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LEO TOLSTOI'S CHRISTIAN PACIFISM

THE AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION

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In 1869, shortly after completing *War and Peace* and in seeming reaction to an intense spiritual crisis known as "the Arzamas terror," Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoi appears to have decided to abandon the narrative fiction at which he excelled. Within a decade he had begun to produce the religious and didactic writings which were to bring him equal fame as a Christian moralist and philosopher.[1] By 1883, when he published *What I Believe* (*V chem moia vera?*), Tolstoi was counseling absolute nonresistance to evil. In subsequent years he quarreled with the Russian Orthodox Church, rejected the state and its coercive apparatus, and became a corrosive critic of his society. Over the next three decades Tolstoi would explore significant political and moral questions, using Christ's Sermon on the Mount as the cornerstone of his new philosophy. In *On Religion* (*O religii*) he proclaimed,

> I now understand what Christ meant when he said, "You were told an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth; and I tell you, Do not resist evil, and endure it. Use no violence, do not take part in violence, do no evil to anyone, even to those whom you call your enemies."
>
> I now understand not only that in the proposition about nonresistance to evil Christ was telling what would immediately result for each man from nonresistance to evil, but that . . . it was to be the foundation of the joint life of man and was to free humanity from the evil which it inflicted upon itself.[2]

Scholars have frequently distinguished between two Tolstois: the world-renowned master of realistic fiction, and the philosopher-theologian who penned those words. Yet a recent study convincingly argues that from the very beginning all of Tolstoi's writings embodied his later overt theological quest.[3] As early as 1847 Tolstoi's diary chronicled his private struggle to discern the meaning of life, and his conclusion that it consisted of striving to become a perfect being, one with a useful mission.[4] Tolstoi's religious vision, born of existential anxiety and the source of not one but numerous spiritual crises, tormented him even as a

young man; fiction was but the first of the means he used to express it. From an early stage, this vision was of a world of love and harmony. In *War and Peace* (*Voina i Mir*), which predated the "Arzamas terror," Tolstoi had portrayed armed conflict as a ghastly but seemingly inevitable part of human affairs. Pierre Bezukhov, fresh from the battle of Borodino, reflects, "If there were no suffering man would not know his limitations, not know himself." But the summons to resist not evil is already there. Prince Andrei, lying mortally wounded after the same battle, regrets dying only because he now sees his error: "Sympathy, love for our brothers, for those who love us, love for those who hate us, love for our enemies; yes, the love that God preached upon earth, that Marie sought to teach me, and I did not understand. . . "[5] Examined more closely, *War and Peace* clearly contains many ideas of Tolstoi the prophet: not just the horror and absurdity of war, but the conceit of power, both of the state and the church, and, in the character of Platon Karataev, the example of the absolutely good Christian. Platon's unquestioning, simple faith, his acceptance of everything which happens as somehow part of God's design, shows Pierre, desperately seeking to understand life, the way to salvation. Platon's unresisting death at the hands of a French firing squad, the fusiliers' pale faces after their murderous act, and Pierre Bezukhov's acceptance of this unquestionable evil, all foreshadow the central tenet of Tolstoi's later philosophy, the redemptive power of Christian nonresistance, which came not "from one temporary and local source, but from the totality of the spiritual life of mankind."[6]

In the late nineteenth century, Russian pacificism was confined to sectarians such as the Dukhobortsy, the Molokany, Aleksandr Kapitonovich Malikov's deo-humanists (*bogocheloveki*), and certain groups among the Old Believers who argued that military service was incompatible with the love and brotherhood they took for the central tenets of Christianity. Like the Old Believers, Tolstoi's pacifist convictions were closely related to his conception of a perfect love through which man could achieve moral perfection. Perfect love, of one's fellow man and of God, entailed

the absence of all egoism, the release of oneself and others into God's hands. Though Tolstoi admired the Old Believers' principles and practices, their isolation from the larger community ran contrary to his vision of a world united in perfect love. He intended to broaden the Christian pacifist tradition so that the nonviolence implicit in the concept of perfect love would spread beyond these tightly-knit communities to affect the entire world.

Tolstoi's pacifist sentiments prior to the "Arzamas terror" may well have had their roots in the ideas of some of his contemporaries. Boris Eikhenbaum traces them to the influence of two Russian thinkers, M. P. Pogodin and S. S. Urusov, while R. V. Sampson ascribes them to his reading of Proudhon.[7] Later, they were no doubt intensified by events in Russia. The closing years of Alexander II's reign were highlighted by the Russo-Turkish war, during which Russian imperialism masqueraded as the defense of fellow Slavs. The policies of his successor Alexander III (1881-1894), based on the formula of Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality developed a half-century before, expanded into a program of reaction, repression, and Russification. As Tolstoi's religious vision became more compelling, he found increasing reason to spurn the officially sanctioned values of Tsarist Russia and their European concommitants: terrorism, imperialism, and the Social Darwinist glorification of war as a test of national or racial superiority. To these Tolstoi opposed his philosophy of absolute nonresistance, which pitted Christian forbearance against society's reliance upon coercion and war.

Tolstoi himself claimed that most of his new philosophy came directly from Christ's teachings. But nineteenth-century American pacifism also made an important contribution to Tolstoi's ultimate creed of nonviolence and to his overt hostility towards the arbitrary powers of the state. It is ironic that many American reformers, disturbed by the seemingly intractable problems of their era and attracted by Tolstoi's solutions, were unaware that he had drawn sustenance from an earlier generation of American intellectuals and reformers. Noted Americans made pilgrimages to Tolstoi's estate, Yasnaya Polyana, to meet this

remarkable man who had rejected the life of a celebrated writer to become a crusader for justice. Among Tolstoi's American guests were William Jennings Bryan and Jane Addams, who were impressed by their conversations with the prophet of simplicity and pacifism.

By the 1890s a number of other Americans who shared Tolstoi's contempt for modern society's hypocrisy and artificiality had been drawn to his religious vision. William Dean Howells became an admirer of Tolstoi's confessions and religious tracts, which he used in his spiritual journey from the genteel tradition to nonviolence and American progressivism. Vida Scudder, feminist and pioneering social worker, became a socialist in the 1890s after studying Tolstoi. The pages of the muckraking magazine *The Arena,* edited by the reformer Benjamin O. Flower, mingled Tolstoi's oracular utterances with articles about tenements and political corruption. And Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones, the businessman who became the famous progressive mayor of Toledo, Ohio, developed his liberal social philosophy partially through a scrutiny of Tolstoi's writings.[8] As the midwestern writer Hamlin Garland said, his generation "quoted Ibsen to reform the drama and Tolstoi to reform society. We made use of every available argument his letters offered."[9] American progressives considered Tolstoi's social message profoundly humanitarian and Christian; like the Russian pacifist, they too hoped for the triumph of brotherhood and unity in the kingdom of heaven on earth.

Throughout his life Tolstoi had admired the strikingly ethical orientation of many American thinkers. In the 1840s he had avidly read Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* (published in 1790–1791) and later incorporated the Philadelphia sage's emphasis on morality as the proper guide to personal nurture and virtue into his own autobiographical writings.[10] Tolstoi also read works by Theodore Parker, Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Ellery Channing, John Greenleaf Whittier, Walt Whitman, and James Russell Lowell, which he eagerly discussed with American visitors and Russian correspondents.[11] But in the late 1880s, as Tolstoi became increasingly obsessed with his theory of Christian nonresistance, he began studying the writings of two

prominent New England pacifists, William Lloyd Garrison and Adin Ballou. According to Tolstoi, these men's ideas helped reinforce and order his own pacifist principles, broadening and deepening his evolving philosophy of nonresistance, and providing the inspiration and model for his monumental work on the ethics of nonresistance, *The Kingdom of God is Within You* (*Tsarstvo Bozhie vnutri vas*), which was completed in 1893.[12] Agreeing with Garrison and Ballou that "Christian nonresistance came down from Heaven,"[13] Tolstoi enthusiastically digested their writings and incorporated whole portions of their publications into his own work on nonviolence, despite the fact that significant philosophical differences existed between New England pacifism and Tolstoyan nonresistance.

