



## Partition, Migration and Demographic Change in the Cachar District of Assam (1947- 1971)

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**Abstract:** Partition of India is a significant historical event, known for the striking changes brought about by it in the whole topography of undivided India along with political, economic and cultural changes in the two newly created nations- Pakistan and India. The British decolonization of India that marked the division of the country into two independent nations in the summers of 1947 led to arbitrary redrawing of boundaries, followed by large scale migration across the borders, with people of each nation trying to move to the land of their religious affiliation. While in the West, extensive violence occurred immediately after the announcement of the partition of the country with human exodus and an exchange of population, in the East, the migration took place in phases after every incident of violence. This had a substantial impact on the demography of the region. This study is confined to the partition which divided the districts of Cachar (in present southern Assam, India) and Sylhet (Presently in Bangladesh) which together formed the Surma Valley. The migration induced demographic changes in the district of Cachar (presently divided into the districts of Cachar, Hailakandi and Karimganj) from India's independence (1947) till the creation of the new country of Bangladesh (1971) is the primary focus of this paper. The migrants who came after 25<sup>th</sup> March, 1971 are considered as illegal migrants, as per the Assam Accord (1985).

**Key-words:** Partition, migration, settlement, demography.

### A brief profile of Cachar:

Assam is made up of two valleys, namely Brahmaputra valley and Barak valley separated by the Karbi and Dima Hasao Hills in between. The Barak river originates from the Barail Range in the border areas of southern Assam, Nagaland and Manipur and flows through the district of Cachar meeting Brahmaputra in Bangladesh. Barak Valley in Assam is a small valley with an average width and length of approximately 40 to 50 kms. The two valleys of Assam have followed different historical trajectories though there were strong linkages between the people and ruling classes of the two regions. Thus, apart from their geographical variations, there are differences in the language, traditional values and culture between the people of the two valleys. The name Cachar is said to have come from the Kacharis, whose kingdom dominated the region in the medieval period for a considerable period of time.

Barak Valley was also referred to as Cachar district during the colonial period, till its division into two new districts of Hailakandi and Karimganj in 1983 and 1989

respectively. That the districts of Cachar and Sylhet were once united, is evident from the discovery of the earliest inscription of the region, the Nidhanpur Copper Plate inscriptions of king Bhaskarvarman of Kamarupa issued in the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. from Karnasuvarna of Bengal.<sup>1</sup> It shows that Cachar and Sylhet were under the Varmans who reigned over Kamarupa in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Cachar had also been a part of Harikela<sup>2</sup> state since 7<sup>th</sup> century and later formed a part of the Tripuri State which extended over Tripura, Chittagong, Sylhet and some other neighbouring districts.<sup>3</sup> The first division of united Sylhet and Cachar in the form of two separate political formations have taken place in the 14<sup>th</sup> century when Sylhet passed into the hands of the Muslim rulers of Bengal,<sup>4</sup> while the Cachar Valley remained under the Tiperrahs.<sup>5</sup> After that Cachar was ruled for about a century by the Koch from the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century, followed by the establishment of the Kachari kingdom in 1745.<sup>6</sup>

On 14<sup>th</sup> August 1832, Cachar was annexed to the British dominion and the then Governor General, Lord William Bentinck held that since Cachar was socially, linguistically and geographically a part of Bengal, and is distinct from the hill tract of the North East frontier, it should “be placed under the control of the Dacca Commissionership and managed under the same regulations that existed for the neighbouring district of Sylhet”.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly in 1836, Cachar was amalgamated in the Dacca Division with many department having common heads for Cachar and Sylhet and named the region as Surma Valley, after its main river Surma. However, in 1874 the Surma Valley was separated from Bengal and joined with the newly created Chief- Commissioner’s province of Assam, to meet the economic and administrative needs of the province. The people of Sylhet, who strongly opposed its separation from Bengal could not do much to have the move of government stopped. However, the British government at that time consoled them with assurances that, the form of administration in Sylhet would remain untouched and they would have a widened job opportunity in the province of Assam.<sup>8</sup>

