

Revisiting Uncovered Leaders and Events of Santal Hul of 1855-1856 in the History

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Abstract

The Santal Movement of 1855-1856 is a large scale armed struggle freedom movement against the colonial rule in erstwhile Bengal Subah. Exploitation by zamindars, moneylenders, police, etc. was the reason of discontent, but they operated in connivance within colonial system of administration. The ultimate aim of the movement was 'freedom' and history gives credit to Sido and his three brothers for giving leadership to it. But archival records are brimming with the names of several other leaders whose leadership was not less crucial. In this article a humble attempt is made to uncover hitherto unknown leaders and events in the national history of freedom movement. This is a preliminary attempt and intends to incite interest for further in-depth researches. The presentation in the article is based on information collected from available archival data which have been compiled but not in general public domain. Besides, newspapers, periodicals of that time have also been examined from other sources.

Keywords: The Company, Santal Hul, Armed Struggle, Revolutionary Heroes

1.0 Introduction

The Santal Movement (also called the *Santal Hul* or *Hool* in Santali) of 1855-1856 was the large scale armed struggle¹ against the British rule in erstwhile Bengal Subah during nineteenth century. The Bengal Subah then mainly consisted of the present three states of West Bengal, Jharkhand and Bihar. History records that the movement was led by Sido, Kanhu (both names are spelt differently in earlier writings), supported by

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two other brothers Chand and Bhairab,² of Bhaganadih in Barhait Block of Sahibganj District in South Bihar (now Jharkhand). Then it was under the Bhagalpur Division (now in Bihar) of Bengal Subah. The movement had its origin in fast changing socio-economic condition of the region dominated and controlled then by corrupt moneylenders and landlords who were in league with staff and officials of police and revenue departments and judiciary of the British government. Their nexus grossly coerced and exploited Santals and other communities that eventually forced them to come together under the leadership of Sido, Kanhu and others during 1855-1856. They challenged the authority of foreign rule to establish their own *swaraj* (self rule). Apparently, during the movement, moneylenders and landlords were targeted, but basically it was anti-British movement as they were mainly inspired by the idea of establishing their own *swaraj*. So, in view of its magnitude and ramification, the movement could not be a work of few leaders which history records (see Hembrom 1996 and colonial writings cited in this article), because after the clarion call of Sido and Kanhu on 30 June 1855 the movement engulfed a vast regions within twenty days. This happened because the issues which Sido, Kanhu and few others raised were issues of the people inhabiting different parts of the region and there were leaders of these people who led them by making the protest initiated by Sido and Kanhu a mass movement.

The region, as has been mentioned above, is primarily divided into three states at present, such as West Bengal, Bihar and Jharkhand. The quick spread of the movement and the names of some leaders are reported in the contemporary the *Calcutta Review* (1856:247-248). So admittedly, it is assumed that a number of regional and local leaders played significant role in organising and leading the people against the British military power, strongest of the world then. As tribals, dalits and backwards actively participated in it, challenged alien officials, envisioned setting up of self rule, therefore it was not 'insurrection' of a group as labelled by colonial writers; instead it was a mass movement across communities inhabiting a vast region, a people's movement against foreign regime aimed at. National history is silent about local and other leaders who made the movement possible. But the reports available in archives and compiled by some historians from archival sources present before us contribution of these leaders who are neglected in national history. Compiled works like archival sources are not available in public domain easily as are history books. Therefore, these local and regional leaders remained unknown to the masses. But they are very alive in public memory of the locality. In view of this, the present study intends to uncover these heroes and their contributions from archival sources, compilation of archival records and oral sources who have remained neglected in the national history.

