APPENDICES

We realised during our investigations that no fruitful purpose could be served by conducting systematic interviews in the tradition of social survey because most of our respondents are people who are advanced in age and they have to depend heavily on their memory to answer some of the questions. The religious leaders like the gossaing and senior bhakats of Satras would often consider it below their dignity to respond to questions or questionnaire schedules. Very often they would narrate a tradition or a fable to explain a particular point. Since we are trying to make use of the experiences and insights of these persons to supplement official sources and also to fill up data gaps specially in the case of Satras we have recorded rather informal conversations with our respondents. These conversations were guided by a set of questions that we had previously framed. Appendix A gives a list of the questions that we drew up and Appendices B and C contain relevant excerpts of these conversations. The conversations were recorded in Assamese and the excerpts included here are a free translation made by us.
APPENDIX - A

List of Questions on the basis of which conversation with Mauzadar were recorded.

1. Name of the Mauza.
2. Who was the first Mauzadar of the Mauza and when did he acquire it?
3. Has the Mauza been always in your family?
4. If yes, then what, in your opinion were the considerations for granting the Mauza to your family?
5. What was the occupation of the first Mauzadar before he acquired the Mauza?
6. What were his educational qualifications?
7. What were his sources of income before acquiring the Mauza?
8. Do you remember any of your ancestors being an Ahom officer?
9. Was the first Mauzadar in any way connected with Satras?
10. Who was the first person who acquired western education in your family and when?
11. Who was the first matriculate in your family?
12. Who was the first graduate or any other professional degree holder in your family? Can you give us an estimate of the number of graduates, government servants and professionals from the family?

13. Who was the first government servant or professional in your family and when did he join service or profession?

14. Is there any businessman in your family/including tea gardens?

15. If yes, then who was the first businessman and when did he start business?

16. How much personal landed property did the first Mauzadar have?

17. How much landed or other property was there in the family in the period 1860-1910?

18. Did any member of your family join politics in the period 1890-1947?

19. Has there ever been any discontinuity in holding of Mauzadarship in your family?

20. If yes, when and why?

21. What is the rate and pattern of commission?

22. What is the area of the Mauza? Can you give an estimate of what the demand from the Mauza was during the time of the first Mauzadar?
List of questions on the basis of which conversations with Satra Gossains were recorded.

1. When was the Satra first established?
2. Was there any change in the status of the Satradhikar or the Satra after the coming of the British?
3. What was the amount of the Satras landed property after the coming of the British? Did the British Government make any increment or deduction on the land grants made by the Ahom Kings?
4. What was the extent of the Satras landed property by 1910?
5. What was the system of administration of the Satra land? Did the naik system, that formed the basis of administration in the Ahom state, prevail in the Satra also?
6. From the time of British rule till now has there been any change in the system of administration of the landed property of the Satra?
7. Who administers the property of the Satra and how is it done?
8. What are the sources of income of the Satra?
9. A large number of persons seem to have received patronage of the Satras to acquire higher education which in turn
has helped them to establish themselves as important members of Assamese society. Who was the first person connected with the Satra or to have received patronage of the Satra, to acquire higher education?

10. Could you name the earliest matriculate and graduates connected with the Satra? In which year did they pass these examinations?

11. Could you give us an estimate as to how many persons received such education by 1910?

12. Who was the first government servant patronised by or connected with the Satra?

13. Has the Satra been investing in business?

14. Who was the first businessman connected with the Satra?

15. What was the relation of the Satra with the Congress and other political parties during the British period?

16. Could you give us a list of important Assamese personages emerging from the Satra?

17. What was the role of the Satra in the peasant uprisings of nineteenth century Assam?
Excerpts of conversations with Sjt. Shaktinath Baruah, Mauzadar of Khongia Mauza, Jorhat. Conversation recorded on 6/1/86.

Question (Q) - Can you tell us something about your ancestors?

Answer (A) - ... ... ... One of our ancestors Bhagirath was a Tekela Baruah in the reign of Swargadeo Gadadhar Singha. Four sons of Bhagirath Tekela Baruah became Phukans of the Ahom king... ... In the next generation one Krishnanath Tamuliphukan was appointed Khongia Baruah, and was given jurisdiction over Titabor, Thengal and Khongia areas situated in the North West of Jorhat and Krishnanath Khongia Baruah was the first Mauzadar in our family, and I am the fourth in the line. Krishnanath Khongia Baruah was a Mauzadar for forty years. After that my grandfather lost the Mauza because of the introduction of the Tehsildari system. But he was given another Mauza in Golaghat. After the death of my grandfather my father was appointed Mauzadar of the Gakhirkhowa Mauza of Teok. From 1900 my father became the
Mauzadar of Khongia Mauza again. My father administered
the Mauza for 35 years after which my elder brother t
took over the Mauza and continued till 1947. Then,
because of some problems I had to take over. Before
taking over the Mauza I was working in a press... ...
... Besides being Mauzadars there have been no govern­
ment servants in our immediate family... ... ...

