The Revolt of 1857 was both a culmination and a beginning. No armed struggle of that magnitude against the colonial rule took place thereafter. It was, however, preceded by a series of revolts by displaced aristocracy and civil population in different parts of the country. Motivated by different reasons and shaped by local circumstances, but invariably linked to the hardships generated by colonial subjection, they embodied the early resistance against the alien rule. The peasants, tribals, zamindars and former rulers were all part of these unsuccessful efforts to prevent the consolidation of the British rule. Alive to the alien but not to the colonial character of the British rule they all remained isolated incidents and hence were easily suppressed. The Revolt of 1857, despite some coordination and communication among the leaders, was essentially a large scale enactment of earlier efforts. Its failure was a landmark in the political consciousness of the nation, as it heralded a new phase in the struggle against colonialism.

ATTITUDE OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA

The character of the new phase was reflected in the attitude of the intelligentsia towards the colonial rule. The emergence of a modern intelligentsia in India was integral to the social and economic policies pursued by the British rule. Products of Macaulayian ambition to create English minds in Indian bodies, the members of the middle class imbibed, through Western education, a political perspective rooted in liberalism. To them Britain represented the best of liberal tradition. More importantly, they viewed British rule as the instrument, ordained by God, for the dissemination of liberal enlightenment in countries like

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India. Rammohun Roy, popularly acknowledged as the “Father of Modern India”, had given unambiguous expression to this sentiment. He characterized England as a “nation who not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty but also interest themselves in promoting liberty and social happiness, as well as free enquiry into literary and religious subjects, among those nations to which their influence extended”.

Given this understanding of the colonial rule the intelligentsia was alarmed by the possibility of rebel success in the Revolt. They had no doubt about whom to back in the unprecedented challenge to British rule, as they feared that the rebels, if successful, would ‘put the clock back’ and resurrect the tyranny of the pre-colonial despotic rule. As a consequence, in all three presidency towns the intelligentsia collected together to pray for British success and when the Revolt was suppressed they passed resolutions thanking the Almighty and congratulating the Queen for reestablishing pax Britanica. The reason for celebrating the continued enslavement of their country was not solely ideological, their material well-being was to a great extent dependent upon their collaboration with the colonial rule.

The faith in British liberalism, however, did not denote an unqualified acceptance and submission to the British rule. On the contrary, from the early nineteenth century itself, the intelligentsia was engaged in initiating and elaborating a critique of the British rule. The emergence of anti-colonial consciousness was embedded in this critique which had several strands within it.

Initially the critique was focussed on administrative practices which deviated from professed principles of liberalism, be it the administration of justice, the collection of revenue or the freedom of the press. The intelligentsia was aghast that such deviations took place which in their reckoning were uncharacteristic of the essential nature of the British rule. This ideological obfuscation persisted for long. In fact, the idea of unBritish rule which Dadabhai Naoroji emphasised in his rightly celebrated book, Poverty and UnBritish Rule, is an expression of its continued influence.

The reaction of the intelligentsia to these deviations which during the course of the nineteenth century progressively became a rule rather than an exception, implied a sense of affinity they had nursed, quite consciously, with the colonial rule. For instance, when restrictions were imposed on freedom of the press, through an ordinance by the governor-
general in 1823, the response of the intelligentsia was not merely of disapproval; they were more concerned with their own position within the scheme of the Empire. A memorandum submitted to the Supreme Court by Rammohun Roy and five others underlined this anxiety:

... the inhabitants of Calcutta would be no longer justified in boasting, that they are fortunately placed by Providence under the protection of the whole British Nation, or that the king of England and his Lords and Commons are their legislators, and that they are secured in the enjoyment of the same civil and religious privileges that every Briton is entitled to in England.  

Whenever administrative practices became discriminatory and authoritarian, the intelligentsia registered their protest, invoking British commitment to liberal principles. But they hardly influenced the way in which the administration was actually run, for to the British India was not a field for liberal practice, but a colony to be held in subjection. Subsequently the sense of affinity slowly gave way to alienation.

