. 10.00. At that time Hindu law and logic were taught in various Toles (primary schools). From the description Mr. W.W.Hunter, it appears that in the toles of Belgharia and Amhati, Hindu Law and Logic were taught.⁸²

There were centres for teaching Sanskrit at Baria, Pakuria, Natore, Govinathpur, Amhati, Basudevpur, Malanchi, Baranagar, Debipur and Brindaban Akhra of Natore. With the money of Raja Ramkanta and Rani Bhavani 33 Vaishnav Akhra (Monastery) and 83 toles (primary schools) were established.⁸³ According to an account of 1791, it appears that Rani Bhavani spent Rs.15583.00 and 5 *ana* annually for the stipend for Brahmins, Gangabasi and Muslim saints.⁸⁴ In the education of Sanskrit, Basudevpur, Kalam and Baidyabelghoria were so much advanced that they were called the Navadwip of North Bengal. She spent money for the education not only in Rajshahi but also in the chatuspathy of the district of Birbhum.⁸⁵ She not only patronised education but was also an erudite scholar. She was one of the educated ladies of those days.⁸⁶ In those days the system of female education was not prevailing in the country. Both Hindu and Muslim societies were lagging behind in respect of female education. Hindu families thought that if a girl was educated, she would be a widow just after her marriage. If girls were educated the complexity in the family would increase.⁸⁷

Rani Bhavani's inspiration for introducing widow marriage and for helping widows:

Rani Bhavani was a farsighted lady. She was the first to realise that Hindu widows should be remarried. Later on Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar introduced it in Bengal. Tarasundari, the daughter of Rani Bhavani became widow at her early age. Perhaps for this she took initiative for widower marriage. On the other hand Raj Ballav of Dhaka tried to introduce widow marriage because his daughter became widow. Rani Bhavani and Raj Ballav placed the proposal of their daughters' marriage before the pandits (scholars). In those days the Brahmin pandits of Vikrampur, Dhaka and Nadia were the sole authorities of the Hindu society. The pandits of Vikrampur gave opinion in favour of widow remarriage. But Raja Krishnachandra that widow marriage was not valid according to the doctrine of the religion. Because

of the opposition of Raja Krishnachandra it was not possible for the Rani to introduce and implement the idea of widow remarriage. Her proposal for widow remarriage showed her farsightedness.⁸⁸ Under the presidentship of T.B. Maccaulay in 1837, the Indian commission gave their opinion of remarriage of the Hindu women of high families and urged the government to implement law in this regard. But the Indian Dharma Sava (religious society) did not accept this opinion.⁸⁹

Rani Bhavani was kind enough to the widows. She offered monthly stipend to many widows. Rani Bhavani made a shelter for widows on the bank of the Ganges and made arrangements for their maintenance.⁹⁰ These widows earned their living by spinning thread of the cotton produced in the country.

Rani Bhavani made arrangements for the medical treatment of her subjects. She engaged eight *vaidyas* (country doctors) on the basis of monthly pay. Each of these eight *vaidyas* had two servants. The *vaidyas* used to go about 8 villages adjacent to Baranagar and give medical treatment to the patients and their servants cooperated with them in various ways. There were additional attendants to give diet to the patients. They used to carry rice, pulse of mug, sugar candy etc. Besides those of Baranagar, Rani Bhavani had several hundred of *Kavirajas* (native physicians) and *hekims* physicians using the Greek system of medical treatment). These physicians went from door to door from morning to evening and gave medicines.⁹¹ If a subject died in a village, Rani Bhavani would bear all the expenses of his/her funeral. She paid Rs.6.00 and Rs.3.00 for the Brahmin and the Sudra (the lowest caste Hindu) respectively.⁹² She distributed rice to the poor in the year 1176 B.S., i.e., 1769. When there was a pathetic famine in Bengal. This famine killed crores of people of Bengal and Bihar.⁹³ During this famine Rani Bhavani spent a lot of money to help her subjects. She bought rice from Rangpur at a high price and sold it to the people at a low price. To save the victimised people she opened gruel kitchens at different

places. Besides these, She contributed a lot of money to her subjects. She contributed money through her employees.⁹⁴

Though she was a woman, she showed had much credit in conducting the administration of her Zamindari (estate). She administered her estate properly and did her best to serve the people.⁹⁵

Contribution of Rani Bhavani in the field of Religion :

Rani Bhavani was not only a successful administrator but also was equally concerned about the religious upliftment of her subjects. She paid much attention to the spread of institutional religion and for this she encouraged establishment of temples in various parts of her Zamindari and beyond. To memorise her birth place at Chatiangram, her birth place, she built a beautiful temple. The name of th temple was given Jai Durga Mandir after her mother's name.⁹⁶ An idol was also installed inside it. Rani Bhavani had got constructed more temples in other places too and the following list bears the testimony of her credit to this effect.

Name of the Temple	Place/Location
1. Shiva Temple	Mammi Kalikapur, near Dasuria. ⁹⁷
2. Raghunath Temple	Mandapukur (Naogaon District) ⁹⁸
3. Bhavanipur Temple	Bhavanipur (near Bagura) ⁹⁹
4. Jaikalibari Temple and Tarakeswar Shiva Temple	Natore ¹⁰⁰

Maharani Bhavani's religious activities and favour did not only confine with Natore but crossed the border of the region. She was very much attracted to Kashidham and in order to memorise her link she built Bhavani temple there. As she followed a principle of placing idol inside, this temple had also the record of having an excellent idol inside it. At Kashi, she spent huge money for the Durga temple established in 1770 and in the same year the temple of Gopal was birth under her patronage.¹⁰¹

She also built many temples at Baranagar, Murshidabad. Bhavaniswar temple at Baranagar is a remarkable achievement of Rani Bhavani. She established the idol of Rajrajeswari in the temple of Rajrajeswari to the south of gopal temple established by her daughter Tarasundari to the west of Bhavaniswar temple. She established Charibangla temple to the south east of Madangopal temple situated to the south east of Rajrajeswari temple. This Charibangla temple is worth seeing. Each brick of the Charibangla temple is full of images of gods and goddesses.¹⁰² She built a temple in the name of Kirteswari at Baranagar. This temple was built in 1765.¹⁰³ She established the idol of Kasturiswar shiva after her mother's pet name at Baranagar¹⁰⁴ It is said that both the temples of Bhavaniswar shiva were built at the same time.¹⁰⁵

She waved Rupees one lakh and eighty thousand to Gangavasi and Khetravasi Brahmins, abbots of monastery and guests. With this huge amount of the Maharani the service of gods and guests and various religious deeds were performed. Besides giving stipend cash money, she also gave 5 lakh *bighas* of Brahmattar land (pieces of rent free land given away to Brahmins) and Debattar land (property endowed for defraying the cost of worshipping a deity) land to the people of four castes of Hindus of Rajshahi, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Jessore, Dhaka, Murshidabad and Birbhum. Those pieces of land were rent free.¹⁰⁶ A.B.M. Mahmood, a reputed scholar in this field of study, quoting from the report of the Amini commission mentions that she donated a total area of 4,29,149 *bighas* of rent free Brahmattar land.¹⁰⁷

When a Brahmin named Ramanath came from Nastik Kanyakubja to Natore, she donated much land to him. Later on she appointed him as jailor.¹⁰⁸ She granted stipend of Rs. one lakh for the temples of Venares and neighbouring areas.¹⁰⁹ Shyam Ray's Seba (home) established by Rani Bhavani was a famous seba (home). For this purpose, the Rani donated huge plots of land an these landed properties were located mainly at the places namely Chougachha, Kaliganjer Dihi of Fulbaria etc.