1.1 Why neglected?

Colonial authors wrote on the Santal Movement of 1855-1856 but they intentionally overlooked multiple archival sources as they were mainly concerned with the official views of the British administration. They overlooked many events and leaders of the movement who had played no less important role in organising and leading tribals,

dalits and backwards of the region. Their main thrust was to discuss defence aspect of colonial actions against tribals and evidently the historical significance of contribution of different leaders and purpose of tribal challenges to colonial administration was belittled. E. G. Man in 1867 (1983), W.W. Hunter in 1868 (1975), C. E. Buckland (1901) and F.B. Bradley-Birt in 1905 (1990) had broadly discussed the origin, causes, spread, suppression and the main leaders of the movement and mainly represented colonial attitude in their writings. Even McPherson (1909) and L.S.S. O'Malley (1910) overlooked correspondences of the officials of the East India Company rule who were posted in different places of the region and had the knowledge and experience of tortures and troubles of the people. They all purposely overlooked the A. C. Bidwell's Report (Report 1856); Bidwell was appointed as Special Commissioner for suppression of the movement. In his Report, Bidwell broadly discussed the details of historical event and exposed administrative lapses of the officials posted in the region. In contrast, noted scholars K. K. Basu (1934) and K. K. Datta (1934, 1940, 1970), Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri (1955), N. Datta-Majumdar (1956), N. B. Roy (1960 & 1961), P. C. Roy Chaudhury (1962,1965), Ranjan Gupta (1974 &1974a), Ranajit Guha (1983 & 2010), J. C. Jha (1985 & 1986), S. P. Sinha (1991), John Kochuchira (2000), N. Kaviraj (2001), Atis Dasgupta (2013) and some other scholars have based their studies on archival sources, but still some important official correspondences, reports, diary etc. of colonial authorities remained overlooked. Besides, the names, contributions, etc. were not systematically available in their writings.

1.2 Purpose and Methodology

The study is mainly based on compiled sources and articles published in different journals based on archival sources and available in institutes and libraries. The content of these sources, however, are not popular in the text of national history. Most of the archival documents of the movement are compiled by Tarapada Ray (1983), S. P. Sinha (1991) and Ashwini Kumar Pankaj (2021). So the basic purpose of the paper is to trace and uncover those revolutionary leaders of Santal Movement who are buried in archival and other sources, and are away from public knowledge. Apart from the above sources, contemporary newspapers, etc. available in libraries and archives constitute other important sources. But before tracing and uncovering unknown incidents and local heroes of the movement, it is useful to present an overview of the movement.

1.3 A Glimpse of the Santal Movement of 1855-1856

During the nineteenth century, the tribals of eastern and central India revolted against the authority of East India Company with their traditional weapons and tried to establish their own system of governance. Among the series of armed struggles of the tribals and other communities, Paharia revolt (1765-1785), Choar revolt (1798-1799), Cher revolt (1800), Bhil revolt (1818-1831), Ho revolt (1821-1822), Kol revolt (1831-1833), Bhumij revolt (1832-1833) and Santal revolts/movements (1866-1856) were some formidable challenges to the Company's regime in India. But historically the Santal Movement of 1855-1856 got a separate recognition as it was the biggest armed

challenge (Devalle 1992:123-124) to the largest Colonial Regime of the world. It was not only the first mass movement in India (Karn 1994:3) but also the biggest mass movement of Asian Continent. Historically it was not a sudden mass upsurge as its background was deeply rooted in fast changing situation of the region wherein moneylenders, landlords, police and staff of revenue and judiciary connived with each other in coercing and exploiting the tribals, dalits and backwards of the region for years.

