INTRODUCTION

The study seeks to delve deep into the working of historical forces at micro level. The Santhal Parganas occupied an important place during the formative phase of the colonial period. During the Mughal rule, Rajmahal remained the capital of the province of Bengal for most part and it was located strategically en route to Bengal. The region was witness to very stiff resistance to budding British rule. Paharias and local zamindars here had raised the banner of revolt umpteen times. However, by 1803, the English East India Company ably pacified the area.

After the permanent settlement (1793), the region witnessed the large scale migration of the Santhals from Cuttack, Dhalbhum, Manbhum, Barabhum, Chhotanagpur, Palamu, Hazaribagh, Midnapur, Bankura and more particularly from Birbhum. The migration of the Santhals was encouraged by the company as an antidote to the Paharias who were a constant source of trouble for them. In 1833, the Damin-i-Koh (skirt of the hills) was formed and declared as a Government Estate and consequently numerous Santhals settled there.

The region of Santhal Parganas lies between 23°-40’ and 25°-18’ north latitude and between 86°-28’ and 87°-57’ east longitude. It extends over 5459 square miles. Its greatest length is 120 miles from the Ganga on the north to south is about 100 miles and its breadth from the west to east is nearly the same, Dumka is the administrative headquarters of the division created in 1983.

The Santhal Parganas is bounded in the north by the district of Bhagalpur and Purnea (Katiar), on the east by Malda, Murshidabad and Birbhum, on the south by Burdwan, on the east by Hazaribagh, Monghyr and Bhagalpur. The physical conformation of the district has profoundly affected its history. The kernel of the district is formed by the medley of
Hill Ranges that runs mainly north and south from the Ganga at Sahibganj to the Birbhum boundary, a few miles north of the town of Suri. These from the days of the Mughal King Akbar have been known as Rajmahal hills. They range from 1000 to 2000 feet in height. Below the eastern wall of the hills is the narrow Ganga belt which affords passage for the loop line. On the other side, the hills are flanked by a tract of high undulating upland, which stretches towards south of the Bhagalpur and Chotanagpur plateau. The northern and narrower half which marches with the eastern boundary of south Bhagalpur slopes from the hills towards the north west and sends its drainage north to the Ganga between Bhagalpur and in the extreme north, there is a large alluvial tract known as Tappa Manihari which has been formed by river deposits from the surrounding hills. The southern half is divided into Chotanagpur plateau by the valley of Barakar. Its inclination is to the south east and its streams, the Ajay and the Mor, with their numerous tributaries carrying the drainage of the western half of the district in the Bhagirathi below Murshidabad. The altitude of this tract varies from 1000 feet from the north-west to the 200 or 300 on the south-west. The streams which arise within the Rajmahal hills follow the same general direction as those of south western upland that is from north-west to south-east. Issuing from the passes of the hills they join the Ganga after it makes its great curve southwards below Sahibganj. Thus, with the exception of the small tract between the Bhagalpur boundary and the west face of the hills, the inclination of district is from north-west to south-east.

If the map of India be referred to, it will be seen that the Rajmahal hills constitute the extreme north–east angle of the hills which buttress peninsular India. They are spurring thrown out from the junction of the
Vindhyan hills and the Eastern Ghats and they project so far into the Ganga valley as to interface with the direct course of the Ganga between the plains of Bihar and the plains of Bengal. This results in a great bend in the river which was known even to the ancient Greek Geographers, the Garo hills is distant only about 160 mile from the northern corner of the Santhal Parganas and between them lies that alluvial tract of Maldah and Dinajpur known in ancient times as Barindra.