Tolstoi first became aware of antebellum American pacifism in the spring of 1886, when he received a letter and the first two volumes of Garrison's life from the latter's son and biographer, Wendell Phillips Garrison. Upon reading an 1885 English translation of Tolstoi's *On Religion*, the younger Garrison had recognized some striking similarities between the Russian's pacifism and his father's views.[14] Tolstoi quickly acknowledged receiving the material and excitedly wrote Wendell Garrison that "to know of the existence of such a pure Christian individual like your father was a great joy for me." Tolstoi appeared especially impressed by William Lloyd Garrison's *Declaration of Sentiments*, the New England Non-Resistance Society's 1838 statement of principles, which Tolstoi declared "truly marks an epoch in the history of humanity. This declaration, as it was created a half-century ago, expresses fully those sentiments which we profess now and which all men will confess, because they express the eternal law of God to men, revealed by Christ." Tolstoi asked Wendell Garrison whether a short biography of his father was available and whether a "society of nonresistance" still existed in the United States.[15] Over the next three years, Tolstoi studied Garrison's philosophy, corresponded with his son, and repeatedly recommended the American pacifist to his world-wide network of correspondents.[16]

William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879), Tolstoi discovered, had been the leader of American abolitionism's radical wing and an enthusiastic

participant in the New England peace movement.[17] Although he contributed little to the ideology of pacifism, Garrison's strong personality and his crusading sense of righteousness encouraged reformers to break with the moderate American Peace Society and to establish the New England Non-Resistance Society in 1838.

The American Peace Society, which appeared in 1828, was the first national peace organization in American history. Composed primarily of socially respectable members of the Unitarian, Presbyterian, and Congregational faiths, the American Peace Society promoted the settlement of all potentially violent disputes by an international congress of Christian nations. Although the Society believed that Christ's law of love precluded the waging of conflicts and wars, it never renounced defensive wars, the use of force to protect people and property, or the necessity of civil government.

Those principles were challenged by Garrison and his abolitionist followers, who vehemently rejected the American Peace Society's defense of war, private property, and the apparatus of the state. The New England Non-Resistance Society boldly attacked all forms of human coercion and demanded absolute adherence to Christ's precepts. The Garrisonians decisively rejected the American Peace Society's faith in compromise and gradualism, and instead demanded that slaveholders and other purveyors of violence reconcile their behavior with the pacifist ethics of the New Testament. The New England Non-Resistance Society always had a small membership, little funds, and virtually no influence outside Massachusetts. But under Garrison's dynamic direction its members attacked slavery and discrimination through creative nonviolent action such as boycotts, railroad ride-ins, and the underground railroad.[18] Nonviolence, which the Garrisonians justified both tactically and philosophically, would inevitably lead, they argued, to "the consummation of the Gospel of Peace, for it is that perfect reconciliation which the Messiah died to make between God and man, and among the whole human race."[19]

The four-volume Garrison biography stimulated an interest in Garrison's life which would persist until Tolstoi's death. In the same year that Tolstoi received the first two volumes, he and his disciple Vladimir Chertkov discussed the possibility of establishing a journal in Leipzig, Germany, which would feature such inspiring literature about "the human spirit" as the stories of Nikolai Leskov, some of Fyodor Dostoevsky's work, "a sketch of Garrison's life," and his *Declaration of Sentiments*.[20] In 1890, after Tolstoi had received the last two volumes, he began translating the *Declaration of Sentiments* and one of Ballou's short works into Russian with a laudatory introduction. Midway through the project he decided to expand his comments into a treatise about nonresistance. This would become *The Kingdom of God*.[21] During the composition of the book, Tolstoi and his daughter Tatyana corresponded with Wendell Phillips Garrison and his brother Francis about the *Declaration*, praising (in the words of Tolstoi's secretary and confidant Pavel Ivanovich Biriukov) the document's "clearness of thought and closeness to Tolstoi's own understanding of Christ's teaching."[22] In the important introductory chapter of *The Kingdom of God*, Tolstoi printed the *Declaration* almost verbatim to elaborate his own belief in the superior morality of pacifism and the transforming power of Christian nonviolence.[23]

"We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government," the *Declaration* had dramatically intoned in 1838,

> because we recognize but one King and Lawgiver, one Judge and Ruler of mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world; the subjects of which are forbidden to fight; in which Mercy and Truth are met together, and Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other; . . . and which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms.[24]

Garrison had elaborated this combination of millennial perfectionism and nonviolence into two major principles about the efficacy of pacifism. First, the *Declaration* contended that because force had "been abrogated

by Jesus Christ," all Christians were enjoined from punishing their enemies. Evil could be exterminated only by goodness, and thus pacifism was the only ethical standard capable of bringing harmony and reconciliation to a divided, violent world.[25] Nonviolence, Garrison continued, was also a superior moral tactic to hasten the arrival of "the peaceful domination of the Son of God on earth." With the brutal murder in 1837 of the Illinois abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy vividly in mind, Garrison stated that there was "great security in being gentle, harmless, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy" because this would ensure eventual victory "over every assailing force." By acting "boldly in the cause of God," Garrisonian pacifists expected to convert the United States and other nations to the hallowed principles of nonresistance. "Our confidence is in the Lord Almighty, not in man. Having withdrawn from human protection, what can sustain us but that faith which overcomes the world?"[26] On this secure note, the New England nonresisters forged a link between perfectionism and pacifism that lasted as an organized movement until the tragedy of the Civil War.

Tolstoi admired the *Declaration* "which so powerfully and so beautifully expressed such an important profession of faith,"[27] because Garrisonian nonresistance seemed to mirror Tolstoi's own Christian philosophy. Tolstoyan pacifism precluded any allegedly meritorious applications of physical force, even in a cause so clearly righteous as abolitionism, because a laudable goal would always be tainted were violent means employed to achieve it. Hence Garrison's emphasis upon resisting evil by nonviolent means, his willingness to suffer for the sake of righteousness, and his stress on fundamentally altering individual behavior rather than merely changing laws, greatly appealed to Tolstoi. Garrisonian pacifism verified the correctness of Tolstoi's own painfully acquired views and provided him with a broader framework for his study of nonviolence. Although Garrison had failed to transform America, Tolstoi considered the New England pacifist an inspirational example, indeed a precursor, of his own theories. As he eventually described it,

> The activity of Garrision the father. . . convinced me even more than my relations with the Quakers, that the departure of state Christianity from Christ's law about nonresistance to evil is something that has been observed and pointed out long ago, and that men have ceasingly worked to arraign it.[28]

Thus the "beautiful biography of William Lloyd Garrison"[29] foreshadowed the development of Tolstoi's philosophy of nonresistance. Garrison was fearless, virtuous, and, most importantly, had consecrated his life to the same principles Tolstoi was preaching in Russia. Because Garrison had endeavored to anchor his nonviolence upon a very personal interpretation of Scripture and its practical application, much as Tolstoi had developed his own idiosyncratic view of "my Gospel" (*moe Evangelie*),[30] the Russian embraced Garrison as a kindred spirit and incorporated his work into the peace reform movement.

After the publication of *The Kingdom of God*, Tolstoi propagated Garrisonian pacifism throughout the English-speaking world, where he thought antebellum New England nonresistance most likely to influence intellectuals and reformers. Soon after completing his monumental treatise, for example, Tolstoi encouraged the wealthy American lawyer Ernest Crosby, then visiting Yasnaya Polyana, to study the writings of Garrison. Crosby, later a fervent apostle of nonresistance, wrote several articles about Tolstoi and an excellent book on Garrisonian pacifism which Tolstoi enjoyed very much.[31] In 1900 Tolstoi wrote Edward Garnett, an English writer and the husband of the distinguished Russian translator Constance Garnett, that if he "had to address the American people, I should like to thank them for the great help I have received from their writers who flourished about the fifties." Garrison was cited as one of "those who I think especially influenced me."[32] And in a lengthy 1901 article in the prestigious *North American Review*, Tolstoi pleaded with Americans to ignore the blandishments of successful generals and millionaires, and to follow instead the wisdom of their own thinkers such as Garrison.[33] Tolstoi always insisted with great pride that he "revered

and admired the character and work of William Lloyd Garrison,"[34] and consequently he tried to keep Garrison's name before influential individuals and the educated public.

