

Hermann Kallenbach

Mahatma Gandhi's friend in South Africa



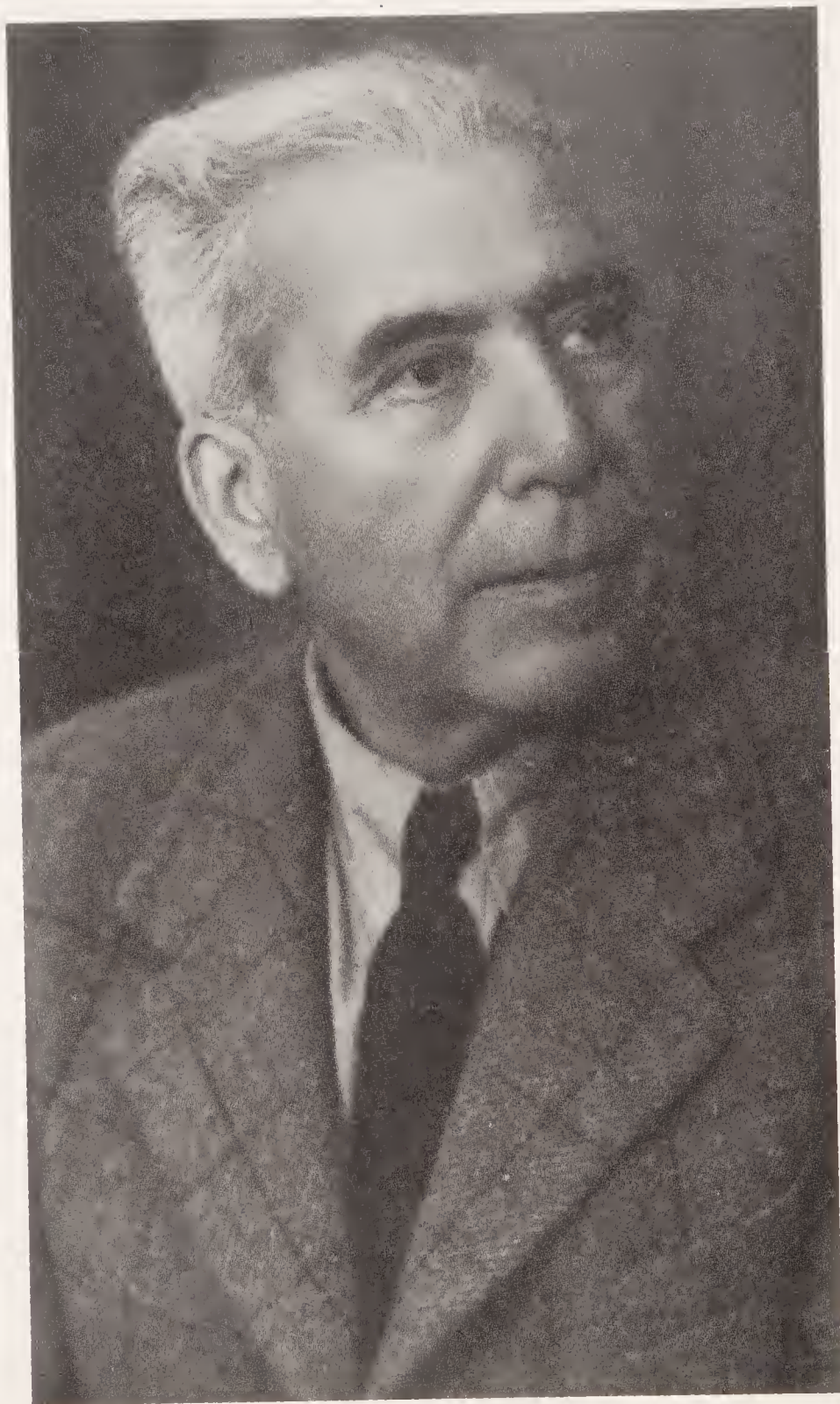
A Biography


by

Isa Sarid

and

Christian Bartolf





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Preface

Dear Reader,

We hereby introduce ourselves:

My name is Isa Sarid. My mother was Hanna Lazar, the niece of Hermann Kallenbach (1871-1945). Hermann Kallenbach was a German-born Jewish pioneer architect and the closest friend of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa from 1903 to 1914, and he remained a close friend of Mahatma Gandhi throughout his life until his death in 1945. Gandhi wrote the following message on the death of Hermann Kallenbach:

"South Africa has lost a most generous-minded citizen, and the Indians of that subcontinent a very warm friend.

In Hermann Kallenbach's death I have lost a very dear and near friend. He used to say to me often that when I was deserted by the whole world, I would find him to be a true friend going with me, if need be, to the ends of the earth in search of Truth." (1)

I lived in Hermann Kallenbach's house on and off, from the age of two years until I graduated from Medical School 23 years later. As a child I respected him, revered him and looked up to him, yet I was always a little afraid of him. The quality of a Spartan-Prussian education comes foremost to my mind as I think of my upbringing: Absolute obedience was expected of me, no arguments were tolerated, and I could not help but resent the many strict rules and regulations governing my life. Many a tear was shed by me, a tear of chagrin and frustration.

Only decades later did I come to understand that my grand-uncle acted in good faith, intending to strengthen my character for my future life. Not only these intentions but also the methods of education and how they were perceived by my grand-uncle, basically originated from Mahatma Gandhi and their common search for Truth on Tolstoy Farm, and during the Satyagraha campaigns of the South African Indian community.

Tolstoy Farm, in the first place, was a refuge or asylum for the families of the imprisoned Indian men who had participated in the non-violent resistance struggle against the anti-Asian legislation of the South African government. It was a unique experiment in communal living for the many and varied Indians in South Africa coming from all sections of the Indian community: Hindoos, Muslims, Sikhs, etc.

My dear mother Hanna Lazar (1897-1987) had a dream - to write and publish the life story of Hermann Kallenbach, her beloved uncle, and his friendship with the great Mahatma Gandhi. Her courage did not fail her, but her eyesight and her health did. Ever since my mother passed away I have felt she left this undertaking to me as a legacy, that I should fill this void and make every effort to realize her dream. With the great help and constant encouragement of my young friend and co-author Christian Bartolf I feel fortunate to accomplish this important task.

My name is Christian Bartolf from Berlin (Germany). I met Dr. Isa Sarid at the Gandhi exhibition in the Ecumenical Center at Tantur between Bethlehem and Jerusalem in autumn 1987, and visited her family home in Haifa. Together with her husband, Meyer Sarid, I built up a private research archive of the Kallenbach Papers which were left at Kallenbach's home Linksfield Ridge (Johannesburg, South Africa) and brought to Israel by Hanna Lazar.

Since 1989, through our cooperative work, we have been fortunate to meet contemporaries of Hermann Kallenbach, such as Rabbi Moses Cyrus Weiler, the head of the Johannesburg Jewish Reform Congregation who spoke at the funeral of Hermann Kallenbach in Johannesburg, and Abraham Shohet, the editor of "The Jewish Advocate" and President of the Bombay Zionist Association in 1937.

Professor Gideon Shimoni inspired our private research work on Hermann Kallenbach and the Tolstoy Farm after he had published his booklet "Gandhi, Satyagraha and the Jews" as a publication of the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations at the Hebrew University (Mount Scopus, Jerusalem).

Without the enthusiastic support of the late Meyer Sarid, his sons Benjamin and Eli (because of his studious research), and all the family, the project could not have come to fruition. This short biography will hopefully contribute towards the publication of a future comprehensive biography.

For the reader of Mahatma Gandhi's autobiographies "Satyagraha in South Africa" and "The Story of My Experiments with Truth", it is obvious that Hermann Kallenbach was not only a friend and associate of Gandhi, but also responsible for the success of the Indian emancipation struggle in South Africa.

That is why Mahatma Gandhi could write in a letter to his former secretary Sonia Schlesin after Hermann Kallenbach's death: "A truly good man has left us." (2)

During his imprisonment as Prisoner of War at the Aliens' Detention Camp on the Isle of Man, Hermann Kallenbach received a letter by Gandhi which read as follows: "Your life there must be a model for the others. How I would love to think that you are there, vindicating your German birth, your

ancestral faith and our joint ideals. You vindicate the first two if you realise the third. And I know you will not fail." (3)

For the political and educational sciences I am acquainted with, the deep and dear friendship of these two Tolstoyans, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, lawyer, and Hermann Kallenbach, architect, is an example of profound congeniality. Tolstoy Farm was the basis for "Satyagraha" ("Firmness in Truth") par excellence and, in nuce, "a model for the others". Posterity is challenged to study and learn from the example of these two "truly good" men, according to new experiments with Truth on the pathway of Non-violence.

Isa Sarid / Christian Bartolf, Haifa (Israel) 1996/7

Introduction

I want to write about my beloved Uncle Hermann Kallenbach.
I want the world to know him.

A man with a great soul. A man of kindness, wisdom, understanding and deep humility. A man who aspired to higher things, who believed in self-discipline and self-sacrifice. A man of high morals, a sense of responsibility, ever ready to be of service to others.

A truly humble man, he never craved for recognition, needing no acknowledgement of his achievements, although I often felt that a measure of appreciation, be it ever so small, might have raised his spirits in difficult times.

Uncle Hermann's interests were manifold and varied. He loved sports, ice-skating, tennis, swimming, bicycle-riding, excelling in all these activities. He was an avid reader and collector of books, an excellent carpenter and gardener.

Uncle Hermann had the gift of friendship. Many were the great personalities with whom he had an amiable relationship: Chaim Weizmann, Prof. Brodetsky, Bronislav Huberman, the Scottish poetess Isabella Fyvie Mayo, Matthias Alexander, George Bernard Shaw, Katherine Shackleton, the artist, Erich Mendelssohn and many others.

Of all his friendships, however, that with Mahatma Gandhi was the closest and most enduring, unique in nature and depth, leaving the strongest impact on my Uncle's life, and cherished by him above all other relationships.

Every letter, every note Gandhi ever wrote to him - and there were many hundreds - was carefully saved, and after my Uncle's death, it became a self-imposed labour of love to sort, type, photostat and file all these writings, to save them for future generations.

As I take my pen in hand, I have to admit I am a novice at writing, never having been trained for such a task. The only excuse I have - if I require one - is the deep and sincere love I bear for my dear Uncle Hermann.

When I voiced my fear to friends that I may not be equal to the task of writing a biography of Hermann Kallenbach, they said: "Just sit down, write and be yourself".

I hope my courage will not fail me, and I pray God for guidance and ask the indulgence of the readers.

Hanna Lazar, 1963

Chapter 1

From Russ to Johannesburg - Early Years and Studies

Hermann Kallenbach (1871-1945) was born in Neustadt, East Prussia, on the 1st of March, 1871. He was raised in a small village called Russ on the river Memel near the Baltic Sea. His father Kalman Leib Kallenbach had originally been a Hebrew teacher ("Melamed"), became a timber merchant and owned a saw-mill. Hermann was the third eldest of seven children living then in Imperial Germany with his Jewish family, at the Eastern border of Germany near Lithuania. In Russia, Samuel Kalmanovitch, the youngest brother of Kalman Leib, was a barrister-at-law, who together with the solicitors Vinawer and Gruzenberg succeeded as a lawyer, a.o. in the famous Mendel Beiliss case of false accusations for ritual murder.

Hermann Kallenbach was not brought up in a Jewish shtetl. His parents observed the Jewish customs and holidays, but were educating their one daughter, Jeanette, and six sons (Samuel, Hermann, Jeremias, Simon, Nathan, Max) by sending them to German schools and colleges at Memel and Tilsit. During the founding years ("Gründerjahre") of nation states in the industrial period, the Eastern provinces of the second German Reich supplied the growing cities with raw materials such as timber from huge forests for wood manufacturing. The childhood and youth of Hermann Kallenbach centered around education, all kind of sports and friendships among the village youth. Later he diligently took up his higher studies, apprenticeship and vocational training, interrupted by one year of military service. After his school years in East Prussia, he received his technical skills in the Western and Southern parts of Germany.

After studying at college in Tilsit until Easter 1890, Hermann Kallenbach was apprenticed during summer 1890 to Master Carpenter ("Zimmermeister") Weiss, Koenigsberg, East Prussia. In the Winter-"Semester" 1890/91, he studied at the "Technikum Strelitz", Mecklenburg. During summer 1891 he continued his apprenticeship in Koenigsberg and Tilsit; in the Winter-"Semester" 1891/92 he studied at the Royal School for Architects ("Koenigliche Baugewerkschule") Stuttgart, Württemberg. In the summer of 1892 he was apprenticed to a Master Mason in Stuttgart; then he continued his studies at the "Baugewerkschule" in Stuttgart. From beginning of 1893 to September 1894 he worked as Draftsman and Clerk of Works at the Offices of Architect Meisenbacher in Stuttgart. From October 1894 to October 1895 he served as "One-year-volunteer" ("Einjaehriger-Freiwilliger") in the German army with the Royal Engineers ("Koenigliches Ingenieurs-Bataillon") in Munich. After this time he continued his studies in Munich and Strelitz and passed his examinations there on May 18, 1896.

Hermann Kallenbach, thus, became a mason, carpenter, building technician, and architect! Three months after passing his final examinations, he left for South Africa (August 1896) to join his uncles Henry and Simon Sacke in Johannesburg. South Africa would become the new home of the 25-year-old Kallenbach, the land of his dreams as a building pioneer.

Hermann Kallenbach was not only a diligent craftsman and architect, but also a student and enthusiast of different sports, ambitious enough to become a master at iceskating, in swimming, cycling and as a gymnast. His niece, Hanna Lazar, wrote:

"Uncle Hermann, as well as the Kallenbach brothers, was a keen sportsman, so that passers-by in the village of Russ (District Heidekrug, East Prussia) used to remark that at the rack always some Kallenbach boys were hanging. In winter all the boys used to skate on the frozen River Memel, which passed by grandfather's timber-mill and on which in summer Russian raftsmen brought in the rafts full of tree trunks for the mill. I presume that all the boys were skating, but it was only uncle Hermann who made a perfect art out of it. During the time of his studies, for example, uncle Hermann used to go to Dresden in order to skate, on the then famous Eisrink where he met amongst other friends a then famous author by the name of Ludwig Ganghofer, who also happened to be a skater. Later, during the Anglo-Boer war, when his uncle sent him to London to study European design, he was also able to develop his love for skating, because the London Skating Rink Authorities reserved for him a part on their large skating rink for his private use. Much later on, during the years of his architectural activities in South Africa, he built the very fine skating rink at Johannesburg.

Also in summer the River Memel provided the sporting background for the young Kallenbach family. They all learned to swim and uncle Hermann all through his life remained a powerful exponent of this healthy sport." (1)

"I forgot to mention that he was also a very keen cyclist. During his architectural studies he and another four of his co-students went on a cycling tour across the Alps. Also after having left Germany he and some friends made a competition cycling from Johannesburg to Pretoria and back (74 kilometres)." (2)

Hermann Kallenbach was, what was later called a "muscle Jew" (cp. Max Nordau's writings on Zionism: "Zionistische Schriften") contradicting all antisemitic stereotypes of his age. He was a modest and strong craftsman and architect, the son of a timber merchant, with a timber mill in a small village. He

longed to become a building pioneer in Colonial South Africa. He was a German citizen with "a vein of other-worldliness", because his Jewish origin opened his mind towards the reception of cultural influences, and of international experience. He was born at the border between Eastern and Western Europe - a Baltic character with relation to land and sea, imprinted with childhood recollections of village and forest life, down to earth, and deeply rooted in the practical life of craftsmen and farmers. His lively and deep interests in the natural elements and physical exercises as a "very keen gymnast" made him fit to realize his practical projects, always prepared to marvel at the wisdom of the East. He had left Europe to form his Western profile as a successful architect in South Africa. Seven years later he met an Indian lawyer by the name of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi who changed his entire life.

Chapter 2

Friendship with Gandhi - "Lower House" and "Upper House"

"We met by accident. He was a friend of Mr. Khan's, and as the latter had discovered deep down in him a vein of other-worldliness he introduced him to me." (1)

Hermann Kallenbach was a friend of Mr. Khan, the Mahomedan lawyer. Mr. Khan had taken upon himself the legal responsibilities, when Gandhi developed his "spirit of service" by voluntary hospital work to nurse indentured labourers coming from the different Indian regions and communities. Soon Gandhi succeeded to integrate not only the different groups of Indians in British South Africa. He also became the spokesman for all the Asian communities in their struggle for equal civil rights and emancipation.

"Mr. Gandhi is the political leader of the Indians in South Africa; the number of Indian inhabitants is at the moment over 150.000 in Transvaal, Orange River Colony (Orange Free State), Natal, Cape Colony & Rhodesia (...) These people have never received an equal political standing as the rest of the European inhabitants enjoy, and they require a leader of the moral calibre of a personality as Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi is also the editor of a journal called "Indian Opinion" (...) He expresses for his people their wishes and their needs, also educational requirements. He represents them to the authorities in their most dire needs. (...) For this purpose he has founded a colony named "Phoenix" (...) about 14 miles from Durban on which approximately 60 persons have made their homes (...) helping in agricultural aspects of country life. (...) There is a school and a prayer room, and the machinery for a printing press. (...) The system of this colony is to educate and show them a way of life in which they can live as an example to their fellow Indians, a tremendously modest

and yet a lovable way of life. (...) I do *not* intend to join the community of this colony." (2)

Gandhi had founded his Phoenix Settlement in Natal in December 1904. Phoenix Settlement was inspired by John Ruskin's essays on the principles of political economy "Unto This Last" which Polak had recommended to Gandhi. Kallenbach later became the responsible Trustee of Phoenix Settlement, and Phoenix became the model experiment for the unique "Tolstoy Farm".

"Towards Self-Restraint" is the chapter title of Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography "The Story of My Experiments with Truth" where he gave an account of his first meeting with Hermann Kallenbach:

"When I came to know him I was startled at his love of luxury and extravagance. But at our first meeting, he asked searching questions concerning matters of religion. We incidentally talked of Gautama Buddha's renunciation. Our acquaintance soon ripened into very close friendship, so much so that we thought alike, and he was convinced that he must carry out in his life the changes I was making in mine." (3)

These changes were manifold. Gandhi influenced Kallenbach to become a Vegetarian. They often changed their diet. "Cooking was practically done away with. Raw groundnuts, bananas, dates, lemons, and olive oil composed our usual diet." (4) They reduced their expenses and deprivileged themselves: "Our ambition was to live the life of the poorest people." (5) Non-stimulating foods were used in their saltless diet, and regular weekly fasting served to control the palate and to reduce the passions. By spiritual discipline they wanted to root out the carnal desires of mind and body, and the greed for luxuries. Kallenbach revolutionized his life by reducing his monthly expenses from 75 to 8 Pounds Sterling. "It was a fairly hard life that we led" (6), Gandhi retrospectively

remembered their reformed life. "He is a man of strong feelings, wide sympathies and childlike simplicity. He is an architect by profession, but there is no work, however lowly, which he would consider to be beneath his dignity." (7)

"When I broke up my Johannesburg establishment, I lived with him but he would be hurt if I offered to pay him my share of the household expenses, and would plead that I was responsible for considerable savings in his domestic economy. This was indeed true." (8)

Voluntary simplicity became the constitution of their self-reliant life in "The Kraal", Rondavels, District Orchards, Johannesburg, at "The Mountain View", Linksfield, Johannesburg, and later on during their settlement life on "Tolstoy Farm".

Hermann Kallenbach wrote to his brother Simon in Germany:

"For the last five weeks we have no native servant and, therefore, we are attending ourselves to all our work. We cook, bake, scrub and clean the house and the yard; we polish our own shoes, and work in the flower and vegetable garden. We are leading a most unusual life which helps a person to develop more independently, and the person becomes better. Mr. Gandhi is a vegetarian according to his religious conviction as a Hindu. For the last two years I have given up meat-eating; for the last year I also did not touch fish any more; and for the last 18 months I have given up my sex life. I believe that I have gained in character - strength - mental vitality and physical development; my bodily well-being has become better and bigger. I have never been "eccentric" and I believe I am not so now! I have changed my daily life in order to simplify it and I found out that, in every direction, this change has helped me; and I hope that I shall be able to continue my life accordingly. Notwithstanding, I shall change

my life, even tomorrow - should I feel that this way of living should not suit *me*." (9)

They addressed each other "Lower House" (Kallenbach) and "Upper House" (Gandhi): "(...) Kallenbach was the 'Lower House' and Gandhiji the 'Upper House' - the 'Lower House' preparing the budget and the 'Upper House' vetoing large chunks of it!" (10)

"In the English parliament there is a Senate = Upper House, and the Executive = Lower House, or the Law Giver, and the one who carries out the Laws." (11)

In 1908, Kallenbach bought a car to surprise Gandhi and fetch him home from prison in Johannesburg. But Kallenbach was surprised to find Gandhi completely silent on their way home. For Gandhi the car was an unnecessary expense. For one year the car stood in the garage, unused, and Kallenbach sold it. During a voyage in 1914, Gandhi threw two pairs of Kallenbach's binoculars into the sea. The second pair was a precious gift to Kallenbach from his uncle Sacke. All unnecessary luxuries were disposed of by Gandhi into the rubbish heap, for instance silver rings for serviettes, because superfluous luxuries would cause distress.

