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# UNIT 8 TOWARDS RADICAL AND MASS POLITICS – SWADESHI MOVEMENT\*

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## 8.1 INTRODUCTION

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The failure of moderate politics by the end of the nineteenth century set a reaction within the Congress circle and this led to the emergence of the extremist trend in nationalist politics. The moderates were criticised for their politics of mendicancy. In fact, this politics of extremism gained popularity in three main regions under the leadership of Bipin Chandra Pal in Bengal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak in Maharashtra and Lala Lajpat Rai in Punjab, but in the other areas extremism was less powerful if not totally absent. In this Unit, we will discuss the reasons for the origin, development, and decline of the Swadeshi movement. We will also briefly discuss the rise of the revolutionary movement after the decline of Swadeshi.

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## 8.2 BACKGROUND

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There were many factors behind the rise of extremism. In the opinion of some historians, it emerged from the faction fighting which had become prominent in every level of organised political life in India. While in Bengal there was rivalry between Surendra Nath Banerjee on one hand and the more radical Motilal Ghosh on the other, there also developed a faction fighting between Aurobindo Ghosh on one hand, and Bipin Chandra Pal, Brahma Bandhab Upadhyay, on the other side. In Maharashtra, there was competition between Gokhale and Tilak for controlling the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. In Madras, three factions, the Mylapore clique, the Egmore Clique and the suburban elites jostled with each other for gaining supremacy. In Punjab, the Arya Samaj became divided after the death of its founder Dayanand Saraswati into the moderate college group and the radical revivalist group. In that sense the schism in the Congress between the extremists and the moderates was being witnessed in every sphere of public life in India around this time.

But, this emergence of extremism cannot be explained in terms of factionalism alone. There was a great deal of frustration with moderate politics. The Congress

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under moderate leadership was governed by one-sided constitution. Although after repeated attempts by Tilak a new constitution was drafted and ratified in 1899, it was never given a proper trial. The Congress was also in a financial crisis as the Capitalists did not contribute and the patronage from the Rajas and the landed elite was insufficient. At the same time, the zeal for social reform on the part of the moderates, which was inspired by the liberalism of the west, also went against popular orthodoxy. This came to a surface during the Poona Congress of 1895, when the moderates proposed to have a national social conference concurrently with regular succession of the Congress. The orthodox leaders like Tilak argued that the social conference would ultimately split the Congress and the proposal was finally drafted. However, by this time moderate politics has reached a dead end and most of their demands had remained unfulfilled. This ultimately worked as a major factor behind the emergence of extremism. However, the anger against colonial rule was actually fuelled by the moderates through their critique of economic nationalism.

The strategies of the Curzonian administration further increased the anger of the nationalists. Lord Curzon believed in the despotic imperialism which had been advocated by ideologues like Fitzjames Stephens and Lytton Strachey in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Curzon was responsible for the reconstitution of the Calcutta Corporation through the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act of 1899, which reduced the number of elected representatives in it. The Indian Universities Act which was also endorsed by Curzon placed Calcutta University under complete government control. Furthermore, the Indian Official Secret Amendment Act of 1904 restricted the freedom of the press.

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### **8.3 PARTITION OF BENGAL**

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However, the oppressive regime of Curzon is mostly associated with his decision to partition Bengal in 1905, ostensibly to weaken the Bengali nationalists, who had been controlling the Congress. But, rather than weakening the Congress, the Curzonian measures offered the opportunity to the extremist leaders to take control of the Congress and put it in a path of direct confrontation with the colonial rule. The partition of Bengal led to a radicalising in nationalist politics and this was witnessed in the method of agitation, and the change from the old political methods of prayer and petition to that of passive resistance. This meant opposition to colonial rule through violation of its unjust laws, boycott of British goods and institutions and development of indigenous alternatives i.e., Swadeshi and national education. The ideological inspiration of this new politics was drawn from a revivalist discourse influenced by orientalism. The Swadeshi movement which gained popularity in Bengal and some other parts of India was based on an imagined golden past and used symbols from a reconstructed history to arouse nationalist passion. This was a reaction to the gendered discourse of colonialism, which had sought to establish links between masculinity and political domination. Subsequently, this inspired a section of the nationalists to recover their virility in the kshatriyahood of the imagined Aryan past. In many places, historical figures were projected as national heroes. Tilak started the Shivaji festival in Maharashtra and this became popular in Bengal during the Swadeshi period. In fact, the advocates of the Swadeshi were also influenced by Vivekananda's idea of 'alternative manliness' which combined western concepts of modernity with the Brahmanical tradition of spiritual celebration of asceticism. Thereafter, a physical

cultural movement started with great enthusiasm and gymnasium sprung in different parts of Bengal, ostensibly to reclaim the physical prowess. But, the emphasis remained on spiritual power and self-discipline which was also privileged in the western idea of masculinity.

