
UNIT 7 RESISTANCE TO COLONIALISM IN INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL SPHERES*

Structure

- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Colonial Mimicry or a New Cultural Synthesis
- 7.3 Cosmopolitanism of Indigenous Intellectuals as Resistance
- 7.4 Rationalism and Religious Universalism
- 7.5 Cultural-Ideological Resistance and Incipient Nationalism
- 7.6 Limits of Cultural-Ideological Battle in a Colonial Milieu
- 7.7 Summary
- 7.8 Exercises

7.1 INTRODUCTION

There were many factors which were responsible for the colonial conquest. Some of these immediate reasons were advanced technology of weapons and maritime transportation, the failure of non-Europeans to cope with the infectious diseases brought by the colonisers to which the colonial people had not developed immunity, the strong centralised polities of Europe based on emerging identities of nationhood. We also know that colonisation of lands through conquest and consequent domination of colonised people also led to dissemination of colonial culture and ideology. The responses to this spread of colonial cultural ideas were varied. One with which we are quite familiar was the intellectual introspection about the strengths and weaknesses of indigenous culture, religion and institutions. The Indian intellectuals analysed colonialism in the context of their own society. The response had been mixed and varied. Bhikhu Parekh classifies this response under categories like traditionalists, modernists, critical traditionalists and critical modernists. While the traditionalists upheld their cultural pasts and its traditions, all others were in one way or the other trying to find new alternatives to the existing social structures. The modernists believed that the emancipation of India lay in the radically restructuring traditions and adopting western mode of thinking and technology or in other words they tried to create India as a mirror image of the imperial power. The critical traditionalists relied on indigenous cultural resources but did not mind some additional, supplementary borrowings from the resurgent west. The critical modernist also stood for a synthesis of two cultures, the indigenous and the western, but gave more weight to 'advanced' rational thinking of the Europeans. In this Unit, we will try to highlight some of ways and means through which Indian intellectuals offered resistance to colonialism in the sphere of culture and ideology.

* Resource Person: Prof. Shri Krishan

7.2 COLONIAL MIMICRY OR A NEW CULTURAL SYNTHESIS

The relationship between ideological and cultural impact of the West on the indigenous society or what now scholars call as ‘colonial modernity’ and the ‘Indian renaissance’ has been discussed and debated by the historians of modern India. Some believe in a kind of stimulus-response assumption and feel that an inert and degraded Indian society was modernised by the impact of Western knowledge. In other words, they argue that English education and literature, administrative practices, science and philosophy and material and technological elements of the Western civilisation acted like a stimulating force to wake up Indians from their long slumber and brought them closer to the social conditions, processes, and discourses that had emerged with Age of Enlightenment in Europe. There are others who contradict this line of argument and believe that Western ideas and administrative practices could not make much of a difference in superstitious and backward looking traditional Indian society. Whatever change took place as a result of Western impact was superficial, partial and open to doubt. Another viewpoint is that Western ideology and cultural practices, in whatever distorted and mimic form they entered Indian milieu, were instruments of colonisation of Indian society and it was through them that Indians acquired a sham and apparent modernity.

The encounter between the English ideas and institutions and indigenous Indian society and culture was, however, more complex than these interpretations. If we accept the broad description of modernity from Anthony Giddens as a shorthand term for modern society, or industrial civilisation associated with (1) a certain set of attitudes towards the world, the idea of the world as open to transformation, by human intervention; (2) a complex of economic institutions, especially industrial production and a market economy; (3) a certain range of political institutions, including the nation-state and mass democracy. Largely as a result of these characteristics, modernity is vastly more dynamic than any previous type of social order. It is a society—more technically, a complex of institutions, which, unlike any preceding culture, lives in the future, rather than the past, then naturally Indian response to it was varied. In general connotation, ‘mimicry’ refers to the imitation of one species by another. Webster’s New World College Dictionary further defines the term as “close resemblance, in colour, form, or behaviour of one organism to another or to some object in its environment ... it serves to disguise or conceal the organism from predators.” The disguising of the organism in the process of mimicry brings the term closer to the warfare device of camouflaging which, according to Webster’s Dictionary, implies “the disguising of troops, ships, guns, etc. to conceal them from the enemy, as by the use of paint, nets, or leaves in patterns merging with the background.”