"On the morning on which he had to go to meet General Smuts at Pretoria for a very important interview I found him (be)rating me severely for something or other that had happened in our domestic affairs, something perhaps that I had omitted to do. I remonstrated with him saying it was no use his wasting his time over domestic trifles when he must be thinking of the interview he was going to have with General Smuts. 'No,' he flared up and said: 'These little things are to me of as much importance as the big ones. For they touch the very core of our life, and truth is one whole, it has no compartments.' And thus I have seen him on small as well as big occasions pursuing the same passionate search of truth. I

have had the privilege of sharing his joys and his sorrows too. A defeat in a campaign means not so much to him as the lapse of a dear one from truth or purity, and I was witness once to one such event coming to him with a staggering blow. (...) But I saw the reason of his distress over these incidents. He lavished his affection on me and therefore dealt with me more severely than he would have done with others. That was the tyranny of his affection, but that affection is my proudest possession." (12)

Gandhi exaggerated tremendously in order to reveal Truth, but his educational methods often were too strict for his nearest and dearest, mostly his family, but also for his European friends. Sonia Schlesin, however, laughed at Gandhi's rigidity and became Gandhi's ablest secretary, fully devoted to the righteous Indian cause. Kallenbach has introduced her to Gandhi because Sonia Schlesin was a niece of Viktor Rosenberg who came from Kallenbach's home-town and who had the same profession as Kallenbach's father. Together with the attorney Henry S.L. Polak, Sonia Schlesin and Hermann Kallenbach formed a trio around Gandhi, the stronghold of selfless supporters during the Indian struggle of emancipation. The first biography on Gandhi ("An Indian Patriot") was written in Kallenbach's home, "The Kraal", a group of African-style white buildings with grass-thatched roofs ending in a spitz-point in the centres of roundly huts. Leo Tolstoy received this biography from Gandhi and was so much inspired that he, later, agreed to give his name to Kallenbach's farm project: the "Tolstoy Farm".

Chapter 3

A Staunch Tolstoyan - Tolstoy Farm

"**R**ead Tolstoy + tell me what you think of his teachings." (1)

Hermann Kallenbach and Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi followed the teachings of the Russian Count Leo Nikolaevitch Tolstoy (1828-1910). In his ethical writings about Economy and Society he criticized the institutions of State, Military System and the Church. "The Kingdom of God Is Within You" (1893), especially, had particularly influenced Gandhi at a very early stage. He even presented the book to the Chief Warden of his prison for reading.

"What Tolstoy wants + what I too am striving for, is to recognize the right + to live accordingly without disturbing my fellow beings as far as possible. To give one's opinion, give advise + to become a world reformer might be the ideal of many, but it is not Tolstoy's. He says: "Live according to the right, once you have recognized it." Each one according to his capacity to realize it. Never disturb your fellow Beings. Carry out in practice (that) which you considered right in theory. Frederic the Great was to have said: "Each one should seek salvation according to his own fashion". Accordingly everyone will execute the right, as far as his understanding, his courage, his energy + his circumstances allow him. To realize the right in theory,

this is what Tolstoy wants to teach us + not only from his books, but from his new way of life (...)" (2)

Hermann wrote these lines to his brother Simon when he was living on Tolstoy Farm. Tolstoy Farm was the joint enterprise of a communal settlement which served as a haven of refuge for the Indian families of those satyagrahis who were thrown into jail for their public civil rights' protest.

"Mr. Kallenbach has given the name "Tolstoy Farm" to the farm which he has offered for (the use of) the satyagrahi families. He has great faith in Count Tolstoy's teaching and tries to live up to it. He himself wants to live on the farm and follow a simple mode of life. It appears Mr. Kallenbach will gradually give up his work as architect and live in complete poverty.

Mr. Kallenbach has rendered a valuable service by offering the use of his farm, but more so by deciding to live among our people. He has also agreed to look after the womenfolk in the absence of Mr. Gandhi. That any white should be moved by such a spirit must be attributed to the power of satyagraha." (3)

Kallenbach and Gandhi exchanged letters with the Russian Count Tolstoy in the year 1910 asking for permission to continue their communitarian experiment in his name. Leo Tolstoy had morally supported his "brothers and sisters in the Transvaal". He had learned from the first biography on Gandhi by Joseph Doke, how the non-violent campaigns of "Upper House" and "Lower House" agreed

with his principle of non-cooperation with injustice. At this time, all over the world settlers were inspired by Tolstoy's ideas. In Palestine Aharon David Gordon (1856-1922), during the second immigration ("Alijah"), founded Kibbutz Degania in 1909. He gave concrete shape to the Zionist idea of communal living in the Palestine agricultural settlements (cp. "Oldnewland" by Theodor Herzl). A.D. Gordon reformed his life: from a land administrator in Russia to a peasant in Palestine, because agricultural work meant for him the basis for Arab-Jewish cooperation in the future.

Kibbutz Degania in the south of Tiberias is still operating, a living museum of the first Palestine pioneers. It is the place of Kallenbach's grave. -

"The farm measures about 1100 acres, being two miles in length and three quarters of a mile in breadth. It is situated near Lawley Station, 22 miles from Johannesburg. It takes twenty minutes to walk down from the station to the farm. By rail, it generally takes about one and a half hours to reach it from here.

The soil appears to be fertile. The farm has about a thousand fruit-bearing trees growing on it. There are peaches, apricots, figs, almonds, walnuts, etc. In addition, there are eucalyptus and wattle trees.

The farm has two wells and a small spring. The landscape is beautiful. At the head there is a hill, with some more or less level land at the foot. (...)

This is a very important venture. Its roots go deep; it is up to the satyagrahis who settle there to make it bear sweet fruit by the way they live." (4)

On May 30, 1910, Kallenbach had offered his farm and the use of the buildings to the Indian families, "free of any rent or charge", "as long as the struggle with the Transvaal Government lasts". Since June 4, 1910, Kallenbach, Gandhi and two of his sons have settled on Tolstoy Farm. The vegetarian Hermann Kallenbach who, in addition, liberated himself from tobacco and alcohol intoxicants, whole-heartedly dedicated his services to his Indian friends with whom he shared their life on the Farm.

"What will perhaps appeal most of all to the Indian community is the way in which Mr. Kallenbach, literally as well as figuratively, "takes off his coat" to the work of helping the cause he has made his own." (5)

Some days later, Gandhi wrote to Tolstoy in Russia:

"Mr. Kallenbach has written to you about Tolstoy Farm. Mr. Kallenbach and I have been friends for many years. I may state that he has gone through most of the experiences that you have so graphically described in your work, *My Confessions*. No writings have so deeply touched Mr. Kallenbach as yours; and, as a spur to further effort in living up to the ideals held before the world by you, he has taken the liberty, after consultation with me, of naming his farm after you." (6)

His secretary Chertkov sent Tolstoy's heartiest greetings and warmest wishes for the good results of the efforts made by Gandhi and his associates which Tolstoy very much appreciated. It was - de facto - a veritable

continuation of Leo Tolstoy's heritage what had been realized by Kallenbach and Gandhi on Tolstoy Farm.

"I do not consider this neither as an extreme return to natural life, nor as an abrupt transition from civilization to nature. Already as a schoolboy, I loved God's free nature, but only now circumstances have allowed me to realize this love of nature by purchasing a farm. The presence of the Indians on the farm is of mutual advantage." (7)

Two years later, Kallenbach identified himself completely with the Indian struggle for emancipation under the guidance of Gandhi. He placed his mansion at "Mountain View" in Johannesburg at the disposal of the Indian families, while at the same time he organized meetings for them in the city centre, while he worked on Tolstoy Farm:

"We are having a very busy time with our farm work: the pruning of the fruit-trees, cultivating the soil and manuring of a large vegetable garden, and planting of new fruit-trees. I have had erected a new wind mill which is pumping about 900 gallons of water per hour into the reservoir, 130 feet high. From the reservoir I have laid pipes to three different buildings and also to the vegetable garden. The day could have double as many hours, and I would still be as busy as ever." (8)

In Potchefstroom, Kallenbach had studied governmental model gardens, and his experience was the basis for the agricultural planting:

"For there were no servants on the Farm, and all the work, from cooking down to scavenging, was done by the inmates. There were many fruit trees to be looked after, and enough gardening to be done as well. Mr. Kallenbach was fond of gardening and had gained some experience of this work in one of the governmental model gardens. It was obligatory on all, young and old, who were not engaged in the kitchen, to give some time to gardening. The children had the lion's share of this work, which included digging pits, felling timber and lifting loads. This gave them ample exercise. They took delight in the work, and so they did not generally need any other exercise or games." (9)

Kallenbach learned sandal-making from the German Trappist monks in Mariannhill. After completing the course, he taught this art to Gandhi and others at Tolstoy Farm. Carpentry, planting of fruit-trees, gardening - "open air" work and "learning by doing" contributed greatly to the health of all the inmates. They reduced their expenses in order to be able to continue the Satyagraha campaign.

Voluntary Simplicity, Village Life, Basic Education through Vocational Training, Craftsmanship and Agricultural Work, Ethics of Renunciation (Vegetarianism, Chastity), Non-violent Resistance and Non-cooperation with the Evil - these were the principles which Leo Tolstoy had advocated.

"Insofar as you + I wish to follow it, it is your + my own affair", writes Hermann to his brother Simon to Germany. "But we should + must have the courage, insofar as we

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are able to realize the right way, to recognize it, even if we do not live accordingly." (10)

Just as A. D. Gordon strived for the Jewish Kibbutz movement in Palestine, so has Gandhi envisaged for the South African Indians at the same time:

"We place a very high value on Mr. Kallenbach's offer of his farm for the benefit of satyagrahis. If the families of the latter use it well, we shall have no occasion for anxiety, however long the struggle lasts. There will be much saving in expenditure, and those who settle on the farm will learn to be happy. They will have, on the farm, a noble life in place of the unclean and monotonous ways of town-life. Moreover, what they will learn on the farm will prove useful for a life-time. Indeed, we have said in the past that the Indian community would be well rewarded if it were to take to agriculture and would be saved the anxieties incidental to business. We have to pay a heavy price for not recognizing the value of this best of occupations." (11)

The Indian Community seized the opportunity; this farming experiment in South Africa became a model for Gandhi's Ashrams in India (Sabarmati/Ahmedabad, Sevagram/Wardha), and Hermann Kallenbach made it possible:

"(Mr. Kallenbach) has given all he legitimately could and has expected no return. He does not want to develop his estate through the labour of those passive resisters who could put in their labour without paying them for it. Acts

such as Mr. Kallenbach's are calculated to bring East and West nearer in real fellowship than any amount of rhetorical writing or speaking. We shall watch this experiment with very great interest." (12)

Chapter 4

The Epic March - Satyagraha

Between 1903 and 1913, Gandhi developed his "soul-force" (1) as a non-violent method to overcome the sweltering heat of oppression which burdened the Coloured citizens of the British Empire in the South African colony. The British and Boer politicians of the Transvaal, of Natal and the Orange Free State aimed at stopping the "continual influx of Asiatics", in the words of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in South Africa.

The South African politicians, British and Boer, restricted the immigration of Indian workers, imposed licences on Indian traders, prevented educated Indians from immigration, worsened the living conditions in the Indian locations until the outbreak of a plague epidemic in 1904. They segregated public transport systems (in trams, trains and on ships) and deprived the Indian poor by poll tax rules practically disenfranchising them.

This was the time when Gandhi started public relations' work for obtaining equal and full civil rights, but not political power of autonomy, yet regarding himself as a loyal citizen of the British Empire. Gandhi offered his services as stretcher-bearer in Indian Ambulance Corps during the Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902) and the Zulu 'Rebellion' (1906). He agreed to the abolition of indentured labor because of its degrading and humiliating character. But he insisted on mutual agreements and consultations with the Indian community before legal steps were taken. Gandhi favored compromises in negotiations, and he offered several proposals for legislation. The Boer General Jan Christian Smuts obviously breached his promises to withdraw discriminatory ordinances and law drafts.

The Transvaal Immigrations' Restriction Act (No. 15 of 1907) and the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act (Law 2 of 1907), imposing forced registration with finger-prints on the Indian and Chinese citizens, were the tip of the iceberg. Gandhi offered voluntary registration instead, knowing that this could mean to bring heavy tax burdens on the shoulders of each Indian family. The "Black Act" imposed on Indians a tax of three Pounds Sterling per head. This law had already been passed as early as 1885, but was reinforced in 1903. It actually took Gandhi and the Indians ten years to abolish this "Black Act". And no success would have been guaranteed without the altruistic support of Hermann Kallenbach.

Unifying all different religious and ethnic groups of the Asiatic community in these impressive campaigns of soul-force resistance during the years 1906, 1907/08 and 1913 was the advent and birth of "Satyagraha". "Satyagraha" is an Indian word, a Gujarati designation for the emancipation struggle of non-violent resistance with steadfast "Firmness in Truth". In fact, this concept was clarified by a prize competition. Gandhi's nephew Maganlal was one of the competitors and he suggested the word "Sadagraha", meaning 'firmness in a good cause'. Gandhi liked the word, but it did not fully represent the whole idea he wished it to connote. He therefore corrected it to "Satyagraha":

"Truth (*satya*) implies love, and firmness (*agraha*) engenders and therefore serves as a synonym for force. I thus began to call the Indian movement '*satyagraha*', that is to say, the Force which is born of Truth and Love or non-violence, and gave up the use of the phrase 'passive resistance', in connection with it, so much so that even in English writing we often avoided it and used instead the word '*satyagraha*' itself or some other equivalent English phrase. This then was the

genesis of the movement which came to be known as satyagraha, and of the word used as a designation for it." (2)

Gandhi admired the "greatness and bravery and austerity" of the Hero as a prophet, as Thomas Carlyle described it in his book "Heroes and Hero-worship". Gandhi's main inspiration, however, was the Bhagavadgita (The Song Celestial). Krishna's words in this "book *par excellence* for the knowledge of Truth" became invaluable to him (3):

" If one
Ponders on objects of the sense, there springs
Attraction; from attraction grows desire,
Desire flames to fierce passion, passion breeds
Recklessness; then the memory - all betrayed -
Lets noble purpose go, and saps the mind,
Till purpose, mind, and man are all undone."

The principle of non-violent resistance ("Resist not evil" with violent means according to the Sermon on the Mount) delighted Gandhi beyond measure. He tried to unify the teaching of the Bhagavadgita (Krishna), the Light of Asia (Buddha) and the Sermon on the Mount (Jeshua). That renunciation was the highest form of religion appealed to him greatly.

Single-minded devotion to the righteous cause, selfless service with a disinterested spirit, devoid of passion - this principle of Karmayogi or Anasaktiyogi revealed in the Gita was the guideline for Gandhi and Kallenbach during these common years of "practical idealism". Tolstoy Farm (1910-1914) and the Epic March in 1913 meant the blossoming of this Tree of Knowledge. The Epic March started on November 6, 1913, when 2,037 men, 127 women and 57 children offered prayers and commenced the pilgrimage in the name of God.

The aim of the marchers was to cross the border between Natal and the Transvaal between Charlestown and Volksrust - two days before Europeans met in Volksrust to publicly threaten the Indians with violent shooting. It was Hermann Kallenbach who converted their minds:

"Mr. Kallenbach attended this meeting to reason with the Europeans who were however not prepared to listen to him. Indeed some of them even stood up to assault him. Mr. Kallenbach is an athlete, having received physical training at the hands of Sandow, and it was not easy to frighten him. One European challenged him to a duel. Mr. Kallenbach replied, "As I have accepted the religion of peace, I may not accept the challenge. Let him who will come and do his worst with me. But I will continue to claim a hearing at this meeting. You have publicly invited all Europeans to attend, and I am here to inform you that not all Europeans are ready as you are to lay violent hands upon innocent men. There is one European who would like to inform you that the charges you level at the Indians are false. The Indians do not want what you imagine them to do. The Indians are not out to challenge your position as rulers. They do not wish to fight with you or to fill the country. They only seek justice pure and simple. They propose to enter the Transvaal not with a view to settling there, but only as an effective demonstration against the unjust tax which is levied on them. They are brave men. They will not injure you in person or in property, they will not fight with you, but enter the Transvaal they will, even in the face of your gunfire. They are not the men to beat a retreat from fear of your bullets or your spears. They propose to melt, and I know they will melt, your hearts by self-suffering. This is all I have to say. I have had my say and I believe that I have thus rendered you a service. Beware and save yourselves from perpetrating a wrong." With these words Mr. Kallenbach resumed his seat. The audience was rather abashed. The pugilist who had invited Mr. Kallenbach to single combat became his friend." (4)

Strikes of indentured laborers in coal-mines were accompanying the Epic March. The satyagrahis intended to abolish the "Black Act" with the heavy tax burden on Indian shoulders. This "army of peace" expected their arrest, but was prepared to walk 20 to 25 miles per day. "Mr. Kallenbach had made all the necessary arrangements" (5) to shelter and feed the marchers. How the march succeeded gradually and how the imprisonment of Gandhi, Polak and Kallenbach essentially contributed to the surprising triumph of "Satyagraha" was described best in Hermann Kallenbach's letter diary to his sister Jeanette.

On the recommendation of an "Indian Inquiry Commission" set up by the Union Government to inquire into the causes of the strike, Gandhi, Polak and Kallenbach were transferred from Volksrust to Pretoria and released unconditionally on December 18, 1913. They were accorded a reception on reaching Johannesburg the evening of the very same day. In Durban, they were garlanded and taken in a procession to the office of the Natal Indian Congress where they addressed the gathering. Six to seven thousand persons including some prominent Europeans attended the mass meeting in Durban four days later. Two days later, the Minister of Interior rejected Gandhi's demands, but the Satyagrahis, among them Kasturba, Maganlal and Chhaganlal Gandhi, were released from Maritzburg Gaol. A provisional agreement between Gandhi and Smuts was declared in order to avoid new confrontations.

On June 27, 1914 a Congratulatory Meeting of European and Indian friends assembled in Cape Town to congratulate Gandhi on the passing of the Indians' Relief Bill, the removal of the 3-Pounds tax and other outstanding disabilities of the Indians in South Africa. The triumph of Satyagraha was the end of Gandhi's time in South Africa. He wished to return to India via England; his wife, Kasturba, and Kallenbach wanted

to accompany him to live in India. The guidance of the Indian politician, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who was hosted by Kallenbach during his stay in South Africa, the political missions of mediation of Charles Freer Andrews and W.W. Pearson, eight years of continuous Satyagraha struggle with the suffering of thousands of resisters had quickened the South African conscience.

On July 14, 1914, a farewell banquet was given in the Masonic Hall, Johannesburg, in honour of Gandhi, Kasturba and Kallenbach. They were presented addresses of the British Indian Association, the Chinese Association, the Tamil Benefit Society, the Transvaal Indian Women's Association and the Gujarati, the Mahomedan and the Parsee communities.

At the Farewell Meeting in the Town Hall of Durban, "(Gandhi) thanked the community on behalf of Kallenbach who was another brother to him, for the addresses presented. The community had done well in recognizing Mr. Kallenbach's worth. Mr. Kallenbach would tell them that he came to the struggle to gain. He considered that, by taking up their cause, he gained a great deal in the truest sense. Mr. Kallenbach had done splendid work during the strike at Newcastle and, when the time came, he cheerfully went to prison, again thinking that he was the gainer and not the loser." (6)

After their arrival in Cape Town, they were received and taken to the docks in a procession by a large number of European and Indian friends who presented gifts. On the occasion of this overwhelming and triumphant farewell from South Africa, representatives of Indian communities from Port Elizabeth to Madras places expressed their gratitude. With reference to his cooperation with his "dear friend and guide Mr. Gandhi", Hermann Kallenbach summarized in his farewell speech what the years of Satyagraha meant to him and what these profound experiences should teach to the South African Indians:

"You have made me understand better my own religion, you have made me love more my own people, you have helped me to be less arrogant, less slothful, and you have made me become more truthful."

"If I may place before you my humble views, I may say the first and foremost condition is that the two principal sections of the Indian community in South Africa, Moslems and Hindus must live in peace and that those members of the two communities who take up this peace work in thought and in action in real earnest are performing the greatest service to their community here and to their Motherland. (...)

Second not only retain outwardly, but profess and practice also inwardly, under the new conditions of life created in South Africa, your religions - Moslems to be true and become truer Moslems, and Hindoos to be true and become truer Hindoos.

The third not to be ashamed, but on the contrary to be proud of these Indian customs and habits which your acknowledged true men have practised for thousands of years, and which true men are practising now and hold so sacred.

