

## Eradicating the ‘Scourge of Drink’ and the ‘Un-pardonable Sin of Illegitimate Sexual Enjoyment’: M.K. Gandhi as Anti-Vice Crusader

Harald Fischer-Tiné<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** This essay highlights an oft-neglected facet of M.K. Gandhi’s political work by scrutinizing the anti-colonial icon’s extended engagement in campaigns against alcohol, narcotics, prostitution and a number of other ‘vices’ between 1906 and 1948. It argues that, while the Mahatma’s anti-vice crusades definitely were part and parcel of his vision of ‘inner swaraj’ (or: self-control) as a necessary precondition for national independence, they cannot be understood by situating them merely in narrow national or colonial contexts. As is demonstrated, Gandhi was constantly drawing on (and simultaneously contributing to) the ideological and methodological repertoire of a flourishing transnational, indeed, global, network of temperance and purity activists that had been in the building since the mid-nineteenth century and cut across a wide political, social and religious spectrum. Hence, a close analysis of Gandhi’s fight against intoxication and debauchery on the Indian subcontinent does not only shed new light on the formation of Indian mass-nationalism in early 20<sup>th</sup> century, it also enhances our knowledge of one of the first world-spanning ‘advocacy groups’.

According to conventional historiographical wisdom, the crusade against alcohol, opium and immorality in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was largely a Euro-American phenomenon, a middle ground and melting pot for evangelical missionary zeal, ‘white man’s burden’-imperialism, social hygienic reform agendas and early forms of the organized women’s rights movement.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, such a conceptualization of

---

<sup>1</sup> ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: This article is based on a talk given at the AHA convention in Denver, CO on January 5<sup>th</sup> 2017. It draws on and expands some thoughts that I have first articulated in the introduction to a book on global anti-vice activism which I have co-edited with Jessica Pliley and Robert Kramm, (Pliley et al. 2016: 1–29). I should like to thank David Courtwright for his encouraging comments after the Denver talk, Bernhard Schär for his incisive comments, Maria Framke for bringing me in touch with IZSAF and Martina Andermatt for diligently preparing the manuscript for publication.

<sup>2</sup> There is a copious literature on anti-vice campaigns that originated in Europe and North America. See, for instance, Hunt 1999; Cox 2007; Walkowitz 1982; Tyrell 1991; *Valverde* 2000; Lodwick 1996; Padwa 2012; Donovan 2006.

anti-vice activism allows for its interpretation as a transnational phenomenon, but one whose operational centre and ideological roots materialized in the West. This essay sets out to complicate this slightly euro-centric picture presented by much of the available literature on anti-opium campaigners, temperance activists and purity crusaders. It does so by pointing to the fact that anti-vice agendas had become a truly *global* occurrence by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that transcended religious and cultural boundaries as well as the infamous divide separating the colonizing imperial powers from the colonized world. The case study focuses *pars pro toto* on the most prominent temperance campaigner from the Indian sub-continent, showing that the globalization of the anti-vice agenda and methods of propagating cannot be understood in terms of a simple North-South diffusion of protestant norms and values. Rather, historical actors from colonial territories and their idiosyncratic methods and ideological repositories also began to exert an influence on anti-vice discourses and campaigns in the West.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948) is one of the handfuls of political leaders from this formerly 'colonized World' who has become an iconic figure all over the globe. Admittedly, he is mostly not known today as an ardent crusader against the unholy trinity of drugs, drink and debauchery in the first place, but rather as a spokesman and symbol of anti-colonial nationalism. In other words, Gandhi spent the last three decades of his life challenging precisely the kind of imperial world order that was being moralized by imperial administrators and Christian missionaries in Asia, Africa and the Pacific. Yet, at the same time, Mohandas Gandhi started to cultivate a quasi-religious obsession with health, bodily purity and moral perfection that seems astonishingly close to the concerns of many Western purity crusaders. It made him engage in active campaigning against the very same evils targeted by Protestant temperance activists until his death and he even authored several books solely concerned with questions of health, substance abuse, diet and control of the body (cf. Gandhi 1923; idem 1948; idem 1949; cf. also Alter 2000).

