Nationalism in India: Detailed notes

Visual notebook. Artwork is symbolic teaching illustration.

1. War, hardship and satyagraha

A common colonial ruler did not produce a common experience of hardship.

Why rising prices hurt households



Other pressures

Taxes | Recruitment

Food shortages

State demands and household shortages placed different pressures on daily life.

Prices rise

Basic necessities cost more.

reduces purchasing power →

Money buys less

The same household income covers fewer needs.

adds to →

Hardship grows

Taxes, recruitment and shortages add other pressures.

War changed everyday life

- Defence spending rose during the First World War. War loans and higher taxes financed it.
- Customs duties rose and income tax was introduced. Prices doubled between 1913 and 1918.
- Forced recruitment made villages supply soldiers and caused anger.
- Expected relief did not follow the war. Crop failures in 1918-19 and 1920-21 added food shortages.

Satyagraha: active resistance

- Gandhi returned from South Africa in January 1915, after campaigns against racist laws.
- **Satyagraha:** Organised resistance to injustice through truth, persuasion and non-violence.
- A satyagrahi appeals to the opponent's conscience rather than seeking revenge or inflicting pain.
- Source A stresses intense activity. Non-violence does not mean waiting without action.

Hardship and political organisation

- Famine and influenza worsened the crisis. Citing the 1921 census, NCERT gives 12 to 13 million deaths from famine and the epidemic together.
- People experienced colonial rule differently. Shared grievances could support mobilisation, but organisation and methods were still needed.
- Gandhi believed non-violence could unite Indians. That belief did not establish universal agreement.

One method, different immediate grievances

Campaign	People and issue
Champaran, 1917	Peasants resisted an oppressive plantation system in Bihar.
Ahmedabad, 1918	Cotton mill workers organised a satyagraha.
Kheda, 1918	Crop failure and plague left peasants unable to pay revenue. They demanded relaxed collection.

Your notebook Distinguish a wartime demand, a continuing hardship and an organised response.

2. Rowlatt Act and Jallianwala Bagh

The Rowlatt Act made the denial of legal protection a national political issue.

Protest and repression, April 1919



Denied legal protection and repression became connected political grievances.

6 April

Rallies, shop closures and railway-workshop strikes widened the agitation.

Before 10 April

The administration arrested Amritsar leaders and barred Gandhi from Delhi, fearing disruption of communications.

10 April

Police fired on a peaceful procession in Amritsar. Attacks on banks, post offices and railway stations followed. Martial law was imposed.

13 April

Dyer blocked Jallianwala Bagh's exits and fired on the enclosed crowd, killing hundreds.

Sequence only. Spacing is schematic, not proportional to elapsed time.

The legal grievance

- The Rowlatt Act of 1919 gave the government broad powers to repress political activity.
- Political prisoners could be detained for two years without trial.
- Indian members opposed the Act in the Imperial Legislative Council, but it passed.
- Gandhi called for non-violent resistance, beginning with a hartal on 6 April. A hartal suspends work and closes shops.

Presence does not prove one motive

People in the crowd	What the account supports
Protesters	Some came to oppose the government's repressive measures.
Baisakhi visitors	Others came for the annual fair. Many villagers did not know martial law had been imposed.
Dyer's later account	He described an intention to create terror. This is evidence of his stated purpose, not the crowd's shared intention.

What followed

- News brought strikes, clashes and attacks on government buildings in many north Indian towns.
- Repression included flogging, forced salutes and humiliating crawling orders. Villages around Gujranwala were bombed.
- Gandhi called off the Rowlatt movement as violence spread.
- The agitation remained mainly urban. He looked for a broader movement and closer Hindu-Muslim cooperation.

Your notebook Keep the legal grievance, April sequence and mixed crowd distinct.

3. Khilafat and a wider alliance

A shared campaign can connect different issues without making them identical.

Cooperation did not erase different aims



A shared campaign linked concerns that remained distinct.

Concern

Khilafat

Immediate focus

Defend the Khalifa's political position after the war.

