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Editor's Note:

We are pleased to present in the Spring issue of the *World History Bulletin* the second in a special two-part engagement with the work of Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds on constructions of race and related classifications in modern world history. Guest-edited by Ian Fletcher, this section builds on work in the Fall 2015 issue of the *Bulletin* in taking up the notion of a "global colour line" in the context of South Asia. We are fortunate to have this sustained engagement with such an interesting topic.

In this issue, also, we are fortunate to have special essays by Mehdi Estakhr ("The Journey of the Magi") and by WHA Past-President Marc Gilbert ("Eating Colonialism.") I am grateful for their hard work and thoughtful contributions, as well as for the efforts of Ian Fletcher and all the contributors to the special section.

As always, the *Bulletin* seeks to publish "short-form" essays on all aspects of historical scholarship including pedagogy, research, and theory. Topics may include any period or geographic focus in history, and pedagogical materials such as syllabi or assignments are welcome. Historians and disciplinarily allied scholars interested in guest-editing a selection of essays on a particular theme are strongly encouraged to contact me at dgainty@gsu.edu.

With warm best wishes,

Denis Gainty

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The *World History Bulletin* is edited by the Southeast World History Association, which is housed in the History Department of Georgia State University.

From the Executive Director

After exactly one and a half years at the World History Association, I have had the privilege to serve you within the context of a very thoughtful, strategic governance. First under President Craig Benjamin and now under President Rick Warner, we are solidifying a model that is based on keeping our members informed and engaged. I am confident fresh ideas on how to benefit our world history community will emerge further during our EC meeting this summer in Ghent.

Earlier in the month, I attended the regional NERWHA Symposium on "Race & Racism: Challenges for World History Teaching and Research." Not only are these affiliate meetings rich in content and observations, they act as crossroads where WHA members, governance and staff connect. As insightful as the learning moments are for me, sharing moments with members is just as important. Some of the attendees I met at the NERWHA conference were not WHA members – yet. They were curious high school students encouraged by their teacher to take part in the day. Many of these students are planning to submit an essay for the WHA "World Historian Student Essay Competition." Our office has members to thank for the huge rise in submissions for our awards. As a result, the awards are quickly becoming more valued, competitive and reputable.

Donations have also increased. We truly appreciate the generosity of our members who have participated in the Giving Tuesday campaign and have showed sustained interest in our awards. We encourage even more of you to consider giving to the WHA to help this trend grow. It directly benefits the recipients of our awards, committee work as well as new services we can offer our membership base.

While I remain excited about our progress as an association, I am particularly thrilled by the scholarly work that world historians have produced and its capacity to reshape our understanding of the past. The borders theme for this *World History Bulletin* encompasses my favorite portions of history – that of immigration, especially of the mass movements of people that occurred in the 19th & 20th Centuries. This theme, indeed, strikes a personal chord. On December 23, 1916 a ship called the *Roma* arrived with European immigrants in the port of Providence, Rhode Island. Between 1870 and 1900, immigration to the USA brought in 63,840 Portuguese, a number that swelled to 158,881 between 1900 and 1920. This ship carried one such family from Madeira Island – the Gouveia family. One of their daughters, Mary, whose married name later became Coelho, would become my maternal grandmother. They followed the same path as other families from Portugal as they made their way to the gateway for the Portuguese community in America, New Bedford, MA. A whopping 80% of the Portuguese who immigrated to the U.S. settled in New Bedford during this time. Family members who met the minimum age requirement were quickly set up in the factories.

My grandmother's family arrived before the iron whip of US anti-immigration laws changed that landscape for decades. One such piece of legislation was named the Johnson-Reed Act and became law in 1924. This quota system greatly decreased immigrants from select countries, Portugal being only one example. As a direct result, the numbers dropped drastically from almost 90,000 Portuguese immigrants in the 1910s to only 30,000 in the 1920s and then under 11,000 during the following two decades.

Like other immigrants, they quickly acquired fast money by pooling together wages and built a stone house on a quiet plot of land bordering a river that followed the water's path to Martha's Vineyard and the Atlantic. The china cabinet in my grandmother's house covered a secret that was only revealed to me as an adult. During prohibition, my great-grandfather kept a side job as a bootlegger. As a young adult, my grandmother found herself trapped by the knowledge that the police were rushing to the house for evidence of her father's business, so she quickly destroyed it by breaking the remaining whiskey bottles. Those bottles were normally hidden in a passage behind the china cabinet.

The assimilation process took decades. Most of the Portuguese were barely educated, lived a life of manual labor and wrestled with the language barrier. Although the discrimination was not always as overt as the one experienced by African Americans, Chinese or the Cape Verdeans (who are half Portuguese and half African), it existed. Battles and bickering between the French Canadians and Portuguese in Southeastern Massachusetts became part of the landscape. The word "greenhorn" held a specific meaning in this region – a Portuguese immigrant. It would be decades

before I realized that the term was a generic term for newcomers and not meant only for the Portuguese.

Many of the immigrants I have known personally were resilient. While immigrant stereotypes lived on and especially harsh stories would be printed in the local paper, those were not the anecdotes I heard firsthand. Visits to my grandmother's cottage by the river included learning about the old country through her eyes. Ultimately, she retained her European roots, but also held views that were typically American. She shared a moment about her visit to the old country that could today be analyzed as feminist, but to her was simply a matter of basic respect. During her trip to Portugal in the 1970s, a male Lisbon airport official ignorantly laughed off the idea that my grandmother drove a car. She told me, "I took out my license and said see right here!" Salazar's authoritarian government had hindered any social progress in the old country, but my grandmother encountered such opportunities in her new country.

As my story illustrates, crossing borders has been fruitful for the development of new ideas and for the reshaping of cultures. The immigration of Europeans to the new world has created similar yet different societies that in turn transformed the old world. World history as a discipline emphasizes these transcultural and transnational connections and it seems fitting that the WHA, whose headquarters are in Boston, would have its conference on the other side of the Atlantic this year. We are now two months away from the 25th WHA Annual Conference in Ghent, Belgium. Efforts for this conference are coming together and as always, the sessions are varied. From where I sit, those of us registered have many precious days to anticipate in Belgium and our office is grateful for such an involved co-sponsor in Ghent University.

Outside my window, the Northeastern University Campus basks in the sun-drenched spring day and flowers are in bloom all over the campus. I am eagerly anticipating the 26th Annual WHA Conference here at our headquarters. Ideas are taking shape, hotel blocks are secured and the modern, technology-equipped rooms at Northeastern are ready to be filled with curious WHA members. The icing on the cake is undoubtedly the great city of Boston, which boasts an exhaustive list of popular historical sites as well as hidden gems. Our programming will no doubt take this into consideration to create a well-rounded experience for all attendees.

Our office objectives have not changed – to serve the WHA effectively, which includes feedback from our members. Feel free to contact me with comments and suggestions. We can be reached at 617-373-6818 or info@thewha.org.

Happy spring!

Kerry Vieira
Administrative Coordinator/Executive Director

Letter from the President of the World History Association

Richard Warner, Wabash College

Good Colleagues,

I am pleased to offer this, my first message to the World History Association Community, by way of our excellent *Bulletin*. We are so pleased with the leadership of Denis Gainty and his staff, and are grateful for the connection with Georgia State University, a rising star in World History graduate education.

As you know from recent messages from my predecessor and good friend, Craig Benjamin, much of his tenure was spent stabilizing our finances and membership levels. As many of you know, we owe a great debt of gratitude to Craig for his stewardship. I am pleased to confirm that the WHA is on stable financial footing, and our membership continues to be strong. Much of the credit for this success is due to our new Director, Kerry Vieira, who has reached out so kindly to many of you. She is a real gem! Our new home institution, Northeastern University, has also provided us with graduate and undergraduate labor. I hope that you will have a chance to meet Olivier Schouteden, who will join us at Ghent in July. We are additionally grateful for the support of

Heather Streets-Salter, who not only chairs the History Department at Northeastern, but is also a name that I assume most of you know for her stellar contributions to our field.

With the latest WHA elections our continuing Secretary Maryanne Rhett and I are joined by Merry Wiesner Hanks as Vice President/President Elect, and Michele Louro as Treasurer. New Executive Council members are Mike Burns, who teaches high school in China, Carolien Stolte from Leiden University in the Netherlands, and Diego Holstein from the University of Pittsburgh (another leader in World History graduate education). Urmi Engineer from Murray State was appointed to fill the last year of Michele Louro's term on the EC. This is an energetic team, and I have already been engaging them by email on a number of subjects.

What will the new year bring? Now that we are on a more sustainable track, we will seek ways to serve our membership better. To leverage a JFK quote, "what can the WHA do for you, and what can you do for the WHA?" The theme of our Executive Council work will focus on the first question. We will work in teams, one devoted to issues of supporting World History teaching at all levels, and one to pursue avenues for improving our support of World History research. The Chair of our Teaching Committee, Amy-Elizabeth Manlapas and the Chair of our newly established Research Committee, Laura Mitchell, will be taking the lead. We hope to generate new ideas for our work as the premier organization supporting World History. As for the second question, what can YOU do for the WHA, we are open to your suggestions and involvement. Our email addresses can be found on the WHA website.

With the return of fiscal stability, the WHA is making a "cultural turn." That said, we need to continue our vigilance economically. In particular, we still need to rebuild our Endowment. To stabilize the organization's finances we unfortunately needed to borrow $46,000 from that fund. In December we conducted a small fundraising campaign connected with Giving Tuesday, raising over $2,000. With other deposits we have cut our debt to the Endowment to about $36,000. Soon I will be reaching out to senior colleagues, and those who have lifetime memberships like myself, to make a donation. In Ghent I will also make a plea to our membership to help rebuild the endowment. The truth is that the endowment should never be used this way; it is a fund that produces interest to support student prizes and other worthy causes. I am committed to bringing our endowment back to its previous level and beyond over the next year. We are fortunate to benefit from the labors of Carter Findlay, who manages these funds. Together we can repair the Endowment as another chapter in our efforts at sustainability.

At the moment, our staff is busily putting together the details for our 2016 conference in Ghent, Belgium. Kerry and her crew at Northeastern are working hard in support of the conference, in conjunction with our Belgian hosts, especially Torsten Feys. Maryanne Rhett has done her usual awesome job on the Program. Candice Goucher and Joseph Lambert are putting together some excellent tours for WHA participants. We have some great keynote speakers lined up in Sven Beckert and Peter Romijn. I do hope to see many of you there!

Finally, I would like to announce that our 2017 conference will be held in Boston, Massachusetts on June 22-24. This seemed like an appropriate locale to showcase our gracious hosts for WHA headquarters, Northeastern University. As is well known, there are countless historians on the East Coast, so we expect this to be among the busiest of WHA conferences.

Allow me to close by thanking all of you for your support of World History and the WHA in particular. I have always been proud of the WHA's embracing of teaching in particular, and our work to support cutting edge world history pedagogy. Our inclusion of high school teachers at all levels of the organization, and our steadfast participation in the College Board AP course are well known. I hope that we can expand this good work to define and support cutting edge research in World History as well. What can the WHA do for you? What can you do for the WHA? As our friend Jerry Bentley would say,

Cheers,

Rick Warner
President, the World History

Guest Editor's Introduction: Anticolonialism in the Early Twentieth-Century World: Indian Dimensions of a Global Moment

Ian Christopher Fletcher, Georgia State University

As Antoinette Burton has recently argued in *The Trouble with Empire*, challenges to imperial rule should be seen as the very stuff of the historical experience of empires.[1] Wars, rebellions, protest movements, and anticolonial criticism were not belated signs of the end of empire, but the long-running evidence of its restless and unstable nature. This powerful insight nevertheless begs the question how did historical actors judge the balance of imperial durability and vulnerability, envision the future of empire, and imagine alternative courses of action and even forms of polity. Given that anticolonialism is not reducible to anti-imperialism, how did anticolonial critics and organizers understand the possibilities of the moment in which they found themselves?

This is an intriguing question to pose for Indian anticolonial advocates and activists in the early twentieth century. While the Boxer rebellion, the Russo-Japanese War, and the Young Turk coup marked the unpredictable character of the conjuncture, the fact of discontent in India and around the Indian diaspora did not mean a great change would come of itself. The self-strengthening and revolutionary states of the Chinese, Japanese, and Ottoman empires could point to their leading roles in the "awakening of Asia," but India and Indians played vital parts in a formidable British empire at the center of the global system. This offered opportunities and constraints for "moderates," "extremists," freelances, and self-identified revolutionaries.

Gail M. Presbey's "Gandhi, Dube, and Abdurahman: Collaboration Across Boundaries in Colonial South Africa" takes us to one of the key locations in the struggle over the future of the British empire. She contextualizes and to some extent displaces Mohandas K. Gandhi, the leader of the Indian struggle for rights and dignity, in a fascinating account of the exchanges between him and black and "coloured" leaders John Dube and Abdullah Abdurahman. Equally interesting is Presbey's foregrounding of ordinary people, such as the militant black women of Bloemfontein, in the grassroots elaboration and proliferation of contentious politics. We see Gandhi as a learner as well as a teacher, coming to terms and then partially breaking with the configurations of race, gender, class, and "civilization" that structured the possibilities of collective action under the newest white settler dominion in the empire.

Yaël Simpson Fletcher's "Transimperial Passages: V.D. Savarkar and Aurobindo Ghose between the British and French Empires, 1907-1911" shifts our attention from empire's interiors to its frontiers and beyond. Empire and diaspora were not coterminous in the Indian world of coolies, lascars, sepoys, students, merchants, and activists. Outside as well as inside the British Empire, Indian diasporans could take advantage of the unevenness of the interstate system to evade repression if not surveillance and build networks for organizing and publicizing radical anticolonial initiatives. Moreover, they could appeal for support from socialists and other radicals in metropolitan social movements. Of course, challenging empire was a political and personal wager without guarantees, something starkly demonstrated by the contrasting fates of Savarkar and Sri Aurobindo. No wonder an activist as idiosyncratic as Gandhi couched his ethical and tactical radicalism in such "loyal" constitutional and imperial terms.

Doug McGetchin's "From *Ghadar* (Revolt) to Home Rule: Arguments about Violence, Nonviolence, and Race in the Struggle to Liberate India during the First World War" reminds us that the political creativity and variety of prewar Indian anticolonialism continued into wartime protest and politics. The comparison of the *Ghadar* movement and the Home Rule leagues is very productive: he offers a discussion of not only clandestine/insurrectionary and popular/democratic styles and strategies of mobilization but also the global, imperial, and diasporic frames of these efforts and more generally the the racialized nature of colonial subjection and resistance. Empire is the net effect of the actions of rulers and ruled, and the response of the British authorities to these challenges, especially the bloody-minded treatment of the two movements as simply two sides of the same coin, is revealing of the sort of game they thought they were playing. In any case, the eventual postwar rise of Gandhian nationalism should not obscure the sense of political possibility that inspired young Sikh radicals to return from Canada to their villages and attempt

a rebellion or motivated the old "extremist" B.G. Tilak, who had only been released from six years of imprisonment in June 1914, to return to campaigning with the borrowed Irish slogan of "home rule."

Let us hope that the following contributions will encourage a broader discussion of the rich array of anticolonialisms across the turbulent early twentieth-century world.

Notes:

1. Antoinette Burton, *The Trouble with Empire: Challenges to Modern British Imperialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Gandhi, Dube, and Abdurahman: Collaboration across Boundaries in Colonial South Africa

Gail M. Presbey, University of Detroit Mercy

Relatively little attention has been paid to the interactions between Indian nonviolent activist Mohandas K. Gandhi (who lived in South Africa from 1893-1914) and Black African and Coloured activists and their initiatives in South Africa, and to the ways his own advocacy and organizing was influenced by Africans before the First World War. We must always proceed cautiously when making an historical argument for the influence of one person or movement on another. We can rarely count on a person to give a full account of who and what shaped them. As historian of India Claude Markovits has explained, many scholars have depended upon Gandhi's own accounts when covering the history of his time in South Africa. However, Gandhi wrote *Satyagraha in South Africa* and then his *Autobiography* years later, without depending on notes and, in the latter case, as an "introspective exercise."[1] Professor of African Literature Isabel Hofmeyr reiterates a point Gandhi often made that his influences were English social thinker John Ruskin, Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy, and American writer Henry David Thoreau.[2] However, I argue that African and Coloured as well as women peers made a big impression on him; he often credited them with being his role models, influencing his values and his actions.[3] While their influence could very well go beyond the explicit accounts Gandhi gives of their influence on him, for purposes of brevity this article will focus on the (little known or often overlooked) explicit acknowledgment of their mutual influences.

Two outstanding South African leaders were Abdullah Abdurahman and John Langalibalele Dube. Gandhi developed links of solidarity with Abdurahman, the leader of the African Political Organization (APO) based in the Coloured community in South Africa.[4] In his newspaper *APO*, Abdurahman urged Coloured and Black readers to use Gandhian methods to secure rights, advocated a multi-racial coalition, and concretely lent support to Gandhi's project. Gandhi's newspaper *Indian Opinion* published reports on the injustices suffered by the African and Coloured communities. Decades before the Apartheid government in South Africa enshrined four categories of races into law (native, white, coloured and Asian) in 1948, historians William Beinart and Saul Dubow explain that the British had legally sanctioned segregation, creating the fourth category "Indian" after the practice of importing indentured Indian workers in Natal in the 1860s.[5] While some individuals and groups classified as "Coloured" at this time had ancestors who had come from India, Malaysia, and Indonesia (for example, Cape Muslims), those called "Coloured" were considered as distinct from more recent Indian immigrants to South Africa, since the former were largely Afrikaans speaking, and had more political rights than the latter. Abdullah Abdurahman, for example, was for many years an elected member of Cape Town's Provincial Council. Despite Abdurahman's Asian heritage and Muslim faith, reaching out in friendship to him still required Gandhi

to cross social barriers.

