

GANDHI & DEEP ECOLOGY:
Experiencing the Nonhuman Environment

Shahed Ahmed Power

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Dedicated to all my friends
and
to the memory of
Sugata Dasgupta (1926 - 1984)

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Acknowledgements:

Though he is not mentioned in the main body of the text, I have been greatly influenced by the writings and life of the American religious writer Thomas Merton (1915 - 1968). Born in Prades, France, Thomas Merton grew up in France, England and the United States. In 1941 he entered the Trappist monastery, the Abbey of Our Lady of Gethsemani, Kentucky, where he is now buried, though he died in Bangkok. The later Merton especially was a guide to much of my reading in the 1970s. For many years now I have treasured a copy of Merton's own selection from the writings of Gandhi on Non-Violence (Gandhi, 1965), as well as a collection of his essays on peace (Merton, 1976).

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Last, but not least, there are my friends whose support and continuing interest has been essential to the completion of this study. I would like to mention in particular Mark Blades, Alan and Julia Brodrick, Dave Power and Shaun Theobald.

Abbreviations:

Autobiography: Mohandas K. Gandhi, "An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth", in CWMG, XXXIX, 1 - 402. [As there are so many editions of the Autobiography available, for ease of cross-reference the references are by Part (in Roman) followed by chapter (in Arabic) number.]

CWMG: Mohandas K. Gandhi, 1958-1984: "The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi", Volumes I - XC. [Volume I in 2nd edition of 1969]

Cape Cod: Henry D. Thoreau, 1988: "Cape Cod", Princeton University Press.

Diary: Mahadev H. Desai, 1968-1974: "Day-to-Day with Gandhi: Secretary's Diary", Volumes I - IX for the period 1917-1927. "The Diary of Mahadev Desai" for the year 1932, published in 1953, is cited as Volume X.

ed(s).: editor(s)

Essays: Henry D. Thoreau, [1895]: "Essays and other writings", Scott Library edition.

Excursions: Henry D. Thoreau, 1975b:
"Excursions", Peter Smith, Gloucester MA.

Gita: Mahadev H. Desai, with M.K.Gandhi &
Pyarelal, 1946: "The Gospel of Selfless Action or
the Gita According to Gandhi", Navajivan
Publishing. [References are by Discourse (in
Roman) followed by sloka or verse (in Arabic)
number.] (See also CWMG, XLI, 90-133)

J: Henry D. Thoreau, 1949, "The Journal", Volumes
I - XIV, Houghton Mifflin, Boston MA.

MW: Henry D. Thoreau, 1972: "The Maine Woods",
Princeton University Press.

n.: footnote to page

PJ: Henry D. Thoreau, 1981 & 1984: "Journal",
[Volumes 1 and 2 so far], Princeton University
Press.

p(p).: page(s)

Pt.: Part

Vol.: Volume

Walden: Henry D. Thoreau, 1971: "Walden",

Princeton University Press.

Week: Henry D. Thoreau, 1980a: "A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers", Princeton University Press.

Abstract:

The present study concentrates on the experience of nature in the life of Mohandas K. Gandhi. This detailed environmental biography of Gandhi follows him from the early years in India, through his years in England as a young man and on to South Africa where his beliefs about humanity's proper relationship with the nonhuman world were shaped. There is also a detailed examination of his dietary and nature-cure experiments which date from his years in England, 1888 - 1891, with a discussion of the original works that he cites in his own writings. Diet involves a most intimate relationship with the nonhuman environment. Gandhi sought a diet which involved the least unavoidable violence and which the poor could afford. Health for Gandhi was a state of total well-being - social, physical and spiritual.

Gandhi established communities of workers dedicated to service, first in South Africa at Phoenix Settlement and Tolstoy Farm, and then in India at Sabarmati Ashram and Sevagram. Here his respect for the integrity of other living beings was tested by experience. Rabid dogs, the threat of venomous snakes to both livestock and humans, and the nuisance of monkeys pilfering from the ashram's fruit trees and vegetables were situations that had to be resolved.

Since its inception in 1972 the Deep Ecology movement has been linked with the name of the Norwegian ecophilosopher Arne Naess, who has also devoted many years to an analysis of Gandhi's philosophy. The experience of nature and reflection on humanity's right relationship with the nonhuman environment is brought up to the present-day via a consideration of some of the individuals and indigenous people that deep ecology acknowledges as part of its background, such as Henry Thoreau, John Muir, Mary Austin, Aldo Leopold and Richard St. Barbe Baker.

Introduction:

The idea for a study of Mohandas K. Gandhi's reactions to nature arose out of conversations with Professor Sugata Dasgupta at the J.P. Institute of Social Change, Calcutta during the winter of 1983-84. It was to be a biographical study placing Gandhi in the context of his times and of popular contemporary movements for religious and dietary reform. Despite what one may read to the contrary, Gandhi did not exist in isolation. There were writers to whose work he often referred, who confirmed him in his own beliefs and experience, providing historical authority for his experiments in health and diet. In turn there are those later writers who acknowledge his influence on them, for example the present-day ecophilosopher Arne Naess.

Apart from the well-known individual works such as the Autobiography, Hind Swaraj and Satyagraha in South Africa, the source material by Gandhi is vast, ranging through many collections of extracts, selected speeches and writings, the most recent being the three volume selection edited by Raghavan Iyer (Gandhi, 1986a, 1986b, 1987). However it is the 90 volume "Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi" [CWMG] that I have relied on and in nearly all cases, references have been tied to this edition. Another important source of information on Gandhi's life is the memoir, preferably written by people who lived and worked with him, and amongst these the pride of place must go to

the diary of his secretary Mahadev Desai.

Previously both Dharendra Mohan Datta (1953,49-60) and Margaret Chatterjee (1983,62-7) devoted space in their studies of Gandhi's philosophical and religious thought respectively to the place of nature in his life - his experience, vision and appreciation of it. This environmental biography of Gandhi seeks to highlight this aspect of his life. For Gandhi nature was more than just a source of inspiration or the power of which filled him with awe, it also afforded him great pleasure, even solace at times of trouble. In the day-to-day life of the Ashram he felt responsible for both its human and nonhuman inhabitants, particularly in any conflict of interests. In such an open life as his any decision he made would reverberate in the correspondence columns of Young India and Harijan for weeks and months, even years, but on the positive side it did give him the opportunity to reflect on his relationship with nature - on the way it was and the way it could be. Similarly, his concern for the health of the inmates of his Ashrams led him to write a series of 34 articles entitled 'General Knowledge about Health' which was published in Indian Opinion for 1913 (in CWMG, XI and XII), and to revise it as a booklet in 1942 under the title "Key to Health".(CWMG, LXXVII, 1-48) Health for Gandhi was not just an absence of illness but a state of social, physical and spiritual well-being, of being in balance with nature. It concerns not just the health of oneself, but

the well-being of society. Hence the 1913 articles on health covered topics such as the treatment of various specific ailments, the right diet, the necessity of exercise and the proper care of children. The place of nature in Gandhi's life may have been peripheral to his political campaigns but was in no way peripheral to his concerns.

The work of the Norwegian ecophilosopher Arne Naess has united analysis of the philosophy of Gandhi (Naess, 1965b, 1974) with exposition of the Deep Ecology movement (see eg. Naess, 1986c). Though it is taking a step back into the past from the time of Gandhi, Henry Thoreau is part of the background common to both Gandhi and the Deep Ecology movement (infra, 153) and as such merits detailed consideration. The field between Gandhi and Arne Naess is studded with the accounts of personal intuitive experience of nonhuman nature from individuals like John Muir, Richard Jefferies, Mary Austin, Aldo Leopold, Richard St. Barbe Baker and Gandhi's friend, the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore. There are also communities of indigenous people who have lived for generations in an intimate relationship with the nonhuman environment, as well as through periods of crisis when this relationship has been put under severe strain.

Sketching in the antecedents of Deep Ecology has meant a preponderance of individual case-histories from North America. (Devall & Sessions, 1985, Chapter 6)

American literature for Gandhi in South Africa, as notices in Indian Opinion make clear, did not begin and end with Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Thoreau. (see McLaughlin, 1966, 66) Also Adolf Just's "Return to Nature!", a work that was to mean much to him, came to Gandhi's hands in the American translation by Benedict Lust. (see infra, 38)

The intuitions the afore-mentioned individuals share have often grown out of experiences that originated in childhood. A consideration of more general studies of experience of the nonhuman environment, both in childhood and later, provides a backdrop for the present study.

The psychological background:

Our experience of the environment is affected by our past 'history' and our present mood. Children's experience and appreciation of their environment, their involvement with the world is significant for the understanding of later responses. The work of Edith Cobb (1959, 1977), using interviews with adults recollecting their own childhood, is frequently quoted in this regard. It is her impression that in the "prepubertal, halcyon, middle age of childhood, approximately from five or six to eleven or twelve -...the natural world is experienced in some highly evocative way, producing in the child a sense of some profound continuity with natural processes". (Cobb, 1959, 538)

In a recent review of the research literature on

children's response to the natural environment, Wohlwill and Heft (1987, 309) point out that in children's representations of their environment natural settings seem to be "subsidiary in importance among all settings in which children were observed to engage in some activity". The list of settings is topped by the child's own house and through streets. However, "important individual differences among children from different families..... appear to reflect contrasting attitudes on the part of their parents towards natural areas, and their familiarity with them."(idem)

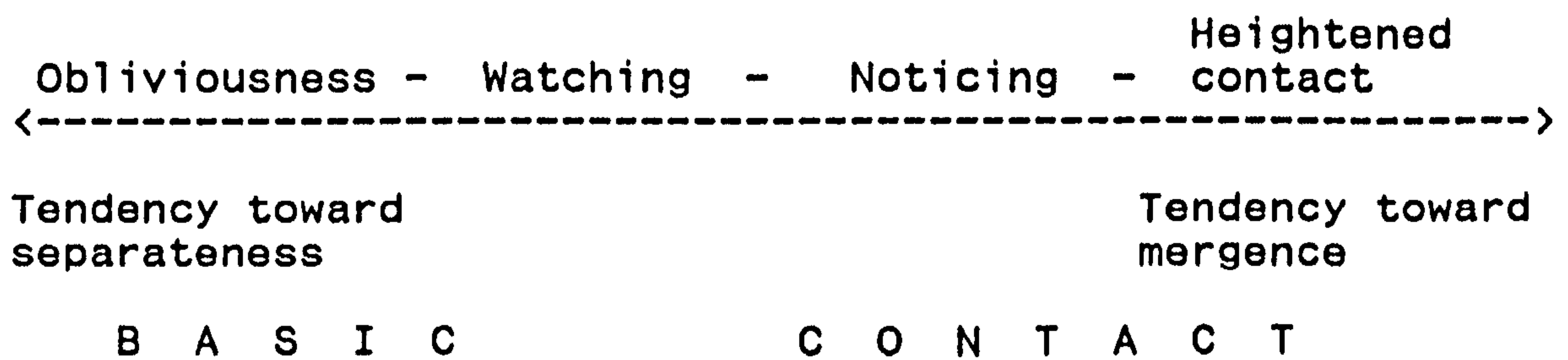
"A child is a human being, whose development is regulated by the meanings of nature imparted to him by the culture of his particular period in history, the particular mode in which he is taught to see and know himself in time and space."(Cobb, 1977, 51)

Utilising the 'environmental childhood autobiographies' of her students, Clare Cooper Marcus discerned two major themes: "the significance of outdoor environments and the need for hiding places."(Marcus, 1978, 35) The outdoors, which included non-natural settings such as paved yards and rubbish tips, was a place to explore, where one discovered the wonders of plant and animal life, tested oneself against unknown dangers and learnt about taking risks.(Marcus, 1978, 35-8) Outdoor places meant freedom from parental restrictions and 'correct' or appropriate behaviour. Holiday experiences on camp or on a farm meant new experiences and new responsibilities. (Marcus, 1978, 36-7; cf.Cobb, 1977, 77) Hiding places,

which included those in the natural landscape, those specifically constructed (eg. treehouses) and man-made ones (eg. derelict huts), were private, something one could modify and which could give one the feeling of "home". (Marcus, 1978, 38-42) The sense of freedom in open space combined with immediate sensory experience of the natural world to produce a mosaic of vivid experience, a 'vision'. (Cobb, 1977, 87-8)

In studies of children, particularly inner-city children, the natural environment was seen as a source of apprehension, even fear. Woods may be frequently mentioned in the interviews but were perceived as a source of imminent dangers. When taken into the woods, the children's anxiety may have been due to its dark appearance, the lack of clear landmarks and the consequent danger of getting lost. (Wohlwill & Heft, 1987, 309) But as is readily admitted by Wohlwill and Heft (1987, 309), there has not been much systematic study of children's response to the natural environment.

On the basis of interviews with adult students, David Seamon has put forward an Awareness Continuum for the encounter between the person and the world at hand, subdividing the ground between person-environment separateness and person-environment mergence by the stages: Obliviousness - Watching - Noticing - Heightened contact, all resting on a foundation of Basic Contact. (Seamon, 1979, 99-128, 183-90)



The psychiatrist Harold Searles studied the way both normal people and schizophrenics relate to the nonhuman environment. He found that all phenomena relating to the nonhuman environment as experienced by the psychotic or neurotic individual can be found, with only quantitative differences, in the experience of the healthy individual. (Searles, 1960, 103) The child's relation to her nonhuman environment (to animal pets, plants and inanimate objects) provides a context for her own getting to know herself, for becoming aware of her feeling-capacities and personality traits - that is, the nonhuman environment is both a practice ground for and a relief from the tensions of interpersonal relationships. (Searles, 1960, 78,85,87; cf. Serpell, 1986, 139) Searles found abundant data in many schizophrenic cases of a lonely early life where the nonhuman environment becomes of life-saving importance (eg. of cats or dogs providing companionship, love and the assurance of being needed). (Searles, 1960, 171-2) Both normal children and adults tended unwittingly to arrange their nonhuman surroundings in accordance with their inner conflicts and attitudes. A sense of relatedness between one's self and one's nonhuman environment, a real and close

kinship while retaining awareness of one's own individuality, is an essential ingredient of psychological well-being. Searles warns that in later years the intense "person-environment mergence" of childhood and adolescence could come into inner conflict with the anxiety that, in becoming wholly one with the nonhuman environment, one would lose one's own human-ness.(Searles, 1960, 104,106-7) Even so, the echoes from an intense experience of self-environment mergence early on can reverberate through one's life, be the "one abiding reality" of that life, inspiring and giving it meaning.(Austin, 1931, 24-5)

A recent analysis of pet-keeping has highlighted the widespread nature of the phenomenon, not just among the affluent of the developed world, as is commonly held to be the case, but also amongst indigenous people and the poor. (Serpell, 1986, 41-58) Though some may lavish money on their pets whilst disregarding the plight of the poor (ibid, 43-44) and others take intimacy with animals to the extreme, in the main, pet owners are much like other people.(ibid, 31-33) Case-histories and anecdotal evidence point to the benefit to be derived from the companionship of animals for those who feel rejected or alienated, with no alternative outlets for social contact. The companionship of animals should not be seen as necessarily exclusive of human affiliation.(Serpell, 1986, 30-31,79)

Working with adults on the Outdoor Challenge Program, ten years of research studying the psychological

benefits of a wilderness experience suggested that "wilderness hiking experiences can deeply affect individuals". It entailed more than just acquiring knowledge about a specific type of physical environment. The participants became "convinced that living with nature is both more appropriate and more satisfying" than trying to dominate or control it. (Talbot & Kaplan, 1986, 186)

Despite some early apprehension, the participants on the Outdoor Challenge Program were fascinated by a radically different environment from the familiar urban setting, they began to notice and appreciate physical details, and in time developed a strong sense of comfort, of "fitting in".(Kaplan & Talbot, 1983, 180; Talbot & Kaplan, 1986, 182-3)

The way they came to see things and to think about things in those surroundings led to new thoughts about their own life and purpose. Since the self that the participants became aware of through this experience was closely tied to the wilderness, on returning to the city, apart from feeling positively about the woods, they tried in other ways to maintain that focus on nature. They took frequent walks, noticed wild life in the city, wanted to stay physically active and fit as well as feeling a new self-confidence.(Kaplan & Talbot, 1983, 181-4)

Though there were negative aspects to the wilderness experience such as the camping chores, the insects, the swamps, the rain, the physical stress of

hiking, and for some, the solo experience, it was the positive aspects that were remembered. The difficult experiences were valued as indicators of their ability to cope with challenges. (Talbot & Kaplan, 1986, 179-80) In their journals value was placed on peace and silence, and the necessary space for self-integration, as well as voicing a sense of wonder and awe, of being at one with nature. (Kaplan & Talbot, 1983, 200)

As a result of this study Kaplan and Talbot have been able to formulate a psychologically-oriented definition of wilderness: that there is a dominance of the natural, a relative absence of civilised resources for coping with nature and a relative absence of artificially generated or human imposed demands on one's behaviour. But wilderness is also a way of relating to the environment. (Kaplan & Talbot, 1983, 199)

A deeply emotional response to the nonhuman environment is in no way unusual and is widespread through many cultures and continents. Such an affective response, and the hankering after its repetition, can still be found in our highly urbanised, technological culture. The work of Kaplan and Talbot [for an overview see Kaplan, 1989] has shown how such experience can lead to new considerations of oneself and of one's relationship with nonhuman nature.

A consideration of the place of nature in Gandhi's life reveals a Gandhi concerned about establishing a right relationship with the nonhuman creation. There was also a desire on his part to bring the person into balance with nature, to achieve the state of social, physical and spiritual well-being that is health. Attaining, and retaining, a state of health was not just for our own sake but also for the sake of the broader Self, to serve the wider community.

Chapter I: GANDHI: The Early Years

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on the 2nd October, 1869, in a three-storey house in Porbandar, a coastal town on the Kathiawar peninsula, famous for its shipwrights and overlooking the Arabian Sea. Porbandar is set on a plain which slopes gently down from the foot of the Barda range. It has a long tradition of looking overseas - many families having business contacts abroad, one of whom gave Gandhi his introduction to South Africa. Much has changed since 1869 both for his ancestral home and for Porbandar. The city walls have largely disappeared and the house in which he was born has been internally modified. Apart from a room on the top floor which was open to the sea breeze, the rooms were small, low-roofed, airless and dark, and this included the room in which Gandhi was born as well as his mother Putali Ba's quarters. There was a small courtyard, well, really a space enclosed by the three wings of the house. (Pyarelal, 1965, 189, 190-2; Devanesen, 1969, 12-3, 76)

Because both parents were busy, his father with affairs of state and his mother with the duties and responsibilities that come from living in a joint or extended family home, the care of the young Moniya (Gandhi's childhood nickname) devolved on his sister Raliatbehn. It is her memories as recounted to Pyarelal that constitute our main source for his early childhood.

She used to carry him in her arms when she went out, showing him the street sights and sounds. He would try and make friends with the cows, buffaloes, horses, cats and dogs. "One of his favourite pastimes was twisting dog's ears." Gandhi seems to have discovered the pleasure that dogs derive from being rubbed just behind their ears. (Pyarelal, 1965, 194)

When playing out of doors, he would only return when he was hungry and go out again immediately after eating. But then indoors was a set of dark, airless, small rooms. His sister remembers him playing by the sea in Porbandar, and taking part in games such as tennis, cricket, and a game which involved hitting a short, sharpened wooden peg with a long stick. From childhood Gandhi's favourite exercise was taking long walks, and he regularly insisted on walking to school. Home contained gymnastic apparatus and Gandhi used to regularly exercise on horizontal bars when he lived in Durban in 1897. (Pyarelal, 1965, 194, 196; 1980, 161; Fischer, 1982, 26-7)

As a child gardening was his chief delight and he was skilful at it. At Porbandar, by growing plants in flower pots, he had a garden on the terrace of the house. He had a kitchen garden in the courtyard of the house at Rajkot where he grew vegetables, fruit such as guavas, papayas, pomegranates, and flowers. On being caught up a guava tree, he explained to his father that he was putting "the ripening guavas in wraps to prevent the birds from

pecking at them." (Pyarelal, 1965, 195-7)

Sometime during late 1876 or early in 1877, at a time of famine, which had hit Porbandar hard, Gandhi joined his father in Rajkot, in a house on the outskirts of town. On November 7, 1876 Gandhi's father had become Dewan of Rajkot. (Pyarelal, 1965, 198-9, 182; Devanesen, 1969, 117)

Though he adored his mother, he did not believe in all her orthodox practices, celebrating certain festivals with her more for the sake of the 'special and delicious dishes'. Yet her self-denial and austerities affected him deeply, as did her love and religious tolerance. (Autobiography, Pt.I.1; Pyarelal, 1965, 201-2, 178; Erikson, 1969, 110-2) The ancestral faith of the Gandhis, Vaishnavism, is a school of devotion (bhakti) which involves complete self-surrender with intense love, where God is accessible to all. (Pyarelal, 1965, 178)

In 1882 at the age of thirteen Gandhi married Kasturbai Makanji. (Autobiography, Pt.I.3) Opposite the house in Rajkot lived a Sheikh Mehtab who exerted a strong influence on the young Gandhi. On Gandhi's own admission, at that time he was afraid of the dark, ghosts, snakes and thieves, and here was a near-contemporary of his who boasted that he was not afraid of these things, and who attributed this to meat-eating. It was a great temptation. Once embarked upon, Gandhi's experiments in meat-eating continued for about a year. Quite apart from the pain that the consequent deception and lying to his mother caused

him, eating goat meat induced in him nightmares of a live goat bleating inside! (Autobiography, Pt.I.6 & 7)

"I have told the story of my meat-eating. Manusmriti [The Laws of Manu] seemed to support it. I also felt that it was quite moral to kill serpents, bugs and the like. I remember to have killed at that age bugs and such other insects, regarding it as a duty." (Autobiography, Pt.I.10)

Prior to his journey to England in 1888 and probably after his father's death in 1886, Gandhi suffered from constant headaches, which he ascribed to reading for three to four hours at a stretch in the summer, and nose-bleeding. These ailments cleared up in the "cold and invigorating climate of England." (CWMG, I, 68; Devanesen, 1969, 149)

In order to gain his mother's consent to study law in England Gandhi gave her a vow, before a Jain monk, "not to touch wine, woman and meat". This caused him much difficulty both on the trip out to and in London. He sailed for England on the S.S.Clyde on September 4, 1888, arriving at Tilbury on the 29th September. (Hunt, 1978, 8n.10) Apart from the difficulty of getting the right food on board, and his shyness, he was not troubled by seasickness and enjoyed being out on deck in the open air, as well as watching the stars reflected on the water. This is the first time we encounter Gandhi's fascination with the stars. (CWMG, I, 9-11)

"The scene of the sea when the sky is clear is lovely. On one moonlight night I was watching the sea. I could see the moon reflected in the water. On account of the waves, the moon appeared as if she were moving here and there. One dark night when the sky was clear the stars

were reflected in the water. The scene around us was very beautiful at that time. I could not at first imagine what that was. They appeared like so many diamonds. But I knew that a diamond could not float. Then I thought that they must be some insects which can only be seen at night. Amidst these reflections I looked at the sky and at once found that it was nothing but stars reflected in waters. ...I very often enjoyed this scene." [from the London Diary for 4th September, 1888: CWMG, I, 10]

Here he was, a young married man and recently a father (his son Harilal had been born in the spring), in London, a few days from his nineteenth birthday, a vegetarian more by reason of the vow to his mother than because of any deeply-held conviction, and a Vaishnavite Hindu who loved devotional songs and religious plays, but knew little of the sacred texts of his faith outside of what he had imbibed from his parents. Soon after his arrival in England he went to stay with a family at Richmond for a month and then with an Anglo-Indian family in West Kensington. The diet of boiled vegetables accompanied by bread did not suit him at all. He felt constantly hungry. Trying to keep to a strict vegetarian diet was not easy. (Autobiography, Pt.I.13-14; CWMG, I, 118; Pyarelal, 1965, 230-3)

"I launched out in search of a vegetarian restaurant.I would trot ten or twelve miles each day.... During these wanderings I once hit on a vegetarian restaurant in Farringdon Street." (Autobiography, Pt.I.14)

The vegetarian restaurant he found was the Central Restaurant in St.Bride Street, off Farringdon Street, and next door to the offices of the London Vegetarian Society. Hunt suggests that the menu reproduced in Gandhi's "Guide to London" under the date of Monday 22nd

October 1888 (CWMG, I, 98-9) may be that for the Central Restaurant that very day. Certainly from his arrival on the 29th September until he joined the Inner Temple on the 6th November, he was free, largely master of his own devices. (Hunt, 1978, 21, 8n.10, 25)

Having bought a copy of H.S.Salt's "A Plea for Vegetarianism" from the literature by the door, Gandhi sat down to dine. Finding this vegetarian restaurant and buying a copy of Salt's shilling booklet marked a turning-point in his life, from being a vegetarian out of deference to his parents, as when he had abandoned his earlier experiments in meat-eating, he now became a vegetarian by choice. Salt's book spurred him on to read widely on diet, prior to embarking on his own experiments. The quote from "Walden" at the beginning of Salt's book was probably Gandhi's first encounter with the name of Thoreau. (Autobiography, Pt.I.14; Salt, 1886, 6; cf.Pyarelal, 1965, 240-3)

At this time economy and health were Gandhi's principal considerations in diet. He sought to simplify his life, reduce his needs. His early reading on vegetarianism left him confused. The definitions of meat appeared to be many and various. (Autobiography, Pt.I.15) Meat might be taken to denote only the flesh of birds and beasts, the flesh of all living creatures, or the flesh and their products which would then cover eggs and milk. He abjured spices and gave up tea and coffee for cocoa.

Keeping in mind his twin goals of economy and hygiene, at one time he gave up starchy foods, another time he lived on a diet of bread and fruit, and for nearly a month and a half he lived on cheese, milk and eggs. Realising that his mother's definition of meat would include eggs, he gave them up. (Autobiography, Pt.I.17; CWMG, I, 82-120; Pyarelal, 1965, 248-9)

Partly to combine exercise with economy, but also for its own sake, he walked to work, and took three walks daily, totalling around 8 miles every day even in the coldest weather or dense fog. (CWMG, I, 120)

In October of 1889 the London Vegetarian Society, originally an offshoot of the Vegetarian Society of Manchester, affiliated with twelve other societies into a Vegetarian Federal Union. (Hunt, 1978, 22) In 1890 Gandhi attended a Vegetarian Congress on the Isle of Wight and in September the International Vegetarian Congress at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street. Between the two he stayed in Brighton for a month and there experimented with the frugal life. Breakfast consisted of bread and butter, milk and stewed fruit, dinner of soup, strawberries and bread, and supper of porridge, bread and butter, and fruit. All in all it came to less than a shilling a day for food. (CWMG, I, 119)

On the 19th September he was elected to the Executive Committee of the London Vegetarian Society. The Bar Finals were held from the 15th to the 20th December,

1890 and during his preparation for them, Gandhi fell ill with bronchitis. A doctor recommended beef tea and meat but Gandhi refused and got better without any medicine. (CWMG, I, 120; Hunt, 1978, 25, 27, 18) He met Dr. Thomas Richard Allinson in 1890 and it was Allinson who advised him to keep his bedroom windows open about four inches wide in all weathers. (CWMG, I, 120)

In the spring of 1891 Gandhi moved to Bayswater to stay with the editor of *The Vegetarian* (the organ of the London Vegetarian Society), Dr. Josiah Oldfield. (Hunt, 1978, 27) From about September 1890 until his departure for India in June 1891, Gandhi's diet remained frugal. He wanted his diet to be nutritious, cheap and relatively quick to prepare. The menu for breakfast and supper was much the same as in Brighton (supra, 18), though vice versa. And now he dined out at a vegetarian restaurant during the day. His expenses were still only a shilling a day for food. (CWMG, I, 120)

On the 12th January 1891 he heard that he had passed the Bar Finals. (Hunt, 1978, 20) Gandhi was a delegate of the London Vegetarian Society to the Vegetarian Federal Union conference at Portsmouth in early May, from where he went on to Ventnor on the Isle of Wight. Here he stayed at Shelton's Vegetarian Hotel. In the light of his own comments about trotting ten or twelve miles a day, (Autobiography, Pt. I. 14) one wonders what to make of the landlady's daughter at Ventnor who managed to outwalk

Gandhi! (Autobiography, Pt.I.19; Pyarelal, 1965, 253)

Two days after he was called to the Bar on June 10th, 1891, the S.S.Oceania set sail from Tilbury docks with Gandhi on board (Autobiography, Pt.I.24), and at Aden he transferred to the S.S.Assam. The last portion of the trip from Aden to Bombay was in monsoon weather, but being a good sailor Gandhi revelled in the "stormy surge" and the "splash of the waves". (Autobiography, Pt.II.1)

It was while he was in England that Gandhi was introduced to the sacred texts of Hinduism, admittedly in translation, and especially his beloved Bhagavadgita. (Autobiography, Pt.I.20) The writings of the English vegetarians started his own thinking about the relationship between diet and health, and health and nonhuman nature.

The "Guide to London", which on internal evidence seems to have been written, "at least in part, between the second half of 1893 and the first half of 1894", (Pyarelal, 1965, 316) provides an invaluable guide to some of the authors and their works which we can assert that Gandhi had encountered during his stay in England and valued sufficiently to quote from at length. On his own evidence we also know that he regularly read the Daily News, the Daily Telegraph and the Pall Mall Gazette (Autobiography, Pt.I.14), The Vegetarian, to which he contributed articles (see in CWMG, I), and probably now and then The Vegetarian Messenger (organ of the Manchester Vegetarian Society). (Hunt, 1978, 21) The latest publication date of the

extracts is 1891 and this provides a terminus post quem for the writing of the "Guide". A terminus ante quem may be provided by the fact that though he mentions Anna Kingsford's "The Perfect Way in Diet", he does not mention Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland's "The Perfect Way, or The Finding of Christ", a book which he came to value and which was in his possession by late June of 1894. (CWMG, I, 160)

The purpose of the "Guide" was "to inform his countrymen how he managed to live in England", what he ate and where he lived, providing Indians who went to England to become qualified as barristers with the account of one person's experience. (CWMG, I, 66-7) As it was a work that was aimed at students who would be largely dependent on money from relatives, Gandhi included detailed accounts, for example the weekly expenditure in addition to room rent (CWMG, I, 85), the breakdown of his own total expenditure (CWMG, I, 115-6), the cost of a sample dinner (CWMG, I, 94-5), and he even reproduced a menu with the price of each item. (CWMG, I, 98-9) Conscious that he was writing for a readership which would include Muslims and Parsis, he recommended vegetarianism and abstention from alcohol to them on the grounds of health and economy. (CWMG, I, 90-91, 92)

The extracts from seven published works in the "Guide" include the authors T.L. Nichols (see Pyarelal, 1965, 250), Annie Besant, Leo Tolstoy, Anna Kingsford,

B.W.Richardson, Reverend Professor J.E.B.Mayor and Sir Henry Thompson.

Stressing economy and hygiene, T.L.Nichols in "How to Live on Sixpence a-Day" gave examples of people who lived frugally.(Nichols, 1871, 23-25: CWMG, I, 87,100) To this Gandhi put forward in addition the example of Charles Bradlaugh, whose funeral he had attended, quoting from Annie Besant's obituary notice published in March 1891.(Besant, 1891, 240: CWMG, I, 86) Another point made by Nichols is the lack of nutritive value in stimulants such as tea and coffee. (Nichols, 1871, 10: CWMG, I, 88-9) One sentiment from Nichols reappears years later in Gandhi's own work, but absorbed and made his own.

"We have no right to eat more than is good for us, as to quantity....while even one of our brethren has not enough to still the pangs of hunger..(Nichols, 1871, 43)...Eat to live, and no longer live to eat".(ibid,46: CWMG, I, 86)

Leo Tolstoy is represented by an essay of 1890 on the deleterious effects of alcohol and tobacco. The first English translation into book format in 1892 was entitled "Why do men intoxicate themselves?" but Gandhi used the translation published in the February 1891 issue of The Contemporary Review.(Tolstoy, 1891) Tolstoy maintained that both alcohol and tobacco deaden the conscience and are anti-social. (Tolstoy, 1891, 183,179-80,185; 1892, 63,45-46,70; 1937, 84,78,86: CWMG, I, 89-90)

Anna Kingsford is mentioned twice in the "Guide", and both times her book "The Perfect Way in Diet"(CWMG, I,

91,99; also Autobiography, Pt.I.15), but the extract that Gandhi selects to illustrate the beneficial effect of vegetarianism is from her address 'The Physiology of Vegetarianism' given at Exeter Hall, London on January 12, 1885.(Kingsford & Maitland, 1912, 116-7) In "The Perfect Way in Diet" Kingsford sought to demonstrate, using comparative anatomy and physiology, that humans are frugivora - fruit-eaters. She illustrated how widespread in practice was a vegetarian diet, that fresh fruit and vegetables were nutritious while meat was more likely to have parasites or be diseased, that it was more economical to use cereals to feed humans directly than via cattle, and finally highlighted the links between stimulating foods, such as meat and alcohol, and unchastity.(Kingsford, 1881, 91-2,52-7)

Both Henry Salt's "A Plea for Vegetarianism" (1886) and John Smith's "Fruits and Farinacea" (1849), cited by the "Guide"(CWMG, I, 91,99), sought to demonstrate that humans were originally frugivora. Salt described the vegetarian diet as practicable, economical, humane and aesthetic, and he also made the link between stimulating food, such as meat and alcohol, and vice. Meat was thus injurious to both physical and moral health.(Salt, 1886; Smith, 1849)

Benjamin Richardson, though not himself a vegetarian, reiterated many of the same points; that humans were originally adapted to a grain and fruit diet and that

vegetables were a safer and more economic food than meat. (Richardson, 1891, 30-2: CWMG, I, 91-2)

Reverend Professor J.E.B. Mayor was President of the Vegetarian Society of Manchester and Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Gandhi quotes from his "Why I Am a Vegetarian" (CWMG, I, 99-100) but I have been unable to track down this pamphlet. However the quotations from this work and Sir Henry Thompson's "Diet in relation to Age and Activity" (1886) support the contention that wise frugality in diet is necessary to maintain health. (Thompson, 1902, 15-6: CWMG, I, 100)

In his Autobiography Gandhi mentions Howard Williams's biographical history of vegetarianism, "The Ethics of Diet" (1883), as well as finding "Dr. Allinson's writings on health and hygiene" very helpful. (Autobiography, Pt. I. 15) Though he does not mention the title of the book, from his description of a curative system based on the regulation of the patient's diet, the reference would seem to be to the collection of essays published in 1886 under the title "A System of Hygienic Medicine". In this work Allinson stressed the necessity of fresh air and exercise, and of living closer to a natural life, by which yardstick food should be as it comes from Nature - raw. Hot food can cause damage to the teeth and stomach. (Allinson, 1886, 10-11) Disease was a consequence of trying to act against Nature and any cure should work with the healing power of Nature. (Allinson, 1886, 14-6, 73)

To stay well, one should breathe pure air, eat plain food, take daily exercise, keep the skin clean, and in general avoid all bad habits which ruin health.(Allinson, 1886, 38-41,61)

Gandhi met Dr.Thomas Allinson in 1890 (Autobiography, Pt.IV.42) and Howard Williams in Ventnor in 1891 (Autobiography, Pt.I.18). In 1891 there was a move instigated by A.F.Hills to expel Allinson from the London Vegetarian Society for the latter's advocacy of birth-control. On the 20th February Gandhi made a speech in Allinson's defence but in vain.(Autobiography, Pt.I.18; Hunt, 1978, 22-3,28-9; Devanesen, 1969, 181-2)

A.F.Hills was President of the London Vegetarian Society and in 1889 became President of the Vegetarian Federal Union. He identified vegetarianism with spirituality and the Christian gospel. Simplicity and the purity of life, which included wholesome food, was the very foundation of righteousness. Though Gandhi defended Allinson on the issue of birth-control, this was on the grounds of the right to free speech for he agreed with Hills about the importance of self-control.(Autobiography, Pt.III.7)

In 1889 on the 4th February A.F.Hills propounded the Vital Food theory where, by taking fruit, nuts, grains and pulses raw, one would be able to release into the body their 'fires of vitality, their store of sunshine'. Fresh fruit or milk could be mixed in to reduce the difficulty of

chewing. One of the advantages of Vital Food that Hills saw was that it could help to 'emancipate us from the slavery of the kitchen'.(Hills,"Essays", Vol.I, 66-7; Vol.II, 242-8) After his return from England Gandhi experimented with 'vital food' in Bombay, probably in 1891. He gave it up after a week for "social considerations" but "the vital food agreed with me very well then".(CWMG, I, 121; Autobiography, Pt.II.3; Hunt, 1978, 26) This then, his first experiment with 'vital food', seems to have been one time it was successful; later trials, for example in 1893 and 1929, were not.

After unsuccessful attempts to get his legal career off the ground in India, he took up the offer to represent a wealthy businessman in South Africa. In April 1893 he sailed for South Africa as legal adviser to Dada Abdullah and Company.(Autobiography, Pt.II.6)

Chapter II: GANDHI: South Africa

About a week after his arrival at the end of May 1893, Gandhi left Durban for Pretoria on his now famous train journey which saw him pushed out of the train at the then Maritzburg station. He was to encounter further racial discrimination as he continued his journey by coach from Charlestown to Standerton two days later.

(Autobiography, Pt.II.8-9) In Pretoria he was pushed and kicked off the footpath outside President Kruger's house.

