Chapter-4
Socio-Cultural and Political Scenario of the Colonial Assam as Depicted by the Advertisements

Advertisement is closely associated with consumer psychology and hence the advertisers always depict something in their advertisements which is acceptable for the society in which their consumer lives. Moreover to exploit the consumer psychology the advertisers use some local socio-cultural elements in their advertisements. Hence the advertisements can also be regarded as a reflection of the local society and culture. In those days the print media was the most convenient mode of spreading information. Various socio-political organizations, educational institutions etc. used advertisements as a tool for spreading their message. In this chapter an attempt will be made to compile information of socio-cultural and political life of colonial Assam based on the advertisements in various newspapers and journals.

4.1.1 Musical Instruments

From the advertisements one can have an idea of the developments in the field of culture. Various advertisements of cultural activities were published regularly in the newspapers and magazines of colonial Assam. In the initial period when the people of the state came to know about the musical instruments like harmonium, accordion, tabla, esraj, violin, trumpet etc there were no local seller of
these instruments. The manufacturing companies and big sellers of these instruments advertised their products in the newspapers of Assam. The advertisers mentioned their postal address and the way to get these instruments through advance order in the advertisements. The advertisement of companies and sellers like Doyarkin,\(^1\) P.Rana & Company, \(^2\) Herode Baran Sen & Bros, \(^3\) etc., were published regularly in the newspapers of Assam.

The advertisers of Calcutta tried to attract the people of the state by mentioning the importance of the musical instruments. It was written by Doyarkin “apunar ghar sachetan kori rakhibo. Sangeet badyak bilasor bastu buli navabibo, bhat kaporar pichatei eyar sthan” (It will make your house alive. Don’t consider it to be a subject of luxury; its position is just after the food and cloth).\(^4\) At that time the use of these instruments were limited. Only the people of aristocratic class

---

1. Doyarkin
2. P.Rana & Company
3. Herode Baran Sen & Bros
4. At that time
purchased these instruments directly from the market of Calcutta either by placing order or personally during their visits to Calcutta. But gradually few establishments were sprang up in different parts of the state to deal with these instruments, gramophone etc. Chaudhury Brothers & Music Saloon Rangiya,⁵ P.C. Barua Brothers, Guwahati,⁶ Bandhabalay, Panbazar, Guwahati⁷ were some sellers who advertised in the newspapers and magazines of colonial Assam. The use of these instruments also became common from the early decades of the twentieth century. To convince the people of Assam that these instruments are not costlier than the market of Calcutta M/S P.C Barua Brothers wrote in their advertisements, “Gramophone, sokolo bhasar record, harmonium, esraj, behela, sitar etyadi sokolo rokomor badyajantra amar eyat kolikotiya demote poa jai” (Gramophone, records of all languages, Harmonium, Esraj, Violin, Sitar and all sorts of musical instruments are available here at the price of Calcutta).⁸ Bandhabalaya, an establishment in Panbazar, Guwahti mentioned in its advertisement “order ati jatanere kolikatar damote pothua ho” (Orders are dispatched with utmost care at the price of Calcutta).⁹

Photo 4.3 : Advertisement by P.C. Baruah Brothers
4.1.2 Gramophone Records

Assamese songs and drama became popular at that time through Gramophone records. Famous Assamese artists like Bishnuprasad Rabha, Kamalakanta Bhattacharyya, Phani Sarma, Bhupen Hazarika, Charu Bardoloi, etc., adopted this medium to reach the people. The ‘Sonala Music Company’ of Calcutta produced many records of Assamese songs, drama, comedy, etc. The company gave an advertisement in 1939 where in, the company mentioned the names of 14 records produced by the company.\(^\text{10}\)

Among those records seven records were of songs by different singers, one was a comedy play and six records were of dramas. In the records of songs the names of Master Charu Bordoloi, Prafullabala Barua, Bishnuprasad Rabha, Bhupendra Hazarika, Master Anukul Nath, Prabodh Barua, Bholanath Saikia, Gangadhar Barthakur, Saujanyamoyee, Hiranmoyee, K. Barthakur, etc., were found.
In most of the records of drama, Bishnuprasad Rabha and Jyotiprasad Agarwalla were the directors. Phani Sarma was the director of the only comedy record produced by the company. The name of the drama records were *Janmastami, Jaymati, Bihuwati, Sonit Kuwari, Beula* and *Narakasur*. Among these *Janmastami, Beula* and *Narakasur* were purely mythological. The drama *Jaimati* was written by Laxminath Bezbarua and directed jointly by Jyotiprasad Agarwalla and Bishnuprasad Rabha. Afterwards Jyotiprasad made the first Assamese movie on the same theme. The *Sonit Kuwari* was a drama written by Jyotiprasad Agarwalla and directed jointly by Jyotiprasad Agarwalla and Bishnuprasad Rabha. The dramas were completed in 4-5 records and the records were released with distinctive mark of the company. The Sanola Company gave advertisements of a set of eight gramophone records on life and works of Sankardeva.  

*Photo 4.5 : Advertisement by Sanola on Life and Works of Sankardeva*

In March, 1942, the famous company His Masters Voice (HMV) gave advertisements of its six productions. Among the six productions two were dramas. The company produced *Rukmini Haran*, the famous drama of Sankardeva.
Another drama *Bordoichila* was produced by the company with the direction of Bishnuprasad Rabha. The singers of the audio records were Tarini Charan Kakoti, Master Nagen Barua and Pratima Das. One comedy record was made by Professor Ravan Nath. In April, 1942, the His Masters Voice released the gramophone record of the Assamese movie *Rupahi*. Gramophone records in Assamese were also released by P.C. Barua Brothers and ‘Audio graph Company’. The records of the Audio graph Company were known as *Sur Bharati*.13

One of the most important dimension that came in to notice from the advertisements is that except few legends like Bishnuprasad Rabha, Jyotiprasad Agarwalla and Bhupendra Hazrika, the names of the other singers who initially recorded the songs in the audio records of various companies were lost in obscurity. These advertisements have become a very important source for highlighting the names of those singers who have made immense contributions to the growth of Assamese culture. The songs included in the records were mentioned in the advertisements. It is found that many of the famous Assamese songs were recorded
at that time when the lyricist and composers both were alive. This is a very important information provided by these advertisements in the context of alleged distortion of tune and lyrics of various famous Assamese songs. At present there are many controversies regarding the tune and lyrics of many old songs but information about their first recording can help one to trace for those original tracks. The number of production of gramophone records by various companies proves that there was a market of these records. Apart from the Assamese records, the HMV gave advertisements of Bangla and Hindi records in the Newspapers and Magazines of Assam.\textsuperscript{14}