Shared action

Non-Cooperation against colonial rule.

Concern

Swaraj

Immediate focus

Achieve self-rule in India.

Shared action

A common campaign and opponent.

Shared action connected these concerns; it did not make them identical.

Two concerns came together

- Ottoman Turkey's defeat in the First World War raised fears of a harsh settlement against the Ottoman emperor, the Khalifa.
- A Khilafat Committee formed in Bombay in March 1919 to defend his temporal powers.
- **Temporal powers:** Worldly political authority, distinct here from spiritual status.
- Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali discussed united mass action with Gandhi.

→ Why Gandhi supported the alliance

Rowlatt's limited reach

Agitation was concentrated in cities and towns.

prompted a search for →

A broader connection

Khilafat concerns could join Indian self-rule in shared action.

supported →

A mass campaign

Gandhi sought closer Hindu-Muslim cooperation through Non-Cooperation.

Agreement had to be built

- At Calcutta in September 1920, Gandhi convinced Congress leaders to support Non-Cooperation for Khilafat and swaraj.
- Congress still debated the programme's methods. The Nagpur compromise in December adopted Non-Cooperation.
- An alliance could widen participation without settling every future disagreement. Later distrust developed through events, not an inevitable failure from the start.

Your notebook Explain the connection between Khilafat and swaraj without making their concerns identical.

4. Non-Cooperation: method and limits

Boycott needed workable alternatives, not just a powerful appeal.

Why the town movement slowed



Cloth and institutions connected daily choices to boycott.

Action	Constraint	Consequence
Wear khadi	Khadi often cost more than mass-produced mill cloth.	Poor households found a sustained cloth boycott difficult.

Action	Constraint	Consequence
Leave British institutions	Alternative Indian schools and courts developed slowly.	Some students, teachers and lawyers returned.

Withdraw the support sustaining rule

- In Hind Swaraj (1909), Gandhi argued that Indian cooperation sustained British rule.
- He proposed surrendering titles and boycotting services, the army, police, courts, councils, schools and foreign goods.
- He expected swaraj within a year if Indians refused cooperation. This was a political expectation, not an achieved result.
- The plan envisaged fuller civil disobedience if repression followed.

From debate to campaign

September 1920

Calcutta Congress supported Non-Cooperation. Leaders still disputed council-election boycott and feared violence.

December 1920

Nagpur Congress adopted a compromise programme.

January 1921

The Non-Cooperation-Khilafat Movement began.

Sequence only. Spacing is schematic, not proportional to elapsed time.

Participation in towns

- Students left government institutions, teachers resigned and lawyers gave up practice.
- Most provinces boycotted council elections. Madras's Justice Party entered councils to gain opportunities for non-Brahmans.
- Foreign goods were boycotted, foreign cloth burnt and liquor shops picketed. Indian textile-mill and handloom production rose.
- The value of foreign cloth imports fell from Rs 102 crore to Rs 57 crore between 1921 and 1922.

Two useful terms

- **Boycott:** Refusing goods, activities or associations as a form of protest.
- **Picketing:** Demonstrating by blocking the entrance to a shop, factory or office.
- Both could withdraw support from colonial trade and institutions. They did not automatically create affordable alternatives.

Commitment and capacity

A supporter could want swaraj yet be unable to sustain an expensive tactic. The town movement's slowing does not establish that every returning student or cloth buyer rejected nationalism.

Your notebook Boycott withdraws support. Note the material and institutional limits of sustaining it.

5. Awadh: peasants and local burdens

Peasants translated swaraj into changes in their own working lives.

Keep the terms distinct



Tools, work and payments shaped peasants' expectations of swaraj.

Term / Relationship	
Rent	Tenant → Landlord Payment by a tenant to a landlord.
Land revenue	Revenue payer → Government A government demand.
Begar	Peasant → Landlord Compulsory labour without payment.
Tenure	Tenant → Holding land The conditions and security of holding land.