Within the parameters of liberal premises and inherent in the above process was another stream of consciousness which tried to realise, in critical terms, the colonial character of British rule. Despite the intellectual influences of the West filtered through the colonial agency, and perhaps partly because of that, the intelligentsia was able to sense the significance of the qualitatively different polity evolving around them. Some of them like Akshay Kumar Dutt speculated about the implications of dependence, particularly in the light of the ideas thrown up by the French Revolution. Rammohun tried to assess what India was loosing in material terms due to the British connection. He calculated the annual drain of wealth from India to England since the battle of Plassy. Gopal Hari Deshmukh located the reason for India’s poverty in the nature of British trade which exploited the natural resources of India.

That the British connection, contrary to the liberal assumption, was in reality detrimental to the political progress and economic prosperity of the country slowly dawned on the intelligentsia. An early articulation of this was by Prasanna Kumar Tagore, one of the signatories to the memorandum on press regulation, in 1831:

Without her (India) dependence on England as her conqueror and possessor, her political situation would be more respectable and her inhabitants would be more wealthy and prosperous. The example of America which shows what she was when subject to
England and what she has been since her freedom, must naturally lead us to such a conclusion.4

The exploitative character of British rule was more directly and forcefully brought out by Bhaskar Pandurang Tarakadkar, a young official in Bombay municipality, in a series of letters he published in the Bombay Gazette under the pseudonym, ‘A Hindu’. He considered the British rule more destructive than the plunder and pillage by Pathans and Pindaris. After all, unlike the British, the latter did not carry the loot out of the country.5

The concern of the intelligentsia was not limited to the present, they also dreamed of a future in which colonial rule did not figure. An interesting instance is an essay entitled, “A Journal of Fortyeight Hours of the year 1945” by Kylas Chunder Dutt, a young student of Hindu College published in 1835. In this he portrayed an imaginary armed struggle between Indian patriots and the oppressive British rulers in Calcutta. The description of its finale was as follows:

The people of India and particularly those of the metropolis, had been subject for the last fifty years to every species of subaltern oppression. The dagger and the bowl were dealt out with a merciless hand and neither age, nor sex nor condition could repress the rage of the British barbarians. These events, together with the recollection of the grievances suffered by their ancestors, roused the dormant spirit of the generally considered timid Indian. Finding that every day offences instead of being extenuated were aggravated, that no redress could be obtained by appeals either to the Lords or Commons, he formed the bold but desperate resolution of hurling Lord Fell Butchar, Viceroy of India, from his seat and establishing a government composed of the most patriotic men in the kingdom – with the rapidity of heightening the spirit of Rebellion spread through this once pacific people.6

Kylas Chander’s prediction was almost accurate in terms of time, even if the methods actually followed to overthrow British rule were fundamentally different.

The complex and ideologically obfuscated response of the intelligentsia marked an important phase in the evolution of anti-colonial national consciousness. They were neither able to fully realise the character of the British rule nor relate themselves to the on-going popular
resistance like the Revolt of 1857. Nevertheless, they initiated a process, however limited in scope, which made the future possible.

FROM LOCALITY TO NATION

The nineteenth century was an era of fundamental change in the way people related themselves with the world outside their immediate surroundings. Before that their universe was largely confined within their own localities. During the course of the century they were slowly drawn out of these localities and merged with the regional and the national. Not that the people had no communication beyond the locality before that, but they were primarily for personal or religious reasons, that too in a very limited way.

A variety of factors made such a transgression possible. Most decisive among them were the development of print culture, growth of modern means of communication, access to a common language and state intervention in cultural life.

Almost all public activities, social, religious and political, to begin with, hardly had any trans-local connections. The large number of organisations, associations and movements originating in the early part of the nineteenth century had their activities limited to a town, mostly the administrative centres of British presidencies and provinces where the intelligentsia was concentrated. Even if the concerns were similar, they hardly had any co-ordination or communication. Thus the Society for Acquisition of General Knowledge in Calcutta, Dyanprasarak Sabha in Bombay and the Literary Society in Madras, functioned independently of each other, without sharing the fruits of their deliberations. The proceedings of innumerable debating clubs which had come into existence reflect common concerns, but without any dialogue between them.

