Chapter 6

GARRISON—THOREAU—GANDHI: TRANSCENDING BORDERS

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Introduction

Two political borders are remarkably significant for the history of nonviolent resistance:

1. The border between Mexico and the USA, which shifted by annexations and wars, resulting in the expansion of the exploitation system of slavery to the newly conquered territories. Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) opposed slavery and war: by public speeches and civil disobedience through tax resistance.
2. The border between Natal and Transvaal in South Africa, which Indian nonviolent resisters crossed as an act of civil disobedience during the Epic March in November 1913, organized by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948) and Hermann Kallenbach (1871–1945), the owner of Tolstoy Farm (1910–1913).

Both Thoreau and Gandhi, contributed to the emancipation struggle against slavery and war by example: Thoreau's resistance was individual civil disobedience, and Gandhi's border crossing was a collective act of defiance against degrading and oppressive legislation—after he had introduced the notion Satyagraha in the year 1908, emphasizing not only "firmness in Truth" (satyāgraha), but awareness, heart and spirit: courage, equanimity, fearlessness, humility, persistence, righteousness—soul-force. Or in the words of American abolitionist, friend of the New England Transcendentalists, and poet James Russell Lowell (1819–1891):

> They are slaves who fear to speak
> For the fallen and the weak;
> They are slaves who will not choose
> Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
> Rather than in silence shrink
> From the truth they needs must think;
> They are slaves who dare not be
> In the right with two or three. (Lowell 1843, p. 211f.)
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> —James Russell Lowell: *Stanzas. Sung at the Anti-Slavery Picnic in Dedham, on the Anniversary of West-India Emancipation, August 1, 1843*

We comprehend the transcending of borders as an overarching motto for all those who strove for the abolition of slavery, aimed at establishing cooperative settlements to find alternatives to private property, and denounced racist discrimination, human rights violations, violence, and war. Thus, we demonstrate that the evolution of nonviolent resistance itself is deeply entrenched within the history of human emancipation and pacifist ethics—from the American abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879), Adin Ballou (1803–1890), and Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) to the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910).

Underground Railroad

> Not by the sword shall your deliverance be
> Not by the shedding of your masters' blood;
> Not by rebellion—or foul treachery,
> Upspringing suddenly, like swelling flood:
> Revenge and rapine ne'er did bring forth good.
> God's time is best!—nor will it long delay
> Even now your barren cause begins to bud,
> And glorious shall the fruit be!—Watch and pray,
> For, lo ! the kindling dawn, that ushers in the day! (Garrison 1852, p. 65)
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> —William Lloyd Garrison: *Universal Emancipation*

Abolitionism denotes the social movement to end slavery. In northern America, abolitionism has taken many different forms. Illegally crossing the border to Canada for freedom was one of them: during the early to mid-nineteenth century in the USA, the Underground Railroad emerged as a clandestine network of hidden pathways and secure havens. "The origin of the term 'Underground Railroad' has several versions. One story […] places the origin in Washington, DC, in 1839, when allegedly a fugitive slave, after being tortured, claimed that he was to have been sent north, where 'the railroad ran underground all the way to Boston'." (Blight 2004, p. 3). It seems that the concept was implied in an editorial by Hiram Wilson (1803–1864) in the anti-slavery newspaper *The Liberator*, who asked: "Could a great republican railroad be constructed from Mason to Dixon's to the Canada line, upon which fugitives from slavery might come pouring into this province, at the rate of five hundred per day, its entire length would have the smile of heaven by day, and freedom's great *polar lamp* to guide, and the northern lights to cheer the nightly train." (Vol. IX, No. 41, October 1, 1839, p. 1. Emphasis in the original) An explicit reference to the verbatim term "the underground railroad" in *The Liberator* can be found in the October 11 issue of 1842 (Vol. XII, No. 41, p. 163).

Driven by the belief that slavery contradicted the ethical teachings of Jesus, the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), Congregationalists, Wesleyan Methodists, and Reformed Presbyterians, along with the antislavery groups clashed with mainstream Christian denominations on the crime of slavery.