Born in the small coastal town Porbandar in the western Indian region of Gujarat, Gandhi was exposed to the cultural influences of the regional variety of *Vaishnava*-Hinduism and Jainism during his childhood. Their manifold differences notwithstanding, both religious strands converged on the prin-

ciples of strict abstinence, vegetarianism, and their aspirations towards very high moral standards often articulated in terms of sexual discipline. There can hardly be any doubt that this had a durable impact on young Gandhi (Jordens 1998: 6). Interestingly, the years he subsequently spent as a student of law in London (1888–1891) even significantly reinforced his rigid moral principles (Brown 1999: 72–3). Unlike many of his Indian fellow students in the imperial metropolis, many of whom were apparently susceptible to ‘immoral influences’ (Fisher, Lahiri & Thandi 2007: 129), Gandhi apparently was never tempted by the pubs, music-halls and brothels of late Victorian London. As Leela Gandhi (2006: 67–76) and others (cf. Arnold 2014: 37–40; Guha 2014: 36–54; Hunt 1978: 30–40) have discussed at great length, the future Mahatma preferred to spend his time instead with English members of the vegetarian and temperance movements. His rigid anti-alcohol stance was further confirmed during the two decades of his residence in South Africa (1893–1914). Both among the local black working classes as well as among the Indian indentured labourers (or *coolies*, in imperial parlance) whom he represented as a lawyer in those years, he could witness with his own eyes the ways in which the ‘terrible scourge of drink [...] ruined people morally, physically, economically’ and ‘destroyed the sanctity and happiness of the home.’ (Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi [henceforth *CWMG*] Vol. 76: 8). When commenting on the situation in India later, Gandhi made it clear that he considered the ‘drink evil’ not to be ‘a national vice’ (*CWMG* Vol. 29: 335). Like many of his contemporaries (Richards 2002: 407–8), he understood alcohol abuse and alcohol addiction primarily as an emanation of the evil influence of Western civilization which imperial expansion helped to spread to places like South Africa and the Indian subcontinent. The supposedly imported vice of drink must have been all the more hateful for the Mahatma after his eldest son Harilal Gandhi (1888–1948) developed severe alcohol addiction during the 1910s and 1920s in reaction to growing tensions with his father and the death of his first wife (Dalal 2007).<sup>3</sup> The fact that Harilal—obviously owing to his drinking problem—also became a gambler and started to display a penchant for the company of prostitutes made things even worse in the eyes of his aus-

---

<sup>3</sup> Harilal Gandhi’s tragic life story has also become the subject of a Bollywood drama (Feroze Abbas Khan’s *Gandhi, my Father*, released in 2007).

tere father. Notwithstanding his own family tragedy, Mohandas K. Gandhi continued to portray Indian society as being largely intact and innocent because in his mind alcohol had barely any roots in pre-colonial South and Southeast Asian cultures (Gandhi 1976a: 224–5). In his view, this was partly due to the perceived moral superiority of the major religions in the region Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism and Islam all of which rejected intoxication. At the same time, however, he also invoked the authority of modern science by putting forth the well-rehearsed environmentalist argument that 'climatic conditions' in the region were 'totally opposed to the drink habit' (Gandhi 1976f: 225; cf. also idem 1976g: 226).

It is noteworthy that Western go-betweens, who shared Gandhi's critique of 'industrial civilization', mediated his first major initiative to collectively resist such evil influences (Nigam 2013: 74). While being a regular guest in the Theosophist circles of Johannesburg, dominated by expats from Europe, Gandhi met the architect Herman Kallenbach, who had been raised and educated in East Prussia (Lev 2012: 1–9). As a practicing gymnast and bodybuilder who had received physical instruction at the hands of his compatriot and world-famous strongman Eugen Sandow (Watt 2016: 74–99), Kallenbach shared Gandhi's obsession with disciplining the body and controlling dangerous physical appetites of all kinds (Lelyveld 2011: 88–91). Together they founded the experimental rural commune at Tolstoy Farm in 1910, where Gandhi would refine his method of *Satyāgrah* (passive resistance) that he had developed a few years earlier in Natal and that he would later deploy to great effect after his return to India (Hunt & Bhana 2007). The rigid prohibition of alcohol, strict vegetarianism, and the thorough policing of sexual chastity prevailing in the small political *ashram* near Johannesburg are thus not only remindful of similar experiments by adherents of the *Lebensreform* movement that developed more or less simultaneously in Europe and the Americas, but also show that vice-control and physical self-optimization formed central elements in the training of would-be political elites (Alter 1996 and Valiani 2014: 507–8).<sup>4</sup> It should be mentioned that there was a strong gender dimension in this Gandhian optimization project, as he held the view that 'procreation and consequent care of

---

<sup>4</sup> For an insightful account of the anti-vice regime in the *ashrams* Gandhi was running later in India see also Sarkar 2011: 187–191.

children’—tasks he deemed to be the part of the *natural* duties of women—‘were inconsistent with public service’ (Taneja 2005: 66) and the political elites thus trained ultimately tended to be all male.

