# Nababidhan Brahmoism in Cooch Behar Native State: beginning, development, and decline (the 1880s to 1950s)

#### Ratna Paul

Department of History, Birsa Munda College, West Bengal

Email: <a href="mailto:ratna.paul961@gmail.com">ratna.paul961@gmail.com</a>

# INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL INSIGHT AND RESEARCH

E-ISSN: **2454-5600**Double Blind Peer Reviewed Journal
URL: https://ijhir.gtanalytics.in

# **ABSTRACT**

The Bengal Renaissance in the first half of the 19th century led to the beginning of the Brahmo reform movement, started by Raja Rammohan Roy based on the concepts of monotheism and ethical precepts. Debendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen carried out reform activities but differences grew among them which led to the schism of the Brahmo Samaj- Adi Brahmo Samaj and Brahmo Samaj of India. Furthermore, the marriage controversy between the daughter of Keshab Chandra Sen, Sunity Devi, and Maharaja of Cooch Behar, Nripendra Narayan led to the second schism of Brahmoism. Those who objected to the marriage formed the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and Keshab Chandra and his followers formed Nababidhan Brahmo Samaj. Nripendra Narayan declared himself a Brahmo and contributed a lot to modernizing Cooch Behar. Sunity Devi played a vital role in spreading the Nababidhan faith and the all-around development of this native State. Gajendra Narayan and Sabitri Devi also took the leading role in propagating Brahmoism. This reform movement in Cooch Behar resulted in the significant aesthetic, social and religious development of the State. But due to the gradual revival of Hindu culture and practices in the royal family after the death of Nripendra Narayan, Brahmoism lost its influence. Only the people of the upper strata of the

society were influenced by the ideology of the Brahmoism, ordinary masses remained outside the orbit of the movement. But it is also true that modern Cooch Behar owes much of its modernization due to the Brahmo reform movement.

## **KEY WORDS**

Brahmoism, Cooch Behar, Nababidhan, Nripendra Narayan, Sunity Devi

#### INTRODUCTION

Cooch Behar, a district of Bengal is situated in the northeastern frontier of India. Before August 28, 1949, it was an Indian native State ruled by the Maharaja, a feudatory prince under the British Raj. On that day Maharaja Jagadwipendra Narayan ceded his territory to the Dominion Government of India and on January 1, 1950, it was merged with the province of West Bengal as a district.<sup>1</sup>

Religion has played a tremendous role in shaping and molding the character of Cooch Behar native State. A State dominated by the Hindu Maharajas would have its religious essence.<sup>2</sup> Different religions in the different periods had left their essence as the State religion of Cooch Behar. Since 1510, the beginning of the history of Cooch Behar 'Saiva cult' has acted as the State religion. But in the last quarter of

the 16th century, the ruler of Cooch Behar was influenced by the 'Vaishnava cult', propagated by Sankaradeva of Assam. A new episode began in the history of the State religion of Cooch Behar in 1783 when the then Maharaja converted himself into the 'Sakta cult'. Ultimately in the 19th century, the wave of the new religious movement which was called the Brahmo movement spread in Cooch Behar and became the State religion.

Raja Rammohan Roy led the beginning of Brahmo Samaj on the basis of the concepts of theism and ethical precepts. After his death, Debendranath Tagore, Rammohan's worthv successor, gave Samaj a reformed character. The second half of the 19th century witnessed a far-reaching change in the Brahmo reform movement and the central figure of this period was Keshab Chandra Sen. Initially both Debendranath and Keshab Chandra acted together to bring about changes in society. But gradually symptoms of differences appeared between themselves over the issues of social reform activities. This led to the schism in the Brahmo Samaj and it was divided into a) the Adi Brahmo Samaj, under the guidance of Debendranath Tagore, and b) the Brahmo Samaj of India, under the supervision of Keshab Chandra Sen.

