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978-0-521-76091-1 - Gandhi in the West: The Mahatma and the Rise of Radical Protest
Sean Scalmer

Excerpt

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Introduction

In 1970, Frank Moorhouse, celebrated young champion of the counter-culture, published his short story, 'The Girl from The Family of Man'. It is a fascinating and revealing composition, and a literary window on a now hidden history. Angela is the eponymous object of desire: an American, a veteran of the civil rights struggle, and a devotee of non-violence. Kyle is her somewhat gormless Australian suitor: politically innocent, priapic, fond of the bottle, 'angry' and 'shat off' with war, but by no means committed to peace. Their story, set in Sydney, is a comedy of pursuit. And Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is everywhere.

A photograph of Gandhi looms down from Angela's wall. She introduces her would-be seducer to 'satyagraha' – a Gandhian term she translates simply as 'non-violence' – and lends Kyle some of the Mahatma's writings, too. This education in Gandhiana is perplexing: while the emphasis on non-violence is acceptable, 'all that crap' about 'chastity and discipline' clashes with the Australian's fantasies of free love with a liberated Yank. 'To hell with Gandhi and the chastity bit', he implores, moving in for a kiss. 'He's a little crazy there', is her encouraging response, 'but that's his way, I guess'.

Their mutual desire pleasantly overwhelms the bounds of Gandhian restraint. But then, out shopping, Kyle's infuriated disputation with a supermarket attendant drives his sensitive paramour into a further retreat. 'I was rapidly losing my satyagraha', is his initial admission. Later, after a few beers, the self-assessment is modified: 'Hell, I was all damn satyagraha – too damn satyagraha.' Angela thinks her new lover 'aggressive ... murderous', and is physically sickened by the conflict. She retires to her room to listen to Joan Baez on the phonograph. There is a guitar in the corner, an Indian rug upon the floor, and some beads hanging from a peg: a perfect refuge from the 'smouldering violence' of the world.

Chastened and concerned, Kyle now notices that another photo adorns the wall, presumably hanging alongside Gandhi's proverbial visage. It is Angela, while still a child, captured in a then-famous visual survey of the people of the world: the *Family of Man*. The collection had been shown

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at the Museum of Modern Art in New York; the book sits now upon her shelf. ‘Hell’, says Kyle, ‘you’re a celebrity’. He looks at the blow-up photograph, three feet by three feet, of a childish Angela upon a swing. He reads a few words from the book’s preface: ‘Every man beareth the whole stamp of the human condition – Montaigne.’ Now, he looks at Angela again. Differently. Something has changed between them.

She seems ‘fragile’ and he’s ‘too careful’, and now their passion is ruined. Ardour subsides into friendship. ‘But she was a good girl, a really good girl’, Kyle wistfully affirms. It is Angela that entices him to attend his first peace march – carrying a banner: ‘For Humanity’s Sake’. Like his dalliance with the American, this is not necessarily an abiding entanglement, however. ‘I’m not really a big protester’, is Kyle’s final summary, ‘I think basically I’m a bit on the vulgar side’.¹

An amusing literary confection, the story is also something of a historical treasure trove. On the fringe of the world, an Australian youth dabbles, unconvincingly, in satyagraha. This is a transnational episode: Gandhi’s image is compressed and reproduced in photographic form; his words reach out across continents and decades. An American evangelist brings an Indian’s practice to Australia, but she draws, too, on the prestige of struggles in her own country’s South. In the complex exchange, universal appeals (‘the family of man’) vie with local ways; there is a clashing of cultural assumptions and styles. Much is unmoved, and some things remain emphatically ‘his way’ – practically untranslatable. Still, ‘satyagraha’, of a kind, is propelled into a new environ. And there is a discernible change in Kyle’s experience, relations, and politics. The Australian learns something of ‘satyagraha’ and asks new questions of himself. Embarrassedly, he takes part in his first ever protest event.

As a subtle miniature, the romance of Kyle and Angela should not be asked to bear too much intellectual weight. But the entrancing fancy does enclose two further stories. These are histories, not fictions, and they form the bedrock and the subject of this book.