Like many Christian crusaders against alcohol abuse, the opium trade or the state regulation of prostitution, (and perhaps also owing to the woes caused by the dissolute behaviour of his son Harilal), Gandhi firmly believed in what can be termed the *domino theory of vice*. He assumed that alcohol consumption, which he considered the root of all evil, almost inevitably led to sexual debauchery, smoking, gambling and other forms of immoral and harmful behavior. Interestingly, Gandhi linked the rapid global spread of what he regarded as specifically *Western* forms of vice to the invention of the steam as a locomotive power of great velocity. In his oft-quoted anti-modern manifesto *Hind Swaraj* (or *Indian Home Rule*)—ironically written on board a steam ship en route from London to South Africa in 1909 (Suhrod 2014: 154–5)—Gandhi made it a point that he regarded railways as a sinister Western invention that would only serve to ‘propagate evil’ whereas ‘good travel[ed] at snail’s pace’ (Sharma & Suhrod 2010: 41; see also Nigam 2013: 79–80). In the light of the fact that he would later on constantly rely on the railway and the steamboat to further his political agenda and social reform projects, such a statement seems somewhat ironic.

Yet, it once more underlines that Gandhi’s anti-vice attitude converged with his staunch anti-Westernism, which in turn drew on the arguments of cultural pessimist intellectuals and religiously minded conservatives in Europe and North America, who equated ‘Western civilization’ with a new kind of ‘hedonistic modernism’.<sup>5</sup> This modernism, they feared, would erode societies and families with its ‘values of instant gratification, pleasure and egoistic individualism’ (Sulkunen & Warpenius 2000: 425). Given these ideological affinities, it is hardly surprising that the Mahatma put the fight against drink as a potent symbol of the alien and corrupt character of British colonial rule not only prominently on the agenda of the Indian National Congress from 1920 onwards, but that he also repeatedly collaborated with

---

<sup>5</sup> For a definition and contextualization of ‘anti-Westernism’ see Aydin 2007: 37–8. It has often been observed that Gandhi’s ideology as it crystallized in South Africa in the first decade of the twentieth century was crucially influenced by the reading of authors like Lew Tolstoy, John Ruskin, Henry David Thoreau and Edward Carpenter (see Hyslop 2011: 42).

Christian temperance agencies. I will come back to this point in the final section.

Early Gandhian strategies to implement the anti-vice agenda in nationalist politics included temperance campaigns among the 'drinking classes' (i.e. the usual subaltern suspects: industrial workers, low castes, and 'untouchables'), as well as the boycott and picketing of foreign liquor stores. As early as 1924, Gandhi, who was a great admirer of the infamous 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment (i.e. prohibition legislation) in the United States, had announced an even more radical strategy to fight the 'drink devil', when he wrote: 'Not that we shall ever make drinkers sober by legislation, but we can and ought to penalize [...] the drink habit by closing all liquor shops and [...] make it as difficult as possible to indulge in it.' (*CWVG* Vol. 29: 334). As soon as the Congress was in power on the provincial level in the late 1930s, local governments promulgated laws of prohibition, thus alienating considerable segments of the local population (Colvard 2014; Fahey & Manian 2005). There is by now a copious literature on the class antagonism underlying the politics of drinking in late colonial India. In the logic of Gandhi and other aspiring nationalist elites, the subalterns could only be convinced to give up their vicious habits through harsh legal intervention. Needless to say, such an agenda often clashed with the subaltern classes' claims of autonomy over their bodies and leisure practices (Menon 2015; see also Hardiman 1985). While Gandhi constantly insisted on the necessity to 'wean the laboring population and the Harijans from the curse' through legal intervention (*CWVG* Vol.72: 131), it is less well-known that his class-prejudice also cut in the other direction. Gandhi often rebuked the Indian aristocracy and members of the High Society for being negative role models. In 1929, for instance, he caustically remarked about a dinner given in honour of the viceroy in Delhi's classy Chelmsford Club that the event proved to what extent 'educated Indians who lead public opinion' were drawn into the 'satanic net' of drink: 'All but one or two Indians drank Champagne to their fill. When Satan comes disguised as a champion of liberty, civilization, culture and the like, he makes himself almost irresistible. It is therefore a good thing that prohibition is an integral part of the Congress programme.' (Gandhi 1976d: 266).

Following the logic of the ‘domino theory’, i.e. entangled character of vices, Gandhi soon extended his crusade against mood-altering substances also to opium, an intoxicant which many associated with Asian rather than Western societies:

The criticism leveled against alcohol applies equally to opium, although the two are very different in their action. Under the effect of alcohol, a person becomes a rowdy, whereas opium makes the addict dull and lazy. He becomes even drowsy and incapable of doing anything useful. The evil effect of alcohol strikes the eyes everyday [sic!], but those of opium are not so glaring. Any one [...] wishing to see its devastating effect should go to Assam or Orissa. Thousands have fallen victim of this intoxicant, in those provinces. They give one the impression on living on the verge of death (Gandhi 1948: 36).