### **Separation of Cachar from Sylhet in 1947:**

The treaty of Yandaboo, signed between the British and the Burmese king, on 24<sup>th</sup> February, 1826 marked the annexation of Assam by the British, whose head-office was at Calcutta. The British colonial administration brought in people from Bengal to man the administrative apparatus of Assam. This was necessitated by the lack of adequate native personnel. As a result, Bengali was adopted as the official language in Assam from 1836 to 1873. It was during this period that migration of Bengalis from neighbouring districts of Bengal and Sylhet took place in a large scale. The dominance of the Bengalis in government offices and other walks of life created an ill feeling both in the intelligentsia group, who rose up in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the then Congress ministry of Assam, led by Gopinath Bordoloi.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, when Lord Mountbatten came up with his June 3<sup>rd</sup> plan (1947), of holding a referendum in the District of Sylhet to decide whether it should join Bengal in case of partition or remain with the province of Assam, the people of Brahmaputra Valley presented a united support to part with the district of Sylhet. Contrary to that, the

society in Sylhet was divided by politics based on religion and caste. Muslims constituted a majority in Sylhet. Out of the total population of 30,41,631, Muslims were 18,92,117; General Hindus were 7,85,004 and Scheduled Castes were 2,67,510.<sup>10</sup> Jogendranath Mandal from Barisal, who was the leader of the depressed classes carried out a wide campaign among the members of the community to vote in favour of Sylhet joining Pakistan.<sup>11</sup> On 6<sup>th</sup> & 7<sup>th</sup> July, 1947 the referendum was held and on 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1947 when the results were declared it came out in favour of Pakistan. Srihatta or Sylhet became a part of Pakistan for about 55,000 votes. It needs to be mentioned here that about 2 lakh tea garden labourers who had enjoyed their franchise in the Assam Legislative elections held in 1946 and had a labourer named Jiban Santal Labou from Narayanchherra tea estate of Maulavi Bazar Mahakuma elected as an MLA,<sup>12</sup> were debarred from casting their votes in the referendum on the concept of floating population. The Muslim supporters were delighted with the results of the referendum, while the Hindus were disheartened and completely crestfallen, and for the first time, felt at the crossroads. They were the worst sufferers.

On 13th August 1947, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, Chairman of the Boundary Commissions announced the demarcation of lands. The Muslim League demanded the transfer of the whole of Sylhet along with the present Cachar and Hailakandi districts to East Pakistan. But, Radcliffe's line did not coincide with the Muslim League's territorial demand as three and a half thanas of Karimganj Mahakuma (sub-division) namely-Ratabari, Patharkandi, Badarpur and a part of Karimganj, which were within the district of Sylhet, were joined with India to provide access to the state of Tripura with the rest of India. A large tract of land adjoining tea-estates of Sylhet was also considered to be joined with India but, some heavyweights of the Muslim League, taking advantage of the slack in the administration of Assam Government in Sylhet, disobeyed the declaration and took the large tract of land under their control. This disputed area came to be known as 12 thanas (baro thana)<sup>13</sup> and formed South Sylhet which came less under the influence of the Muslim faith and for many years 'were probably dominated by the Hindu Kingdom of Tippera.'<sup>14</sup>

In this action, the Muslim League was supported by the Bordoloi Government of Assam, who saw Sylhet's transfer to East Pakistan as a 'God sent opportunity', for it would help in the creation of a linguistically homogenous province. The political leaders of Assam also wanted to part away with the Hailakandi Mahakuma because of its Muslim majority population but since the handing over of Hailakandi to East Pakistan would include Lushai Hills (present Mizoram, which was then a part of Assam) the idea was eventually given up. The Hindus protested against the forceful occupation of the land, but it fell on deaf ears of the Bordoloi Government.<sup>15</sup> At last, the then Governor General of India, Lord Mountbatten created a one-man British tribunal in 1948 named as Bage Tribunal to which both India and Pakistan gave their consent. The aim of the tribunal was to implement the decision of Radcliffe's Commission, and to see that the 12 thanas were rejoined with the Indian Territory. But Pakistan retracted from its consent. Under the circumstances, there were two options left before India- (1) to approach the International Court of Law, or (2) use force to include those 12 thanas into the Indian Territory.

At this, Nehru decided to approach the International Court of Law, but the indifferent attitude of the Assam Government towards the issue, made Nehru slow down. The Bengali Hindus were displeased and agitation started in Agartala, Silchar and Karimganj. A meeting of assembly members and dignitaries headed by J.K. Choudhury was held to request Nehru to incorporate the 12 thanas, but the latter confirmed that the 'chapter is closed'. In this way, more than 12,00 square miles of land, a number of tea estates, oil and natural resources and about 8 lakh population passed into the hands of East Pakistan.<sup>16</sup> It was felt by many, that had the tea gardens belonged to the Birla family or to any of the families from North India, then those areas would not have gone to Pakistan. Many Hindus who have voted against the referendum, unfortunately found themselves in the new land of Pakistan after the partition and many Muslims who have supported the referendum were left behind in India.