The bedrock is the story of Gandhi himself. Its outline has been traced in school textbooks, innumerable biographies, and even cinematic triumphs. Readers of ‘The Girl from the Family of Man’ would have known its basic rudiments; those taking up *Gandhi in the West* should be familiar with it, too. A brief reminder: in the beginning, 1869, a child is born in the Indian town of Porbandar. Married at thirteen, despatched to London to study law at nineteen, Mohandas Gandhi returns to India with a knowledge of British legal principles and of Christianity, but also with a new respect for his own religious traditions. Travelling to South Africa in 1893,

¹ Frank Moorhouse, ‘The Girl from the Family of Man’, *Westerly*, July 1970, pp. 25–31.

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he faces racial discrimination. New laws aim to strip Indian residents of their right to vote, and to compel registration. Gandhi leads a campaign of resistance and perfects a new form of politics: 'satyagraha'. The term is a neologism, signalling a departure from earlier practice, yet it draws from two Sanskrit words – *sat*, 'truth'; and *agraha* 'firmness' – indicating also a clear Indian provenance and inspiration.

As a man of middle age, Gandhi brings the technique back to India. Now the proponent of satyagraha also becomes the leader of a struggle for Home Rule. In three great mobilisations ('non-co-operation' in the early 1920s; 'salt satyagraha' in the early 1930s; and 'Quit India' in the early 1940s), mass uprisings galvanise the populace and astonish their overlords. But Gandhi shows an eagerness to negotiate, a willingness to restrain violence, and a personal saintliness that contradicts the dominant paradigm of the colonial rebel. He addresses social segregation within India with evident urgency, and his experiments test the self as much as challenge the British. Westerners now seek to sit at the Mahatma's feet, and photographers to snap his picture. His words are transcribed by journalists and his pen is rarely still.

Indian independence arrives in 1947. But it is a separation crowned by partition, and scarred by communal violence. When Gandhi attempts to quell the tumult, he, too, is felled. Martyred, vindicated, and adored, Gandhi's personal story ends on 30 January 1948. But his name becomes a symbol and his ideas persist. 'Gandhism' lives on.

The story of Gandhi's influence is less known, and it extends far beyond the romance of Angela and Kyle. It forms the subject of *Gandhi in the West*.

Of course, the Mahatma's presence is almost ubiquitous. Gandhi features in comic books, on stamps, and in popular songs. There was a Broadway play in 1968, and an Academy Award-winning film in 1982. He is the star of an advertising campaign for Apple: 'Think Different'. On the 140th anniversary of Gandhi's birth, Swiss manufacturer Montblanc released a commemorative fountain pen, retailing for some £15,500. Google recognised the same anniversary by featuring the Mahatma on its Web page (his image replacing the letter 'G' for 24 hours). And a portrait of Gandhi hung from (then Senator) Barack Obama's office wall as a symbol of integrity and popular allegiance.²

² On the role of comics and books in politics in India, see Christopher Pinney, *Photos of the Gods: The Printed Image and Political Struggle in India*, London: Reaktion Books, 2004. See also Karlene McLaine, 'Who Shot the Mahatma? Representing Gandhian Politics in Indian Comic Books', *South Asia Research*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2007, pp. 57–77. On stamps: 'Stamps Honor Gandhi', *New York Times*, 27 January 1961. For popular

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But it is the method of ‘satyagraha’, and not simply Gandhi’s inspirational person, that consistently commands attention. Over several generations, Western social scientists have examined the Mahatma’s political techniques in some depth. Book-length studies by Clarence Marsh Case in 1923, Richard Gregg in 1934, Joan V. Bondurant in 1958, and Gene Sharp (repeatedly) have all discerned a universal power in Gandhi’s non-violent way. Satyagraha is increasingly recognised as ‘a force more powerful’, to cite the judgement of one recent American appraisal.³

It is an assessment shared by political activists from around the world. Satyagraha has inspired opponents of colonialism in Ghana, Rhodesia, the Belgian Congo, and Cyprus; democrats in Franco’s Spain, Poland, South Africa, Burma, and the Philippines; Chileans against torture; Balkan anti-communists; Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland; labour activists in California; supporters of German unity (‘the Berlin Satyagraha Association’); pacifists and refugee advocates in France; ‘human shields’ in Iraq; and environmentalists in city and country alike. Figures as diverse as Lech Walesa, Aung San Suu Kyi, Nelson Mandela, and the Dalai Lama have been dubbed ‘Children of Gandhi’. In the United States, Abraham Johannes Muste, dauntless pacifist, was labelled ‘the American Gandhi’; more often, the honorific was applied to Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. Less widely known, Danilo Dolci, Italian campaigner against poverty and corruption, was ‘Sicily’s Gandhi’. For several decades, Pashtun leader Abdul Ghaffar Khan was known as the ‘Frontier Gandhi’.⁴ And this is by no means an exhaustive list.

