STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The study of the history of mass-resistance against the rule of the British has been given much importance in the recent years which has provided wider scope in re-orienting historiography in a new historical perspective i.e. 'History from below.' In the present trend of analysis of Indian National Movement, many have made efforts to deal with the role of the peasantry in the National Movement. They have explored various aspects and themes; but the regional variations of the theme have remained marginalized in many cases. For instance, the peasantry of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam who formed a popular organisation called Ryot Sabha which stood for the interest of the peasants in the pre-independence period, have not received the attention that it should have received.

With the expulsion of the Burmese from the soil of Assam, the English East India Company occupied her in the year 1826 as per the terms of the Yandaboo Treaty. However, from 1833 to 1839, for a brief period of seven years, the Sibsagar district where the Ahom rule had a strong presence was given to Purandar Singha, an Ahom prince on tributary basis in 1833. But as he was a defaulter in 1839, he was deposed and Sibsagar was also annexed.

After establishing a firm footing in Assam, the British administration introduced the Ryotwary system in five districts of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam viz; Kamrup, Darrang, Nagaon, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur; while Goalpara had come under the permanent Zamindari settlement as part of Bengal presidency. The land revenue being one of the important sources of income of the colonial state, the worst suffers were the ryots who being forced to live under subsistence conditions were strangled by huge indebtedness. Hence since 1860, Assam witnessed a series of peasant uprisings

---

1 A number of works exist on this issue. Among others see H.K. Barpujari, Assam in the Days of Company (Shillong, 1996), K.N. Dutta, Landmarks of the freedom struggle in Assam (Guwahati, 1994), p.1.
in different parts of the province in connection with the enhancement of the land revenue and the other taxes. The *Phulaguri Dhewa* (1861) of Nagaon district, *Patharughator Ran* of Mongaldoi, 'Rangia Revolt' (1893-94) of Kamrup may be mentioned in this context. The *Raij Mel*, a militant organisation of the peasantry during this period played a very important part in organising these revolts against British imperialism. Under the local guidance and directions of the *Raij Mel*, the militant *ryots* fought against the British government very bravely, even though, they often could not withstand the British forces who were equipped with modern weapons. However, despite the fact that the militant struggles of the *ryots* were suppressed by the British force of arms, these struggles led by the *Raij Mel* occupied an important place in the history of early peasant movement of Assam.

From the existing studies on peasant movement in Assam we see that from the beginning of the 20th century, the peasant struggle took a new turn. At this time, the nature and outlook of the peasantry seems to have undergone a change. They gave up the militant and violent path of agitation and began to adopt the constitutional path of agitation. As a result, the *Ryot Sabha* which began to emerge in the rural areas, marked a turning point in the history of peasant organisation in Assam. The *Ryot Sabha* oriented its policy, to concentrate on local socio-economic and political problems and ultimately it turned into a registered organised body termed as *All Assam Ryot Sabha* in 1933 almost one decade before the Quit India movement, and became an important organisation particularly in the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam. Since then, it started directing its objectives to uphold the agrarian issues like reduction of the burden of land revenue, along with the raising of other socio-economic demands and rousing a general consciousness against British imperialism.

For the purpose of this study, the area of undivided Sibsagar district (presently three separate districts of Jorhat, Sibsagar and Golaghat) has been taken as the focal

---

2 *ibid.*, pp. 28-36.
3 *ibid.*, p.28.
4 *ibid.*, pp.36-37.
5 Manorama Sharma, *op. cit.*, p.102.
point. This was the centre of the Ahom monarchy which ruled for six hundred years in the valley of the Brahmaputra in particular and Assam in general. The historical importance of this region was that the British, as a result of the treaty of Yandaboo as pointed out earlier, had established their power and administration here, indirectly hit the economy of the area which was the centre of age old paik system. As a result, there was a general discontentment both among the Ahom nobility and the peasantry as a whole. Although restorative in nature, many anti-British uprisings had occurred. For instance, the first of these attempts was made in 1828 under the leadership of Gomdhar Konwar and Dhanjoy Peali Bargohain at Mariani. Besides, the martyrs of 1857 from Assam such as Maniram Dewan, Peoli Baruah, Bhadur Gaonburha, Formud Ali and the like were all of them from this region. But most significant aspect of this region was that All Asom Ryot Sabha came into existence in 1933 at Jorhat and the first Pradhan Sampadak (General Secretary) of this historic peasant organisation, Krishna Nath Sharma also hailed from this region. From the above, it is clear that the main centre of the activities of the Ryot Sabha was the Sibsagar district.

Review of Literature:

A number of works exist today which have tried to conceptualise peasants and peasant movements. Among those who have attempted to define peasantry, the contribution of Teodor Shanin is worth mentioning. Shanin, in his article "Peasant as a Political factor" in T. Shanin (ed.) Peasants and Peasant Societies points out that "peasantry consist of small agricultural producers who with the help of simple equipment and labour of their families, produce mainly for their own consumption and the fulfillment of obligations to the holders of political and economic power. He also provides Differentia Specifica of the peasantry". Similarly, Daniel Thorner, in his "Peasant economy as a category in economic history" defines, "A peasant family household as a socio-economic unit which grows crops primarily by the physical efforts

---

11 For an understanding of restorative movements, see, Kathleen Gough, "Indian Peasant Uprisings" in A.R. Desai (ed.), Peasant Struggles in India (Bombay, 1979), pp.96-99.
13Hemeswar Dihingia, Assam s Struggles against British Rule (New Delhi, 1993), pp.112-121.
of the members of the family”. In another aspect, Virginius Xaxa, in his article, “Some Problems in Defining Peasants”\(^{16}\) uses T. Shanin’s definition that on the whole, “Peasant house-holds are basic units of production and social living, peasant as a group with considerable structural similarities and even with an established political self-identity can easily be spotted within socio-economic system as diverse as the Asiatic, feudal and even the blossoming capitalism”.