### **Outbreak of riots and large scale of migration:**

The announcement of the results of the referendum was followed by atrocities on the Hindus in East Pakistan, which led to encroachment of their lands, plundering off their cultivations and various in-human activities; even women and children were not spared. They were taunted, forced to marry and even carried away.<sup>17</sup> Anima Bhattacharjee stated that the people from the Muslim community, who never had the courage to step in their courtyard, started entering their houses after the announcement of the partition.<sup>18</sup> People received threats like "Either leave your home or be ready for death." Within three days of the birth of Pakistan, a Muslim mob of about 2000 besieged a village called Nowgaon in Habiganj subdivision.<sup>19</sup> Even the Ansar Bahini which was mainly formed to maintain law and order in the rural areas and work for its development, taking advantage of the slack in administration, resorted to use their police powers in 'an arbitrary and exploitative manner'.<sup>20</sup> A section of Hindu Bengalis from the elite group of the society consisting of the Brahmins, the Kayasthas and Baidyas, were the first to feel the pinch, they felt that it won't be possible for them to maintain their status and position in the new country<sup>21</sup> and so decided to migrate immediately after the announcement of the partition of India. They were the people who had relatives or other connections in Cachar, and had the assets and skills to settle themselves. But the common people who did not have any intention of leaving their ancestral land felt that normalcy would soon return; while some of them temporarily took refuge in the eastern tea-estates and in the towns to save their lives. In 1950, when a large scale violence took place against the Hindus in East Pakistan and the government, which was supposed to protect them, turned hostile, many people ultimately decided against their will, to leave their home and hearth and their country in quest of safe haven. Even the Nehru- Liaquat pact signed thereafter on 8th April 1950, could not deter the people from migrating across the border.

Table 1.2 depicts the pace of migration to the state of Assam from 1946 which reached its peak during the year 1950.

**Table 1.1**

**The arrival of refugees from East Pakistan to Assam**

<b>Year</b>	<b>No of Refugees</b>
1946	6,860
1947	42,346
1948	41,740
1949	33,138
1950	144,512
Jan. & Feb. 1951	3,479
<b>Total</b>	<b>272,075</b>

*Source: Census of India ,1951 Vol XII Assam, Manipur and Tripura Part1-A, R B Vaghaiwalla p. 359*

March and April were the two crucial months in which a huge number of people migrated. Out of a total of 274,455 migrants, 80,000 refugees came to Assam alone. The largest number of migrants came from Sylhet followed by Mymensingh and Dacca.<sup>22</sup>

The district of Cachar with which Sylhet enjoys the maximum proximity made it the largest recipient of migrants, as can be understood from the table below:

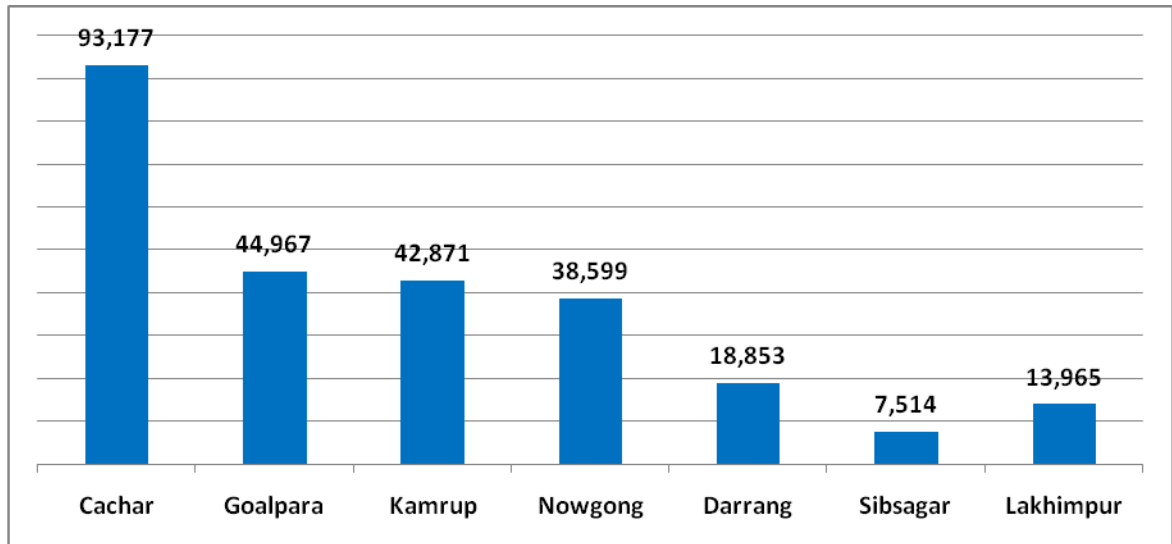
**Table :1.2**

**Displaced persons in various districts of Assam plains in 1951**

<b>Sl. No</b>	<b>Districts</b>	<b>No. of Displaced Persons</b>
1	Cachar	93,177
2	Goalpara	44,967
3	Kamrup	42,871
4	Nowgong	38,599
5	Darrang	18,853
6	Sibsagar	7,514
7	Lakhimpur	13,965
	<b>Total</b>	<b>259,946</b>

*Source: Census of India , 1951A, p.357*

Figure:1



The period between 1951-52 witnessed a slight decrease in the influx of Hindu migrants and a sort of unity developed among the Bengali speaking people of both the religions. But the year 1952-53 saw a reverse situation due to the Pakistan Government's introduction of the system of issuing Passport-Cum- Visa System instead of Permit System to travel to India both from East and West Pakistan, on 15<sup>th</sup> October 1952.<sup>23</sup> Just before the system was imposed, a large scale migration took place across the border to India. After that the pace of migration slowed down from 1953-1955 but a reverse trend was again witnessed from 1955-1957 due to the declaration of Urdu as official and Bengali as co-official language of Pakistan by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and the naming of the country as the 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan'. Another phase of migration took place in 1965 with the outbreak of the 2<sup>nd</sup> India-Pakistan War on the western part of India. Though the Eastern wing of Pakistan was not directly involved in the war, yet a sense of insecurity developed in the minds of the Hindu minorities which forced them to leave their 'bhita' and 'mati'.<sup>24</sup>

Another phase of large- scale migration started after March 1971. East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan by several miles apart from having significant differences in culture and tradition of the people living in both the parts. On October 7, 1958, General Ayub Khan, the head of the Pakistani land-force, in a coup usurped power and proclaimed Martial law throughout Pakistan. The people of East Pakistan led by their leaders, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani under the banner of Awami League and the National Awami Party respectively demanded autonomy and 'one man-one vote'. The new Prime Minister Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan accepted the principle of 'one man-one vote' and announced an election in December 1970. In the elections held, Mujib's Awami League won a landslide victory. On 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> March 1971, the Pakistani army, under Lieutenant General Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi, cracked down on the unarmed citizens of East Pakistan, specially the Hindu which was again resulted in a human exodus.

### Demographic Change:

As Cachar is locked up by the Barail range in the north, the Lushai hills in the south and the Naga hills in the east, the only opening to the region, is to the west where the vast Gangetic plain of Bengal lies. Thus, this region had a sizeable Bengali population from an unknown date of history.<sup>25</sup> Thereafter, during the establishment of the British rule in the region, large scale migration to Cachar from various parts of India specially Sylhet was encouraged to increase the revenue of the region, whose population according to Captain Pemberton was only 50,000, at the time British took hold of the region.

The table below shows the rise of population in the region from 1872 to 1931:

**Table 1.3**

#### **Year- wise Population Percentage Variation**

Year	Population Percentage	Variation
1872	2,05,027	.....
1881	2,93,738	+43.3
1891	3,67,542	+25.1
1901	4,14,781	+12.8
1911	4,69,984	.....
1921	5,00,388	.....
1931	5,37,687	.....
1941	641,181	.....

Sources :(i) *Assam District Gazetteers, Vol.1, B.C. Allen, C.S., Shillong 1905, p.43*

(ii) *J.B.Bhattacharjee, Cachar Under British Rule in North East India, Delhi, p.245*

(iii) *Census of India 1941, Village Statements of Cachar District, Shillong*

Contrary to the increase in population that the region witnessed during British rule, one can observe a substantial change in the demography of the area in the post partition period, due to large scale migration of the people, mainly from Sylhet, who tried to move to the land of their religious affiliation.