In 1904, six years before Tolstoi's death, the Russian pacifist undertook his most important effort to promote Garrisonian pacifism. Following his earlier suggestion of 1886 to Garrison's son, he received permission from the Garrison children for Chertkov and his English disciple Florence Holah to abridge the four-volume Garrison biography into a more accessible short work in English.[35] In a revealing introduction, Tolstoi explained his interpretation of Garrison's principles and their significance for his own work in the field of nonresistance. The complimentary foreword also inadvertently demonstrated, however, that there were important philosophical differences between the two thinkers which Tolstoi chose to overlook.

Tolstoi claimed he had experienced great "spiritual joy" when he discovered Garrison. This reformer, Tolstoi persuasively argued, recognized early in the antislavery struggle that the "cause of slavery was not the casual temporary seizure by the Southerners of a few millions of negroes . . . but the ancient and universal recognition, contrary to Christian teaching, of the right of coercion on the part of certain people in regard to certain others."[36] Once Garrison had concluded that slavery was simply another form of collective violence, he broadened his abolitionist appeal to embrace the exalted doctrines of nonresistance. Unfortunately, however, Garrisonian pacifism had been ignored and a fratricidal war had occurred which had destroyed slavery but introduced "that corruption which accompanies every war."[37]

Now, Tolstoi lamented, the collective violence of slaveholders had been replaced by lynching and the virulence of white racism. The solution to this deplorable situation could only be the "application to life of that same principle which was proclaimed by Garrison half a century ago." Only when rational persuasion replaced violence, and nonresistance to evil became the guiding principle of humanity, would Americans "free

themselves from the enslavement and oppression of each other."[38] According to Tolstoi, this was Garrison's greatest message: that even violence undertaken for noble ends perverts and weakens civilization.

> Garrison was the first to proclaim this principle as a rule for the organization of the life of men. In this is his greatest merit. If at the time he did not attain the pacific liberation of the slaves of America, he indicated the way of liberating men in general from the power of brute force.
>
> Therefore Garrison will forever remain one of the greatest reformers and promoters of true human progress.[39]

In combatting slavery, Garrison had "advanced the principle of struggle against all the evil in the world," and Tolstoi therefore felt justified in hoping that "the publication of this short biography will be useful to many."[40]

This introduction shows clearly that Tolstoi attributed his deeper understanding of Christian pacifism over the preceding twenty years largely to the influence of Garrison's "law of nonresistance," which was "the foundation of his practical activity in the emancipation of the slaves." This influence had coincided with important events in Tolstoi's own life. When he discovered Garrison in 1886, Tolstoi was feeling heavily encumbered by his title, wealth, family responsibilities, and apparent lack of influence in Russia. Garrison, by contrast, had not been burdened by an ascribed status in the antebellum New England social order and in fact had used his marginal position to carve out a remarkable fifty-year career as a crusading reformer. In Tolstoi's letters, articles, and books, Garrison was consistently portrayed as a courageous man who worked uninterruptedly for "the great joyous ideal to be realized in Christian life."[41] Thus Garrison served as an inspirational alternative to Tolstoi's seeming powerlessness to become a world-shaking reformer, while also providing the beleaguered Russian with crucial confirmation of his own views of the state and pacifism.

Tolstoi's eager embrace of Garrison, however, concealed significant intellectual contrasts between the two men. New England pacifism was predicated on the perfectionist notion that a sufficient number of individuals could, over time, experience an inner moral revolution to bring about the establishment of a society governed by the laws of Christ's kingdom. Tolstoi, on the contrary, believed that "rational consciousness" (*razumnoe soznanie*) demanded the renunciation of all social and political activism. Garrison wanted to retain some remnant of the state in a purified form in order to protect the rights of individual citizens; Tolstoi preached the absolute negation of the state and thought holiness could be achieved only by "subduing the will to live" because "life as individual existence has been outlived by mankind."[42] Unlike Garrisonian pacifism, Tolstoyan nonviolence mitigated against political action. Garrison was supremely confident that nonviolent collective action could redeem the individual, whereas Tolstoi considered spiritual self-preservation -- the extinction of will and desire -- "much more interesting than life."[43] New England nonresistance, as Ballou would discover in his correspondence with Tolstoi, was too pragmatic and militantly reformist for the Russian prophet.

The dramatic differences between Garrisonian reform and Tolstoyan nonresistance were exemplified by the radical abolitionists' defense of righteous violence and direct political action as solutions to the slavery controversy.[44] Had Tolstoi carefully studied the Garrisons' four-volume biography of their father, he would have discovered that in the decade before the Civil War, the Garrisonians developed warm relations with abolitionists who did not share their pacifist principles. And as a result of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, the violence in Kansas over slavery, and John Brown's raid on the Harpers Ferry Armory, Garrison and his followers publicly began fusing moral suasion with a willingness to use force in the service of higher ends.

During the Civil War, most of the Garrisonians enthusiastically supported the Union in its war against the Confederacy. These reformers, who once had considered the state and political parties

compromising and evil, now called upon President Lincoln and the Republican Party to make the conflict a war of liberation.[45] They worked closely with sympathetic congressmen and senators to end slavery and to provide constitutional protection for blacks. The Garrisonians and their abolitionist allies were instrumental in framing the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. During Reconstruction, many of the Garrisonians defended the federal military presence in the defeated southern states as the best protection for newly-freed blacks. One of Garrison's sons joined the Union army, and Garrison even allowed a military camp for black soldiers to be named after him.

The Garrisonians argued that the struggle for a peaceful world involved the destruction of slavery. When moral suasion failed, Garrison and most radical pacifists jettisoned their opposition to civil government and violence in an effort to realize freedom and equality in America. This kind of thinking and behavior were certainly anathema to the pacifist Tolstoi, who condemned the use of armed force and the power of the government to resolve disputes.

The fundamental differences between the two men on the issue of ends and means may well have derived not only from their ideas but also from their experiences. As a young man Tolstoi had participated in the Crimean War (1853-56). Like the American Civil War, it had been undertaken in the name of a "just" cause, the defense of Orthodox Christians in the Balkans against their Turkish oppressors. Unlike the American conflict, however, the Crimean War was privately denounced by virtually all thinking Russians of the time, who discerned that its real motivation was a desire to expand Russian influence in the area. The Russo-Turkish conflicts of the 1870s began for similar reasons. In both cases, due to the nature of Russian autocracy, the decision to wage war had nothing to do with national consensus but rather represented a characteristic instance, of the sort Tolstoi had vividly chronicled in *War and Peace*, of a government hypocritically claiming to wage war on behalf of the people. Tolstoi, unlike Garrison, could not accept any form of violence as a means to moral reformation or the coming of Christ's

kingdom on earth. All compromises with coercion and the power of the state, Tolstoi believed, would only debase society even further. While the Garrisonians might equate righteous violence with divine retribution, Tolstoi was unwilling to make any such connection.

Nevertheless, by the late 1880s Tolstoi was willing to ignore many doctrinal and tactical differences with other pacifists in his passionate search for a philosophical justification for nonviolence. Inspired and enthralled by Garrison, Tolstoi agreed with William Lloyd Garrison, Jr. that his "father's highest claim to remembrance will rest more upon his world-wide spirit and nonresistant testimony than upon his special labor for emancipation."[46] Thus, while Garrison did not affect the doctrinal development of Tolstoi's pacifism, the Russian thinker was sufficiently heartened by Garrison's values and career to assimilate them into his own exposition of Christian nonresistance.

* * *

In 1886, the year Wendell Phillips Garrison began corresponding with Tolstoi, Adin Ballou, William Lloyd Garrison's friend and fellow pacifist, also discovered the Russian sage. Ballou (1803-1890) was a Massachusetts Universalist minister who had become actively involved in the abolitionist, pacifist, and communitarian crusades of the antebellum era because of his deeply held religious convictions concerning divine immanence and the possibility of achieving human perfectability. In 1841, he established the utopian community of Hopedale in Massachusetts to foster regeneration and nonviolence. Hopedale, which was designed to provide the world with an example of a truly Christian commonwealth, survived in a variety of forms into the late nineteenth century.[47]

A prolific writer and polemicist, Ballou was also the leading ideologue of the New England Non-Resistance Society. Pacifism, Ballou believed, was intended "neither to purify nor to subvert human governments, but to advance in the earth that kingdom of peace and righteousness, which supersedes all such governments." When the will of God claimed the "primary, undivided allegiance" of humanity as the "sole

King, Lawgiver, and Judge," coercion and violence would disappear as the millennium dawned on earth.[48] Almost alone among the abolitionists, Ballou criticized the use of force to end slavery in America. Any coercion, he argued, would only lead to more hatred and violence. Thus Ballou opposed the Civil War and Reconstruction, and spent the last decades of his life quietly in Hopedale as its minister. It was these strongly defended principles of nonviolence and Christian perfectionism, the motivations for Ballou's entire career, which would attract Tolstoi to him.