Opium’s spread to what Gandhi called the ‘immoral trade’ organized first by the East India Company and later by the Government of British India perfectly lent itself to a forceful critique of the depraved character of ‘Western civilization’ in its British imperial *avatar*, particularly once the international political pressure on the British to stop their opium dealings started growing significantly in the early 1900s (Emdad-ul-Haq 2000: 69–95; McAllister 2000: 43–102). Quite predictably, therefore, the Indian National Congress under Gandhi’s leadership used its media as well as international political platforms such as the League of Nations to put considerable pressure on the British to prohibit the opium trade (Framke 2013). However, his protracted anti-opium crusade did not target solely the colonial administration. The Mahatma also campaigned in the villages of the regions implicated in opium production, consumption and trade, attempting to convince peasants that they should stop cultivating poppy and persuade the opium smokers to quit their habit. Considering the striking discursive affinities between the evangelical and anti-imperial opposition to the consumption of intoxicants, it is rather unsurprising that a Christian comrade in arms supported the Indian nationalist leader’s anti opium campaign. Charles Freer Andrews, Anglican clergyman and long-time friend and supporter of the nationalist cause, accompanied Gandhi on his tour in Assam, published many articles and pamphlets against opium trade and consumption, and

even served on a Congress Committee of Inquiry into the effects of opium use by the population of India's North-Eastern province (Andrews 1926; idem 1925; see also Kour 2014: 145).

Interestingly, the fight against opium apparently also inspired Gandhi's crusade against cigarette smoking. In a speech delivered to College students in Madras in 1927, the Mahatma warned his audience about the dangers of nicotine addiction in evocative terms: 'Cigarette smoking is like an opiate and the cigars that you smoke have a touch of opium about them. They get to your nerves and you cannot leave them afterwards' (Gandhi 1976e: 397). In the light of this rigid anti-tobacco stance, it is understandable that he considered it an outright humiliation when an inventive cigarette manufacturer introduced the new label 'Mahatma Gandhi' in 1921, containing his portrait on the package (CWMG Vol. 22: 198).

The logics of the domino theory led Gandhi also to criticize practices that were not directly related to the consumption of mood-altering substances. He wrote about a dozen articles on the disastrous effects of gambling and race-horse betting, vices he considered to be 'more difficult to deal with than drinking' (CWMG Vol. 23: 97). The puritan leader of the Indian independence movement displayed particular missionary zeal when it came to the castigation of illicit sex and prostitution. Indian historian Ajay Skaria has shown that the figure of the *veshya* (prostitute) was an important metaphorical trope in Gandhi's discursive repertoire (Skaria 2007). However, the Mahatma's preoccupation with prostitution was not restricted to the level of figurative speech. He was also concerned about the social reality of the existence of hundreds of thousands of 'fallen sisters' in India, a fact he perceived as a 'matter of deep shame' and 'blot of the nation' (CWMG Vol. 45: 457). Much like in the case of opium and alcohol, Gandhi outsourced the blame for this 'tremendous and growing evil', to the West in general and British colonial rule in particular. He described the imperial metropolises Paris and London as well-known global centres of debauchery, 'seething with the vice', while simultaneously expressing his conviction that prostitution in pre-colonial India had been confined to a minuscule élite. Consequently, immorality in the past had not been 'so rampant as now', when the popularity of brothels was supposedly responsible for the 'fast undoing the youth of the middle classes' (CWMG Vol.32: 104), whom Gandhi be-



lieved to be ‘afflicted by syphilis and other unmentionable diseases’ (Gandhi 1923: 60).

In a remarkable statement made in an article published in his mouth-piece *Young India* in the summer of 1925, Gandhi summed up the pivotal importance of an encompassing war on all different facets of vice for India’s political struggle for self-rule concluding with a stunning lament:

If I had the power of persuasion, I would certainly stop women of ill-fame from acting as actresses, I would prevent people from drinking and smoking, I would certainly prevent all the degrading advertisements that disfigure even reputable journals and I would most decidedly stop the obscene literature and portraits that soil the pages of some of our magazines. But alas, I have not the persuasive power I would gladly possess (*CWMG* Vol. 32: 104).

Given the lack of the necessary persuasive (let alone legislative) power, the only solution for Gandhi consisted in protracted and concerted anti-vice campaigns that would gradually bring about the emergence of an ‘intelligent, sane, healthy, and pure public opinion’ (*CWMG* Vol. 32: 104). The growth of such a ‘pure’ public opinion alone, he felt, would be able to keep the manifold perils emanating from vicious habits and threatening the nation-in-the-making at bay. Given such lofty goals, it is somewhat ironic, but certainly not atypical for anti-vice crusaders, that their fight against carnal temptations at times contributed to their own individual pleasure gain in ways that could cast serious doubts on their moral integrity.<sup>6</sup> In the case of Gandhi, recent research has provided ample evidence of the fact that his own ‘chastity experiments’ included sleeping next to and bathing with naked women that might well have been his granddaughters (Parekh 1999; see also Adams 2010).

