

Reflection and Reaction of the 'Assam Riots' of 1893-94 in the Native Newspapers

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Abstract:

The second-half of the history of the nineteenth century Assam is remarkable for the peasant movements against the excessive hike of the land revenue by the colonial government. Loaded with the burden of numerous problems, particularly excessive enhancement of the land revenue, the peasantry of the Brahmaputra valley launched vigorous protest movement against the government in three phases i.e. in 1861, 1868-69, and in 1893-94. The last and the most vigorous phase with militant character was occurred in 1893-94 as the helpless peasantry, particularly of Darrang and Kamrup districts organised under the leadership of a rural organization called *raijmel* and started a vigorous protest movement. When the government tried to suppress the movement, at certain places e.g. at Rangiya and Sarukshetri (Lachima) in Kamrup and at Patharughat in Darrang, the colonial forces came into violent physical conflicts with the disgruntled peasantry resulting loss of several lives. The contemporary native press of India not only mirrored the events but also harshly criticized the government for their policies and actions. This study is an attempt to trace out the reflection and reaction about these insurrections in the contemporary newspapers in India.

Keywords: land revenue, Assam Riots, native newspaper, reflection and reaction.

Introduction:

In June 1892, Sir William Erskine Ward, the Chief Commissioner of Assam proposed the Resettlement Rules by which he firstly, classified the lands as first, second and third class villages instead of old *basti*, *rupit* and *faringati* classes; and secondly, enhanced the rent rates as 100, 80 and 70 per cent with an overall increase of 53 per cent on the existing rates i.e. 1 *rupee*, 12 *annas* and 8 *annas* per *bigha* respectively. The peasants, first of all, dazed at these changes with shock, and then realized its graveness and objected in black and white. From the five upper districts of the valley 16,486 numbers of written memorials of objections were submitted to the government of which 14,877 numbers were from Kamrup district only. But the government did not pay any heed to their grievances. Rather, Mr. Ward reduced the overall rates himself up to 37 per cent in 1893 and ordered the district officials to realize the enhanced revenue from the *ryots*, even by force, although the final decision of the central government and the reply to their memorials were yet to come. At this moment the disgruntled peasantry, particularly of the northern Kamrup region and Mangaldoi subdivision

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of Darang, as last resort, organised under the leadership of *raijmel*¹, a unique socio-political organisation, and launched a vigorous protest movement with a no-rent campaign. The colonial authority of Assam decided to crush the movement with force resulted a series of violent physical conflicts with the peasantry in certain places.

The first conflict was took place at Rangia *tahsil* in Kamrup district where on 24th December 1893 some peasants destroyed some huts of Marwari *mahajans* at Rangiya market established by the British, and on the 10th January 1894 thousands of peasants demonstrated and attacked on the police station where R. B. McCabe, the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup, was encamped. However, the movement was suppressed with military force and the leaders of the rebel peasantry were arrested, tried and punished. The respectable persons of the area and leaders of the *raijmels* were compelled to work as special constable to help in realization of land revenue. Other arrested persons, including some religious dignitaries like *gossains* of *satras*, were compelled to work physical labour as convicted criminals.²

The second place of conflict was the Sarukshetri area of Barpeta subdivision in Kamrup. The *ryots* of the area organised *raijmels* in the various parts of the area and decided not to pay the enhanced revenue. On the 21st January, a revenue collecting party including some policemen led by the *mouzadar* of Sarukshetri *mouza* were attacked and severely beaten by the *ryots* and killed a *mandal*. The EAC (Extra Assistant Commissioner) of Barpeta immediately arrested 75 leading men involved with this attack and imprisoned in a temporary lock-up, but more than three thousand people of this area rushed to the Lachma camp and forcefully released the detainees. Next day, on the request of the EAC, Mr. McCabe, with an armed force rushed to the spot and let loose a reign of terror in the area. By the 25th January he arrested 69 leading persons of the area and kept them confine in a lock-up built by the captives themselves. At least six thousand *ryots* assembled near the Lachima camp and tried to forcefully release the captives. They also demonstrated variously and threatened to attack the camp. However, with the help of military force the movement was suppressed completely.³