The armed struggle (Hembrom1996:15) was led by four brothers Sido, Kanhu, Chand and Bhairab who got active support (Hunter1975:250 & 2012:47 and Gupta 1974: 66-67 &1974a: 143-146) from other tribals, dalits and backward communities (Devalle1992:119) after conducting several nocturnal meetings to brood over the injustices (Tudu 2016:9) done to them by the collusion of zamindars, moneylenders, police, revenue and judicial staffs for years (Kumar 2005:47; Gupta 1974:66-67; Man 1983:110-115; Raghavaiah 1971: 148-150; Roy Chaudhury 1965:73-74, 79; and Datta 1940:14). As the Santal leaders received active support and help from downtrodden and backwards of Hindu and Muslim society, there developed a separate distinction of the movement in India and forced the colonial masters to change their attitude towards tribals whom they had described as savage, semi-savage, wild, uncivilised and unlettered. (*The Calcutta Review* 1856:25 &:510; and McPherson1909:38). It was the first known example of communal harmony among tribals, dalits and backwards of Hindu and Muslim society before the first war of Indian independence of 1857. In this communal harmony, the limits and bounds of caste and religion dashed to the ground as all the tribals, dalits and backwards got inspiration from communal brotherhood.

Following traditional methods of moving *Sal* (*Shorea robusta*) twigs in several villages to invite people and performing its purification under their cultural traditions (McPherson (1909:38) the leaders called for a meeting on 30 June 1855. About ten thousand Santals of four hundred villages assembled at Bhagnadih on the decided date and gave slogans of 'do or die' under the leadership of Sido and Kanhu (Roy Chaudhury1965:79; Umashankar1966:63) who were said to have been inspired by divine appearance and have revived unequivocal directives to free the Santals from the clutches of foreign bondage (Fuchs1965:4 & 1965a:11-62). They were also inspired by their idea of ancient kingdom when they had no overlords and had to pay no rents. McPherson 1909:38). When no action was taken on their request through petitions to local and high officials for immediate redress of their grievances, they decided to see Lt. Governor at Calcutta and started their march for the purpose (Hunter1975:230-239). But as their food and drink etc. soon exhausted, they started committing 'dacaity' in the houses of moneylenders. The Daroga of Dighee police station, Mahesh Lal Datta, with his police retinue attempted to arrest Sido and Kanhu at the instigation of moneylenders, but on 7 July 1855 the Daroga and his police were killed (Hunter1975:240; *The Calcutta Review* 1860:511; Koomar1937:64-65; and Roy1960:172-191 & 1961:61-72), which was described by a contemporary well merited reprisals of the injustices inflicted on them by the nexus of zamindars, moneylenders, police and revenue and judicial officials (*The Calcutta Review*1860:511-512).

The incident of killing the police stunned the civil and military officials of the Company. It was an open armed challenge to the authority of the Company's administration and soon spread over a large region from Taldanga to Sainthia and from Burdwan to Bhagalpur and Rajmahal (Datta1940:37& 1970:76) presently coming under three states, namely West Bengal, Jharkhand and Bihar. In July 1855 the Santals under the leadership of Sido, Kanhu, Chand and Bhairab looted many places in present Santal Parganas, Bhagalpur and Birbhum districts and fought many battles against the Company's forces. They defeated Major F.W. Burroughs and his sepoy and killed Lt. Taulmain (Raghavaiah 1971:152; McPherson1909:37; and *The Calcutta Review* 1856:250). Many of the Santals were also severely wounded, injured or killed (Roy Chaudhury1965:81), but ultimately the movement was mercilessly suppressed by A. C. Bidwell as the Santals and their compatriots were no match to the Company's forces who were well equipped with modern weapons and ammunition. A. C. Bidwell, the Commissioner of Nadia Division, as has been mentioned, was appointed Special Commissioner for suppression of the movement; he declared martial law declared on 10 November 1855 to the affected regions of Burdwan, Bhagalpur and Murshidabad. (O'Malley 1910:27; McPherson 1909:37). Major General Lloyd, Brigadier Bird, Captain Sherwill, Captain Shuckburg and civil officials worked actively together with their forces and after six months of armed struggles and heavy casualties they suppressed the movement in December 1855 as it was officially declared. (*The Calcutta Review*1856:247; Bradley-Birt 1990:206).