For the service and worship of the idol of Shyam Ray, Rani Bhavani allotted one thousand *bighas* of cultivable land.¹¹⁰ She built 380 temples and guest houses in Venaras.¹¹¹ She again gave away huge amount of food to the poor. Every morning 8 mounds of grams were soaked in a stone made storage tank of water. Every day 25 mounds Tandul (much boiled rice) was distributed in the temple of Devi Annapurna. During every worship of gods and goddesses with much pomp and grandeur 4/5 thousand of people ate with much pleasure. When Rani Bhavani went to Kashi Dham for the first time, she had with her 1700 boats full of food stuff for giving away to the people. During her next visit she took with her 1000 boats full of food stuff for the same purpose.¹¹²

She donated not only for the Hindus but also for the Muslims.¹¹³ She established some Maktabas, too. The instance of her gift for the Muslim Saints may be found through *Pirattar* land (rent free land for the Muslim saints) of places like Naogaon and Patharghata. She is also remembered for the digging of a pond in the name of the saint Baba Adam of the district of Bogra.¹¹⁴ Rani Bhavani contribution is found not only to the field of religion but also in the construction of roads, digging canals and ponds. She dug a pond in Mummikalikapur village near Dashuria, Pabna to remove the scarcity of water of the people. A big pond was also dug at Handial. She had about 300 ponds dug at Pakuria, Singra Police Station. The credit of huge ponds numbering 9 along the road stretching from Natore to Bhavanipur, Bogra lies in her credit.¹¹⁵

For the development of communication the Rani has no parallel. She was very much concerned about the road conditions of the region and so she gave much attention to it. She made the road from Natore to Talam Shiva temple. Besides these, she constructed a road known as *Ranir Zangal* from Natore to Bhavanipur of the district of Bogra.¹¹⁶ The road runs from Natore to Bhavanipur via Chougram, Pakuria, Bingram, Bamihal and Ranirhat. She planted trees by the side of the road

and built rest houses for the convenience of the people. There are some small and large bridges on the said Ranir Zangal Road. At present the bridge stands as a testimony of Rani Bhavani's achievements.¹¹⁷ The road called Bombay Road at present, running from Howrah to Kashi Dham is due to the credit of Rani Bhavani. This road is called Rani Bhavani road or Vanaras Road.¹¹⁸

Personal Life of Rani Bhavani

Maharani Bhavani was very pious in her personal life. She passed her life in a strict disciplined way. Every night she used to get up from bed one hour and thirty six minutes before the night was over and finished her prayer. After this she entered her flower garden 12 minutes before the night was over and plucked flowers with her own hands. There after she took bath in the Ganges, sat on the river coast, for prayer again and continued her offers to Shiva up to 48 minutes after the day break. After wards she offered flowers to each of the temples of gods and goddesses and returned home and listened the stories of the *Puranas*, worshipped Shiva and '*Ista*' (desire). Then she cooked food herself and first fed 10 Brahmins and made arrangements of feeding the Brahmins of her own family and ate *Habishanna* (Rice and butter boiled together). In the end she went to the office of the Zamindari (estate) and gave the written orders to the employees. She used to examine everything carefully before putting her signature. She led a very simple life. In the later part of her life she lived in the ground floor of a house of Baranagar.¹¹⁹ She had a deep love and respect for her husband. For the *Shraddha* (funeral ceremony) of Raja Ramkanta, she spent about ten lakh rupees.¹²⁰ Though she was an woman, she proved her worth in running the administration of the Zamindari (estate). She conducted the administrative work skilfully. As a Maharani she was an impartial judge.¹²¹ Rani Bhavani had a very hard time during the fag end of her life. The Zamindari (estate) incurred serious loss due to the change of the revenue policy of the company^{121(a)}. In spite of being the owner of a large Zamindari (estate), she had to depend on the

stipend of the government in the later part of her life. The amount of this stipend gradually decreased and became Rs. 1000/- only in the end.¹²² She witnessed the glorious days of Natore estate and she also witnessed its days of down fall Not only the downfall of Natore estate came but also most of the outstanding Raj families (land lord families) ruined within the year 1802.¹²³ This dignified lady breathed her last at the age of 79 years.¹²⁴

Her intelligence, her skill for administration of the estate, her generosity, made her much respectful in the this society.¹²⁵ No sooner had the Rani died than the glory of Natore Raj family nay Natore came to an end.

Raja Ramkanta had no son and at the time of his death, he permitted Rani Bhavani to take an adopted son. As we have sun earlier, Rani Bhavani desired to give her daughter Tara in marriage and hand over the charge of Zamindari (estate) to her son in-law. She married her daughter Tarasundari to Raghunath Lahiri of village Khajura. Raghu Nath died an immature death. So according to the permission of Ramkanta, She took Ramkrishna, the third son of Haridev Ray of village Atgram of Naogaon, (Rajshahi) as her adopted son. The ancestor of Ramkrishna and that of Natore Raj family came of the same family.¹²⁶ In exchange of allowing his son Ram Krishna to be the adopted son of Rani Bhavani, Rani Bhavani gave Haridev Ray Atgram belonging to Amrul Pargana as reward.¹²⁷

At the time of 10 years' settlement in 1790, Ramkrishna got the estate. He got the title of Maharaja from the Mughal emperor Shah Alam.¹²⁸ Raja Ramkrishna was not a man of practical sense. In his wordly life he devoted himself to conducting the administration of the estate with his mother properly. Later on he kept himself aloof from everything. With a view to changing his mentality, Maharani gave him in marriage to the bride of the Majumdar family of Brikutsa.¹²⁹ But no change was found in him even after the marriage. Rani Bhavani decided to hand over the power of administration of the estate to Ramkrishna and led a religions life, Rani Bhavani handed over the power because of the conflict between the mother and the son.¹³⁰

During the administration of Raja Ramkrishna he faced two main problems and because of his failure to solve those problems he lost many parts of his Zamindari (estate) The first problem was the activities of the officers and the second one was the company's rule.

The influence of the officers increased so much that it was difficult for the Raja to conduct the work of administration independently. These officers were very much corrupt and involved in many illegal activities. They leased out pieces of land with higher price to their relatives at a lower price. In this regard *ijardar* Nandalal informed the company about Chand Thakur (Chakravarty), the chief adviser of Rani Bhavani that he leased out the village which might be leased out at Rs. 1000.00 / 1500.00 at the lower price of only Rs. 25.00/30.00 and thus gained much profit personally.¹³¹ Besides this Chand Thakur appointed worthless persons to the important posts like Chakladar, Amin, Naib etc.¹³² In 1792 people applied to the government to help them to get rid of the influence of those officers.¹³³ The officers misappropriated a lot of funds through corruption and deception and later on they bought new estates with the money collected thereby.¹³⁴ One of these officers was Kalishankar Ray, the founder of Narail family. Maharaja Ramkrishna sold Kadihati Pargana to Kalishankar and leased out to him the remaining part of Bhusana estate.¹³⁵ The lease was given out in 1793. In the first year of getting the lease, Kalishankar increased the revenue from Rs. 3,24,000.00 to Rs. 3,48,000.00 and consequently the revolt of the tenants was the outcome. As a result of the revolt, the rent fell arrear. Maharaja Ramkrishna, in order to get rid of the payment of revenue, made a deed of gift (*Heba*) in the name of Viswanath, his minor son.¹³⁶ The Government could not sell the property of a minor by auction. The property would go to the court of Wards for supervision. The government appointed a commissioner and a *Sazowal* or manager under him. Kalishankar tactfully influenced the government and had his son Ramnarayan appointed *Sazowal*.¹³⁷ In this way,

Kalishankar, after the permanent Settlement deceived his land lord and bought the profitable parganas of the estate in pseudonym.¹³⁸ Sometime after the Permanent settlement, when the vast estate of Natore Raj being sold part by part by auction, Kalishankar and other servants had the privilege to buy most of the land in pseudonym.¹³⁹

Sri Radharaman Shaha, the historian of the district of Pabna wrote that the ancestors of the Zamindars of Tarash had served as Dewan and Mutsuddis of the Raja of Natore and thus they emerged as Zamindars.¹⁴⁰

In the court of the Raja of Natore, the influence of Chand Thakur was unlimited. His real aim was to occupy the whole property with the help of a few officials who were disloyal to the estate. Many tenants fled away because of the oppression of Chand Thakur.¹⁴¹ In this way Chand Thakur established a maladministration. Raja Ramkrishna had no ability to control all these officers and take them into task. As a result, according to their ability these officers misappropriated money and brought about the decay and downfall of the Zamindari (estate).