The example of Gandhi’s nationalistic puritanism is instructive, primarily because it adds new layers of complexity to our understanding of the broader phenomenon of global anti-vice activism. Clearly, the fight against the social diseases and vicious habits neither was a purely Western occur-

---

<sup>6</sup> British Prime Minister William Gladstone, for instance, regularly stalked the lanes of Victorian London seeking to reclaim street prostitutes from a life of vice with a zeal that raised quite a few contemporaries’ eyebrows (cf. Fisher 1998: 10–12).

rence nor was it the prerogative of Christian reformers, early feminists, and paternalist imperialists. As we have seen, non-Western elites could add their own critiques by seamlessly integrating the agitation for the abolition of prostitution and the prohibition of alcohol and drugs as part and parcel of their emancipatory political struggle. That being said, it would be misleading to posit the existence of an autonomous 'indigenous' temperance and purity ideology that would be exclusively embedded in Asian religious traditions existing completely isolated from these Western groups and the anti-vice discourses they deployed. To be sure, Gandhi occasionally invoked the teachings of sacred Indian scriptures like the *Bhagavadgītā* or the precepts of Hindu sages like Tulsidas and Chaitanya in his pamphlets against alcohol, opium and 'the unpardonable sin of illegitimate sexual enjoyment' (Gandhi 1923: 59), thereby establishing links to local cultural traditions. Yet, his anti-vice agenda remained crucially moulded by the manifold contacts, exchanges and interactions with individuals and organizations from the west and a creative appropriation of their respective knowledges, discourses and methods.

Let me illustrate my main argument with a few examples of discursive borrowing and active collaboration with Western anti-vice activists other than the well-documented interactions with Kallenbach and Andrews. It is striking that Gandhi found allies throughout the wide spectrum of anti-vice campaigners. Apparently, it made no difference to him whether they were missionaries, medical men, or social hygienists, as long as they promised to support his political agenda or provide ideological ammunition in the struggle for self-purification. Thus, in 1934, for instance, the Mahatma gave a speech at the Bangalore Temperance Association, thereby using one of the oldest institutional platforms for anti-alcohol agitation that existed in India — the BTA was founded by Christian Missionaries in the 1830s.<sup>7</sup> A few years earlier he had addressed a huge meeting organized by the Burma Women's Christian Temperance Union in Rangoon (*CWMTG* Vol. 45: 236–240), where the chair of the meeting, announced him as 'India's greatest temperance advocate'. Other Western anti-vice organisations, too, attempted to recruit Gandhi, who had become a global celebrity by the mid-1920s, as a collabo-

---

<sup>7</sup> The founding date 1837 is mentioned in *Journal of the American Temperance Union 1837*: 187.

rator. In the summer of 1924 William McKibben the founder of the Seattle based organization White Cross, wrote a long letter to the Congress leader trying to win his support. The organisation orchestrated a protracted anti-opium campaign. It had been established two years previously to save the world from ‘The Coming Narcotics Armageddon’, as one of their pamphlets had it (*The Coming Narcotics Armageddon* 1923). As a matter of course, Gandhi was in full sympathy with this agenda and immediately reassured McKibben that ‘the White Cross may rely upon India’s co-operation in its noble work.’ (Gandhi 1976b: 371).

The extent to which a consciousness of the global ramifications of the anti-vice struggle characterizes the Mahatma’s propaganda campaign is indeed striking. As already indicated, Gandhi frequently referred to the prohibition experiment in the United States in appreciative terms. Even more importantly, the publications of Western anti-vice campaigners were regularly recycled in speeches and writings. As early as 1906, he reprinted an entire article by Dr. Cortez, a French medical expert, on the ‘Evils of Tobacco’ in his journal *The Indian Review* published from South Africa (CWMG Vol. 5: 197). He stuck to this method of pastiche for decades. Thus, for example, he quoted extensive passages from the American journalist and anti-opium campaigner John Palmer Gavit’s report on the Geneva Opium Conferences in an article published in 1926 under the title ‘Drugs, Drink and Devil’ (Gandhi 1976c: 376–78). Earlier he had also written a series of articles summarizing the French social hygienist Paul Bureau’s book *Indiscipline des mœurs*.<sup>8</sup> Bureau’s book castigated birth-control and advocated chastity instead—an agenda that must have been logically appealing to an ardent believer in *brahmacharya* as the only panacea for various kinds of evils. In the last article of this series, Gandhi appealed to the Indian youth to ‘treasure in the hearts the quotation with which Mr. Bureau’s book ends: The future is for the nations who are chaste!’. Along similar lines, a piece published in *Harijan*<sup>9</sup> in the late 1930s contained a long excerpt from George Catlin’s influential textbook *Liquor Control*, published in New York in 1931 (Catlin 1931; see also Room 2005: 925–7). In this case Gandhi used the

---

<sup>8</sup> The articles were later re-published as a separate chapter in Gandhi 1947: 8–38. For a brief discussion cf. also Parel 2006: 141f.; Tidrick 2007: 342; Alter 1996: 8–10.

