CHAPTER-VII

RYOT SABHA AND ITS RELATION WITH THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

As discussed earlier, the organisation, the movement and the activities of the Ryot Sabhas had expanded in the period after the Non Co-operation Movement and got consolidated in the post Civil Disobedience Movement in the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam. We have also analysed in the previous chapter about the nature and functions of the Ryot Sabha which contributed to establishing a larger democratic front of the peasantry as a whole on one hand and included other sections of the people as well on the other hand. One of the main-springs of the Ryot Sabha's strength was that it was able to establish a sense of awareness, courage and confidence in the minds of the peasantry.

However, as Mridula Mukherjee has rightly pointed out “the political map of the 20th century colonial India by the peasant and national movements was linked to the fact that in most part of the country it was the anti-imperialist movement that created the initial political space in which peasant movement emerged”.¹ Thus, in Assam too, it was from 1918 onwards, that the peasantry actively began to participate in the national movement and the real historical relationship between the two evolved.² Hence, if the emergence of peasantry can be said to have made a qualitative leap forward in the Non Co-operation period, then in the post Non Co-operation period, it reached its most

² We have discussed in the Chapter IV and V.
mature phase leading to strong organisations all over the country. In this context, N.G. Ranga, one of the participants of the national movement observes,

"The modern peasant movement was initiated by M.K. Gandhi when he rushed and dragged our peasants into political life. It was his great Non-Co-Operation movement which engulfed our masses into political activity. It has his no-tax campaign which helped our peasant masses to its economic possibilities, in terms of their day to day life and which opened their eyes to understand the significance of political action. For the first time in modern India's political history, it was M.K. Gandhi who made the no-tax campaign the chief political instrument; the peasants, the premier political force and the village and rural areas the greatest breeding places for revolution. Ever since, through all the vicissitudes of our national revolution, our peasants have been helped by M.K. Gandhi and various sections of congressmen by whatever additional names they had come to call themselves, to remain in the centre of our revolutionary efforts, and to prove to the very heart of India's struggle for freedom. The 1942 movement has once again demonstrated how M.K. Gandhi's faith in peasants has been fully justified and also how peasants have grown to be the principal revolutionary force in India".3

In fact, the intimate links between the peasant and the national movement became clear when "we recall that a vast majority of political activists who later gravitated towards the left and were active in the Kisan Sabha movement in the 1930s and even 1940s not only emerged out of one or other stream of the anti-imperialist movement but continued for long years to be simultaneously leaders of the peasant movement and the national movement, members of the Communists or other left groups and the Congress".4 Regarding the importance of the peasantry and their role, Bipan Chandra

3N.G. Ranga, Presidential Address, All India Kisan Congress Papers, 10th Session, 22/11/1946, NAI, New Delhi.
4Mridula Mukherjee, op. cit., p.338.
is of the opinion that,

"Without large scale, effective mass peasant participation, the nationalist movement could at no stage go beyond the strategy of pressure – compromise – pressure or -p-c-p and often found it difficult to implement even this strategy by bringing enough pressure to bear upon the government".⁵

We have stated in the previous chapters that the peasantry of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam did not lag behind in the early Nationalist Movements like Non Co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movement of India. Consequently, a large group of devoted and dedicated nationalist workers had emerged and worked regularly for the Congress through constructive activities and propagandas. One of the striking features during the period was that various grass-root level local Ryot Sabhas had sprung up and agitated on the local issues like land revenue reduction, distribution of agricultural loans, the abolition of cart tax and the like. Although, the local Ryot Sabhas agitated on the local issues, nevertheless, they were quite aware of the happenings outside Assam. Gradually these local Ryot Sabhas were organised and ground was prepared for the foundation of the All Assom Ryot Sabha held in 1933 at Jorhat in the Sibsagar district of the Brahmaputra Valley. Since then, the Ryot Sabha became a solid based regional organisation widely popular among the rural population. In fact, the Ryot Sabhas were successful in inspiring and enthusing the ryots and mobilising them against the anti-agrarian policy and other socio-economic injustices of the colonial government. In this context, it will be interesting to assess the relation of the Ryot Sabha with the Nationalist Movement in the Sibsagar District because this district played the most significant role in the emergence of the Ryot Sabhas in the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam.

We have discussed in the chapter(IV) that the launching of the Non Co-operation Movement in 1921 generated a real political consciousness in the Sibsagar District.⁶

⁵ Bipan Chandra, Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India, New Delhi, 1979, p.353.
⁶ See Chapter V.
Here also, like other parts of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam, it was the students’ Community that mobilised the rural people in such a way that rural people came to the path of the Nationalist Movement from the remote places of the district in an unprecedented manner. It was due to their attempt that the no-tax campaign, anti-opium and boycott programmes became a popular part of the anti-Colonial agitations. As a result, ryots of Sibsagar district got a first hand experience of the Nationalist Movement.

On the basis of this background, in the post Non Co-operation Movement Period, we see that the nationalist leadership increasingly felt that the struggle for swaraj could be successful only if the peasants were mobilised. In the meantime, the impact of the World Wide Economic Depression found expression in the Brahmaputra Valley as well through the decline in the collection of land revenue during the period from 1930-31 to 1938-39. For instance, “the percentage of total collection in the Assam Valley was 78% in 1930-31 and 67% in 1931-32 which was against the collection of 97% of the total land revenue demand in the year 1928-29”. The collection came down to 61% in 1934-35. However, there was a small recovery in the years that followed but it never reached the figure of the pre-depression days. In fact, the period of Economic Depression was dominated by peasant discontentment and unrest. The peasantry in different parts of the province already raised their voice against the proposed unjust increase of land revenue. Particularly from the late twenties of the 20th century, the protest of the peasants took the shape of an organised movement in Sibsagar district. Meanwhile, Civil Disobedience Movement began on 26th January, 1930 and 11 points charter announced by Gandhi in 1931, where the demand of 50% reduction of land revenue was included. In Sibsagar District, the Ryot Sabhas began to mobilise the ryots against the colonial government. In order to establish the Ryot Sabha’s relation with the Nationalist Movement in this district, the following statistical

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8 Ibid, 1939-40.

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data gives a clear picture of rural and urban population in 1931 and 1941.9

Table 7.1

Rural and Urban Population in Sibsagar District 1931 & 1941

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>9.33.3.26</td>
<td>9.10.151</td>
<td>97.5</td>
<td>23.175</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>1.040.428</td>
<td>10.12.299</td>
<td>97.3</td>
<td>28.129</td>
<td>2.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is apparent from the above table that in 1931 and 1941 the majority of the population including the tea garden labourers belong to the rural population in this District, whereas slight in the urban areas. From that point of view, we may draw a stronghold and the existence of local *Ryot Sabhas* in the Sibsagar District.

