Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. See, for instance, Wachal, “The Capitalization of Black and Native American”; Tharps, “The Case for Black with a Capital B.” The Chicago, Associated Press, and Modern Language Association style guides all suggest that “black” and “white” should not be capitalized when referring to races, though the American Psychological Association disagrees. Du Bois, as I discuss briefly in chapter 3, once led a campaign for the capitalization of “Negro” in the 1920s: I imagine that he might support my formatting decision.


3. Stock, The Implications of Literacy; Fish, Is There a Text in This Class?


5. In Fish’s famous anecdote, the question—“Is there a text in this class?”—while seemingly simple in its word-for-word comprehensibility, signifies differently depending on whether one utilizes the interpretive protocols of university instruction or those supplied in the pedagogy of deconstruction. This is an iconic example but a weak one for my purposes, not only because the institution in Fish’s anecdote is literal—the university, the humanities disciplines—but also because the positionality is predictable—a female student asking a male professor.


7. For a salutary demonstration of this approach to print culture, see Garvey, Writing with Scissors.


11. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, or, You’re So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Essay Is about You,” in Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity.
13. Anker and Felski, Critique and Postcritique.
16. For a longer discussion see Marling, “The Formal Ideologeme.”
17. See, generally, Jameson, The Political Unconscious, 73.
18. I invoke here Louis Althusser’s model of symptomatic reading, which has been particularly important for recent critics seeking to distance the practice from its synonymy with Jameson’s version. See Bewes, “Reading with the Grain.”
19. See Lahiri, “The Pose of the Author.”
23. Turner, Philology; Ahmed, Archaeology of Babel; Chang, Elman, and Pollock, World Philology; Harpham, “Roots, Races, and the Return to Philology.”