Eric R. Wolf, a leading exponent of the middle peasant thesis in his article, “On Peasant Rebellions”\(^{17}\) has stressed the fact that both middle peasants and poor constitute a pivotal grouping for peasant uprisings. Similarly, Frantz Fanon in his article, “The Revolutionary Proletariat of our Times”\(^{18}\) has pointed out, “In the colonial countries the peasants alone are revolutionary, for they have nothing to lose and everything to gain. The starving peasant, outside the class system, is the first among the exploited to discover that only violence pays. For him there is no compromise, no possible coming to terms; colonization and de-colonization are simply a question of relative strength”.

Mao Tse Tung, in his Selected Works, Vol. I\(^{19}\) pointed out that peasantry was the staunchest and numerically the largest ally of the Chinese proletariat. It was the strength of the peasantry that brought about the great Chinese revolution. Likewise, Eric R. Wolf in his famous work Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century\(^{20}\) emphasised the revolutionary potentiality of the peasantry in the third world countries like Mexico, Algeria, Cuba and Vietnam which precipitated the catastrophe.

In the Indian perspective, the work by D.N. Dhanagare, Peasant Movements in India 1920-50\(^{21}\) is particularly important for understanding of the growth of the peasant movement in India during the period of British imperialism. He points out in his work that in the “Crucial phase of the Indian freedom movement [in which] Rightists, Revivalist and Political liberal parties as well as the leftist or self styled revolutionary parties, all

\(^{19}\)Mao- Tse- Tung, Selected Works Vol-I (Peking, 1977).
\(^{21}\)D.N. Dhanagare, Peasant Movements in India 1920-50(New Delhi, 1983), p.6.
wooed the peasantry almost simultaneously". Kathleen Gough’s article “Indian Peasant Struggles”22 in A.R. Desai (ed) Peasant Struggles in India presents a detailed study of peasant movements in India. According to her, “five types of peasant revolts had occurred viz., restorative rebellions to drive out the British and restore earlier rulers and social relation, religious movement for the liberation of a region or ethnic group under new forms of government, social banditry, terrorist vengeance with idea of winning collective justice and mass insurrection for the redressed of particular grievances”. Similarly, Uday Mehta’s “Peasant Movement in India”23 has classified the Indian peasant movement in three historical phases where he shows the first phase of the peasant movement (1857-1921) was characterised by the sporadic growth of peasant movement in the absence of proper leadership. But in the second phase (1923-1946), he points out that class conscious peasant organisations led by the people who gave priority to peasant problems in the struggle for national liberation, began to emerge. The third phase of the peasant movement he says was due to the fact that the basic problems of the peasantry or toiling masses remained unsolved. Hamaza Alavi, in his prominent article “Peasant and Revolution”24 has divided the peasantry into three categories i.e. rich peasantry, middle peasants and poor peasantry. He raises the issue of the middle peasant thesis of Eric R. Wolf in studying the peasant movement in India. Likewise, “Indian Peasants’-Struggles’ and Achievements”25 an article by N.G. Ranga, presents in it the active participation of peasants in various period of Indian National movement up to independence. This article draws attention to the role of the peasant in the Non Co-operation Movement, Civil Disobedience movement, Quit India Movement and movements launched in various Indian feudal states known as state’s people’s struggles either to establish constitutional government or abolish their feudal relics perpetuated by the British rule in India in its own interest. Another work Agrarian Relations in India, 1793-194726 by Sunil Sen gives a synoptic view of agrarian social structure, commercial agriculture, rural credit and peasant unrest from permanent settlement to the end of the British Raj. Not only this he emphasizes the role of the

---

26Sunil Sen, Agrarian Relations in India 1793-1947, (New Delhi, 1994).
peasant movement through Kisan Sabha in determining the directions of agrarian reforms.

A recent approach to the history of the national movement has become associated with Ranajit Guha and the "Subaltern Studies". Guha says that in the Indian context the people are horizontally and vertically situated in the class-cast categories; the subalterns do not constitute homogeneous compositions. The term Subaltern means non-elite segments of a society. Thus the subaltern studies explain how the Indian masses ran upon their own clocks, so far as their movements in the colonial era was concerned, but simultaneously studies also admit that the subaltern actions were not capable of getting transfigured into a full-fledged movement for national liberation. However, this perspective provides us with a new dimension of peasant nationalism. Similarly, Sumit Sarkar, in his Modern India: 1885-1947 and Popular Movement & Middle Class Leadership in Late Colonial India: Perspectives & Problems of a History from Below explain the possibilities of history from below into a particular subaltern framework which cast light on popular initiative in India. A Peasant Uprising in Bengal, 1783 of Narahari Kaviraj, Punjab Peasant in Freedom Struggle Vol. II, by Master Hari Singh. Agrarian India Between the World Wars by Rastislav Ulyanovsky, Social Background of Indian Nationalism of A.R. Desai, The Peasant and the Raj by Eric Stokes, The First Indian War of Independence 1857-1859, by Karl Marx & Engels, Peasant Movements in Post-Colonial India: Dynamics of Mobilisation and Identity by Debal K. Singha Roy, Andrienne Cooper's, Sharecropping and Sharecroppers' Struggle in Bengal 1930-1950, Peasant in

29 Sumit Sarkar, Popular Movement and Middle Class Leadership in Late Colonial India: Perspectives & Problem of a History from Below (Calcutta, 1982).
30 Narahari Kaviraj, Peasant Uprising in Bengal, 1783, (New Delhi, 1972).
32 Rastislav Ulyanovsky, Agrarian India between the World Wars, (Moscow, 1985).
37 Andrienne Cooper, Sharecropping and Sharecroppers' Struggle in Bengal 1930-50, (Calcutta, 1988).
India’s Non-Violent Revolution: Practice and Theory38 by Mridula Mukherjee, D.N. Dhanagare’s Themes and Perspectives in Indian Sociology39 are particularly important in understanding the emergence of peasant movement in India during the British period.

The Bengali works such as Nilkar Bidroha,40 of Shomeswar Prasad Choudhury and Krisak Sabhar Itihas41 of Abdullah Rasul are useful works which provide an idea about peasant movements particularly in the province of Bengal.

