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## Tolstoy and Socialism



WHEN social evils reach such a stage that they commence to threaten the existing order, vague discontent and general criticism begin to give place to constructive thought, to the formation of new ideals and standards of life, which find their expression in two distinct movements different in character. The classes of society who are personally affected by the evils demand the abolition of an order which they have come to recognize as unjust through materialistic-utilitarian reasons. Hence these constitute the fundamental principle of their movement.

Those members of the upper classes who become aware of the existing injustice do not themselves experience its evil effects, but attain consciousness of it only through moral self-analysis, which reveals them as participators in the injustice, consequently, guilty of it. For this reason progressive movements among the upper classes assume an idealistic-ethical character, and the ideological principle is considered by them fundamental to progress.

The outcome of such an idealistic movement will be fruitful or futile, according to the course it follows. If its representatives perceive the trend of evolution, if they keep in close touch with the actual conditions and always feel the pulse of the living social organism, their efforts must necessarily coincide with the wide movement of the suffering masses, must strengthen it and bear fruit. But if, in pursuing a goal which they deem desirable, they attempt to revive past ideals and haughtily ignore the conditions that make these ideals historically impossible, then the noblest aspirations are doomed to futility. Past experience, it seems, should tell them that their efforts are vain. But experience counts for naught with visionaries, if only they find the phantom attractive. They cheerfully

pursue it and, determined to turn the tide of history, leap—in the imagination—over unsurmountable barriers of accumulated facts.

The mightiest effort of this kind in our days is undoubtedly Tolstoyism.

Tolstoy stands alone in our age. He is not only the greatest Russian novelist, but is almost universally acknowledged pre-eminent among the novelists of the century. Although twenty years ago he recanted his former conceptions of art and devoted himself to a different activity, Tolstoy continued from time to time to produce new undying artistic works. Recently "Resurrection" gave fresh proof that the genius of the author of "War and Peace" had little if at all declined with age.

Yet strange as it may seem, Tolstoy did not gain his worldwide renown through his works of fiction. His name became famous at the time when he renounced his former beliefs, and conceived a new ideal of life, founded on a new philosophy, a new religion, and a new science. Since then he has incessantly worked to rouse the conscience of men, to show them the absurd contradictions in our social order, the cruelty and injustice of the "Slavery of Our Times," and in his analysis and description of social conditions has exposed with striking force the lies of modern civilization. So far Tolstoy is a mighty warrior in the ever-increasing army arrayed against the old system. However, Tolstoy does not confine himself to criticism. He also proposes methods of uprooting the evils and suggests plans for the reconstruction of the social edifice. It is in regard to these methods and plans that Tolstoy not only differs from the socialists, but inevitably conflicts with them.

Now, however perverted his propositions may seem, it must be remembered that Tolstoy is a leading object of public attention and exerts a powerful influence. Therefore it seems proper to analyze his teachings and consider their relation to socialist philosophy.

Tolstoy, despairing of the possibility of scientific progress to abolish misery, turns his eyes to the past and finds in the teachings of Christ the all-sufficing means for the salvation of mankind. He does not recognize the evolutionary principle by which a brighter future can be founded only on present economic development. Instead of science, which he thinks bankrupt, he substitutes faith. "I believe in the doctrine of Christ and found my salvation in it," is in one form or another the constant refrain of all his reasonings, whatever subject he touches. All his teachings are but unavoidable corollaries of this fundamental premise. He thus disposes of all the vital problems of the day by means of the New Testament—an apocryphal book dating back nearly two thousand years. Whether we consider him as a philosopher, as a moralist or as

a social reformer, we shall always come to this point of departure—the gospel, or rather a number of its propositions pronounced as infallible articles of faith. This certainly lends homogeneity to his system, so that no one of his propositions can be detached from the whole. Therefore they all stand or fall together. They must either be all accepted or all rejected. If based on a valid foundation this fact must become a source of strength; if on an illusion, it is the cause of their weakness.