However, the main items upon which the Civil Disobedience Movement was inaugurated was boycott and striking at the source of government revenue. In fact, the incapacity of the *ryots* to pay revenue forced them automatically to start tax campaigns. In this context, the local *Ryot Sabhas* of this district played a significant role in mobilising the public opinion and protest against the proposed enhancement of revenue. For instance, the Baligaon *Mauza Ryot Sabha* which was held under the presidency of Chandra Dhar Baruah at Chengeliati, boldly appealed to the *ryots* not to give enhanced tax to the government.10 In this *Ryot Sabha*, the *ryots* of Baligaon, Parvatia and Hajari gaon participated enthusiastically. Another *Ryot Sabha* was held at Silakuti on 20th May, 1932 and Dularam Gogoi presided over it.11 During the period of 1930, the Silakuti

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10 *Asomiya*, 29 April, 1932.
11 *Asomiya*, 20 May, 1932.
region was affected by heavy floods and the condition of the rural people became deplorable. Hence, in the presidential address, Gogoi urged the *ryots* to stand against the colonial government.  

Similarly, the Bosapathar *Ryot Sabha* which was presided over by Kamala Miri, referred to the deplorable condition of the *ryots*, oppressive taxation and indifferent attitude of government towards the *ryots*.  

The Meleng *Ryot Sabha* which was presided over by Podmeswar Goswami, expressed the view that government did not improve the condition of the land, but only increased the revenue.  

The Sabha resolved not to give enhanced land revenue and appealed to the government to reduce it to 8(eight) *annas*.  

In the same way, the Chinatoli *Ryot Sabha* held on 3rd September, 1932 presided over by Kedar Nath Hazarika, also boldly demanded the reduction of land revenue.  

The other organisers of this *Ryot Sabha* were Punadhar Hazarika, Tarak Saikia, Nitya Bora and Bogai Saikia who spoke about the exploitative government policy and appealed to the *ryots* to unite against them.  

Subsequently, frequent local *Ryot Sabhas* were held in the places of entire district like Buruk Baruah of Titabor, Simaluguri, Konwarpur, Kaliyani, Kakadunga, Mahura Mukha, Borholla, Misamora, Rangamati, Ghiladhari, Morangi, Dhakhin Hengara, Athagaon and others.  

These *Ryot Sabhas* boldly criticised the government enhancement of land revenue.  

In fact, these village to village and *Mauza* to *Mauza* *Ryot Sabha* meetings in this district brought a new vigour among the rural population for their own grievances against the colonial government in the wake of Civil Disobedience Movement.

To cut the source of excise revenue here was another item of the Civil Disobedience Movement in the Brahmaputra Valley. In the the Sibsagar district also, the local *Ryot Sabhas* had contributed to a considerable extent in mobilising the grass root level *ryots* against this evil system. The *Ryot Sabhas* not only picketed, but processions were also organised before the shops of exciseable articles. The frequent *Ryot Sabhas* held at Meleng under the Presidency of Podmeswar Goswami, Teok *Ryot Sabha* under Mahadev Sarma, All Charigaon *Ryot Sabha* under Lakheswar Baruah,

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12 *ibid.*
13 *Asomiya*, 1 July, 1932.
14 *Asomiya*, 26 August, 1932.
15 *ibid.*
16 *Asomiya*, 30 September, 1932.
17 *ibid.*
18 *Asomiya*, 9 September, 14 October, 21 October, 18 November, 23 December, 1932.
19 *ibid.*
Kumarbari Miri gaon *Ryot Sabha* under Radha Nath Hazarika, Second Majuli *Ryot Sabha* under Kamal Kakoti, Hulungapara *Ryot Sabha* under Tuleswar Ali, *Zilla Ryot Sabha* at Chinatoni of Golaghat and others strongly propagated from village to Village, *ryot* to *ryot* and became a powerful weapon against the government. Anti-drug procession was launched by Jhanji *Ryot Sabha* for which the *ryot* leaders like Phatik Chandra Bhuyan, Purna Saikia, Ram Charan Dutta, Asoli Gogoi, Dimbeswar Chutia and Purna Phukon were arrested by Amguri Police. Similar picketing was carried out before excise shops of Golaghat and Podmeswar Deka of Chinatoli *Ryot Sabha* was arrested. Besides, the district *Ryot Sabha* held at Jorhat had urged total prohibition of opium in Assam by giving 6 months' notice to the consumers.

It was during this phase, the *Ryot Sabhas* of this District responded to the Nationalist call against the foreign cloths and goods. For instance, the Jorhat Dhekiakhuwa *Ryot Sabha* which was presided over by Datta Dev Goswami appealed to the *ryots* to boycott foreign cloths and to take to spinning and use of home-made cloth. Another *Ryot Sabha* in which Kuladhar Chaliha was the president urged the *ryots* not to use foreign cloths. The *Ryot Sabha* held at Bor Khongia gaon not only advocated for the boycott of foreign cloths and goods, but also undertook the agitation programmes in the local areas. Not only that, this *Ryot Sabha* warned the local businessmen not to sell foreign cloths. In this context, All India Congress Committee Papers reported that the Movement was very intense in the Sibsagar district and it was carried out local by the *Ryot Sabhas* successfully. Pitambor Dev Goswami presided over by the *Ryot Sabhas* held at the places of Gayan gaon, Sapori and Miri gaon at Majuli and advocated gospel of Gandhi emphasizing the boycott of the foreign goods. In these *Ryot Sabhas*, Goswami also advocated the very concept of Swaraj. In order

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23 See Appendix-B.
24 *Asomiya*, 20 April, 1930.
25 *Asomiya*, 27 August, 1930.
26 ibid.
27 ibid.
28 *All India Congress Committee Papers*, file No 16/1934-35, Nehru Memorial Museum Library, New Delhi, p.305.
29 *Asomiya*, 10 February, 1933.
30 ibid.
to have *swaraj*, he taught the *ryots* to be self dependent.  

31 Subsequently, the *Ryot Sabhas* held at Charigaon, Karanga, Amguri, Teok, Chaukhat, Hulungapara and even *All Asom Ryot Sabha* of Tilikiam at Jorhat and others boldly asserted against the foreign cloths.  