The Ganga first touches this district a few miles west of Teliagarhi and flows east towards as far as Sakrigali where it bends to the south–east leaving the district a short distance below Udhua Nala. The average width of its bed is about three miles, but the stream does not fill its channel in the hot weather and almost invariably overflows it in the rains. There have been considerable changes in this portion of this course within historic times. To the north, it formerly ran under the walls of the fort of Teliagarhi, but the main stream is now far away and the East India Railway line runs along the alluvial deposit it has formed. To the east the mainstream formerly flowed close to Rajmahal and in about 1640 A.D. washed away many buildings in the city but it is clear from Travernier’s account that by 1666 A.D. it had taken another course and was fully half a league away from Rajmahal. In 1860, when the loop line of the East India Railway was extended to this town an arm of the Ganga ran immediately under the station forming navigable channel and boats of all sizes. During 1860 – 64, the river abandoned this channel leaving an alluvial bank in its lace and till 1879 the Ganga was three miles distant from Rajmahal. In that year the Ganga returned to its old bed. In 1912 the main channel of the Ganga left Rajmahal and was on the Maldah side. But in 1929, the river began eroding its right bank and was gradually approaching the railway lines between the Maharajpur and
Sakrigali junction and the Railway authority had to acquire land for the diversion of the railway line. At present the main stream is on the Rajmahal side. In consequence of these change in the course of the main stream the bulk of the trade has been transferred to Sahibganj. Rajmahal retains only the local traffic across the Ganga with the Maldah district.

Many significant changes occurred in this region in 19th century. The breakdown of communal mode of production and growth of private rights in land was one of the most remarkable and significant changes that took place during 18th and 19th century. The Santhals were becoming familiar with the concept of wet cultivation and agricultural seasons as well as new crops. Thus, now they were getting transformed to agriculturists from reclaimers of land. The study of this process of change among Santhals may fall within the purview of the sociological frame of the tribe – peasant continuum.

The penetration of market forces in the tribal economy paved the way for development of peasant system. The colonial mode further created a demand for money in non-money economies. The middle men, merchants and money lenders all came along with the development of market. The concept of diku who were thought to have created all troubles for the adivasis now becomes crucial to the understanding of agrarian relations. A diku performed various functions in the colonial economy of the region, supposedly in administrative matters as a middle man. He was a money lender and a trader as well who controlled the food grain production and consumption sometimes through the system of advance credit, and was a land grabber too. The colonial system thus founded by the Company forced upon the Santhals their exploitation in form of alienation of their lands and property. The company made the confusion even more confounded for the Santhals through their new
revenue system that was incomprehensible to them. The Santhals were not comfortable to such land taxes. Actually they migrated from Birbhum earlier in search of virgin and forest lands that were rent free. The Santhals were simmering with discontent at the machinations and manipulations of the Mahajans (Money lenders), corruption and bargaining of the administrative staffs and negligence of higher British officials and all this brought them to the boiling point.

The colonial system was thus too harsh on the Santhals that resulted in a very violent revolt in 1855-56 due to their exploitation even though they did have a sensitivity borne out of exploitation and isolation. Although they did have a relatively intact social mechanism it failed to deter the revolt from starting and taking violent turn. The official record generally described it as an incident or episode with disdain; however, it has to be studied as a part of the social system and the political radicalism it entailed during the rest of the period of study. Dr. K. K. Dutta in his famous book “The Santhal Insurrection” (Calcutta – 1940, Reprinted 1988) has mainly relied on official records. Fresh material has been discovered ever since “making its re-study and reevaluation necessary” (Kumar Suresh Singh, Presidential Address, Indian History Congress, 1978 and B. B. Choudhuri’s Presidential address in Indian History Congress in 2011 at Patiala).

