

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I

Geographical Extent and Demographic Profile of Assam

Assam is located in the north-east corner of India between the latitudes 28⁰18' and 24⁰ N, and the longitudes 89⁰46'-97 E. It covered an area of 78,523 square kilometers. Assam is in the center of North-East India. It is surrounded on the north by Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh, on the east by Arunachal, Nagaland, Manipur, on the east Mizoram, Tripura, and on the West Lays Bangladesh, Meghalaya and West Bengal. Except its border with West Bengal and Bangladesh from all other sides, Assam is bounded by hills.

Geographically the state is divided into three parts. (i) Brahmaputra Valley (ii) Barak Valley (iii) Hilly region comprising two hilly districts of Borail Range. The Borail Range and Khasi-Jaintia hill separates Barak and Brahmaputra Valley (Upper Assam and Lower Assam). This hilly barrier makes geographical owners of both Valleys almost in accessible. So are the cultures, society and histories of the people of two Valleys. There are very few instances of uniformity existed between these Valleys during ancient, medieval and modern period also. So the geography has to a lot with the history, society, economy and culture of a place. It played a great role in shaping the destiny of people and their history.

Assam is surrounded by mountain barriers from three sides. The land of Assam is connected with rest of the world through many routes such as patkain route, which was used by the Ahoms and other Tibet-Burman tribes of the North-East. The hilly passes of Bhutan, Tibet and Nepal were also probably used by certain waves of the

Tibet-Burman tribes' movement. The landed western boundary of both Brahmaputra Valley and Barak Valley are with Bengal. These two land borders were two important routes through which the Aryan migration from North India took place. Actually all migration and invasions from Gangetic Valley or North India had occurred through those two routes including that of Turkish, Afghans and the Mughals during medieval period.¹

Assam in this period under review denotes contemporary Assam, However, in same cases reference of Sylhet, a district of colonial Assam is imperative. Because the present district of Karimganj has been a part of Sylhet through its history. It has the same society and culture as that of Sylhet. When in 1947 A.D. Sylhet was declared a part of Pakistan, Karimganj subdivision was retained with India.² So the geography of Assam was not the same as it is today.

The political boundary of Assam went through various phases of formation and fragmentation before to take the shape of modern one. The present Assam is actually a creation of British colonialism.³When the British completed the annexation of the different parts of Assam, they created it as a colonial province under a chief commissioner in 1874, for an inexpensive and effective administration.⁴

The territories that formed the new province are Mughal territories of Bengal *Subah* comprising some parts of the Brahmaputra Valley (West Assam) and Karimganj of the Barak valley (South Assam), the territory of Ahom kingdom comprising upper portion of Brahmaputra valley (central and eastern part of Assam), territories of Dimacha-Kachari Kingdom comprising two hilly district, and a portion of Barak valley, some other small Kingdoms like Domaria, Darrang etc. That is why the history of

¹Makhanlal Kar, *Muslims in Assam Politics*, (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1977) pp-1-2.

²Kamaluddin Ahmed, *Karimganj er Itihas* (in Bengali), (Silchar: Notun Diganta Publication), 2013, p-253.

³Sanjib Baruah, *India Against Itself : Assam and the politics of Nationality* ,(New Delhi: Oxford University Press,1999), p-21.

⁴H.K. Barpujari, *A Comprehensive History of Assam*, Vol –IV, (Guwahati: Publication Board, Assam , 2004) ,pp 260-64.

contemporary Assam is not synonymous with the history of the Ahom Kingdom or the area that came to be referred to as Assam, after the British colonization as well as in the post independent period.

Brahmaputra valley during ancient and medieval period is known by different names in the epic, *Puranic* and early historical literature. It was mentioned as Pragjyotisha in both the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.⁵ Pragjyotisha included not only the whole of Brahmaputra valley and parts of North and East Bengal but also the hilly tracts up to the border of China. It was known for the first time as Kamarupa in the Allahabad pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta. Pragjyotisha or Kamarupa did not remain static and underwent changes in different ages for political and other reasons.⁶ After the expedition of Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1226 A.D. the big state of Pragjyotisha - Kamarupa collapsed. There emerged small states. However, the remaining part of Kamarupa was named as Kamata. It was in 15th century, that the Thai Ahoms, belonging to the Shan stock in South East Asia, who had ruled upper Brahmaputra valley from 13th to early 18th century, were able to unit large tracts of Kamarupa into one identity. The western limit receded from the river Karatoya to the river Manas. The river Manas was western frontier not all times, only during the high times of the Ahoms.⁷

The territory of the Ahoms is called 'Asham' in *Ain-e-Akbari* and Assam in *Padshanama*. The same word was applied by Francis Hamilton in his account on Assam, compiled during 1807-1808, Assam was apparently the English form of Asom. Again there were differences in opinion among the historians regarding the origin of the word 'Asham'. According to one group of historians 'Asham' originated from the word Tai Ahom, the dynasty that ruled Brahmaputra valley for a long period of time.⁸ The second opinion was that the Mughals called Brahmaputra valley in the name Ashom, as the land is an even or peerless and in Sanskrit, 'Asham' means uneven. Shihabuddin Talish,

⁵SanjibBaruah, *op. cit.*, p-24.

⁶H.K. Barpujari, *A Comprehensive History of Assam*, Vol-I, Guwahati, 2004, P-1.

⁷Mirza Nathan, *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, Eng. Trans. Moidul Islam Borah, Guwahati, DHAS 1992, pp-479-588

⁸H.K. Barpujari, *op. cit.* p-1.

the noted historian of Mirjumla, the Mughal Governor in Bengal, referred 'Asham' as the Territory beyond Hajo and Kamarupa *Sarkar* of the Mughal Empire in his account *Fatiha-i-Ibriyat*.⁹ Whatever may be the origin of the term Assam is but the widely accepted view is that the term was originally applied to the tract of the country ruled by the Ahom, subsequently known as Assam.