The migrants initially got settled in the nearby areas of Cachar district. As the subdivision of Karimganj was adjacent to the district of Sylhet, most of the migrants settled in the area with an increase rate of 29.9% of population<sup>26</sup> as can be understood from the table below:

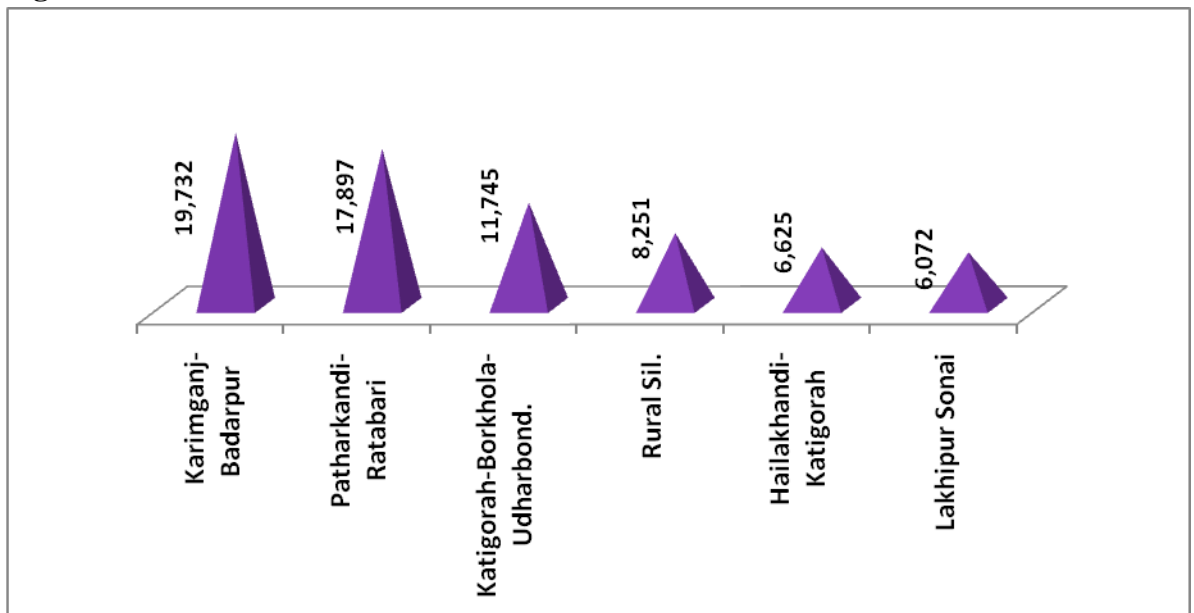
**Table 1. 4**

**Distribution of the Displaced persons in the different rural tracts of Cachar district**

Sl. No	Rural Tracts	Population
1	Karimganj- Badarpur	19,732
2	Patharkandi-Ratabari	17,897
3	Katigora-Borkhola-Udharbond	11,745
4	Rural Sil.	8,251
5	Hailakandi-Katigora	6,625
6	Lakhipur Sonai	6,072
	Total	70,322

Source: Census of India ,1951 Vol XII Assam, Manipur and Tripura Part1-A, R B Vaghaiwalla, p.52

**Figure:2**



The migrants also preferred to settle in the three town areas of Silchar, Karimganj and Hailakandi because the prospect of earning a livelihood was more in those areas than in the rural areas, which were mainly covered with forests. The large settlement of population in and around the town area led to an upward movement of towns from one class to another in the post 1947 period as shown in the table below:

**Table 1.5 Movement of towns from one class to another**

Towns	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Karimganj	V	V	IV	III	III
Hailakhandi	VI	VI	V	IV	IV
Silchar	IV	IV	III	III	II



Source: *Census of India, Series 3 Assam , Part II A, General Population Tables A.K. Saikia, Assam, p.89*

Apart from the above movement of towns in the scale of urbanisation, the large scale migration also led to the development of some new towns in various areas of Cachar district and by 1961 there were as many as six towns which increased to eight in 1971, namely (1) Badarpur (2) Badarpur Railway Town (3) Hailakandi (4) Karimganj (5) Lakhipur (6) Lala (7) Ramkrishnanagar and (8) Silchar.<sup>27</sup>

The table below shows the urbanization trend of the districts between 1941 and 1971:

**Table 1.6**

**Urbanization trend of the district between 1941 and 1971**

**(Urban population as percent of total population)**

Subdivisions	1941	1951	1961	1971
Cachar	3.8	6.3	6.6	9.8
Karimganj	1.9	4.2	7.5	7.6
Hailakhandi	2.7	5.0	7.4	7.3
Valley Total	3.1	5.5	7.0	7.9

Source: *Statistical profile of Barak Valley 1998 Apurbananda Mazumder, Prashanta Rn. Acharjee and Jaydeep Bhattacharya, p.27*

Some migrants also moved to the interior areas and after clearing down the forests, settled down there. This led to a tremendous increase in the number of villages in the three subdivisions of Cachar district by 1971 which is shown in the table below:

**Table 1.7**

**Increase in the No. of villages in the three subdivisions by 1971**

Subdivisions	Total no of villages	Total rural population
Cachar	2,413	1,577,626
Karimganj	1,076	524,133
Hailakandi	362	285,515

Source: *Census of India, Series 3 Assam , Part II A, General Population Tables, A.K. Saikia, Assam, p.90*

Being uprooted from their ancestral land in East Pakistan, the people after migrating to the district of Cachar engaged themselves in a struggle for survival. They adopted varied sources of livelihood and not any specific occupation. Some engaged themselves in petty trades and commerce while others got absorbed in the tea industries as well as small occupations and cottage industries. However, the maximum number of people got engaged as cultivators while others as agricultural labourers. Since the region consisted of 'bheels', swampy areas, 'tillas'<sup>28</sup> and plenty of open lands covered with forests, the migrants took up the occupation of forestry, fishing, hunting and such other allied activities.

The table below shows the percentage of the occupational distribution of working population in the district of Cachar from the year 1951 to 1971:

**Table :1.8**

**Occupational Distribution of the Migrants in Cachar**

	1951	1961	1971
<b>PRIMARY SECTOR</b>	<b>80.4</b>	<b>77.6</b>	<b>79.0</b>
I.Cultivators	45.4	51.1	46.7
II Agricultural Labourers	-	6.8	19.9
III. Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Plantation, Orchards & Allied Activities	-	13.3	12.3
IV Mining and Quarrying	-	6.4	0.1
Total of II to IV	35.0*	26.5	32.3
<b>SECONDARY SECTOR</b>		<b>2.2</b>	<b>4.7</b>
V Manufacturing, Processing, Servicing &Repairing	@	1.7	3.6
(a) In Household industry	@	-	1.6
(b) In other than household industry	@	-	2.0
VI Constructions	@	0.5	1.1
<b>TERTIARY SECTOR</b>	<b>19.6</b>	<b>20.2</b>	<b>16.3</b>
VII Trade and Commerce	5.7	5.5	4.9
VIII Transport, Storage & Communications	1.5	1.6	2.4
IX Other Services	12.4	13.1	9.0

- Separately not available

\*Inclusive of the proportions of workers engaged in the Secondary Sector

@ Proportion of worker engaged in the Secondary Sector are included in the Total of II to IV

Source: (i) Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Govt. Of Assam.

(ii) All India Census Reports.

(iii) Apurbananda Mazumder, Prashanta Rn. Acharjee and Jaydeep  
Bhattacharya, *Statistical Profile of Barak Valley*, 1998, p.35

**Conclusion:** Thus, the Partition of the Surma Valley of Assam was one of the most bitter realities, that the people of Hindu community of Sylhet had to face. They were people, who were uprooted from their social, economic and political lives and were forced to move to India. Since the district of Cachar, in the state of Assam, shared a common border with East Pakistan and also because of the linguistic and cultural affinity between Cachar and Sylhet, the migrants from the latter area preferred to settle in Cachar the most. This led to a significant demographic change in the region. It led to the development of five new towns along with an upward movement of the existing three towns. Though settlement in and around the urban areas was more because of a better prospect of earning a livelihood, migrants also moved towards the interior areas for their settlements. This explains the reason why the total area of the Valley that was covered by forest came down from 3,08,895 hectares in 1951 to 2,70,000 hectares in 1973-74.<sup>29</sup> Post - partition migration, thus, apart from affecting the process of urbanisation also had a huge impact on the environment of the region. Also, the movement of migrants during the period (1947-1971) was mostly directed towards Silchar, which was then the headquarter of the district, than in the other two subdivisions. This greatly resulted in the development of the Silchar subdivision and till now it has been occupying an important place in the Valley.