It is evident from the above brief survey of literature that in the works of different well known scholars dealing with the peasantry and peasant movements in India, Assam and the Ryot Sabha in particular find practically no place. But they provide us useful insights in order to develop a conceptual framework to understand the peasant struggles particularly in the light of peasant nationalism.

So far as the issue over the Peasant Movement in Assam is concerned, several eminent historians of North-East India have made valuable contributions. But what has been seriously lacking is a detailed analysis of the Ryot Sabha of undivided Sibsagar district. However, in this field of study, the three volumes of the Political History of Assam,42 published by Govt. of Assam throw some light on the issue. The Comprehensive History of Assam, Vol. (IV-V)43 edited by H.K. Barpujari has pointed out the emergence of the Ryot Sabha in the Brahmaputra Valley. Similarly, K.N. Dutta, in his Landmarks of the Freedom Struggle in Assam44 has touched on Ryot Sabha’s activities in a particular region like Darrang, Chariduar, Nagaon and Kamrup, but without proper analysis. Besides he does not discuss about the functions and activities of the Ryot Sabha of undivided Sibsagar district. Amalendu Guha in his Planter Raj to Swaraj

---

38 Mridula Mukherjee, Peasants in India’s Non-Violent Revolution: Practice and Theory, (New Delhi, 2004).
40 Shomeswar Prasad Chaudhury, Nilkar Bidroha, (Calcutta, 1972).
41 Abdullah Rasul, Krishak Sabhar Itihas, (Calcutta, 1982).
44 K.N. Dutta, Landmarks of the freedom Struggle in Assam, op.cit.
Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam 1826-1947 has made a very critical study of the issue, but just mentions the emergence of the Ryot Sabha in Assam. Besides he has not distinctly focused on the role of the Ryot Sabha particularly in the district of Sibsagar. On the other hand, Manorama Sharma’s work Social and Economic Change in Assam: Middle Class Hegemony centres round the middle class hegemony of the Assamese society. She has referred to the Ryot Sabha in her work casually while dealing her main issue on middle class hegemony. She has mentioned how the liberal leadership of the middle class controlled the Ryot Sabha. But she has not done an in-depth discussion of the manifold activities of the Ryot Sabha. Likewise although Subhas Chandra Saha’s, “Grass-Roots Nationalism: A study of Mass Resistance in the District of Darrang and Nagaon of Assam 1937-47” has explored the emergence to the Ryot Sabha in Assam since 1937-47, yet he has not given special attention of the socio-economic activities launched by the Ryot Sabha. Besides, the thesis does not seem to refer particularly to the activities of the Ryot Sabha of undivided Sibsagar district. A work like Land Problems and Land Reforms in Assam by N.C. Dutta provides the structural transformation in the land holding structure during the British period. But the overall study still remains too generalised. Similarly, B.B. Hazarika’s Political life in Assam during the 19th Century also mentions regarding Ryot Sabhas. But he has not touched on this matter in any great depth.

The articles in the Proceedings of North-East India History Association like “Evolution of the Congress Movement in Assam 1885-1947” by Amalendu Guha, “The Raij Mel: Their Historic role in Peasant Movement of Assam” by Srutidev Goswami, Subhas Ch. Saha’s “Peoples’ Raj in Assam: A study of Socio-economic Roots” contain important insights on peasant movement in Assam.

---

45 Amalendu Guha, op. cit.
46 Manorama Sharma, op. cit.
48 N.C Dutta, Land Problems and Land Reforms in Assam (New Delhi, 1968).
49 B.B. Hazarika, Political life in Assam during the 19th century (Delhi, 1987).
Information on the *Ryot Sabha* is also found in several vernacular works such as *Bharator Swadhinata Andolanat Asom*,\(^{53}\) by Sagar Baruah, *Bharator Swadhinata Sangramat Asomor Abadan : Sanghat aru Sahajugitar Itihas* \(^{54}\)by Lakhinath Tamuli, *Swadhitnata Sangramat Jorhat*\(^{55}\) edited by Debeswar Doloi and Tileswar Bordoloi and *Harijan Bandhu Mama Krishna Nath Sarmah*\(^{56}\) edited by Tileswar Bordoloi. However these works have not made an in-depth analysis of the *Ryot Sabha* particularly of the post 1933 period.

**OBJECTIVE:**

The main objective of our study is to trace the role of *Ryot Sabha* in Assam with special reference to undivided Sibsagar district 1900-1947 in mobilising the peasants into the path of socio-economic agitation leading to the final growth of political consciousness and the emergence of peasant nationalism in Assam. The study also tries to focus on the nature of *Ryot Sabha* and examines its interface with the Indian National Congress’s organisations in Assam.

**ORGANISATION**

The study is divided into eight chapters beginning with an *Introduction* which traces the history of the importance of the *Ryot Sabha* in the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam with special reference to the undivided Sibsagar district in the freedom struggle of India. The chapter not only reviews existing secondary data on peasantry and its nationalism in the western context, but also analyses these ideas in the Indian context as well as in the context of Assam.

---


\(^{55}\) Debeswar Doloi and Tileswar Bordoloi (eds), *Swadhinita Sangramot Jorhat* (Jorhat, 1995).

\(^{56}\) Tileswar Bordoloi (ed.), *Harijan Bandhu Mama Krishna Nath Sarmah,* (Jorhat, 1987).
The second chapter titled ‘Conceptualising Peasants, Peasant movements and Peasant Nationalism’ tries to focus on the conceptual background of the peasantry and its nationalism and build up the backdrop of the present study. Although, the peasantry is generally defined as small agricultural producers who with the help of simple equipments and labour of their families produce mainly for their own consumption, still, gradually, the conception of peasantry began to be widened. In this context, Karl Marx and Engels in the wake of February revolution of 1848 in France on peasantry developed their analysis in terms of economic exploitation. Their writings reveal that in the development of the capitalist system, the peasantry may play a decisive revolutionary role but only under the leadership of the working class. Hence, Marx pointed out ‘peasantry can’t represent themselves, they must be represented’.