The principle of the company, too, upset Raja Ramkrishna. The big Zamindars introduced the system of appointing Talukdars to collect revenue properly. Zamindars, in many cases, collected revenue through Talukdars. In 1793, the permanent settlement was made directly with Zamindars and Talukdars.¹⁴² As a result Zamindars sustained a loss. To get rid of the loss, Maharaja Ramkrishna applied to the council that Talukdars were appointed for the convenience of collecting revenue properly but if the Talukdars slipped out of his hand he would lose ¼th of his landed property.¹⁴³ In the words of Sirajul Islam, a reputed scholar in this area of study it was "In fact the Sadarjama of the Taluq as within his Zamindari amounted to Rs.371000.00 and all of them were separated."¹⁴⁴

In the district of Rajshahi 1603 Talukdars who were not under the Zamindars, were created.¹⁴⁵ There were 14500 Talukdars under 394 Zamindars and they were separated from the Zamindars. In Jessore 3444 Talukdars were separated from 122 Zamindars.¹⁴⁶

As the company fixed excess revenue, it was not possible for Raja Ramkrishna to pay the revenue. On the other hand, during the tenure of Raja Ramkrishna, the situation of law and order of the country deteriorated much. At that time, the police, the officer-in-charge of the police station, *Jamadars*, *barkandajes* and the officers of the court took bribe and as a result the antisocials got an upper hand at the cost of the lawlessness and disorder that followed.¹⁴⁷ Explaining the circumstances of the contemporary period Mr. K.C. Mitra writes, "In the time of Maharaja Ramkrishna crime was very rife, there was little or no security of life and property. Thefts, burglary and dacoity were common and became a part of the public life".¹⁴⁸

In such a circumstances, farmers lost their energy and confidence of producing crops and failed to pay the revenue. And as a result it was not possible for Raja Ramkrishna, too, to pay the government revenue. In every year the revenue fell arrear gradually and in the year 1795, the amount of arrear revenue was Rs. 5,39,054.00 Raja Ramkrishna applied for the remission of arrear revenue but in vain.¹⁴⁹ Because of his failure to pay the arrear revenue, Mr. J.H. Harington, the then commissioner of Rajshahi put Maharaja Ramkrishna in jail on 6 March 1793.¹⁵⁰ On 15 March, 1793, the Governor General gave the Maharaja more time and ordered the commissioner to acquit the Maharaja if he signed an agreement to pay the arrear revenue in instalments. When the deed of agreement was signed on 18 March, Maharaja Ramkrishna was released from the Jail.¹⁵¹ Later on when the revenue again fell arrear, there was no alternative and some part of the estate was sold by auction. The sold Parganas were, Pargana Manikdihi, Pargana Ambari, Choughoria, Pargana Patiladaha, Pargana Kismat Katawali.¹⁵² Owing to the failure

of the payment of revenue in time, the Maharaja was sent to police custody on 12 September, 1793 and he had to stay there for two days and in the month of December of the same year he was sentenced to imprisonment.¹⁵³ He was released from the prison when he borrowed money and paid the arrear revenue. Afterwards he had to sell some more Parganas. The influence of the British administration not only fell upon the Raja of Natore but also upon other Zamindars. As a result of the Permanent settlement, the chief Zamindars like those of Burdwan, Nadia, Natore (Rajshahi) and Dinajpur were ruined and new Zamindars came into existence after buying land and Zamindaris which were sold by auction.¹⁵⁴

When Maharaja Ramkrishna took over the charge of the Zamindari (estate), British rule was firmly established in India. So Maharaja Ramkrishna had to struggle against unfavorable circumstances. Many people think that Raja Ramkrishna was not interested in worldly affairs, he led a saintly life and that was why he had to lose different parts of his estate. This opinion can not be accepted as Rani Bhavani, too, had to lose power at the end of her rule. In the contemporary period, other Zamindars of Bengal also could not conduct the administration of their estates independently. So Ramkrishna had nothing to do against the auction of his Zamindari (estate). In this regard, Mr. A K Moitra observes, "Ramkrishna could not save his Zamindari (estate) even if he was not heedless to worldly affairs and even if he was deeply concerned with worldly interests."¹⁵⁵

As the situation stands, it is likely that the observation of A. K. Moitra is justified. Though Raja Ramkrishna was not successful as a Zamindar, he was an honest man as per records. He was '*Shakti Sadhak*' (worshipper of divine energy under its female personification), as he was a scholar so he was a devotee and saint and possessed miraculous power.¹⁵⁶

He always liked to lead a life free from botheration. He used to sit for meditation at dead of night at the famous burning ground of Bagshore 5/6 miles away from

Natore. Bagshore was the place of meditation and the favourite place of wandering of Raja Ramkrishna.¹⁵⁷ He also sat for meditation at Bhavanipur, Bogra. His seat, for receiving sacrificial fire from the hole in the ground and another seat consisting of panchamundi (the names of five gods, sheva, Brahma, Vishnu, Maheswar and Ramchandra) were situated there.¹⁵⁸ He arranged the digging of the canal from Baranagar to the temple of Kiriteswari. This temple is situated at a place three miles from village Dahapara on the western bank of the Bhagirathi. Ramkrishna performed the meditation of Kali at Baranagar. His panchamundi seat was situated under a betel tree behind the temple of Gopal founded by Tara Devi.¹⁵⁹ This great saint like Zamindar died in 1795.¹⁶⁰ The Maharaja had two sons, Viswanath and Shivnath by name.¹⁶¹

After the death of Maharaja Ramkrishna, Natore Zamindari (estate) was divided into two parts. These two parts were known as Chhotataraf (smaller side) and Barataraf of Viswanath, was the first Raja of the Barataraf and Shivnath was that of the Chhotataraf.¹⁶²

Barataraf

Biswanath Ray

After the death of his father, Biswanath Ray took over the charge of Barataraf bigger side of the Zamindari (estate) as the first Raja. During the tenure of Raja Ramkrishna when many parts of his estate were being sold by auction, he made a deed of gift (heba) of Bhusana in the name of Biswanath.¹⁶³ When Biswanath attained maturity, he was given the estate of Bhusana. But Biswanath did not take the property as it was not considered profitable, it was marked out for auction in the following way :¹⁶⁴

Pargana	Revenue	Date of auction	Buyer
Habeli (Faridpur)	Rs. 36,613/-	15/02/1799	Ramnath Ray
Makimpur	Rs. 25,347/-	25/02/1799	Ramnath Ray
Nasibshahi	Rs. 16,937/-	25/02/1799	Bhairabnath

Satair	Rs. 39,968/-	28/02/1799	Shivprasad Ray
Naldi	Rs. 66,760/-	23/03/1799	Bhairabnath Ray

He took over the charge of Zamindari (estate) at the time of the down fall of Natore Raj. So it was not possible for him to check the ruin of the Zamindari (estate). He had three wives who were Rani Krishnamani, Rani Gavindamani and Rani Jaymani. His predecessors were Shakti Upasak, (the worshippers of divine energy) under its female personification. But Viswanath gave up Shakti Dharma and he was devoted to Vaishnava religion (freedom from all worldly desires). With their husband Rani Krishnamani and Rani Gavindamani were converted from Shakti Dharma to Vaishnava Dharma.¹⁶⁵ Rani Jaymani did not change her religious tenet. She left Natore to live at Baranagar. Rani Bhavani gave her some Debottor property.¹⁶⁶ Biswanath had no son. He could not run the administration of Zamindari (estate) for a long time. He gave his wives the permission to take adopted sons. According to the permission Rani Krishnamani took Govinda Chandra as adopted son in 1814. Rani Jaymani also took an adopted son.¹⁶⁷

Raja Govinda Chandra Ray

Govinda Chandra Ray, when he attained adult hood, took over the charge of Zamindari (estate). He ran the administration of Zamindari (estate) only for 7 years and there after he died in the year 1836.¹⁶⁸ During his tenure for a small period of time, he could not make any remarkable contribution for Natore estate nay the people of Natore. He had made two wills before his death. In one Will he permitted his wives to take adopted sons and in another will he gave the power of conducting the Zamindari (estate) to his mother Rani Krishnamayee.¹⁶⁹

After the death of Govinda Chandra, the mother Krishnamayee tookover the charge of the Zamindari (estate) according to the will she was an intelligent lady. The remarkable incident during her tenure was that she received decree in the law-

suits of landed property which was dispossessed. She regained those regions of the Zamindari afterwards.¹⁷⁰

She ran the administration of the estate with considerable success.¹⁷¹ But no data are found about the progress of the subjects.