A fresh glance at the origin, ideology and organization of the Santhal revolts in the nineteenth century is therefore imperative. The revolts were not just resistance movements but also imbibed the ingredients of agrarian cum revivalistic movements. They reflect a transitional phase in the annals of Santhals. In the earlier researches such focus have indeed been taken into consideration yet, the need for this research work is
essential as it will serve a illuminative and useful purpose by re-
examining and reevaluating the data in fresh light.
Sir John Shore’s article “On some extraordinary facts, Customs and
Practices of the Hindus”, published in Asiatic Researches, 1795,
mentions Santhals as ‘Saontars’ for the first time. Montgomery Martin’s
book “Eastern India” compiled from Francis Buchanan’s journal kept
during the survey of the district of Bhagalpur in 1810-11 has detailed the
first accounts of the Santhals of the Rajmahal Hills. The early history of
the Santhals was obtained by H. C. Sutherland when he investigated into
the land tenures of the Paharias of the Rajmahal Hills and Captain Walter
S. Sherwill’s account taken during his tour of the Rajmahal hills and
published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. “Sonthalia and the Sonthals”
is another early account prepared by E. G. Man, who was Assistant
Commissioner of the Santhal Parganas then. “The little world of an
Indian officer”, the autobiography of R. Carstairs, who served as Deputy
Commissioner and as Settlement officer of the district, contains an
excellent description of the land and its people, the formation of the new
district, the census of 1881 and the government of the district. W. G.
Archer wrote not less than eighteen articles and four books on the
Santhals on the basis of his tenure as Deputy Commissioner of the
Santhal Parganas in those times.
In 1867, a missionary from Norway, Skrefsrud settled in Benagaria in
Santhal Paraganas, learned with devotion the Santhali language and
published “A Grammar of the Santhal language” in 1873. The
publication of “Horkoren Mare Hapramko reak Katha” in 1887 in
Santhali was his greatest contribution to the understanding of the sources
for the Santhals. In 1928, Bodding translated it in English. He had to his
credit the publication of Santhal folktales and Santhali grammar. The
monumental contribution of these two missionaries towards the knowledge of Santhali language and culture are acknowledged till today. C. H. Bompas, and W. J. Culshaw are few others who took keen interest in Santhal folktales and religious beliefs. L.S.S. O’ Malley, H. H. Risley, J. H. Hutton, W. W. Hunter and Col. Dalton have also left us very good accounts of Santhalas, their land, customs and habits. H. Mc Pherson’s Settlement Report of Santhal Parganas is a very valuable primary source material for studying the region’s land tenure system.

R. C. Dutta in his article “Aboriginal Element in the Population of Bengal” gave an account of the Santhals in 1882. However, it was not before Sarat Chandra Roy’s work that the anthropologists in India really took interest in the tribes of the Jharkhand – the southern portion of the then state of Bihar comprising the districts of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Dhanbad, Singhbhum and Palamau and Santhal Parganas. These books and articles dealt primarily with the anthropological, cultural and sociological aspects of the Santhals.

K. K. Datta’s “The Santhal Insurrection (Cal – 1940)” focused on the economic dimension of Santhal discontent. Though small in size, this book heralded a new approach to the historical research on the Santhals. The Santhal Insurrection however, remained in oblivion for about two decades. The scholars began to take keen interest in this book in 1950s. The premise that the later works on the Santhals are indebted to K. K. Datta’s book may not be an exaggeration. However, there is no theorization in Datta’s book. Though he was influenced by Ranke and Jadunath Sarkar, he did not theorize on the Santhal Insurrection, although he had a thorough command over the facts.

Ranajit Guha’s ‘Elementary aspects of peasant Insurgency in Colonial India’ in 1983 initiated the race for theorization of Santhal and other
tribal movements. Many subaltern historians followed suit and came up with the notion of a separate political consciousness among the Santhals. It has been argued by the ‘Subaltern’ historians that the consciousness of their own self as well as of politics was ever present among them. They all had a definite political end in view to replace the existing immediate ruling authority and capture power but the ‘Subalterns’ have wrongly attributed this qualification to all the peasant movements – be it tribal or non-tribal. As far as the Santhal Hool is concerned, they have neglected many facts of local history. Tradition does form an integral ingredient of political consciousness among the tribes. They ruminated a distant past, their own state structure and cherished the memory of it generation after generation – a state reflecting no oppression, no taxation and having communal ownership of land. They thought their movements had endlessly tried to regain this state of society that has often been coined as millenarian movements. Unfortunately, the non–tribal peasants had no such memory or tradition. Their only objective was the immediate economic gains. Even during the turn of the 19th century the non–tribal peasant movements could not rise above their narrow objectives and showed some signs of political consciousness only when the leadership came from outside. However, the tribals had a politics of their own.