Subsequently, emphasis on this issue was further developed by V.I. Lenin, Mao-Tse-Tung, Frantz Fanon and others who suggested that collective organisation of the peasantry brought about the dynamic and revolutionary role of peasantry in Russia, China and other third world countries. The chapter tries to understand that some Social Scientists and Historians became more and more inclined to use the ‘class’ model in studying the agrarian societies and agrarian movements. They began to discover the ‘middle peasants’ as the most volatile, revolutionary and dynamic force in the rural social order. Among them are, Eric R. Wolf, and Hamaza Alavi who developed the middle peasantry theory. According to Wolf, it is the middle and free peasants that create not only conditions conducive to revolution, but also constitute the pivotal grouping for peasant uprisings. In the Indian perspective, the chapter focuses on how the concept and manifestation of peasant movement and Nationalism emerged and developed under the colonial rule and colonial economy. A number of scholars have therefore dealt with various categories of peasant struggles in different parts of the country launched by various sections of the agrarian populations through different periods of British rule from various perspectives. In India, along with a host other of social scientists, the study of D.N Dhanagare is important. He followed the model of middle peasantry thesis propounded by Eric R. Wolf in studying the Indian peasant movement. Dhanagare argues that the social composition of agrarian classes in terms
of specific status like caste, religions, ethnic groups etc are far too complex in different regions of India to be reduced into any simplistic formulae. Therefore, so far as the Indian National Movement is concerned, he pointed out that in the crucial phases of the Indian Freedom Movement, the Rightist, Revivalist and Politically liberal reformist parties as well as the leftist or self-styled revolutionary parties, all wooed the peasantry almost simultaneously. He also focuses on the whole range of peasant movements and uprisings in India took that on the character of peaceful and constitutional agitation as 'no-tax campaign', satyagraha, 'social boycott' etc. initiated by M.K. Gandhi including the role of ideology, nature of organisation and leadership. Hence, the model of D.N. Dhanagare can be tested for our analysis of Ryot Sabhas and their role in the emergence of peasant nationalism in a historical perspective.

The third chapter titled ‘Agrarian Social structure in Assam under the British Rule’ traces that the expulsion of the Burmese from the soil of Assam which the British occupied in the year of 1826. Subsequently, the British strongly consolidated their position territorially to suit their imperialistic designs. After establishing a firm footing in Assam, the British administration encouraged migration from other parts of India. How the large scale influx of population from outside Assam radically transformed the population pattern as well as the socio-economic structure of the province of Assam on one hand and Assamese agrarian society on the other hand are focused in this chapter. The chapter also shows that, of all the immigrants, the influx of East Bengal Muslim peasantry into Assam exerted tremendous pressure on land utilisation resulting in demographic imbalance. The chapter also tries to review the pre-colonial period of Assam which was essentially a ‘semi tribal’ and ‘semi - feudal’ society. Prior to the occupation of Assam by the British in 1826, a greater portion of the Brahmaputra Valley was under the Ahom rule. The socio-economic structure was based on the Paik system. But, the British not only introduced a new economic system, but also introduced the Ryotwary system in the five districts of the Brahmaputra Valley. Within a very short period, the British introduced various land revenue settlements in order to encourage their imperialist design. Thus, the first and foremost problem of the peasantry of Assam was the payment of land revenue in cash. They were not accustomed to it. Secondly, under the Ahom rulers the economy was not a monetised one. Thirdly, with the establishment of British rule, the supply of money was introduced
and all economic transactions were made in cash. Consequently, the condition of the peasantry in Assam began to worsen under the new monetised administration. As a result, after 1860, there broke out many peasant uprisings in the Brahmaputra Valley in connection with the land revenue enhancement. The chapter discusses the early peasant uprisings under the leadership of 'Raij mel'. After the survey of various revenue and settlement reports, it is found that the majority of the rural peasantry of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam were revenue paying peasantry. As a result, they can come under the category of holdings of 10 to less than 30 bighas of land. From that point of view, it can be concluded that the majority of peasantry of the Brahmaputra Valley in Assam was basically the middle peasantry following the model of agrarian structure drawn up by D.N. Dhanagare.

Chapter four entitled 'Peasant Organisation in Assam 1900-1933' tries to examine, the new awakening among the people in Assam which marked the closing part of the 19th century. By this time, the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was a milestone in the history of the National movement. The chapter tries to study the fact that during the beginning of the new century, the nature and outlook of the peasantry of the Brahmaputra Valley began to change. They gave up the militant and violent path of agitation and began to adopt a more constitutional path of agitation on the lines of liberal democratic agitations. The 'Raij mels' began to lose their grip on the peasantry and its place was taken by the Ryot Sabhas. The growth of the latter was itself largely the result of the spread of English education together with which came ideas of western liberal democracy. The chapter examines the basic differences between the 'Raij Mel' and the Ryot Sabhas. Side by side, it focuses upon the role of other socio-economic organisations like Jorhat Sarvajanik Sabha, Assam Association in the early part of the 20th Century. The chapter also outlines, the emergence of M.K. Gandhi in the all India scene, his methods of non-violent mass resistance and the mobilisation of the peasantry which in turn led Indian Nationalism to a degree and period of mass nationalism. In the process, several other social groups including middle classes, artisans, working classes and even sections of the landed gentry gradually got involved in it. In the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam, the student Association(Chatra Sammilan) emerged in 1916. Gradually, this student community played a dynamic role in arousing the political consciousness. With the launching of Non Co-operation
Movement by the National Congress under the leadership of Gandhi in 1921, a new phase of political consciousness began to emerge in Assam, as in the other parts of India. Here, the student community as stated not only played a decisive role in launching the Non Co-operation Movement, but also mobilised the peasantry in the no-tax campaign, anti-opium campaigns and so forth. Although, very soon, the Non Co-operation Movement came to an end, nevertheless a good number of devoted and dedicated workers from the student community began to emerge. These newly emerged dedicated workers organised the rural masses through local agitations. The local agitations centred around issues like abolition of the unpopular grazing tax, reduction of land revenue and so forth. Accordingly, in the thirties of the 20th century, there emerged Ryot Sabhas under the active guidance of newly emerged local dedicated workers of the Congress all over the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam. Among the prominent Ryot Sabhas, Viswanath, Saring, Salaguri, Ganak Phukhuri, Naduar and others may be cited. The chapter mentions that with the coming up of the socialist communist parties and their organisation, some other Kishan Sabhas also began to emerge in the Valley. Although other left-wing peasant organisations had come into existence, their activities were confined to a limited area. Rather, the Ryot Sabhas emerged as the only large scale peasant organisation. In fact, as A.C. Bhu;an argues, "in Assam, neither the communist nor the socialists had any dominating influence in the political field as the congress organisation had a strong hold over the masses."

