



**MANIRAM DEWAN: THE TORCHBEARER OF ASSAMESE UNITY
IN THE REVOLT OF 1857**

Yumkhaibam Shyam Singh
History Department, Imphal College, Imphal, India
Email: shyam.history@gmail.com

Abstract:Maniram Dewan, an erstwhile Ahom noble, was apparently the first Assamese who had imbued with the concept of unity of citizens to make a nation great. In 1826, when Assam became a part of the British territory, Maniram took side with the British to satisfy himself and also to fulfill the latter's colonial design. He eventried to suppress the early anti-British movements in Assam and also took major role in the executionof two rebels- Piyali Phukan and Jiuram. Therefore, Maniram had many rivals in Assam. But later, the Dewan changed his mind because of the greedy British design and became its arch rival. After 1838, Maniram pursued for the restoration of Ahom Government in Upper Assam. But being rejected, he joined the Revolt of 1857 in Calcutta. Maniram then sent many letters to different Assamese to unite and rise against the British. He also hatched many conspiracies relating to the Revolt of 1857. For this act, the Dewan was executed on 26February 1858. On the scaffold, just before his execution, the Dewan made an apology to the people of Assam, mainly his rivals, instead of making such slogan like- Long Live Ahom Monarchy. Hence, Maniram tried to integrate his rivals with his own followers. The Dewan's apology was not an apology of a defeated man, but an apology to unfurl a new era of Assamese unity after his death.

Keywords: conspirator, apology, unity and integration, torchbearer.

Maniram Dutta Barbhandar Barua Dewan (Maniram Dewan) was not only a powerful nobleof the erstwhile Ahom Government but also a prominent luminary who paved the way for Assamese unity and integration. He had a double faceted political career beginning as a staunch supporter of the English East India Company then, turning into a dangerous conspiratorwith Ahom Raja Kandarpeswar against the said company in 1857 Revolt.For his conspiracy in 1857, he was executed on 26 February 1858. During 1857 and before, Maniram dreamed many dreams aboutthe politics of Assam. Staying in Calcutta during the events of 1857 Revolt, he sent many incriminating letters to Assam making it extremely volatile. On the nature of his secret design, a special weekly narrative of the Government of Bengal expressed:

The proceedings of the Rajah (Kandarpeswar) himself were more of a suspicious character and his Dewan/Agent in Calcutta was known to be a disaffected troublesome character The plan of revolt, as far as it could be ascertained, was of the now familiar stereotyped character, commencing with the cold blooded massacre of all Christians, and ending in pillage and rapine. The time selected was the approaching Doorgah Poojah vaction.¹

Accepting the role of Maniram Dewan in 1857 in Assam, Benudhar Sharma, in his book*The Rebellion of 1857 vis-à-vis Assam* expressed, 'Amid the two hundred thousand Indian martyrs who laid down their lives at the altar of the country's freedom in 1857, Maniram Dewan and

Piyali Barua must be counted as two of the brightest luminaries whose names posterity must remember with reverent care.² On Maniram's dream about industries in Assam, A.K. Dutta, in his book, *Maniram Dewan and the Contemporary Assamese Society* writes, 'It was a challenging task indeed, because the British imperialists would allow the local capitalists to grow only as their collaborators and never as equals sharing monopoly with them.'³ Maniram was a great statesman, economist and a philosopher martyr of Assam of the period. After his repeated visits to Calcutta and exposing himself to new socio-economic and political currents in Bengal during the first half of the nineteenth century, a lot of changes had taken place in his outlook. He, remaining in deep thoughts in his lonely room at the Chitpur Road, Calcutta, seemed to have many dreams about Assam. On the scaffold, just seconds before his execution, the leader's last comment to the people of Assam was, 'O my countrymen! You had to suffer and grieve a lot from me during my tenure of office. It behoves of you, now, to forgive me at this juncture, for all those omissions and commissions on my part.'⁴ But what was expected from the mouth of Maniram was - Long Live Ahom Monarchy. But the martyr did not say so. It seems that there was a preconceived dream (highly philosophical) in the mind of Maniram when he expressed his last words. On this area, so far, no scholar has taken pains to highlight the possible dream of the Dewan. This work is a sincere attempt to discover the underlying philosophy of Maniram on the stated area of study. The source materials of this paper are primary, secondary and folk songs.