Homi K. Bhabha, a famous critic has used the concept of mimicry to describe and explain this cultural encounter between the colonial rulers and their colonial subjects. The effect of mimicry is camouflage. It is not a question of harmonising with the background, but against a mottled background, of becoming mottled—exactly like the technique of camouflage practiced in human warfare. He sees the coloniser as a snake in the grass who, speaks in “a tongue that is forked,” and produces a mimetic representation that “... emerges as one of the most elusive

and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge". For Homi K. Bhabha, "colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable 'Other', as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite". He is the foremost contemporary critic who has tried to unveil the contradictions inherent in colonial discourse in order to highlight the colonizer's ambivalence with respect to his attitude towards the colonised Other and vice versa. It is precisely mimicry that disrupts the colonial discourse by double vision, double articulation or the forked tongue. The colonial mimicry, argues Bhabha, was a strategic project to create a class of 'domesticated others', representatives of colonized subjects who would assist the colonial project by acting as intermediaries between the colonial presence and the colonised people. But the discourse of colonial imitation is structured around an ambivalence that accentuates the difference between the anglicised men doing the imitation and the British colonial rulers. According to him, mimicry or imitation always produces a slippage between that which it meant to represent and the representation itself and this itself is a threat to the civilizing mission of the colonial rulers. Because the figure of mimicry do not represent, but only repeats, it accounts for the partial presence of the colonial subject, through its ambivalent discourse. However, it is a questionable assumption to reduce critical investments of various intellectual strands to such simple notion of colonial mimicry. The Indian intellectuals analysed colonialism in the context of their own society. The response had been mixed and varied. The urge to change emerged not only in secular and cultural field but also in religious realm and literary-artistic forms. The urge for change came from within, that is, it has indigenous roots and modernity came not simply as the distorted and feeble caricature of the Western model. India had precedents in past of such cultural encounters with outside and it had assimilated intellectual and cultural trends from outside even in earlier phases of its history. The English colonial scholars and administrators had attributed an essential, ancient and immutable characteristic to the historicity of India. Fundamental to this belief was that of an unchanging Hinduism, unless it was threatened by events external to itself. The Indian intellectuals focused on the dynamic side of Indian history and culture. It was a kind of absorption of new elements in the enduring and ever-changing civilisation of India by selection of some aspects of past and borrowing some novel features from the newly encountered Western knowledge and culture. All this was done not just for imitation, but in a spirit of critical self-enquiry. As M.G. Ranade put it beautifully: "No mere foreign graftings can ever thrive and flourish unless the tender plant on which the grafting is to be made first germinates and sends its roots deep into its own indigenous soil. When the living tree is thus nourished and watered, the foreign manure may add flavour and beauty to it."

The colonised Indians did not always try to correct or extend the Orientalists who suggested an essential, ancient and immutable characteristic to the historicity of India. They in their own diffused way, tried to create an alternative language of discourse. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91), though deeply impressed by Western rationalist thought and though himself an agnostic, lived like an orthodox *pandit* and formulated his dissent in indigenous terms. He did not counterpoise John Locke or David Hume against *Manusamhita*; he counterpoised the *Parasara Sutra*. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar did seek to create a new political awareness which would combine a critical awareness of Hinduism and colonialism with cultural and individual authenticity. Ishwar Chandra too fought institutionalised violence against Indian women, giving primacy to social reform

over politics. But his diagnosis of Hinduism did not grow out of feelings of cultural inferiority; it grew out of perceived contradictions within Hinduism itself. Even when he fought for Indian women, he did not operate on the basis of Westernised ideals of masculinity and femininity or on the basis of a theory of cultural progress. He refused to Christianise Hinduism. He refused to use the imagery of a golden age of the Hindus from which contemporary Hindus had allegedly fallen, he resisted reading Hinduism as a 'proper religion' in the Western sense, he rejected the ideologies of masculinity and adulthood, and he refused to settle scores with the West by creating a nation of super-Hindus or by defending Hinduism as a perfect antidote to Western cultural encroachment. His was an effort to protect not the formal structure of Hinduism but its spirit, as an open, anarchic federation of sub-cultures and textual authorities which allowed new readings and internal criticisms. Thus, Ishwar Chandra's resistance to colonialism was not defined by the Western version of rationalism, the popular Bengali *bhadralok* stereotypes about him notwithstanding. It was also not heavily reactive, though that impression too was created by some elements of his everyday life including his Indian dress, interpersonal style and food habits.