The dissemination of print culture, institutionalised in the nineteenth century through newspapers, both English and vernacular, steadily enlarged the local vision through a dual process of making the distant accessible to the locality and locality to the areas beyond it. An analysis of the newspapers of early nineteenth century would demonstrate how this inter-exchange was taking place, leading to an enlargement of the local horizon. Almost all newspapers during this time carried two permanent columns – moffusal news and presidency news. They encapsulated and brought to the readers what was happening in the region and in other parts of the country. The locality thus became contextualised in terms of the region and the nation and vice-versa.
Such a change took place in the religious realm also. Initially the activities of religious reform movements in the nineteenth century did not go beyond the towns or provinces of their origin. The early activities of Brahmo Samaj were mainly within Bengal, those of Arya Samaj in Punjab and of Prarthana Samaj in Bombay. But very soon they transgressed the local and regional limits and extended their activities to other parts of the country. The leaders of Brahmo Samaj travelled to different parts of India in order to disseminate its ideas and to establish its branches. Most successful among them was Keshabchandra Sen whose visit to South India marked the beginning of Brahmo influence in that region. Similarly, from its original base in Punjab Arya Samaj reached out to north and central India. The cultural awakening these movements represented developed a trans-local perspective which led to the constitution of new religious communities.

Even during the pre-colonial period religion had drawn people out of their localities. Radhakumud Mookerji has in this context, underlined the importance of pilgrimage:

The institution of pilgrimage is undeniably a most powerful factor for developing the geographical sense in the people, which enables them to think and feel that India is not a mere congeries of geographical fragments, but a single, though immense organism, filled with the tide of one strong pulsating life from end to end. 

The significance of nineteenth century movements was qualitatively different; the consciousness they generated went much beyond the geographical. They were actively engaged in transforming the socio-religious conditions within a commonly shared code of conduct and institutional framework. More importantly, religious reformation was not an end in itself, but as Rammohun Roy indicated, was for “social comfort and political advantage”.

What Rammohun meant by political advantage is not clear, but early political activities were enmeshed with socio-cultural issues. Like in other spheres, they were also initially confined to specific localities. The campaign against or in favour of Sati did not arouse much interest outside Calcutta and the debate about hook-swinging was mainly confined to Madras. This insularity, however, soon gave way to a sense of commonly shared grievances and thus to the possibility of common struggles.

The reaction to the increasing incidence of conversion in the second quarter of the nineteenth century reflected this transition. Sensing the
danger it posed to their cultural and religious life, particularly in the light of the support for evangelicalisation of India from a section of bureaucracy, the intelligentsia realised the need to mobilise public opinion all over the country. Some steps towards that end were taken when the bill to provide for the inheritance of ancestral property to Hindus converted to Christianity was introduced in 1845 and passed in 1851. There were attempts to co-ordinate the protest against it in all the three presidencies and messages of solidarity were forthcoming even from princely states. An open letter addressed to the governor-general asserted: "I am confident that my countrymen in the three Presidencies will join in one compact for their own interests, and translate this letter into common language of the country for its better circulation among our community here and elsewhere".8 A correspondent of Englishman was critical of the Calcutta Committee formed to resist the Act for appealing only to Bengali Hindus for support. He asked "why does it not call upon the inhabitants of the three Presidencies to join together in one common cause?"9 A larger vision of political belonging was clearly in the making.

The Revolt of 1857 amply demonstrated the power of the colonial state as well as its ideological influences. The Indian feudal classes were never again to challenge the might of the British rule and settled down to be its supporters and collaborators, in a bid to preserve their privileges and prerogatives. On the other hand the intelligentsia who had supported the British during the Revolt slowly became disillusioned with the British rule and became the vanguard in organising political opposition to it. This disillusionment was rooted in the contradictions generated by colonialism which was articulated in political, intellectual and cultural terms and embodied in the national movement. As R.P. Dutt has rightly pointed out, "The Indian national movement arose from social conditions, from the conditions of imperialism and its system of exploitation; and from the social and economic forces generated within Indian society under the conditions of that exploitation."10

The early organised political activities were undertaken by local associations in the presidencies. Prominent among them were the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1870), the Indian Association (1876), the Madras Mahajana Sabha (1884) and the Bombay Presidency Association (1885). Although initially set up as presidency organisations the activities of some of them assumed all-India character as well as established linkages with other associations. For instance, the Indian Association under the
leadership of Surendranath Bannerji spearheaded an agitation in 1877-78 for granting equal opportunity for Indians in the civil service examination. There were several issues around which campaigns were mounted by the intelligentsia: Vernacular Press, Arms Act, Inland Emigration Act, Ilbert Bill and so on. At the same time efforts were also afoot to organise an All India National Conference which materialised in December 1883 at the initiative of the Indian Association. Another meeting of the Conference was planned for December 1885.