32 In fact, the local *Ryot Sabhas* were able to foster political awareness among the rural population in this district. Likewise, the role of the local *Ryot Sabhas* of this district in the untouchability Movement was also significant. We have discussed this in details in the previous chapter and from it we can draw that *Ryot Sabhas* of Sibsagar district extended major contribution in this regard.  

33 In addition to these, the *Ryot Sabhas* of this district rendered numerous local activities. For instance, Pakamuwa *Ryot Sabha* which was held under the presidency of Pitambor Dev Goswami raised demands like the establishment of Sub-Deputy Collector circle at Jorhat, a hospital, compulsory spinning and agricultural education in the schools and other educational institutions.  

34 Similarly, Surendranath Buragohain who presided over the Baligaon *Ryot Sabha* resolved to re-construct the only way across through Baligaon.

Thus, it is evident from the above that the local *Ryot Sabhas* in the Sibsagar District made their permanent foot prints through their services in the field of campaign against high taxes, untouchability, foreign goods and the anti-liquor agitations. In fact, the active participation of *ryots* through *Ryot Sabhas* in those aspects not only contributed to establish a link, but also mobilised them to strengthen the Nationalist Movement. In the Civil Disobedience Movement, we have seen two aspects. The first aspect was that various local *Ryot Sabhas* emerged in the Sibsagar District and secondly, their agitational character in the above mentioned issues. However, during the Civil Dis-obedience Movement, the local *Ryot Sabhas* were able to grow strong national consciousness among the rural population on one hand and contributed to the emergence of promising rural youth leaders on the other hand in this district.

The third phase was the Quit India Movement. But question would arise, how

31 *ibid.*

32 *Asomiya*, 27 January, 3 February, 17 February, 24 February, 8 April, 23 October, 1933.

33 We have analysed in the Chapter VI.

34 *Asomiya*, 3 June, 1939.

far the *Ryot Sabhas* of Sibsagar District was related with this Movement? We have discussed that the pertinent demand and agitation of *Ryot Sabhas* were the reduction of land revenue and taxes to 8(eight) *annas* per rupee. But, the active involvement of the Assamese educated intelligencia and local Congressmen not only led the *Ryot Sabhas*, but also mobilised them in such a way that they may play a decisive role in the future course of liberation Movement. In fact, the frequent annual sessions of the *Ryot Sabhas* and speeches of the Presidents, Secretaries and organisers showed the *ryots* not only the way of socio-economic agitation but also taught the *ryots* how to work for political emancipation against the Colonial government. Consequently, large scale participation of the rural people of the Brahmaputra Valley particularly in the Sibsagar District in the local *Ryot Sabhas* began to attain a new degree of peasant nationalism. Thus, the local *Ryot Sabhas* in this district had played significant role in the Quit India Movement. We have discussed below the relation of the *Ryot Sabhas* in the Quit India Movement.

The year 1942 was marked by strenuous political activities in Britain as well as India. Internationally, the Second World War had taken an ominous turn for the allied powers. The entry of Japan and her aggressive policy towards India from the east was a great threat. The demand of the Indian National Congress for a national government at the centre evoked a countrywide response, but it was ignored by the British Government. The Cripps proposal, instead of solving the constitutional deadlock further complicated the situation with the result that the political situation in India became highly explosive. At this critical hour, India threw an open challenge to the British imperial position by asking the British to quit this country. In this context, Rajendra Prasad puts it, ‘to resist whoever wanted to dominate India, whether it be Britain or Japanese’. Hence, the time for decisive action had come and it was essential that people of India should be made ready for it.

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36 See Chapter VI.
37 We have discussed the nature of organisation of *Ryot Sabhas* in the Chapter VI.
On the 7th August, 1942, the All India Congress Committee met in Bombay and considered the resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee and finally adopted on 8th August, by an overwhelming majority the quit India resolution. Gandhi, in this juncture made an appeal to the people and said, ‘Everyone of you would, from this movement onwards, consider yourself a free man or women and act as if you are free and no longer under the heels of this imperialism’. Gandhi also announced, ‘Here is a mantra, a short one, that I give you, you may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The mantra is: Do or die. We shall either free India or die in the attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery. Every true congressman or woman will join the struggle with an inflexible determination not to remain alive to see the country bondage and slavery. Let that be your pledge’.  

The news of the arrests of M.K. Gandhi, Rajendra Prasad and other leaders created great excitement amongst the people of whole of the country. In Assam, ‘Md. Tayebullah, President of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Bishnuram Nandi, Debeswar Sarma, the Chief whip of the Congress, Dr. Harekrishna Das, Lilla Baruah and some others were arrested on the 9th August, 1942’. This was followed by “the arrest of Gopinath Bordoloi and Siddhinath Sarma who had gone to Bombay to attend the All India Congress Committee meeting on their return to Assam at Dhubri”.

Consequently, the news of these arrest electrified the rural area of the entire Sibsagar district and ultimately paved the way in inspiring the rural people to jump into the fray.

In order to proceed, organise of the ryots and control the movement, Congress camps were established in almost all the main centres of the entire district like ‘Pakamura, Tilikiam, Simaluguri, Selenghat, Mariani, Titabor, Barbam, Chungi, Baligaon and Garamur of Majuli’. Apart from it, Sangram Parishads (war councils), Santi

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40 All India Congress Committee Papers, file No 31/31/42, NAI, New Delhi.
41 ibid.
42 History of Freedom Movement Papers, Assam Unit, 12/3 to 28/3 (Henceforth H.F.M.), NAI, New Delhi.
43 ibid.
Bahini, Mukti Bahini, Mrityu Bahini (Death Squads) and village panchayats came to be established in the entire district. In fact, these grass root level organisations became an integral part of the local Ryot Sabhas in the Quit India Movement in this district.

In the meantime, the government of Assam declared the Assam Pradesh Congress committee, District Congress, Ryot Sabhas, the Santi Sena as unlawful bodies. Besides, meetings, hartals, processions, assembly of persons were also strictly prohibited. But, in spite of all these, the preparation of the '42 movement went on in full swing. At Jorhat, 'young students like Jogen Saikia, Trailokyanath Sarma and Charu Goswami after radio arranged picketing'. First of all, the students organised a meeting in the court field in front of Jagannath Barooah College in which Trailokyanath Sarma presided. Then, a historic procession was arranged from Rohini Kanta Hatibarua Congress Bhawan at Jorhat town, led by Harinarayan Baruah as the president of the Jorhat District Congress Committee, Sasodhar Malia Baruah and Sarbeswar Bordoloi. Similarly, the Jorhat student convention held on 16th August, served a notice to the district authority demanding the withdrawal of military from educational institutions within six days and urged the release of political prisoners and warned that otherwise agitation would be launched. Besides, students above 16 years of age were permitted to take part in the agitational programmes. They were also made aware that a two month period of study might have to be sacrificed for the country. During this phase, the students of J.B. College and schools of Jorhat also along with others participated in the picketing and boycott of educational institutions. Simultaneously, anti-Japanese propaganda was carried out by the Students’ Patriotic Propaganda (SPPS) and at Jorhat the SPPS completed twenty three days tour of the surrounding villages performing various programmes aiming at arousing nationalistic feeling among the rural people.