(Autobiography, Pt.II.13) These instances of racial discrimination were not peculiar to Gandhi but were, as he discovered, the common experience of the coloured peoples of South Africa. He resolved to resist this discrimination but he also undertook a study of the social, economic and political condition of the Indians there.(Autobiography, Pt.II.9,12-13)

During these early days in South Africa Gandhi again made an attempt at the Vital Food diet. This particular experiment lasted from August 22nd to September 1st, 1893. The diet, based on Hills's pamphlet and articles in *The Vegetarian* (CWMG, I, 123), consisted of wheat, rice and peas that had been soaked overnight, sultanas, nuts and oranges. By the evening of the first day he had a headache, on the third day a feeling of indigestion, and these symptoms persisted despite the fact that dinner at 1 p.m. did not consist of vital food till

the sixth day when he abandoned the peas and rice. He felt weak, easily tired and his teeth ached, so he abandoned the experiment.(CWMG, I, 121-2) In the article he wrote for *The Vegetarian* Gandhi pointed out that he could not get any milk and the only fresh fruit he could get was oranges, so a final verdict on vital food was not possible.(CWMG, I, 123) The attraction of vital food for Gandhi was that he could dispense with cooking, that it was easily carried and that he could control the cleanliness of the food.(CWMG, I, 124) But his thoughts had been steadily moving in another direction, probably helped by the long religious conversations he had had with the poet Raychandbhai in India.(Autobiography, Pt.II.1)

"If we are to eat that we may live to the glory of Him, of whom we are, then, is it not sufficient that we eat nothing that, to Nature, is repulsive, that requires the unnecessary spilling of blood? No more, however, of this while I am yet on the threshold of my studies in that direction."(CWMG, I, 124)

In Pretoria Gandhi met and made friends with Christians to whom he had been introduced by A.W.Baker, the attorney.(Autobiography, Pt.II.11) During the spring of 1894, with his friends trying to convert him to Christianity, he corresponded with Raychandbhai and began studying his own faith and that of others more deeply. He began to read a translation of the Quran and other books on Islam, books on Christianity and Tolstoy's "The Kingdom of God is Within You" which "overwhelmed" him.(Autobiography, Pt.II.15) Through his friend Josiah Oldfield, he was introduced to Edward Maitland and they corresponded till

the latter's death in 1897. Maitland sent Gandhi a copy of "The New Interpretation of the Bible" and one of "The Perfect Way, or The Finding of Christ" which he had written with Anna Kingsford. [This last was probably the third revised edition of 1890 which, apart from the Appendices, is the same as the fourth edition of 1909. (see Kingsford & Maitland, 1909, xxxviii)] "The Perfect Way" was in his possession by mid-1894. (CWMG, I, 160) Both books impressed him.

In "The Perfect Way" Kingsford and Maitland recommended vegetarianism, the simple open air life and a close communion with nature. For them there was not any real barrier between Spirit and Matter nor between the organic and inorganic. (Kingsford & Maitland, 1909, 19; 15-16) Echoing the Bhagavadgita they stated:

"Man's own wickedness is the creator of his evil beasts." (Kingsford & Maitland, 1909, 47; cf. Gita, XVI)

One who strives after the 'Perfect Way' should not breathe "dead and burnt air, - air, that is, the vitality of which is quenched. He must be a wanderer, a dweller in the plain and the garden and the mountains. He must commune with the starry heavens, and maintain direct contact with the unpaved grass and earth of the planet, going bare-foot and oft bathing his feet." (Kingsford & Maitland, 1909, 224)

Back in Durban in August 1894, Gandhi offered to act as agent in South Africa for the Esoteric Christian Union, of which Maitland was President, selling their books for a small commission. (CWMG, I, 160) He took out newspaper advertisements in his name in November 1894 and February 1895. (CWMG, I, 168-70, 189-93) He was a great

propagandist for what he believed in.

In April 1895 Gandhi set out to visit the Trappist community at Mariann Hill near Pinetown, 16 miles from Durban. While in England he had had his attention drawn to the vegetarian diet of the Trappist monks by Anna Kingsford in "The Perfect Way in Diet" (1881, 37n., 91-2), and to the work of the Trappists in South Africa by an article by Hugo Zeidler in *The Vegetarian Messenger* for the 1st September 1890. (cf. CWMG, I, 222) The Trappist community at Mariann Hill consisted of a monastery and a convent, with some 120 monks and 60 nuns observing vows of poverty, chastity and silence. In the article that he wrote for *The Vegetarian*, Gandhi wrote in glowing terms of this "quiet little model village", where all races were equal, all the men laboured alike in the fields and workshops and the sisters in their workshops. Nearby was a printing department and a flour mill. The native people came to the monastery to learn the skills of a carpenter, a tanner, a blacksmith etc. Crosses everywhere reminded visitors of the spiritual basis of the community. Gandhi loved the place and admired this mode of life that fused the eternal with the practical. A seed was planted in his mind which would bear fruit, for in a real sense, as Geoffrey Ashe remarked over 20 years ago, Gandhi's ashrams are daughter houses of Mariann Hill. (CWMG, I, 222-8; Ashe, 1968, 66)

In the little time that he could spare from his

service of the community, the Natal Indian Congress and the writing of pamphlets for that organisation, he continued with his religious reading. (Autobiography, Pt. II. 19; 21) His correspondence with Raychandbhai continued. He was reading books on his own faith, devotional books, biographies of the Prophet Mohammed in English, a work on Zoroaster, and he began an intensive study of Tolstoy. In re-reading Edwin Arnold's "The Light of Asia", he remarked on how the Buddha's compassion was not confined to humans, but extended to all living beings. (Autobiography, Pt. II. 22)

Though the climate was ideal for growing vegetables and fruit Gandhi found vegetarianism difficult to practise in Natal. Nuts were difficult to get, fruit was rare and pulses were not to be found at all in hotels. (CWMG, I, 290-2)

In an article published in the Natal Mercury for the 4th February 1896, Gandhi again stressed the economic argument for vegetarianism:

"[V]egetarian foods are the cheapest diet, and their general adoption will go a long way towards mitigating, if not altogether suppressing, the rapidly growing pauperism side by side with the rapid march of the materialistic civilization and the accumulation of immense riches in the hands of a few." (CWMG, I, 294)

Meat-eating also involved "unnecessary pain to and cruelty towards harmless animals." (id.)

On 5 June 1896 he sailed for India on the S.S. Pongola, to address meetings there on behalf of the Indians in South Africa and to collect his family. He sailed back to South Africa with his family on the

S.S.Courland at the end of November.(Autobiography, Pt.II.24-29)

Eighteen ninety-six was a hard time for India with widespread famine, and plague striking Bombay in September, spreading to Karachi and reaching Poona, Bihar by April 1897. (Pyarelal, 1980, 90-2) Leaving famine and plague behind, Gandhi and his family were sailing into one storm after another. Four days out from Natal the S.S.Courland sailed into a violent monsoon storm; for the panic-stricken passengers each creak or groan of the ship was merely the prelude to its sinking. Gandhi himself had little fear of the storm. "I am a good sailor and do not get sea-sick." He noticed that all, Muslims, Hindus and Christians, forgot their differences and prayed to God with one voice. He also noted that about twenty-four hours later when the danger had disappeared so had the constant solemn invocation of the name of God.(Autobiography, Pt.III.1)

When the ship cast anchor in the port of Durban, it, along with its companion the S.S.Naderi, was put into quarantine. Over three weeks later, on the 13th January 1897, the passengers were permitted to disembark.

On shore the Natal whites had been roused against Gandhi by comments that he had reportedly made against them whilst in India as well as seeing him as chiefly responsible for swamping Natal with Indians, and in particular these two shiploads. Gandhi himself was

attacked by a mob from whom he was saved largely through the courage of the wife of the Police Superintendent, Mrs. Alexander.(CWMG, XXIX, 48-54; Autobiography, Pt.III.2-3)

Gandhi's sea-front residence in Durban, Beach Grove Villa, run on European lines, was an open house for his friends and colleagues.(Autobiography, Pt.IV.10-11) The menu was strictly vegetarian with a Gujarati Hindu cook in charge of the kitchen. He exercised on horizontal bars in the backyard, walked to work and back, and took evening walks with his wife Kasturbai. [In 1905 he used to regularly exercise by skipping.(Pyarelal, 1986, 360)] He had been suffering for a while from "debility" and the rheumatic inflammation which was common in his family. Dr.Pranjivan Mehta treated him and it cleared up. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.7; Pyarelal, 1980, 187)

His eldest surviving son Harilal had been born in 1888 (supra, 16), and his other sons Manilal, Ramdas and Devadas were born in 1892, 1897 and 1900 respectively. It was in 1897 that he began to think seriously about taking the vow of brahmacharya, again influenced in this by a conversation with Raychandbhai the poet. Brahmacharya may be variously translated as self-restraint, conserving one's powers for service, and chastity. He failed twice to carry it through.(Autobiography, Pt.III.7)

He organised the Indian Ambulance Corps to serve in the Boer War in 1899.(CWMG, XXIX, 63-7) Then on 18th October 1901 he sailed with his family to India, thinking

his work in South Africa over.(CWMG, XXIX, 68-9) Staying with the elder statesman Gokhale in Calcutta, he failed to convince the latter to take walks for exercise. While in Calcutta he made a visit to the temple of Kali. There the scenes of animal sacrifice upset him greatly.

"To my mind the life of a lamb is no less precious than that of a human being. ...I hold that, the more helpless a creature, the more entitled it is to protection by man from the cruelty of man."(Autobiography, Pt.III.18)

On a trip to Burma he remarked on the lethargy of the monks there, probably contrasting them in his mind with the Trappists at Mariann Hill.(Autobiography, Pt.III.19)

In 1902 Gandhi was still a hearty eater with a developed sweet tooth. Gokhale obviously knew of Gandhi's sweet tooth, filling his 'tiffin-box' with sweet balls and puris.(Autobiography, Pt.III.19) His niece Radhaben in Rajkot, where he again tried unsuccessfully to establish a law practice, years later remembered his appetite and his sweet tooth.(Autobiography, Pt.III.21; Pyarelal, 1980, 399-400)

Having failed in Rajkot, Gandhi moved his practice to Bombay. Here in a damp, cramped, poorly ventilated bungalow his ten year old son Manilal fell ill with typhoid complicated with pneumonia. The Parsi doctor, who was called in, prescribed eggs and chicken broth, which was out of question for a vegetarian. As Manilal was too young to decide for himself, his father decided for him. Gandhi put Manilal onto Kuhne's hydropathic treatment,

with hip baths and a diet of orange juice mixed with water. But Manilal's temperature rose to 104. He wrapped his son in a wet sheet pack and eventually the fever subsided. Manilal convalesced on a diet of diluted milk and fruit juices. (Autobiography, Pt. III. 22; Pyarelal, 1980, 405-6)

Gandhi says he had already tried Kuhne's treatment, presumably in South Africa. There is a story, related by Pyarelal (1980, 405; 1986, 350), that a close friend of the Gandhi family, Haridas Vakhatchand Vora, who was a High Court pleader, had initiated him into nature-cure.

It is unclear from Gandhi's references to Louis Kuhne whether he only knew of Kuhne's work from secondary sources or had actually read "The New Science of Healing, or the doctrine of the Unity of Diseases". Gandhi never mentioned Kuhne's book in his writings. Kuhne's definition of disease was that it was "the presence of foreign matter in the system." His main contention was:

"There is only one cause of disease and there is also only one disease, which shows itself under different forms." (Kuhne, 32-33)

Apart from describing various treatments such as a steam-bath, sun-bath, hip-bath and sitz-bath, Kuhne recommended food in its natural state with the least salt or spice, utilised comparative anatomy to show that we are naturally frugivora, stated that a vegetarian diet can curb sensual passions, that copulation should only be for the purpose of conception, and was against vaccination and inoculation

since they introduced foreign matter into the body. As we have already seen, most of these topics were covered in works that we know Gandhi read in London.

As a result of a cablegram from South Africa, Gandhi returned there on his own in late November 1902. (CWMG, XXIX, 69; Autobiography, Pt.III.23) He opened a law office in Johannesburg at the beginning of 1903. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.9) The estate agent, Charles Kew, who found rooms for Gandhi in Rissik Street, remembered seeing on the walls pictures of Christ, Tolstoy and Mrs. Annie Besant who were the three formative influences on his life at that time. (Pyarelal, 1986, 25)

The Johannesburg Lodge of the Theosophical Society were hoping that Gandhi would be able to help them to understand the Hindu sacred texts. But he was conscious of his own lack of knowledge of Sanskrit.

"I had not read the Hindu scriptures in the original, and that even my acquaintance with the translations was of the slightest. ...I already had faith in the Gita, which had a fascination for me. Now I realized the necessity of diving deeper into it." (Autobiography, Pt.IV.5)

In order to remedy this he began to learn by heart one or two slokas or verses every day, reading them off slips of paper while washing and brushing his teeth in the morning. Memorizing the Gita led to its internalization until it "became an infallible guide of conduct." (Autobiography, Pt.IV.5; Pyarelal, 1986, 355-7)

"The men of Self-realization look with an equal eye on a brahmana possessed of learning and humility, a cow, an elephant, a dog and even a dog-eater." (Gita, V.18)

For Gandhi this meant that one should serve every one of them alike, according to the needs of each. (Gita, page 221; CWMG, [1935] LX, 45; [1936] LXII, 285) The unity of all creation can be perceived by one who is equipped with yoga - that is, the discipline of the mind and its activities. (Gita, VI.29)

"To him who is disciplined in food and recreation, in effort in all activities, and in sleep and waking, yoga (discipline) becomes a relief from all ills." (Gita, VI.17)

Though as Gandhi himself said: "I held my views on vegetarianism independently of religious texts". (Autobiography, Pt.IV.28)

Back in India in the early summer of 1903, his eldest son Harilal, who was at that time living in Rajkot, fell seriously ill. Haridas Vora, whom we have already encountered (supra, 35), took Harilal to his home and using nature-cure nursed him back to health. (Pyarelal, 1986, 350) Harilal was to marry Haridas Vora's youngest daughter Gulab in 1906. (Pyarelal, 1986, 352)

Plague struck one of the mines near Johannesburg in March 1904 and returned with twenty-three Indians to the Indian settlement, the 'Location'. Gandhi and volunteers nursed the victims through the 18th to the 20th March. Though often urged to do so for their own protection, none of the volunteers would take brandy. The nurse provided by the Municipality, who took some herself, died. With the permission of Dr. Godfrey, Gandhi gave mud-packs to three patients and denied them brandy. Two of them survived

while twenty others who had been given frequent doses of brandy, died. This experience enhanced Gandhi's faith in earth treatment and reinforced his suspicion of alcohol, even as medicine. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.16)

When his wife and children Manilal, Ramdas and Devadas joined him in the last three months of 1904, Gandhi again had the opportunity to practise his nursing skills. Nursing was an important activity for him throughout his life; he nursed his father in his final illness, Manilal in 1902, the 'Location' Plague victims and now his own children. Manilal had caught his thumb under a falling window-shutter while Ramdas had broken his arm sliding down the bannisters on board ship. He treated Manilal's thumb with a cold mud-pack and Ramdas's arm with a thick mud-plaster and bandage, after first cleaning the wound. Within a few days both were healed. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.22; Pyarelal, 1986, 353)

He himself had been suffering from constipation and frequent headaches, and after trying Kuhne's hip-baths, applied an earth poultice to the abdomen with great success. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.7) The earth treatment was a new discovery. Prior to the Plague outbreak on March 18th he had been given a copy of Adolf Just's "Return to Nature!", probably by the German Adolf Ziegler who ran a vegetarian restaurant and was a fellow enthusiast for Kuhne's hydropathic remedies. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.6-7; Pyarelal, 1986, 358) It was very probably the translation

by Benedict Lust first published in 1903.

Henry S.L. Polak and Gandhi first met after the Plague and the consequent press correspondence of April 1904. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.18) The two things that drew them together initially was their common enthusiasm for Tolstoy and that Polak was the "only other person" that Gandhi knew who had read Adolf Just. Polak remembered that meals at this time usually consisted of fresh salads and plenty of onions. (Shukla, 1949, 231; Pyarelal, 1986, 358-9)

Adolf Just's "Return to Nature!" contended that in the perpetual joy and happiness of paradise man had been free from sin. (Just, 1988, 1,169-70,179) Humanity's increasing interference with nature has led to extinctions, devastation, pollution, and a change in climate. (ib., 4) Agriculture was "a curse for man's falling away from nature." (ib., 247) Just saw 'primitive people' and the ways of children and animals as safe and sure guides to nature. (ib., 5-6,11)

"Only nature is beautiful, whatever is unnatural is ugly.[I]n nature undefiled and pure everything is good and beautiful, that is, sound." (ib., 82,39)

"[I]n nature everything is in closest harmony, and in man, too, body, mind, and soul cannot be separated from each other. ...Only by a return to nature does the soul also find the true, sure way to salvation." (ib., 153,279)

"Disease, especially chronic disease, begins.... with man's transgression of the laws of nature. ...All disturbances and abnormal manifestations in the body as well as in the mind and soul are only the consequences of disobedience to or transgression of the laws of nature." (ib., 40,39)

Like Kuhne, Just saw all disease as arising from

a single cause of unnatural food and an unnatural way of life and requiring the same cure. The general treatment was with water, light and air (i.e. open-air), natural food and so on. (ib., 12, 41, 24, 123) As we originally came from the earth, Just recommended walking barefoot and sleeping on bare earth under the stars. (ib., 93, 193, 87, 102, 103) He also advocated the use of earth compresses and poultices. (ib., 122, 124, 219) He encouraged walking for exercise, saying that walks "in woods and mountains" were "better and healthier than all sports and all cycling." (ib., 262)

Just too saw mankind as originally vegetable and fruit-eaters. He recommended food that could be eaten in its raw, pure, natural, unchanged state. Not cooking would free women from the tyranny of the kitchen. (ib., 133-52, 175, 177) We had sacred duties of tending and caring for animals which meant that meat-eating was an offence against nature. (ib., 164, 166) On these grounds he made some distasteful criticisms of the Eskimos. (ib., 165)

Over six months after he had been given Just's "Return to Nature!", one day in October 1904 Gandhi was given a book to read on the train to Durban. The book was Ruskin's "Unto This Last". Gandhi understood Ruskin to be saying that the good of the individual is contained in the good of all and that the life of the tiller of the soil and of the artisan is worth living. (Autobiography, Pt. IV. 18; cf McLaughlin, 1974)

With his discovery of Adolf Just's "Return to

Nature!" and Ruskin's "Unto This Last", Gandhi's ideas and beliefs about humanity's relation to the nonhuman environment were fully formed. After 1904, these beliefs would be merely honed by experience. The encounter with the 'English Vegetarians' had convinced him of the economic and hygienic aspects of vegetarianism, that greed is not only unhealthy but deprives the poor of food, while the work of Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland had pointed out to him the indissoluble marriage between matter and spirit, of the link between health and the spirit. Adolf Just had stressed that disease was a consequence of a breach of Nature's laws.

From his intensive study of his own religion, and especially the Bhagavadgita, Gandhi came to understand the absence of any essential difference between one creature and another, and that by likening oneself with others, one can sense pleasure and pain equally for all as for oneself. (Gita, VI.32) The way to the realisation of the greater Self is by service of the community.(Gita, III.11-12) And as Gandhi says:

"The service of all created beings is the service of the gods and the same is sacrifice"(yajna).(Gita, page 176)

His 1895 trip to the Trappists at Mariann Hill had given him a desire for community living, a community linked not necessarily by kinship, but by love and conviction with an underlying spiritual basis. A community which involved not a flight from but a withdrawal to the

world. To this desire Ruskin proved to be the final catalyst.

Gandhi helped to start a weekly magazine in 1903, providing a platform for the concerns of the Asian community in South Africa. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.13)

Initially the idea was to move the weekly Indian Opinion, which Gandhi had launched on June 4th, 1903, to a farm "on which everyone should labour, drawing the same living wage, and attending to the press work in spare time."

(Autobiography, Pt.IV.19; Pyarelal, 1986, 74) About fourteen miles north of Durban, near Phoenix Station, Gandhi and a friend, Albert West, found a farm which consisted of a dilapidated cottage, an old orange grove, a few mango, guava and mulberry trees, and with a stream running through the property. It was thickly overgrown with grass and inhabited by snakes. In the beginning everyone lived under canvas, while the shed for the printing-press and other buildings were being constructed. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.19; Pyarelal, 1986, 436) Later, as per the advice of Adolf Just, Kingsford and Maitland, and T.L.Nichols, he would sleep out in the open during the dry season, usually on the roof. (CWMG, XXIX, 151)

The buildings of corrugated iron were hardly ready before Gandhi had to leave the Phoenix Settlement and return to Johannesburg. Polak joined the community at Phoenix in early 1905 though he returned to Johannesburg a few months later to take articles as a clerk. (Autobiography

Pt.IV.21) Since his family had joined him in 1904 Gandhi had moved to Troyeville, Johannesburg. And it was to this household that Millie Downs went after her marriage to Henry Polak on the 30th December 1905. (Pyarelal, 1986, 360; Autobiography, Pt.IV.22)

The routine of the household that Millie Polak encountered has a faint monastic ring to it. All the males would assemble at 6.30 in the morning to grind in a handmill the daily wheat for flour.(Autobiography, Pt.IV.23) The main meal was of vegetables with a lentil dish, wholemeal bread, nut butter and salad, followed by a milk dish and fruit. After the discussions that punctuated the meal, slokas from the Bhagavadgita and its English translation would be recited by members of the company. (Pyarelal, 1986, 360-1)

As the Indian Ambulance Corps went to serve during the Zulu 'Rebellion' of 1906, Gandhi gave up the house in Troyeville and sent his wife and family to Phoenix.(Autobiography, Pt.IV.24)

Phoenix was a mixed community of humans and snakes from which Gandhi was so often away. Govindaswamy, "Mr.Sam", was the engineer, printer and book-binder, much valued and held in affection. He was not a vegetarian and used to shoot game. Once Gandhi even bought him a new gun to replace the old one. "On occasions Sam also killed poisonous snakes when they got into the houses."(Pyarelal, 1986, 441)

"...Twenty years ago [Gandhi was speaking in 1926] we had cats and dogs with us in Phoenix. A cat's skull became septic and white worms infested it. We applied many remedies, but to no effect. In a tone of despair and irritation, I was then asked what was to be done with the cat. We drowned it. ...So the principal element that makes for non-violence is mercy, pity, compassion....In order to keep alive the body of one creature, we should not allow the destruction of another." (Diary, VIII, 282-4)

In the wake of the suffering and slaughter of the Zulus that he saw, Gandhi took his vow of brahmacharya, his vow of self-restraint and chastity, so that he conserved energy (prana) to maintain health, and to be healthy and free for service. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.25; supra, 33) In controlling the palate, 'eating to live', fasting and restriction in diet became much more important. He now regularly fasted on feast and holy days. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.27)

It was possibly around this time that Gandhi read Tolstoy's essay 'The First Step' (cited in "Hind Swaraj": CWMG, X, 65). This was written as a preface to a Russian translation of Williams's "The Ethics of Diet" and advocated control of the passions, self-control. (Tolstoy, 1937, 117) Tolstoy saw the first condition of the life of self-control as fasting, and abstinence from animal food as the first act of fasting. (Tolstoy, 1937, 118, 123, 134)

On 11 September 1906 Gandhi addressed a mass meeting of Indians at the Empire Theatre in Johannesburg calling for the withdrawal of the Draft Asiatic Ordinance. Satyagraha [literally, holding fast to truth: nonviolent resistance] grew out of this meeting. (Pyarelal, 1986, 496-

504; Autobiography, Pt.IV.26) In the last three months of 1906 Gandhi went to England, his first visit since 1891, in order to try and seek redress from the British government. (Hunt, 1978, 58,81,82)

From his first prison experience in January 1908 Gandhi the brahmachari (one who practises self-restraint) took home with him two of the prison regulations. As far as was possible he gave up drinking tea and made sure that his last meal was finished before sunset. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.29)

His wife Kasturbai had been operated on for a haemorrhage (Autobiography, Pt.IV.28), but it had recommenced. Even his hydropathic remedies did not work. Almost as a last resort he begged her to give up salt and pulses, and to encourage her he vowed to give them up for a year. In the event, apart from an occasional lapse, he gave them up for ten years. Whether as a consequence of giving up the salt and pulses or for some other reason, Kasturbai soon began to get better. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.29)

In a letter to Henry Salt in 1929, over 20 years after the events it describes, Gandhi wrote that his first introduction to Henry Thoreau's writings was to the essay 'Civil Disobedience', followed by Salt's biography of Thoreau (Salt, 1896), "Walden" and other short essays. (CWMG, XLI, 553) This was apart from the quote from "Walden" at the beginning of Salt's "A Plea for

Vegetarianism".(Salt, 1886, 6) From explicit references in Gandhi's writings we know that the "other short essays" included 'Life without Principle' and 'Walking'.

'Life without Principle' is listed in the bibliography for "Hind Swaraj" which was written in 1909.(CWMG, X, 65)

'Walking' is first referred to in a Gujarati article on the benefits of exercise, published in Indian Opinion in 1913.(CWMG, XII, 24; also XIII, 270; LIX, 69; LXIII, 94)

Gandhi read "the essays of the great Thoreau" during his second spell in prison (October 7 to December 12, 1908).(CWMG, IX, 181-2) This was probably the Scott Library edition of Thoreau's essays that Henry Polak remembered in a 1931 interview.(quoted in Hendrick, 1956, 463) It may even have come from the Volksrust Gaol library (see CWMG, VIII, 159) and been among the "basket of books" which Gandhi was carrying when Polak met him off the train on 25th October.(affidavit dated November 30, 1908: CWMG, IX, 561) Certainly Gandhi did not have the book with him in 1934 when he mistakenly attributed 'Walking' to "Walden". (CWMG, LIX, 69)

If he followed the order of reading that he gave Salt in 1929, after 'Civil Disobedience' he would have read Salt's "Life of Henry David Thoreau", "Walden" and then the book of essays. He first read 'Civil Disobedience', probably in 1907, and to judge from the articles published

in Indian Opinion for September 7th and 14th, in the Arthur Fifield 'Simple Life' series.(CWMG, VII, 217-8,228-30)

"Walden" may have been amongst the books in the Volksrust Gaol library, but Thoreau is not among the list of authors that he says he read during his first spell in prison in 1908.(CWMG, VIII, 159) He sent his own copy of Salt's biography of Thoreau to Maganlal Gandhi in March of 1911 for the library at Phoenix.(CWMG, X, 446)

From his references to 'Walking' it would seem that he only read the first part of the essay.(Essays, 8 up to line 24: Excursions, 175 up to line 9) His 1913 article extolling the virtues of walking as the form of exercise (cf.Just, 1988, 262) seems to be quoting from this section.

Thoreau: "...I cannot preserve my health and spirits unless I spend four hours a day at least - and it is commonly more than that - sauntering through the woods and over the hills and fields...(Essays, 3: Excursions, 164)

When we walk, we naturally go to the fields and woods: what would become of us if we walked only in a garden or a mall?"(Essays, 5: Excursions, 168)

Gandhi: "He [Thoreau] thought nothing of walking four or five hours at a stretch. ...One should not take walks always in the same place or in narrow lanes, but go out into fields and groves. We will then appreciate in some measure the beauty of Nature."(CWMG, XII, 24-5)

Salt's biography of Thoreau included three sizeable extracts(Salt, 1896, 128-9) from the latter's "Maine Woods", all from the first section 'Ktaadn'. They included the famous passage, a passage which will be

discussed later in context, which begins:

"Perhaps I most fully realized that this was primeval, untamed, and forever untameable Nature, or whatever else men call it, while coming down this part of the mountain."(MW, 69-70)

Though Gandhi read Emerson while in prison in 1909 (CWMG, IX, 241) and recommended his essays (CWMG, IX, 209), he admitted to his secretary Mahadev Desai in 1918 that he preferred Thoreau whose every sentence carried an electric charge.(Diary, I, 221)

He went to England in 1909 and composed "Hind Swaraj" on the way home.(Hunt, 1978, 112) At the end of May 1910 his friend Herman Kallenbach bought a farm of about 1100 acres for the use of Satyagrahis (nonviolent resisters) free of any rent or charge. The farm, Tolstoy Farm, consisted of nearly a thousand orange, apricot and plum trees with, at the foot of a hill, a small house with room enough for six. The nearest railway station was Lawley, to the south-west of Johannesburg. Walking to Johannesburg, a round trip of over forty miles, was a regular occurrence. Water had to be fetched either from a spring or from two wells. The men and women in the community were to be housed separately in two blocks, some distance apart.(CWMG, XXIX, 189)

As at Phoenix people lived initially in tents while the buildings were under construction. The buildings were made of corrugated iron and timber. By the side of Kallenbach's house was a school and a workshop for carpentry, shoemaking etc.(CWMG, XXIX, 191,189) All the

members of the community slept on open verandahs.(CWMG, XXIX, 196)

Partly as a result of gentle persuasion from Gandhi but also because the members of the community wanted to please him, the kitchen was purely vegetarian. The time and number of meals were fixed, with everyone responsible for cleaning their own dishes, and common utensils cleaned by groups in rotation.(CWMG, XXIX, 189-90)

All the rubbish was buried in trenches while the waste water was used to water the trees, and food and vegetable refuse was used to make manure. Sanitation was by cesspits.(CWMG, XXIX, 192)

Like Phoenix, the prior inhabitants of Tolstoy Farm were snakes in great numbers. In discussion with Kallenbach, Gandhi said that he held it a sin to kill snakes. Being eventually convinced of this intellectually, Kallenbach collected books so as to be able to identify the various species and make a rational assessment of the danger(cf.Morris, 1965, 215), and discovered that not all are venomous. Some snakes feed on field-crop pests. Meanwhile Kallenbach tamed a huge cobra. Gandhi pointed out the self-indulgence involved in imprisoning a cobra so as to study it. Real courage would be involved in playing with it when it was free. The cobra eventually escaped. There was a German on the Farm named Albrecht who would let young snakes play on his palm. As a result of these experiences people on the Farm came to fear snakes

less.(CWMG, XXIX, 201-2)

But to realise that to destroy one animal just so as to keep another alive is wrong is one thing, to be able to act on it is another. As Gandhi said:

"A person who fears snakes and who is not ready to resign his own life cannot avoid killing snakes in case of emergency. I remember one such incident, which occurred on the Farm. ...One day a snake was found in Mr.Kallenbach's own room at such a place that it seemed impossible to drive it away or to catch it. One of the students saw it, and calling me there, asked me what was to be done. He wanted my permission to kill it. He could have killed it without such permission, but the settlers, whether students or others, would not generally take such a step without consulting me. I saw that it was my duty to permit the student to kill the snake, and I permitted him. Even as I am writing this, I do not feel that I did anything wrong in granting the permission. I had not the courage to seize the serpent with the hand or otherwise to remove the danger to the settlers, and I have not cultivated such courage to this day [1925]."(CWMG, XXIX, 202-3)

For prehistoric peoples snakes were powerful spirits. Where there is snake worship, this is connected with resurrection and fecundity. There is a symbolic equation of the snake with the phallus. Snakes are symbols of the perennial renewal of life through death. In India both Siva and Kali are connected with snakes. Snakes are symbols of power, being seen as village gods and local guardians.(cf.CWMG, XII, 156-7) In western culture there is a strong tradition of equating serpents with evil and the wicked, viewing them as the ancient enemy of the human race. There are also pejorative uses of the word 'snake' implying treachery and ingratitude.(Morris, 1965)

The straw poll undertaken on British television in 1961 and 1962 by Ramona and Desmond Morris amongst nigh

on 12000 children between the ages of 4 and 14, showed that snakes were the most disliked animal. Spiders were the next most disliked, with just over a third of the percentage rating of snakes. The hatred of snakes peaked at around six years old.(Morris, 1965, 201-7)

In 1912 during a discussion with Kallenbach about the stimulation of animal passion by the consumption of milk, Gandhi saw a conflict with his vow of brahmacharya so he gave up drinking milk. But this renunciation was also in part a protest at the treatment of cows and buffaloes in milk production, at the forcible extraction of the last drop of milk.(Autobiography, Pt.IV.30; CWMG, XXIX, 206)

His usual diet now consisted of fresh and dried fruit, of groundnuts, bananas, dates, tomatoes, lemons and olive oil. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.30; also CWMG, XXIX, 249)

As well as experimenting with a fruit diet, Gandhi, who had been fasting for health, now began to systematically fast for purposes of self-restraint, allowing himself only water. The Hindu month of Shravan and the Islamic month of Ramadan coincided at this time. As Gandhi admitted, when he had a good idea he liked others to join him in the experiment. All fasting together and taking advantage of the differing regulations for fasting in the different faiths so as to prepare meals and help care for each other, bonded the community together. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.31)

From January to mid-June 1913 Gandhi published in

Indian Opinion a series of 34 articles in Gujarati in 33 instalments, under the title of 'General Knowledge About Health'.(CWMG, XI and XII) These articles are very useful for giving us a summary of Gandhi's ideas in 1913 about a whole range of issues.

In the introduction which took up two articles Gandhi spoke of how we rush to doctors and medicines at the slightest illness. But we would not seek to take so many medicines if we knew the nature of illness. By illness or pain Nature was informing us of the presence of impure matter in the body. We should be patient, letting Nature take its course, cleansing our body.(CWMG, XI, 434) The healthy state can only be attained and retained by obeying the laws of God. This means that though we have organs for hearing, sight, smell and pleasure, we must learn to control the palate, seeking to establish a healthy mind as well as a healthy body.(CWMG, XII, 165-6; XI, 442)

The human body is the universe in miniature, with the universe within reflecting that without. Following the Samkhyan system Gandhi saw the Universe as 'the play' of the five gross elements: earth, water, ether (or sky), light and air.(cf.Svetasvatara Upanishad I and II: Zaehner, 1966b, 203-7) Clean earth, pure water, fresh air, open space and bright sunshine are essential for the preservation of the body.(CWMG, XI, 447) All his reading among the work of the English Vegetarians, for example Allinson, Kingsford and Maitland, the advocates of nature-

cure, for example Adolf Just, and in his own religion was being brought together.

The importance of fresh air, its link with light and the right locations, even sleeping out in the open, was something he repeatedly encouraged. (CWMG, XI, 453-4, 464-5) He told his secretary Mahadev Desai in 1932 that in South Africa "we slept in the open not only when it was extremely cold but even when it was raining." They put blankets on top in the cold and mackintoshes in the rain. (Diary, X, 85) He did realise that obtaining the right location for fresh air could be expensive and therefore out of reach of the poor. (CWMG, XI, 453) His experience of the 1904 Plague in the Johannesburg 'Location' led Gandhi to emphasise both the personal and community aspects of hygiene. Keeping the latrines, open spaces, narrow lanes and urinals clean is very important to health, and smell is a valuable indicator of cleanliness. In a shocking but effective analogy Gandhi compared "air laden with the stench from a latrine" and "food mixed with faeces", equating the two. (CWMG, XI, 458) It is ironic, an irony that would not have been lost on his sense of fun, that Gandhi had a negligible sense of smell to which both Verrier Elwin (1964, 55) and Madeleine Slade (Behn, 1960, 76) attest.