These associations and their activities were a precursor to national politics which received an organisational basis with the formation of the Indian National Congress. At the initiative of Allan Hume, a retired civil servant, credited with the now defunct theory of conceiving the Congress as a safety-valve, 721 delegates attended its first session at Bombay in 1885 under the presidentship of W.C. Banerjee. The president laid down the objectives of the Congress as follows:11

a) The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country’s cause in the various parts of the Empire.

b) The eradication by direct friendly personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in our beloved Lord Ripon’s ever memorable reign.

c) The authoritative record, after this, has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India or some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day.

d) The determination of the lines upon and methods by which during the next twelve months it is desirable for Native politicians to labour in the public interest.

The above objectives of the Congress emphasised the coming together of people of different backgrounds and belonging to imbibe a common sentiment and national identity. At the same time the resolutions passed in the first session implied a critique, though couched in a language, mild and loyal, of British rule. Thus, the formation of the Congress symbolised the crystallisation of national and anti-colonial consciousness in an institutional form.
EARLY PHASE OF THE CONGRESS

During the first twenty years, generally described as its moderate phase, the Congress activities were very limited in nature. In fact, its existence did not go much beyond annual gatherings of delegates who after passing resolutions, seeking political concessions from the colonial government, returned to pursue their professions. The Congress did not exist during this time as an organisation continuously engaged in political activity. What it did, however, was to voice the grievances of people and to press for political concessions from the colonial government. The most important demands the Congress put forward pertained to representation in legislative councils, Indianisation of civil services, separation of judiciary, repeal of Arms Act, reduction of Home charges and military expenditure, promotion of Indian industries and the abolition of unfair tariffs and excise duties.

The importance of the moderate phase, however, was not in its political achievements, but in advancing an economic critique of British rule which was instrumental in furthering anti-colonial consciousness. What the moderate leaders attempted was to show how India suffered economically at the hands of Britain and how the poverty and destitution of India was a result of colonial exploitation. Dadabhai Naoroji, a Parsi businessman, detailed the drain of wealth from India effected by the British and Romesh Chandra Dutt, a retired civil servant, brought under scrutiny the adverse consequences of British economic policies. Their works, Poverty and Un British Rule in India and The Economic History of India in two volumes respectively became the most potent ideological weapons of the national movement. The economic critique was furthered and popularised by a host of others, prominent among whom were M.G. Ranade, G.V. Joshi, G. Subramanya Iyer and G.K. Ghokhale.

The economic critique of British rule mainly centered around three key issues: poverty, drain of wealth and de-industrialisation. The moderates consistently and convincingly argued that “the wretched, heart rending, blood-boiling conditions of India” was a consequence of the “continuous impoverishment and exhaustion of the country” brought about by the British rule. The poverty of India was, therefore, not inherited from the past, but created by the drain of wealth which the nationalists estimated as about “one half of government revenue, more than the entire land revenue collection, and over one-third of India’s total savings”. This was achieved by the British through the manipulation of export surplus and making India pay for the administrative expenses.
in England, euphemistically called the Home charges. Apart from this, a deliberate policy of de-industrialisation – destruction of Indian handicrafts – without a corresponding growth of modern industries, subordinated the Indian market to the British industrial interests. The result of these and other discriminatory policies, Dadabhai Naoroji argued, was the “English rule, as it is (not as it can and should be), is an everlasting, unceasing, and every day increasing foreign invasion, utterly, though gradually, destroying the country.” Despite this scathing criticism Naoroji believed that “the result of the British rule can be a blessing to India and a glory to England – a result worthy of the foremost and most humane nations on the face of the earth”. There was obviously a mismatch between the ideal and the practical, but the faith in the former influenced the methods adopted by the moderates which were ridiculed and dismissed by the radicals as the politics of mendicancy.

But then the moderate phase was not one of agitational politics or of mass mobilisation. They were not on the agenda yet. Ghokhale was far from correct in saying that the moderates were destined to serve the nationalist cause by failure; in fact they had a fair share of success. Their success was in unraveling the colonial character of British rule and thus undermining its legitimacy. Without exposing the “benevolent” and “progressive” character of British rule and thereby weakening its moral and ideological foundations the agitational politics would not have gained much support. The moderate phase was thus a preparatory stage which made mass politics possible.