<sup>9</sup> *Harijan* was a journal that especially targeted India’s untouchable population.

quote in order to proof scientifically that alcohol consumption was dangerous even in frigid zones, implying, of course, that it was outright lethal in the tropics (CWMG Vol. 72: 166).

These are only a few examples that can help elucidate to what extent the 'glocalized' or 'pidginized' variety of anti-vice activism that crystallized in South Africa and India was made over by the exchanges and dialogues characteristic of the age of imperial globalization.<sup>10</sup> Although it might sound strange, then, at least for the purpose of this essay, it is not enough to understand M.K. Gandhi only as an Indian nationalist or Hindu social reformer. No doubt, ideas of purity, chastity and sobriety were pivotal for his vision of the Indian nation in the making. At the same time, however, it has become clear that the Mahatma's vision was crucially shaped by the multi-faceted, transnational and transcultural anti-vice ecumene of which he was a member.

Harald Fischer-Tiné is Professor of Modern Global History at ETH Zürich. His most recent monograph is: *Shyamji Krishnavarma: Sanskrit, Sociology and Anti-Imperialism* (London and Delhi, 2014). He has also (co)-edited ten anthologies, the most recent of which is *Anxieties, Fear and Panic in Colonial Settings: Empires on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown* (Houndmills and New York, 2017). His articles and book reviews have appeared in many journals including the *American Historical Review*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *Modern Asian Studies* and the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. Harald Fischer-Tiné can be reached at [harald.fischertine@gess.ethz.ch](mailto:harald.fischertine@gess.ethz.ch).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Jad 2010. *Gandhi: Naked Ambition*. London: Quercus.
- Alter, Joseph 1996. "Gandhi's Body, Gandhi's Truth: Nonviolence and the Biomoral Imperative of Public Health", in: *Journal of Asian Studies* 55 (2): 311–314.
- Alter, Joseph 2000. *Gandhi's Body: Sex, Diet and Politics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

---

<sup>10</sup> For the concept of epistemic pidginization in a colonial constellation see Fischer-Tiné 2013.

Andrews, Charles F. 1925. "Opium in Assam", in: *Modern Review* XXXVII (5): 511–515.

Andrews, Charles F. 1926. *The Opium Evil in India: Britain's Responsibility*. London: Student Christian Movement.

Arnold, David 2014. *Gandhi (Profiles in Power)*. London; New York: Routledge.

Aydin Cemil 2007. *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Brown, Judith 1999. "Gandhi—a Victorian Gentleman: An Essay in Imperial Encounter", in: *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 21 (2): 68–85.

Catlin, George 1931. *Liquor Control*. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

CWMG (*Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*) 1999. 98 Volumes. New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, 1999. (<<http://www.gandhiserve.org/e/cwmg/cwmg.htm>>, accessed 24 March 2017).

Cited articles:

"Evils of Tobacco", Vol. 5 (Nov 6, 1905–Nov 3, 1906): 197.

"The Curse of Betting", Vol. 23 (April 6, 1921–July 21, 1921): 95–97.

"Notes on the Agreement", Vol. 29 (Aug 16, 1924–Dec 26, 1924): 331–335.

"Painfully Illuminating", Vol. 32 (June 17, 1925–Sep 24, 1925): 103–105.

"Speech at Women's Meeting, Rangoon", Vol. 45 (Feb 4, 1929–May 11, 1929): 236–240.

"Speech at Public Meeting, Rajahmundry", Vol. 45 (Feb 4, 1929–May 11, 1929): 456–457.

"Against Ahimsa and Truth?", Vol. 72 (July 6, 1937–Feb 20, 1938): 129–131.

"Notes: Dangerous even in Frigid Zones", Vol. 72 (July 6, 1937–Feb 20, 1938): 166–167.