The last and the most violent confrontation was took place at Patharughat in Darrang district on the 28th January 1894. The peasants of Mangaldoi subdivision in Darrang district in protest of the enhancement started 'no-rent' campaign. Therefore, the Deputy Commissioner J. D. Anderson along with J. R. Berington, the Police Superintend and an armed force came to suppress the movement and stayed at the government bungalow of Patharughat. The *ryots* of the area decided to seat in a *raijmel* there to request him to withdraw the enhancement and assembled in front of the bungalow on the 28th January. But Mr. Anderson tried to disperse the assembly forcefully and when the disgruntled peasant refused to budge, he ordered his armed force charged them with bayonet and lastly opened fire upon the unarmed assembly. In repulse, the peasants also attacked the colonial force with earthen clods, split bamboo sticks etc. In this firing incident, according to official report, 15 peasants were died and 37 others were injured.⁴ But according to unofficial record, 140 people lost their lives and equal numbers of peasants were injured.⁵

Thus, the movement was suppressed and came to an end.

Officially these peasant insurrections of 1893-94 were labelled as ‘Assam Riots’. This paper is a primary attempt to find out the reflection and reaction of this historical event of the in the native newspapers of India published in the year 1894.

Objectives: this study is intended to:

1. Find out the causes of discontentment of the peasantry regarding the land revenue reassessment of 1892-93.
2. Trace out the role played by the native newspapers to influence the contemporary politics of India.

Data and methodology: It is an empirical study and basically based on the primary sources like government official reports, correspondences, and contemporary newspapers and newspaper reports. To supplement it, the secondary data like published books, journals, souvenirs etc. are also consulted amply.

Findings:

Surprisingly, the peasant movement of 1893-94, had neither got any support from the Assamese educated middle class nor it mirrored in the local newspapers and literature. Hence, the colonial authority of Assam as well as India distorted the very facts of the movement and created a narrative of the events to suit their own interests and came as rescuer of the concern officials with appreciation. In fact, that was a total discourse of power to write the history of the movements to hide the ground reality. But the contemporary Indian newspapers, English and vernacular, played a very important role to expose the Government and their tyrannical policies not only to the Indian public but also to the home public in England. In fact, several Indian newspapers harshly criticised the land revenue policy of the Government as well as the tyrannical behaviour of the Government officials along with depicting the real picture of the movements contrary to the official narratives. Even it influenced the regular activities of the central Government and the annual session of the Central Legislative Council. The papers also, though indirectly, helped in the process of growth of nationalism in India.

Discussion:

Immediately after the insurrections, in its issue of 8th February 1894, headed ‘The consequences of enhancing land assessment without proper reasons’ the paper *Native Opinion* discussed how the Government enhanced land assessment without considering the objections of the land holders and how the exasperated *ryots* of Kamrup district mobbed and refused to pay land assessment. The paper also criticised the Government by saying that though it ‘dispersed the mobs by using arms and killing some people’, their attitude and behaviour to the people was no way better than the Mughal rulers.⁶

The *Shubh Suchak*, a vernacular newspaper, in its issue of the 9th February, regarding the riots of Assam said that the peasants of India never rose into revolt unless the land assessment increased to the point where it left nothing for them to live after defraying the cost of cultivation. The paper also criticised the European officers, who were ignorant about the peasantry and the agriculture of the country, and have no any sympathy for agriculturists.