Q. Who was the first person in your family, besides your
father, who received western education?
A. ... My father studied upto Class IX. Then my brother
Dinanath Baruah is a Ph.D. from Oxford. I went to
study B. Com. at Dacca but came back to join the 1942
movement, and then privately passed B.A.

Q. Who was the first matriculate in your family?
A. My elder brother Debi Baruah matriculated around 1917...
... ... Debidada joined a few others and went into
cotton and timber business. ... He was a war contrac­
tor also... ...

Q. How much landed property do you think the first Mauzadar
in your family possessed?
A. He had about 100 bighas of land at the time of acquiring
the Mauza... ... There has been no increase in the
landed property. We had in fact to sell off a portion
of this property in the interest of the Mauza.
Q. Between 1860-1947 did any member of your family join politics?

A. Except me no other member was directly involved. I joined the 1942 movement as a student, courted arrest once and remained active till 1947.

Q. Did any member of your family hold any office of the Satras?

A. Our family had close connection with the Majuli Satras, Auniati and Dakhinpat, but I am not sure of the exact nature of the connection...

Q. Could you tell us what were the relations of your family with the first Sheristadar of Radhanath Phukan's family?

A. We are related to their family...

In their family Kripanath Tamuliphukan became a Sheristadar and at that time we already had our Mauza in the family...

Q. Do you think that the fact that your family had a Mauza facilitated his appointment as a Sheristadar?

A. I don't know but the British Government may have considered this aspect... But I can say that our family, from the time of the Ahom kings had been connected with the administration of land... In our family we had other Mauzadars also like Naranath of the Lahing Mauza... the first advocate of our family had travelled to Calcutta with Maniram Dewan.
Q. What was the commission of the first Mauzadar of the Khongia Mauza?
A. The commission was calculated on the demand, and the demand of the first Mauzadar was about Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 22,000 and the commission was 10% of this amount...

Q. Has any one from your Mauzadar family helped any young man financially or otherwise to establish himself?
A. ... Financially we haven’t been able to help so much but indirectly we have helped in guiding some such young men ...

**Part - II**


Q. Who was the first Mauzadar of your Mauza and when did he acquire the Mauza?
A. ... The first Mauzadar was my grandfather, Indreswar Rajkhowa. He was the son of Durgeswar Rajkhowa, and Ahom Rajkhowa, who had landed property of his own in the Hatigarh area which was under his supervision. He became a treasury officer under the British. My grandfather got
the Mauza around 1862. It could have been 1850 also, I am not sure of the date... The Mauza has been always in our family.

Q. What do you think were the major considerations in selecting a Mauzadar by the British?

A. ... ownership of some amount of landed property, and respectability in the area were I think the main considerations because my grandfather was a very good looking... ...

Q. Who was the first graduate in your family?

A. My uncle Ganesh Rajkhowa was the first graduate and he became an advocate... In 1928 he acquired the Betbari Mauza.

Q. Are there any businessmen or professionals in your family?

A. There were no businessmen. Most of the members of this family have always been professionals, ... The first Mauzadar established a tea garden, Lukmaibari, but abandoned it around 1909. The second Mauzadar established the Parbatipur Tea Estate and he was a partner of Nandeswar Chakraborty. The second Mauzadar of our Mauza had been a member of the local board...

Nandeswar Chakraborty was a very affluent and successful Assamese Tea Planter and businessman.
Q. Did any member of your family join politics between 1860-1947?
A. No member of our family joined Congress politics.

Q. Has your family financially and otherwise helped talented youngmen to establish themselves?
A. There has been a tradition in our family of helping needy but talented persons to acquire education. I clearly remember Bhimkanta Borkakoti who stayed with our family and studied. He passed matriculation around 1910, and later became a teacher in mission high school.

... ... ... ... ...

Part - III


Q. Who was the first Mauzadar of your Mauza?
A. Benudhar Baruah was the first Mauzadar in our family. He first acquired the Kotoha Bahona Mauza around 1880.