Raja Gavindanath Ray

According to the will of Raja Gavinda Chandra Ray, Rani Shibeswari took Gavindanath as her adopted Son. After attaining his adulthood, he took over the charge of Zamindari (estate). During the period of running Zamindari, mother Shibeswari had a conflict with Gavindanath. Rani Shibeswari filed a law suit in the court of the District judge Rajshahi against the validity of adoption of Gavindanath as her son. According to the petition, the adoption was declared invalid.¹⁷² Gavindanath filed an appeal against the decision in the High Court. There the judgement came in favour of Gavindanath. The Privy Council retained the judgement of the High Court. Before receiving the decree of the High Court, the mother and the son died.¹⁷³

Raja Gavindanath was soft and modest. Like Krishnamayee he was expert in running the estate. He was a generous man. Raja Gavindanath married Brajasundari, the daughter of Golak Chandra Lahiri of village Hatikumrul under Raiganj Police Station. He had no son, he had only two daughters named by Girijabala and Saratsundari.¹⁷⁴ Before his death he permitted Brajasundari, his wife to take an adopted son.

Raja Jagadindranath Ray

According to her husband's will, Rani Braja Sundari took Jagadindranath as her adopted son.¹⁷⁵ Jagadindranath Ray was the son of Srinath Ray,¹⁷⁶ a Brahmin who came from a noble family of Harishpur, two miles to the east of Natore. The

name of his mother was Prasannamayee Devi.¹⁷⁷ He was born on Monday, 26 October 1868 A. D. His parents named him Brajanath.¹⁷⁸ He was brought to the Zamindar house of Natore after he had been taken as an adopted son at the age of 18 months only.¹⁷⁹ Rani Brajasundari named him Jagadindranath.¹⁸⁰ Mother Brajasundari loved Jagadindranath very much. She was very careful for her son's education. His education life started when he was 5 years and of was possible when a house-school was established for his education. Some students of neighbouring villages got themselves admitted in this school.

All students left school because of the hard and fast rule of the school. Consequently the school was closed.¹⁸¹ At that time an accident took place in the life of Jagadindranath. When he was eight, he became blind of both the eyes due to an unknown reason.¹⁸² He was sent to Calcutta for medical treatment. After returning from Calcutta, he started acquiring education at home for some days. Then he again suffered from malaria, gout and became disabled. As the condition of his health was not good at Natore, Jadav Chandra Moitra, the old Dewan advised to make arrangement for his education outside Natore.¹⁸³ According to the advice of the Dewan, Jagadindranath was admitted into Rajshahi Collegiate School in class V in 1879. He began to acquire education under the guidance of Srinath Chakravarty, a teacher of Collegiate High School. He obtained high marks in History, English, Sanskrit etc. but he could not make good result in Mathematics.¹⁸⁴ He passed the matriculation examination in 1886. But he could not get himself admitted into a college owing to his illness. Next year he got himself admitted in F.A. Class in the year 1886-87.¹⁸⁵ But owing to different unfavourable situations, it was not possible for him to continue his education.

He acquired vast knowledge in Bengali, English and Sanskrit.¹⁸⁶ For persuading Jagadindranath to lead a family life, his mother Brajasundari gave him in marriage in 1885 when he was only 17. The name of his wife was Maharani Shyammohini.¹⁸⁷

Jagindranath was a father of four children. At first a male child was born but died in infancy. The second issue was a female child, but it also died after 7 months of its birth. Later on he shifted his wife to Calcutta according to the advice of a physician. At first he hired out a house near Wellington Square and later on in 1896 he hired out a palatial house in 6 Lansdown street (Calcutta) and began to live there.

Later on Jagadindranath bought the same house by Rs. 80,000.00.¹⁸⁸ When his wife was residing in Calcutta his daughter Bivabati and son Jagindranath were born. Rajkumari Bivabati was married to Sriman Jatindranath Lahiri of Jamirta Pabna in 1905. Jatindranath Lahiri was a highly educated person. He passed M.A., B.L. and began to practise law in Calcutta High Court.¹⁸⁹

When Jagadindranath was 21, his mother Brajasundari entrusted him with the charge of conducting Zamindari (estate).¹⁹⁰ He was more successful as a man of literature than as a Zamindar (landlord). During his tenure much progress of Natore in art and literature is noticed. It was during his tenure that a large literary conference was held at Natore Court Compound.¹⁹¹ Regular meetings of men of letters were held at Victoria library, Natore. The Maharaja was the honorable president of the literary conference held on Sunday, 22 February 1914 in Pabna.¹⁹²

Maharaja also presided over the provincial meeting of literature held at Muktagachha Mymensingh.¹⁹³ Maharaja joined the meeting of literature held in 1924 in Munshiganj.¹⁹⁴

Maharaja himself was a good writer. Among his outstanding academic works mention may be made of 'Nurjahan' and 'Sandhatara'. He dedicated the book entitled 'Sandhatara' in the name of Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, the great historian. He also composed a good number of poems and the titles were like 'Atit Smriti', 'Anujog', 'Abhiman', 'Asamay', 'Akulata', 'Duti', 'Sangbad', 'Padaprakhalan',

'*Minati*' etc.¹⁹⁵ He also composed travel stories entitled '*Hyderabad*' and '*Sekendrabad*'. The Maharaja also wrote the preface of '*BrihatBanga*' (1328 B. S. i.e., 1921) by Dinesh Chandra Sen, *BangalirBal*, 1328 B. S. i.e., 1921 by Sri Rajendra Lal Acharaya.¹⁹⁶

He contributed huge amount of money to publish Kashikhanda and other books. He established Maharaja J.N. High English School.¹⁹⁷ In 1910, Maharaja Jagadindranath built the present building of the School.¹⁹⁸ He also donated much money for the Natore Girls' High School. He established a high school in the name of Rani Bhavani in Calcutta.¹⁹⁹

As a journalist he earned much reputation. He published the monthly newspaper entitled '*Manasi-o-Marmabani*' with the cooperation of Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee. In 1320 B. S., i.e., 1913 he took the responsibility of editing of the newspaper. After he had taken the responsibility of the edition of the news paper, its standard went on increasing gradually. While he was publishing this newspaper, he was acquainted with many reputed persons like Jaladhar Sen, Prabhat Kumar, Subadh Dutta, Subadh Banerjee, Charu Chandra Moitra, Amulaya Vidyabhusan and Sailenda Krishna Saha.²⁰⁰ Maharaja Jagdindra had intimacy with the Thakur (Tagore) family of Jorasanko Calcutta. There was always gathering of men of literature and Raja Jagadindra Nath would remain there with different talented persons. He added the music of '*Pakhwaj*' with '*Rabindra Sangeet*' (the songs composed by Rabindra Nath Tagore). He often discussed literature with Rabindra Nath.²⁰¹