In case of Barak valley, its upper portion is known as Cachar. Cachar or Kachar means a stretch of land on the foot of mountains. While the lower portion of the valley comprises undivided Sylhet district which included present Karimganj district of Assam. Assam in this study denotes contemporary Assam. However, in some cases reference of Sylhet, a district of colonial Assam is imperative,¹⁰ because the present district of Karimganj had been a part of Sylhet, throughout its history. It has the same society, culture as that of Sylhet. It was in 1947, Sylhet declared a part of Pakistan while Karimganj sub-division was retained with India.¹¹

Geographically, the Barak valley is the natural extension of the Bengal plain. There is no natural boundary between Meghna valley and Barak valley as it is the extension of Meghna valley.¹² That is why the society and culture of East Mymensingh, Plain Tripura is well tied with Sylhet and Cachar that there is no difference exist between the two.¹³ It was included in various kingdoms that had emerged during pre-historic and early historic period like Gauda, Samatata etc. During 6th and 7th century this land became part of Kamarupa and latter in early medieval period an independent state of Harikela emerged.¹⁴ This yet again dis-integrated to several small territories under petty chiefs. And finally in 1303 AD lower part of Barak valley again integrated to greater Bengal under the Muslims. Their rule continued till the arrival of the British. The Lower

⁹TajulHoque Choudhury, unpublished Thesis, 'Fatiha -i-Ibriyah', JMI, New Delhi , 2006,p-31.

¹⁰MakhanlalKar, *op.cit*.pp-1-2.

¹¹Sujit Choudhury, *Folklore and History : A study of the Folk cults of the Bengali Hindus of Barak Valley*, K.K.Publishers, New Delhi,1995, p-1

¹²NiharRanjanRoy ,*BangalirItihas* , (Bengali) , Calcutta, 1356 B.S. Vol-1,p-65.

¹³SujitChoudhury ,*Srihatta O CacharerItihas*, Silchar,2006,p-11.

¹⁴J.B. Bhattacharjee, *Cachar under British Rule in North East India* , (Vikas Publishing House New Delhi, 1977,pp-3-4.

valley of Barak functioned as ‘Sylhet-Sarkar’ under the Mughals and Sylhet District under colonial rule. Whereas the upper Valley was ruled by the Tripuri’s and subsequently was ruled by the Dimasa-Kacharies till its integration into British Empire.¹⁵

History of Bengal is important for writing a comprehensive history of Assam because Bengal and Assam being two land bordering states influenced each others society and polity for a long period of times. Many a times the frontiers of Assam penetrated into Assam. Kamarupa the ancient name of Assam was not unknown to the Arabs. We find references of the word ‘Kamrup’ in various accounts of Arab geographers and writers. Arab geographer AL-Idris mentioned about the import of aloe wood from Kamrup.¹⁶ The word Kamarupa is the Arianisation of the name Kamrup.

However, the formal history of the Muslims in Brahmaputra Valley begins in 1206 A-D. It was in this year, as per the records of history, Assam first witnessed the arrival of the Muslims.¹⁷ It was then Turkish military commandant Ikhtiyaruddin Mahmud BaKhtiyar Khilji (1201-06) the first Muslim ruler of Bengal entered Kamarupa was on his way to Tibet-expedition.¹⁸ Thus the beginning of 13th century was a landmark in the history of Assam in general and Muslims in particular. Bakhtiar Khilji’s Tibet campaign through Kamrup and his disastrous retreat left many of his soldiers as prisoners in the hands of hostile Kamarupa races. When local king freed these soldiers, they adopted the land of Assam as their homes.

Ali Mech, a tribal chief of the Mech tribe embraced Islam and became a trusted guide of Bakhtiyar Khilji during this campaign.¹⁹ Many of his fellow tribes might embrace Islam at that time. We found Koch and Mech came forward to rescue Khilji and his soldiers. BakhtiyarKhilji might get defeated at a sudden attack but this campaign

¹⁵B.R. Khan , *Muslim in Assam History* , New Delhi,2009, P.-4.

¹⁶*Ibid*, P-6.

¹⁷*Ibid*, P-7.

¹⁸S.L. Baruah, *A comprehensive History of Assam*, New Delhi, Munshiram Monoharlal Publishers, pvt.ltd., 1997,pp.172-173.

¹⁹MinhajuddinSiraj, *Tabaqat –i-Nasiri* , Vol-1, New Delhi, 1970,P-557.

brought west Assam under the Muslim rule of Bengal. The Turkish and Afghan rulers of Bengal led a series of expeditions in various places of Assam to further expand their territorial limits and to repel the revolts against the authority of Lakhnawati in west Assam.²⁰ During this political interference in Brahmaputra valley, *Sufis* and new group of Muslim ruling class entered Assam and established Muslim settlement in different places.²¹ They gradually developed a new society and culture, which by and large contributed many new things to Assamese society and local languages.²² During those successive wars of medieval period, many Muslim soldiers of Turks, Afghans, Mughals and Muslims of other origin settled in Brahmaputra Valley. Some of them were war Prisoners, while rest might voluntarily settled down in the region. It was obvious that with the expansion of Turkish rule in lower Brahmaputra valley, Muslim officials were appointed in different parts of newly controlled areas. Many of them might choose to remain in the region. There were Muslim artisans, traders, teagarden labours, day labours etc. settled here at the invitation of the local authorities.²³

Similarly, a formal history of the Muslim settlement in the lower valley of the region begins after the conquests of Sylhet by Sikandar Khan Ghazi in 1303 A.D.²⁴ The evidence of Muslim settlements to this date is testified by the presence of Burhanuddin in Sylhet, but the process of Muslim settlements got intensified just after the political conquest of Sylhet by the Sikandar Khan Ghazi, the nephew of Sultan Shamsuddin Ferozshah (1301-22), the Sultan of Bengal.²⁵ The great Sufi saint Hazarat Shahjalal accompanied Muslim forces and acted as a strong spiritual guide who also advised warfare. With this conquest a large number of Muslims belong to different origins like Turkish, Afghans and Arabic settled in the region, besides Muslims from other parts of Bengal and northern India also settled down in the undivided Barak Valley of Assam.²⁶

²⁰Mohini Kumar Saikia, *Assam Muslim Relation and its cultural significance*, Golagat, Assam, 1978, pp-130-36

²¹B.R. Khan, *op.cit*, pp.-6-7.

²²Devdas Kakati(ed), *The Brahmaputra Beckons*, Madras, 1982, p-38.

²³Mohini Kumar Saikia, *op.cit*, pp. 144-53.

²⁴B.R. Khan, *op.cit*, p-7.

²⁵Sharif Uddin Ahmed (ed), *Sylhet : History and Heritage*, Dhaka, 1999, pp-130-34.