Following the marriage of Keshab Chandra Sen's daughter, Sunity Devi, to the Cooch Behar Maharaja, Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur in 1878, the Brahmo dharma was honoured as the faith of the State in Cooch Behar. One reason for this marriage was that the British government wanted to intervene in the internal affairs of Cooch Behar and extend its influence by arranging the marriage of the Maharaja with an educated girl which would isolate him from the conservative surrounding of the palace. Another reason was that Keshab Chandra Sen was also influenced by the British and aspired for modernization of Cooch Behar and felt the necessity of an enlightened wife for the Maharaja which is expressed in his view "......A whole kingdom was to be reformed...".3 Whatever

may be the target, this marriage finally resulted in a conflict between Keshab Chandra Sen and his followers because Sunity was only 13 years old and had not attained the age of marriage according to Brahmo Marriage Act of 1872 and Nripendra Narayan was non- Brahmo and only 15 years old.<sup>4</sup> Brahmo Samaj was further divided into Sadharan Brahmo Samaj which was formed on 15th May 1878 and in 1880 Keshab Chandra announced his doctrine of Nababidhan or the New Dispensation which was to symbolize a higher stage of spirituality.

#### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Modern Cooch Behar owes much of its modernization to Brahmo Samaj, particularly Nababidhan Brahmoism. Though there are various works on the Brahmo Samaj movement in other parts of India and also of Bengal, the case of Cooch Behar has been particularly grossly ignored. There are some sporadic works scattered in books, articles, and theses, but there is no comprehensive history. But Brahmo Samaj has contributed a lot to changing the social and cultural condition of Cooch Behar from the second half of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century. It is also necessary to analyze how this reform movement gradually lost its zeal here. This article endeavors to elaborate on the process of the beginning, development, and decline of Nababidhan Brahmoism in Cooch Behar native State.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH GAP

Several aspects of Brahmoism have been studied by scholars from assorted academic disciplines, but there is no major publication on the Brahmo Samaj movement in Cooch Behar. Only in the following works, scholarly communities have mentioned the spread of this faith in this native State.

W.W. Hunter in his *Statistical Account of Bengal* does not tread beyond the mention of only the followers of Brahmo Samaj in Cooch Behar in the 1870s. In the *Annual Report of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj*, we get some

information about the Brahmo Samai activities in Cooch Behar. In the Annual Administration Records of Cooch Behar, Cooch Behar's Brahmo movement is only a small part of a larger record document. Sivanath Sastri's History of the Brahmo Samaj the focus is on the controversy over the Cooch Behar royal marriage and the schism it created. But the author has not written a single word about the spread of Nababidhan Brahmoism in Cooch Behar. David Koph throws significant light on Brahmoism and the role of Nripendra Narayan and Sunity Devi in developing Cooch Behar in The Brahmo Samaj AND THE SHAPING OF THE Modern Indian Mind. But his discussion is also limited to only a few pages. In Sabitri Devi's book Swargia Kumar Gajendra Narayan we come to know about the activities of Gajendra Narayan in popularizing the Brahmo faith in Cooch Behar. Sunity Devi's autobiography, The Autobiography of an Indian Princess, mentions the tenets of Nababidhan in Cooch Behar, under 'Life at Cooch Behar' but it is only one chapter of the book. Another indepth study about the King is obtained in the Ph. D. thesis of Kamalesh Chandra Das. The Modernization of a Princely State Cooch Behar under Maharaja Nripendra Narayan 1863-1911. Nandini Jana in her Ph. D. work Towards writing a history of women in the Brahmo Samai has discussed the women of the Cooch Behar royal family particularly Sunity Devi and Sabitri Devi propagating Nababidhan Brahmoism. in Subodh Kumar Das and Biman Chakraborty in their article "Cooch Behar Rajye Brahmo Samaj Andolon" in Madhuparni Cooch Behar Jela Sankhya give insight into the development of the Brahmo Samaj movement here. Chhanda Chakraborty article "Cooch Behare Naree Sikshar paritbartan" in the same book throws some light on the role of Brahmos in the growth of female education in this native State. These are some major works where Brahmo Samaj of Cooch Behar receives mentions.