- "Interview to the Deputation of Victuallers' Association", Vol. 76 (May 31, 1939–Oct 15, 1939): 7–8.
- Colvard, Robert E. 2014. "'Drunkards Beware!': Prohibition and Nationalist Politics in the 1930s", in: Harald Fischer-Tiné & Jana Tschurennev (Eds.): *A History of Alcohol and Drugs in Modern South Asia: Intoxicating Affairs*. London: Routledge, 173–200.
- The Coming Narcotics Armageddon* 1923. Seattle, WA: The White Cross Anti-Narcotics League.
- Cox, Pamela 2007. "Compulsion, Voluntarism, and Venereal Disease: Governing Sexual Health in England after the Contagious Diseases Acts", in: *Journal of British Studies* 46 (1): 91–115.
- Dalal, Chandulal Bhagubhai 2007. *Harilal Gandhi: A Life*. Hyderabad: Orient Longman.
- Donovan, Brian 2006. *White Slave Crusades: Race, Gender, and Anti-Vice Activism, 1887–1917*. Urbana; Chicago, IL: Illinois University Press.
- Fahey, David & Manian, Padma 2005. "Poverty and Purification. The Politics of Gandhi's Campaign for Prohibition", in: *The Historian* 67 (3): 489–506.
- Fischer-Tiné, Harald 2013. *Pidgin-Knowledge: Wissen und Kolonialismus*. Zürich; Berlin: Diaphanes.
- Fisher, Trevor 1998. "Sex and Mr. Gladstone", in: *History Today* 48 (5): 10–12.
- Framke, Maria 2013. "Internationalising the Indian War on Opium: Colonial Policy, the Nationalist Movement and the League of Nations", in: Harald Fischer-Tiné & Jana Tschurennev (Eds.): *A History of Alcohol and Drugs in Modern South Asia: Intoxicating Affairs*. London: Routledge, 155–171.
- Gandhi, Leela 2006. *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship*. Durham, NC; London: Duke University Press.
- Gandhi, Mahatma 1923. *A Guide to Health*. Madras: S. Ganeshan.
- Gandhi, M[ohandas]. K[aramchand] 1947. *Self-Restraint v. Self-Indulgence*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.
- Gandhi, M[ohandas]. K[aramchand] 1948. *Key to Health*. Ahmadabad: Navijan.

- Gandhi, M[ohandas]. K[aramchand] 1949. *Diet and Diet Reform*. Ahmada-  
bad: Navijan.
- Gandhi, M[ohandas]. K[aramchand] 1976a. “Abkari—an Ancient Evil?”, in:  
V.B. Kher (Ed.): *M.K. Gandhi: Social Service and Social Reform, vol-  
ume I*. Ahmedabad: Navijan Publishing House, 224–225.
- Gandhi, M[ohandas]. K[aramchand] 1976b. “War Against Opium”, in: V. B.  
Kher (Ed.): *M.K. Gandhi: Social Service and Social Reform, volume I*.  
Ahmedabad: Navijan Publishing House, 369–373.
- Gandhi, M[ohandas]. K[aramchand] 1976c. “The Two Arms of the Devil”, in:  
V. B. Kher (Ed.): *M.K. Gandhi: Social Service and Social Reform, vol-  
ume I*. Ahmedabad: Navijan Publishing House, 376–379.
- Gandhi, M[ohandas]. K[aramchand] 1976d. “When Satan becomes Irresisti-  
ble”, in: V. B. Kher (Ed.): *M.K. Gandhi: Social Service and Social Re-  
form, volume I*. Ahmedabad: Navijan Publishing House, 265–266.
- Gandhi, M[ohandas]. K[aramchand] 1976e. “Smoking is like an Opiate”, in:  
V. B. Kher (Ed.): *M.K. Gandhi: Social Service and Social Reform, vol-  
ume I*. Ahmedabad: Navijan Publishing House, 397.
- Gandhi, M[ohandas]. K[aramchand] 1976f. “Shun this Evil in Time”, in: V. B.  
Kher (Ed.): *M.K. Gandhi: Social Service and Social Reform, volume I*.  
Ahmedabad: Navijan Publishing House, 225.
- Gandhi, M[ohandas]. K[aramchand] 1976g. “Wipe the Shame”, in: V. B.  
Kher (Ed.): *M.K. Gandhi: Social Service and Social Reform, volume I*.  
Ahmedabad: Navijan Publishing House, 226.
- Guha, Ramachandra 2014. *Gandhi before India*. New York: A. Knopf.
- Haq, M. Emdad-ul 2000. *Drugs in South Asia: From the Opium Trade to the  
Present Day*. Houndmills; New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Hardiman, David 1985. “From Custom to Crime: The Politics of Drinking in  
Colonial South Gujarat”, in: Ranajit Guha (Ed.): *Subaltern Studies IV*.  
New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 165–228.
- Hunt, Alan 1999. *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation*.  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hunt, James D. 1978. *Gandhi in London*. New Delhi: Promilla & Co.