Dube, of Zulu/AmaQadi heritage, was another of Gandhi's interlocutors. He had studied in the U.S. and was the founder of the 200-acre Ohlange Native Industrial Institute in Inanda in 1901, modeled on Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. It was Gandhi's International Printing Press in Durban that first published Dube's newspaper, *Ilange Lase Natal*. When Dube got his own press a few months later, he moved it to his rural location in Ohlange. Gandhi began his newspaper, *Indian Opinion*, a few months after Dube had started publishing his paper. Its name was influenced by John Tengo Jabavu's *Imvo Zabantsundu* (*Native Opinion*).[6] Gandhi bought his piece of property next to Dube's and called it Phoenix Farm. Gandhi then moved his press to this new location in Ohlange. In these strategic moves, Gandhi's actions followed the lead of Dube. While this kind of pattern is suggestive of an influence, something remarked on by the historian Maureen Swan, Gandhi does not credit Dube or journalist Jabavu in his autobiographical accounts.[7]

My essay looks at Gandhi's, Abdurhaman's, and Dube's newspapers for insight into the dynamics of support and solidarity across different racially subordinated communities in colonial South Africa. A balanced approach to the topic of interracial connections and collaborations is needed today, when some authors have chosen to emphasize Gandhi's early racist remarks in their attempts to debunk a myth of the post-racial Mahatma. Exploring Gandhi's relations with African activists reveals not only social and political ties (with Gandhi visiting Dube and Abdurahman) but also the ways that they publicized each other's struggles and influenced each other's ideas.[8]

To find places where Gandhi gives credit to Africans and African Americans, we must turn to *Indian Opinion*. Hofmeyr argues that Gandhi's "newspaper" was actually a publication through which he challenged his readers, conceiving of "readership as a devoted apprenticeship."[9] He surveyed both breaking news and classics of philosophy and literature for anything that would help to guide himself and his readers in their daily life and decisions. While some of Gandhi's written comments and political efforts seem to emphasize the difference between Africans and Indians, and suggest that Indians are of a higher "civilization" than Africans, the historian Nico Slate argues that by 1911 Gandhi had changed his thinking and come to believe that American educator Booker T. Washington's moral and practical ideal of self-reliant labor was a better and higher way to live than European and high-caste Indian indolence.[10] In practice, Gandhi had already been engaging in manual and semi-skilled labor through his experiments with ashram living and his work in prison. He intended these activities for himself and his followers; he did not suggest that such labor was the proper role for Blacks. The African and African-American practitioners of Washington's philosophy were literally his role models.

As early as1906, Gandhi praised a project led by Tengo Jabavu to found a Native College. He admires Africans' dedication to education and their willingness to suffer to realize their project. He asks his readers, "If the Natives of South Africa, with all their financial disabilities and social disadvantages, are capable of putting forth this local effort, is it not incumbent upon the British Indian community to take the lesson to heart?"[11] In a piece from 1907, *Indian Opinion* says of Dube that "his years of strenuous endeavour on behalf of his people had not been spent in vain."[12] It goes on to suggest to Indian readers that they emulate John Dube. In 1909, Gandhi says that Indians in South Africa should take up industrial education along the lines of Hampton and Tuskegee in the United States. He discourages Indian youths (even his own sons) from aiming to be lawyers and doctors and emphasizes instead skilled manual labor as building character and imparting self-esteem that will serve them in the movement for political change. In 1912, *Indian Opinion* applauded John Dube on his election as the first President of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) and published excerpts from his acceptance speech.[13]

Historian Ramachandra Guha highlights the similarity of Dube and Gandhi's political approach. Both embraced a "principled incrementalism" and both used patience and courtesy to diminish racism.[14] Guha notes that Dube had praised Gandhi (in an unsigned editorial attributed to Dube) in his newspaper, *Ilanga Lase Natal*, saying that Gandhi was courageous and that Bantus admire a "plucky contender" who has "a fair claim for justice."[15] Guha also describes the impact on Dube of witnessing

Indian strikers' refusal to move despite being beaten by police in 1913. As Guha reports, "Dube was impressed by their courage and endurance, telling a friend that while he had once thought plantation coolies crude and uncivilized, now he had 'acquired a sense of respect for all the Indians.'"[16] There is no denying that Africans and Indians were sometimes at odds with each other regarding their political goals. But examples like these suggest that Indians and Africans could set aside negative generalizations and develop fresh estimations of each other.

Former professor of African politics and history Heather Hughes points out that Dube had editorialized against Indians as invaders who took jobs and land away from Africans in South Africa.[17] His subsequent revaluation of Gandhi and his Indian followers as worth emulating was quite a transformation. According to Hughes, Gandhi showed concern for the rights of Africans even while he insisted on separation of the Indian and African communities and stated openly that Indians were more advanced than Africans.[18]

Historian Uma Shashikant Mesthrie catalogs the many places in *Indian Opinion* where Gandhi covered stories of racist injustices suffered by Africans or makes celebratory comments when a struggle is decided in their favor.[19] Lawyer, Advocate of the Supreme Court of India and Gandhi scholar Anil Nauriya also covers the relationship between Gandhi and John Dube, as well as earlier connections between Gandhi and African activists and publications.[20] As early as 1906, Gandhi explained that Africans in South Africa were already involved in non-cooperating with racist and unjust colonial rule in South Africa.[21]

E.S. Reddy, former director of the United Nations' Centre against Apartheid, as well as Anil Nauriya have delved into Gandhi's journalism and correspondence and the memoirs of those who knew him to show that he was concerned about the sufferings and struggles of black South Africans around land, work conditions, and myriad forms of mistreatment. *Indian Opinion* championed many African causes, and reprinted news stories from John Dube's paper, *Ilanga lase Natal*.[22]

Gandhi admired Abdurahman and his mobilization of the Coloured community. In March1906, *Indian Opinion* reported that Abdurahman was coming to Johannesburg and Cape Town to present the "Colored People's Petition." According to Gandhi, the Coloured and Indian communities were too different to unite in struggle and follow a common strategy, since the Coloured community could claim that they belonged to the soil of Africa, unlike the Indian immigrants. Gandhi agreed that the rights they enjoyed in the Cape Colony should also be observed in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal and approved of the strategy of sending Abdurahman to petition the imperial government in London. And while he made some minor criticisms of the conduct of some members of the Coloured community, he concluded that, the Indians "should also attempt something similar to what they are doing."[23]

As historians Julia Wells and Mohamed Adhikari explain, Abdurahman launched the *APO* newspaper in 1909, and editorialized in favor of unity among Indians, Coloureds and Africans and adoption of Gandhian methods to challenge racial injustice in South Africa. The *APO* was popular in Bloemfontein, where fourteen different African and Coloured groups made for a very diverse black community.[24] Gandhi and Abdurahman became better acquainted with each other when both traveled on the same ship to Britain to try to influence the House of Lords to reject a restriction of the Union franchise to white voters.[25]

Soon after their return, Abdurahman filled *APO* with stories of Gandhi's imprisonment. In a December 1909 issue of *APO*, he described Gandhi's tactics as "the greatest and yet most harmless force anybody can wield with perfect safety and a clear conscience."[26] He even coordinated an "Indian Passive Resistance Fund."[27] The same month, Gandhi wrote an article for *APO*, encouraging members of the Coloured community to engage in nonviolent civil resistance. He asserted the counterintuitive position that "Suffering is the panacea for all evils. . . Let the illiterate men learn that if they feel a grievance, they are not to break other people's heads, but their own, in order to have it redressed."[28] Abdurahman was intrigued by nonviolent resistance, as evidenced by an article in *APO* in February 1910, in which he noted that the Boston Peace Convention in 1838 had advocated civil disobedience. He commended Gandhi and his followers for their brave witness and for following their consciences, to the point of risking arrest and imprisonment, and insisted that Coloured people should follow their example and do the same.[29]

In the same issue, he elaborated on the unrealized power of colonial subjects: "To my mind the whole native problem could be solved if coloureds, natives and Indians would all take to passive resistance. What could the whites do if the natives understand the meaning of passive resistance? They would be brought to their senses, for they could not do without us. South Africa would collapse in twenty-four hours if we stood together."[30]

In February 1910 as well, Gandhi wrote about Abdurahman in *Indian Opinion*. He praised him for refusing to sing "God Save the King" on the day the Prince of Wales visited Cape Town and encouraging others to do likewise as a protest against the partial franchise for Coloured people. Rejecting the charge that this was disloyalty to the Crown, Gandhi insisted,that "Dr. Abdurahman has cleared the atmosphere of cant and humbug and has served Truth, the Crown, his people and himself at the same time."[31] Gandhi also called attention to a meeting of Coloured activists who had declared that they would engage in passive resistance. A separate article noted that the Coloured community wanted to protest the pass laws and residential segregation and highlighted "a leading churchman," who "took an oath that he would never take out a pass, and said he would sooner allow himself to be shot than carry a pass."[32] Here is a clear example from February 1910 of Gandhi and Abdurahman supporting and popularizing each other's movements.

I want to go further and suggest that Abdurahman exercised a considerable influence on Gandhi's repertoire of nonviolent protest in two significant ways: the use of strikes and the mobilization of women. Gandhi was reticent to engage in a method that could escalate to violence and rarely mentions strikes between 1908 and 1912. But in September 1913 he finally decided to use strikes to challenge the three pound tax imposed on former indentured workers from India. At almost the same time, Abdurahman spoke and wrote about strikes as a method of resisting injustice. In October and November 1913, Gandhi ended up leading a large strike of Indian miners that was instigated by women whom he had recently recruited into his movement.

The development of Gandhi's attitude to strikes was a long time coming. He knew of their importance in the labor movement, mentioning the labor leader John Burns and the 1889 London dock strike in an "Open Letter" of 1894.[33] A decade later, he recognized the importance of the hartal (general strike) in the protests against the partition of Bengal in an article in *Indian Opinion* in 1905.[34] He also noticed that general strikes in revolutionary Russia were a way to withdraw cooperation from the despotic tsarist government and he exhorted the Bengalis to copy the Russians.[35] He even exhorted his followers to imitate the "spirit and daring" of white mine workers in South Africa, who went on strike to defend their dignity even though they did not know how they would feed their children.[36] The first time that I see Gandhi exhorting his own followers to resort to a strike occurs in *Indian Opinion* in July 1908.[37]

For several years afterward, Gandhi hardly mentioned strikes. This changed during another strike of white miners in the gold mines near Johannesburg in July 1913.[38] Gandhi wrote about it in *Indian Opinion*.[39] The implicit message of the article is that the destruction of life and property was unfortunate and unnecessary.

African women were the vanguard of the movement against the pass laws. A year before the labor unrest of 1913, Abdurahman specifically encouraged African women to use "passive resistance" as a means to overturn the pass laws in the pages of *APO* in June 1912.[40] We do know that Gandhi was in touch with Abdurahman; they had tea in Abdurahman's home in Cape Town in October 1912.[41] Gandhi did not call on Indian women to become satyagrahis until March (according to his retrospective account) or May (published account) of 1913, at least nine months after Abdurahman's appeal, and around the same time that the Coloured and African women of Bloemfontein staged their big protest against the pass laws.[42]

Julia Wells, journalist and politician Frene Ginwala, and political activist and historian Nomboniso Gasa have provided us with a full account of the Bloemfontein protest in May 1913, which resulted in eighty arrests. At least thirty-four of the Bloemfontein women spent several months in prison, receiving sympathetic attention in the press and garnering much support for their movement. *Indian Opinion* covered developments, even devoting its front page to "Native Women's Brave Stand" in August.[43] In his address to the annual meeting of the

APO in September, Abdurahman claimed that the pass laws were "a form of modern-day slavery" and should be resisted by "all the blacks in the Union" through a mass strike. If "200,000 Natives on the mines" refused to pick up their tools and farm laborers refused to gather the harvest, "the economic foundation of South Africa would suddenly shake and tremble with such violence that the beautiful white South Africa superstructure which has been built on it would come down with a crash."[44]

Indian women participated in Gandhi's satyagraha in September 1913. One day before Abdurahman's speech, Gandhi wrote to the authorities that he was about to take the "momentous step" of advising those liable to pay the three pound tax, as well as indentured workers who would have to pay it when their term was finished, to strike until the tax was repealed.[45] By late October, Gandhi was cabling the Indian National Congress leader Gopal Krishna Gokhale in India that two thousand people were striking and that the strike's success was due mostly to the women who have been popularizing the struggle.[46] Another thousand men soon proclaimed that they would strike. In an interview in the *Rand Daily Mail*, Gandhi again insisted that it was the work of the women that was producing such widespread participation in the strike, which reached from the miners to plantations and rail workers.[47]

The women had engaged in their actions by forming two teams, one of whom spoke Gujurati and the others who were Tamil women from Tamil Nadu in the south of India. When eleven Tamil women were arrested and jailed, the outrage over their imprisonment increased the strikers' ranks and led to a march on 6 November 1913. One of Gandhi's tactical innovations, getting striking miners to march meant they would be arrested, fill the jails, and become the responsibility of the government, which had to feed and shelter them. In Gandhi's view, imprisonment gave strikers an opportunity to suffer for the cause. The strikers' march began with 2,037 men and 137 women, grew to 5,000 within days, and soared to possibly 60,000 participants.[48] While Gandhi did not want to involve African miners in the protest, miners in at least one district took the opportunity to ask for a wage increase and the Natal Coal Owners' Society instructed its members to reject such requests.[49] Nevertheless, Indian *Opinion* published Abdurahman's address in praise of strikes in December 1913.[50]

This brief account above shows the extent of direct and acknowledged mutual influence between Gandhi (and his community of activists including the brave Indian women) and Black South African leaders like Dube, Coloured community leader Abdurahman, and the Coloured and Black pass protesting women of Bloemfontein. They knew of each other's movements; they met and talked to each other; they learned from each other's experiments with tactics and strategies of resistance; and supported each other by giving sympathetic publicity to each other's struggles and celebrating each other's victories. Additionally, Gandhi took crucial aspects of Booker T. Washington's educational and lifestyle choices to heart and shaped his spirituality around manual labor.

Notes:

1. Claude Markovits, *The Un-Gandhian Gandhi: The Life and Afterlife of the Mahatma* (London: Anthem Press, 2004), 48. Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House), Revised Second edition, 1950. Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (New York: Dover, 1983).

2. Isabel Hofmeyr, *Gandhi's Printing Press: Experiments in Slow Reading* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 58-59; Mohandas K. Gandhi, "Ourselves," *Indian Opinion*, 24 December 1904, 3. *Indian Opinion* is available in digital form in the African Newspaper Collection, a component of the World Newspaper Collection. Gandhi's English and Gujarati (in English translation) contributions to *Indian Opinion* can be found in *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, 1999), available at GandhiServe Foundation Mahatma Gandhi Research and Media Service, http://www.gandhiserve.org/e/cwmg/cwmg.htm. (hereafter CWMG). When the original Gandhi article is in English, I reference *Indian Opinion* (hereafter *IO*). When the original Gandhi article is in Gujarati, I additionally reference the translation in CWMG.

3. For the influence of women on Gandhi's values and nonviolent methods, please see George Paxton, *Sonja Schlesin: Gandhi's South African Secretary*

(Glasgow, Scotland: Pax Books, 2006); Geraldine Forbes, "Gandhi's Debt to Women and Women's Debt to Gandhi," keynote address of the Southeast World History Association (SEWHA) Conference, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, Florida October 10-11, 2014; and Gail Presbey, "The Role of the British Suffragettes in Influencing Women's Nonviolent Protest in South Africa, 1907-1913," paper presented at the Midwest Conference on British Studies, Wayne State University, September 2015.

4. "Coloured" designated one of the racialized identities of early twentieth-century South Africa.

5. William Beinart and Saul Dubow (eds.), *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 3.

6. Rajmohan Gandhi, *Gandhi: The Man, His People, and the Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 107. John Tengo Jabavu was a South African journalist and political activist, who was editor of the first newspaper in the Xhosa language.

7. Maureen Swan, *Gandhi: The South African Experience* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985), 59-60.

8. Abdullah Abdurahman, *Say It Out Loud*: *The APO Presidential Addresses and Other Major Political Speeches, 1906-1940, of Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman* (Western Cape Institute for Historical Research [IHR], University of the Western Cape, 1990), 4; "Mr Gokhale's Visit," *Ilanga lase Natal*, November 15, 1912.

9. Hofmeyer, *Gandhi's Printing Press*, 129.

10. Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 25. Slate quotes *Indian Opinion*, 15 July 1911, in CWMG.

11. "An Inter-State Native College," *IO*, 17 March 1906, 156. See also Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*, 24-25.

12. "Ohlange," *IO,* 30 November 1907, 496.

13. "The Awakening of the Natives: Mr. Dube's Address," *IO*, 10 February 1912, 46-47.