Though there are so many research works on Brahmoism, Keshab Chandra Sen, Sunity Devi, Nripendra Narayan, and the spread of Brahmoism in other places there is not a single particular work on Nababidhan Brahmosim in Cooch Behar native State though it was the State religion for some period. So there is a large void in the existing research works related to Brahmoism in Cooch Behar which requires attention from the researchers as this new faith affected the socio-religious life of a large number of people.

# THE OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The marriage controversy in Cooch Behar royal palace became the genesis of Nababidhan Brahmo dharma and this article aims to highlight

- To discuss how this new faith of Brahmoism gained its hold in the native State of Cooch Behar
- To analyze who played the most vital role in spreading ideas and beliefs of Nababidhan Brahmosim in this native State
- To assess the impact of this new religious faith upon the masses of Cooch Behar
- To verify what role Nababidhan Brahmoism played in the modernization and intellectual development of this native State
- To justify the causes of the gradual decline of the doctrine of the New Dispensation.

### METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

For the construction of the researched article various source materials have been collected and the methodology of data analysis is descriptive. Nababidhan Brahmoism was established as the effect of the marriage between the conservative royal family of Cooch Behar with the daughter of Keshab Chandra Sen, the great Brahmo reformer. All the resources available, primary and secondary sources relating to this faith, preachers, its effects- everything has been gathered and consulted from the view of an unbiased perspective. Oral sources have also been conducted to reach a logical conclusion.

#### DISCUSSION

The Brahmo Mission Office, Brahmo Samaj of India, in 1873 recorded that there was no Brahmo Samai in Cooch Behar by 1872.5 Hunter in his Statistical Account of Bengal in 1876 mentioned that though there were few followers of the Brahmo Samaj in Cooch Behar, no regular Samaj was there.6 Rai Bahadur Kalikadas Datta. Dewan of Cooch Behar was the main initiator of the Brahmo Samai in this native State.7 At that time Brahmosim had no relation with the Cooch Behar royal family. Some other prominent members were Nandalal Modak, Banamali Mitra, Siddheswar Ghosh, and Rajani Kanta Roy.8 But no one of them was a permanent resident of Cooch Behar, so there were irregular activities of the Samaj. In retrospect, Nababidhan Brahmo Samaj received better support and had a better establishment.

On 31st October 1883, Nripendra Narayan completed his twenty-first year and was placed as the ruler of Cooch Behar on 18th November by the Lieutenant Governor, who entrusted him the charge of the administration. 9 By the initiative of Nripendra Narayan and Sunity Devi Brahmo movement brought a tremendous change in the conventional atmosphere of the Cooch Behar royal family. Regular prayers and other ceremonies of Brahmo rituals were started in the royal palace of Cooch Behar. Every Sunday evening divine service used to be held in the Jenkins school. After Keshab's death on 8th January 1884, the New Dispensation church was erected on 15th August with monetary support and patronization from the royal household. There was an expenditure of Rs. 15, 969 on its construction with a sitting capacity of 200 people in the hall.<sup>10</sup> Thereafter regular prayers and other religious festivals were held in the mandir. In 1888, the King stated Nababidhan Brahmoism as the State religion.<sup>11</sup> The initiation ceremony of the crown prince Kumar Gaiendra Narayan was held the Brahmo mandir, conducted by Bangachandra

Roy, a missionary from Calcutta. <sup>12</sup> This was the glorious period of Nababidhan Brahmo Samaj and Brahmo *mandir* in Cooch Behar owing to its attachment with the royal family. The Nababidhan Brahmo dharma and its movement in Cooch Behar resulted in the significant aesthetic, social and religious development of the State.

