Assam came into the hands of the British by the Treaty of Yandaboo which had concluded on February 24, 1826, between the East India Company and the Burmese encroacher on British territory on Assam borders, though Assam certainly belonged to no party. Even the Purandhar Singh was recognised as the King of Upper Assam early from 1832 to October, 1838, or till he was deposed, and the administration of the country was taken up by the Company. Then the administration was run naturally on Assamese, till all on a sudden in 1838 Bengali usurped the place at the instigation of the Bengali clerks who came to Assam for their living. Under the provisions of Act XXIX of 1837 and Section 337 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the language of the soil was to be used in judicial revenue proceedings; but it was neglected in the case of Assam.¹

Meanwhile, it was the Christian Missionaries who the wrong and injustice done by the English Rulers to the Assamese language and the people. They tried to bring their

¹ Neog, Dimbeswar - Discoveries of Asamiya Literature. 335
said mistake home to them, but in vain. So the Philanthropic Missionaries founded the modern Assamese literature by bringing out a journal, a lexicon, a grammar, a history and all that was needed, and they were at last crowned with success after 36 years when the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and Assam, by his resolution dated the 19th April, 1873, ordered Assamese to be re-started in the Schools and Courts of Assam. But the far-reaching, evil-effects of a foreign tongue that retarded the progress of education and growth of Assamese language and literature unfortunately still remain.2

Not only the Bengali clerks and other officials were responsible for disappearance of the Assamese language in the School and Courts of Assam but also the British was responsible for deciding districts of Assam. "It is a tragedy that such districts as Dinajpur, Rangpur and Jalpaiguri, which linguistically and culturally formed an organic whole with rest of Assam, Assam have been cut piece-meal in the territorial re-distribution under the British rule. It is more pitty that Assam should have been robbed off Kochbeher, the thrice sacred Jerusalem of Assam hollowed with the holy graves of as many as three greatest Assamese Saints, Sankardev, Madhawdev and Damodardew and also of two great

heroes of Assamese nationality as Naranarayan and Cilar and still embracing in its bosom such great Assamese Satras (Monasteries) as Madhupur, Kakatkuta and Bheladanga. The Chief Commissioner J.B. Fuller disfavoured the continued instruction in Bengali. He adopted the view that the needs of Assamese in Assam had to be preferred to those of the Bengalis. Fuller deviated both from the existing arrangement and the University Regulation as he ordered on 14th August, 1903, that "..... in future in the Assam Valley excluding Goalpara District, Bengali will not be taught as a second language for the University Entrance Examination (Subject to possible exception at Gauhati) will it used as a medium of instruction in classes below the fourth. These orders should be applied to aided schools as well as to Government High School and mutates-mutandis, to Middle Schools ..... " So that the Bengali teachers might not suffer, the Chief Commissioner decided to transfer them gradually either to Goalpara or to the Gauhati Valley. ..... apparently Fuller's orders had solved the problem except in Goalpara. But Goalpara defined such simplification as Fuller's formula and in course of time the problem of language in the District with dominant Bengali

3. Neog, Dimbeswar - Discoveries of Assamese Literature. P. 335
population got intricately mixed with Assam politics.4

Language of the District Goalpara: Before discussing the language problem, controversy and social tension, it is essential to discuss language or dialect spoken by the people of the Goalpara District.

The major community was Koch-Rajbonshi and they speak Goalpara. Goalpara is a rich dialect. This dialect has more similarities with the Assamese language or old Kamrupi language than the Bengali language.

The language, culture, tradition and customs of the people of Rangpur, Coochbehar, Jalpaiguri, Goalpara and the down region of Garo Hills is more or less the same. The name of the language is Rajbonshi or Kamatai language.5 The linguist Sir George Abraham Gierson also recognised in 1897 that "we across the river (Brahmaputra) coming from Dhaka, we meet a well marked form of speech in Rangpur and the district to its North and East. It is called Rajbonshi and..."


while undoubtedly belonging to the Eastern branch, has still points of difference which lead to us to class it as separate dialect."  

Assamese under independent Kings and her social life entirely self-contained, became an independent speech, although her sister dialect, North Bengali accepted the vassalage of the literary speech of Bengali.  