14. Ramachandra Guha, *Gandhi before India* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 427-28; 267.

15. Guha, *Gandhi before India,* 267.

16. Ibid., 485.

17. Heather Hughes, *First President: A Life of John Dube, Founding President of the ANC* (Auckland Park, South Africa: Jacana Media, 2011), 110.

18. Ibid., 108-111.

19. Uma Shashikant Mesthrie, "From Advocacy to Mobilization: *Indian Opinion*, 1903-1914," in *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960s,* ed. Les Switzer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 110.

20. Anil Nauriya, "Gandhi and Some Contemporary African Leaders from KwaZulu-Natal," *Natalia* 42 (2012): 46. http://natalia.org.za/Files/42/Natalia%20 42%20Article%20Nauriya%20pp%2045-64,pdf.pdf), accessed 6 February 2016.

21. "The Duty of Transvaal Indians," *IO,* 10 June 1906.

22. See Nauriya, "Gandhi and Some Contemporary African Leaders from KwaZulu-Natal," 50.

23. "The Coloured People's Petition," *Indian Opinion*, 24 March 1906, in Gujarati, CWMG 5:135-136. For Abdurahman's speech, see *IO*, 31 March 1906, in Gujarati; "Johannesburg Letter: Dr. Abdurahman's Address," CWMG 5:151-153.

24. Julia Wells, *We Now Demand! The History of Women's Resistance to Pass Laws in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1993), 57; see also Adhikari, "Voice of the Coloured Elite: *APO*, 1909-1923," 131.

25. J. N. Uppal, *Gandhi: Ordained in South Africa*

(New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1995), 281; see also James Hunt, "Gandhi and the Black People of South Africa," *Gandhi Marg* 11, 1 (1989): 7-24, reference 14.

26. Quoted in Wells, *We Now Demand!*, 37.

27. Hunt, "Gandhi and the Black People of South Africa," 14.

28. Abdurahman, *APO,* 4 December 1909.

29. Abdurahman, "Persecution in Pretoria: Passive Resistance," *APO,* 26 February 1910, 5.

30. Quoted in Wells, *We Now Demand!*, 37.

31. "The Cape Coloured People," *IO*, 26 February 1910, 70. See also "Abdurahman's Indignation," *IO*, 26 February 1910, in Gujarati, CWMG 10:432-433.

32. "The Struggle of the Coloured Races: Passive Resistance Urged," *IO*, 26 February 1910, 72.

33. Gandhi, "Open Letter," circulated 19 December 1894, CWMG 1:186.

34. "Brave Bengalis," *IO*, 28 October 1905, in Gujarati, CWMG 4:468-69.

35. Gandhi, "Russia and India," *IO,* 11 November 1905, in Gujarati, CWMG 5:7-8.

36. "Johannesburg Letter," *IO*, 1 June 1907, in Gujarati, CWMG 6:488-493, quote on 490.

37. *IO*, 25 July 1908, in Gujarati, CWMG 8:474.

38. See Ian Christopher Fletcher, "Reframing the Edwardian Crisis: Contentious Citizenship in the British Empire before the First World War," *World History Bulletin* 29, 2 (Fall 2013): 39; Elaine N. Katz, *A Trade Union Aristocracy: A History of White Workers in the Transvaal and the General Strike of 1913* (Johannesburg: African Studies Institute, 1976). We should note that Gandhi did not comment on a January 1911 strike of African mine workers who were subsequently imprisoned and forced to return to work under new South African laws.

39. "Riot in Johannesburg," *IO,* July 12, 1913, in Gujarati, CWMG 13:200-203.

40. Wells, *We Now Demand!*, 37.

41. See Gandhi, CWMG 12:348.

42. Gandhi said that he and other Indian men were reluctant to have their wives engage in activity which could land them in a foreign jail. More details in Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, chapter 39, 251-256; "Indian Women and Passive Resisters," *IO* 10 May, 1913, 1.

43. Gasa, "Let them Build More Gaols," 137. Meshtrie, "From Advocacy to Mobilization," 117; "Native Women's Brave Stand," *IO*, 2 August 1913, 1. See also "Native Women Passive Resisters," *IO*, 5 July 1913, 163.

44. Abdurahman, "1913 Presidential Address," 54. See also Abdurahman, "Variant Views," *APO*, 26 February 1910, 6.

45. Gandhi, "Letter to Secretary for Interior," CWMG 13:332-333.

46. Gandhi, CWMG 13:371.

47. Gandhi, CWMG 12:374-376.

48. Enuga S. Reddy, *Gandhiji's Vision of a Free South Africa* (New Delhi: Sanchar, 1995), 85.

49. Kalpana Hiralal, "Satyagraha on Natal's Coal Mines," in *1913, Satyagraha, Passive Resistance and its Legacy*, ed. Devarakshanam (Betty) Govinden and Kalpana Hiralal (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2015), 63-84, esp. 78.

50. "Dr. Abdurahman and Passive Resistance," *IO*, 3 December 1913, 304.

Transimperial Passages: V.D. Savarkar and Aurobindo Ghose between the British and French Empires, 1907-1911

Yaël Simpson Fletcher, Independent Scholar

On 8 July 1910, the Indian revolutionary Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, en route from arrest in London to prison in India, leapt from his ship and swam ashore in the French port of Marseilles. Officials were already concerned that his compatriots in France would be in the port city, ready to receive Savarkar and assist in any asylum claim. In the event, a French policeman returned the escaped prisoner to the ship. As a diplomatic incident, it became a case for the international court of arbitration at The Hague. In India earlier that same year, a sedition prosecution threatened the well-known radical Aurobindo Ghose, recently released from a year's detention (as one of the accused in a conspiracy trial). Fleeing possible arrest, Ghose took refuge in one of the pocket territories of French India. Both Savarkar and the British-educated Ghose belonged to worldwide anticolonial advocacy and activist networks. Indian nationalists, both moderate and militant, regularly traveled between India and Britain as well as sojourned in Indian communities in South Africa and other parts of the empire. Some ventured farther afield to China and Japan, France and Germany, and the United States. For a colonial subject, however, crossing state borders was a passage between empires, not nations.

In this essay, I explore interactions among Indian nationalists seeking refuge in France and its empire, their French sympathizers, and the French press. I focus on the years of anti-colonial and revolutionary ferment in the period before the First World War.

In 1905, the triumph of Japan over Russia inspired colonized peoples across the globe, and the first Russian revolution, although defeated, revealed the potential of the international workers' movement. But the imperial powers were also consolidating. After a period of intense rivalry, particularly in Egypt and North Africa, the British and French empires had resolved their tensions with the entente of 1904. Their shared concern about German expansionism foreshadowed their close alliance ten years later.

In India, the anti-British *swadeshi* movement took the form of economic boycott of foreign goods and efforts to replace them with home manufactures. But with widening mobilization came heightened repression; Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, capped his harsh policies with the partition of the province of Bengal, seeking to divide and weaken its nationalist elite. Bengalis responded with mass protests, and the Indian press denounced the partition. The authorities arrested many activists, however moderate their politics, and put pressure on opposition newspapers. In coming years, despite several high profile assassinations, the British dogged the small clandestine groups and imprisoned or forced into exile a broader range of nationalists. However, the government could not prevent the circulation of influential nationalist texts written by the likes of Savarkar and Ghose. Taking advantage of metropolitan commitments to the rule of law and press freedoms, militant Indian nationalists found refuge in London and Paris.[1]

"India for the Indians," 1908-1909

In 1909, the conservative *Revue des deux mondes* declaimed: "In 1905, for the first time in modern times, Asia triumphed over Europe. The victory of the Japanese, ringing like a clear strike of a gong in a calm night, has shaken the Asiatic torpor. The yellow and black races have rubbed their eyes and cried out: 'China for the Chinese!' 'Persia for the Persians!' 'India for the Indians!'"[2] The author recounted the rise of Indian nationalism, criticized the severity of the British response, and presented French Indochina as a model of harmonious relations between metropole and colony.[3] He characterized the nationalist leaders, among whom he included Aurobindo Ghose, as an educated elite with anarchist sympathies and all too much influence over the peasant masses.[4] Anarchism, of course, with its violent conception of propaganda by the deed, had become a nightmare shared among early twentieth-century governments.

During the *swadeshi* movement, Aurobindo Ghose had joined with other "extremists" to challenge the "moderates" in the Indian National Congress, but eventually withdrew when the attempt failed. Although not an advocate of violence, Ghose

considered acts such as the assassination of officials a legitimate response to colonial oppression. Belonging to the next generation of radicals, V.D. Savarkar and his elder brother Ganesh explicitly called for revolutionary violence in 1905.[5] Like many of his compatriots, he came to London to study law in 1906. A charismatic speaker, he organized militant Indian students in India House, founded as a hostel by the wealthy revolutionary and publisher of the journal *Indian Sociologist*, Shyamaji Krishnavarma.[6] The 1909 arrest and sentencing of Ganesh Savarkar to transportation for life allegedly prompted V.D. Savarkar's shift from speech to action, and there are suggestions that he trained the assassin of Sir William Curzon Wyllie in London.[7]

Savarkar came to public attention with the 1908 secret publication and distribution of a pamphlet, "O Martyrs," commemorating those killed in the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58. It constructed a counter-narrative to the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of direct British administration of India. The socialist journal *l'Humanité* noted "the circulation across all India of a seditious pamphlet of great violence . . . that recalled the revolt that marked the first campaign of the war of Independence," blamed its defeat on lack of unity, and expressed the hope "that a united India will celebrate in 1917 the jubilee of the revolt by crushing the foreigner and revenging the martyrs!"[8]

It seemed to the British that the campaign began in earnest in April 1908, when an Indian nationalist killed two English women, mistaking their carriage for that of a British official. Aurobindo Ghose's younger brother, Barin, was involved; he and fourteen other alleged conspirators were soon arrested. Ghose and several others were taken into custody in Calcutta and delivered to the magistrate's court in Alipore. They were accused of treason; some confessed, but the evidence was very weak against those like Aurobindo Ghose, linked to the crime by a few allegedly incriminating documents.[9] *L'Humanité* remarked on the outpouring of support for the unnamed but easily identified Ghose, and the widespread indignation about keeping him imprisoned without bail. It reported, "the Hindu journals say that the rise of revolutionary agitation is due to the fact the English government refuses to give India autonomy, and to revisit the partition of Bengal."[10]

The trial lasted six months, from October 1908 until May 1909, and concluded with sentences of varying lengths for most of the defendants and the acquittal of Ghose.[11] Shortly after his release Ghose gave a long "non-political" speech to the Uttaparna Society for the Protection of Religion on the anniversary of a speech by another militant nationalist, Bipin Chandra Pal. The *Revue du monde musulman* expressed admiration for the British in India and quoted from this speech. It highlighted Ghose's spiritual awakening: "God gave me, in the Alipore prison, . . . two messages: the first is the task that is given to me is to raise up the nation; the second is that it is through the spirit of Hinduism that India will raise itself . . . [and once] strong, . . . spread out." The *Revue* makes Ghose sound like a delusional religious demagogue; significantly, it does not quote a passage with a different emphasis: "[India] does not rise as other countries do, for self or when she is strong, to trample on the weak. She is rising to shed the eternal light entrusted to her over the world. India has always existed for humanity and not for herself and it is for humanity and not for herself that she must be great."[12] I would suggest that Ghose here is offering a vision in a different register from European constructions of history and progress, one unlimited by time or place, open to all.

In very partial response to the nationalist demands, and in the hopes of calming the unrest, the British government in India introduced electoral and administrative reforms in November 1909. The Indian Councils Bill expanded the number of Hindu and Muslim elected representatives as well as the property-owning electorate. In December Ghose published a critique of the reforms: the limited scope of self-representation and self-government undermined the British promise of "a new era of constitutional progress," and the moderates in the Indian National Congress had proven unable to pursue "a robust and vigorous agitation for popular rights." He called on nationalists to "demand . . . reform based on those democratic principles which are ignored in Lord Morley's Reforms [such as] a literate electorate without distinction of creed, nationality or caste, freedom of election unhampered by exclusory clauses, an effective voice in legislation and finance and some check upon an arbitrary executive." Ghose anticipated that they would have to pressure the government

through "that refusal of co-operation which is termed passive resistance . . . [although] within the limits allowed us by the law."[13] This mild article provided the British authorities with the excuse to prosecute Ghose for sedition under the Press Act of 1910.[14]

France as Refuge, 1910

From the nineteenth century, French republican ideals and revolutionary traditions provided alternative narratives for the anti-colonial struggles of Indians under British rule. For example, in 1893 Aurobindo Ghose praised the "great vehement heart of the French populace [beating] . . . in unison with the grand ideas of Equality and Fraternity," and posited a French mode of "forward movement" much more suitable for the Indian nation than the British mechanistic model of progress.[15] He was impatient with the elitism, gradualism, and legalism of the moderate wing of the Indian National Congress, founded in cooperation with British liberals in 1885. By contrast, Ghose pointed to the French revolution's "vast and ignorant proletariat" who "blotted out in five terrible years the accumulated oppression of thirteen centuries."[16] French India, with its universal male suffrage, seemed to offer a model.[17] By 1909, however, Ghose no longer considered France an example of successful revolution. The promise of 1789 had been betrayed by spiritual and moral weakness across Europe.[18]

Even so, France offered a refuge for his revolutionary compatriots.[19] *L'Humanité* reporter Jean Longuet ended an interview with the radical nationalist Shyamaji Krishnavarma with a comment on how his mild appearance and pleasant manner gave no indication that he was "one of the most implacable adversaries of the most powerful empire in the World."[20] In early 1910 Krishnavarma expressed his appreciation for France with a donation for flood victims, accompanied by a letter to the president of Republic saying that he "had found on [French] soil a land devoted to the cause of liberty, a refuge and a generous hospitality since close to three years."[21] That January, threatened with arrest on a charge of conspiracy for the June 1909 assassination of the magistrate who had sentenced his brother, V.D. Savarkar joined Krishnavarma in Paris.

Ghose had published his criticism of the Indian Councils Bill in his journal *Karmayogin* in December 1909. Fearing prosecution, Ghose fled to neighboring French territory of Chandernagore, and then, a month later, to the larger territory of Pondicherry.[22] Although political asylum was not on offer, these French territories did provide a temporary haven for activists.[23] In the meantime, the printer of *Karmayogin* was arrested, tried for sedition, and sentenced; however, anticipating objections, the British government decided not to ask the French to extradite Ghose from Pondicherry. The printer appealed successfully, his conviction was set aside, and the warrant for Ghose was voided.[24]

V.D. Savarkar had a very different experience. He returned to London in March 1910 and was immediately arrested. In May it was determined that he should be sent to India to stand trial. Appeals delayed his departure until July, when Savarkar was put on board on a ship, the *Morea*, bound for India. When it briefly anchored in Marseilles, he jumped from the ship, swam to the dock, and ran to a French policeman in order to initiate a claim for political asylum in France. Several of his British guards pursued Savarkar, and the Frenchman allowed him to be taken back to the ship. It was clearly a very dramatic event, but accounts of what happened vary widely.[25] Once the incident was publicized in a British newspaper, *l'Humanité* immediately began its own investigation and Jean Longuet wrote a lengthy article denouncing "this abominable violation of the right of asylum."[26]

The French press characterized Savarkar as a revolutionary, a young Hindu student, and, for the socialists, a comrade and patriot.[27] Republican, radical, and socialist journals all agreed, however, that it was self-evident that Savarkar, having set foot on French soil, had the right to asylum. Furthermore, in refusing to honor this right and return him to France, Britain betrayed its own admirable principles and practice.[28] French and British socialist leaders brought the international socialist movement into the campaign for justice. The International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen in September 1910 passed a resolution condemning violations of the right of asylum that cited the Savarkar case in particular. It asserted not only that Britain had acted against its own tradition, but also that Savarkar's seizure on French soil had no precedent.[29] By October, this uproar had led to an agreement to take the case to arbitration at The

Hague.[30]

The Indian revolutionary community in Paris, led by Krishnavarma, had mobilized in support of Savarkar; they publicized his case and raised funds for his defense. Mme Bhikaji Rustomji Cama, who operated in Geneva as well as Paris, worked closely with socialist lawyer and *l'Humanité* correspondent Jean Longuet to keep the public appraised of developments and to pressure political leaders; she hired Longuet to represent Savarkar at the arbitration proceedings.[31] Documents filed at The Hague in the fall of 1910 presented the case for France, demanding the return of Savarkar, and the counter case for Britain, claiming that there was a prior agreement regarding the prevention of access to the port of Marseilles for Indian revolutionaries. The case came to arbitration in January and February 1911.[32]

Disillusion 1911

The French public paid close attention to the hearings; in February a local syndicalist paper reported that 5,000 Marseillais workers included Savarkar in their demand for "truth and justice" for imprisoned militants in France and overseas.[33] As evidence emerged that the British case rested on telegrams warning of Indian revolutionary activity sent by Scotland Yard to the director of the French security services, the socialist press in particular raised the alarm. *L'Humanité* warned that such cooperation "would place all political refugees under the dictatorship of the police of Europe, forming a new 'Sacred Alliance' of international informers."[34]

The judgment handed down on 24 February 1911 declared that Britain was not in fact required to return Savarkar to France. This decision prompted quite divergent responses: the socialists, of course, were outraged, claiming that it not only revealed the class bias of The Hague, but also proved the bankruptcy of the idea of arbitration for peace. It demonstrated the consequences of the "entente cordiale" with Britain.[35] Republicans and radicals regretted the result, but did not doubt the justice of The Hague court.[36] The mainstream literary journal *Les Annales politiques et littéraires* probably expressed their common hope that "Savarkar, who has been condemned in Bombay to a lifetime in prison, will be pardoned."[37] Savarkar's status, however, immediately changed for the worse; from a political prisoner with his own clothes, better food, and possibility of leaving for France, he became a regular prisoner destined for transportation to the Andaman Islands.[38]

Meanwhile Aurobindo Ghose was threatened with deportation from Pondicherry. V.V.S. Aiyer, a revolutionary close to both Savarkar and Krishnavarma, had taken refuge in the French territory. He was subsequently linked with the assassination of a Madras official in the summer of 1911. Although Ghose was not involved, the British sent a letter to Paris requesting his extradition. As luck would have it, the letter fell into the hands of a close relative of one of Sri Aurobindo's early French disciples, Paul Richard. In a simple act of resistance, the official discreetly filed it in his desk drawer.[39]

Conclusion

Aurobindo Ghose and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar lived in a world of "empire-states," to borrow the phrase of Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper.[40] Far from monolithic, the British and French empires provided openings for anticolonial advocacy and activism. The borders of colonial India, with British, French, and Portuguese holdings as well as myriad dependent princely states, were a geographical indicator of the imperial and global forces that helped shape Indian nationalism. If nationalists envisioned a national India, they still traversed a transimperial India and circulated around an Indian diaspora. But in 1911, no one could foresee the shape or course of Indian nationalism a decade later. After the First World War, Mohandas Gandhi mobilized millions in nonviolent resistance to British rule. Neither Savarkar nor Ghose participated in this movement: they followed quite different trajectories. Released early from prison, Savarkar became a major Hindu nationalist leader, remaining a proponent of revolutionary violence to the end. He is now a controversial icon for the Hindu right. Aurobindo Ghose stayed in seclusion in Pondicherry, devoting his time and writing to spiritual concerns and gaining a worldwide following. However, both are examples of the vibrant early twentieth-century global networks of anti-colonial activism that prepared the ground for the later struggles for independence. These networks crossed spaces territorialized by multiple empires. For those radicals and revolutionaries who sought to challenge

colonial rule, transimperial passages could be routes of escape—or voyages of the condemned.