Gandhi urged people to act as trustees for the water supply, to be careful not to contaminate water by bathing or washing clothes where people draw drinking water, nor allow wells to become polluted. (CWMG, XI, 468-9)

In a five part discussion of diet Gandhi summed up the result of twenty-four years of reading and experimentation. The first part contained a clear echo of T. L. Nichols when Gandhi wrote that man does not live merely for the sake of eating. (CWMG, XI, 473; cf. Nichols, 1871, 46) Our failure to restrain the craving of our palate was symptomatic of a general failure in self-restraint. This was foolish since, in a sense, "the food needed by living creatures, whether human or animal, is provided by Nature from day to day." (CWMG, XI, 475) Henry Thoreau made a similar comment on the munificence of Nature in his essay 'Huckleberries':

"Nature does her best to feed her children...The fields and hills are a table constantly spread." (Thoreau, 1980b, 241; also J, V, 330)

There is enough for our need, but not for our greed which in turn would deprive others of food. (CWMG, XI, 473-5; cf. Nichols, 1871, 43)

In stipulating the items of food that we should not eat, stimulants such as alcohol, cigarettes, tobacco, hemp, tea, coffee, cocoa and spices, were mentioned. We should also be aware of the conditions of production, of the exploitation involved in producing tea, coffee and cocoa. (CWMG, XI, 479-84 especially 483, 507)

Utilising the work of Anna Kingsford (1881) Gandhi pointed out how many people were vegetarian in practice because they could not afford meat. Comparative anatomy indicated that mankind was intended to be fruit-

eaters. Just's book was cited as an authority on the advantages of a fruit diet. With the cessation of cooking, women would be set free from the slavery of the kitchen. (CWMG, XI, 492-4; cf. Hills, "Essays", Vol. II, 247; Just, 1988, 139, 177) As for vegetables Gandhi pointed to the place of wheat, millet and maize, and the lesser advantages of rice and the pulses especially as the latter produce an excess of acid in the body, citing as authority Alexander Haig's "Diet and Food considered in relation to strength and power of endurance, training and athletics" (1898). (CWMG, XI, 500-2) In the light of the vows that he had recently taken he also advocated the saltless and milkless diet. (CWMG, XI, 507-9)

Again with his recent resolution on fasting in mind, Gandhi wrote on the benefits of fasting for the sake of health. (CWMG, XII, 6) Exercise that involved both physical and mental activity is essential for the maintenance of health. Walking is ideal because it involves both mind and body alike. (CWMG, XII, 22-5)

The article on attire with its main contention that clothing should not be tight-fitting but as open to the air as possible owed a lot to Just. (CWMG, XII, 38-40; Just, 1988, 71-3) Hidden in the text is an advertisement for the sandals made by the Trappists at Mariann Hill - they were still on Gandhi's mind. (CWMG, XII, 40)

Before embarking on the discussion of the various available therapies Gandhi discussed brahmacharya with

relation to control of the palate and to health.(CWMG, XII, 45-52) Therapies are discussed in the context of the gross elements of the Universe. Under 'Air' Gandhi discussed the therapeutic value of open, fresh air (CWMG, XII, 62-3), and under water treatments discussed steam-baths, cold water treatment, hip-baths, ice packs and the use of enemas to relieve constipation.(CWMG, XII, 67-9,73-5) Earth cures involved mud-packs, poultices for snake-bites, bee-stings and scorpion stings, as well as in fever, and the eating of earth.(CWMG, XII, 79-81) Gandhi's 1904 plague experience was brought in as an example of the successful use of the mud poultice.(CWMG, XII, 97)

Vaccination was condemned both on the grounds of extreme cruelty to living creatures as well as because of the introduction of foreign matter into the body, especially as the vaccine was taken from an infected cow. (CWMG, XII, 115,111)

Gandhi could say that the same God who created snakes as well as us, did not create them so that we could kill them. In the light of his own experiences at Tolstoy Farm he could speak of the conflicts of interest that can arise in mixed communities of snakes and humans.(CWMG, XII, 157-8) We need to encourage the growth of compassion and love towards all living creatures as well as abandoning our fear.(CWMG, XII, 158)

Gandhi revived Satyagraha in September 1913. (CWMG, XXIX, 223-5) In March 1914 Gandhi gave up eating

ginger, writing that to eat its tender shoots amounted to "destroying so many embryos." Eating roots like radish and ginger was against Jain principles as well. Also the consumption of uncooked food involved the inevitable and natural destruction of life whereas cooked food involved unnatural and cruel destruction.(CWMG, XII, 388)

The "moral failure" of two of the inmates of Phoenix caused him to fast twice in penance. During the first fast he took Kuhne baths every day, but during the second gave them up after two or three days and drank very little water.(Autobiography, Pt.IV.36) After he broke the second fast, of fourteen days, he suffered "excruciating pain" in his calves but as soon as the pain subsided was walking again. It was in this state that he sailed for England on the S.S.Kinfauns Castle on July 18, 1914 en route for India, reaching London two days after war was declared.(CWMG, XXIX, 267,315-6; Hunt, 1978, 178)

Dr.Jivraj Mehta warned him of the consequences of his debilitated condition.(Autobiography, Pt.IV.37) It was not surprising that he succumbed to an attack of pleurisy. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.41)

Dr.Allinson was called in and he prescribed plain brown bread, raw vegetables such as beet, radish, and onions, other tubers and greens, and fresh fruit, mainly oranges. The vegetables were to be uncooked and finely grated. Gandhi took this diet for three days but the raw vegetables did not suit him at all. Allinson advised

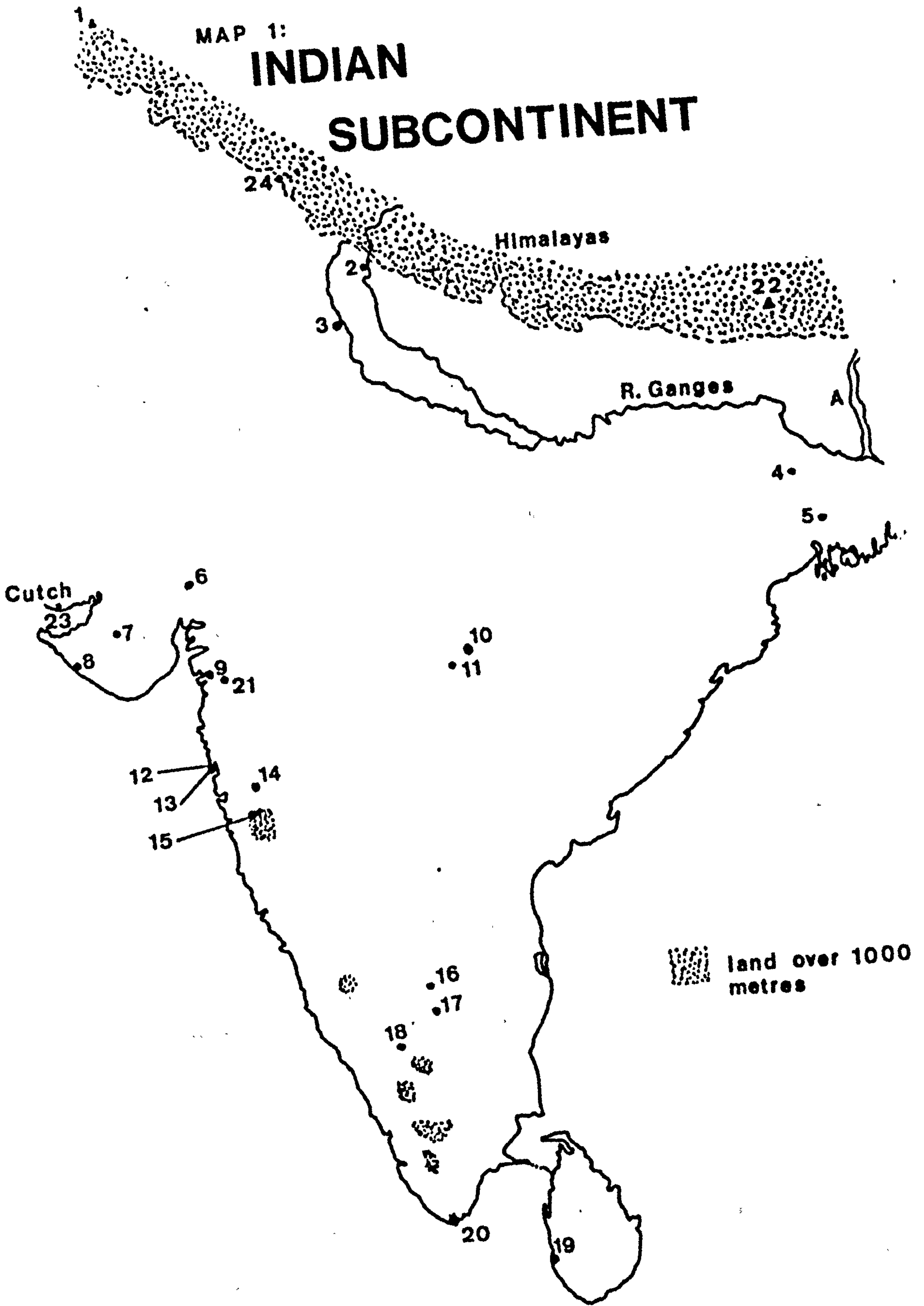
Gandhi, as on the previous occasion, to keep the windows open all day, as well as to bathe in tepid water, massage the affected parts with oil and walk in the open for fifteen to thirty minutes. On his next visit Allinson relaxed the diet to include groundnut butter or olive oil and allowed Gandhi to have the vegetables cooked with rice. But Gandhi was still not cured so on the 19th December 1914 he set sail on the S.S. Arabia from Tilbury for India. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.42; Hunt, 1978, 190) Living on a diet mainly of nuts and fruits his health improved as the boat sailed eastward. (Autobiography, Pt.IV.43) On the 9th January 1915 he arrived in Bombay.

Key to Map 1

- 1 Tirich Mir [summit:7690 metres](infra, 194)
- 2 Hardwar [just south-west of Rishikesh](infra, 64,115,118)
- 3 Delhi
- 4 Shantiniketan
- 5 Calcutta
- 6 Ahmedabad
- 7 Rajkot
- 8 Porbandar
- 9 Surat
- 10 Nagpur
- 11 Wardha
- 12 Juhu Beach (infra, 76,108,114)
- 13 Bombay
- 14 Poona
- 15 Panchgani (infra, 114)
- 16 Nandi Hills (infra, 86,107)
- 17 Bangalore
- 18 Mysore
- 19 Colombo (infra, 87)
- 20 Kanyakumari (infra, 78)
- 21 Vedchhi (infra, 85-86)
- 22 Kangchenjunga [summit:8598 metres](infra, 79)
- 23 Mandvi (infra, 80)
- 24 Palampur (infra, 109)
- A confluence of Jamuna and Brahmaputra rivers

MAP 1:

INDIAN SUBCONTINENT



Chapter III: GANDHI: India

1915 = 1931

When Gandhi arrived in Bombay he heard that the party from Phoenix, with Maganlal Gandhi at their head, had already arrived and was staying at Shantiniketan with the Poet Rabindranath Tagore. (Autobiography, Pt.V.1)

Eventually, towards the end of February 1915, he was able to go to Bengal to join the party from Phoenix. Maganlal saw to it that in their separate quarters the rules of the Phoenix Ashram were still observed. Gandhi tried to convince the teachers and students of the school of the advantages of self-help, cooking for themselves, and being responsible for one's own hygiene, as well as encouraging the preparation of the simplest food without spices. This experiment was begun with varying degrees of enthusiasm from amongst the staff and students. Though he had intended to stay for a while, scarcely a week had gone by before he was called away to Poona in Maharashtra as Gokhale (supra, 34) had just died. (Autobiography, Pt.V.4)

It is difficult for someone who is even only part Bengali to talk dispassionately about Rabindranath Tagore, poet, composer, playwright, painter and educator. He was one of Gandhi's closest friends and despite their differences over the years, the love and respect they bore for each other was great and constant. A study of Gandhi would not be complete without at least touching on

Rabindranath Tagore. As Leonard Elmhirst, the educator and founder of Dartington Hall, has pointed out, Tagore's active concern with the need to resuscitate the dying agricultural and village economy of India predated Gandhi's, dating from the 1890s when he had been looking after his family's estates in north-east Bengal. (Elmhirst, 1975, 11) Elmhirst first met Tagore in New York in November 1920 and arrived in Shantiniketan in November 1921. (Elmhirst, 1975, 15, 17)

From his earliest years Tagore enjoyed a simple and intimate communion with Nature. As a child the restrictions placed on his movements, ruling certain areas of the garden and courtyard as being off limits, meant that he seemed to be always peeping at nature from behind barriers. From his childhood Tagore held a special place in his affections for the early morning. He would run out to experience the dawn.

"A scent of dewy grass and foliage would rush to meet me, and the morning, with its cool fresh sunlight, would peep out at me over the top of the eastern garden wall, from below the trembling tassels of the cocoa-nut palms." (Tagore, 1917, 18)

Trees in the garden like the banyan tree, citron and plum trees, and a row of coconut trees were a source of mystery and wonder. (Tagore, 1917, 226, 12-17) Each individual coconut palm acquired its own distinct personality. (ibid, 226-7) In later life trees were objects of meditation for Tagore, as well as providing him with solace and peace in times of stress. (Tagore, 1985, 150: also the poems 'In

Praise of Trees' pp.91-3 and 'Palm-tree' p.87) In 1917 Tagore, who was born in 1861, could say with Wordsworth of his childhood (Tagore, 1917, 22):

"How intimately did the life of the world throb for us in those days! Earth, water, foliage and sky, they all spoke to us and would not be disregarded."

In 1882, when Tagore was about 21 (Tagore, 1917, 216; 1985, 128), he had experiences of "a heightened contact" with nature.(cf.Seamon, 1979) First, the combination of the glow of the sunset with the fading twilight brought him a sense of beauty, the beauty hidden in everyday events.(Tagore, 1917, 216) Then there was the morning he was standing on the verandah of the Tagore home in Sudder Street, Calcutta, looking towards the trees at the end of the street.

"The sun was just rising through the leafy tops of those trees. As I continued to gaze, all of a sudden a covering seemed to fall away from my eyes, and I found the world bathed in a wonderful radiance, with waves of beauty and joy swelling on every side. This radiance pierced in a moment through the folds of sadness and despondency which had accumulated over my heart, and flooded it with this universal light."(Tagore, 1917, 217)

Rabindranath Tagore, in common with many others who have experienced such intense moments of self-environment mergence, for example Richard St.Barbe Baker, the founder of the Men of the Trees, was not content with the experience in itself but must put it to use, so that it informed his actions thereafter. It is not the experience but the fruits of the experience that will speak for him. There does not seem to be any evidence that Gandhi ever experienced such intense self-environment mergence, but he

did put into practice his beliefs, further refining with each succeeding 'experiment' or experience. For Tagore these intense experiences of nature helped him to look anew at nature and himself. Experiences of the sort that he had had were not ones of complete absorption into God, but where the deeper significance of the person and nature was realised in God. (Tagore, 1931, 93-4; Sengupta, 1978, 236)

"From infancy I had seen only with my eyes, I now began to see with the whole of my consciousness."
(Tagore, 1917, 219)

In such simple everyday things like a friend laughing with a friend, a mother fondling her child and a cow licking its calf, he "could see the fathomless depths of the eternal spring of Joy." (Tagore, 1917, 219-20)

The lectures Tagore delivered at Harvard during his first trip to America in 1912-13 were published in 1913 as "Sadhana: The Realisation of Life". [Gandhi read "Sadhana" during his 1922-1924 spell in prison: CWMG, XXV, 83] Tagore saw the forests as where Indian civilisation had its birth, "surrounded by the vast life of nature" and "fed and clothed by her". Being in constant contact with nature humanity perceived its essential unity with nature and was free from erecting boundaries round its acquisitions. As forests gave way to cultivated fields and then to cities humanity set up an artificial dissociation between itself and Universal Nature. (Tagore, 1913, 4-5) The prevalent feeling in the West, as Tagore saw, was that nature belonged "exclusively to inanimate things and to

beasts", with a break where human-nature began. The world was viewed as hostile and something that had to be subdued. (ibid, 5-6) In India there was the realisation that the forces of nature could only be used if humanity was in harmony with them (ibid, 6), even if humanity was special.

"Let me assert my faith by saying that this world, consisting of what we call animate and inanimate things, has found its culmination in man, its best expression."(Tagore, 1931, 103)

The Hibbert Lectures that he gave at Oxford in 1930 were published under the title "The Religion of Man". Tagore emphasised the element of disinterestedness that should be in our love of nature.(Tagore, 1931, 165-6) He distinguished between 'love-adventure' and 'love-experience'. Robinson Crusoe illustrated 'love-adventure', "the active wooing of the earth" where for his own purposes he gained her, made her his own and unlocked the inexhaustible generosity of her heart.(Tagore, 1931, 177) 'Love-experience' is what he tried to engender in the children at Shantiniketan.(Sengupta, 1978, 237) He tried to give "an opportunity to the children to find their freedom in nature by being able to love it".(Tagore, 1931, 179)

After the funeral rites for Gokhale had been performed Gandhi again headed east, this time for Rangoon, stopping off at Calcutta on the way. Because he saw the inconvenience to which his strict fruitarian diet had put his hosts in Calcutta and Rangoon, Gandhi now resolved to limit the articles of his diet to five in any twenty-four

hours as well as finishing his last meal before sunset which he had decided on after his first prison sentence in 1908.(Autobiography, Pt.V.7; Pt.IV.29)

Nineteen-fifteen was the year of the Kumbha Mela (fair), held at Hardwar every twelve years. A team from Gokhale's Servants of India Society was going to the fair to help look after the pilgrims. Maganlal Gandhi and the party from Phoenix who were at Shantiniketan went on to Hardwar, where Gandhi joined them. The Phoenix party became responsible for the sanitation of the huge throng of pilgrims.(Autobiography, Pt.V.7)

It was at Hardwar that Gandhi saw a five-footed cow! A foot had been cut off a live calf and grafted on. Gandhi was saddened by this example of cruelty motivated by greed.(Autobiography, Pt.V.7) From Hardwar at the beginning of April he journeyed north-east to Rishikesh on the foothills of the Himalayas. He was persuaded to visit a hanging bridge over the Ganges, Lakshman Jhula, which was merely an iron suspension bridge. But he was moved by the surrounding natural scenery.

"[I] bowed my head in reverence to our ancestors for their sense of the beautiful in Nature, and for their foresight in investing beautiful manifestations of Nature with a religious significance."

What people were doing to the scenery was a different matter - rubbish and excreta on the roads and along the river banks. Also the Swargashram by Lakshman Jhula was a wretched place and the members of the community he saw did not impress him.(Autobiography, Pt.V.8)

Over a month later and back in Gujarat Gandhi established the Satyagraha Ashram in the village of Kochrab near Ahmedabad. In a bungalow belonging to an Ahmedabad barrister all "had their meals in a common kitchen and strove to live as one family".(Autobiography, Pt.V.9)

Satyagraha Ashram was to be for the training of his followers in the methods of service. The ashram community would have an underlying spiritual basis but not something that would be obtained from reading all the scriptures of the world. It would, as Gandhi said, involve "a heart-grasp", something "which has to be evolved out of us", for it is always within us.(CWMG, XIII, 225-6)

Satyagraha is an ethical stance that demands long training and self-discipline.(Lannoy, 1974, 379) A code of rules and observances for the conduct of the ashram was necessary and with the assistance of various friends, a draft was prepared by Gandhi. In the third edition of the draft constitution, published in November 1915, there was a section describing the daily routine of the ashram. It would not have been inappropriate for a non-contemplative monastic order.(CWMG, XIII, 91-98)

Foremost among the observances he placed Truth which was more than just speaking the truth, but holding to it in the face of adversity. The doctrine of Ahimsa may be defined as non-killing but it is more than that, it is standing firm and resolute yet extending one's concern and care to include one's enemy. Other vows covered included

those of chastity, control of the palate or self-restraint, non-thieving, Swadeshi or the encouragement of local indigenous goods and services, the cultivation of fearlessness, working for the uplift of the Untouchables and for education through the vernacular languages of India. Gandhi defined what he understood as thieving:

"I venture to suggest that it is the fundamental law of Nature, without exception, that Nature produces enough for our wants from day to day, and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world, there would be no man dying of starvation in this world. But so long as we have got this inequality, so long we are thieving."(CWMG, XIII, 225-35)

In 1917 when Gandhi was working with the indigo farmers in Champaran an outbreak of plague in the village of Kochrab forced the removal of the Ashram. The new site near the Sabarmati Central Jail was on the bank of the Sabarmati river. There were no buildings on the twenty acre plot but there were many snakes. In the background factory chimneys were belching out smoke.(Autobiography, Pt.V.21) In a speech at Allahabad on December 22nd, 1916 Gandhi made a comment about "this land of ours" being "made hideous by the smoke and the din of mill chimneys and factories".(CWMG, XIII, 315)

The Ashram now constituted some forty men, women and children. As at Phoenix and Tolstoy Farm, while the permanent dwellings were being built, the community lived under canvas with a tin shed for a kitchen. Life was difficult as supplies had to come from Ahmedabad city about four miles away, the rainy season was about to break and

the snakes posed a potential threat to the children. The fact that no one died of snakebite Gandhi attributed to God's mercy.(idem; cf.Datta, 1953, 58)

During the Champaran campaign in 1917 there was a common vegetarian kitchen with simple menus for the volunteer workers.(Autobiography, Pt.V.16) It was about this time that Mahadev Desai and his wife joined Gandhi. Mahadev Desai became his secretary.(Autobiography, Pt.V.17) As well as getting better conditions for the indigo farmers Gandhi took the opportunity to undertake social service work in the villages, opening schools, educating the villagers in sanitation, hygiene and health care. (Autobiography, Pt.V.17-18) Gandhi wanted to stop the exodus from the villages to the cities. For him real civilisation was, as he told Manu Subedar in June 1918, that "in which the forces of nature are used with restraint."(Diary, I, 145)

After attending the Viceroy's War Conference at Delhi in April of 1918, Gandhi set off recruiting for the British armed forces. His standpoint at the time was that those who were seeking greater rights within the Empire should give ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire in its hour of danger. It was difficult. His recruiting campaign in Kheda came just after the conclusion of a Satyagraha there. There was no love lost in Kheda between the people and the government. Also many saw a conflict with Gandhi's advocacy of non-violence.

(Autobiography, Pt.V.27) Gandhi wore himself out. During August whilst he was recruiting in Kheda he had a slight attack of dysentery. He had been subsisting chiefly on a diet of groundnut butter and lemons as well as more than the occasional sweetball made of groundnuts to satisfy his sweet tooth.(Diary, I, 178) But the next day was a festival and he was persuaded to eat at midday, and he ate heartily. Within an hour the dysentery appeared in an acute form.(Autobiography, Pt.V.28)

He travelled back to Nadiad, south-east of Ahmedabad, that evening to continue with the recruiting campaign. By now he was very ill, in pain, occasionally delirious, and getting weaker. All sorts of remedies were proffered - meat broth, eggs and even ice treatment. Eventually Gandhi was persuaded that his vow not to take milk did not apply to goat's milk. In order to survive he took goat's milk. He knew that he had adhered only to the letter of his vow but its spirit had been destroyed. (Autobiography, Pt.V.28-29; Pt.IV.8; CWMG, XV, 70-1; LXXVII, 6-7; XC, 3) Even before the illness he had realised that some form of animal fat and animal protein was necessary for health as there was not as yet any complete substitute for milk.(CWMG, XV, 12) Trying to find an effective substitute for milk was to occupy him intermittently for the rest of his life. He had made his dietary rules flexible in the interest of health but he was not happy about it.(cf.Chatterjee, 1983, 69)

Recovering from the illness he knew that he had ignored the many warnings that nature had given him, and that the severity of the illness was in proportion to his obstinate persistence.

"I can see distinctly that there is none so merciful as Nature. And Nature is God. God is Love. And who has not suffered from the lash of love? This illness has been a very chastening experience."(CWMG, XV, 23-4)

In a letter Gandhi wrote at the end of August to his and Tagore's friend, Charlie Andrews, he said:

"I see nothing but the beneficent hand of nature, and it seems to me that what appears to us on the surface to be violent visitations of nature are in reality nothing but so many acts of love."(CWMG, XV, 37)

The war was over and he was recuperating as the year came to a close. In February 1919 as the campaign was gathering momentum against the Rowlatt Committee's report of July 19th, 1918 which in effect recommended the continuation of wartime controls, he was still consuming four pounds of goat's milk a day.(CWMG, XV, 98) Despite the fact that by June he thought he was feeling much better (CWMG, XV, 339), the events of 1919 took their toll. After Rabindranath Tagore's visit at the beginning of April 1920 to Sabarmati Ashram Gandhi went to Sinhgadh to recuperate. Sinhgadh is near, and to the south-west of, Poona. He stayed there from the 29th April to 4th May.(Diary, II, 140)

"The scenery around is glorious and the weather most bracing but mild. I have come here to give tone to a system which is much run down."(CWMG, XVII, 364)

This is the first time that we hear of his going into the

countryside to recuperate.

When Gandhi finally obtained Kallenbach's address and wrote to him in August 1920, he wrote that his diet was now one of goat's milk, bread and raisins.(CWMG, XVIII, 131) He sounded light of spirits in the letter. But his health must have been fragile still, for after the Calcutta Congress he felt worn out and eagerly took up Charlie Andrews's invitation to Shantiniketan. He stayed at Shantiniketan from September 13th to the 17th.(Diary, II, 232; cf. CWMG, XVIII, 264)

With the end of the Great War and the defeat of Turkey there was a suspicion amongst the Muslims in India that when the Sultan, who was also the Caliph, was deposed, the British would abolish the Khilafat (Caliphate). The Caliph was the religious head of Islam. In November 1919 Gandhi was invited to a joint conference of Hindus and Muslims to be held in Delhi on the Khilafat question. There was an attempt at the conference to tie the issue of cow protection to that of the Khilafat. Gandhi was against confusing the issues, making Hindu support for the Khilafat question dependent on the Muslims desisting from cow slaughter. If the Muslims, of their own free will, should stop cow slaughter out of regard for the religious sentiments of the Hindus, from being neighbours and fellow Indians, then that would be a different matter.(CWMG, [1921] XXI, 363; Autobiography, Pt.V.36; cf.The Bible - Romans, XIV.21)

Mark Juergensmeyer, in his article on Gandhi and the cow, has pointed out how most of Gandhi's writings on cow protection date from the early 1920s and the mid-1940s, when Hindu-Muslim relations were going through a critical phase. (Juergensmeyer, 1985, 12) A cursory glance at the **Collected Works** for the 1920s verifies this. (eg. CWMG, [1921] XX, 290,438; XXI, 73-7; [1924] XXV, 136-7; [1925] XXV, 515-22; XXVI, 35-7,555-8; [1926] XXXII, 26-8; [1927] XXXIII, 391-4, 197-9, 415; XXXIV, 124) The cow could be seen as a barometer of communal feeling. Gandhi saw an improvement in Hindu-Muslim relations as the only viable cow protection. It was wrong to enforce one's own religious practices on people of other faiths. (CWMG, LXXXIX, 73)

For Islam the Divine Book, the Quran, is not only the source of revelation which is the basis of religion but also that macrocosmic revelation which is the Universe. Humanity is the channel of grace for nature, through its active participation in the spiritual world. But "when Man's inner being has turned to darkness and chaos, nature is also turned from harmony and beauty to disequilibrium and disorder." (Nasr, 1968, 96,94) There can be no peace possible amongst mankind unless there is peace and harmony with nature, which also involves peace with the Source and Origin of all things. (Nasr, 1968, 136)

In the Vedic period the cow and the bull were common symbols for maternity, fertility and virility. By

the start of the Gupta period in the fourth century the inviolability of the cow had appeared in the literary sources. The veneration of the cow increased throughout the medieval period.(McLane, 1977, 276-7) Between the Great Rebellion of 1857 and the riots of 1893 the attitudes toward cow killing hardened. Due to a specific interpretation of Islamic law, as well as economic considerations, there was an increase in cattle sacrifice by Muslims in the late nineteenth century.(ibid, 279)

A Sikh reform sect in the Punjab, the Kukas, tried in the early 1870s to prevent Muslims and the British from killing cattle.(ibid, 280) In the 1880s the Arya Samaj popularised the idea of legislative action to limit cow slaughter.(ibid, 282-3) Its founder Swami Dayananda Saraswati, who like Gandhi came from Kathiawar, was concerned to revitalize Hinduism and to improve the cow. Agricultural fairs and journal articles encouraged better feeding, breeding and care of cattle. The economic rationale helped reach a far wider audience.(ibid, 283,286)

The 1892-1893 agitation was fuelled by a determination to protect ancient values and customs. By defending the cow, these upholders of eroding Hindu values were striking back at Hindu social reformers and British legislators.(ibid, 274,298,308) The Gaurakshini Sabhas were centres to improve the breed of cattle, to care for aged and sick animals, and to teach the economic and religious reasons for protecting cattle.(ibid, 309) In

1893 the cow protection movement in Bihar turned violent. Bihar had some of the largest cattle markets in Asia at the time.(ibid, 303,313-21) After the 1893 riots there was a rapid collapse of the organisational apparatus of the cow protection movement with the consequent disappearance of the Sabhas.(ibid, 325)

Even while he was in South Africa Gandhi had become aware of the cruelties practised on cows by his co-religionists, forcibly extracting the last drop of milk, starving, over-loading, over-working and goading the cow. (CWMG, X, 205; XXIX, 206; [1918] XIV, 352; [1920] XVIII, 117,127; [1921] XIX, 327,518; [1925] XXV, 518; [1928] XXXVII, 218-9) Back in India he was beating the drum for his co-religionists to put their own house in order.(CWMG, [1920] XVIII, 127; XIX, 91-2; [1924] XXIV, 150; XXV, 518; [1929] XL, 155) Neither was he happy at the reliance of medicine on vaccination which he saw as an example of himsa (violence) as well as sacrilege to the cow.(CWMG, XII, 111,115-7; [1920] XVIII, 329)

From his days in South Africa Gandhi thought that the way to protect the cow was not through coercion or legislation, but by persuasion with respect for the beliefs of the Muslims.(CWMG, X, 30-1,205) The cow could only be saved by Muslim friendship. Cow protection was dependent upon Muslim goodwill.(CWMG, [1921] XX, 193-4; [1924] XXIV, 236,363) Hindus were involved in selling cows so they too were in part responsible.(CWMG, [1921], XXI, 75) He made

the statement that if a Hindu could not stand the slaughter he should offer himself as the sacrifice.(CWMG, [1919] XV, 202; [1920] XIX, 91-2,106)

A letter that Gandhi wrote to Asaf Ali, one of the Muslim leaders of the Khilafat movement, on January 25, 1920 succinctly covers most of these issues.

"I consider that God has not created lower forms of animal life for man to use them as he will. Man realises his highest station not by indulging but by abstinence. I have no right to destroy animal life if I can subsist healthily on vegetable life. I have no right to slaughter all animal life because I find it necessary to slaughter some animal life. Therefore if I can live well on goats, fish and fowl (surely enough in all conscience) it is sin for me to destroy cows for my sustenance. And it was some such argument that decided the rishis of old in regarding the cow as sacred, especially when they found that the cow was the greatest economic asset in national life. And I see nothing wrong, immoral or sinful in offering worship to an animal so serviceable as the cow so long as my worship does not put her on a level with her Creator."(CWMG, XVI, 161)

The cow for Gandhi took "the human being beyond his species" and was a symbol for the entire subhuman world. "Man through the cow is enjoined to realize his identity with all that lives."(CWMG, [1921] XXI, 248) Therefore it was a breach of cow protection to cause pain to the weakest, most insignificant creature on earth.(CWMG, [1925] XXV, 521) Gandhi also saw the cow as an useful and vital part of village economy. Like the Gaurakshini Sabhas of old Gandhi equated cow protection with cow care. He sought to do this by making existing cows economically useful by utilising modern dairy techniques, tanning, and encouraging better breeds.(CWMG, [1921] XXI, 249; [1925] XXVIII, 113-4,158-60,272,423; [1926] XXX, 105, 575; XXXI,

277; [1929] XLI, 449-50,452) He saw a link between cow protection and the alleviation of the lot of the villager - "waste of valuable manure, the distressing problem of cattle, uneconomic holdings and want of occupation for the peasantry all the year round".(CWMG, [1925] XXVI, 205) Since cow protection meant the protection of everyone of God's creatures, improving or repairing the roads would improve the lot of both villager and bullock.(CWMG, [1924] XXV, 518-21; [1927] XXXIII, 76)

On March 10th, 1922 Gandhi was arrested for sedition, and sentenced to six years imprisonment. On January 5, 1924 he was attacked by a severe abdominal pain which was suspected as appendicitis. Colonel Maddock, the Civil Surgeon, operated on Gandhi, with his consent, on January 12th in the Sassoon Hospital, Poona. And on the morning of February 5, 1924 Gandhi was released. The collapse of his state of health seems to have been occasioned by his renunciation of fruit, though when he was in hospital he told his son Devadas that it was due to continuing with the immense amount of reading after changing his diet.(CWMG, XXIII, 144-53,178-88; XXV, 82-7; Diary, III, 308) He gave up the oranges and raisins because, as he explained to the Superintendent of Yeravda Central Prison in a letter, he did not want any favoured treatment.(CWMG, XXIII, 176-7)

On the evening of February 2nd, 1924 Gandhi had a long conversation with Dilip Kumar Roy, the singer, on the

place of art. Conversations with Ramachandran in Delhi in late October touched on many of the same issues.(cf.CWVG, XXV, 249-250)

"Why must my walls be overlaid with pictures, for instance, when they are meant only for sheltering us? I do not need pictures. Nature suffices for my inspiration. Have I not gazed at the marvellous mystery of the starry vault, hardly ever tiring of that great panorama? Could one conceive of any painting comparable in inspiration to that of the star-studded sky, the majestic sea, the noble mountains? Beside God's handiwork does not man's fade into insignificance?"(CWVG, XXIII, 193)

Watching the stars reflected in the water as he sailed to England the first time, lying on the roof under the stars in South Africa, sailing to South Africa in 1896 through a great storm, and travelling to Rishikesh in 1915, these might have been what he was remembering. Nature brought him wonder and awe, the presence of beauty, and the awareness of the touch of God.

He recovered in Sassoon Hospital on a diet of goat's milk and some oranges and grapes.(Diary, IV, 32,40) On the evening of March 10th he left Poona for Juhu Beach, near Bombay, where he convalesced from March 11th to May 28th. He took walks along the beach both morning and evening for half an hour each. It was a simple routine: after waking, prayers, a rest, then a walk with Charlie Andrews. Meals, a few interviews and letters made up the rest of the day before the evening walk, and finally evening prayers.(Diary, IV, 58,66; CWVG, XXIII, 238n.) Being Gandhi he could not resist inspecting the local sanitation. "These disease-carriers - mosquitoes, flies,

fleas etc. - are I think, Nature's scourges to punish us."(CWMG, XXIII, 335; also Diary, [1925] VII, 25) The punishment was for our lack of attention to sanitation and hygiene.(cf. his 1925 comments linking incidence of malaria at Burdwan, Bengal to the lack of attention paid by the railway engineers to the outflow of water, plus ignorance of hygiene and sanitation: Diary, VII, 25)

Gandhi had fasted for five days in November 1921 as a protest against communal riots. In the wake of riots in September 1924 Gandhi began a twenty-one day fast for Hindu-Muslim unity.(Diary, IV, 184,194; CWMG, XXV, 157) He ended the fast on October 8th.(Diary, IV, 217,214)

At the beginning of November 1924 Gandhi was in Calcutta for a series of meetings. In the evenings he got the chance to hear some music, "the highest of all arts".(Diary, IV, 287) He met the singer Dilip Kumar Roy again and continued their discussion of early February on the place of art and the ability of the poor to have easy access to it.(Diary, IV, 287)

"He [God] has granted us such climates and landscapes that we have natural scenes of entrancing beauty spread out before our eyes. The early morning sun of gold, moon-lit nights of silver, scintillating stars, superb sights on land and sea - these we all get to see in their original grandeur for nothing."(Diary, IV, 286)

Again in a convocation address at the Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad on January 14, 1925:

"That boundless sky with the brilliant stars and the moon within it or with the glorious colours of sunrise and sunset! What deep and innate joy it can give us! Which human artist is able to draw a picture like that?"(CWMG, XXV, 586; also XXVI, 143)

He was also concerned at teasing out the explanations behind the phenomena. As the dense forest round Bombay had been cut down, what had been the usual rainfall had dropped drastically (by about 20%). Gandhi, speaking in Vankaner, north of Rajkot, looked for both spiritual and physical explanations.

"A calamity descends on us only if we deserve it in some way or other. The rains may not come, if we commit some errors on the spiritual plane or if we are remiss in some duty on the physical....Maybe the scarcity [of water] is due to our destruction of our jungle."
(Diary, VI, 19-20)

Gandhi made similar comments in another context. A fire in the Paris Metro on August 10, 1903 killed eighty-four people. For Gandhi such fires were not accidents but "divine visitations" which highlighted our frailty and the "tragedy" that lay behind the "tinsel splendour" of modern civilisation.(CWMG, III, 414-5)

Gandhi set off on a tour of south India in the spring of 1925. Concerned that he should tread lightly, that he should not be a burden to his hosts, all his meals were of local products - rice and lentil (daal) curry flavoured with coconut chips, bananas for fruit, the food served on banana leaves with a coconut-shell ladle (kadchi) to serve the daal.(Diary, VI, 119) At Kanyakumari on the tip of India he was impressed, as at Rishikesh, at his ancestors' sense of the beautiful in Nature, as the temple was built in such surroundings.(CWMG, XXVI, 424)

Gandhi and Mahadev Desai made a tour of Bengal during May 1925. They reached Shantiniketan on the night

of May 29th, Calcutta on June 2nd, Darjeeling on the 3rd and Jalpaiguri on the 10th. (Diary, VII, 30,45-7,61) Through the clouds he glimpsed the snow-capped Himalayas, specifically Kangchenjunga. (Diary, VII, 61) Then he toured round East Bengal and on the 17th he heard the news of the death of the Bengali nationalist Chittaranjan Das the previous day. Gandhi helped to carry the bier at the funeral in Calcutta on the 22nd. (Diary, VII, 68,70,81,84)

On July 2nd Bakr-i-Id day (an Islamic festival) riots broke out in Kidderpore, an area of south Calcutta. Gandhi visited the trouble spots with Abdul Kalam Azad and helped calm the situation. On the 4th of August he spoke to the London Missionary Society of India and made the comment:

"my religion teaches me that brotherhood is not confined merely to the human species; that is, if we really have imbibed the spirit of brotherhood, it extends to the lower animals." (CWMG, XXVIII, 19)

After he left Bengal on the 1st of September he returned to Gujarat. From October 22nd to November 3rd he made a tour of Cutch. The arid, treeless nature of the terrain prompted him to make comments further to what he had said in Vankaner. The immediate stimulus was meeting Jaykrishna Indrajit, a forest officer, who was planting trees in Cutch. (Diary, VII, 265)

"Digging of wells where water is scarce is a religion. ...[Tree] plantation...in some parts of India..is a religious necessity. Such a place is undoubtedly Cutch. It has a beautiful climate but some parts threaten to be a desolate waste unless there is proper rainfall in them. Rainfall can be almost regulated by deforestation or afforestation. Cutch needs conservation of every tree and

every shrub. ...The conservation of forests, systematic plantation of trees, irrigation and many other things cannot be properly done without a common policy. ...In Cutch, Kathiawar, Rajputana, Sind and such other places a study of practical botany should be compulsory in all schools."(CWMG, XXVIII, 457-9)

Gandhi also mentioned Leonard Elmhirst, whom we have already met in connection with Rabindranath Tagore (supra, 60), as advocating a common policy of tree plantation. As well as planting some trees outside Mandvi, on the coast of Cutch to the east of Vankaner, Gandhi inaugurated a tree planting and protection society.(CWMG, XXVIII, 458) Gandhi was in Mandvi on October 31st which was the birthday of Raychandbhai the poet, and there was a full moon. He felt free and at peace, under the sky and the moon, and touching the earth with his bare feet.(Diary, VII, 237-8)

On November 7th, 1925 Madeleine Slade joined the Ashram at Sabarmati. Gandhi gave her the name Mira Behn and this is the name by which I shall refer to her. The daughter of an English admiral, she grew up with a special feeling for nature. Her mother's family home was at Milton Heath in Hampshire.

"Out of doors the twenty acres were a whole world for adventurous exploration....[From] the beginning I had a feeling of fellowship with the trees and plants. There were some trees for which I had a special affection and some I was not very fond of, but one and all were for me personalities. Later on as a young girl, I can remember throwing my arms around trees and embracing them, and to this day that feeling remains."(Behn, 1960, 12)

Soon after Mira Behn's arrival, at the Kanpur Congress Gandhi retired from the Congress Presidentship. (Diary, VII, 331) While he was there he undertook the

inspection of the sanitary arrangements in the Congress camp, but had to enlist Mira Behn's help as he had no sense of smell! (Behn, 1960, 76) For this year of silence, till the end of 1926, Gandhi took himself back to the Sabarmati Ashram and devoted himself entirely to its affairs.