Again wrote that the spoken dialect of Goalpara District seem to have been greatly contaminated with admixtures of Rajbonshi dialect - the dialect that was involved under the domination of the Koch-Kings of Coochbehbar, whose descendants ruled over Goalpara and continuous portions of Kamrup. The Pandit of Koch-Kings wrote books in Rajbonshi language. Sankardas was also a great Pandit of the Koch-Kingdom. He wrote books in the Rajbonshi language.

The Rajbonshi dialect bears many close points of resemblance to the dialect of Eastern Bengali. The dialect is not confined to the Bengal Province, but extended up to the Goalpara District of Assam. To the South it is stopped.

7. Kakoti, Dr. B.- Assamese: Its Formation and Development. P. 13
8. - Ibid, P. 18
by the Tibeto-Barman language of the Garo Hills. In Bengal it is found that on the East by the Brahmaputra, with the Garo Hills on the opposite side. In the extreme South-East corner it just touches the Eastern Bengali of the Mymensingh also cross the river. On the South and West it is founded on the Northern Bengali already described and on the North on the Tibeto-Barman language of the lower Himalayas. It is spoken into the following districts Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, the Tarai of the Darjeeling districts, the native state of Coochbehar together with the portion Goalpara in Assam already mentioned. The dialect of Western and Southern Goalpara is pure Rajbonshi.10

The other sections of population of the Hindu classes who use the Kamatai (Rajbonshi) language in their day to day life are Brahmins, Kayasthas, Kalitas, Kaibartas, Napits, Hadis, Hiras and Ksenas. The Muslims of the area covered by the Kamatai language were not foreign Muslim intruders, but being the native Hindu-Indian they converted themselves to Islamic faith due to some unavoidable circumstances like socio-economic oppressions and had taken refuge under the Islamic religion. This conversion had occurred on a large scale mainly in East Bengal in the adjacent areas of East Bengal on Eastern ward. Hindus and Muslims are residing side by side in the same village in East Bengal and West.

Goalpara. The pattern of distribution of population exposed certainly, the fact that before they took to, in any way, two converse religion - Hindu and Islam, they perhaps belonged to the same cast and creed and were co-relatives or co-villagers and it would undoubtedly be not more to speak that except some stray incidence of hostilities, such feelings are noticed among them even today.¹¹

However, in the area under discussion, there are two classes of Muslims: one is local as they are locally converted to Islam and the other is Bengali Muslim, as they have come from Eastern Bengal where they have by any means converted themselves to Islam. The local Muslims use the Kamatai language or its dialect in their day-to-day life. On the contrary, the Bengali Muslims use the dialect of which they used in Eastern Bengal their original home land. This is the social popular structure of the area.¹²

After Independence of India, political re-organisation of the States was began and the famous Koch Kingdom defying its ancient status and glories was amalgamated with the present West Bengal. The District of Goalpara was a part of the Koch-Kingdom remained with the State of Assam as one of the districts. So, the language and

culture of the respective area sharply divided. The district of Rangpur and Dinajpur with Pakistan (now with Bangladesh) such political division had to some extent, disrupted the linguistic homogeneity of the tract. It is now seen, that the language, due to such political division has totally lost its past status and glory as language and is now conversely treated as dialect in different status i.e. in Assam as Goalparia dialect, in West Bengal as North Bengali dialect, in Bangladesh as a Rangpuria dialect. But prior to those divisions the dialect of the whole area was firmly a compact one, with its prestige as language with written records of immense value.

Goalparia Dialect - Its Character and Differences: The spoken language of the people of Goalpara is called Goalparia, but the spoken language has its different forms in different places of the district. The East, West and Middle portion of the district the dialect takes its local form. With the local characteristics, nature formation, the dialect the dialect has its local name, such as Ghulia, Jharia, Barohazari, Namdania, Habraghatia etc. By linguistic evidence, the dialect of Goalpara may be divided into two main trends - East Goalparia and West Goalparia. The first comprises the East portion of the North bank and South portion of the East bank, the second consists of West portion of the North and the Southern part of Eastern portion. But in the middle portion of the two main trends of the same dialect
with mixed character, nature and formation. Inspite of this, there were some tribal people like Bodo, Rava; and they also spoke their own dialect. That is why there has a great relation and coherence in words, character, nature, pronunciation and tone of speaking. 13

(a) The Eastern Goalparia: The Eastern Goalparia dialect is certainly a dialect of Assamese in its nature, phonology and at its formation. There has some similarities with the Western Kamrupi and the Western Goalparia with Western Kamrupi. In South Goalpara, there are some Rava communities speak the same dialect. So, the colloquial dialect of the area formed with a separate natural character.