CHAPTER I

1. Gitanjali: Song Offerings was published in 1912 but initially distributed privately by subscription. The general public could first access Tagore’s poems by purchasing the December 1912 issue of Poetry magazine or by waiting until 1913, when the Gitanjali collection became commercially available.
3. G. Desai, “Postcolonial, by Any Other Name?”
6. Ganguly, This Thing Called the World; Walkowitz, “World Anglophone Is a Theory.”
7. G. Desai, “Postcolonial, by Any Other Name?”
9. Tagore, Nationalism.
15. Tagore, Nationalism; Tagore, The Home and the World.
16. Rabindranath Tagore, preface to Lim, The Li Sao, xxiii.
17. William Radice has examined in archival and textual detail the correspondence between the English text of Gitanjali and its Bengali sources. He describes a pattern of radical transformations: within the poems, in paragraph structure, phrasing, and rhyme scheme, and across the collection, in the selection and ordering of poems. See his extended introduction in Tagore, Gitanjali, xvi.
18. The categories tatsama, tadbhava, and desi are used in the linguistics of South Asian languages to describe: words identical to their origins in Sanskrit; words traceable to Sanskrit that have been modified in the adaptation; and words that cannot be clearly traced to Sanskrit, respectively. By that measure, “Sanskritic” would probably cover both tatsama and tadbhava words, but the pattern I see veers quite strongly toward tatsama.
19. This account concurs with that of Inaga, “Sister Nivedita and her ‘Kali the Mother, the Web of Indian Life.’” John Rosenfeld claims that the lectures were “translated into English with the aid of Margaret Elizabeth Noble” and that MacLeod attended his lectures at the Japan Art Institute. Rosenfeld, “Okakura Kakuzō and Margaret Noble (Sister Nivedita),” 58, 62.
20. See, for instance, Bharucha, Another Asia.
22. Sister Nivedita, introduction to Okakura, The Ideals of the East, xv.
29. The 1919 satyagraha was organized against the Rowlatt Act: legislation enacted in 1919 that extended the draconian emergency powers initially instated during the the First World War into perpetuity, rather than granting, as Indian leaders had hoped, greater political autonomy. The Khilafat movement was a worldwide agitation against the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and for the reinstatement of the Caliphate (Khilafat).
30. The entirety of Tagore and Gandhi’s correspondence, from Gandhi’s return to India in 1915 to Tagore’s death in 1941, is available in Bhattacharya, The Mahatma and the Poet.
35. Tagore, “Letters from Rabindranath Tagore.”
36. The date and location of each letter are preserved in the 1928 collection edited by those letters’ recipient, Charles Freer Andrews: see Tagore, Letters to a Friend, 127–37. The Modern Review version included the dates but not the locations, while neither are foregrounded in the versions in Bhattacharya, The Mahatma and the Poet, 54–62.
43. Tagore, “The Call of Truth,” 430.
47. Olivelle, The Early Upanisads.
50. Olivelle, The Early Upanisads, 453.
52. Lukács, “Tagore’s Gandhi Novel.”
53. A handwritten note (likely Leonard Elmhirst’s) on a Tagore lecture manuscript from 1924 in the Visva Bharati archives tells us, “They had taken for granted he was a reactionary, saying ‘go back,’ have nothing to do with science. They clothed RT in the mantle of Gandhi whose works they’d read.”
54. Zhou, “The Inseparable Dichotomy of Nationalism.”
55. See, for instance, Anjaria, Realism in the Twentieth-Century Indian Novel; Hogan, Empire and Poetic Voice; Ray, En-gendering India; Walkowitz, Cosmopolitan Style; Nussbaum, “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism”; Weidman, “Echo and Anthem.”
56. In addition to the 1903 Shishu, the remaining poems were taken from Kádi o Komal (1886), Sonár Tári (1894), Ksániká (1900), and Gúttmályá (1914). Within the corpus of Tagore’s Anglophone texts, three poems overlap between the Gitanjali and Crescent Moon collections: no. 60 becomes “On the Sea Shore,” no. 61 becomes “The Source,” and no. 9 becomes “When and Why.” See Das, The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore, 1, 603–5.
57. Signaling Tagore’s fame, The Crescent Moon collection also advertises Gitanjali, described as “A Collection of Prose Translations Made by the Author from the Original Bengali,” complete with effusive reviews; The Gardener, again “Translated by the Author from the Original Bengali,” though with the caveat that “the translations are not always literal—the originals being sometimes abridged and sometimes paraphrased”; Sádhaná: The Realisation of Life, containing lectures were “delivered to large audiences” at Harvard and Oxford; and the autobiography of Maharishi Devendranath Tagore, Rabindranath’s father.
60. Li Zhi, “Explanation of the Childlike Heart-Mind (Tongxin Shuo),” 110.
61. Wen, “Form in Poetry.”
63. For extensive discussion of this trip and its implications, see Tan et al.,
Tagore and China.
64. Tagore, Talks in China.
65. P. C. M., publisher’s note in Tagore, Talks in China, iii.
66. P. C. M., publisher’s note in Tagore, Talks in China, i.
67. Liang Qichao, introduction to Tagore, Talks in China, 1.
68. Liang Qichao, introduction to Tagore, Talks in China, 2.
69. Liang Qichao, introduction to Tagore, Talks in China, 2.
70. Liang Qichao, introduction to Tagore, Talks in China, 2–3.
71. Liang Qichao, introduction to Tagore, Talks in China, 2–3.
72. Liang Qichao, introduction to Tagore, Talks in China, 3–4.
73. Liang Qichao, introduction to Tagore, Talks in China, 5–6.
74. Liang Qichao, introduction to Tagore, Talks in China, 17–18.
75. Liang Qichao, introduction to Tagore, Talks in China, 19–20.
76. Tagore, Talks in China, 23.
77. Tagore, Talks in China, 23–4.
78. Das, “The Controversial Guest.”
80. Tagore, Talks in China, 61.
81. Tagore, Talks in China, 42.
82. Tagore, Talks in China, 61.
83. Tagore, Talks in China, 40.
84. Tagore, Talks in China, 122, 124.
85. For a longer discussion see Lahiri, “Print for the People.”
86. Owen, An Anthology of Chinese Literature, 156.
87. Hokkien refers to the people and the culture of China’s southeastern
Fujian province.
89. Frost, “Beyond the Limits of Nation and Geography”; Hay, Asian
Ideals of East and West.
90. Clifford, introduction to Lim, The Li Sao, xvi.
91. Clifford, introduction to Lim, The Li Sao, xvii.
92. Giles, preface to Lim, The Li Sao, xxii.
93. Lim Boon Keng, translator’s preface to Lim, The Li Sao, xxx.
94. Lim Boon Keng, Translator’s preface to Lim, The Li Sao, xxx.
95. Lim, The Li Sao, 52.
96. Lim, The Li Sao, 52.
97. Lim, The Li Sao, 52.
98. Lim, The Li Sao, 52.
99. Lim Boon Keng, translator’s preface to Lim, The Li Sao, xxix.
102. Tagore, preface to Lim, *The Li Sao*, xxiii.
103. Tagore, preface to Lim, *The Li Sao*, xxiii.
108. Tagore, *One Hundred Poems of Kabir*.

