

Saranjamdars was remitted by bill of exchanges, which could be used in most parts of India. And they paid money to some staffs and purchased animals such as horses in Pargana. Their activity promoted monetization in Pargana. On the other hand, they required forced labour and in-kind provisions for their horses. These "un-monetized" elements were still important in the assigned villages. These villages were under the transition of monetization and rurbanization, which composed most parts of Indapur Pargana in the later eighteenth century.

TIPPU'S INTERVENTION IN COORG: A REASSESSMENT

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Tippu Sultan is one of the emigmas of this century in Indian history and has suffered more at the hands of historians than at the hands of his enemies. There is a great controversy about the policies of Tippu Sultan in Coorg. The Imperialist historians viewed in one way but nationalist historians on the other trying to prove their own view points. Recent studies try to prove that Tippu was an enlightened ruler of South India.

Kodagu was 'Commercial Center' for British as well as Tippu. Distinct geographical situations of Kodagu helped Tippu to loot Kodagu. So that people of Kodagu are friendly to British and they made an agreement. There are allegations that Tippu tried to convert the Kodava community as well as he had taken people with him and kept them for his military service

The policies of the Mysore Sultans in Coorg was of conquerors not of the rulers. Religious policies were clearly linked with and certainly depended upon political exigencies. Islam became the intelligent tool that was helpful for Tippu in overcoming his political problems. The forcible conversion of Hindus in Coorg was for purely political reasons and not religious. It was done either to suppress recalcitrant element or to punish the Coorg who supported the British against their own native suzerains. It should be noted that the rulers made such conversions only after much warning. During the period of Sultans the strength of Muslims increased in Coorg but the main cause for this was not religious conversion but migration of people from the region of Malabar, a Muslim populated area. Any way Tippu's intervention in Coorg created a serious debate and discussion among the historians.

COMMUNITY AND THE NAITON: TRAJECTORIES OF GANDHIAN POLITICS IN KERALA

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This paper attempts to look into the ideological and material milieu in which Gandhian politics gained approval in early twentieth century Kerala. In terms of the growth of nationalist politics, Kerala was rather backward and this can be attributed to several reasons. First of all, Kerala was politically fragmented, i.e., the scope for a strong political awakening was foiled by the existence of three regional units in Kerala with Kochi and Travancore under princely rule and Malabar under the Madras presidency and under the colonial masters. The second factor was that social awakening in Kerala was manifest in the form of caste movements with innumerable caste associations attempting to make material gains with caste as the medium of mobilization and more often placed one against the other. Thirdly, rather than viewing the colonial master as the enemy most of the caste groups upper as well

as the lower ones- found it convenient to side with it in order to materialize their social and political gains. In this situation nationalist politics failed to make headway in Kerala till the dawn of the Gandhian era. And Gandhi's political ideology, especially his constructive programme, provided immense possibilities for political participation without compromising on the essentials of casteist politics and pro-colonial stand. Moreover, rather than having been got attracted to nationalist politics, Gandhism made it possible for various caste groups to associate together on social issues, like anti-pollution and temple-entry, disregarding direct political affiliations. The upper sections found it convenient to bring various communities under a common platform under the Indian (Hindu) nation and the lower orders found it useful to attain upward social mobility without sacrificing their caste and religious identity and strong inhibitions against nationalist politics.

The Indian Situation. Since colonialism was perceived as a combination of westernism and modernism and hence as the chief adversary, Indian nationalism was forced to reconcile tradition with modernity – in diverse ways as critical modernism or critical traditionalism which meant either (1) a creative synthesis of two civilizations or (2) as mobilizing indigenous resources, borrowing from Europe only to supplement and enrich them.

Social reform movements in north India which had their stress on modern science and reason at the outset had soon withdrew to the shells of tradition and cultural revivalism and it slowly tended to produce aggressive Hindu identity. They operated from the background of 'Muslim tyranny' and 'medieval dark age' from which 'renaissance' was seen as a deliverance – medieval crudities were sought to be purged with ancient standards – national movement inherited this tradition and Nationalism under Gandhi was fashioned along critical traditionalism – it was revivalist in spirit and it repudiated post-renaissance European reason and modern science. Thus nationalism acquired cultural overtones: it conceived the nation as religion with its stress on Hindu culture and ancient Indian ideals. In the 1920s Gandhism grew attractive to the upper caste groups for its stress on tradition and Hindu dharma. It gained momentum in the immediate post-1921 years.