(b) The Western Goalparia: The colloquial dialect of the Western Goalparia are different in its forms and phonology with the other dialects of the Assamese language. It has got more affinity and co-relation with the Eastern Goalparia and Western Kamrupi dialects. Hence, the Western Goalparia dialect is also being recognised as the dialect of Assamese. 14

All the Western dialects differ to a greater or

Bora, Dr. Dhrubajyoti - Oh Mor Suria Maat: Jatio Bhasa Hichabe Asamiya Bhasar Bisash. 1994, P. 166.
lesser extent, from the standard colloquial both phonologically and morphologically. There are, however, few differences in respect of basic phonemes.

But as we proceed westwards, the differences became and more pronounced and in the case of West Goalparia they extended to the field of basic phonemes as well. For example, the distinctive, 'h' sound of Assamese is absent in the Western Goalparia dialect; again 't', 'th', 'd', 'dh', and 't', 'th', 'd', 'dh' retain their dental and cerebral values respectively in Western Goalparia whereas they became alveolar in other dialects of Assamese. Similarly, with 'c', 'ch', and 's' sound; they are present in West Goalparia but absent in other Assamese dialects.15

Now we come to the sentences and words which determine the relationship among the Western Goalparia, Eastern Goalparia and Western Kamrupi:

15. Dutta, Dr. B. - "Non standard form of Assamese: Their socio-cultural role". An article published in Linguistic Situation in North-East India, edited by Mrinal Miri, P. 63.
Western Kamrupi | Eastern Goalparia | Western Goalparia  
-----------------|------------------|------------------

a) Mai Bhat Khaon | Moi/May Bhat Khang | Mui Bhat Khang  
(I eat rice)  
b) Hi F'uai Gaise | Hi Bihane Gaise | Uai Bihane Gaise  
(He has gone in the morning)  
c) Athen Kai Ahil? | Akhon Kai Ahil? | Ala Kai Ashil?  
(Who came now?)  
d) Mai Patharat | Moi/Moy Patharat | Mui Patharat  
Najawn | Najang | Najang  
(I shall not go to the field)  
e) Rati Ghumti Nai | Rati Ghumti Nai | Rati/Aaitat Ninth Nai  
(No sleep at night)  
f) Atu Kar Soli? | Aaita Kar Saua? | Aaita Kar Saua?  
(Whose child is this?)  
g) Ghume Asah Kia? | Ghumai Asa Kio? | Shuti Asish Keer?  
(Why are you sleeping?)  

Without study the Goalparia dialect; the study of Assamese language would be incompletely, particularly. The old Assamese language has close relation and interrelation with Goalparia dialect, in regard to its phonology, pronunciation, etc. 16

has the same root as Assamese in Sanskrit, there are distinctive features in the literary style and expression. Without going into details, the distinction can not be easily pointed out. We cited one special grammatical form. As in other parts of Assam, so in the district of Goalpara, the negative 'na' is place before the verbs, when in Bengali it is placed after the verb; [Example: in English "I will not go"; in Bengali "Aami Jabona"; in Assamese "Moi Najabon"; in Goalparia "Moi Najang".]*

Language Problem, Controversy and Social Tension:

The language problem, controversy and social tension created in time to time, before and after Independence. Zamindars, except the Raja of Bizni and Sidli, the amalaha played the vital role to create the language controversy in the District, the Assamese (Goalparia) speaking people demanded for the mother-tongue Goalparia. Goalparia is the dialect of Assamese but the Bengali speaking people, i.e. the Zamindars, Amalaha, demanded that the Dialect Goalparia is the dialect of Bengali language. The Goalpara Diz

* Source - Received a letter from S.C. Sinha, regarding memorandum submitted before the States Reorganisation Commission in 1955 by S.C. Sinha as the President of the District Congress Committee and as the main leader of the People's Movement in Goalpara District in 1955.
District is the Western most district of Assam. So, there is some definite impact on the Goalparia dialect with the nearest two developed languages - Assamese and Bengali. Hence, the controversy and social tension might be possible. The long administrative and cultural relation with West Bengal were the fundamental factors of the problem and controversy. On the other hand, Goalparia is a living culture and language which has influenced by both the adjacent language and culture. But it is more related with Assamese than Bengali. 17