CULTURE, REVIVALISM AND NATIONALISM

The cultural regeneration represented by the socio-religious reform movements during the nineteenth century was the expression of national awakening and the urge to democratise social and religious institutions on the principles of individual liberty and human dignity. Occasioned by the colonial presence, though not created by it, the focus of early efforts was on transforming the existing cultural practices which were anachronistic in the emerging new order. But the increasing intrusion into the cultural realm by the colonial rule in order to establish its hegemony brought about a qualitative change. As a consequence, the cultural awakening tended to be more and more inward looking and engaged in retrieving the cultural past. The revivalist element integral to this process imparted a religious tinge to national consciousness. For example, movements like the Arya Samaj, despite their reforming zeal,
tried to mould the contemporary cultural practices in the light of scriptural prescriptions. In the process, the cultural past was perceived only in religious terms. The culture of the nation was thus identified with religion, ignoring the historical experience in which was inherent the seeds of both acculturation and plurality. The identity between culture, religion and nation imparted a religious character to nationalism.

This tendency had different shades and ways of articulation, in ideas, in political activities and in cultural life. Nabagopal Mitra’s intellectual and cultural endeavours reflect some of them. He believed that nationalism did not have the same source of inspiration in all countries. In India, according to him, the unifying principle has been Hindu religion. He argued that “Hindu nationality is not confined to Bengal. It embraces all of Hindu name and Hindu faith throughout the length and breadth of Hindustan; neither geographical position, nor the language is counted a disability. The Hindus are destined to be a religious nation”.14

Nabagopal organised an annual Hindu Mela, founded a national society and published a national paper. All of them underlined the connection between Hindu culture and Indian nation. Nabagopal’s efforts, however, foregrounded the question of relationship between culture and nationalism in a multi-religious and pluralistic society. While a religious view of this relationship persisted, nationalism also drew upon secular cultural ethos.

It was not accidental that the last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed an intense enquiry into traditional knowledge and cultural past of the country. D.D. Kosambi characterised this phenomenon as “creative introspection” which coincided with the manifestation of national consciousness. A new cultural sensitivity was born out of it which heralded the emergence of modern culture by critically reshaping the traditional. This transition in cultural creativity was not only linked with nationalism but also articulated its essential features.

The paintings of Raja Ravi Varma interpreting the mythological and classical literary figures and the historical novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji and C.V. Raman Pillai were products of its cultural climate. So was the attempt of Jyotindranath Tagore to invent a national dress. They were the precursors of more clearly etched nationalist culture, both in style and content, of the twentieth century. As Ananda K Coomaraswamy observed, “national unity needs a deeper foundation than the perception of political wrongs”15 which was laid by national culture conceived and articulated in secular terms during its early formative phase.
EMERGENCE OF COMMUNAL POLITICS

It is paradoxical, but true, that national and communal consciousness grew simultaneously in Indian society. The communitarian consciousness which existed for long and inherent in the socio-religious movements did not submerge in national consciousness; instead it transformed itself into communal consciousness. This transformation did not take place uniformly all over the country, but a communitarian view was widely shared. Even the early Congress was not free from it, as evident from one of the resolutions passed in its Allahabad session in 1888 which assured that no subject would be discussed to which “the Hindu or Muslim delegates as a body object, unanimously or near unanimously”.16

The two examples of inherent potential for transformation within communitarian consciousness are the Arya Samaj and the Aligarh movement. Both of them were essentially reformist organisations, working within their religious communities. With the onset of nationalist politics the perspective of both of them underwent rapid change. In Punjab Arya Samaj developed on Hindu communal lines and in Uttar Pradesh, Aligarh movement moved towards Muslim communal politics. Both eschewed secular-national politics and contributed to communal solidarity.

Even earlier, the relationship between different religious communities were not without friction and conflict or without mutual suspicion. Hindu-Muslim riots had taken place in Benares in 1809 and in Bhiwandi in 1828. For about twenty years beginning 1855 the Parsees and the Muslims in Bombay lived in constant tension. The same period also witnessed several riots in different parts of Maharashtra. Yet, they were all incidental to social-collective living and hence the rancour they engendered were soon overcome, if not fully forgotten. By the closing decades of the century the situation had substantially changed. Not only the gulf between the two communities widened, the internal solidarity of communities also increased.

