

Colonial constructions of Print Media in Assam with special reference to *Orunodoy*

Dr. Amiya Kumar Das

D.K.D. College. Dergaon, Golaghat(Assam) -785614

ARTICLE DETAILS

Article History

Received: 20 November 2016

Accepted: 29 November 2016

Published Online: 05 December 2016

Keywords

Print Media, Middle class,
Missionaries, Vernacular,
Linguistic

ABSTRACT

The colonial period in Assam led to the emergence of multiple contradictions. This period witnessed the increasing communication and interaction with Bengal, as the incipient Assamese middle class had their higher education in Bengal. In the latter half of 19th century, the Bengali middle class was accepted as the positive reference group in Assam and there were lots of Bengali influence in the sociocultural life of Assamese educated class. But the imperatives of the colonial economy led to the influx of non-Assamese businessmen into Assam and as the number of educated persons in Assam was very few, the colonial administration facilitated the coming of a number of Bengali persons to work as clerks into Assam. As the size of the Assamese middle class were increasing, ideas and opinions regarding the maintenance of Assamese linguistic identity and the apprehensions for its future was being articulated in the contemporary literature. This apprehension of the Assamese middle class regarding the future of Assamese identity, the conflict for govt. jobs with the Bengali educated class in the context of colonialism and the large-scale influx of people from the neighbouring states led to the emergence of Assamese nationalism from the latter half of 19th century. This apprehension which worked as a rallying point for the educated middle class was preceded by the literary developments, development of a standard Assamese language and publication of a range of Assamese journals. Anthony Smith has rightly observed, “The ideologies of nationalism require an immersion in the culture of the nation- the discovery of its history, the revival of its vernacular language through such disciplines as philology and lexicography, the cultivation of its literature, especially drama and poetry, and the restoration of its vernacular arts and crafts, as well as its music, including its native and folk songs.....Typically, a nationalist movement will commence not with a protest rally, declaration or with armed resistance but with the appearance of literary societies, historical research, music festivals and cultural journals.” The Assamese identity formation and its political articulation also underwent a similar trajectory where cultivation of culture, press and history provided the sustenance to the emerging nationalist project of. *Orunodoi* the first magazine of Assam in colonial time had profusely created a writer and who are become the ardent admire of Assamese nationalist identity.

Objective

Orunodoi established an era in Assamese literature. The period from 1846 to 1880 is called '*Orunodoi* Era'. The name *Orunodoi* means 'rising sun' so, rightly this magazine had thrown a new light on the Assamese society. As the topic is on *Orunodoi* and its impact on the society of Colonial Assam, so he main objectives of this paper is to examine briefly on the genesis of *Orunodoi* and through it how emerging middle class and writer try to embank our nationalism.

Method

Historical analysis has been adopted for this worked. Although the data or facts have been collected from the secondary sources mainly, the primary sources are consulted to verify whenever necessary.

Introduction

The growth of printing press is a very significant event in the History of modern Assam. In the beginning, Europe established her trade relation in India at a time when the development of newspaper took place in the continent. Later on, after the establishment of political supremacy of East India Company formally in 1826, through the Treaty of Yandaboo, Assamese society had gradually lost its priority from every aspect because, with the end of Ahom role in Assam, Assamese literature had almost lost its vigour. Although British restored peace in Assam following the Burmese atrocities, but under the new ruler Assamese language had lost its royal patronage. Moreover the renaissance that took place in India in the nineteenth century under the impact of western learning was characterized by the intensification of the secular spirit in every aspect of life. In this critical situation, the coming of American Baptist

Missionaries had brought a new ray of hope to Assamese society. Because under their patronage, the first printing press was established at Srirampur.

After it '*Orunodoi*' (although both the '*Oronodoi*' and '*Orunodoi*' use for same meaning, in this paper I have used the word *Orunodoi*) the first Assamese magazine was published under the joined effort of Dr Nathan Brown and Mr Oliver T. Cutter, create a new era in the History of Assamese literature and Assam as a whole. *Orunodoi* was a combination of both magazine and newspaper which in Assamese introduced as '*Orunodoi Sambadpatra*'. The main punch line of this magazine was- "The *Orunodoi*, monthly paper, devoted to religion, science and general intelligence. "Although the missionaries were published with a view to spread the Christian religion in Assam, but it had a very remarkable impact in the history of Colonial Assamese society. So, *Orunodoi* is a very glorious chapter in the history of printing press in modern Assam and which had a tremendous impact in the society of Colonial Assam and turned it into a new one.