**CHAPTER 2**

7. Safire, “People of Color” (emphasis in the original).
14. “Boer,” meaning “farmer” in Afrikaans (and Dutch), was used throughout much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to refer to Afrikaans-speaking settlers of mostly Dutch descent. The word is something of a slur in our time, though it would not have been in Gandhi’s. Where possible here I use the more current term “Afrikaner,” resorting to “Boer” only when necessary to prevent anachronism.
17. Written in Gujarati from Yerawada Central Jail from November 26, 1923, to February 5, 1924; and published serially in *Navajivan* from April 13, 1924, to November 22, 1925, *Satyagraha in South Africa* was also published in book form in two parts in 1924 and 1925. The English translation appeared in 1928 from S. Ganesan, Madras, and that is the volume to which I will chiefly refer. The text reprinted in volume 34 of the *Collected Works* of Mahatma Gandhi,
by contrast, is chiefly that of the third impression, issued by Navajivan Press in August 1961.

18. L. Gandhi, Affective Communities, 34–66, 86.


24. For a discussion of its sensibility, see Hofmeyr, Gandhi’s Printing Press, 5; for a discussion of its constituency, see Mesthrie, “From Advocacy to Mobilization,” 113.

25. Indian Opinion, June 4, 1903, 1.

26. Mesthrie suggests that the African Chronicle, which was written and published in English and Tamil, would have been the primary periodical for this community: the difference in its name, and its politics, is a notable contrast to Gandhi’s explicitly diasporic formulation.

27. Bannerjee, Becoming Imperial Citizens, 27.

28. Scholarship on Indian-African exchanges and encounters has flourished in the last few decades. For a detailed discussion of this dynamic in the South African context, see Soske, Internal Frontiers. For a general overview of India as a subimperial center in the British Empire, see Metcalf, Imperial Connections. For these issues in East Africa, particularly as they impact print cultures, see G. Desai, Commerce with the Universe. For divergent interpretations of the political implications of Afro-Indian historical connections, see Burton, Brown over Black; Prashad, The Darker Nations.

29. Heather Hughes notes that “the first few editions” of John Dube’s Ilanga lase Natal, a journal written in English and isiZulu, were published at the International Printing Press; this occurred, however, while the press was still in Durban and run by Madanjit Vijavaharik. Hughes, First President, 103.


33. While the text itself thus presents a mostly European intellectual genealogy, Tridip Suhrud reads the foreword’s claim of nonoriginality within a longer tradition of Indian authorship, wherein truth resides in the universal, rather than manifesting through individual innovation. He proves this claim by connecting this prefatory remark with Gandhi’s statement in a private letter that he has “written an original book in Gujarati,” which he suggests is “perhaps the

37. Leela Gandhi offers a somewhat different reading of this anecdote:

   “The point is not only that history, à la Gandhi, is inattentive to small details but that it censors the creative leap of faith required to apprehend the extraordinary in the ordinary . . . . We can only grasp the mundane making up of quarrelsome siblings (or their putative “soul force”) by simultaneously making up, or fictionalizing, its significance in a recklessly counterfactual or subjunctive appraisal. (L. Gandhi, Affective Communities, 156)

39. The system of Indian indenture was put into place by the British after the abolition of slavery in 1833. It created a cheap and malleable migrant workforce for the colonies via the transportation of millions under coercive conditions: approximately 1.2 million Indians were shipped to nineteen colonies over the course of a hundred years. From 1860 to 1911 an estimated 152,184 Indians were brought to South Africa, primarily to work on the sugar plantations; most Indian South Africans today are descendants of those indentured arrivants. The terms of indenture were technically contractual, based on a five-year bond; in practice, the system was rife with abuses, and is generally now considered as a semislavery system. Despite its difference from slavery in the rhetoric of British imperialism, it was profoundly similar in its carceral labor regimes. For a comprehensive history of Indian indenture in South Africa, see Desai and Vahed, Inside Indian Indenture.