Freedom from local burdens

- Baba Ramchandra, a sanyasi formerly an indentured labourer in Fiji, led Awadh peasants against talukdars and landlords.
- High rents and other cesses reduced peasant incomes. Regular eviction left tenants without secure rights to leased land.
- Begar required unpaid work on landlords' farms.
- Demands included reduced revenue, abolition of begar and social boycott of oppressive landlords. Nai-dhobi bandhs withheld barbers' and washermen's services.

Organisation and local expectations

June 1920

Nehru visited Awadh villages to understand grievances.

October 1920

Nehru, Baba Ramchandra and others headed the Oudh Kisan Sabha. Over 300 branches formed within a month.

1921

Congress tried to connect the peasant struggle with Non-Cooperation. Some actions exceeded its programme.

1928, separate campaign

Vallabhbhai Patel led the successful Bardoli struggle in Gujarat against enhanced land revenue.

Sequence only. Spacing is schematic, not proportional to elapsed time.

A national movement could be reinterpreted

- In 1921, houses were attacked, bazaars looted and grain hoards seized in some places.
- Local leaders claimed Gandhi had authorised tax refusal and redistribution of land.
- His name gave local aspirations legitimacy. These claims do not establish that he issued those instructions.
- Congress leaders were unhappy with some forms of action. Participation did not mean uniform obedience.

Source B: a situated recollection

Nehru later recalled calm peasants near Rae Bareli on 6 January 1921, contrasting their restraint with his momentary anger after police firing. The memoir records that encounter; it does not describe every peasant action.

Your notebook Rent, revenue, begar and tenure describe different relationships. Add an example of local reinterpretation.

6. Gudem and Assam: different freedoms

Freedom could mean access to a forest or the right to return home.

Two settings, different freedoms



Forest access and the freedom to leave were different local freedoms.

Setting

Gudem Hills

Desired freedom

Forest access and relief from forced labour.

Action and outcome

Alluri Sitaram Raju led guerrilla resistance. He was captured and executed in 1924.

Setting

Assam plantations

Desired freedom

Free movement and renewed links with home villages.

Action and outcome

Thousands left the gardens. A railway and steamer strike stranded them; police caught and beat them.

Swaraj meant control over everyday life

- Forest closures in the Gudem Hills restricted grazing and collection of fruit and fuelwood.
- Hill people saw threats to livelihoods and customary rights. Forced road-building begar added anger.

- In Assam tea gardens, workers needed permission to leave under the Inland Emigration Act of 1859. Permission was rarely granted.
- These were distinct restrictions, even when people used the same word: swaraj.

Inspiration and method could differ

- Raju admired Gandhi, encouraged khadi and opposed drinking.
- He nevertheless believed force was necessary for liberation. Rebels attacked police stations and used guerrilla warfare.
- Congress could not approve this armed method.
- Stories about Raju's special powers show followers' beliefs and his appeal. They do not verify supernatural ability.

Expectation and outcome could differ

- Plantation workers believed Gandhi Raj was coming and that they would receive land in their home villages.
- The account records these as hopes. It does not say the promised land or freedom was delivered.
- Invoking Gandhi and swaraj connected local struggles to an all-India movement without making local aims identical to Congress's programme.

Your notebook Compare the restriction, desired freedom and method in each setting.

7. Chauri Chaura and competing strategies

Mass participation and disciplined non-violence were difficult to hold together.

The next strategy was contested



Violence prompted withdrawal and a renewed emphasis on discipline.

Different later strategies ↙ ↓ ↘

Approach	Approach	Approach
Council politics	**Radical mass action**	**Revolutionary action**
People or organisation	**People or organisation**	**People or organisation**
C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru's Swaraj Party within Congress.	Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose.	Hindustan Socialist Republican Army (HSRA).
Purpose	**Purpose**	**Purpose**
Enter provincial councils, oppose policies and expose their undemocratic limits.	Renew mass agitation and press for full independence.	Attack symbols of British power and seek social transformation.

Why Gandhi withdrew

- At Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur, a peaceful demonstration became a violent clash with police.
- Gandhi withdrew Non-Cooperation in February 1922, believing violence was spreading.
- He wanted satyagrahis properly trained before another mass struggle.
- Non-violence remained a condition of his method, even when withdrawal cost political momentum.