Rather, ‘...thought uppermost in their minds is to secure the praise of Government by bringing more and more money into the treasury, and hence they commit the political blunder of creating discontentment among the people.’⁷ It also said that there must be a limit in enhancement of land revenue. ‘The policy of enhancing the land assessment and making it unbearable is now in vogue throughout India, and has thrown the agriculturists hopelessly into debt, but the Government does not yet look to it and give up its greediness’.⁸

In its issue of 11th February, *The Amrit Bazar Patrika*, a prominent weekly paper of India, harshly criticised the Government for its latest classification of land as well as the excessive hike of the land revenue rates: ‘Thus, not only a new principle was introduced not only classifying lands according to the productive power of the soil, etc., but the increase of revenue over the old rates was unprecedentedly high. Indeed, it will be seen that in the case of the first class *basti*, *roopit* and *farangati* lands, the increase was 100 per cent.....the great bulk of the villages was placed in the first class, and so the majority of the people had their rent literally doubled.’⁹ Again, it said that the new classification system of lands was fixed without considering the productive capacity of the land: ‘If each holding could be valued at according to its productive capacity, etc., and the assessment fixed accordingly, the principle was a sound one; but, the classification was not by each plot but by each map as surveyed by the Cadastral Survey and called a village. All the plots of land situated in this so called village, are placed in one class, whatever may be the differences in their situation or productive powers, and no two plots could be found identical in those respects. The method of Classification was thus most unsound and most objectionable, and was naturally received with the utmost dissatisfaction by the *ryots*.’¹⁰ The paper also criticised the chief Commissioner for the hastily implementation of the proposed ‘Resettlement Rules’ without giving sufficient time for public criticism after the publication of the draft in the *Assam Gazette*.¹¹ At the same time, the paper also alleged that the incident of firing upon the *ryots* by the armed police at Patharughat was not incidental, but a premeditated experiment of the Ball Cartridge Circular of Viceroy Lord Lansdowne, and depicted a heartrending picture of the incident, ‘The experiment, as we said, was very successful. The riots were speedily crushed. The police acted with commendable zeal. Volleys after volleys were fired upon the people, and the result was magnificent. They fell down dead, as we are told, like water-fowls in an undisturbed lake, first operated upon by a keen sportsman. Nay, the police exceeded the instructions in the Circular, and made some new experiments of their own motion. In some places, we are told, the police not only fired ball-cartridge upon the masses, but also charged them with bayonets and the result of the operation was thus very comprehensive; for, not only those who were armed with clods, wounded and slaughtered, but also many spectators.’¹² The paper mockingly said that it was a fine opportunity to examine by a commission regarding some the other vital questions of the Ball Cartridge Circular like from what distance the volleys fired, what was the percentage of its effect, how far the ball penetrated in the body, and which part of the body did it strike etc. Even the paper doubted that there would have no bloodshed, but for the Circular, or there was no riot, but an exaggeration to hide the shortcomings of the Government officials. Lastly, it expected an enquiry commission from the Government side to prove the justification of the firing.¹³

The paper *The Native Opinion* also in its English columns of the 18th February stated that present Assam riots had very little to do with the *sávkár* (moneylender) as the Deccan agricultural riots, and basically caused by the ‘revision of settlements followed by enhancement of rents, and the patience of the *rayats* being sufficiently tried, their protest against enhancement is said to have resulted in the use of shot and shell.’¹⁴ Criticising the Government, the paper mentioned that the Government which had often taunted the Bengal *zamindárs* for its unlawful exactions and denounced the *zamindárs* for oppression, and now it comes in for a similar share of blames at the hands of the Assam *rayats* who already informed the Supreme Government about their unbearable condition to pay the enhanced land rent. But, before the final decision came, the official anxiety and hastiness to collect the revenue, ended in bloodshed. The paper also somehow confirmed the claim that the number of death tolled in the police firing at Patharughat was more than the official record i.e. 15 in number, ‘It is sad to contemplate that the under the benign rule of Her Majesty a hundred agriculturists should be shot down for declining to pay rent!’¹⁵ Like *The Amrit Bazar Patrika*, this paper also demanded an independent enquiry on the police atrocities on the people.¹⁶ The *Poona Vaibhav*, in its issue of 25th February, comparing the present land revenue collection method in Assam with the Mughal rulers, wrote that the Mughals were better than the British Government of India who had punished the revenue defaulters to stand in the sun with stones on their heads or fastened a horse’s feed-bag filled with ashes which the Englishmen were boastfully characterised as extreme inhuman, but they were now shooting the poor unarmed revenue defaulters for the sake of land revenue. The paper also said that the present situation of the Indian was ‘a very dreadful’ one, and presumed the possibilities of introducing the same method which had been now enforced in Assam, in the other parts of India in future.¹⁷