Early Career

Maniram belonged to a respectable Assamese Kayastha family. His father Ramdutta was the Dulakasariya Barua under King Kamaleswar Singha (1795-1810) and Purandar Singha (1833-1838). By 1826, Maniram was about 20 years old. Earlier, Ramadutta had to leave for Chilmari in Bengal due to the Burmese aggression, and later came to Goalpara where they stayed for several years. Goalpara, at the time, was an important centre of trade for European merchants. Through the influence of his father, Maniram soon came into the good book of the British officers like David Scott, Lt. Col. Arthur Richard and Robert Bruce. Maniram's manifold qualities, particularly, his sound knowledge on the history and geography of his country had impressed them all. He gave maximum assistance to the British in expelling the Burmese from the soil of Assam. In April 1824, Maniram accompanied David Scott and Captain Horshburgh, the commander of the three companies of the 23rd Native Infantry, in their march to Gauhati across Sylhet and Nowgong to fight the Burmese invaders.⁵ After the British occupation of Gauhati, Maniram assisted Scott and gave a clear picture of revenue administration then prevailing in Western Assam. By January 1825, British forces cleared the Burmese from Rahachaki to Maramukh. In this British advance, Maniram had all along been with the British force supplying them with necessary information regarding the topography, geography and administrative organization of the country. Besides, with Maniram the Singphos, Matakas, and Khamtis were brought to book as the Agent made agreements with them 'in the interest of border security and allowing them to enjoy their autonomy, secured their assurance of not allying themselves with the invaders on the other side of the hills against the British.'⁶

However, no negotiation was made with any member of the Ahom royal family as the Company wanted to annex the whole or a part of its kingdom at any opportune moment. Since Upper Assam was a greater victim of internal disturbances and the Burmese depredations, the annexation of this part of the country right then was not considered to be so profitable to the British. David Scott, therefore, suggested the annexation of Lower Assam only, which yielded a revenue of more than three Lakh rupees and the restoration of Upper Assam from Bishwanath to the Burhi Dihing to an Ahom Prince.⁷ The government, therefore, advised the Agent to go on governing Lower Assam on the basis of the Non- Regulated system, then prevalent in the neighboring districts of Rangpur

(now in Bangladesh). Under this system, territories were to be governed by an executive composed partly of civilians and partly of soldiers which was to follow traditional systems long acquainted to the people.

In this way, Assam was partitioned into two divisions: Lower Assam and Eastern Assam with Biswanath as a boundary in the north bank. Each of the divisions was to be under a Commissioner. David Scott was placed in charge of Lower Assam with headquarters at Guahati and was declared the Senior Commissioner. Colonel Richards was placed in charge of Upper Assam with headquarters at Rangpur and was declared the Junior Commissioner.

The British Government took steps for land surveys in Lower and Upper Assam. Both Maniram and his father Ramdutta immensely helped the Government in getting a survey in Upper Assam.⁸ In 1827 Maniram assisted Mr. Brigg in the making of the road from Gauhati to Jaintia. But after working for one and a half years, Maniram had to leave the job and join the new assignment of revenue *Shirastadar* cum *Tahsildar* under captain Neufville in 1828. Under Maniram's management the revenue increased from Rs. 38,836 in 1827-28 to Rs. 78,453 in 1828-29 and Rs.1,00,000 in 1829-30.⁹

For judicial administration, too, some *Panchayats* were established to decide cases of minor importance. Here also, Maniram assisted Neufville, the Political Agent of Upper Assam in discharging judicial responsibilities like final decisions in the *Panchayat*. He brought changes here by instituting three *Panchayats* called *Bar Panchayat*, *Saru Panchayat* and *Charachari Panchayat*. Maniram became the *Sardar* or the chief member of all these three *Panchayats*.