The Swadeshi movement began as an agitation against the decision of Curzon to partition of Bengal in 1905. The decision on the part of the colonial bureaucracy was explained in terms of administrative reasons arising out of the geographical spread and linguistic diversities within the presidency. However, the intention to safeguard the interests of Assam seemed to have been the most important consideration behind the policy decision on the part of the colonial state. In 1897, the Lusai Hills were transformed; Assam did not become a Lieutenant Governor's province. When Lord Curzon arrived in India, he went on a tour to Assam in 1900. During his visit, the scheme was revised again and the European tea planters preferred a maritime outlet nearer than Calcutta to reduce their dependence on the Assam-Bengal railways. Curzon drew up a scheme in his Minute of Territorial Redistribution of India in May-June 1903, which was later published in the Risley Papers of December, 1903. The scheme proposed the transfer of Chittagong division to Dhaka and Mymensingh to Assam, Chotanagpur to the Central provinces. Bengal would receive in turn Sambalpur and the feudatory states from the Central Provinces and Ganjam district and Vizapatnam Agency Tracts from Madras. In the following months the scheme gradually expanded although secretly, albeit through addition to the list of transfer district. The final scheme was embodied in Curzon's dispatch of February 2, 1905 to the Secretary of States Broderick who reluctantly accepted it without even a proper parliamentary debate on July 19, the partition of Bengal was finally announced and it was implemented three months later on October 16, a new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was formed which comprised of all the districts in Chittaganj, Dhaka and Rajshahi division as well as Hill Tippera, Malda and Assam.

In fact, it was the anti-Bengali feelings of the colonial bureaucracy which Curzon inherited even before he became the Viceroy and the desire to weaken this politically articulate community seems to have prompted the move behind the partition. Curzon believed that the partition would destroy the dominance of the Bengali *bhadralok* who were land owners, moneylenders, professional and clerical classes, belonging mostly to the three upper castes of Brahmins, Ksatriyas and Vaidyas. These castes had monopolised education and employment to the virtual exclusion of all other communities and this had been the main source of their political power. So, Curzon believed that to break this dominance of the *bhadralok*, the linguistic identity of the other communities had been given prominence by the colonial bureaucracy. At the same time, Curzon by creating a province in Eastern Bengal sought to sow the seeds of disunity between the Muslims who were majority of the population and the Hindus who were minority in that region. In his speech deliberated in Dhaka, in February 1904, Curzon categorically stated in the new province of eastern Bengal with Dhaka as its head quarter that Muslims would enjoy a unity which they had enjoyed since the time of the old Muslim rule.

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## 8.4 SWADESHI MOVEMENT

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However, the partition, rather than dividing the Bengalis, united them through the anti-partition agitation. The Curzonian administration had ignored the fact that a Bengali identity cutting across narrow interests groups, class, as well as regional barriers were emerging in Bengal. The geographical mobility and the evolution of modern communication again had led to a horizontal solidarity. The dismal state of the economy of Bengal also created a volatile situation. The people's faiths in the providential British connections were shaken. The shrinkage of opportunity for educated Bengalis and consecutive bad weathers in the early twentieth century made life miserable for the middle classes. Rajat Ray has argued that the Swadeshi collection based on a political alliance between the Calcutta leaders and their East Bengali sympathisers brought about a revolution in the political structure of the Bengal society. The agitation against the partition had started in 1903, but became stronger and more organised after the scheme was finally announced and implemented as well in 1905. In the beginning it had the aim of securing the annulment of the partition, but it soon expanded into a more broad-based movement, known as the Swadeshi movement. The Swadeshi movement, itself integrated a whole range of political and social issues. Sumit Sarkar has identified four major trends in the Swadeshi, mainly the moderate trend, constructive Swadeshi, political extremism and revolutionary nationalism. In Sarkar's opinion, all these trends were present more or less throughout this period.