4.1.3 Film Industry

The advertisements also provided information of the Assamese film industry. Though no advertisement of Jaimati, the first Assamese movie was found, the advertisement of ‘Indramalati’, the second Assamese talkie provides vivid information about the production.\textsuperscript{15}

![Image of Indramalati advertisement]

Photo 4.8: Advertisement of Indramalati, the second Assamese Movie
According to the advertisement, the talkie was released in the first week of June, 1939. It was mentioned in the advertisement that the silver voice of Dr. Bhupen Hazarika was a factor behind the success of the talkie. Jyotiprasad Agarwalla was the director of the movie. It was mentioned in the advertisement that best quality photography and crystal clear sound were the main features of the production. Either the producer of the talkie had his account in the Guwahati Bank Ltd., or the Bank might have some investment in the production. It appears from the advertisement that for part or all Assam distribution of the talkie the interested party had to contact the bank. The advertisement of another movie Rupahi provides various information about the production.\(^{16}\)

![Photo 4.9: Advertisement of Rupahi, the Assamese Movie.](image)

The movie was produced by ‘Barua Bulchabi’. The director of the movie was Parbati Prasad Barua. The movie was released in September, 1940. The advertisements also provided information about the Talkie Halls of the province. The Kelvin Cinema, Guwahati gave regular advertisements in the newspapers.\(^{17}\)
Various English and Hindi movies were shown in the halls. It was mentioned in the advertisement of *Rupahi* that at first the movie will be released at Sati Talkies, Guwahati and then it would be shown at Jorhat.

![Photo 4.10: Advertisement by Kelvin Cinema.]

### 4.1.4 Theatre and Yatra

Probably Theatre or ‘Yatra’ culture was becoming popular in the state. One Mazumder & Company of 22\° Harrison Road, Calcutta published its advertisement in *Asomiya*, where it was mentioned that the Company has been supplying stages and theatrical equipments to various Rajas and Zaminders of Assam, Bengal and Orissa.\(^{18}\) Though it is difficult to trace the names of these Zaminders from history, yet the repeated publication of the advertisements reveal that the company must have some response from this part of the country. There were some Zamindar
families in lower Assam at that time and economic condition of most of those families were well-to-do. Dr. Rajen Saikia writes in his book ‘Social and Economic History of Assam, 1853-1921, that there were all together 19 permanently settled estates in Goalpara and among the Zaminders of these estates the Zaminders of Bijni and Gauripur were addressed as ‘Rajas’.\textsuperscript{19}

![Photo 4.11: Advertisement by Mazumdar & Co. for equipments of Theatre.](image)

There were possibilities that these zaminders were the main patrons of the various socio-cultural activities in their areas. Under their patronage or through their correspondence, the people acquired stages and theatrical equipments in their areas. There were possibilities of forming professional theatre groups in those areas under the patronage of these zaminders.

The advertisements of dramas by various publishers indicate that staging dramas on various occasions was becoming popular in the state. It was found in various sources that staging drama during Durga Puja, Saraswati Puja etc was becoming a part and parcel of the cultural life of Assam during the colonial period. This becomes evident from the advertisements of dramas by various publishing
houses where they used to mention the number and types of roles. In the advertisement of a drama *Shorab-Rustom*, it was mentioned that there was no lady character in that particular drama. The advertisers mentioned it because the director or organizers of dramas normally preferred dramas without lady character as it was difficult to get ladies for acting with male in those days.

![Advertisement of Drama without lady character.](image)

**Photo 4.12: Advertisement of Drama without lady character.**

4.1.5 Sports

The advertisements also provided information regarding games and sports of the period. In place of traditional games, new games brought to India by the Europeans became popular. Advertisements of sports goods were published frequently in the news papers and magazines of Assam. To attract people, one company mentioned in the advertisement, “*Germany aru America ghuri aha amar bisesagyar dwara parichalit bastu bilak prithibit bikhyat*” (our goods which are managed by the experts who have travelled Germany and America are famous worldwide). In the advertisement sports goods like football, Badminton, Tennis, Carom Board, Ludo, etc., were mentioned. Most probably Football was the most
popular game of the time. Various companies gave advertisements of variety of Footballs. Among those companies ‘Mohantush Brothers’ and ‘Graduate Union’ had maximum number of advertisements. Football competitions were organized in different parts of the state. The organizers of one such competition ‘Lokhoram Memorial Cup Football Competition’ gave advertisement in 1932.22

4.2 Education

To have a proper idea of the condition of the society during the colonial period one must look at the education system of the period. The advertisements can supply variety of information regarding the developments in the field of education. Various institutions of education up to high school level were sprung up in different parts of the state. With the initiative of the public, many Primary, M.E. and High Schools were established in the nooks and corners of the state. The managing committees of the schools gave advertisements in the news papers and magazines seeking
qualified teacher for the schools. Though at the initial stage most of the schools were established and managed by the public, some institutions were later on adopted by the government as may be understood from the advertisements published by the Inspector of schools seeking teachers for M.E. and High Schools.\textsuperscript{23} The advertisement of Mitralal M.E. School in Numaligarh in the Golaghat district of Assam provides some information of the education system.\textsuperscript{24} In the advertisement the school committee was offering a salary which was lower than the salaries offered by other schools at that time revealing the difficulties faced by the committees in running a school without government aid. It was mentioned in the advertisement that the school would provide accommodation to the teacher and there were possibilities of getting private tuition. The advertisement shows that private tuition system was in vogue at that time. Though most of the institutions were developed with public initiative, there were examples of private initiatives as well. One Kandaram Bharali, Proprietor, K.R.M.E. School, Hajo in the district of Kamrup advertised for the post of a teacher in his school.\textsuperscript{25} The proprietor was offering a good salary for the teacher.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{images/4.15.jpg}
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{images/4.16.jpg}
\caption{Photo 4.15: Advertisement by K.R.M.E. Private School.}
\caption{Photo 4.16: Advertisement for the post of Lecturer in Cotton College.}
\end{figure}
The advertisements also provided some information of higher education in the state. Advertisements for the post of lecturers were published in the newspapers and magazines of Assam for the government colleges. Of such colleges, advertisements relating to Cotton College and Murarichand College, Syhlet were found regularly. The advertisements were given by the Director of Public Instruction and Assam Public Service Commission.

In Medical Education, the government was providing separate scholarships for both boys and girls. It was mentioned in the advertisement that scholarships were tenable at the Medical College, Calcutta. Advertisement of College of Physicians and Surgeons, Dacca were found regularly in the newspapers and magazines of Assam. This Institute of Medical Science probably got students from Assam.