Notes:

1. See K. Antonova, G. Bongard-Levin, and G. Kotovsy, *A History of India* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978), 2: 123-35, 139-45.

2. A. Davin, "L'Inde aux Indous," *Revue des deux mondes* 53 (1 Aug. 1909): 578-611; quote 578. All translations from the French are my own.

3. Of course, French rule in Indochina was hardly uncontested by Vietnamese nationalists in this period. See Truong Buu Lam, *Colonialism Experienced: Vietnamese Writings on Colonialism, 1900-1931* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

4. Davin, "L'Inde aux Indous," 579-83.

5. Richard J. Popplewell, *Intelligence and Imperial Defence: British Intelligence and the Defence of the Indian Empire, 1904-1924* (London: Frank Cass, 1995), 63; Harindra Srivastava, *Five Stormy Years: Savarkar in London, June 1906 - June 1911* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1983), 13.

6. For the activities of Indian militants in London, see Popplewell, *Intelligence and Imperial Defense*, ch. 5. On the life and politics of Shyamji Krishnavarma, see Harald Fischer-Tiné, *Shyamji Krishnavarma: Sanskrit, Sociology and Anti-Imperialism* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014).

7. Popplewell, *Intelligence and Imperial Defense*, 130-33, 139, 145.

8. *L'Humanité*, 23 June 1908; for the printing and distribution of this pamphlet, see James Campell Ker, *Political Trouble in India, 1907-1917* (1917; repr., Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1973), 176.

9. For a detailed account of the arrests and trial, see Peter Heehs, *The Lives of Sri Aurobindo* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 159-82.

10. *L'Humanité*, 6 May 1908.

11. Heehs, *The Lives of Sri Aurobindo*, 181-82.

12. Ghose, "Uttapara Speech" (30 May 1909), in *The Essential Writings of Sri Aurobindo*, ed. Peter Heehs (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), 35.

13. Ghose, "To My Coutrymen," *Karmayogin*, 25 Dec. 1909, in *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*, vol. 8: *Karmayogin: Political Writings and Speeches, 1909-1910* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Press, 1997), 372-76.

14. Heehs, *The Lives of Sri Aurobindo*, 202-3.

15. Aurobindo Ghose, "Political Machinary vs. Development of Social Character" (Oct. 1893), in *Nationalism, Religion, and Beyond: Writings on Politics, Society, and Culture by Sri Aurobindo*, ed. Peter Heehs (New Dehli: Pauls Press, 2005), 51-52.

16. Ghose, "British and French Approaches to Political Change" (Sept. 1893), in *Nationalism, Religion, and Beyond*, 118.

17. "Universal" manhood suffrage was actually quite limited in practice (by race, class, education, and political access). See Penny Edwards, "A Strategic Sanctuary: Reading *l'Inde française* through the Colonial Archives," *Interventions* 12, no. 3 (2010): 356-67.

18. Ghose, "The Failure of Europe," *Karmayogin*, 26 June 1909, in *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*, 8: 56-57.

19. For allegations of the training of Indian revolutionaries in explosives by Russian anarchists in Paris in 1907, see Ker, *Political Trouble in India,* 142-45; Heehs, *The Lives of Sri Aurobindo*, 120.

20. *L'Humanité*, 18 Feb. 1909.

21. *L'Humanité*, 1 Feb. 1910.

22. For a detailed account of his trips, see Heehs, *The Lives of Sri Aurobindo*, 205-9.

23. A.C. Bose, ed., *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad,*

1905-1927: Select Documents (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 2002), 49, 70-72.

24. Heehs, *The Lives of Sri Aurobindo*, 219; Ker, *Political Trouble in India,* 87. There was an agreement between the governments of the British and French territories in India that "delinquents, even those guilty of political offenses, would be returned . . . asylum is suspended for these possessions in regards to each other." Maurice Hamelin, *l'Affaire Savarkar: Différend anglo-français en matière de droit d'asile et d'extradition* (Paris: Recueil Général de Jurisprudence, de Doctrine et de Législation Coloniales, 1911), 9.

25. For earlier attempts to help Savarkar escape from prison in London, see David Garnett, *The Golden Echo* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954), 153-61. On the multiple narratives of the escape, see Srivastava, *Five Stormy Years*, ch. 5.

26. *L'Humanité*, 12 July 1910.

27. For example, see *la Lanterne*, 31 July 1910, 16, 26 Feb. 1911; *l'Humanité*, 12 July 1910, 6 Sept. 1910; *le Socialiste du Gers*, 31 July 1910.

28. For example, see *la Lanterne*, 21, 24 July 1910, 26 Feb. 1911; *le Rappel*, 24 July 1910, 19 Sept. 1910.

29. Jean Longuet, *Le mouvement socialiste international* (1913; repr., Geneva: Minkoff, 1976), 67-68; *l'Humanité*, 6 Sept. 1910.

30. 1910 [Cd. 5394] Treaty Series, no. 25, *Agreement between the the United Kingdom and France referring to arbitration the case of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1910), House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online.

31. See *l'Humanité*, 1 Aug. 1910, 14 Feb. 1911; Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*, 43, 65; Ker, *Political Trouble in India*, 209; Pierre Khorat, "Le problème politique dans l'Inde anglaise et dans l'Indochine française," *Revue des deux mondes* 81 (15 Apr. 1911), 897. For Mme Cama, see Radha Kumar, *The History of Doing: An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India, 1800-1990* (London: Verso, 1993), 46-47.

32. La Cour Permanente d'Arbitrage, *l'Affaire Savarkar: Mémoire présenté par le gouvernment de la République française* (Paris: Imprimérie nationale, 1910); Permanent Court of Arbitration, *Savarkar Arbitration: Counter-Case presented on behalf of the Government of His Britannic Majesty* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1911); Auguste Marie François Beernaert, Bureau International de la Cour Permanente d'Arbitrage, *Protocoles des séances et sentence du Tribunal d'Arbitage constitué en exécution du Compromis signé entre la France et la Grande-Bretagne le 25 octobre 1910: Differend au sujet de l'arrestation et de la réintégration à bord du paquebot "Morea" le 8 juillet 1910, à Marseille du sujet britannique (British Indian) Savarkar* (La Haye: Van Langenhuyssen Frères, 1911), http://heinonline.org, accessed 2 Oct. 2014.

33. *L'Ouvrier syndiqué: Bulletin officiel de l'Union des Chambres Syndicales Ouvrières des Bouches-du-Rhône et de la Bourse du Travail de Marseille*, 15 Feb. 1911.

34. *L'Humanité*, 20 Feb. 1911; see also *l'Insurgé*, 19 Feb. 1911.

35. *L'Humanité*, 26 Feb. 1911; *l'Ouvrier syndiqué*, 15 Mar., 1 Apr., 15 July 1911.

36. For example, see *la Lanterne*, 26 Feb. 1911.

37. *Les Annales politiques et littéraires* (Mar. 1911): 240.

38. Veer Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, *My Transportation for Life*, trans. V. N. Naik (1949; Bombay: Veer Savarkar Prakashan, 1984), 1.

39. Heehs, *The Lives of Sri Aurobindo*, 229-32. Paul Richard's wife Mirra Alfassa later became Sri Aurobindo's spiritual consort. See Michael Paul Richard, *Without Passport: The Life and Work of Paul Richard* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), ch. 4.

40. Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 8, 235.

From *Ghadar* (Revolt) to Home Rule: Arguments about Violence, Nonviolence, and Race in the Struggle to Liberate India during the First World War

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Indians resisted the British both violently and nonviolently during the First World War. The *Ghadar* (revolt) movement, with operatives around the Pacific Rim from California to Singapore, used the methods of violent uprising to challenge the British. The Home Rule movement emerged in 1916 in India and used more circumspect and moderate methods. The improvised *Ghadar* movement, while threatening to have a big impact initially, failed and the British were able to engineer effective countermeasures and the war dragged out; thus nonviolent alternatives through the Home Rule movement appeared to look better to those struggling for Indian freedom. What connections were there between the *Ghadar* and Home Rule movements? The use of a racial global color line and international networks of activists were important elements for both movements. The ideas of a shared racial struggle against a white supremacist empire and international solidarity through global connections both played significant roles in the *Ghadar* and the Home Rule campaigns and were arguments both movements drew upon. The main differences included their method: violent, openly rebellious subversion as opposed to political agitation. Yet the British did not distinguish between the two and were keen to connect them, painting the Home Rule movement and its advocates as part of a wider conspiracy and as violent and dangerous.

Studying the *Ghadar* and Home Rule movements is significant for world history as they provide windows into a much larger vista both geographically and chronologically. They formed a part of the Indian nationalist movement and the larger global anti-colonial struggle that preceded and would follow the First World War era. The decade before, amidst the excitement over an Asian victory in the Russo-Japanese war (1904-5), the *Swadeshi* movement (1903-8) had erupted over the British partition of Bengal and developed a *bhadralok* (Bengali upper and middle class)-led peaceful mass movement as well as a terrorist campaign of assassinating British officials.[1] Following the First World War, Gandhi returned to India from South Africa and helped lead almost three decades of nonviolent agitation against the British through the Khilafat/Non-Cooperation Movement (1920-22), the Salt March (1930), and Quit India (1942).[2] Throughout all these movements there was a debate about how to conduct the struggle. Moderates advocated restraint while extremists were willing to use assassination and armed rebellion. One can trace a dialogue between these positions as Gandhi reflects in *Hind Swaraj* (Indian Self-Rule) that he wrote in several weeks on a sea voyage in November 1909 in part as a response against the advocates of violence Vinayak Savarkar and Shyamji Krishnavarma, whose work of advocacy in London at India House culminated in the assassination of Sir William Curzon Wyllie four months early on 1 July 1909.[3] This dialogic debate continued for four decades, with other generations of rebels including Bhagat Singh, Surya Sen, and others who advocated using violent force against the British.[4]

Woven around the debates on violence were issues of race. The *Ghadar* movement pointed to racial injustices as motivation to strike back against the racism-infused imperial system they opposed. Home Rule advocates also used race, but slightly differently as Gandhi and nonviolent advocates tended to downplay racial differences, advocating instead a common humanity based on liberalism and his kindly interpretation of religion.[5] Gandhi himself had an ambiguous record on race early in his career in South Africa as he supported Indian rights but lived in a deeply racist society and had to choose which side of the color line to stand. Working to improve the rights of Indians, in 1896 he campaigned to create a third, separate entrance for Indians to the post offices in Durban, thus participating in racist categories.[6] It is important to keep both the debates over method and the importance of race in mind as one examines the violent *Ghadar* and nonviolent Indian Home Rule responses to the British during the First World War.

The *Ghadar* movement took its name from the bloody 1857 revolt that raged across northern India, what the British called a Mutiny, the last significant uprising against British colonial rule. The majority of *Ghadar* adherents emerged from the West Coast of North America. As a diasporic labor organizer and, briefly, Stanford University lecturer, Lala Har Dayal

(1884-1939) founded the *Ghadar* periodical in 1913 and traveled up and down the region, rallying to the cause of anti-colonial resistance the Indian immigrant population, several thousand mostly Sikh agricultural workers, many of whom were veterans of the British Indian army.[7] The message was aggressive, defiant, and openly rebellious, as indicated in this typical leaflet from 1914 entitled "Indian Soldiers! Do Not Fight with Germany": "Now Germany has got our enemy in her power, (and) therefore this is a very good time to raise a mutiny and kill the English, and take our revenge. Strike them and turn them out of India. Liberate India."[8]

As Germans in Europe boarded trains for the front and marched towards Paris, hundreds of Indian volunteers in neutral California boarded ships and headed across the Pacific for India. Networks of German agents in the neutral U.S. and across Asia helped to channel *Ghadar* recruits and smuggle arms for the rebellion. The time was auspicious as most British troops and attention were in Europe. Although almost a thousand *Ghadar*ites returned home to India, the British were waiting for them and were willing to use force to stop the would-be revolutionaries.[9] There was an abortive uprising in early 1915, compromised by informers. The British enacted repression including the 1915 Defence of India Act enforcing restrictions to assembly, the press, allowing extended confinement without trial of suspected Indians, with special courts ordering 46 executions and 64 life sentences.[10] The *Ghadar* movement, although it did not achieve its immediate objective of overthrowing the British, did serve as an example of mass movement towards the eventual goal of independence.

A violent uprising having failed, Indian activists turned to less extreme methods, organizing groups that advocated a political solution through Home Rule leagues. The white settler colonies like Canada and Australia had achieved self-governance from Britain, and Indians sought to follow this path through two branches of a Home Rule League. One branch appeared in April 1916, led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920), and the other led by Annie Besant (1847-1933), also the leader of the religious Theosophical Society based in Adyar, near Madras (now Chennai), India.[11] She had embraced many philosophies along her path to India, from a mother and wife of a domestically violent Protestant minister in England, to a freethinking atheist, advocate of birth control, socialist feminist labor organizer, to a Theosophist when she read the works and then met the founder Madame Blavatsky. Although there was tension between Tilak and Besant, the two leagues maintained separate spheres and a shared vision of limiting British control in India.[12] Besant was the least radical of the two, as her ultimate goal, like Gandhi's, was to maintain friendship between Britain and India, and she thought Indian Home Rule would provide greater independence within the framework of the British Empire, thus preventing a complete break.[13] When Gandhi was giving a speech at Benares University in 1916, Besant thought he was inciting the students towards radical action and so intervened, stopping his speech. Despite her moderation, the British were touchy enough in June 1917 to intern her and several of her Theosophical associates, Arundale and Wadia, a move that helped her become the Indian National Congress President in 1917.[14]

Although the *Ghadar* and Home Rule movements disagreed on the methods they used to pursue independence, two other elements that were important to both were race and international connections. These elements had a longer history, one shared by the friendship of Punjabi leader Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928) and NAACP founder W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963). Shortly after making friends with Rai during his 1905 tour of the United States, Du Bois published an essay *The Color Line Belts the World* (1906): "The Negro problem in America is but a local phase of a world problem. 'The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the Color Line.'"[15] During his stay in exile in the U.S. (1914-1919), Rai likewise wrote about the "colour line," and described the depth of racism and its hypocrisy in the U.S. when he related his encounter with it there, how:

> A white man expressing with great bitterness his feeling against the negro race, arguing that the Negro must be kept down, else it would lead to the mongrelization of the white race. The next morning…another white man with whom I was walking, pointed out to me a neat cottage, the home of the Negro family of the white man who had talked with me on the previous evening. And I saw this man's colored children in the yard.[16]

Many of the *Ghadar* volunteers were very well aware

of this color line and were galvanized into action by a recent international racial debacle on the eve of the First World War: the attempted immigration to Canada of the passengers of the *Komagatu Maru*. Challenging the "continuous journey" barrier that racist officials in Canada and the British Empire set up to hinder South Asian immigration to North America, this chartered ship arrived in Vancouver harbor on 23 May 1914, where Canadian officials refused it entry and provisions, resulting in a two-month standoff until it sailed back to Asia 23 July 1914 – motivation for many South Asian residents in North America to join the *Ghadar* and resist British rule.[17] A *Ghadar* editor's letter to U.S. President Wilson argued, "The Hindus belong to the Indo-Aryan Caucasian race. They are not behind any race or any nation in ability, but the sun of their natural gifts is hidden by the fog of slavery." It went on to point out, "If you would free India from the clutches of the British, then India would be ready to live up to the very principles which you have laid down better than any other people in the world."[18] Yet instead of reaching out to Indians, the U.S. government closed its doors. Under the pressure of the war, in the U.S. there was a shift during the First World War against anti-radicalism that helped to link the already present anti-Asian racism with British-influenced crackdown on anti-imperial *Ghadar* forces in North America. Fears of the "Hindu menace" helped to pass the 1917 Immigration act barring most Asians from entry into the U.S.[19] The gates would remain largely shut to South Asians for a half century until 1965.[20]

The Home Rule Leagues also listed racism among their list of grievances against the British. Besant's *New India* journal argued in 1916: "Indians are not satisfied with the existing mode of administration. The principles of equity and justice laid down are not observed in the everyday administration." Race was at the heart of this injustice: "Cruel injustice, sinister unfairness, a provoking colour bar policy compel the Indians to fight for their rights against the insidious force of mere might."[21] Theosophical religious doctrine borrowing Indian concepts of reincarnation provided Besant with a special link to her Indian followers, as she explained that even though her body happened to be from Britain, her Indian soul temporarily "went to the West to take up this white body," presumably for the express purpose of aiding in the independence struggle.[22] The striving to overcome racial oppression that motivated both *Ghadar* and Home Rule advocates was itself part of a much wider color line that, as Du Bois argued, "belted the world," which is a fitting metaphor as a belt can double as a lash.