Due to the pressure of work Gandhi was worn out and fell ill with malarial fever on January 23rd, 1926. (Diary, VIII, 59; cf. CWMG, XXIX, 429) He felt that he had a duty to remain healthy for service, so against his ideals, he took quinine during his fever and injections of iron and arsenic afterward. (Diary, VIII, 120-2)

He made reference in 1926 to the Jain doctrine of *anekantavada*, the manyness of reality.

"I am an *advaitist* and yet I can support *dvaitism* (dualism). The world is changing every moment, and is therefore unreal, it has no permanent existence. But though it is constantly changing, it has something about it which persists and it is therefore to that extent real. ... The seven blind men who gave seven different descriptions of the elephant were all right from their respective points of view, and wrong from the point of view of one another, and right and wrong from the point of view of the man who knew the elephant." (CWMG, XXIX, 411)

"To me God is truth and love; God is ethics and morality; God is fearlessness. God is the source of Light and Life and yet He is above and beyond all these." (CWMG, [1925] XXVI, 224)

Gandhi wrote in 1929 that "there is no other God than Truth." He equated the greater Self with Truth or God. (see in particular Richards, 1986)

"To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself. ... Identification with everything that lives is impossible without self-purification..." (Autobiography, 'Farewell')

" The purpose of life is undoubtedly to know oneself. We cannot do it unless we learn to identify ourselves with all that lives. The sum total of that life is God. Hence the necessity of realizing God living within every one of us. The instrument of this knowledge is boundless selfless service."(CWMG, [1932] L, 80)

Reviewing F. Hadland Davis's "The Persian Mystics" for Indian Opinion in 1907 Gandhi had quoted a poem by Jalaluddin Rumi with approval. It was a poem on where God can be truly found.(CWMG, [1907] VII, 43-44 - the translation on page 44 is from Gandhi's Gujarati translation)

"...I gazed into my own heart,
There I saw Him; He was nowhere else."
(Davis, 1907, 52-3)

During his 1922-1924 spell in prison Gandhi had read Claude Field's "Mystics and Saints of Islam" and Reynold A. Nicholson's "Mystics of Islam".(CWMG, XXIII, 180, 185; XXV, 153-6)

Conversations that Gandhi had had with Dilip Kumar Roy in 1924 on God the artist were echoed in a dialogue he now had at Sabarmati.(Diary, VIII, 97)

"[One] who can ever and always perceive in his own heart the play of the Divine [lila] that is visible also in the sky outside, will not be much concerned about looking even at the beautiful natural scenery of the moon and the brilliant clusters of stars. ...[Such a one] will not look down upon one who feels happy at the sight of the sky without, but he too will enjoy the scenery."(Diary, VIII, 99,101)

But Gandhi's vision of Nature was not a cosy one; he looked at its hard face clear-eyed, unflinching. Talking of Nature 'red in tooth and claw' he spoke of humanity as privileged creatures with responsibilities.

"Have I not seen such violence being committed? Very often I have seen a lizard hunting a cockroach and the latter hunting other insects. But I have never considered it my duty to oppose the law of the animal world - 'An insect sustains an insect's life.' I do not profess to unravel the dark mysteries of God, but seeing such violence often, I feel that the law of animals and of the lower orders of creation is not the law of man. ... [He] should himself refrain from participating in violence and prevent inferior creatures as also animals under his control from tormenting one another."(CWMG, XXX, 324)

"For man is higher than the brute in his moral instincts and moral institutions. The law of nature as applied to the one is different from the law of nature as applied to the other. Man has reason, discrimination, and free will such as it is. The brute has no such thing..... The world is full of himsa [violence] and Nature does appear to be 'red in tooth and claw'. But if we bear in mind that man is higher than the brute, then is man superior to that Nature."(CWMG, XXX, 363-4,572)

Ahmedabad in 1926 was afflicted with the problem of stray dogs. In that hot climate they were infected with mange and were suffering. Some had developed rabies and were a menace to the human population. The Municipality mooted the idea of shooting the dogs, and a group of leading citizens including Seth Ambalal Sarabhai came to the Ashram to consult with Gandhi. Gandhi gave his opinion in favour of shooting the dogs. There were many protests. (Behn, 1960, 98)

In a series of eight articles entitled 'Is This Humanity?' Gandhi defended his decision to support this unavoidable violence of destroying the rabid dogs.(in CWMG, XXXI and XXXII) He asked which was better, that 5000 dogs should wander about in semi-starvation, leading a miserable existence, or that 50 should die and the rest kept in a decent condition. It was cruel, sinful even, to be always

spurning and kicking the dogs. "Merely taking life is not always himsa."(CWMG, XXXI, 524) Death would come as a relief to the long drawn-out agony of the dogs.(CWMG, XXXII, 41-2,72)

The dogs posed a threat to humans.(CWMG, [1929] XL, 230) Doing nothing would not free us from the taint of himsa. It was the practice in the Ashram to destroy rabid dogs and refuse food to healthy dogs. But, as Gandhi admitted, it was difficult to get every inmate to see the necessity of this. And compassion made exceptions of two bitches and their pups who were being fed at the Ashram. (CWMG, XXXII, 380-1) The real solution to controlling the dog population was to learn "the art of keeping dogs", (CWMG, [1947] XC, 150) abetted by dog licences, collars and the killing of stray dogs "in the least painful manner". (CWMG, [1929] XL, 229-30)

Sometime in early October 1926 seeing a snake being removed out of harm's (for humans) way stirred up the old fear.(Diary, VIII, 273-4) He still felt afraid when he saw snakes, scorpions and suchlike come near. A higher stage would have been reached when he had a heart of love for every living thing.(CWMG, [1927] XXXIII, 234; XXXIV, 130-2; XXXV, 380; cf.[1922] XXIII, 107)

In an acknowledged echo of Anna Kingsford (see CWMG, [1925] XXVIII, 21) Gandhi again makes the point:

"It is my implicit belief that snakes, tigers, etc. are God's answer to the poisonous, wicked, evil thoughts that we harbour."(CWMG, [1927] XXXIII, 234; cf.Kingsford & Maitland, 1909, 47)

Destruction in some form or other of some life is inevitable for life lives upon life, even vegetable life, but we have no right to destroy life that we cannot create.

"I still continue to hold life not only in man and animal, but in plant and flower, as sacred, and yet make use of vegetables and flowers and fruit."(CWMG, XXXII, 379)

Moving a snake out of harm's way must involve the following considerations: that one's neighbour is not as a result exposed to a greater risk than oneself, that I should not be gaining at my neighbour's expense, and that I should inform my neighbour. So, throwing the snake over the wall into my neighbour's garden will not do.(CWMG, [1927] XXXIV, 130-1)

"[Once] a snake had crept into the Ashram cowshed and coiled itself at such a place as made it impossible to bring it out alive. I would sleep at ease...but others were worried. So Maganlal got it killed. ..[It] was my dharma [duty] to save the cows. However, let me say, that my nephew's killing the snake was as good or bad as my killing it."(Diary, VIII, 275)

Each family household at the time had its own kitchen in the Ashram and the rest were in small groups or even solitary. Gandhi worked for the common kitchen ideal, quietly, persuasively, convincing people to join a common kitchen. Eventually a large building was chosen and people selected to run it.(Behn, 1960, 82-4)

At the beginning of 1927 Gandhi embarked on a tour promoting khadi throughout north and south India. On March 16th at a conference of foresters Gandhi met with some indigenous hillpeople at Vedchhi near Bardoli in Surat. Addressing the hillpeople Gandhi told them:

"You are fitted by nature to live on fruit and root and to eat in order to live, not to live in order to eat, and therefore best fitted to teach us that way of living. ...Teach us how to eat or live."(Diary, IX, 270,278; CWMG, XXXIII, 162)

Overstrain and worry occasioned by this tour led to high blood-pressure and eventually a mild apoplexy on March 26th. For rest and recuperation he went to the Nandi Hills, Mysore from April 19th to June 5th.(CWMG, XXXIII, 194-5,250-1,489) Juhu Beach and Nandi Hills were his favoured places for rest and recuperation. A letter to Richard Gregg written on April 26th said that he was inclined to agree with a friend that his high blood-pressure was caused by flatulence for which he was taking bitter neem leaves in unboiled goat's milk and hot raisin water. He had tried pulping and turning into paste nuts such as almond, so as to make a 'milk', but his digestion could not cope with it. For the time being he was reconciled to goat's milk "under the delusive belief that I must live for my work on the earth". Also since his return to a milk diet in August 1918 he had found its stimulating effect was creating difficulties for him.(CWMG, XXXIII, 260-1) It "costs me all my strength to keep the brute in me under disciplined subjection and control."(ibid, 261)

Gandhi saw the Gujarat floods of July 1927 as a manifestation of Nature's wrath, a chastisement. He did not see any great difference between moral and economic sins, between lies, dirtying river-water and raising an opium crop in place of wheat. What differences there were

were differences of degree, not kind.(CWMG, XXXIV, 267)

In November 1927 Gandhi was in Ceylon. It gave him the chance to speak about Gautama and Buddhism. In his early years in South Africa he had held up for approval Gautama's compassion for all life.(Autobiography, Pt.II.22) Speaking in Calcutta in May 1925 he maintained that "Buddha lived Hinduism in his own life."(CWMG, XXVII, 62) Now in Colombo he spoke with enthusiasm about Gautama.

"Great as Buddha's contribution to humanity was in restoring God to His eternal place, in my humble opinion greater still was his contribution to humanity in his exacting regard for all life, be it ever so low. ...His whole soul rose in mighty indignation against the belief that a being called God required for His satisfaction the living blood of animals in order that he might be pleased - animals who were his own creation."(CWMG, XXXV, 246)

The Inter-Religious Fellowship conference met in 1928 in Gandhi's Ashram at Sabarmati. Verrier Elwin (1902-1964), the anthropologist, describes in his autobiography his meeting with Gandhi, how the latter's inner spiritual power transformed his frail body and filled the Ashram with kindness and love.(Elwin, 1964, 42) Later, after he had settled in at the Ashram, he gave another, more poetic, description.

"Bapu's asceticism is of the open air. See him asleep beneath the stars, restful and calm. I associate him with growing flowers, fresh fruit, the wide and open river, the prayer before the morning star has risen, the walk in the unsullied air of dawn."(Elwin, 1964, 54)

Monkeys were attacking the fruit trees and vegetables of the Ashram and were driven away by the use of "harmless arrows".(CWMG, XXXVII, 314) If it was unavoidable Gandhi seriously considered killing them. He

preferred to inflict the minimum possible injury. It "is not as if the nuisance of monkeys cannot be prevented without killing them."(CWMG, XXXVII, 33) There was himsa even in stoning the monkeys.(CWMG, XXXVII, 314; XXXVIII, 141) If it is our dharma (duty) to protect the fields, then if there is no other way, killing the monkeys becomes unavoidable. Petting and giving food to the monkeys only encourages them. Ahimsa (non-violence) would seek ways to avoid the killing.(CWMG, XXXVII, 33) However monkeys are wily enough to know when there is no real danger so the non-violent method may not protect the crops in the long run.(CWMG, XXXVII, 315)

One of the consequences of Gandhi's work for cow protection was that there was now a small model dairy and tannery at the Ashram. A calf which had been maimed lay in agony. All possible nursing and treatment had been given but she just lay on her side in great pain and unable to turn. Gandhi felt that "humanity demanded that the agony should be ended by ending life itself." His wife and a companion tried to nurse the calf and persuade her to eat, but without success. Gandhi, accompanied by Seth Ambalal Sarabhai and his family doctor, Mira Behn and the dairyman, went to see the fatal injection administered. He gently held one of the animal's front legs. It was a silent scene as the calf died.(Behn, 1960, 98-9; CWMG, XXXVII, 310-11,297-8; also XXXVIII, 139-40)

The principle he had followed could also be

applied to humans, where no aid could be given to a patient in agony and recovery was out of the question, and where the patient was lying unconscious.(CWMG, XXXVII, 311,410; cf. [1926] XXXII, 401-2)

Near the beginning of 1928 it was discovered that Gandhi had an excess of uric acid in his system so he changed his diet yet again to raisin 'tea', almond paste, coconut milk and oranges.(CWMG, XXXV, 479-80) It is apparent that the idea of trying the Vital Food experiment again, after his experiments in the early 1890s, occupied his mind in the latter half of the year. He saw daily in the common kitchen the trouble and effort involved in the cooking of food.(Behn, 1960, 84) Uncooked food would save time and money as one needed to eat less dry food. Also vitamins were destroyed by cooking. A slight disadvantage was that one would have to chew the food properly,(CWMG, XXXVII, 253-4; XLI, 59) and because of this a small quantity of raw, clean and fresh vegetables was beneficial. (CWMG, XXXVIII, 55-6)

Initially there were discussions amongst members of the Ashram. A diet was worked out where bread was replaced by sprouted wheat, milk by ground coconut and all vegetables were to be eaten raw. The diet was saltless. (Behn, 1960, 84; CWMG, XLI, 34-6,52-4)

During a journey to Calcutta, where he arrived on March 3rd, 1929 Gandhi started taking raw green vegetables chopped up with bread. On May 9th the Raw Food experiment

began. Gandhi was on a tour which ended on May 21st. In a letter he told Richard Gregg that he was combining business with recreation in the Himalayas, enjoying again the visual spectacle of the snow-capped peaks.(CWMG, XLI, 163) He found grinding the sprouted wheat very difficult and felt very weak.(CWMG, XLI, 196) He was also taking raisins or fresh fruit and honey.(CWMG, XLI, 198,cf.169)

There was a lot of work involved in the preparation of the raw food: the coconut had to be grated, vegetables had to be cleaned, and sprouted wheat had to be ground for Gandhi with his few remaining teeth. Within a week or two people's health became affected. Mira Behn was the first to succumb, suffering from acute constipation. Constipation afflicted some others while Gandhi, unable to digest the food properly, fell victim to dysentery. Reluctantly he agreed to take goat's milk curds. The experiment was abandoned on August 15th.(CWMG, XLI, 263-5, 279-80,306-7; Behn, 1960, 83-5) After the experiment was over he took plenty of goat's milk curds and fruit.(CWMG, XLI, 430,475,520)

He still believed in uncooked food as the best diet for it involved the least violence as well as being far less stimulating to the passions.

"The least amount of violence is involved when anything that is edible is eaten directly after it is plucked from the tree. All storage is full of violence. There is untold violence even in lighting a fire. Then to consign green or dried substances to the fire involves even greater violence. ...In not bringing vegetables near fire and not drying them, there is less processing of them. All needless processing is stained with violence.....Whatever

is cooked over fire has an intoxicating element within it, hence it readily arouses passionate feelings."(CWMG, XLI, 210)

The way that the Raw Food experiment came to an end brought to the fore all his dissatisfaction about relying on milk, but he had not yet found a vegetable substitute for milk though English and American friends had pointed him towards Soya Bean milk.(CWMG, XLI, 423-4,502)

Meeting the hillpeople of Surat in 1927, listening and learning from them and from the tree-planting work of Jaykrishna Indrajit in Cutch lay in part behind his 1929 article on 'Tree Worship'.

"[Far] from seeing anything inherently evil or harmful in tree worship, I find in it a thing instinct with a deep pathos and poetic beauty. It symbolizes true reverence for the entire vegetable kingdom, which with its endless panorama of beautiful shapes and forms, declares to us as it were with a million tongues the greatness and glory of God. Without vegetation our planet would not be able to support life even for a moment. In such a country especially, therefore, in which there is a scarcity of trees, tree worship assumes a profound economic significance. ...I recognize that God manifests Himself in innumerable forms in this universe, and every such manifestation commands my spontaneous reverence."(CWMG, XLI, 292-3)

On the 12th of March 1930 Gandhi led the march from the Ashram to the sea at Dandi where he broke the salt law. He was arrested on May the 5th. Back in Yeravda Prison Gandhi had leisure once again to pursue his reading and vary his diet. He relied on sweet and raw potatoes with boiled cabbage or marrow.(CWMG, XLIV, 126)

While in prison he wrote a series of letters to Narandas Gandhi elaborating on the observances of the Ashram.(in CWMG, XLIV; cf.[1928] XXXVI, 398-410) It is

interesting that Gandhi confided to Verrier Elwin that of all the vows it was Control of the Palate that he found most difficult, for he loved good food, and, we might add, sweetmeats. (Elwin, 1964, 53) In his discussion on the vow of yajna Gandhi defined yajna as an act directed to the welfare of others, without hope of reward, and for him 'others' included "not only humanity, but all life". (CWMG, XLIV, 241) Such a life of service must be one of humility. (CWMG, XLIV, 206)

Together with other Congress leaders Gandhi was released from Yeravda Prison on January 26th, 1931.

Chapter IV: GANDHI: India

1931 - 1948

When Gandhi went to see the Viceroy for the negotiations prior to the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact on March 4th, 1931, it was Mira Behn who brought him his meal of dates with hot goat's milk poured over them. (Behn, 1960, 121-2) Dates figured prominently in his diet in the last part of his jail sentence, initially at every meal either with almond paste 'milk' or curds. (CWMG, XLV, 81) In the six days before his release he tried once again to do without milk or curds, subsisting on a diet of vegetables, toasted brown bread, almond paste 'milk', limes, and dates principally in the morning. (CWMG, XLV, 115)

While Gandhi was trying to sort out the arrangements for his participation in the Round Table Conference in London, Mira Behn was at Sabarmati Ashram, feeling forlorn in Gandhi's absence. Gandhi had vowed never to return to the Ashram until independence for India had been achieved. Mira Behn was befriended by a mynah bird which learnt to pick kishmish (currants) from her fingers, and then was fed, perching on her head. Later the mynah brought its mate and fledglings. Mira Behn's easy way with small creatures was something, as we shall see, that Gandhi found entrancing. (Behn, 1960, 128-9) When in 1946 his friend Horace Alexander announced his intention of

'going off birding for a week or two', Gandhi's remark was: "That is a good hobby, provided you do not shoot them."
(Alexander, 1974, 200)

On the ship to England, in a rough crossing of the Arabian Sea, Gandhi showed once again what a good sailor he was. Of the party on board Mahadev Desai was the next best.(Behn, 1960, 131) After a journey overland from Marseilles to Boulogne and a cross-Channel voyage, Gandhi and his companions landed at Folkestone on September 12th. (Hunt, 1978, 197) During his stay in London his daily diet, which was limited to not more than five different items of food, consisted of goat's milk, fruit including dates and tomatoes, and vegetables such as lettuce. It involved some difficulty for those who prepared and brought the food to where he was in conference.(CWMG, XLVIII, 181, 329; Behn, 1960, 136-7)

In conversation with the Editor of 'The Island', Joseph Bard, Gandhi spoke again of the relationship between art and life.

"The central experience of life will for ever remain the relationship which man has to God....In this relationship of man to God it is the mysterious forces which matter, not the meagre texts expressed in words."
(CWMG, XLVIII, 149)

There is an anecdote about Gandhi and a black cat, a wondrous anecdote of the sort that has accrued to Gandhi over the years. Both Louis Fischer and Mira Behn relate this story; unfortunately Fischer's account is less complete and more wondrous. Gandhi went to see Lloyd

George for tea at Churt. When Mira Behn saw Lloyd George in 1934 he narrated to her the story of the black cat. This cat with a collar, someone's pet, had come to the house a day or two before Gandhi's visit. On the evening of Gandhi's visit she went straight to him and settled in his lap till he got up to leave. She was gone the next morning and Lloyd George never saw her again. (Behn, 1960, 185; cf. Fischer, 1982, 353)

On December 5th Gandhi and his party took the train to Folkestone and then crossed over to France. (Hunt, 1978, 225) He went to visit his friend Romain Rolland in Switzerland. A passage in a speech he gave in Lausanne bears a strong echo to the passage in Thoreau's "Walden" quoted at the front of Salt's "A Plea for Vegetarianism".

Gandhi: "...spiritual progress does demand...that we should cease to kill our fellow creatures for satisfaction of our bodily wants." (CWMG, XLVIII, 408)

Thoreau: "I have no doubt that it is a part of the destiny of the human race, in its gradual improvement, to leave off eating animals..." (Walden, 216; Salt, 1886, 6)

Gandhi sailed for India on December 14, 1931. He was arrested in Bombay on January 4th, 1932 and placed in Yeravda Central Prison. Mahadev Desai joined him there on March the 10th. Vallabhbhai Patel was already there. (Diary, X, 3-4) As during his 1930 - 1931 imprisonment Gandhi was able to take daily walks, now at least two hours divided between morning and evening. (Diary, X, 329, 82)

At this time Gandhi's diet consisted of almond paste 'milk', white bread, boiled vegetable, dates, and

lemon and honey in water.(Diary, X, 6; CWMG, XLIX, 278,294)
 About a month after his arrival at Yeravda Gandhi had again embarked on a milkless experiment.(Diary, X, 57)

Vallabhbhai Patel remarked to Mahadev Desai how Gandhi wanted a pinch of soda "to be added to nearly every article of food."(Diary, X, 10)

Writing to Mira Behn, herself imprisoned in a Bombay jail, Gandhi told her in late June of the failure of his milkless experiment.

"I am defeated. I have taken milk and baker's bread and therefore salt also."(CWMG, L, 83)

The day after, he wrote to Premabehn Kantak about how exceptions had been made for certain people with regard to the dietary rules of the Ashram, and how he was conscious of having failed to follow his own 'rules'. (CWMG, L, 88-9) To a young Bengali, Sudhir Kumar Sen Gupta, he explained:

"I took goat's milk because I had vowed not to take buffalo's or cow's milk. ...It would have been better from the ethical standpoint if I could have resisted the temptation to take goat's milk. But the will to live was greater than the will to obey the ethical code. My views on the ethics of milk food remain unchanged. But I see that there is no effective vegetable substitute for milk." (CWMG, L, 241)

A pet cat in the jail bakery had given birth to two kittens in mid-March. The cat would come and sit in his lap or nestle on Gandhi's bare feet while the kittens played, chasing and hunting the mother's tail. Gandhi stopped reading Ruskin's "Fors Clavigera" to watch the behaviour of the cat and her kittens.(Diary, X,

53,24,102,413) He held the cat up as a model of cleanliness for the boys and girls in the Ashram. She buried her excreta and taught her kittens to do the same.(CWMG, XLIX, 221,413-4)

"'Do all of us cover up the excreta as carefully as this cat does?' We daily bow to Mother Earth and ask her forgiveness for walking on her with our feet; but do we cover up the ground after spitting, blowing our nose or passing urine, etc.?"(CWMG, XLIX, 221)

Gandhi noticed how the cat watched over, washed and taught her kittens, bringing prey to them.(CWMG, XLIX, 466) In writing to Esther Menon's two little daughters in May he shared news about his cat friends.(CWMG, XLIX, 468) But to one girl who wrote saying that she wished she had been born a cat, since he was taking so much interest in the jail cat and her kittens, Gandhi replied that he lavished affection on children as much as kittens. "The cat is not a rational animal as we are, and therefore it is not a good thing to be born a cat."(Diary, X, 176)

The mother cat fell into disgrace in December when she was found stealing food, and dirtying the carpets and papers. Her food was stopped.(CWMG, LII, 258)

News about the cats was also sent in letters to Mira Behn (CWMG, LI, 57,257) and Premabehn Kantak (CWMG, LI, 100,171). When a female kitten was born early in September it was named Prema.(CWMG, LI, 57,100) He shared with Mira Behn the fact of mother cat's fancy for vegetarian dishes - rice, daal (lentils) and especially vegetables.(CWMG, LI, 57) At her prison too, there was a

cat that joined them at meals.(Behn, 1960, 160) There is an important passage in his letter of September the 15th that was written by way of consolation but also shows Gandhi's perception of Mira Behn's character.

"I know that you had naturally the art of looking upon trees and animals as friends. I wanted you to extend the idea so as not to feel the want of friends from outside. ...[There] should be a definite realization that personal friends and relations are no greater friends than strangers of the human family and bird, beast and plant. They are all one, and they are all an expression of God if we would but realize the fact..."(CWMG, LI, 57)

From Yeravda Prison in January 1931 he had written to Mira Behn:

"There is nothing inanimate for Him. We are of the earth earthy. ...I feel nearer God by feeling Him through the earth....[I] rejoice in establishing kinship with not only the lowliest of human beings, but also with the lowest forms of creation whose fate - reduction to dust - I have to share..."(CWMG, XLV, 80)

Of those around him it was Mahadev Desai that came to share more and more in this side of Gandhi's personality, as his Diaries bear witness. On June 26th Mahadev Desai wrote:

"The modern votary of ahimsa is a stranger to the sense of kinship which men in Kalidas's time felt with the natural objects by which they were surrounded. On the other hand many Westerners who do not set much store by ahimsa feel themselves to be one with external nature." (Diary, X, 197)

Mahadev Desai is the apparent exception to Geoffrey Ashe's statement that Mira Behn, in her own way, "was growing more like him [Gandhi] than his male followers."(Ashe, 1968, 267)

Gandhi took the opportunity not just to closely observe the behaviour of cats but also to systematically

study the heavens and its stars. His interest in the stars, as we have seen, dated back at least to his teenage years. Studying the heavens was for Gandhi "one more method of seeing God." (CWMG, L, 130) His two pieces on the subject, written for members of the Ashram, convey the excitement and enthusiasm of learning something new. As Gandhi said, the immediate spur to his study was the companionship of D.B. Kalelkar during his spell in prison 1930 - 1931. D.B. Kalelkar had been at Shantiniketan when Maganlal Gandhi and the party from Phoenix arrived in 1914. (CWMG, L, 199) Much of the ground covered in the two articles had already been covered in such as his conversations with Dilip Kumar Roy and the articles that comprise 'General Knowledge about Health'. The first article (CWMG, XLIX, 295-9) concentrates on a discussion of the five gross elements, particularly of akash, sometimes translated as ether, here as space, of the place of stars in space, of our place on earth and the earth's in space, and of the spectacle arranged by Nature on the stage of the sky.

"Thus, we are most intimately connected with every living creature in the world and with everything that exists; everything depends for its existence on everything else. ...[Every] obstacle which we place between ourselves and the sky harms us physically, mentally and spiritually."

The second article (CWMG, XLIX, 312-5) concentrates on the identification of individual clusters of stars. In a letter to D.B. Kalelkar of late July 1932 he said that contemplation of the stars helped put our worldly concerns

into proper perspective.(CWMG, L, 276-7)

As a protest against the creation of separate electorates for the Untouchables, and its divisive effect on the Hindu community, Gandhi began a fast unto death on September 20th, 1932. After the Yeravda Pact was signed by high and low caste Hindus, Gandhi concluded his fast on the 26th.(Behn, 1960, 167) To build up his strength, he took fresh fruit such as oranges and grapes, milk with dates or a vegetable like marrow or pumpkin, as well as, for a while, glucose powder.(CWMG, LI, 153,164,298; LII, 35)

Between April and July 1932 Gandhi wrote a history of the Sabarmati Ashram.(CWMG, L, 188-236) In the second sentence Gandhi admitted that the concept of an ashram was central to his life, as has been remarked upon in Chapter II above (supra, 30,41).(CWMG, L, 188) The arrangements of the Ashram involved "to a certain extent a deliberate imitation of life in the West" - at least of the community at Mariann Hill.(ibid, 210-11) The activities undertaken at the Ashram included agriculture (ibid, 228-9), dairying (ibid, 229-30), weaving (ibid, 219-20,223), carpentry and tanning (ibid, 231-2).(ibid, 216)

The hardest observance was that of ahimsa. The snake in the Ashram cow-shed, the mad dogs [1926], the monkeys [1928] and the lame calf in agony [1928] presented real-life situations for the practice of ahimsa.(CWMG, L, 206-7) In Chapter III we have looked at these particular instances (supra, 85,83-84,87-88,88). In 1932 Gandhi made

some general points about the observance of ahimsa.

"Ahimsa means not to hurt any living creature by thought, word or deed, even for the supposed benefit of that creature. To observe this principle fully is impossible for men, who kill a number of living beings large and small as they breathe or blink or till the land. We catch and hurt snakes or scorpions for fear of being bitten and leave them in some out-of-the-way place if we do not kill them. Hurting them in this way may be unavoidable, but is clearly himsa. ...When I eat cereals and vegetables in order to support life, that means violence done to vegetable life."(CWMG, L, 205)

"All of us including myself are afraid of snakes...We therefore as a rule catch them and put them out of harm's way. But if someone kills a snake out of fear, he is not taken to task....[In] my heart I do not harbour the necessary love, fearlessness and readiness to die of snake-bite [cf.CWMG, (1933) LII, 258]....It is possible that if I am attacked by a snake, I may neither resist nor kill it. [He did not allow to be killed a snake that had crept onto his body: Diary, VIII, 275] But I am not willing to place anyone else's life in danger.(ibid, 206)

It was a breach both of ahimsa and of non-stealing to appropriate more food, clothes, furniture and space than was really necessary for oneself.(CWMG, L, 205,213)

Mira Behn had been moved to the prison at Sabarmati where there were many Langur monkeys.(Behn, 1960, 172-4) In his letter to her of March 11th, 1933, Gandhi wrote that, though he felt protective towards frogs, he could not extend any such emotion towards monkeys.

"I see that you are once more enjoying the company of birds and animals. Frogs have somehow or other appeared to me helpless creatures."(CWMG, LIV, 55)

Gandhi in 1939 wrote that the feeding of monkeys was a mistaken humanitarian sentiment which would make us guilty of himsa. We would have encouraged a pest of our neighbour's land and crops. Society in such a case would

have no choice but to exterminate the pest.(CWMG, [1939] LXVIII, 342; also [1946] LXXXIV, 62,392)

In a conversation with Mira Behn in November of 1943 Gandhi said:

"If I had the fearless power to tame these dangerous creatures by the force of my love and will, and could show others how to do likewise, then I should have the right to advise other people to follow my example.

But I have not that power. I must, therefore, advise others to kill all creatures, dangerous to human life, such as tigers, bears, snakes, scorpions, etc., and also vermin such as fleas, flies and mosquitoes as well as rats and other crop-destroying vermin. It should be done in the most human way possible, and with regard to vermin, which is often the outcome of carelessness and dirt, we should try to live in such a way as not to give rise to its occurrence...If one is not prepared to live in the company of these creatures oneself, one has no right to turn them loose on other people's lands..."(CWMG, [1943] LXXVII, 207-8)

At the beginning of 1933 Gandhi's diet was just fruit (such as dates, oranges and limes) and milk, and this continued into 1934.(CWMG, LIII, 209; LIV, 421; LVII, 390) For twenty-one days in May 1933 Gandhi fasted for self-purification and for his associates. He was released from gaol on May 8th. At the end of July he announced the disbanding of the Ashram at Sabarmati. Then from November 1933 to June 1934 Gandhi embarked on an All-India tour on behalf of the Harijans - 'the children of God' as he termed the Untouchables.(Behn, 1960, 182)

It was while he was on tour in south India, on January 24th, 1934, that Gandhi made a speech at a public meeting in Tirunelveli about the earthquake that had struck Bihar. Gandhi had fasted in September 1932 against a separate electorate for the Harijans, founded a Harijan

service organisation, the Harijan Sevak Sangh, whilst in prison, fasted in May 1933 for purification in connection with his work for the Harijans, and by now had been on his All-India tour for over two months. It would be understandable if he was beginning to see things only in connection with his campaigning. From Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland he had been confirmed in his belief that there was no real barrier between Spirit and Matter, that humanity's own wickedness is the creator of its evil beasts, (Kingsford & Maitland, 1909, 19,47) and that we are intimately connected with everything that exists. (CWMG, XLIX, 295-6) He looked into the heavens, at the stars, and reached out to all creatures, humans, birds, beasts and plants, for, as he told Mira Behn, "they are all an expression of God." (CWMG, LI, 57) Maybe there was even an ancient Kathiawadi explanation for natural calamities in the back of his mind when he said to his audience:

"You may call me superstitious if you like; but a man like me cannot but believe that this earthquake is a divine chastisement sent by God for our sins. Even to avowed scoffers it must be clear that nothing but divine will can explain such a calamity. It is my unmistakable belief that not a blade of grass moves but by the divine will. [CWMG, LVII, 44] For me there is a vital connection between the Bihar calamity and the untouchability campaign. The Bihar calamity is a sudden and accidental reminder of what we are and what God is; but untouchability is a calamity handed down to us from century to century." (CWMG, LVII, 45-6)

However he did not advocate passivity towards the people of Bihar.

"[All] of us should contribute our mite to lessen the misery to the best of our ability. ... You must show to your brethren and sisters of Bihar, by your sharing your

food and clothing with them, that the same blood courses in your veins as in the veins of the Biharis."(CWMG, LVII, 45)

Rabindranath Tagore disagreed vehemently that the earthquake was a divine chastisement. For him, physical catastrophes had their inevitable and exclusive origin in a certain combination of physical facts. The association of ethical principles with cosmic phenomena implied that we were being given salutary lessons in good behaviour through an orgy of destruction. As Tagore said: "our own sins and errors, however enormous, have not enough force to drag down the structure of creation to ruins."(quoted in Ahluwalia, 1981, 120-1; cf.CWMG, LVII, 166)

In his reply Gandhi reiterated his long-held belief that physical phenomena resulted from both physical and spiritual causes, which helped to humble him and draw him nearer to God.(CWMG, LVII, 166)

"To me the earthquake was no caprice of God nor a result of a meeting of mere blind forces. We do not know all the laws of God nor their working. ...He [God] rules me in the tiniest detail of my life. ...

"Visitations like droughts, floods, earthquakes and the like, though they seem to have only physical origins, are, for me, somehow connected with man's morals. ..[The] earthquake was a visitation for the sin of untouchability. ...[It] would be terrible if...we did not learn the moral lesson from the event and repent of that sin. ...[Our] own sins have more force to ruin that structure [of creation] than any mere physical phenomenon. There is an indissoluble marriage between matter and spirit."(CWMG, LVII, 165-6)

In 1934 Mira Behn went to England.(Behn, 1960, 185) Towards the close of the year Gandhi retired from politics so as to be able to devote himself to the Harijans and to the uplift of the villages. Writing in the

history of the Ashram Gandhi had pointed out that three of the traditional occupations of the Harijan were shared by members of the Ashram, namely sanitary service, handloom weaving and tanning. (CWMG, [1932] L, 223; cf. [1933] LIV, 317) As we have already seen, Gandhi also advocated the complete economic utilisation of the cow through the improvement of the breed, the training of the people in husbandry, the maintenance of pastures, dairying, the relative economic merits of the cow as against the buffalo, and tanning. (CWMG, [1932] L, 230-1; [1937] LXIV, 403-4) These were themes he warmed to in the 1930s, especially in the context of village uplift. (CWMG, [1933] LIII, 215; LV, 409; [1935] LXII, 94-5; [1936] LXII, 241; LXIII, 386; [1937] LXIV, 261-2; [1938] LXVI, 365-6; for his vision of the ideal village: CWMG, [1942] LXXVI, 308-9) Farm wastes were not being fully utilised. He was a great advocate of the composting of farm wastes, cattle dung and night-soil; it was a method of improving village sanitation as well as making the lot of the Harijan better. (CWMG, [1933] LIV, 317, 109-10, 125, 226; [1935] LXI, 338)

Nineteen thirty-five saw Gandhi at Maganwadi, where the All-India Village Industries Association had its headquarters, in Wardha district, to the south-west of Nagpur, near to Vinoba Bhave's Ashram. Mira Behn remembered it as being very hot. (Behn, 1960, 191, 193) Gandhi tried out a dietetic experiment here using soya beans, soya beans as 'milk' and flour, but it disagreed

with everybody and had to be abandoned.(Behn, 1960, 192; CWMG, LXI, 458; LXII, 42-3,104-5) From the autumn of 1934 till February 1935 he had tried subsisting on a diet of fresh green leaves, which included turnip-tops and pea-plant leaves, as well as radishes, turnips and carrots.(CWMG, LX, 229-30,252) His advocacy of unpolished rice was not just for dietetic reasons but also because the processing of unpolished rice stayed within the village. The present diet was again of fruit and milk with the bitter neem leaves.(CWMG, LXI, 105)

An itinerant snake charmer, who came to the centre, coiled his pet round Gandhi's neck. Gandhi "sat motionless with a slightly wry smile".(Behn, 1960, 193) In August and October 1935 Gandhi wrote two articles on snake poisoning.(CWMG, LXI, 338-9; LXII, 50-1) He was concerned that the village workers should be well informed about snakes and what to do in the event of snake-bite. Dr.Sokhey, Director of the Haffkine Institute, had sent Gandhi a letter with information on snake identification, the nature of the poisons involved, the symptoms of poisoning by cobra, krait and viper, and their treatment. (CWMG, LXI, 471-2) Gandhi said that he had tried Adolf Just's mud-poultice treatment (Just, 1988, 215-6) successfully "in two or three cases of snake-bites and numerous cases of scorpion stings." (CWMG, LXI, 338)

For several months Gandhi had been suffering from high blood-pressure, eventually falling ill on December

7th, 1935.(CWMG, LXII, 169n.) He moved to Vinoba Bhave's Ashram and embarked on a regular use of garlic.(Behn, 1960, 197; Shukla, 1949, 332-3)

In the spring of 1936 Gandhi had decided to settle in Segaon near Wardha. On this decision Mira Behn made the following comment:

"....practically everyone opposed the idea of Bapu [lit. 'father' - Gandhi's name amongst his co-workers] going to live in a village, and I was openly criticized as having been the cause. Among those who surrounded Bapu there was hardly a soul who loved the countryside...."(Behn, 1960, 201)

He settled at Sevagram or Segaon, founding a centre for village welfare work there, on April 30th, 1936.