Box 1: HSRA and Bhagat Singh

- HSRA was founded at Ferozeshah Kotla in Delhi in 1928. NCERT names Bhagat Singh, Jatin Das and Ajoy Ghosh among its leaders.
- Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutta threw a bomb in the Legislative Assembly in April 1929.
- The box also describes an attempt against Irwin's train that year.
- Bhagat Singh was 23 when tried and executed. His trial statement emphasised labour and revolution in society rather than glorification of weapons.

A campaign and a wider movement

Withdrawal ended a campaign, not all nationalist politics. Council opposition, mass agitation and revolutionary action represented different strategies. Bhagat Singh's stated social aim must also be distinguished from the methods used and from an achieved transformation.

Your notebook Withdrawal changed strategy. Compare the method and aim of two responses that followed.

8. From Purna Swaraj to the Salt March

Salt made a demand for independence concrete and publicly actionable.

From a daily need to a political challenge



Everyday need

Salt was widely consumed.

exposes →



Tax and monopoly

Colonial rules controlled its production and cost.

challenged through →



Public defiance

People made salt in breach of the law.

Symbolic teaching scenes. The gate represents control of production, not a reconstructed checkpoint.

A daily necessity made colonial control visible.

Why salt mattered

- Rich and poor consumed salt, an essential food item.
- A tax and the government monopoly over production placed this daily need under colonial control.
- Making salt against the law gave people a concrete way to challenge that control.
- Shared use made salt a powerful symbol. It did not give every participant the same wider aims.

The sequence

December 1929

Lahore Congress, under Jawaharlal Nehru, adopted Purna Swaraj: complete independence.

26 January 1930

An independence pledge called for struggle. Its celebrations attracted little attention.

31 January 1930

Gandhi sent eleven demands to Irwin, covering several class interests. The deadline was 11 March.

March 1930

With no negotiation, Gandhi and 78 volunteers walked from Sabarmati towards Dandi: over 240 miles in 24 days.

6 April 1930

At Dandi, Gandhi broke the salt law by making salt from sea water. This began Civil Disobedience.

Sequence only. Spacing is schematic, not proportional to elapsed time.

The situation before the march

- Agricultural prices began falling in 1926 and collapsed after 1930. Falling exports and incomes made revenue harder to pay.

- The Simon Commission arrived in 1928 with no Indian member. Congress and the Muslim League joined protests.
- Lala Lajpat Rai died from injuries inflicted during a peaceful anti-Simon demonstration.
- Irwin offered future dominion status in October 1929 without a clear date. This did not satisfy Congress leaders.

Source C: a demand, not an achieved result

- The Independence Day Pledge linked freedom with the fruits of labour, necessities of life and opportunities to grow.
- It argued that people could change or abolish an oppressive government. The pledge demanded independence; it did not announce its achievement.

Two movements: the key distinction

Non-Cooperation	Civil Disobedience
Withdraw cooperation from colonial institutions and goods.	Also deliberately break colonial laws, beginning with salt.
Refusal withdraws support sustaining rule.	Law-breaking openly challenges colonial authority.

Your notebook Salt: everyday need → colonial control → public defiance. Add one limit of this shared symbol.

9. Civil Disobedience: action and negotiation

Civil Disobedience added open law-breaking to withdrawal of cooperation.

Mobilisation, repression and negotiation



Law-breaking met repression and negotiation.

April 1930

Abdul Ghaffar Khan's arrest brought demonstrations in Peshawar. Crowds faced armoured cars and police firing.

May 1930

After Gandhi's arrest, Sholapur workers attacked buildings symbolising British rule. Repression widened.

5 March 1931

Gandhi-Irwin Pact: Gandhi suspended the campaign and agreed to a Round Table Conference. The government agreed to release political prisoners.

1932

Failed London negotiations and renewed repression preceded resumption. Congress had been declared illegal and meetings restricted.