In addition to their concern with racial issues, the *Ghadar* and Indian Home Rule movements also drew upon international connections for models of inspiration and to put those plans into action alongside comrades also in exile. International anarchist, syndicalist, and socialist movements, as well as revolutionaries from Ireland, Mexico, and Russia.[23] World historians are uniquely positioned to examine these cosmopolitan figures who traveled widely, developed their ideas in exile, and in contact with others outside India. They saw themselves as part of global labor and anti-imperial struggles. Their opponents, the British colonial administrators and police officials, were also cosmopolitan and part of a well-coordinated, global imperial system, responding to localized threats from a global perspective, making connections between geographically disparate figures.

The Ghadarites not only traversed the Pacific but maintained contact with a Berlin Committee in Germany who in turn sent delegations to the Ottoman Empire, the Middle East, Afghanistan, as well as having contacts in the Far East including Hong Kong and Japan.[24] A mutiny among Indian troops in Singapore in 1915 the British were able to quell with the help of Russian and Japanese sailors in the area.[25] Likewise, the roots of the Indian Home Rule League was in Europe with the Irish Home Rule movement.[26] The British were sensitive to this Irish connection, pointing out that Besant, though born in London, had Irish parents. Furthermore, at Madanapalle College, a British report in 1916 warned, "The entire staff, including a European, Cousins [in margin: "an Irish Nationalist"], are rabid Home Rulers."[27]

During the war the British conflated the *Ghadar* and Home Rule movements, attributing violence to Annie Besant as a way for the Madras government to ban students from political meetings.[28] The Director of Criminal Intelligence (CID) in Delhi published a 55-page booklet, a "Note on the Theosophical Society," highlighting some of what he saw as the dangerous, seditious activities Besant and Theosophists were pursuing in India, especially in

corrupting the Indian youth at Madanapalle College, one of the Theosophical Educational Trust schools. The British CID argued that Besant's statements "are typical of the violent attacks Mrs. Besant has been making on officials in India." They went on to characterize the situation as a "grave danger" as the school was "extremely morbid and unhealthy."[29] The report detailed how "Mr. Moore, the principal…would enter a class room to find scribbled on the blackboard 'We do not ask for Home Rule, we demand it.'" When he was giving a class "on the French Revolution and asking the boys if they knew what a revolution was, one small boy jumped up and said, 'Yes Sir, what we are going to have in India.'" The lecturers "when dealing with subjects that give an opportunity for it, such as history, work round insidiously always to this point – Home Rule."[30]

For *Ghadar*, there was a lack of a debate about violence or use of nonviolence, as they were keen to charge into the war, as were many combatants, although some privately may have had second thoughts after their 1915 failures. The emergence of the Home Rule movement itself was a political, less overtly oppositional track against British rule. Yet Besant was hardly a firebrand. Even Gandhi, who had returned to India in 1915, largely followed the predominant path of Indians showing loyalty to the Empire during its time of need in the hopes of being rewarded for their service with political reform. Gandhi helped raise an Indian ambulance unit in London in 1914, and then, along with Tilak, actually recruited and fundraised for the British in 1918, which caused him much distress and criticism from his pacifist friends.[31]

We can consider the question of efficacy of violence vs. nonviolence in the context of the First World War, that is, which had greater impact on the British, violent or nonviolent movements? It is significant that the British themselves conflated the two, jailing Besant and other Home Rule activists. The larger question is, was India freed by nonviolence, as Mountbatten claimed in 1947? "Arriving in Delhi by train on 31 March [1947], Gandhi had a 90-minute interview with Mountbatten that day…the Viceroy began by remarking, in truth or flattery or both, that Gandhi's 'non-violence had won' and that the British 'had decided to quit as a result of India's non-violent struggle.'"[32] This question remains unanswered, and I need more data and suggestions about how to think about the problem. I suspect that having a combination of both overtly violent (*Ghadar*) and mostly nonviolent political (Home Rule) effort made a bigger impact on British and Indians than one or the other alone. The threat of violence from the *Ghadar* made British officials more suspicious and draconian in their repression, which helped create a backlash against them, most clearly emerging after the war in the Anti-Rowlatt Act Satyagraha and Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Campaign. Perhaps it is also not insignificant that British repression managed to unite heretofore safely divided factions of Indians in the British divide and rule scheme. From 1916 the Muslim League and Congress worked together through the end of the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1922. It is not coincidental that this cooperation emerged during a period of repression brought on by fierce *Ghadar* and then Home Rule opposition to British rule.

Movements hoping to free India emerged during the First World War, when the *Ghadar* group, based in California, spread a message of sedition and rebellion and tried to overthrow colonial rule in India. The British successfully quelled the *Ghadar*'s enthusiastic but impulsive actions by 1915, and yet their propaganda work, which continued throughout the war, threatened to destabilize the Raj. By 1917, dual Home Rule leagues under Annie Besant and B.G. Tilak vied for political traction in India. Bipan Chandra argues about the importance of the Home Rule movement as laying the foundation for later struggle: "The tremendous achievement of the Home Rule Movement and its legacy was that it created a generation of ardent nationalists who formed the backbone of the national movement in the coming years when, under the leadership of the Mahatma, it entered its truly mass phase."[33] We should also consider the impact of the violent corollaries of Home Rule. This wide spectrum of wartime efforts to unseat the British generated rich debates about violence and nonviolence in the anticolonial struggle. Alternative views of the way to achieve an independent India rather than working at cross-purposes, helped to unite together in a wave of resistance against the British. Neither the *Ghadar* nor the Home Rule movement achieved their immediate goals, but both movements nevertheless helped to inspire a wider generation of Indians to participate in the struggles for independence

in the coming three decades.[34]

Notes:

1. Hiren Chakrabarti, *Political Protest in Bengal: Boycott and Terrorism 1905-18* (Calcutta, India: Papyrus, 1992), 5-6. *Swadeshi* is from Sanskrit, literally meaning of "one's own [*swa*] country [*deshi*]," and refers to Indian "self-help" by supporting Indian-made products and even going so far as to burn imported British-made goods. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885-1947* (Delhi: Macmillan, 1983), 113-117.

2. Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence, 1857-1947* (New Delhi, India: Viking, 1988). Quit India did turn into a violent guerrilla uprising, but the British threw Gandhi in jail quickly at its beginning so he was not in a position to try and stop the violence, although even he relaxed his disapproval of his countrymen who did use violence; see Francis G. Hutchins, *India's Revolution: Gandhi and the Quit India Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 198-9.

3. Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, ed. Anthony J. Parel (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Harald Fischer-Tiné, *Shyamji Krishnavarma: Sanskrit, Sociology and Anti-Imperialism* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014), 111; Rehana Ahmed and Sumita Mukherjee, *South Asian Resistances in Britain, 1858-1947* (New York: Continuum, 2012), 6-8. Gandhi's assassin in 1948 would be a disciple of the Hindu nationalist Savarkar.

4. Chandra, *India's Struggle*, 251-258.

5. Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Confluence of Thought: Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 77-79, 81.

6. Bal Ram Nanda, *Gandhi and His Critics* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985), 27-33; Chakrabarty, *Confluence of Thought*, 80.

7. Maia Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), 2. Other useful sources include Nirode K. Barooah, *Chatto: the Life and Times of an Indian Anti-imperialist in Europe* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004); Emily C. Brown, *Har Dayal: Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1975); Harold Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students, and Spies: The India Lobby in the United States, 1900-1946* (New Delhi: Sage, 2006); Mark Bevir, "The Formation of the All India Home Rule League," *Indian Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 3 (1991): 341-356.

8. Underlined emphasis in original, undated. United States National Archives, San Francisco (San Bruno, California), RG118 Box 1 Folder 2, p. 3. *Ghadar* magazine articles from 1 Nov 1913 to 1 July 1917. Translation from Hindustani (Hindi) original.

9. Seema Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny: Race, Surveillance and Indian Anticolonialism in North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 158.

10. Sarkar, *Modern India*, 149.

11. Ibid., 151.

12. Chandra, *India's Struggle*, 161.

13. Sarkar, *Modern India*, 150.

14. Sarkar, *Modern India*, 151; Photo of Besant, Arundal, and Wadia in Director of Criminal Intelligence, Delhi, "Note on the Theosophical Society," Serial Number 51/1918; File Number 363/18, West Bengal Heritage Commission, State Archives Building, 43 Shakespeare Sarani, Kolkata, India, 55 page publication, between pages 48 and 49; Chandra, *India's Struggle*, 167.

15. W. E. B. Du Bois, Bill Mullen, and Cathryn Watson, *W.E.B. Du Bois on Asia: Crossing the World Color Line* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), 33.

16. Lala Lajpat Rai, *The United States of America: A Hindu's Impressions and Study* (Calcutta: R. Chatterjee, 1916), http://archive.org/details/unitedstatesofam00lajp, accessed 2 June 2013, 387, 392-393. Though usually classified as an extremist,

Rai remained on the sidelines during the First World War, staying fairly neutral from the *Ghadar* movement as he did not trust the Germans and thought that allying with them was a mistake. Harish K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement to Bhagat Singh: A Collection of Essays* (Chandigarh: Unistar Books, 2012), 177.

17. The ship could only offload 24 of its almost 350 passengers; the rest returned to India via Japan. The British were waiting for it when it arrived at the end of September, arresting the passengers after a violent fight at Budge Budge, killing two police and several passengers, although Gurdit Singh escaped and lived in hiding until 1921. Gurdit Singh, *Voyage of Komagata Maru or India's Slavery Abroad* (Chandigarh: Unistar Books, 2007), 12-14.

18. United States National Archives, San Francisco (San Bruno, California), RG118 Box 4 Folder 2; Ram Chandra, Editor, The Hindustan Gadar, open letter to U.S. President Wilson. February 1, 1917. San Francisco, Calif.

19. Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny,* 2-3. Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia,* 62.

20. Judith M. Brown, *Global South Asians: Introducing the Modern Diaspora* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 25, 55.

21. Director of Criminal Intelligence, Delhi, "Note on the Theosophical Society," Serial Number 51/1918; File Number 363/18, West Bengal Heritage Commission, State Archives Building, 43 Shakespeare Sarani, Kolkata, India, page 45. Original citation in The Empire Day issue of *New India*, 24 May 1916.

22. Harold Coward, ed., *Indian Critiques of Gandhi* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 82.

23. Chandra, *India's Struggle*, 156-7; Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*, 3; Sarkar, *Modern India*, 150.

24. Barooah, *Chatto*, 82.

25. Heather Streets-Salter, "The Local Was Global: The Singapore Mutiny of 1915," *Journal of World History* 24, no. 3 (September 2013): 539-576.

26. Sarkar, *Modern India*, 150; Kate O'Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire: Indo-Irish Radical Connections, 1919-64* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 2.

27. Director of Criminal Intelligence, Delhi, "Note on the Theosophical Society," Serial Number 51/1918; File Number 363/18, West Bengal Heritage Commission, State Archives Building, 43 Shakespeare Sarani, Kolkata, India, 55 page publication, page 37. From Theosophical Educational Trust report, 1916.

28. Chandra, *India's Struggle*, 167.

29. Director of Criminal Intelligence, Delhi, "Note on the Theosophical Society," Serial Number 51/1918; File Number 363/18, West Bengal Heritage Commission, State Archives Building, 43 Shakespeare Sarani, Kolkata, India, 55 page publication, page 37; Extracts from the Empire Day issue of *New India*, 24 May 1916.

30. Director of Criminal Intelligence, Delhi, "Note on the Theosophical Society," Serial Number 51/1918; File Number 363/18, West Bengal Heritage Commission, State Archives Building, 43 Shakespeare Sarani, Kolkata, India, 55 page publication, page 37; From Theosophical Educational Trust report, 1916.

31. Sarkar, *Modern India*, 150; Manmohan Gandhi, *Gandhi: The Man, the People, and the Empire* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 200-202.

32. Manmohan Gandhi, *Gandhi: The Man*, 583.

33. Chandra, *India's Struggle*, 169.

34. Sarkar, *Modern India*, 153.

The Journey of the Magi: Its Religious and Political Context

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The reenactment of the Journey of the Magi is now an integral part of the celebrations and festivities heralding the arrival of Christmas and the holiday season. Alongside that reenactment, in some public places, such as the Ocean Park on the Santa Monica cliff overlooking the Pacific, the Crib scene is set up, with Mary seated holding the baby Jesus in her lap and three long bearded Magi in long robes and headgears, flanked by their camels, proffering gifts to Jesus. Commemorative toys and other types of replica in the shape of the magi are put on display for enthusiast buyers. All of these activities, commemorations, and commemoratives have their origin in the Gospel of Matthew, chapter 2 verses 1-12.

In this paper I will argue, first, that the incorporation of the Magi and their journey into the Infancy narrative was intended to support the Christian claim that Jesus was the Messiah. In other words, the story of the magi made its way into Matthew's Gospel as a way to legitimate the infant Jesus and his church — this will constitute the "Religious Context" of my story. Second, for the "Political Context," I will suggest that the arrival of the Magi to Bethlehem was meant to herald the imminent liberation of the Judean community from Roman oppression by the Persians.

The first two hundred and fifty years of Christianity were truly excruciating for that community. In contrast to the Parthian Empire, where they were tolerated and flourished, in the Roman Empire, they were repeatedly subjected to local, and imperial-wide, persecution. The reasons for the disdain of the Romans, and especially the Roman governing body, for Christians are well known, and I need not dwell on them. What is important is that Christians, not being able to validate themselves, sought outside evidence to verify their claim that Jesus was the Messiah. The fact that validation from outside, from persons with no vested interest (like the magi), was crucial to Christians in their early days, was a recognition already made by the Apostle Paul. Writing to a colleague, he points out: "It is necessary to have a good testimony of them who are without", (1 Tim. 3: 7, Latin Vulgate Bible with King James' Version).

Conceivably, the Apostle also pointed the direction where that evidence could be elicited. Among the many "Epistles" ascribed to Paul there is one recorded by Clement of Alexandria in which he proclaims:

> Take the Greek books; study
> Sibylla, which declares the oneness
> of God and the future things; take
> Hystaspes, too, and read it, and you
> will find that the son of God has
> been written of very forcefully and
> clearly, and that many kings will
> make opposition to Christ, hating
> him and his followers.[1]

The Hystaspes Paul refers to, was the royal patron of Zoroaster, and Zoroaster, the acknowledged founder of the magian order. Under Hystaspes' name, sometime in the later Intertestamental and early Christian period, the Jews had composed and circulated an apocalyptic tract.[2] It has been suggested that the Jewish "Hystaspes" contains characteristic Persian Zoroastrian elements and may well have been modeled after a Persian original, but there are other positions regarding the source(s) of the Jewish Oracles of Hystaspes.[3] However, regardless of which position is closer to the truth, the fact that the Jews evoked Hystaspes' name for their tract goes to show the authority that Zoroaster and the magi exercised in the religious circles of the time.[4]

This being said, it was perhaps not all too fortuitous for Matthew to conceive the idea of securing the testimony of the magi to give validation to the birth of God: he was following the direction alluded to by Paul. Additionally, there was the cultural milieu Matthew lived in, and his Jewish inheritance which made the magi the logical choice for his witnesses.

To return to the critical need for outside evidence testifying to Christians' claim, we need to note, first, that of the four canonical Gospels, only those of Matthew and Luke give account of Jesus' nativity, that of Mark's and the one ascribed to John do not. Second, the infancy narratives of these evangelists do not tally: in Matthew, Joseph and Mary take the Infant to Egypt to escape King Herod's massacre of the innocents, in Mark, they stay put in Bethlehem and there is no mention of Herod. In Matthew, the witnesses are the magi, in Luke, it is a party of shepherds. More broadly speaking,

Luke's and Matthew's accounts of Jesus' infancy do not complement, but in fact contradict, each other. They agree on two points: that the birth took place in Bethlehem, and more importantly in the present context, Jesus' birth was confirmed by outsiders. To emphasize the second point again, regardless of whether the witnesses were the magi or humble shepherds, they were Gentiles and outsiders.