Like Sylhet, Goalpara too once formed a part of the Bengal Presidency before 1874. A section of the people of Goalpara, particularly of the permanently settled areas felt unhappy like the Sylhetis, and almost on identical grounds wanted reunion with Bengal. It was the Bengali employees serving under the Zamindars who spearheaded the separatist movement in Goalpara District by completely identifying themselves with the Bengali culture and ignoring the sentiments of the indigenous people who generally speak Assamese. Enjoying the patronage of the Zamindars, Prabat Chandra Baruah of Gauripur, the Bengali intelligensia formed the Goalpara Association in 1918; to fight out the issue. The Government was, however, categorical on its stand: the majority of the people of Goalpara Sub-Division are Assamese or speaks Assamese, while in the Dhubri Sub-Division, they speak...

17. Bora, Dr. D. - Oh Mor Suria Maat... P.P. 114, 115.
is a majority who are in similar case on this ground also. It is impossible to contemplate separating this District from Assam.  

There was also an economic reason behind the move of the Zamindars who were by all means favour of retaining the permanent settlement. They had apprehension that the Assam Government might abolish the system. Besides, to make it an emotional problem, they raised the language issue and demanded Assamese be replaced in the Schools.

The language issue soon led to a language controversy which subsequently affected the Assamese – Bengali relations, in the 1926, Council election, it played a major role. A bonafide Assamese Swarajist candidate was rejected by the electorate, as he was suspected of being a Bengali sympathizer. Because of his writing and publishing a book on Bengali.  

Nevertheless, the Assam Sahitya Sabha held its 12th Session at Dhubri in October, 1926, under the Presidency of Benudhar Rajkhowa who made an appeal to the Bengalis to follow principles of "Live and Let Live" – without inter

ferring with the Assamese culture. He deprecated the move for separation of Goalpara District to Bengal. The main Session of the Sabha was also schedule to be held at Goalpara in 1927. Prabhat Chandra Baruah's group became hostile and tried outmost to foil the Goalpara Session. They visited place to place like, Bilashipara, Lakhipur, etc.; to organise public opinion against the holding of literary conference. At Baruah's behest Bholanath Choudhury relinquished the office of the Chairman of the reception committee. The group launched a campaign for the introduction Bengali, opposition to Goalpara Tenancy Bill (1929), and boycott of the Sahitya Sabha Session. They even planned to hoist a rival meeting to counteract the effects of the Sahitya Sabha Session. However, their plan failed through. The Government took all precautionary measures to maintain peace and order during the conference day. nothing untoward happened. The 10th Sahitya Sabha Session was held at Goalpara in October 1927 and passed various resolutions such as retention of Goalpara in Assam, introduction of Assamese in the Schools and Courts etc. Presiding over the Session, Tarun Ram Phukan seeing the pitiable condition of Assam, said that

* Notes - Prabhat Chandra Baruah, the Zamindar of Gaui (Ghurla) sometimes was infavour of the Assamese language and sometimes was infavour of the Bengali Language. He was more interested in his Zamindari rather than the interest of the Assamese language.
imminent Assamese people of Goalpara District at the instigation of an interested quarter were intending to cross over to Bengal. He appealed to them through the Sahitya Sabha to refrain from doing so and not to desert Assam at this critical hour.\footnote{Bhuyan, A.C - Political History of Assam, Vol. II, p. 297; Dutta, K.N. - Land Marks of The History of The Freedom Struggle in Assam, 1957, P. 41.}

The Goalpara separation issue was on the whole confined to a handful of Zamindar and their Bengali Amlals. When the issue was raised in the Goalpara District Association, the majority opposed its transfer to Bengal. The indigenous always stood opposed to the secessionist move. The Bodos, the Garos and the Ravas jointly submitted a memorandum to the Governor on 8 August, 1928, requesting him not to transfer the District against their will. They mentioned that they were the bonafide inhabitants of the District. But the Zamindars were acting against their will and interests. They said "......the Zamindars of Goalpara are so powerful that the vast uneducated tenants leaving in their estates can scarcely withstand influenced and obstruct their own asserting and aggrandising movement......" The Bodos in the Bodo Mahasanmilan and the Ravas in the Assam Rava Conference, voiced opposition to the amalgamation move. Support ...
the resolution passed in the Assam Sahitya Sabha Session they played a retention of Goalpara in Assam. The question of transfer of Goalpara should be settled, they demanded in consideration of "the general opinion and interest of the great bulk of the population", of the District.  