Those who sought freedom from slavery in the south traveled on a route leading up the Appalachian Mountains. Abolitionist Harriet Tubman (c. 1820–1913), for instance,

passed through Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, onto northeastern Ohio and Lake Erie from where a boat took her to Canada. A smaller group of those fleeing slavery opted for a route starting in New York or New England. They passed through Syracuse, which was notable as the residence of social reformer Samuel Joseph May (1797–1871), and then proceeded to Rochester, New York, the home of the well-known orator and writer Frederick Douglass (c. 1817–1895). Crossing either the Niagara River or Lake Ontario, they finally found sanctuary in Canada. For those who took the path through the New York Adirondack Mountains, sometimes passing through Black communities like Timbuctoo, New York, their route led them into Canada via Ogdensburg on the St. Lawrence River, or through Lake Champlain with the assistance of Joshua Young (1823–1904), a Unitarian minister, who led the ceremony for the abolitionist John Brown (1800–1859). Brown was executed for an armed assault on the United States Armory and Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859, hoping to incite a revolt against slavery. Years before, Brown himself had frequented yet another route in the Underground Railroad network, leading from western Missouri to Kansas and Iowa to Chicago and the Detroit River.

William Lloyd Garrison

One of the oftentimes overlooked champions of the abolitionist movement was William Lloyd Garrison, a typesetter, journalist, and social reformer. Indicative of Garrison's place in the cultural memory of the USA is the site of his former home on today's 17 Highland Park Street, Roxbury, Boston. The William Lloyd Garrison House was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1965. According to an official Study Report by the Boston Landmark Commission, Garrison "lived in the house from 1864 until his death in 1879. The property, affectionately named 'Rockledge,' remained in the ownership of the Garrison family until 1900. The Garrison House was maintained for a brief period between 1900 and 1904 by the Rock Ledge Improvement Association, an organization of black men and women who intended to preserve the house in Garrison's memory." (Loveday 2015, p. 5; see pp. 32ff. for more information on the Rock Ledge Improvement Association's continued involvement with the cause of the early civil rights movement and links to the Boston branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP]). Since 2012, the House has become a part of Emmanuel College's Notre Dame Campus.

In 1829, in Baltimore, Maryland, Garrison began contributing to the Quaker newspaper *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, before eventually taking on the editorship together with Benjamin Lundy (1789–1839). Initiating a recurring column, the "Black List", Garrison reported on and denounced the latest atrocities committed by collaborators with the system of slavery. In 1831, Garrison, together with his friend Isaac Knapp (1804–1843), established a weekly newspaper, *The Liberator*, and continued its publication in Boston until the Thirteenth Amendment brought an end to slavery in the USA in 1865. Garrison's debut article contained a confession and a statement of intent:

> In Park-street Church, on the Fourth of July, 1829, in an address on slavery, I unreflectingly assented to the popular but pernicious doctrine of *gradual* abolition. I seize this opportunity to make a full and unequivocal recantation, and thus publicly to ask pardon of my God, of my country, and of my brethren the poor slaves, for having uttered a sentiment so full of timidity, injustice, and absurdity. A similar recantation, from my pen, was published in the Genius of Universal Emancipation at Baltimore, in September, 1829. My conscience is now satisfied.
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> I am aware, that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I *will* be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen;—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead. (Garrison 1831, p. 1. Emphasis in the original)

Initially, Garrison stood firmly against violence, upholding Christian pacifism in the face of evil. While deeply impressed by his fellow Bostonian David Walker (1785–1830) (Newman 2018, p. 57), who less than a year before his death penned an *Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in particular, and very expressly to those of the United States of America* (written in Boston, State of Massachusetts, September 28, 1829, third and last edition with additional notes, corrections, &c., 1830), Garrison disagreed with the use of violence as a means of emancipation.

When the American Civil War erupted in 1861, however, Garrison underwent a significant transformation, forsaking some of his former beliefs and embracing both armed conflict and support for the Lincoln administration. Not only did Garrison play a pivotal role in establishing the American Anti-Slavery Society but also actively advocated for immediate and uncompensated emancipation, opposing the gradual and compensated approach. As early as December 6, 1833, in his "Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Convention" in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Garrison went as far as demanding reparation payment to be made to all those dehumanized, exploited, and hurt by the system of racism and slavery:

> We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating the slaves:
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> Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle that man cannot hold property in man:
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> Because slavery is a crime, and therefore is not an article to be sold:
>
> Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim; freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its rightful owner; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself:
>
> Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free labourers; and
>
> Because, if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

> We regard as delusive, cruel, and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation, which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery. (Garrison 1852, p. 69f.)