Four persons who contributed significantly to propagating the Nababidhan Brahmo faith were Maharaja Nripendra Narayan, his wife Sunity Devi, and Kumar Gajendra Narayan, cousin of Nripendra Narayan, and his wife Sabitri Devi.

Nripendra Narayan was an enlightened ruler. Inspired by Keshab Chandra Sen's ideals he converted himself to a Brahmo and declared that "I believe in one true God and I am in heart a Theist". 13 He attempted to introduce modern reformation in Cooch Behar, and opened the door of this remote kingdom to the Bengali intelligentsia of whole Bengal. The Nababidhan Brahmo mandir he established at Cooch Behar was considered the biggest Brahmo mandir in South East Asia. 14 An annual grant of Rs. 5000 was allowed for its maintenance. From the account of David Koph, an authority on the Brahmo Samai movement, we discover that in the field of education the Maharaja instituted Cooch Behar's first public library, as well as a girls' school, and a college, in the field of social reforms capital punishment was abolished, and within the royal family, polygamy was prohibited.15

Nripendra Narayan was a very liberal ruler, though he belonged to the New Dispensation yet he also favoured the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Under him, different religions played their roles side by side. He also never tried to impose his religious beliefs upon the masses. Rather Madanmohan *mandir*, Durga *mandir*, etc were rebuilt during his period. Education, especially higher education, under Nripendra Narayana was not only spread but also popularized. Thus, through the enlightened policies of Maharaja

Nripendra Narayan, a semi-tribal kingdom entered a new arena.

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The arrival of Sunity Devi in Cooch Behar can be stated as the rising of a new sun in the modern era. Sunity Devi contributed a lot to making Nripendra Narayan an ideal ruler. The State of Cooch Behar is indebted to her for a good number of public welfare works such as spreading education, adopting various measures for social reform, etc. Being the daughter of a great reformer she got the chance to come in contact with the contemporary Bengali intelligentsia on the one hand. And on the other hand, being a Maharani, she got the privilege of coming in contact with a good number of royal families and aristocratic societies in India and abroad. Thus she developed a modern, cultural and enlightened outlook. She was a learned woman and had devout religious thoughts. She was always willing to serve the poor and the needy.

Sunity Devi played a vital role in modernizing the State. She took the leading part in spreading modern education in Cooch Behar. Due to her initiative a girls' school was established in the capital town in 1881.16 Earlier it was known as 'Rati Babu's school, in 1883 Sunity Devi took over Rati Babu's school, and renamed it 'Sunity Academy'. 17 Sunity Devi was personally involved in the affairs of the school and due to her efforts, Sunity Academy played the most crucial role in the beginning and spreading of women's education in this native State. From the writing of Nirmala Guha Roy, a former student of the school we came to know that Sunity Devi while staying in Cooch Behar came to the school on some Saturdays and advised the girls on what to follow to develop an ideal lifestyle. 18 It was due to the sincere efforts of Sunity Devi that female education spread in this princely State.

Due to the initiative of Sunity Devi, many scholars and dignitaries belonging to the 'Brahmo Society' such as Gouri Prasad Majumdar, Nabaddip Chandra Das, Brajagopal Neogi, Khitimohan Sen, etc. visited Cooch Behar to propagate Brahmoism and they enjoyed her hospitality.

Troilokyanath Sanyal, a famous preacher of Brahmoism stayed in Cooch Behar for a long time. <sup>19</sup> Another renowned preacher of Nababidhan Brahmoism, Baikunthanath Ghosh stayed here for three years and engaged himself in preaching the religion. <sup>20</sup> All the preachers moved to preach the ideals of Brahmoism inside and outside the native State and also to make awareness among the masses regarding social evils. Every Sunday they went to jail and advised the prisoners to come back and follow the right path in life. <sup>21</sup>