Discussion

The beginning of 19th century is a very significant event in the History of modern Assam. Because after ending of glorious Ahom rule of 600 years, the British able to established their supremacy in Assam (1826). Actually, with the end of Ahom rule the Assamese literature had lost its royal patronage. Both the literary and cultural life had lost its vigour. Undoubtedly, although the British government able to restored peace politically in Assam, following the Burmese atrocities, but Assamese language had totally lost its royal patronage.

The European established her trade relation with India at a time when the development of newspaper took place in the continent. With a colonial mind-set British always applied the tricks very diplomatically to make Assam and India truly a dominant nation as a whole. So, this was also another hidden motive that they changed the prior education system introduced a new onewith medium or language. It can be proved from a remark of Lord Macaulay on Indian Education.

Lord Macaulay said - "I have travelled across the length and breadth of India and I have not seen one person who is a thief. Such wealth I have seen in this country, such high moral values, people of such calibre, that I do not think we would ever conquer this country, unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage, and therefore I propose that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture for if the Indians think that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self-esteem, their native self-culture and they will become what we want them, a truly dominated nation." (Reference- Lord Macaulay in his speech British Parliament in Feb 2, 1835, quoted by the President of India Dr A.P.J. Abdul Kalam in his convocation address at the Jamia Milia Islamia University, Delhi on 01-09-2004).

When the Missionaries reached in Assam, Assamese language had lost its official position. Even the newly developed towns also full of Bengali educated men, who came to the province to assist the Company Government in the local administration and Bengali introduced as official language in 1836. It also introduced even as the medium of instruction in the schools. In case of Assam, Commissioner Jenkins made Bengali as medium of instruction. But may be due to the absent of educated intelligentsia and lack of educational awareness there was no protest from Assamese against it. In this circumstance American Baptist Missionaries were the forerunners in the struggle for the revival of Assamese language in Assam the *Orunodoi* played a pioneer role.

The Missionaries came to Assam through the way of North-Eastern Region, with a view to spread Christianity. Specially the families of Reverend Nathan Brown and O.T. Cutter came to Sadia on March in 1836. Later on many missionaries like Bronson, Cutter, Reddy were established themselves at Sibsagar in 1841 permanently. In 1846 under joined effort of Mr O.T. Cutter and Dr Nathan Brown the first Assamese newspaper '*Orunodoi*' was published from American Baptist Missionary Printing Press, situated on the bank of Dikhow river in Sibsagar.

'*Orunodoi*' (rising sun) in Assamese introduced as '*Orunodoi Sambadpatra*'. Its main punch line was- "The *Orunodoi*, monthly paper, devoted to religion science and general intelligence". It not only focuses attention on religious garb, but also on the socio-economic problem of the society- religious, science, general intellectual, educational, cultural, literary interest and knowledge of everyday life. The Current news from home and abroad helped the people to judge their own environment in wide perspective. However, the word paper was replaced by magazine from October 1850.

In the first year of publication *Orunodoi* contained nearly seven to eight pages and from sixth years most of the issues were published in sixteen pages. From January 18 8, the 13th year of publication it came to be adorned regularly with a beautiful photograph of the Sibsagar tank with three temples in its bank. The missionaries not only adopted the spoken language, but also tried to make the spelling simple, so that people could get it easily. At first they adopted the spelling mode by following the style of the first Assamese dictionary written by Jaduram Deka Baruah (1801-1869) in 1835. But in 1861, Reverend William Ward started to follow the new style of Hem Chandra Baruah. Although at first the spelling was '*Oronodoi*' but after the Hemkosh was published, it changed the spelling '*Oronodoi*' to '*Orunodoi*'. Thus, *Orunodoi* gradually developed under the care of missionaries and played a very significant role in the growth of Assamese literature and Assamese society as a whole.

Orunodoi and Assamese Literature

A language is an identity of a nation and without a language a nation is incomplete. In this regards *Orunodoi* had

played a tremendous role in revived the Assamese literature to its glorious position.