The *Indu Prakash*, in its issue of 19th February, though admitted good qualities possessed by the colonial Government of India and expressed its extreme loyalty to the Government, yet it also criticised British administration for its concomitant extreme greediness, partiality as well as injustice and cruelty had been displayed to the Indians. ‘...we cannot hide the fact that they will get fit retribution for their policy of stripping us of everything, twisting our entrails and starving us, for harassing effects of which policy they are incurring the curses of the persecuted *rayats*.’¹⁸ The paper compared the justice system of the British rulers with the fables like ‘the lamb and the fox’ and ‘the monkey and conglobated milk’, and warned that whosoever the rule, and howsoever strong it might be, if it was involved in the flames of the curses of the harassed subjects, it would sure to meet with the fate of the butterfly hovering over a light. It also criticised the bureaucrats for their extremely high-handed nature and attitude which the Government, instead of controlling, appreciated by stigmatising their acts as a character of bravery and justice. The paper also pointed out the extreme impoverished condition of the peasantry in India in last few years on account of the gradual infertility of lands resulting low produce to pay the dues of the Government, and it was the ‘duty of the benevolent Government to consider the condition of the cultivators in these circumstances’. But, on the contrary, the Government officers were busy in best calculating the situation and issuing orders to serve its own selfish ends. The paper explained, ‘In January last the *rayats* in the Kamrup District in Assam entreated the Deputy Commissioner to postpone the collection of the land assessment until the Government of

India replied to the reference made to it on the subject, but their entreaties were unheeded. The *rayats* were driven away by the police and were bayoneted and fired upon when through exasperation and despair they refused to disperse. In this attack some people were killed, the number of deaths officially reported being 12, though this number cannot be relied upon. This slaughter of innocent petitioners maddened by hunger is certainly thrilling and likely to excite persons of even the most quiet temperament. It is a matter for satisfaction, however, that the Government of India has reduced the assessment in this case.¹⁹

Although, in his official report, Mr. McCabe had denied the use of bayonets and loss of lives in the peasant insurrection of Sarukshetri (Lachima), but the paper *Sahachar* claimed that the sepoys had charged with bayonets and wounded many peasants among whom one Tazu Shekh of Barigram of Dramapur *mouza* and another Latharia Kalita of Sarukshetri *mouza* was severely injured of whom Tazu Shekh was died later.²⁰ Regarding the Government atrocities at Rangia, paper *Bangavasi* in its issue of the 24th February wrote, ‘...great oppressions are being still committed on the *rayats*. They are being sent to jail in numbers on the charge of having been implicated in the riots. At Rangiya a new jail has been temporarily devised, to which everyone who is suspected of having been implicated in the riots, irrespective of caste, creed and rank of society, is being sent by way of punishment. Respectable people are being enlisted as special constables and employed in collecting rents. The people do not any longer dare to refuse rent...’²¹ Regarding the police atrocities in Kamrup, a respectable person from Guwahati wrote a letter with deep regrets in *The Bengal Times* in its issue of 10th February: ‘In Kamrup district, villages have been deserted by their male residents. How females are faring, requires very strong nerves to describe. Articles of food and furniture, money and household utensils are all being looted. A building is under construction for a new jail; and highly respectable Brahmins, Gossains and other people are being made to work even harder than ordinary coolies. Among such labourers are to be found Gossains of Birahokooti²², whose disciples in Kamrup alone exceeded one lakh in number. It is distressing and heart-rending to see them work as coolies. All this, however, sinks into utter insignificance in view of an almost brutal treatment that is being accorded to ladies of respectable families. There is no disturbance in Hajo Tehsil, and *ryots* there are parting even with their household articles of every-day use, in order to pay down revenue, and thus save themselves from oppressions. Yet some ten to twelve respectable men in that Tahsil were charged under section 506, and taken to a camp at Lachhima, where after having been made to work as coolies for 7 or 8 days, they were appointed special constables and set free.’²³ The paper *Sahachar* too, on the 4th April, criticised the Government for punishing all the population of the places of riot, guilty as well as innocent, and objected the law relating to the appointment of special constables, ‘...in this country this wholesome provision of the law has been converted into an engine of oppression’.²⁴ Another vernacular paper *Sanjivani* also, on the 7th April, criticised the latest reassessment as the Government inserted a condition in the *pattas* wherein the land holders were not allowed to transfer, gift and sale their lands without sanction of the Collector by which it would definitely leave the land-holders helpless in times of need.²⁵