The culture of Cooch Behar got a new dimension due to the spread of Brahmoism. Tagore family had a great contribution to this culture and tradition. Both Rabindranath Tagore and Sunity Devi were contemporary and they had a cordial relationship. Sunity Devi was an eminent writer who composed various poems, Brahmosangeet, short stories, essays, and an autobiography which is perhaps the first autobiography in English written by an Indian woman. She was an expert in kathakata or the vocal rendition of mythical and epic tales. Following his father's social and religious activities she started the kalpataru festival in Cooch Behar on the birthday of Keshab Chandra where various cultural programmes were conducted such as kathakata, jatra, kirtan, and a fair named anandabazar.22 Thus she brought a tremendous change in the cultural sphere of this native State.

As far as higher education was concerned 1888 became a historical milestone not only in the Cooch Behar native State but in the neighbouring districts of Bengal and Assam. In that year to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of Queen Victoria, Maharaja established a college in her name.<sup>23</sup> It was from the beginning that education in College was made free to all. Victoria College was considered a first-grade college with arts up to B.A. standard and was affiliated with Calcutta University and science up to the intermediate course. Gradually the M.A. and the Law course were opened and this College

became one of the leading institutions in North-Eastern India, particularly in North Bengal. Maharaja was always careful to appoint efficient and scholarly persons in the post of lecturer of the College.

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Nripendra Narayan's attachment to Brahmos and his endeavour to develop the State's educational standard was evident by the fact that he initiated Broiendranath Seal, a great scholar and an eminent Brahmo theoretician of India at that time. Brojendranath was appointed as the principal of the Victoria College in 1896.<sup>24</sup> Sunity Devi played a major role in this aspect and she influenced Nripendra Narayan to offer Brojendranath Seal to join in the post. Due to the sincerity and untiring hard work of Brojendranath Seal, higher learning and academic progress gained their ground in Cooch Behar through Victoria College. Later Victoria College was renamed Acharya Brojendranath Seal College.

By heart, Nripendra Narayan became a Brahmo and before his death requested that his body be cremated following the funeral rites of the Nababidhan Brahmo Samaj.<sup>25</sup>

Keshab Chandra himself bestowed the second daughter, Sabitri Devi, to Gajendra Narayan on the 13th of August 1881. Being influenced by Keshab Chandra, Gajendra Narayan dedicated himself to the cause of Brahmoism. He was also the first secretary of the Nababidhan Brahmo Samaj and Brahmo mandir in Cooch Behar. He used to work carefully and to the best of his ability. By his initiative, the beautiful Keshabashram was built to keep Keshab Chandra Sen's memory at Patakura. He established a lodge at Patakura in the name of his wife, Sabitri Lodge. It was a shrine of the Brahmos. They felt peace and happiness at this holy place. At the time of Gajendra Narayan; Brahmo Palli was established at Patakura, where many Brahmo families lived. Besides these Brahmo boarding was also established where students from East Bengal were given residential facilities. Every morning Gajendra

Narayan used to go to the boarding and inspect the dearth of the boarders.<sup>26</sup> He played a major role in the anti-liquor campaign in Cooch Behar. From people of the royal family to the masses all were affected by the intoxicant. Gajendra Narayan established 'Surapan Nibarani Sabha' on 20th June 188727 to preach the ill effects of drunkenness. Thus he had spread the message of Brahmoism throughout Cooch Behar. Then all the festivals of the Nababidham Brahmo Samaj were performed with great splendor. After the death of Nripendra Narayan in 1911 his ashes were kept in Keshabashram as his last wish was that his casket should be encased in a stone monument replicating the one placed for Keshub Chandra Sen.<sup>28</sup> By the eagerness of Gajendra Narayan, thousands of people came to Nababidham Brahmo *mandir* to obtain peace in mind by offering prayer to God. Gajendra Narayan made the roots of Brahmo dharma strong with his thirty years of dedicated work.