Early Anti-British Movements

After the British occupation of Assam, many Ahom nobles became dissatisfied as they lost all their previous privileges. The common Assamese, too, had been facing great hardships. Under the erstwhile Government barter system was in vogue. The Assamese were also not accustomed to pay land revenue and whatever other tax they were required to pay, they did it in kind. But the new Government demanded every payment in cash. Scott rightly observed that 'Unaccustomed as the Assamese have been to the payment of taxes, the lower order would probably look upon any considerable increase to the revenue as the greatest of all evils.....'¹⁰

Under such circumstances Gomdhar Kanwar, a descendant of the great Ahom King Suhummung, revolted in 1828. He was supported by many discontented nobles like Dhanjoy Bargohain, Piyali Pukhan, Daha Phukan, Dharmadhar Rajguru, Khamti Bargohain, Jairam Khargharia Phukan, Madharam Bargohain, Bacha Rajkhowa, Chung rung Phukan, Ratia Barua and Jaidhar Jagial Gohain. Besides, all the great men of Rangpur had extended their support. With no tax campaign the rebels started their anti-Government activities. Gomdhar was formally enthroned near Jorhat according to Ahom rites, and arms and men were recruited from the neighboring areas by use of both diplomacy and force.¹¹ At this juncture, Lt. Rutherford suddenly appeared and the rebels had to surrender. Gomdhar made his escape to the Naga Hills. Later, he and his associates were arrested. They were tried in the *Panchayat*, in which Maniram was the most prominent member, and being convicted of treason, passed death sentences to them. David Scott, considering young age and ignorance, deemed the prince only to be imprisoned in banishment from Assam without labor for seven years. Dhanjoy who was sentenced to death, made a heroic escape from the jail. He took shelter in the Naga Hills and later in the Matak kingdom.¹²

In 1829, the Ahom nobles made the second attempt to drive away the British under another prince named Gadadhar. In order to win over the Indian Sepoys to his side, Gadadhar, in the guise of a Khamti priest, contacted Zalim Singh, a Subedar of the Assam Light Infantry at Sadia and

later on confided to him the whole plan of rebellion against the British. Zalim immediately arrested Gadadhar and sent him to Gauhati for trial. What happened to the pretender, thereafter, was not known. Though Maniram's part in suppressing the revolt is not exactly known, it is obvious that his advice was sought and he supplied the Authority with all necessary information against the 'pretender'.¹³

Dhanjoy Bargohain, after the unsuccessful first uprising, took refuge in the Matak country. Having conceived logically that a solitary attempt would suffer the same fate as the earlier one, he along with Piyali Barphukan resolved to seek support of the neighboring people. Dhanjoy addressed letters to the chiefs of the Khamtis, Moamarias, Nagas, Garrows calling upon them to join against the white foreigners. His trusted lieutenants were his sons Harkanta and Harnath and son-in-law Jiuram. The Ahom nobles joined him without any hesitation. Hence, being united, the nobles reactivated the former war camps. The Nagas of Gabharu Hills also joined the rebels responding the call of Dhanjoy Bargohain. The rebels planned that after their success they would place Rupchand on the throne. Religious rites were also performed by the rebel leaders.