Again, the *Mahratta* in its issue on the 8th April criticised the statement of the Chief Commissioner in which he ascribed the blame for the riots on the bad advice of the leaders of

the *mel* and denied the fact that the *ryotts* were intelligent enough to understand and feel the hardship caused by such a sudden and oppressive cent percent enhancement of land revenue which was entailed upon them by the Government. 'Of late, it has become a fashion with Government officers to shove responsibility for their mistakes and misdeeds to wrong shoulders, and the Chief Commissioner of Assam is no exception to the rule.'²⁶ It also criticised the Government officers that they had neither sympathy nor any touch with the people to understand their problems and their preposterous view that the *ryots* were too ignorant to mould by the 'bad advice' as the Government chamber alone had the 'sole monopoly of wisdom and sound advice' to understand the real interest of the peasants. If it was so, then the Government should understand that the economic condition of the peasantry must be miserably poor indeed 'when an enhancement of revenue drives them to face the fire from the guns'.²⁷

The paper *Duyán Prakásh* too, in its issue of 9 April, criticised the policy of Lord Lansdowne's Government for the insurrections: 'The real cause of this sudden outburst of anarchy is nothing but an unwarranted—we might say quite tyrannously exorbitant enhancement of revenue rates. The sudden increase of the rates from Rs. 4 a *Poora* to Rs. 8, 12, 17, and 24 is certainly a thing that is sure to create a revolt in any agricultural country.'²⁸ The paper also criticised the Government officials including the Chief Commissioner of Assam as they had not acted sympathetically with the riotous peasants: 'At such junctures, the officials ought to show more kindness than what they generally do. But kindness and sympathy are exactly the things that our latter day British officials have not—neither do they feel for the lack of it.'²⁹

The Dainik Samachar Chandrika on 9 April criticised the Chief Commissioner of Assam for his claim in his despatch telegram of the 21st February 1894 to the central Government of India that the *ryots* of Assam were informed about the final order of reduced rates before the riot broke out at Patharughat as 'not quite correct'. Rather, the paper said, his telegram supported the view that in most places revenue was collected at the rates first fixed by the Chief Commissioner.³⁰ It further said, 'A careful perusal of the despatch clearly shows that, in the first instance the Chief Commissioner committed the utmost *zulm* on the *rayats*, in order to maintain his *zid*, and collect rents at the rates fixed by himself, and that he paid no heed at first to the representations of the *rayats*. It was when he saw that affairs were taking rather a serious turn that he tried to appease the *rayats*. But it is not easy to appease the entire body of *raytas* in a province when they have once become excited.'³¹ Again, it refuted the argument of the Chief Commissioner that land revenue in Assam, even after the recent enhancement, had not equalled with the revenue of the other provinces by saying it as 'quite worthless'. It also blamed Mr. Ward for increasing the land-rent one hundred percent all at once and for submitting the report in November which was due from him in July. The paper blamed the colonial authority of India for not replying the memorials of the *ryots* in a proper time. On the other hand, the paper criticised the local authorities Assam for their highhandedness; and rebuked the police for the forceful collection of the rent from the *ryots* which had rapidly worsened the situation. 'The Government of India may do anything it likes to exonerate Mr. Ward, but there is no denying that Mr. Ward was most to blame for the unfortunate occurrence in Assam.'³²