For development of Technical Education the H.R.H. the Prince of Wales Technical School was established at Jorhat. The Assam Public Service Commission
gave advertisement for the post of Instructor of this institute. For Technical and vocational courses many institutions advertised in the newspapers and magazines of Assam and foremost among those was the George Telegraph Institute. This institute had many courses like Telegraphy, Wireless Telegraphy, Type Writing, Book Keeping, Assistant Station Master, etc., and it was mentioned in its advertisement that the students of the Institute were selected for jobs in and outside the country by various employers.

One vocational institute for girls known as ‘Kokrajhar Silpa Bidyalaya’ was established and Kalicharan Brahma, the secretary of the institute gave advertisement seeking help from the public. The government established a weaving institute at Guwahati and the Superintendent of the institute N.M. Sundaram gave advertisement for admission.
It is generally alleged that the British government adopted an education policy aimed at producing clerks for their administration and they never patronized vocational training. The information provided by the advertisements regarding the HRH the Prince of Wales Technical School, Government Weaving Institute, etc., prove that the effort on the part of the British towards the vocationalisation of education was not totally lacking though it can’t be considered as sufficient. Institute of vocational training with different trades were sprang up in different parts of the state with private initiatives.

4.3 Women in advertisements

The advertisements also provide information regarding the status of women in the colonial period. It is heard that during that period the women were not allowed
to participate in the socio-cultural or political activities openly. The ladies who dared to participate in cultural activities like drama, cinema etc. had to face humiliation. Such allegation is proved by the advertisement of a drama named Shorab- Rustam where it was written “nari nothoka natak” (drama without female role).³⁵ The writer of the play thought that if the director or organizers of the play could be relieved from the tension of searching a female for the drama, the organizers will opt to stage this drama. The condition of the widows was also not satisfactory. Though their condition was not as bad as some other states of India, yet it was far from satisfactory. The Guwahati Sevashram probably gave shelter to the widows and engaged them in preparing khadi clothes of different types. The Sevashram had a large stock of variety of clothes. The Sevashram gave large advertisements where it was written, “Asomor dakhuni bari tirotar dakh dekhi aponar hiyat alopo dakh nahaine” (is your heart not weeping at the distressed condition of the widows of Assam). The deplorable condition of the widows in Assam is reflected well in the drama ‘Ramnavami’ by Gunabhiram Barua and the language of the advertisement corroborate the existing knowledge on the condition of the widows of Assam.

Probably during our freedom struggle when the progressive leaders tried to do away with the social evils, efforts were made to uplift the position of women by spreading education among the women. Advertisements of different girls’ schools were published in the newspapers and magazines of colonial Assam mainly seeking teachers for the institutions. M.K. Sarma, Secretary, Assamese Girls’ High School gave advertisement for 4 posts of teachers in different categories.³⁶ Chandranath
Sarma was the Secretary of the Tezpur Assamese Combined Middle School who gave advertisement in search of teachers.\(^{37}\) Similar advertisement was given by R. Sarma, Secretary, Jogendra Narain Memorial Girls’ M.E School.\(^{38}\) The government also providing special scholarship for girl student wanted to pursue Medical Education.\(^{39}\)

![Advertisement](image)

**Photo 4.23: Advertisement of Assamese Girls’ School.**

In the jobs of B & A Railway, special consideration was made for women. For the post of Typist male candidate had to acquire qualification of Matriculation while female candidates with education up to 7\(^{th}\) standard of European school and 10\(^{th}\) standard of H.E. School could apply.\(^{40}\) This may be considered as a very positive step for women empowerment. B & A Railway advertised the post of Lady Welfare officer.\(^{41}\) Probably the increasing number of female passengers compelled the authority to recruit women in such post.

In Kirtanghar of Barpeta Satra women are not allowed even today and controversies are going on this particular issue. However one advertisement was
published in *Deka Asom* where the Sub-Divisional Officer had fixed a date and place separately for women voters who could vote in the election for nominating members of the managing committee of the Barpeta Satra.\(^{42}\)

\[ \text{Photo 4.24: Advertisement for recruitment of women welfare worker in Railway} \]

\[ \text{Photo 4.25: Advertisement of Special Voting Zone for Women in Barpeta Satra} \]

### 4.4 Belief System

Advertisement sometimes helps in understanding the trends of religious belief of the society. An advertisement was given by Chandrakanta Bhattacharyya of Howli; district Kamrup, Assam about a book on Vedic rituals.\(^{43}\) The name of the author of the book was Late Mahiram Vidyaratna Bhattacharyya. The author had collected the materials from the Hindu Sanskrit text and translated it into Assamese as it was written in the advertisement “mul *sangrah aru asomiyaloi anudit*” (translated into Assamese from the original collection).\(^{44}\) It was written in the advertisement that all procedures of *Sradha, Payachitta*, etc., were clearly described
in that book. It was a compilation of eight puthis or small books on different rituals. Probably each book was on separate rituals. The rituals or sanskaras mentioned in the advertisement inform us that different rules and regulations mentioned in different Smrities were very much in vogue in this province. Probably the number of followers of Brahmanical trend of Hinduism was significant among the Assamese speaking people of this province as it was mentioned in the advertisement that the second edition of the book was published with some extra weight age.


Photo 4.27: Advertisement of Assamese Almanac - Panjika.

Printing of Assamese Panjika (an almanac based on astrology) was an important development of that time. An advertisement was published by the Jayanti Art Press in Deka Asom that a Panjika of huge volume was published by the establishment and it would provide the transportation cost for the retailers who purchased at least 25 copies.45 As we know Panjika is normally required by the Hindus to find auspicious day and moment (subha muhurta) for various functions and festivals. In another advertisement of the Asomiya Panjika, the names of nearly
100 priests or pundits from different parts of the state were mentioned who were either associated with the process of preparing the *Panjika* or recognized it. Assam was known in the ancient period as Pragjyotishpur or seat of astrology in the east. Keeping this tradition intact Jyotish or astrology was professed by many persons who gave advertisements in the newspapers and magazines of Assam. Considering the point that the people of the state had tremendous belief in astrology, astrologers of Calcutta, Tripura, etc., also advertised in the newspapers and magazines of Assam. In ancient Kamrup, it is said that Black Magic or *Jadu-Mantra* was practiced by various people.