The title of the fifth chapter is ‘Emergence of the Ryot Sabha in Sibsagar district’. The chapter discusses the geographical location of the Sibsagar district and also its socio-economic features prior to the British rule. The region basically was under the Ahom rule for nearly six hundred years. The chapter also provides the population profile in this district. The analysis of the demographic profile during the period of our study, reveals that majority of the people out of the total population consisted of the tea-garden labourers. It is a fact that Sibsagar was basically known for tea industry. After the Yandaboo treaty in 1826, the British not only discovered Tea in Assam, but also developed its growth by leaps and bounds within a very short time. The British government established tea gardens in the major portion of land in this district. The chapter tries to state that after the occupation of Sibsagar district as a result of

Yandaboo treaty, for a short period, the last Ahom King Purandar Singh was enthroned by the former over the region. But on the plea that the Ahom administration had failed, the British finally annexed the district in 1839. Although, in the initial phase, the advent of the British after the Burmese incursions was a welcome phenomenon, but the people did not take them as mere sojourners and expressions of unrest were shown by the discontented Ahom nobility. Consequently, several anti-British uprisings had broken out. The first attempt was made by Gadadhar Singha. It was followed by Gomadhar Konwar, Pioli Barphukan and others. The nature of these revolts were restorative and ultimately crushed by the British, nevertheless, these revolts had great significance in the subsequent history of freedom struggle in Assam as discussed in this chapter. Similarly the impact of the revolt of 1857 has been also outlined in this chapter. In the revolt of 1857, Maniram Dewan, Pioli Baruah, Dutiram Baruah, Madhu Malik, Bahadur Gaonburha and Formud Ali played most heroic role from this district. Although, these persons accused of treason, belonged to diverse social and ethnic groups, but the interesting point is that they were able to unite together with the common objective of driving out the alien intruder and also of reducing the burden of taxation. The chapter also tries to focus on the gradual new socio-economic awakening since the last part of the 19th century in this district. Consequently, new socio-economic organisations like Jorhat Sarvajanik Sabha (1884), Upper Assam Association (1880), Assam Association (1903) began to emerge in this district. The chapter also discusses, Why peasant uprisings like in the other parts of the Brahmaputra valley through Raij Mel did not take place in this district? In fact, as stated earlier, Sibsagar was basically known for her tea Industry. Another accepted fact is that there was tremendous pressure on land because of the immigrants which led to distortions in agrarian relations in the districts of lower Assam, whereas immigration was thin in this district for a quite number of decades. However, due to various historical reasons, socio-economic organisation like the Jorhat Sarvajanik Sabha etc. emerged in this district and these organisations opposed the unpopular governmental measures, particularly in context of land revenue through constitutional agitation. Thus, even without a history of very intense peasant unrests, Nationalist consciousness began to spread in the area which definitely had an influence on the peasants of the district. Gradually, the launching of Non-Co-operations Movement in 1921 generated a real political consciousness in this district like other parts of the Brahmaputra Valley. We have stated in the chapter
IV that it was the students’ community of the valley which played an important part in mobilising the peasantry into the path of socio-economic agitation. In the Sibsagar district also, the local emerging student leaders like Krishna Nath Sharma, Gangadhar Borkotoky, Kuladhar Chaliha, Rohini Kanta Hatibaruah, Sankar Chandra Baruah and others mobilised the rural masses in such a way that rural masses unprecedentedly came on to the path from the remote places of the district. Within a short time, the Non-Co-operation Movement had come to an end. But the far-reaching impact was that it began to nurture new ideas, new issues, new demands and the like. Apart from it, this new atmosphere created a new generation of young political workers who fanned out to villages. Meanwhile, the Civil Disobedience Movement began on the issue of 50% reduction of land revenue, besides the other demands. Consequently, various types of rural local meetings were held in different parts of the Brahmaputra valley of Assam which appealed to the grass-root level rural masses not to give enhanced tax, not to use foreign cloth and so forth. During this phase, the aforesaid young enthusiastic leaders and Assamese intelligentsia began to mobilise the rural masses through Ryot Sabha in this district. After organising all the local Ryot Sabhas, the first all Asom Ryot Sabha was held in 1933 at Jorhat and Krishna Nath Sharma was selected as the first General Secretary of the Ryot Sabha. Similarly, the district was credited to hold the second all Asom Ryot Sabha at Dergaon under Golaghat sub-division. In fact, the chapter focusses on the emergence of All Asom Ryot Sabha under the active leadership of Sibsagar district and the socio-economic and political struggle against the British which gained ground among the rural masses at grass-root level. It is also seen that the emergence of peasant organisation through Ryot Sabha in this district was not backed by the peasant struggle, but rather the emergence of new socio-economic forces which contributed to the growth of enlightened sections that were crucial cultural links with the rural masses. These new forces mainly the educated elite were the main architect in mobilisation of the Ryot Sabha.