He was a good sports man. A cricket team was established in Natore and he patronized it all along. The Maharaja contributed much money for the team.²⁰² He not only patronized sports and games but also was a lover of music. He played on '*Pakhwaj*' (an instrument of music of this sub continent) in many functions. He established several music schools to practice music.²⁰³ He also liked dramas and

acted in a good number of theatrical performances in his life.²⁰⁴ He also took part in politics. He was a high levelled worker of the Provincial Congress of Bengal. He was the president of Reception committee of the meetings of the Congress in Calcutta. The meeting of the provincial congress was held in Natore on 11, 12 and 13 June, 1897 Maharaja Jagadindranath was the President of the Reception committee of the said meeting.²⁰⁵

In 1901, Jagadindranath, Maharaja Surya Kanta Choudhury and Pramadanath, the Raja of Dighapatia jointly established "The Bengal Land holders' Association."²⁰⁶

In 1912, Jagadindranath was elected member of the new council established according to Montego-Ford scheme for the third time. Next year Lord Carmichael, the Governor of Bengal was welcomed at the house of the Raja of Natore.²⁰⁷ Rajshahi Association was organised in 1872. Jagadindranath was the 5th President of the Association.²⁰⁸

As the recognition of his works, Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy of India approved the title of 'Maharaja' of Jagadindranath in 1877 in the first '*Darbar* of Delhi', In January, 1878 a '*Darbar*' was made in the camp at Jangli near Natore and the Maharaja was given the title and the certificate.²⁰⁹

In his personal life he was very much social and liberal. He could with all people without any reservation. He contributed much money to establish the Water Supply House for water in Natore.²¹⁰ He established a charitable dispensary in Natore and Madhupur (Mymensingh).

For the litigation of the share holders, Maharaja lived in Calcutta permanently. He used to come to Natore only on the occasion of the festivals. During his stay in Calcutta on 26 December, 1925, he was knocked down by a car while he was walking on the road near the Garer Math (field), Calcutta and was injured severely.

After his injury, he was alive for 10 days. He died on 5 January, 1926.²¹¹ At his death, Rabindra Nath, Mahatma Gandhi, Bande Ali Miah and many other persons sent letters of condolence.²¹² Lord Lytton, the viceroy of India sent a letter of condolence to Raj kumar Jagindranath. His private Secretary also sent a condolence letter. He was cremated at Kewratala cremation ground of, Calcutta.²¹³

Raja Jogindranath Ray

After the death of Maharaja Jagadindranath Ray, his son was assigned the Zamindari (estate).²¹⁴ No extraordinary contribution of Raja Jogindranath Ray can be found in running the administration of the Zamindari (estate). During his life time the prostitution in Natore spread by leaps and bound.²¹⁵ He lived in Calcutta almost permanently. He used to come to Natore only at the time of some occasions relating to festivals. As like as Jagadindranath, his father he was a patron of learning, a lover of music and a poet. The name of the book of verse composed by him is 'Rajanigandha'.²¹⁶ The Zamindari System was abolished during his tenure. He died in 1981. At the time of his death he left two sons named Jayantanath and Indrajit. Both of them lived in Calcutta.²¹⁷

Chhota Taraf

Raja Shivnath Ray

Shivnath Ray, the second son of Maharaja Ramkrishna was the first Raja of Chhota Taraf. As a votary Raja, he became the owner of the Debattar property (property endowed for defraying the cost of worshipping a deity).²¹⁸ He married nine women. He had no son.²¹⁹ His only daughter was Jay Durga. Jay Durga was married to Raja Rajendranarayan, the Raja of Balihar.²²⁰ Raja Shivnath died in 1224 B.S. i.e., in 1817.²²¹

Raja Anandanath Ray

After the death of Raja Shivnath Ray, Anandanath Ray, the adopted son of Shivnath became the owner of the estate.²²² He did not behave well with his

subjects.²²³ He was a patron of learning. He made much effort to spread education in Natore. He spent Rs.10,000.00 to construct the building of the Public Library which is situated at Gharamara (Rajshahi) and bought a large number of books and contributed them to the library.²²⁴ Previously the name of the library was Anandanath Library. The government conferred on him the titles of 'Raja Bahadur' and C.S. I in recognition of his work.²²⁵ He was the father of four sons and two daughters. His sons were Anandanath, Kumudnath, Nagendranath and Jagendranath respectively. His daughters were Sarnamayee and Mukta Lata.²²⁶ Kumudnath and Nagendranath died an immature death. He himself died in 1866.²²⁷

Raja Chandranath Ray

The eldest son of Anandanath Ray conducted the Zamindari (estate) after the death of his father. With the effort of Raja Chandranath Ray, Female Normal school was established in Rajshahi in 1869. He contributed Rs. 125/- for this institution.²²⁸ He also donated money to the Rajshahi Public Library.²²⁹ The British Government conferred on him the title of 'Raja Bahadur' in 1871.²³⁰ He served as a Deputy Magistrate when his father was alive. He was an attache of foreign department of the Government. He died in 1282 B.S. i.e., 1875 leaving his wife Basanti Kumari.²³¹

Raja Jogendranath Ray

Raja Jogendranath Ray was the younger son of Anandanath Ray. He took over the charge of the Zamindari after the death of his elder brother Chandranath. Raja Jogendranath was a contemporary of Raja Jagadindranath Ray of Barataraf. There was a conflict between Barataraf and Chhota Taraf over property for a long time.²³² Due to such a situation a person of Barataraf was even murdered and according to the order of the court Raja Jogendranath Ray was sentenced to imprisonment for two minutes.²³³ Jogendranath Ray was a whimsical man and so people called him *Pagla Raja* (Mad King). In the past, the Darjeeling Mail did not touch at Natore

Railway Station. The Raja thought that the train which used to run along his land would certainly have a station of its own. He brought an elephant from the Rajbari (Zamindar's house) and began to overturn the railway line. Later on the Government paid attention to it and consequently Natore Railway Station came into existence.²³⁴

He did not accept everything easily. He was very sad when Jitendranath, his son was attacked with Pneumonia and died before him.²³⁵ Family quarrel and law suit of murder, all combined together and changed his nature. The name of the wife of Raja Jogendranath Ray was Rani Kumudini. Babu Mohini Mohan, his father-in-law was a Zamindar and a famous pleader of Calcutta High Court. He gave his house of Rajshahi to his son-in-law (i.e., Raja Jogendranath Ray) when he left for Calcutta permanently. At present the said house happens to be the residence of the District Judge of Rajshahi.²³⁶

He was a generous and kind hearted man. He made monthly contribution to many distressed scholars, Brahmins and students. He founded the water supply centre of Natore, schools for teaching Sanskrit and dug many ponds.²³⁷ Raja Jogendranath Ray died on 8 Bhadra, 1301 B.S., i.e., 1894.²³⁸

Jitendranath Ray

Jitendranath, the son of Raja Jogendranath died in 1304 B.S., i.e., 1897 when his father was alive. He was the father of Birendranath. After the death of Raja Jogendranath, the charge of running Zamindari (estate) was entrusted with Hemangini, the wife of his son. She built an iron bridge over the river Narod to memorize the name of her husband.²³⁹ During her tenure, she established a charitable dispensary at Mangalpara in her estate. She used to offer stipend to the students of M.A. and B.A. classes of Calcutta University.²⁴⁰ For supplying pure water in Natore, Rani Hemangini gave away land by the side of Dighapatia Road, free of cost and contributed Rs. 1,000.00 for its construction.²⁴¹

Raja Birendranath Ray

Raja Birendranath Ray was a learned man. He obtained his Bachelor Degree from Calcutta University. He established a school at Chatmohar and a school for teaching Sanskrit in Natore. It was since his tenure, the condition of Chhotataraf began to be miserable. Like his grand father he was a whimsical Raja. He died in Calcutta in 1362 B.S., i.e., 1955.²⁴² He left his wife and 4 daughters when he died. All the daughters lived in Calcutta. As Raja Birendranath had no male child, the Zamindari of Chhotataraf abolished.