Large scale advertisements of different publishers of books on *Neo-Vaisnavism* indicate that the *Neo-Vaisnavism*, preached by Sankardeva and Madhavdeva was also a popular religious faith of the province. We get advertisements of *Kirtan* and *Namghosha* published by different publishers which indicates that the number of customers of these books, having faith in *Neo-Vaisnavism* was quite large. It was written in the advertisement of New Press that all Assamese Hindu must keep these books in their house. Apart from *Kirtan* and *Namghosha*, other books like *Guru Charit*, *Ratnavali*, etc., were also published by different publishers. The number of publication and Publisher definitely give us a clue that *Neo-Vaisnavism* was a popular cult of the state. Apart from these books, a full length play on Sankardeva was released on Gramophone Record which indicates his acceptability or popularity in the contemporary Assamese Society.
The Hindus of the state went to different places of religious importance scattered in different parts of the country which was called *tirtha bhraman* and a person who could afford *tirtha bhraman* was considered as fortunate. The Assam Bengal Railway clubbed such places of religious importance for the Hindus and gave advertisements like “alpatam khorosate tirtha bhraman Korok” (go on pilgrimage at minimum cost). A total of four such packaged tours were organized by the company covering holy places like Benaras, Kashi, Gaya, Haridwar, Kurukshetra, Mathura, Nabadwip, Allahabad, Delhi, etc., All the tours were scheduled to be started from Pandu, Guwahati.
Another important information of the religious life of the province is provided by the advertisements of the Mughal Line Ltd. The Mughal Line Ltd. was a company established in the year 1877. The Company was a travel agent, organising ‘Haj’, one of the largest annually occurring pilgrimages in the world. In this pilgrimage, the Muslim people of different countries visit Macca in Saudi Arabia. The advertisement gives us an idea that there were many financially well to do Muslim people in this part of the country who went on Haj during the colonial period. The huge size of the advertisements and its occurrence at a regular intervals is a pointer to this significant fact.

Photo 4.30: Advertisement of service for Haj pilgrimage.

4.5 Life Style Products

Advertisements also has the capacity to throw light on the various aspects of life-style of the people. Advertisements of different dress materials, ornaments,
house hold goods, services, etc., give an idea of the changing life-style of the people. Assamese women used ornaments of local style made by the local gold smiths. Gold smithy was a very important industry during the Ahom period. From the third decade of the twentieth century, advertisements of readymade ornaments were seen in the news papers and magazines of Assam. Advertisers like D.N. Malakar & Sons, Swadeshi Silpa Factory, D. N. Roy & Brothers, N. B. Sarkar & Sons, etc., gave regular advertisements. The size and frequency of the advertisements indicate that the companies had good market in the state.

Before the coming of the British, Assamese people didn’t wear shoes. Our interviews with the octogenarians reveal that even up to the early decades of twentieth century people were not accustomed with shoe. One Lilaram Bhuyan who established a shoe factory in Guwahati in 1926 was humiliated by the public for starting such a business. This Guwahati Shoe Factory of Lilaram Bhuyan gave
Gradually different companies started advertising different kinds of shoes in newspapers and magazines. Among those companies, the international ‘Bata Company’ gave maximum advertisements. The advertisements of different cosmetic companies whose main products were Hair Oil, Talcum Powder, Snow, Perfume and Soap advertised regularly in the newspapers of Assam in the colonial period and it indicates that those companies had good market in the province. Interview of the octogenarians reveal that Cocola Hair Oil, Himani Snow, Cuticura Powder, etc., became very popular. Observing the response of the customers in Assam also various such industries sprang up in different parts of the state. The Assam Chemical Works, Industrial and Chemical Pioneers, about which detail discussions were made in the industry part of the chapter three of this theses, were some such industries.

Introduction of new food items like bread, biscuit, cake, chocolate etc into the food habits of the Assamese people can be understood from the advertisements. Initially those items were imported from England or Brought from Calcutta but gradually by the third decade of the twentieth century advertisements of local manufacturer appeared in the newspapers and magazines. Golam Rahman & Sons of Guwahati was a producer of many items and it declared in its advertisement that it would supply the order in different places without postage. The advertisement of restaurants indicates the change in the food habits of the people. Though the menu of the restaurant was not given in the advertisement, it can be assumed that with the
close contact with Calcutta, the restaurant would try to attract people with Indian and Continental dishes.


Photo 4.34: Advertisement of Amingaon Restaurant.

The hotels of Calcutta might have regular customers from Assam. About 10 hotels of Calcutta regularly advertised in various newspapers and magazines of Assam. From the third decade of the twentieth century hotels were started in Assam. Hotel Royal, Happy Lodge, Shillong Hotel, etc., advertised in the print media. Advertisement of foreign liquor and beer were seen in the print media of colonial Assam. Advertisement of *Mrītsanjibani Sura* was common as it was used as medicine by many. Doss & Co. was the dealer of Steamer brand beer made by J. Millar-Mitchel, London. Advertisements of liquor Vino-Lichithin were also published regularly.
4.6 Social Ethoes

Many a time the advertisement reflected social ethos. The people in colonial Assam had a conception that everything made in Europe was good in quality. In many advertisements the advertisers tried to establish the foreign link of the product. An advertiser of Bicycle gave heading to his advertisement as “bilati cycle” (foreign cycle). Some others mentioned ‘made in America’, ‘made in Switzerland’ etc. One advertiser of birth control pill wrote “bilati doctoror dwara prasangsit” (praised by foreign doctor). As the first college of the province, the cotton college had a special status among the people of the state. Everyone was proud to be a Cottonian or student of Cotton College. The College Store, Guwahati had marketed this sentiment of the cottonians and printed Cottonian Writing Pad and Envelops.
4.7 Health and Medicines

It becomes apparent from the advertisements that use of opium was very common in the society and that it was a very dangerous socio-economic problem of the society. Many advertisements were published in the news papers of the province on medicines which could help people to give up this habit. Both local and outside producers of such medicines gave advertisements in these news papers. From the advertisements it appeared that it was very difficult to leave the habit of taking opium. It was mentioned in some advertisements that nothing adverse would happen to the opium eaters for taking this or that particular medicine. The ‘Mahantar Ousadhaloi’ of Sivasagar District, owned by Ratneswar Mahanta and Gopal Mahanta gave regular advertisements in the news papers about their product.

This problem of opium addiction reflected in the advertisements can be confirmed from various sources and one of the most important among these are the Provincial Jail Administration Records where we can found that the number of Opium eaters were very large among the prisoners in almost all the Jails of the province. The physicians appointed in the jails had tried for de addiction but in this process they had to supply opium to some of the addicted people as it was not possible to stop the habit all of a sudden. The physicians were gradually decreasing the dose of opium given to them and the record of this was kept properly in the jails which are mentioned in the Provincial Jail Reports. It was also mentioned in the Records what short of physical problem the addicted people had to face immediately after stopping the
habit of taking opium. Such records not only confirm the information provided by the advertisements but also reveal the seriousness of the problem.