No sooner did they prepare for operations than Haranath, who was carrying two letters from Dhanjoy to the Sadia Khoa Gohain, was arrested on 20 February, 1830. Not demoralized by this event, Jiuram Dulia Barua then set fire on the magazine of Rangpur on 25 March 1830. Without losing even a moment Capt. Neufville rushed to Rangpur with the Sepoys of the Assam Light Infantry and fired upon the rebels. The latter, failing to offer any resistance, took to flight. The British army slew Daha Konwar, Dhenudhar and Lahari, Piyali Phukan was captured at Jaisagar. Zalim Singh, Pragdutt Subedar, Jayananda Singh and other Hindustani Sepoys arrested Jiuram Dulia Barua, Deoram Dihingia Deka, Rupchand Konwar and Bom Singpho. Dhanjoy and Harakanta escaped to the Naga Hills. Piyali, being presented before Neufville, was asked as to why he rose in rebellion. He replied, 'It is a fact that I wanted to liberate my country. No one wants to live in subordination to foreigners.'¹⁴ The *Sadar Panchayat* took up the case of the convicts on the bank of the Jaisagar Tank, its prominent member being Maniram. It found Haranath, Jiuram, Rupchand, Deoram Dihingia Phukan, Bom Singpho guilty of high treason deserving capital punishment. Capt. Neufville as the head of the *Panchayat* asked the jurors- What punishment according to the old customs is to be inflicted on one who rises in rebellion against a lawful sovereign? Maniram, citing precedence, replied- He is hanged to death after being subjected to various tortures. The criminal court of Cherrapunji reviewed the proceedings of the *Sadar Panchayat* under the presidency of Mr. Scott and confirmed the death sentence passed on the Bar Phukan and Jayram, but in respect of the sentence of Rupchand and the rest, they commuted it to a banishment for fourteen years and ordered all their property to be confiscated.¹⁵ Accordingly, Piyali Phukan and Jiuram Dulia Barua were hanged to death on the north-eastern corner of the Sibsagar tank. On it, A.K. Dutta writes, 'So enthusiastic was Maniram on taking actions on the rebel leaders that he did not hesitate even to insult Piyali Phukan with some taunting remarks when the rebel leader was about to be put into the gallows.'¹⁶

In this way, those attempts made by the erstwhile nobility to overthrow the British rule met with a miserable failure. Really their movements in Assam were confined to the members of the old Ahom nobility who were deprived of the benefit of the British rule, like pension or share in the administration. Even amongst them, there was no unity. The common masses of Assam did not take part in these uprisings. On this, it is also expressed, 'he (commonman) had lost all faith in a monarchy and its supporters that had discredited themselves by mismanagement, oppression and betrayal at the hour of worst peril.'¹⁷

Although the Company had established its successful administration in Lower Assam, yet the condition in the Upper Assam was not congenial at all. Under these circumstances, Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General, came to the final conclusion that the native Government may be

Jenkins visited Purandar's territory in the beginning of the year 1838 and submitted a report to the Calcutta Government alleging that there was misgovernment, and also recommended its immediate resumption. Accordingly, on 16 September 1838, Upper Assam was permanently annexed to the territories of the East India Company. The very resumption was a great cause of frustration not merely for the Raja but also for Maniram. In fact, Maniram was more aggrieved than Purandar. It reduced Maniram to the status of a commoner with which he could not compromise. Up to this time, Maniram was not aware of the real design of the British on Upper Assam. He thought that the British might allow him to govern Assam if he agreed to pay them higher rate of taxes. Ultimately, by the end of 1838, Maniram paid visit to Robertson, the then Deputy Governor of Bengal and pleaded for the throne of Assam for himself. He told Robertson that he was ready to pay in advance Rs.1,50,000 as tribute for three years if the Government had any doubt regarding regular payment.²⁰ Robertson regretted his inability, but assured him to offer a post soon befitting his status and dignity.

In June 1839, Maniram was appointed in the Assam Company (tea Company) at Nazira as its Dewan or Chief Executive on an initial salary of Rs. 600/ per month. So enthusiastic was Maniram in extending his help to the Company in starting plantation in Assam that he even connived at the demolition of the ancient monuments of old Ahom metropolis at Garhgaon for erecting the post and building of the Nazira Tea Factory at the great resentment of the Assamese. He also proved his efficiency by opening several new gardens or raising the profits of the Company. But the Dewan was infuriated by the overbearing attitude of the small-minded Sahibs subordinate to him and retired from his office in 1845.