Following this 1833 Declaration, Garrison was among the first people to organize abolitionism more forcefully and systematically. For this purpose, he founded two influential organizations:

First, the New England Anti-Slavery Society (1832–1835), reorganized in 1835 as the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society (Boston), an auxiliary of the American Anti-Slavery Society (since 1833), with Garrison as editor of the society's journal *The Liberator.* Among the journal's readers was Frederick Douglass, who initially joined forces with Garrison, going on lecture tours with him in 1843 (Newman 2018, pp. 71 and 85), with Garrison also distributing the autobiographical memoir *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845).

Second, the New England Non-Resistance Society was founded in September 1838. Its members refused to pledge allegiance to human government and favored secession from the slaveholding American South (Brock 1968, pp. 523–615). Merging the ethics of nonviolence with the cause of abolitionism, Garrison's "Declaration of Sentiments adopted by the Peace Convention, held in Boston, September 18, 19 and 20, 1838" (printed in *The Liberator*, September 28, 1838, p. 2, reprinted in Garrison 1852, pp. 72–77) was directed against nationalism, racism, and sexism, and refused any participation in acts or institutions of violence, for instance, even opposition to individual acts of self-defense. Among the Society's members were Adin Ballou, the transcendentalist Amos Bronson Alcott (1799–1888), and Maria Weston Chapman (1806–1885). Together with Edmund Quincy (1808–1877) and Garrison, Chapman co-edited the Society's journal *The Non-Resistant* (1839–1845) for several years, while also serving on the executive committee of American Anti-Slavery Society as an elected member.

The Non-Resistance Principle

A distinctive characteristic of Garrison's efforts to bring about the destruction of slavery is the underlying principle of nonresistance, i.e., the rejection of the use of force in resisting violence in war, in jurisdiction (death penalty), and self-defense. The term's meaning may also encompass "the practice or principle of not resisting authority, even when it is unjustly exercised" (Oxford English Dictionary 2023). Sometimes also spelled nonresistance, this principle is integral to nonviolent pacifism, for it rejects all physical violence at the individual, group, state, or international level. Those practicing nonresistance do so, because of their refusal to retaliate. Especially Christian adherents refer to Jesus' Sermon on the Mount in their opposition to any kind of revenge (cf. Matthew 5: 38–42)

Among the better-known proponents of nonresistance were Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi. As we will highlight below, Gandhi's application of the principle on a mass scale, however, entailed a much more active approach to nonviolent resistance than the connotation of the term nonresistance itself and its original usage may suggest, for instance, in the life and work of Garrison's contemporary Adin Ballou.

Ballou, an experienced Universalist and Unitarian minister, presided over the New England Non-Resistance Society from 1843 onward. Hoping to convince a wider audience of his ideal, he disseminated tracts such as "Catechism of Non-Resistance" (first published in his own journal *The Practical Christian. Devoted to Truth and Righteousness*, Vol. 5, No. 5, July 20, 1844, p. 22 and in Garrison's *The Liberator*, Vol. XIV, No. 34, August 23, 1844, p. 132) and *Christian Non-resistance, in All Its Important Bearings, Illustrated and Defended* (1846). Remembered today as the founder of the Hopedale Community (1843–1857) in Milford, Massachusetts, he attempted to put his ideals for an egalitarian society into practice and reflected upon this in his book *Practical Christian Socialism: A Conversational Exposition of the True System of Human Society* (1854). Ballou's community emphasized several progressive causes such as abolitionism, education, spiritualism, temperance, and women's rights.

Nonresistance and civil disobedience are closely related and of significance to North American abolitionists. Their circles strongly intersected with the Transcendentalist movement in New England.

Abolitionism and Transcendentalism: Emerson, Alcott, and Thoreau

It is within the context of the New England transcendentalist movement since the 1830s that civil disobedience as a deliberate transgression of an unjust law emerged as a new concept of nonviolent resistance. Transcendentalism is associated with one of its foremost writers, Ralph Waldo Emerson and with Concord, Massachusetts, where Emerson lived from 1835 onward. The city was a hotbed for both, Abolitionism and Transcendentalism—of course, Henry David Thoreau, one of the city's best remembered natives, comes to mind—but also a city of former enslaved people such as Brister Freeman (1744–1822), whose lives at the literal fringes of society were still stricken by poverty and racism(see *Walden; or, Life in the Woods*, Chapter 14: "Former Inhabitants; and Winter Visitors" in: Thoreau 1854, p. 277; and esp. Lemire 2009 and also today's The Robbins House, 320 Monument Street, Concord Massachusetts, where the city's African American and antislavery history from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries is represented).