Sabitri Devi was also greatly involved in propagating the Brahmo faith in Cooch Behar. She not only helped Gajendra Narayan but also acted side by side with her husband. Leaving household activities she involved herself in improving the condition of women. Under the patronization of Nripendra Narayan, a technical school was built in 1908 for women.<sup>29</sup> Technical work, cookery, and tailoring were taught in that school. Gradually, the number of women increased in the school and all of them worked under the supervision of Sabitri Devi who performed her duty till 7-8 pm. Thus Sabitri Devi was careful in improving the condition of women and tried to improve their social and religious outlook.

In a largely male-dominated environment, the undertakings of the ladies in the palace added a fresh dimension. Along with Sunity Devi and Sabitri Devi's endeavour, Nirupama Devi's name, who was the wife of Sunity Devi's son Victor Nityendra Narayan must be added. She was the editor of a magazine<sup>30</sup> and dedicated

herself to bringing cultural upliftment to women in this native State through her performance.<sup>31</sup> She was connected with technical work and various social, cultural, and religious activities.

In those days, many virtuous acts had been done by the Brahmos in this native State. Young Men's Theistic Association was one of them, which was established in 1906,<sup>32</sup> bearing the motive of improving socio-religious facts. The principle of this Association was that only those who were believers in monotheistic theory could be able to become a member of this Association. The Association also acted as a tryst of peasant and lower caste people in cultured society so they can improve in any aspect. This Association also built night schools.

During the time of Nripendra Narayan, higher education and respectable posts in the State administration were in the hands of the Brahmos. Kalika Das Dutta(Dewan), Amritalal Sen(Accountant General), Priya Nath Ghosh(Dewan), Narendra Nath Sen(Dewan) – were Brahmos and took a pivotal part in rebuilding the State.<sup>33</sup>

The Brahmos of the State played a vital role in the development of media. A journal named 'Sukatha' was published for preaching and popularizing Brahmo religious thoughts and during the time of Nripendra Narayan, Ram Chandra Singha was its editor.<sup>34</sup> The journal beautifully mentioned the festivals and programmes of Nababidhan Brahmo Samaj of Cooch Behar. Thus it led to a cultural awakening among the masses. The Brahmos also led to the beginning of many social reforms such as widow remarriage, prohibition of child marriage, etc.

After Gajendra Narayan, Victor Nityendra Narayan, the third son of the late Maharaja Nripendra Narayan became the secretary of Nababidhan Brahmo Samaj. And after him, Manorathdhan Dey, the principal of Victoria College became the secretary. Then Kedarnath Mukherjee became the Secretary, he was at first a preacher then became secretary and was

associated with various social activities. In 1951 Binit Kumar Mukherjee, son of Kedarnath Mukherjee became the secretary of the Samaj. Up to the fifties of the twentieth century Brahmo *mandir* maintained its status and glamour by the existing Brahmo families, but after its inclusion in the State of West Bengal the Brahmo Samaj building was brought under Trustee Board, Brahmo *mandir* lost its glamour and turned into a dilapidated condition. Gradually Brahmoism became a religion of the minorities.

After Nripendra Narayan's death, his eldest son Raj Rajendra Narayan succeeded him and his installation had taken place according to the doctrine of New Dispensation.<sup>35</sup> He devoted himself to the principles of Brahmoism and all the festivals were celebrated in an aristocratic manner. *Maghotsaba* and *Bhadrotsaba* were the major occasions. But Rajendra Narayan did not live a long life. In 1913 he breathed his last at a young age and Jitendra Narayan, the second son of Nripendra Narayan succeeded him.

In his early life, Jitendra Narayan was influenced by the ideal of Brahmoism. But after his marriage to Indira Devi, princess of the Hindu Royal family of Gaikwad he was attracted to Hinduism. Indira Devi compelled him to give up regular prayer in Brahmo *mandir* and to visit Madanmohan *mandir*. The restoration of Hindu culture had taken place after the coming of Indira as Maharani of Cooch Behar. She revived Hindu rituals and practices in the royal family. She adopted the policy of washing-out Brahmoism from Cooch Behar. Policies were launched by Indira to drive out the Brahmos from the different higher positions of State administration.