As he still felt weak Gandhi went for rest and recuperation in the cool climate of the Nandi Hills from May 10th to the 31st.(CWMG, LXII, 387,392; Behn, 1960, 203) He went straight to Segaon on his return. Mira Behn fell ill with typhoid and Gandhi nursed her, saw to her every need, rising at 1 a.m. to walk to her from Sevagram. She recovered within a fortnight.(Behn, 1960, 206) Gandhi himself succumbed to an attack of malaria and was hospitalised in Wardha Civil Hospital on September 2, 1936. (CWMG, LXIII, 254n.)

Just before he was hospitalised, Gandhi spoke to a group of children on the verandah of his hut at Sevagram about snakes. They were curious about a snake he had in a glass jar. Since the majority of snakes are non-venomous, and have a place in the agricultural economy, clearing the fields of rats, vermin and other pests, it was important to

be able to identify them, hence the snake in the jar. It was a krait, one of the most poisonous varieties. He was in the process of building up a reference collection, and he also had a cage for live specimens.(CWMG, LXIII, 254-5) While he was in hospital there was a visit from a snake charmer who let several snakes loose on Gandhi's bed, one of which was recognisable as being very venomous. Gandhi, who was sitting up in bed, kept his legs perfectly still while he watched the slow, graceful dance of the snakes on his blanket. The snake charmer put these away but loosed two lively cobras on the floor. Eventually these too were put in a box.(Behn, 1960, 207-8)

After his attack of malaria Gandhi went on a milk and buttermilk diet in 1937 to ward off any further attacks.(CWMG, LXV, 35) But strain and overwork took their toll and again he had high blood-pressure. For rest he went, as in 1924, to Juhu Beach, from December 7th, 1937 to January 7th, 1938 to the bungalow belonging to the industrialist G.D. Birla.(Behn, 1960, 211; CWMG, LXVI, 313, 330, 343) G.D. Birla had first met Gandhi in Calcutta in 1920. He had been a member of Gandhi's party that sailed to England in 1931 to attend the Round Table Conference. It was an affair of the heart. Though he financially supported many of the welfare institutions with which Gandhi was connected, he did not always agree with Gandhi's policies.(Fischer, 1982, 467,351)

Mira Behn in 1940 went to Lala Kanhaiyalal

Butail's tea estate near Palampur, Kangra district, Himachal Pradesh, at an altitude of around 4,000 feet. She needed the long periods of meditation afforded by an isolated thatched hut that was built for her by Lalaji in September. (Behn, 1960, 219-20) She returned to Sevagram in February 1941. (Behn, 1960, 221)

"The trees and bushes befriended me, the great boulders of gray rock, covered with lichen, were a perpetual joy, and the sound of the stream in the ravine made sweet and gentle music. As for the birds, they rapidly became companions." (Behn, 1960, 220)

Gandhi's definition of ahimsa (non-violence) for Congress was limited to human beings, since the Congress was a political organisation and not a religious institution. He personally abjured meat and would not kill insects, scorpions or snakes. (CWMG, [1940] LXXII, 454) In a letter to Mira Behn in July of 1937 he had pointed out that there are good meat-eaters as well as vegetarians, and vegetarians do not have a monopoly on the purity of the personal life nor on kindness. (CWMG, [1937] LXV, 403-4) Anyway, "mere jivadaya (kindness to animals) does not enable us to overcome the 'six deadly enemies' within us, namely, lust, anger, greed, infatuation, pride and falsehood. Only non-violent behaviour towards other human beings will help us to overcome these six enemies." (CWMG, [1940] LXXII, 455)

Gandhi launched a limited civil disobedience campaign on October 17th, 1940 in protest at India's participation without consultation in the World War.

The heat was so intense in April 1941 that Gandhi sent Mira Behn to Charwad (on the coast south-east of his birthplace of Porbandar) where she was awakened each morning by a chorus of koel, vultures, peacocks, crows, pheasants, parrots, blackbirds and bulbuls. (Behn, 1960, 222) Back in Sevagram, having attracted a toad to her lantern and her kitchen Mira Behn provided an abode out of two bricks with a stone on top. Soon there were 'friends and relations' in profusion. Attempts to put them back in the fields were to no avail. Being fond of frogs Gandhi often used to come to see the toad and even brought friends along to marvel. (Behn, 1960, 223-4) Mira Behn had to remove scorpions, rats and a couple of snakes from the cottage to distant fields. Writing to her from Bardoli on January 2nd, 1942 Gandhi said:

"You catch scorpions, rats, snakes. Presently you will have a museum!!!" (CWMG, LXXV, 195)

July 30th, 1941 saw the death of Rabindranath Tagore. Charlie Andrews, Gandhi's and Tagore's friend, had died in 1940. Gandhi had last met with Tagore at Shantiniketan in 1940. On August 8th, 1942 Gandhi launched the 'Quit India' Movement and on the following day he was arrested and taken to the Aga Khan's Palace, Poona. While he was there with his wife and colleagues, his secretary Mahadev Desai died from heart failure on August 15th, 1942.

Gandhi prepared a new edition of the articles that comprised 'General Knowledge about Health' under the title of "Key to Health", which occupied him from the end

of August to late December 1942.(CWMG, LXXVI, 411-2; LXXVII, 1-48) Much of it covered the same ground. The human body is the universe in miniature, the universe within reflecting the universe without, and composed of the five elements - earth, water, ether, light and air.(CWMG, LXXVII, 2) The body "is put to its right use if we exercise self-restraint and dedicate ourselves to the service of the whole world."(ibid, 3) For the body has been given to humanity as a means to self-realization. Self-realization means the realization of God.(ibid, 24)

"Man came into the world in order to pay off the debt owed by him to it, that is to say, in order to serve God and (or through) his creation."(ibid, 3; also 35)

It is therefore important that we should take care of our bodies.

Gandhi stressed the importance of fresh air (ibid, 4) and clean water (ibid, 5).

"We must see that the air that we breathe in is fresh. It is good to cultivate the habit of sleeping in the open under the stars."(ibid, 4)

This would also harden the body against colds and the like. (ibid, 38)

He departed from the 1913 articles in that he now saw the necessity on the grounds of health, until a viable alternative was discovered, for the presence in a vegetarian diet of milk and milk products such as curds, butter and ghee (clarified butter).(ibid, 6-7) But he still noted the drawbacks, both on moral and health grounds, to the consumption of milk and meat. After all,

the cattle may be diseased.(ibid, 7-8) If milk was to be taken he spoke in favour of skimmed milk.(ibid, 8) Food should be taken to sustain the body, not to satisfy the palate.(ibid, 12) His concern for the diet of the poor, that it should be economical and nutritious, had come down in favour of a diet consisting mainly of fresh fruit and vegetables.(CWMG, [1935] LXI, 379; LXII, 26-7,57-9; [1942] LXXV, 233-4) He had lived for six years entirely on fruits and nuts.(CWMG, [1942] LXXV, 367) The list of items to be avoided was the same as in 1913 - alcohol, cigarettes, tobacco, hemp, tea, coffee, cocoa and spices.(CWMG, LXXVII, 13-19)

In his discussion of brahmacharya (ibid, 19-25) he admitted that it was an ongoing effort.(ibid, 21) It involved chastity, self-restraint and the conservation of powers for service. Our thoughts, reading and talking should not be idle nor indecent.(ibid, 22-3) He spoke of walking as the best form of exercise.(ibid, 23)

Under earth therapies (ibid, 25-8) he mentioned Adolf Just's "Return to Nature!" and Just's treatments. Louis Kuhne's hydrotherapy is recommended for being simple, cheap and effective.(ibid, 28-34)

Gandhi devoted much more space to an explanation of the element akash, that had been variously translated as sky or ether. It is not really encapsulated by either of these words; 'emptiness' may be nearer to the sense.

"Akash might be taken for the empty space surrounding the earth and the atmosphere round it."(ib, 34)

"If our bodies could be in contact with the sky without the intervention of houses, roofs and even clothes, we are likely to enjoy the maximum amount of health."(ibid, 35)

To create more and more contact with akash, to be in tune with the infinite, it is important that we keep our surroundings as open as possible, with no unnecessary furniture and with the minimum of clothes that are needed. (ibid, 36) Gandhi's poetic description of sleeping in the open under the stars harks back to his conversations with Dilip Kumar Roy.

"[The] starlit blue canopy should form the roof so that whenever one opens one's eyes, one can feast them on the everchanging beautiful panorama of the heavens. One will never tire of the scene and it will not dazzle or hurt one's eyes. On the contrary, it will have a soothing effect on one."(ibid, 36-7)

Agatha Harrison had asked him if he would not ask people to grow flowers since colour and beauty is as necessary to the soul as food to the body. He replied:

"Why can't you see the beauty of colour in vegetables? And then there is beauty in the speckless sky. But no, you want the colours of the rainbow which is a mere optical illusion. We have been taught to believe that what is beautiful need not be useful, and what is useful cannot be beautiful. I want to show that what is useful can also be beautiful."(CWMG, [1946] LXXXIII, 265)

Since the universe within reflects that without, we should only eat as much as we need, and occasionally fast for health to keep the balance even.(CWMG, LXXVII, 37; cf.CWMG, [1948] XC, 408)

His beloved wife Kasturbai died on February 22nd, 1944 while still imprisoned in the Aga Khan's Palace. Six weeks later Gandhi had a severe attack of tertian malaria.

His temperature shot up to 105 degrees. He had low blood-pressure and anaemia. He was released on May 6th, 1944 on the grounds of ill health. From prison he went to Juhu Beach to recover, to rebuild his health and spirits, from May 11th to June 15th, though he had also been invited to the Nandi Hills. (CWMG, LXXVII, 262n., 270, 271, 315; Behn, 1960, 258) At Juhu Beach he was persuaded to go to a hill station in the Western Ghats, Panchgani, where he stayed from July 2nd to August 1st, 1944. (CWMG, LXXVII, 347; Behn, 1960, 259) On the way to the hill station he stopped off at the Nature Cure Clinic in Poona.

In the "Key to Health" Gandhi had spoken of the power of the repetition of God's name in the observance of brahmacharya. (CWMG, [1942] LXXVII, 23) Earlier he had spoken to students in 1927 of the power of Ramanama, (Diary, IX, 185) and its efficacy in the treatment of snake-bite. (CWMG, [1935] LXII, 51) Nature cure, utilising the five elements of which the body is composed, should invariably be accompanied by Ramanama. (CWMG, [1946] LXXXIII, 176; cf. [1944] LXXVIII, 355; [1948] XC, 353) As he wrote in a letter of June 1947:

"[If] one does not want to fall ill, then surely one must not transgress nature's laws! If you had made proper use of nature's gifts, namely, air, sun, earth, water, food and rest and had at the same time kept repeating Ramanama, you would have escaped such serious illness. Drink plenty of water, apply mud-packs, take baths and live only on fruit juice. ...The mind...has a great effect on the body." (CWMG, [1947] LXXXVIII, 244)

"[The] sovereign cure of all ills is the recitation from the heart of the name of God whom some... know [as]...Rama and... [others as] Allah. Such recitation

from the heart carries with it the obligation to recognize and follow the laws which nature has ordained for man. ... Therefore one is irresistibly driven to inculcating the laws of hygiene, i.e., of cleanliness of the mind, of the body and of one's surroundings." (CWMG, [1947] LXXXVIII, 23, also 197, 244; cf. [1945] LXXIX, 394; [1946] LXXXIII, 235, 263)

The Rama being invoked is not the historical or mythological Rama, but, as Acharya Kripalani said in a discussion with Glyn Richards, the highest Self which in turn is identical with Truth. (Richards, 1986, 5; supra, 81)

Imperfect humanity can be attuned to the divine will via Ramanama. (CWMG, [1947] LXXXIX, 299) The whole of God's law is embodied in a pure life. (CWMG, [1946] LXXIV, 125) All disease, physical, mental or spiritual, is impossible where there is purity of thought, a state which is extremely difficult to attain. (CWMG, [1946] LXXXIV, 38, 236-7, 200)

Halfway between Roorkee and Hardwar at the village of Muldaspur, Mira Behn set about the building of sun-dried mud-brick cottages with thatched roofs. The livestock at the Kisan Ashram included four cows and calves and two bullocks. As communal friction in India got worse it was understandable that Mira Behn should find that to "be back in country surroundings and among the animals was a consolation." (Behn, 1960, 260, 264, 269)

Taking cows from Kisan Ashram a cattle scheme was started near Rishikesh in 1947. The name of the new ashram was Pashulok (Animal World). For the first time Mira Behn was living in a real jungle with tigers, leopards, sambar,

spotted deer, hog deer, wild pigs, jackals, foxes, wild elephants, and eagles, peacocks and water birds.

"There is a vast vitality in untrammelled Nature which communicates itself to those who live with her."
(Behn, 1960, 277)

There were two cattle centres; one was for the comfort of old and disabled animals and the other was for cows in their dry period.(Behn, 1960, 278) For Mira Behn Pashulok Seva Mandal was an attempt to put Gandhi's ideals into practice, of humanity and animals combining with Nature in the formation of a decentralized society. But after his death problems of finance and repeated cases of malaria finished it.(Behn, 1960, 301)

In this period of Hindu-Muslim communal tensions there was an increase in Gandhi's writings on cow protection.(Juergensmeyer, 1985, 12) He again spoke of the ill-treatment of cows and their progeny by Hindus as well as their complicity in the sacrifice of cows by Muslims. (CWMG, [1942] LXXV, 273-6; [1947] LXXXVII, 357-9; LXXXIX, 73-4) We should extend considerate treatment to those animals from whom we take service.(CWMG, [1940] LXXII,451; [1942] LXXVI, 87-8; [1946] LXXXV, 256) And the cow is as useful dead as alive - flesh, bones, intestines, horns and skin.(CWMG, [1940] LXXII, 425; [1945] LXXX, 229) In the context of village industry he wrote again of proper scientific husbandry and of the total economic utilisation of the cow.(CWMG, [1942] LXXV, 295-7,358-9; [1945] LXXX, 229; LXXXI, 155-6; [1946] LXXXIII, 106-7,127-8,380-2;

[1947] LXXXIX, 73-4,79; XC, 76-7)

The All-India Compost Conference, held in New Delhi in December 1947, was the brainchild of Mira Behn. It aimed to show ways of utilising all the cow-dung, human faeces and vegetable waste available in the villages for manure so as to nourish the land and increase the foodgrain yield. Fertilisers were expensive, destroyed the soil humus and caused erosion. What went into the compost included slaughter-house by-products, trade waste such as wool, mill and leather wastes, and forest leaves, cane-trash and water-hyacinth.(CWMG, XC, 269-71,264,306,313,314)

Direct Action Day in Calcutta, which was called by the Muslim League for August 16th, 1946, sparked off four days of communal riots. Gandhi toured a riot-torn East Bengal on foot through November 1946 to January 1947. Then he toured riot-affected areas in Bihar. The scenes of carnage and destruction were hideous. It was no wonder that Gandhi felt as a penitent he should be on the lowest diet possible. He gave up milk and cereals on reaching Calcutta at the end of October 1946.(CWMG, LXXXVI, 72, 78,82) On tour the meals were meagre, curdled milk with vegetable soup (ibid, 144-5) or bitter leafy vegetables with an ounce of coconut milk.(ibid, 151)

On March 29th, 1947 Lord Mountbatten arrived in India as the last Viceroy, and in June his plan for the partition of India was revealed. It was also in June that Gandhi revealed to Mira Behn that he was thinking and

dreaming of going to Uttarkashi, to the north of Rishikesh. Uttarkashi is a holy place on the way up to the source of the Ganges. But these thoughts of getting away from the hue and cry dated back to the autumn of 1945. (Behn, 1960, 279; Pyarelal, 1958, 250) Independence when it came on August 15th, 1947 was at the cost of partition and the suffering of millions. The mass migration of Hindus and Muslims was accompanied by widespread violence.

Gandhi began a fast unto death in Calcutta on September 1st and only broke it four days later when communal peace had been restored. The physical and spiritual strain told on his constitution; he was muttering in his sleep and having bad dreams, dreams of being shouted at and of being threatened. He also dreamt of his wife Kasturbai.

It all left him susceptible to infection and a severe attack of whooping cough and 'flu laid him low. His temperature on September 26th was at 102 degrees. He would not agree to any alcohol, having an injection like penicillin or even an Ayurvedic herbal remedy, putting his faith in Nature Cure and the Ramanama. (Pyarelal, 1958, 453-456) But the cough was persistent and would not be easily shaken off. He was still coughing on October 17th (CWMG, LXXXIX, 350) and on November 6th, 1947. (ibid, 484)

On January 13th Gandhi began a fast in New Delhi for communal unity. By the second day of the fast his doctors were concerned about his health. Dr. Sushila

Nayyar, Pyarelal's sister, was worried about the functioning of his kidneys. He found that drinking water caused nausea but would not allow citrus juice or honey to be added. Gandhi lost 2 pounds each day.

The third and fourth days he submitted himself to a colonic irrigation. By now he was not drinking any water or passing any urine. The 17th of January saw his weight steady at 107 pounds though he was accumulating water. After receiving pledges of communal peace from Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Jews, he broke the fast on the 18th with a glass of orange juice handed to him by Maulana Azad, the Education Minister and a Muslim.
(Fischer, 1982, 614-21)

At 4.30 p.m. on Friday the 30th of January 1948 Abha brought him a meal of goat's milk, cooked and raw vegetables, oranges, and a concoction of ginger, limes, curds and juice of aloe. When Gandhi crossed the courtyard of Birla House to the prayer ground, leaning on the shoulders of his grandniece Manu and the wife of his grandnephew Kanu, Abha, he was late by ten minutes. As Nathuram Godse separated himself from the crowd so as to fire his pistol three times at Gandhi it was about 5.10 p.m. With his dying breath Gandhi muttered, "Hey, Ram!"
(Fischer, 1982, 11-13)

Speaking about the practice of Ramanama in 1946 he had said that what he was aiming for was:
"...an individual with whom contemplation of God has become as natural as breathing".(CWMG, LXXXIII, 235)

Chapter V: THOREAU

1817 = 1862

Henry David Thoreau was born on July 12th, 1817 in Concord, Massachusetts. He was the third of John and Cynthia Thoreau's four children. The eldest, Helen, was born in 1812, John Junior in 1814, and the youngest, Sophia, in 1819. His parents had a common interest in nature which they shared with their children. At almost any season of the year Henry Thoreau's parents would spend their spare time either on the cliffs at Fair Haven or on the shores of Walden Pond to the south of Concord, or exploring the Assabet River and the hill of Nawshawhuct to the west and north. It is said that one of the children narrowly escaped being born on Nawshawhuct. (Harding, 1982, 10; Emerson, 1968, 13; Stowell, 1970, 32-7)

The family moved to the north of Concord, to Chelmsford where they were from the autumn of 1818 to March 1821. Sophia was born there. In January 1856 Henry Thoreau wrote of his Chelmsford days, of being pushed over by a hen with chickens and of the thrill of finding a potato that had sprouted in his little garden. (J, VIII, 94) Later on in life he was famous for growing melons. (Harding, 1982, 89)

His mother introduced the children to the pleasures of flowers and birdsong. (ibid, 20) Sophia was especially fond of flowers. An essay of Henry's, dating

probably to the period 1828-1829, entitled 'The Seasons', celebrated the changes in the flora and fauna through the year.(Thoreau, 1975a, 3)

Henry Thoreau and his brother John were enrolled in the Concord Academy in the autumn of 1828.(Harding, 1982, 13,26) He remembered the Puritan Sundays as an imposition, if not an imprisonment.

"When I was young and compelled to pass my Sunday in the house without the aid of interesting books, I used to spend many an hour till the wished-for sundown, watching the martins soar, from an attic window; and fortunate indeed did I deem myself when a hawk appeared in the heavens, though far toward the horizon against a downy cloud, and I searched for hours till I had found his mate. They, at least, took my thoughts from earthly things." ([1852] J, III, 427)

Any spare time from school was spent in Concord's woods, fields, meadows and ponds. There exists a family album of bird sightings dating from the 1830s, with entries by Henry Thoreau, John and Sophia.(Thoreau, 1980b, xix) As a young man he was a keen sportsman, a hunter with a gun.(Harding, 1982, 30,31) Childhood was a special time for him, as it was for Wordsworth and Rabindranath Tagore (supra, 59-60).

"I think that no experience which I have to-day comes up to, or is comparable with, the experiences of my boyhood....My life was ecstasy. In youth, before I lost any of my senses, I can remember that I was all alive, and inhabited my body with inexpressible satisfaction; both its weariness and its refreshment were secret to me. This earth was the most glorious musical instrument, and I was audience to its strains. To have such sweet impressions made on us, such ecstasies begotten of the breezes!"([1851] J, II, 306-7)

On August 13th, 1838, at the age of twenty-one, he wrote of a similar contemporary experience.

"If with closed ears and eyes I consult

consciousness for a moment - immediately are all walls and barriers dissipated--earth rolls from under me, and I float, by the impetus derived from the earth and the system....No sun illumines me,- for I dissolve all lesser lights in my own intenser and steadier light -- I am a restful kernel in the magazine of the universe."(PJ, 1, 50-51)

While Henry Thoreau was at Harvard from 1833 - 1837 he studied the wildlife in the vicinity, especially the birds and small mammals.(Harding, 1982, 38-9) During his first winter after leaving college, 1837 - 1838, there developed the most important relationship of his life, that with Ralph Waldo Emerson. Concord was the home of Emerson's paternal ancestors. Emerson acted as an intellectual catalyst on Thoreau, encouraging him to write. Emerson's personal library kept open the world that the library at Harvard had revealed to Thoreau. Also Emerson was the nominal leader of the American Transcendentalists. Another Transcendentalist who was a friend was Amos Bronson Alcott, the father of Louisa May Alcott.(Harding, 1982, 59-68)

Transcendentalism was a belief that a correspondence or parallelism existed between the higher realm of spiritual truth and the lower one of material objects; that natural objects, if rightly seen, reflected universal spiritual truths.(Schneider, 1987, 7; Couser, 1975, 32; Nash, 1982, 85) Nature was the proper source of religion. One's chances of attaining moral perfection and knowing God were maximised by entering wilderness. (McIntosh, 1974, 29-36,49-73)

In search of a teaching job Henry Thoreau went to Boston and then caught the night boat to Portland, Maine on May 3rd, 1838. He was seasick. He just was not a good sailor.(PJ, 1, 45; cf.[1854] J, VII, 92) The journey to find a teaching job was not successful, but on May 10th he met an Amerindian at Oldtown who told him that up the Penobscot River there was "one beautiful country!"(PJ, 1, 46) It would be over eight years before he would go to see for himself. Back in Concord, in mid-June 1838 Thoreau opened a private school in the family home and later took over the Concord Academy. By early 1839 his brother John had joined him at the Academy.(Harding, 1982, 75-6)

At the Academy the pupils learnt by doing. There was a great emphasis on field trips; the whole school would be taken for a walk in the woods or a row on the ponds. This was how natural history was taught. The pupils were taught to observe and to hoe and plant.(Harding, 1982, 83) Thoreau demonstrated his archaeological skills - the marriage of his knowledge of the history of the area with careful observation. The discovery of Amerindian arrowheads, tomahawks, axes, spearheads, pestle and the fire-marked rocks of a fireplace may have appeared wondrous to his pupils. In his Journal he explained how he searched for these relics.(Harding, 1982, 82,83,85,426-7)

"[One] is as surely guided in this search by the locality and nature of the soil as to the berries in autumn-- Unlike the modern farmer they [Amerindians] selected the light and sandy plains and rising grounds near to ponds and streams of water--...."(PJ, 2, 39)

Concord had some 2000 inhabitants in 1837 and farming was still the principal occupation though things were changing. A shoe factory, a smithy, saw mills and a cotton mill, for example, had been established. Of Concord's 12,942 acres in 1831, woodland only occupied 2,048. (Richardson, 1986, 15-16, 398n.)

John's wasting illness meant that he could no longer teach. Hoping that the mountain air would improve his weakened lungs he went on a tour of New Hampshire. Henry Thoreau would not teach by himself so the school was closed on April 1st, 1841. (Harding, 1982, 87-8) On New Year's Day 1842 John cut the ring finger on his left hand with a razor. It developed into lockjaw. Nursed by his brother, John eventually died in Henry's arms on January 11th. (Harding, 1982, 134)

For a fortnight from the end of August 1839 the brothers had gone north on a boat trip on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers. The excursion also took in Mount Washington. (Harding, 1982, 88-93) After John's death the significance of this trip grew in Henry Thoreau's mind. Richard Lebeaux has suggested that in assuaging grief and guilt Thoreau sought in nature the spirit or presence of John. (Lebeaux, 1984, 50)

However, Thoreau's own health had not been that good. In February 1841 he had been confined to the house by bronchitis (PJ, 1, 265), and was concerned at having a fleet soul in a "sickly and sluggish body." (PJ, 1, 232)

"My diet is so little stimulating, and my body in consequence so little heated, as to excite no antagonism in nature, but flourishes like a tree--....If man always conformed to nature, he would not have to defend himself against her, but find her his constant nurse and friend--..."(PJ, 1, 254-5)

"In society you will not find health but in nature -- You must converse much with the field and woods if you would imbibe such health into your mind and spirit as you covet for your body--For to the sick nature is sick but to the well a fountain of health."(PJ, [Dec.31, 1841] 1, 353-4; cf.Excursions, 39)

"How important is a constant intercourse with nature and the contemplation of natural phenomena to the preservation of moral and intellectual health!"([1851] J, II, 193)

Like Gandhi, Thoreau too was influenced by the health and moral reformers who, apart from advocating the value of fresh air, sunlight, daily exercise, and lighter, looser clothing, stressed that meat was an unnatural food for humans as well as being stimulating and inflammatory to the system.(Armstrong, 1983, 126-7,124-5) These moral reformers, like Sylvester Graham and William Alcott, Bronson Alcott's cousin, not only advocated the avoidance of rich stimulating food and drink but also physical and nervous excitement, hence they stressed chastity and even the continence of the married.(Armstrong, 1983, 130-1) Thoreau wrote in his Journal of avoiding meat as well as tea and coffee.([1853] J, VI, 20) Sylvester Graham even linked consumption with excessive sexuality.(Armstrong, 1983, 135) Sylvester Graham is referred to in the works by Howard Williams (1883, 264-71), John Smith (1849, 243-4) and Anna Kingsford (1881, 92) known to Gandhi (supra, 22-24).

From April 26th, 1841 to 1843 Thoreau boarded at Emerson's house as a handyman and family companion. (Harding, 1982, 126-8) In April 1842 Emerson put Thoreau to reviewing the set of natural history surveys of Massachusetts that had recently been published. (ibid, 116) The resulting essay, 'Natural History of Massachusetts' was more of a mosaic of excerpts of nature-writing from Thoreau's Journal than a book review. (Excursions, 37-72) In one passage, Thoreau, looking down the river from Fair Haven Pond, saw a fox making his way through the snow. In his mind's eye he took the part both of hunter and spectator, involved yet apart. The excitement and thrill of the hunt was as might have been experienced by a fox hound, while the spectator in him watched with awe the grace and beauty of the fox's movements. (PJ, 1, 241-2; Excursions, 54-56)

May to December 1843 he spent on Staten Island as tutor to Emerson's nephews. (Harding, 1982, 145) The flora and fauna here fascinated him but it was the sea that particularly impressed. (ibid, 148,149)

On April 30th, 1844 Edward Hoar and Thoreau accidentally set fire to woods near to Concord. It was very dry and initially it was the dead grass that caught alight from their camp fire. They were careless and more than three hundred acres were burnt. Special pleading on Thoreau's part in his Journal some six years after the event cannot really get round this. Deep down Thoreau

seems to have been conscious of his responsibility.

(Harding, 1982, 160-2; J, II, 21-25)

Thoreau walked to Mount Monadnock and Mount Greylock in mid-summer 1844 before going to visit the Catskill Mountains with his friend William Ellery Channing Junior.(Harding, 1982, 171-172)

During the spring of 1845 Thoreau went out to Walden Pond, a small glacial lake to the south of Concord village, and with the help of friends erected on land belonging to Emerson the frame and roof of a house on the shore. He moved in on Independence Day, July 4th, 1845. One reason for going to live by Walden Pond was to write the book of the journey he and his brother had made on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers in 1839. The other avowed reason was that he wanted to get down to essentials, to discover what is real and important in life.(Harding, 1982, 179-81; Richardson, 1986, 152-3) Thoreau lived at the pond till September 6th, 1847.(Walden, 319)

"I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived."(Walden, 90)

Illustrating that wilderness is in part an attitude of mind, Thoreau determined to do without the support of nearby Concord. But he was sensitive to his family's feelings. His mother and sisters would regularly bring food out to the pond. These visits may have been also to see how he was coping with the rigours of the wild.

Not to have accepted the food would have hurt his mother's feelings. There were many visitors to the pond as well as many invitations to meals at the houses of friends, as there had been before he came to Walden. (Harding, 1982, 184, 190)

Thoreau killed and ate a woodchuck that had been ravaging his garden. (Walden, 59) Yet he also became familiar with woodchucks, squirrels and birds, with sparrows alighting on his shoulder and squirrels upon his shoe. (Walden, 276; Harding, 1982, 193) While he was building the house a mouse would run over his shoes and up into his clothes. It fed from his hand. (Walden, 225-6) He taught local children to respect plant life and not to deprive birds of their eggs. (Emerson, 1917, 81; Harding, 1982, 194) Nevertheless, Thoreau also sent specimens to Louis Agassiz for the latter's catalogue of the flora and fauna of America, specimens that included fish and a live fox. (Harding, 1982, 195)

The first trip that Thoreau made into the Maine woods took place from August 31st to September 10th, 1846. He searched for Amerindian relics at Mattawamkeag but found few. (PJ, 2, 271, 290; MW, 12) During this journey he made an ascent of Mount Katahdin (Ktaadn). The entries in his Journal are terse.

eg. "Hard bread -- & pork getting short - go up -
Mount Cranberries and blue berries clouds-wind-rain
rocks lakes return down stream...." ((PJ, 2, 275)

In his account of the river journey he and his

brother took in 1839 there was an affectionate balance with nature. There was the desire for an involvement, for a relation with nature. Joy came from participation in that growing natural life. "Surely joy is the condition of life." (Excursions, 40) But there was also the detached observer, separated from nature. And moments of demi-divine experience punctuated long stretches of aridity. (cf. Keller, 1977, 60,62; McIntosh, 1974)

"Whole weeks and months of my summer life slide away in thin volumes like mist and smoke, till at length, some warm morning, perchance, I see a sheet of mist blown down the brook to the swamp, and I float as high above the fields with it." (Week, 295)

Describing the country around Katahdin Thoreau spoke of it as "vast, Titanic, and such as man never inhabits." (MW, 64)

"Perhaps I most fully realized that this was primeval, untamed, and forever untameable Nature, or whatever else men call it, while coming down this part of the mountain. We were passing over "Burnt Lands", burnt by lightning, perchance....Nature was here something savage and awful, though beautiful. I looked with awe at the ground I trod on, to see what the Powers had made there.... Here was no man's garden, but the unhand-selled globe.It was Matter, vast, terrific,-- not this Mother Earth that we have heard of, not for him to tread on, or to be buried in....There was there felt the presence of a force not bound to be kind to man. It was a place for heathenism and superstitious rites,-- to be inhabited by men nearer of kin to the rocks and to wild animals than we. We walked over it with a certain awe, stopping from time to time to pick the blueberries which grew there, and had a smart and spicy taste.Talk of mysteries!--Think of our life in nature,- daily to be shown matter, to come in contact with it,--rocks, trees, wind on our cheeks! the solid earth! the actual world! the common sense! Contact! Contact! Who are we? where are we?" (MW, 69-71)

Conventionally his ascent of Mount Katahdin has been seen as weakening Thoreau's confidence in nature's

goodness.(eg.Huber, 1981, 141-8; McIntosh, 1974) Ronald Hoag however sees the Katahdin episode as an affirmation of Thoreau's faith in nature.(Hoag, 1982)

Previously Thoreau had written that one could "no longer accuse institutions and society, but must front the true source of evil."(MW, 16) What was this source of evil? In the very next sentence Thoreau enumerated the three classes of inhabitants to be found in the Maine woods: the loggers, the settlers and the hunters- in short, mankind.(MW, 16-17; Hoag, 1982, 23) Then he described how people have defiled nature. But Katahdin itself remained almost untouched, pure matter and pure spirit according to the Transcendentalist doctrine of correspondence.(supra, 122; Hoag, 1982, 29)

"The main astonishment at last is that man has brought so little change-- And yet man so overtops nature in his estimation."(PJ, 2, 278)

Thoreau's concern with the impurity of humanity and the purity that can be found in intimacy with nature can be seen in December 1840 Journal passages; the otter who must hide from man's ferocity (PJ, 1, 200) and his statement that man's birth and death is offensive, rank. (PJ, 1, 201-2) The debris of humanity, especially of the loggers, littered the Maine woods. An advertisement for a Boston clothing store had been stuck with pitch to a pine tree, after first stripping the bark.(MW, 50; Hoag, 1982, 29)

For James McIntosh the "Contact!" episode was

critical for Thoreau in that all contact was broken. Nature ceased utterly to seem generous. (McIntosh, 1974, 205) McIntosh does not believe that the impact of Katahdin was lasting, because Thoreau held his disillusionment at arm's length. (ibid, 214-5)

Thoreau was overwhelmed by wild nature. The actual "Contact!" sentence does not appear in the draft text of autumn 1846 (see PJ, 2, 276-349) and may be simply a literary device. (cf. Hoag, 1982, 33) In an essay on 'Sublimity' written at Harvard Thoreau wrote that though fear and terror may accompany 'the sublime', it is reverence, its ruling principle, which will last. For Hoag this was Thoreau's fullest encounter with the sublime in nature. (Thoreau, 1975a, 96, 93; Hoag, 1982, 33-40) He was sufficiently composed to gather blueberries during his descent. (PJ, 2, 275, 340-1) Hoag's contention that what Thoreau felt was "not a base fear of nature's evil, but rather an exalted religious awe and holy terror - appropriate responses to the primary power of the universe", I find persuasive. (Hoag, 1982, 35)

It is awareness of our sin and the dread of punishment that makes us stand in fear and awe of Titanic nature. Writing about lightning Thoreau said:

"Yet it is our own consciousness of sin, probably, which suggests the idea of vengeance, and to a righteous man it would be merely sublime without being awful. All the phenomena of nature need [to] be seen from the point of view of wonder and awe, like lightning; and, on the other hand, the lightning itself needs to [be] regarded with serenity, as the most familiar and innocent phenomena are." ([1852] J, IV, 157-8)

Thoreau saw mountains as dwelling places of the gods. (Hoag, 1982, 41-3; J, [1853] V, 140-1; [1857] X, 162, [1858] 452, 458; [1861] XIV, 305) Writing of Mount Monadnock in 1858 Thoreau said:

"Almost without interruption we had the mountain in sight before us,--its sublime gray mass--that antique, brownish-gray, Ararat color." (J, X, 452)

and:

"I think that the top of Mt. Washington.... should be left unappropriated for modesty and reverence's sake." (J, [1861] XIV, 305)

In 1857 Thoreau dreamt of the ascent of an imaginary and symbolic mountain. It had much in common with Katahdin. (J, X, 141-4)

"I cannot now tell exactly, it was so long ago, under what circumstances I first ascended, only that I shuddered as I went along (I have an indistinct remembrance of having been out overnight alone).... What distinguishes that summit above the earthy line, is that it is unhand-selled, awful, grand.... That rocky, misty summit, secreted in the clouds, was far more thrillingly awful and sublime than the crater of a volcano spouting fire. ...

A hand-featured god reposing, whose breath hangs about his forehead.

Though the pleasure of ascending the mountain is largely mixed with awe, my thoughts are purified and sublimed by it, as if I had been translated." (J, X, 142-4)

His eldest sister Helen died on June 14th, 1849. (Harding, 1982, 258) In October 1849, en route to Cape Cod Thoreau went to the beach at Cohasset to see the wreck of the 'St. John'. The victims of the wreck were cast up, livid, swollen and mangled. (Cape Cod, 5-6)

"Why care for these dead bodies? They really have no friends but the worms or fishes. Their owners were coming to the New World,.... but, before they could reach it, they emigrated to a newer world than ever Columbus dreamed of..." (Cape Cod, 10)

Death was the avenue to a higher reality.(Cape Cod, 10-11; D'Avanzo, 1974, 132; Pops, 1963, 423) Thoreau was impressed by the power of the waves as he pondered on a large shattered fragment of the 'St.John' flung up onto the beach.(Cape Cod, 7; Pops, 1963, 423; Couser, 1975, 32)

From Cohasset Thoreau with his friend Ellery Channing went to Cape Cod. Thoreau visited Cape Cod alone in 1850, and again with Channing in 1855.(Harding, 1982, 270-4, 359) His last trip to Cape Cod was in 1857.(Harding, 1982, 382-5; J, IX, 413-55)

Though he would patrol the shore, search for its flora and fauna and the debris, as well as interview its human inhabitants, Thoreau barely got his feet wet. He did not directly associate with the sea. After all he did get seasick. Seasickness would not have given him self-confidence upon the waves. Therefore it is not surprising that the interior descriptions in "Cape Cod" are warm and cheerful (Cape Cod, 18,137-8) while those chapters set outside are generally in bleak weather (eg.J, IX, 448-449).(cf.Pops, 1963, 421,425-7). Outside was either the dark, stormy, savage sea breaking on the beach (Cape Cod, 44,51), dangers such as sharks and the undertow (ibid, 87-88) or the deforested, barren 'Plains of Nauset' (ibid, 31-32).