... ... ...

Q. What do you think were the major considerations in selecting a Mauzadar?
A. ... ... The British looked for the family background ... ... ... Benudahr Baruah had a lot of landed property... ... ...
Q. Has your family been patronising needy young men to acquire education?
A. We have always been patronising spread of western education. Benudahr Baruah himself started an M.B. School for giving western education and he requested Dandiram Bezbaruah to start a school on his land... ... ... ...
Q. Did your family have any connection with Sutras?
A. ... The second Maunzadar was an Adivani of the Sasa Sutra. Adivani was allowed to initiate disciples.... ...
Q. Who was the first matriculate in your family?
A. Lakheshwar Baruah was the first matriculate, first graduate and the first advocate from our family. His brother Bansi Baruah was the first M.B.B.S. ... ... Our family was also involved in business... We have dealt in the Quota System of the Tea gardens... ... ... bought a tea garden near Borhat but could not run it for very long... ... ... One brother of Lakheshwar Barua became an Acain and acquired 50 to 60 puras of landed property. He initially acquired the Simaluguri Manza and later became the Maunzadar of Jhanji... ... In our family there have been Liquor Shops and Mahals of Bhang. The family also acquired an opium Mahal in Majuli and later also started a Pharmacy which flourished... ... ...
Q. Has any one of your family members been in politics?
A. Two of my brothers were in Congress politics...

They have been jailed for participating in Swadeshi and Civil Disobedience Movements...

When the 30 years' settlement began the yearly commission of the Mauzadar was about Rs. 11,000/-....

Pitamber Deva Goswami of Garamur Satra borrowed a few thousand rupees from the 2nd Mauzadar of our Nassa...
APPENDIX - C

Part - I

Excerpts of recorded conversation with the Cousain of
Aumiati Satra. Conversation recorded on 5th January 1986
at Aumiati Satra, Majuli.

Q. ... ... ... Could you tell us something about the
administration of Satra land?

A. ... ... ... The landed property of the Satra outside
the Satra area was generally occupied and cultivated by
renants. We select some responsible persons from amongst
them and entrust them with the duty of looking after
the property. They raise the rent (Khajna) and send it
to the Satra. For this they are paid some remuneration,
the rest of it is spent in the management of the Satra.
There are other lands which are occupied by naika (like
in the lands in Majuli and Coromorl), who have to work
in the Satra. For their service they get some land
without Khajna... ... ... ... These naika are organised
under officers like Boras who also occupy rent free
lands. A large area occupied by such naika is called a
naijan Mauza... ... ... In some of the Satra lands there
are officials like Mangadara who are responsible for the
collection of revenue. For instance, Janardan Bhuyan here, is the Mauzadar of Eri Chapari... ... During the British rule the Government imposed a local rate in all lands... ...

Q. In Devottar lands also?

A. Yes, in Devottar lands also... ... During the British period and even before, the government had no idea about the exact amount of land belonging to the Satra because of erosion and siltation of the Brahmaputra. ... The Satra followed the method of sending officials like Mandola and Borna to measure and formally allot the land when it was found that rypatk had settled on Satra land. The settled area was measured and allotted and the rest of it was left as it was ... ... Only after the Government began to survey land an estimate of Satra land began to emerge... ... ... It was from the rent that was collected from these lands that the Satra could afford to give donations for the flood affected people or to schools or colleges. The payment which the Satra has to make to some officials of the Satra are also made from this rent collected. The Satra has no other source of income except this rent and the Pranami (offerings) made by the disciples. The Satra Kar which used to come regularly before is fast decreasing now. The areas from
where such *Guru Kar* is collected are called *Sahara*. When the Guru Kar is collected in the form of *paddy* two *puras* from the collection of each *sahar* always go to the idol, and the rest is distributed among the officers and employees of the *Satra* responsible for that collection. If the collection is 4 *puras*, 2 *puras* will go to the idol, and if it is 32 *puras* even then two *puras* will go to the idol and the other 30 *puras* will go to the officials and employees... ... ... ... ...  
The *Satra* has about 1000 bighas of land in the colony *Khat*, from which about 8 *puras* came as *Adhi*. But the *Satra* in its generosity gave away the land without discriminating between disciples and ordinary occupants and so the quantity of *Adhi* is gradually going down...  
Then, the *Satra* has given some land to tea gardens, and from these lands the *Satra* gets some *Khauna*. Well, that is about all on *Satra* land.  