The place of Assamese as a distinct language similar to any of the other Indian language became the most sensitive issue and the most debated matter in the pages of *Orunodoi* during the latter half of the nineteenth century in Assam. *Orunodoi* not only projected the literary movement under colonial period and contributed towards the growth of Modern Assamese Language, especially during a period when Assamese was not an official language in Assam (1836-1872). It is very significant to note that, *Orunodoi* gave leadership to a movement demanding the reinstatement of the Assamese language in its proper place. This movement eventually formed the background of a mass literary renaissance in the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. It is significant to note that although the Missionaries always supported the government in matters of social legislations, they did not agree with the language policy of the authority and served as a platform for the expression of views in this regard.

In March 1857, *Orunodoi* published an article of Gunabhi Ram Barua, who expressed his unhappiness over the fact that the Assamese elite of the period took more interest in using Bengali in place of Assamese in their writings². Moreover in an article in *Orunodoi* by an Assamese from Calcutta (perhaps Gunaviram Barua) gave a comparative analysis on the relationship between the Assamese, the Bengali and the Oriya languages. The author described the richness of the Sanskrit language of which all the Indian languages including Assamese are the various branches. The similarities between the Assamese, the Bengali and the Oriya languages are because all the three languages are derived from the same root i.e. Sanskrit. On the basis of this logic, he argued that Assamese was not a mere dialect of the Bengali. He substantiated his argument by drawing a chart containing Assamese words with their Bengali and Oriya equivalents⁵.

Gradually, the newly educated section of the society also felt the insufficiency in their mother tongue, to provide sufficient knowledge in the newly established educational institutions by the British. So, an effort was made to convince the Government that Assamese could be substituted for Bengali. In the February 1858 issue of *Orunodoi*, Purnananda Deka Baruah, brought to the notice of the public the Government circular, issued in 1857 to the effect that the learning of vernacular was compulsory and that anyone who was not conversant in his own language would not be eligible to get a salary of more than Rs 6/- per month. He pointed out that the Government itself had not implemented its own rules in Assam and Bengali continued to be the language in the schools as the vernacular. Purnananda Deka Baruah further observed that if the Government patronized of the Assamese language a satisfactory progress in the field of education in this province was possible. Thus, the *Orunodoi* was able to gradually develop among the local people an interest on their mother tongue¹.

As it was, difficult for the Missionaries to understand the genesis of the language hence they adopted the spoken language of the people. Even the first few pages of the English-Assamese Dictionary compiled by Anandaram Dhekial Phukan were published in the *Orunodoi* as specimens of the work under preparation in its issue of December 1856. An advertisement of new book was going to also appeared in *Orunodoi*¹. The question of the place of Assamese as a distinct language in relation to the other Indian languages, a matter which was to become the most debated and sensitive issue, was significantly raised for the first time in the pages of *Orunodoi*. A short article on the relationship between the Assamese, the Bengali and the Oriya languages, by "An Assamese from Calcutta" was published at a time when the language issue was in the subject of a raging controversy between the British Government and the conscious sections of the Assamese elite under the leadership of Anandaram Dhekial Phukan. The article is almost similar in tone to Dhekial Phukan's pamphlet on the Assamese language published from the Sibsagar Mission Press. The author puts forward the view that similarities between the Assamese, the Bengali and the Oriya languages are easily discernible because all the three languages are derived from the same root. He rejects the view that the Assamese was merely a dialect of the Bengali. He also points out the important linguistic phenomenon of tribal and Ahom influences upon the vocabulary and pronunciation of the Assamese language⁴.

The efforts of the missionaries in simplifying Assamese spellings, however met with stiff resistance from Assamese intellectuals like Hemchandra Barua and Gunabhi Ram Barua who protested against the attempt to alienate the Assamese language from its Sanskrit roots. Hemchandra Barua's famous dictionary, "*Hemkosh*", was the earliest and the most painstaking effort to re-establish the etymological base of the Assamese words by means of correct spellings. One of the reasons for compiling this monumental work was to counteract the influence of the missionary orthography, popularized by the *Orunodoi*¹. That was something new in Assamese literature.

It is thus, apparent that *Orunodoi* made immense contribution towards the development of Assamese literature. *Orunodoi* inaugurated a new era in the history of Assamese literature- *Orunodoi Yug* which was also marked by a change in the mode of transmission of literature, a change in the patronage system and in the nature of readership⁴.

Impact of *Orunodoi* in the Society of Colonial Assam

Orunodoi had a very remarkable impact in the society of colonial Assam. The main purpose of bringing out *Orunodoi* was to preach Christianity. Not only that, special articles, religious stories, tales etc. were also published regularly which emphasized the merits, usefulness and superiority of Christianity conversions into Christian religion were made news. Actually, the main intention of the articles on Hinduism, which were published here, was to highlight the

negative aspects of the rituals in Hinduism and create a dislike for this religion. The paper published discussion of all religions, greater space were always given to the glorification of Christianity³.