Surajit Sinha, K. S. Singh, B. B. Choudhuri, Andre Beteille, Sachhidananda and Suchibrata Sen are the other prominent Indian historians and sociologists who had profusely and prolifically dealt with the different aspects of the Santhals.

I have tried to locate all the primary sources of the Santhal movements that were not very difficult to access. The governmental documents especially reports by local officials comprise the main source. District Gazetteers such as O'Malley 1910 and Hallett 1917, Settlement Reports
such as McPherson 1907 and Reid 1910 contain most of these documents published in summarized form. Government of Bengal Gazette or Records 1890 is a useful compendium of contemporary governmental letters and reports. Though the government documents seems to be biased on many topics due to the ignorance of officials of local conditions and circumstances as they were also very active in suppressing and preventing tribal agitations.

Two contemporary Accounts of tribal society have been published by Santhals who lived at the same time as the Santhal rebellion and the Kherwar movement. However, the longest and by far the most important of these (Bodding 1942) are by an old Santhal Guru who did not belong to the Kherwar movement and was probably influenced by Christianity. Oral interviews and traditions, with a few descendants of movement participants, and unpublished statements by some of those participants, have yielded little additional data.

Missionary documents provide useful data source. Although I could not examine all of these documents, the Annual Reports of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel that worked in Ranchi district after 1869, proved of immense help. However, on many issues missionaries suffer with the same bias and have same political objectives as government officials had. They rarely mention of tribal unrest.

Ranchi, Santhal Parganas and adjoining districts do have some unpublished documents of many landlords and their agents that is informative and differ in perspective from the reports of officials and missionaries; however, these were not easily accessible and available. If these along with the mission documents were studied and analyzed more thoroughly, it would have definitely improved our comprehension of the inherent contradictions of the Santhal rebellion and the Kherwar
movements. Although some extensive quotations from the primary sources, fuller census statistics, and more elaborate citations from government and missionary sources are definitely available which serve very useful purpose.

The primary material for the nineteenth century Santhal Parganas consists almost entirely of the Bengal Government Proceedings. The Mission records are much scantier. The Government records for Santhal Parganas are particularly full. Craven’s first Settlement Report in 1892, based on a careful field study of an area covering one-sixth of the land outside the Damin-i-Koh is a very valuable item in the Bengal Proceedings. The government records have also been well summarized in O’Malley (1910) and McPherson (1907).

Government officers’ published accounts of their experiences form another important source. Carstairs’ accounts, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the Santhal Parganas between 1886 and 1900 is one of the most important amongst them. Others like Bradley-Birt, Hunter, Man and Oldham have also enriched and contributed immensely. While Carstairs’ writing is cogent and vivid, he seems to be vague in terms of chronology, and when it concerns the individuals or groups that were involved in the movement. The letters published in the newspapers add additional historical information, particularly during the Kherwar disturbances of 1880-81. Missionary Skrefsruds’ letters provide the most useful information.

Bodding (1942) has written the sole ethnographic work during the time of Kherwar movement which was originally taken down directly from a Santhal informant (the guru Kolean), over a period of several years, ending in 1871. It contains much information regarding Santhal beliefs and customs which would not be particularly much useful to this thesis.
The only systematic secondary sources for the study of the Kherwar movement are by Chatterjee (1961), A.P.Jha (1960), which are very brief. Hodne’s (1966) very careful biography of missionary Skrefsrud abounds with references to the Kherwar movement and to general conditions in Santhal Parganas in late nineteenth century. John Macdougall’s (1974) work throws extensive light on the Kherwar movement while comparing it with the Sardari larai of Ranchi district, and its cross-cultural comparisons temporally and spatially.