Various developments in the field of medical science and treatment can be traced back from the published advertisements. The government appointed a medical officer who in every district was called Civil Surgeon. The Civil Surgeon of Kamrup called for applications from the Registered Medical Practitioners to establish subsidized dispensary. The doctors would get assistance from the government to establish those dispensaries. It was mentioned in the advertisement that apart from monthly government subsidy of Rs 25/, the government would supply medicine and instrument at the initial stage.\textsuperscript{67} LMP (Licensed Medical Practitioner) doctors were appointed by the Local Boards in different places to look after the urban health. Jyotish Chandra Das, Chairman Guwahati Local Board gave advertisement to recruit 3 LMP doctors.\textsuperscript{68} There were stockiest of different medicine companies in the main places of the province. The Planters’ Store and Agency, Dibrugarh was the stockiest
of 6 medicine companies namely May and Baker (India) Ltd., Parke, Davis &
Company, Ciba (India) Ltd., British Drug Houses Ltd., Burroughs Welcome &
Company, Continental Drug Company and Listers Antiseptics & Dressing
Company. Establishment of different Ayurvedic medicine houses in different parts
of the state was an important feature of the time. Keeping in view the number of
houses and the frequency of advertisement, it seems that it was a more popular
system than Allopathic or any other system till then. Some of them like Prasuti
Sikitsalaya of Makhibaha which claimed in the advertisement that it was established
in 1671 were very old. During the Ahom period the Kabiraj or Ayurvedic
practitioners were the main source of hope for all the people irrespective of Royal,
Aristocrat or Common class of people. We get reference of the Bezbaruas, a title
conferred on Ayurvedic physicians appointed by the Ahom kings as Royal
physicians in the Ahom Buranjis. During our period of study many Ayurvedic
practitioners advertised their products in different newspapers. Keeping the pace of
the time they had added the swadeshi feature in their advertisements. Altogether 16
Ayurvedic houses of different parts of the state advertised in the printed media in
that period. Interview with the octogenarians reveal that apart from those big houses
who could afford advertisement, many small practitioners existed in different places
of the province.

The Hakimi Medicine houses of Calcutta, Dacca, etc., published their
advertisements regularly in the newspapers of Assam. The regularity and size of the
advertisements indicates that these Hakmi houses also had good market in the state.
Hakim Mujjamil Husain of Calcutta gave regular large advertisement in the
newspapers and magazines of Assam. The heading of one advertisement was
“Asomor Cithi” (letter from Assam) where it was mentioned how the people of Assam were benefited from that particular medical house and the responses of the people through letters.\(^73\)

![Photo 4.41: Advertisement of stockiest of allopathic company.](image1)

![Photo 4.42: Advertisement of Hakimi system of treatment.](image2)

Probably the use of Contraceptive was significant among the women of the state at that time because a large number of advertisements of contraceptive tablets were published regularly in the newspapers of Assam. It is also seen in the advertisement that the producers of the contraceptive medicine mentioned all the procedure of using the medicine and its effects which indicate that people used those medicines without any advice of medical practitioners. Apart from tablet other ways of preventing pregnancy were also given in the advertisements. One Kabiraj M. Kabyatirtha advertised for kits preventing pregnancy on temporary or permanent basis without operation. He even promised to refund Rs. 500 on failure.\(^74\) The advertisement of the medicines for Diabetics was also very common. The Venus
Research Laboratory advertised that its booklet could provide ways and means of curing diabetics without dieting or injection.\textsuperscript{75} The advertisements give us an idea about the existence of dangerous disease like Malaria. Advertisement of Quinine was regular in the newspapers of that period.\textsuperscript{76} Medicine companies of different systems like Ayurvedic, Hakimi, and Allopathic etc published their regular advertisements of medicines indicated for Malaria. Advertisements of Cholera tablets were also seen regularly.\textsuperscript{77} It give us an idea that Cholera was also dangerous epidemic at that time and people kept these medicines in their houses and use it without any direct advice from physicians. Advertisements of the Dentists from various places and the advertisements of the Optical houses were published regularly in different newspapers and magazines. Probably Dentist as a specialized discipline probably had emerged for the first time in the state in the third decade of the twentieth century and advertisements were came up in the newspapers and magazines of the state. The Optical Houses didn’t advertise for any doctor but asked people to visit for any difficulties related to eye.

\textbf{Photo 4.43: Advertisement of Quinine.}\textbf{ Photo 4.44: Advertisement of Dentist.}
It is very interesting that one ‘Brihaspati Ojha’, who gave treatment through ancient Kamrupi system had also advertised in Asomiya (Guwahati, 8th April, 1932). It is said that an indigenous system of treatment with locally made medicines and mantra was very effective and popular in this part of the world. It is believed by the people that many diseases can be cured with the help of this system. It was mentioned in the advertisement that he could give treatment for the complex diseases with the traditional system. The interesting point is that, even after the coming of the Allopathic system, the indigenous system was still popular among the people. Apart from the Ayurvedic houses, the practitioners of traditional Kamrupi system also advertised to let people know about their existence.

![Advertisement of Medicine for Diabetics.](image1)

![Advertisement of traditional system of treatment.](image2)

### 4.8 Legal Advertisements

The legal system of the country could also be understood to some extent from the advertisements. The pleaders or sometimes the court itself gave legal notices in form of advertisements in different newspapers and magazines which provided an understanding of the legal system. The Court of the District Judge for all the districts of Assam Valley gave a public notice regarding the election of...
‘Burha Satriya’ of Barpeta Satra. Referring to a case of 1912 between Manhari Das and Umanath Mazumder, the court was declaring the date of the election of ‘Burha Satriya’. Probably because of this case the process of election was started. Similarly election also took place for constituting the managing committee. Tirthanath Phukan, an advocate of Guwahati gave advertisement for his client Chandranath Bhagawati who was selected as Doloi of the Bilweswar Dewaloi by many Bardeuries. The advocate was calling for objection if any on the matter of selection. The Court issued a similar notice in the Umananda Dewaloi case. Such advertisements reflect that even in those days the judiciary had to play its role in the settlement of the appointments to important posts of the big religious institutions which were lucrative both position wise and financially.