Maniram, now, put into practice what he learnt from the British by managing the affairs of the Tea Company. He started two tea gardens (Cinnamara and Chamlou) of his own at Jorhat and achieved remarkable success. It was a great tribute of Maniram to the people of Assam as tea had been a significant factor in Assam's economy. But all his hopes to vie with British capitalism were shattered when he was deprived of the benefit of getting waste-lands at concessional rates like the European planters.²¹ To throw him to the street, Charles Holroyd who succeeded Brodie as the Principal Assistant in 1851, took away from him the Mouzas which his family had been enjoying for more than a generation and gave them to a person who was hitherto subordinate to him. Consequently, within a few years Maniram lost everything- his offices under the restored Ahom monarchy, his Mouzadarship and Shirastadarship under the British Government, his Dewanship under the Assam Company, his business in coal and finally even the Mouzas which were held by him as private possession. Dispossessed of everything, Maniram was overwhelmed with difficulties in maintaining a large household of 185 members. Whatever the Company had done against Maniram was done simply to protect their monopoly in tea industry in Assam. On the colonial design of the Company, J.B. Bhattacharjee rightly expressed, 'They exercised an absolute control over the resources and inducted a new economy in which their commercial interest was fully protected.'²²

Maniram now realized that there would be no future for him under the colonial rule. He, therefore, threw his lot with Kandarpeswar Singha, the Charing Raja, who also, like him, had been facing utmost difficulties in maintaining the royal family. Maniram now became the Charing Raja's friend, philosopher and guide and inspired him to action by arousing 'sanguinary hopes of getting the country back to his management.'²³ In this way, the Dewan changed his relationship with the Company from being a staunch supporter in the beginning then, to a dangerous conspirator afterwards. When the Revolt of 1857 started, Maniram Dewan began to make plots against the British for which he was arrested and hanged to death.

New political concept of Maniram

1857 Revolt in Assam under Maniram Dewan was a desperate move of discontented Ahom nobles. The common masses of Assam marginally supported it as they no longer liked Ahom monarchy. Although Maniram had failed to kindle the flame of 1857 in Assam, yet the leader dreamed many dreams about the future of the Assamese.

He got the privilege of exposing himself to prominent Bengalis and Europeans in 1836, 1838 and 1856-57. During this period, Calcutta experienced a sea of socio-economic and political developments. Raja Rammohan Roy, establishing the Brahmo Sabha, preached unity in God, classless Society (denouncing castes), humanism and the bond of union between men of all religions and creeds. Since the trade based Company's Government encroached upon the economic life of Indians, many political associations were also established in Bengal to give the idea of political consciousness and also to safeguard the interest of Indians. In 1836, establishing the Bangabhasa Prakasika Sabha in Bengal, discussed on the topics related to the British administration and the welfare of the people. On November 12, 1837, the Calcutta Landholders Society was set up with a view to organize such bodies in every district of the British India. Later, on April 20, 1843, the educated middle classes of Bengal founded the Bengal British Indian Society for the welfare, rights and interest of all classes of India. The latter two bodies, afterwards, amalgamated to form a united body known as the British Indian Association in 1851, having an all India outlook. Hence, when Maniram visited Calcutta many times during the first half of the nineteenth century, Bengal became a hot bed of socio-economic and political consciousness. Maniram got the full exposure to these developments.