The colonial rulers thought that colonial exploitation was an incidental and deplorable upshot of a philosophy of life that was in harmony with superior forms of political and economic organisation. They could not effectively rule a continent-sized country while believing themselves to be moral cripples. They, thus, projected their cultural forms and ideas as superior. The imperialists claimed that their policy was a noble enterprise and its aim was to civilise and benefit the colonial people. A belief in the virtues of empire was widespread at the time; there were also many dissenters among the indigenous intellectuals. Some of them tried to discover an alternative frame of reference within which the oppressed do not seem weak, degraded and distorted men. Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-83) and Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) borrowed their fundamental values from the Western world view and, in spite of their image as orthodox revivalists, were mercilessly critical of the contemporary Hinduism. They also took the position that the Hindus had been great, virile and mature in ancient times and had fallen on bad days because of their loss of contact with textual Brahminism and true Ksatriyahood. Thus, Vivekananda and Dayanand, too, tried to Christianise Hinduism, particularly the dominant Hindu concept of the desirable person. In doing so, they identified the West with power and hegemony, which in turn they identified with a superior civilisation. Then they tried to 'list' the differences between the West and India and attributed the former's superiority to these differences. The rest of their lives they spent exhorting the wretched Hindus to pursue these cultural differentiae of the West. And as expected they found out that traditions supporting some of the valued Western traits were there in Hinduism but were lost on the 'unworthy' contemporary Hindus. The main elements of their 'reformed' Hinduism were: i) an attempt to turn Hinduism into an organised religion with an organised priesthood, church and missionaries; ii) acceptance of the idea of proselytisation (*suddhi*); iii) an attempt to introduce the concept of the sacred book following the Semitic creeds (the Vedas and the Gita in the case of the two Swamis); and iv) acceptance of ideas akin to monotheism and a certain puritanism and this-worldly asceticism borrowed partly from the Catholic church and partly from Calvinism. These intellectual debts to the West were indirect because the intellectuals of this type tried to seek the support of scriptures for the social and religious reforms that they were advocating. They cited and often re-

interpreted the scriptures to justify the need for reform. The wisdom of *shastras* was used by them according to necessity and desirability felt for furthering the cause of reform. They justified deviations from the scriptures by re-interpreting them according to contemporary times and principle of rationalism.

Partha Chatterjee, in his conceptual fortification of the ‘domestic space’, depicts home as the ‘spiritual-moral domain’, as a space unconquered by colonial intrusion and its expanding ‘public space’. In this ‘private space’ of home, ‘indigenous communities’ retained their sovereignty over its primary denizens, women. We feel that such a static picture of family life and its forms neglects the central role of family in local power structures, which got drastically altered by forces unleashed by direct and indirect interventions of colonial power. In fact, we now know that the ‘private-ness’ of family became a concern of public discourse from the nineteenth century itself. The interior of family did not remain inert, static or immutable. It may be true that the text-based view of Indian family as a unit of patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence played important role in reproducing caste-hierarchy and patriarchal domination but there were also the regional and caste variations in the form of family. Women are not a unified, timeless or ineluctable other as the gender hierarchy is locally variable, mediated by other entities. The domain of home or its boundaries are drawn for it by the larger culture, as well as by the political economies of race, nation, sexuality and empires that shape it. The oriental home was depicted as a pathological, dark, unhygienic space by the British and hence an indication of indigenous communities’ incapacity to self-govern themselves. Indians also started themselves refracted about their homes, families and women and the reformers and intellectuals invested a large amount of energy in dealing with women question.

7.3 COSMOPOLITANISM OF INDIGENOUS INTELLECTUALS AS RESISTANCE

Cosmopolitanism is frequently conflated with the imperial inclinations of a historical period; a fact that stresses its contradictory relationships with power. Marx had hinted the emergence of such a cosmopolitanism, the need for a constantly changing market chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. In his words: “It must settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere ... the bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market give a *cosmopolitan* character to production and consumption in every country... The individual creations of individual nations become *common* property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible.” Where the world consisted of antagonistic nation-states, the ‘other’ was often seen as something to fear, to attack, to colonise, to dominate or to keep at bay. The other was dangerous, especially those others who were on the move, such as armies, migrants, traders, vagrants, travellers who might travel into and stay within one’s country. The intellectuals are often the people who are on the move at mental level, catching up ideas from different sources and assimilating them and spreading them in a new context with entirely new outcomes. The main tradition in modern cosmopolitan thought sought to extend republican political philosophy into a wider and essentially legal framework beyond the relatively limited modern republic. With this came the vision of a world political community extending beyond the community into which one is born or lives.