Tolstoi first came to Ballou's attention through glowing accounts of his ideas in the American press, where he was being heralded as a new interpreter of Christianity. His curiosity piqued, the elderly Massachusetts minister obtained an English translation of *What I Believe* during the winter of 1886, only to be disappointed by Tolstoi's theology. Although he discovered "many good things in it on ethics," Ballou termed Tolstoi's religion "wild, crude, and mystically absurd." He was even more outspokenly opposed to some aspects of Tolstoi's philosophy: Tolstoi's positions "concerning the divine nature, human nature, eternal life . . . and the immortality of individuals, etc., are untrue, visionary, chaotic, and pitiably puerile," Ballou wrote. He was especially disturbed by Tolstoi's "indiscriminating extremism in the application of Christ's precepts against resisting evil with evil," for to Ballou Tolstoyan nonresistance did not appear warranted either by Jesus' teachings or by the true welfare of society.[49] By the late 1870s, Ballou had become less radical and no longer believed that all human institutions should be judged by the strict standards of Christian nonresistance. Although Ballou continued calling himself a pacifist, he now found few affinities between his own principles and Tolstoi's thoroughgoing nonresistance.[50]

In contrast to Ballou's sharp criticism of Tolstoi's religious and philosophical beliefs, Tolstoi, upon discovering Ballou, kept his reservations to a minimum in his ecstasy at finding this second American who seemed to be a soul-mate. In June of 1889 the Reverend Lewis G. Wilson, a writer and neighbor of Ballou, sent Tolstoi a photograph of

the Massachusetts pacifist accompanied by a letter and three of Ballou's works: his *Non-Resistance in Relation to Human Governments* (1839), his *Christian Non-Resistance* (1846), and the first volume of his *Primitive Christianity and Its Corruptions* (1870). Wilson believed that Tolstoi would receive strength and encouragement in his lonely struggle when he discovered that "upon the other side of the globe there dwelt a man who could fully sympathize with him" and "the great truths for which he stood."[51] Wilson's intuition was correct; Tolstoi reacted immediately to Ballou's forceful pacifism, calling it "superlative" and "a delight."[52] Just two days after receiving the package Tolstoi replied to Wilson. While the letter was fulsome with praise of Ballou's philosophy, Tolstoi predictably demurred from Ballou's acceptance of force under certain conditions.

> I have seldom experienced so much gratification as I had in reading Mr. Ballou's treatise and tracts. Tell him, please, that his efforts have not been in vain. They give great strength to people, as I can judge from myself. In those tracts I found all the objections that are generally made against "non-resistance" victoriously answered, and also the true basis of the doctrine. . . . However, I cannot agree with the concession that he makes for employing violence against drunkards and insane people. We must try, as Mr. Ballou puts it, to make impossible the existence of such persons, but if they are -- we must use all possible means, sacrifice ourselves, but not employ violence. Please tell him that I deeply respect and love him, and that his work did great good to my soul.[53]

Tolstoi's excitement over Ballou's pacifism continued unabated throughout the rest of the year. "These works are of extraordinary strength," he told his friend Dmitry Alexandrovich Khilkov. "What a joy to see and know that you are not alone either in space, or in time."[54] According to Tolstoi, Ballou's writings had an electrifying effect upon him, producing feelings of "ecstasy" and the desire to express his "gratitude and love" towards the New England pacifist.[55]

Wilson showed Tolstoi's letter to Ballou, who wrote Tolstoi on January 14, 1890 to thank him for the generous comments and for "your fraternal sympathy with me." Most of the letter, however, was devoted to a careful, detailed rebuttal of Tolstoi's caveats about his philosophy. Though Ballou apologized "for the freedom with which I have addressed you and for even any seeming impertinences," he was determined to air their differences. Tolstoi (by now well on his way to excommunication by the Orthodox church) could not fail to be disappointed by this obdurate defense of "certain church doctrines" and by Ballou's approval, however qualified, of private property.[56] In late February Tolstoi sent Ballou a tenacious defense of absolute nonresistance to evil. He closed his jeremiad on a conciliatory note, however, informing Ballou that two of his tracts had already been translated into Russian, "propagated among believers, and richly appreciated by them."[57] In response Ballou affectionately assured Tolstoi that one day Christianity would embrace nonviolence as its central tenet. In late June Tolstoi penned another letter which mingled expressions of gratitude with a reiteration of his views on certain points of theology.[58] The lively debate between the two men ceased suddenly when, on August 5, 1890, Ballou died at the age of eighty-seven. "Your tidings are very sad," Tolstoi's daughter Alexandra wrote Wilson, who informed them of the death, "and my father is deeply grieved."[59]

In Ballou, Tolstoi thought he had discovered a profound philosopher of pacifism who might provide an intellectual and literary model for his own moral studies. Throughout the 1880s Tolstoi had struggled and experimented to find the proper voice and genre in which to express his deepest convictions. Beginning with *A Confession* (*Ispoved'*) and *What I Believe* (*V chem moia vera?*), Tolstoi's works graphically recorded his agonizing search for the essence of true Christianity. *A Critique of Dogmatic Theology* (*Kritika dogmaticheskogo bogosloviia*) excoriated revealed religion and the doctrines of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the powerful book *What Then Must We Do?* (*Tak chto zhe nam delat'?*), Tolstoi tried to expose the disparities of wealth and the hypocrisy

characteristic of modern society. And in 1887 Tolstoi had published *On Life* (*O zhizni*), an eloquent summary of his attitude towards organized religion and the Gospels. Although these were all moving and impressive works, they had not sold well, and Tolstoi feared that his preaching was going unheeded. Ballou excited Tolstoi because he was a concise, lucid writer who combined the Christian confessional with an attractive and persuasive examination of what nineteenth-century Russians called *prokliatye voprosy*, the "accursed questions" which every honest person must confront on a personal level. Consequently, Tolstoi hailed Ballou as a major literary figure who was destined to return Christian theology to the antimilitarism of the early church. Over the next four years Ballou's writings helped Tolstoi to clarify and organize his religious thoughts in a more systematic and synthetic fashion. The result was *The Kingdom of God*, Tolstoi's encyclopedic and most successful book on the theory and practice of nonresistance.

For three years after 1889, Tolstoi ruminated upon Ballou's ideas, assimilated them into his evolving philosophy of nonresistance, and propagated them in a variety of ways. While somewhat irked by Ballou's prudence regarding nonresistance, Tolstoi was struck by the forcefulness and conviction with which he put his case. "I am very happy that he made the same impression on you as on me," Tolstoi wrote Biriukov in the fall of 1889. "Excitement! The wish to associate with him! To express to him my thanks, my love . . . Let Almighty God help us."[60] From the beginning of his correspondence with Wilson, Tolstoi's enthusiasm was unrestrained. Just two months after he received Ballou's tracts he began circulating them to those friends who could read English.[61] At the same time Tolstoi, who had vowed to translate Ballou's "preaching about the true Christianity,"[62] helped Nikolai Strakhov, a Slavophile writer and literary acquaintance, translate *Non-Resistance in Relation to Human Governments* into Russian. In 1890 he mailed the translation (which he called the "Catechism of Non-Resistance" because of its original question-and-answer format) to Biriukov, Chertkov, and to other friends who he thought would benefit from Ballou's arguments.[63]

Sharing Ballou with the already converted left Tolstoi, however, still far from his ultimate goal. Ballou should reach the public at large, Tolstoi felt, not only in Russia, but also in his native America where, it seemed, he had been but a voice in the wilderness. In November of 1889 Tolstoi wrote Biriukov that after reading Ballou he was overcome with "a feeling of bewilderment . . . How could these ideas, the most important for humanity, . . . how could such thoughts, so strongly expressed, printed, published, be so silenced that neither the son of Garrison, whom I asked, nor all those Americans I saw (ten persons, and all religious people) had even heard anything about this and do not know the name of Ballou?"[64] The following summer Tolstoi decided to shatter the silence by writing a substantial article on nonresistance which would include the *Declaration of Sentiments* and the *Catechism of Non-Resistance*. When in July Chertkov asked why Tolstoi's story, "Father Sergei," was not yet finished, Tolstoi gave the following excuse for the delay.