45 Assam Provincial Committee Papers, file No 85, 1942.
46 H.F.M. Papers, op.cit.
48 ibid.
49 ibid.
51 ibid.
52 Shiela Bora, Student Revolution in Assam 1917-1947, New Delhi, 1992, pp.147-148.
In a public meeting held at Jorhat with Pitambor Dev Goswami in the chair, the Satradhikar of Garamur Satra, Majuli declared the programmes of the Quit India Movement.\textsuperscript{53} In order to execute the programme, a war committee was formed with Krishna Nath Sarma as president, and Kumudeswar Bora, Upen Rajkhowa, Suren Bharali, Jogen Saikia, Trailokyanath Sarma and Ajit Sarma as members.\textsuperscript{54} The sole aim of this committee was to stop the British war efforts. The members of the student organisation and some others were in favour of using means fair or foul to check British War efforts as wished by some leaders in Jorhat Jail. But Krishna Sarmah, a true Gandhiite was against use of violent means like destruction of bridges, railways etc. to paralyse supply of soldiers and war materials. However, ‘the youth members decided to send Kamaleswar Gogoi of Cheleng of Teok to the Kamakhya Camp of revolutionaries. He returned after training in use of some explosive materials.\textsuperscript{55} In another instance, ‘Upen Rajkhowa procured some tools from a factory at Gar-Ali, Jorhat and Bhuban Handique of Titabor brought them to Titabor to destroy a railway bridge’.\textsuperscript{56} Gopal Bora, an employee of Prince of Wales institute of Jorhat with the help of Bhubon Handique and Konram Kachari acted upon the plan, but couldn’t finish the work.\textsuperscript{57} Of course, they succeeded to halt the goods, train for thirty one hours. It was due to this incident, Jogen Saikia and Hem Baruah were arrested on their way to Dhekiajuli in Titabor.\textsuperscript{58} Although Krishna Nath Sarmah was also with them, but he was left free.\textsuperscript{59} Hereafter, some leaders went into underground activities. Aruna Asaf Ali, the famous Indian leader along with Sankar Chandra Baruah, a leading underground leader from Golaghat visited Jorhat and discussed about revolutionary activities.\textsuperscript{60} Against this background, the local Ryot Sabhas were organised in the Quit Indian Movement.

The direct confrontation with the government forces began in this district at Jorhat on 5\textsuperscript{th} September. Rural people from the respective Ryot Sabhas from Teok, Simaluguri, Hulungapara, Nakachari, Hatigarh, Chaukhat, Sarucharai, Parvatia, Saraibahi,

\begin{itemize}
\item[54] Home Political, \textit{ibid.}\textsuperscript{54}
\item[55] \textit{ibid.}\textsuperscript{55}
\item[56] \textit{ibid.}\textsuperscript{56}
\item[57] \textit{ibid.}\textsuperscript{57}
\item[58] \textit{ibid.}\textsuperscript{58}
\item[59] Debeswar Doloi and Tileswar Bardoloi (eds), \textit{op. cit.}, p.76.
\item[60] \textit{ibid.}\textsuperscript{60}
\end{itemize}
Khangia, Baligaon, Charigaon, Hazari, Kamalabari and Garamur came in batches to join the picketing. Arrest of the picketers were also going on. A temporary jail was established at Jorhat Court since the permanent jail was already filled with political prisoners. Gradually, the situation so worsened that police was ready to fire after failing to disperse the picketers by lathi-charge. Sarbeswar Bordoloi, an eye witness and a freedom fighter writes, ‘thousands of people basically from rural areas of Jorhat joined in this movement’. Sarbeswar Bordoloi was the secretary of Pakamuwa Ryot Sabha. The movement reached its zenith while the picketers started picketing the government office. Dinesh Dutta, S.P, was responsible for brutal assaults on the picketers. During these critical hours, Harinarayan Baruah boldly addressing the gathering of masses said, “we are ready from all sides, we are prepared to blow out the central government offices, the courts and so forth, three persons should not assemble together, we also prepare daily routine of activities”. Harinarayan Baruah who was the leading organisers of Teok Puthi Noi Dalang Ryot Sabha, was arrested along with Rabin Kakati, Bimala Prasad Chaliha of Sibsagar and Rajendranath Baruah of Golaghat. Sankar Chandra Baruah and Sarbeswar Baruah avoided arrest. Not only that, police locked the Congress offices and seized the documents found there.

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61 Assam Police Abstract Intelligence Report (Henceforth APAI), file no, 287, 1942-43.
62 ibid.
63 Sarbeswar Bordoloi, op.cit., pp.57-58.
64 Home Political, file No, 137,1936, op.cit.
65 Sarbeswar Bordoloi, op.cit., pp.57-58.
66 ibid.
68 Sarbeswar Bordoloi, op.cit., pp.57-58.
69 ibid.,pp.57-58.
Secretary of All *Asom Ryot Sabha*, allotted the responsibility to the local leaders of different *Mauzas* of Jorhat. The distribution is shown in the following Table.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Mauza</th>
<th>Name of the Local Leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Majuli</td>
<td>Uma Ram Saikia and Deu Ram Saikia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khangia, Parbata and Sarucharai</td>
<td>Sarbeswar Bordoloi and Kripal Chandra Sarma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titabor, Anguri, Kharikatia</td>
<td>Bhuban Handique and Bhubon Baruah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charigaon</td>
<td>Lakheswar Baruah and Gopal Chandra Dutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charabahi, Katori</td>
<td>Gunakanta Baruah, Bonshidhar Sarma and Thireswar Bordoloi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baligaon</td>
<td>Murudidhar Baruah and Gundadhar Borpatoky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatigarh, Choukhat, Kakajan</td>
<td>Sosodhar Malai Baruah, Podmeswar Goswami and Hari Nath Baruah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiok</td>
<td>Hari Nath Baruah and Kumud Chandra Bora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simaluguri</td>
<td>Rameswar Bhattacheriya and Rosheswar Rajkhowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setenghat</td>
<td>Hem Nath Phukon, Khageswar Gogoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakachari</td>
<td>Dayaram Hazarika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holungapara, Kakojan</td>
<td>Moheshwar Borpatoky and Soniram Dulakharia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariani</td>
<td>Rameswar Cheta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thengal</td>
<td>Mohan Chandra Goswami and Tileswar Gogoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borholla</td>
<td>Rupeswar Pathak, Ram Chandra Sonowal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The leaders shown in the above table were the organiser of respective local *Ryot Sabhas*. For instance, Uma Ram Saikia and Deu Ram Saikia represented from Majuli *Anchalik Ryot Sabha*. Similarly, Sarbeswar Bordoloi was Secretary of Pakamua *Ryot Sabha*, while Kripal Chandra Sarma was the one of the leading organisers of the *Ryot Sabhas* held at Parbatia and Sarucharai. Likewise, Bhuban Handique and Bhubon Baruah, both were the leading organisers of Buruk Baruah *Ryot Sabha*. Lakheswar Baruah and Gopal Chandra Dutta represented from All Charigaon *Ryot Sabha*. Lakheswar Baruah was also the president of the reception committee of the said *Ryot Sabha*. Gunakanta Baruah was one of the active members of Karanga *Ryot Sabha* of South Jorhat. In the same way, Bonshidhar Sarma and Thireswar...