Two creditors of some Safiulla of Dibrugarh gave an advertisement in the newspaper referring to a case in the court of Subordinate Judge of Lakhimpur that mentioned an interim order of the court as per which they were the receivers of the property of said Safiulla and other creditors are asked to forward their claim with supporting vouchers by 15\textsuperscript{th} July, 1929.\textsuperscript{81} Such legal advertisements can contribute to the understanding of the legal history of the colonial period. During land sale also, especially in case of joint property people gave legal notices for public to know whether there were any claimants over that particular property.\textsuperscript{82} One D Gupta and Company gave an advertisement that for duplicating its medicine indicated for fever the court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate had punished for persons and therefore everybody was requested to be careful while purchasing the medicine.\textsuperscript{83} Though analysis reveals that the advertisement was a clear attempt of popularizing the product but at the same time mentioning the name of the Court, the Judge and the accused persons the advertiser had established the genuineness of the legal process which is an important information for legal History.
4.9 Politics and Advertisements

The advertisements provide information regarding contemporary political trends and thoughts prevailing in the province. If one goes through the advertisements of the period one will find a clear attempt at exploiting Assamese nationalism. Many of the advertisements of the colonial period tried to exploit the emerging national sentiments of the people of Assam. The content of those advertisements normally tried to convey a message that if one were a real representative of the race or if one wanted that Assam and its people should progress; then one should buy those products. In almost all such advertisements the word Asomiya, Jati were mentioned. The International Provident Assurance Company, a local, small scale financial organization published regular advertisements in different newspapers and magazines of Assam. In its advertisement it was mentioned “Asom Gaurav! Asomiyar Mukhojwal! Jatir Saubhagya janani” (Pride of Assam! Bright face of the Assamese people! Fortune maker of the race).\(^{84}\) It was also written in the advertisement “matrihurur pujari sakolar subhessa aru pristhposhakotat internationale bidyut gatire unnati kori ajir pragatisil bharatat asomiyak eta jakat jilika jati buli parichay dise. Ajir asomiya international gauravere gaurabanwit” (with the blessings and patronization of the worshipers of the race, the company has established the race as an identical one among the different races of developing India. The people of the race are now proud of International).\(^{85}\) The United Bank Ltd., having head office at Guwahati was
appealing to the people of the state to invest with the bank as it was “asomiya
nijaswa bank” (own bank of the Assamese).86

The Free India Publishing House, Guwahati gave advertisement of four books with a sentence ‘asomiya jatiaghar asom desh aji jiwan mararanar maha
awartanat. Jivan loi jiyai thakiboloi ishha thoka Asomiyai ukta jugantarkari pathi
keikhon pohar bahire un upai nai’ (Today Assam, the home state of the Assamese is
facing a crisis of life and death. All those Assamese people who want to live have no
way but to read these epoch making books to survive).87 The pioneering Knitting
Mills Ltd. wrote at the top of their advertisement ‘Asomiyar Silpa Gaurav’ (Pride of
Assamese Industry).88 Guwahati Bank Ltd. was advertising that to keep the money
of Assam in the state, everyone should save with the Guwahati Bank which is a
financial institution owned by Assamese. It advertised as “asomor ekmatra jatiya
banking anusthan” (The only national banking institution of Assam).89 The
Maharathi Ayurvedia Ousadhalaya, Barpeta advertised that instead of using
Ayurvedic medicine from outside the province, everyone should use the products of
homeland.90 One ink tablet was produced and marketed by Laxmigopal Agency and
Company was named as ‘Asomiya Bori Ciyahi’ (Assamese Ink Teblet). The heading of an advertisement given by an indigenous medicine maker of Calcutta was Asomor Cithi where by it was sought to prove that the people of Assam were highly benefited by his medicines. The industrial and Chemical Pioneers advertised their cosmetic products as the first chemical products of Assam.

Interestingly apart from these indigenous advertisers, the companies of Calcutta even tried to take a chance of the situation. One P.C Das and Company of Calcutta, a producer of vests advertised as ‘asomiyar samanya anusthan’ (a small Assamese enterprise). The Oriental Printer and Publishers, Baliganj, Calcutta advertised ‘Asomiya Pratishthan’ (Assamese enterprise). Assam Trading Company, Calcutta advertised “kolikotat ekmatra asomiya company” (the only Assamese company at Calcutta). If we analyse the psychology of the advertisers and the consumers we will find that at that time Assamese nationalism was in a nascent stage. The Assamese people were struggling for both linguistic and ethnic identity. On one hand the people had to fight against the imperialist colonial government on
the other hand against the conspiracy of the Bengali amolahs and economic aggression of the non-Assamese Banias. Parallel with the freedom struggle, the people of the state were trying to establish the identity of the Assamese on a strong footing under the leadership of the newly educated youths. The Assamese people were trying to show their racial awareness and unity through various organizations at that time. The worries and anxieties of the race were expressed in its activities. There is no doubt that some of the activities organized by some fortune seekers in the state at that time were definitely an attempt to strengthen the individual and the contemporary backward economy of the province though the importance given to the Assamese race in the Advertisement not only by the indigenous entrepreneurs but also by the industrialists of the other state was definitely an attempt to exploit the situation and the sentiments of the Assamese people.

From the third decade of the twentieth century the Indian Freedom Movement became very strong in the province of Assam. After the establishment of Provincial Congress Committee in Assam, the movement was spread to the nook and corner of the state. Moreover, after the first visit of Mahatma Gandhi to the province in 1921, the activities of the movement spread rapidly in the province. The stress given by Gandhiji for using swadeshi and the burning of foreign cloth by him in Guwahati during his visit of the province gave swadeshi a huge mileage in the province. People began to use swadeshi goods, boycotting foreign goods. This swadeshi craze was very distinct in the advertisements of the period. All advertisers used this swadeshi label in their advertisements. The Esterala battery declared in the
advertisement “100% swadeshi”.\textsuperscript{97} It was written in the advertisement “Why waste money on foreign batteries”. One ornament manufacturing company of Calcutta was named ‘Swadeshi Shilpa Factory’ and it gave regular advertisements in the newspapers and magazines in the colonial period.\textsuperscript{98} Its regular and large advertisements reflected its popularity in the market of the province. One P.Das & Company, producer of vests advertised its product as ‘swadeshi ganji’.\textsuperscript{99} These examples from hundreds of such advertisement corroborate the contemporary developments of the freedom movement in the province.