²⁶Richard Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier*, London, 1996, pp-173-77

This process of settlement from the outside of valley continued while at the same time many locals belonging to Hinduism and tribal faiths embraced Islam. So the political conquest of Sylhet led the expansion of Muslim rule in South Assam. Even during 18th century, the Raja of Dimasa-Kachari Kingdom encouraged Muslim peasants, soldiers and traders from Bengal and other adjoining regions to migrate to his territory (South Assam).²⁷

The final wave of the Muslim settlement took place during 19th and early 20th century during the days of the British. To enhance income from revenue, The British brought thousands of peasants, garden labourers, construction labourers etc. from the East Bengal district of Dhaka, Mymensingh, Rangpur etc. who cleared low alluvial forest in the Brahmaputra valley made Assam economically sound for British. These migrated people formed about one tenth to one sixth of the population of Assam by 1951.²⁸ In the early 19th century, thousands of people from the districts of Sylhet and Cachar of colonial Assam shifted to undivided Nagaon district of Brahmaputra Valley. Majority of these people were the Muslims. At the same time, the British planters brought thousands of tea garden Labourers from U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, etc. to both the Valleys of Assam.²⁹ These people later on became the permanent resident of Assam, almost all of them were Hindu by faith, and however some of them belong to Muslim community also.³⁰

However, the Muslims arrived and settled in different places at different stages of history. Similarly the conversions to Islam occurred at various point of times. The newly settled Muslims of Turks, Afghans, Arabic, Persian, and other backgrounds, mingling with the newly converted Muslims, and Non-Muslims paved the way for the enhancement of language, polity, economy and society of Assam. Thus local languages and dialects became filled with new words used by the immigrants. Both Assamese and

²⁷J.B. Bhattacharjee, *op.cit*, pp-32-34.

²⁸*Journal of North East India council for Social Science Resarch*, Shillong, October -2006, pp-22-23.

²⁹*Ibid*, PP-23-24.

³⁰B.R. Khan, *op.cit*, p-8

Bengali languages are brought with Arabic and Persian words. So the Muslims added new dimension to Assam, whatever new community develops certain trends and cultural diversities in the society and polity of that land, which in turn enrich the existing one.

The geo – physical features of Assam had a great impact on its demographic profile. By 1935, Assam had turned to be the abode of different seats, religions and national and settlements were made on such lands that suited their professions. They had brought with them their religions, customs, cultures and beliefs. Thus influx of foreign ideals ultimately brought a great upheaval in Assamese society.

As regards the Muslims of Surma – Barak and Brahmaputra Valleys, they did not follow the same tenets of Islamic rules and rites and the caste Hindus did not accept the scheduled castes to their ranks. The tribes were badly treated socially by both the mojar sects. The existence of European planters, though nominal, was also a major factor in the economic and political affairs of the region. These sectarian differences had a direct bearing on the politics of Assam from 1937 onward.

The process of Islamisation gained momentum in the Brahmaputra valley as late as 16th century A.D. The Ahom kings in their attempt to keep pace with the Mughals, opened the road for the military adventures, artisans, craftsmen to Assam. They were taken in the services of the kingdom and honoured with the titles of *Phuka' Barua*, *Saikia*, *Bora*, *Hazarika*, etc. this secular attitude of the Ahom kings attracted the *sufi* saints to come to Assam for their missionary activities. The influences of these *sufis* released the indigenous Assamese Muslims from the rigid Islamic laws and they became more tolerant and secular in their dealings with other religious sects. As a result, the Muslims of Brahmaputra Valley, from the very beginning, learned to think that they were Assamese first and Muslim second. by 1935 A.D. we find the best exponents of this school of thought were Syed Muhammad Saadullah, Fakharuddin Ali Ahmed and others.

In 1874, Brahmaputra Valley and Surma Valley, along with the hill districts were separated from Bengal presidency and upgraded to a Chief Commissioner's province

with headquarters at Shillong. The first Chief Commissioner was Richard Henry Keatinge (1874 – 1878). The Bengali – speaking districts of Sylhet, Cachar, Goalpara and Garo Hills were merged with Assam. Originally, the five districts – Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Darrang, Nowgong and Kamrup had been under Assam, but since 1874, another four Bengali – speaking districts along with Khasi and Jaintia Hills were added to it. In 1921 A.D. Chief Commissionership was upgraded to Governorship. Sir Nicholas Dodd Beatson Bell was the first Governor of Assam (3rd Jan. 1921 to 2nd April 1921).

The Muslims of the Brahmaputra and Barak – Surma Valleys were adopted the Common appellation of “immigrants” by the British Colonial administrators. Tea garden coolies were, however, excluded from this category. They were allowed to take up land like the local Assamese and there was no objection to this.

Again, large scale migration from the districts of Bengal especially from Mymensingh began in the early part of 20th century. These illiterate farmers came in search of ‘bread and butter’ with no knowledge of new place. These harmless but needy people soon became peaceful citizens of the new region.

Presently Assam is the second largest Muslim populated state of India (in terms of percentage) only after Jammu and Kashmir. The Muslims constitute about thirty percent of the state population.³¹ They are concentrated in the South and west Assam in large numbers. Besides, the Southern and Western region, central Assam (mainly in the districts of Nagaon and Marigaon) has significant Muslim populations. At present the state has almost eighty lakhs Muslim population. History of the origin of this huge numbers of inhabitants does not represent one single period. Even since last three four decades the histories of Muslims have been the centre stage of many movements and violence in the state. The allegations and counter allegations not only draw the attention of national media, politicians and the masses but also the international media and organizations.³² They are marginalized in every possible way. They are looked merely

³¹Sanjib Baruah,*op.cit.*p-19.

³²*Ibid*, P-23.

as invaders and intruders in history and now suspected as immigrants. This twist and criticism, however in turn led the curiosity of some writers and historians to explore the Muslim history in the state and their relation with power. But unfortunately most of the works carried out by them are neither comprehensive nor insightful. Their writings unveiled a small part of Muslim history in Assam. The Muslim in Assam merely depicted as invaders, foreigners ignoring their contributions to the society, culture and economy of Assam. But it is a fact that the history of the Muslims of Assam is important for a comprehensive history of Assam. Again, Assam for its rich diversity in religion, language, ethnicity and culture forms a distinct and interesting identity in the history and heritage of India. The legacy of the Muslims is a significant part of it. So their history is imperative to develop a comprehensive history of Assam.