songs, see Cole Porter’s 1934 tune, ‘You’re the Top’. On the Broadway play: ‘A Play on Gandhi Due Next Season’, *New York Times*, 3 May 1967. For discussion of the use of Gandhi by Apple: Salman Rushdie, ‘Mohandas Gandhi’, *Time* magazine, 13 April 1998, available at www.time.com/time/100/leaders/profile/gandhi.html. On the Montblanc pen: Jo Adetunji, ‘Gandhi’s Birthday Marked with Opulence by Montblanc’, *Guardian*, 2 October 2009. On Obama and Gandhi’s portrait: ‘Obama Reluctant to Seek Changes in Nuclear Deal’, *The Hindu*, 12 July 2008, available at www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/thscrip/print.pl?file=2008071260521800.htm&date=2008/07/12/&prd=th&.

³ See Clarence Marsh Case, *Non-Violent Coercion: A Study in the Methods of Social Pressure*, New York and London: The Century Co., 1923; Richard B. Gregg, *The Power of Nonviolence*, 2nd revised edn, London: James Clarke and Co., 1960 (first published 1934); Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958; Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 1973; Gene Sharp, *Gandhi as a Political Strategist: With Essays on Ethics and Politics*, Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 1979; Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000.

⁴ E.g. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana often cited Gandhi’s influence. On Gandhism and Ghana, see Kennett Lovelondon, ‘Saturday’s Child of Ghana’, *New York Times*, 20 July 1958. Kenneth Kaunda of Northern Rhodesia similarly followed Gandhi’s methods. See ‘Gandhi’s Tactics Pushed in Africa’, *New York Times*, 28 February 1959. In the Belgian Congo, the equivalent figure was Joseph Kasavubu: “‘King’ of the Congo: Joseph

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Why was the Mahatma's way so diffused? By what means? And was its universality accepted without demur? How closely do 'Gandhi's Children' truly resemble their great progenitor? Were his ideas adapted or reshaped? And did these new experiments in non-violence initiate political transformations of their own? Questions of this kind mark out the transnational career of Gandhism: a history not just of individuals and nations, but also of connections, campaigns, and international flows.

It is a new kind of history. The transnational dimensions of the past have only recently begun to attract sustained attention. A few scholars have