Cosmopolitanism thus became linked with the universalism of modern western thought and with political designs aimed at world governance. Cosmopolitanism thus reflected the revolt of the individual against the social world, for to be a 'citizen of the world' was to reject the immediately given and closed world of particularistic attachments. Not surprisingly it became associated with the revolt of the elites against the low culture of the masses. The social world as territorially given, closed and bounded by the nation-state and the class structure of the industrial societies did not sit comfortably with the openness of the cosmopolitan idea, with its universalistic orientation. Rather than seeing cosmopolitanism as a particular or singular condition that either exists or does not, a state or goal to be realised, it should instead be seen as a cultural medium of societal transformation that is based on the principle of world openness, which is associated with the notion of global publics. The dominant conception of cosmopolitanism can be termed moral cosmopolitanism due to the strong emphasis in it on the universalism of the cosmopolitan ethic. In the most well known version of this the basis of cosmopolitanism is the individual whose loyalty is to the universal human community. The ideas of cosmopolitanism came indirectly through the educational medium and the Indian intellectual adopted the stance of universal rationalism and humanism to judge existing indigenous and imported Western ideas through these ideological prisms. In both Eastern and Western India, using the traditional as well as new Western ideas, the Indian intellectuals re-assessed the societal needs and articulated the need for social change and reform of religious traditions. We all know about Raja Rammohan Roy's contribution. His renowned stance against Sati did cite references from the scriptures but his belief was grounded on universal rational principles and morality. This anxiety for use of rational reflection informed by universal ideals was evident in not only in Rammohan's other pronouncements on religious and socio-cultural issues but even in persons like Dayanand Saraswati who advocated a return to original scriptures and believed in infallibility of Vedas but reinterpreted them in the light of modern day rational and utilitarian parameters. Rammohan supported western instead of oriental education because that embraced 'mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy with other useful sciences'. Although religious reform was the main plank of many intellectuals, none of them were entirely religious in nature. Some of them were in fact agnostics like Akshay Kumar Dutt and Vidyasagar, who avoided debate on supernatural questions. Henry Louis Vivien Derozio promoted an aggressive kind of rationalism at Hindu College in Calcutta as a result of which the young western educated students of the college questioned not merely the superstitions of any one particular religion but also the irrationality inherent in belief-system itself and they particularly advocated rationalism. Akshay Kumar Dutt wrote several instructive works and a number of articles in *Tatva Bodhini Patrika* as its editor where he tried to use rational principles to understand nature and its working. He also examined Indian religions sociologically using Comte's positivism and Utilitarian logic. Here, we should bear in mind that reasoned arguments were not alien to Indian philosophy of Vedanta. In fact logic was integral part of Indian philosophy. But now the intellectuals like Akshay Kumar Dutt learned the method of reason based on observation and experiment to understand the working of all natural phenomena and sought to apply it. This new scientific and empirical method gave a new leverage to the arguments of reformers and intellectuals who were trying to understand the reason for Europe's progress and the 'backwardness' of their own society.