If these three conditions are striven after and made progress in, you do not require Gandhis here, as every one of you will be a Gandhi to a certain extent; and no oppression often through selfish interests produced by, and even forced (...) upon the communities you live with, by modern civilization, can never assail you." (7)

*Hermann Kallenbach's Diary Letter to Jeanette Sammel
from Krugersdorp Jail,
written between 21.11. and 16.12. 1913*

"In Jail, Krugersdorp, 21.11.1913.

Good Sister,

you are the eldest of the Kallenbach family, but I do not address you thus because you are the eldest of us, no, because I also consider you the best of us.

Though the qualities in which our modern life appear a necessity, having overgrown your character as most of ours, in your soul these negative qualities have not taken root, and have not polluted, the all-embracing and deep love.

In the following, I intend to convey to you and through you to all the members of the family who would be sufficiently interested in the happenings of a life of an extraordinary nature, the following happenings, in the form of a diary, which occurred shortly before and during my imprisonment in South Africa.

However before I shall do that, it will be necessary to explain to you the reason, the purpose, and the method, of campaigning by the British Indian settlers against the Transvaal Government and against the South African Union. The two main reasons for the prejudice against the Indian population of S.A. are, their successful competition in their daily life, and the innate prejudice against coloured people. The latter has its roots and reason in the war of hundreds of years against the black population of this country.

Approximately 60 years ago the Natal Government imported the Indians to South Africa for the purpose of working on the sugar fields, and for work on S.A. soil. In the course of time, other groups of Indians were allowed to come to this country, i.e. a small group of merchants as well as some professionals. Many of these indentured labourers - after having completed their 5 years' contract - were looking for other types of work,

and their children did likewise. A small proportion of these studied medicine, law, etc. with success.

As long as the Indians conform with the customs of their homeland, which most of them do, so long their needs are modest, as are those of most of the Asiatic people. They are very diligent and in the course of time they have learned to ensure for themselves a position and standing in all forms of agriculture, in commerce, and trade. In 1905, began a strong agitation against the Indians when the Government of the Boers took over control. Mr. M.K. Gandhi, an advocate (barrister-at-law), became the chosen head of the Indian side. He decided to fight the unjustified laws against a part of the population which was voiced by drastic laws, and a behaviour of contempt towards them, by way of "Passive Resistance". The sympathies of the Indian and the British Governments were on the side of the Indians. The Government of South Africa demanded a ceasefire. They dismissed approximately 30 political prisoners amongst whom the first one was Mr. Gandhi. These people disobeyed these unjustified laws and gladly took the punishment upon themselves. Mr. Gandhi negotiated with the various ministers concerned and received some assurances which satisfied him. (However, these promises did not satisfy all of his own people and, during a murderous onslaught by his own people, he was almost beaten to death.) However, when the time arrived for the promises to be carried out, the various ministers contradicted the assertions of Mr. Gandhi (especially General Smuts, with whom the negotiations had taken place personally), and they refused to allow these laws to be carried out. The second campaign of Passive Resistance began, during which about 3000 Indians were thrown into jail, amongst whom was also Mr. Gandhi, together with two of his sons.

Until now, I took part only to the point of speaking at various meetings. By the beginning of the year 1910, however, I decided to take a more active part in the movement. The families of the destitute Passive Resisters

were supported with the bare necessities for their living allowance and their rent. The latter alone came to a sum of approximately 200 Pounds Sterling monthly. Mr. Gandhi then discussed with me a plan to purchase a property from public funds, not too far from Johannesburg, where we would be able to concentrate the dependant families. At this time, I offered to purchase a farm at my own expense, in order to be able to extend a refuge to the families and their dependants. My offer was accepted. I purchased a farm approximately 20 miles south of Johannesburg, in May 1910. I named the farm "Tolstoy Farm", as I knew that Tolstoy considered Passive Resistance as one of the most far-reaching and important teachings, which should be used not only by single individuals, but also by whole peoples. As soon as people have accepted that, wars will be no more! Mr. Gandhi, and from time to time his sons or friends, lived with me from the beginning of 1907. In June 1910 we all moved to Tolstoy Farm. We lived the life of simple farmers, and had only one vegetarian kitchen for all settlers.

At the beginning of 1911, through the efforts of the Indian and British Governments, we restarted negotiations. Mr. Gandhi was summoned to Capetown, where at that time the South African Government sat. The ministers, through the intervention of General Smuts, gave promises in writing to submit to Parliament such laws as were detrimental and offensive to the Indian population, as soon as the possibility for such action arose. Such laws would do away with the complaints of the Indian population.

Again a ceasefire was proclaimed. All passive resisters, who at that time were in prisons in Transvaal, were at once released. In the interim, the laws were administered in such a way as to conform to laws which Parliament had to confirm later on. Important government business delayed these matters up to the middle of 1913. Such government business was necessary for carrying out of the newly founded laws by the South African Union. In the meantime, a change of ministers for the Interior had taken place, and the new minister ignored

the promises made. In July of this year (1913) such laws were submitted to Parliament by the government that instead of helping the Indian population spelled civil and economic ruin for them. Only thanks to the opposition in Parliament, these laws were formulated in such a way as to thwart the unsympathetic intentions of the government. Yet these laws, even in the way as they were ratified by Parliament, did not fulfill the promises of the Government. Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of the Indian population, therefore decided to take up the campaign again, and the third Passive Resistance struggle started again in September of this year.

During the previously mentioned ceasefire Mr. Gandhi founded an Indian school on the Tolstoy Farm, which he himself managed until January 1913. This school, for reasons of better management conditions, was eventually transferred to Phoenix (situated 14 miles from Durban, Natal). This settlement was founded by Mr. Gandhi in 1904. (...)

In February of this year, I let my farm for three years, as I intended to leave for India in the middle of this year, together with Mr. Gandhi and his family. However, the renewed break of promises by the South African Government to the Indian people, thwarted these plans; and convinced of the great wrong of the government done to them, I put myself completely at the disposal of my friends, in the now enthusiastically begun third Passive Resistance Campaign.

What is Passive Resistance?

It is the doctrine which we find in almost all religions. In the Jewish Religion, it is most clearly and strongly expressed in the teachings by the Baal-Shem; in the Christian religion expressed in the "Sermon on the Mount"; in the Hindu religion - more strongly than in all other religions - in the wonderfully translated works "The Song Celestial" (Bhagavad Gita) and "The Light of Asia" by Sir Edwin Arnold, which were of classical beauty. This is the teaching not to meet force and violence in a likewise manner, but to meet them with passive suffering. Unjust laws should not be obeyed, but the

punishment for disobedience should be taken upon one's own shoulders, so as not to partake in the wrong.

The Indian people, - who for thousands of years of tradition felt much stronger about this than any other nation - accepted humbly the punishments meted out to them. These punishments were: fines, imprisonment and deportation. This is not the place to enlarge upon the far-reaching moral and ethical consequences of the "Passive Resistance" teaching. In the writings by Tolstoy as well as in the works of great German authors, you will find fuller explanations.

From the day of the "Declaration of War", if I may call that, I took part intensively in all that happened. During the absence of Mr. Gandhi, my work consisted of the following: - I addressed meetings called by myself or others, presided over the "Passive Resistance" office in Johannesburg, managed correspondence, gave information to the various newspaper reporters, forwarded cables to India and England, remained in touch with the Indian population in the four provinces (Transvaal, Natal, Cape Province, and the Free State); at every occasion I gave information and explanations to Europeans; I negotiated with the leaders of the Opposition in Parliament (Unionist Party). As secretary of a European Committee, which sympathized with the movement and had been founded at the beginning of the struggle, I was instrumental in calling protest meetings; I received and managed funds for the movement; and performed all the work necessary for the movement.

In the following, you will find the extracts from my Diary:-
14.9.1913. Received from Mr. Gandhi, who at that time stayed at Phoenix Settlement, the request to await the Passive Resisters at Volksrust, and he gave me exact instructions about the opening moves for the struggle.

15.9.1913 - 26.9.1913. Left for Volksrust, directed the work there. Among the 16 Passive Resisters were the four leading women of the South African Indian Movement, Mrs. Gandhi, the daughter of an Indian doctor, and two distant relatives of

Mr. Gandhi (all married women) and besides a son and distant relative of his. All the 16 were on 23.9. sentenced to three months imprisonment with hard labour.

26.9.1913. On the way to Johannesburg Mr. Gandhi, who came from Durban, joined me and together we travelled to Johannesburg. As usual we lived together in my little house in Mountain View, where during my absence a son of his kept house. He had come to my place on 26.8. from Phoenix.

27.9.1913. Meeting of Drummond Chaplin (leader of the Unionist Party, a South-African millionaire, who may one day become Prime Minister), William Hosken, president of the afore-mentioned European Committee, Mr. Gandhi and myself.

28.9.1913. Indian mass-meeting in Johannesburg.

30.9.1913. The son of Mr. Gandhi who lived with me was arrested together with other Passive Resisters and they were sentenced in different ways. At present he is sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment with hard labour.

2.+3.10.1913. Travelled with 12 (Passive Resisters) women and 6 children, of whom 6 were breast-fed babies, to Viljoen's Drift, Orange Free State, and crossed the border of Transvaal near Vereeniging. The government refused to arrest these women, yet this was done later in Newcastle, Natal, and they were sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment with hard labour. On the 3rd I again returned to Johannesburg, where in the meantime Mr. H.S.L. Polak had arrived: an English Jew, an idealist, an exceptionally able journalist and author, who practised law in Durban. He directed the movement there. He also lived with me.

5.10.1913. Hindu Rally.

6.10.1913. Mohammedan Rally.

7.10.1913. Meeting of the European Committee. Mr. Polak travelled to Kimberley.

9.10.1913. Hindu (Rally) meeting.

10.10.1913. Mr. Polak returned to Durban. led by T(hambi) Naidoo (an Indian leader), 11 of the women with 6 children went from Vereeniging to Volksrust.

11.10.1913. Travelled to Durban with Mr. Gandhi.

12.10.1913. Arrived in Durban at 11.30 a.m. Mass meeting (about 3000 Indians) lasted from 2 o'clock p.m. until almost midnight.

13.10.1913. Went to Phoenix (about 12 miles from Durban to the north). T. Naidoo together with the 11 women went from Volksrust to Newcastle and they began their propaganda for the Passive Resistance struggle and succeeded to raise the strike of the Indian coal-mine workmen.

At this point it is apt to tell more about this strike movement. In the whole of South Africa there are about 150.000 Indians, of which more than two thirds are still indentured labourers who are under 5 years' contract, and one-third free Indians. The indentured labourers receive wages of about 10 shillings (M 10,-) monthly, living quarters and their weekly rice rations. Among the free Indians the largest number belongs to the class of labourers. These receive approximately 1.10.0 to 2.10.0 Pounds Sterling monthly, mostly with living quarters and rice rations.

In 1895, when the number of imported indentured labourers already had risen to thousands the law was introduced that all those labourers arriving after 1895 had two alternatives: either to remain indentured labourers or to return to India; yet they were allowed to live as free Indians in S.A. if they paid to the government a yearly tax of 3 Pounds Sterling for each man and each woman, each girl over 13 years of age and every boy over 16 years.

Since 1895 approximately 20.000 persons belonging to that group of "head-tax" payers had either immigrated and/or grown-up. Of this number only about 3000 actually paid this tax, whereas 17.000 were continually harassed by court cases, and many of these unfortunate people who could not afford to pay such a sum, were over and again thrown into jail, so that most of them had suffered jail sentences dozens of times. But that was not enough suffering. The number of Indian women

and girls was small, so that in their despair, many of them were driven to prostitution.

The government officially proclaimed that this tax did not mean an income for them and that, therefore, they were willing to drop it if the most important employers agreed. Some of the employers consented, but others did not, but the fact remained, that the tax is law.

Last year, when Hon. Mr. Gokhale visited South Africa and had a conference of two hours duration with the Prime Minister and 2 other ministers of S.A. Union. It was in Pretoria to where Mr. Gandhi and I accompanied him. After the conference, Mr. Gokhale who has a wonderful memory, reported the whole conversation to us that the ministers had promised to abolish this whole tax law at the next Parliament session. There were many other proofs to confirm that this was correct. The ministers however denied, ever having given a definite promise.

For years Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of the Indian population have tried in vain to persuade the government, through deputations and petitions, to abandon these cruel laws. Now, in the middle of this year, when the government again broke their promise, the Passive Resisters decided to insert as a condition, the abandonment of the 3-Pounds tax.

On September 28 of this year, Mr. Gandhi wrote once again to the Government, that he felt it to be his duty to suggest to his people to join the struggle, if he was forced to pay this 3-Pounds head tax. In his letter, he also drew the attention of the Government, to the fact that he was fully aware of the great embarrassment which he thereby would cause to the government. Disorder might simply grow over the heads of the Indian leaders, and in that case Mr. Gandhi would have to make the government responsible for anything that might follow in the future. However, he again humbly requested the government to give the Indian population a renewed definite assurance, of adhering to their promise. Of this letter the ministers did not take the slightest notice, except for having

received it. Hence, after a fortnight the Passive Resistance struggle was taken up again.

15.10.1913. Left Phoenix and travelled in the evening from Durban via Newcastle to Johannesburg.

16.10.1913. Thambi Naidoo met me in Newcastle and insisted on my interrupting my journey. He had called a meeting where I had had to speak. There I visited the Indian merchants (about 25 in number). They gathered in the evening and I explained to them the whole situation as it stood at the moment. At 9 o'clock, I left with two guides and 8 coal-miners to explain the whole campaign to 200 more miners (approximately 12 miles north of Newcastle). However, police spies phoned the management of this mine about our intention and hence these miners were kept by force underground. 7 of the 8 miners whom we sent to announce our arrival were arrested, though they had taken various pathways and left at various times. Police and two managers threatened us with an instant arrest. Our calmness, lack of fear and the inner force to accept anything that comes, put them on their mettle, and they permitted us to remain outside their mine boundary, observed by a policeman on the horseback. We expected to remain the night under the open sky in a field, but a happy break occurred in that a goods train passed by and so we could return to Newcastle soon after midnight."

(In the following Kallenbach describes the days between September 17 and 28, 1913, when Gandhi held talks with Lord Emmott, the British Under-Secretary for the Colonies, who had been sent from London and stayed with Drummond Chaplin. Additional meetings of the Indian communities were held. Gandhi telegraphed to Kallenbach in Pretoria and asked him to come to Newcastle:)

"29.10.1913. Arrived 6.30 a.m. at Newcastle. Mr. Gandhi met me at the station. About 3 hours later he left Newcastle, to walk with 250 Passive Resisters to Charlestown. This town is

situated about 35 English miles to the north, and is the boundary town on the Natal side, while Volksrust (3 English miles distant) is the border town of Transvaal. Newcastle is the central town of the Natal coal-mines. Approximately 400 women and children, and about 150 men remained in Newcastle, and were joined by about 300 men and women in the course of the day. The strike leaders, whom I guided, had to provide all these people with food and sleeping accomodation. I had to give a full explanation to all these people, and to give them information and instructions as to their behaviour during the Passive Resistance struggle.

30.10.1913. Thambi Naidoo marched to Charlestown with about 250 strikers. On this day another 500 men, women, and children joined the movement from the adjoining mines.

31.10.1913. One Passive Resister marched with approximately 250 strikers. I sent about 400 women and children by train to Charlestown. Approximately 650 persons arrived.

1.11.1913. Had to appear in court as a witness in connection with violation of health regulations, by arranging a temporary outdoor kitchen to feed thousands of strikers. The owner of the property permitted the use of his ground free of charge. We took a lawyer for the defence. The behaviour of the court personnel showed antagonism. I exchanged a few sharp words with the prosecutor: - i.e. "Who sent you here?!" I answered: - "My conscience and my human sense of duty." I also told them that "It is my firm conviction that the whole procedure has a clearly political colouring, and that in normal times such a persecution would not have been possible!" However, the accusation was rejected because of a small formality and was brought again before another court. I was brought from Krugersdorp Prison, under escort, to Newcastle Prison, to appear again as a witness. On this day about 600 strikers, of

whom 280 were marching and 350 I sent by train to Charlestown.

2.11.1913. About 200 were marching this day and 250 took the train for Charlestown. I was summoned to appear before a municipal meeting headed by the Mayor, where the district surgeon was also present. To the latter I openly voiced my candid opinion. I was requested by the Municipality to remove all the strikers, who took the opportunity to occupy the places under verandas, different buildings, etc. etc. allegedly causing a health problem to the population. They made me responsible and requested me to remove them, and offered me a free place for this purpose. I refused flatly to remove even one of the strikers on these cold and rainy days from their present shelters, unless police and troops would remove them forcibly. I refused even to go and look at the freehold plot, before water had been laid on, and sufficient tents put up. However, I offered to purchase the tents from our funds and put them up ourselves. The meeting lasted one hour. I undertook to put up the tents as soon as I received them from Johannesburg and Pretoria, to where I intended to go next morning. I made the government responsible for this state of affairs and appealed to accept all my patients free of charge to the government hospital. Otherwise these patients may constitute a danger of health of the local population. I also appealed to the Mayor to telegraph to the government, to permit me to use all available trains for transporting tents and provisions. Later I heard that such a telegram was really forwarded. In the afternoon I had a conversation with the Chief Magistrate on the same matter.

On this day another batch of 200 strikers marched and 250 used the train to get to Charlestown, 600 more arrived to Newcastle. I telephoned to the highest representative of the state in Newcastle district about the purchase of tents etc. The man phoned to the railway management and the secretary of the agricultural exhibition ground, and we made an appointment to meet next morning at 9 a.m. He treated me as

a young man with good intentions, but guided by bad examples.

3.11.1913. The meeting with the Chief Magistrate took place. He telegraphed to the government in Pretoria, about railway arrangements, tents and provisions. He also telephoned to the Provincial Government of Natal to arrange that the government hospital at Pietermaritzburg should accept my patients. During the telephone conversation the following incident occurred: Another person was present: He was called to be present as "Protector of Asiatics" (An employee of the government, who had a seat in Durban, but was present because of the disturbances.) He was installed by the Government as "Protector" for Asiatic workers. He is, however, more the protector of the plantation- and mine-owners, - than of the persecuted Asiatic workers. The long-distance telephone was placed in another room. While the Chief Magistrate received the call, a man unknown to me, entered. In an excited manner and ignoring me, he reported that unrest had also broken out among the natives on his and other people's coal mines (On the coalmines one third only were Indians whereas two thirds were natives, - "Kaffirs"). He added: "Those people should be shot down like rabid dogs!" Excitedly he turned to me and said "And you should be the first to be shot." I replied: "I am here. Go ahead and shoot. I am ready to receive this reward or punishment, and *if I deserve* it, I shall get it." As the man could not control his feelings he left the room. Then the protector told me that this man was the Manager of Bellingeich Mine (the Manager of the Mine which I visited during the night of 16.10. to 17.10.). While he was unknown to me - he knew me. I discussed many other points with the Magistrate. The interview lasted for more than 1 1/2 hours. The court cases which were fixed for that day had to be postponed. At noon I received a letter from the Mayor(, which I responded to.)

In the afternoon I travelled via Charlestown and Volksrust to Johannesburg and Pretoria. The train arrives at Charlestown

at 6 p.m. and leaves for Volksrust at 7 p.m. Mr. Gandhi was in Charlestown and as we had a lot to discuss, I decided to interrupt the journey and reach Volksrust by bicycle, taking the shortest route I knew. It was getting dark, and due to the rain the road was muddy; still it was possible to reach the train.

Halfway, the tyre of the back wheel of my bicycle burst, but in spite of that I proceeded, partly running and partly riding the bicycle. To my good luck an unknown Mohammedan on a bicycle approached. "Stop!", I called. "Give me your bicycle. Human duty demands it. In ten minutes my train leaves Volksrust." "Take it, Mr. Kallenbach", was the calm reply. We exchanged bicycles and off I went! I reached the platform one minute before the train left. On this day another 250 strikers marched and 300 took the train from Newcastle to Charlestown. 150 new strikers arrived at Newcastle.

4.11.1913. Early in the morning I arrived at Johannesburg where I attended to my private as well as public matters. At Pretoria I had an interview with the editor of the "Pretoria News" (...) Brother Nathan was also on the same train in the morning but we did not know it. Later on we heard it from other people, and so travelled back together. At 8 p.m. I left Johannesburg.

5.11.1913. After two nights travelling I arrived early in the morning at Newcastle. During my stay *there* and Mr. Gandhi's at Volksrust, we were in continual communication by telephone, by telegraph, by letters and messengers.

I was instructed to travel by train to Charlestown with the remaining strikers, and in the afternoon I carried out Mr. Gandhi's instructions and travelled with about 600 strikers. About 300 more marched and 100 more arrived in Newcastle. I arrived at Charlestown at 6 p.m. where more than 3000 strikers were present, although there was shelter just for about 1500 people. Mr. Gandhi and I spent this night under the open sky in the field, among a number of strikers.

6.11.1913. Early in the morning the preparations for the march to Transvaal began, which started at 8 o'clock. (...) I accompanied Mr. Gandhi and the strikers, who numbered over 2000, among them 150 women and children, across the border of Volksrust, approximately 5 English miles beyond. During the march the daily rations consisted of 1 1/2 lbs. of bread and a handful of sugar, for each person. Even before the march began, under an order of arrest, 500 persons were kept back. About 40 men and 500 women and children were left behind.