- Hunt, James D. & Bhana, Surendra 2007. "Spiritual Rope Walkers: Gandhi, Kallenbach and the Tolstoy Farm", in: *South African Historical Journal* 58 (1): 174–202.
- Hyslop, Jonathan 2011. "Gandhi 1869–1914: The Transnational Emergence of a Public Figure", in: Judith M. Brown & Anthony Parel (Eds.): *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 30–50.
- Jordens, Joseph T.F. 1998. *Gandhi's Religion: A Homespun Shawl*. Houndmills; London: Macmillan.
- Journal of the American Temperance Union* 1837. 1 (9): 187.
- Kour, Kawal Deep 2014. "The Opium Question in Colonial Assam", in: Harald Fischer-Tiné & Jana Tschurennev: *A History of Alcohol and Drugs in Modern South Asia: Intoxicating Affairs*. London: Routledge, 139-154.
- Lelyveld, Joseph 2011. *Great Soul: Mahatma Gandhi and his Struggle with India*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Lev, Shimon 2012. *Soulmates: The Story of Mahatma Gandhi and Hermann Kallenbach*. New Delhi: Orient Black Swan.
- Lodckwick, Kathleen L. 1996. *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874–1917*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
- Mc Allister, William B. 2000. *Drug Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century: An International History*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Menon, Nikhil 2015. "Battling the Bottle: Experiments in Regulating Drink in late Colonial Madras", in: *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 52 (1): 29–51.
- Nigam, Aditya 2013. "Towards an Aesthetic of Slowness: Reading Hind Swaraj Today", in: Ghanshyam Shah (Ed.): *Re-Reading Hind Swaraj: Modernity and Subalterns*. New Delhi: Orient Black Swan.
- Padwa, Howard 2012. *Social Poison: The Culture and Politics of Opiate Control in Britain and France, 1821–1926*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.



- Parekh, Bhikhu 1999. *Colonialism, Tradition and reform: An Analysis of Gandhi's Political Discourse*. New Delhi, Thousand Oaks; London: Sage.
- Parel, Anthony J. 2006. *Gandhi's Philosophy and the Quest for Harmony*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pliley, Jessica; Kramm, Robert & Fischer-Tiné, Harald. 2016. "Introduction: A Plea for a 'Vicious Turn' in Global History", in: Jessica Pliley, Robert Kramm & Harald Fischer-Tiné (Eds): *Global Anti-Vice Activism, 1890–1950: Fighting Drinks, Drugs, and "Immorality"*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–29.
- Richards, John F. 2002. "Opium and the British Empire: The Royal Commission of 1895", in: *Modern Asian Studies* 36 (2): 375–420.
- Room, Robin 2005. "Classic Texts Revisited: George E.G. Catlin, Liquor Control", in: *Addiction* 99: 925–927.
- Sarkar, Tanika 2011. "Gandhi and Social Relations", in: Judith M. Brown & Anthony Parel (Eds.): *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 187–191.
- Sharma, Suresh & Tridip Suhrud (Eds.) 2010. *M.K. Gandhi's Hind Swaraj: A Critical Edition*. New Delhi: Orient Black Swan.
- Skaria, Ajay 2007. "Only One Word, Properly Altered: Gandhi and the Question of the Prostitute", in: *Postcolonial Studies* 10 (2): 219–237.
- Suhrud, Tridip 2014. "Hind Swaraj: Translating Sovereignty", in: Antoinette Burton & Isabel Hofmeyr (Eds.): *Ten Books that shaped the British Empire: Creating an Imperial Commons*. Durham; London: Duke University Press, 153–167.
- Sulkunen, Pekka & Warpenius, Katariina (2000). "Reforming the Self and the Other: The Temperance Movement and the Duality of Modern Subjectivity", in: *Critical Public Health* 10 (4): 423–438.
- Taneja, Anup 2005. *Gandhi, Women and the National Movement*. New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications.
- Tidrick, Kathryn 2007. *Gandhi: A Political and Spiritual Life*. London; New York: I.B. Tauris.

- Tyrell, Ian 1991. *Women's World, Women's Empire: The Women's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880–1930*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Valiani, Arafaat A. 2014. "Recuperating Indian Masculinity: Mohandas Gandhi, War and the Indian Diaspora in South Africa", in: *South Asian History and Culture*, 5 (4): 505–520.
- Valverde, Mariana 2000. "'Racial Poison': Drink, Male Vice, and Degeneration in First-Wave Feminism", in: Ian Christopher Fletcher et al. (Eds.): *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race*. London: Routledge, 33–50.
- Walkowitz, Judith 1982. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Watt, Carey A. 2016. "Physical Culture as Natural Healing: Eugen Sandow's Campaign against the Vices of Civilization", in: Jessica Pliley, Robert Kramm & Harald Fischer-Tiné (Eds.): *Global Anti-Vice Activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 74–99.