The title of the Sixth Chapter is ‘Nature, functions and Organisation of Ryot Sabha’. The Chapter examines the nature and demands of the Ryot Sabhas at four levels i.e. Village, Thana, District and Provincial level. In the Village level, it reveals that the major demands of the Ryot Sabhas were the reduction of the land revenues and taxes to 8(eight) annas per rupee. But in the Thana, District and State
level, we see the other demands relating to the socio-economic welfare as well. Here, the nature of the leadership of the Ryot Sabha becomes significant. In fact, Assamese intelligentsia and local congressmen not only led the Ryot Sabhas, but also mobilised them into the path of socio-economic agitation. We have analysed in this chapter about the various annual sessions of the Ryot Sabhas and the leadership of Assamese intelligentsia and their social origin. The Chapter also shows how under the dominant leadership of the Assamese intelligentsia, the Ryot Sabha agitated against the opium policy of the government, picketed from mahal to mahal and village to village. Not only that, during the period, a good number of songs were composed and sung in order to inculcate consciousness among ryots against the evil effect of the opium. Similarly, like opium eradication movement, the Ryot Sabha not only appealed to the masses to boycott the foreign goods, but also strongly inspired them to come into the path of agitation. To add to the colour, the contemporary patriotic songs brought another tempo in the grass root level. Likewise, role of Ryot Sabha in the untouchability movement was also significant. However, anti-untouchability movement did not become a mass movement in Assam. But, under the banner of it, a considerable amount of local constructive work was undertaken successfully through the local Ryot Sabhas. In fact, through this movement, the local Ryot Sabhas were able to establish a good number of schools in greater Jorhat Sub-division which still preserve its historical reality.

The Chapter examines the distinct methods used to organise the Ryot Sabhas. In fact, the speeches of the Presidents and Secretaries in different Ryot Sabhas, mobilisation of women, contemporary patriotic songs, Bihu songs (Assamese festival songs), Bhawana (Assamese theatrical show), newspaper like 'Asomiya' and others gradually contributed and turned the Ryot Sabha to a single broad based Peasant organisation of the Brahmaputra Valley in Assam. We have discussed the constitution of Ryot Sabha and its main principles. By and large, the Ryot Sabhas helped in the growth of a solid national consciousness about the alien rule among the rural people in the struggle for freedom.

The Chapter seventh titled 'Ryot Sabha and its relation with the nationalist movement' examines the relation of the Ryot Sabhas of Sibsagar District in the
nationalist movement. The Chapter focuses on the fact that the great depression from 1929-30 brought agricultural prices crashing down to half or less of their normal level which dealt a severe blow to the impoverished peasants burdened with high taxes and rents. In such a situation, the Civil Disobedience Movement was started. The 11 point charter in this Movement included the demand for 50% reduction in land revenue rates. It was during this Movement, the local Ryot Sabhas in this district were successful in inspiring and enthusing the ryots and mobilising them against the agrarian policies and other socio-economic injustice of the British government. The Ryot Sabhas were prompt in responding to the programmes like picketing, no-tax campaign and so forth in almost entire rural places of this district. The Chapter also shows the active participation of the local Ryot Sabhas under the leadership of local leaders in the Quit India Movement in this District. In fact, had this rural population not been organised under the umbrella of Ryot Sabhas, there would not have been the spontaneity of the rural masses in the movement in this district. Here lies the importance of Ryot Sabha and its Peasant Nationalism. In order to establish the Ryot Sabhas's relation with the Nationalist Movement in this district, the Chapter examines the statistical data of rural and urban population. On the basis of the evidence, we come to the point, during the period of 1931, the rural population (including Tea Garden labourers) and urban population were respectively 97.8% and 2.2%. Similarly, in 1941, rural population (including Tea Garden Labourers) was 97.3%, whereas the urban population was only 2.7%. It is quite clear that definitely, the mobilisation of local Ryot Sabhas, its structure and image under the leadership of Assamese intelligentia and local Congressmen were very strong in the rural level in the Sibsagar District. That is why, the movement culminated in a series of intense struggles and agitations in this district both in the Civil Disobedience and Quit India Movements.

The Chapter eighth is Epilogue and this Chapter sums up the findings of the previous chapters.

**MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS:**

The review of the successive phases of India's struggle for freedom makes it quite clear that the peasantry of Sibsagar District through the Ryot Sabha in the
Brahmaputra Valley of Assam had played a historical role in it. The first manifestation of this trend was no doubt the outbreak of 1857 rebellion when a large number of Assamese people came forward to protest against the alien rule. It was followed by the peasant uprisings through the Raij Mel. Large sections of the Assamese people not only stood against the British, but also expressed their voice against the exploitative economic policy introduced by them. It is however, not true that all the attempts were successful, but it is a fact that these efforts could in many ways mould the future course of actions on the question of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Reviewing developments from the perspective of our empirical data, three major questions arise. What was the differentiation of peasantry in the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam? What was the nature of the Ryot Sabha? What was the nature of leadership of the Ryot Sabha?

In the light of our findings, it can be concluded that the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam were under Ryotwary system. From a survey of various revenue and settlement reports, it is found that the majority of the rural peasantry of this Valley were the revenue paying peasantry. As a result, they can come under the category of holdings of 10 to less than 30 bighas of land. From that point of view, we may come to the point that peasantry of the Brahmaputra Valley in Assam was basically the middle peasantry following the model of agrarian structure drawn up by D.N. Dhanagare. In fact, Eric R. Wolf initiated that, 'the middle peasantry refers to a peasant population which has secure access to land of its own and cultivates it with family labour. Where these middle peasant holdings lie within the power domain of a superior, possession of their own resources provides their holders with the minimal tactical freedom required to challenge their overlord. It is also the middle peasant who is relatively the most vulnerable to economic changes wrought by commercialism'.58 It is in this context that differentiation of the peasants in the form of Rich, Middle and Poor in this Valley is significant and the large majority of peasantry in the Brahmaputra Valley can be seen as coming basically under the category of the middle peasant.