II

Political Scenario Before 1935 A.D.

The British in 1874 reconstituted Assam and vested all administrative powers in the Chief Commissioner. Creation of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1905 for the first time afforded an opportunity to local bodies to recommend nomination of their representatives to the provincial Legislative council. The Lt. Governor could accept or reject such recommendations.³³

In the new province with a majority of Muslim population only three out of a total strength of fifteen nominated members were Muslims, and all from Eastern Bengal . On prayer from the Assam Association, two seats were allotted to Assam. One of the seats was to be filled by the local bodies through indirect election and the other by the European tea planters. None of the Muslim members could expect to get a nomination in case of contests and infect, till 1910 there was no Muslim members in the Council from Assam. Thus the Muslims of Assam remained unrepresented.³⁴

³³M.Kar , *op.cit.*p 189

³⁴*Ibid*, P. 188.

In 1910, Executive council were provided for the Lt. Governor's provinces. The Eastern Bengal and Assam Legislative Council was enlarged to consists of forty members. Assam was given the right to send five, three were elected on indirect franchise by groups of local bodies , one was to represent the European Tea Planters and the fifth was a Muslim from the Barak –Surma valley . Thus in the new Council also the Muslims of the other Valley were not represented. Annulment of partition of Bengal in 1911-12 was followed by Assam's reversion to a Chief Commissioners province with a Legislative Council of its own with law making powers under the control of the Governor General. The Council consisted of twenty four members of whom thirteen were nominated by the Chief Commissioner while eleven were elected by class interests. The most important provision was the election of the Muslim member from the Brahmaputra valley.

Assam became a Governor's province having an enlarged legislative Council with law making function in respect of transferred subjects under the Montagu-Chemsford Reforms. For the first time a substantial elected majority of members to the extent of seventy percent on direct election and slightly broader franchise with . Such communal and special representation as might be deemed necessary was allowed.³⁵ The council now consisted of fifty three members of whom thirty nine were elected, and five officials, two Executive Councilors and seven non-officials were nominated. Of the elected seats, thirty two were allotted between the Muslims and the non-Muslims as to bring about an equilibrium as well as numerical balance between the two Valleys and the major communities and the rest represented , as before , class interests like landholders, chamber of commerce and planters etc., For the non-Muslim constituencies whole sub-divisions were taken as units. "But the concentration of Muhammadans in Sylhet and Goalpara rendered it necessary , however , to lump whole districts or Sub-Divisions together and make an adjustment in Goalpara."³⁶The elected seats were divided among territorial cum-communal constituencies.

³⁵A.C.Kapur, Constitutional History of India , New Delhi , 1970, P.271

³⁶M. Kar, *op. cit.* P.190

The distribution of representation was announced in Government of India's Notification No. 489F, dated 5th May 1920 which was published in Assam Gazette of 2nd June 1920.³⁷ From this source, we find that Muslims of the Brahmaputra Valley were very much over –represented compared to the Hindus. Their numerical strength was slightly more than one fifth of that of the Hindus but they got seats to the extent of one third. In the Barak –Surma Valley they were slightly under represented, but in the province as a whole, though they numbered less than half the Hindus, their representation went to the extent of sixty per-cents. Again, Barak-Surma valley Hindus who numbered half of those of the other valley were given more than their due share.³⁸

As a result of this cheek and balance policy, the thirty two, elective seats could be divided equally between the two Valleys. Of the four seats allotted to the Muslims of Brahmaputra Valley, one was given to Sibsagar and Lakhimpur together, another went to the group of three districts namely Kamrup, Nowgaon and Darrang and two to Goalpara alone. This distribution of seats evoked loud protests from the Muslims, Hindus, the manufacturing and the mercantile communities. The Muslim complaints of inadequacy of their representation were taken up by their representative organisations, the District and Sub-divisional Anjuman-i-Islamias in Dibrugarh , Jorhat , Dhubri, Goalpara , Gauhati and Hailakandi . They represented their case to both of the provincial and central Governments under the Leadership of Saadulla , Keramat Ali , Abdul Mazid and others.³⁹

The Anjuman-i-islamia of Gauhati demanded at least one seat for itself in view of the growing population of Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgaon districts due to immigration, the advancement of Muslims in education. The Anjuman-i-KhadimulIslam, Goalpara demanded one more seat for the Valley to be taken away from the landholders seat which was given to non-Muslims on the same ground. The same

³⁷*Indian Statutory Commission Report* , Vol.XIV,P-17,P-19, 1930.

³⁸*Ibid* , P-19.

³⁹M.Kar, *op. cit*, P-191.

demand was also raised at public meetings held under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Tayaidi Islam, Jorhat and Anjuman-i-MoidulIslam, Dhubri.

The Gauhati Anjuman pointed out gross inequalities in the allocation of seats among the members of the community as also the districts. It observed that according to the census of 1911, Kamrup, Nowgong and Darrang together had a Muslim population of 1,00,621 against the total of 43,137 in Lakhimpur and Sibsagar. Kamrup alone had 64,627. Yet, the two groups were allotted the same number of one seat each. They expected that the population of the three districts would be rapidly raised further by immigrants from Bengal. It was, therefore, suggested that the Muslims of those three districts should be given one representative each or in the alternative, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur should form one constituency and Kamrup, the biggest district be allotted one seat in the Reformed Council.

The Government of Assam held that the number of votes in the upper Assam was eight thousand and so, compared to Sylhet, it was entitled to only one seat and not two as had been allowed. Government of India in letter dated 22 June 1920 informed the Anjuman that the “.....arrangement of Mohammadan constituency to which exception is taken in your letter is that recommended by the Non official Committee of the Legislative Council. Further, it groups together homogeneous areas and this is thought to be a more important consideration than relative size of population. The Government of India does not therefore; consider that the redistribution suggested by your association would be suitable.”⁴⁰

Anjuman-i-Islamia, Hailakandi protested against non-allocation of any seat to their sub-division. They pointed out that though as a matter of general policy, any sub-division with a preponderance of Muslim electors was given a seat, Hailakandi with three thousand Muslim electors against one thousand and seven hundred Hindus was not given the benefit and Cachar district as a whole was treated as one Muslim

⁴⁰*Ibid*, P-192-193

constituency. They demanded a separate seat in the Council. They also pressed for an extra seat for their co-religionists in the Brahmaputra valley.