Orunodoi had two forms. One was newspaper and the other was magazine or store of knowledge. According to Dr. Maheswar Neog “many of us do not know or do not venture to know or do not get to hear that *Orunodoi* had two forms, newspaper and magazine”.

‘*Orunodoi*’ contributed a lot towards the spread of education and knowledge among the people of Assam. One of the most important aspects of *Orunodoi* was that, it served the purpose of a useful school book. With a view to provide good education for school children, the journal includes variety of attractive reading material fables, stories of other lands, history, geography, astronomy, botany, zoology and information about scientific discoveries, poems, riddles and even designs for embroidery on cloth etc. Moreover it covered almost all corners of the world from Philadelphia to Konwarpur of the Sibsagar district of Assam It published news items under various readings such as “*Anek Desor Sambad*” (News from many countries) “*Ingraj Desor Sambad, Nana Desor Sambad and Asom Desor Sambad*”. The most interesting feature of *Orunodoi* was “*Anek Desor Sambad*” which started to provide news from its second issue of February 1846².

Among the subjects handed by the *Orunodoi* at the elementary level, the lessons on geography were especially commendable for their scientific presentation of details with the help of maps and illustrations. The description of the shape of the earth, the latitude and the longitudes, the continents and the different countries and the various aspects of physical geography were dealt with in considerable details. Important geographical discoveries like the discovery of America by Columbus and the discovery of the passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope were also the subjects of detailed study. Social Anthropology was another subject that received focus in the *Orunodoi*. The customs, manners and appearances of the different races of the world were described with considerable objectives and illustrated with clear and well-drawn sketches⁴.

Orunodoi provides some good materials for the study of political and social history of modern Assam particularly of the second half of the 19th century². The newspaper published the “*Purani Assam Buranji*” part by part starting from the August 1850 issue. The editor of *Orunodoi*, Dr Brown and his fellow Baptists were interested in collection of old manuscripts and they reportedly collected at least 18 ancient books of Assam during the decade 1840-50. Two histories out of those were published in *Orunodoi*. One was the “*Purani Asom Buranji*” and the other was “*Kamrupar Buranji*” published from January 1853. In addition to these the “*Lineage of Chutiya Kings*” was published in the December 1850 issue. On the other hand, histories of not only India but of Rome and other empires were also published in *Orunodoi*. Some of the instances are “*Hindustan’s history*” (March ,

April, May, June, July, 1850), “*Description of Suria and Jew land*”(June 1851), “*Lineage of Kutubuddin, the king of Delhi*”(January 1854), “*Story of emperor Akbar*” (August 1854 etc).

With a view to create scientific awareness among the people, *Orunodoi* had published many articles regarding different topics of scientific invention. The news of latest scientific inventions (Chloroform, rail engine, ship, telegraph etc.) was featured in the columns “*News of Many Lands*”. Articles on complex issues of science were also published in very simple language along with sketches. “*Description of Planets*”, “*About the shape of Earth*” (February, 1846), “*Description of veins*” (May, 1846), “*On eclipse*” (February, 1849), “*Story About Rain*” (August, 1853), “*Human Bone*” (February, 1854) etc. are some of the nice articles on scientific issues . Thus, *Orunodoi* helped in widening the mental horizon as well in extending the thought and knowledge of the Assamese people and apprised the people of Assam about the developments of science and news inventions regularly².The management of the paper tried to cater to the needs of all sections of the society. Thus, from July 1847 *Orunodoi* introduced a monthly calendar of Christian era with full details and it also included the Hindu system.

Regarding the religious matter also, it had a great impact in the society of that time because, it always advocated the Christian religion, and criticised the existing Hinduism. The articles that published in *Orunodoi*, always make direct or indirect attacks on Hinduism, making the corrupt and immoral practices, prevalent in Hinduism their special target of attack. Such attacks were however generally in discreet language and the most severe criticisms came not from the foreign missionaries but from an Assamese convert, Nidhi Levi Farwell. This severity and ruthlessness on the part of Farwell has been attributed to an unhappy childhood before he was adopted by the Sibsagar Missionaries (Wanderings of a Pilgrim).