---

The second major finding was about the nature of the *Ryot Sabhas*. In order to find this answer, we have to articulate the demands of the *Ryot Sabhas*. The data which is analysed in this work, reveal that the *Ryot Sabhas* raised their demands at four levels i.e. village, Thana, District and Provincial level. The major demand was for the reduction of land revenue and taxes to 8(eight) *annas* per rupee. But, they also raised other demands relating to the socio-economic welfare of *Ryots* of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam. Thus, it not only widened the range of the *Ryot Sabhas*’s activities and functions, but also was able to establish a link with the nationalist movement. Therefore, the nature of the *Ryot Sabhas* lead us to the question of the leadership.

The third major finding of the study is that, the peasantry can’t represent themselves, they must be represented. So far as the leadership of *Ryot Sabhas* in Assam is concerned, it was the Assamese Middle Class(intellectuals) which took the leadership in mobilising the *Ryot Sabhas*. Hence, they attempted in all respects to confine the agitation under the moderate politics. With the coming of the influx problem, Assamese Middle Class(intellectuals) brought forward the question of Assamese identity. In fact, the Assamese educated sections had tried to draw attention of the rural people to the issue of preservation of Assamese identity in the wake of freedom struggle while at the same time keeping alive peasant interests like reduction of enhanced revenue. With the dominance of middle class elite over the *Ryot Sabha*, the *Ryot Sabha* movement was influenced by regionalism. From our study, we can agree with the argument of Manorama Sharma. She argues, “a middle class is usually seen as an urban phenomenon, but in the case of Assam the middle class was not a rootless urban class, but a class which had roots and links with rural sector of the society. That was why, it was able not only to reflect the grievances of peasants, but also to gain the confidence of peasants who did not regard the middle class leaders as aliens in their rural homeland.” Hence, the middle Class (intellectuals) not only led the *Ryot Sabhas*, but also was able to mobilise the *ryots* of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam into the path of social, economic and political agitation against the British government.

---

59 Manorama Sharma, *Social and Economic Change in Assam: Middle Class Hegemony*, op. cit., p.141.
It is, therefore clear that, the emergence and role of *Ryot Sabha* and its agitation, nature of activities, demands, leadership and other related factors were similar to that of other middle peasant led movements. From that point of view, the *Ryot Sabha’s* movement more or less upheld the model drawn up by D.N. Dhanagare when he studied the peasant movement in India during the period of 1920-50. Indeed, the *Ryot Sabhas* of the Sibsagar District had played their anti-colonial role keeping the continuity in its strategy of mobilising rural masses for demands which may not have been purely peasant demands but which helped in sowing the seeds of peasant nationalism in Assam.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Primary Sources:

Official Records and Reports:

Unpublished.

(A) National Archives of India, New Delhi

Home Political (secret)
Home Political (Confidential)
(Relevant Proceedings for our period)
Harijan, Vol – III, 1939
History of freedom movement papers, Assam unit.
Ranga, N.G, All India Kisan Congress Papers.
Young India, Vol – III. 1921

(B) Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi

All India Congress Committee Papers.

(C) State Archives, Dispur, Assam

Assam Secretariat Proceedings
Assam land revenue reports
Revenue Administrative reports
Political History of Assam records
Assam Provincial Congress Committee papers
Assam Police Abstract intelligence (1920-47)
Reports of the Assam Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee 1929-30, Vol - 2, Evidence.
Royal Commission on opium minutes of revenue, Vol – II, 1893.

*Census of 1891.*

*Census of Assam, 1901, Vol – II*

*Census of India, 1911, Vol – III*

*Census of India, 1921, Vol – III, part – I*

*Census of India, 1931, Vol – III, part – I*

*Census of 1951, Assam, Manipur and Tripura, part – IB, Vol – XII*

*Asomiya, Selected issues (1925-40), Dibrugarh and Guwahati.*

*The Times of Assam, May, 1923.*

Published:

**(D) OTHER SOURCES:**


Hazarika, Atul Chandra (ed & compiled.), *Bhasanamala, Asom Prakashan Parishad, Guwahati, 1960.*


Lenin, V.I., *Selected Works, Moscow, 1972.*


Saikia, Chandraprasad... et all (eds.), *Tarun Ram Phukon RasanaWalli*, Asom Prakashan Parishad, Guwahati, 1977.


**(E) Field Study:**

A field study was undertaken in our study area of i.e. Undivided Sibsagar District. In the tradition of oral history many of the still living freedom fighters were interviewed, and we were also able to tape record some conversations with them who had played a leading role in the *Ryot Sabhas*. Extracts of some of these interviews are included as Appendices.
II. Secondary Sources:


*Assam in the days of the Company*, NEHUpublication, Shillong, 1996.

*The comprehensive history of Assam Vol-IV & V*, Publication Board of Assam, Guwahati, 1992 & 93.


______________

*Cachar Under British Rule in North India*, New Delhi, Radiant Publishers, 1977

______________

*Trade and colony the British colonization of N.E. India*, North-East India History Association publication, Shillong, 2000.


______________ (ed.), *Nationalist Upsurge in Assam*, Govt. of Assam, Guwahati, 2002.


Borah, Phoni et.al (eds.), *Communist freedom fighters, A Historical Glimpse in Assam,* Published by Assam State Council, Guwahati, 1997.


Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1979.


An Introduction to the land laws of Assam, Bookland, Guwahati, 1989.

Agranian Unrest and Socio-Economic Change 1900-1980, Monohar, New Delhi, 1983.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Das, Manamohan</td>
<td>Peasant Agriculture in Assam: A structural Analysis</td>
<td>Inter-India publication</td>
<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanagare, D.N</td>
<td>Social Background of Indian Nationalism</td>
<td>Popular Prakashan</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peasant Struggles in India</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peasant Movements in India 1920-50</td>
<td>Oxford University Press</td>
<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Themes and Perspectives in Indian Sociology</td>
<td>Rawat publications</td>
<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>Reprint, 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dihingia, Homwar</td>
<td>Assam's Struggle against British Rule</td>
<td>Asian Publication Services</td>
<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Desoneta Kuladhar Chaliha, Centenary Celebration Committee</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jorhat</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutta, Ajit Kumar</td>
<td>Maniram Dewan and the contemporary Assamese society</td>
<td>published by Anupoma Dutta</td>
<td>Jorhat</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutta, Anuradha</td>
<td>Assam in the freedom Movement</td>
<td>Darbari Prakashan</td>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutta, Hem Chandra</td>
<td>The Nineteen forty two Upheaval in Assam</td>
<td>Pragjyoti Prakashan</td>
<td>Jorhat</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutta, Narendra Chandra</td>
<td>Land problems and land Reforms in Assam</td>
<td>S. Chand &amp; Company</td>
<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>1968</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dutta, K.N,  

Dutt, R.P,  
*India To-day*, Manisha Granthalaya, Calcutta, Reprint, 1997.