Transcendentalism, a spiritual movement to reform and renew society, developed out of a variety of sources. Of prime importance for its formulation were Emerson's essays such as "Self-Reliance" and "The Over-Soul" (first published in 1841) as well as his lecture "The Transcendentalist" given at the Masonic Temple in Boston, Massachusetts, in January 1842. Growing out of Unitarianism and inspired by Greek and Indian philosophies and Romanticism, transcendentalist philosophy emphasizes the freedom of conscience and the value of intellectual reason.

Prompted by the murder of the abolitionist publisher and Presbyterian minister Elijah Parish Lovejoy (1802–1837) on November 7, 1837, in Alton, Illinois—where Lovejoy shortly before had co-founded a chapter of Garrison's American Anti-Slavery Society (see reports of the murder in the November and December 1837 issues of *The Liberator*)—Emerson admitted to his admiration of Lovejoy's bravery: "[he] gave his breast to the bullets of a mob, for the rights of free speech and opinion, and died when

it was better not to live" (Emerson 1841, p. 217). Emerson's lecture, entitled "Heroism," delivered at the Masonic Temple in Boston, on January 24, 1838 (Emerson 1964, p. 327), may be regarded as his first public statement against slavery, albeit much less impressive and outspoken compared with his fiery address before the citizens of Concord on May 3, 1851, entitled "The Fugitive Slave Law," in which he claimed that it is a moral duty to break immoral laws such as the one in question, "on the earliest occasion" (Emerson 1911, p. 192f.).

Here, Emerson echoed his friend Henry David Thoreau's earlier call for "Resistance to Civil Government," first published by Elizabeth Palmer Peabody (1804–1894). She was a writer, teacher, and business manager of *The Dial*, the chief magazine of the Transcendentalists, edited by Margaret Fuller (1810–1850) since 1840. Peabody requested Thoreau's essay for her anthology *Aesthetic Papers* (Thoreau 1849). The text that Thoreau eventually submitted was most likely composed from his two-part lecture delivered before the members of the Concord Lyceum, convening on Wednesday evenings at the vestry of the Unitarian Church in Concord, Massachusetts. While Thoreau spoke about "The Relation of the Individual to the State" on January 26, 1848, the focus of the second part probably shifted quite considerably on February 16, 1848, when he reflected upon "The Rights and Duties of the Individual in Relation to the State" (Dean & Hoag 1995, pp. 153–155). These lectures addressed the question of why the author had refused to pay poll taxes for several years until he was arrested and spent a night in a prison cell. This was during the time when he lived in a small self-built cabin at the shore of Walden Pond between 1845 and 1847 when Thoreau wanted to deepen his understanding of the "over-soul" (Emerson) of ecology and humanity.

Today, the essay has become famous, circulating under the title "Civil Disobedience," a term neither appearing in the text, nor chosen by Thoreau himself, but applied to it only four years after his death by the editors, his sister Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau (1819–1879) and his friends William Ellery Channing II (1817–1901) and Ralph Waldo Emerson, of a fresh collection of some of Thoreau's writings (Thoreau 1866). Thoreau's essay became the blueprint for Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in their nonviolent emancipation struggles.

While certainly the most well-known example of public protest—Thoreau's refusal to pay the poll tax and his voluntary time in jail—was not singular, and one of his immediate role models was Amos Bronson Alcott, another member of Garrison's Non-Resistance Society (Broderick 1956). Alcott moved to Concord in April 1840 and deliberately had paid no poll tax to withdraw all cooperation with the state before his own arrest in January 1843. His prison time only lasted a few hours, for the anti-slavery lawyer and politician Samuel Hoar (1778–1856) paid what Alcott owed. Thus, it becomes clearer why Alcott, sitting in the audience of Thoreau's first lecture, rejoiced about the content in his diary entry of January 26, 1848: "Heard Thoreau's lecture before the Lyceum on the relation of the individual to the State—an admirable statement of the rights of the individual to self-government, and an attentive audience. His allusions to the Mexican War, to Mr. Hoar's expulsion from Carolina, his own imprisonment in Concord Jail for refusal to pay his tax, Mr. Hoar's payment of mine when taken to prison for a similar

refusal, were all pertinent, well considered, and reasoned. I took great pleasure in this deed of Thoreau's." (as cited in Dean & Hoag 1995, p. 154).