Another impact of *Orunodoi*, in the society of Colonial Assam was that it raised voice against the various forms of common superstition and corrupt social practices. But in but keeping with the general trend of the Renaissance spirit in Europe, the *Orunodoi* upheld the cause of modern scientific knowledge against ignorance and superstition. The few enlightened Assamese who had the opportunity to come into contact with the ideas of Bengal Renaissance through personal contact with the contemporary architects of the intellectual movement in Bengal. A series of letters published under the pseudonym, “*An Assamese in Calcutta*” revealed the enlightened views of the author and the genuine concern for the progress of the Assamese society.

Moreover, *Orunodoi* was used as a weapon, to created consciousness among the Assamese people against the various evils that practise in the society. Anandaram Dhekial Phukon, an Assamese intelligentsia of that time wrote letters to *Orunodoi*, where he refers about the idol worship and offering of human sacrifice as signs of barbarity. Phukon make fervent

appeals to the people of Assam to devote them to learning and to widen their mental horizons. This clarion call for the progress of learning was echoed and re-echoed in the letters addressed to the Assamese people "from an Assamese in Calcutta". He expresses his deep consternation at the fact that unlike the Bengalis, the Assamese people seem to display little eagerness to avail themselves of the opportunities for modern education offered by the British⁴. Moreover, The *Orunodoi* also espoused the cause of other important social reforms that had been taken up by the leaders of the Indian Renaissance. The ideas of Hindu marriage reforms and remarriage of widows were expressed openly for the first time in the pages of this journal. The long essay on marriage reforms also deals with the important question of the remarriage of Hindu widows. The question of widow remarriage was taken up in more details in several later issues of the *Orunodoi*. Most of these articles were probably written by Gunabhiram Barua. The first Assamese social drama by Gunabhi Ram Barua which appeared serially in the *Orunodoi* was significantly on the theme of widow remarriage. Though dreadful practice like 'Sati' and infanticide were fortunately almost unknown in Assam yet these were mentioned in several places in it.

The Missionaries and educated intelligentsias advocated the establishment of higher education through *Orunodoi*. The tendency to shun higher education was the principal subject for criticism in a number of essays, letters and verses published in the *Orunodoi*. These were written not only by the Baptist Missionaries but also by educated Assamese individuals who were deeply concerned about the welfare of their countryman.

Another impact of *Orunodoi* in the society of Colonial Assam was that through *Orunodoi* the concept of western liberal and secular ideas were able to take place in Assamese literature. Even in one of its articles, the English language was referred to as the treasure-house of the best and the most useful knowledge in the world; but in the same article it was also pointed out that for those who might be unable to acquire an adequate knowledge of the English language for lack of means or leisure, translations of English books into their mother tongue could prove equally useful. Among them Anandaram Dhekial Pukon and Gunabhi Ram Barua were important. Gunabhi Ram Barua advocated the spread of western ideas amongst the Assamese people not only by means of translated works, but through original writings in Assamese prose. He also put forward the view that a person should attain sufficient proficiency in his mother tongue before he attempted to learn a foreign tongue.

Again, The *Orunodoi* also espoused the cause of other important social reforms that had been taken up by the leaders of the Indian Renaissance. The ideas of Hindu marriage reforms and remarriage of widows were expressed openly for the first time in the pages of this journal. The long essay on marriage reforms also deals with the important question of the remarriage of Hindu widows. The question of widow remarriage was taken up in more details in several later issues

of the *Orunodoi*. Most of these articles were probably written by Gunabhi Ram Barua. The first Assamese social drama by Gunabhi Ram Barua which appeared serially in the *Orunodoi* was significantly on the theme of widow remarriage. Though dreadful practice like 'Sati' and infanticide were fortunately almost unknown in Assam yet these were mentioned in several places in the *Orunodoi*.

No one can deny that, *Orunodoi*, the Assamese journal contributed a lot not only just in reviving the Assamese literature, but also helps in the growth of scientific consciousness, women education patronize the western ideas and literature and specially tried to remove the various social evils that practise in the society of that time.

But it was well known by everyone that, as the missionaries were the main path bearer of *Orunodoi*, so they always advocated for the Government. Because, they knew it well that, it was very important to achieve a soft corner from the existing government to fulfil their motives. Although, the educated Assamese intelligentsias tried to revive the Assamese language, but they were not fully coming out from Colonial Bureaucracy. Thus, *Orunodoi* played a remarkable role in the society of and transformed a little towards the modern one.