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70 ibid., pp.67-68.
71 We have discussed in the Chapter V.
72 *Asomiya*, 17 February, 1933.
73 Home Political, file No, 137, 1936, op. cit.
74 *Asomiya*, 29 April, 1932.
75 *Asomiya*, 19 September, 1932.
76 *Asomiya*, 27 January, 1933.
77 ibid.
78 *Asomiya*, 3 February, 1933.
Bordoloi were the active organisers of Charaibari Mauza *Ryot Sabha*. Murulidhar Baruah and Gangadhar Borkakoty represented from Baligaon *Ryot Sabha*. Like wise, Sosodhar Malia Baruah, Podmeswar Goswami and Hari Nath Baruah not only presid ed the *Ryot Sabhas* held at Hatigarth, Chaukhat, Kakojan and Teok, but also contributed in mobilising the rural people through *Ryot Sabhas*. In fact, the places mentioned in above table like Simaluguri, Selenghat, Nakachari, Hulungapara, Mariani, Thengal and Borhulla were strong ground of *Ryot Sabha* activites. For this reason, the entrusted leaders emerged in the local areas through *Ryot Sabha*.

The progress of the movement and the involvement of the rural people through *Ryot Sabhas* became more and more acute. As a result, at Chaukhat Mauza to the east of Jorhat, *ryot* leaders like Sasadhar Malia Baruah, Tipeswar Baruah, Podmeswar Goswami, Sarat Chandra Goswami, Dhaniram Saikia, Haripada Kalita, Tippleswar Barmedhi and others staged picketing in front of the Jorhat Court. The police arrested all of them. Some of them were kept in court premises for the night, where as some others were left in forests near Mariani or at Kaziranga.

Teok was one of the important stronghold of the *Ryot Sabhas* activities and they played significant role in the Quit India Movement. On 27th September, a historic procession consisting of about two thousand persons including two hundred women was proceeding along the Assam Trunk Road and was to pass by the *Thana*. S.I. Hem Rajkhowa with his police force took his stand on a strategic point on the Teok bridge and obstructed the processionists who did not pay any heed to his orders. Thereupon, followed lathy and bayonet charges, the girls and women folk being the first victims. As a result, Ratneswari Devi, Nanibala Saikia, Umakanti Rai Barua were charged with bayonets and were severely injured. These three women were the leaders of the Meleng *Ryot Sabha*. But, the demonstrators were not silent till one Aitila Bora

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80 *Asomiya*, 9 March, 1935.
81 *Asomiya*, 24 February, 1933, Home Political file No, 137,1936, *op.cit.*
82 *APAI*, file No 287, 1942, *op.cit.*
83 Our interview with Tileswar Bordoloi, Freedom fighter, Tarajan, Jorhat, 15/03/2004, see Appendix-F.
84 *H.F.M. Papers*, *op.cit.*
85 *ibid.*
86 *ibid.*
87 *Asomiya*, 24 February, 1933.
courageously hoisted the Congress flag inside the Thana Campus. Aitila Bora was the member of the Teok Jagaduar Ryot Sabha. Apart from it, the following other ryots received severe injuries.

1. Kanakeswar Bhuyan (He received injuries on the head)
2. Bishnuram Chutia
3. Nilanath Sarma
4. Dulal Chandra Rai Baruah
5. Hiranath Baruah

In this historic incident, Sasodhar Malia Barua was manhandled by the police.

Likewise, ryots of Titabor were always inspired by Bahadur Goanburha to join the '42 movement. After the declaration of 8th August, the Titabor weekly market was boycotted, in its place, a new market was opened near present sericulture farm by the people. Following the direction of Jorhat District Congress Committee about five hundred ryots from Thengal, Amguri and Kharikatia under the leadership of Rupeswar Pathak, Bhubon Handique and Mchan Chandra Goswami of Konchapor Satra, ryots from Borholla, Raja Bahar, Birinasek, Kasukhat, Ranjan, Ratanpur, Dhekiajuli assembled at Jalukanibari near Titabor. In this mob, Rupeswar Pathak, Mchan Gogoi, Bhadreswar Buragohain and others promised to hoist the independence flag at the Jorhat court risking their life. Their procession started and on the way to Jorhat town at a distance about 15 Kilometre, hundred others joined it. They assembled at the district Congress office. A meeting was held where more than fifteen hundred people gathered. Later, it was decided to organise picketing at Jorhat court. Accordingly, the picketing at Jorhat court was started. But police resorted to lathi charge on picketers without any provocation. They picked up some of the picketers in a truck took them to distant

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88 H.F.M. Papers, op.cit.
89 Asomiya, 24 February, 1933, op.cit.
90 H.F.M. Papers, op.cit.
91 Home Political, file no, 207, 1942, op.cit.
92 APAI, file no, 287, 1942, op.cit. Debeswar Dolo and Tileswar Bardoloi(eds), op.cit., pp.85-86
93 APAI, ibid.
94 Debeswar Dolo and Tileswar Bardoloi(eds), op.cit., p.86.
forests and left them alone there. Konram Saikia of Thengal was hurt on the head.\textsuperscript{95}