Natore Raj family conducted Zamindari (estate) for about two hundred years. The Zamindari of this family was very glorious. The tenures of Raja Ramjiban and that of Rani Bhavani is memorable in various respects. At the end of the tenure of Rani Bhavani, the downfall of this family started and this was due to the treachery of some unworthy persons and officials. It was also a fact that the Zamindar of Natore could pay off the revenue fully because of the death of a large number of people during the dreadful famine of 1770. The land policy of the East India Company Government was equally responsible for the financial crisis that prevailed upon the Natore Raj. Again the family conflict was also responsible for the decay of the Zamindari. The savings of the estate were misused when the estate came under the control of Deviprasad and his officers. Though Raja Ramkanta and Rani Bhavani regained the Zamindari after wards, they could not make up for the loss easily. Many Zamindaries (estates) were sold by auction or confiscated when the revenue could not be paid because familial feuds and natural calamities. Later on the Zamindari (estate) was divided into two parts and much money was spent in the law-suits because of the conflict between the claimants. This situation infact was sufficient to sound the death-knell of the Zamindari.

All the more, the Zamindari (estate) of Natore was abolished with all other Zamindaries of Bengal by East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act, 1951.

Notes and references

1. Bimal prasad Ray, et el. *Natorer Kotha-O Kahini*, Calcutta, 1981, p. 21.
2. K.C, Mitra, *Rajas of Rajshahi*, Calcutta Review, vol.56. Calcutta 1873, p.24.
3. Moksudur Rahman, *Notore Maharani Bhavani*, Rajshahi, 1988, p. 7.
4. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* p. 9; Kalinath Choudhury, *Rajshahir Sangkshipta Itihas*, Calcutta, 1308 BS, p. 146; A. K. Moitra, (Akshay Kumar Moitreya), *Rani Bhavani* (ed.) by Nishit Ranjan Ray, Calcutta, 1990, p. 4; A,K, Moitra quoting his books, *Banglar Itihas*, Adisur first brought Brahmins to Bengal, before his there was no Brahmin, there was no culture of the Vedas. The genealogical books and the data contained in these books are not, at all historical. So the whole story seems be a myth. (For details see A.K. Moitra *op. cit.* p.18).
5. Dharmamanda Maha Bhrati, *A Short History, of Brahmin Rajas Maharajas in Ancient and Modern Bengal*, Calcutta, 1906 p. 35; A.K. Moitra, *A short History of Natore Raj*, Natore, 1912 (Hence forth *A short History*) p. 1; Kalinath Choudhury, *op. cit.* p. 146; K.C. Mitra, *op. cit.* p. 31; Nurul islam Khan (ed.) *Bangladesh Zela Gazetteer, Brihottor Rajshahi*, Dhaka, 1991, p. 368.
6. Samar Pal, *Natorer Itihas*, Vol. 1. Natore, 1980, p. 2.
7. A.K. Moitra. *A short History*..... , p.1
8. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* p. 14; At page 11 of the same book, Moksudur Rahman mentioned about obtaining the service by Ramjiban and Raghumandan, because of a trifling matter of taking them to task by their father, went to Puthia in search of a job and sought for the favour of their brother-in-law Ratneswar chakravarty, the worshiper of gods and goddesses, Puthia estate. At that time Ratneswar Chakravarty prayed to Raja for some days' leave. In response to his prayer the Raja informed him that it would only be possible to grant him the leave if he could manage a person to substitute for him during his absence on leave. Ratneswar substituted his brother-in-law for him and went home. In this way Rmjiban engaged himself in the work of collecting flowers for the worship of gods and goddesses. It is difficult to say whether Ramjiban got the service of collecting flowers for the worship of gods and goddesses or he got the service of a deed writer.
9. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 14, Samar Pal, *op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 3.
10. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol. 1, p. 3; Md. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.14.

11. There was genuine cause of Raja Darpanarayan's too much favour for the two brothers Raghunandan and Ramjiban. Observing royal token in the figure of Raghunandan, Raja Darpanarayan said, "This boy will be a famous Raja in future". He advised Raghunandan not to interfere with anything relating to Puthia. Besides this there are two other traditional stories.; (For detailed See, A. K. Moitra, *Rani Bhavani* p.6; Md. Moksudur Rahman *op.cit.* pp.12-16; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.146).
12. Bimal Prasad Ray, et. el, *op.cit.* p.61, *Pabna Zela Gazetteer*, p. 38.
13. Cited in A.K.Moitra, *Rani Bhavani* p.11.
14. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.147
15. A. K. Moitra, *Rani Bhavani* ... p.16.
16. A. K. Moitra, *Rani Bhavani*, p.13.
17. Abdul Karim, *Murshid Kulikhan and His Times*, Dacca, 1963, p.66.
18. A. K. Moitra. *Rani Bhavani*, p.14.
19. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.148; The tile of Rai-e-Raiyan is similar to Raja Bahadur of the present time Rai-E-Raiyan is the chief employee of the province. The immediate superior of Rai-e-Rayyan was Dewan.
20. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* pp.20-21.
21. K.C.Mitra, *op.cit.* p.6; Md. Moksudur Rahman mentioned Zamindari Settlement took place in the name of Ramjiban and Kalikaprasad. But Kalinath Choudhury and Bimal Prasad Ray et.el., mentions Zamindari settlement took place only the name of Ramjiban (Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.21; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.150; *Bimal Prasad Ray et el. op.cit.* p.63)
22. Radha Raman Shaha, *Pabna zelar Itihas*, Vol. 2, Pabna, 1330, B.S., p.72.
23. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* pp.21-22; Kalinath Choudhury mentioned Raghunandan is the Dewan of Rani Sarbani (of Santoil). But there is some controversy, Radha Raman Shaha mentions that Dewan's name is Ram Dev. Besides that, it is mentioned that Raghuenandan served at puthia and in Murshidabad. It can not be accepted that he (Raghunandan) served at Santoil. (Kalinath Choudury, *op.cit.* p.150; Radha Raman Shaha, Vol.3. *op.cit.* p.111.)

24. H. Beveridge, "*The Original Rajas of Rajshahi*" Proceeding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1894, p.15; (For more detail Md. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* pp.24-26; also Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p.71.)
25. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.150.
26. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.151; Sri Rajendralal Acharjya, *Bangalir Bal*, Calcutta, 1328 B.S. pp.12-13.
27. Jadunath Sarkar, *The Hisotry of Bengal (Muslim period 1200-1757)* Vol. II, Dacca, 1976 (3rd ed) p. 414.
28. Shirin Akhtar, *The Role of the Zamindar in Bengal (1717-1772)*, Dacca, 1982, p.31; "*The Triennial Settlement of Rajshahi Zamindari and the Famine of 1770*", an articale by A.B.M. Mahamood, in *Studies of Modern Bengal*, Rajshahi University, Rajshahi 1981, p. 581.
29. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 152; A.K. Moitra, *Rani Bhavani* p.152;
30. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 35; Kalinath Choudhury *op. cit.* p.155.
31. Bimala Charan Moitra, *Puthia Raj Bangsha*, Calcutta, 1950, p.23.
32. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p.12; The settlement of lease was taken from the Raja of Puthia at a yearly revenue of Rs. 27 and anas 5. There are two traditional stories about the place of establishing the capital. (For details description see Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* pp. 34-35.)
33. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 34.
34. K.C. Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 8.
35. A.K. Moitra, *A Short History.....*, p. 5; Md. Moksudur Rahman discuss Raghunandan died in 1724-25 (see Md. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.*, p. 36.)
36. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.36; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.155.
37. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p.14; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.155.
38. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.156.
39. *Nurul Islam Khan (ed.) Bangladesh Zela Gazetteer, Brihotor Rajshahi*, Dhaka, 1991, p.371.