> I have been distracted by the introduction to the declaration of Garrison and the catechism of Ballou, which is stretching out into a large and very necessary article about the deception of the church. . . . I have begun to write "Sergei" and it has pleased me very much. . . . But I will not really get into it because along the way there is the whole conclusion to the *Declaration* of Garrison and the *Catechism* of Ballou.[65]

In mid-October Tolstoi informed Chertkov that he was finishing up the conclusion to his article. "I have been struggling with this for a long time already; now it seems that it will succeed."[66]

Before the article was completed, though, Tolstoi had made a momentous decision: he would expand his brief examination of the two American pacifists into an entire book on the philosophy of nonresistance. This resolution may have resulted from the fact that Tolstoi's attempt to publish Ballou's *Catechism* in a Russian translation had been blocked by the tsarist censors.[67] Over the next three years he corresponded with the Garrison children and had Chertkov send him all his copies of Ballou's

works in addition to the Tolstoi–Ballou letters.[68] In this way, according to Alexandra Tolstoi, her father's "article on nonresistance, eventually entitled *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, slowly took shape. It was begun under the influence of Adin Ballou, whose death upset Tolstoi as that of a close friend."[69] Biriukov agreed, reminiscing that Tolstoi first considered publishing the *Declaration* and the *Catechism* separately with a short preface exploring the question of nonresistance. Instead, Biriukov remembered, Tolstoi changed his mind and decided to use Garrison and particularly Ballou to confront the issue of violence in contemporary society.[70] Ballou's obscure publications now became the structural and thematic foundations for Tolstoi's most famous work on nonviolence.

Tolstoi's work on *The Kingdom of God* between 1890 and 1892 reveals a careful study of Ballou's two most compelling and readable books, *Non-Resistance in Relation to Human Governments*, and *Christian Non-Resistance*, both of which had arrived with Wilson's first letter in the summer of 1889.[71] Tolstoi considered these publications so persuasive and truthful that he quoted the first tract extensively in chapter one of his own book and based the organization and principal arguments of *The Kingdom of God* on Ballou's other book, which he felt had "worked out from all angles"[72] the topic of nonresistance to evil. Tolstoi's reliance on Ballou was a wise choice, for although Garrison's *Declaration of Sentiments* was a ringing manifesto of the New England Non-Resistance Society, Ballou's *Christian Non-Resistance* undoubtedly represented the most systematic formulation of religious pacifism to emerge from America in the decades before the Civil War.

Ballou's *Christian Non-Resistance* had begun with a definition of pacifism and an analysis of its Scriptural justification. In the hallowed tradition of religious pacifism, he examined passages from the Sermon on the Mount and the Gospel of St. Matthew to demonstrate that nonviolence was "the duty enjoined in our Savior's precept"[73] because it derived directly from the admonitions and experiences of the early Christians regarding the sinfulness of force. Ballou, like the other members of the

New England Non-Resistance Society, perceived no contradiction between the ethos of the Old Testament and Christ's prohibition of all violence. He viewed the early prophets as imperfect forerunners of the new revelation; with the arrival of the Christian era, the ancient dispensation had been replaced by an ethical system founded upon love and brotherhood.

Ballou not only attempted to prove the truthfulness of nonresistance on Scriptural grounds, he also tried to demonstrate that pacifism was not contrary to nature. Detractors argued that while nonresistance might represent the optimum conduct for a Christian, it violated the natural law of self-preservation. Ballou spent two long chapters trying to prove that nonresistance was more prudent and efficacious than the use of injurious force. With memories of the violence directed against the abolitionist movement clearly in mind, Ballou told stories of unarmed travellers journeying safely through dangerous territory, of Quakers and Shakers living peacefully among American Indians, of missionaries preaching without harm among South Seas cannibals, and of Bible Society agents proselytizing successfully in frontier Texas. From these many examples, Ballou concluded that nonresistance was not in conflict with the laws of nature; on the contrary, pacifism seemed "particularly suited to allay and purify the rising passions of man."[74]

Ballou's defense of nonresistance on religious and practical grounds concluded by examining the role of pacifism in the reformation of humanity. Like his close friend Garrison, Ballou believed that awakening the moral consciences of individuals would help purify society and reform its institutions. "Ought not each true Christian's heart to be a germ of the millennium, and each Christian community a proximate miniature of it?," Ballou rhetorically asked.[75] The burden of human government was God's punishment for man's failure to fulfill the precepts of the New Testament. When people sloughed off their sinful ways and began following Christ's injunctions literally, a pervasive nonviolent morality would gradually emerge, sweeping away coercive institutions and all brutality. The "tide of

public sentiment will begin to set with such force against war and the whole injury-inflicting system," predicted Ballou, "that the less enlightened . . . will sensibly yield to the current."[76] Nonresistance, which for Ballou rested upon a radical interpretation of Christianity and a fervent faith in the power of human conscience, would culminate in the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth.

Tolstoi's pacifist work utilized the structure and content of Ballou's *Christian Non-Resistance* in three important ways: first, in the definition and analysis of nonresistance; second, in the discussion of the Scriptural and practical reasons for obeying Christ's laws; and third, in the demonstration that the coercive powers of government prevented individuals from resolving the contradictions between their present lives and their Christian consciousness. According to Tolstoi, although Christian nonresistance had always been shrouded in a conspiracy of indifference throughout history, the Sermon on the Mount, the Beatitudes, and the Gospels unconditionally condemned all war and violence. Tolstoi demonstrated this proposition by quoting from sections of Garrison's *Declaration of Sentiments* and by reproducing many salient passages from Ballou's *Catechism of Non-Resistance*.[77] "In the course of fifty years," Tolstoi told his readers,

> Ballou wrote and edited books dealing mainly with the question of non-resistance to evil. In these works, which are beautiful in their lucidity of thought and elegance of expression, the question is discussed from every possible side. He establishes the obligatoriness of this commandment [Christ's "Resist not evil"] for every Christian who professes the Bible as a divine revelation. He addresses all the customary retorts to the commandment of non-resistance, and he shows, independently of Scripture, the practical wisdom of this role. . . . There is not a single side of the question, either for his followers or for his adversaries, which is not investigated in these works.[78]

Ballou's corpus of writings, Tolstoi thought, demonstrated that

Christ's law of love had superseded the Mosaic code of violence and retribution.

Tolstoi, following Ballou, then examined Christ's moral teachings to demolish the familiar objection that they were too idealistic and impractical for humanity to follow. He condemned the Christian churches for turning the meaning of Christ's message into meaningless verbiage and dogmas offering no satisfactory direction to the community of the faithful. Christianity, Tolstoi argued, actually taught that nonviolence was the only proper foundation for the blessedness and perfection all religions preached. Although Tolstoi did not provide many convincing examples of the successful practice of nonresistance, he agreed with Ballou that pacifism was not just an abstract moral imperative but a mode of daily living promoting individual survival and the improvement of society.[79]

The major part of *The Kingdom of God* was devoted to an exposition of Christian anarchism, although the word was never mentioned because of its late nineteenth-century association with violence. The Leviathan state, in the opinion of both Ballou and Tolstoi, was the greatest obstacle to peace. Tolstoi was amazed and indignant at a government's ability to murder and destroy with impunity when violence was so obviously incompatible with Christian discipleship and universal morality. For Tolstoi, military conscription, military expenditures, and the burgeoning coercive powers of the state symbolized the total corruption of contemporary civilization and the evisceration of Christianity.[80]

Yet this very growth of the state's power to wage war and commit acts of violence would spawn the seeds of its own destruction, Tolstoi optimistically predicted. For gradually individuals would start to feel "as much ashamed of doing acts of violence, of taking part in them, and exploiting them, as it is now a disgrace to pass for a rascal, a thief, a coward, or a beggar."[81] A nonresistance movement would slowly undermine the entire structure of government and society. When the consciences of a sufficient number of people became disturbed, the

possibility of genuine reform and harmony would be at hand. Paraphrasing Ballou, Tolstoi declared that if "all kept the commandment of nonresistance, it is evident that there would be no offenses, no evil deeds. If these people formed a majority, they would establish the reign of love and good will, even toward the ill-disposed, by never resisting evil with evil, never using violence."[82] Pacifism, Tolstoi concluded, would remake society by elevating the individual to a higher Christian consciousness, which lay in "serving the world by promoting the Kingdom of God."[83] The end of egoism and the rebirth of piety would return humanity to the precepts of a primitive, purified Christianity.