49. Ranajit Guha, History at the Limit of World-History, 53.
52. De Kock, Civilising Barbarians.
54. Majeeed, Autobiography, Travel, and Postnational Identity.
64. Crais, “The Vacant Land”; McClendon, “Makwerekwere.”
70. Chrisman, *Rereading the Imperial Romance*, 12.
73. The contemporary poles in this debate might arguably be mapped between the gentle approach of Ramachandra Guha’s *Gandhi before India*, published in 2013, and the excoriating critique of A. Desai and Vahed’s *The South African Gandhi*, published just two years later.
83. Although this conflict was initially called the “Anglo-Boer War,” the non-White residents—neither “Anglo” nor “Boer”—of South Africa were profoundly affected, as indicated in the more recent nominalization of “South African War.” Given their White supremacist views, both the Boer and British governments had hoped to keep the conflict “a white man’s war”; as the war drew on, however, both sides relied on Black and Coloured fighters, as well as Indian noncombatants in supporting roles. Africans died in large numbers, not only during the regular course of combat but also within the British concentration camps (where African internees were deliberately mistreated even more than the Boer ones), and from Boer executions of Africans for their alleged disloyalty. See Plaut, *Promise and Despair*, 40, 44–45.
84. Plaut, *Promise and Despair*, 30–33.
85. Plaut, *Promise and Despair*, 133.
86. Plaut, *Promise and Despair*, 114.
95. Polak, “Women and the Struggle.”
100. Polak, *Mr. Gandhi*, 134.
105. The term “Colonial-born” was generally used for a person who was the subject of one British colony but was born in a different British colony. Gandhi would have certainly encountered this term in South Africa, where people of Indian descent who were born in South Africa were termed “Colonial-born Indians.”
130. Melas, *All the Difference in the World*, 86.

CHAPTER 3

16. Cox, *The Brownies around the World*. Originally serialized in the *Ladies’ Home Journal* from 1892 to 1893, the brownies in this story visit, in order, Canada, Ireland, Scotland, England, France, Spain, Italy, Turkey, Egypt, Arabia, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Russia, China, Japan, and “the Polar regions.” See also Cummins, *Humorous but Wholesome*, 78–79.
17. For example, according to the author of the only book-length study of Cox’s Brownies, the Brownies are “thoroughly democratic,” “utopian,” and “embody the American dream.” They impart, moreover, a message of diversity, for “through the Brownies a child learned that it was possible for a group of disparate members—the range of nationalities and occupations is large—to live together in harmony.” Cummins, *Humorous but Wholesome*, 113.


30. My argument focuses on Du Bois in the period before World War II; it thus does not reflect on his later writings, as for instance in his 1943 response to A. Philip Randolph’s call for Gandhian resistance. For a discussion of that postwar debate, see Prashad, “Waiting for the Black Gandhi,” 190.


32. Bullard, “Global South,” 726.

33. Meyers and Hunt, “The Other Global South.”

34. The original U.S. naturalization law of 1790 made being a “free white person” a prerequisite for naturalization. The racial requirement was further enshrined in 1856 when, in *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that no person of African descent could be considered a U.S. citizen. The Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868 to protect African Americans after the abolition of slavery, defined legal criteria for citizenship on a *jus soli* basis, without any racial restrictions—and then the Naturalization Act of 1870 explicitly clarified that naturalization had only been extended to “aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent.” In 1898, the Supreme Court ruled in *Wong Kim Ark v. United States* that *jus soli* citizenship applied even to U.S.-born children of noncitizens who were neither White nor of African descent.

Explicitly racial restrictions on immigration began with the Page Act of 1875, which nearly eliminated the immigration of Asian women, and then the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, whose racial parameters were further expanded by the Asiatic Barred Zone Act of 1917. That “Asiatic Barred Zone” included all of
Asia except for Japan and the Philippines, then a U.S. colony; Japanese immigration was soon banned, however, in the more comprehensive 1924 Johnson-Reed Act (National Origins Quota Act). The introduction of a quota system in the early 1920s strongly favored White immigrants from Western Europe, even as the permissibility of immigration by those eligible for citizenship meant that immigration from Africa was never legally eliminated.

Other restrictions applied to women, whose citizenship could be revoked, and Native Americans, who gained citizenship with the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act. White immigrant women became capable of naturalization through marriage to U.S. citizens only in 1855, and with the 1907 Expatriation Act (repealed by the 1922 Cable Act) women who married non-U.S. citizens were automatically stripped of their U.S. citizenship. Even in the Cable Act, however, the U.S. made an anti-Asian exception: U.S. women who married noncitizens of Asian descent would still lose their citizenship.

Even expansions of naturalization rights often incorporated specifically anti-Asian exceptions. Some Asian Americans would become eligible for naturalization in the 1940s: Chinese Americans, with the 1943 repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, and then Indian and Filipino Americans, with the 1946 Luce-Celler Act. The United States would not move to a fully nonracial immigration and naturalization regime until 1965. While today by some measures Asian Americans are among the most prosperous of immigrant groups, the naturalization process for immigrants from the two most populous Asian nations—India and China—can easily take a decade longer than that for other applicants.