The Indian National Congress owned a corner in the minds of people of the province. The congress volunteers became the hope of light for the people of the villages in different parts of the province. People thought that the Congress would bring the good days for them by driving away the British from the country. The organization of the Congress had spread to the village level. In 1926, the annual general meeting of the Indian National Congress was held at Pandu in Guwahati.
This meeting popularly known as ‘Congress Mahasabha’ brought a special awareness among the people of the province. The Kamakhya Cotton Mills Ltd. mentioned in their advertisement that it had established the Mill at the place where the Congress Mahasabha was held. This popularity of the Congress was also seen in the advertisement of the ‘Swadeshi Shilpa Factory’ of Calcutta branded a bangle as ‘Congress Churi’. Popularity of Mahatma Gandhi as a leader during India’s freedom struggle was unparalleled. People worshipped him as God in various parts of the country. This conviction about Gandhi was also reflected in the advertisements published in the Assamese newspapers and magazines of colonial period. The Bangal Salt Company gave an advertisement with a headline “Mahatma Gandhir Ashirwad Puwa” (Blessed by Mahatma Gandhi). The name of one cutlery manufacturer who advertised in Banhi was ‘Gandhi & Co’. Asom Khadi Paraisthan advertised ‘Mahatama Gandhir sausasthitam janmadinat pratisthit’ (established on the 64th birthday of Mahatma Gandhi). Like Mahatma Gandhi, Gopinath Bordoloi too had a place in the heart of the Assamese people. Especially from the fourth decade of the 20th century, he became the most prominent leader of the Congress Party as well as the freedom struggle in Assam. He became the Premier of the Province in 1938 and again in 1946. Bordoloi became very popular in the province due to his active and strong role against the Line system and Cabinet Mission Plan in the interest of the province. This popularity of Bordoloi was reflected in the advertisements of the period. The Kamrup Bank Ltd, having head office in Calcutta quoted a blessing of Bordoloi in their advertisement. Similarly
the Amingaon Restaurant quoted the opinion of Gopinath Bordoloi in their advertisement.\textsuperscript{106}

In the colonial period various associations and organizations were formed in the province of Assam. With the rise of the Assamese middle class in the second half of the nineteenth century, socio-political awareness became apparent in the society. The educated middle class formed various organizations and associations with different agendas. Some associations were formed to protect class interests. Though the advertisements can’t reflect the agenda of the associations and organizations but the existence of different organizations and associations were visible through advertisements. The Manager ‘New Press’ gave advertisements of different books in an advertisement where the Presidential Address of the \textit{Asom Kaibarta Sammelan} was also incorporated. It provides the information that \textit{Kaibarta Sammelan} (Kaibartas are considered as scheduled caste in Assam with backward socio-economic conditions) was formed before 1931. Holding of annual conference proves that it was active. In October, 1924, \textit{Assam Chatra Sammelan} gave
advertisement of ‘Milan’, its quarterly published magazine in Banhi which was published from Guwahati.107 The Assam Chatra Sanmelan was the second oldest provincial student union of India while the first was the Bihari Student’s Union. The Sanmelan played a very important role in the freedom movement.108 The advertisement was for the 3rd issue of the 2nd year which indicates the organizational strength of the Sanmelan. Another organization that gave advertisement for its quarterly published magazine was ‘Assam Musalman Chatra Sanmelan’. It gave advertisement for the third issue of its magazine ‘Sadhana’ in Banhi in April, 1925.109 This organization was relatively lesser known and the advertisement is considered important to know such organizations. Asom Jatiya Mahasabha interestingly gave advertisement for a worker who would have to work for the organization as a full timer.110 It was stated that apart from the expenditures incurred in the organizational work the worker would get a salary of Rs. 30/- per month.

Asom Mandal Kanongo Sanmelan was an organization of the persons who were working in the posts of Mandal and kanongo in the British revenue administration. Mandal and Kanongo were the names of two posts in the British revenue administration. This organization was definitely formed to protect the interests of the employees in those posts in different parts of the province. The organization was publishing a quarterly magazine of the organization. The organization gave advertisement of its quarterly published magazine ‘Gaonlia’ in Banhi in May, 1936.111 A meeting was convened by the Peons working in the British administration to form a union.112 The advertisement of the meeting was published
in *Deka Asom* on 18th December, 1938 where it was mentioned that the meeting would be held on 26th and 27th December, 1938 under the chairmanship of Omeo Kumar Das, M.L.A., to form an association of the peons, working under the British Government. Definitely this association would work to protect the interests of the peons working under the government. Another organization ‘*Asom Pragatishil Kachari Sanmelan*’ which was an organization based purely on ethnic lines published its monthly magazine ‘*Nayak*’ and advertised for its subscription. The information provided by the advertisement regarding the community based organizations like Kachari Sanmelan, Kaivarta Sanmelan, etc., prove that parallel with our struggle for independence, these organizations had continued their struggle for the upliftment of their own communities.

![Photo 4.59: Advertisement of Jatiya Mahasabha seeking employee.](image1)

![Photo 4.60: Advertisement of meeting of Government Peon Association.](image2)

The Assamese Students’ Literary Club, Calcutta (ASL Club), gave an advertisement in *Sadniya Banhi* on 15th August, 1945 to invite the public to the 77th annual meeting of the club to be held on 27th August at Indian Association Hall, Calcutta.113 It was also mentioned in the advertisement that the meeting would be presided over by Nalinibala Devi, renowned poet of Assam. Such advertisement
helps one to review the socio-cultural history of the people of Assam. This organization was formed by the early group of Assamese students who went to Calcutta for education. Those students educated in Calcutta later on formed the Assamese middle class and brought socio-political awareness to the province. Dr. Rajen Saikia has observed “Calcutta was the first school of the Assamese middle class. A learner’s sojourn in the heart of renascent Bengal was a pilgrimage, a journey from ignorance to wisdom and a mutation of the self. Calcutta gave them intellectual stimulation and strength to their moral fiber. The youth in their efforts to discover the self discovered Assam. Surely, they were the faces of hope.” The activities of the students reflected by the advertisement corroborate such analysis.