40. Different opinions are noticed about the death of Maharaja Ramjiban. A.K. Moitra has mentioned the year of his death as 1730; K.C. Mitra has mentioned it as 1737. There is a doubt about the year of death of Maharaja Ramjiban as given by K.C. Mitra because Samar Pal mentioned that Ramkanta, the owner of Natore estate being a minor, Dayaram Ray, the advisor conducted the administration of the estate from 1730-34 as a guardian after the death of Ramjiban, In this case the opinion of A.K. Moitra may be considered acceptable. (A.K. Moitra, *A Short History.....* p, 5; K.C.Mitra, *op.cit.* p.8; Samar Pal, Vol. I, *op.cit.* p.14.)
41. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.156.
42. A.K.Moitra, *Rani Bhavani ...* p. 61; M.A. Rahim, *Social and Cultureal History of Bengal*, Vol. 2, Karachi 1967, p. 128.
43. K.C. Mitra, *op. cit.* p.9; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.156.
44. Dharmananda Maha Bharati, *op.cit.* p.32; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.157; A.K. Moitra, *Rani Bhavani.....* p.58.
45. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* pp.38-39.
46. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.157.
47. Moksudur Rahman refers to a story about giving dowry that at the time of celebrating the marriage ceremony of Ramkanta, the adviser Dayaram Ray remarked that the marriage of the future Maharaja of Natore can not be held on the land of other Zaminder and so he proposed that the marriage festival should be held at Natore. On the other hand the maternal grand father of Rani Bhavani could not accept the proposal of Dayaram Ray. He argued "According to the Custom the marriage ceremony is held at the house of the bride. The violation of the marriage rule is ominous." At last Atmaram Choudhury gave Ramkanta one part of the village as dowry and this solved the problem, (Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.39; A.K.Moitra, *Rani Bhavani*, p. 58
48. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.158.
49. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p.17.
50. A. K. Moitra, *Rani Bhavani*, p.68.
51. A. K. Moitra, *Rani Bhavani*, pp.68-69.
52. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.44.

53. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.48.
54. A.K. Moitra *Rani Bhavani ...* p.79.
55. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.42.
56. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.159.
57. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p.17; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.*p.159.
58. Tarinicharan Thakur, *Bhavanipur Kahini*, Calcutta, 1308, B.S., pp.147-148.
59. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.160; Name of the first son was Kashikanta he died when his age was 11 months. Name of the anathers son is unknown. He died before the name giving ceremony (i.e., *Annaprasan*).
60. A. K. Moitra *A Short History...* p,7.
61. A. K. Moitra *A Short History...* p.85.
62. Samar Pal. *op.cit.* p.18; also Kalinath Choudhury *op.cit.* p.160; Many stories are prevailing about the marriage though their authenticity is not found; For detail see Md. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.55.
63. K. C. Mitra. *op.cit.* p.10.
64. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.160.
65. Had the Nawab sent soldiers to Tara would have kidnapped her, But there is no such evidence that Nawab took her away. Had such incident taken place, the Nowab would have had term with Rani Bhavani. But he had always good term with the Rani Bhavani. During the battle of Plassasy, the other Zaminders of Bengal helped the English. But Rani Bhavani did not support the English. She strongly supported the Nawab. This fact clearly proves that this story is quite false. It is only a propaganda (For details see Moksudur Rahman *op.cit.* pp.60-62; Kazi Muhammad Meser *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, p.274.)
66. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.49.
67. Maharastrio Soldiers is Known as "Borgi"
68. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.50.

69. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.51.
70. Kainath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.162; Here one thing is specially noticeable that it was difficult for the Marhathas to come riding their horses to the estate of Rani Bhavani as the northern side of the Padma because they had no boat. Perhaps because of natural protection Rani Bhavani's estate was saved from the attack of the 'Borgi'. But Rani Bhavani failed to protect the portion of her estate lying to the southern side of the Padma. So it may be concluded that only the Padma saved her estate.
71. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p.21.
72. A. B. M. Mahmood, *Revenue Administration of Northern Bengal (1765-1793)*, Dacca, 1970, p.47.
73. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 64.
74. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* p. 66.
75. Samar Pal, *op. cit.* Vol.1, pp. 21-22.
76. Bimal Prasad Ray, et. al, *op. cit.* p. 66.
77. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 163.
78. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 164.
79. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p. 19; The description of Samar Pal can not be accepted without doubt because quoting Holwell he has mentioned in his book that actual revenue was Sikka rupees seventy lakh but the actual revenue collected was sikka rupees one crore and a half. If the tenure of the Rani was 50 years her income for the period was not more than sikka rupees 35 crores. Again the value of a sikka rupee was much less than an actual rupee. Then how she could spend rupees 50 crore? On the other hand the yearly revenue to be paid to the company by Rani was fixed at Rs. 76,000.00 for the year 1770-71 and Rs. 27,51,000.00 for the year 1771-72 and the Rani was unable to pay the aforesaid revenue as it was excessive. Then how it was possible for the Rani to spend Rs. 50 crores for the development activities.
80. William Adam's *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal (1835 & 1838)*, Calcutta, 1941, p. 167.
81. Bimal Prasad Ray, et al, *op. cit.* pp. 50-51; Kalinath Choudhury, *op. cit.* pp. 67-69; William Adams report, *op. cit.* p. 167.

82. W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Accounts of Bengal* (Reprint) Vol. VIII, Delhi, 1974, p. 92.
83. Bimal Prasad Ray, et al, *op. cit.* pp. 50-51.
84. Bimal Prasad Ray, et al, *op.cit.* pp. 50.
85. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p. 26.
86. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 179.
87. William Adams Report, *op.cit.* pp. 187-188; K.K. Datta, *Alivardi and His Times*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 252.
88. M. A. Rahim, *op. cit.* p. 380; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* pp. 179-180.
89. About Hindu widow remarriage see, Nilmani Mukherjee, *A Bengal Zaminder*, Calcutta, 1975, pp. 140-145.
90. Samar Pal, *op. cit.* Vol.1, p. 27; Kalinath Choudhury *op.cit.* p. 180.
91. A. B. M. Mahamood, *op.cit.* p. 35.
92. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 180.
93. Suprakash Ray, *Bharater Kishak Bidraha O Ganatantrik Sangram*, Calcutta, 1980, p.13.
94. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 180.
95. K.K.Datta, *Alivardi and His Times*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 245.
96. A. K. Moitra, *A Short History...* p. 8.
97. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 165.
98. Samar Pal, *op. cit.* p. 24.
99. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 165.
100. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 156.

101. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 171.
102. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 170.
103. Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar, *Bangladesher Itihas*, Vol. 3, Calcutta 1381, B. S. p. 617.
104. *Bishokosh*, Vol. 13, p. 301
105. Nikhil Nath Ray, *Murshidabad Kahini*, Calcutta, 1950, (1978 reprint), p. 181.
106. Nilmoni Basak, *Nabanari*, Calcutta, 1272 (B.S.) p. 307
107. A. B. M. Mahmood, *op.cit.* p. 21.
108. Bimal Prasad Ray, et el, *op.cit.* p. 180.
109. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 169.
110. A. K. Moitra, *Rani Bhavani ...* p. 103.
111. J. Westland. *A Report on the District of Jessore: Its Antiquities, its History and its Commerce*. Calcutta, 1878, p. 48.
112. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* p. 172.
113. Pratibha Ranjan Moitra, *Murshidabader Itihas*, Murshidabad, 1979, p. 105.
114. Samar Pal, *op. cit.* Vol.1, p. 25.
115. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* pp. 165-167.
116. A. B. M. Mahamood, *op. cit.* p. 21.
117. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* pp. 165-167.
118. Samar Pal, *op. cit.* Vol.1, p. 23.
119. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* pp. 181.
120. Cited in Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* p.182.
121. K. K. Dutta, *op. cit.* p. 245.