The provincial Government in their reply to the Government of India's enquiries asserted that the arrangement was in keeping with the recommendations received from the Council committee. They justified it on the ground that the upper Assam districts of Lakhimpur and Sibsagar stand geographically and in feeling somewhat apart from the central and lower Assam districts.⁴¹

Syed Mohammad Saadulla of Gauhati, then residing in Calcutta and practising law at Calcutta High Court wrote in protest to the Government of Assam on 18th July 1920, "The present grouping of the Assam Valley districts for electoral purposes was not recommended, so far as I know, by the sub-committee of the council. On the other hand, I proposed to get one seat from Goalpara district and distribute it against the rest. The present electorate of Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong is not warranted either by homogeneity of area or the population basis which was foreshadowed in the Reforms Report. From all points of view, Nowgong should have been tacked with the upper districts. I will be obliged if you will kindly enlighten me in the matter and place my protests before The Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner."⁴²

The Government replied that they had originally proposed to allot only two seats to the Muslims. One to Goalpara and the other to the rest of the Valley and that was the number to which the Valley would be entitled on the basis of its Muslim population. But the Southborough Committee allotted two seats to Goalpara and accordingly, the proposal, laid before the Non-official council sub-committee, gave two seats to Goalpara, one seat to Kamrup and Darrang and the fourth to Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Nowgong together. But the Government had accepted the suggestion of RaiBahadurGhanaswamyBoruah to group Kamrup, Nowgong and Darrang together

⁴¹A.S.F. No political B.Dec. 1924, Nos . 1526-1573.

⁴²M.Kar . *op. cit.* P-193

instead of Saadulla's demand for taking one seat from Goalpara and allotting it to Kamrup.

In justification, they argued that acceptance of his suggestion would mean that Goalpara with and hundred and twelve thousand male population of Muslim would have one seat while the rest of the Valley with seventy eight thousand would be given three seats. They also argued that though the Rai Bahadur's proposal meant considerable disproportion between the two groups, it undoubtedly provided more homogeneous constituencies than the Government distribution and it was accepted by the Chief Commissioner on this ground. Further, Saadulla's proposal, if accepted, would disturb the South borough Committee's recommendation which was the only ground for giving as many as four Mohammadan seats to the Brahmaputra Valley. Lastly, it was pointed out that the Government's original suggestion for tagging Nowgong with the upper districts was rejected by Saadullah himself. They concluded by saying that the constituencies had been determined by parliament and would hold good for the coming elections.⁴³

The Hindus of the Brahmaputra valley gathered in public meeting held under the auspices of the Assam Association, Merchant's Association, Kachari Association and the Endi and Muga Manufacturing Company etc. Leadership was given to the agitation for revision of the distribution by men like Tarun Ram Phukan, Gopinath Bordoloi, Chandra Nath Sarma and Chandradhar Boruah. In a meeting held at Curzon Hall, Gauhati, under the chairmanship of Tarun Ram Phukan on 17th March 1920, the public unanimously denounced the procedure of the Chief Commissioner of Assam in framing rules ancillary to the Reform Act and strongly urged the Government to submit them for public criticism before final adoption. They also demanded franchise of graduates in both provincial and central elections and a third seat for Kamrup in the Reformed Council.

⁴³A.S.F *op cit.*

The Assam Association meeting of Jorhat, held on 20th March 1920, disapproved the action of the Chief Commissioner and suggested some basis of franchise. Of special interest was its suggestion to limit voting right of tea planters, to ownership of tea cultivation covering fifty acres of land only. They also demanded a reconsideration of the Commerce and Industries Constituency on the basis of a place of business in Assam and a paid up capital of rupees ten thousand only. There was not much discontent in the Barak- Surma valley except that the Sylhet Baisya Sammilani, held at Karimganj on 29th and 30th May 1920 demanded a seat for the Indian Merchant Community. All these representations were simply acknowledge by the Government who stuck to the decision not to make any redistribution.⁴⁴ An idea of the distribution of seats on communal basis between Muslims and non- Muslims is gleaned from the table below (Table 1.1)

Table 1.1

Distribution of seats on communal basis between Muslims and non- Muslims

| Muslims | | | | Non Muslims | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Percentage of communal seats | o/o of Total seats | Population ratio | Voting ratio | o/o of communal seats | o/o of Total seats | Population ratio | Voting ratio |
| 36.3 | 30.2 | 32.3 | 30.1 | 63.6 | 47.1 | 65.9 | 69.8 |

Source: *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, 1930, Vol. I, Part-II , p.146.

Some important features of all these demands may be noted. Firstly, though the Anjumans did not appear to have any central organization, their resolutions were couched in the same manner making the same general demand for increase in Muslim representation, often in the very same language. Secondly, neither the Hindus nor the Muslims, in their common demand for additional representation showed any interest in liberalization and extension of franchise. Thirdly, a racial element was added to the agitation. Complaints were voiced against adding a part of western Goalpara to the Goalpara sub-division. Fourthly, separate representation was urged for the immigrants,

⁴⁴A.S.F *op. cit.*

they even at one time asked that their districts⁴⁵ in Bengal should be represented in the Assam Council.

In spite of the popular dissatisfaction, the Government attributed much significance to this council. The first Governor, Sir Nicholas told the Legislative Council on 23rd March 1923 that before 1921 it was definitely the Council of the Chief Commissioner and apart from legislation, its function was mainly advisory, but the new constitution entrusted it with more important functions and made it more powerful as it could reject even Government's recommendations. However, because of the restrictive provision of the Act, Indians considered the council mostly as a forum of discussion of Public affairs and ventilation of grievances which a Governor might, however, ignore with impunity. There was hardly any doubt that at least for some time, the nature and character of law making would be under the supreme Government's control.