Lastly, a wide variety of statistical evidence is available regarding Santhal Parganas district. Most of it is to be found in various parts of the Bengal Proceedings, in the Census, and in Reid (1910). According to 1901 census, there were between 600,000 and 700,000 Santhals in the Santhal Parganas. Adivasis constituted some thirty five percent of the population in the Santhal Parganas (these figures leave out minor tribes like the Paharias in the Santhal Parganas). Within Santhal Parganas, only in the Damin-i-koh, the Santhals constituted about fifty five percent of the population. Thus, the Santhals constituted a minority in the very district that had been created for them, and which they regarded as their homeland in the late nineteenth century. More Santhals lived outside Santhal Parganas than in it. The Santhals were (and still are) the most numerous tribe in eastern India. The Munda and Santhali language belong to the same (Mundari) language-family, but the Oraon language belongs to the Dravidian family.¹

“Kherwar” is an ancient name of the Santhal tribe, and carries overtones of the tribal golden age. The term was used after 1875 to describe any person who practised the new Santhal religion. The Kherwar also called themselves “Sapha Hor”, or pure Santhals.² The Kherwar movement is not in any way related to the hinduized Kharwar tribe of Palamu district.
adjoining Ranchi district to the northwest. For the sake of convenience “Kherwar movement” referred to encompasses all concerted, political and religious activities by the Santhals between 1858 and 1900. The Kherwars were a distinct group with a large Santhal element that existed over a long period of time since the first census in 1871, and well organized forms of the movement could still be found in collaboration with the independence movement since the 1930s and especially since independence, they were still reported as an existing group in 1966, and the census of 1991 reports the presence of 2261 Kherwars among the Santhals in Bihar. For the argument that mostly accepts the history of the movement till the end of the nineteenth century, it is important that the scholarly systematization of the Kherwar movement and the teaching of the early Kherwar leaders were systematized by Rev. Bodding in his correspondence to L.S.S. O’Malley which the latter included in the District Gazetteer of Santhal Parganas published in 1910. Bodding also dealt with the later development of the movement in a paper of his own published in 1921. At a later point of time Aditya Prasad Jha (1960) added important elements in his historical study based on the materials in the State Central Records Office in Bihar. Olav Hodne (1966) has studied the relations between the Kherwars and one of the missionaries to the Santhal Parganas, Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud; and Joseph Troisi (1979) has described them on the background of “Other social movements among the Santhals”.

Besides these sources which look upon the Kherwars from different outsiders’ point of view, one of the sources underlying Bodding’s description of the Kherwars exists as well. As this source enables us to get a Santhal point of view on the Kherwars, it deserves some consideration. The narrator of “The story of the Babajis” is most
probably Bodding’s main collector, Sagram Murmu. He settled in Mohulpahari in Santhal Parganas where Bodding was missionary in 1892 and continued to work for Bodding at least till 1927. But the present story can be dated more precisely, as Bodding quotes from it and rewrote parts of it into the anthropological vocabulary of his days in his correspondence to the District Gazetteer of 1910, a specific point is the way the babajis cured women from spirits:

Briefly, the women confesses to having had sexual inter-course with a great number of bongas (in one case, it is said, the woman mentioned as many as 127 male bongas, each separately by name) during the confession, the babaji, as a preliminary measure, draws figures on the ground, muttering mantras, spitting on the figures and wiping them out; after a night’s preparation, he gives the woman a twig with which she draws figures on the ground according to his instructions, one to represent each of the bongas with whom she has lived; finally the babaji makes the woman break off her connection with each bonga, and she repeats after him a long list of abusive epithets for each and every bonga, winding up with spiting and trampling on the figures.4

This is really the narration of cures against bongas such as Jogan bonga, “the big-bellied, the undersized with protuberant stomach, the stout and plumb like a taro root, the dirty one, the broad footed, the deformed one, the nose-less, the one with sunken cheeks, the big-toothed(etc.).” But it is possible to date the manuscript more specifically as one of the last events which is described as a visit of the narrator to a named guru on the date 28.01.1906.