It was during this period, the \textit{ryots} of Majuli spontaneously came forward to participate. At Majuli, Pitambor Dev Goswami, the \textit{Satradhikar} of the Garamur \textit{Satra} and one of the Chief architects and image of the \textit{Ryot Sabhas} in this District with the help of his deputy Krishna Chandra Dev Goswami, the Deka \textit{Satradhikar}, organised grand meeting and appealed to the \textit{ryots} to support the Quit India Movement.\textsuperscript{96} He not only asked the people to stop supply of goods to the government servants, but also urged to launch no tax campaign, to snatch away political prisoners from police custody, to seize and destroy official records and government vehicles.\textsuperscript{97} Towards the later part of 1942 when most of the Congress leaders were in jail, the Garamur \textit{Satradhikar} came to Jorhat and led the movement there. But, the government on 9\textsuperscript{th} October, imposed restrictions on the \textit{Satradhikar}'s movements confining him to his own \textit{Satra}.\textsuperscript{98} In spite of it, he continued the movement with the help of his deputy Krishna Chandra Dev Goswami The government, therefore, wanted to arrest him; but they hesitated, because, the Chief Secretary, Assam wrote to the Home Secretary, Government of India, ‘the \textit{Satradhikar}'s detention might have profound and adverse effect upon his disciples and Assamese Hindu generally’.\textsuperscript{99} However, his residence was searched and police confiscated a few Manuscripts. The \textit{Satradhikar} was also suspected on a ‘political Gun theft case’ as a gun was discovered near his \textit{Satra}.\textsuperscript{100} In this context, the police also reported that Surendranath Bharali of Jorhat, who formed the war council of Congress and Kumud Bora of Teok frequently visited the \textit{Satra}.\textsuperscript{101} Later on, the government, therefore, proposed to send the \textit{Satradhikar} to distant Indore as a political detune. However, he was finally detained at Jorhat Jail for two years under Defense of India rule.\textsuperscript{102} The Deka \textit{Satradhikar} was also under detention on 12\textsuperscript{th} November under the same rule.\textsuperscript{103} Inspired by Pitambor Dev Goswami, at Majuli, Kesab Ram Bora, Kamal Chandra Kakoty, Umaram Saikia, Khogen Bhuyan, Bidya

\textsuperscript{95} ibid.
\textsuperscript{96} Home Political, file No, 326, 1942-43.
\textsuperscript{97} ibid.
\textsuperscript{98} Home Political, file No, 18/10/1942, F.R, Assam first half October.
\textsuperscript{99} Home Political, file No, 44/26/1943.
\textsuperscript{100} ibid.
\textsuperscript{101} ibid.
\textsuperscript{102} ibid.
\textsuperscript{103} ibid.
Baruah, Manik Hazarika, Gangaram Chamua, Puwan Chandra Hazarika, Indreswar Dutta, Mukti Goswami, Bogaram Kakoty, Betharam Borah, Bapuram Kakoty, Ramakanta Misra, Dharmeswari Kakoti and others actively involved in the movement. In addition to them, Indreswar Bhuyan during our interview remarks, ‘In course of the movement, Boga Kakoty, Uma Ram Saikia, Gangadhar Chamua, Thagi Ram Bhuyan, Tipeswar Katoni, Khogen Bhuyan, Bishturam Baruah and Bonshidhar Dutta from Kerela gaon Ryot Sabha, Kamalabari Ryot Sabha and Salmora Ryot Sabha were arrested in various incident and sent to the Jail’.105

Under these circumstances and even in heavy repression, Ryot Sabhas celebrated various socio-religious functions to get organised. Thus, since 25th September, there started observance of Gandhi Jayanti with traditional rituals and prayers in the Namghar along with shouting slogan of Bande-Mataram. With the coming of the dawn on 2nd October, the birth day of Gandhi was observed at Jorhat in a festive mood and enthusiasm. In fact, the shouting of slogans and assembly of the ryots once again revived their revolutionary zeal. During this period, a procession was carried out through Jorhat town under the leadership of Krishna Nath Sarmah. But, the procession was inhumanly lathi charged by the armed police of the government.107 In protest of this, the local Ryot Sabhas of Saruchari, Tilikiam, Parbatia, Khangia, Pacca Mura, Charigaon, Panichakua and others launched agitation shouting the slogan Gandhi Ki Jai, Swadhin Bharator Jai and the like.108

In the southern part of Jorhat, inspired by Rohini Kanta Hatibaruah, ryots through local Ryot Sabha came forward and participated under the leadership of Mohan Chandra Mahanta (Mahanta was also the Secretary of All Asom Ryot Sabha). In this region, peasant freedom fighters like Guna Kanta Baruah, Malbhog Sarma, Sida Hazarika, Bali Ram Borah, Gangadhar Dutta, Boga Ram Gogo, Hiteswar Neog, Kunteswari Dutta,

104 Debeswar Doloi and Tileswar Bardoloi(eds), op. cit., pp. 104-105.
105 Our interview with Indreswar Bhuyan, freedom Fighter, Garamur, Majuli on 28/03/2005, see Appendix-H.
106 Sarbeswar Bardoloi, op. cit., p. 70.
107 Ibid., pp.70-71.
109 APAI, file No 287, 1942, op. cit., Our interview with Hiteswar Neog, freedom fighter, Karanga, South Jorhat on 28/2/05, see Appendix-G.
Radhanath Mahanta from Raidung Kamar gaon Ryot Sabha, Baruah gaon Ryot Sabha, Rangajan Ryot Sabha participated in the movement and many of them were thrown into Jail. Likewise, Arjun Singh Ghatowar who was a tea garden worker of Cinamara and also organiser of Toklai Ryot Sabha was imprisoned for several months. Debakanta Baruah and Sankar Chandra Baruah, one of prominent leaders of the movement and leading organisers of the Ryot Sabhas in the Golaghat area secretly took shelter at the house of Bogaram Gogoi of Katoni pargaoon of Karanga. Likewise, Deban Nath, a leading Ryot Sabha’s leader of Charing, Sibsagar also took shelter in the Katoni gaon avoiding arrest in the critical juncture of the movement. Similarly, the villagers of Sonowal, Mariani, Nakachari lent support in the movement through their Ryot Sabhas and the National flag was hoisted near Bosagaon Namghar of Mariani.