In 1928, the Government of Assam observed, In the present condition of political life in Assam, however, further safeguards are required to secure the constitution and stabilize the Government. In the absence of any party organization based on any real bond of unity or any constructive policy, no cabinet could at present count on any solid party majority among the elected members of the House. It is therefore, for the two – fold object of giving some additional strength to the Cabinet and protecting the province against any disrupting tendencies that the Government have decided to recommend that some seats in the Legislative Council should be filled by nomination by the Governor (Table 1.2)

Table 1.2
Allocation of nominated seats in the Legislative Council

| Sl.No. | Elected | | Nominated | | |
|--------|------------------------|------|------------------------|------|-----------------------|
| | General constituencies | Nos. | Special constituencies | Nos. | Nos. |
| 1. | Muslims | 15 | 1.Land Holders | 02 | 1.Non-officials - 08 |
| 2. | Hindus | 20 | 2.Tea Planters | 07 | 2.Indian Christian-01 |

⁴⁵*Ibid*, Vol .XIV. P-20

| | | | | | |
|----|-----------|----|-------------------------|----|-------------|
| 3. | Europeans | 01 | 3.Commerce and Industry | 01 | 3.Nepali-01 |
| 4. | Ahoms | 01 | | | |

Source: *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, 1930, Vol. I, Part-II, p.53*

In their memorandum submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission (ISC), they suggested the following allocation of seats in the Council (Table 1.3)

Table 1.3

Allocation of seats in the Council

| Sl.No. | Elected | | Nominated | | |
|--------|--------------------------------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | General constituencies | Nos. | Special constituencies | Nos. | Nos. |
| 5. | Marwaris | 01 | | | |
| 6. | Shillong Urban | 01 | | | |
| 7. | Primitive races and Backward classes | 08 | | | |
| 8. | Labour – SurmaValley | 01 | | | |
| 9. | Labour-Brahmaputra Valley | 02 | | | |
| | Total | 50 | Total | 10 | 10 |

Source: *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, 1930, Vol. I, Part-II, p.54*

Excluding the three seats for Europeans, Marwari's and Commerce and Industry for which the electorates were formed of both the Valleys jointly, there would be thirty three seats for the Brahmaputra Valley and twenty four for the Barak- Surma Valley . As claimed by the Government, these proposals would maintain the balance between the Muslims and the Hindus in the Council and except in the case of special constituencies. The seats would be fairly divided accordingly to communities. One of the very special features of their recommendation was the complete exclusion of officials and the abolition of Diarchy but Government felt that "Assam in particular is

so dependent on and affected by Bengal that provincial Autonomy is not a practical proposition.⁴⁶

But the nomination of ten non-official members was politically motivated. Obviously, the disruptive tendencies meant congress activities. A study of the distribution of seats would show that Government could at least count upon the support of the Muslims, loyal Hindus. Having been provided as a protective measure, the votes of the primitive Races and Backward classes would not also normally go against them. True, the swarajists would not co-operate but those outside the party would be available to support them and so Government could be run quite safely.

In course of their evidence before the Joint Session of the Indian Central Committee, the provincial Committee to Co-operate with the Simon Commission, and the Simon Commission itself, the Government was asked whether the constitution recommended would help the growth of any but communal parties in the council. The chief secretary, on behalf of the Government, emphasized that they were only recognizing the existing divergences and hoped and trusted that so far from accentuating the differences, "when the communities work together in the Council, they will tend to shirk these differences and in the long run it will lead to destroy the acute communalism which sometimes exists in other parts of Indian."⁴⁷ While the communities were drifting further apart politically, it was not understood how government came to such a conclusion which of course, proved totally wrong rather too soon. They staunchly adhered to their faith and so refused to accept that even splitting of the Hindu community for census and other purposes would adversely affect their majority. Interestingly enough, fifteen years later, the Muslim league's claim on Assam and its formulation of Muslim majority was based on this very principle according to which only caste Hindus were counted against the Muslims for arriving at the claim of the latter's majority in the province.

⁴⁶M.Kar, *op.cit*, P-197

⁴⁷I.S.C Report, Vol,XV. P-327.

Abdul Hamid, president of the Assam Legislative Council, in his memorandum expressed the apprehension of the group other than the caste Hindus and said that the Muslim position would be worse. "If they are thrown into mercy of the high caste people and denied a voice in the new constitutional machinery."⁴⁸ He demanded separate electorate not only for his community but also for other minorities. In justification he said that in the Assam Council, resolutions banning cow slaughter except for religious purpose would have been passed if the chances of success had not been neutralized by the existence of nominated blocks and other interests. Abdul Hamid also objected to the inclusion of ten lakhs of tea garden labourers in the Hindu community. So the attitude of different groups in communal matters in the reformed councils cannot form a true index of the necessity of special electorates.

As regards the separate electorate he commented that nothing could be further than the truth to say that communal electorates were responsible for the existing state of inter –communal feeling . The genesis of the trouble was traced by him to the census Reports which showed that the increase in the Muslim population had been larger than the Hindus.

Sayed Saadulla , one of the Ministers said that the caste Hindus who were organized, educated and economically better situated than the rest, "have monopolized at least in Assam , all the seats reserved for non-Muslims." He complained that as a result of inclusion of caste-Hindus,non caste –Hindus, primitive Races, Christians and Garden Labourers in a polyglot electorate, sixteen lakhs of labour population remained actually unrepresented. He demanded due regard for the average increase in the population of different communities according to the past three or four censuses for the purpose of determining the extent of their representation .He praised the working of Diarchy in Assam . He was supported by Rai-BahadurPromode Chandra Dutta, another

⁴⁸M.Kar, *op.cit.* P.198-99

member who also pleaded for the transfer of the whole province to Bengal and joint electorates with reservation for minorities on population basis⁴⁹

The Assam Provincial Committee to co –operate with the Simon Commission Consisted of the following members.⁵⁰

1. Lt Col, G.D. Smiles- European
2. Rai- BahadurSadanandaDowerah-Assam Valley Hindu
3. Mukunda Narayan Barua- Assam Valley Hindu.
4. RaibahadurAmarnath Roy –Surma Valley Hindu.
5. Arjan Ali Majumdar-Suma Valley Muslim.
6. Munawar Ali –Surma Valley Muslim
7. Keramat Ali –Assam Valley Muslim .

The Committee recommended the abolition of Diarchy, enlargement of the Legislative council and introduction of full Responsible Government placing all subjects under ministerial control. The council was to consist of ninety-five elected and not more than five nominated members. There was to be no official block, but Governor could nominate two experts. Of the elective seats thirty one were to go to the Muslims and forty one to the Hindus and the rest to other interests, separate electorates were to be retained and every census was to be followed by revision of the Muslim Quota in the Legislature by the Governor. They were particularly anxious that the minority Communities should not have any grievance in the new constitution. In course of debate

⁴⁹I.S.C Report . Vol XVII .PP.27-32.