The moderates began to criticise the partition scheme ever since it was announced in 1903, they initially thought that the British would accept their arguments which they presented through petitions, prayers and public meetings. But, these efforts hardly succeeded, and in 1905, when the partition was announced, they were the first to devise a wider Swadeshi movement. On July 17, 1905 Surendra Nath Banerjee in a meeting in Calcutta gave a call for the boycott of British goods and institutions. In another mass meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall on August 7, a formal boycott resolution was passed, which marked the beginning of the Swadeshi movement. In fact, it was for the first time that the moderates were trying to mobilise sections of the population other than the literate section of the Bengali society. Indeed, this explains why some of the moderate leaders got involved in labour strikes. At the same time the leaders of the Swadeshi movement also emphasised on self-reliance, village level organisation and constructive programmes to develop indigenous or Swadeshi brands which could be alternative for foreign goods. At the same time, national institutions for educating the people were being established as substitutes for the colonial institutions. Sarkar has argued that two main currents were visible in 1905—a non-political constructive Swadeshi with strong emphasis on self-development endeavours and political extremism with its main emphasis on passive resistance.

The Bengal extremists in the initial period were more inclined to the programme of constructive Swadeshi. The programmes included efforts to manufacture daily necessities, national education, arbitration courts and village organisations. In the 1890's, much before the Swadeshi movement, there had been emphasis on Swadeshi enterprise which was reflected in the establishment of companies like the Bengal Chemicals. In 1901, another factory was started to manufacture porcelain. The national education movement was led by people like Satish

Chandra Mukherjee who founded the Bhagavat Chatuspathi and the Dawn Society in Calcutta. Brahmabandhab Upadhyay founded the Saraswat Ayatan and Rabindra Nath Tagore founded the Ashram at Shantiniketan, Bhirbhum. The emphasis on non-political constructive programmes based on the principle of *atma-shuddhi* or self-strengthening in some cases were also linked to religious revivalism. A section of the Swadeshi leaders believed that Hinduism would actually provide a platform for establishing unity for the whole nation. The revivalist influence was also reflected in the writings of Rabindranath Tagore in the years between 1901 and 1906. In his Swadeshi Samaj address which was delivered in 1904 Tagore outlined the meaning of *atma-shakti* and this later influenced the popularity of Swadeshi enterprise in Bengal. National education moved forward with the founding of the Bengal National College and School in 1906. In Bakherganj, the Swadeshi Bhandav Samity also organised arbitration committees to settle local disputes.

However, the extremists by 1906 were arguing that without freedom there could not be any move towards the regeneration of national life. The movement soon intended into a new phase and it came to espouse the slogan of complete independence or Swaraj. The extremists favoured the boycott of British goods and institutions, development of indigenous alternatives, violation of unjust laws and violent movement if necessary to confront the oppression of the colonial state. Thus, it was argued by Sarkar that the Swadeshi movement anticipated much of the strategies inherent in the Gandhian programmes, with the exception of the use of violence. The extremist leaders like Aurobindo Ghosh were aware of the importance of mass mobilisation and therefore emphasised on religion as an agency for reaching the masses. Religious revivalism gave a new dimension to this politics. The *Bhagavat Gita* served as source of spiritual inspiration for the Swadeshi volunteers. Historians have pointed out that Hindu religious symbols and Sakta imageries were also frequently used to mobilise the masses. But, these developments also impacted on the minds of the Muslim masses and the lower caste Vaishnavite peasantry. Such development possibly explains the reasons behind the alienation of the Muslims from the Swadeshi movement.