Alcott was a philosopher and teacher. He founded and worked at the Temple School, Boston, Massachusetts, together with Elisabeth Peabody and Margaret Fuller. Alcott's interactions with students focused less on teacher-centered lectures and more on engaging in conversation with the class, avoiding corporal punishment, and deliberating upon consequences for rule infractions with his students. An abolitionist and advocate for women's rights, Alcott befriended Emerson and engaged in Transcendentalist debates on perfecting the human spirit and in practical experiments to reform society. Together with fellow tax-resister Charles Lane (1800–1870), Alcott advocated a vegan diet and in 1843 established an agrarian community, called Fruitlands, in Harvard, Massachusetts, where today the Fruitlands Museum is located.

Leo Tolstoy, the Abolitionists, and the Emancipation Struggle in South Africa

Leo Tolstoy admired the writings of Ballou, Garrison, and Thoreau. One tenet uniting these Americans and the Russian Count was the assumption that all governments inherently rest on violence or the permanent threat of the same—as long as these institutions prevail, they will present a major cause for war between human beings. Since the resort to violence was antithetical to the Christian ethics of non-retaliation, Tolstoy could easily invoke the American abolitionists to bolster his own philosophy of nonviolence. For this purpose, he corresponded with the family of Adin Ballou and funded Russian translations of some of his works.

Tolstoy repeatedly introduced these abolitionists' ideas to a wide readership in his books, letters, and pamphlets. For instance, in his *For Every Day* (in German: 1906; in English: 1909), but much more influential in his *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* (1893). This book is considered today a foundational treatise for Christian anarchism and canonical within the Tolstoyan nonviolence movement as evidenced by, for example, the Doukhobors (Spirit Wrestlers) and their representative Peter V. Verigin (1859–1924). Immediately banned in Russia, Tolstoy published the book one year later in German and English languages. Alluding to Luke 17:21, the subtitle already announces that Tolstoy set out to establish *Christianity not as a mystical doctrine but as a new understanding of life.* Throughout, Tolstoy reaffirms Jesus' teaching of non-retaliation found within the Sermon on the Mount, thereby countering all apologies of violence by Roman and medieval scholars, because God's commandment "Thou shalt not kill" is clear and applies to defensive violence, too.

Tolstoy discussed, praised, and quoted Garrison's 1838 "Declaration of Sentiments" and Ballou's "Catechism of Non-Resistance" originally published in 1844 (e.g., Tolstoy 1936, pp. 1–23) at length. When, in 1904, Tolstoy's secretary Vladimir Chertkov (1854–1936) together with Florence Holah (date of birth and death unknown) published a book-length biography of Garrison, Tolstoy happily provided an introductory appreciation:

> Garrison, as a man enlightened by the Christian teaching, having begun with the practical aim of strife against slavery, very soon understood that the cause of slavery was not the casual temporary seizure by the Southerners of a few millions of negroes, but the ancient and universal recognition, contrary to the Christian teaching, of the right of coercion on the part of certain people in regard to certain others. A pretext for recognising this right has always been that men regarded it as possible to eradicate or diminish evil by brute force, *i.e.*, also by evil. Having once realised this fallacy, Garrison put forward against slavery neither the suffering of slaves, nor the cruelty of slaveholders, nor the social equality of men, but the eternal Christian law of refraining from opposing evil by violence, i.e., of 'non-resistance.' Garrison understood that which the most advanced among the fighters against slavery did not understand: that the only irrefutable argument against slavery is the denial of the right of any man over the liberty of another under any conditions whatsoever.
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> […] the principle of non-resistance is not a principle of coercion but of concord and love, and therefore it cannot be made coercively binding upon men. The principle of non-resistance to evil by violence, which consists in the substitution of persuasion for brute force, can be only accepted voluntarily, and in whatever measure it is freely accepted by men and applied to life—i.e., according to the measure in which people renounce violence and establish their relations upon rational persuasion—only in that measure is true progress in the life of men accomplished. (Tolstoy 1904, p. vi f. and xi; reprinted also in Tolstoi 1924)

Tolstoy also recommended reading Thoreau's essay "Civil Disobedience" as early as 1896 in his letter to the editor of the German-language journal *Ohne Staat. Organ der idealistischen Anarchisten* (literally: Without the State. Organ of the Idealistic Anarchists), Eugen Heinrich Schmitt (1851–1916), who resided in Budapest, Hungary:

> It is now fifty years since a not widely known, but very remarkable, American writer—Thoreau—not only clearly expressed that incompatibility in his admirable essay on 'Civil Disobedience,' but gave a practical example of such disobedience. Not wishing to be an accomplice or supporter of a government which legalized slavery, he declined to pay a tax demanded of him, and went to prison for it.
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> Thoreau refused to pay taxes to government, and evidently the same motives as actuated him would prevent men from serving a government. As, in your letter to the minister, you have admirably expressed it: you do not consider it compatible with your moral dignity to work for an institution which represents legalized murder and robbery.
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> Thoreau was, I think, the first to express this view. People paid scant attention to either his refusal or his article fifty years ago—the thing seemed so strange. It was put down to his eccentricity. Today your refusal attracts some attention, and, as is always the case when new truth is clearly expressed, it evokes a double surprise—first, surprise that a man should say such queer things, and then, surprise that I had not myself discovered what this man is saying; it is so certain and so obvious.
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> Such a truth as that a Christian must not be a soldier—*i.e.* a murderer—and must not be the servant of an institution maintained by violence and murder, is so certain, so clear and irrefutable, that to enable people to grasp it, discussion, proof, or eloquence are not necessary. For the majority of men to hear and understand this truth, it is only needful that it should be constantly repeated.
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> The truth that a Christian should not take part in murdering, or serve the chiefs of the murderers for a salary collected from the poor by force, is so plain and indisputable that

> those who hear it cannot but agree with it. And if a man continues to act contrary to these truths after hearing them, it is only because he is accustomed to act contrary to them, and it is difficult to break the habit. Moreover, as long as most people act as he does, he will not, by acting contrary to the truth, lose the regard of the majority of those who are most respected. (Tolstoi 1902, p. 358f. Emphasis in the original)

The principle of nonresistance—aside from playing an important role in the nonviolent resistance movement led by the Tolstoyans during the Russian Revolution of 1905 (Gordeeva 2019)—was transmitted from Tolstoy to Gandhi. Let us remember that Henry David Thoreau's "Resistance to Civil Government" or "Civil Disobedience," translated into Gujarati by Gandhi for his *Indian Opinion* in 1907, became the basis (not only for the civil rights movement guided by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.) for Satyagraha in January 1908 with the fearless follower of the wisdom of Truth, Socrates, as role model (Bartolf, Miething & Varatharajan 2021). Gandhi emphasized the principle in the formative stages of the development of his nonviolent philosophy while at Tolstoy Farm, where he resided with Hermann Kallenbach, a German-Jewish architect, and friend of Gandhi (Bartolf & Sarid 1997).

Tolstoy Farm, near Lawley Station close to Johannesburg in South Africa, was founded as a cooperative settlement, with resemblance to an ashram, by Kallenbach and Gandhi during their South African Satyagraha campaign and movement between 1908 and 1914 (Bhana 1975). In 1910, Kallenbach purchased the land spanning 1100 acres and then donated Tolstoy Farm to serve as the campaign's center which aimed at combating discrimination against Indians in Transvaal. Approximately 80 people lived on the property permanently, more visited and stayed during daytime. The community's members refused to rely on outside help or servants for the preparation of meals or other daily chores. Thanks to his training as an architect, Kallenbach designed and built an additional three building: living quarters, a workshop, and a school (Bartolf & Sarid 1997, pp. 19ff.)

Following the establishment of his first farm in South Africa in 1904—Phoenix Settlement at Inanda near Phoenix and Durban in Natal—this second communal experiment honored the name of Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy, whose *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* profoundly influenced Gandhi's critique of violence. As Gandhi remarked, the book "overwhelmed me. It left an abiding impression on me. Before the independent thinking, profound morality, and the truthfulness of this book, all the books given me […] seemed to pale into insignificance." (Gandhi 1927, p. 322)

The period from 1910 and 1913 stands out as one of the most intense phases of Indian struggle against injustice in South Africa, epitomized by "The Epic March" or "The Great March" (South African History Online n.d.). On October 29, 1913, under the leadership of Gandhi, several hundred men, women, and children embarked on a historic demonstration from Newcastle in the Natal Colony (today: KwaZulu-Natal) to the Transvaal. Their purpose was to publicly defy the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913. Two additional groups of protestors followed Gandhi, one led by Thambi Naidoo (1875–1933), the other by the barrister Albert Christopher (1885–1960). The following day, the police arrested Gandhi at Palm Ford.