Conclusion

The first Assamese magazine and newspaper, *Orunodoi* played a crucial role in the History of Colonial Assam. As *Orunodoi* was the first Assamese newspaper, so no doubt it was able to create educational consciousness among the people of Assam. Through the paper, people gradually started to know about the world, various national and international news etc. Moreover, as it was influenced by western ideas, and liberal concept, so gradually people were influenced by the concept of education and liberalisation of society. In the field of education, *Orunodoi* served the purpose of a school book, which covered a wide area, including literature, history, geography, astronomy, botany, general interest, religious information, moral fables, zoology etc. and basically maintained a uniformity of high standard. *Orunodoi* also tremendously contributed a lot to revive the Assamese literature towards its respectable position. Because, Assamese was not only re-established as official language, in 1873, but also number of works had done during that time and made the literature rich. Moreover the beginning of Assamese Literary Movement was also started from *Orunodoi*. *Orunodoi* also apprised the people of Assam about the development of science and news of various inventions regularly, through its various articles. It also greatly advocated the development of women education and published many articles on it. It also published many articles regarding the issue of various social evils that practise in the contemporary Assamese society and tried to create some social reforms and tried to revive it with the concept of modernisation.

Although it had a very remarkable impact in the growth of Colonial Assamese society but most of its articles were anti Hinduism. Because, as the missionaries used it as a weapon to

spread Christianity among the people, so its articles were only criticised the Hindu religion and patronised the Christianity.

The first Assamese magazine and newspaper, *Orunodoi* played a crucial role in the History of Colonial Assam. It spread new ideas associated with western liberal education and in dispelling many common superstitions prevalent in the then Assamese society. It fulfilled its role of serving as the mouth piece both of the evangelists and the imperialists by weaving together lessons on Christian morality and loyalty to the British crown into its proclaimed design of spreading 'useful' knowledge. Yet despite its ulterior motives, the *Orunodoi*'s role as an ushered of new thought currents into the Assamese society, cannot be denied. By establishing a more rational outlook on life and by rousing the spirit of enquiry, it succeeded to a great extent in introducing a basis for the development of the scientific bent of mind. At a time when Assamese literature was dominated almost wholly by the religious tradition, the *Orunodoi* despite its religious biasness, introduced seeds of secularism which later bore rich fruits in the best works of modern Assamese literature. Beside its journalistic role, the *Orunodoi* was almost like a compilation of modern school books meant to prepare the students for higher studies. Its object was not specialization in any particular field, but it tried to introduce the *Orunodoi* is therefore, to be judged in the lights of its progressive role in a

transitional age in which many of the elements inherited from the past existed side by side with the modern concepts and trends which were in the process of formation readers to as many aspects of western life and ideas as was possible within its limits.

The *Orunodoi* despite its being the mouthpiece of the Christian missionaries became the first vehicle in the Assamese language for carrying secular ideas. *Orunodoi* succeeded in proving as a source of entertainment for the common man. It gained belief of the Assamese people so far as ordinary villager every newspaper was *Orunodoi*. *Orunodoi* developed Assamese prose literature. The most important contribution of *Orunodoi* was that it brought literature within the reach of the common people. They avoided long vowels and cerebral alphabets and did not follow the etymological significance of Sanskrit and Sanskrit derived words. They tried to make their language as homely as possible. Amongst the newspapers and journals, the *Orunodoi* was distinguished that in the history of Assamese literature an era was named after it forever the '*Orunodoi-Yug*'. Their appeal is still unfaded, not only to the researchers of the history of journalism but also to the researchers of society and culture. The social history of Assam is beautifully spread out in the pages of these newspapers and journals from the days of the *Orunodoi*.

References

1. Baruah, Nabaneeta, *Press in Assam in The Later Half of The Nineteenth Century on Issues Relating to The Assamese Society*, Guwahati, 2007, (Unpublished Thesis).
2. Baruah, Sunil Pawan, *Press in Assam*, Lawyer's Book Stall, Guwahati, 1999.
3. Borua, Prafulla Chandra, *A short History of Assamese Newspapers*, Sahitya Ratna Prakashan, Guwahati, 1997.
4. Misra, Tillotoma, *Literature and Society in Assam*, Bhabani Print & Publication, Guwahati, 2011(Reprint).
5. Neog, Maheswar (ed). *Orunodoi 1846-1854*, Assam Prakashan Parishad, Guwahati, 2003.