During the Swadeshi movement, mass mobilisation also took place through the Samitis. Before the beginning of the five principal Samities, such organisations had been engaged in the propagation of Swadeshi message, Swadeshi craft, education and arbitration court. But, the mass mobilization programmes failed since the Samitis were not interested in extending their activities beyond the ranks of the educated Bengali Hindu *bhadralok*. The upper caste Hindu leadership, drawn mostly from the landed classes further alienated the lower caste peasantry who feared their coercive powers. The Swadeshi leaders deployed the tool of social coercion or social boycott to produce consent among the reluctant participants. The reluctance on the part of the substantial section of the ordinary masses can be explained in terms of interests from those of the elite leaders. They found it difficult to purchase the Swadeshi alternatives which were dearer than British goods. At the level of education, the national schools were also for less in number when compared with the government run educational institutions. The lower caste peasantry in Bengal like the Rajbanshis and Namasudras, as Sekhar Bandyopadhyay has pointed out, had also started developing their own corporate identities, based on their notions of social mobility and self-esteem which the Swadeshi leaders failed to accommodate in their programmes. The Swadeshi volunteers also tried to mobilise the workers employed in the foreign

companies. But, they could only penetrate into the ranks of the white collar workers, while the vast body of migrant labour from other parts of Eastern India and Northern India remained untouched. This possibly was one of the reasons behind the failure of the Boycott movement. By 1908, political extremism declined and this was followed by a more radical phase of revolutionary terrorism. The Surat split of 1907 definitely encouraged such developments. The well-known moderate leaders like Pheroze Shah Mehta, Dinshaw Wacha and Gopal Krishna Gokhale expressed their apprehensions over the activities of the extremists. In fact, Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the most prominent extremist leaders favoured a policy of restraint and wanted reconciliation between the moderates and the extremists. But, the radicalism generated by the Swadeshi movement in Bengal gave a new twist to the politics of the Congress at the All India level.

The 1907 session of the Congress, which was to be held in Poona which was a stronghold of the extremist politics, was shifted to Surat by the moderate leaders to avoid all the disturbances. Lala Lajpat Rai's name was proposed by the extremists for the post of the Congress President, while the moderate candidate was Rash Behari Ghosh. But, Rai did not want a split and he refused the nomination and so the fight between the two contending groups was centred on the question of retention or rejection of the four Resolutions passed in the Calcutta session. By this time, the differences between Surendra Nath Banerjee and Aurobindo Ghosh had reached a level where they could not be reconciled and the same happened between Gokhale and Tilak. The session at Surat ended in a scuffle over the election of Rash Behari Ghosh with shoes flying, chairs stopping and men running for shelter. After this incident, Tilak was willing to reunite the Congress but Mehta was reluctant. The Congress of 1908, known as the Mehta Congress was only attended by the moderates who were firm in their loyalty to the Raj. But, the extremist politics also lost its direction since Tilak died soon after and Aurobindo took up the life of a hermit. The two factions remained separate and it was only in 1920 that Gandhi once again united them.

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## 8.5 CULT OF VIOLENCE

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By 1908, political Swadeshi was certainly on the decline and had taken the shape of individual violence. Sarkar has argued that this shift from the non-violent creed to one of violence was primarily due to the failure of the mass mobilisation efforts of the nationalists. Bandyopadhyay has argued that the culture of violence as the mode of political protest had an appeal in India even after the suppression of the revolt of 1857. The writings of Bankim Chandra and Vivekananda infused a sense of masculinity among the younger generation of the educated Bengali youth, who also developed a sense of national pride and social service. However, the real story of revolutionary movement in Bengal began with the formation of four groups, three in Calcutta and one in Midnapore. The first such outfit was the Midnapore Society which was founded in 1902 and this was followed by the founding of a gymnasium at the Ballygunj Circular Road by Sarala Ghosal. In March, 1902, Dhaka Anushilan Samiti was founded by Satish Chandra Basu. However, the revolutionary movement did not gain much importance till 1905 and when the Swadeshi movement began it definitely brought about an upsurge in the activities of the secret societies in Bengal. In Calcutta, the Anushilan Samiti was headed by Barindra Kumar Ghosh, the younger brother of Aurobindo Ghosh, Hemchandra Kanungo and Prafulla Chaki. In August 1906, the first Swadeshi dacoity was organised in Rangpur to raise fund and a bomb manufacturing unit

set up at Maniktala at Calcutta. The activists made it a plan to assassinate oppressive officials and spies and commit burglary in the houses of the wealthy Saha merchants who had earlier refused to stop dealing in foreign goods. The movement reached a point of climax with the attack on the life of the Presidency Magistrate Kingsford on April 30, 1908 at Muzaffarpur by Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki. Subsequently the entire group at Maniktala including Aurobindo and Barindra Kumar Ghosh were arrested by the police for encouraging terrorist activities against the British Government.