Yet out of the destruction wrought by the sea life could grow. Vegetables had been raised from seeds that had come from the wreck of the 'Franklin'.(Cape Cod,

78,90)

A bottle that Thoreau picked up, half buried in the wet sand, was still half full of red ale. It became a symbol for the transience and fragility of life, of our "drifting about in the ocean of circumstances".(Cape Cod, 92)

The shore was a chaotic neutral ground (Cape Cod, 54-5; Couser, 1975, 34) between the sea and the land which could be just as threatening.(Cape Cod, Chapter VII; Couser, 1975, 34) Even when the ocean was placid Thoreau was conscious of its pent-up energy.(Cape Cod, 98)

"The ocean is a wilderness reaching round the globe, wilder than a Bengal jungle, and fuller of monsters...."(Cape Cod, 148)

A wilderness that was indifferent to the interests of humanity.

"There is naked Nature,--inhumanly sincere, wasting no thought on man, nibbling at the cliffy shore..." (Cape Cod, 147)

He wrote too of the fortitude and endurance amidst adversity of the human inhabitants. They had planted beach-grass in an attempt to resist nature's erosions.(D'Avanzo, 1974, 136; Couser, 1975, 36,35)

"Thus Cape Cod is anchored to the heavens, as it were by a myriad little cables of beach-grass, and, if they should fail, would become a total wreck, and ere long go to the bottom."(Cape Cod, 164)

The surveying work that Thoreau undertook during 1850-1851 introduced him to new flora and fauna.(Harding, 1982, 276) A series of moonlight walks that had lasted through June and July 1851 gave Thoreau a new set of

experiences and discoveries.(ibid, 297; eg. [June 13] J, II, 248-53) On August 15th, 1851, as he drank at a brook, he had an experience of illumination (J, II, 392-3), of communing with God through Nature in the present moment. (Rogers, 1979, 103)

"The rill I stopped to drink at I drank in more than I expected."(J, II, 392)

1851 onwards saw Thoreau approaching nature much more scientifically, consulting and collecting technical fieldbooks and handbooks of identification, keeping lists of specimens, measuring, labelling and classifying. Maybe, as Walter Harding suggests, it was in part the result of his recent contacts with Louis Agassiz.(Harding, 1982, 290,291,296,355)

During the winter of 1852-1853 a tone of melancholy and underlying unhappiness creeps into the Journal.(eg.J, IV, 470-7)

"I love Nature partly because she is not man, but a retreat from him. None of his institutions control or pervade her. ...The joy which Nature yields is like [that] afforded by the frank words of one we love.

Man, man is the devil,
The source of all evil."
([Jan.3, 1853] J, IV, 445)

"Yesterday I was influenced with the rottenness of human relations. They appeared full of death and decay, and offended the nostrils."([Jan.21, 1853] J, IV, 472)

Why this was so is not clear. It could have been because of the cooling of his relationship with Emerson (Harding, 1982, 298-302), or the failure of his book "A Week" which had been published in May 1849.(Harding, 1982, 246,329) Luckily this melancholy did not last.

Thoreau left Boston on the steamer Penobscot in the afternoon of September 13th, 1853 (MW, 84) to visit the woods of Maine for the second time. The Penobscot reached Bangor at noon on the 14th.(MW, 85) When Thoreau met up with his cousin George Thatcher he found that the latter had already engaged Joe Aitteon, son of the Indian governor, for the expedition. Aitteon had already gone on ahead when Thoreau and his cousin left Bangor on the 15th, heading north-west overland towards Moosehead Lake.(MW, 86; Harding, 1982, 309-10; cf. J, V, 424-33)

Just out of Bangor the sight of wild fir and spruce filled Thoreau with exhilaration.(MW, 88) From Moosehead Lake, where they met up again with Joe Aitteon, they proceeded up the Penobscot River towards Chesuncook Lake to the north-east. It was by a small branch of the Penobscot, Pine Stream, that they saw their first moose, two in fact, at which George Thatcher fired.(MW, 109-110) It was a while later that, pursuing their way up Pine Stream, Joe Aitteon found the corpse of a cow moose.(MW, 112-3) Thoreau set out to measure the body, making do with the objects available, such as painter's cord and an umbrella, not having a ruler to hand. In the event, despite his care, the measurements were wildly out.(MW, 113-4) Watching Joe skinning the moose Thoreau found heart-rending.

"....a tragical business it was; to see that still warm and palpitating body pierced with a knife, to see the warm milk stream from the rent udder, and the ghastly naked red carcass appearing from within its seemly robe, which was

made to hide it." (MW, 115-6)

Later that day a large hedgehog was needlessly shot. (MW, 117) Yet at the end of the day Thoreau ate some of the moose-meat. (MW, 117, 122) Writing up the botanical specimens he had been collecting gave him the opportunity to reflect; "nature looked sternly upon me on account of the murder of the moose." (MW, 120-1) Hunting he felt was "a coarse and imperfect use of nature"; more innocent and ennobling, and more conducive to intimacy with nature, was to sketch or sing. (MW, 120) It was not just that both red and white hunters were killing the true aboriginals of the forest but also that much of it was needless. They were killing as many moose and other wild animals as possible. (MW, 120) At least the Indians used every part of the moose for food (MW, 132), for clothing (MW, 133) and even for money (MW, 137). He also spoke against the cutting-down of pine trees for board and lumber.

"These are petty and accidental uses; just as if a stronger race were to kill us in order to make buttons and flageolets of our bones; for everything may serve a lower as well as a higher use. Every creature is better alive than dead, men and moose and pine-trees, and he who understands it aright will rather preserve its life than destroy it." (MW, 121; cf. [1841] PJ, 1, 347)

In November 1853 Thoreau wrote in his Journal:

"If I would preserve my relation to nature, I must make my life more moral, more pure and innocent." (J, V, 517)

Near the end of the trip Thoreau chose to spend the night at the camp of three Indians who had been hunting moose, rather than at a white men's lumber camp. They were

drying the moose skins on the ground and smoking the meat on slanting racks.

"[Though] they were dirty, too, they were more in the open air, and were much more agreeable, and even refined company".(MW, 133)

As he lay in the dark, talking and listening to the Indians, he felt close to "purely wild and primitive" America, even though he could not comprehend their language.(MW, 134-42)

The party returned via Moosehead Lake. The excursion ended on the 26th when they boarded the steamer but not before Thoreau had been antiquarian fieldwalking at Fort Hill, Eddington Bend, three miles above Bangor, where he found arrowheads and some potsherds.(MW, 150) He also went to a hill outside Bangor to get a clear view of Katahdin.(MW, 151)

"Walden" was published by Ticknor & Fields on August 9th, 1854. It was soon apparent that it would be a success.(Harding, 1982, 330-41) Despite his illness in 1855 which left his usually strong legs strangely debilitated, Thoreau continued with his study of birds' nests, mice, muskrats, flying squirrels and owls.(Harding, 1982, 357-8; J, VII, 247,263-7,365-90,418) In July when he had recovered his health he went again with Channing to Cape Cod.(Harding, 1982, 359)

The observer in Thoreau, separate, scientific, is manifested in his detailed observation of a tortoise and its eggs (Harding, 1982, 364-5), measuring the depth of

snow during the winter of 1855-1856, seeing where the drifts were and wondering why, the nature and form of snow-crystals, as well as making a record of the animal tracks. (Harding, 1982, 363; J, VIII, 87-9, 152, 176, 186) But there was also his direct experience of nature in which he experimented with tree saps and syrups, tapping and drinking the sap of maple, birch and oak, or boiling it down to sugar. (Harding, 1982, 364; J, VIII, 209, 216, 217, 225, 274) His diet consisted of wild fruit such as mountain cranberries ([1846] MW, 23; [1856] J, IX, 35-44; [1857] J, IX, 501-2), blueberries (MW, 59, 66, 277), raspberries (MW, 277, 244), service berries (Amelanchier) (MW, 277), tree-cranberries (Viburnums) (MW, 132, 105-6; [1856] J, IX, 58-9). The Amelanchier he had tried in 1853.

"These are the "service-berries" which the Indians of the north and the Canadians use. ...I think them a delicious berry..." (J, V, 302-3)

He had also tried cedar (Eastern Arbor-Vitae) tea in the Maine woods (MW, 55) and tea made of American pennyroyal which he found too medicinal. ([1856] J, IX, 89)

Intimacy with trees and other vegetation was another avenue of direct experience as seen in the Journal for December 1856.

"I love and could embrace the shrub oak with its scanty garment of leaves rising above the snow, lowly whispering to me, akin to winter thoughts, and sunsets, and to all virtue....I felt a positive yearning toward one bush this afternoon. There was a match found for me at last. I fell in love with a shrub oak....I love to go through a patch of shrub oak in a bee-line, where you tear your clothes and put your eyes out." (J, IX, 146-8, also 185-6; Lebeaux, 1984, 272-3)

The Journal abounds in erotically suggestive imagery.(Moller, 1976, 144; Howarth, 1982, 127-8)

"In another pool, in Warren's meadow, I hear the ring of toads and the peep of hylodes, and, taking off my stockings and shoes, at length stand in their midst. There are a hundred toads close around me, copulating or preparing to.One that rings within a foot of me seems to make the earth vibrate, and I feel it and am thrilled to my very spine, it is so terrene a sound. It reminds me of many a summer night on the river."(J, IX, 354)

Thoreau was an extraordinarily sensuous man, utilising his five senses to the utmost (Moller, 1976, 141), with an especially acute sense of smell.(Wolf, 1974, 114-5)

On visits to lecture or to see friends he took the opportunity to botanize in the locality, such as at New Bedford (Harding, 1982, 368) or Vermont (ibid, 369). In 1857 Thoreau went on his final excursions to Cape Cod (J, IX, 413-55) and the Maine woods.

On this journey into the Maine woods the Indian guide was a Joseph Polis. Thoreau had started on this his third excursion into the Maine woods on July 20th, 1857 with Edward Hoar. His cousin George Thatcher took them north-east to Oldtown and then on to Indian Island to see Joe Polis. When they first met Joe Polis was drying a deer skin in his yard.(MW, 157; also J, IX, 484-501)

Again Thoreau bemoaned the depredations of the logger who was aware of the size and cash value of the tree but not its "poetry and mythology".(MW, 228-30) The settlers made their own permanent bald marks on the forest.(MW, 233) At one stage, because of the falls and rapids, Thoreau and Hoar got out and walked, picking

blueberries as they went, while Joe Polis went with the canoe.(MW, 253) Unfortunately Thoreau and Hoar got separated. Thoreau could not find Edward Hoar and feared for his safety.(MW, 258-9) The following day the friends re-established contact.(MW, 262)

Later that day Joe Polis shot a cow moose. Thoreau helped Joe find a stone on which to sharpen his knife but then went away, while the moose was being skinned, to make a species list of the local fish.(MW, 266-267) They dined on moose-meat.(MW, 269)

Joe Polis served Thoreau black tea, hemlock (Eastern Hemlock) tea (MW, 283), checkerberry (MW, 273; J, XII, 455) and Labrador (*Ledum Groenlandicum*) teas, and the superior Creeping Snowberry tea (MW, 206).(Huber, 1981, 53-57) In 1858 he found *Ledum Groenlandicum* in a swamp in Concord.(J, X, 273-4) Arbor-vitae, which Thoreau had tried as a tea on his first trip in 1846 (MW, 55), had multiple uses for the Amerindians; as emergency food, wood for a canoe, bark for cord, and boughs for brooms and beds.(MW, 54,133,187; [1858] J, X, 294; Huber, 1981, 56) Joe Polis used Black Spruce roots to sew birchbark canoes (MW, 188, 204) and in 1858 Thoreau tried a tea made of Black Spruce needles (J, X, 274). From Joe Polis he also discovered some 'new' edible berries.

"Of course the Indians naturally made a much greater account of wild fruits than we do, and among the most important of these were huckleberries.

They taught us not only the use of corn and how to plant it, but also of whortleberries and how to dry them for winter.I have added a few to my number of edible

berries, by walking behind an Indian in Maine, and observing that he ate some which I never thought of tasting before."(Thoreau, 1980b, 230)

During the 1840s and 1850s Thoreau had been reading Amerindian legends and tales as well as the accounts of the early explorers such as Champlain, Sagard, Le Jeune, and put extracts from, and his notes on, the works consulted into a series of notebooks.(Thoreau, 1974, 1977; Sayre, 1977; Harding, 1982, 427-9; Willson, 1958) He also interviewed some Indians who visited Concord in 1850 on their hunting techniques, clothing and knowledge of woodcraft.(J, II, 112-5)

"[How] much more conversant was the Indian with any wild animal or plant than we are, and in his language is implied all that intimacy, as much as ours is expressed in our language. How many words in his language about a moose, or birch bark and the like! The Indian stood nearer to wild nature than we."([1858] J, X, 294; PJ, 1, 308-9; 2, 101; Week, 56)

Thoreau himself sympathised with the "living spirit" of the pine tree (MW, 122) which was a sacred tree to the Iroquois.(Sayre, 1977, 169-70) On his second trip to the Maine woods in 1853 he felt awe to hear a dead tree fall.(MW, 103) The Indians, Thoreau commented, saw "the great spirit in everything".(Thoreau, 1974, 27)

As we have seen, Thoreau's enthusiasm for Amerindian relics was of long standing.(eg. PJ, 1, 8-9,380-1; 2, 39,58-9,290; MW, 12,150,176; J, IX, 502) After his death his mother and youngest sister gave his collection of pressed plants, birds' eggs and nests, and Indian antiquities to the Boston Society of Natural History.

(Harding, 1982, 269)

Thoreau's study of Concord and its environs was palaeoecological in part - it was an attempt to reconstruct the place prior to the white man.(J, VIII, 150) But his ancestors, who had supplanted the Indians (Thoreau, 1980b, 252), had mutilated nature there. Mid-nineteenth century Concord was maimed and imperfect.(Worster, 1985, 66)

"Many of these animal migrations and other phenomena by which the Indians marked the season are no longer to be observed....Primitive Nature is the most interesting to me. I take infinite pains to know all the phenomena of the spring, for instance, thinking that I have here the entire poem, and then, to my chagrin, I hear that it is but an imperfect copy that I possess and have read, that my ancestors have torn out many of the first leaves and grandest passages, and mutilated it in many places."
([1856] J, VIII, 221)

In the essay 'Huckleberries' Thoreau made a link between the fate of the Indians and of huckleberries.

"The last Indian of Nantucket, who died a few years ago, was very properly represented in a painting which I saw there, with a basket full of huckleberries in his hand...."(Thoreau, 1980b, 237)

"Among the Indians, the earth and its productions generally were common and free to all the tribe, like air and water...."(Thoreau, 1980b, 252)

But now huckleberry fields were being made into private property and it was seen as a cash crop.(Thoreau, 1980b, 247-51) As he had said about the loggers in the Maine woods, people saw the cash value but not the poetry and mythology.

"Most men, it appears to me, do not care for Nature, and would sell their share in all her beauty, for as long as they may live, for a stated and not very large sum."(Thoreau, 1980b, 256)

"Man at length stands in such a relation to Nature as the animals which pluck and eat as they go. The

fields and hills are a table constantly spread....We pluck and eat in remembrance of her. It is a sort of sacrament - a communion..."(Thoreau, 1980b, 241)

He also gave his prescription for a natural life.

"Live in each season as it passes; breathe the air, drink the drink, taste the fruit, and resign yourself to the influences of each. Let these be your only diet-drink and botanical medicines.

Be blown on by all the winds. Open all your pores and breathe in all the tides of nature, in all her streams and oceans, at all seasons. Miasma and infection are from within, not without.

For all nature is doing her best each moment to make us well. She exists for no other end. Do not resist her."(ibid, 260-2)

In 1858 he went botanizing on the slopes of Mount Monadnock (J, X, 461-5) and of Mount Washington (J, XI, 59-62). He went to Mount Monadnock again in 1860 and catalogued the flora and fauna (J, XIV, 8-52), as well as botanizing on the Merrimack River by Lowell, Massachusetts. (J, XIV, 75-6; cf. Worster, 1985, 65) On April 21st, 1859 he set out, with the help of two men, a horse and a cart, 400 pines on two acres of the Walden property.(Harding, 1982, 410)

His father had died on February 3rd 1859.

Thoreau had nursed him devotedly in his final illness. (ibid, 408)

Temporarily, in the wake of the news of John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry reaching Concord on October 19th, 1859 the natural world lost its appeal.(Harding, 1982, 416) December 2nd, the day of Brown's execution, was marked in Concord by a memorial meeting at which Thoreau spoke.(ibid, 421) In his essay 'Resistance to Civil

Government', more popularly known as 'Civil Disobedience', Thoreau had appealed to a higher law than civil law - the law of conscience to which the citizen should listen. Confronted by an evil law the just person would rather go to prison than obey it. (Thoreau, 1973, 63-90) By the time he delivered the lecture 'A Plea for Captain John Brown' on October 30th, 1859 he was endorsing a person who had rebelled against the State, not just one law. (Harding, 1982, 418; Thoreau, 1973, 111-138)

In his late nature essays observation led not only to explanation but also to spiritual and moral elevation. (as eg. the beach-grass at Cape Cod: Cape Cod, 164) An entry in his Journal for 1856 spoke of snow-crystals, describing their size and shape (wheels with six spokes). (J, VIII, 87) He also spoke of how Nature flourished without reference to man. (Hildebidle, 1983, 78-79, 83)

"What a world we live in! where myriads of these little disks, so beautiful to the most prying eye, are whirled down on every traveller's coat, the observant and the unobservant, and on the restless squirrel's fur, and on the far-stretching fields and forests, the wooded dells, and the mountain-tops.....And they all sing, melting as they sing of the mysteries of the number six,--six, six, six. He takes up the water of the sea in his hand, leaving the salt; He disperses it in mist through the skies; He recollects and sprinkles it like grain in six-rayed snowy stars over the earth, there to lie till He dissolves its bonds again." (J, VIII, 89)

As part of a much larger unfinished study on the dispersion of seeds came his article on 'The Succession of Forest Trees' (Excursions, 135-160). He also had an interest in tree growth patterns particularly as

exemplified by the annual rings.(Harding, 1982, 439-40; J, XIV, 152,290)

In the essay 'Walking' (Excursions, 161-214), which was published posthumously, Thoreau stressed that one could discover the fullness of the human spirit by an interaction with wild nature. The individual needs the fertilisation of the wilderness to grow spiritually, intellectually and emotionally, for it is both a source of power and arena of possibility.(cf.Egan, 1985; McIntosh, 1974; Harding, 1982, 286)

"I would have every man so much like a wild antelope, so much a part and parcel of Nature, that his very person should thus sweetly advertise our senses of his presence, and remind us of those parts of Nature which he most haunts." (Excursions, 186-7)

"The West of which I speak is but another name for the Wild; and what I have been preparing to say is, that in Wildness is the preservation of the World. Every tree sends its fibres forth in search of the Wild." (Excursions, 185)

The afternoon of September 17th, 1860 was glorious and Thoreau celebrated it in his Journal.

"This is a beautiful day, warm but not too warm, a harvest day....the first unquestionable and conspicuous autumnal day, when the willows and button-bushes are a yellowed bower in parallel lines along the swollen and shining stream....If you are not happy to-day you will hardly be so to-morrow."(J, XIV, 89)

About the 3rd of December 1860 Thoreau took a severe cold which resulted in bronchitis. As a result he was confined to the house well into the New Year. That December 3rd he had been measuring and counting tree rings. (J, XIV, 290-1) January and February 1861 saw Thoreau's health steadily deteriorating.(Harding, 1982, 442) On

February 27th and 28th, 1861 he was well enough to go for a brief stroll and enjoy the early arrival of bluebirds.

(ibid, 444; J, XIV, 320-1) The doctor suggested he try a warmer climate for his recovery and Thoreau hit on Minnesota with its dry air. Before he began his journey to Minnesota, Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor was shelled on April 21st, 1861, marking the start of the Civil War.

He set out with Horace Mann Junior on May 11th, 1861, holding railway tickets to Chicago.(Harding, 1982, 444-5) They went to Chicago via the Niagara Falls and then on to St.Paul. At the Sioux Agency near Redwood on June 20th he met and was impressed by Chief Little Crow. When the Indians complained of the white man's treatment Thoreau suspected that they had just cause.(ibid, 446-50) During this trip he made very detailed botanical observations as well as cataloguing the birds.(Sweetland, 1962, 274-7) But the journey was a failure, for his health was no better when they returned to Concord on July 9th.

Though he agreed to an examination by Dr.Edward E.Denniston, a "water-cure" physician, this was because he did not want to hurt the feelings of his friend Daniel Ricketson who had arranged it. Thoreau did not believe in the efficacy of such methods.(Harding, 1982, 453)

In the spring of 1862 his interest in nature was still unabated. He wanted to see out through the frosty windowpanes, and found solace in looking on Sophia's conservatory of potted plants.(ibid, 460-1) Seeing

children pass his window he said: "Why don't they come to see me? I love them as if they were my own."(ibid, 463)

Children were special to Thoreau. He would share the secrets of nature that he had become privy to with children.(ibid, 323-4,354) He identified the eggs in their collections and taught them to recognise the difference between venomous and non-venomous snakes.(Harding, 1982, 406-407)

Once young Edward Emerson, coming home with a basket full of huckleberries, tripped and spilled them all. He was inconsolable. But Thoreau came up and comforted him, saying that if the huckleberry crop was to continue it was necessary that every now and then little boys should stumble and thus sow the berries. He was sure that if Edward came back in a few years he would find bushes with berries on that very spot. And the tears became smiles. (Harding, 1982, 323; also [1853] J, V, 358)

Henry Thoreau died at 9 a.m. on May 6th, 1862. (Harding, 1982, 466)

We have seen that Thoreau was ambivalent toward hunting. He found moose-hunting repulsive but ate the meat.(MW, 115-9) He killed and ate a woodchuck that had been ravaging his bean-field.(Walden, 59) Yet the chapter 'Higher Laws' in "Walden" (p.210-222) recommended vegetarianism as being conducive to the imagination. His practical objection to animal food was its uncleanness, as

he caught, cleaned and cooked for himself.(Walden, 214-6)

"The carcasses of some poor squirrels, however, the same that frisked so merrily in the morning, which we had skinned and embowelled for our dinner, we abandoned in disgust, with tardy humanity, as too wretched a resource for any but starving men. It was to perpetuate the practice of a barbarous era."(Week, 224)

He would still occasionally go fishing (eg.Walden, 59,174), but not without falling a little in self-respect.(Walden, 213)

He himself had outgrown, so he said, the hunter stage of development, the need to hunt or carry a gun.
(Walden, 211-213)

"The wildness and adventure that are in fishing still recommended it to me. ...Perhaps I have owed to this employment and to hunting, when quite young, my closest acquaintance with Nature.Fishermen, hunters, woodchoppers, and others, spending their lives in the fields and woods, in a peculiar sense a part of Nature themselves, are often in a favourable mood for observing her, in the intervals of their pursuits, than philosophers or poets even, who approach her with expectation."(Walden, 210)

"We cannot but pity the boy who has never fired a gun; he is no more humane, while his education has been sadly neglected."(Walden, 212)

Thoreau's account of his 1853 trip to the Maine woods contained an indictment of wasteful hunting.(MW, 120)
He raged against displays of wanton slaughter and the killing for specimens, though he had once shot birds for the same reason.(Walden, 211-2)

"This haste to kill a bird or quadruped and make a skeleton of it....reminds me of the fable of the man who killed the hen that laid golden eggs, and so got no more gold. It is a perfectly parallel case. Such is the knowledge which you may get from the anatomy as compared with the knowledge you get from the living creature."
([1860] J, XIV, 109)

Friends and local hunters, however, brought specimens of fauna for him to examine.(eg. J, II, 63; VIII, 307; XI, 309; Altherr, 1984, 349; cf.Dombrowski, 1986)

In his direct experience of nature Thoreau would try and get as close as possible, even on an eye level with the smallest leaf, to take "an insect view".(PJ, 1, 81) He chose clothes so that they blended with his surroundings as well as sensible "dusty and tawny cowhide" shoes.

"I had a suit once in which, methinks, I could glide across the fields unperceived half a mile in front of a farmer's windows. It was such a skilful mixture of browns, dark and light properly proportioned, with even some threads of green in it by chance. It was of loose texture and about the color of a pasture with patches of withered sweet-fern and lechea. I trusted a good deal to my invisibility in it when going across lots, and many a time I was aware that to it I owed the near approach of wild animals."([1860] J, XIII, 230-1)

Speaking of insects, Thoreau and his companions were much molested in the Maine woods by mosquitoes, black-flies and moose-flies, as his account of the 1857 excursion makes clear.(MW, 192-3,214,222-3,280,281-2) A wash that he applied to his face and hands to repel these insects was worse than the affliction.(MW, 214) Wasps would come by the thousand in October to his hut by Walden Pond. Each morning he would sweep them out, numbed as they were by the cold, but did not otherwise make much of an effort to get rid of them.(Walden, 240; cf.[1850] J, II, 86)

Undoubtedly his favourite animal was the cat. One day in May of 1853 he and his sister rescued a tiny lost kitten and took it home. Not the least of the difficulties was caused by a well-nigh full grown cat

already resident!(J, V, 180-3) Another time, when he was berrying in the woods, he met a wild cat with kittens who arched their backs, spitting at him.(Walden, 232; cf.

[1850] J, II, 89) Thoreau would make a special trip each April to pick catnip for the family cat.(Harding, 1982, 266) The Journal contains observations of the family kitten Min playing in the snow ([1856] J, VIII, 158,192-3) and mousing ([1856] J, IX, 141,154-5). Thoreau's observation of the habits of a kitten in 1861 occupies many pages.(J, XIV, 314-5,340-2,344-5)

Thoreau was fascinated by snakes.(eg.Excursions, 62-63)

"See on the water over the meadow, north of the boat's place,....a very large striped snake swimming. It swims with great ease, and lifts its head a foot above the water, darting its tongue at us. A snake thus met with on the water appears far more monstrous, not to say awful and venomous, than on the land. ...This one when we approached swam toward the boat, apparently to rest on it, and when I put out my paddle, at once coiled itself partly around it and allowed itself to be taken on board."([Apr.26, 1857] J, IX, 342)

It is unclear why the snake was killed later or by whom.
(J, IX, 343)

Though Thoreau was able to cope with the sight of the victims of the St.John wreck at Cohasset (Cape Cod, 5-6) and with the dismembered bodies from the explosion at the powder mills ([1853] J, IV, 454-5), he did not evince such equanimity when animals were involved. Maybe he expected more of Nature than of man whom he had seen in the Maine woods as the despoiler.

"Some of the clothes of the men were in the tops of the trees, where undoubtedly their bodies had been and left them. The bodies were naked and black, some limbs and bowels here and there, and a head at a distance from its trunk. The feet were bare; the hair singed to a crisp." ([1853] J, IV, 455)

"Saw a shrike pecking to pieces a small bird, apparently a snowbird. At length he took him up in his bill, almost half as big as himself, and flew slowly off with his prey dangling from his beak. I find that I had not associated such actions with my idea of birds. It was not birdlike." ([1850] J, II, 129-130)

"Just within the edge of the wood there, I see a small painted turtle on its back, with its head stretched out....Surprised by the sight, I stooped to investigate the cause. It drew in its head at once, but I noticed that its shell was partially empty. I could see through it from side to side as it lay, its entrails having been extracted through large openings just before the hind legs.Its fore parts were quite alive, its hind legs apparently dead, its inwards gone; apparently its spine perfect. ...Such is Nature, who gave one creature a taste or yearning for another's entrails as its favorite tidbit!!" ([1860] J, XIII, 345-6)

"There was a dead horse in the hollow by the path to my house, which compelled me sometimes to go out of my way, especially in the night when the air was heavy, but the assurance it gave me of the strong appetite and inviolable health of Nature was my compensation for this. I love to see that Nature is so rife with life that myriads can be afforded to be sacrificed and suffered to prey on one another; that tender organizations can be so serenely squashed out of existence like pulp,-tadpoles which herons gobble up, and tortoises and toads run over in the road, and that sometimes it has rained flesh and blood! With the liability to accident, we must see how little account is to be made of it. The impression made on a wise man is that of universal innocence." (Walden, 318)

Chapter VI: Background to Deep Ecology

In his article 'The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement. A Summary' (Naess, 1973) Arne Naess contrasted the Deep Ecology with the Shallow Ecology (or resource environmentalism) movement. The article arose out of a lecture delivered in Bucharest in September 1972. It came in between his two important works in English on Gandhi's thought. (Naess, 1965b and 1974)

Deep ecology seeks to go beyond a limited piecemeal approach to environmental problems. It is not dependent upon a vision of humanity as the chosen instrument of progress and nature as a resource. Perceiving an interrelation with the nonhuman life around us and grounded as it is in a Self-realization that involves the broader Self (cf. supra, 99,36,79), deep ecology seeks the well-being and flourishing of human and nonhuman life. As Gandhi also acknowledged (supra, 84,100-101,102), there will of necessity be some killing and exploitation but this should only be to satisfy vital needs. We "have no right to destroy other living beings without sufficient reason." (Naess quoted in Devall & Sessions, 1985, 75)

In an interview that Naess gave in Los Angeles in April 1982 (Devall & Sessions, 1985, 74-76) he spoke of the foundation of deep ecology in experience of ourselves and Nature.

"Most people in deep ecology have had the feeling --usually, but not always, in nature--that they are connected with something greater than their ego..... Insofar as these deep feelings are religious, deep ecology has a religious component,...fundamental intuitions that everyone must cultivate if he or she is to have a life based on values and not function like a computer."(Devall & Sessions, 1985, 76)

I have only selected a few of the figures from what Devall and Sessions have termed as 'sources of the deep ecology perspective'.(Devall & Sessions, 1985, 80-108) The sketches are brief, highlighting certain aspects of their life and thought. John Muir I have endeavoured to cover in slightly more detail. It is my decision to include Richard Jefferies as someone who loved Nature but at the end felt it had failed him.

John Muir (1838 = 1914):

John Muir was born in Dunbar, Scotland on April 21st, 1838. The focus of his memories of his childhood was on the hill country, the Lammermuirs. Though the buildings across the road blocked the view of the sea, the Lammermuirs were fully in view from the house.(see Turner, 1985, 26-7, 353)

His earliest reminiscences of the countryside were of walks with his grandfather. On one of these he tasted figs and apples in Lord Lauderdale's gardens.(Muir, 1987, 1-2) On another he discovered a female field mouse with newborn young within a haycock.(ibid, 2) Also at about this time, when he was between two and three years old, he used to be taken to the seashore, to be bathed in

rock pools amongst the crawfish and eels.(ibid, 8) Later he got over his distaste for bathing in such pools and would splash and play in them, but first checking with a stick that the pool did not contain any "boy-devouring monster".(Muir, 1987, 8-9)

Though he did play along the strand, it was to the countryside, onto the Lammermuirs, that he would go on Saturday afternoons with his friends Willie Chisholm, Bob Richardson and others to escape from the close, strict supervision of his father. They would go to hear the songs of the lark, mavis (song thrush) and robin, watch the skylarks in flight, hunt for nests, snatch turnips and whittle wood into whistles.(Muir, 1987, 22-5; Turner, 1985, 25; Smith, 1965, 23)

There was a fine view of the sea from the school playground. During storms the sea spray would come over the playground wall. Muir would go down to the shore to pick up debris from ships that had foundered on the rocks. Once he even picked up apples that had been ship's cargo. (Muir, 1987, 19-20) Years later just the scent of a sea-breeze took him back in imagination to being a boy in Scotland.(Muir, 1981, 123,177; 1979, 206; 1985, 178)

As with many boys cruelty and hard-heartedness intermingled with kindness and sympathy. Muir admitted to tormenting a cat (Muir, 1987, 12-13), caging skylarks (ibid, 24), fastening a snapping turtle to a dog's ear (ibid, 40), and taunting a copperhead snake (ibid, 56). He

enjoyed hunting with a gun (ibid, 85-100), watching dog-fights and as a boy would run long distances to watch pigs being slaughtered in the abattoir (ibid, 13). Sometimes he was shamed into releasing the victim of his cruelty, such as the skylark (ibid, 24) and the cat (ibid, 13). He was heartbroken when the young from a nest of robins in one of three elm trees in the back yard were stolen by a soldier.(ibid, 13-14)

In 1849 the Muir family emigrated to America, initially just father Daniel with the children Sarah, John and David. The two boys John and David enjoyed the sea voyage but the other two were seasick.(ibid, 28-9) On arrival the family made their way up the Hudson to Albany, and then westward via Buffalo on the shore of Lake Erie, Milwaukee on the shore of Lake Michigan, to Kingston, Wisconsin. Daniel Muir picked out 80 acres of open woodland by Fountain Lake.

After the defeat of the Amerindians in the Black Hawk War of 1832 the number of white settlers in Wisconsin had gone from 11,000 in 1836 to 305,000 by 1850. Herds of deer, flocks of prairie hens and wild strawberries were mentioned in 1838, but by 1849 there were rough roads and telegraph wires. The woods of Wisconsin were being burnt or literally sawn to bits.(Turner, 1985, 37-9,50-1)

John and David explored the local flora and fauna around their new farm, especially the birds.(Muir, 1987, 31-4,36-8) John Muir had a passion for the small wild

creatures. As a very young child it was field mice in a haycock, now it was beetles, lightning-bugs.(ibid, 2,36,40) A cat and a puppy was added to the family, though the dog Watch was eventually shot for killing chickens.(ibid, 39-42) At first he was afraid of the snakes that he encountered until he learnt that most were harmless. It was a matter of being able to recognise the venomous species. Those commonly seen on the farm were the rattlesnake and the copperhead, and the blowsnake in the neighbouring fields.(Muir, 1987, 55-7)

His father worked the children very hard, with strict discipline and an easy readiness to use the switch. John Muir's resort to nature in Scotland to escape from parental, especially his father's, control now developed into a genuine need.(Muir, 1987, 42,38-9; Turner, 1985, 56-57,68-71) On Sunday afternoons he could escape from his servitude on the farm to fish, swim, pick strawberries, dewberries, huckleberries, or even to hunt. He learnt about the fish, the flowers, fruit, ducks, loons (Great Northern Diver), muskrats and even the passenger pigeons. (Muir, 1987, 58-63,79-84) But he would have nothing to do with wasteful hunting, the head-hunts of birds.(ibid, 85) Keeping honeybees and observing their behaviour taught him about their navigational ability. (Muir, 1987, 118-21; 1985, 234-64)

One of the work horses, Nob, of whom the family was very fond, was stolen by a Winnebago Indian and treated

cruelly. She was recovered when the Indian tried to sell her at Green Lake.(Muir, 1987, 52-3) It was an early contact for Muir with the aboriginal inhabitants of America.(see also Muir, 1987, 44-5)

In the third or fourth of their winters in Wisconsin there was the most glorious celestial show -- the auroras.

"The whole sky was draped in graceful purple and crimson folds glorious beyond description."(ibid, 104)

In 1857 the family moved about five miles southeast to Hickory Hill farm.(Turner, 1985, 54) Muir left the family home in 1860 and went to Madison.(Muir, 1987, 133-7) There he met Jeanne Carr who also had been attracted to nature since childhood, collecting flowers and plants until by the age of nine she had a large herbarium. In 1861 Muir took a course in chemistry and geology from her husband at the University of Wisconsin.(Turner, 1985, 91) Muir now had someone with whom to share his passion for botany. While working on his sister Sarah's farm at Fountain Lake during the summer of 1862, after the day's work he would spend his time studying botany.(Turner, 1985, 99-100,104)

His 23rd birthday in 1861 saw the outbreak of the Civil War, with the shelling of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor. The 1863 Enrollment Act and the call by Lincoln in February of 1864 for 500,000 men to serve for three years prompted Muir into exile in Canada.(Turner, 1985, 109-113) The forest was a refuge for him, but an isolated one.

One day in June 1864, after he had spent days

wading through streams, bogs and swamps, he entered a huge tamarack swamp where, in a bed of yellow moss, just above the surface of the water, he came upon the orchid *Calypso borealis*, one leaf and a small white bud. It came upon him like a benediction, and he wept. (Turner, 1985, 115-6; Fox, 1981, 43)

This example of nature as solace in despair is mirrored in our own day by the experience in Peking in 1967 of the journalist Anthony Grey, who was imprisoned for twenty-six months by the Red Guard during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, alone and in a small room.

"From my house-prison I'll cherish the memory of the courtyard tree. During a time of deepest despair its sunlit blossom one day symbolised goodness and hope with the force of a mystical experience." (Radio Times for 10-16 December 1988, p.105)

From the autumn of 1865 to March of 1866 he worked in a sawmill and factory at Meaford. Then in 1866, with the Civil War over, he returned south. He went to work for the firm of Osgood and Smith in Indianapolis. (Turner, 1985, 117,121) On the evening of March 6th, 1867 he injured his right eye in an industrial accident. As he said in a letter to Jeanne Carr he would gladly have died "because I did not feel that I could have the heart to look at any flower again." (Turner, 1985, 125-7) But the eye did heal, if slowly. With his eyesight healing Muir set off south on September 2nd, 1867 on his long-cherished journey to the Gulf of Mexico to discover for himself the magnificent landscape of America. (Turner, 1985, 132-4)

Traces of the Civil War were visible in the broken woods and fields, the burnt fences and mills, as well as on the faces of the people. He knew little about the ex-slaves and was uncomfortable, if not afraid of them.(Muir, 1981, 52,103-7)

Awaiting money from his brother in Wisconsin, poverty compelled him to sleep for five days in Bonaventure Cemetery, Savannah, Georgia.(Muir, 1981, 75-8) The impressive assemblage of plants and animals -- oaks, moss, bald eagles, warblers and butterflies -- to be seen in the cemetery was an indication for him of the "joyous inseparable unity" of death and life.(ibid, 67-72) He would not accept that the world was made just for humanity to eat or to use for clothing, or oil, or shelter.(ibid, 136-8)

"Nature's object in making animals and plants might possibly be first of all the happiness of each one of them, not the creation of all for the happiness of one. ... The universe would be incomplete without man; but it would also be incomplete without the smallest transmicroscopic creature..."(ibid, 138-9)

Neither would he exclude sentience from plants and minerals.(ibid, 19,92,140)

"How little we know as yet of the life of plants -- their hopes and fears, pains and enjoyments!"(ibid, 19) Nor would he class alligators and snakes as evil and deprive them of the love of God.