The *Indian Spectator*, on the 15th April, wrote that the police and military of the colonial Government succeed in dispersing the *ryots* who came to protest the cent per cent enhancement of the existing rents of the three classes of land, but it compelled the Government to reduce the rents to 60, 40 and 20 per cents respectively. As well as it criticised the Government's allegation that the insurrections were not the 'spontaneous outbursts of people really oppressed, but the work of scoundrels and intriguers leagued under the association called the *mel* which exercised a terrorism similar to that of the Fenians and Moon-lighters' as it would not be possible to incite a whole population for open revolt without a 'just cause for alarm and anxiety'.³³ The paper also raised the question that why the cultivators, as the owners of the soil, was not given the same legal protection from the State as it had given against the *zamindars* of Bengal.³⁴ The same paper, in its English columns of the 16th April, blamed the local officers for the riots of Assam and warned the Government to take lesson from the riots for future assessment. It also criticised its method of assessment as: 'It is not only in Assam that there are complains of unjust and exorbitant increase in the assessment of lands, and the principle of bargaining which government adopts by putting higher rates first and then lowering them down, may be of sound commercial basis, but it is quite unworthy of a government that calls itself paternal and merciful. If the Government will take the trouble of explaining to their officers that promotion depends more on dealing full justice to ignorant peasants than on adding substantially to the land revenue, we have no hesitation in saying we shall hear less such complains and the bloodshed that occasionally follows in districts like Assam.'³⁵

After the answer of Mr. Ward to the questions raised by the Honourable member Rash Behari Ghose in the Vice-regal Legislative Council in 29, the paper *Bengalee* on the 28th April attributed the answers as 'vague and unsatisfactory' as well as misleading. According to the paper the Government gave as little information as possible, and whatever information it provided was 'positively misleading'.³⁶ Regarding the question of allegedly collecting rent from the *ryots* of Kamrup through the agency of respectable inhabitants appointing them as Special Constable, the Government positively denied which according to the paper was 'misleading and inconsistent with the facts of the case'.³⁷ The paper also exposed the lies of the Chief Commissioner by publishing some *parwanas* by which it was proved that the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup realized rent from the *ryots* 'through the agency of the respectable inhabitants of the district, who had been appointed Special Constables' and demanded his punishment for the 'disapproval of the conduct of officer' who was responsible for this misleading answer.³⁸

On its issue of the 22th December, The Bengal Times explained how the decreased of income as well as the increase of land rent created discontent among the peasants. It also described the events of the insurrections of Rangia, Barpeta (Lachma) and Mangaldoi in some details. The paper also criticised the Government for its late response regarding the memorials of the peasants by which assessment was reduced, to some extent, where they pressed most severely. It said, 'Had these wise measures been determined on a year ago, much trouble would have been spared all parties concerned in the late outbreaks.'³⁹ Again the paper said, 'Thus, when for state reasons, enhancement was found imperative; a graduated assessment should have been imposed. And in the face of manifestations of discontent,

which, at first found expression in numerous petitions, showing how unanimous was the objection to such a sudden and heavy enhancement of revenue, Government should at once have determined (and made known its determination) upon lightening the terms of reassessment.⁴⁰

Conclusion:

In fact, the peasant movements of Assam were not separate incidents from the peasant movements of India which reflected deep-rooted agrarian distress and resistance against the colonial revenue policies. Though, the press of Assam woefully ignored this glorious phase of history, the native newspapers of India played a crucial role in documenting, interpreting, and even sympathizing with grievances of the peasantry by highlighting the issues like the excessive enhancement of land revenue, oppressive behaviour of the Government officials, police atrocities etc. Thereby, the native press acted as a medium of articulation for otherwise voiceless rural communities. The harsh criticism of the native press somehow impacted the subsequent policies of the Government as well as it created political awareness in this region.