This movement failed to achieve in terms of direct gains and most of its attempts ended up in failures. They did not believe that assassination or dacoities would bring about India's liberation, as was Aurobindo's original idea regarding an open armed revolution. However, it would be wrong to argue that they did not gain much, rather it has been pointed out that they achieved a lot. The hanging of Khudiram and the Maniktala Bomb Conspiracy Trial was given a great deal of publicity by the press and was immortalised in Bengali folk songs. All these definitely influenced the imagination, which became very much critical of the oppressive rule of the British raj. C.R. Das, who was still to achieve to fame as a barrister, appeared as the defence counsel lawyer for Aurobindo and argued that if the government considered preaching the principle of freedom as crime then the accused was surely an offender. Aurobindo was acquitted, but his younger brother Barindra and Ullaskar Dutta were sentenced to death and ten others were deported for life. However, on appeal the death sentences were reduced to life imprisonment and the terms of some other sentences were also reduced. The Maniktala Bomb Case Trial forced the revolutionaries to go underground and it became decentralised. But, it was not eliminated and continued as an effective alternative to reduce the earlier mendicant policies of the moderates. Revolutionary nationalism had acquired political legitimacy among a section of the masses who believed that revolutionary activities could drive out the British from the Indian soil. When the Morley-Minto Reforms were announced in 1909, many of them believed that it was the fear generated by revolutionary activities that had forced the British government to take such steps. The appointment of S.P. Sinha as the law member in the viceroy's Executive Council was surely the result of the pressure generated by these activities. The annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911 was also to some measure dictated by the upsurge of popular pressure created by the revolutionary nationalist. The decision of the annulment of partition was also followed by the decision to transfer the capital from Calcutta to Delhi. The decision was itself a matter of great significance, since it brought about the end of Bengali dominance in the national politics of India. In this context, it could be argued that this decision did fulfil Lord Curzon's aim of weakening the Bengali politicians.

The annulment of partition did not bring an end to revolutionary terrorism. In fact, it had not been generated solely by partition. The revolutionary activities now moved away from Bengal to Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, where the Bengali activists were joined by the Punjabis returning from North America. These people had formed the revolutionary Ghadar party to carry out revolutionary activities against the colonial state. In 1912, the Ghadarites were involved in attempt to assassinate the viceroy Lord Hardinge. In September, 1914 the Punjabi Ghadarites who had boarded the Japanese ship *Kamagata Maru*, clashed with the British army near Calcutta. The outbreak of the First World War led to even more grand schemes of organising armed revolts in the Indian army. The revolutionaries

were interested in seeking help from Germany and Japan. Rash Behari Bose stationed in Lahore tried to organise an army revolt throughout northern India. But, his attempts failed to evoke much response from the sepoys and he finally ran away to Japan. In Bengal the revolutionaries, under the leadership of Jatin Mukherjee tried to smuggle arms manufactured by the Roda Company in Germany. However, this attempt was not well organised and Mukherjee himself died in a battle with the British police near Balasore, Orissa. The repression unleashed by the British government and the imposition of the defence of India Act of 1915 struck a blow to the revolutionary attacks in India. But, the spirit of the revolutionary violence and this trend in some places merged with the popular movements which were witnessed when the Sedition Committee made efforts to introduce the draconian Rowlatt Bills. It was Mahatma Gandhi who now becomes figure of action and he initiated a new phase in politics, when the focus shifted from violence to non-violence and from elite action to mass action.

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## 8.6 IMPACT OF SWADESHI MOVEMENT

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The anti-partition agitation and the Swadeshi movement were responsible for the spread of national ideas beyond the official and elite circles. In fact, these agitations were the formative experiences for the students and teachers who gave nationalism its main populist, idealist, progressive and even revolutionary meanings. News, debates and folklore entered into the public culture in most major urban centres. On the other hand, police repression was portrayed in songs, poems, cartoons, editorials and in public oratory. Incidentally, Victorian racism, merged with British brutality, stood as something opposed to Indian national aspirations. Nationalism became a political movement, which despite being small as compared to the vast population of the indigenous society, moved decisively beyond national moorings and attracted attention overseas. Several million Indians settled abroad also became involved in the movement. In California, activists among Punjabi Sikh farmers launched newspapers and raised funds to support the Indian cause.