36. Cooppan, Worlds Within; Weinbaum, Wayward Reproductions.
38. Lake and Reynolds, Drawing the Global Colour Line, 168–89.
42. Lake and Reynolds, Drawing the Global Colour Line, 313.
46. Du Bois, Dark Princess, 311.
47. Du Bois, “Asia in Africa.”
49. Lahiri, “World Romance.”
50. Ryan, “India and U.S. Cultures of Reform.”
56. Du Bois, Dark Princess, 221.
57. Du Bois, Dark Princess, 245.
61. Fauset, “Dedication.”
63. Fauset, “What to Read.”
64. Fauset, “The Judge,” *Brownies’ Book* 1, no. 6 (June 1920): 176.
65. “Folk Tales.”
69. Poe, “Pumpkin Land.”
70. Culbertson, “The Origin of White Folks.”
71. Clifford, “Kindergarten Song.”
72. See, for instance, an early tale translated by the fifteen-year-old Mary Cook: Cook, “The Story of Prince Jalma.”
73. Fauset, “Over the Ocean Wave.”
74. “The Merry Month of May.”
76. Du Bois, “As the Crow Flies,” 76.
82. In early issues, Fauset is listed as the literary editor and Du Bois as the managing editor, identical to the roles that they performed for *The Crisis*. By 1921, however, the masthead for the *Brownies’ Book* proclaims Fauset as its managing editor, with Du Bois’s name preceding as the person who “conducted” it.
86. Easmon, “A Little Talk about West Africa.”
90. Simango, “Mphontholo Ne Shulo.”
91. Simango, “Mphontholo Ne Shulo,” 43–44.
92. For a longer discussion see Lahiri, “The Pose of the Author.”
93. “Little People of the Month.”
97. Garvey, *Writing with Scissors*.
100. Smith, *Children’s Literature of the Harlem Renaissance*.
105. See, for instance, M. Desai, *The United States of India*.
116. The Rowlatt Act of 1919 extended the regulations that Britain had placed on Indians during World War I, most notably extended detention without trial. The massacre on April 13, 1919, at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar resulted from a British army regiment firing on a crowd of peaceful and unarmed Indian civilians in a walled garden: at least 379 people were killed, and over 1,200 were injured.
117. Du Bois and Gandhi, “To the American Negro.”
118. Tagore and Du Bois, “A Message to the American Negro from Rabin-
dranath Tagore.”
119. Tagore and Du Bois, “A Message to the American Negro from Rabin-
dranath Tagore,” 334.
120. Tagore and Du Bois, “A Message to the American Negro from Rabin-
dranath Tagore,” 334.
121. Tagore and Du Bois, “A Message to the American Negro from Rabin-
dranath Tagore,” 334.
122. Du Bois, “Indian Philosopher Hits Race Prejudice.”
123. Tagore and Du Bois, “A Message to the American Negro from Rabin-
dranath Tagore,” 334.
124. Tagore and Du Bois, “A Message to the American Negro from Rabin-
dranath Tagore,” 334.
125. Du Bois obtained both 1929 notes through the intermediary services of C. F. Andrews. He sent letters to both Gandhi and Tagore under Andrews’s cover, unsealed, on February 19, 1929. Tagore’s secretary, A. C. Chakravarty, replied on March 1929; mentioning that he and Tagore had “read with much pleasure and interest” The Crisis, he adds “how deeply we are in sympathy with the broad human outlook which animates and illuminates its pages.” Du Bois received the note in July 1929, publishing it in the October “Children’s Number.” Their correspondence, while sparse, continued for three years. In a letter dated December 27, 1930, Chakravarty praises Du Bois’s “subtle (noble?) propaganda against racial discrimination”; on September 15, 1931, Du Bois reiterated his request for an article for The Crisis, this time explicitly voicing what he sought: “Could he not say a word concerning his experience in America and the little that he was able to see of the shadows of the color line?” We have no further record of their exchange. A. C. Chakravarty to W. E. B. Du Bois, March 1929, Du Bois Papers; A. C. Chakravarty to W. E. B. Du Bois, December 27, 1930, Du Bois Papers; A. C. Chakravarty to W. E. B. Du Bois, September 15, 1931, Du Bois Papers.
129. Viswanathan, Outside the Fold, 177–207.
130. “East and West.”
131. “East and West.”
146. Y. Du Bois, “The Land behind the Sun.”
147. L. Hughes, “Up to the Crater of an Old Volcano.”
149. Fauset, “Valedictory.”
154. Macauley, “Minute.”

**Conclusion**