1934

The campaign had lost momentum.

Sequence only. Spacing is schematic, not proportional to elapsed time.

Action went beyond refusal

- People made salt against the law and demonstrated at government salt factories.
- Peasants refused some revenue and chaukidari taxes. Village officials resigned.
- Forest communities entered Reserved Forests to collect wood and graze cattle in defiance of restrictions.
- Foreign-cloth boycott and liquor-shop picketing continued. Tactics varied across places.

What the Pact changed

Agreement	Limit
A pause, conference participation and agreed prisoner release.	No grant of independence or settlement of every group's demands.
Congress joined the later London conference after boycotting the first.	Negotiations failed; repression resumed and political trust remained weak.

Why support could change

- Peaceful satyagrahis, women and children faced attacks. NCERT reports about 100,000 arrests.
- Repression raised the cost of participation. Negotiation and unmet demands changed expectations.
- Some groups did not return when the campaign resumed. A decline in one campaign did not mean every supporter abandoned freedom.

Your notebook Law-breaking, repression and negotiation changed participation. Mark what the Pact did and did not secure.

10. One movement, different economic hopes

Shared opposition to colonial rule did not make every demand identical.

Demand, participation and limit



Commercial farming and textile trade supplied different economic interests.

Group	Demand	Support and its limits
Rich peasants	Reduce government land revenue.	Organised boycotts, sometimes compelling reluctant neighbours. Many did not rejoin in 1932 after no revenue revision in 1931.
Poor tenants	Remit unpaid rent to landlords.	Some joined radical Socialist and Communist movements. Congress usually avoided no-rent campaigns to retain landlord and rich-peasant support.
Business groups	Import protection and a favourable rupee-sterling exchange policy.	Initially funded action and refused imported goods. Later feared disruption, militancy and socialism.
Industrial workers	Raise wages and improve working conditions.	Participation was selective, except for stronger involvement in Nagpur. Congress feared alienating industrialists.

Shared opposition, different interests

- Rich Patidars in Gujarat and Jats in Uttar Pradesh produced commercial crops. Falling prices reduced cash income and made government revenue difficult to pay.
- Small tenants also faced falling incomes, but their unpaid rent was owed to landlords.
- Merchants and industrialists wanted room to expand trade and industry. Workers sought better wages and conditions.
- Congress tried to hold these groups together. Supporting one demand could alienate another group.

Business organisation

- The Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress formed in 1920; FICCI followed in 1927.
- G. D. Birla and Purshottamdas Thakurdas supported the early campaign financially and through import boycotts.
- After failed conference negotiations, business enthusiasm became less uniform.

Workers' action

- Railway workers struck in 1930 and dockworkers in 1932.
- In 1930, Chotanagpur tin-mine workers wore Gandhi caps and joined rallies and boycotts.

- Some adapted nationalist methods to workplace struggles. This did not make workers' demands central to the Congress programme.

Rent is not revenue

Rent goes to a landlord; land revenue is a government demand. A coalition connected these different relationships without abolishing the conflicts between them.

Your notebook For each group, connect an economic relationship to a demand and a limit of support.

11. Women's participation and political authority

A larger public role did not automatically bring equal political authority.

Participation did not equal authority

Public action	Power within the organisation
Marching, salt-making, picketing and imprisonment widened participation.	Congress remained reluctant to give women positions of authority.
Women gained visibility and symbolic recognition.	Gandhi continued to emphasise duties as mothers and wives.



Public action expanded while organisational authority remained restricted.

A wider public role

- Thousands of women came to hear Gandhi during the Salt March.
- Women marched, made salt and picketed foreign cloth and liquor shops. Many went to jail.
- Many understood national service as a sacred duty. Political action took them into a public arena beyond domestic life.

Social background also mattered

- NCERT describes urban participants from high-caste families and rural participants from rich peasant households.
- This describes the source's account, not identical resources or opportunities for every woman.

- A procession shows participation. Access to leadership and decisions is different evidence, needed to assess authority.

Your notebook Use one example of public participation and one piece of evidence about organisational power.