Q. Are there any names for the officers who administer the *Satra* lands outside the *Satra*?  
A. Yes, there are. In some places they are called *Laktiar*, in some *Baliphone* and in some places they are called *Mauzadar* also.  

Q. Do these officers get any other remunerations besides a share of their collection?  
A. Yes, they get a share of the collection and about 2 *puras* of land, and they also get a commission.
Q. Is there any fixed rate of the commission?
A. In our Satra the commission is very nominal. It is about 4%, 5% or 6%. But now we have had to increase it in some places.

Q. So, from the time of British rule this has been the system?
A. Yes, this same system has been prevailing since the British days. During British rule conditions were very good. The Government never interfered with the affairs of the Satra, and suits regarding Satra land were never looked into by government... ... If the Satra itself placed before the government any case of non-payment of Khaina then the Government would issue a warning to the defaulter, and then the persons concerned did accordingly... ... ...

Q. There seems to have been a number of well known leading personalities of Assam who had either strong links with the Satras or were patronised by the Satras. We are trying to prepare a list of some people... ... ...
A. We don't have such a list but the Satra has been helping needy persons to study etc. Whenever they applied for help. This has always been in the form of assistance and the Satra had difficulties in formally bearing the total cost of a person's education... ... ... There were
important people like Rumud Bora, Durgeswar Sarma, his brother Debeswar Sarma, who became a government pleader and not the minister Debeswar Sarma, and Sridhar Barua who received Satra patronage. ... ...
We don't have a list because the early Gossainas like Kamaldev Gossain gave assistance from his personal wealth and not from the Satra treasury... ...
(At this point one of the teachers of Majuli College connected closely with the Satra and who is also doing research on the Satras intervened to explain that a large number of schools and colleges were established with donations from the Satra especially during the tenure of Gossain Hemchandra Goswami. Hemchandra Goswami's tenure extended through about 21 years of British rule)
...
... The Satra had established the Kamaldev High School in Uttar Hati during the tenure of Kamaldev and the Hitai Pukhuri College. As High Schools there is the High School here in Kamalabari and one in Anguri. These were donated completely by the Satra...
Q. The land which the Satra gave to the tea gardens...
A. Yes, such lands were leased out and they paid a Khaina to the Satra... ...
Q. Did the Satra have anything to do with the management of the tea gardens?
A. No, the management has always been in the hands of the lease holders.

Q. Did the Satra have any officials to look after such property?
A. Yes, the Amuktar who lives in Jorhat looks after the lands leased out to the gardens... ...

(Here one of the Satra Haunadaras present explained that at the time of leasing out the land the Satra officials survey it, mark the boundaries and then hand them over to the garden).

(The teacher of Majuli College here asked if the tea gardens were started by the British and the Gosain replied that all garden leases were given to Assamese youngmen and not to British).

Q. Do you remember the date when the first leases were given?
A. The exact year I am not sure of... ... first leases were for 50 years... ...

Q. If you could give us the names of the tea gardens we could find out?
A. Kamalpur, Boidiha, Govindpur, ... ... Kamalpur grant was given to Durgeswar Sarma and Debadwar Sarma; Rongdoi belonged to Kuladhar Chaliha; Govindpur, I don't remember, Boidiha was given to Chandrakamal Bezbarkah... ...
Q. You get a *Khaima* from the tea estates?
A. Yes, we get a *Khaima*.

Q. Is there any system of giving landed property to the *Udeshin Bhakats* who stay in the *Satra*?
A. No, there is no such system of giving landed property to the *Udeshin Bhakats* in the *Satra*. ... ... During the Ahom days the Bhakats were forbidden to do any other work except their religious duties. They were never allowed to cultivate and Ahom monarchs were very strict about it, and therefore there was no question of giving landed property to Bhakats.

Q. But after Ahom rule, when the British came were the Bhakats given any land?
A. They were given a *raigar* (a kind of maintenance allowance) by the *Satra*, and they are allotted some pahis, and *sahars* from which they collect the *Gurukar*... ... 

Q. So, it means that the *Udeshin Bhakats* do not cultivate...
A. Well, not exactly. Some Bhakats are beginning to get land cultivated though they do not cultivate themselves ... ... Those celibates who acquire personal property manage it themselves and do not owe anything to the *Satra*...
Q. Do they have to give any share of the produce to the Satra?
A. No, they don't have to. The Satra does not interfere with a bhakat's personal wealth... during the British rule the ryots settled on Satra land used to give adhi to the Satra, but gradually that began to decline and even collection of the rent has become a problem... The Government has a machinery to deal with defaulters but the Satra has no such thing so some ryots have defaulted for more than 25 to 30 years.