On 3 January 1856, the Martial Law was suspended. All the leaders were eventually captured and hanged or killed in battles³ (Datta-Majumdar1956:25-32). By the Act of XXXVII of December 1855, a non-regulation district of Santal Parganas was created to bring the Santali areas under effective administrative control (Datta & Jha1976:180; MacDougall1985:32-33; and Ranendra & Pal 2008:116) and Ashley Eden was appointed its first Deputy Commissioner. (Mc Pherson1909:1, 8-9, 38; Carstairs 1912:221-223; Mishra 2019:201-204; and Mathur 2004:68-69). Though the movement was officially suppressed, "the echoes have kept on vibrating through the years, growing louder and louder as more peasants from various places joined the fight against zamindari oppression. It was finally to merge in the massive demand of the peasantry all over the country for an end to the suppression of the zamindars and moneylenders". (Natarajan1981:146-147; also see Troisi1984:342-348).

1.4 Trivialising or/and Ignoring events and Heroes/Leaders of the Santal Movement of 1855-1856 in History

Undoubtedly the said four brothers and their close associates played a chivalrous role during the movement and fought to the end for establishment of their own *swaraj*. But there are archival documents (Chakravortti 1989; Pankaj 2021; Ray 1983 and Sinha.1991) which have recorded the role of other revolutionary heroes and incidents during the course of the movement so far uncovered and not properly assessed in any

historical writings on the movement. Several correspondences and notes in the Diary of district officials have recorded incidents and heroes of the movement. The correspondences among district officials, military officials and administrative officials (Calcutta) not only mention various incidents of the movement but also about leaders like Moochea Kosnjola, Rama and Sundra Manjhi etc. who also played no less significant role in successive phases of the movement. Kamoo Soobha, Chand Ray Manjhee, Bhuro Manjhee, Kamoo Manjhee, Durga Manjhee, Mota Manjhee, Nemay Manjhee, Rumsa Manjhee, Alhar Manjhee, Hareedass Manjhee, Morea Manjhee, Mutta Manjhee, Juttoo Rae, Ram Manjhi, Santal Kowalia and others are mentioned in different archival sources, and the present study focuses on them.

1.4.1 Ignored Incidents of the Santal Movement of 1855-1856 in History

After the killing of Daroga and his police retinue on 7 July 1855 and successes of Santals against the Company's forces at various places, the Santals and their associates got highly excited and actively participated in the movement in large numbers. The revolutionary activities of the Santals at Baboopore Deolee, Kejoree and Rajor by about 600 Santals (13 September 1855) were noted in the Diary of the Collector of Birbhum (Diary:1855). The military officials were directed to make a night attack on the Santals at Rajor. It also revealed that the Santals were in great force at Rajbandh Palasi and Bara Bathan on 14 September 1855. (Diary1855). The Santals carried on plundering and killing at Karimpur, Fazilpur and Amjura (situated on the boundary, North of Siuri). The Sarath Abkari Daroga reported that all the Abkars (wine sellers) in the north of his jurisdiction had run away (15 September 1855). The Collector mentioned that the Santals were in large numbers at Gae Bathan and Tilaboni. These are the places situated 18 miles north of Siuri. The Collector also noted that the Tilaboni Santals were headed by a stronger Manjhi from Damin-i-koh. But the name of stronger Manjhi was not mentioned but he was surely from Damin-i-koh. The Santals advanced evidently and steadily and looted every village en route Saruth and Operbandah on 19 September 1855 (Diary1855).

It is pointed out in the said diary that the Santals had stopped the Dak running from Deoghar to Siuri and plundering of Birchandpur, a village situated near Tarapith (Rampurhat). The Police Zamadar at Nagar (Nugger) reported that the Chandra Dawh Pharee was shut up not to reveal Santals' making of eleven houses to make a stand if attacked (20 September 1855). It is interesting to note that the Collector said about receiving a branch of a Sal Tree from his staff who had received it from Shiboo Gope of Champoor with the message that Santals would shortly proceed to Siuri for the purpose of having a meeting with the authorities. (20 September 1855). According to the Collector Richardson, Rampurhat and Dubrajpur remained quiet.