12. Dalit demands and the Poona Pact

Opposition to caste injustice did not produce agreement about political safeguards.

Voters and seats are different questions

Mechanism

Separate electorate

Community electorate



chooses →



Representative

What it means

A separate set of voters chooses the community's representatives.

Mechanism

Reserved seat

General electorate



chooses →



Dalit reserved seat

What it means

A place is set aside for a category of representative. The Poona Pact used the general electorate.

Separate electorate: a community's voters choose its representatives. Under the Poona Pact, reserved Dalit seats were elected through the general electorate. Tokens show the distinction, not a historical ballot procedure or seat count.



Reserved seats within a general electorate changed the mechanism of representation.

Two routes to empowerment

- Congress had long neglected Dalit demands for fear of offending conservative high-caste Hindus.
- Gandhi made ending untouchability central to swaraj. He sought social reform and a change in upper-caste attitudes.
- Many Dalit leaders sought political power alongside social rights. They wanted safeguards allowing Dalits to choose their representatives.

The disagreement was about representation

Approach	Reasoning	Proposed change
Gandhi	Separate electorates could slow social integration.	End untouchability and secure access to public life.
Ambedkar	Political safeguards could help overcome social disabilities.	A separate electorate choosing Dalit legislators.

From demand to compromise

1930

Ambedkar organised the Depressed Classes Association.

Second Round Table Conference

Ambedkar demanded separate electorates; Gandhi opposed the proposal.

1932

The British accepted separate electorates. Gandhi began a fast.

September 1932

The Poona Pact provided reserved seats in provincial and central legislative councils, elected through the general electorate.

Sequence only. Spacing is schematic, not proportional to elapsed time.

Social rights and political safeguards

- Gandhi organised satyagraha for access to temples, wells, tanks, roads and schools.
- He cleaned toilets to dignify sanitation work and urged upper castes to give up untouchability.
- Dalit leaders also demanded reserved places in educational institutions.
- Civil Disobedience participation was limited, especially in Maharashtra and Nagpur, where Dalit organisation was strong.

A compromise did not remove every concern

The Pact changed the mechanism of representation. Dalit apprehension about the Congress-led movement continued. Limited participation in one campaign does not establish indifference to freedom.

Your notebook Separate electorate: who votes. Reserved seat: who may hold the seat. Summarise the Poona Pact.

13. Minority safeguards and political trust

A call for national unity did not answer every concern about majority power.

Source D: Iqbal's argument



Safeguards and unresolved trust shaped negotiations.

Position in the 1930 speech

Separate electorates were a minority safeguard.

How to interpret it

This states Iqbal's position, not the view of every Muslim.

Position in the 1930 speech

Groups should develop their culture freely while contributing to a harmonious India.

How to interpret it

He presented safeguards and Indian freedom as compatible.

Position in the 1930 speech

He distinguished cultural attachment from ill-will towards other communities.

How to interpret it

His terminology is an attributed argument, not an uncontested definition of communalism.

Unity needed political trust

- After Non-Cooperation-Khilafat declined, large sections of Muslims felt alienated from Congress.
- Congress's growing association with openly Hindu nationalist groups, including the Hindu Mahasabha, deepened concern.
- Militant religious processions, communal clashes and riots increased separation.
- Many leaders feared that minority culture and identity would be submerged under majority domination.

Negotiating representation

1927

Jinnah was willing to give up separate electorates if Muslims had reserved Central Assembly seats and representation proportional to population in Bengal and Punjab.

1928

Negotiations at the All Parties Conference failed when M. R. Jayakar opposed compromise.

1930

Civil Disobedience began amid distrust. Some Muslim organisations responded with limited enthusiasm.

Sequence only. Spacing is schematic, not proportional to elapsed time.

Limited response is not one universal motive

Representation disputes and communal distrust help explain responses to a campaign. They do not prove rejection of independence by every Muslim. NCERT's qualified link to later Pakistan arguments does not make that later outcome inevitable in 1930.

Your notebook

Representation, cultural safeguards and trust: distinguish attributed demands from universal community views.