Indeed, when Maniram visited Dacca in 1836, he met the descendents of Jagat Seth at Murshidabad. One of such descendents introduced Maniram with Pramanath Deb (Latu Babu), the famous business magnet of Calcutta. Maniram became Latu Babu's guest. On it, A.K. Dutta writes, 'During the period of his stay there, he came into contact with different businessmen of Calcutta, both Indian and European. This gave an exposure to Maniram to the economic and political trends in the all India level current at that time, Calcutta being the nerve centre of modernity in India.'²⁴ After the resumption of Upper Assam in 1838 by the Company, Maniram again went to Calcutta towards the end of the year. This time also, Maniram met at Latu Babu's house a business man named Ramkamal Sen who had already been to Assam with Dr. Wallis in connection with tea plantation. Ramkamal might have explained to Maniram the prospect of tea industry in Assam. The Europeans and Indians who had interest in tea visited the house of Latu Babu also. Hence, Maniram, who had wealth and intelligence, had the test of a new horizon for industrial undertaking. A.K. Dutta also stated on Maniram, 'His motivation to entrepreneurship and profit was the result of his contact with Indians and European traders in Bengal.'²⁵ In the years 1856 and 1857, Maniram Dewan also stayed in the house of Latu Babu on the Chitpur Road. This time also, the Dewan met notable persons like 'Raja Gurudas, son of Maharaja Nandakumar, Nilmani Mitra, Kunja Behari Mallik and Rajendra Dutta. He had discussed with them contemporary social and political problems of the country. He had also attended several meetings of the British Indian Association organized under the auspices of Krishnadas Pal and participated in its discussions.'²⁶ From these exposures Maniram Dewan learnt the ideas of fraternity and unity which were the main factors to protect the interest and independence of a nation. By 1853, Maniram started feeling to stop cruel punishments of mutilation and murder of political rivals which was one of the greatest causes of animosity among native Assamese. Hence, in his petition to Mr. Mills, the Dewan expressed, 'Formerly.... criminals were mutilated, rather not in proportion to their offences. Punishments were cruel and whimsical. Here undoubtedly the British administration laid its balmy hands. In a future native administration those aspects of the British rule must be dove-tailed to the law of the land.'²⁷

In Calcutta, he also knew that there was the participation of masses in the events of 1857. At this hour of great need for unity, Maniram began to realize the drawbacks of the outdated Ahom Regime which he had been holding up for years. Even if the Sepoys were supposed to assist him in expelling the British, there were many dissent sections in Assam. He conceived that until and unless unity was achieved in Assam no revolt would be successful. Hence, with the Revolt of 1857 the Dewan started to mould his arch enemies as well as the masses of Assam to come under the fold of Assamese unity and integration. For this end, he felt the need to publicize the reasons why he took side with the English instead of supporting his fellow Assamese in those early Anti-British Revolts. In order to disclose his past political design and also to mould oneness feeling of the Assamese, Maniram wrote letters to different leaders of Assam where he expressed, 'After the expulsion of the Burmese, the English proceeded to rule over our country in accordance with our own scriptures and our own laws and conventions, and, moreover, they intended to place on our throne a descendant of our last dethrone king. No indication was then available that they would break their promise and fall back on their own words.'²⁸ Again, on his failure to side with those early revolts, he clarified, 'Jewram Dulia Barua and Piali and his companions had hatched their plot in the heather-covered haunts of Jaipur. The ordinary folk like us did not have any scent of it. Even if we had the scent, our people then should have not lined up with them as the time was wholly inopportune for an uprising.'²⁹ To achieve his goal, Maniram criticized the British, 'what have we seen in all these twenty to twenty-six years? The English have done us the largest possible amount of mischief in collaboration with the Hindustanis and the Bengalis (Anti-Assamese) whom they had brought from places outside Assam.'³⁰ The Dewan also felt that the followers of those early rebel leaders of Assam would not come forward willingly to his call for Assamese unity and integration. He, therefore, paid homage to those early rebel leaders. Maniram expressed, 'Who could say that Gamdhar, Haranath and the other rebels were not courageous and enterprising persons? Unluckily for us, they did not know that they had to set their sail as the wind blew.'³¹

Indeed, Maniram became highly philosophical after getting his exposure to different persons in Calcutta. The most philosophical and highly piercing comment of Maniram to the people of Assam was to motivate them not to leave even a single calorie in their efforts to strengthen unity to achieve the target. He expressed, 'A pound of care will not pay an ounce of debt. They who make the best use of their time have none to spare. This must be our watchword if at all we want to hit the mark.'³² Hence, the great leader put his maximum effort to integrate all the Assamese to fight against the British. Such a philosophical nature of the Dewan when he was in his lonely room at Chitpur Road, Calcutta could be assessed from an extract of his letter to Krishnakanta Adhikar Goswami, dated, 23 Sraban (Thursday, 13 August 1857), 'How can I describe or define the perplexity of thoughts into which I have fallen; alive to-day, defunct tomorrow. Such is the existing state of things.'³³