Kasavubu', *New York Times*, 23 January 1960. In Cyprus, Archbishop and Ethnarch of Cyprus, Makarios III, claimed special inspiration. See C.I. Sulzberger, 'Foreign Affairs: The Methods of Gandhi in Byzantine Dress', *New York Times*, 1 October 1955. On democratic opponents of Franco: Richard Eder, 'Madrid Is to See a Quixote Today', *New York Times*, 20 October 1968. As for Polish anti-communist democrats, Lech Walesa considered himself 'a follower and student of Gandhi'. See Lech Walesa, 'Overcoming the New Divisions', in Anand Sharma (ed.), *The Gandhi Way: Peace, Non-violence and Empowerment*, New Delhi: Academic Foundation, 2007, p. 57. In South Africa, the African National Congress adopted Gandhian methods from the early 1950s. See, for example, 'Election Test of Strength for African Congress', *New York Times*, 20 March 1958. In Burma and the Philippines the relevant figures are Aung San Suu Kyi and Benigno Aquino. Aung San Suu Kyi's debt to Gandhi is acknowledged in the acceptance speech for her Nobel Prize for Peace in 1991. See http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1991/presentation-speech.html. For Chileans against torture, see Steve J. Stern, *Battling for Hearts and Minds: Memory Struggles in Pinochet's Chile, 1973–1988*, Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2006, p. 259. Milovan Djilas, a Balkan anti-communist, expressed support for Gandhi's idea in the late 1960s. See James H. Billington, 'The Unperfect Society', *New York Times*, 10 August 1969. For Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland: 'O'Dwyer Links Rights Drives in Ulster and Mississippi', *New York Times*, 21 August 1969. Cesar Chavez, labour activist of the United Farm Workers, held Gandhi as a hero. See Steven V. Roberts, 'Grape Boycott: Struggle Poses a Moral Issue', *New York Times*, 12 November 1969. The 'Berlin Satyagraha Association' was discussed in 'Pacifist Aims to Tear Hole in Berlin Wall', *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 19 September 1962. Lanzo del Vasto, a leader of the antinuclear and refugee movement in France, had lived and studied with Gandhi. His protests include, for example: 'Women and Children Enter French Atom Plant', *Peace News*, 18 April 1958; Bob Luitweiler, 'Mass Non-violent Action in France', *Peace News*, 6 May 1960. Human Shields in Iraq wore T-shirts with a quotation from Gandhi. See Ken O'Keefe, 'Diary of a Human Shield', *CounterPunch*, 26 February 2003, available at www.counterpunch.org/okeefe02262003.html. For a fuller discussion of Gandhi's influence on peacekeeping, see Thomas Weber, *Gandhi's Peace Army: The Shanti Sena and Unarmed Peacekeeping*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996. For an environmentalist citing Gandhi's influence: Matthew Moore, 'How Gandhi Helped Inspire Waterfront Park Victory', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 April 2009. The 'Children of Gandhi' were identified in *Time* magazine, 31 December 1999; see www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,993026,00.html. On Muste: 'Dauntless Pacifist: Abraham Johannes Muste', *New York Times*, 22 April 1966. On Martin Luther King Jr., see e.g. Harold Blake Walker, 'Sermons on the Racial Issue', *Chicago Tribune*, 16 June 1963; 'Rockefeller Calls King U.S. Mahatma Gandhi', *Chillicothe Constitution Tribune* (Chillicothe, MO), 17 June 1961. On Danilo Dolci: Gavin Maxwell, 'The Gandhi of Sicily', *Chicago Tribune*, 13 October 1968; Paul Hofmann, 'Overwhelmed by Despair', *New York Times*, 8 November 1959. On Abdul Ghaffar Khan: 'West Pakistan Moral Fines "Frontier Gandhi"', *New York Times*, 25 January 1957.

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tried to relate this aspect of Gandhi's career; fragments of the broader tale have been told very well.⁵ But a major, comparative, and long-term study of 'transnational Gandhism' has never before been advanced. In *Gandhi in the West*, I attempt to redress this neglect.

Of course, any attempt to chronicle the full extent of Gandhi's global influence risks sacrificing depth for breadth. With this danger uppermost in my mind, I have limited the following pages to the history of Gandhism in the United Kingdom and the United States alone. Why these two nations? The selection is justified for reasons of engagement, connection, influence, and comparability.

First, the United Kingdom and the United States were the most fully engrossed in Gandhi's activities and in the subsequent career of Gandhism. Britain was the colonial power, the object of Gandhi's primary appeals, and the site of his major Western visits. But Gandhi also directly appealed to the citizens of the New World. White Americans were among the first to proclaim the Mahatma's significance, and African-Americans evinced continuing fascination over several decades. A substantial community of Indian expatriates in America publicised Gandhi's message and became most important to the eventual translation of satyagraha.

Second, America and Britain were connected. Historians have identified a 'triangular relationship' between India and these two Western powers in the years before Indian independence, as coloniser and colonised both sought an alliance with rising American power.⁶ In the battle for Home Rule, a common zone of political engagement was argued into existence. It would persist as the forum for a transnational discussion over the meaning and use of Gandhi's primary political techniques. A study of satyagraha in the US and the UK therefore reflects historical networks of great robustness and enduring import.