The Diary once again noted the looting of villages in the Saruth and Opurbundah jurisdictions and also burning of Opurbundah police station by the Santals.

In large numbers Santals at Brindaban involved in plundering of Bilkandy and had planned to attack Suri on 21 September 1855 (Diary1855).

The letters (1955) written by R. I. Richardson reveals various places where revolutionary Santals were active and challenged the Company administration that forced Civil and Military Officials for prompt action against them. The activities of the Santals at Muhammad Bazaar, Nungolea, Rajore, Ranibahal, Bara Bathan, Rangaloya, Opurbundah, Dubrajpur, Tantipara and Chamoapara were described. The movement of the Santals at different places and plundering and fighting by them were noted in the said letters. A noted writer Arun Chowdhary after discussing various aspects of the movement rightly pointed out that “The British had to stand against the native rulers many a time. But they had never faced before such an extensively organised resistance from the common people mainly the peasants. The peasants of India too had on many occasions flared up against the British rulers, but they had been more or less sporadic, while the revolt of the Santals were much an awe-inspiring look as to thrush the British rulers into a quagmire... Curiously enough, the Santals were not alone; rather they had their comrades from the poor artisans of villages too” (Chowdhury1989:5).

1.4.2 *Unrecorded Revolutionary Heroes in History*

Undoubtedly Sido and his brothers played a key role in the movement but after going through a number of archival sources, it becomes apparent that there were many local leaders whose role was no less significant in organising participation of local dalits, backwards and other tribal communities of the region in the movement. In this context, Report (24 September 1855) from the Magistrate of Birbhum to the Commissioner at Burdwan Division is significant as it stated, “A party of about 3000 of the Raksadangal Santals led by Moochea Konsjola, Rama and Soondra Manjhees, encamped near Operbundah on the afternoon of the 16th ... and on the following day plundered and burnt the Thana and Village. The Darogah and Burundazes remained at their post till the last moment; but seeing the overwhelming number of their assistants, and that resistance on their part must be useless, they reiterated and the Darogah convinced to escape with greater difficulty...He had heard some days before that the Santals intended attacking the Thannah”. The Report also said about another leader Ram Manjhi who “with his 200 men had taken strong position in the jungle near Haldigurh Hill” and waylaid and plundered everything that attempted to pass that way. It is significant to note that according to the Report that about 5000 to 7000 Santals under Seeroo Manjhi had taken “Sooleah Thakoor at Teelabooney.” The Santals had strengthened their position by earthworks, and dug tanks there.

In the letter of R. Thompson (Letter 1955b) we find mention of names undernoted Santal Prisoners who were captured during the Movement:

1. Kamoo Soobha,
2. Chand Ray Manjhee,
3. Bhuro Manhjee,
4. Kamoo Manjhee,
5. Durga Manjhee,
6. Mota Manjhee,
7. Nemay Manjhee,
8. Rumabsa Manjhee,
9. Athar Manjhee,
10. Hareedass Manjhee,
11. Morarea Manjee and

12. Mutah Manjhee. The Officiating Magistrate also noted that “among these will be seen the clasp belonging to the late Lieutenant Toulmen which the prisoner Kanoo (Kanho) was wearing on his arm at the time of his capture”. The Asst. Special Commissioner ascertained that there were 33 prisoners awaiting trials on different charges. Mr. Pontet also captured 10 to 12 prisoners. (Letter 1955a). In the Letter (1855c) we find mention of Juttoo Rae who was placed under the charge of a Burkundaze. The same letter also disclosed about Ghuttoo Singh and four others; Ghuttoo Singh absconded and effected his escape. It is significant to note that the Special Judge of District Birbhum sentenced forty Santals at different times and forwarded from Birbhum to Hazaribagh under the orders of Government dated 3rd December 1855. (ibid.).