7.4 RATIONALISM AND RELIGIOUS UNIVERSALISM

Two important criteria which guided the course of reform movement in nineteenth century India were rationalism and religious universalism. Social bearing of an institution was judged by a rationalist assessment. Mostly reformists rejected unusual supernatural explanations. Raja Rammohan Roy and Akshay Kumar Dutt both linked natural phenomenon to natural causes. They judged natural and social phenomenon by the one and only principle whether its soundness could be proved. Akshay Kumar Dutt argued that all phenomena should be understood as entirely mechanical processes. This mind-set not only enabled them to adopt a rational approach to tradition but also to appraise the existing socio-religious practices from the point of view of social usefulness. The influential leaders of Brahma Samaj repudiated the permanent efficacy of Vedas and leaders of Aligarh movement tried to patch up teachings of Quran with the requirements of modern times. The reformers were not always concerned about quoting from religious scriptures for the reforms they were advocating. They often advanced secular perspective for gaining support for their efforts. Akshay Kumar Dutt did not bother to go by past precedents or religious sanctions in advocating widow-remarriage and opposing polygamy and child-marriage. Reformers cited medical reasons to shore up their viewpoint. In Western India, reformers relied less on scriptures as an aid to social reform. For example, Gopal Hari Deshmukh, popularly known as Lokhitwadi, did not care whether the reform had a sanction in religious scriptures or not. He believed that religion itself should be changed to suit contemporary reality. Reacting sharply against opponents of widow-remarriage, he wrote: ‘Enforced widowhood is a murder of living human being. It involves killing of human passions, feelings and emotions. You are butchering your own daughters in cold blood.’

Another feature of this intellectual exercise was that although the particular reformers were operating within the realm of their own particular religious group, their perception was universal. Raja Rammohan Roy believed that different religions were just national version of universal ethical teachings. He conceived of Brahma Samaj as a universal religion and defended the common indispensable monotheism as the soundest moral principle of all true religions. Keshub Chandra Sen uttered this more unambiguously in the following words:

‘Whoever worships the true God daily must learn to recognise all his fellow countrymen as brethren. Caste would vanish in such a state of society. If I believe that my God is one, and that he has created us all, I must at the same time instinctively, and with all the warmth of natural feelings, look upon all around me—whether Parsees, Hindus, Mohammadans or Europeans—as my brethren.’

7.5 CULTURAL-IDEOLOGICAL RESISTANCE AND INCIPIENT NATIONALISM

Along with reason, the nineteenth century reformers and intellectuals also absorbed the idea of justice and individual conscience. It was instrumental in linking the resistance to social protests in early colonial India. We see production of plays like *Nil-Darpan* and *Jamindar Darpan*. These voices of conscientious protest were to later evolve into political nationalism one that is exemplified in

production of Bankim's *Anandmath* and its voice of passionate love for motherland. Even though it finds place in a tangential form in the writings of some of these reformers, the idea of embryonic nationalism can be traced there. Lokhitwadi, for example wrote:

'The British rule in India is not eternal; we shall also become wise by learning Western science and technology, and we should endeavour to excel and beat them on their own ground. It is only then that we shall begin gradually to demand power. In order to remove our discontent the British might part with some power. The more power they give the more will it whet our appetite for it and the British may begin to oppose our demands. If they do so we may perhaps have to do what the Americans did when they drove away the English from their land.'

A similar observation of Dayanand Saraswati shows his internal turmoil when he says that the most oppressive indigenous ruler is far better than the most benevolent alien ruler. Colonial administrators ridiculed Indian men for being weak, non-martial and effeminate. There was some kind of self-criticism among the educated Indians too along the similar lines. We can trace such ideas to earlier social reformers and in this ideological project they tried to emulate the ideas of hegemonic masculinity. Implicitly, they placed in opposition the values of hegemonic masculinity to a femininity defined by weakness, indecisiveness, and a lack of virility. The ideas in this incipient form were first expressed in cultural domain but subsequently were to flower into full-blown nationalism which called upon Indians to be men and free their motherland from the British with force if necessary. Swami Dayanand's interpretation of Bible is quite literal and did not capture the symbolic content many of the myths in the texts. He also shows concern for consumption and food habits and advocated vegetarianism and supported cow-protection leagues although his plea was based on economic value and utilitarian logic. With regard to Vedas, Dayanand assumed that they contained eternal, universal wisdom and believed them to be source of all moral principles and thought that they anticipated modern scientific truths. Such textual strategies might have been based on the realisation that the Hindu's use of multiple scriptures in self-defence was not likely to cut much ice with the Christian Missionaries. By claiming a supernatural and exclusive 'truth' status for the Vedas, 'Hinduism', which was more of a congeries of different social-cultural and ritualistic practices, it too can be claim a status of rational and 'world' religion. Obviously, cultural revivalism of Dayanand Saraswati had political undertones to it and it had counter-aggressive aspects in that it sought to reclaim lost cultural territory to the colonial state.