As part of the movement, in Sibsagar area, the Quit India Movement had acquired a new character in the neighbouring rural areas through Ryot Sabhas. Accordingly, a procession was taken out at Nitaiphukhuri Hat (Market) in which the armed police forces under the leadership of Inspector Kula Gogoi let loose an inhuman lathi-charge. In this lathi-charge, Ryot leaders like Thaneshwar Dutta, Bhupendra Dutta, Boloram Baruah, Nomal Chutia, Hari Prasad Adyapak, Ananta Dev Goswami and many others were injured. Not only that, inspector with the help of Monaram Gogoi, the village headman and Thireswar Mandal realised collective fines at the point of bayonet from the villagers. On 15th September, at Charing, a big mob from the local Ryot Sabhas of Khamun, Charingia, Joradhara, Mouchal, Teliyal, Baruwati, Kakoti, Bez gaon headed Moheswar Chutia, Kamala Nath, Dibakar Chaliha, Badan Nath, Hemoprova Kakati and the like marched towards Sibsagar court to hoist the national flag. Another batch

110 ibid.
111 ibid.
112 ibid.
115 H.F.M. Papers, op.cit.
116 ibid.
117 ibid.
from Kuwarpur – Balighat headed by Ghonai Muktiar also assembled.\footnote{ibid.} The third group marched from Kulugaon- Amguri led Khagen Barboruah and Chandra Prasad Saikia towards Sibsagar town.\footnote{ibid.} This was also followed by others at Nazira and Dikhoumukhat. But these joint upsurges were so intense that the government took all inhuman measures to curb it by releasing a brutal repressive campaign in the Dolmukh Chari-Ali of Sibsagar.\footnote{APAI, file No, 287, 1942-43, op.cit.} As a result, ryot leaders like Dina Chaliha, Kirti Katoky, Phatik Kakoty and others were severely injured.\footnote{ibid.}

Like Sibsagar, Golaghat area also saw a great impact of Quit India Movement. Ryots came forward to carry forth struggle in the form of Muktibahini and Mrirtrubahini. In order to mobilise the rural people of the region, elaborate arrangements were made in the form entrusting responsibility to the local leaders. The arrangement is shown in the following table.\footnote{H.F.M. Papers, op.cit. We have analysed the emergence of the Ryot Sabhas in areas mentioned in the table in the Chapter V. See, Appendix-E.}

### Table – 7.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Mauza</th>
<th>Name of the Local Leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bokakhat and Kaziranga</td>
<td>Ram Chandra Baruah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohuramukha</td>
<td>Sagar Chandra Dutt and Kamala Miri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khurntai</td>
<td>Atanu Ram Gogoi and Nandaram Gogoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misanora</td>
<td>Dimbeswar Neog and Mangala Borah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangamati</td>
<td>Apirama Gogoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakodunga</td>
<td>Bhuvon Chandra Nath and Phanidhar Bhuyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maukhuwa</td>
<td>Umananda Das and Ludur Baruah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kacharihat</td>
<td>Thagiram Bora and Bapuram Phukon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athagaon</td>
<td>Thagiram Kakati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghilajari</td>
<td>Bhugeswar Borah and Podmeswar Borah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borpathar/Sarupathar</td>
<td>Sameswar Sarmah and Ananda Chandra Baruah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morangi</td>
<td>Sonaram Baruah and Keshab Chandra Sonowal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhakhin Hengera</td>
<td>Sunkon Baruah and Kamal Kakoty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *History of freedom Movement papers, Assam Unit, 12/3 to 28/3, New Delhi, NAI.*
In the above mentioned places, the activities of the Ryot Sabhas were very intense in character. In fact, the leaders shown in the table emerged from these Ryot Sabhas and played an important part in mobilising the ryots in the Quit India Movement. After this arrangement, the hoisting of the national flag in the Dergaon police station took place on 7th September, 1942.124 A large procession entered the Thana and did the hoisting.125 The processionists requested Jageswar Pathak, the O.C. of the Thana to resign his post and join the movement. This was too much for Pathak and he chided the processionists with strong language and assaulted some of them.126 In this incident, Narayan Sarma, Khageswar Sarma, Haren Barthakur and Bapuram Bora were arrested and sent them to Golaghat jail.127 Next day, on 8th September, another mob came to the Dergaon Thana and asked the O.C. Pathak to withdraw the abusive words he uttered the previous day.128 The S.I. of police, who was also present, asked Pathak to do the same; but he was adamant and would not budge an inch. Thereupon, the processionists hoisted the flag in the compound129 and were on the point of dispersing when Pathak ordered his armed police and civil constables to carry out a lathi charge. The order was immediately carried out without any discrimination and the following persons were severely wounded130:

1. Homeswar Bora
2. Jogen Dutta
3. Hariprasad Goswami
4. Bhabiram Bora
5. Jogen Dutta
6. Madhab Goswami
7. Bhola Koch

The above wounded ryots were mostly represented the Misamora Ryot Sabha.131

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124 H.F.M. Papers, ibid.
125 ibid.
126 ibid.
127 ibid.
128 ibid.
129 ibid.
130 ibid.
131 Asomiya, 6 October, 1934.
Similarly, on 9th October, there was another peaceful procession of the public.132 The S.P, D.C. Dutta without any exchange of words or without asking them to disperse ordered his arm forces to attack the processionists with lathi. At this, the people dispersed in all directions, but the police chased them to a distance of two miles and beat whomever they found on the way.133 In this incident, Srimanta Kakoty and Srish Chandra Kakoty were severely injured.134 Another procession was launched at Bokakhat along with Congress flag. But, Khagendra Nath Dulakhasoria, Debicharan Borborah, Sarbeswar Saikia, Sonaram Dutta, the leaders of the mob were arrested under section 38(5), D.I. rules.135 These arrested persons were the leading organisers of Bokakhat Anchalik Ryot Sabha.136

At Sarupathar, a special army train was derailed just a few yards from Sarupathar Railway Station on 10th October ’42.137 Three American officers and quite a good number of soldiers died in the accident. Within a week of this incident, arrests in the locality began.138 In this matter the police were helped by the stern reactionary Bhigiram Gaonburha(Village headman). It was this gaonburha who had the local reputation of setting fire to his own shop and giving a pretext to the government to impose collective fines in the area. Bhigiram, in co-operation with the police inspector Narayan Bora and S.I. Dharmeswar Gogoi prepared a list of volunteers and get them arrested.139 Kushal Konwar was arrested as the main architect of the plan.140 In addition too, Konwar was arrested because he happened to be the president of Sarupathar Congress Committee, his office happened to be at Sarupathar and lastly because he admitted that he used to go out of his office at times and that he was absent from his office on the 9th October.141 From the evidence, it is apparent that no causal connection had been established between the derailment and the disappearance of Konwar from the office and it is the principle