The Report (1856 op cit.) is highly significant as we find mention of Peetoo Santal Parnait, Manik Santal, Dullas Manjhi Santal, Purtoo Parnait who were condemned to death for rebellion and murder. Baboo Girdharee is mentioned of leading them into rebellion by giving out that the time of their kingdom had come. Digambar Chakravorti (1849-1913) of Pakur was perhaps the first writer who wrote on the Movement (1895-1896) and in his account, the author gave a detailed description of the various events and wrote about Bir Singh, Birsingh Manjhi, Kaolek Pramanik, Domon Manjhi Singrai Santal, Gocho Manjhi, Tibhuvan Santal, Manglu Jolha, Chandrai Manjhi, Singhraj Santal, Minto Jagarnath Sikdar and Jolha Santal who had played a key role in organising Santals and others and led them during the movement.

A reference to *The Hindoo Patriot* reveals names of leaders who organised the local people against foreign rule and led armed struggle for setting up of their government. (For example see 13 Sept.1855 issue). Similarly, *The Bengal Hurkaru* in its 19-20 October 1855 issues mentions names of Santal Kowalia and Ram Manjhi who were prominent leaders of the Movement. It is to be noted that ten thousand rupees were offered by the Government for Santal Kowalia’s apprehension whereas Sido, the main hero of the movement, was only valued at five thousand. Ram Manjhi was caught by Lieutenant Dunbar on 17 October 1855 (*The Bengal Hurkaru* 24 October 1855).

The Calcutta Review (1856:251) recorded a detailed account of the movement and noted “insurgent” Santals’ activities “under the guidance of Ram Manjhee, Sham Soubah, Phoodun, Keawla Anoo, and other magnates of their army, the Sonthals were again on the move in the north-western parts of Beerbhoom, and at Jyepore, Kendra, Noni, and other places in southern Bhaugulpore...”. In fact, there were many local leaders who organised tribals, dalits and backwards against the foreign rule and led them during the movement.

1.5 Conclusion

Thus, the Santal Movement of 1855-1856 was the major mass movement against the foreign rule in erstwhile Bengal Subah during nineteenth century. Historically the

Movement was led by Sido, Kanhu, Chand and Bhairab. But various archival documents recorded the role of other revolutionary heroes and incidents in the course of the movement so far unknown and unsung. Even correspondences and notes in the diary of district officials focused on incidents and its heroes. These archival sources reveal the magnitude and ramification of the movement and highlight the role of militant heroes of the movement hitherto unknown. The correspondences among district officials, military officials and administrative officials (Calcutta) not only mentioned various incidents of the movement, but also its heroes like Moochea Kosnjola, Rama and Sundra Manjhi, and several others such as, Kamoo Soobha, Chand Ray Manjhee, Bhuro Manjhee, Kamoo Manjhee, Durga Manjhee, Mota, Manjhee, Nemay Manjhee, Rumsa Manjhee, Alhar Manjhee, Hareedass Manjhee, Morea Manjhee, Mutta Manjhee, Juttoo Rae, Santal Kowalia, Ram Manjhi who played no less significant role in successive phases of the movement. Undoubtedly, it is attempted to trace and mention most of unknown heroes and incidents of the Movement, but the list and account of incidents and heroes are not final. However, the importance of the study lies in the fact that it recorded neglected heroes and uncovering incidents of the movement. It is evident from the present article that the names of places and persons have British phonetics which need to be corrected, corroborated and verified in field situation for an objective recording of history.