The march was actually meant only for men, whereas the women and children were supposed to take the train direct for Tolstoy Farm, as the Government as yet had not interfered with travelling facilities. Yet, a number of women and children insisted upon accompanying their menfolk. Although we advised very strongly against it, we did not use stronger measures as they were Passive Resisters. The march was planned in the following manner:

Charlestown-Palmford	Thursday evening	6.11.1913
Palmford-Kromdrei	Friday "	7.11.1913
Kromdrei-Holmdene	Saturday "	8.11.1913
Holmdene-Greylingstad	Sunday "	9.11.1913
Greylingstad-Kraal	Monday "	10.11.1913
Kraal-Mapleton	Tuesday "	11.11.1913
Mapleton-Germiston	Wednesday "	12.11.1913
Germiston-Tolstoy Farm	Thursday "	13.11.1913

(...)

During the march my duties consisted in providing for the women and children in Charlestown, and the passengers on the train, until such time as all these people could be cared for from Germiston and Johannesburg.

The goal of placing the Passive Resisters on Tolstoy Farm near Johannesburg had been my own idea, and for this purpose I had reserved by contract 50 acres of ground and 3 buildings in case of a new Passive Resisters' campaign.

7.11.1913. "Nach getaner Arbeit ist gut ruhn." ("When the work is done it is good to rest.") The day's work alone would have been enough. We also had with us Miss Schlesin (a niece of Mrs. V. Rosenberg, Memel) whom I recommended to Mr. Gandhi and who is, for a number of years, in Mr. G(andhi)'s office and also at the office of his successor. When the third campaign began, Miss Schlesin dedicated herself once again only to the Passive Resisters' struggle. On the 7th as I was sleeping very soundly, when I felt that I was awakened before my time, before me stood Mr. Gandhi at 4.30 a.m. Instantly I was on my feet asking at the same time "Is the struggle over?" Calmly and with a smile the answer, "No, I bring the good news that at last I have been arrested." In the second Passive Resisters movement and since the beginning of the struggle, all those who did not obey the laws were arrested. Only Mr. G(andhi) remained free.

The object of the government in not arresting Mr. Gandhi was, not to draw the attention of the British and Indian

governments to their actions. Also to minimize his influence, by ignoring him. It is a fact that Mr. Gandhi's arrest was always a double stimulant for the fighters, and although nobody could replace him in energy, in originality, and in guidance, his arrest notwithstanding, seemed to have an even greater effect. His wife, two sons and three relatives were all in prison, and he himself also longed to be in prison. During the strike a number of mounted police from all parts of South Africa had been commanded to that place. His escort was a young man who had been serving for 6 weeks only. Mr. Gandhi was arrested in the evening of Thursday in a field which was situated in the vicinity of Palmford Station.

From there he was brought under escort to the early morning train, which passed at 3 a.m. and arrived at Volksrust at 4 a.m. At 9 a.m. he had to report to the Police Charge Office. This command had been given to the escort. Mr. G(andhi) asked the escort to take him to Charlestown, where he intended to collect some books and some personal effects, and he guaranteed his punctual appearance at 9 a.m. The young policeman, to whom everything was new, and who felt the greatest sympathy with the prisoner, just like anybody else who came in touch with Gandhi (even as a prisoner) agreed. In the course of this morning we discussed all the necessary matters, he dictated letters, telegrams and cables. Long before the time, the escort returned (this pathway takes approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ hour on foot) as his comrades had frightened him. Yet the escort and his prisoner, appeared on time at the Charge Office.

The judge, who later on sentenced Henry Polak and myself, is a very appealing man, a born South African of Dutch descent. The indictment was the same as that made later on against myself and Mr. Polak: aiding and abetting of persons forbidden entry Transvaal territory.

For humanitarian reasons, Mr. Gandhi appealed for the postponement of the proceedings for 8 days, and during this time was released on bail. Against all expectations, and in spite of all weighty reasons given by the prosecutor, the judge

granted Mr. Gandhi's appeal and demanded a bail of 50 Pounds Sterling. This sum I immediately loaned from the Indian community at Volksrust. The release, which at this moment was of such great importance, was granted. We borrowed a car at once, and off we went to overtake the train. You should have seen the jubilation of the 2000 people! (...) Mr. Gandhi was again at the head of the marchers, and with fresh courage the march continued towards Tolstoy Farm. Later on I returned to Charlestown by the same car. At the end of the negotiations, the judge had a conversation with Mr. Gandhi in his private office, to which after a short time I too was called. Mr. Gandhi introduced me. With a strong handshake, he assured me that though as a judge he might have to treat me in the same way as he would have to treat my friend (although he hoped that this would never have to happen) he understood and respected our work. Then we discussed various matters. With another strong handshake I took my leave, feeling that I had met a man whose heart was in the right place. - On our way Mr. Gandhi told me that the judge had confided to him that my arrest was also possible. My heart jumped for joy! However, in the interest of the campaign which we both served, Mr. Gandhi had to ask me for my promise, to avoid anything that could bring about an early arrest at this time. Mr. Gandhi could not speak differently though he would have been happy to let me have those experiences. With a depressed feeling, I gave my promise, knowing well the position. Yet fate meant it otherwise. The next day, Mr. Gandhi phoned me that in Kromdrei, mounted police had appeared with a warrant for my arrest, and I heard that the leader was rather glad not to find me at the head of the marchers. Yet this warrant did not come into effect until later on. (...)

8.11.1913. 35 of the expected tents holding 600-700 persons had, in the meantime, arrived at Charlestown. With 30 persons the work of pitching the tents, of drainage and the sanitary arrangements, went ahead quickly. During the morning, I

received several wires from Standerton, informing me that Mr. Gandhi had been arrested near Standerton, and taken at once before the judge. Later on, at about noon, I spoke with Mr. Gandhi on the phone. The judge, who was a previous acquaintance of ours, had only recently been transferred from Johannesburg to Standerton. Mr. Gandhi's explanation, that he had been given leave of absence for 8 days by the previous judge for humanitarian reasons, was also accepted by the second judge, and he was released on his promise, that he would return in 8 days. This indictment was later on cancelled as being illegal. The second arrest only proved that the government wished to prevent Mr. Gandhi from leading the strikers. After Mr. Gandhi's arrest, I insisted on leading the strikers, but for the above-mentioned reasons I could not do so. Mr. Gandhi proposed Mr. William Hosken (the head of the European Committee). However, I doubted that this old gentleman could undertake this, in spite of his great enthusiasm for the Passive Resistance cause. Mr. Hosken is one of the leading persons in Johannesburg's public life. For many years he was a member of the Transvaal Parliament; and former President of the Chamber of Commerce. He is a very rich man and works daily at his business (dynamite and mining articles). I intended to ring him up in Johannesburg and to talk to him. Later on, after a telephone conversation, I was very happy to hear from him personally, that in case on Monday, the government would leave the Passive Resisters unmolested and arrest the leaders only, he would be prepared to take over the lead, but in his car. In the afternoon, I took part in a public meeting, during which I was privileged to be removed forcibly. Until this day I did not realize that my presence at such a meeting would be so embarrassing to the leaders, who belonged to a certain political direction as to make this necessary. (...) (This incident strengthened me spiritually, and did not hurt me physically.) The same morning this incident was cabled to all leading South African papers, by Reuter's South African cable service.

9.11.1913. Mr. Polak who intended to leave for India on 14.11. on matters of our campaign, stopped at Charlestown in order to confer with Mr. Gandhi for the last time and take leave of him. He was barely half an hour together with him when Mr. Gandhi was arrested for the third time. The next day, Sunday, he was brought to Heidelberg, and he was informed that he had to be brought to Dundee. There was a further accusation pending against him for inciting the labourers to strike.

After the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, Henry Polak took over the lead of the marchers and took them to the appointed place for a night's rest. The next morning he took them to the prearranged place, to where I had sent more than 2000 loaves of bread, and sugar, from Volksrust. On the 10th of this month, Mr. Polak was arrested for this action, and later on sentenced to 3 months imprisonment. Thus the government of South Africa prevented Mr. Polak's leaving for India. Mr. Gandhi spent the night at the police station at Heidelberg.

In Volksrust, I met the man, an Australian joiner, who had attacked me yesterday at the meeting. He regretted the incident. Later on, after my arrest, he was present at all meetings expressing repeatedly his regret, and together with a number of other Europeans, he showed me his sympathy.

10.11.1913. The day of my arrest is to me "the day of the Lord!" That morning (before my arrest) I was first informed by my Australian friend in Volksrust that the 2000 marchers had all been arrested near Balfour. Subsequently, I also received telegrams about it and the instruction to expect Mr. Gandhi in Volksrust, passing through under escort on his way to Dundee. I should board the train and seek an interview with him. In fact, the 2000 marchers had all been arrested early in the morning. However, the strikers refused to board the special trains which had been sent by the government for this purpose. There were approximately 25 mounted police present. The strikers agreed to mount the train only after being reassured by Polak that they would be arrested again.

(Passive Resisters are courting arrest). In order to prevent the outbreak of violence among the strikers, Mr. Polak decided to accompany the trains, and thanks to this he was arrested at midnight, on arrival at Charlestown. This information I received from him at the law courts where I could greet him as a fellow prisoner. Those policemen who could speak various Indian dialects informed the women that their menfolk would be *transported* back. They were asked to accompany them from Charlestown. The strikers, who did nothing without my advice, came to consult me. My advice was that they should all remain, but those women who wanted to leave might do so. Nobody left Charlestown, as I was informed later on. However, later a policeman approached asking whether I would be willing to induce the women to board the train prepared for this purpose, the destination of which was unknown to me. I most definitely refused to follow this request! Later on a police messenger came to invite me to meet the judge from Volksrust, who during these disturbances came here from time to time, as he wished to talk to me. I complied with this request and found the judge surrounded by a number of people unknown to me. He told these people that he wished to see me alone and they left the room. The judge confirmed the arrest of the strikers and told me that they were expected still that same night. I asked him about the further intentions of the government, but he regretfully told me that for the moment he was not allowed to give any information. He, too, repeated to me the request of inducing the women to board the train. I refused (to do so) but explained that as Passive Resister I could not employ any form of force, and that those women who wished, could do so. He was satisfied with my explanation and kept me in his company although the time for my departure for Volksrust drew near, where I was to meet Mr. Gandhi. I finally managed to leave, but my train had gone. Only 15 minutes remained for Mr. Gandhi's train to arrive in Volksrust. There was no possibility to get hold of a good bicycle, which would anyhow take at least 20 minutes to reach Volksrust. An old bicycle which could barely carry a

rider was offered to me. Yet, I had no other choice. I mounted it. At this moment, a young Indian, who had come from a nearby farm, offered me his horse. I had not mounted a horse for many years. I asked him to come with me and I would see which of us was the faster. His horse was much faster so I mounted it and off it went, galloping all the way to Volksrust station. I lost my Indian friend and arrived at Volksrust station without mishap. I fastened the horse's reins onto the fence of the station and there I left my good horse and ran to the platform. I had scarcely mounted the train when it moved off. Mr. Gandhi and I were no strangers to the railway employees on this route, and I was shown to the compartment which Mr. Gandhi occupied with his escort. Although prisoner and escort should travel alone, I was still allowed to enter the same compartment. The escort, a young mounted policeman, permitted conversation but appealed to me to leave the compartment before reaching Charlestown, as otherwise he would make himself liable to punishment. I readily agreed. Because of the mountainous region between Volksrust and Charlestown, the train has to make a detour of about 15 minutes. We took full advantage of this time to discuss the most important matters. Mr. Gandhi once again emphasized the importance of avoiding an arrest, as far as it was in my power. However, "Man proposes, and God disposes". With a firm handshake I left: it never occurred to us that our next meeting would take place in jail at Volksrust. On the platform at Charlestown there were quite a number of my Indian co-workers, but nobody was allowed to speak to Mr. Gandhi. In fact, they were not even allowed to see him. The same judge was also present, together with a number of persons unknown to me. I was informed that these were the various managers of the mines to which these 2000 striking workmen belonged. Rumours had it that it was the intention to take the strikers to their respective places of work. These rumours proved to be true later on. The judge, the managers and a number of police officers and policemen remained on

the platform, and so did I, in order to await the trains with the strikers.

In the meantime, the management of the police forces was in touch with the ministers, by phone and by telegraph. Miss Schlesin and I walked to and fro on the platform, discussing the next move. It was about 7 p.m., a mild South African evening, the moon was just rising behind the historical Majuba Mountain, when an elderly police officer approached with a telegram in his hand. He saluted and asked me to step aside with him for a moment. We walked away some distance, so as not to be overheard by my companion. He told me that he had just received this telegram with the command for my arrest, and he much regretted being the one to carry out this duty. I comforted him, thanked him for the message, and asked him to allow me half an hour in order to give my companion the necessary instructions. He complied with my request, telling me that the escort who had instructions to bring me to Volksrust would wait. After giving Miss Schlesin all the necessary instructions, I put myself at the disposal of my escort consisting of two men. The police officer appeared again, and asked me if I wanted a horse and cart, or if I preferred to go on foot. I preferred to walk. I expressed the wish to take some necessary personal effects with me, and such as books and blankets. For this purpose the officer put at my disposal a native policeman, and we went to my room, and from there to Volksrust. I felt very happy indeed. The boy received a handsome tip. With the consent of my escort, I spoke to one of the leading Indian merchants and asked him to give the policeman a good supper and a coach for their return after I had been brought to the jail. As I heard later on, this was done.

It must have been about 8.30 p.m. when I was brought to the police station, and from there to the prison. The Chief Warden of the prison was well known to me. He regretted that he had no separate cell, hence he had to let me spend the night with four European prisoners. I told him that I was satisfied if there was no other way, yet if he permitted me to make my bed on

the stone floor of the courtyard, I expected to spend a restful night. Expressing his admiration, he readily agreed. The prison-yard is on all 4 sides surrounded by cells, completely closed in, and has above them a network of strong barbed wire which shows - partially - the view of the wonderful S(outh) African star-studded sky. The Chief Warden appeared, and even opened the door of the prison store-room, where I could place my belongings, and later on undress. I remained alone. The heavy prison door closed, the loud rattling of the keys and the sound of the departing steps of the warden were wonderful to my ear. There was now a strange silence. All the prisoners seemed to sleep soundly. In the meantime, also the soft light of the moon entered the courtyard. With all my heart I sent up my prayers to God, thanking him that he had deemed me worthy of this experience in my life! Thus began the first night in the prison, which will not leave my memory ever.

11.11.1913. At 5 a.m. I was awake, discovered a shower bath in the yard and used it. At 9 a.m. the escort arrived to take me to the Law Court. There I found Mr. Polak, who had been arrested in the meantime; Miss Schlesin was there; my Australian friend, several reporters, and a number of Indians and Europeans. As the first case, Polak and I were brought before the judge. The prosecutor suggested postponing the proceedings until the 13th, in order to complete the accusation by witnesses and material. We had no objection, but asked to be set free on bail. Polak gave as his reason the settling of personal affairs, and I gave mine as humanitarian reasons, as I had the responsibility and care of about 700 women and children. The prosecutor objected strongly to our request, as we were considered to be "dangerous persons". We had incited the Indian population against the existing South African laws. After a long contemplation, the Judge decided that he would grant our request on condition that we would both promise not to have anything to do with the Passive Resistance campaign during our freedom, and to

pledge our word of honour to appear there on Thursday. We both refused to give such a promise. Back we went to the prison but now we were together (...) As prisoners under investigation we were allowed to get our meals from outside, as well as receive newspapers and letters, and also write some. The chief Prison Warden and all the other wardens were respectful and courteous during all that time I spent in Volksrust Jail, so that I scarcely felt I was in prison and, in fact, deprived of my freedom. In the afternoon, and later almost daily, Miss Schlesin came, and we both dictated letters and gave our instructions. On that day Polak wired his wife to come here. She arrived the next day, and then was a daily visitor at the jail. (Mr. Polak is 32 years old, has been married for about 6 years, and has two handsome boys.)

Dear Sister, I don't know whether you are acquainted with the fact that I had intended to fast from the 12th of July for eight days, and for the following 4 months to partake of only one meal per day, consisting of fruit, (tomatoes, cucumbers, included) olive-oil, unleavened, unsalted, wholewheat bread and peanuts. Today the four months are over, but as this diet agreed with me very much, and I feel physically and mentally strong and vigorous, I decided to continue.

The next day I heard that Mr. Gandhi had on this day been convicted for incitement to strike and sentenced to 9 months imprisonment with hard labour; or to pay a fine of 60 Pounds Sterling. He chose imprisonment.

Mr. Polak and I were not locked up in our cells at 5.30 p.m. (as the other prisoners were) but on rainless days were allowed to sleep in the open air. On rainy days, however, we slept in the little store-room.

For the time being, Polak joined me in my diet, but he took two meals. The Indian community supplied us richly with all our needs.

12.11.1913. Mr. Polak and I, in jail of Volksrust, were joined by Mr. Gandhi in the evening. About 8 o'clock that evening Mr. Gandhi arrived from Dundee, escorted by a stranger. We

could just nod to one another, but later on, after he had been locked up, I managed to sneak to his cell and spoke to him through the peephole which every cell door has.

13.11.1913. *Mr. Gandhi, Polak and I in jail.* Mr. Gandhi's matter had been postponed from the 7th to the 14th of December, 1913. Once again we had to appear at Court at Volksrust. Even that day, the Prosecutor did not have all his material for the accusation ready at hand and again suggested a postponement until the 7th of the month. The greatest precaution was taken in our cells, because the S(outh) African Government was well aware of the fact, that not only the Indian but also the British government were watching intensely the whole Passive Resistance movement. I requested again, as before on the 11th, to be liberated on bail, and therefore the Judge repeated his question if I would promise to have nothing to do with the Passive Resistance campaign during the period of my liberation. I refused to do so. Mr. Polak had no objections and the Prosecutor's proposal was accepted. Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Polak and I spent our time now daily together. It was indeed a merry imprisonment, and it became more so when the judge came to visit us in the afternoon. He treated us as friends and not as prisoners. We discussed freely our respective cases. When I asked him if we three could share the same cell, he regretfully refused, explaining that it might cost him his position. (In all prisons there is a very strict division between Europeans and coloured prisoners.) Naturally, in all places the oldest judge has the greatest authority in the management of the prisons - within the prison rules. At 5.30 p.m. therefore, Mr. Gandhi was locked up in his cell, together with 3 other Indian prisoners. Yet not before we had cut one another's hair and shaved off our moustaches; and had smuggled into his cell a number of blankets for him and his fellow-prisoners. And then we always had a "night conversation" through the peephole.

14.11.1913. *Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Polak and I in the prison of Volksrust.* Mr. Gandhi was sentenced to 3 months with hard labour. Thus he has to serve for one whole year. Later on, in the evening the Judge came again. He told me that *my* case was now in the hands of the Prosecutor. I appealed to him to allow my case to be brought before court still the morrow, to which he agreed. Mr. Polak also appealed to him to allow Mr. Gandhi and myself to appear as witnesses in his case. This too was granted. We even discussed the punishment for such political crimes. I told him that I knew the kind of indictment and I would declare myself 'guilty'. He said that in that case I would certainly be sentenced. I begged him for imprisonment with *hard labour*, but he firmly refused but, on our insistence, he promised that if Polak was also declared guilty, we both would get the same sentence.

15.11.1913. *Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Polak and I, in jail at Volksrust.* It is the day of my case at 9 a.m. I was taken to the Law Court, together with Mr. Polak who wanted to arrange about our appearing as witnesses. The courtroom was more than usually filled. I undertook my own defence, declared guilty, and asked the witnesses no questions. There were four witnesses called by the Prosecution - I had no witnesses. The Judge asked us to put down in writing the defence, to read it aloud and to hand it in, as to avoid mistakes and waste of time. We promised it. I had to take the oath, read the statement for my defence and then the Prosecutor interrogated me. The indictment closed on both sides. The prosecutor tried to prove what a dangerous person in general I was. He pointed out that according to my own testimony during self defence, I had the impudence to state that opportunity given I would act in the same way as had been proved by the indictment. He insisted upon the severest form of punishment, namely six months of imprisonment with hard labour. The judge asked me if I wished to say anything more, because as a prisoner I was allowed the last word. I said I had nothing more to add, and fully agreed with the Prosecutor.

Moreover if I should be found guilty, I myself would ask for the severest punishment. In a lengthy speech the judge pointed out that he agreed neither with the prosecutor nor with me regarding the kind of punishment, and that he could find me guilty only of a political crime and not a moral one. He regretted that in this country we had no special laws for political crimes. He then explained the reason for his verdict, which was three months imprisonment without hard labour. Later on the Prosecutor called me aside, and explained his position to me. I reassured him and thanked him. As usual we gathered in the private rooms of the judge, and from there Mr. Polak and I were escorted back to the prison (...) In the afternoon the ceremony of changing into prison garb took place with great merriment, and my investiture as a convict in His Majesty's jail was celebrated with all dignity by the merry trio.