Soon after the publication of *The Kingdom of God*, the American statesman and educator Andrew Dickson White visited the Tolstoi family at its Moscow home. White and Tolstoi discussed American literature, and the Russian writer expressed his admiration for Emerson, Hawthorne, Whittier, and Parker.[84] Tolstoi then made an observation which shocked his American guest:

> I then asked him who, in the whole range of American literature, he thought the foremost. To this he made an answer which amazed me, as it would have astonished my countrymen. . . . That greatest of all American writers was -- Adin Ballou! Evidently, some of the philanthropic writings of the excellent Massachusetts country clergyman and religious communist had pleased him, and hence came the answer.[85]

White was obviously unaware of Tolstoi's heavy reliance on Ballou for *The Kingdom of God*. But Tolstoi's statement to White seems curious in view of the fact that, though Tolstoi mentioned Ballou twice in letters written during the last year of his life,[86] there is no indication that he ever read any works of Ballou other than those he had received from Wilson. Nor are there any references to Ballou in Tolstoi's voluminous correspondence from 1894 to 1909. One is forced to conclude that while Ballou had greatly influenced Tolstoi during his writing of *The Kingdom of God*, Garrison was closer to Tolstoi's ideal of a Christian

reformer. Perhaps if Tolstoi had read Ballou's autobiography (published posthumously), and his history of the Hopedale utopian community, his interest in the American would not have waned. By contrast, Tolstoi's desire to propagate the ideas and life story of Garrison never flagged.

While Ballou did not capture Tolstoi's unreserved admiration as had Garrison, he had served a vital purpose. In Ballou, Tolstoi had discovered a remarkable man who had unswervingly dedicated his whole life to the crusade Tolstoi had belatedly recognized as the sole path to the kingdom of God on Earth. Tolstoi had been perplexed by Ballou's willingness to make seemingly vitiating adjustments on the issue of pacifism. "The great sin is the compromise in theory," he had lectured Ballou, referring to his "plan to lower the ideal of Christ in order to make it attainable."[87] But Tolstoi could only admire Ballou's reasoned and compelling argumentation. Ballou had provided Tolstoi with a broader and clearer understanding of Christian nonresistance which impelled him to incorporate Ballou's "most remarkable"[88] writings into his own last major work. By the late nineteenth century Ballou was a shadowy figure in the United States, yet he had cast a long shadow at Yasnaya Polyana, heavily influencing Tolstoi at a crucial point in his search for moral perfection.

* * *

Three years after publishing *The Kingdom of God*, Tolstoi wrote an ethical treatise on the creative process entitled *What Is Art?* (*Chto takoe iskusstvo?*), in which he eloquently described the sense of universality produced by great art. In an illuminating commentary on his own experience as artist, Tolstoi contended that a "real work of art destroys in the consciousness of the recipient the separation between himself and the artist, and not that alone, but also between himself and all whose minds receive this work of art." We feel "the mysterious gladness of a communion which, reaching beyond the grave, unites us with all men of the past who have been moved by the same feeling and with all men of the future who will yet be touched by them."[89] Nor surprisingly, Tolstoi concluded that the most profound and affecting art evoked Christian

sentiments of forgiveness, peace, and worldwide brotherhood.

These sentiments had been at the heart of all Tolstoi's writings, whether fictional, didactic, or polemical. By Tolstoi's definition, Garrison and Ballou belonged to the pantheon of the world's great artists, for they satisfied his definition of art by the universal, Christian philosophy expressed in their writing. Tolstoi had certainly felt a strong sense of communion with these antebellum New England pacifists. His discovery of Garrison and Ballou in the late 1880s had galvanized his thinking and inspired his writing. At a time in his life when he was struggling to develop a more systematic ideology of nonresistance, he had been moved by their eloquence, arguments, and heroic careers as Christian pacifists. As a result, Tolstoi publicized the ideas of the two Americans in his many letters to intellectuals and reformers throughout the world.

Tolstoi's philosophy of nonviolence might well have developed in much the same way had he never learned of Garrison or Ballou. Tolstoi's pacifist tendencies, after all, had antedated by decades his discovery of the New England resistance movement. Thereafter, his spiritual journey remained primarily inspired by his own life experiences and by his aversion to official Russia. But the writings of Garrison and Ballou, with their emphasis on the incompatibility of Christianity and human conscience with violence and statism, helped reinforce, order, and amplify Tolstoi's own understanding of nonresistance. There remained important cultural and ideological differences between Tolstoi and these American pacifists, yet he felt deeply gratified and fortunate to have been influenced by the "mysterious gladness of communion" they had provided.

NOTES

[1]For studies of Tolstoi's pacifism, see Peter Brock, *Pacifism in Europe to 1914* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 442–470; Gordon William Spence, *Tolstoi the Ascetic* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1968), 21–27, 102–127; Ernest J. Simmons, *Leo Tolstoy* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1946), 315, 349, 379–406, 488–507; R. V. Sampson, *The Discovery of Peace* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), 108–170; Sarla Mittal, *Tolstoy: Social and Political Ideas* (Meerut, India: Meenakshi Prakashav, 1966), 18–142; Nicholas Weisbein, *L'evolution religieuse de Tolstoi* (Paris: Libraire des cinq continents, 1960), 64–265; 430–470; E. B. Greenwood, *Tolstoy: The Comprehensive Vision* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975); Aylmer Maude, *The Life of Tolstoy: The Later Years* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), and Richard F. Gustafson, *Leo Tolstoy: Resident and Stranger* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). Aside from the writings of Tolstoi's disciples, no discussion of Tolstoi's pacifism exists in Russian. Boris M. Eikhenbaum's classic 2-volume *Lev Tolstoi* (Leningrad: 1928–31) concentrates on his development as a writer prior to the "Arzamas terror." The manuscript of the third volume, which would have covered Tolstoi's life from 1880, was lost during World War II in the midst of a hasty military evacuation. Since the 1930s Soviet scholars have avoided discussion of his political and religious views. For a detailed description of the Soviet view of Tolstoi, see Alexander Fodor, *Tolstoi and the Russians: Reflections on a Relationship* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1984), particularly 75–103.

[2]V. G. Chertkov, ed. *Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoi, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 90 vols. (Moscow: Gos izd.-vo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1928–57), 23:328. This edition will henceforth be cited as *Sochineniia*.

[3]See Richard F. Gustafson, *Leo Tolstoy: Resident and Stranger* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), which meticulously examines Tolstoi's narrative fiction in relation to his religious world view.

[4]"I would be the most unhappy of men if I did not find a goal for my life, a common and useful one, useful because the immortal soul, once it has developed, naturally turns into a being which is higher and corresponds to it." Cited by Gustafson from Tolstoi's diary, *op. cit.*, 5.

[5]*War and Peace*, trans. Constance Garnett (New York: Random House, 1960), 787, 760.

[6]*Sochineniia*, 72:164.

[7]See the discussion in R. V. Sampson, *Tolstoi: The Discovery of Peace*, 108-128.

[8]Paul W. Glad, *The Trumpet Soundeth: William Jennings Bryan and His Democracy* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 30-31; W. H. Smith, "The Pacifist Thought of William Jennings Bryan," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 45 (1971) : 33-81; Allen F. Davis, *American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 135-139; Louis J. Budd, "William Dean Howells' Debt to Tolstoi," *American Slavic and East European Review* 9 (1950) : 292-301; Harvey Wish, "Getting Along with the Romanovs," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 48 (1949) : 341-359; Peter J. Frederick, *Knights of the Golden Rule: The Intellectual as Christian Reformer in the 1890s* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1976).

[9]Hamlin Garland, "The Reformer Tolstoy," in *Leo Tolstoi, Recollections and Essays*, trans. Aylmer Maude (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), vii-viii.