Tolstoy sees the highest mode of life in the fulfilment of the primitive Christian ideal and the pursuit of a land-tiller. But to make agriculture possible for all, the land must be restored to the people. In this restoration consists the solution of the social problem. Hence his half-hearted adhesion to Henry George—half-hearted because Tolstoy's teachings exclude the possibility of applying the single-tax method, which involves coercion, state administration and laws.

Most of the manufactured products, he holds, must be renounced, because they satisfy needs that grew out of the pursuit of pleasure, and in fact he would give up everything but what is indispensable to a mere existence, the object of which is the attainment of a certain abstract aim. "The eternal and highest aim of our life is good. . . . and life is nothing but a striving for good, i. e., a striving for God." This sounds well, but it ought to be remembered that not in life itself, i. e., not in the gladness of mere existence is where Tolstoy discerns the good, but in a transcendental principle, which is to be carried out by the renunciation of worldly enjoyment.

Thus the aim of life announced by Tolstoy is asceticism. Asceticism is the clue to all of Tolstoy's social philosophy, and once found, it becomes the criterion by which every phenomenon is measured and estimated, and upon which is based the solution of every question. Before the impartial tribunal of this doctrine all the integral elements of civilization—philosophy, science, art and industry—are found equally guilty and doomed to extermination. All philosophy is declared to be a texture of metaphysical cobwebs; August Comte's proposition that ours is the age of science receives a scornful sneer; art based on the validity of beauty as the source of enjoyment is sinful, and industry producing articles that increase human needs and foster new desires is also sinful in itself and moreover divers men from the pursuit of God's law.

It has often been suggested that the key to these singular teachings of Tolstoy must be sought in the depths of the Russian national spirit, in the peculiarities of its soul. This is true in a certain sense—in which sense can perhaps be seen best from the following statements taken from his writings:

"Like the thief on the cross, I, too, believed in the doctrine of Christ, and found my salvation in it. This is not a far-

fetches comparison; it worthily describes the condition of anguish and despair I was once in at the thought of life and of death, and it also indicates the peace and happiness which now fill my soul."

"I believe that true happiness will only be possible when all men begin to follow Christ's doctrine. I believe that, even if it be left unfulfilled by all around me. . . . *I cannot do otherwise than follow it, in order to save my own life from inevitable destruction.*" ("What I Believe.")

To one familiar with Russian life and literature these words strike a familiar note. They re-echo the struggles of a self-analyzing soul striving to find its own equilibrium. A predisposition for internal scrutiny is strongly developed in the Russian intellectual forming a marked part of his character. Russia knows a number of its remarkable men who solved the problem of their inner mental discord each in his own way, but always abnormally—Gogol, Dostoyevsky, Garshin.

From the passage cited above, the sentiment of which is with slight variations often repeated in his works of the latter period, we see that what led Tolstoy to the gospels was not so much the solution their teachings offered to the complex knot of modern problems, but that it was above all the "peace and happiness" with which these teachings "fill the soul" of the peasant-count. It must be remembered, however, that Tolstoy does not propose that man content himself with the gospel's wisdom and sit inactive and be blessed. We know that the last twenty years of his life, rich in works of love to his fellow-men, are a repudiation of this. But it naturally leads to the conclusion that the principal aim of the individual is to strive for inward peace. He who has found this peace has attained the kingdom of heaven, for "the kingdom of heaven is within us," contends Tolstoy, accepting Christ's saying literally. As to the poor and destitute, they must wait until the wealthy and powerful shall have become enlightened by the gospel of truth and ashamed of living by their blood and sweat. He seems quite unconscious of the inconsistency when in another place he concedes that "the capitalists will do everything for the workers except get off their backs."

To advocate non-resistance and expect salvation exclusively from individual moral consciousness is possible only to one who assumes human nature to be immutable, believes in its inherent goodness and in free will, i. e., in men's capacity to think and wish with absolute freedom, regardless of all the conditions and environment that determine his conscious being. As, however, inherent good-naturedness and free will are not philosophical principles but theological dogmas, a doctrine based on them cannot but be opposed to the deterministic phi-

losophy of socialism, which founds its teachings on evolution and science.