- 121(a) This issue has been discussed in detail in Chapter VIII.
122. Nikhilnath Ray, *op.cit.* p. 51.
123. *Changes in Land control in Bengal Under the Early Operation of Permanent Settlement*, an article by Serajul Islam in the *Jurnal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh* Vol. 17. Dacca. 1980, p. 34
124. A.K. Moitra, *Rani Bhavani*, p. 24; Pratibha Ranjan Moitra, *op.cit.* p. 108.
125. M. A. Rahmin, *op.cit.* p. 380.
126. Kalinath Choudhury, *op. cit.* p. 182; Samar Pal, *op. cit.* Vol.1, p. 31;
127. Kalinath Choudhury, *op. cit.* p. 183.
128. Samar Pal, *op. cit.* Vol.1, pp. 31-32.
129. Kalinath Choudhury, *op. cit.* p. 183.
130. A.K. Moitra, *Rani Bhavani* , p. 159.
131. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* p. 97.
132. Sirajul Islam, *The Permanent Settlement in Bengal A Study of its Operation 1773-1819*, Dacca, 1979, (Hence forth the permanent) p. 91.
133. *Loc.cit.*
134. It is noted that in those days the estate of those Zamindars who had failed to pay the revenue were sold by auction. Kalisankar Ray established Narail Zamindar family and Balaram established Tarash Zamindar family by purchasing those estate which were sold by auction.
135. Satish Chandra Mitra, *op. cit.* p. 967.
136. *Loc.cit.*
137. *Loc.cit.*
138. J. West Land Report, *op.cit.* pp. 90-93.

139. Satish Chandra Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 968.
140. Radha Raman Shaha, *op.cit.* p. 116.
141. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 129.
142. Before the permanent settlement there are two types of Talukdars, Markuzi Talukdar and Huzuri Talukdar. The Huzuri Talukdars collected revenues and sent it to the Government directly. On the other hand Markuzi Talukdars collected revenues and gave it to the Zamindars (Bamacharan Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83).
143. Sirajul Islam, *The Permanent Settlement* p. 38.
144. *Loc.cit.*
145. W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Accounts of Bengal (Rajshahi)* Vol. VIII, London 1876, p. 97.
146. Sirajul Islam, *The permanent Settlement* ... p. 39.
147. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 188.
148. K. C. Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 19.
149. Sirajul Islam, *The Permanent Settlement*, p. 86.
150. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 186.
151. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 187.
152. K. C. Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 23.
153. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 127.
154. Abdur Rahim, *Companir Amoler Banglar Musalman Zamidar, Bangladesh Itihas parisad patrika* (7th Borso, 2nd-3rd Vol). 1380 (B.S.) p. 141
155. A. K. Moitra, *Rani Bhavani*, p.168.
156. Dharmananda Maha Bharati, *op.cit.* p.32.
157. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 134.

158. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 196.
159. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p. 35.
160. Bimal Prasad Ray, et el, *op.cit.* p. 71.
161. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 97.
162. Satish Chandra Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 899; K.C. Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 27.
163. Satish Chandra Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 898; Sirajul Islam, *The Permanent Settlement*, p. 89; A. K. Moitra, *A Short History ...* p. 14.
164. Satish Chandra Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 899; K. C. Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 16.
165. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 197.
166. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. p. 147.
167. Govinda Chanda, the adopted son of Rani Krishna Mani was the son of the Rays of Atgram in Noagaon.
168. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p. 40.
169. Bimal Prasad Ray, et el, *op.cit.* p. 72; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 97; K.C. Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 25
170. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p. 40; Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 148.
171. K. C. Mitra, *op.cit.* p. 25.
172. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 198.
173. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 148.
174. Sharatsundari the daughter of Gobindanath and Saratsundari the Rain of Puthia was not the Same Lady.
175. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p. 198.
176. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p. 42; Maharaja Jagadindranath Ray, an article by Ataur Rahman in *Natorer Gaurab* ed. by Moksudur Rahman, Natore 1989, p. 49.

177. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* p. 149; Md. Aatur Rahman, *op. cit.* p. 49.
178. *Smriti Sruti*, an article by Jagadindrajnath Ray in *Manasi Patrika*, Calcutta 1322 *Vaisakh*, p. 355; Fazlul Haque, *Maharaja Jagadindranath Ray*, Dhaka, 1992, p. 10.
179. Jagadindranath Ray, *op. cit.* p. 355; Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 149.
180. Fazlul Haque, *op. cit.* p. 10; Aatur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 48.
181. Jagadindranath Ray, *op.cit.* pp. 356-357.
182. Jagadindranath Ray (Ashar), *op.cit.* p. 357.
183. Jagadindranath Ray (Sraban), *op.cit.* p. 696.
184. Fazlul Haque, *op.cit.* pp. 13-14.
185. A. K. M. Hasanuzzuman, et el, (ed.), *Ayitijhye Rajshahi College Swarak Grantha*. Rajshahi, 2001, p. 428.
186. Fazlul Haque, et. al, *op. cit.* p. 15.
187. Fazlul Haque, et el, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Aatur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 50; *Barender Raja Zamindar*, an article by Mahabubur Rahman in *Varendra Anchaler Itihas*, ed. by Saifuddin Choudhury. et.el. Rajshahi 1998, p. 738.
188. Fazlul Haque, *op. cit.* p. 11.
189. Loc.cit.
190. Fuzlul Haque, *op.cit.* p. 16.
191. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* p. 43.
192. Mahabubur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 739; Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 153.
193. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.153.
194. Mahabubur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.739.
195. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.153.

196. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.*, p.154.
197. M. A. Hamid, *Chalan Beeler Itikatha, Pabna, 1965*, p.273; Aatur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.70.
198. Bimal Prasad Ray, et el, *op.cit.* p.56.
199. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 154.
200. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p.43.
201. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.15
202. Aatur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.66.
203. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* pp.149-150.
204. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.150.
205. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p.44.
206. Fazlul Haque, *op. cit.* p.22; Aatur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.53.
207. Fazlul Haque, *op.cit.* p.23.
208. Kalinath Choudhry, *op. cit.*, p.342.
209. *Jagadindranath Ray*, an article by Muhammad Abul Fazal in *Rajshahi Pratibha* (ed.) Saifuddin Choudhury, et.el. Rajshahi 2000, p.153; Fazlul Haque, *op. cit.* p.10.
210. Samar Pal, *op. cit.* Vol.1, p.16.
211. Moksudur Rahman, *op. cit.* p. 157.
212. Loc.cit.
213. Aatur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 73.
214. Bimal Prasad Ray, et el, *op.cit.* p. 73.
215. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p.46.

216. Bimal Prasad Ray, et al, *op. cit.* p.75.
217. Mahabubur Rahman, *op. cit.* p.740.
218. *Rajshahir Raja Zamidar*, an article by Shah Anisur Rahman in *Rajshahi Parichiti*, Rajshahi, 1980, p.185.
219. Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.199.
220. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p.48.
221. Shah Anisur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.186; Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.144.
222. Kazi Muhammad Meser (Vol. 2) *op.cit.* p.276; Kalinath Choudhury, *op. cit.*p.199.
223. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p.48; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.199.
224. Samar Pal, Vol.1, *op.cit.* p.48.
225. A. K. Moitra, *A Short History ...* pp.15-16; Mahabubur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 740; Kalinath Choudhury, *op.cit.* p.199.
226. M. A. Hamid, *op.cit.* p.273.
227. A. K. Moitra, *A Short History ...* p.16.
228. Kazi Muhammad Meser, (Vol. 1) *op.cit.* p.113.
229. W.W.Hunter, *op.cit.* p. 91.
230. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p.50.
231. Shah Anisur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.186.
232. Samar Pal, *op.cit.* Vol.1, p.51.
233. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p.145.
234. *Loc.cit.*
235. Kazi Muhammad Meser, *op.cit.* p.246.

236. M. A. Hamid, *op.cit.* p.274.
237. Loc.cit.
238. M. A. Hamid, *op. cit.* p. 274; Sri Bimal Prasad Ray, et el, *op.cit.* p. 74; A. K. Moitra *A Short History...* p. 18; Shah Anisur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 187.
239. A. K. Moitra, *A Short History...* p. 18.
240. Bimal Prasad Ray, et el, *op.cit.* p. 46.
241. Moksudur Rahman, *op.cit.* p. 147.
242. M. A. Hamid, *op.cit.* p. 274.