In 1929, another attempt was made by the Goalpara Zamindars' Association, when it presented a memorandum to permanently settled areas to Bengal as they had no representative in the Assam Council and as the majority of the people speak Bengali. On the contrary, the Goalpara District Association under the leadership of Promoth Nath Chakravorti submitted a memorandum to the same Commission opposing any kind of territorial changes necessitating transfer of the District. The memorandum pointed out that frequent territorial changes had contributed towards economic backwardness of the Province and that separatist movement was the brat child of the few interested people. It mentioned:

"That a portion of bonafide inhabitant of the District of Goalpara speaks Assamese language will be borne out by history, only those who have come from Bengal either to settle themselves or to make money, speak in Bengali."


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this District of Goalpara is to be separated from the Province of Assam merely because a few persons who have not much interest to stake speak Bengali, many district of India will have to be recast and innumerable provinces formed which will comberous and costly affairs."22

The linguistic affinity could not be the sole criterion. Historically, ethnologically and socially Goalpara formed an integral part of Assam, the memorandum further emphasised the socio-cultural life of Goalpara in closed relation with the rest of Assam. Whatever, the District made it was owing to its association with Assam. ".....the people of the district do not like the idea of having transferred to Bengal as they fear that it will retrograde their progress in all directions - educational, social and political." The local people and also the Bodos, the Garos and the Ravas submitted a memorial to the Simon Commission opposing transfer.23

The Simon Commission in its report did not make any recommendation for territorial changes affecting the Goalpara District. In 1929, the Goalpara Tenancy Act was

passed along with it the separatist movement died down. Government lost all interest on the separation issue. Neither Sylhet nor Goalpara separation issue figured in the Communal Award of 1932. The people of the Surma Valley were happy that all speculation about transfer of Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara to Bengal were set aside. The realities of the situation, they felt, would improve the mutual relations among the people of the two Valleys.24

Government's Language Policy, Problems and The Immigrant Muslims:

The Government policy as expressed by B.C. Allen, Commissioner, Assam Valley was to assimilate these Muslims to the native population. So far as Goalpara and the Muslims, the bulk of whom were Bengali immigrant concerned, it became impossible for Government to pursue a straightforward policy. Allen said, "....the instruction should be in Assamese which is the country of their adoption." But he cautiously, suggested, "....the use of Assamese where it was not strongly objected to and did not influence the immigrants against sending their children to Schools. The Government decided generally endorse the Commissioner's view. But where a School was situated in the midst of the immigrants. In the other places of Assamese predominance, the language would be Assamese, each case being decided on...

merit. This only confirmed to the policy of local option.

At this stage, Chandradhar Baruah of Jorhat Sarbajanik Sabha, is a memorial, lamented that the Assamese language was being driven out of Local Board Schools in Goalpara District and appealed to the Governor for action. In a counter memorial, Saifur Rahman, former member of the Assam Legislative Council, member of Goalpara Local Board and President of Anjuman-E-Islamia, Goalpara challenged Baruah's contention and said that, "...the language of the division is no doubt Assamese; but Bengali is the prevailing language of the District which required as mass protection as any other language." "...this was a persistently typical example of the two attitude involved in the language controversy in Assam."

Under the Montague-Chelmsford reforms, education became a transferred subject and the matter came to popular representative in the Legislative Council for decision. But Education Minister, Raibahadur Promode Chandra Datta, a Bengali from Surma Valley, decided on 27th October, 1966.

that, "....where local opinion is substantially strong provision should be made for teaching in both the languages. He also denied School Committees the power to determine the language. The Goalpara Local Board's Resolution noted earlier has not, however, undone. 26