N.N. Phukan, Addl. Deputy Commissioner, Kamrup gave an advertisement on 13th September, 1945 in Deka Asom regarding the correction of voter’s list of the Assam Legislative Assembly. It was declared in the advertisement that those who wanted to enroll their names in the list should apply to the Deputy Commissioner with details of the person concerned within 29th October. After the Labour Party came to power in England, in August, 1945, preparation for the election of the Legislative Assembly was started and this correction of the voter’s list had been done probably for this. Such advertisements definitely supplement the existing knowledge.
Various important socio-political or economic events are reflected in the advertisements. This is a basic theory in advertising that any happening in the society which has impact on the people is picked up by the makers of advertisements. In colonial Assam already it has been seen that Indian Freedom Struggle and its various dimensions were covered by the advertisers. World War II was such an important event which was mentioned in the advertisements. The National Insurance Company mentioned in one of its advertisement “ami oti anandere soite ghoshona koro je ji sokole amar kompanit bima korise teoloke atirikta eko nidiyakoiye judhar bipadar subidha grahan koribo paribo” (We are happy to announce that those who have insured in our company, they would enjoy the risk coverage of the war without paying anything extra). In another advertisement the heading was “Maha samar ! Maha samar” (Great War! Great War). There were many more advertisements in the period where this mention of World War II could be observed but the most interesting advertisements in the war period were given by the Information and Broadcasting Department of the Government which helps one to understand the situation. The Government gave
huge advertisements with the photos of war. It was described in the advertisements how the Japanese had created threat to the people of this province and how the peace was disturbed. It was also described in the advertisement how the British Indian forces had ensured victory for the people bearing extra ordinary sufferance.\textsuperscript{118}

Everybody was asked to extend whole hearted support to the British Indian force. If the advertisement given by the government are analysed in the light of the existing knowledge, it becomes clear that the Government had to give those advertisements under a circumstances when on one hand Indian Freedom Struggle was going on and on the other hand Subhash Chandra Bose joined hands with Japan to liberate India from the yoke of the British. After the arrest of all prominent leaders of Congress at national and state level, the activists of the Socialist party led the people with various sabotage activities like cutting telegraph wires, dislocating railway tract etc to paralyze the Government and to create difficulties for military. INA of Subhash Chandra Bose was marching towards North East with Japanese aid. In such a situation the government was advertising in the newspapers describing the inhuman character of the Japanese. It was described in the advertisement what destructive role the Japanese had played in Mandalay in Thailand.\textsuperscript{119} It was announced in the advertisement that there was no hope for the Japanese to win. It was mentioned in the advertisement that India and the Indians were not safe as long as the Japanese were not defeated. Apparently it was an attempt on the part of the government to ensure people’s support if not at least to resist people from anti government activities. The repeated proclamation of ‘Purna Vijay’ (complete victory)\textsuperscript{120} was an attempt to dishearten the people who were the supporters of the INA or the Japanese.

An attempt was made by the government through its attractive and large
advertisements to create sympathy and support for the British Indian force. In fact such advertisements can be regarded as a very important source for understanding government effort for winning public support.

The advertisements sometimes help to understand the administrative system of the country as well. Different advertisements were published by the authorities to inform people about various things. The advertisements seem to be one of the most powerful means of communicating messages to the public. It is observed that during colonial rule the administrative bodies under local self-government like Local Boards, Municipality, and Union Board, etc., were functioning effectively. Many advertisements of public interests of such bodies of different parts of the province were published in the newspapers and magazines of colonial Assam. In such advertisements many information are found. Apart from administrative policy matters, the names of the chairman, etc., are found in such advertisement which may help in constructing the administrative history of any period.

Photo 4.62

Photo 4.63

Advertisements by the Broadcasting Department, Govt. of India on World War – II.
Thus advertisements in the print media in colonial Assam help us to understand socio-cultural and political condition of the period. Regarding the socio-cultural history of the period it is observed that the information provided by the contemporary people is the main source of history writing. In this field advertisement can supplement or complement the existing knowledge. In many cases it is observed that in this field advertisement can provide us some information which is rare otherwise. The advertisements also reflect the contemporary politics very well. The advertisement reflect the important developments in the politics at that time like the freedom struggle, rise of Assamese nationalism, formation of caste or class based organizations, entry of communism, etc. In many cases these advertisements can act as evidence of any information which is collected from sources like oral or writing of any contemporary person and in some other cases advertisements throw new light which can help one to reconstruct the history of the period.

Notes and References

1. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 22\(^{nd}\) April, 1939.
4. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 22\(^{nd}\) April, 1939.


13. Asomiya (Tindiniya), Guwahati, 3rd August, 1937.


17. Asomiya (Tindiniya), Guwahati, 3rd September, 1937.


20. Asomiya, Guwahati, 22nd April, 1939.


22. ibid.


24. The Times of Assam, Dibrugarh, 15th June, 1929.

25. Asomiya, Guwahati, 8th April, 1932.


33. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 9th December, 1939.

34. *The Times of Assam*, Dibrugarh, 15th June, 1929.

35. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 22nd April, 1939.


37. *Asomiya* (Tindiniya), Guwahati, 9th June, 1932.


42. *Deka Asom*, Guwahati, 16th May, 1939.

43. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 8th April, 1932.

44. *Ibid*.

45. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 22nd April, 1939.

47. Awahan, Calcutta, August, 1943.

48. ibid.

49. Asomiya, Guwahati, 22nd April, 1939.


51. Deka Asom, Guwahati, 16th May, 1939.

52. Asomiya, Guwahati, 9th December, 1939.

53. The Times of Assam, Dibrugarh, 15th June, 1929


55. Asomiya, Guwahati, April 27th, 1930.


57. Banhi, Guwahati, April, 1924.

58. Awahan, Calcutta, September, 1943.

59. The Times of Assam, Dibrugarh, 15th June, 1929.

60. Awahan, Calcutta, August, 1943.

61. ibid.

62. Asomiya, Guwahati, 22nd April, 1939.

63. Asomiya (Tindiniya), Guwahati, 3rd September, 1937.

64. Asomiya, Guwahati, 22nd April, 1939.

65. Asomiya, Guwahati, 29th March, 1931.


68. *Deka Asom*, Guwahati, 6th December, 1943.


71. Interview with Rishi Kumar Barua.


73. *ibid.*

74. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 22nd April, 1939.

75. *ibid.*

76. *The Times of Assam*, Dibrugarh, 15th June, 1929.

77. *ibid.*


82. *Asomiya* (Tindiniya), 3 April, 1932.

83. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 6th May, 1939.

84. *Banhi*, Calcutta, September, 1944.

85. *ibid.*


89. *ibid*.

90. *ibid*.

91. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 27th April, 1930.


93. *Asomiya* (Tindiniya), Guwahati, 16th November, 1937.

94. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 8th April, 1932.


96. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 28th December, 1930.

97. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 22nd April, 1939.

98. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 8th April, 1932.

99. *ibid*.

100. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 22nd April, 1939.


102. *Asomiya*, Guwahati, 22nd April, 1939.

103. *Banhi*, Guwahati, April, 1924.

104. *Asomiya* (Tindiniya), Guwahati, 16th October, 1932.


107. *Banhi*, Guwahati, April, 1924.


109. *Banhi*, Guwahati, April, 1924.

110. *Deka Asom*, Guwahati, 11th April, 1944.

111. *Banhi*, Guwahati, September, 1934.

112. *Deka Asom*, Guwahati, 18th December, 1938.


117. *ibid.*