16.11.1913. It was Sunday, a wonderful bright day. We spent it in a very pleasant manner.

17.11.1913. The day of Mr. Polak's condemnation. According to English law, the Prosecutor first reads the indictment, then the Judge asks the prisoner:- "Do you declare yourself guilty or not guilty?" I declared myself guilty. Mr. Polak refused the declaration. This is legally possible, and the judge must give the verdict according to the proofs of the Prosecutor. As already mentioned, and as Mr. Gandhi and myself confirmed under oath, Mr. Polak was never active in leading the march of the strikers, because he was due to leave for India on the 14th of the month. Yet the government wished to frustrate that travel to India. However, Mr. Polak was just as anxious as I to get acquainted with life in jail, and so he was not interested in the court proceedings. But the government was not indifferent to it and the prosecution with a number of witnesses managed to prove Polak's guilt. He received the same sentence as I did. Later on, in his private rooms, the Judge remarked that he would never give such a promise ever

again as he had given to us. Although, according to his own judgement, he had to declare Polak guilty. Yet he would have given to Polak, according to his own integrity, only half the punishment I had received - yet he was bound by his promise.

In the afternoon, the ceremonial investiture of Mr. Polak took place. I cut his hair with a machine. He was very proud of his hair which was soft, thick and curly, and he wore it long. In spite of being only 32 years old, it was already grey. Soon he stood before us with almost shaved-off skull, and the 'criminal trio' was complete.

Chapter 5

Prisoner of War, Isle of Man

After their voyage to London on "S.S. Kinfauns Castle", travelling third class and living on a fruit diet, they arrived in London on August 4, 1914. They were given a grand reception at Hotel Cecil by British and Indian friends; Sarojini Naidu, Lala Lajpat Rai and Mohammed Ali Jinnah received them. The beginning of First World War overshadowed the event: "Let me say that all Germans are not fiends, nor are all German soldiers fiends. Mr. Kallenbach is a German and a soldier, but I feel that no purer-minded person to-day walks the earth in Europe than Mr. Kallenbach." (1)

During these days in London, Kallenbach studied Gujarati and Hindi languages for his future days in India. Gandhi had contracted pleurisy. Kallenbach made Gandhi to obey the advice of a "white doctor, a vegetarian", known to Gandhi, for an apt diet. As a loyal citizen of the British Empire, Gandhi and Kallenbach offered their "services as non-combatants", to serve in the "Indian Field Ambulance Corps". Gandhi presided over the first meeting which was addressed by the Aga Khan and attended, among others, by Kasturba, Sarojini Naidu, Ameer Ali and Kallenbach. (2) During these autumn months of 1914, Hermann Kallenbach lived with Gandhi and his wife in London. They all lived under the roof of Mr. Gandevia, the proprietor of a boarding house for Indian students. He also was the Secretary of the "Indian Field Ambulance Corps". The Corps, however, never took action because of governmental reservations. "Mr. Kallenbach is desirous of joining the Indian Volunteer Corps and taking First Aid instruction in the class that is being formed under Dr. Cantlie. But he does not wish to take any such steps without the knowledge and approval of the India Office." (3)

"There may be some difficulty, perhaps, about Mr. Kallenbach's going. In that case, my departure is likely to be delayed. I have been coming up against one obstacle after another to my going to India." (4) As a German citizen, Kallenbach was refused naturalisation and a passport for India. On July 18, 1914, Kallenbach had filed his application for naturalisation with the Secretary for the Interior at Pretoria, and Gandhi wrote a letter to Mr. Roberts, Under Secretary of State for India, on Kallenbach's behalf. "Mr. Kallenbach had accompanied me to England with a view to going to India. We were staying together (and of course wanted to sail by the same boat). Germans, however, were under such strict surveillance that we had our doubts about Mr. Kallenbach getting a passport. I did my best to get it, and Mr. Roberts, who was in favour of his getting his passport, sent a cable to the Viceroy in this behalf. But straight came Lord Hardinge's reply: 'Regret Government of India not prepared to take any such risk.' All of us understood the force of the reply." (5)

Even Kallenbach's books were suspect to the Government of India; Gandhi's son Manilal wrote to Kallenbach: "Your German Books and Tolstoy's works were taken by the C(riminal) I(nvestigation) D(epartment) for inspection & they were to be returned to us within 2 weeks. All the other things were given to us." (6) When sailing on "S.S. Arabia" via India, Gandhi wrote: "Every effort is being made for Mr. Kallenbach. He will come as soon as he gets permission." (7)

Kallenbach never got permission for entry to India during these disgraceful years of war. Instead, Kallenbach was interned as an Enemy Alien, at Detention Camps, at Knockaloe and Douglas on the British Isle of Man between 1915 and 1917. He served as an assistant to the Medical Officer and worked in a hospital. He held courses and classes in the Prisoner of War (P.O.W.) camps and befriended intelligent Germans who were interned. He tried to be "a

model for the others". In 1917, he was released to Germany, in a prisoners' exchange. He visited his family in East Prussia and stayed with his brother Simon who was a military physician during World War I ("Stabsarzt") in Königsberg. He applied for a job in some firms in Berlin where he met his brothers Jeremias ("Mikel") and Max. That was in mid-June 1918. During the years 1917 to 1920, there was no correspondence with Gandhi. These were revolutionary times in post-war Germany. Kallenbach did obviously not participate in political activities. Instead, he decided to return to South Africa in order to reestablish himself as an architect.

Already during the Champaran Satyagraha of Indigo planters in Bihar in 1917, Gandhi wrote to his friend Kallenbach that he missed him very much. (8) Gandhi felt lonelier in India than in South Africa because all his supporters from South Africa were separated from him. "I have no Kallenbach." (9) He complained: "I have not heard from Mr. Kallenbach since his expulsion from England. I have inquired but without result." (10) A possible reason for the fact that no Kallenbach letter reached Gandhi for more than three years: "I must, however, admit one weakness of mine. It was very clearly observed by Kallenbach and he gave me a good scolding for that. I give the impression of forgetting those who have been tried and tested." (11) On August 10, 1920, Gandhi wrote to Kallenbach: "After how long a time have I the good fortune to write to you? After the greatest search, I have now got your address. Never has a day passed but I have thought of you. (...) For me you have risen from the dead. I had taken it for granted that you were dead. I could not believe that you would keep me without a letter for so long. (...) I still think that you have written but your letter has not been delivered to me. (...) With love and expectation of seeing your own writing soon. Yours ever, Upper House." (12)

During the twenties, Gandhi retrospectively wrote:

"Individual civil disobedience may be and often is vicarious. Mass civil disobedience may be and often is selfish in the sense that individuals expect personal gain from their disobedience. Thus, in South Africa, Kallenbach and Polak offered vicarious civil disobedience. They had nothing to gain." (13)

"It was a great wrench for me to part from Mr. Kallenbach, but I could see that his pang was greater. Could he have come to India, he would have been leading today the simple happy life of a farmer and weaver. Now he is in South Africa, leading his old life and doing brisk business as an architect." (14)

Chapter 6

Family - Brisk Architect in South Africa

Hanna Lazar was born in Russ, East Prussia, at the home of her grand-parents, on the 20th of September, 1897. She was the second daughter of Jeanette (born Kallenbach) and Dr. Isaac Sammel of Tauroggen, East Prussia. Hanna was a most vivacious, entertaining, and attractive child. She was full of mysterious pranks, and in her youth she was the life and soul of any party. This quality remained with her into her old age. She was especially attached to her father - the family doctor, beloved by poor and rich alike. As a teenager she often accompanied him in his horse-cart, on his house visits to the sick patients. She became extremely interested in the treatment of the sick. It became her dream to study medicine when she grew up and to become a doctor herself, but this dream she never could fulfil.

In her childhood and youth her parents' home was infused with love and devotion. This home was her haven of refuge, because she was homesick when she was sent away to school. The Sammels sent their children away to the bigger town of Tilsit for their education. They boarded privately with a Jewish family returning home only for the school-holidays at the end of each term.

Due to World War I, Hanna's schooling was interrupted and her father died of typhus-fever during an epidemic in 1919. In 1920, Hanna met Mordechai Eliezer Pupkin (Laser), later Lazar, her future husband who had qualified as a Rabbi in a Yeshiva and worked as a teacher in the Ukraine. They married, and moved to the Ukraine to Laser's family. In a small village called Sagaidak where their only daughter Isa was born on October 2, 1921. It was the time after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and Laser, as many other

Zionists, was hunted by the Bolsheviks, and there was hunger in the land. Hermann Kallenbach offered to bring the family to South Africa, to make a new life there. In 1923, when the family sailed for South Africa and arrived in Cape Town, Hermann Kallenbach had bought a farm, north-east of Durban and called it Inanda Farm. He had hoped that the family would agree to become farmers. To his great disappointment, Mordechai Lazar had no intention of becoming a farmer. But Hanna Lazar, on the other hand, was prepared to learn and did her best to work on the farm with the help of African workers. Hanna started a chicken farm for eggs on Inanda Farm, and she also started a banana plantation successfully. By the influence of Hermann Kallenbach, the whole family became vegetarians, that means the diet was mainly raw and cooked vegetables, dairy products and eggs. Of course, this caused conflicts with Mordechai Lazar as he felt he could not keep up such a diet; he left the farm and went to Durban, there he tried to find work to support himself and went back to meat-eating. Hanna and Isa spent on the farm about three and a half years. Meanwhile Mordechai Lazar had found work as a Hebrew teacher in the small town of Oudshoorn-Cape.

Hanna Lazar decided to return with Isa to her husband to try once more to make a harmonious life for the family. This did not work out. Hanna Lazar wrote to her uncle about her unhappy marriage. He assured her that if and when she decided to discontinue her married life with her husband, she would always find a place in his home for herself and her child. In his letters, he always repeated that the decision was entirely hers and hers alone.

Meanwhile Hanna Lazar's mother Jeanette and her sister Judith had arrived in South Africa in 1924. In 1925, Judith married and settled down in Kimberley, Orange Free State. Jeanette was living with her daughter Judith. From time to time she also visited Hanna Lazar in Oudshoorn (and later Paarl).

Mordechai Lazar found a better-paid job in a larger town called Paarl, Cape. There he became the headmaster of a Hebrew school. In Paarl, Isa continued her primary school for another two years. Hanna decided to enter for her matriculation exams and passed with good marks. She was able to study at the university in the Medical Faculty. Due to ill health she could not continue in Paarl and decided to leave and go to live in Johannesburg with her uncle Hermann Kallenbach. Isa was transferred to a school in Johannesburg.

In 1928, Hermann Kallenbach bought a large piece of land on the outskirts of Johannesburg - Linksfield and Linksfield Ridge. His project was the development of these two townships of the large city. He planned the outlay for roads, electricity, water supply, and sewerage pipes for these suburbs, all at his own expense. In spite of his appeals to the Johannesburg Municipality to take over parts of the development work, which was only justified, at first they refused flatly. Only after many years, they agreed to do so. Hanna Lazar worked on the Linksfield Ridge roads and took charge of the African workers, when Hermann Kallenbach was away or overseas. His business took him away many times for shorter or longer periods in other towns, such as Durban, Capetown, Pretoria, or overseas to Europe, Palestine or India. The longest road on Linksfield Ridge was named Kallenbach Drive, with a beautiful view to the Northern suburbs of Johannesburg towards Pretoria. On the other side of the same hillside, Hermann Kallenbach named another long street Hannabehn Street, in appreciation of Hanna Lazar's work on these roads.

Hermann Kallenbach's architectural work was that of a pioneer of Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban and Capetown. He undertook mainly public buildings, such as churches, synagogues, temples, offices, and high-rise blocks of flats. There was a great need of planning and building these

structures, because of the huge influx of people due to the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand - the Gold Rush. Just to name a few of the buildings that Hermann Kallenbach's firm planned, designed and built:

Lewis & Marks Building, Plaza Theatre, Randjeslaagte Jubilee Memorial Housing, and Constantia in Johannesburg; Prudential House, and Plaza Theatre in Pretoria; Plaza Theatre, and Adelphi Theatre at Sea Point in Cape Town; Sastri College, Trust Buildings, Grosvenor Court, Kangelani, and Fairhaven in South Beach, Durban; the Scala Theatre in Lourenço Marques.

During the time of the Boer War, Hermann Kallenbach was sent to Europe by his uncles Henry and Simon Sacke for architectural studies, to learn the necessary for import of lifts, escalators and other machinery for his buildings. This was immediately after establishing himself as an architect. During the Thirties he made the acquaintance of some important architects from the "Bauhaus", for example Walter Gropius. In a letter dated January 27, 1937, Walter Gropius wrote to Hermann Kallenbach:

"I am sincerely delighted to have made your acquaintance; nowadays it is a rare occasion to meet people with whom one can discuss matters which are hidden beneath the surface of daily life."

Chapter 7

Europe, Palestine and India - Zionism

"**P**alestine shall be my ideal in future + being so, I may not enter it as long as my character is not firm and my aims not clear in my heart. I have been born as a Jew and will die as a Jew. It is not by chance that it is so. Therefore my services belong to this people, and this land that has produced us." (1)

As early as 1913, Hermann Kallenbach had developed an interest and sympathy for the Zionist Youth Movements in Central and Eastern Europe. The aspirations of these youth movements were to develop the good qualities of Truthfulness and Goodwill towards one's fellow men, by physical training with the aims of settling in Palestine and working on agricultural settlements. His friend Louis Lewin wrote to him several times from Tel Aviv encouraging him to visit Palestine. Hermann Kallenbach replied:

"I do not want to contribute in making a Modern State out of Palestine: with Armies, Ships, Police, Industries, and an army of dissatisfied and rebellious workers, and few capitalists who do not only not gain from hoarding money, but lose by it. (...) To turn Palestine into another Industrial State, as for example England, Germany, France and others, is Insanity! The aim of Palestine should be an Agricultural Community. Children should be educated to improve their characters, and their Education should prepare a small number of scientists to serve the people who work in Agriculture. (...) What can we do to realise my "Utopia"? We could become agricultural workers ourselves, to fulfil calmly and with love our work. Could one form on this basis a "Commune"? I do not doubt it." (2)

Hermann Kallenbach became a passive member of the South African Zionist Federation as early as 1913, but it took more

than twenty years, until he joined the Federation's Executive in Johannesburg. The rise of the German Nazi Dictatorship, and the growing wave of anti-semitism and persecution of Jews all over Europe, was the reason for Kallenbach's active participation in the Federation's activities. He supported their Youth Council and became a member of the General Campaign Committee of Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund), Head Office of South Africa, in Johannesburg. Hermann Kallenbach gave following advice: "'l'shalem tovah tahath ra'ah" - to repay goodness for evil." (3) Kallenbach had often the feeling of frustration and disappointment, because he would have liked to achieve more in spiritual growth, by joining Gandhi in India. His niece Hanna Lazar tried to encourage him:

"You have helped so many people when you were together with Mahatma. You have now taken up the cause of our own people. Does that not give you great satisfaction?" (4)

In 1936, Dr. Immanuel Olsvanger, while visiting him in India, tried to persuade Gandhi to support the Zionist cause. In July 1936, Moshe Shertok (Sharett), head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, asked Kallenbach to accompany Olsvanger during his mission. Due to business obligations, Kallenbach wanted first to be in Palestine to receive information about past talks, and then proceed to India. Olsvanger's talks with Nehru and Gandhi had completely failed. The Indian National Congress endorsed the anti-British Arab freedom struggle in Palestine. When Hermann Kallenbach visited London in March 1937, he met Olsvanger, Shertok, and Weizmann. Kallenbach proceeded to Palestine and was deeply impressed during his visit there:

"These were very busy days. I visited many settlements + met very dear and valuable people. There is intense and joyful work taking place everywhere. This is a Rejuvenation of our People with wonderful new experiments in 160 settlements,

collective and otherwise. If we are able to carry out these experiments, some of them pioneering, it could be useful not only for ourselves, but for other nations as well. I had a very warm reception in Palestine and made some investments. I also bought land. Perhaps this will benefit not only myself." (5)

"Palestine the land of my fore-bears, with its strenuous endeavours and many experiments of my people, has thrilled me. Great difficulties are facing us there, and we shall succeed only if the moral values are greater in us, than the material ones and we have (a message to give) to the world." (6)

After his departure from Palestine, Kallenbach sailed via Egypt to India, arriving on May 20, 1937. Gandhi stayed at the house of Mahadev Desai's father, north of Bombay, at a village in Tithal:

"This mansion is situated three miles from the Bulsar train station. Mahadev Desai, the friend and secretary of Bapu, and Mrs. Gandhi (...) awaited me at 4 a.m. with the car at the station. About 4.30 a.m. I arrived at the house. Bapu with a small group sat on the floor on a large verandah, on one side of the ocean, on the first floor, at the morning prayer. Mahadev Desai sat down on the floor, without speaking a word, and the prayers proceeded without disturbance. It was dark + I could not recognize the faces of those present. The prayers ended, and all stood up, and I too arose, with a little difficulty, having become unaccustomed to sitting on the floor. Bapu approached, and embraced me + put to me the question "After how many years?". "23", I answered. "We all had despaired of your coming. Come into the light, that I can have a good look at you." He drew me into a room, and with a lantern he lighted up my face and my head, and touched my hair. "Your hair has turned grey, just like mine." Then he asked me many questions. (...)" (7)

Kallenbach joined in the daily routine of Gandhi and his associates, and slept under the open sky, as he had done during their days in South Africa. Gandhi wrote to his son Manilal and his daughter-in-law Sushila, who were still living at Phoenix Settlement and working for "Indian Opinion":

"Here he lives just like one of us. He wears only a dhoti, but sometimes a shirt also. He has purchased a lot of khadi and got some dresses made. This time he is not at all inclined to go anywhere for sight-seeing. Next time when he comes I will send him to visit the Taj (Mahal), etc." (8)

Kallenbach, far from any tourist ambition, was keen to know Gandhi's Constructive Programme for the Uplift of the Indian poor. In 1934, Gandhi had given up his political mandates in the Indian National Congress, in order to work for the "untouchable outcastes", whom he called "Men of God" (Harijans). According to his old habits, Gandhi followed a strict daily routine: -

"Our joint programme is as follows: -

4 a.m. To rise.

4.20 a.m. Prayer on the verandah.

6.30 a.m. Walk bare-footed along the beach.

10.30 a.m. Meal.

5.30 p.m. Meal.

6.30 p.m. Walk bare-footed along the beach.

7.30 p.m. Prayer (hundreds of persons, men + women are present) on an open cement tennis-court on which about 12 people slept, only on blankets, without mattresses.

9-10 p.m. To Bed.

During the in-between-hours, each one is going to his own work. I join in the whole programme. (...) It is "almost" as the old joint life, as if the 23 years, with all the events that affected millions of people, had disappeared." (9)

"Where we are now staying is the centre of the Village Uplift and Reconstruction Movement. There are 700.000 villages in India and M(ahatma) G(andhi) believes that India's regeneration and rejuvenation has to come through village life and its countless millions. (...) All set in the simplest frame(work) so that it can find its adoption in the villages. The simplest of habits are adopted and (an) exceptional(ly) simple diet, all carefully thought out, studied and put under observation by M(ahatma) G(andhi). The habitations consist of mud huts, just sufficient to live and work in, no chairs or tables exist, and with exception of a few stretchers for special occasion, no beds, and no furniture which can claim to be called (by) this name. I am assured that there are many, many millions who eat and sleep on (Mother E)arth, and are happy if they can earn sufficient for two meals a day. (...) M(ahatma) G(andhi) has (now) set his mind (on their lot) and I (do not) doubt (that) he will and must succeed. Such is the man, I have the good fortune to live with, and the place I am dwelling in with him." (10)

Chapter 8

Hanna and Hermann with Bapu - Visits to Gandhi

"**A**ssuming that Zionism is not a material movement, but represents the spiritual aspirations of the Jews, the introduction of Jews in(to) Palestine under the protection of British or other arms, is wholly inconsistent with spirituality.

Neither the mandate nor the Balfour declaration can therefore be used in support of sustaining Jewish immigration into Palestine, in the teeth of Arab opposition.

In my opinion the Jews should disclaim any intention of realising their aspiration(s), under the protection of arms and should rely wholly on the goodwill of Arabs.

No exception can possibly be taken to the natural desire of the Jews to found a home in Palestine. But they must wait for its fulfilment, till Arab opinion is ripe for it. And the best way to enlist that opinion, is to rely wholly upon the moral justice of the desire and therefore the moral sense of the Arabs and the Islamic world.