⁵⁰M.Kar, *op.cit.* P.199.

on the Simon Report, the same Muslim members demanded thirty five seats for their community.⁵¹

The Simon commission recommended the enlargement of the provincial legislatures, abolition of Diarchy, introduction of provincial Autonomy , continuance of separate communal electorates and weightage to Muslims. The Government of India Act 1935 provided for a legislative Assembly of one hundred and eight members. Muslims were given thirty four seats. Forty seven were general seats and the rest went to other interests. In the other House which consisted of twenty two members, ten seats were given to general constituencies, six to Muslims, two to Europeans and four were to be nominated . In the election of 1937, however , the Congress and its supporters captured all the general seats and a good number of others and most of them went to the caste Hindus.

So far as the Central Legislatures were concerned, the same methods of election were applied but franchise was further restricted to persons with considerable wealth, previous experience in Legislatures, municipalities and University Senate and similar tests of standing. The whole of Assam was treated as a single constituency in respect of Muslim representation and they were represented in both the council of states and the Legislative Assembly by a Muslim from the Barak–Surma valley whereas the Hindus had two members.⁵²

The majority of Muslim electorates were in the Barak-Surma valley. It was thus not possible for the Brahmaputra valley Muslims to return a representative of their own in any of the three elections since the introduction of Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms. Their candidates were always defeated by their co-religionists of the other valley. Therefore, in 1926, a Jorhat Muslim Pleader petitioned the Governor for recommending to Government of India that in the Legislative Assembly, a seat might be reserved for the Muslims of the Valley. The Government of Assam also recommended a separate

⁵¹*Assam Gazettee*, part –VIA, 190,P.1069

⁵²I.S.C Report , Vol. I .PP 167 -68,

seat in the Assembly for Muslims of the Valley and two seats, one for Muslims and one for the others in the Council of states instead of the existing one.⁵³ The Govt. of India Act 1935 remedied the grievances.

In connection with representation, Assam Valley had almost fifty percent of the electors of the whole province it had only one representative. The Muslims of Assam with half the number of electors of the Assam Valley had one member, Surma Valley with less than half of the electoral strength of Assam Valley had equal representation. But the most glaring anomaly was that a few hundred Europeans of the planter Raj had equal representation with others. In other house, there was no reserved seat for the Muslims of the valley.⁵⁴

From 1921 to 1933, one of the Executive councilors was a Muslim and the other was a European. From 1921 to 1926, with the only exception in 1923, one of the Ministers was a Muslim when the Executive Councilor was an Assam Valley Muslim. The Government policy in respect of the appointment of Ministers is understood from their memorandum to the Simon Commission. They observed that in the first Council, there being no parties Ministers were chosen by the Governor to represent communities and localities.

The first party in the Council appeared in 1924 but the Swarajists refused to participate in the Government and so Ministers could not be appointed on constitutional model. They also observed that the Council was crossed by Communal and territorial lines of cleavage and the selection of Ministers was guided by these considerations.⁵⁵

There was no Hindu Executive Councilor till 1934 though there was a Hindu Minister except in 1927. From 1927 to 1929, Barak –Surma valley was represented by an Indian Christian from the Khasi Hills. However, the Government did not consider it possible that those lines of cleavage would disappear before many years to come. These

⁵³*Ibid*, P.54, P-56.

⁵⁴*Proceedings of Government of Assam*, December -1930, Record No.-122, File No.A

⁵⁵I.S.C. Report, Vol.XIV P-199.

facts explode the myth of communal harmony in Assam, at least on political level . But it cannot be denied that Assam was much less affected by disturbances of communal nature than some of the other Indian provinces like Bengal. A further elaboration of Government Policy in this respect can be obtained from their official evidence before the joint session of the provincial committee to co-operate with the Simon Commission, the Indian Central Committee and the commission itself held on 3rd January 1929 at Shillong. Asked why Government objected for election of Ministers as earlier suggested by Governor Sir Nicholas Dodd Beatson Bell. G.E. Soames the Chief Secretary replied that in absence of party organization, a system of election could not work on the basis of collective responsibility.⁵⁶ They did not also visualize that in the immediate future, there could appear any such organization. The Government further stated that the Governor would nominate Ministers with due regards to their commanding a possible majority in the Legislative Council. Asked how it could be possible in absence of parties. Soames replied that there were private party organizations in the Council and that it was possible for a Muslim more or less to rely on the votes of his community.⁵⁷ A Hindu member asked in the Council in 1928 whether the Local Government did not consists of a majority of Muslim members, but the president disallowed the question.

Till then, one of the Executive councilors having always been a Muslim, Sir Harising Gour of the Indian Central Committee asked Soames why only twenty nine percent of the populations were always represented in government leaving out the seventy one percent of them. He evaded a suitable reply simply by stating that such appointments rested with the Governor. Again, as Gour remarked that the Hindus were excluded from assignments as Executive Councillors and Ministers as a design, The Chief Secretary replied that many of the Hindu members were swarajists who refused to accept office. However, knowing that there were Hindus and others outside that party, he fortified himself by stating that the choice was restricted to a few Hindu members in the Barak –

⁵⁶*Ibid* ,Vol XV.P. 321.

⁵⁷*Ibid* , P-323.

Surma valley.⁵⁸ But that there was no dearth of suitable Hindus was testified by Governor Sir John Kerr himself in his address to the council on 24th March 1924.

He said, “Lord Lytton recently compared the task of forming a Ministry in Bengal. My difficulties have not been exactly of that character. I may venture to use a more homely simile, I would say that the Governor sitting out to form a Ministry in Assam is in the position of a cook who is called upon to make a pudding out of a dozen excellent ingredients but is only allowed to use two of them.”⁵⁹ He could not, however, select the best ingredients as considerations of the Valleys and communities were to be given priority and he maintained a proportion of two to one, between the Muslims and the Hindus, in the total strength of the Executive.