This process was extremely complex and multi-dimensional and found articulation in a variety of endeavours - social, cultural and political. Two of them may be singled out. The Hindu-Urdu controversy and the cow protection movement. The demand for adopting Hindi as court language in place of Urdu created a communal divide within the elite who regardless of religious affiliations had earlier used Urdu as the common language. Thereafter Hindi became associated with the Hindus
and Urdu with the Muslims. The slogan of “Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan” soon became part of Hindu communal consciousness.

The impact of cow protection movement was more widespread and intense than the language controversy. Conducted by Gaurakshini Sabhas active all over north India and supported by landlords, government officials and Sadhus, the campaign for the protection of cow had a powerful revivalist appeal and in turn communal implications. The unprecedented spurt in the number of communal riots – 31 in Bihar and North Western Provinces alone in 1893 – was an immediate consequence of the movement. The spread of violence from Azamgarh in North Western Provinces to Junagarh and Bombay in western India indicates its all India appeal. By furthering the process of communalisation, it influenced the future relations between the Hindus and Muslims and affected the participation of the latter in the Congress led national politics.

The emergence of communal politics with the formation of the Muslim League in 1906 and Hindu Maha Sabha in 1914 was a logical sequence of communalisation. The colonial rule aided and abetted this process.

TOWARDS MASS POLITICS

By the beginning of the twentieth century the nature of politics followed by the Congress had come under critical scrutiny from within the organisation. The objective conditions were such that the rationale and efficacy of its methods had outlined their utility. The efforts to arouse the liberal conscience of the British to the genuine hardship of India had not yielded any result. None of the existing repressive measures were repealed nor any new concessions were granted. Instead the attitude of the government to the Congress changed from friendship to hostility. In fact, Lord Curzon, the governor-general (1900-05) looked forward to its early demise and gleefully anticipated the possibility of providing it an honourable burial.

The reality, however, was different from what Curzon had envisaged. The appeal of nationalist ideas had considerably increased because of the ideological work undertaken by the Congress leaders and workers. The newspapers were a major instrument of this activity. Prominent among them were The Hindu and Swadesamitran in Madras, Kesari, Mahratta and Sudharak in Bombay, Bengalee and Amrita Bazar Patrika in Bengal, Tribune and Akbar-i-Aam in Punjab and Indu Prakash and Dhyan Prakash in Gujarat. The circulation of vernacular newspapers increased from
299,000 in 1885 to 817,000 in 1905. This did not denote any substantial change in the social base of the movement, except its horizontal spread among the petty-bourgeoisie which combined with the resentment against the repressive policies of the government made a change in the nature of politics possible and necessary. The emergence of extremism which promoted popular agitation heralded a qualitative change in the anti-colonial struggle. The partition of Bengal in 1905 and the Swadeshi movement which ensued marked this transition by renouncing ‘mendicancy’ in favour of agitational mass politics.

The Swadeshi movement shifted the focus of politics from concessions to self-reliance. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the most prominent of the extremist leaders underlined this change when he claimed that “Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it”. The Swadeshi programme was therefore, not confined to the more popular boycott of foreign goods in which people participated all over the country. More importantly, it undertook constructive work and institution building, which made the period of Swadeshi movement one of the most creative epochs in modern Indian history. It promoted national education, stimulated national culture and encouraged national industries. Rabindranath Tagore’s Shanti Niketan, Abhanindranath Tagore’s paintings and Prafulla Chandra Ray’s Bengal Chemicals Factory were the most representative of the Swadeshi enterprise.

Swadeshi movement, however, could not sustain for long, given the limitations of its social base and the collective participatory nature of its mobilisation. Yet, it launched the national movement on the path of mass politics. And perhaps, more importantly, tried to impart to it a holistic character – political, economic and cultural.

NOTES

2. It is necessary to make a distinction between the intelligentsia and intellectuals. While the intelligentsia was subject of the ideological influence and material interests, the intellectuals constantly tried to overcome them.
3. The memorandum was signed by Chunder Kumar Tagore, Dwarakanath Tagore, Rammohun Roy, Hurchunder Ghose, Gowree Churun Banerjee and Prossunno Coomar Tagore. The English Works of Rammohun Roy, p.442.
9. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
16. Quoted in Mushir-ul-Hasan, Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, New Delhi, 1979, p.32.
17. Francis Robinson, Separatism Among Indian Muslims, Delhi, 1975, p.76.
19. For details see Sumit Sarkar, Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903-08, New Delhi, 1973.