What about the Jews who have already settled in Palestine? Under the moral or ethical conception they would be governed by the same considerations as are applicable to the newcomers. But I have little doubt that immediately the support of physical force is disclaimed, and the Jewish colony begin to depend upon the goodwill of the Arab population, their position would be safe. But this at best, is a surmise. My opinion is based purely on ethical considerations, and is independent of results. I have no shadow of (a) doubt that the existing position is untenable." (1)

This statement has never been released by Gandhi. Sympathies from the side of the Indian Muslims would have been the result. Gandhi was asked for a public statement during the "Palestine Day", the climax of pro-Arab agitation in India. In 1937, Gandhi did not want to harm the Zionist cause, and he

preferred to consult his friend Hermann Kallenbach beforehand. On the first of July, 1937, Hermann Kallenbach wrote to Dr. Chaim Weizmann about his discussions with Gandhi:

"I told M(ahatma) G(andhi) that what his statement contains will not be considered practical politics, & that (is it) fair to leave our women & children, not counting ourselves, to the goodwill of the Arabs?... On the other hand, (is) the course we are following "practical politics"?

Can we always rely on British protection in Palestine? Even if Britain has the desire, will it always be in a position to do so(?) Has Britain & France & the opinion of the whole liberal world, been able to save the fate of many thousands of innocent Spaniards, women & children included, non-combatants against the unprecedented action of Italian & German soldiers? Have we Jews, the remotest right to expect more consideration from the world, than the civil population of Spain has received from it(. And) otherwise accepting the position that we are able to prepare ourselves for self-defence in Palestine(, can) a comparatively speaking, a handful of Jews defend itself against the many millions of the Islamic world who believe that notwithstanding the promises of Britain & the League of Nations, we had & have no right to enter Palestine without the goodwill of the Arabs? Is it wise to force the position of further relying entirely on British protection & on our own self-defense?"

"I feel troubled. I know, your position as our leader is a most difficult one, & that the burden of your responsibilities rests heavily upon your shoulders, but I cannot, after many discussions with friend Gandhi, refrain from giving voice to my doubts & misgivings." (2)

Hermann Kallenbach was full of empathy with the victims of violence. He never forgot his humanity. In the first place, he considered the fate of the civilians, - political refugees, - and homeless people. Kallenbach was anxious to save his family

from the danger of antisemitism, and he supported their emigration from Germany. He did not wish political conflicts, to be "solved" by violence. Indian leaders - Jawaharlal Nehru, president of the Indian National Congress, and the highly educated, moderate Indian Muslim Maulana Abul Kalam Azad - had offered to bring about conciliation talks for a settlement in Palestine. Hermann Kallenbach supported them in another letter to Dr. Weizmann:-

"Both think that by direct conversation between Arabs and Jews only, will it be possible to reach an understanding and they believe the time ripe now for such conversations. They are willing to assist to bring about these conversations, when called upon to do so, so is Mahatma Gandhi.

The Mohammedan population of India, being 70,000,000, is by far the most important one in the world. The intervention of some of their leaders with a view to reach conciliation, may have far reaching results. What do you think about it?" (3)

Hermann Kallenbach did not return to India until January 1939. After his departure from India in July 1937, he had intended to come back, as early as December the same year. But business obligations prevented him from going. Meanwhile, Gandhi read the Peel Commission's Report on Palestine, and a twenty-five page exposition of Zionism, prepared by Moshe Shertok as a Memorandum which had been received by Kallenbach in Palestine, and handed over to Gandhi in India. Gandhi was very impressed by the statement and deeply interested in bringing about a settlement. His idea was to start a mediation process from India with Kallenbach as mediator. Kallenbach was supposed to be assisted by the Anglican priest Charles Freer Andrews whose intended visit to Palestine, was financially supported by Kallenbach. Andrews would have talked with Professor Judah L. Magnes who was actively promoting the Arab-Jewish conciliation. Gandhi's letters in autumn 1937 spoke in clear language urging his friend Kallenbach to keep his promise and return to

India in winter. But instead, Kallenbach sent his niece Hanna Lazar to India. This was in summer 1938.

Hanna Lazar's greatest friend and mentor in her life was her "Uncle Hermann". He was to her as a father, and with his support, she felt the strength and courage to aspire to higher pursuits in Life, Character Building and Self-Education. She wrote to him long letters to express her feelings and desires:

"Since you were in Europe 1911, you were the outstanding example in my life. In you I vested my ideals of purity, self-sacrifice and honesty. Are you surprised that I cling to you so desperately? (...) You are the originator of my wish to change." (4)

"I have realised, & realise every day more and more that nobody can reach anything or help anybody wholeheartedly without great sacrifice, & excluding of the Ego." (5)

"There is a proper reform needed in my own life, & I am starting with it at once now. The main thing is as Bapu says to attend conscientiously to the smallest matters." (6)

"Bapu's love & example, & your ever ready & loving assistance gives me courage & strength." (7)

In all respects, it was for Hanna Lazar the most inopportune time for her visit to India. The unfavourable weather conditions (heavy rains with mosquitoes, malaria, and cholera), endangered her health by gastro-intestinal disturbances etc. Gandhi's own spiritual crisis spoiled the chances of a successful visit. She had prepared herself, by doing a Swedish massage course, in order to give Gandhi massage treatment. But Gandhi had taken a vow, one month previous to her arrival, not to be touched by any other woman except by his own wife, or his doctor, Sushila Nayar. He

wanted to strengthen his spirituality by complete Renunciation in Thought, Word and Deed (Brahmacharya):

"While still at Sabarmati - he was very unhappy to note that in spite of all his strivings, strain & self-control, his physique continued to act independent(ly) of his spiritual ascension."
(8)

Instead, Hanna gave courses to the ashram inmates, in massage, physical culture and the English language. She was shocked to find Gandhi giving the full responsibility of his health to his doctor, Sushila. The result was, cupboards full of drugs, instead of Nature Cure as the only way of Treatment, - as in years gone by.

Gandhi wanted to protect Hanna Lazar from illness, and decided to send her back earlier, but the impression of the "most important event" of her life, was overshadowed by the danger of a world-war-coming:

"May God prevent War! I mean, may the guilty ones find their punishment through their own wrongs!" (9)

On November 26, 1938, Mahatma Gandhi made his "plunge into unknown waters", when he published his article "The Jews" in his weekly "Harijan". It was without consultation with Hermann Kallenbach, that Gandhi reacted to the terrible pogrom of November 9, 1938, in Germany called "Reichskristallnacht". Gandhi's public statement was intended to challenge collective non-violent resistance of Jews in Europe and Palestine, and active support of the Western World.

Before Hermann Kallenbach returned to India in January 1939, he forwarded a letter of appeal to Jawaharlal Nehru: "The treatment of my people in Germany and Austria is such as human beings have rarely been subjected to at any time in

the world's history. But it is not only the torture - physical and mental - through which about three quarter of a million people are going, it is the systematic poisoning of the minds of other nations against us on a(n) hitherto unprecedented scale." (10) Kallenbach spoke out against Nazi propaganda which had spread to South Africa and to India and worked "insidiously", as Nehru confirmed in his reply (11). Kallenbach's hope during these dark days was to appeal to world conscience: "If the conscience of the world is not shaken up by some true men - as in the Dreyfus case -, I fear, the example of Germany may spread and we may have to go under." (12)

Among the severe critics of Gandhi's statement were: the Professors Martin Buber and Judah Magnes who mailed their reply to Gandhi at Segaon on March 9, 1939. The Bombay Zionist Association and the editor of its organ "The Jewish Advocate", Abraham Shohet, had countered Gandhi's opinion immediately. Due to Kallenbach's mediation, Shohet spoke with Gandhi personally, and expressed his dissent. Shohet's impression was, that Gandhi's priority remained the Hindu-Muslim Unity in India. On March 22, 1939, the Town Clerk of Tel Aviv, Joseph Nedivi, Shohet, Kallenbach, Andrews, Gandhi's secretaries Mahadev Desai and Pyarelal Nayar, and Gandhi himself had a conference on the possible co-existence of Jews and Arabs in Palestine. It was clear to them that the public statement made by Gandhi was irreversible. The challenge of Satyagraha, and the Jewish martyrdom of the Sanctification of the Divine Name (Kiddush ha-Shem), will never be ignored.

Chapter 9

The last years - The Last Will and Testament

"Chaim" is the Hebrew word for Life. For several times during the Thirties, Kallenbach had adopted this name instead of "Hermann" as a visible protest against Nazi inhumanity. Kallenbach stood for Life and Human Dignity, and all his activities promoted Humanity. In 1939, on his last visit to Mahatma Gandhi, he fell severely ill with malaria. Until his death on the 25th of March, 1945, Hermann Kallenbach felt a gradual waning of his health. Many a time he felt weak, most unhappy, lonely and forlorn. His work in architecture and his assets grew and prospered. His developments of the townships of Linksfield, and Linksfield Ridge, became the most elegant suburbs of Johannesburg, and most sought after.

He had some deep inner conflicts, which he himself could not resolve. On the one hand, he had had a taste of the ideals of striving towards Higher Things - through his friendship and support of Mahatma Gandhi. Being seekers after Truth and Justice, for all people, by walking together on the straight and narrow path, of non-violent resistance to the injustice against the Indians of South Africa. Gandhi had planned and sought after a place for Hermann Kallenbach by his side as Administrator of his Ashram in India. This dream ever remained unfulfilled.

On the other hand, Hermann Kallenbach was a most responsible man towards his own family in Germany. His brothers and their families needed his help to escape out of Germany for safety. Their emigration to other countries had first priority; Simon and Max Kallenbach (being already in old age) and their families were dependent upon him. How could he leave for India now?

He had built up his assets, immovable property, in South Africa, steadily for decades. From these assets, he had helped so many young students, and put them through the university, and he had given them a chance to learn a profession for their future. If he gave up this source of income, his dependents would suffer. No, this he did not wish to do.

After being interned as an Enemy Alien in England during the First World War, there was a forced separation between the two friends "Lower House" and "Upper House". It took Hermann Kallenbach twenty-three years before he actually saw and visited Gandhi in India in 1937. Circumstances always prevented him from fulfilling his desire.

Later, in the Thirties, he became a keen and active Zionist and joined the South African Zionist Federation in Johannesburg. He worked for the settlement of Jews in Palestine. This coincided with his previous ideas of settling Jews on the land, going back to Bread-Labour according to A.D. Gordon, Leo Tolstoy, and Timofey Bondarev. Had he been a younger man, the kibbutz life in Palestine held much attraction for him as an Architect-Farmer. Having reached the age of sixty-six years, for him it was too late.

Hermann Kallenbach never married, his niece Hanna Lazar and grand-niece Isa Lazar remained his nearest family - yet due to the generation gap, he could not share nor consult with them. Hanna Lazar knew much about her Uncle's conflicts and anxieties, but she could not help him resolve them and to gain Peace and Equilibrium. Thus, he suffered much. He was a deeply disappointed, old man - disappointed in himself. He quoted quite often the following Shakespeare expression:

"The evil that men do lives after them /
The good is oft' interred with their bones."

Hermann Kallenbach had made recorded testaments during the years 1911, 1914, 1928, 1936, 1942 and 1945. He periodically changed his Last Wills, especially before travelling overseas. In the first two wills, 1911 and 1914, Mr. Gandhi was Executor, as also beneficiary. Of his own family, his sister Jeanette and her two daughters were also beneficiaries. In 1928 and 1936, Hanna Lazar became one of the Executors and the Administrator. In 1936, Hermann Kallenbach determined in his last will, that Gandhi should inherit 25% of the balance of his Estate, after the family had received their initial share. In addition, he left a certain part to Jewish and non-Jewish charitable organizations, and the lion's share for the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth Funds for the Reconstruction in Palestine - land for Jews to settle. In his second Last Will in 1942, Hermann Kallenbach declared himself "fully acquainted with the objects of the World Zionist Organization, and (desired) in general without fettering the discretion of the Organisation, to further the work undertaken in Palestine, by the instrument of the World Zionist Organization, namely the Palestine Foundation (Keren Hayesod) Ltd., and in particular to further and assist in the creation of new agricultural settlements, farms and villages in Palestine for the settlement of Jews thereon; giving financial aid and assistance to existing Jewish Agricultural settlements, farms or villages in Palestine; fostering and assisting education in all branches of agriculture and land development, including the establishment and maintaining of one or more bursaries or fellowships for Jews at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, for the study of and research in Agriculture and any subjects relating to the development of and production from the land."

His final and Last Will and Testament was signed shortly before his death. It was his expressed wish to be cremated,

and later his Urn was brought by his niece Hanna and buried in Kibbutz Degania, near the grave of A. D. Gordon.

His epitaph reads:

“Socher Tov / Doresh Zedek / Holech Tamim”
"Seeks the Good / Demands Justice / Walks Upright"

Chapter 10

"Seeks the Good / Demands Justice / Walks Upright"

On the cemetery of Kibbutz Degania ("Aleph") we find quite near to Aharon David Gordon's grave an epitaph on the tombstone of Hermann Kallenbach: "Seeks the Good / Demands Justice / Walks Upright". Seven years after his death in Johannesburg a small funeral gathering followed his urn to his burial place on Kibbutz Degania in 1952. Kibbutz Degania was founded among others by the Russian Tolstoyan, A. D. Gordon, who had changed his profession from a land administrator in Russia to become a farmer at the age of fifty years - on Tolstoy's principle of "Bread Labour". Kibbutz Degania had been founded by settlers from Eastern Europe during the Second Aliyah before the First World War, and it is located south of Tiberias near the Sea of Galilee. According to Hermann Kallenbach's Last Will, he desired to be cremated after his death and to be buried in Palestine. A small group of friends and relatives, headed by Hanna Lazar and Joseph Baratz who had shown Kallenbach the kibbutz in 1937, gathered to pay their last respects to Hermann Kallenbach.

Ten years later, Hanna Lazar, in 1962, had good reason to wish to write the biography of her beloved uncle.

Hermann Kallenbach was a loyal, constant, loving and generous friend of Mahatma Gandhi for over forty years. A Friend who committed his whole life spiritually and deeply devoted to the cause of the Indians of South Africa. Even decades after Gandhi had left South Africa, Hermann Kallenbach remained an active Trustee of the Phoenix Settlement and a benevolent supporter of *Indian Opinion* which was edited by Gandhi's son Manilal. He tried to bring justice and righteousness to the South African inter-ethnic relationships: between the white and the coloured peoples, the

white peoples basically instigated by fear of being outnumbered by the non-Europeans.

Around Gandhi gathered many high-minded Europeans, who saw and understood his thoughts and ideas in principle and agreed to them. Many supporters and admirers, e.g. Charlie Andrews, W.W. Pearson, Henry Polak, Sonia Schlesin, Joseph Doke and many others, but none proved as true and constant and generous as Hermann Kallenbach, during over forty years of their lives. Never before has this interesting life-story been told, and we feel that now this omission has been corrected!

Hermann Kallenbach was to Gandhi and the South African Indian Community a pillar of strength on which an edifice could be built - an edifice of noble thoughts, ideas, reforms and teachings.

Hanna Lazar, Hermann Kallenbach's loyal niece, accepted and shared her uncle's ideas and principles and highly appreciated her uncle's friendship with Mahatma Gandhi. She wanted to contribute towards the upkeep of Gandhi's health and to relieve his pain by massage treatment. Gandhi welcomed Hanna Lazar into his Sevagram Ashram as an "extraordinarily good woman" and recognized her sincerity, enthusiasm for his cause and compassion for his suffering.

In his old age, Hermann Kallenbach's loneliness and unhappiness stemmed from his pride, his introvert character, and inability to share his human weaknesses. In addition, his constant anxiety from his knowledge of the human catastrophe which was unprecedented, and unprevented, taking place in Europe, made him suffer tremendously.

Hanna Lazar and her family gave their best by caring daily for all his needs. In every possible way, they tried to ease his suffering until his death on the 25th of March, 1945. All were

standing around him at his deathbed. To the chagrin of the family he used to say: "A married man lives like a dog and dies like a king... A Bachelor lives like a king and dies like a dog."

Hermann Kallenbach was a carpenter, a joiner, a mason, an architect, a building pioneer and a thorough and conscientious follower of Truth on the Path of Non-violence whose self-discipline originated in his Prussian education. He accompanied Gandhi during his experiments to overcome his "animal passions" and his tendency to luxurious living. By exercising Renunciation through asceticism, he implemented his critical view of modern civilization into his daily life, as learned from Leo Tolstoy, John Ruskin, and Henry David Thoreau, and ancient prophets. Their first dialogue on religious matters gave them a common basis by jointly admiring the life reform and renunciation practice of Gautama Buddha.

Self-reliance by farming and handicrafts; self-education towards modesty, humility and spiritual equilibrium of head, heart and hand; the insight into the moral teachings of Non-violence in all religions; the trans-cultural transformation of Leo Tolstoy's doctrines of Bread Labour, Vegetarianism, Voluntary Simplicity and Non-violent Resistance; the liberation of spiritual energy by a good and active life ("vita activa"); the reconciliation of the intellect with the necessities of daily life; - these common aspirations and inclinations lead to a profound congeniality, unique in this century. Thus, this story is not just telling their experiences and individual experiments with dietetics and nature cure.

Satyagraha ("Firmness in Truth" on the Path of Non-violence), i.e. active, non-violent search for Truth, is based on the freedom from lie and deceit, insult, injury and violence. "Soul-force", according to Gandhi, is based on the power of imagining the Good in all thoughts, words and

deeds. Words and acts of sincerity and honesty are needed at the right time and the right place.

Satyagraha or Soul-force was invented and developed by "Experiments with Truth" on Tolstoy Farm between 1910 and 1914; the correspondence between Leo Tolstoy, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Hermann Kallenbach handed over Tolstoy's legacy to his two followers.

"Non-cooperation" and "Non-resistance", as Tolstoy had named the concept, "Passive Resistance" or "Conscientious Objection", as Jan Christian Smuts called the actions of the Indian Satyagrahis in South Africa, - these concepts were realised by the two friends and associates. Hermann Kallenbach and Mahatma Gandhi practised non-violent resistance on the categorical basis of freedom from insincerity and violence. Only thus were they able to act in solidarity. Their pledge of Renunciation was intentionally supposed to give them a spiritual basis, for their personal contribution to the Indian struggle of Emancipation.

What started as a model for the South African Indian Community, had been forgotten after the two world wars. Whereas violence and insincerity had become the law of the "jungle" - the only hope to stop the evil, lies with the searchers for Truth who hear their still, small voice of conscience - as in the epitaph of Hermann Kallenbach:

Seek the Good / Demand Justice / Walk Upright

From Letters by "Upper House" to "Lower House"

1.) From Pretoria Gaol Prison, Transvaal, 5.4.1909:

"My dear Lower House,

I was shocked yesterday to hear of your mother's death - the more so as I felt and do feel guilty in that I was instrumental in your not going to Europe to perform the necessary pilgrimage. I know what a great consolation it would have been to you to have been by her bedside. Knowing as I do so well your affectionate nature I can fully enter into your grief. I feel it keenly that I am not with you in body to share your sorrow. I am nonetheless your partner in it in spirit. May I recall to your mind by way of consolation the incident that happened to me? You know that my dear mother was snatched from me just a few days before my return to Bombay from London. This was over seventeen years ago but as I describe it to you, it seems but yesterday that I realized on landing in Bombay what I had lost. And my devotion to my mother was not inferior to yours.

But neither your mother nor mine have died. Their bodies have perished but their souls still live. Let us hope fit for better tenements than they have hitherto occupied. If so, why need we grieve? Our affection is surely not restricted to their bodies which were bound to be reduced to their natural elements some day or other. And do not our parents live in us as they have a right to, if we reproduce in our lives their better parts?

Need I say that among those of whom I think daily you are one. I am not with you in body but I am always with you in spirit, and often feel as if I was doing my share of the household work - through you!

I hope you are keeping well in body, soul and spirit. (...)"

2.) From King Edwards Hotel, Durban, Natal, 11.6.1909:

"(...) Not a day has passed on which I have not thought of you. We know each other so well that we can talk to each other without talking + see without seeing.

I know too that the Lower House thinks more of the Upper House in its absence + can therefore quite understand its doing nothing which ought not to be done. (...)"

3.) From Union Castle Line, R.M.S. "Kenilworth Castle", 3.7.1909:

"(...) The gaol life for me is the best. I am doing a lot of reading but not with the same degree of concentration as in the Pretoria gaol. The elegant distractions here are many and various. I am leading a much simpler life than before i.e. when I last went to England, I allowed myself tea on the train. But here on board no tea, no coffee, no breakfast are strictly adhered to. (...)"

4.) From Westminster Palace Hotel, London, 30.7.1909:

"(...) Your letters are charming. I know that you do not want them to be read by anybody else. And as I have to wander about from place to place, I propose to destroy them. (...)"

5.) From Westminster Palace Hotel, London, 28.8.1909:

"(...) I am delighted that you are getting more work. You deserve it not because you are a cleverer architect than others but because you are truer. But even at the risk of repeating myself I hope you will not mind my warning you against spending money freely. You are a trustee. Nothing is yours.

I note your motoring experience. If you saw the craze for it here, and saw how poor people suffer from the infliction I am sure your humanity would make you forswear motors for

ever. They are an invention of the devil. And if to these are added the monsters of the air, life in such countries is bound to become unbearable. (...)"