⁵ The most significant works have focused on Gandhi's reception in America. Among the most outstanding are Leonard A. Gordon, 'Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 26 January 2002, pp. 337–52; Sudharsan Kapur, *Raising up a Prophet: The Afro-American Encounter with Gandhi*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1992; Charles Chatfield, *The Americanization of Gandhi: Images of the Mahatma*, New York: Garland, 1976; Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993; Sean Chabot, 'Transnational Diffusion and the African-American Reinvention of the Gandhian Repertoire', *Mobilization*, vol. 5, no. 2, Fall 2000, pp. 201–16. Other impressive works look more broadly, especially David Hardiman, *Gandhi: In His Time and Ours*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003; Thomas Weber, *Gandhi as Disciple and Mentor*, Cambridge University Press, 2004; Claude Markovits, *The UnGandhian Gandhi: The Life and Afterlife of the Mahatma*, London: Anthem Press, 2004.

⁶ See, for example: Leonard A. Gordon, 'Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 26 January 2002, p. 337.

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Third, recognisably ‘Gandhian’ campaigns emerged in both societies – initially, in America’s civil rights movement; somewhat later, in a British campaign against nuclear weapons. Both campaigns applied and refined Gandhi’s methods, and themselves became models for activists around the world. They were the first examples of satyagraha in the West to stimulate independent attention and even inspire emulation. By focusing carefully on these cases, therefore, it might be possible to chronicle a pivotal moment in the globalisation of non-violent protest.

Finally, the similarities and differences between the two Western societies also allow for fruitful comparison. Though united by a common language and a commitment to constitutional democracy, they are separated by distinctive political cultures. The UK was the imperial master and the US a model of successful rebellion. While the latter wrestled with the legacy of slavery, the former struggled merely to comprehend its diminishing place in a changing world. In Britain, nonconformist, mostly middle-class, Christians were Gandhi’s keenest supporters; in America, those tight communities organised around the African-American church proved ultimately more significant to the extension of the Gandhian way.

Over the following pages I attempt to register these differences, while also seeking out common patterns and recurrent processes. By looking at both societies separately, major mechanisms of reception, adaptation, and transformation can be discerned and compared. And by relating these episodes as a single story, I hope also to reflect the transnational and connected nature of messy historical events.

Examining these two cases, what do I find? Briefly, that the image of Gandhi himself originally dominated Western engagement with his political discoveries, that his actions and ideas were at first misunderstood, and that a substantial labour of translation and argument was required to correct such errors. It was only after several decades of intellectual exploration that Westerners began to experiment with satyagraha. Their initial campaigns are now mostly forgotten, but they provided the leadership, institutional base, and political repertoire of the more famous campaigns of the 1960s.

Eventually, the successful use of non-violence changed societies on both sides of the Atlantic. But the summer of satyagraha (more often called ‘the first New Left’) stretched only from the late 1950s to the mid-1960s. From this point, Western exponents of protest increasingly organised their campaigns according to a different logic: tactically driven, media-oriented, no longer unfailingly peaceful in spirit. The original principles of satyagraha were mostly abandoned. In consequence, the central position of the Mahatma in the rebellions of the 1960s was eventually hidden from view.

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The following pages attempt to restore this mostly forgotten history. They do not claim to encompass the full extent of Gandhi's global reach, but merely to chronicle some of its most important and illuminating chapters. My aim is recuperative, but also political. Through revisiting the past, it becomes possible to gather resources for the present. And in chronicling the complicated and transnational history of 'satyagraha' we might learn not simply how to understand the world, but perhaps also the means to change it.

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1 Meeting the Mahatma

The history begins with the man. ‘Gandhism’ was the child of the Mahatma, and at first was greatly overshadowed by its famed progenitor. Westerners were initially uncertain of the precise happenings in South Africa and India; the intricacies of ‘satyagraha’ they barely understood. Instead, it was the Mahatma’s extraordinary being that itself compelled attention.

Americans and Brits were equally astonished by a rebel in dhoti and shawl; perplexed by his apparent undress; intrigued by his saintly vows and oracular speech. Gandhi not only led the Home Rule movement, he came to symbolise it, too. Westerners first met the Mahatma. His political methods were, at the beginning, a secondary concern.

In this chapter, I outline Western interpretations of Mohandas Gandhi from initial news reports to the height of his fame. The survey necessarily encompasses a changing context. Gandhi first gained Western attention in the aftermath of the great cataclysm of the First World War. He became a world figure as economic depression stalked the globe and Indians threatened the British Empire a decade later. And he was raised up as an immortal teacher in the years after his death, as the fear of atomic annihilation gave new resonance to a message of peace. Undoubtedly, these events shaped the Mahatma’s discovery and appraisal. For now, however, I focus more closely on establishing the image of the Mahatma than on the background against which he stood out. The political context will be given greater attention in later chapters.