The way toward a solution of the social problem, toward a realization of a more perfect social ideal based on science is certainly intricate and beset with errors and false conceptions whose elimination from the truth is necessarily a long, gradual and painful process. It winds in zigzags, sometimes seemingly leading astray, backward or even into a maze, and to follow it is often very wearisome. It is therefore natural for an impatient mind passionately seeking for complete and immediate truth to look back upon the simple wisdom of the ingenuous carpenter of Nazareth as upon the only infallible way out of the sombre wood of modern civilization. Tolstoy does not recognize that the Christian teaching based on an anti-biological and anti-natural self-renunciation, could not as a social factor but degenerate into the monstrous lie of official Christendom. He practically proposes to try it all over again.

The incongruity of his ascetic propaganda becomes still more glaring when it is recalled that as an agnostic Tolstoy does not bother about the life beyond the grave, but strives to bring about the happiness of men on earth. While the moral sense of a believer in future retribution may logically be completely satisfied with the Christian doctrine of renunciation, it is strange for a non-believer in revelation to discern in it a basis of practical morality. No one denies the exalted nobility of the golden rule or still more of the saying, "Resist not him that is evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on the right cheek turn to him the other also." It is a lofty ideal of moral perfection. But who can for a moment seriously consider it as a basis for regulating human life relations?

Buckle somewhere in his "History of Civilization" points out that a few ethical propositions known for thousands of years had been adopted and assimilated by all the great religions of the world without having undergone any substantial change, save for a few slight variations in form. "Do to others as ye would that they should do to you" is the rule to which the ethics of all great religions and systems can be reduced. This rule had been taught for ages in all forms and languages without having produced the desired effect, and continues a perpetual commonplace void of all significance if taken independently of existing relations. All the attained improvements in manners, morals and refinement of feeling can, on the contrary, be traced in the industrial and intellectual development of society which determine the moral code of a given age. Chattel slavery began to be considered immoral not before it had been outgrown by all the conditions that constitute an environment, chiefly by the economic progress. To the noble-minded Plato it did not even occur that slavery might be a discord in the harmony

of his "Republic." The suggestion that slavery was incompatible with "equality" and "justice," the two fundamental elements of his ideal state, would have seemed to him as absurd as that of granting equal rights to domestic animals.

Tolstoy not only founds his teachings upon an abstract principle, but without criticism accepts as eternal truths all the precepts alleged to have been uttered by Christ. As has been remarked, this gives homogeneity to his system, but, on the other hand, leads him to queer contradictions. He repudiates metaphysics, discerning its pernicious influence even in theoretical deductions from concrete social and economic phenomena, and yet himself writes a work in elucidation of the gospels\* which is but metaphysics simplified. He certainly endeavors to put in them a plain meaning, but does not see that the very possibility of so many interpretations, often mutually exclusive of each other, points to metaphysical confusion. He ignores the fact that every one reads in the Bible his own mind, and that a certain crafty set of sophisters even contrive to find in it the justification of all the atrocities he condemns. He denounces Kant, Schopenhauer and particularly Hegel, whose doctrine he mockingly labels "the philosophy of the spirit," while he himself bases human progress on an "inborn religious sense." But is not an "inborn religious sense" developing independently of all material relations strikingly similar to a self-sufficient "absolute idea"? Tolstoy merely limits its application to the human race.