In 1925, Saadulla admitted in reply to a question in the Legislative Council that, "....Goalpara is a bilingual district...." and asserted that the Government policy of 1914 was still being followed. The Governor accepted Saadulla's views as sound and deplored the continuous agitation on language in Goalpara District when the need of the hour was the removal of illiteracy. He would not allow the Chairman of the Local Board to change a language without previously taking expert opinion of the Education Department who would take "....every step possible to ascertain the wishes of the majority of the villagers or persons.... ." The Local Board would have to ensure such consultation. This decision took the Bengalis to a disadvantage. 27

In 1927, the Brahmaputra Valley had a total of 3,307 Primary Schools against 3,559 in Surma Valley. Of these, Goalpara had 723 the largest number second only to Kamrup. All together 278 Schools of all classes in the

27. - Ibid, P. 33.
Brahmaputra Valley continued to impart education in Benjel, 227 being in Goalpara alone.28

Immediately after Partition, Assamese leaders became more vocal about the status of their language and culture and demanded the instruction of Assamese in the Provinces as a whole and its adoption as the State language. On 26 September, 1947, the Bordoloi Government directed that, ".....Assamese is accepted as compulsory second language in all Schools where it cannot be Assamese completely." To the Bengali's complaint of Government's partiality in the matter and imposition of Assamese on them, Gopinath Bordoloi, Chief Minister replied on 23 March, 1948 in the Assembly: "If you must analyse the population of Assam, you will find there is hardly any community in Assam which can be called the majority community. I do not know whether the fact is known... . In Assam, there is no community in which the population of another community... ." Again, ".....as I said, there are hardly any minorities in the Province. That is, I suppose to the best interest of the Province, no body can rule over any body on account of the member of a community and that has probably been one of the reasons why we have lived in such peace and unity."29

But participating in a debate on a cut motion to raise a discussion on the question of alleged imposition of Assamese and protection Bengali language in Goalpara, Moni Phukan made a categorical assertion on 29 March. He said "...this question of protection..." members of the Bengali speaking minority of Goalpara District can not be arise.... . Regarding on language, Assamese must be the state language of the Province (hear, hear)...... . So "the question is solved once for all." Claiming to speak with authority in the matter regarding mind of the people he asserted "....we will have Assamese alone a our State language and the State can not nourish any other language in this Province.30

The medium of instruction in Primary, Middle and Secondary Schools of Goalpara District was not completed. Bengali or Assamese, medium of instruction on the Western Gauranga river was Assamese. The Western part of Dhubri Division was influenced by the Zamindars of Gauripur was in favour of Bengali language. The Rokakhata High School established in 1946 was only an Assamese medium. The Eastern part

of Gauranga river influenced by the Raja of Bizni and Sid... They were all culturally Assamese and related with the local people. The local people were completely Assamese. So the medium of instruction in the Schools was Assamese.

The Eastern and Southern part of South bank of the river Brahmaputra was also Assamese except the Government Boys' Higher Secondary School situated at Goalpara town. But all the Primary and Middle Schools were instructed by Assamese. The people of the South bank were Assamese. Of the total Schools of Dhubri, Gauripur, Bilashipara and Sapatia where most of the Schools instructed in the Bengali language.

Language of the Courts in the District and the Process of Assamisation:

For more than ten years after the annexation of the Province, the Assamese was the language of the Courts. But it was a tragedy for the Assamese people of Assam that

31. Source - S.C. Sinha, Former President, D.C.C. Dhubri and Chief Minister, Assam; D.K. Medhi, Former Principal explained the situation of Assam language during interview in 19 May, 1996.

"under the provision of Act XXIX of 1837, and Section 3.7 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the language of the soil was to be used in Judicial and Revenue proceedings; but it was neglected in the case of Assam. In Assam Bengali made the Court language with the medium of instruction in the Schools. By so many hue and cry - protest, writings, memorandum; and after long 26 years Lt. Governor of Bengal on Assam by his resolution dated 19th April, 1873 ordered Assamese to be re-instated in Courts and Schools in Assam with the 29th provision of the aforesaid Criminal Procedure.

The entire Brahmaputra Valley got scope for teach and practice of Vernacular Assamese except Goalpara District. In Goalpara District the language of the court of the District Headquarter Court, Dhubri and Sub-Divisional Court of Goalpara town had been continuing.