14. How collective belonging was made

Symbols could connect people while also leaving some outside their imagined community.

One motherland, different visual meanings



Stories, songs and retold histories gave belonging a shareable form.

Image or song	Features and meaning
Vande Mataram	Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay wrote the hymn in the 1870s. It appeared in Anandamath and was sung during Bengal's Swadeshi movement.
Bharat Mata, Figure 12	Abanindranath Tagore's 1905 ascetic figure offers learning, food and clothing. A mala emphasises spiritual restraint.
Bharat Mata, Figure 14a	A trishul, lion and elephant convey power and authority.
Nehru print, Figure 13	He holds Bharat Mata and India's map close to his heart. Such prints linked devotion and sacrifice to nationalism.

How a nation became imaginable

- Shared struggles helped people recognise a common nation. Cultural work also made belonging visible and shareable.
- Fiction, prints, songs, folklore, flags and retold histories carried national ideas.
- In Figure 11, sacred buildings of different faiths frame Tilak. They convey intended unity, not proof of every viewer's response.

Folklore and collective pride

- Rabindranath Tagore collected ballads, nursery rhymes and myths in Bengal.
- Natesa Sastri published the four-volume Folklore of Southern India, a collection of Tamil tales.
- Collectors believed folklore revealed national tradition. These were historical beliefs about culture, not proof of a single pure tradition.

Retelling the past

- Colonial accounts portrayed Indians as backward and incapable of self-government.

- Nationalist histories answered with achievements in art, architecture, science, mathematics, religion, philosophy, law, crafts and trade.
- Source E, Tarinicharan Chattopadhyay's 1858 history, contrasts past glory with decline under colonial rule.
- It is evidence of a nationalist interpretation. Its claims about ancient achievements and decline still require examination.

Historical flags are not today's flag

Flag	Features in NCERT	Political meaning
Bengal Swadeshi flag	Red, green and yellow; eight lotuses and a crescent.	Eight provinces and Hindu-Muslim unity.
1921 Swaraj flag	Red, green and white; a spinning wheel.	Gandhian self-help. Carrying it became an act of defiance.

Symbols could include and exclude

A selectively Hindu past or Hindu iconography could leave other communities feeling excluded. The intention to unite people and evidence of universal acceptance are different things.

Your notebook Choose a cultural form, explain how it built belonging and identify a limit of its appeal.

15. A nation with many voices

The national movement was built through negotiation among many voices.

The chapter's central relationship

Land, rent and revenue

Forest access and movement



Work, wages and trade

Political representation

Common action connected different demands without erasing them.

Different experiences

Revenue, rent, forest access, movement, wages and representation.

organised through →

Connected action

Satyagraha, boycott, law-breaking and cultural belonging.

did not erase →

Uneven unity

Different demands and unequal power remained.

A nation with many voices

- Colonial oppression supplied a shared bond. Different groups nevertheless experienced it differently and imagined different freedoms.
- Congress under Gandhi channelled grievances into organised campaigns.
- Leaders tried to support one group's demands without alienating another. These choices produced cooperation and conflict.
- High points of mobilisation alternated with withdrawal, disagreement and retreat. Unity was negotiated, not automatic.

Later context: Quit India, 1942

Before the call

The Cripps Mission failed. The Second World War added widespread discontent.

14 July 1942

Congress Working Committee passed its Quit India resolution at Wardha.

8 August 1942

The All India Congress Committee endorsed it in Bombay. Gandhi called for a broad non-violent struggle and delivered his Do or Die speech.

The following struggle

Hartals, demonstrations and processions involved students, workers, peasants and women. British force took more than a year to suppress it.

Sequence only. Spacing is schematic, not proportional to elapsed time.

People named in the later box

- NCERT names Jayprakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali and Ram Manohar Lohia.
- It also names Matangini Hazra in Bengal, Kanaklata Barua in Assam and Rama Devi in Odisha.
- Quit India belongs to 1942. It is not the 1932 resumption of Civil Disobedience.