If the narrator is really Sagram Murmu, the story in itself throws some light on a case of personal syncretism as he had Christian leanings as can be seen from a letter he wrote to Bodding sometime around 1907.5 But in
his presentation of the Kherwars, he still gives evidence of his respect for and belief in the powers of the leaders, the Babajis.

The narration begins, “I am going to tell you the story of the babajis whom I have seen with my own eyes about whom I have heard with my own ears.” He gives an extensive description of the first of them, Bhagirah babaji who appeared as a babaji in 1871 and the narrator seems to have continued to visit different babajis on his behalf, up to the time he wrote down the story. Whoever, the narrator was, he saw clear parallels between the teachings of the Kherwars and the Christian church which he knew as a regular church goer, as he stated that Bhagirath Manjhi, spoke “about the ten Commandments about which we all hear daily in the church.”

In the following, one should try to confront the well-known outsiders’ descriptions to the early history of the Kherwar movement and its implications with regard to syncretism with the statements in “The story of the Babajis”. There are to be found a number of instances of syncretism between Santhal religion and culture and Hinduism as well as Christianity, but that the meaning of the variations in the religion were dependent on a time specific political programme for the empowerment of the Santhals.

Bodding’s narrator of the “Story on the Babajis” was situated in Santhal Parganas, and most of those places name which can be recognized are in the surroundings of Dumka, and his informations are in many regards limited to that area. For instance, Dubia Gosain is not mentioned at all, neither is the temples set up and their pundits, not even the one which is known in connection with Bhagirath Baba. When the narrator stressed the Christian elements, one may of course doubt if it is because he made what could be termed an interpretation Christiana; but Bodding is right in
considering the narration on the repentance and the Ten Commandments, reflective of historical fact; but it is his own theology which led to the term “Perverted Christians”. In this regard, he was a missionary of his own time with his specific Lutheran approach to Christianity.

As can be discerned from the above description, the methodology had been to utilize the sources available, to analyze them and impart emphasis on the oral traditions as well. One can safely stress the fact that the Anthropological tool of participant observation has also been used. Inter-disciplinary approaches with multi-dimensional analyses of the facts and the role of rumours have also been taken into account while describing the Kherwar movement. Still, many gaps and missing links remain. Till now, meager amount of research has been done on the cross-cultural comparisons and comparative assessment of various regional tribal movements of nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Apart from the geography of the region that shaped it’s ever fluid history even in recent times culminating into the Jharkhand movement leading to the creation of a separate state of Jharkhand, the political radicalism of the movements in the study has been a remarkable feature throughout the period of study that shall be thoroughly investigated during analysis of the Santhal movements in the 19th century in further chapters of this thesis and hopefully all queries may get answered.

I have traced the history of the region till the advent of the colonial rule in the first chapter i.e., the advent of the colonial rule and the Santhals. The second chapter “The Santhal Hool: Origin, Ideology and Organisation”, deals with the intricacies of the Santhal Hool and its political radicalism based on its origin, ideology and organisation. A remarkable feature of the history of the adivasi world was the rise and growth of radical resistance during the 19th century. Analyzing the causes
of the Santhal Hool, Dr. K. K. Datta blames the causes mainly to the foul deeds of the Mahajans and exploitation of the zamindars. However, this does not represent the whole truth. The colonial system was the real culprit. First of all, it is to be noted that the Santhals were treated as outsiders in law till 1855 because the local law – Regulation-I of 1796 and Regulation-I of 1827 – did not give any protection to the Santhals which was available only for the Paharias. Thus the Santhals were tied with the European system of judicature whose idioms were little known to them.