6.) From Westminster Palace Hotel, London, 30.8.1909:

"(...) You remind me of friendships of bygone ages of which one reads in histories & novels: I promise this - that I shall ever pray that I may ever retain the seat I have found in your heart and that I may do nothing to forfeit that love which is almost superhuman. (...)"

7.) 1.10.1909:

"(...) It is my firm belief that if you are weak, no matter whether you show your weakness in words or not, if you leave unconsciously an impression of it on your opponent. (...) our worst enemy is our weakness. Weakness is due to fear; fear is due to lack of faith in the possibilities within the soul + for good. Lack of faith is due to our over-attachment to the ever perishing and perishable body. If therefore we get rid of the body snare that binds us so tight, we set the soul free (for) its work - progress or evolution. The greater the faith, the greater the strength. Having by strength surmounted fear, we surmount weakness. And then we are practically free. (...)"

8.) "Articles of agreement between Lower House and Upper House

Lower House is to proceed to Europe on a sacred pilgrimage to the members of his family during the month of August next.

Lower House is not to spend any money beyond necessities befitting the position of a simple-living poor farmer.

Lower House is not to contract any marriage tie during his absence.

Lower House shall not look lustfully upon any woman.

Lower House is to travel 3rd class whether by sea or land.

(...)

Lower House will not tarry long in London or any other place save the homes of the members of the family.

The consideration for all the above tasks imposed by Lower House on himself is more love + yet more love between the two Houses - such love as, they hope, the world has not seen.

In witness whereof the parties hereto solemnly affix their signatures in the presence of the Maker of all this -
29th of July (1911) at Tolstoy Farm

Upper House

Lower House."

9.) 6.8.1911:

"No, my dear L(ower) H(ouse). We may not use even our dinner hour for our pleasure. Every minute of our is premortgaged, seeing that we are born debtors. We are born only because we owe. We come into the world again and again until we have paid out what we have incurred on the score of Karma.

Life is Duty. (...)"

10.) Saturday night, 23.9.1911:

"(...) Of course there must be rules for the guidance of voluntary associations. Only it must be borne in mind that Tolstoyan belief does not contemplate huge settlements or states. Neither men nor animals are expected or intended to

roam about the earth. If I serve my neighbours whom I reach by walking to them, I serve the world. When I attempt to do more, I not only do not do anything good but I positively disturb the economy of nature in the same way that a man abuses nature by trying to make money upon money. Both arise out of conceit. (...)"

"(...) Modern civilization has had its trial thousands of years ago. It was tried at the time of the Tower of Babel + found wanting. It was tried in India + failed. It is again on its trial and is already tottering. What trial can it want? What does it purpose doing? It either rejects divinity or seeks to find it outside of ourselves. In both of these systems it is hopelessly wrong. (...) If Tolstoy was the greatest reformer of his age in Europe, he owed it to his doctrine of non-resistance. (...)"

11.) 29.10.1911:

"(...) I have I think often told you that no man may be called good before his death. Departure by a hair's breadth from the straight + narrow path may undo the whole of his past. We have no guide that a man whom we considered to be good is really good except after he is dead. (...)"

12.) From Tolstoy Farm, Lawley Station, Transvaal, 11.11.1911: .

"(...) I have seen acrobats - rope walkers - in India. They walk on a rope fixed to poles in mid-air quite twenty feet or more from the ground. They walk with a bamboo stretched along the outstretched arms and they gaze steadily in front of the other end. They may not go away a hair's breadth from their path. Well, that of spiritual ropewalkers, is a million-fold more difficult. Happily they have also correspondingly greater strength. You are one of these spiritual rope walkers.

In the song celestial Krishna said - A good man must think of Me (God) performing every function of life. It is too true.

When there is no witness, He is the most vigilant and active in noting our lapses, if also our merits. Our merits count for nothing. For that is what we owe. Our lapses simply swell the heavy debit side. Beware then of the articles of our agreement + God willing, you will be safe. (...)"

13.) 26.11.1911:

"(...) The inner man must be in harmony with the outer. We ought to be able to think + feel as we act. That is, if I act politely towards you, I ought to feel that also. Do I always think and feel well of people, when I act well with them? I am afraid it is not always thus. To the extent that I fail, I am a liar. And yet I must not act otherwise. I must continually try to eradicate feelings + thoughts which are contrary to my actions as they ought to be. Then I should be a wholly truthful man. May you + I have the privilege of becoming such men. (...)"

14.) In the train, posted at Heidelberg, Transvaal, 30.8.1912:

"(...) I hope you will *realise* that the cause for all our worries is to be sought from within + not without. We are to blame, in one way, for all the misery in the world + therefore all the imperfections of our surroundings. They will be perfect when we are. (...)"

15.) From Phoenix, Friday, 31.1.1913:

"(...) The work itself is being continually done + undone. One man builds, another destroys + rebuilds according to his notion of rightness. Who is right? Who knows? But we do know when we act to our soul + profit + when we do not. And that is all that matters on this earth. (...)"

16.) From Phoenix, 25.2.1913:

"(...) You cannot serve God + Mammon. The Mammon of ease, self-pride, luxury should be permitted to do its worst and inflict all the hardships it can by depriving us of its gifts. Then + then only, could God be enthroned in our hearts. (...)"

17.) From Phoenix, Wednesday night, 5.3.1913:

"(...) Find out the cause for the stray mistake made + you will certainly avoid it. The true remedy is to compel yourself into ceaseless activity. Refuse to believe that you are weak + you will be strong. Believe continuously that you are wicked + you will sink. (...)"

18.) From Phoenix, Thursday, 3.4.1913:

"(...) I wish you would forget in our relations that I am an Indian + you a European. There are undoubtedly moments when those who are the nearest to me do not distract my attention at all. You have given me the privilege of considering you to be one of the nearest. (...)"

19.) From Johannesburg, 26.4.1913:

"(...) Tolstoy Farm cannot be given up because of the memories connected with it, and because in the event of your leaving S(outh) A(frica) for any new enterprise spiritual or other, you are in a position to look back with satisfaction upon something accomplished in a concrete manner. (...)"

20.) From Phoenix, 1.5.1913:

"(...) They drive me more + more into the jungles of India. This may be counted as weakness of mine + that it may be proof of coming imbecility. Only something within me tells me

that I am more + more being driven to Truth. You know that in my search for it nothing will daunt me. (...)"

21.) From Phoenix, Thursday, May 1913:

"(...) Devdas ate stolen lemons at Inanda Falls although he had promised not to do such thing again. When he was faced with the fact, he was inclined to be naughty + sharp. This grieved me much. And his last defence broke me entirely. He said he did not immediately confess his guilt as he was afraid of being hit by me, as if I am in the habit of hitting boys. And so I felt that by way of a lesson to him I would deposit a few slaps on my cheeks which I did + then felt the grief so much that I wept bitterly. (...)"

22.) 9.9.1913:

"(...) I am glad that realisation of weakness now does make you despondent, but enerves you for the struggle that is to come. I find that if we have trust in the Supreme every difficulty we face, shows its own way out of it. 'One step enough for me' was not spoken by an inexperienced man. (...)"

23.) From Phoenix, 16. or 17.9.1913:

"(...) Can any man who goes knowingly into a thing say "O God let this be my last temptation!" It is a contradiction. God does not want you to go in for any temptation. Temptations may not be sought. They come without seeking. Then could the above prayer be offered. (...)"

24.) From Phoenix, 17. or 18.9.1913:

"(...) In some cases I impertinently consider that I know your merits + demerits more than you do. And it ought to be so, seeing that I am the Upper House - your 'better half'! Only please do stop me when I go too far in piling on the agony.

You know my way. I do not consider coworkers I hope including myself, when we are moving towards an ideal as we are in this connection. (...)"

25.) Pretoria Box 1156, 19.1.1914:

"(...) Fortunately we are passive resisters + we cannot be harmed by anybody but ourselves. So if we fear ourselves, we need fear no earthly power. (...)"

26.) In the train, on the way between Johannesburg + Capetown, 14.2.1914:

"What a snare, a delusion this wretched civilisation in the midst of which you and I are still living + if the bitter fruit of which we are still tasting. Woe to us, if we tarry in it a minute longer than may be absolutely necessary. (...)"

27.) 7 Buitencingle, Capetown, 27.2.1914:

"(...) You still remain the dearest + the nearest to me + so far as my own selfish nature is considered I know that in my lonely journey through the world you will be the last (if even that) to say goodbye to me. What right had I to expect so much from you. (...)"

28.) 7 Buitencingle, Capetown, 10.3.1914:

"(...) It is because we fear death so much for ourselves that we shed tears over the deaths of others. How can I who know the body to be perishable and the soul to be imperishable mourn over the separation of body from soul. But it is a condition attached to a real belief in this beautiful and consoling doctrine. He who believes in it must not pamper the body, but must be its ruler. He must regulate its wants so as to make it serve the dweller within and not allow the body to master him. Not to grieve over the death of others is to accept

a state almost of perpetual grief. For this connection between body and soul is itself grievous. (...)"

29.) Servants of India Society, Poona City, 12.2.1915:

"(...) Yes, India is still the place of spirituality that I have pictured to myself. It has brought me unconscious peace. There is much to criticize, much to disappoint. Underneath it all there is an intense spirituality. The basis of life is spiritual. You can therefore build straightaway. Not so anywhere else in the same degree. (...)"

30.) Servants of India, Poona, 2.3.1915:

"(...) You will be surprised that Mrs. Gandhi has developed a passion for you. She thinks of you at every turn. She thinks that our life is incomplete without you. This is not my favourable construction method but this is how it is happening with her just now. (...)"

31.) Ahmedabad, 21.5.1915:

"(...) I see around me on the surface nothing but hypocrisy, humbug + degradation, + yet underneath it, I trace a divinity I missed there as elsewhere. This is my India. It may be my blind love or ignorance or a picture of my own imagination. Anyway it gives me peace + happiness. It fills me with hope + confidence without which no man could work. (...)"

32.) Ahmedabad, 17.9.1915:

"(...) *Greater work than passive resistance has commenced. I have taken in(to) the Ashram a Pariah from these parts. This is an extreme step. (...)*"

33.) Ahmedabad, 24.9.1915:

"(...) *You know what a Pariah is. He is what is called an untouchable.* (...) The step I have taken means a great deal. It may alter my life a bit, i.e. I may have to completely take up *Pariah work*. I might have to become a Pariah myself. We shall see. Anyway let my troubles brace you up, if they can. (...)"

34.) Ahmedabad, 26.11.1916:

"(...) True worth of a man seems to me to consist in his capacity to resist his surroundings. It is the measure of his self-realization. If we control ourselves we cannot be controlled by others not even our surroundings, not fashion, nor food, nor spectacles, nor games, nor company, nor hobbies. There is no true happiness without this real SELF RULE. (...)"

35.) Ahmedabad, 17.12.1916:

"(...) We often deceive ourselves and what may appear to be losses, may be gains in reality + vice versa. The measure of progress is the measure of resistance to temptations. The world may judge us by a single fall. But we might in spite thereof have risen if we have resisted numerous temptations previous to the fall and after the fall we are conscious of it, + sincerely desirous of retracing our steps. To count losses + gains therefore, is not an easy matter by any means. (...)"

36.) Ahmedabad, 30.4.1917 (Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Supplementary Volume 1, p. 512):

"(...) We are living in an age of make-believe. We are always hoping for the best to happen through unconsciously doing the opposite to achieve the best. I hope with you that the agony will soon end. But the hope is against my reason. My

reason tells me that the peace which we shall have will be a mockery; it will be an armed truce, it will be the outcome not of one party admitting being in the wrong but both being fairly exhausted + desiring rest. Such a peace is bound to lead to a bloodier strife unless the intervening period brings about a change of hearts. (...)"

37.) Motihari, 21.12.1917 (Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. 14, p. 116):

"(...) and what is this physical form after all? As I was whizzing through the air yesterday and looking at the trees, I saw that beneath all the change that these mighty trees daily underwent, there was a something that persisted. Every leaf has its own separate life. It drops and withers. But the tree lives on. Every tree falls in process of time or under the cruel axe, but the forest of which the tree is but a part lives and so with us leaves of the human tree. We may wither, but the eternal in us lives on, changeless and endless. I derived much comfort last evening as I was thus musing. The thoughts went on to you and I sighed, but I regained self-possession and said to myself, "I know my friend not for his form, but for which informs him. (...)"

38.) From Nandi Hills (Near Bangalore), 13.5.1927:

"(...) This loss of strength came in the twinkling of an eye. Latterly I had put such terrific strain upon the brain that I was afraid of a crisis and it came just when I was arranging to have a lighter programme. But God seemed to say "I shall demolish your pride before you recognise your mad method and show you that you were utterly wrong in rushing as you have been doing, thinking that it was all well because it was for a good cause. You fool! you thought that you would work wonders. Have your lesson now, and learn whilst there is yet time that God alone is the wonder-worker and He uses whom He pleases as His instrument". I am taking the chastisement I

hope in due humility and if He raises me from this sick bed, I am making Him promises that I shall reform my ways and shall seek still more strenuously to know His will and do it. (...)"

39.) In Segacon (Wardha), Sevagram Ashram, 4.7.1937:

"I advise all round simplicity. That is to say, everything superfluous should be discarded, no new purchases should be made till the existing stock is exhausted. Wants should be reduced not multiplied. There should be an accurate account kept of private expenses even as it is of office expenses.

No new ventures should be undertaken for adding to the income. What is already on should be standardised so as to free the mind for other + higher pursuits, especially if Palestine is taken up.

Some spiritual reading such as the Song Celestial, Light of Asia should be regularly done. All literature about Zionism should be studied. (...)"

40.) From Segacon (Wardha), Sevagram Ashram, 20.7.1937:

"(...) I have read the Palestine Report. It makes sad reading but the commission could not do anything more. It almost admits the critical blunder, a promise to the Arabs and a contrary one to the Jews. Breach of promise became inevitable. I am more than ever convinced that the only proper and dignified solution is the one I have suggested, now more so than before. My solution admits of no half measures. If the Jews will rely wholly on the Arab goodwill, they must once for all renounce British protection. I wonder if they will adopt the heroic remedy. (...)"

41.) From Segacon (Wardha), Sevagram Ashram, 26.8.1937:

"(...) The more I observe the events happening, the more convinced I feel of the correctness of my advice. But it is

likely to be a voice in the wilderness. Nevertheless, if you feel as strongly as I do, you will take up the firm + only stand that is likely to do good in the end. Without that, there will be no happy home for the Jews in Palestine. (...)"

42.) From Segaon (Wardha), Sevagram Ashram, 28.8.1937:

"(...) I quite clearly see that if you are to play any part in bringing about an honourable settlement, your place is in India. It might be that you might have to go at times to South Africa. You might have to go frequently to Palestine but much of the work lies in India as I visualise the development of the settlement talks. (...)"

43.) From Segaon (Wardha), Sevagram Ashram, 30.9.1937:

"(...) The Jewish question is becoming a very ticklish question. A heroic remedy is required for a desperate disease. And the non-violent remedy invokes the best + permanent type of heroism. (...)"

44.) From Segaon (Wardha), Sevagram Ashram, 11.10.1937:

"(...) The Palestine question does now engage my attention. It is becoming more + more intricate for want of a firm declaration such as I have suggested. But that will never come unless there is an urge from within. One must explore possibilities when you come. (...)"

45.) From Segaon (Wardha), Sevagram Ashram, 17.7.1938:

"(...) What a tragedy going on in Palestine? It is heartbreaking. If there is peace ultimately, it will be the peace of the grave. However we must endure what we cannot cure. (...)"

46.) From Segaon (Wardha), Sevagram Ashram, 26.11.1938:

"(...) You will have seen my article on the Jews. I have made a plunge into unknown waters. How I wish you were here at this time wholly free from the cares of the S(outh) A(frican) obligations. But that was not to be. If you can come without damaging the business, do come. (...) What is the condition of the Jews there? Has the anti-Jewish wave travelled in your direction? (...)"

47.) undated:

"(...) My object in saving on the cables was that you might put by every penny for helping the Jews who are most deserving but who do not get the benefit of the big charities. To get at them, I suppose, one needs influence as everywhere else. But of this later. (...)"

Most revealing of the quality of the friendship between Hermann Kallenbach and Mahatma Gandhi is a letter to Mr. Herbert Turner (New Malden, Surrey, England) dated 30th of April, 1917, written by Gandhi from Ahmedabad (Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Supplementary Volume 1, pp. 511f.):

"(...) Pray, tell him that we all think of him + miss him so often. I miss him most of all. Just now I am in the Northern parts of India. It is a country where every prospect pleases, man alone is vile !! Here at first my presence was resented by the local authority. I received a Summons to leave the country. I declined. I was summoned to answer a charge of contempt. I pleaded guilty. But the Court had not the courage to sentence me. Meanwhile came instructions from the Superior Authority that the proceedings against me should be withdrawn + that I should be allowed to proceed with my work. My work is to examine the condition of the peasantry, who are working under the indigo planters, who are alleged to

be treating the peasantry in a most high-handed manner. I have been carrying on my inquiry + I find the position to be as bad as it was painted. I am still going on with the inquiry. It is here I miss our friend's presence. I cannot imagine myself doing this class of work without him. I know he would have been delighted to be in the thick of it. He would have walked with me to the villages, and lived with me among the simple folk. He would have seen the planters. He would have made friends with them + would have played an important part in bringing about a settlement. But it was not to be. He must pay the penalty that modern civilization exacts from us. Man against man to gain man's socalled freedom. It is like darkness. (...)"

Annotations

Preface

- (1) Sevagram, 25.3.1945; The Hindu, 27.3.1945; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 79, p. 301
- (2) Letter by M.K. Gandhi to Sonia Schlesin, 13.5.1945; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 80, p. 125
- (3) Letter by M.K. Gandhi to Hermann Kallenbach, Ahmedabad, 22.7.1916

Chapter 1: From Russ to Johannesburg - Early Years and Studies

- (1) Letter by Hanna Lazar to Pyarelal Nayar, 13.3.1974
- (2) Letter by Hanna Lazar to Pyarelal Nayar, 13.3.1974

Chapter 2: Friendship with Gandhi - "Lower House" and "Upper House"

- (1) M.K. Gandhi: Autobiography, part 4, ch. 30; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 39, p. 263
- (2) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Simon Kallenbach, 10.6.1908
- (3-6) ebd.
- (7) M.K. Gandhi: Satyagraha in Südafrika, ch. 23; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 29, p. 145
- (8) ebd.
- (9) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Simon Kallenbach, 10.6.1908
- (10) Harijan, 29.5.1937, Mahadev Desai: Weekly Letter. Hermann Kallenbach
- (11) Letter by Hanna Lazar to Pyarelal, 31.8.1975
- (12) Harijan, 29.5.1937, Mahadev Desai: Weekly Letter. Hermann Kallenbach

Chapter 3: A Staunch Tolstoyan - Tolstoy Farm

- (1) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Simon Kallenbach, 3.7.1910
- (2) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Simon Kallenbach, 27.8.1910
- (3) Indian Opinion, 18.6.1910; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 10, p. 272
- (4) ebd., p. 273
- (5) Indian Opinion, 6.8. 1910
- (6) Letter by M.K.Gandhi to Leo Tolstoi, 15.8.1910
- (7) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Simon Kallenbach, 27.8.1910
- (8) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Simon Kallenbach, 14.7.1912
- (9) M.K.Gandhi: Autobiography, ch. 32; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 39, p. 267
- (10) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Simon Kallenbach, 27.8.1910
- (11) Indian Opinion, 11.6.1910; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 10, pp. 271f.
- (12) Indian Opinion, 11.6.1910; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 10, p. 269

Chapter 4: The Epic March - Satyagraha

- (1) M.K. Gandhi: Satyagraha in South Africa, ch. 13; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 29, p. 93
- (2) ebd., ch. 12, pp. 92f.
- (3) quoted by Gandhi in his autobiography "The Story of My Experiments with Truth", part 1, ch. 20; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 39, p. 60
- (4) M.K. Gandhi: Satyagraha in South Africa, ch. 44; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 29, pp. 240f.
- (5) ebd., ch. 43, p. 238
- (6) Indian Opinion, 15.7.1914; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 12, p. 445

(7) Hermann Kallenbach's Draft for Address to Indian Friends before Departure for India, 18.7.1914

Chapter 5: Prisoner of War, Isle of Man

(1) Gandhi's Speech at Bombay Provincial Conference, Poona, 11.7.1915; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 13, p. 116

(2) cp. Gandhi's Speech to the Indian Field Ambulance Corps, London, 1.10.1914; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 12, p. 535

(3) Letter by M.K. Gandhi to Charles Roberts, Under Secretary of State for India, London, 24.8.1914; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 12, pp. 528f.