[10]Jayme A. Sokolow, "Arriving at Moral Perfection: Benjamin Franklin and Leo Tolstoy," *American Literature* XLVI (1975) : 427-432; Enfrosnia Dvoichenko-Markov, "Benjamin Franklin and Leo Tolstoy," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* XLVI (1952) : 119-128; Boris Eikhenbaum, *The Young Tolstoi*, trans. Gary Kern (Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis, 1972), 19-20, 39, 51.

[11]Leo Tolstoi to Edward Garnett, 21 June 1900, in *Sochineniia*,

72: 396–397; Count Leo Tolstoy, "The Root of the Evil," *The North American Review* CLXXIL (1901) : 503.

[12]Although Tolstoi discussed Garrison and Ballou in his letters and books, the American reformers' influence on Tolstoi has never been analyzed. Their relationship with Tolstoi is briefly noted in Simmons, *Leo Tolstoy*, 96, 124, 335–336, 410; Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), 545, 613–616; Lewis Perry, *Radical Abolitionism: Anarchy and the Government of God in Antislavery Thought* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972), 1–5.

[13]Adin Ballou, *Autobiography of Adin Ballou, 1803-1890*, ed. William S. Heywood (Lowell, MA: The Vox Populi Press, 1896), 439.

[14]Pavel Ivanovich Biriukov, *Biografiia L'va Nikolaevicha Tolstogo*, 4 vols. (Moscow: T–va I. N. Kushnerev, 1923), 3:198; Wendell Phillips Garrison and Frances Jackson Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879*, 4 vols. (New York: The Century Co., 1885–1889), 3:12–13.

[15]Leo Tolstoi to Wendell Phillips Garrison, March – 15 April? 1886, in *Sochineniia*, 63:343–344.

[16]Wendell Phillips Garrison to Leo Tolstoi, 5 May 1886; Leo Tolstoi to –– (an American), May–December ? 1886; Leo Tolstoi to Dmitry Alexandrovich Khilkov, 10 November 1888; Leo Tolstoi to Albert Blake, 12 November 1888; Wendell Phillips Garrison to Leo Tolstoi, 12 October 1889, in *Sochineniia*, 63:345–346, 430–431, 64:193–194, 50:158.

[17]For biographical studies of Garrison, see John L. Thomas, *The Liberator, William Lloyd Garrison* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963); Walter M. Merrill, *Against Wind and Tide, a Biography of William Lloyd Garrison* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963).

[18]For studies of the American Peace Society, the New England Non–Resistance Society, and the tactics of the radical abolitionists, see

Edson C. Whitney, *The American Peace Society: A Centennial History* (Washington, DC: The American Peace Society, 1928); Merle Eugene Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1929); Carleton Mabee, *Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 through the Civil War* (New York: Macmillan, 1970); David C. Lawson, "Swords into Plowshares, Spears into Pruning Hooks: the Intellectual Foundations of the First American Peace Movement, 1815-1865" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1975); Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 449-666; Perry, *Radical Abolitionism*, 18-230; Charles De Benedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1980), 32-58.

For studies of New England pacifism before the Civil War, see Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860*; John Demos, "The Antislavery Movement and the Problem of Violent 'Means,' " *New England Quarterly* XXXVII (1964) : 501-526; Mabee, *Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 through the Civil War*; Lawrence J. Freidman, *Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1870* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 196-224; Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 523-615, 689-712.

[19]William Lloyd Garrison to Edmund Quincy, 13 June 1840, in *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, ed. Walter M. Merrill and Louis Ruchames, 6 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971-1979), 3:640.

[20]Biriukov, *Biografiia Tolstogo*, 3:86.

[21]*Sochineniia*, 65:114; *Voprosy literatury* 5 (Moscow, 1964), 248-249; Leo Tolstoi to Wendell Phillips Garrison, January 1890? in *Yasnopolyanskii* 5 (1965), 9-10; Leo Tolstoi to Vladimir G. Chertkov, 28 July, 22 August, 17 September, 15? October 1890, in *Sochineniia*, 87:37, 45, 47.

[22]Francis Garrison to Leo Tolstoi (telegram), 22 or 23 January

1892, 12 February, 16 February, 19 February, 1 April, 5 April, 20 May, 3 June 1982, in *Sochineniia*, 66:460, 470-471; Biriukov, *Biografiia Tolstogo*, 3:139. The Garrisons also contributed relief money to Tolstoi for his efforts during the 1891-1892 Russian famine and provided assistance to one of Tolstoi's friends who planned to visit America. See *Sochineniia*, 66:187, 306; "Lev Tolstoi, Book I," *Literaturnoe nasledstvo* 69 (1965) : 543.

[23]Tolstoi, *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, in *The Complete Works of Count Tolstoy*, 24 vols., trans. Leo Wiener (Boston: D. Estes & Company, 1904-1905), 20:7-12. Henceforth, *Kingdom of God*. Russian: *Sochineniia*, 28:4-8.

[24]*Selections from the Writings and Speeches of William Lloyd Garrison*, ed. R. F. Wallcut (Boston: R. F. Wallcut, 1852), 72.

[25]*Ibid.*, 74-76.

[26]*Ibid.*, 75-77.

[27]Tolstoi, *Kingdom of God*, 12 (*Sochineniia*, 28:8). Tolstoi's enthusiasm for Garrison affected his disciples too. In 1888, Khilkov told Chertkov that "it wouldn't hurt [Tolstoi] to add what the meaning of the teachings of Jesus are -- something like Garrison's *Declaration*." See Dmitry Alexandrovich Khilkov to Vladimir Chertkov, 28 November 1888, in *Sochineniia*, 86:192.

[28]Tolstoi, *Kingdom of God*, 21 (*Sochineniia*, 28:15).

[29]*Ibid.*, 12 (*Sochineniia*, 28:8).

[30]Vasily Vasilyevich Rozanov, *Okolo tserkovnykh sten*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Tip. F. Vaisberga i P. Gershunina, 1906), 2:116.

[31]Ernest Crosby, "Seventieth Birthday of the Grand Old Man of Russia," *Social Gospel* I (September 1898) :14-18; Crosby, "Count Tolstoi at Seventy," *Coming Age* I (February 1899) :172-177; Biriukov, *Biografiia Tolstogo*, 3:264; Leo Tolstoi to Ernest Crosby, 4/12 January 1896, 12/25

April 1906, in *Sochineniia*, 69:13; Ernest Howard Crosby, *Garrison, the Non-Resistant* (Chicago: The Public Publishing Company, 1905).

[32]Leo Tolstoi to Edward Garnett, 21 June 1900, in *Sochineniia*, 72:396-397.

[33]Tolstoi, "The Root of the Evil," 503.

[34]Andrew Dickson White, *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White*, 2 vols. (New York: The Century Co., 1905), 2:81.

[35]Leo Tolstoi to Wendell Phillips Garrison, March-15 April 1886, in *Sochineniia*, 63:343; Biriukov, *Biografiia Tolstogo*, 4:90. Also see Leo Tolstoi to Vladimir Chertkov, 6 October, 11 January? 1904, in *Sochineniia*, 88:309-310, 316.

[36]Vladimir Tchertkoff and Florence Holah, *A Short Biography of William Lloyd Garrison* (London: The Free Age Press, 1904), vi, vii. The introduction to the Garrison biography was reprinted in Fanny Garrison Villard, *William Lloyd Garrison on Non-Resistance* (New York: The Nation Press Printing Company, Inc., 1924), 46-65.

[37]Tchertkoff and Holah, *op. cit.*, vii, viii.

[38]*Ibid.*, ix, xi.

[39]*Ibid.*, xii. For similar sentiments, see Leo Tolstoi to Bernhard Evlenstein, 27 April 1894, in *Sochineniia*, 67:103-105.

[40]*Ibid.*, vii, xii.

[41]*Ibid.*, v.

[42]*Sochineniia*, 26:380.

[43]Leo Tolstoi to Afanasy Afanasevich Fet, 30 January 1873, in *Sochineniia*, 62:7.

[44]For thoughtful discussions of the abolitionists' moral ambivalence about force and their sense of righteous violence, see Demos, "The

Antislavery Movement and the Problem of Violent 'Means,' " 501–526; Freidman, *Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1910*, 196–224; Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease, "Confrontation and Abolition in the 1850s," *Journal of American History* LVIII (1972) :923–937; Perry, *Radical Abolitionism*, 231–267; Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 667–685.

[45]See James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964); Brock, *Pacifism in the United States*, 689–712.