Notes

1. The Hul can be termed as the biggest popular movement of that time. The Kol Insurrection 1831-1832 was a major event in Chotanagpur under the Company's administration and mainly participated by Kols of the region including Munda, Orans and others. Mainly it was against the oppression of the Sikh tikaders, Kuanr Harnath Singh, brother of Maharaja of Chotanagpur and the Pathans. In his statement before the Magistrate of Chatra, Bindrai Manki remarked, "The Pathans had taken our honour, and the Sikhs our sisters and the Kuanr had forcibly deprived us of our estates of twelve villages..." (Datta and Jha1976:74; See also Jha1964:172-185, Kumar1970:49-53; Singh1985:123-127). The Company's forces came to the rescue of the zamindars and the insurrection was crushed after two months in March 1932. Jha pointed out, it "was a crude form of protest of the lower classes against the upper classes, the have-nots against the haves". (Jha1984:146). But the Santal Hul of 1855-1856 spread over wider area and apart from Santals, other tribal communities, backwards and dalits (Hindu and Muslim) also participated in it and fought for their own Swaraj for more than seven months. So it was mass based armed struggle against the foreign rule. It was also well planned and for this nocturnal meetings were held. The Hul, therefore, was the first organised armed struggle of tribals, dalits and backwards of the region covering Barddhaman to Bhagalpur, Barhait to Raniganj etc., now spread over three states-West Bengal, Jharkhand and Bihar. So the contemporary newspapers being published from Calcutta called it a revolution of the people.

2. In recent years their sister Phulo and Jhano are given the credit of leadership. But in the works of historians till at least first half of the first decade of 21 century, and in later historical writings we do not find mention of Phulo and Jhano and their role in Santal Hul. Later historians also do not mention in history books. We may mention the works of E. G. Man in 1867 (1983), W.W. Hunter in 1868 (1975), C. E. Buckland (1901), F.B. Bradley-Birt in 1905 (1990), McPherson (1909), L.S.S.O'Malley (1910), K. K. Basu ((1934), C. H. Koomar (1937), K. K. Datta (1934, 1940 and 1970), P. C. Roy Chaudhury (1958, 1962 and 1965), Ranajit Guha (1983 and 2010), Tatapada Roy (1983), J. C. Jha (1985 and 1986), K. S. Singh (1985), Arun Chaudhury (1989), G. C. Tudu (1986), S. P. Sinha (1991 and 1991), Sanjay Bahadur (2013), Peter Stanley (2022) who wrote on the Hul and on its various aspects. However, at least since 2010, especially on Hul Diwas, some local newspapers have started carrying articles on the role of Phulo and Jhano without citing any historical/archival sources. (see Tiriya 2010; Toppo 2011 and The Hindustan 1921). The writings seem more of fiction than historical. Narhari Kaviraj (2001: 109-111) who was perhaps the first historian to write on the role of women in the Hul on the basis of archival sources. But he has not mentioned Phulo and Jhano. In Contemporary *The Calcutta Review* (1856, 1860), relevant issues of *The Friend of India*, *The Bengal Hurkaru*, *The Hindoo Patriot*, *Samvad Prabhakar*, etc. the sisters are even not mentioned. In her paper Mallick (2017:11-23) discussed the role of Santal women and mentioned Santal women who were active during the Hul, but she too did not mention Phulo and Jhano. However, Pankaj (2021:339) in his compiled work, in List of Hul Martyrs and Framed Warriors, mentioned Phulo Murmu and Jhano Murmu on the basis of Folk Songs, but he too did not mention any related folk song, and also did not write even few lines about their role in the Hul citing folk songs. Recently on the occasion of National Seminar 13-14 January, 2024 jointly organised by Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi and Itihas Sankalan Samiti, Jharkhand in Ranchi University, Ranchi, Jharkhand, an Exhibition of Indian Martyrs and Tribal Revolts was displayed along with the Santal Hul of 1855-1856 with its leaders but the said sisters and their role were not displayed.
3. There is controversy about the death of Sido and Kanhu. Datta-Majumdar (1956:30) writes that Sido died in the battle. But Kanhu and several other leaders of the rebellion were arrested and hanged in *mahua* (*Madhuca indica*) trees in the field of Jhilimili. Bradley-Birt (1990:206), however, writes that Sido, was captured, and after a summary trial, was hanged at Barhait by Mr. Pontet.

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