(4) Letter by M.K. Gandhi to Maganlal Gandhi, London, 26.8.1914; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 12, p. 529

(5) M.K. Gandhi: Autobiography, ch. 43; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 39, p. 287

(6) Letter by Manilal Gandhi to Hermann Kallenbach, Shantiniketan, Bolpur, 2.12.1914

(7) Letter by M.K. Gandhi to Chhaganlal Gandhi, 23.12.1914; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 12, p. 567

(8) Letter by M.K. Gandhi to Hermann Kallenbach, Motihari, 21.12.1917; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 14, p. 116

(9) Letter by M.K. Gandhi to Sonia Schlesin, 2.6.1919; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 15, p. 341

(10) Letter by M.K. Gandhi to Ada West, Sinhgad, 30.4.1920; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 17, pp. 364f.

(11) Letter by M.K. Gandhi to Mahadev Desai, 15.5.1920; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 17, p. 532

(12) Letter by M.K. Gandhi to Hermann Kallenbach, 10.8.1920; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 18, pp. 129-131

(13) Young India, 4.8.1921; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 20, pp. 464f.

(14) M.K. Gandhi: Autobiography, ch. 43; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi 39, p. 287

Chapter 6: Family - Brisk Architect in South Africa

no annotations

Chapter 7: Europe, Palestine and India - Zionism

- (1) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach, Phoenix Settlement, South Africa, to Louis Lewin, Tel Aviv, Palestine, dated 20.7.1913
- (2) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach, Phoenix Settlement, South Africa, to Louis Lewin, Tel Aviv, Palestine, dated 20.7.1913
- (3) Letter by Rabbi Moses Cyrus Weiler, Johannesburg Jewish Reform Congregation, to Hermann Kallenbach, Johannesburg, 24.4.1934
- (4) Letter by Hanna Lazar to Hermann Kallenbach, 1.11.1934
- (5) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Simon Kallenbach, aus Cantarra, Egypt, 11.5.1937
- (6) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach, c/o Mahatma Gandhi, Wardha to S.C. Black, Johannesburg, 28.6.1937
- (7) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Simon Kallenbach, c/o Mahatma Gandhi, Tithal, via Bulsar, 26.5.1937
- (8) Letter by M.K. Gandhi to Manilal and Sushila Gandhi, 21.6.1937; Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. 65, p. 327
- (9) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Simon Kallenbach, c/o Mahatma Gandhi, Tithal, via Bulsar, 26.5.1937
- (10) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach, c/o Mahatma Gandhi, Wardha to S.C. Black, Johannesburg, 28.6.1937

Chapter 8: Hanna and Hermann with Bapu - Visits to Gandhi

- (1) M.K. Gandhi: Statement given by Mahatma Gandhi to Mr. Kallenbach on Zionism in July 1937, Central Zionist Archives, S. 25. 3587
- (2) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, c/o Mahatma Gandhi, Maganwadi, Wardha, 1.7.1937

- (3) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, c/o Mahatma Gandhi, Wardha, 4.7.1937; Central Zionist Archives S. 25. 3587
- (4) Letter by Hanna Lazar to Hermann Kallenbach, 1.11.1934, in the train between Johannesburg and Kimberley
- (5) Letter by Hanna Lazar to Hermann Kallenbach, 22.9.1938, Kimberley
- (6) Letter by Hanna Lazar to Hermann Kallenbach, 3.9.1938, Kimberley
- (7) Letter by Hanna Lazar to Hermann Kallenbach, 28.9.1938, Kimberley
- (8) Letter by Hanna Lazar to Hermann Kallenbach, 20.7.1938, Segao
- (9) Letter by Hanna Lazar to Hermann Kallenbach, 28.9.1938, Kimberley
- (10) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Jawaharlal Nehru, Johannesburg, 21.12.1938
- (11) Letter by Jawaharlal Nehru to Hermann Kallenbach, 4.1.1939, Anand Bhavan, Allahabad
- (12) Letter by Hermann Kallenbach to Jawaharlal Nehru, Johannesburg, 21.12.1938

Chapter 9 and Chapter 10: Epilogue

no annotations

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M.K. Gandhi: Satyagraha in South Africa (Madras 1928):
Chapters

- XXIII. European Support (pp. 273f., 275f.)
- XXXIII. Tolstoy Farm -I (p. 358)
- XXXIV. Tolstoy Farm -II (pp. 359f., 362, 366-368)
- XXXV. Tolstoy Farm -III (pp. 378f., 380-385, 391f.)
- XXXVI. Gokhale's Tour (pp. 397f., 400)
- XXXVII. Gokhale's Tour (concluded) (p. 409)
- XLII. The Conference and After (p. 448)
- XLIII. Crossing the Border (pp. 453f.)
- XLIV. The Great March (pp. 457-459, 461)
- XLV. All In Prison (pp. 470f., 473f.)
- XLVII. The Beginning of the End (p. 486)

M.K. Gandhi: The Story of My Experiments with Truth
(Ahmedabad 1940²), part 4:

Chapters

- XII. European Contacts (Continued) (p. 225)
- XXVII. More Experiments in Dietetics (pp. 255f.)
- XXX. Towards Self-Restraint (p. 262)
- XXXI. Fasting (p. 264)
- XXXII. As Schoolmaster (pp. 266f.)
- XXXV. Tares Among The Wheat (p. 272)
- XXXVI. Fasting As Penance (p. 273)
- XXXVII. To Meet Gokhale (p. 275)
- XLI. Gokhale's Charity (p. 284)
- XLIII. Homeward (p. 288)

Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas, including selections from his
writings (ed. by C.F. Andrews), London 1929:

Kapitel XII. Tolstoy Farm (pp. 202, 205, 209-213)

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London 1930:

Chapters

X. The Black Plague (p. 151)

XIII. Spiritual Training (pp. 184f.)

XV. The Passive Resisters (pp. 211, 214)

XVI. Imprisonment and Victory (pp. 216, 223, 230)

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Gandhi in Südafrika (ed. by Henry S.L. Polak), Zürich 1925:
Aus der "Golden Number of Indian Opinion":
3. Der große Marsch durch Transvaal, pp. 164, 166)

D.G. Tendulkar: MAHATMA. Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. New Delhi 1969 (1960), pp. 116-156
(Tolstoy Farm 1910, Tolstoy-Gandhi 1910, Lull Before The Storm 1911, Gokhale's Visit 1912, The Great Struggle 1913, The Epic March 1913, Adieu, South Africa 1914, World War 1914)

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(in: Buber - Gandhi - Tagore. Aufforderung zu einem Weltgespräch (ed. by Arnold Koepcke-Duttler), Frankfurt a.M. 1989, pp. 38-131)

Margaret Chatterjee: Gandhi and his Jewish Friends, London 1992

Photo Documents (from Kallenbach Photo Archive)

front cover:

Portrait Hermann Kallenbach Cape Peninsula
(no. HK/IV 85)

second photo:

Portrait Hermann Kallenbach as an old man
(HK/IV 88)

back cover:

"A Staunch Tolstoyan" (Portrait Kallenbach):
"Mr. Kallenbach as seen walking from the Tolstoy Farm
to Johannesburg"
(no. HK/IV 37) Golden Number Indian Opinion
11.5.1912

secondlast photo:

"The Owner of Tolstoy Farm" (Portrait Kallenbach)
Supplement to Indian Opinion, 5.8.1911
(no. HK/IV 36)

photo pages:

Family Group: Max, Simon, Hanna, Judith, Hermann,
Jeremias, Jeanette, Isaac, 1911
(no. HK/III 66)

Three Generations: Isa, Hanna, Jeanette Sammel, Judith,
Tiny
(no. HK/III 64)

Early Photo, South Africa: Two South African Workers,
Mr. West, Kallenbach, Mrs. Vogl, Gandhi and one of
Gandhi's sons
(no. HK/VI 25)

““The Kraal”, our first house in which Gandhi lived with
me many years. Reverend Doke wrote most of his book
on Gandhi, “An Indian Patriot”, in this house. Before the
house was built, I lived in a tent in front of the house and
mostly slept in the open. Gandhi came to me from time to
time, and our discussions lasted until the early hours of
the next morning.” (““The Kraal”, unser erstes Haus, wo
Gandhi mit mir viele Jahre lebte. In diesem Hause schrieb
Rev. J. Doke den groessten Teil seines Buches ueber
Gandhi “An Indian Patriot”. Auf dem Platz vor dem Haus
lebte ich in einem Zelt - bevor das Haus erbaut war - und
schief haeufig draussen. Gandhi kam einige Male und bis
am hellen Morgen dauerten haeufig die Diskussionen.”)
(Hermann Kallenbach, 18.11.1928)
(no. HK/IV 44)

“The Pioneer Settlers of Tolstoy Farm are:
top row:-Messrs. Chinian, Cooposamy Naidoo, Gopal
Naidoo, Manilal Gandhi, Burjorsing and Rajkumar.
middle row:-Mrs. Thambi Naidoo and baby, Mrs. Lazarus
and Mrs. John's Baby, Mrs. John, Messrs. Gandhi,
Kallenbach, Joseph Royeppen, Ramhorry, and Pragji K.
Desai.
bottom row:-Ramdas Gandhi and three Naidoos”
(no. HK/VI 24)

Hermann Kallenbach in his room at Tolstoy Farm, April 1911

(no. HK/IV 120)

The Epic March to the Transvaal - Volksrust 1913

(no. HK/IO 18)

The Pioneer Party of the last phase of the struggle 1913

(no. HK/IO 73)

Kallenbach visiting Moshe Shertok and Josef Baratz at Degania, Palestine, 1937

(no. HK/IV 59)

Kallenbach and Nehru, Segaon, June 1937

(no. HK/III 53)

Kallenbach and Gandhi, Tithal, June 1937

(no. HK/III 56)

Hanna Lazar and Mahatma Gandhi with his grandson Kanaa Gandhi and Sushila Nayar at his back, Sevagram 1938

(no. HK/IV 64)

Chronology

Hermann Kallenbach (1871-1945)

1871, March 1: born in Neustadt (Lithuania) as son of Kalman Leib Kallenbach, former Hebrew teacher, later mill owner and timber merchant, and his wife Rachel Sacke: five brothers and one sister: Jeanette (born 1866), Samuel (born 1868), Jeremias (born 1873), Simon (born 1876), Nathan (born 1878), Max (born 1881) -lived with his family in Russ, East Prussia

1877-1890 school years in East Prussia (Russ, Tilsit, Koenigsberg)

1890 left the Tilsit Gymnasium; carpentry apprenticeship in Koenigsberg

1890/91 master builder apprenticeship and studies at the Technikum Strelitz (Mecklenburg, Germany) and in Tilsit
1891/92 studied at the Royal High School for Architecture in Stuttgart (Germany)

1892/93 continued his studies in Stuttgart

1893/94 Draftsman and Clerk of Works at an Architect's Office in Stuttgart

1894/95 military service for one year as a volunteer with the Royal Engineers Bataillon in Munich (Germany)

1895 continued his studies at the Polytechnikum Munich

1896 finished his studies at the Technikum Strelitz as master builder; August: arrival in South Africa

1896-1898 and

1901-1906 practising architect in Durban and Johannesburg as Senior Partner of the firm Kallenbach & Reynolds

1899-1901 further architectural studies in Europe during the Boer War in South Africa (1899-1902)

1903 first meeting with M.K. Gandhi (1869-1948), barrister-at-law, in South Africa

1906 registration as member of "The Transvaal Institute of Architects", Johannesburg

1908-1910 supported Gandhi during his Satyagraha campaigns, visiting Phoenix Settlement (trustee of Phoenix since 1913), host of Gandhi in his house "The Kraal" in Johannesburg's district Orchards where Reverend Joseph Doke wrote the first biography on Gandhi

1910 asked Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) in a letter for permission to name the settlement for the Indian Community near Lawley south of Johannesburg "Tolstoy Farm"; Tolstoy gives permission in letters of legacy before his death

1910-1914 Owner and Master Builder of Tolstoy Farm; moral support by German Trappist monks in Mariannhill monastery in Pinetown

1911 visiting England and Scotland, meeting Edward Carpenter; visiting Aylmer Maude and Isabella Fyvie Mayo (translators of Tolstoy's writings into English); visiting his family in East Prussia

1911-1913 writing detailed diaries

1913 Diary letter to his sister Jeanette Sammel about the Epic March (Satyagraha) between 14.10. and 17.11.1913; imprisonment in Krugersdorp Prison; release

1914 leaving South Africa to England with Gandhi; celebration of farewell and honours by the South African Indian and Chinese communities

1914 registered as an Enemy Alien in London after the beginning of the First World War, due to his German passport

1915-1917 Internment in the Aliens' Detention Camps on Knockaloe and Douglas, Isle of Man; ambulance work in the Camp Hospital of Douglas

1917-1920 visited his family in East Prussia, applied for work; return to South Africa

1922 intentionally travelled on the train from Phoenix to Durban in a compartment for non-European passengers, declined to leave when requested to do so by the ticket examiner on the train; warning letter by the "South African Railways and Harbours", Johannesburg

1923 assisted his family to emigrate from Germany to South Africa; provided Inanda Farm (near Durban) for Hanna Lazar (1897-1987) and family 1923 and Jeanette, Judith and family

1925 Contribution to the "Keren Hayesod" (The Eretz-Israel Palestine Foundation)

1920-1945 successful architect in South Africa (together with the architects Kennedy and Furner); design and construction of following buildings: in Johannesburg, Lewis & Marks Building, Plaza Theatre, Randjeslaagte Jubilee Memorial Housing, and Constantia; in Pretoria, Prudential House, and Plaza Theatre; in Cape Town, Plaza Theatre, and Adelphi Theatre at Sea Point; in Durban, Sastri College, Trust Buildings, Grosvenor Court, Kangelani, and Fairhaven in South Beach; in Lourenço Marques, the Scala Theatre, many cinema and theatre buildings, office and commercial buildings, school buildings, churches and synagogues

1936/37 Trip to Europe; talks with George Bernard Shaw, Erich Mendelssohn, Walter Gropius, and Chaim Weizmann in London

1937 Trip to Palestine, visit to the Rosenberg family in Haifa, many factories and settlements, e.g. Kibbutz Degania; talks with Moshe Shertok, Josef Baratz, Ernst Simon, Fritz Michaelis; purchased land in Palestine

1937 visiting Gandhi in Tithal and Sevagram Ashram, Segaoon, Wardha (India), speaking with Nehru, Rajagopalachari, Mahadev Desai, Pyarelal; return to South Africa

1938 sent his niece Hanna Lazar to Gandhi (Sevagram Ashram) because of being prevented from joining Gandhi a second time. Kallenbach returned back to India not before

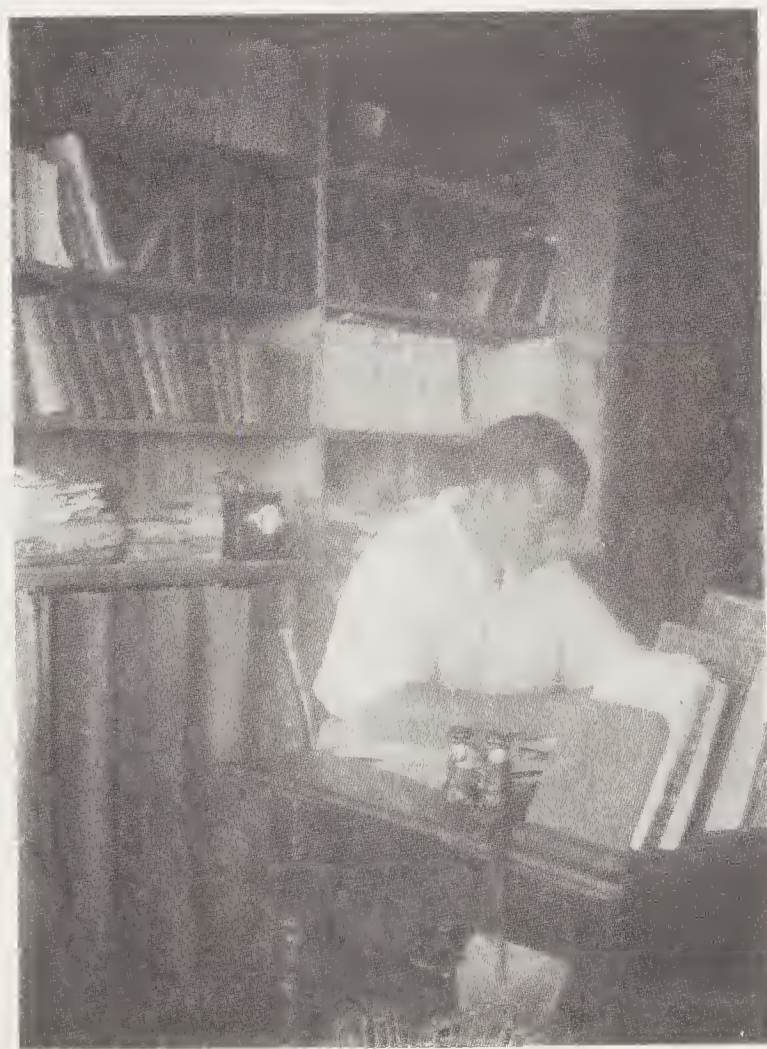
1939, January: second visit to Gandhi in Segaoon (Wardha), Sevagram Ashram; fell severely ill with malaria; health deteriorated gradually

1945, March 25: died of a stroke and a heart failure in Johannesburg; cremated at the Johannesburg crematorium; left the major share of his inheritance for the Jewish settlements in Palestine (Keren Hayesod); left his library to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, after he had donated 10.000 British Pounds to Wingate Sports Institute at Netanya in 1940

1952 Ashes buried at Kibbutz Degania near A.D. Gordon's tombstone according to Hermann Kallenbach's Last Will and Testament

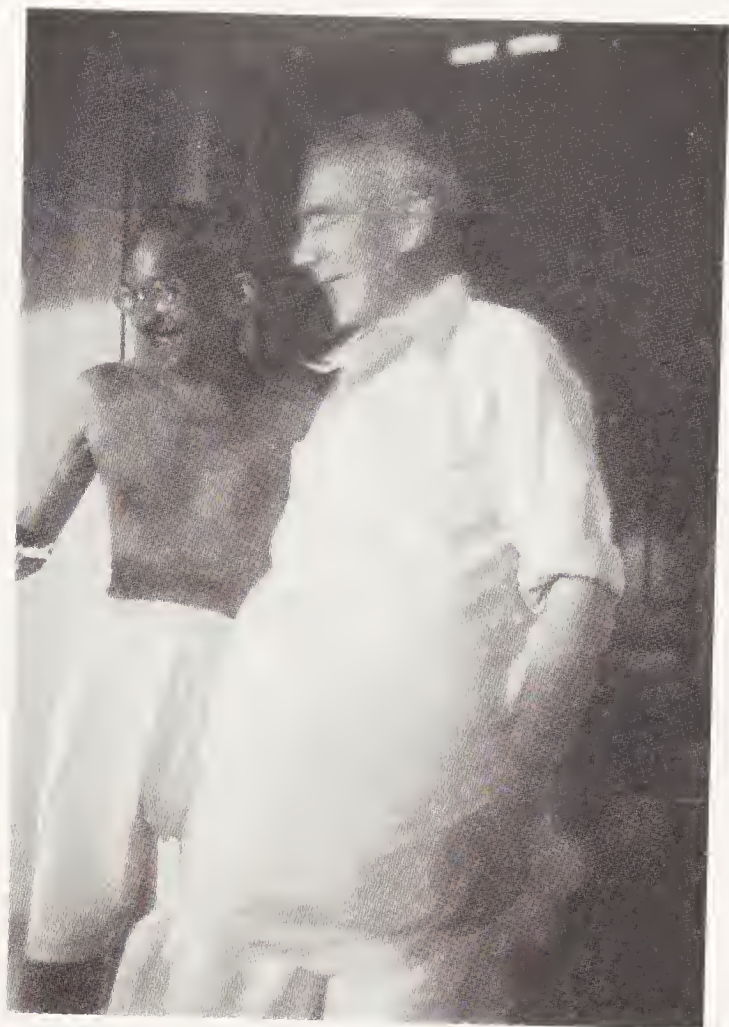












"Note by the authors:-

After visiting Kibbutz Deganya in July 1997, we gratefully received the information that A.D. Gordon did not found Deganya in 1909, but joined the Kibbutz as a member (Chaver) and worked there from 1919 until his death in 1922, in order to realize his ideal of "National Regeneration of the Jews by working on the soil".

The Ghandi - Kallenbach correspondence has first been published in the Collected Works of Mahatma Ghandi, Volume 96, Supplementary Volume 6, New Delhi, August 1994. All rights reserved by the Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad, India".

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,

5th August, 1911.

The Owner of Tolstoy Farm



WHERE PASSIVE RESISTERS FOUND A HOME

સત્યાગ્રહીના મિત્ર અને ટોલસ્ટોય ફાર્મના માલિક મી. એચ. કેલનબેક

Supplement to INDIAN OPINION,

11th May, 1912.

A Staunch Tolstoyan



Mr. Kallenbach as seen walking from the Tolstoy Farm to Johannesburg

મી. કેલનબેકનું ટોલસ્ટોય ફાર્મથી જોહાન્સબર્ગ સુધી ચાલીને
જતી વખતનું ચિત્ર.