[46]William Lloyd Garrison, Jr. to Leo Tolstoi, 28 September 1906, Garrison Family Papers, the Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA. Also see Leo Tolstoi to Ernest Crosby, 12/25 April 1906, in *Sochineniia*, 76:137–138. The above letter is the only extant piece of correspondence between the children of William Lloyd Garrison and Tolstoi in the Garrison Family Papers.

[47]For studies of Ballou's career and philosophy, see William O. Reichert, "The Philosophical Anarchism of Adin Ballou," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 27 (1964) :357–374; Lewis Perry, "Adin Ballou's Hopedale Community and the Theology of Antislavery," *Church History* XXXIX (1970) :372–389; Richard Rollins, "Adin Ballou and the Perfectionist's Dilemma," *Journal of Church and State* 17 (1975) :459–476; Terry R. Hopkins, "Resist Not Injury with Injury: Adin Ballou and the Principle of Christian Nonresistance" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1982); Perry, *Radical Abolitionism*, 134–157, 261–267, 274–275.

Ballou's major works include *Non-Resistance in Relation to Human Governments* (Boston: Non-Resistance Society, 1839); *Christian Non-Resistance, in all its Important Bearings, Illustrated and Defended* (Philadelphia: J. M. M'Kim, 1846); *Practical Christian Socialism* (New York: Fowlers and Wells, 1854); *Primitive Christianity and its Corruptions*, 3 vols. (Boston: Universalist Publishing House, 1870–1900); *Autobiography*

of Adin Ballou, 1803-1890, ed. William S. Heywood (Lowell, MA: The Vox Populi Press, 1896); *History of the Hopedale Community*, ed. William S. Heywood (Lowell, MA: Thompson A. Hill, 1897).

[48]*Liberator*, 6 December 1839.

[49]Ballou, *Autobiography*, 508–509.

[50]For an excellent discussion of Ballou's changing views, which conditioned his reaction to Tolstoi, see Perry, *Radical Abolitionism*, 271–278.

[51]Ballou, *Autobiography*, 510; Lewis G. Wilson, "The Christian Doctrine of Non-Resistance," *The Arena* XIII (December 1890) :3–4; Tolstoi, *Kingdom of God*, 13 (*Sochineniia*, 28:9); Aleksandra Tolstoy, *Otets. Zhizn' L'va Tolstogo*, 2 vols. (New York: Izd. im. Chekhova, 1953), 2:60–61.

[52]*Sochineniia*, 50:97–98.

[53]Leo Tolstoi to Lewis G. Wilson, 22 June 1889, in *Sochineniia*, 64:270–272. Also see Wilson, "The Christian Doctrine of Non-Resistance," 4–5; *Sochineniia*, 50:98, 208–209.

[54]Leo Tolstoi to Dmitry Alexandrovich Khilkov, 23 June 1889, in *Sochineniia*, 64:278.

[55]Leo Tolstoi to Pavel Ivanovich Biriukov, 1 November 1889, in *Sochineniia*, 64:323. For similar sentiments, see Leo Tolstoi to Mikhail Alexandrovich Novosyolov, August 1889, in *Sochineniia*, 64:302; Biriukov, *Biografiia Tolstogo*, 3:109. Also see Tolstoi's diary entry for 14 August 1890, in *Sochineniia*, 51:145.

[56]Adin Ballou to Leo Tolstoi, 14 January 1890, in Wilson, "The Christian Doctrine of Non-Resistance," 5–9. There are no extant letters between Ballou and Tolstoi in the Ballou Family Papers at the Bancroft Memorial Library, Hopedale, Massachusetts.

[57]Leo Tolstoi to Adin Ballou, 21–24 February 1890, in

Sochineniia, 65:34-36. Also see Wilson, "The Christian Doctrine of Non-Resistance," 10-11; *Sochineniia*, 51:22, 125. In late March of 1890, Tolstoi sent another letter to Ballou, but it apparently never arrived in America. Tolstoi asked Ballou about the New England Non-Resistance Society and thanked him for the "great pleasure and profit" he derived from his writings. See Leo Tolstoi to Adin Ballou, 30 March? 1890, in *Sochineniia*, 65:113.

[58]Wilson, "The Christian Doctrine of Non-Resistance," 11; Leo Tolstoi to William L. Kantor, 9 April, 1890, Leo Tolstoi to Adin Ballou, 30 June, 1890, in *Sochineniia*, 65:71, 113. Also see Tolstoi's diary entry for 1 July 1890 in *Sochineniia*, 51:56.

[59]A. Tolstoy, *Otets*, 2:71; Wilson, "The Christian Doctrine of Non-Resistance," 12; *Sochineniia*, 51:78.

[60]Biriukov, *Biografiia Tolstogo*, 3:109. Also see *Sochineniia*, 92:20.

[61]Leo Tolstoi to Mikhail Alexandrovich Novoyolov, August 1889, Leo Tolstoi to Dmitry Alexandrovich Khilkov, 21 February, 15 March 1890, Leo Tolstoi to -----, April 1890, in *Sochineniia*, 64:302, 65:28-29, 46, 64.

[62]Leo Tolstoi to Dmitry Alexandrovich Khilkov, 23 June 1889, in *Sochineniia*, 64:278. Also see Leo Tolstoi to Pavel Ivanovich Biriukov, 6 November 1889, in *Sochineniia*, 86:146.

[63]Leo Tolstoi to Vladimir Chertkov, 3 July, 22 August 1890, 18-19 March 1891, in *Sochineniia*, 87:32, 45, 77. In late March of 1891 Tolstoi also sent Chertkov a copy of Wilson's article from *The Arena*.

[64]Leo Tolstoi to Pavel Ivanovich Biriukov, 1 November 1889, in *Sochineniia*, 64:323.

[65]Leo Tolstoi to Vladimir Chertkov, 28 July, 17 September 1890, in *Sochineniia*, 87:37, 47. Also see Tolstoi's diary entries for 8 July, 28

July, 2 August, 22 September, 14 October 1890, in *Sochineniia*, 51:60, 68, 71, 91, 95.

[66]Leo Tolstoi to Vladimir Chertkov, 15? October 1890, in *Sochineniia*, 87:49.

[67]*Sochineniia*, 51:174. Ballou's *Christian Non-Resistance* was finally published in a 1908 Moscow edition. See *Sochineniia*, 86:65-66.

[68]Mikhail Lvovich Tolstoi to Vladimir Chertkov, 4 November 1890, in *Sochineniia*, 87:390.

[69]A. Tolstoy, *Otets*, 2:71.

[70]Biriukov, *Biografiia Tolstogo*, 3:139.

[71]Wilson, "The Christian Doctrine of Non-Resistance," 3.

[72]Leo Tolstoi to William L. Kantor, 9 April 1890, in *Sochineniia*, 65:71.

[73]Ballou, *The Christian Doctrine of Non-Resistance*, 12.

[74]*Ibid.*, 142.

[75]*Ibid.*, 174.

[76]*Ibid.*, 224.

[77]Tolstoi, *Kingdom of God*, 15-19 (*Sochineniia*, 28:10-14).

[78]*Ibid.*, 20-21 (*Sochineniia*, 28:15).

[79]*Ibid.*, 34-169 (*Sochineniia*, 28:25-130).

[80]*Ibid.*, 216-380 (*Sochineniia*, 28:165-293).

[81]*Ibid.*, 272 (*Sochineniia*, 28:209).

[82]*Ibid.*, 19-20 (*Sochineniia*, 28:14).

[83]*Ibid.*, 380 (*Sochineniia*, 28:293).

[84]Andrew Dickson White, *The Diaries of Andrew D. White*, ed. Robert Morris Ogden (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1959), 326.

[85]White, *Autobiography*, 2:83.

[86]Leo Tolstoi to F. F. Bolabolchenkov, 31 May 1910, Leo Tolstoi to Tatyana Tolstoi, April ? 1910, in *Sochineniia*, 82:242, 90:305.

[87]Leo Tolstoi to Adin Ballou, 21-24 February 1890, in *Sochineniia*, 65:34.

[88]Biriukov, *Biografiia Tolstogo*, 3:198.

[89]Leo Tolstoy, *What Is Art? and Essays on Art*, trans. Aylmer Maude (1898, New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 228, 240 (*Sochineniia*, 30:149, 158-159).

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