Now I would like to expand on the magi, to identify the Christians' source of information on them, and to extrapolate what it was about them which recommended their incorporation into Matthew's nativity scene.

Christians' knowledge of the Magi and their master Zoroaster, had come to them in part through their Jewish inheritance, in which the magi were presented as master astronomers/ astrologers[5] and as being in possession of a soteriological prophesy, passed on to them by Zoroaster, foretelling the coming of a World Savior.[6] I suggest it was on account of this two layered Jewish tradition surrounding the Magi, reinforced by similar contemporaneous views emanating from the neighboring areas where the magian lore prevailed, that they were incorporated into the Gospel of Matthew, and to take my point home, we need to say a few words about Matthew and his whereabouts.

Matthew lived in a cultural milieu which made the magi the logical choice for his witnesses. This evangelist, who does not appear to have been an eyewitness to the ministry of Jesus,[7] and who is an otherwise unknown person but passed on to tradition by that name, would seem to have been a Greek speaking Jewish convert to Christianity, perhaps with reading knowledge of Hebrew —i.e., Aramaic—as some early fathers report,[8] living around the 80s AD in a mixed community with non-Christian Jews and converts of both Jewish and Gentile descent.[9] He lived at a time and in an environment where belief in astrology was in vogue, and the view that great earthly events were augured by astronomical phenomenon commonly acknowledged.[10] This perhaps explains why in the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus' birth had to be heralded by an astronomical occurrence—the appearance of the "Eastern Star".

Matthew's Gospel, was written in Antioch, sometime between 80 and 90 AD.[11] The city was some 150 miles south-west of the major commercial junction Edessa (modern Urfa)—where the north-south road from Armenia to the great cities of Syria in the west and south met the east-west road which linked the silk road, commencing in north China in the east, with Euphrates' fords in the west[12]--- and served as its principal commercial outlet in the west.[13] The two cities must have further been linked by their respective Jewish communities and the fact that some wealthy Edessene families sent their sons to Antioch for Greek education.[14] It is very probable that there was a Christian presence in Edessa from the earliest days of Christianity,[15] and some may have been of Antiochian provenance given that Christian communities evolved along the trade routes east of Antioch in early Christian period as Christian merchants and soldiers plied their trade.[16] All in all then, there was constant traffic between Antioch and Edessa, and the road connecting these two cities not only facilitated for the movement of commercial commodities and people, but also for the transmission of ideas and lore from the surrounding areas.

Now, already by the first century BC, "Edessa lay in the political and cultural sphere of Parthia."[17] And even as late as Byzantine times, "Syriac poets described Edessa as 'Parthian' or 'daughter of the Parthians'."[18] Iranian names appear in the mixture of the names of the people of Edessa;[19] a number of state official titles were Iranian;[20] Iranian was also the dress style of the menfolk in Edessa,[21] and the Edessene art exhibits so many Parthian features that it is commonly called "Parthian art".[22] Edessa also had its own "Tower of the Persians", a landmark located in the vicinity of king Abgar's palace at Edessa. And the river Gullab "was still called 'the river of the Medes' 250 years after the end of the [Edessene] monarchy."[23] In its religion and religious practices, Edessa, as other cities in Syria and Mesopotamia, represented a variety of them which co-exited side by side,[24] and in the last hundred years of the monarchy at Edessa, which was a time of religious ferment throughout the Near East, produced a number of syncretistic sects, among them, the Elkesaites, whose prophet-founder, Elkesai, was believed to have come from Parthia.[25] Parenthetically, it was within this sect that Mani, the Parthian prophetic figure and founder of Manichaeism, was raised.[26]

In relation to the knowledge of Zoroastrian lore in these parts of Mesopotamia and Syria, nearly

a third of the way between Edessa and Antioch was the important religious center at Mabbog, Greek Bambyce, better known as Hierapolis, the holy city, which drew its wealth from worshippers as far away as Egypt and Ethiopia. It had especially close connections with Edessa with which it was linked by an important highway.[27] Here there was a statue of Zoroaster, "the magian", who was divinized and revered as a god.[28] This, together with evidence in Syriac literature, shows that Zoroaster was a familiar figure, and his adherents and the lore surrounding him pretty well known in northern Syria.[29] Moreover, north-eastern Syria, where Edessa was, bordered on Commagene, an Armenian-led state that pursued a deliberate policy of blending the Persian and Hellenistic religious traditions as evidenced at Mt. Nemrut.[30] Commagne was also home to numerous Zoroastrian colonies let by magians—the ones Christian sources refer to as Magusaeans.[31] These Magusaeans were reputed for their knowledge and practice of astrology/astronomy.[32] It followed that in the event the birth of Jesus was to be heralded by astronomical phenomenon, it would be only natural for these magi to have been among the first to interpret the significance of its appearance—the Eastern Star. That Matthew himself had knowledge of the magi and the lore surrounding them, is hinted at in the text of his gospel where he uses the word "magi", an Iranian term denoting the members of the priestly class—in King James' Bible they are rendered as "wise men".

But above and beyond the supposed magian mastery and practice of astrology/ astronomy, which explains why the magians had to be the ones to notice the appearance of the heralding star, their incorporation by Matthew in his infancy narrative arguably intended to present Jesus' birth as the fulfillment of two soteriological traditions. As we said earlier, the magians were upholders of a prophecy that foretold the coming of a future savior, Saoshyant, a direct descendant of Zoroaster and from his seed, conceived by a virgin.[33] In Matthew, these magians, guided by the Eastern star, had gone to Jerusalem for the birth of their expected savior. Thus, their presence at the site of Jesus made him the savior whose arrival they had been foretold, and in this way Matthew makes Jesus' birth the fulfillment of two prophesies, the Immanuel of the Old Testament (Isa 7: 14)—which Matthew explicitly asserts (Matt 1: 23)—and, by implication, the Saoshyant of the Mazdean religion. This latter identification was also an inducement in winning converts from Zoroastrianism: encouraging them to see in Jesus the realization of their native eschatological hopes.

Indeed, the fact that the testimony of Persia, and more particularly its religious order, the magians, validating the claims made for Jesus was felt indispensable by early Christianity is unequivocally brought out in a tract attributed to Julius Africanus, the first church historian, under the title "Narrative of Events Happening in Persia on the Birth of Christ": and subtitle: "Events in Persia: On the Incarnation of Our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ". The tract opens up with the assertion:

> Christ first of all became known from Persia. For nothing escapes the learned jurists of that country, who investigate all things with the utmost care. The facts, therefore, which are inscribed upon the golden plates, and laid up in the royal temples, I shall record; for it is from the temples there, and the priests connected with them, that the name of Christ has been heard of.[34]

Similarly, it is hardly insignificant in measuring the vitality of Persia's testimony to the early Christians that the first nations to respond to the Pentecostal Miracles—which was vital in the establishment of the Christian Church and its ministry, since, in effect, it assured the apostles of the divinity of Jesus and of the divine authority of his teachings—were "Parthians and Medes and Elemites and residents of Mesopotamia". (Acts, 2:9) Finally, in the "apostolic" tradition, Persia stands very high, if not at the very top, of nations by the number of apostles linked with it: that tradition linked Matthew, Jude, Simon the Zealot and Thomas all with Persia.[35] Thus, I conclude the "Religious Context" of my presentation.

Turning now to my "Political Context", Matthew's magians also served him a political purpose. From as far back as 539 BC, when Cyrus, upon his conquest of Babylonia, had set the Jewish captives free, permitting them to go back to their homeland, and providing them with the means to rebuilt their temple, the Persians had figured as liberators in the savior imagery of the Jewish

eschatology; already, on the eve of Babylon's fall, Deutero-Isaiah, the name commonly used for the author of Isaiah verses 40-66, where "Cyrus Oracle" is inserted, firmly believed "that a new age, the eschatological period, was…dawning, Cyrus would play a pivotal role in it, and the nations would convert to belief in the one God, bringing their wealth to Jerusalem."[36] In the Scripture, the Persian king, Cyrus, a Gentile, is called the Lord's "Anointed", an honor which was denied even the greatest of the Jewish kings who had to content with being anointed merely through a human agent. Isaiah 45: 1 declares, "This is what the LORD says to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I take hold of to subdue nations before him", and the Lord's "Anointed One" was "the same term later used by the Jews for the 'Messiah.'" "The LXX even states that he is 'My [the Lord's] [*sic*] Anointed One.'"[37] Indeed, Yahweh had pleaded with Cyrus to "rebuild my [Lord's] city and set my exile free, but not for a price or reward" (Isa 45: 13), and Cyrus had heeded the Lord's plea.

The Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, a contemporary of Matthew, at several points in his writings makes the same association between the Persian king and the liberation of the Jews as had the Deutero-Isaiah:

> You know, moreover, of the bondage in Babylon, where our people passed seventy years in exile and never reared their heads for liberty, until Cyrus granted it in gratitude to God; yes, it was through him that they were sent forth and re-established the temple-worship of their Ally.[38]

Elsewhere in his writings, Josephus even makes the assertion that Cyrus' magnanimous treatment of the Jews was actually inspired in him by his "reading the book of prophesy which Isaiah had left behind two hundred and ten years earlier."[39]

The same identification made of Cyrus as liberator of the Jews by Isaiah and Josephus also appears in the rabbinic sources which in general "give a very positive portrait of the Persian king."[40] Similarly, in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, in chapter fifteen of *The Lives of the Prophets*, most probably a Palestinian work from the early first century AD, which deals with Zechariah, it is stated that while that prophet was still in Chaldea, "concerning Cyrus he gave a portent of his victory, and prophesied regarding the service which he was to perform for Jerusalem, and he blessed him greatly."[41]

In the centuries following the collapse of the Persian Empire and the establishment of Greek-Macedonian rule in the east, when the Jews were subjected to the rule of the same foreigners as were the Persians, the two people should have unconsciously seen each other as partners in the same struggle. That they had shared interests must have become quite apparent to the Jews judging by the fact that the diversion of Macedonians' attention towards the expanding Parthians to their east provided the opportunity for the successful Jewish liberation from Macedonian rule under the leadership of the Maccabees. In the meantime, however, the Romans had replaced the Macedonians in the eastern Mediterranean, and extending their control over Judaea, drove the resentful Judean population into frequent acts of insurgency. Then came major Roman reverses at the hands of the Parthians: first, at Carrhae, in 53 BC, when the Parthians routed a Roman army four times their size, followed, fifteen years later, by their repulsion of Mark Antony. In the light of these spectacular Parthian victories, from the middle of the first century BC, "there were Jews in Palestine who looked to Parthia for deliverance from Rome."[42]

The Parthian liberation of the Jews from foreign rule came in 40 BC when, in alliance with the Judeans, they put the Roman protégé Herod into flight and restored the former Hasmonean government in Jerusalem. But the restored government would only last for three years as in 37 BC, Herod, now declared king by the Roman Senate with the support of Octavian and Antony, was returned to Jerusalem. From this time forward, those Palestinian Jews "who rejected both Herodian rule and Roman suzerainty continued to hope for help from the east. They never forgot that for a brief time, the Hasmonean house ruled Jerusalem on account of Parthian prowess."[43] And from this time onward, "the Persians' were associated with the hope for national redemption, and some Jews regarded Parthian victory over Rome as fortunate for Israel."[44]

Considering that Matthew was writing his gospel after the conquest and complete destruction of Jerusalem and the temple by Vespasian's son and successor Titus, when the Jewish-Christian humiliation

was in vivid memory, the injury suffered still very raw, and the hope for redemption and retribution at a high pitch, the arrival of Matthew's magians to Bethlehem could be seen as heralding the fulfillment of the Judeans' eschatological expectation in which they would be liberated by the Persians/Parthians. Evidence for this conclusion may be inferred from the prophetic saying of several Tannaim, i.e. rabbinic sages of the Mishnah period, (approximately 70-200 AD) From R. Hanina ben Kisma, a Galilean Tanna from the last years before Hadrian's persecution, is preserved the tradition that when his disciples asked him to identify the sign heralding the arrival of "the Son of David" he said to them: "Put my coffin deep down in the earth; for there is not one palm-tree in Babylon to which a Persian horse will not be tethered, nor one coffin in Palestine out of which a Median horse will not eat straw."[45] This passage is also found with some modification in a saying of R. Simeon ben Yohai: "If you see a Persian horse tethered (to a grave) [*sic*] in the land of Israel, look for the footsteps of Messiah."[46] R. Jose ben Kisma, for his part, had prophesied that the Persians' victories in Palestine would be followed by Roman victories over them, but that finally the Persians would decisively and completely defeat the Romans "and thus prepare the way for the King-Messiah."[47] However, for the Persians to render their expected liberation of the Jews, the Jews would have to wait until 641 A.D.

It is against this political background and the Jewish expectation that the coming of the Messiah will be heralded by a Persian invasion, that the political message the author of Matthew wanted to disseminate through the incorporation of the magians becomes clear. Thus, not only the arrival of the Persian magians could be taken as symbolic of the prelude to the expected Persian invasion, but their explanation to King Herod that they had come to witness the birth and adore the new king of the Jews explicitly put into question the legitimacy of Herod's rule, and that of his Roman overlords.

To conclude the second half of this essay, Matthew's incorporation of the magi in his Infancy narrative, in effect, assigned a temporal frame to the fulfillment of the Jewish eschatological expectation, thereby uplifting that community's spirit with the conviction that a new age, the eschatological period, was at hand and in the immediate horizon.

Notes:

1. Fr. Windischmann, "Views of the Classical Writers Regarding Zoroaster and His Doctrine", in *The Collected Works of the Late Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana* , trans. from German by D.D.P. Sanjana (Bombay: British India Press, 1932) [39-80], 65, f.n., 3.

2. Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infant Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (2nd ed., New York; London; Toronto; Sydney; Auckland: Doubleday, 1993), 168.

3. They range between an Iranian thesis, a Jewish thesis, and a Hellenistic-Oriental thesis admitting of genuine Mazdean elements. These alternate positions are held, respectively, by John R. Hinnells "The Zoroastrian doctrine of salvation in the Roman world: A study of the oracle of Hystaspes," in (eds), Eric J. Sharpe and John R. Hinnells, *Man and his salvation, Studies in memory of S.G.F. Brandon*, ([Manchester, Eng.]: Manchester University Press, 1973) [125-148]; David Flusser, "Hystaspes and John of Palmos," in (ed.), S. Shaked, *Irano-Judaica. Studies Relating to Jewish Contacts with Persian Culture Throughout the Ages*, (Jerusalem, 1982) [12-75], who, however, admits of the presence of an undeterminable mix of Zoroastrian tradition, 15, 19, 21, 35, 64, 70, 74; and, finally, Mary Boyce in Mary Boyce and Frantz Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism,* III*: Zoroastrianism under the Macedonian and Roman Rule*, (Leiden/New York/Kopenhagen/Koln: E.J. Brill, 1991), 376-381.

4. Boyce, Mary, *Zoroastrianism: A Shadowy but Powerful Presence in the Judeo-Christian World*, (London, 1987) [Dr. Williams Library Forty-First Lecture, 1987], 17.

5. The most likely Magians that the Jews met were those Magian colonists in Babylon and Commagene whose theology was shot through with Babylonian sidereal theories and reputed as master astrologers/ astronomers. See further below, f.ns. 29, 30.

6. For a succinct account of Saoshyant see Mary Boyce, "'Astvatarata,' the Avestan Name for Saoshyant," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Online Edition

(published December 15, 1987), available at <*http://www.iranica.com/articles/astvat-ereta-savior*>, accessed November 15, 2010. For the evolution of the Mazdean Savior, Almut Hintze, "The Rise of the Saviour in the Avesta," in (eds), C. Reck and P. Zieme, *Iran Und Turfan*. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995): [77-97]. The coming of this "man, who would teach us … [*sic*] the straight paths of Salvation" is alluded to already in Gathic verse Y. 43.3. Mary Boyce, "Astvatereta", 2, quoting H. Lommel's translation. His name "Saoshyant Verethrajan," (the victorious savior) and whence he "will rise from," i.e., Kansaoya Sea, are proclaimed in the Younger Avesta *Zamyad Yasht*, 66, Helmut Humbach and Pallen R. Ichaporia, *Zamyad Yasht: Yasht 19 of the Younger Avesta, Text, Translation, Commentary*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag,1998), 49. Already in the Gatha, where the name appears six times, it "has acquired the meaning 'saviour'." Almut Hintze, "The Rise of the Saviour in the Avesta,"79, 89; and the name of the virgin maiden who would give him birth, Vispatauvairi (the all destroying)—also called Eredat-fedhri (she who brings fulfillment to the father) whose *fravashi* is worshipped (Yasht 13.42)—at Zamyad Yasht 92, Helmut Humbach and Pallen R. Ichaporia, *Zamyad Yasht: Yasht 19*, 59, and at ZY 93, among other places, his mission is prescribed: "with that very mace ['which brave Thraetaona wielded when Azhi Dahaka was slain (by him) [*sic*]' (ZY, 92)] (Saoshyant) [*sic*] will, then expel deceit from the world of truth." Helmut Humbach and Pallen R. Ichaporia, *Zamyad Yasht: Yasht 19*, 59. Later tradition, very likely arising in southeastern Iran (Sistan), the site of Hamun lake with which the "Kansaoya Sea" is identified, Boyce, "Astvatereta," 3; Hintze, "The Rise of the Saviour," 94, attributed Vispatauvairi's miraculous conception of Saoshyant to her bathing in that sea where Zoroaster's seed had been preserved.

7. Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 45, 46.

8. Some scholars have suggested that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, i.e., Aramaic, though the consensus opinion has long been that Matthew composed it in Greek. Courtney Roberts, *The Star of the Magi: The Mystery that Heralded the Coming of Christ,* (Franklin Lakes, NJ: New Page Books, 2007), 20. Among the early Christians who testified to its composition in Hebrew (Aramaic) were St. Irenaeus (*Adversus Haereses*, 3.1:1-2) and Eusebius, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (VI, xxv, 3, 4) where he quotes Origen for the tradition that it was composed in Hebrew (Aramaic) for the converts from Judaism. Roberts, *The Star of the Magi,* 21 and f.n. 4.

9. Brown, *Birth of Messiah*, 45; Harold W. Attridge, "Johannine Christianity," *The Cambridge History of Christianity,* I: *Origins to Constantine*, (eds), Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) [125-143], 187.

10. The find of a horoscope chart purporting the birth of the Roman client king Antiochus I of Commagene (r. ca. 69-38/31) and the astrologically based determination of the propitious time for his deification while alive, demonstrates both the belief in the significance of astronomical phenomenon on earthly matters, as well as that the astral lore of the region was applied to royal birth and other royal matters. Carsten Colpe, "Development of Religious Thought," *The Cambridge History of Iran,* III: *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods,* (ed.) Ehsan Yarshater, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, rpt., 1986), part 2: [819-865], 842; Brown, *Birth of Messiah*, 169. More generally, there was the widespread belief, found already in Plato that all people have a natal star that appears at their birth and passes away with them. *Timaeus*, in *Plato*, vol 7, trans. Rev. R.G. Bury, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, repr., 1961) [*LCL*], 41D-E. For astrology in the Roman Empire in general Franz Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, trans. with introduction by Grant Showerman, (New York: Dover Publications, 1956).

11. Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "Syria and Mesopotamia," *The Cambridge History of Christianity,* I: *Origins to Constantine.* [351-365], 353.

12. J.B. Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 4.

13. H.J.W. Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa*, (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1980), 9.

14. Segal, *Edessa*, 30, 31.

15. David Bundy, "Early Asian and East African Christianities," The *Cambridge History of Christianity,* II: *Constantine to c. 600*, (eds), Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) [118-148], 120.

16. Bundy, "Early Asian and East African Christianities," 118.

17. Segal, *Edessa*, 11.

18. Ibid., 31.

19. Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 5.

20. Segal, *Edessa*, 19, 20, 31.

21. Ibid., 31.

22. Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 4, 5.

23. Segal, *Edessa*, 31.

24. Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 5, 7.

25. Segal, *Edessa*, 43, 44.

26. I owe this note to a commentator of this article, hereafter referred to as "Anonymous Commentator".

27. Segal, *Edessa*, 46.

28. See Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 94.

29. Ibid., 38, 39 and sources cited in fn 75.

30. "Anonymous Commentator".

31. As for the origin of the 'Semitized' magians in Anatolia, that is to say, the "Magusaeans", there can be no doubt as to where they issued from. St. Basil (c. 330-379 A.D.) attests that these "Magusaeans" had emigrated from Babylonia, and specifically refers to the "Magusaeans" of his time as being "descendants of colonists originally transplanted to this country from the region of Babylon," Basil, Letters, (Migne, P.G.XXXII), 258 to Epiphanius, 4 = Sherwood W. Fox and R.E.K. Pemberton, "Passages in Greek and Latin Literature Relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism Translated into English," *Journal of K.R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 14 (1929) [1-148], 94.

32. For "Magusaeans," i.e., magians in Anatolia whose theology was only partially reformed by Zoroaster's message, and whose doctrines were heavily influenced by Babylonian astrological theories and Stoic philosophy, Joseph Bidez and Franz Cumont, *Les mages hellenises: Zoroastre Ostanes et Hystaspe d' apres la tradition grecque*, 2vols., (Paris: Societe d'editions "les belles lettres", 1938), I: vi-viii. We may also note that by this time, Persianized Jews were firmly established not only in the Persian-ruled Babylonia but all throughout the Persian Empire, and no doubt had trade networks that included Palestinian Jews which could account for the presence of 'Magi' in Bethlehem. Moreover, the Persian Jews were certainly present at the Epiphany since Iran is included among the places to which the witnesses are said to have dispersed. "Anonymous Commentator".

33. See above note 6.

34. Julius Africanus, "Narrative of Events Happening in Persia on the Birth of Chris," in *Fragments of Writings of Third Century,* (eds), Rev. Alexander Roberts and James,Donaldson, trans. Rev. S.D.F. Salmond (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1869) [*ANCL*, IX] [196-202], 196.

35. Ian Gillman and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, (New York: Routledge, 1999), 109.

36. Roger David Aus, "The Magi at the Birth of Cyrus, and the Magi at Jesus' Birth in Matthew," in (eds), Jacob Neusner et al., *New Perspectives on Ancient Judaism*, 2*: Religion Literature, and Society in Ancient Israel, Formative Christianity and Judaism*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc., 1987) [99-114], 101.

37. Ibid., 101.

38. Josephus, *The Jewish War*. *Josephus* 9 vols, vol 3 trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, repr., 1961) [*LCL*], V. 389 (ix, 4).

39. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, in *Josephus*, 9 vols.

vol. 6, trans, Ralph Marcus, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, repr., 1958) [*LCL*], XI, 5-7 (I, 2).

40. Aus, 'The Magi', 106.

41. Ibid., 108.

42. Jacob Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia,* I: *The Parthian Period,* Second Printing, Revised, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969), 27. Given the Parthians' policy of religious tolerance, it is likely that the Jews were treated better under their rule than under that of the Romans, and the existence of Jewish networks connecting Palestinian and Iranian Jews means the former would likely have been aware of this. "Anonymous Commentator".

43. Ibid., 30.

44. Ibid., 74.

45. Joseph Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel: From Its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah*, trans. from the third Hebrew edition, W.F. Stinespring (New York: Macmillan Company, 1955), 433.

46. Ibid., 433, f.n. 29.

47. Ibid., pp. 433-434.

Eating Colonialism: Dining as Political Ritual
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During the last two decades, the culture of colonial societies in South Asia has become a major focus of world historical analysis. These studies include such subjects as racial attitudes and gender relations in the expression of imperial power,[1] the use of the cinema to promote colonial dominance,[2] the clothing deemed proper to be worn by populations charged with administering and defending European interests in the tropics,[3] and the architectural styles intended to exalt the power of British rule in the region.[4]

Most recently, the attention of scholars has turned to the study of the socio-political context of colonial eating and/or dining as a means of examining representations of colonial dominance and of gauging the impact of that dominance on the colonizer as well as on the colonized. There is good reason for this rising interest. Everyday life in general and food in particular has long been "universally acknowledged as a privileged basis for the exploration of historical and cultural processes."[5] There is, moreover, little doubt that foods and beverages served as facilitators of colonial expansion and that colonizers justified their civilizing mission by drawing attention to the "uncivilized" food habits among the ruled.[6] The perceived collective vulnerability of colonial stomachs to strange foods and over-luxurious diets was so powerful a means of promoting imperial solidarity as to figure in nineteenth century European literature and South Asian cookbooks.[7]

This essay seeks to add to the examination of imperial culture in South Asia by extending this literature to an examination of how the act of dining itself was used in late nineteenth and early twentieth century India both as administrative practice and in historical memory through literature and film. It will address how the British in India ritualized their patterns of food consumption to create social distance between themselves and those they ruled through practices such as "dressing" for meals in the stiff and often heavy wool clothing of the home country, despite the intense heat of the tropics; how official banquets were converted into means of asserting European superiority; and how other dining environments were employed to reinforce racial and gender stereotypes as a basis of generating rationales for political dominance. Failures to abide by colonial communal mores were just as dangerous to the reputation of a European abroad or that of an upwardly mobile "native," as social race-mixing or the suspicion of interbreeding—as suggested by the disastrous failure of the mixed-race picnic at the Malabar caves in Edward Morgan Forster's *A Passage to India* (1924), a work

often employed to illustrate the vast social distances that separated India's colonial rulers from those they ruled. It is hoped that the examples of these processes to follow will not only illuminate how the physical context of food consumption served to shape to their societies, but may also may serve as classroom-ready examples of this process in the post-colonial as well as colonial eras.

Dinner as Political Theater

The most visible means of the solidarity of the rulers of British Empire in India was the practice of donning formal clothing at dinner. Aldous Huxley addressed this act of political theater in his recollections of a visit to India in 1930.[8] Noting that French novelist Marcel Proust made lengthy sojourns into the minutia of life to reveal its deeper meaning, Huxley remarked that Proust himself would have "devoted a score of pages" to "the noble Anglo-Indian convention of dressing for dinner."

> From the Viceroy to the young clerk . . . every Englishman in India solemnly "dresses." It is though the integrity of the British Empire depended in some directly magical way upon the donning of black jackets and hard boiled shirts. Solitary men in *dak* bungalows, on costal steamers, in little shanties among the tiger infested woods, obey the mystical imperative and every evening put on the funeral uniform of British prestige. Women robed in the latest French creations . . . toy with the tinned fish, while the mosquitoes dine off their bare arms and necks. It is *magnificent*.[9]

To Huxley, dinner was not even half the story of the means by which meals served as a tool of empire. It was, in fact, only one fifth of that story:

> Almost more amazing is that other great convention for the keeping up of European prestige—the convention of eating too much. Five meals a day—two breakfasts, luncheon, afternoon tea and dinner—are standard throughout India . . . The Indian who eats at the most two meals a day—too often none—is compelled to acknowledge his inferiority.[10]

A fellow sojourner in India, J. R. Ackerley, observed the truth inherent in dressing for dinner as a means of creating social distance between the ruler and the ruled. Ackerley observed that "while the English in India dress for dinner, the average Indian male undresses for dinner," i.e. literally eating while wearing underwear (cotton shorts) or dhoti because, as Ackerley was told, they were seamless and washed more often, and were thus cleaner and hence more appropriate for dining attire.[11]

Huxley and Ackerley's view that the eating habits of the Raj were the very basis for the psychological hold the colonialists held over their subjects contains more than a hint of hyperbole, but their assertions were not made tongue-in-cheek. Similar sentiments, voiced not as criticism but as praise, were expressed by a variety of officials as well as visitors. These officials included William Denison, who served as the Viceroy of India *protem* after the death of Lord Elgin in 1861, and, later, as the Governor of Madras. Denison, a scientific racist who believed Indians incapable of conducting a modern government,[12] claimed he would never "lower" himself by attempting to compete with the lavish and showy dining etiquette of the indigenous aristocrats of the "subject race" because it had to be admitted that "even the petty noble can and does beat us hollow on the ground of outward magnificence."[13] He was nonetheless pleased at the intimidating size and decorations of the great state banqueting halls of the Raj and used them as political weapons. He reveled in faulting Maharajas for being overly sensitive to the elaborate protocols state dining at his banquet halls demanded, though he was well aware of the sources of their sensitivity. In Madras, he forced Indian princes who were his guests to walk up a grand flight of stairs to be greeted by a British officer before entering the dining hall, instead of being greeted by that officer at the base of the stairs and walking up together. This in the ordinary way was a deliberate as well as terrible breach of British good form, but when such an act was taken by agents of the paramount power, the implied slight was not social, but political and much to be feared by Indian princes whose legal status, even existence, was tied to British rule. Yet, Denison found Indian concerns over such insults not merely petty,

but signs of the weakness of mind typical of the Indian people.[14]

On such occasions, Denison preferred wearing simple dress, "a black coat and waistcoat" as he believed it best reflected "the earnestness and power of the *Englishman* (the italics are his own)," and wrote that he would never stoop to competing with the lavish clothing worn by indigenous rulers.[15] He fully exploited the opportunities offered by colonial dining to criticize a Maharaja's finery, describing one Indian prince's undeniably "handsome" dark blue velvet robes at another official dinner as "rather hot, I should think, for this weather" (his own wool clothing was, apparently more appropriate for the country).[16] Nonetheless, in keeping with the hypocrisy and/or perverse logic of colonial societies, Denison derided the plain muslin clothes worn by a local prince at a yet another dinner he sponsored; casual dress was not optional for the colonial subject.

At the most magnificent "native" *fete* or *tamasha* he attended in India, Denison felt compelled to describe the flawless serving of a European-style dinner as a "rather tedious affair."[17] This was by no means unusual. Europeans in colonial settings routinely expressed approval of the traditional customs that marked of the subject race as an alien "other" and denigrated, in particular, the efforts of the colonized to adopt or offer them European styles of dress or dining.[18] While well aware that social proscriptions forbade many traditional Indian princes from eating with their British guests (and most other Indians), this practice was often portrayed as a fault or as the misbehavior of a willful pet, despite the admitted graciousness by which these noblemen behaved on such occasions.

Denison, like virtually all other British civilians, used the absence of elite Indian women at public dinners as another means to deride the people of the subcontinent. Despite the British practice of segregating the women from men during social activities immediately following a meal, and their presumption that their own women should be circumspect on such occasions, British officials showed little respect for the Indian practice of sequestering women (*purdah*) or for their silence at dinner when they were present. On the rare occasions Indian women appeared at public meals, the obviousness of their having been sheltered from world affairs—regarded as so becoming in a British woman—was described as if this were a fault: when these women giggled or tittered at what to them was the odd behavior of the *Angrezi log* at supper, the subjects of their attention gazed back at them as if they were bizarre creatures in a zoo.

Denison wrote of Indian women, whether shy or in purdah, in an ethnographical manner, noting that "though the Eastern lady objects to being seen . . . she has a great notion of seeing; and generally contrives to get her share of any sight or festival that may be going on, in this sort of invisible way."[19] This is a rather unreflective comment on the Indian female "other" from a man raised in the society described by Jane Austen. But for Denison, a banquet was, to paraphrase Mao Zedong, not a dinner party; it was a political battlefield were the rules of engagement shifted to suit the governing race's need to display its power or humble its subjects.

That this power, and its Orientalist trappings, extended to the smallest corner of the colonial world is made explicit in William Monier William's account of an evening spent as a visitor for dinner with the Collector [the principle local British official] in an Indian forest camp in 1850. Moinier-Williams, who was to be knighted in 1886 for his contributions to Sanskrit Studies, wished to call for a servant, but found himself "too consciousness of my blank inability to deliver myself of any well-turned and highly idiomatic sentence expressive of a simple desire to know the dinner-hour."

> Just at this juncture I hear a commanding voice call out in the distance "Khana lao." This is the collector's brief and business-like order for dinner. I repair with relief to the drawing-room and dining-room. The collector and his wife, beaming with hospitality, make me sit down at a well-appointed dinner-table. I have a French menu placed before me. I eat a dinner cooked with Parisian skill, I drink wine fit for an emperor, and am waited on by a stately butler and half a dozen stately waiters in imposing costumes, who move about with noiseless tread behind my chair, and anticipate every eccentricity of my appetite. I am evidently on enchanted ground,

and can only think of Aladdin in the "Arabian Nights."[20]

For Paul Cravath, a prominent American lawyer and son of the abolitionist co-founders of the African-American Fisk School for Freedman (later Fisk University), the political content of dining in colonial India was not hidden behind the veils of Orientalist enchantment: it was quite transparent. Its appeal was, nonetheless, as seductive to him as to Monier-Williams. When on a tour of southern Asia in 1924, he was told by a number British Indian officials and their elite Indian friends the continuation of British rule in India depended on ignoring Indian sensibilities, on denying any semblance of the idea that Indians could ever carry the entire burden of self-government, and on "never showing the feather,"[21] meaning displaying panic or indecision in front of the natives. Though initially skeptical of such views, Cravath learned what that discipline and ideology entailed by the means by which they consumed their food.