Before Independence, the Bengali Language was mostly used in Courts. Side by side, the use of Assamese had been continuing. But after Independence, gradually replacing Bengali by Assamese. More people started filling petitions in Assamese and that Assamese started being use in the Courts. The immigrant Bengali Muslims recorded in the J

33. Neog, Dimbeswar - Discoveries of Modern Asomiya Literature, P.335.
Census, Assamese as their mother-tongue. They were writing in Assamese in the offices and the Courts, filling petitions, and for other purposes. They used their typical Assamese. Even when they could not acquire knowledge of Assamese, they tried to create impression using “𝐀” (Rā) instead of “𝐑” (Rā) only. 𝐀 is an Assamese alphabet and 𝐑 is a Bengali alphabet, while the substance of the language was Bengali.34

After Independence, the process of Assamisation in the District rapidly developed. There was an urge for Schools for Assamese medium. The local School Board was much helpful in fulfilling the aspiration of the people for conversion of Bengali medium Schools into Assamese ones. Deputy Commissioner, Khanindra Chandra Baruah, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Hariprasanna Tamuly, Inspector Schools Nur Bax were every kind of helpful for conversion of Bengali medium Schools into Assamese ones. They were easily granted Assamese medium School, even on informal application. The then Goalpara Congress President, Sarat Chandra Sinha, his colleague Druba Narayan Baruah, Umaruddin, Sazed Ahmed Ali, D.K. Medhi, Mayjuddin Sk., Dwijendra Nath Chakraborty, Bazlul Basit, Abdul Karim, Rahimuddin Ahmed (Supply), Ritendra Mohan Dutta, Jadavananda Adhikary etc. led the Assamisation procession. But ultimately, they succeeded.

34. Source - S.C. Sinha’s experience, remembered when he was a lawyer in Dhubri Court around 1949.
their objective. By 1955, most of the Schools in the District converted very soon.\textsuperscript{35}

The Assamese speaking people in the District in 1931 Census was 19.4\% while in 1951 Census it increased to 62\%. The increased population was no doubt immigrant Muslims. Who were adopted Assamese as their mother-tongue in the 1951 Census. So, we have had majority of Assamese speaking people in the District.\textsuperscript{36}

Naturally, the Zamindars, their Bengali oriente amahals, a section of Bengali lawyers and the Bengali intelligentsia in the District were against the conversion of Assamisation. On the other hand, Assamese community such as Rajbonshis, Muslim (both indigenous and immigrants), Bodo, Nath, Kalita, Rava, Fisherman, Brahmin, Shil etc. were in favour of conversion. Due to the obstacle of conversion, the whole District surcharged with the social tension and controversy. Majority of the people strongly demanded the recognition of Assamese as their official language.

There was also other reasons behind the problem.

\textsuperscript{35} Mayjuddin Sk. - A close accompany of Sarat Chandra during consultation in his home on the above facts and experiences on 28.5.95.

\textsuperscript{36} Deka, Dr. Usha - Background of Assam Movement, P.29
and social tension - the ethos of the people, socio-economic problems, the question of employment and the matter relating to the overall well being of the indigenous were the main concern.  

According to the "Two Nation Theory" of the India Muslim League, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani spearheaded the League's movement in the District, to create Pakistan for the Muslims. In the name of religion, Bhasani continuously propagating "Two Nation Theory". The Muslim League planned to include Assam into East Pakistan, if it is not possible at least some Thanas (Police Station) of Goalpara District such as Dhubri, S. Salmara, Mankachar, Bilsapara and Golokganj must be included.

But ultimately, the Country was divided into India and Pakistan on the same Theory. A Boundary Commission was also constituted with Redcliff as its Chairman to determine the boundary disputes between India and Pakistan when arises. On account of certain ambiguity, the question arose whether the District of Goalpara was within the terms of

37. Source - Jogeswar Roy, Atul Chandra Roy of Chaparan and Bahalpur remembered their past experience during consultation on the above subject matter.

38. Sarma, Sibanada - Goalpara Zalar Itihas, P. 167
references ? There was a delegation constituting of Santu Chandra Sinha and Santosh Kumar Baruah, both were the Members – Assam Legislative Assembly, went to Delhi to meet Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to make out their demand that the District of Goalpara should never be included within the terms of reference. Thereafter they came to Calcutta to appear before the Boundary Commission sitting in Belvedre Hall. In course of proceedings of the Commission, there came a telegram from its Chairman that the District was not included within the terms of reference. Hence, the District Goalpara remained with India; for that with Assam.39