The dignity of Sunity Devi was reduced when Indira Devi became the Maharani of Cooch Behar. Indira Devi could not tolerate her mother-in-law who did not bear 'blue blood'. Thus the conflict started between them. Though the conflict started concerning religion it was a conflict between the royal class and

middle class. After the death of Jitendra Narayan, Sunity Devi left Cooch Behar and died on 10th November 1932 in Ranchi having never come back to her erstwhile home. But she was always eager to know about her subjects and wrote letters to Kedarnath Mukherjee, whom she considered her son, and inquired, about her beloved place and people.<sup>36</sup>

Although Brahmo Samaj contributed a lot to the social and cultural outlook of the people, Brahmoism as a religion could not influence the whole, even a greater mass population in Cooch Behar. A major part of people remained outside the path of the Brahmo reform movement. The Brahmos in the State were mainly connected with educational and intellectual activities. Even most of those who converted themselves to the Brahmo were mainly to seek royal concession. A report of the Collector of the State mentioned that Brahmos hold all the higher posts in the administration, in government services, and even most of the teachers of the Sunity Academy were followers of the faith.<sup>37</sup> These created social tensions among the upper-caste Hindus.

From the beginning, the conservative Hindus had created an obstacle in propagating Brahmoism in Cooch Behar. In the second half of the 19th century, Neo-Hinduism started in this region to revive Hinduism. Shashadhar Tarka Churamani (1851-1928), a preacher of Neo-Hinduism, organized a few conferences and delivered speeches against this reformist movement in various places Cooch Behar in 1884.38 Besides this; the people of this State were also connected with the religion preached by Sankaradeva. Thus Brahmo Samaj could not get a foothold though it gained royal patronage. But it is also true that the Maharajas of Cooch Behar never imposed Brahmoism on the masses. The last Brahmo family in Cooch Behar was the Binit Kumar Mukherjee's family.<sup>39</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

Keshab Chandra's Nababidhan was based on amalgamation; gradually he followed some aspects of Vaishnavism, totally separated from other Brahmo religious sects, and later it almost declined. But it is a fact that the socio, cultural, and religious activities of the Nababidhan Brahmo Samaj brought an overall development of the Cooch Behar native State which was the need of the hour. Thus Nababidhan Brahmoism originated out of the Brahmo Samai of India due to the marriage controversy of Nripendra Narayan and Sunity Devi, and it made its strongest hold in Cooch Behar, later the sect gradually declined there- so all the incidents happened in one place, in this native State. Here lies the significance that Nababidhan Brahmoism originated, spread, and declined in Cooch Behar.

There is a variety of scope for doing research work on Nababidhan Brahmo dharma in Cooch Behar as it was the religion of the State; naturally, this religious sect had a great effect on the socio-religious life of the people. There leaves a good chunk of work on this subject that can be done in the future. Through archival resources, one can do a detailed study about this faith, its spread, and also its declining phase.

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- 31. Kamalesh Chandra Das, op. cit, p. 112.
- 32. Sabitri Debi, op. cit, p. 88.
- 33. Kamalesh Chandra Das, op. cit, p. 113.
- 34. Ibid, p. 114.
- 35. Sunity Devee, op. cit., p.201.
- 36. My collections of letters written by Sunity Devi to Kedarnath Mukherjee.
- 37. Subodh Chandra Das, and Biman Chakraborty: Koch Behar Rajye Brahmo Samaj Andolon, Madhuparni, op. cit, p. 377.
- 38. URL https://ir.nbu.ac.in/bit-stream/123456789/1731/10/10\_chapter 07.pdf retrieved 04.04.2022.
- 39. Interview with Binit Kumar Mukherjee, 22.12.1999 at his residence in Cooch Behar.