The Kerala Situation. The flowering of modernity in Kerala was certainly defective. The awakening was caste or community based: objectives of different social movements varied according to the group composition – low caste Hindus wanted the abolition of signs of social distance between groups; high caste Hindus looked forward for the transformation of family relationships, especially the system of marriage and rules of property inheritance; non-Hindus longed for a share in government employment. Every community struggled to build a strong and united community by forming a powerful associational structure and eliminating sub-caste groups. Modern science and rational thinking was the base of the new awakening and progress was the motto. Formation of a public sphere was the essential precondition for progress and prosperity.

The upper castes, while modernizing traditional modes of behaviour at the cultural level, wanted to retain their social and economic privileges. This was manifest in their disdain towards lower caste claims of democratic rights and social equality. So they insisted on dharma instead of rights and placed caste based hierarchy above modern notion of equality. While the upper groups stood for structural adjustments the lower groups demanded structural reorganization.

Thus caste and community was truly instrumental. The appeal of religion or nation was only next to the immediate concerns of community interests. Class consciousness developed considerably slowly and community organizations purposefully tried to discourage such a development: to combat occupational diversity and disparity of wealth, they stressed unity and rediscovered common heritage and exploited grievances shared by the community. Movements functioned on caste solidarity, whether members were rich or

poor. The colonial system and colonial underdevelopment also delayed the growth of class based social identities.

In such a situation, caste associations did not have time or energy to concentrate on matters affecting society in general nor did they have the tendency to do so. Since reform needed government support, they deliberately avoided conflict with the colonial state. Their role in the national movement was therefore strikingly mild – outstanding enemies were internal and the British colonist appeared to help them in their emancipation. For the upper castes too the British offered opportunities for emancipation, since educational progress and changes in marriage rules and laws of inheritance were largely dependent on their consent. Thus approach to the emerging nationalist movement was one of distrust and caution.

The process of the “construction of Hinduism”, both as a desperate resistance against colonialism and as a prospective nationalist programme, also was not very active. However, from the 1920s men from the upper castes began to concentrate on moulding a modern Hindu community focused around eradication of ritual pollution and temple-entry. This process was dictated by two main factors: the threat posed by the lower castes through religious conversion and secondly, the opportunities extended by Gandhian constructive programme. A powerful section of the izhavas opposed the drive of their own castemen for conversion because as a political act it was not much beneficial to them. Jeffrey noted that it was because they were afraid that they would become equal to the Pulaya converts to Christianity.

The Analysis. Looking at from the contrasting community concerns, development of nationalist political consciousness was very difficult in Kerala. There were strong clash of interests among all sections. For instance, while the Nairs dominated the Congress and converted it into a platform to expand their tenancy interests, the Nambutiri landowners found it difficult to associate with its activities for fear of losing landlord rights.

The question of ritual pollution also created political problems. Every community opposed the claim of their lower groups for social equality. The lowest castes had to face greatest hardships because they were not only untouchables but had to suffer distance pollution. Religious conversion was one of the measures to overcome this disability. Upper castes found conversion as threatening their social standing. Softening of pollution rules was hence necessary. Temple entry agitation gained currency in this situation. It was an attempt to recast Hinduism without dislodging traditional balance of caste relationships.

This was the background of Gandhian appeal. It was not purely an appeal of nationalism. Call for Dharma and Hindu identity was entwined with vested interests. Gandhism eschewed class politics which favoured the domination of community politics. It was in the 1930s and under left influence that a shift to class politics began to take place in Kerala which was instrumental in undermining community pressures.

GANDHI'S PERCEPTION OF WOMEN AS SOCIAL AGENCY

Malabika Pande

Gandhi's role in the emancipation or empowerment of women in India has been variously assessed by a wide range of scholars, feminist or otherwise.

Writing about the radical changes in many women's lives as a result of the national movement, Tanka Sarkar writes: "... in their actual practice Gandhians had embarked on a far more dangerous enterprise – bringing women out in the public to engage in strident,