"They dwell happily in these flowery wilds, are part of God's family, unfallen, undepraved, and cared for with the same species of tenderness and love as is bestowed on angels in heaven or saints on earth."(ibid, 98-9)

At Cedar Keys, Florida in late October 1867 Muir

caught malaria from which he suffered till January 1868. (Muir, 1981, 127-31,143) Then he sailed on the 'Island Belle' to Cuba where he recuperated. En route to the island there was a storm which Muir enjoyed, exhilarated by the scenery of the sea churned by the wind.(ibid, 145-6)

From Cuba he sailed to New York and then on, via Panama, to San Francisco which he reached in April 1868. (ibid, 171-88) From San Francisco he journeyed through the Diablo foothills, the Diablo Mountains, and the valley of San Joaquin up into the Sierra Nevada and Yosemite for the first time.(Muir, 1981, 188-91; Turner, 1985, 162-3) A job as a shepherd for an Irishman, John Connel, supplied him with enough money for his few wants as well as an occupation in his beloved mountains.(Muir, 1979, 2-33) While he was working for Connel he killed a rattlesnake on March 14th, 1869, an act for which he felt remorse.

"Killed a rattlesnake that was tranquilly sunning himself in coiled ease about a bunch of grass. ...He was innocent and deserved life."(Muir, 1979, 28)

In later encounters with rattlesnakes, he let them alone, each to go their own way.(Muir, 1979, 343-5,346) He also wrote that "scales may cover fellow creatures as gentle and lovable as feathers, or hair, or cloth."(Muir, 1988, 24)

Eighteen sixty-nine was his glorious summer in the Sierras, now working as a shepherd for another Irishman, Pat Delaney. His account of this period "My First Summer in the Sierra" is justly famous. In his life this period laid the groundwork of all that he was to do.

He embarked on five years of studying the geology, the glaciers, and the plant and animal life all about him. He was thirty-one.

"We are now in the mountains and they are in us, kindling enthusiasm, making every nerve quiver, filling every pore and cell of us."([June 6,1869] Muir, 1988, 8)

When he was travelling in the Sierra he never lived off the land. As a result he was frequently hungry. He was disgusted by hunting, seeing the need for meat as a "depraved appetite".(Muir, 1988, 46; Cohen, 1984, 182) "Man seems to be the only animal whose food soils him".(Muir, 1988, 46) Meat was difficult to carry and messy.(Muir, 1979, 97) Though he would do no violence, he did not know how to get starch out of ferns and saxifrage stalks, nor how to eat acorns, lily bulbs, and pine bark like the Indians or the squirrels which to him seemed the wildest of Nature's wild beasts.(Muir, 1988, 41,43,45,47; 1985, 159-170) He was dependent on bread.(Muir, 1988, 43; 1981, 95) He acknowledged the Indian ability to live off the land, on berries, roots, bird eggs, grasshoppers, black ants, wasp and bumblebee larvae (Muir, 1988, 53,124), and admired the Indian way of walking unseen, which they had acquired in hard hunting and fighting (Muir, 1988, 31).

He disparaged the Indians he met in late August 1869 near the head of Bloody Canyon. These Indians were on their way to Yosemite Valley for trout and to collect acorns. They were dressed in sage-rabbit skins, and Muir found them ugly, dirty, and "to have no right place in the

landscape".(Muir, 1985, 64; 1988, 132)

"Perhaps if I knew them better I should like them better. The worst thing about them is their uncleanliness. Nothing truly wild is unclean."(Muir, 1988, 136)

Earlier, on June 18th, he had come upon an Indian woman out foraging for wild plants.

"Her dress was calico rags, far from clean. In every way she seemed sadly unlike Nature's neat well-dressed animals, though living like them on the bounty of the wilderness. Strange that mankind alone is dirty."(Muir, 1988, 34)

He also made similar remarks on the dirtiness of some whites he had met.(Muir, 1981, 109-110) An Indian he met on August 12th, carrying a deer carcass, elicited the comment:

"A strangely dirty and irregular life these dark-eyed, dark-haired, half happy savages lead in this clean wilderness....[Pure] air and pure water...go far to cover and cure the grossness of their lives."(Muir, 1988, 123)

His early experiences with Amerindians in Wisconsin had not been particularly happy. Yet, in opposition to his father, he had agreed with a neighbour, George Mair, over the injustice of the Indians being deprived of their land and means of livelihood.(Muir, 1987, 110-1) They to whom these lands were being given were unskilled and inexperienced, and consequently were ruining the soil.

He did not yet have much understanding of the hunter-gatherer way of life which does not require endless futile activity and can give the impression of laziness. (Sahlins, 1972, 14-23; LaChapelle, 1984, 99-100)

Among the mountains Muir felt that he was in the

company of friends.

"When we dwell with mountains, see them face to face, every day, they seem as....friends subject to moods, now talking, now taciturn,..."(Muir, 1979, 98; cf. Turner, 1985, 191)

There were scenes of great beauty that touched Muir deeply, such as the last daylight, the alpenglow on the mountaintops.(Muir, 1985, 39-40)

He found that even an 11,000 foot summit that looked barren and desolate was covered with plants and flowers, and with the presence of eagles, deer, bears, squirrels, birds and insects the summit could not accurately be described as uninhabited.(Muir, 1988, 91,93-94,52) Muir was upset to see the devastation caused by lumbering (Muir, 1985, 111,140) and wondered what was to be the outcome of the felling of all these trees in the Sierra.(Muir, 1979, 215,322-3,351,429-31) He became very fond of squirrels (Muir, 1979, 212-3,218,367), chipmunks and birds, in particular the water-ouzel (Muir, 1979, 165-166; 1985, 168-70), and felt a sense of interrelatedness.

"When we try to pick out anything by itself, we find it hitched to everything else in the universe. One fancies a heart like our own must be beating in every crystal and cell, and we feel like stopping to speak to the plants and animals as friendly fellow mountaineers."([July 27,1869] Muir, 1988, 95)

"There are no harsh, hard dividing lines in nature. ...There are blendings as immeasurable and untraceable as the edges of melting clouds."([1872] Muir, 1979,89)

It helped him to see from the other's viewpoint, and took him in December 1874 to the top of a Douglas Spruce so as to be able to fully experience a windstorm in the Sierra.

(Muir, 1985, 174-8) He acknowledged that science also can increase our admiration of and pleasure in Nature.(Muir, 1979, 437-438)

In the early 1870s, at a time of great emotional turmoil in his own life, Muir wrote in his Journal of his need for human affection.(cf.Turner, 1985, 205-6,380-1; Cohen, 1984, 122-3)

"In all God's mountain mansions, I find no human sympathy, and I hunger."([1872] Muir, 1979, 89)

"It is easy enough to live out of material sight of friends, but to live without human love is impossible." ([1873] Muir, 1979, 138)

Eighteen seventy-nine saw Muir's engagement to Louie Strentzel and in May his first journey to Alaska. During this journey Muir met a party of Indians at Wrangell who were out berry picking - huckleberries, salmonberries, blackberries, raspberries and cranberries.(Muir, 1915, 37) On reaching Sitka, to the north-west of Wrangell, Muir commented on the "dirty Indians loafing about".(Muir, 1979, 259) Now he had more of an opportunity to get to know Indian culture: its dances which imitate animals, as well as its stories, myths and legends about wild animals, hunting, wars, religion, tradition and customs.(Muir, 1915, 42-3,143-4,151-2)

He recorded their explanations of animal behaviour and their belief that animals had souls. Wolves had souls and were wise -- wise enough not to kill all the deer and thus deprive themselves of their most important item of diet.(Muir, 1915, 150,152) Since animals had souls

it was wrong to speak disrespectfully of any of the animals that were killed for food. It was through contact with the white man that the Indians learnt to be careless about taking life. ([1880] Muir, 1915, 284-5; Fleck, 1978, 24-5)

"To the Indian mind all nature was instinct with deity. A spirit was embodied in every mountain, stream, and waterfall." ([1890] Muir, 1979, 315)

A deserted village afforded him the opportunity to examine totem pillars and be tangibly conscious of their history. He had missed this with the Indians of California. (Muir, 1979, 270-2; 1915, 90-1; Fleck, 1978, 21)

As he got to know individual Indians like Toyatte (Muir, 1915, 141, 245-8) and Kadachan's mother (ibid, 141, 225), he was struck by their serene dignity. (ibid, 189)

Muir saw the Indian tribes of Alaska as coming from Mongol stock, recent emigrants from Siberia, and differing from other North American Indians in "being willing to work." He ascribed generosity, courage and a sense of honour to them. (Muir, 1979, 272-5; 1915, 239; Fleck, 1978, 25)

On the 1879 excursion he saw the morning sun rise over the topmost peak of the Fairweather Mountains. He was forty-one.

"...[It] spread and spread until the whole range down to the level of the glaciers was filled with the celestial fire.Then the supernal fire slowly descended, with a sharp line of demarcation separating it from the cold, shaded region beneath; peak after peak, with their spires and ridges and cascading glaciers, caught the heavenly glow....The white, rayless light of morning, seen when I was alone amid the peaks of the California Sierra, had always seemed to me the most telling of all the terrestrial manifestations of God. But here the mountains themselves were made divine, and declared His glory in terms still more impressive. ...[The] treasures we had

gained this glorious morning would enrich our lives forever."(Muir, 1915, 186-8)

In 1890 he saw the auroras for three nights in a row.(Muir, 1915, 379-84; cf.Muir, 1987, 104)

He made further explorations of Alaska in 1880, 1881, 1890 and 1899. From his contact with the Thlinkit Indians of Alaska he learnt, as Richard Fleck has pointed out (Fleck, 1978, 29), that to be happy in one place is to be at one with it.

"...there can be no happiness in this world or in any other for those who may not be happy here."(Muir, 1915, 86)

He bemoaned the damage already wrought on the culture of American Indians by the intrusion of Euro-American civilisation, in particular alcohol and guns.(Fleck, 1978, 24-5)

The fact that Muir came to react positively to the Thlinkit Indians who, in his opinion, were originally of Mongol stock, recent migrants and therefore different from other Indians, such as the Sioux tribes of the Plains or the Indians of California, makes me wonder how complete was his change of attitude or whether he had merely made an exception. I cannot help but feel that he continued to feel uncomfortable among Indians in general, though relaxed among Thlinkit Indians in particular.(cf.Fleck, 1978, 29)

The first edition of "The Mountains of California" was published in 1894 (Muir, 1985) and "My First Summer in the Sierra" in 1911 (Muir, 1988). These contain his reactions to the "Digger" Indians (supra, 162-3). However he did

acknowledge their skill at survival in the wild and the injustices that had been done to them.

Muir married Louie Strentzel in 1880. Ralph Waldo Emerson, who had visited Yosemite in May 1871 (Turner, 1985, 213), died in 1882. The Sierra Club was founded in 1892 and in 1903 the first federal wildlife reserve was established. (Turner, 1985, 291, 326-8)

In May 1903 Muir set out on a world tour which took in Russia, China, India, Egypt, Australia and New Zealand, returning to San Francisco on May 27th, 1904. (Turner, 1985, 328-30) Louie Muir died in August 1905 and John Muir himself died in Los Angeles on December 24th, 1914.

Richard Jefferies (1848 - 1887):

Richard Jefferies was born on November 6th, 1848 at Coate Farm near Swindon, Wiltshire. It seems that he was shy, loved solitude and was in the habit of taking long walks, often to Liddington Hill. (Taylor, 1982, 7)

The patchwork of memory, observation and speculation that is his autobiography "The Story of My Heart" was published in 1883 when he was in his thirties and had left Wiltshire for the South-East of England. There is a nostalgic tone to his reminiscences which may be due in part to the fragile state of his health at the time. Two of his previous books "Wood Magic" and "Bevis", published in 1881 and 1882 respectively, present an

idealised picture of Jefferies's childhood. All three books present a Nature with which it is possible to have close relations. (Taylor, 1982, 20, 99-114; Keith, 1965, 101-102)

It appears that he had an almost idyllic childhood and his experience on Liddington Hill, which probably took place in his late 'teens, had a lifelong effect. (Jefferies, 1908, 152-3; Taylor, 1982, 9, 98) Merely the effort of walking the three miles to it would lift his spirits. (Jefferies, 1908, 2) At the top of the Hill, free from the petty annoyances of the world below, he would give himself up to Nature.

"I was utterly alone with the sun and the earth. Lying down on the grass, I spoke in my soul to the earth, the sun, the air, and the distant sea far beyond sight. ... Touching the crumble of earth, the blade of grass, the thyme flower, breathing the earth-encircling air, thinking of the sea and the sky, holding out my hand for the sunbeams to touch it, prone on the sward in token of deep reverence, thus I prayed that I might touch to the unutterable existence infinitely higher than deity." (Jefferies, 1908, 3-5)

The tumuli on the summit of Liddington Hill made him conscious of the past. (ibid, 28-34, also 26-7) Sometimes he would lie flat on the ground to feel the earth's embrace. (ibid, 10) Around about the age of fifteen he would go there every morning to watch the sun rise. (ibid, 57-8)

"Involuntarily I drew a long breath, then I breathed slowly. My thought, or inner consciousness, went up through the illumined sky, and I was lost in a moment of exaltation. This only lasted a very short time, perhaps only a part of a second, and while it lasted there was no formulated wish. I was absorbed; I drank the beauty of the morning; I was exalted." (ibid, 58)

He enjoyed shooting, fishing and supported

hunting though he had nothing but contempt for wholesale slaughter. From a boy he used to hunt around Coate and from this drew his insight into the ways of Nature. (Keith, 1965, 68-70; Taylor, 1982, 61)

In 1874 Jefferies married Jessie Baden and moved to Swindon, and in 1877 he moved with his wife and child to Surbiton near London. The country books that he wrote in the late 1870s, such as "Gamekeeper at Home", "Wild Life in a Southern County" and "Hodge and His Masters", were written when he had left the area that they so accurately describe. The family moved to Hove, Sussex in 1882 and Jefferies underwent operations for tubercular fistula. 1884 saw the family at Eltham, 1885 at Rotherfield and then Crowborough in Sussex, and 1886 at Goring near Worthing, Sussex. He died at Goring on August 14th, 1887 of chronic fibroid phthisis (pulmonary tuberculosis). (Taylor, 1982)

Jefferies was writing at the end of a temporarily prosperous period in British agriculture and his mature writings from the 1870s were of a more lasting period which saw the mechanisation of agriculture and the industrialisation of the land. He was interested in the agricultural labour question and the social organisation of rural society. (Taylor, 1982, 9,48) In one of his last essays 'One of the New Voters' he wrote of the labourer:

"...why should he note the colour of the butterfly, the bright light of the sun, the hue of the wheat? This loveliness gave him no cheese for breakfast; of beauty in itself, for itself, he had no idea. How should he?...the harvest--...to him it was a time for adding yet another crust of hardness to the thick skin of his hands."

(Jefferies, 1909, 89)

For Jefferies society that excluded nature was unthinkable and the natural environment that excluded mankind was inevitably incomplete. (Taylor, 1982, 44; Keith, 1965, 86)

"The brook is dead, for when man goes nature ends." (Jefferies, 1895, 323)

In his essay 'The Pageant of Summer' [1883] Jefferies drew life, inspiration and hope from nature. Where winter showed to us matter in its dead form, summer shows us matter changing into life, for the seeds of life lie hidden, not dead, in winter. (cf. Jefferies, 1908, 10-11, 83-4; 1895, 13-14)

"The whole office of Matter is to feed life - to feed the green rushes, and the roses that are about to be; to feed the swallows above, and us that wander beneath them. ... Every blade of grass, each leaf, each separate floret and petal, is an inscription speaking of hope. ... Let us not look at ourselves but onwards, and take strength from the leaf and the signs of the field." (Jefferies, 1912, 3-4)

"The exceeding beauty of the earth, in her splendour of life, yields a new thought with every petal. The hours when the mind is absorbed by beauty are the only hours when we really live.... To be beautiful and to be calm, without mental fear, is the ideal of nature. If I cannot achieve it, at least I can think it." (ibid, 20-1)

But he was also conscious of the hard face of Nature as is clear from his detailed description of 1877 of a wasp's destruction of a fly (Jefferies, [1908], 317-8) and of the voracious pike feeding on roach fry in a dry spell. (ibid, 363)

In his autobiography Jefferies had written that all nature was wholly indifferent to human affairs.

(Jefferies, 1908, 46,48)

"There is nothing human in the whole round of nature. All nature, all the universe that we can see, is absolutely indifferent to us, and except to us human life is of no more value than grass."(Jefferies, 1908, 48)

In his final illness he lamented of his imprisonment, being divorced from the open air and the lark's song, and he yearned for his freedom. Yet nature was indifferent to him. The essay 'Hours of Spring' [1886] chronicled how he had loved nature yet nature was indifferent to him.

"Nature sets no value upon life, neither of mine nor of the larks that sang years ago. The earth is all in all to me, but I am nothing to the earth: it is bitter to know this before you are dead. ...High up against the grey cloud I hear the lark through the window singing, and each note falls into my heart like a knife."(Jefferies, 1895, 5)

"No kindness to man, from birth-hour to ending; neither earth, sky, nor gods care for him, innocent at the mother's breast. Nothing good to man but man."(ibid, 11)

This indifference of nature was extended even to a thrush. (ibid, 11-13) At the end, as revealed by his last diaries and notebooks, he felt that Nature set no value upon his life and had failed him. Nature could only act as a fetish to draw him on to the soul or spiritual life.

"I have been through nature, I am weary of nature, nothing there."([May 2,1887] Jefferies, 1948, 259)

"I hate nature. I turn my back on it."([May 4] Jefferies, 1948, 259)

"Nothing for man in nature. There is nothing for man unless he has the Beyond."([June 7] ibid, 289)

Mary Austin (1868 - 1934):

Mary Austin, the American novelist and essayist, was born Mary Hunter in Carlinville, Illinois, north-east

of St. Louis, Missouri, on September 9th, 1868. (Pearce, 1965, 20) At some time between the ages of five and six she underwent the central experience of her life.

"I must have been between five and six when this experience happened to me. It was a summer morning, and the child I was had walked down through the orchard alone and come out on the brow of a sloping hill where there were grass and a wind blowing and one tall tree reaching into infinite immensities of blueness. Quite suddenly, after a moment of quietness there, earth and sky and tree and wind-blown grass and the child in the midst of them came alive together with a pulsing light of consciousness. There was a wild foxglove at the child's feet and a bee dozing about it, and to this day I can recall the swift inclusive awareness of each for the whole -- I in them and they in me and all of us enclosed in a warm lucent bubble of livingness. I remember the child looking everywhere for the source of this happy wonder, and at last she questioned -- "God?" -- because it was the only awesome word she knew. Deep inside, like the murmurous swinging of a bell, she heard the answer, "God, God..."

How long this ineffable moment lasted I never knew. It broke like a bubble at the sudden singing of a bird, and the wind blew and the world was the same as ever -- only never quite the same. The experience so initiated has been the one abiding reality of my life, unalterable except in the abounding fullness and frequency of its occurrence. ...There is scarcely any time in my adult time in my adult life in which it can not be summoned; with more effort at some times than at others." (Austin, 1931, 24-25)

She explained what God was to her.

"...to me God is the experienceable quality in the universe." (ibid, 24)

Just a week or two after her college graduation in 1888 she moved to California with her mother and younger brother. The land that they filed for homesteading was at Tejon Pass, north-west of Los Angeles. (Austin, 1987, xi; Pearce, 1965, 28) They arrived in a year of drought. But she was taken with this arid land.

On May 18th, 1891 she married Stanford Wallace Austin. Together with her husband she went to San

Francisco and then to Lone Pine which lies in the land between the Sierra Nevada to the west and Death Valley to the east. (Austin, 1987, xii-xiii) Though she first left the California desert in 1899 and permanently in 1906, it is as a friend and chronicler of the desert and its Indian tribes that she is best known. (ibid, xiv)

Her book "The Land of Little Rain", published in 1903, is a description of desert life. As she pointed out, the desert is not deserted but is full of that which will support life - insects, seeds, birds, and small mammals. (Austin, 1987, 9-17) Both plant and creature have adapted to the aridity and the altitude. (ibid, 113-9)

"Desert is a loose term to indicate land that supports no man; whether the land can be bitted and broken to that purpose is not proven. Void of life it never is, however dry the air and villainous the soil." (ibid, 9)

The destruction from the San Francisco earthquake of April 1906 Mary Austin blamed mostly on the huddled buildings, the narrow streets and the sinking foundations upon man-made ground. The damage done by nature to the city was small compared to that occasioned by human folly. (Pearce, 1965, 34-5)

In 1924 she sold up and moved to Santa Fe, New Mexico where she died, after a succession of heart attacks, on August 13th, 1934. (Austin, 1987, xiv)

Aldo Leopold (1886 - 1948):

Aldo Leopold was born in Burlington, Iowa on January 11th, 1886. In his seminal work "A Sand County

Almanac", which was in draft form when he died, Leopold looked back to the sharpness of his childhood impressions of wildlife.

"[My] earliest impressions of wildlife and its pursuit retain a vivid sharpness of form, color, and atmosphere that half a century of professional wildlife experience has failed to obliterate or improve upon.

Like most aspiring hunters, I was given, at an early age, a single-barreled shotgun and permission to hunt rabbits."(Leopold, 1966, 120)

Like Henry Thoreau, John Muir and Richard Jefferies before him, Leopold acknowledged that hunting could teach one to see, though not all hunters were good observers and some excellent trackers with eye and ear were non-hunters, if specialised, such as ornithologists, botanists and foresters.(Walden, 210,212; Muir, 1987, 58-63; cf.Keith, 1965, 68-70; Leopold, 1966, 207-9) From his days by the Mississippi Leopold retained a lifelong interest in ornithology.

In our own day the noted ornithologist, explorer, painter and inventor Sir Peter Scott (1909 - 1989) would, as a young man, go hunting, wildfowling in the Fens and in Scotland, and "took a great delight in successfully killing" wildfowl.('Nature's Champion - a tribute to Sir Peter Scott': BBC1, 10 Sept.1989)

Leopold proceeded from the Yale School of Forestry to the United States Forest Service in 1909 as a Forest Assistant in New Mexico and Arizona. Nineteen eleven saw Leopold as Deputy Supervisor of the Carson National Forest, New Mexico and 1917 as Assistant District

Forester in charge of game, fish and recreation in the Southwest. He initiated the setting aside of some public lands as wilderness, such as, in 1924, the half-a-million acres in New Mexico which is the Gila National Forest. In 1935 he joined with others to form the Wilderness Society. (Worster, 1985, 284-5) Nineteen thirty-three saw the creation by the University of Wisconsin of a chair of game management for him, as well as the publication of his book "Game Management".

Game management at the time involved the protection of valued game species by the elimination of predators such as wolves, bears and mountain lions. (Worster, 1985, 271-3) Disregarding the place of predators in the scheme of things could have disastrous consequences as happened among the huge deer herd on Arizona's Kaibab Plateau. (Leopold, 1966, 129-33)

"I have seen every edible bush and seedling browsed, first to anaemic desuetude, and then to death. I have seen every edible tree defoliated to the height of a saddlehorn.In the end the starved bones of the hoped-for deer herd, dead of its own too-much, bleach with bones of the dead sage, or molder under the high-lined junipers." (Leopold, 1966, 130,132)

In his two essays 'Thinking Like a Mountain' (ibid, 129-33) and 'The Land Ethic' (ibid, 217-41) he enlarged the boundaries of the community to include soil, water, plants and animals - collectively, the land.

"A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise." (Leopold, 1966, 240)

He had a consciousness of time, of history as

evidenced by tree-rings (ibid, 6-16) and pollen-grains (ibid, 27,178-9). Leopold also realised the intimacy the Amerindians retained with their wildlife.

"The culture of primitive peoples is often based on wildlife. Thus the plains Indian not only ate buffalo, but buffalo largely determined his architecture, dress, language, arts, and religion."(Leopold, 1966, 195)

Leopold's death on April 21st, 1948 came as a result of a heart attack suffered while fighting a grass fire on a neighbour's farm.

Richard St.Barbe Baker (1889 - 1982):

Richard St.Barbe Baker was born at West End, near Southampton, Hampshire, England on October 9th, 1889. His father was a horticulturist and Baker himself devoted his life to the planting of trees and reclaiming of deserts.

When he was nearly five years old, in the summer of 1894 (Baker, 1985, 9), he had an experience which he believed influenced the course of his life. His nurse, Perrin, was married to a forester who was in charge of woodlands belonging to Queen's College, Oxford.(idem) One day he went into these woods and soon was among the dense, tangled ferns lit by shafts of sunlight.(ibid, 10-11)

"Soon the bracken became shorter, and before long it was left behind as a clearing opened where the dry pine needles covered the floor of the forest with a soft brown carpet. Rays of light pierced the canopy of the forest, were reflected in the ground mists and appeared as glorious shafts interlaced with the tall stems of the trees; bright and dark threads woven into a design. I had entered the temple of the woods. I sank to the ground in a state of ecstasy; everything was intensely vivid--the call of a distant cuckoo seemed just by me. I was alone and yet encompassed by all the living creatures I loved so dearly.

....The overpowering beauty of it all entered my very being."(Baker, 1985, 11)

Baker prepared for the ministry at Saskatchewan University and read divinity at Cambridge, England. After service in the First World War he returned to Cambridge to study forestry and obtained a diploma in 1920. He was Assistant Forest Conservator in the Forest Service of Kenya from 1920 to 1923. In 1922 he persuaded members of a local tribe to replant barren areas for future sources of fuel. Out of this grew The Men of the Trees, which he founded.(Baker, 1985, 36-38) Baker promoted similar work in Nigeria when he was stationed there from 1924 to 1929.

He left the Forestry Service in 1929 so as to be able to work full-time as director of The Men of the Trees. He travelled throughout North America in the 1930s to prepare a forestry plan. From 1952 to 1953 Baker undertook an ecological survey of the Sahara. In 1960 he convened the first Redwood Reunion in the States and in 1964 the first Sahara Reclamation Conference in Morocco. He went to settle in New Zealand in 1959. Even here he did not stop campaigning for his beloved trees.(Baker, 1985) Richard St.Barbe Baker died while visiting Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada on June 9th, 1982.

Indigenous People:

To look at indigenous people, for whom life "consists in a live relatedness" between humanity and the

environment (Lawrence, 1936, 31), is not to advocate a return to the primitive life (idem), but to delineate a way of life in marked contrast to our own.

(i) Amerindian:

There is no one Amerindian belief system. The indigenous people of North America lived in different ways in quite different environments. It is difficult to reconstruct pre-contact culture and the earliest written European accounts suffer from being ethnocentric. However, contemporary accounts, coming after centuries of acculturation, may be inauthentic. Yet there does seem to have been common characteristics uniting the Amerindian peoples. (Callicott, 1982, 293-5)

"[Many] if not all of these [Native American] ideologies...share...a genuine respect for the welfare of other life-forms." (Martin, 1978, 186)

The Amerindians "lived not only by a tribal ethic but by a land ethic as well, the overall and usual effect" of which was to establish a greater degree of harmony between them and their environment. (Callicott, 1982, 311) But this relationship has been placed under severe strain at certain periods in the past. (cf. Lopez, 1987, 46-9) The loss of the large quadrupeds in the Americas around the end of the Pleistocene may have been due to a combination of insufficient time to adapt to the relatively recently arrived human hunters, consequent overhunting, and climatic change. (cf. Crosby, 1986, 272-80; Serpell, 1986, 172-174;

Lopez, 1987, 51-52) Again, the fur trade era was a time of enormous cultural and economic stress. The fur trade was built upon the economics of dependency, by the utilisation of extended credit, low prices for fur and subsidising the cost of foodstuffs.(Brody, 1987, 195,199,201; Krech, 1981, 157,162-163,168-71)

For Calvin Martin the deference accorded to nature was motivated by self-interest alone; wanton slaughter was held in check by a fear of retaliation. (cf.Callicott, 1982, 316-8) Though Martin acknowledges that the indigenous people "felt a genuine kinship and often affection for wildlife and plant-life" (Martin, 1978, 186,also 71,116), the inability of the 'medicine men' to cure the post-contact Old World diseases helped to alienate the Amerindians from the game spirits during the fur trade era.(Martin, 1978, 148) Blaming the diseases on profoundly offended or treacherous wildlife spirits, the Micmac, Cree and Ojibwa, for example, went on a war of revenge against their tormentors.(Martin, 1978, 146; 1981, 196)

William Sturtevant, using his own work on the Florida Seminole and A.I.Hallowell's on the Ojibwa, has pointed out that for the Ojibwa illness arose from bad conduct. The humans must somehow have failed in their interpersonal relations with animals.(Sturtevant, 1981, 180,183-4)

Through moments of intense experience, dreams and visions, Amerindians transcended a narrow anthropocentric

world and were able to perceive a world rich with multitudes of different conscious beings. With these nonhuman persons one could speak, and honour or insult them. (Callicott, 1982, 303-4; Martin, 1978, 186; Sayre, 1977, 82; Brody, 1987, 73)

Born in December 1863, Black Elk of the Oglala Sioux at the age of nine had a 'Great Vision' of Nature. (Neihardt, 1972, 20-47)

"The leaves on the trees, the grasses on the hills and in the valleys, the waters in the creeks and in the rivers and lakes, the four-legged and the two-legged and the wings of the air -- all danced together to the music of the stallion's song. ...I was seeing in a sacred manner the shapes of all things in the spirit, and the shape of all shapes as they must live together like one being." (Neihardt, 1972, 42-43)

This feeling of relation stayed his hand in the hunt.

"There was a bush and a little bird sitting in it; but just as I was going to shoot, I felt queer again, and remembered that I was to be like a relative with the birds. So I did not shoot." (Neihardt, 1972, 51) [cf. the steenbuck and the Kalahari Bushmen: Van der Post, 1965, 50; Moncrieff, 1975, 229]

Of pre-contact America Black Elk had an idyllic vision.

"Once we were happy in our own country and we were seldom hungry, for then the two-leggeds and the four-leggeds lived together like relatives, and there was plenty for them and for us." (Neihardt, 1972, 9)

The Sioux John Fire Lame Deer makes it clear that the world includes the personalities associated with all natural phenomena. At the age of sixteen he too had had a vision while on a vigil alone on a hilltop. (Lame Deer, 1980, 11-16)

"You have not only despoiled the earth, the

rocks, the minerals, all of which you call "dead" but which are very much alive, you have even changed the animals, which are part of us, part of the Great Spirit, changed them in a horrible way, so no one can recognize them." (Lame Deer, 1980, 120)

Power was in the wild, not domestic, creatures and resided in such as badgers, ants, spiders, crickets, butterflies, coyotes, eagles, owls, deer-especially the elk, and bears, all of whom talked, possessed and conveyed power. (Lame Deer, 1980, 120, 127-36, 163-7)

"Nothing is so small and unimportant but it has a spirit given to it by Wakan Tanka [the Great Spirit]. ...The gods are separate beings, but they are all united in Wakan Tanka. ...You can't explain it except by going back to the "circles within circles" idea, the spirit splitting itself up into stones, trees, tiny insects even, making them all wakan [holy, sacred] by his ever-presence." (Lame Deer, 1980, 114)

"....all of nature is in us, all of us is in nature." (ibid, 138)

Everything has a spirit and in the end all are related as members of an universal family, with reciprocal responsibilities and mutual obligations towards their fellow members. (cf. among the Kalahari Bushmen: Van der Post, 1965, 188-89, 202) Many indigenous people in North America, Australasia and South-East Asia have traced their ancestry back to primordial sexual encounters between humans and animals. (Serpell, 1986, 26-28; Brody, 1987, 71)

The people would honour and pray for the animals that sustained them. Pre-hunt rituals of sweat-baths and chastity ensured purity. All life was sacred so the people hunted no more than was needed. (Lame Deer, 1980, 122)

Animals such as deer and buffalo provided the people with

food, clothing, artefacts and wisdom. (Sayre, 1977,80; Lame Deer, 1980, 130,255; Brody, 1987, 57)

Hugh Brody has pointed out how in the Canadian North amongst the Dene, Cree and Naskapi:

"There is no spiritual divide between animals or, indeed, between animate and inanimate parts of nature. Spirit power can come from moose, bear or rabbits; but it can come also from rainbows and herbs."(Brody, 1987, 75)

Amongst the Inuit (Eskimoan peoples of Canada) there is an understanding of the interdependence of humans and animals, the hunter and the hunted, and that animals have the same kinds of needs and feelings as humans. There is a sacred relationship with the larger animals hunted, with implicit spiritual obligations.(Lopez, 1987, 113) When an animal is killed one should acknowledge this and placate its spirit. Animals depend upon the hunt and agree to be killed. But if they are not treated with respect, alive or dead, they will not allow themselves to be hunted. Respect is thus accorded to the animal willing to die. The tension between respect and killing is resolved among many Inuit by the belief that if the animals are not hunted, they will decline in number.(Brody, 1987, 73,75,77; cf.Serpell, 1986, 144-45)

After living and working in the Kutchin village of Chalkyitsik, off the Yukon River to the east of Fort Yukon, Alaska, the anthropologist Richard Nelson drew comparisons between this Amerinidian tribe of the western Subarctic and North Alaskan Eskimos, both of whom were "uncommonly knowledgeable about their environment".(Nelson,

1973, 301) The Eskimos had a more thorough knowledge of the behaviour and ecology of game animals, were more inquisitive and exchanged hunting information. Though they respected such knowledge the Kutchin felt it sufficient to know enough to get by and were more secretive about their hunting. (Nelson, 1973, 302,305-6; Brody, 1987, 119,123)

"The Kutchin hunt as a means to an end. Hunting ...puts bread on the table. The Eskimo, on the other hand, hunts as an end in itself; he hunts in order to eat, of course, but above all he hunts to be an Eskimo....Part of the Eskimos' great adaptive success certainly relates to the fact that they live to hunt rather than merely hunt to live." (Nelson, 1973, 311-12)

(ii) North-East India:

Shifting cultivation or rotational bush fallow agriculture is extensively practised by the tribes of the north-eastern hill region of India where it is commonly known as jhum. Shifting cultivation is not confined to any one part of India; it is found in regions of heavy rainfall such as the highlands of South-West India and the hill tracts flanking the valley of the Brahmaputra, and in forest regions of medium rainfall as in Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. (Furer-Haimendorf, 1985, 26)

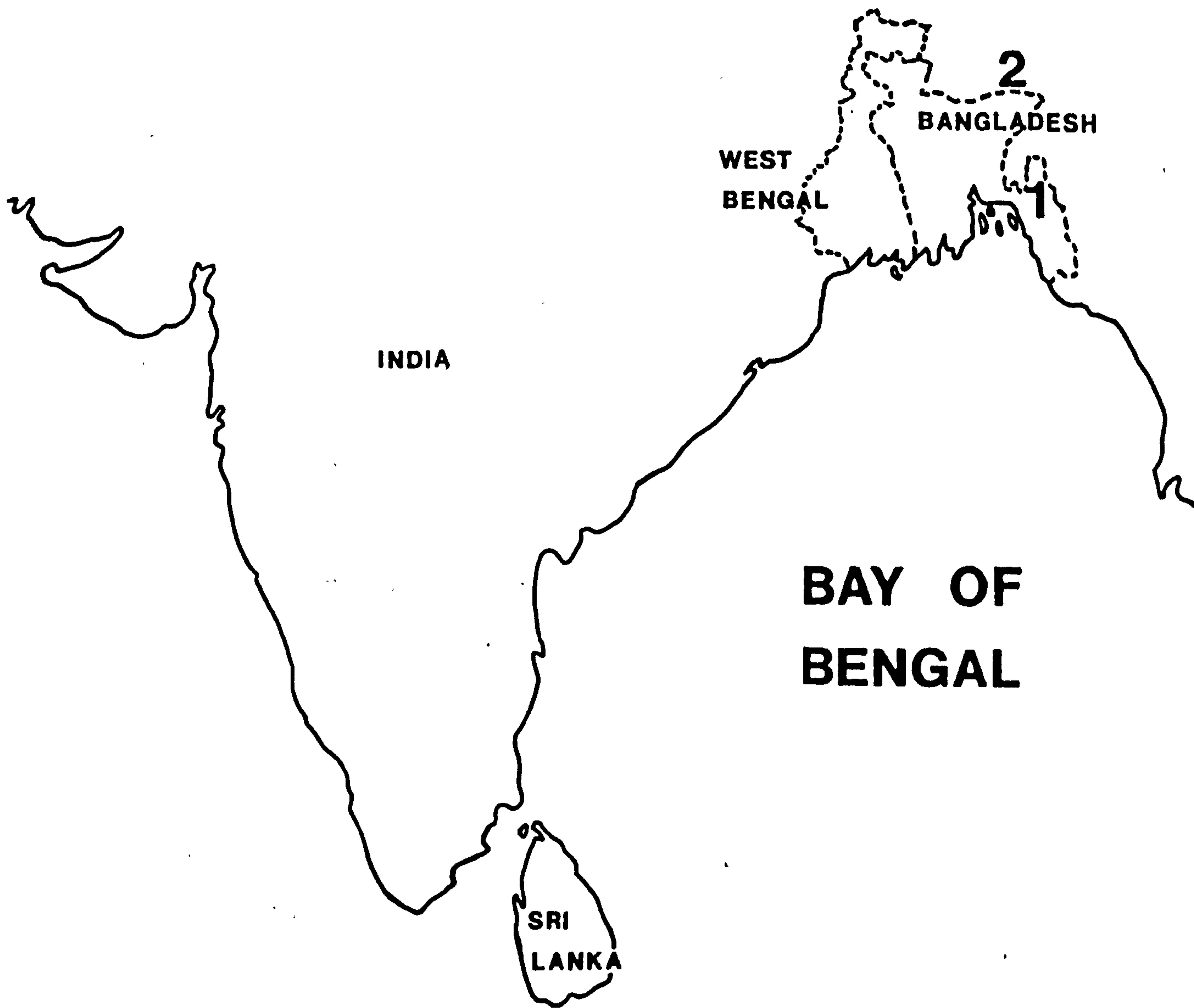
The practice of jhum by the tribal peoples of the North-East has provided them over the centuries with an optimum yield on a long term basis. The area is the northernmost part of an expanse of wooded hill-country which stretches through Burma-Thailand-Malaysia-Vietnam where shifting cultivation was, and partly still is, the

Key to Map 2

- 1 Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh (vide
infra, 187)

- 2 Meghalaya state of India : study area for
P.S.Ramakrishnan and colleagues (vide infra,
185-187,188-189)

MAP 2:
North-East India



most widespread form of tillage.(Furer-Haimendorf, 1985, 52) In this century, tribes which have attempted to pursue their traditional way of life within the forests have been put under increased population and land pressure by the arrival of colonists from the plains, commercial forestry interests and the state's own forestry department.(cf. Morris, 1986) The fragility of the system is indicated by the high rainfall, extremely leached and nutrient deficient soil, as well as the long period involved in regenerating a dense forest cover.(Ramakrishnan, 1985, 3)

Intensive study in Meghalaya by P.S.Ramakrishnan and his colleagues, who include B.K.Mishra, O.P.Toky, K.G.Saxena and R.P.Shukla, has looked at the ecological basis behind these practices (conveniently summarised up to 1984 in Ramakrishnan, 1984). Jhum typically involves clear-cutting of a 2 to 2.5 hectare (about 5 to 6 acres) plot of land on steep slopes of thirty to forty degrees. During December-January the undergrowth is slashed and small trees and bamboos are felled. Clear-cutting does not involve the removal of the stumps of felled trees and this reduces the amount of erosion. The slash is allowed to dry during the winter and burnt in March-April.