In Bombay, he attended a formal state dinner with the Governor. What impressed him most was the "flock of gaily dressed native barefooted servants, headed by a barefooted butler of great stature and dignity, who wore a turban a foot high . . . never have I seen more thoughtful or attentive servants." Yet, Cravath was told by officials in attendance "that they are less efficient than they appear to be and require a great deal of guidance and attention and are apt to lose their heads in an emergency."[22] Cravath later attended a dinner hosted by the Viceroy, Lord Reading, which he found conducted with excruciating precision and ritualized ceremonial order, the kind Dennison dismissed as tiresome when conducted by Indians. Cravath fully grasped the political necessity of such behavior when dealing with inferiors, but was stunned that the same behaviors—dressing for dinner, the multiple introductions and bows, and the solemnity of toasts, was exhibited at even small private dinners.[23]

A Woman's Place is not in the Imperial Kitchen

The conduct of those more intimate dinners ostensibly fell under the purview of British women in India.[24] However, as a rule, women did not themselves produced such meals. Studies abound that detail the social context of the servants who usually manned the colonial kitchen in their place, revealing both the honorable and also the soul-destroying manner in which colonial cooks strove to find a niche in the domestic world of the they served.[25] They also offer evidence of both the bitter racist diatribes directed against, and also heartfelt tributes offered in recognition of the performance of the colonial kitchen staff. Nowhere else can one find the complexities of the relationship between Prospero and Caliban than in the colonial kitchen.[26] Mary Procida argues that whatever the colonizer's disposition toward their cooks, such servants freed colonial women to engage in pursuits that, for the most part, served to sustain their empires.[27] Uma Narayan sees darker links "between curry, colonialism, and Indian identity," and what she calls "food colonialism" and "culinary imperialism" which have a feminist as well as post-colonial dimension that demands attention.[28] However, Cecilia Leong-Salobir maintains that the primary dynamic of colonial cuisine in India and elsewhere was less politically freighted and more of a negotiation and collaboration between the expatriate British and local people with the indigenous servants preparing both local and European foods.[29]

The Cinema of Colonial Dining

Just a few years after Huxley's visit to India, Alexander Korda released a film, *The Drum* (1938), which puts a spin on "dressing for dinner" that would have further amused the critical Huxley but delighted British officials then charged with influencing Hollywood films to adopt a pro-imperial, anti-Indian nationalist stance.[30] A small clip from the film's climax speaks volumes about the place of dressing for dinner and meals themselves as equating British rule with civilization, and the uncivilized behavior of those whose would desecrate such traditions. Shorn of its elements as star a vehicle for the actor Sabu, *The Drum* is about a Political Agent (the ultimate "John Bull" actor, Roger Livesey) and his small all-British military escort who are invited to a banquet hosted by the ruler of a fractious state in a far corner of the Northwest Frontier of British India. The ruler (played by a snarling Raymond Massey), whose legitimacy is highly questionable, is seeking Russian assistance in his effort to resist British efforts to exercise control over his affairs of state. That night, he intends to murder the entire British party as they eat: the "Great Game" as *Grand Guignol*. Wind of the plot reaches the British military escort's commander, who tells the Agent of

the prince's plan and urges him to withdraw from the state. The British Agent waxes philosophical as he, as one must in oriental climes, elaborately dresses for the dinner. He answers his colleague's explicit warning by conceding that, yes, they may all be killed while they dine, but the British Raj will then have no choice but to revenge this vile affront by sending up the army, pacifying the kingdom, and bringing civilization to its benighted people, a step the Raj might not take (and in this he is perfectly right) if the Agent and escort refuse to make their deadly dinner date or fight their way back to the plains. The Agent knows instinctively that the march of progress represented by the paramount power is at stake; he cannot show any weakness or fear, even in the face of death for breakfast, or in this case, supper.

As *The Drum* is currently available free on YouTube,[31] students have an opportunity to examine not only how British film makers and censors wished to portray their empire "at table," but to compare it with the actual events upon which the film is based. In 1889, the ruler of the northern border state of Hunza sought Russian support to hold off British influence, an effort famously denied by a small British Indian force led by officers every one of whom was wounded, some multiple times. In neighboring Chitral, the efforts of a British political officer to resolve a succession dispute led to his overstaying the limits of safety; his death there guaranteed the state's annexation, achieved by one of the costliest frontier campaigns in Indo-British history ending with the Tirah War in 1897, which shaped the career of a young subaltern, Winston S. Churchill.[32]

Post- Colonial Imaginaries and Realities

The Drum's example of the dining hall as theater in which the distance between imperial ruler and their subjects may be measured survived the end of Britain's empire in South Asia. Steven Spielberg, much to his later regret, revived it in what many regard, rightly or wrongly, as a grimly racist dinner sequence in *Indian Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984). One of the central events in that film is a meal in which monkey brains are devoured by piggish Indian notables, who, as in *The Drum*, intend to defy their British overlords. In Spielberg's defense, these worthies are devotees of Kali and their eating such forbidden food (to Hindus) is a kind of empowering tantric reversal of correct ritual behavior, as was alleged to be the case of the Kali-worshipping "Thugee" bandits of the previous century upon which Spielberg is basing this scene. As in *The Drum*, the British commander of a visiting regiment who is present at that meal is wise enough to see the disloyalty behind this uncivilized food behavior of the local prince and the inherent danger to the Raj it poses. He decides to intervene in the state's affairs, rescuing Indiana Jones and his friends from their titular doom. Of course, most colonial era Indian princelings strove to maintain all outward appearances of their mastery of Western dining manners under such conditions, even if it represented their political emasculation; they knew all to well the cost of failure to do so.

Spielberg may have thought that it was safe enough in 1984 to play *The Drum's* colonial trope for laughs, as in the years after the British Indian Empire faded into history, the table manners of its rulers seemed, at least to filmmakers, considerably less heroic. Perhaps the finest of all post-colonial British assaults on late Victorian mores, *The Wrong Box* (1966), opens with a satiric vision of colonial dining habits as the embodiment of imperial virtue. A group of British officers and civilians are dining in a bungalow set deep in Huxley's proverbial jungle, here teeming with rebelling indigenous peoples. In a necessary display of colonial sang-froid, the diners calmly consume their meal even as the cutlery and glasses are shot from their hands and the furniture around them is shot to pieces. When the ranking officer eventually finds this behavior on the part of the locals just too rude to bear, he leaves the table and, unarmed, steps off the front veranda, damning aloud the natives for their lack of manners and, after wrapping the British flag around his chest, dares them to defy their cultural superiors. The next scene opens with the bullet-ridden flag draped over a coffin at the grand state funeral afforded the late, but now lionized imperial hero.

James Farrell, writing from the perspective of a member of another marginalized colonial group, the Irish, puts the consumption of food front and center in his incomparable *Siege of Krishnapur* (1973), a novel of British India which climaxes with the use of an electro-plated fork as shrapnel during the War of 1857 (also known to Farrell not only as the Sepoy Rebellion, but also as the First War of Indian Independence). Farrell has set the table for this event via a subplot that links the act of Western dining and colonial hubris to the

imperial content of the Industrial Exhibitions of 1844 in France and 1851-1853 in London (at the Crystal Palace) and in Dublin, where electro-plating was touted as a vehicle for the advancement of civilization. Farrell then twists the fork deeper. The besieged Europeans, soon reduced to starvation, are forced to watch the local populace gather outside the siege-lines where they take their lunch, whose flavor is enhanced by the much anticipated demise of the Europeans.

Least any imperial apologist miss the intended anti-colonial critique offered in the *Wrong Box*, and the *Siege of Krishnapur,* that critique was revisited by Michael Palin and Terry Jones in the 1979 "Rogers of the Raj" episode of their post-Python series, *Ripping Yarns.* At a regimental dinner in 19th century India, the British officers in attendance, one after another, admit to a minor gaff in dining protocol (passing the port in the wrong direction, etc,) and see nothing for it but to politely excuse themselves to go to a back parlor, where a gunshot is heard. This incident continues until the one guest at dinner, now alone at the table, leaves his seat to check the parlor, which he finds knee-deep in the dead bodies of the men who ruled India.[33]

An even darker irony characterizes the post-colonial turn in South Asia. The fight for Indian independence was characterized by terrorist attacks on British drinking and dining clubs that would not admit Indians, but today, high caste and wealthy Indians zealously guard the exclusiveness of the very same clubs, prompting complaints about India's "Colonial Hangover: India's elite clubs."[34] While in Britain, chicken masala has replaced roast beef as the national dish, in India "mostly English food are the mainstays of the Indian army officers' mess, part of a military establishment that may be more British in bearing than Britain's own armed forces these days."[35]

Conclusion

This study has been an invitation to examine and illuminate for students the socio-political context in which colonial dining in India took place. However, the manner in which dining can reveal colonial and post-colonial habits of mind is not limited to British India. Further examples can be found across the colonial and post-colonial world, including Southeast Asia, Japan's colony in Korea.[36] Sub-Saharan Africa has given us Wole Soyinka's play, *Death and the King' s Horseman*, (1975),[37] and African observers who have identified some of Franz Fanon's post-colonial "White men with Black faces" as "gin and tonics,"[38] among whom the African nationalist hero, Jules Nyerere once confessed to belong, at least in terms of a love of the beverage despite it colonial associations.[39] Never has the high price of putting post-colonial food on the table been so movingly revealed as in the titular story in Vietnamese writer Nguyen Ho Tiep's collection of stories, *The General Retires* (1993).[40] Those hungering for further analysis and exemplification, for themselves and/or their students, may turn to the notes embedded in this article for that purpose. They may also look to the "Forum on Food in World History" in the February 2016 issue of *World History Connected,* wherein acknowledged leaders in the field share their scholarship and their eagerness to assist others in pursuit of their own work as researchers and as scholar-teachers.

Notes:

1. Peter Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). See also Alberto Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (New York: Orion Press, 1965); Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980); Julia Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (New York: Leicester University Press. 1999); Antoinette M. Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994) and *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter In Late-Victorian Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1998); M. Borthwick, *The Changing Role of Women in Bengal, 1849–1905* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, eds., *Western Women and Imperialism. Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992); D. Engels, *Beyond Purdah? Women in Bengal, 1890–1939* (New York: Oxford, 1996); K. Jayawardena, *The White Woman's Other Burden. Western Women and South Asia During British Colonial Rule* (New York, Routledge, 1995); M. MacMillan, Women of the Raj (New York, Thames and Hudson, 1988); Ashis Nandy, *Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, reprint ed. 1989);

M. Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991).

2. See Prem Chowdhry, *Colonial India and the Making of Empire Cinema: Image, Ideology and Identity* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 2001).

3. See "Unit 21, Colonial Identities," in *Bridging World History*, Annenberg/Corporation for Public Broadcasting at http://www.learner.org/channel/courses/worldhistory/unit_overview_21.html.

4. See for example, Thomas Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

5. K.J. Cwiertka,"Colonial Recipes: Food, Modernity and Japanese Rule in Korea," at http://www.onderzoekinformatie.nl/en/oi/nod/onderzoek/OND1297030/.

6. Cisco M. Magagula & Edmund Z. Mazibuko, "Indegenization of African Formal Education Systems," in *The African Symposium: An On-line Educational Research Journal a Publication of the African Educational Research Network*, Vol. 4 no. 2 (July 20/04) at www2.ncsu.edu/ncsu/aern/inafriedu.htm.

7. Alan Bewell, *Romanticism and Colonial Disease* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999). For an excellent introduction to this work, see Pramod K. Nayar's review essay, "Colonial Ideology and the 'Science' of Medicine," in *Jouvert*, Vol. 6, Issue 3, at http://social.chass.ncsu.edu/jouvert/v613/bewell.htm.

8. It was during this trip that Huxley learned about soma, a beverage which he fancifully employed as the psychotropic centerpiece of his novel *Brave New World*. See http://www.huxley.net/bnw/ for an online version of *Brave New World*; for references in the novel to soma, see http://www.huxley.net/soma/somaquote.html

9. Aldous Huxley, *Jesting Pilate: An Intellectual Holiday [Diary of a Journey]* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1926, most recent reprint, 1992). Italics added to convey the mocking tone of this section of the larger essay.

10. Ibid.

11. J. R. Ackerley, *Hindoo Holiday: An Indian Journal* (New York: The Viking Press, 1932), 137.

12. William Denison, *Varieties of Vice-Regal Life* (London: Longman, Green and Company, 1970), Vol. 2, 43-51, 401-3.

13. Ibid., 314-15.

14. Ibid., 146-148.

15. Ibid., 315.

16. Ibid., 209-210.

17. Ibid., 420.

18. See, for example, Earl of Lytton, *Pundits and Elephants: Being the Experience of Five Years As Governor of an Indian Province* (London: Peter Davies London, 1942), 94. Lytton remarked without a scintilla of self-reflection, "As was the case with so much else in India, they were at their best when they were original and at their worst when they were imitating European taste."

19. Ibid., 421.

20. Quoted in Eva March Tappan, ed., *The World's Story: A History of the World in Story, Song and Art, Volume 2, India, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Palestine* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), 224-233.

21. Paul Cravath, *Letters from India and Irak, 1925* (New York: J. J. Little and Company, 1925), 11-12.

22. Ibid., 17

23. Paul D. Cravath, *Letters from the Far East and Russia* (Garden City, New Jersey: Privately printed at the Country Life Press, 1931), 8-9.

24. See, for example, A Lady Resident, *The Englishwoman in India: containing information for the use of ladies proceeding to, or residing in the East Indies*

on the subject of their outfit furniture, housekeeping, the rearing of children, duties and wages of servants, management of stables, and arrangements for travel (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1864).

25. See Charles Allen (ed.), *Tales from the Dark Continent* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1979), 110-123; and his *Plain Tales from the Raj: Images of British India in the Twentieth Century* (London: Andre Deutch, 1975):72-81. Both books offer useful photographs.

26. See O. Mannoi, *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1991).

27. Mary A. Procida "Feeding the Imperial Appetite: Imperial Knowledge and Anglo-Indian Discourse" *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 15, no. 2 (Summer 2003), 123-149.

28. Uma Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Tradition and Third World Feminism* (Routledge, New York, 1997), 162-3.

29. Cecilia Leong-Salobir, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia: A Taste of Empire* (London: Routledge, 2011). Full disclosure: this writer was External Reader for Dr. Leong-Solabir's dissertation on which this book is based.

30. See the amusing review of the film, based on the novel *The Drum* by A. E. Mason and released as *Drums* in the United States, at http://movies2.nytimes.com/gst/movies/movie.html?v_id=119969.

31. *The Drum*, directed by Zoltan Korda and produced by Alexander Korda for London Films (1938) is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0XRxWs0XZOk.

32. For the source of the story, see E. F Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet: A narrative of recent travel in Kashmir, western Tibet, Gilgit, and the adjoining countries* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1893-1925). For free digital full text, see HATHI Trust Digital Library at http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001869293.

33. For production notes, see http://www.bbc.co.uk/comedy/guide/articles/r/rippingyarns_7775455.shtml.

34. See Sudha Ramachandran, "Colonial Hangover: India's elite clubs," *Asia Times Online* (January 10, 2007) at http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/IA10Df01.html

35. Rone Tempest, "Old Clubs and Puddings: India Sheds Empire but Stays British," *Los Angeles Times* (March 18, 1985) at http://articles.latimes.com/1985-03-19/news/mn-31681_1_british-raj.

36. Helen Lee, "Sentiments and Thoughts in Everyday Life: Romance, Food, and Child-Rearing of the Japanese Settlers in Colonial Korea." This essay originally appeared as a paper abstract at http://www.aasianst.org/absts/2005abst/Japan/j-185.htm and has since been published as Helen J. S. Lee, trans, "The Manual of Cuisine of the Women's Division of the Green Flag Association," together with her critique, "Eating for the Emperor: The Nationalism of Settler Homes and Bodies in the Kominka era," Michele M. Mason and Helen J. S. Lee (eds), *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 143-159.

37. *Death and the King's Horseman* (1975) has no superior as a work in exploring the culture of imperialism and, in its treatment of the place or lack of place, of the subaltern class through the pivotal "ball" and the colonizer's dining table. The hero, Elesin, is castigated by a traditionalist Yoruba "for being an eater of leftovers – he could have had/was to have the best of everything, if only he had remained true to his culture; but he betrayed them by accepting a secondary position vis-a-vis the colonial governors." See Scene 5. For the play and its colonial setting, Google document the text and analysis provided by the University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri, Nigeria (2005), ISBN: 978-8133-34-7.

38. Western-trained post-colonial African Information Officers have been criticized as "Gin and Tonics" for carrying on colonial behaviors. G. Van Heerden, *The Practice of Public Relations in Africa* (Pretoria, South Africa: Pretoria University Press, 2004) at http://upetd.up.ac.za/thesis/available/etd-09232004-075727/unrestricted/05chapter5.pdf.

39. Quoted in "Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922-1999) Statesman & Pan-African Leader," *ChickenBones: A Journal for Literary & Artistic African-American Themes* at http://www.nathanielturner.com/juliuskambaragenyerere.htm

40. A general facing retirement after a lifetime of anti-colonial combat has found that these wars and the post-war push for economic recovery have dehumanized his extended family, which enriches itself by ignoring traditional obligations of food gifts to dependents and sells human placentas for profit.

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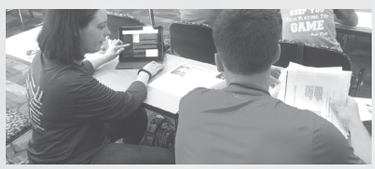


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The 18th gathering of the World Economic History Congress will convene *July 29th – August 3rd 2018* in historic Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts. The Executive Committee of the IEHA welcomes proposals from all members of the international economic history community, whatever their institutional affiliation or status, as well as from scholars in related disciplines.

The 18th World Congress is the second to be hosted in North America and marks the 50th anniversary of the previous occasion. We invite you to join us in Boston to consider the many 'Waves of Globalization' that have given rise to the varied and multi-directional connections that characterize the economic and social world we know today. While seeking proposals for sessions that explore facets of this broad theme, we also welcome submissions on the economic and social histories of all places and periods, on the exploration of varied sources and methods, and on the theory and the uses of economic history itself. Furthermore, we invite members to employ and analyze diverse strategies for representing the past.

Given the diversity of our affiliated membership we encourage panel proposals on economic history, business history, demographic history, environmental history, global and world history, social history, rural and urban history, gender studies, material culture, methodological approaches to historical research, history of economics and economic thought, and other related fields.

The first call for sessions closes on May 30, 2016. A second call for sessions will be issued after the first round decisions have been finalized in the fall of 2016.

See our website at www.wehc2018.org to find more information and submit panel proposals.

International Economic History Association

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Fall 2016: The World And The Sea
Spring 2017: Collective Memory and the Global Event

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