More importantly, the new generation of Indian politicians that emerged in the movement came primarily from Bengal, Punjab and Maharashtra. The moderate leader Gopal Krishna Gokhale left his teaching position in History and Political Economy at Fergusson College, Pune in 1902 to enter full time politics. In 1895, he led the moderates as Congress President and like most moderates advocated social reform measures that were in the extremist agenda. Gokhale also founded the Servants of India Society, whose members took vows of poverty and service to the poor, especially to the poorest untouchable jatis in Hindu society who remained excluded. Another important leader, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, ran two newspapers *Kesari* in Marathi and the *Mahratta* in English, but he was opposed to social reform as a distraction from national goals.

Significantly, though the Congress nationalism spoke for everyone in native society, its public agitation also involved and provoked other official and unofficial social identities. The anti-partition movement witnessed the emergence of the cosmopolitan English literate youth whose professional prospect would be curtailed in partition of Bengal. The majority of the English educated youth who came to Calcutta for their education went back to villages and towns and spread the message of Swadeshi. The popular appeal of Hindu devotionism fanned the flames of movement among the poorest. The cosmopolitan literati invoked

the passion of the devotees excluded from the temple of patriotic love by tyranny of those who abuse their Goddess. The vernacular verses written by them expressed regional linguistic identities that were identified with the Indian nation.

In Eastern Bengal, Muslim leaders with various social identities, from various regions, ethnic groups and sects came together to form an old official identity, which later became a political public identity when they met at Dacca in 1906 to form the All India Muslim League. The League supported Curzon's partition plan and stood against the Congress as representatives of the Indian Muslim. In 1906, the Muslim League leaders felt that the creation of a separate East Bengal province would definitely benefit aspiring Muslims in Bengal and Assam. They believed that Congress opposition to the plan was derived from the economic implications for upper caste Hindu elites in Bengal. However, the Muslim leaders were not of one mind. Mohammed Ali Jinnah and many other Muslims believed that the Congress served the Muslim interest.

The aftermath of the Swadeshi movement led to unification of desperate political identities shaped by public activism which influenced most of the national leaders. Calcutta did remain as a centre of national sentiments, but groups in Poona, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Delhi, Lahore, Lucknow, Allahabad and places like Madras entered national politics. By the middle of 1910s, the differences between the moderates and the extremists waned. The new dilemma was to find common cause among forces, pulling the nation in different directions. Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* written in Gujarati in 1909 and later in English in 1910 had presented a new version of nationalism in colonial India. At the same time, V.D. Savarkar's *Indian War of Independence* had projected a more militant Hindu view of nationalism. In 1915, when Gandhi returned to India from South Africa, *Home Rule League* was active in major cities to propagate the idea of Indian independence. The nationalist leader Chittaranjan Das became involved in tackling the dilemma of defining the nation in terms of pragmatism. He and many others believed that the development in India should be based on India's distinctive, all inclusive national culture. But, while this call for a composite culture was repeatedly insisted by Gandhi as was reflected in his non-cooperation khilafat movement, the Hindu and the Muslim communalism could not be eliminated. The riot that followed the non-cooperation movement in 1920s proved beyond all doubts that the class and sectarian interest that had divided the Hindu and the Muslim in the years following the partition of Bengal, had continued to remain in India's body politics eliminating the high expressions of an all embracing nationalist movement.

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## 8.7 SUMMARY

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Swadeshi movement was a crowning achievement of nationalist politics. Disenchanted from the mendicant politics of the moderates and angered by the racist and divisive policies of the British, the young people all over India, but particularly in Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab, became agitated. The partition of Bengal provided the spark to ignite the nationalist passion to a high pitch. A large number of people participated in the protest demonstrations organised by the nationalist leaders all over the province. Protests continued for quite some time. The repression by the colonial government and its apathy towards the demands of the people led the emergence of revolutionary nationalism which also spread in many parts of the country.

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## 8.8 EXERCISES

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- 1) What were the factors which led to the rise of Swadeshi movement?
- 2) Describe the variety of protest activities undertaken during the course of the Swadeshi movement.
- 3) Discuss the reasons for the decline of the Swadeshi movement.