Secondly, the concept of individual ownership of land and the concept of private property broke the age old protection of the community to the individual members. This individual freedom was really bondage as the individual was brought under the direct subjugation of the state, without community serving as the cushion. The Santhal also lost the security provided by the mutual aid system of the community in crisis situations – like illness, death or during special rites of birth and marriage. To crown it above all, the colonial rule established its primacy over resources and therefore, the reserves at the disposal of the community in the form of forest resources were also depleted. Thus, no resource was left for meeting situation like crop-failure or famine. Earlier, the Santhal individuals could turn to the community for help in times of crisis. However, with the penetration of colonial domination the community was no longer in a position to help them. Mahajans (Money-lenders) and Banias (Merchants) now came to plug this gap. Their need became more imperative because the Santhals were required to pay land revenue in cash and not in kind as during the Mughal period.

In the third chapter “The Kherwar Movement: Origin, Ideology and Organisation”, I have explained the absence of any combined resistance
during the years 1856-1860 and thereafter the movements of 1861, 1865 and 1871 and the other post-Hool movements namely the Kherwar movement. In this chapter we describe not only the Kherwar movement but also the general political, economic and social history of Santhal Parganas district as they are closely inter-related. Broadly the period covered is between 1858 and 1895.

The fourth chapter “The Christian Missionaries and the Santhals” deals with the role of Christian Missionaries in this area and during the movements. The sources and the details provided by them are of immense use for the historians. The British came to India with the primary motive of trade and even when they captured political power they did not forget it. They were not interested in interfering in religious and social practices of the Indians. Rather, they were against it. Among the European people, the Portuguese alone had exhibited zeal for conversion of the India to Christianity. They resorted not only to propaganda and marriages with native women but also to forceful conversions. But their efforts failed miserably. Besides, their efforts annoyed the natives. The British had their example before them. They therefore, concentrated their efforts in fulfilling their economic and political gains. The company did not permit the British missionaries to enter its territories during the eighteenth century. The conditions, however, changed later on. By the first decade of the 19th century, the British power was firmly entrenched in India and there remained no fear that any native power would be able to challenge successfully the political power of the British. Therefore, in 1813 when the Charter of the Company was renewed they succumbed to the pressure of the Evangelists and permitted the Christian missionaries to enter India. The Charter declared that “all those persons who wish to propagate useful
knowledge, truth, religion and sound morality among the Indians could go to India and even settle down themselves there”. It was also decided by the Charter that the Company would spend rupees one lakh annually for the education of the Indians. Since then the Christian Missionaries started coming to India. India provided them a vast field for fulfilling their objectives. They believed that enlightenment, imparting of correct education and service to the mankind could best be achieved by converting the heathens and people of other faiths to Christianity which was the aim of the Christian Missionaries everywhere in the world.

The fifth chapter “Nature and Significance of the Santhal Movements” delineates the nature and significance of the Santhal movements and the theoretical framework of various scholars ranging from K. K. Datta to Ranjit Guha.

The conclusion lies at the end before the Bibliography inclusive of the Primary unpublished materials and the secondary sources along with the journals and newspapers. In the course of the first half on the 19th century, the Santhals became peasants with settled cultivation and fixed habitat. This was an overwhelming change that brought, in its train, several miseries and tensions, and within a very short span of time they revolted in 1855.

The colonial system brought the santhals to the doorsteps of the Mahajans and Banias. Many of them were undoubtedly greedy and foul makers, but it would be wrong to consider this as being only the outcome of perfidious human nature. It was vagaries of the colonial market economy to which the economy of the tribals was now being linked up and subjugated that made the unscrupulous operations of the Mahajans and the Banias almost inevitable.
The idea of a Santhal Raj did form an essential part of the Hool ideology. However, the Hool leader did not ever use the term Kherwar. It was during the Bhagirath movement that its use became common. The idea of purification of Santhal society through ridding it of all ‘evils’ was non-existent in the Hool ideology. More importantly, the purification idea as a basic requirement of a collective political movement was for the first time coherently formulated by Bhagirath.
REFERENCES:
3. Ibid. p.275.