As regards political forces influencing and determining the working of the councils in the provinces, the Indian statutory commission remarked that the first Legislative councils were like the first Assembly composed mainly of moderates and for the same reason, the congress party was committed to non-co-operation and put up no candidates at the election . All the councils were therefore, prepared to work the reforms and thought the difficulties in actual working varied from province to province in kind and in degree, there was nowhere any approach to break down.⁶⁰

In Assam, the Congress had its organization established in 1921 and did not participate in the first Reformed council which lasted from 1921 to 1923. Most of the members were landlords, title holders and lawyers whose loyalty and allegiance to the Empire was never generally challenged. The first council functioned in an atmosphere of enthusiasm of non-co-operation and boycott and therefore, the loyalists had a safe sailing quite a good number of highly educated Hindus and Muslims were available for the formation of the Legislative and the Government. Even then , the Government did not take risks and extended the policy of check and balance from the composition of Legislature to the appointment to positions of importance in the Executive council and

⁵⁸*Ibid* , P-326

⁵⁹*Ibid* , Vol IV, P-197.

⁶⁰*Ibid* , Vol-I,P-258.

the Ministry . This will be dealt with hereafter, suffice is to say that Government appeared to rely more upon the Muslims perhaps because, a vast majority of them were not contaminated with the spirit of non-co-operation.⁶¹

During the second phase of the council from 1923 to 1926, interesting political developments took place. Firstly, in the council elections of 1923, The Congress Swarajists stimulated the use of franchise by contesting the seats on the definite pledge of a uniform, continuous and sustained obstruction with a view to making Government through the Assembly and the Council impossible. For the policy of boycott was to be substituted owe of wrecking the Legislative from within. Secondly, the dissipation of the national enthusiasm which was generated by the Non Co-operative Movement outside and the swarajist attitude of wrecking the constitution from within the Legislature, further cemented Anglo-Muslim co-operation in Assam.

It must, however, be noted that the Muslim members were not working even on Loose lines of party allegiance and Muslim politics was obstinately provincial. Till the All India Muslim League session of October 1937, they were divided into splinter groups but on all major issues particularly those concerning the communities, the Muslims and the Hindus remained apart from one another, the former being generally reinforced by the European Members. It was in response to Jinnah's appeal in that league Session that Saadulla agreed to come under the All India Muslim League's discipline along with his followers thus forming the Assam Muslim League Legislative party.⁶²

Entry of the swarajists who could muster a strength of fifteen only, made the councils work more difficult but at the same time further strengthened the Anglo-Muslim co-operation. It is of course true that the Assam Swarajists were led by Faiznur Ali of Dibrugarh but most of the Muslim members remained out of the Swarajist party and never joined hands with them. The few Muslims of the party also broke away from

⁶¹M.Kar, *op.cit* , P-204

⁶²E.W.R Lumby, *The Transfer of Power in India* (1945-47) London, 1954 , P-22 and *I.S.C. Report* , vol.-XIV, P-207

it in 1926 except one, due to communal differences according to the Assam Government. Also according to the Statutory Commission, Hindu–Muslim antagonism was one of the two main influences on the elections of 1926, the other being the Congress Swarajists pledge of wrecking the constitution⁶³. A logical sequence of all this was the retardation of national consciousness on the basis of secularism. A number of communal riots resulting in deaths of Muslim Government officers and civil citizens took place.⁶³

Though the Swarajists withdrew from the Council, there is no doubt that they were in disarray in Assam and that decision only disguised the real position. Communal cleavage between the Hindus and the Muslims found expression also in the Council debates. During the first two Council's life time, the House divided on more than a hundred occasions on the vast majority of which voting was on clearly communal lines even in matters of common interests.

It was, therefore, natural that with regards to elections, even where there are no separate electorates the communal principle usually wins. The only Muslim Swarajist candidate in the election of 1926 was defeated.⁶⁴ Referring to the election results in 1926 the Governor exhorted the members to take care of the interests of the vast majority of inhabitants of the province who had neither a lot nor a part in the making of the Legislative Council as it stood then.

So far as Government were concerned, more attention was paid to racial lines of cleavage. They pleaded that it was necessary due to communal representation in the council, territorial arrangement of constituencies and the direct influence of Ministers in the reformed system of Government. They admitted that these elements made administration difficult but would not disappear soon. As regards composition of Government they observed that the refusal of one party to undertake office must make it impossible to determine whether a Ministry obtaining a fair share of confidence from all groups and not merely representative of a fortuitous majority could be formed by

⁶³I.S.C Report voll . P-257

⁶⁴M.Kar, *op. cit* P-205.

mutual compact.⁶⁵ The Swarajists continuously attacked the Minister but could not achieve much. On two occasions, their no-confidence motions against ministers were defeated with the aid of the official votes.

Except the Swarajists who entered the council in 1924, the only other party that functioned from 1923 to 1926 was the Independent party under the Leadership of Rai Bahadur Promode Chandra Dutta. Party organization within the Council Lacked compactness though the Swarajists as well as the Independents created a party hierarchy such as Leader, Deputy Leader and whips. These posts were created to satisfy different interests and ambitions rather than to ensure a smooth and rigidity disciplined party function. For example, the leader of the Swarajists was an Assamese Muslim from Dibrugarh and his Deputy was a Bengali Hindu from Sylhet. The Independent party functioned mainly in the Bank –Surma Valley. According to Government there was no party in the Council but only a collection of dissolving groups.⁶⁶

Under these circumstances, it was not unnatural that there could not be a definitely organized Government party. However, though the Europeans and nominated groups were apparently free to vote according to their predilections, they never deserted the Government. The most prominent among the Muslim leaders, Saadulla was a moderate and loyalist who was knighted in 1928 and provided a pillar of strength to Government. But the absence of a party organization based on any difference of opinion as to administration with the refusal of the only cohesive group to undertake any responsibility, limited the power of the Ministry to frame any constructive policy.

Again, in the absence of a group with a definite constructive programme with a secular approach, the questions which were asked lacked the spirit of usefulness. A question intended merely to satisfy a desire for knowledge was comparatively rare, though sometimes, most detailed and exhaustive statements were required particularly for the satisfaction of Communal demands.⁶⁷ In spite of political awakening, the

⁶⁵*Ibid* , PP-205, 206.

⁶⁶*Ibid* , P-217.

⁶⁷*Ibid* , P-236.s

personal flavour of individuals remained the guiding spirit behind the working of the reforms.