Q. During British rule, what was the relationship of the Amiati Satra with the Congress movement?
A. The Satra has co-operated, but never took active part...

Q. What was the role of the Satra in the peasant uprising of 1893?
A. The Satra did not play any role... If any ryot had taken shelter without the Satra's knowledge, we don't know, but knowingly we had not consciously sheltered anyone, because that would be Paidroha (anti government)

Q. Can the Udeshmi Bhakats send a part of their personal earnings from the Satra to their families?
A. Yes, they can if they so wish, but the Satra doesn't interfere in that... ...

(Here a Naugadar who was present and the teacher of Majuli College intervened to say that there are a number of persons whom the Satra helped, even though indirectly, to establish themselves).

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**Part - II**

Excerpts of Conversations with officials of Garamur Satra.

The conversation was recorded on 4th January 1986.

Q. Could you tell us something about the land system in the Garamur Satra and the sources of income of the Satra?

A. ... At the time when the British rule began the Satra had about 3,000 bighas. ... In 1910 Satra land increased slightly because the Satra bought about 14.6 bighas of land at Ejeraguri. This land was auctioned off by the British for Re. 1/- as a punitive measure for the then Satradhikar's involvement in the 1942 movement. ... Satra matters were settled within the Satra and the British never interfered with the status and position of the
Satradhikar ... ... ... The Satra collected Guru Kar from disciples ... ... .

Q. Did a system like the paik system prevail in the Satra?

A. Yes, such a system prevailed in the Satra also, not only during British rule but after independence ... ... .

The lands were given to the persons who were involved in the Satra work, and no khaina was collected from them ... ... . There is a gradation of officers like the Bora, Saikia, Barua, Poremiari, Khatoniar, Poremallogua, Muktiar ... ... . The land which was outside the Satra was always under an achivari system, but there was no specific rate of payment. But that was true only of the lands outside the Satra. Within the Satra the Grihashthi Bhakata cultivated the land under their possession and in return helped in the management of the Satra ... ... .

There was no organisation like the lot of the Ahom system, and although the officers like Bora, Saikia were there, they were not in a hierarchy like in the Ahom paik system. They all enjoyed almost equal privileges ... ... ... .

Q. Did the produce of the lands belong to the bhakata concerned?
A. Yes, they were not required to pay anything to the Satra from the produce of the land, though normally there was some amount of voluntary offerings...

The officials like Rajmadhi were allotted Sahara and from the collection of the Sahara, one third was retained by the Rajmadhi and two-thirds went to the Satra...

The Rajmadhi got two purna of land from the Satra which was cultivated for him by the naika who settled outside the Satra land. From this cultivation the Rajmadhi got half and the other half went to the naika...

Q. Can you give us some names of important persons who received patronage from the Satra? Who was the first matriculate from the Satra?

A. First matriculate was Ananda Goswami and then Sarbeswar Dutta, who was also the first Government servant...

Pitambar Deva Goswami was the first person to join politics...

There have been many cases where the Satra has financially helped young men to establish themselves...

The L.P. School in the Satra was established in 1885. The Satra gave a large area of land in Jorhat town to Deboeswar Sarma (minister) on lease. ...
Excerpts of conversation with the Gossain of Utar Kamalabar Satra. The conversation was recorded on 5th January, 1986, at the Satra in Majuli.

Q. How was the Satra land administered?

A. In our Satra whatever land we had was always given to the Bhakata for cultivation and some land was of course cultivated by other ryots. From the cultivators the Satra has been collecting khaina like the Government does. But the Bhakata who were within the Satra campus do not have to pay any khaina for the land in which they reside, but for the land they cultivate they had to pay khaina.

Q. Are there any officers to administer the land?

A. The Satra land which is occupied by other than bhakata are administered through officials like Malinder and Aruktar... ... ...

Q. Was there any hierarchical order amongst these officers?

A. No, there has been no hierarchy... ... ... These officers received a commission of 1% to 6% ... ... ...

Q. What happens to a Bhakata's property when he leaves the Satra?
A. If a Homalin Bhakat leaves the Satra he takes his own moveable and other personal property with him. Of course, he can't break his house etc. and take it along... ...

Q. Has the Satra been patronising spread of education?
A. Yes, there are the Kamalabari Grant L.P. School, and an M.V. School... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...