Although Maniram understood his failure in 1857 at the time of his arrest in Calcutta, yet the leader's mind was overflowing with the new zeal of Assamese unity and integration. Unless and until he made an apology to his rivals, the unity which was in his mind would never be achieved and his descendants and followers would remain segregated forever. Therefore, this philosopher statesman, the Morning Star of Modern Assam, made his historic apology turning back on such He slogan like- Long Live Ahom Monarchy, to initiate a historic step towards Assamese integration. He could have expressed his feeling of oneness straightway, but this philosopher knew that persons like Haranath Daroga and other rivals would have made a mockery of it. Maniram, therefore, made his apology to soften the much solidified enmity between him and his rivals. The Dewan's apology was not an apology of a defeated man, but an apology to unfurl a new era of Assamese unity and integration after his death.

In this way, the Dewan tried his best to spread the concept of unity in Assam. He also knew that there were many Assamese who would not welcome his new political concept. Therefore, the Dewan wrote many letters to the Assamese of different walk of life and made even an apology, mainly to his rivals, to win their support for the cause of Assamese unity and integration. Hence, Maniram Dewan was apparently the torchbearer of unity of all the modern Assamese.

1. Judicial General Letters to C of Directors, Special Narrative (30 August to 5 September, 1857), 12 Sep. 1857, No. 24, para 119, West Bengal State Archives.
2. Sharma, Benudhar, *The Rebellion of 1857 vis-à-vis Assam*, Gauhati, 1958, p. 15.
3. Dutta, A.K., *Maniram Dewan and the Contemporary Assamese Society*, Jorhat, 1990, p. 119.
4. Sharma, Benudhar, *op.cit.*, p. 72.
5. Dutta, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 34.
6. Baruah, S.L., *A Comprehensive History of Assam*, Delhi, 2005, p. 458.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Dutta, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 40.
9. *Ibid.*, 42.
10. *Ibid.*, 48.
11. Baruah, S.L., *op. cit.*, p. 466.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Dutta, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 53.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
15. Lahiri, Rebati Mohan, *The Annexation of Assam*, Calcutta, 1975, p. 70.
16. Dutta, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 64.
17. *Ibid.*, 62.
18. Baruah, S.L., *op. cit.*, p. 469.
19. Dutta, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 75.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
21. Baruah, S.L., *op. cit.* p. 488.
22. Bhattacharjee, J.B., *Trade and Colony: The British Colonisation of North East India*, Shillong, 2000, p. 90.
23. Baruah, S.L., *op. cit.*, p. 488.

24. Dutta, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 87.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
26. Baruah, S.L., *op. cit.*, p. 490.
27. Bora, Mahendra, *1857 in Assam*, Gauhati, 1957, p. 25.
28. Dutta, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 150; Sharma, Benudhar, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
29. Sharma, Benudhar, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
30. Sharma, Benudhar, *op. cit.*, p. 36.; Dutta, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 151.
31. Dutta, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 151.
32. Sharma, Benudhar, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
33. Barpujari, H.K., *Assam in the Days of Company*, Gauhati, 1980, pp. 201-2.

References:

West Bengal State Archives, Calcutta.

Barpujari, H.K., *Assam in the Days of Company*, Gauhati, 1980.

Baruah, S.L., *A Comprehensive History of Assam*, Delhi, 2005.

Bhattacharjee, J.B., *Trade and Colony: The British Colonisation of North East India*, Shillong, 2000.

Bora, Mahendra, *1857 in Assam*, Gauhati, 1957.

Dutta, A.K., *Maniram Dewan and the Contemporary Assamese Society*, Jorhat, 1990.

Lahiri, Rebati Mohan, *The Annexation of Assam*, Calcutta, 1975.

Sharma, Benudhar, *The Rebellion of 1857 vis-à-vis Assam*, Gauhati, 1958.