Swami Vivekananda, who inherited the spiritual legacy of Sri Ram Krishna also sought to fortify Hindu self-pride. He had toured extensively throughout India during 1887-1893 and apart from spiritual gains that they might have brought in their wake, he was particularly moved by the material impoverishment of the people under the colonial rule. He had the heritage of Ram Krishna's religious humanism which taught no creed and dogma, but only human uplift as its supreme goal. He declared that religion is not for empty bellies. Realizing the weaknesses that had crept into institutionalised Hinduism, he felt offended by flamboyant meaningless rituals and oppressive mechanism of priesthood. He understood that social inequalities and fake religion nourished each other and it was the prime cause of India's spiritual downfall. For the religion to be meaningful, it ought to strive for collective salvation. For him, therefore, religion was not

individual subject matter but a crucial collective concern. Criticizing expenditure on maintenance of rituals he condemned extravagant expenditure on idols and temples while real creation of God, the living human beings died of hunger and disease. In a manner of introspection he was self-critical of degenerated Hinduism but also equally concerned about restoring the glory of classical Hinduism and he tried to demonstrate that by claiming a victory of Indian spiritualism over crass Western materialism and this is evident from his Speeches at the World Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893.

7.6 LIMITS OF CULTURAL-IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE IN A COLONIAL MILIEU

The cultural-ideological battle in the nineteenth century was two-fold. Firstly, the encounter between Western and Indigenous cultural forms impressed upon the intellectual with reforming zeal the need to revitalise the decadent elements of their own traditional culture. There were precedents of such reforms in pre-colonial India from time to time and hence, it can be safely said that nineteenth century reform and its agenda were not merely stimulated by the impact of Western education. However, the speedy intrusion of colonial cultural and ideological hegemony left its imprints on many cultural experiments of the nineteenth century. In the religious domain, the reformers tried to remove idolatry, polytheism and priestly control of rituals and scriptural knowledge. Since literacy was limited and confined to few, the reformers made use of mass-propaganda techniques and oral transmission of their ideas through vernacular languages in order to break the shackles of priestly oppression and exploitation by simplifying religious rituals and attacking superstitious ideas and religious dogmas. For this purpose, they translated religious texts into vernacular languages and reinterpreted them in the light of reason and logic. However, the impact of the ideas of these intellectuals was limited to small minority of people especially they remained confined to educated middle classes in most cases. The mass of people still continued to embrace traditional socio-cultural practices and principles of caste-hierarchy. Traditions die very hard and they continued to have their emotive appeal.

The early urge to challenge colonial cultural hegemony can be seen from the fact that none of the reformers advocated a blind imitation of Western cultural norms, something that happened in Japan after the Meiji Restoration in the name of modernisation. All intrusions in cultural territory were challenged by one or the other intellectual. This cultural defense found expression in attempt to give a new lease of life to traditional culture by reinterpreting it in the light of new ideological currents coming from Western world. But at the same time, we find that most of intellectuals favoured use of vernacular languages and stressed alternate system of education with modification in the indigenous pattern of education. They also emphasised Indian art and literature, did not dump Indian dress or food and persons like Swami Dayanand and Vivekanand strongly defended the main tenets of their religions. Raja Ram Mohan Roy debated religious points with Christian Missionaries.

7.7 SUMMARY

The cultural encounter between the British colonial rulers and the Indian colonised people was long perceived as a process of one-sided acculturation by which Indian educated elites adopted and assimilated the cultural norms and ethos of the English-speaking rulers. But like any other cultural encounter, it was never a stimulus-response type of relation. There were elements of selective appropriation of culture on both sides although being the conquerors, the British enjoyed political domination. The aim of colonial education was to transmit hegemonic colonial cultural norms and, in the process, create an educated elite who were to serve as intermediaries between rulers and the ruled and to fit Indians in European concepts of work and social relations. These cultural imperialist objectives of the British were contested by the nineteenth century Indian reformers and intellectuals. Although the intellectuals and reformers exhibited ambivalences peculiar to such cultural encounters, they never adopted a strategy of indiscriminate imitation. This Unit has highlighted some important aspects of such resistance on the part of indigenous intellectuals.

7.8 EXERCISES

- 1) Discuss the main forms of cultural resistance developed by early Indian intellectuals against colonial cultural hegemony.
- 2) In what ways the early cultural-ideological resistance was related to nationalism?
- 3) What were the limitations of cultural-ideological resistance in a colonial situation?