The family is responsible for cropping the plot of land and the labour involved, with more than one family coming together for difficult operations. The land itself is owned by the village through its headman who regulates its use. Jhum land cannot be bought or sold. Villagers

have only the private right of the use of the land and the advantages that accrue from it.(Ramakrishnan, 1984, 380; Mey, 1981, 226-227)

At higher elevations, with its low temperature and high soil acidity, clear-cutting is not feasible and here only a few branches of the scattered pine trees and the undergrowth are cut. The slash is arranged in parallel rows and covered by a layer of soil prior to burning so as to conserve the nutrients.

After repeated burnings to destroy any unburnt material, the seed mixtures are sown.(Ramakrishnan, 1984, 380; Pardo & Loeffler, 1969, 57-8) All the species in the seed mixtures are sown together in the one plot. The number of species varies according to the length of fallow period - more species for a longer cycle.(Ramakrishnan, 1984, 381 Table 1; cf.Pardo & Loeffler, 1969, 59) Multiple cropping provides the family with an all-purpose diet, protects the soil from nutrient losses through hydrology and contributes to an efficient uptake of nutrients. (Ramakrishnan, 1984, 384)

P.S.Ramakrishnan and his co-workers estimated that in order to be able to restore soil fertility the fallow period necessary in the study area between two successive croppings from the same site was 10 years. A shorter cycle would mean that the soil would never be able to recover all the nutrients lost during cropping and would be arrested in the herbaceous weed stage that dominates the

first 5-6 years of fallow regrowth. Subsequently the weeds are biologically eliminated by a change in the micro-environmental conditions during succession. (Ramakrishnan, 1984, 394-6) In the past cycles of 20 years or more were not uncommon, but population pressure now both fuels and is exacerbated by a shortened jhum cycle where the fallow period has been reduced to 4-5 years. The villages are also far less mobile than in the past.

S.L.Pardo from the Bawm tribe in the Chittagong Hill Tracts described in detail the shifting cultivation in his region south-east of Chittagong in the late 1960s. Each Bawm village had a separate jhum site, a site for gardening, and a reserved jungle of trees and bamboos. (Pardo & Loeffler, 1969, 50) Horticulture was in itself a response to the scarcity of land. (Mey, 1981, 227-228)

The jhum sites were selected by a village committee in December (Pardo & Loeffler, 1969, 53). Each family had to select its own plot before the end of December. The cutting of the jhum site took place from the beginning of January and had to be completed by the beginning of March. Only those rich enough could hire people to help. Amongst the hill people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts the Bawm have the highest standard of living. (Mey, 1981, 229) Firing the slash was also decided by committee; care was taken not to set on fire the jungle or sites reserved for future jhum. (Pardo & Loeffler, 1969, 56)

Animal husbandry centres around pigs which are an

integral part of the jhum system. Swine are fed on the vegetable waste, crop residues and the food that is unfit for human consumption. It is also a practical way of storing excess food energy. (Ramakrishnan, 1984, 391-2; 1985, 15-16)

Festivities associated with the jhum system help to strengthen the community as well as to honour and propitiate Nature. The cult of an earth-mother is frequently found among the shifting cultivators, though not among the Garos. (Furer-Haimendorf, 1985, 67; cf. Lewin, 1869, 46ff.) Among the Garos, at the time of the harvest of the rice, their staple food, there is a festival to the sun God, the Wangala festival. (Ramakrishnan, 1985, 14)

Sacred groves are prevalent among the tribal societies of the north-east. (cf. Ryali, 1985, 45,47) At one time each village in the Khasi Hills of Meghalaya had an associated patch of virgin forest where nature deities, representing elements such as fire, sun and rain, resided. Sometimes also the spirits of the dead held in reverence by the community were said to reside there. (Ramakrishnan, 1985, 14) As P.S. Ramakrishnan's photograph makes only too painfully clear, the Mawphlang sacred grove, south-west of Shillong, sits isolated in a bleak and treeless landscape. (Ramakrishnan, 1985, 22 Plate 4)

Provided that the jhum cycle is long enough for the particular soil and weather conditions, shifting cultivation is an ecologically viable and energy efficient

agriculture system.(Conklin, 1954; Dogra, 1983; Dove, 1983)
Terrace farming would involve a heavy input of scarce, expensive inorganic fertilisers, high infiltration losses, particularly of nitrogen and phosphorus, and maintenance costs.(Ramakrishnan, 1984, 387-388,393)

The shortening of the jhum cycle caused by pressure on the land is in turn a result of overpopulation, greatly exacerbated by the influx of people from outside (Ramakrishnan, 1985, 18), and timber extraction (ibid, 17-18). The factors causing immigration into tribal forest areas lie with the pressure on the land outside of the forest as well as the exhaustion of some of that land. Inappropriate agricultural practices, unequal land holdings and landlessness outside of the forest are factors in the equation.(Anti-Slavery Society, 1984)

In the wake of the Great Rebellion [the Mutiny] of 1857 there was a great destruction of the forests by railway contractors and speculators (Stebbing, II, 222-3), trying to fulfil the demand for railway sleepers. E.P. Stebbing in his history of the Indian Forest Service quotes a figure of 20,000 tons for 50 miles.(Stebbing, I, 314) Other major demands on timber included shipbuilding and timber for war, in particular the First World War. (Stebbing, III, 533; cf.Guha, 1983)

By denying them the right to collect resources from the forests, Forest Laws are criminalising the tribal people. Not only food, fuelwood and timber is encompassed

but also minor forest produce such as honey and wax, ginger, cardamom, turmeric and medicinal plants which play a part in the local economy.(Morris, 1986, 255-6) The people are faced with a stark set of choices: to steal, to die of poverty, to revolt (eg.Chipko: Bandyopadhyay & Shiva, 1987) or to emigrate.

Chapter VII: ARNE NAESS

Arne Naess was born on January 27th, 1912 in Oslo, Norway. Though not coastal like Gandhi's birthplace Porbandar, Oslo, cradled in its mountains, looks south through Oslofjord to the sea. The central event of his childhood was the death of his father when he was very young.

"....Because of the death of my father when I was only one year old, and the preoccupation of my mother with my two brothers who were in their early teens, I was left to the care of a maid. She was excessively kind and submitted to all my wishes. Thus, in summer time I would not tolerate to be put into the bath-tub except together with a fly. She had to fetch a specimen through climbing up the windows. She was dismissed because of her excesses when I was three years old, and I was never able to love my mother properly as a substitute."(Naess, 1983a, 211-12)

"From when I was about four years old until puberty I could stand or sit for hours, days, weeks, in shallow water on the coast, inspecting and marvelling at the overwhelming diversity and richness of life in the sea. The tiny beautiful forms which 'nobody' cared for, or were even unable to see, was part of a seemingly infinite world, but nevertheless my world. Feeling apart in many human relations, I identified with 'nature'."(Naess, 1983a, 210)

Like John Muir Naess found Nature to be a solace, a balm for his feeling of isolation. He would intently watch the crabs, the shrimps and a sole which swam about him and sometimes even sheltered by his foot.(Naess, 1983a, 210) At the shoreline he recognised the differing abilities and complexities of the creatures whose company he shared. Their very limitations became cause for endearment. He felt enthusiastic about the diversity of life on the shore as well as disinclined to judge any as

being "unquestionably higher, nobler, more right, than any other."(Naess, 1983a, 211) Distance and aloofness from these creatures enabled him to gain perspective and breadth without sentimentality.(ibid, 212)

Though he grew up in Oslo his parents had a tiny cottage in the mountains. It was here that there was "a very big and majestic mountain".(Naess, 1988c)

"From about the age of eight a definite mountain became for me a symbol of benevolent, equiminded, strong 'father', or of an ideal human nature. These characteristics were there in spite of the obvious fact that the mountain, with its slippery stones, icy fog and dangerous precipices, did not protect me or care for me in any trivial sense. It required me to show respect and take care. The mountain loved me but in a way similar to that of my 10- and 11-years older brothers who were eager to toughen me up."(Naess, 1983a, 212-13)

There was a very special relationship between him and this mountain and during his teenage years he was always longing for this mountain. It was not a matter of disappearing into the whole, of fusing into one, but of retaining his individual integrity and like unto the mountain, participating in its equimindedness and serenity. (Naess, 1988c) Serenity was important for a child who was suffering from terrible nightmares. These nightmares had largely disappeared by the age of fifteen, though he still suffered from sleeplessness, and the sound of the dawn chorus marked another night lost.(Naess, 1983a, 215-16,212)

His brothers tried to toughen him up though Naess seems to have known how far they would go, aware of their underlying care, concern and tenderness.(Naess, 1983a, 213)

When he was fifteen years old he managed, through

sheer persistence, to get to travel on his own in early June to the highest mountain region of Norway, the Jotunheimen, which lies north-west of Oslo and north-east of Bergen.

"At the foot of the mountain I was stopped by deep rotten snow and I could find nowhere to sleep. Eventually I came across a very old man who was engaged in digging away the snow surrounding and in part covering a closed cottage belonging to an association for mountaineering and tourism. We stayed together for a week in a nearby hut. So far as I can remember, we ate only one dish: oatmeal porridge with dry bread. ...In the evenings he would talk incidentally about mountains, about reindeer, hunting, and other occupations in the highest regions. But mostly he would play the violin. ...The effect of this week established my conviction of an inner relation between mountains and mountain people, a certain greatness, cleanness, a concentration upon what is essential, a self-sufficiency; and consequently a disregard of luxury, of complicated means of all kinds."(Naess, 1979b, 14)

Positive feelings for the mountains and the wilderness were to be found not just among the privileged and the literate, but also with such as this mountain person who lived a life close to Nature, with moderate wants and "a rich, sensual attachment to life, a deep pleasure in what can be experienced with wide open eyes and mind."(Naess, 1979b, 14; 1976; 1988c) It is a mode of experience that Henry Thoreau would have understood.

"....it is equally important often to ignore or forget all that men presume that they know, and take an original and unprejudiced view of Nature, letting her make what impression she will on you, as the first men, and all children and natural men still do."([1860] J, XIII, 169)

Mountains hold a very special place in Naess's life and affections. Nineteen thirty-one found Naess at the Sorbonne in Paris, and 1934 at the University of Vienna. It was not only study but also the mountains of

Austria that beckoned.(Naess, 1983a, 218,209) In 1938-1939 he was at Berkeley, California just west of the Sierra Nevada.(ibid, 219) He has visited the Himalayas several times and taken part in the first ascent of Tirich Mir in the Hindu Kush. He also has a cabin in the mountains of northern Norway - Tvergastein.(Devall & Sessions, 1985, 225; Gullvag & Wetlesen, 1982, 271)

In comparing ourselves to the mountain we come to a relationship of awe with modesty.

"As I see it, modesty is of little value if it is not a natural consequence of much deeper feelings, a consequence of a way of understanding ourselves as part of nature in a wide sense of the term. This way is such that the smaller we come to feel ourselves compared to the mountain, the nearer we come to participating in its greatness."(Naess, 1979b, 16)

Naess's experience and relation to the mountains led to the insight of the sublime beauty to be found in a landscape of avalanches and of the contradiction, seen also by Mary Austin in the California desert country (Austin, 1987, 9-17), of plants flowering, of life in a supposedly 'hostile' environment.(Naess, 1988c) Not "to show respect and take care" is tantamount to a display of arrogance, and to have no modesty. In an essay on 'Metaphysics of the Treeline' Naess contrasts the people whose home is in or near forests, who see trees positively and the treeline as marking the end of security into a harsher world of wind-driven snow and precipices, with others who see trees as blocking and hindering, and the zone that is the treeline as a promise of freedom.(Naess, 1988b) Arne Naess has said

in conversation: "I had my worst time where there were very big spruce trees around, with hanging branches [Norway Spruce?]." (Naess, 1988c)

For Naess self-realization, or more accurately self-realizing, constitutes a realization of the wider Self, an ever-widening identification, and not a cultivation of the ego. (1985d, 259-61; cf. 1989, 8-9; see Gita, VI.29, XIII.24) Self-realization is the maximal realization of potentialities and as such is not necessarily the same as Aldo Leopold's definition of right and wrong which is in terms of what is good for the biotic community. (Naess, 1988c; cf. Leopold, 1966, 240) It may involve a careful interference in nature, the restraint of certain life-forms and life-styles in favour of others. (Naess, 1979a, 232) Relevant from the point of view of this study is that Naess has spent many years on, and has published two books (Naess, 1965b; 1974) which contain, a systematic exposition of the philosophy of Gandhi.

"Self-realization in its absolute maximum is, as I see it, the mature experience of oneness in diversity.... The minimum is the self-realization by more or less consistent egotism.... As empirical beings we dwell somewhere in between, but increased maturity involves increase of the wideness of the self." (Naess, 1985d, 261)

"Identification is a spontaneous, non-rational, but not irrational, process through which the interest or interests of another being are reacted to as our own interest or interests. Intense identification obliterates the experience of distinction... between me and the sufferer." (Naess, 1985d, 261)

Identification is not limited to beings which can reciprocate but may include an animal, plant, mountain or

ocean. Suffering is its most potent source.(Naess, 1985d, 262-4) Naess has given instances from his own life when experience has elicited from him such a response. In Berkeley, California, Naess felt for the laboratory rats in their discomfort and apprehension shown by their frequent defecations and urinations.(Naess, 1983a, 219) Then there was the flea who had accidentally landed in acid chemical and Naess felt "a painful compassion".(Naess, 1986c, 5)

His son Ragnar also tells the story of how his father showed his brother and him, when he was about nine years old, Snout Beetles on a path by the house.

"What fascinated him [Arne Naess] was not so much their somewhat comical appearance, with a long nose, the mouth at the tip of it, as their slow and determined walk, their trusting nature ("If you take it up in your hand, it isn't afraid. It just wonders: 'What kind of place is this?'"")"(Gullvag & Wetlesen, 1982, 213)

As Gandhi also pointed out, in life it is impossible to eschew violence completely, and our vital interests imply the killing of at least some other living beings. Ceremonies and rituals amongst hunters acknowledge the gravity of the act as well as help to restore the bond. (Naess, 1985d, 262; CWMG, LXXXIV, 230-2; cf. Week, 224; also Brody, 1987, 75)

In practice religion, economics and ecological beliefs interact. General alienation feeds on impersonal relations between humans and between humans and animals. As Naess has pointed out, identification requires an intuitive or immediate acquaintance with nonhuman nature, which is often lacking. Even within a culture there may be

marked differences of attitude. Though there may be strong feelings, concern and care within a human community for a particular aspect of nature on which it depends for survival, this care may be very specific.(Naess, 1976) An example that Naess gives is of a human community that relies on a wood for survival.

"A community which depends upon the well-being of a wood, for fire and for building materials, may show high sensitivity and manifest concern about a vast number of variables directly and indirectly affecting the well-being of the wood. Nevertheless the community may ignore certain variables having to do with certain animals living in the wood. The identification does not extend to the whole ecosystem."(Naess, 1976, 10)

Prevailing economic factors may compel destruction for survival.

"The total ecological destruction will show variation according to the predominance of different occupations and the fluctuations of economic factors. ...A species may be exterminated because of the misery of a tribe living in the area....[Any] father or mother would cause injury to a species, for instance through decreasing its territory, if this alleviates the misery of their children."(Naess, 1976, 18)

The right to live and flourish is one and the same but the vital interests of our nearest have priority. Nearness in space, time, culture, species, "derives its priority from our special responsibilities, obligations and insights".

"It may be of vital interest to a family of poisonous snakes to remain in a small area where small children play, but it is also of vital interest to children and parents that there are no accidents. The priority rule of nearness makes it justifiable for the parents to remove the snakes. But the priority of vital interest of snakes is important when deciding where to establish the playgrounds."(Naess, 1985d, 266-67)

Arne Naess has cooperated with the wolf and bear

specialist Ivar Mysterud in looking at the conflicts that arise in mixed communities of wolves, bears, sheep and humans such as occur in Norway. (Naess, 1979a; 1986b; 1987a) The cultural pattern is different for bears and wolves. Both bears and wolves may kill sheep. Yet though bears are considered to have a right to live and flourish, wolves are dreaded and are perceived as more of a personal danger. [vide the 'wolf fever' that hit Norway in 1982 and 1984: Serpell, 1986, 159-61] Economic arguments have meant the disappearance of shepherds while the government has encouraged an increase in the grazing area and the number of sheep. Encounters between wild animals and sheep are no longer controlled by the presence of a shepherd. (Naess, 1979a, 237-8; 1984b, 266)

Even non-fatal attacks by wolves and bears cause the sheep great suffering and pain, ranging from high nervousness through extreme fear, panic and terror. Naess reproduces an evocative photograph of a sheep with its nasal region crushed and partly removed by a bear. (Naess, 1987a, 26-27, Figure 3) The sheepowner would also emphasise the economic loss that he suffers and the guilt he feels as a consequence of his responsibility for the sheep. In a parallel with the example of the snakes and the playground cited above, humans have an obligation not to place their domesticated livestock "in a situation where there is a significant risk of severe suffering". (Naess, 1987a, 29) It is not just livestock, humans must also feel that their

children are completely safe, otherwise wolves will be shot.(Naess, 1986b, 515)

Pearl divers and snake catchers, who derive an income from a risky environment, have evolved a form of coexistence. Other examples that could be produced are Amerindians who lived in and off the woods and the tribal people of the humid forests of North-East India.

"It is difficult to impose wolf protection on people who give up traditional sources of income such as gathering berries and keep indoors for fear of wolves in their mixed community. People deriving income from pearl diving or other occupations in shark-infested waters acquire knowledge of the habits and signals of these fishes, and work out a kind of coexistence. But Norway has no income from wolves. Compare mixed communities with snakes. A market for snakes--e.g., Hong Kong--has eliminated fear, or at least significantly influenced tolerance, of poisonous snakes within the areas of profitable snake catching or hunting. Rules of coexistence have been established. A similar development could materialize in human-wolf relations, yet it has not, so far."(Naess, 1987a, 31)

Ivar Mysterud and others have worked out a plan which could place the conservation of the wolf within the framework of the market economy, 'selling' the howling of wolves as an intense wilderness experience. This, a combining of 'romanticism' and 'cynicism', could generate the funds necessary to conserve wolves, as well as address people's fear of wolves and for their sheep.(Naess, 1986b, 514-5; 1987a, 31)

Naess's article 'Deep Ecology and Life Style' lists the tendencies and attitudes characteristic of the deep ecology movement particularly in Scandinavia, but it is not meant to be a hard and fast formulation. The tone

is anti-consumerist, stressing depth and richness of experience as against intensity, seeking to live lightly and deploring excessive interference in nature with a predisposition to protect the wild. Certain items recall tenets we have already discussed. Gandhi's stress that one should eat to live and not live to eat is linked to Naess's item fifteen. Brahmacharya seeks to bring the senses under our mastery. The Sanskrit *buj* [to eat] is used of all senses.

"Effort to satisfy vital needs rather than desires."(Naess, 1985b; also 1989, 206-7)

Naess has a deep concern for the plight of those in the third and fourth worlds.(cf.Naess, 1986a, 18-20; 1989, 100-102,150-1)

"Concern about the situation of the third and fourth world and attempt to avoid a standard of living too much different from and higher than the needy.(Global solidarity of life style)."(Naess, 1985b)

"We should limit the impact of Western technology upon presently existing nonindustrial countries and defend the fourth world against foreign domination. Political and economic policies should favor subcultures within industrialized societies. Local, soft technologies will allow a basic cultural assessment of any technical innovations, freely criticizing so-called advanced technology and concepts of "progress.""(Naess, 1986a, 20)

Arne Naess has put his ideas into action, non-violent action. For example, he used his mountaineering skills in an act of 'ecological resistance' to help local people in their protest at a project to dam a fjord in Norway.(LaChapelle, 1984, 154; cf.Gita, II.47)

Chapter VIII: Summary & Synthesis

Looking back over Gandhi's early years, it is apparent from the testimony of his sister Raliatbehn that as a child he spent much of his time outdoors, away from the small, dark, airless rooms of home. He played with other children on the beach or in the streets nearby, took long walks, made friends with animals he met or indulged in his passion for gardening. His description of seeing the stars reflected in the water on the voyage out to England in 1888, when he was eighteen, is our earliest indication of Gandhi's appreciation of beauty in Nature. Throughout his life he was affected by the beauty of natural scenery and awed by the stars. There was no aesthetic snobbishness in his appreciation; he saw beauty not only in the rainbow but also in ordinary vegetables. (see CWMG, LXXXIII, 265) He held that: "Nature suffices for my inspiration." (CWMG, XXIII, 193)

"What conscious Art can give me the panoramic scenes that open out before me, when I look up to the sky above with all its shining stars?" (CWMG, XXV, 249)

Gandhi's discovery of the Vegetarian movement in England was important to him as a growing experience. From now on he would decide important spiritual and ethical issues for himself. The vow given to his mother determined his vegetarian diet when he arrived in England. He even excluded eggs from his diet because of what he believed would be her definition of vegetarianism. But he returned

from England in 1891 a vegetarian because of his own conviction. Hand in hand with his discovery of vegetarianism came the discovery of his own religion. Though some of the works that we know he read in England highlighted also the moral and ethical, initially it was the economic and hygienic aspects of vegetarianism that Gandhi emphasised. When in South Africa he came to lay increasing stress on the moral and ethical aspects of vegetarianism, this was in addition to the economic and hygienic aspects.(CWMG, I, 294) Meat-eating not only involved cruelty and pain being inflicted on animals, but was harmful to the digestion and unnecessary as well as being expensive. Greed is not only unhealthy but it also deprives the poor of food. Gandhi's concern to discover an economical and nutritious diet for the poor is found in references dating from as late as 1935 and 1942.(CWMG, LXI, 379; LXII, 26-27, 57-9; LXXV, 233-4)

The early years in South Africa were in many ways a continuation of his time in London. He continued to read in his own religion, often admittedly in translation, was influenced by the writings of the English Vegetarians and Theosophists, experimented with diets which were simpler, more natural, requiring less processing, and discovered nature-cure through the work of Adolf Just. A visit in 1895 to a Trappist monastery revealed to Gandhi the feasibility of a community devoted to service, sharing their life and strengthened by a common spiritual basis.

By 1904 his ideas and beliefs about humanity's relation to the nonhuman environment were in place.(supra, 41)

From his own faith Gandhi understood that there was no essential difference between one creature and another, and saw the whole world as kith and kin.(Gita, V.18, VI.32; CWMG, LX, 45; LXII, 285) Though the world may appear transitory and impermanent there was something that persisted, "changeless and endless", even when a tree fell or a leaf withered.(CWMG, XIV, 116; cf.Isaiah 40:8) The Self-realization of humanity was to be attained through the service of God through His creation, as the servant of the created order. (Gita, III.11-12) The liberation of each was tied up with the liberation of all. Brahmacharya is more than 'chastity', involving the conservation of energy (prana) for service, for it covers the mastery of all the senses. There should be a reduction in consumption, a simplification and reduction in needs.(Lannoy, 1974,431)

There is a spiritual law in Nature, and disease is "a conscious or unconscious breach of God's or Nature's laws".(CWMG, XXV, 58) Clean earth, pure water, fresh air, open space and bright sunshine, which combine the five gross elements of the Universe, are essential for a healthy body.(CWMG, XI, 447) Trying to live close to Nature involved Gandhi in experiments with a milkless and an uncooked diet, with nature cures, and trying to feel nearer to God by feeling him through the earth or sleeping out in the open.

"[E]very obstacle which we place between ourselves and the sky harms us physically, mentally and spiritually." (vide CWMG, XLIX, 295-9)

Once convinced Gandhi would tenaciously hold to the conviction despite any failures, as shown by his repeated attempts at a milkless and an uncooked diet.

He held life "not only in man and animal, but in plant and flower, as sacred," and yet he made use of vegetables, flowers and fruit. (CWMG, XXXII, 379) For all living beings violence in some form is unavoidable but this should be kept to a minimum. (CWMG, XXXV, 380) Eating meat and eating vegetables both involve violence. We need vegetables for survival but we should eat to live, not live to eat. God did not create life so that it could be destroyed by mankind. Even Nature's scourges, disease-carriers such as mosquitoes, flies and fleas, have a right to live.

But Gandhi's exacting regard for all life was vulnerable in the presence of creatures that commonly excite fear, such as snakes. In an ideal world he would have shed his fear of snakes but this had not yet happened. (CWMG, XXXIV, 130-2) He permitted the killing of snakes and rabid dogs when they became a menace to the well-being of man, (CWMG, XXXII, 72-3; LXXXIV, 62) though as a last resort after alternatives, which respected the (possibly pre-existing) interests of the nonhuman creatures, had been tried. Naess's "priority rule of nearness" makes much the same point. (Naess, 1985d, 266-7)

Humans could be responsible for exacerbating a situation by misplaced kindness such as by feeding healthy dogs (CWMG, XXXII, 380-1) or petting and giving food to monkeys (CWMG, XXXVII, 33).

Gandhi was aware of the hard face of Nature, of small creatures preying on even smaller ones. He spoke of humanity as being privileged with responsibilities. We should try and prevent animals under our control from tormenting one another.(CWMG, XXX, 324)

From Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland Gandhi found confirmation of his belief in the marriage of matter and spirit. Though his comments on the 1934 Bihar earthquake as "a divine chastisement sent by God for our sins" are relatively well-known, this was not an isolated occurrence as is made clear by similar remarks he made after the Gujarat floods of 1927.(CWMG, XXXIV, 267) In 1925, apropos of the deforestation north of Rajkot, he realised that the lack of rainfall may have been due not only to "errors on the spiritual plane" but also because of a physical act - namely, the destruction of the jungle. (Diary, VI, 19-20) Gandhi teased out the explanations behind a situation. He came to understand the connection between rainfall and trees, deforestation and desert, between the prevalence of mosquitoes and the presence of stagnant water, a lack of drainage, an ignorance of sanitation, poverty and inertia.(Diary, VII, 25,265)

Meeting some hillspeople of Surat in 1927 Gandhi

acknowledged that we have much to learn from them, how to live - eating to live, not living in order to eat. We could learn from them a healthy way of life.(CWMG, XXXIII, 162)

Towards the end of his life Gandhi came increasingly to stress the efficacy of Ramanama - "the recitation from the heart of the name of God". This emphasis was a natural development for Gandhi, growing out of a lifetime's reflection on the interrelationship between humanity and Nature, the service of the broader Self through "the service of all created beings" (Gita, page 176), encapsulating the marriage between matter and spirit as well as "the obligation to recognize and follow the laws which nature has ordained for man."(CWMG, LXXXVIII, 23)

Henry Thoreau believed that a correspondence existed between matter and spirit and that Nature was the proper source of religion. Nature in pristine form, wildness, was the essential "raw-material of life" and he gloried in its diversity. Health was to be found in nature, not in society.(PJ, 1, 353-4)

In childhood nature provided him with companionship, a source of beauty and intense experience. (J, II, 306-7) During the winter of 1852-1853 it seemed to provide him with a retreat from people. Thoreau in his experience on Mount Katahdin was overwhelmed by wild nature, filled with religious awe. He saw man, the despoiler in the Maine woods, as "the source of all evil."

His interest in Amerindian antiquities was of long-standing but his expeditions to the Maine woods in 1853 and 1857 helped to bring him into closer contact with actual Amerindian people. Thoreau came to feel for the plight of the Indians and identified them with wild nature, the world of both had been mutilated by his white predecessors.

Thoreau too was influenced by the health and moral reformers of his day. By and large he was a vegetarian who occasionally ate meat. His practical objection to the eating of meat was its uncleanness. He feared it would sully not just the hands but the mind as well. As a young man he had been a keen hunter and it had taught him to observe. In later years he saw this as a necessary phase that one outgrew. Thoreau could not face the terrible sufferings in nature with the same equanimity that he accepted the sight of broken, dismembered human bodies.

Ranging over different traditions and cultures are accounts of deep feelings of being connected to something larger than one's self. This experience of connection, of great intensity, can act as an inspiration for the rest of one's life as it did for Mary Austin and Richard St.Barbe Baker. For Richard Jefferies the vision of his childhood failed him in his final illness.

The solace and companionship of nature was important for John Muir as a child seeking to escape the

strict regimen of his father. While in Canada alone during the Civil War the sight of a single particular flower helped to soothe and heal the despair he felt. In Bonaventure Cemetery Muir celebrated the diversity of nature and in the Sierra the magnificence and companionship of the mountains.

For Arne Naess in childhood nature was companion and relation. He was actively involved with the minute creatures on the shore. There was one particular mountain which was for him a symbol of benevolence and strength. Naess's formulation of deep ecology has grown out of reflection on his experiences. Early in his life Naess made the discovery that a close relationship with nature is not a prerogative of the affluent but part of the rich life of people of 'simpler' cultures.(Naess, 1979b, 14)

Self-realization for Naess, as for Gandhi, constitutes a realization of the broader Self and an ever-widening identification with the interests, and often with the sufferings, of another. Self-realization is active and involves the maximal realization of potential, joy being part of the process.(Naess, 1979a, 233; cf.Excursions, 40)

Things cannot be separated without a degree of arbitrariness from their surroundings. No quality of a thing is such that it is separable from others.(Naess, 1985a, 417-418)

"Suppose we have kept one hand in our pocket, and the other in the cold open air. If we put both hands in a bucket of water, the one hand may report that the water is warm and the other that the water is cold."(Naess, 1989,

54; also 1985a, 417)

The water is warm in one relation and cold in another. There are no completely separable objects, no separable water or medium or hand. Within such a relational field any concrete content can only be related one-to-one to an indivisible structure, a constellation of factors. (Naess, 1985a, 419)

"[A] person is a part of nature to the extent that he or she too is a relational junction within the total field. The process of identification is a process in which the relations which define the junction expand to comprise more and more." (Naess, 1989, 56)

The deep feelings of connectedness actually do exist in nature.

Naess parts company from the proponents of "the cult of nature" and from Aldo Leopold (Leopold, 1968, 240). "What's good for the ecosystem is not automatically something good." In conversation Naess commented that Thoreau rarely touched upon "the terrible sufferings in nature". (Naess, 1988c)

In a letter dated February 28th, 1960 the poet Czeslaw Milosz made the following criticism of Merton:

"You do not pay much attention to torture and suffering in Nature."

In his reply of May 6th Thomas Merton wrote that he could not take out his resentment on Nature:

"Not that there is not plenty of resentment in me: but it is not resentment against nature, only against people, institutions and myself." [quoted in Mott, 1984, 357]

With self-awareness of his own character and faults,

"Now if there are any who think that I am vainglorious, that I set myself up above others..., let me tell them that....I think worse of myself than they can possibly think of me, being better acquainted with the man."([Feb.10, 1852] J, III, 293)

and for the reasons outlined above, I feel that Thoreau would have made a reply to such criticism similar to Merton's.

Naess's formulation of deep ecology is a personal system and shares with Gandhi Self-realization, the "priority rule of nearness", vigorous nonviolence (Naess, 1989, 194-5) which recognises that to live necessitates some killing and exploitation, and a move away from a stress on consumption to one that would satisfy vital needs.(cf.Dasgupta, 1982, 10,11) Interpretations could be developed which have grown out of reflection on our own experience.(Naess, 1989, 5; Devall & Sessions, 1985, 227) As Naess reminds us, "very similar or even identical conclusions may be drawn from divergent premises."(quoted in Devall & Sessions, 1985, 225)

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Appendix: [vide supra, 45-48]

GANDHI'S READING OF THOREAU

by
Shahed A. Power

[forthcoming in Thoreau Society Bulletin]

It is possible to quantify Gandhi's reading of Thoreau, as well as to assess what influence Thoreau's writings had on Gandhi's perception of the nonhuman environment. Gandhi, more than is generally realised, drew inspiration, solace and hope from Nature, and scattered in his speeches and writings are his statements on his feelings for nature.[cf.Chatterjee, 1983, 62-6]

Gandhi's first encounter with Thoreau was probably the quote from "Walden" at the beginning of Salt's "A Plea for Vegetarianism"[1886, 6] which he bought soon after his arrival in London in 1888.[CWMG, XXXIX, 45: Autobiography, Pt.I.14; also Hunt, 1978, 21]

"I have no doubt that it is a part of the destiny of the human race, in its gradual improvement, to leave off eating animals, as surely as the savage tribes have left off eating animals, when they came in contact with the more civilised."["Walden", 216]

In a letter to Henry Salt in 1929, over 20 years after the events it describes, Gandhi wrote that his first introduction to Thoreau's writings was to the essay 'Civil Disobedience', followed by Salt's biography, "Walden" and other short essays.[CWMG, XLI, 553] From explicit references in Gandhi's writings we know that the "other short essays" included 'Life without Principle' and 'Walking'.

'Life without Principle' is listed in the bibliography for "Hind Swaraj", written in 1909.[CWMG, X, 65: Hind Swaraj, 105]

'Walking' is first referred to in a Gujarati article on the benefits of exercise, published in Indian Opinion in 1913.[CWMG, XII, 24; also XIII, 270; LIX, 69; LXIII, 94]

Gandhi mentions reading "the essays of the great Thoreau" during his second spell in prison (October 7 to December 12, 1908).[CWMG, IX, 181-2] This was possibly the Scott Library edition of Thoreau's essays that Henry Polak remembered in a 1931 interview.[quoted in Hendrick, 1956, 463] It may have come from the Volkstrust Gaoi library [see CWMG, VIII, 159] and been among the "basket of books" which Gandhi was carrying when Polak met him off the Natal train on 25th October.[affidavit dated November 30, 1908: CWMG, IX, 561] Certainly Gandhi did not have the book of essays with him in 1934 when he misattributed 'Walking' to

"Walden".[CWMG, LIX, 69]

From his references to 'Walking' it would seem that he only read the first part of the essay.[Essays, 8 up to line 24; Excursions, 175 up to line 9] His 1913 article extolling the virtues of walking as the form of exercise seems to be quoting from this section.[cf.Salt, 1896, 98]

eg.THOREAU: "... I cannot preserve my health and spirits unless I spend four hours a day at least - and it is commonly more than that - sauntering through the woods and over the hills and fields...[Essays, 3; Excursions, 164]

When we walk, we naturally go to the fields and woods: what would become of us if we walked only in a garden or a mall?" [Essays, 5; Excursions, 168]

GANDHI: "He [Thoreau] thought nothing of walking four or five hours at a stretch. ...One should not take walks always in the same place or in narrow lanes, but go out into fields and groves. We will then appreciate in some measure the beauty of Nature."[CWMG, XII, 24-5]

It is odd that Gandhi should have concentrated solely on this one aspect of 'Walking'. From childhood he enjoyed taking long walks *per se*, not just for exercise or for reasons of economy.[Pyarelal, 1965, 196-7, 252; CWMG, XII, 22-5]

Gandhi believed that the human body is the universe in miniature - the universe within reflecting that without - and that sickness was a breach of the laws of Nature.[CWMG, LXXVII, 2;XXV, 58; LXVI, 343; XI, 434; XII, 166] He saw an intimate connection between his perception of Nature, theories of health and vegetarianism [eg.see the articles that go to make up "A Guide to Health" in CWMG, XI and XII]. Thoreau's writings were among those that provided Gandhi with a firm background for confidence in his experiments in diet and health.

Gandhi, like Thoreau, believed that the way to health was through chastity, self-restraint and dietary reform, avoiding rich stimulating food and drink ["Walden", 216-20; CWMG, XII, 45-52; LXXVII, 19-25; also Armstrong, 1983] - "in order to achieve real health we must conquer the palate."[CWMG, XII, 166; XXXIX, 255-7: Autobiography, Pt.IV.27] When Gandhi, with his friend Kallenbach, gave up drinking cow's milk in 1912, this was in part a protest at the treatment of cows and buffaloes in milk production [CWMG, XXIX, 206], but also because he had come to believe that milk stimulated the passions.[CWMG, XXXIX, 262-3: Autobiography, Pt.IV.30]

Postscript:

The Scott Library edition of the Essays contains:

Walking
 A Winter Walk
 Night and Moonlight
 The Landlord
 Life without Principle
 Civil Disobedience
 A Plea for Captain John Brown
 The Last Days of John Brown
 Love
 Chastity & Sensuality
 Thomas Carlyle and His Works
 Poems and Letters from "Letters to Various
 Persons"

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