Naidoo, an early collaborator of Gandhi, served as an organizer of the Indian community at Newcastle, where he initiated the Satyagraha campaign. Gandhi himself laid out the satyagrahi's rules of conduct: patient submission and no retaliation to insult, flogging or arrest. For Gandhi, refusing to back down in the struggle against the discriminatory law, a series of arrests, releases on bail and re-arrests ensued during yet another march on November 6, 1913, with the participation of 127 women, 57 children, and 2037 men. At the height of the struggle, there were about fifty thousand so-called indentured laborers on strike and several thousand other Indians in jail. The Government resorted to armed repression, resulting in many deaths. A spontaneous strike by Indians in Natal came as a decisive turn when the violent clash with the police led to the killing and injury of several strikers. By the end of November 1913, produce markets and sugar mills in Durban and Pietermaritzburg stopped operating. Domestic workers at hotels, restaurants and homes refused to perform their tasks. Upon his release from prison in January 1914, Gandhi negotiated with General Smuts over the Indian Relief Bill, a law that nullified the discriminatory £3 tax on ex-indentured workers. The successful end of this Satyagraha campaign, marked by the agreement with Smuts, became a key moment for Gandhi's future recognition as a political authority in India still ruled by the British Empire. Here, more Satyagraha campaigns were to com: Gandhi continued to organize acts of civil disobedience, tax resistance, and nonviolent non-cooperation campaigns, reaching a climax with the 24-day Salt March from Sabarmati to Dandi, Gujarat, India, in 1930.

Epilogue

Recalling Niagara Falls as a crucial border crossing point for the Underground Railroad and a symbol for abolitionist efforts in the nineteenth century, the Niagara Movement (1905–1910) continued the struggle against racism and disenfranchisement in the USA in the post-Civil War era and paved the way for the nascent civil rights movement. The Niagara Movement preceded the NAACP (since 1909). Among the latter's founding members were activists such as the investigative journalist Ida Bell Wells (1862–1931) and William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868–1963), author of *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) and advocate of Pan-Africanism.

While engaged in ideological conflict with Du Bois and opposed to the Niagara Movement's approach to emancipation, Booker Taliaferro Washington (1856–1915) and his Tuskegee Institute, established 1881 at Tuskegee, Alabama, had a notable influence on Gandhi (e.g., in his 1903 article "From Slave to College President," see Gandhi 1979). Washington also inspired John Langalibalele Dube (1871–1946) and Nokutela Dube (1873–1917) at Ohlange High School in Inanda, KwaZulu-Natal, founded in 1901, who were neighbors of Gandhi at Phoenix Settlement in South Africa.

Du Bois, in turn, who founded and edited the NAACP's monthly *The Crisis*, corresponded with Gandhi, "the greatest colored man in the world, and perhaps the greatest man in the world" (*The Crisis,* Vol. 36, No. 7, July 1929, p. 225), who, as per request of Du Bois, sent him a programmatic message (facsimile reproduced in ibid.), written. May 1, 1929, from India:

> Let not the 12 million Negroes be ashamed of the fact that they are the grandchildren of slaves. There is no dishonour in being slaves. There is dishonour in being slave-owners. But let us not think of honour or dishonour in connection with the past. Let us realise that the future is with those who would be truthful, pure, and loving. For, as the old wise men have said, truth ever is, untruth never was. Love alone binds and truth and love accrue only to the truly humble. (Gandhi 1929)

—Oppression! I have seen thee, face to face,
And met thy cruel eye and cloudy brow;
But thy soul-withering glance I fear not now—
For dread to prouder feelings doth give place,
Of deep abhorrence! Scorning the disgrace
Of slavish knees that at thy footstool bow,
I also kneel—but with far other vow
Do hail thee and thy herd of hirelings base :—
I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing veins,
Still to oppose and thwart, with heart and hand.
Thy brutalizing sway—till Afric's chains
Are burst, and Freedom rules the rescued land,
Trampling Oppression and his iron rod :—
Such is the vow I take—so help me, God! (Garrison 1852, p. 64)

—William Lloyd Garrison: *Commencement of The Liberator*,
Boston, January 1, 1831

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