My survey of Gandhi’s image extends from journalism to biography, polemic to poetry, memoir to photography, political theory to religious tract. My aim is to establish the breadth of popular engrossment in the Mahatma and to re-create the novelty of his tremendous and troubling appearance. The survey draws from an especially wide variety of sources, so as to document the gargantuan interest in Gandhi’s compelling self. In consequence, I skip over particular commentaries lightly, and focus on broader patterns of attention and interpretation. It is only in later chapters that I will sort through this great profusion,

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and begin to identify the most enduring and important of his Western commentators.

How, then, was Gandhi first depicted? And how did Westerners come to meet the Mahatma?

Some went to India, just to see him. Correspondents wrote home of peculiar sensations: the sound of a leather stick beating a bell, the sight of a four-inch cockroach running along the floor, the feel of a straw mattress in a barren room. Heat. There was shade under a mango tree, and Gandhi taught you how to squat. The devoted – those who stayed, might be given a new name.¹

Others saw him closer to home. An East End policeman spotted a wispy-like figure in the crooked streets of Bow at dawn and said hello. Charlie Chaplin knocked on a door in Canning Town, and joined him upon the sofa. Lancashire men waved their flat caps at his passing motorcade.²

It was a disturbing experience, to meet such a being. Some spoke of a magnetic force, and the sudden brightening of lights. What was he, this ‘strangest mixture of the real and the impossible’? A ‘great’ person? An enigma? A prophet? Even his opponents confirmed the ‘arresting’ quality of this ‘very strange little individual’. It was clear that you were in the presence of something extraordinary. There was a sense of inspiration. Something unforgettable.³

¹ On the sound of a bell and the sight of a cockroach: Muriel Lester, ‘Living in an Ashram’, in Muriel Lester Papers, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, CDGB Muriel Lester, Folder: ‘Unpublished writings re: India and other subjects’, Box 1, p. 3; and Muriel Lester, ‘An Unchristian Easter’, in Muriel Lester Papers, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, CDGB Muriel Lester, Box 1, Folder: ‘Unpublished writings re: India and other subjects’, p. 1. On mattresses: E. Ashmead-Bartlett, ‘Gandhi’s Views on March to the Sea’, *Daily Telegraph*, 5 April 1930; and on these being made of straw: ‘Gandhi’s Meeting with the Prime Minister’, *Daily Mail*, 14 September 1931. On the barrenness of rooms: ‘Gandhi Criticised US’, *New York Times*, 13 March 1922. On heat: L.M. Gander, ‘Mr. Gandhi the Inscrutable’, *Daily Telegraph*, 2 January 1930. On shade under a mango tree: Negley Farson, ‘India Hate Lyric’, in Eugene Lyons (ed.), *We Cover the World*, London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1937, p. 136. On learning how to squat: Muriel Lester, ‘Goodbye Gandhi’, in Muriel Lester Papers, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, CDGB Muriel Lester, Folder: ‘Unpublished writings re: India and other subjects’, Box 1, p. 1. On receiving a new name: letter: Richard Gregg to ‘Librarian, Jane Addams Memorial Peace Library, Swarthmore College, 6 July 1940’, in M.K. Gandhi Papers, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, CDGB India, Gandhi, M.K., Box 1, Folder: ‘India – Gandhi Letters with Checklist’.

² On a policeman’s sighting: ‘Gandhi Meets the Premier’, *Daily Express*, 14 September 1931. On Chaplin: ‘Mr Chaplin Meets Mr Gandhi’, *Daily Telegraph*, 23 September 1931; and ‘Mr Chaplin and Mr Gandhi’, *Daily Mail*, 23 September 1931. On Lancashire men: Madeleine Slade, *The Spirit’s Pilgrimage*, New York: Coward-McCann, 1960, p. 140.

³ On magnetic force: Andrew Naesmith in ‘English Workers Talk about Gandhi’, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 1 November 1931; Halidé Edib, *Inside India*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1937, p. 57. On brightening of lights: ‘The Showing, A Silhouette of Gandhi’,