132 H.F.M. Papers, op.cit.
133 ibid.
134 ibid.
135 G.R. Case No 241/42, Golaghat in ibid.
136 Asamiya, 9 September, 1932.
137 H.F.M. Papers, op.cit.
138 ibid.
139 ibid.
140 ibid.
141 ibid.
of English criminal law that a person can’t be convicted unless his guilt is proved beyond reasonable doubt. But the administration arrested Kushal Konwar because he was the president of the Sarupathar Committee. At last, Kushal Konwar was executed at Jorhat Jail on 15th June, 1943.\textsuperscript{142} The table below gives the list of those convicted and nature of the punishments meted out to them:\textsuperscript{143}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Table : 7.4}
\end{center}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Name of the person</th>
<th>Conviction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kushal Konwar</td>
<td>Sentenced to death (Executed at Jorhat Jail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Kanakeswar Konwar</td>
<td>These three persons were also sentenced to death, but the Governor commuted their sentence to one of imprisonment for 10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Dharmeswar Deka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ghanashyam Saikia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Nagen Chutia</td>
<td>Ten years’ imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Indreswar Phukon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Dharmeswar Gogoi</td>
<td>Three years’ imprisonment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Source: Assam Police Intelligence Report, File no. 287, 1942.}

The above persons mentioned in the table were the active organisers of Sarupathar \textit{Anchalik Ryot Sabha}. Kushal Konwar held the Secretary of this \textit{Ryot Sabha}.\textsuperscript{144} The other emerging youth like Ganashyam Saikia, Nagen Chutia, Kanakeswar Konwar, Dharmeswar Gogoi and the like were the main architects of Sarupathar \textit{Ryot Sabha}.\textsuperscript{145} In fact, through this \textit{Ryot Sabha}, Kushal Konwar and his associates began their political career and mobilised the neighbouring rural people. Similarly, Kamala Miri was also arrested because he was found in the Congress office.\textsuperscript{146} Miri was not

\textsuperscript{142} APAI, file No, 287, 1942-43, \textit{op.cit.}
\textsuperscript{143} \textit{ibid.}
\textsuperscript{144} See Chapter VI.
\textsuperscript{145} \textit{ibid.}
\textsuperscript{146} \textit{H.F.M. Papers, op.cit.}
only presidents of Bosapathar and Mahura Mukha Ryot Sabhas, but was able to foster national sentiment among the local ryots also.\textsuperscript{147}

During the phase of this movement, the striking phase was the establishment of parallel government in the Sibsagar district. The structure and functions of the parallel government was unique in character. Although the parallel government or the ‘people Raj’ lasted for a short period, it had its unprecedented historical significance. This type of government to a great extent, established peasant nationalism during the phase of the movement. In the Sibsagar district, at Jorhat, a few such government were established.\textsuperscript{148} Accordingly, at Charigaon, a Rashtra was declared on 9\textsuperscript{th} September, 1942 in a public meeting held at Bezbarua M.E. School (present Rebakanta Baruah H.S. School). The portfolios and office bearers are shown in the following table.\textsuperscript{149}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Name of the Office bearers} & \textbf{Portfolio} \\
\hline
Lakheswar Baruah & Rashtrapati (President) \\
Jagat Saikia & Home \\
Gopal Dutta & Education \\
Krishna Prasad Dutta & Corporation and Cottage Industries \\
Jageswa Bordoloi & Revenue \\
Debicharan Borborah & Police \\
Sonaram Saikia & P.W.D. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}


One of the important campaigns of this parallel government was not to pay the undue charge of revenues imposed by the British government. In the long run, the British found no other alternative, but to arrest the promising leaders of the region namely Bangsi Dutta, Jogen Dutta, Golap Dutta, Pepera Dutta Borah, Bhabiram Dutta and others.\textsuperscript{150} The link with the Ryot Sabhas lie in the fact that the aforesaid office

\textsuperscript{147} Asomiya, 1 July, 1932, 20 January, 1933.  
\textsuperscript{149} \textit{ibid.}  
\textsuperscript{150} \textit{ibid.}
bearers were also leading organisers of All Charigaon Mauza Ryot Sabha also. Similar parallel government had emerged at Hatigarh near Kenduguri of Jorhat. The office bearers were Hararath Buragohain (President), Indreswar Sarma (Prime Minister), Debeswar Gogoi (Education), Ananda Chandra Baruah (Organising), Bhadra Nath Baruah (Revenue), Bapuram Chutia (Village headman) and Badan Chandra Baruah and Tepuram Borah (Army). The office bearers of Hatigarh Rastra were the organisers of Chaukhat Ryot Sabha.

Thus, it is evident from the above that the involvement of the Ryot Sabhas of the Brahmaputra Valley particularly in the Sibsagar district, during the Quit India Movement is significant. Ryots in the form of local Ryot Sabhas plunged into the stir spontaneously in response to the national call. Facing all sorts of oppressive measures, even death, the ryots in the Sibsagar district laid their dedicated life for the cause of national independence. In this Movement, it reflected peasant nationalism through Ryot Sabhas to a great extent in the Sibsagar district. In fact, ‘the Quit India Movement had spread out from the bigger cities and towns into the countryside and assumed the far of a mass peasant uprising’.

On the basis of the above study, it is clear that the mobilisation of the peasantry at the grass root level through the Ryot Sabhas since the Non Co-Operation Movement ultimately played a historic role in the Quit India movement in the entire Sibsagar District. In fact, the 1942 movement was a spontaneous outburst of the discontent people of the region. But, nevertheless had there been no active participation of the rural people and their sacrifice to carry out the slogan ‘do or die’ through the Ryot Sabhas in the Sibsagar district in particular and the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam in general, the movement would not have attained such an intensive character. Besides, it may be mentioned that, ‘the anti-British attitude through the Ryot Sabhas was still

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151 Asomiya, 27 January, 1933.
153 ibid.
active in the minds of the Assamese peasantry when the Quit India movement began to weaken in other parts of the undivided India'. From this point of view, it can be remarked that during the period of Quit India movement of 1942, the local Ryot Sabhas of this district had played a historic role in mobilisation in rural areas. Herein lies the fact of the intimate relation of the Ryot Sabhas in the nationalist movement. Another striking feature of it was the emergence of the local (grass-root) level cadre based leadership through Ryot Sabhas and their successful conduct of the movement to an expected goal in the local areas.