Fanon, Frantz,  

Gait, Sir Edward,  

Ganguly, Jalad Baran,  

Gangopadhyang D.K,  
*Revenue Administration in Assam*, Govt.of Assam, Guwahati, 1990.

Gogoi (Nath), Jahnabi,  

Gogoi, Lila  

Gohain, Hiren,  

Gohain, U.N,  
*Assam under the Ahoms*, Spectrum publications, Guwahati, Reprint, 1999.

Goswami, Atul (ed.),  

Goswami, Jatindranath,  

Goswami, P.C,  

Goswami, Homeswar  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher/Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goswami, Shrutidev</td>
<td>Aspects of Revenue Administration in Assam (1826-1874)</td>
<td>Mittal publications, New Delhi</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goswami, Priyam</td>
<td>Colonial Assam: Trade, development and Dependence</td>
<td>ICHR, N.E Regional centre, Guwahati</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guha, Amalendu</td>
<td>Assam in the 19th century Industrialization &amp; colonial Penetration</td>
<td>Spectrum publications, Guwahati</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medieval and Early colonial Assam Society, Polity and Economy</td>
<td>K.P. Bagchi and company, Calcutta</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vaishnavbadar Pora Mayamoria Bidhruhaloi</td>
<td>Students’ Store, Guwahati</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elementary aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India</td>
<td>Oxford University Press, New Delhi</td>
<td>1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton, Francis</td>
<td>Bihar Peasantry and the Kisan Sabha</td>
<td>People’s Publishing House, New Delhi</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazarika, B.B.</td>
<td>An Account of Assam</td>
<td>Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Guwahati</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political life in Assam during the 19th century</td>
<td>Gian Publishing House, Delhi</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author/Editor</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Publisher/Details</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazarika, Gangadhar (pub)</td>
<td><em>Mahapurush Sri Sri Mat Dharmasaryya Pitambor Dev</em></td>
<td>Titabor, 1973</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han, Xiaorong</td>
<td><em>Chinese Discourses on the Peasant 1900-1949</em></td>
<td>State University of New York press, Albany, 2005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardiman, David (ed.)</td>
<td><em>Peasant Resistance in India 1858-1914</em></td>
<td>Oxford University Press Bombay, 1993</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hussain, Ismail</td>
<td><em>Garamuria Sangrami Satradhikar Pitambar Dev Goswami Jivanaru Darshan</em></td>
<td>Guwahati, 2007</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karna, M.N. (ed.)</td>
<td><em>Peasant and Peasant Protests in India</em></td>
<td>Intellectual publishing House, New Delhi, 1989</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Social Movements in North-East India</em></td>
<td>Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1998</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Agrarian Structure and Land Reforms in Assam</em></td>
<td>Regency Publications, New Delhi, 2004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaviraj, Narahari</td>
<td><em>A Peasant Uprising in Bengal 1783</em></td>
<td>People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1972</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Wahabi and Farazi rebels of Bengal</em></td>
<td>People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1982</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumar, Kapil</td>
<td><em>Peasants in Revolt Tenants landlords Congress and the Raj in Oudh</em></td>
<td>Manohar, New Delhi, 1991</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumar, Nagendra</td>
<td><em>Indian National Movement with special Reference to the District of old Saran,ihar 1857-1947</em></td>
<td>Janaki Prakashan, Patna, 1979</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahiri, R.M.</td>
<td><em>The Annexation of Assam</em></td>
<td>Farma K.L Ltd, Calcutta, 1975</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mahatu, Maniklal (ed.), *Mukti Jujaru Debeswar Dolo*


Pandey, Gyanendra (ed.),

Rasul, Abduallah,

Raychoudhury, Anil (ed.),

Saikia, Chidananda (ed.),

Saikia, Chandra Prasad (ed.),

Saikia, Rajen,
Social and Economic History of Assam (1853-1921), Monohar, New Delhi, 2000.

Sabhapandit, Prabhat (ed.),

Saha, Subhasch,

Sarkar, Sumit,

Modern India 1885-1947, Macmillan India, New Delhi, 1983.

Sdobnikov, Yuri

Sen, Sunil,
Seth, A.N,

Sarmah, Trailukya Nath,

Sharma, Manorama,

Peasant Organizations in India, B.R Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1984.

Desoneta Kuladhar Chaliha, Jorhat, 1996.

Social and Economic Change in Assam: Middle Class Hegemony, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, 1990.


Shanin, Teodor (ed.),


Sharma Jongeswar (ed.),


Sharma, Benudhar,


Sharma, Dipti,


Shah, Ghanshyam,


Shukla, Vivekananda,

Rebellion of 1942 Quit India Movement, H.K Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, 1989.

Singh, Chandika,


Singh, Master Hari,


Sinha, P.B,


Singha Roy, Debal,


Spear, Percival,


Stokes, Eric,


Syiemlieh R, David (eds.), & Sharma, Manorama,


Tamuiy, Lakhinath,


Thakur, Pankaj,


Thapar, Romesh (ed),

*Tribe, Caste and Religion in India*, Macmillan India Ltd, Delhi, reprint, 1996.

Tikhvinsky, S.L,


Ulyanovshy, Rostislav,


White, Major Adam,


**Journals, Periodicals and Souvenirs.**

**English**


**Assamese**


Mahanta, Prafulla (ed.), Swaxar, Souvenir, 38th session of Assam College Teachers' Association, Mariani College, Mariani, 1989.