**Notes and references:**

1. A. C. Choudhury, *Srihatter Itivritta*, Sylhet, 1317 B.S., p.45
- 2 Ancient name of Sylhet, cited in J.B.Bhattacharjee's, *Cachar Under British Rule in North East India*, Delhi, 1977,p.4
- 3 B.N Mukherjee, Presidential Address to the 65th session of the Numismatic Society of India, Shillong, 1977; Also J B Bhattacharjee (ed.) *Studies in the History of North East India*, NEHU, p.82.
- 4 . A.C.Choudhury, *Srihatter Itivritta*, p.256 .
5. J.B. Bhattacharjee, *Tripuri State Formation in Medieval Tripura*, Proceedings of the North East India History Association, Third Session, Imphal, 1982,,pp.57-72.
6. U.C. Guha, *Cacharer Itivritta*, 2nd Edition, Gauhati, 1971,p.39
7. Assam Secretariat Records, Letters received from Govt., Vol. 10(b) No.1835 cited in Bhattacharjee, (1977), p.73
8. *ibid*,p.145
9. Arun Chandra Bhuyan and Sibopada De,(ed.) *Political History of Assam*, Volume Three, Government of Assam, Guwahati 1980, p389.
10. *The Census of India, Vol. IX, 1941*, Assam, pp. 38-41. ' Muslims constituted 60 per cent while Hindus were 38 per cent of the total population of the district. Muslims constituted an overwhelming

majority of 67 per cent in the North Sylhet Sub-division, 'which was the first portion of the district to come to the Muslim possession.' Allen, B.C., District Gazetteers, Vol II (Sylhet) p. 79.

11. Tanmoy Bhattacharjee, *The Sylhet Referendum The Story of a Lost Territory*, Vicky Publishers, Guwahati, 2006, p.195

12. assamassembly.gov.in mla-1946-52 , accessed on 9<sup>th</sup> Jan.2019.

13. Documents published in *Lost Territory (through negligence) of Indian Union in the District of Sylhet (N.E.), How to get it back*, R.N.Choudhury, Secretary, Sylhet Partition Committee, The 25<sup>th</sup> March, 1948, cited in Amit Sikdar, *Desh Bari*, Srijan Graphics & Publishing House, Silchar, 2014,p.93; Also in Tanmoy Bhattacharjee (2006) pp. 301-353.

The 12 thanas were-1. Srimangal, 2. Kalamganj, 3. Kulaura, 4. Rajangar, 5. Maulavi Bazar, 6. Lakhai, 7. Habiganj, 8. Madhavpur, 9. Chunarghat, 10. Bahubol, 11. Baniyasang and 12. Nabiganj.

14. Allen, B.C., *District Gazetteers, Vol II (Sylhet)* , p. 79

15. R.N. Choudhury, op. cit.

16. ibid.

17. Information provided by Narendra Das, 80 years of age, of Dakhin pulertal Sonbari in an interview recorded on 21<sup>st</sup> Aug. 2016. This is also corroborated by other respondents

18. Interview with Anima Bhattacharjee, 82 years of age and currently a resident of Hailakandi Model Town on 20<sup>th</sup> July 2016. Her father-in-law was the Mirasdar of village Jaipur of Habiganj subdivision and had 1000 houses under him

19. Sudhir Chandra Biswas translated *Will You Ever Forget Suresh Chandra Biswas* (ed.) , Bengal Publisher Bhabani Chakraborty, 2012

20. Haimanti Roy, 2012, *Partitioned Lives Migrants, Refugees, Citizens in India and Pakistan, 1947-1965*, p.69

21. ibid

22. R B Vaghaiwalla , *Census of India ,1951* Vol XII Assam, Manipur and Tripura Part1-A, Shillong, 1954, p.359

23. *Annual Report 1952-53*, The Ministry of External Affairs, Govt. of India p.11

24. *bhita*: land where residence is established; *mati*: land

25. J B Bhattacharjee (ed.) *Studies in the History of North East India* , NEHU, p.82.

26. Vaghaiwalla, op.cit., p. 51

27. Census 1971 Series-3 Assam, PartX-A Village And Town Directory , District Census Handbook , Cachar District, A.K. Saikia, Assam

28. *bheels*: lakes; *tillas*: hillocks

29. Apurbananda Mazumder, Prashanta Rn. Acharjee and Jaydeep Bhattacharya, *Statistical Profile of Barak Valley* ,1998, Silchar, p.44