References:

- ¹ *Raijmel* is a combined word of two terms i.e. *rai*, means people and *mel*, means assembly or court. So *rai**jmel* means people's assembly or court.
- ² File- Political History of Assam Record, Assam Secretariat, No. 176, 1894, pp. 8-13 (Assam State Archives)
- ³ *Ibid*, pp. 62-64.
- ⁴ File- Rangia, Lachima, and Patharughat riots, Assam Secretariat, Home- A, Progs., September 1894, No. 220-344, pp. 15-16 (Assam State Archives)
- ⁵ Kalita, A., *Peasant Uprising of 1894: A Neglected Part of Indian History* in Deka, K., ed., *Kheraj* (souvenir), Kendriya Swahid Divas celebration committee, Patharughat, 2013, p.38.
- ⁶ Reports on Native Papers published in the Bombay Presidency for the week ending the 10th February 1894, p.17
- ⁷ Reports on Native Papers published in the Bombay Presidency for the week ending the 17th February 1894, p.10
- ⁸ *The Amrit Bazar Patrika*, 11 February, 1894, p.4.
- ⁹ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid*.
- ¹¹ *Ibid*.
- ¹² *Ibid*.
- ¹³ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁴ Reports on Native Papers published in the Bombay Presidency for the week ending the 24th February 1894, p.15
- ¹⁵ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid*.
- ¹⁷ Reports on Native Papers published in the Bombay Presidency for the week ending the 3rd March 1894, p.8
- ¹⁸ Reports on Native Papers published in the Bombay Presidency for the week ending the 24th February 1894, p.14
- ¹⁹ *Ibid*., p.15

- ²⁰ Sharma, Manorama, *Social and Economic Changes in Assam: Middle Class Hegemony*, Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1990, p.99.
- ²¹ Quoted from *ibid*, pp.100-101.
- ²² Most probably the place referred here is Biahkuchi or Byashkuchi Satra as two *Gossains* of the Satra were among the prominent leaders of the peasant insurrection of Sarukshetri (Lachima)— Letter from M.C. Bardoloi, the EAC cum Sub-divisional Officer, Barpeta to R. B. McCabe, the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup, dated the 22th January 1894, file- Disturbance in connection with the reassessment of revenue, Commissioner's Office, General and Miscellaneous, No. 05/1894, 1894, p.151 (Assam State Archives)
- ²³ The Bengal Times, 11 March, 1894
- ²⁴ Reports on Native Papers for the week ending the 14th April 1894, p.281.
- ²⁵ Reports on Native Papers for the week ending the 14th April 1894, p.284.
- ²⁶ Reports on Native Papers published in the Bombay Presidency for the week ending the 14th April 1894, p.12
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.13
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ Reports on Native Papers for the week ending the 14th April 1894, p.284
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² *Ibid.*, pp.284-285
- ³³ Reports on Native Papers published in the Bombay Presidency for the week ending the 21st April 1894, p.13
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.14
- ³⁵ Reports on Native Papers published in the Bombay Presidency for the week ending the 21st April 1894, p.14
- ³⁶ Extract from the "Bengalee", dated the 28th April 1894, file- Political History of Assam Record, No. 176, 1894, p. 69 (Assam State Archives, hereafter ASA)
- ³⁷ ³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70
- ³⁸ Rangia, Lachima, and Patharughat riots, Progs., September 1894, No. 220-344, Home- A, Assam Secretariat, 1894, pp.34-35 (ASA)
- ³⁹ *The Bengal Times*, December 22, 1894, p.4
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*