For all vital problems Tolstoy offers final categorical solutions based upon or, at least, in strict conformity with the same source—the New Testament. On it he founds his attitude as to science, art, industry, social relations, relations of sexes, and every other factor of modern culture. As regards science he has a contempt not only for what is designated social science—philosophy, history, sociology, political economy—but includes under his ban also biological and the greater part of positive science. "Medicine is a false science," with all its adjunct branches, of course. Of positive science he would retain only what is immediately useful. He denies the utility of all knowledge that has no immediate practical purpose, as astronomy, higher mathematics, etc., and repudiates all research not actuated by a definite utilitarian object. Research for the sake of truth in itself is said to be a fruitless waste of time and energy and those who indulge in it are idlers that seek the mere satisfaction of their fancies. He seems not to comprehend the primary truth that it is not the search for useful inventions that leads thinkers to the inquiry and discovery of nature's laws, but vice versa. In consonance with these

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\* "My Religion,"

views he does not care to popularize science, as the people, he contends, are not in need of it. The only knowledge they require is the "genuine" knowledge taught by Confucius, Buddha, Moses, Mohammed and, above all, Jesus, of how to live morally. But in condemning science he condemns that which brings light and warmth to the human race. It appeared to him impotent and worthless because it did not answer his transcendental questions as to the aim of life. Its plain contention that the aim of life is in life itself, i. e., in enjoying it, and that, in this sense, science constantly amplifies it, he ridicules, scoffing at an ideal of the civilized world in which "machines will do all the work and men will be but enjoying bundles of nerves." It is contrary to his asceticism indeed.

It is this asceticism also that determines his conceptions of art. In the pamphlet "What Is Art" Tolstoy, with remarkable force, attempts to prove that nearly everything generally understood as art is not worthy of the name and is false art. Here, as everywhere, the indictment against the curse of commercialism and intellectual corruption poisoning the artistic spirit in capitalist society is masterly. "So long as the traders will not be driven out of the temple, the temple of art will be no temple." ("What Is Art.") But Tolstoy does not content himself with the denunciation of the monstrous outgrowths of modern decadence. In his destructive rage he does away with Shakespeare, Milton, Michael Angelo, Beethoven, Raphael, Goethe, all because the avowed object of their art-productions is the expression of beauty, conveying enjoyment, and is therefore contrary to his life principle. Only those art-productions that have nothing but a moral object are "genuine" art-productions. His ideal of art, as of everything else, lies not in future development, but in the past simple and even barbaric stage of society. Its criterion is its comprehensibility for the untrained mind. He overlooks that this inevitably leads to a complete negation of art. "My own art productions I reckon within the province of bad art with the exception of 'God Sees the Truth' and 'The Caucasian Prisoner,'" (Ibid.) It is scarcely conceivable that this assertion should come from the very depths of a firm conviction, and is rather to be regarded as a conclusion Tolstoy forced upon himself in strict accord with the whole of his teachings.

To what lengths of absurdity Tolstoy is led by constantly following out his ascetic doctrine is best demonstrated by his views on one of the most important social functions—the relations between man and woman. On this point not much need be said here. The philosophy of his "Kreutzer Sonata" is sufficiently known. In all his subsequent productions he zealously maintains the essential principles of the "Kreutzer

Sonata." Their chief feature is the mortification of the flesh: "Life dwells in the spirit, in the flesh is death. The life of the spirit is goodness and light: the life of the flesh is evil and darkness." The sexual instinct is regarded as an "imaginary want" not in reality existent. Upon cohabitation, whether legal or not, he looks as upon a hindrance to higher spiritual life. If a man and woman do have conjugal intercourse they must be bound to each other forever and produce children without limit regardless of their means of subsistence, for otherwise, he says, "men would be delivered from the cares and pains of rearing them up, which are the retribution of carnal love." He urges women to give up the folly of striving for science, education, and, if married, to exclusively devote themselves to the bearing and rearing of children; this is their destiny, because "such is the law of God to Moses, and it cannot be transgressed with impunity." Tolstoy realizes that sinful man will not so readily acquiesce in the opinion that one of the most powerful instincts of life is an imaginary one, and he makes a slight concession declaring that absolute chastity is an ideal which is worth striving for, as it would enable men to realize the law of life, which consists in disinterested love to each other. He seems not even to suspect the kinship between sexual and altruistic love, which has long ago attracted the attention of biologists. One of them in a recent work\* conclusively establishes the fact that the benevolent sentiments originate directly from the sympathy of the male to the female, which then gradually extends to their immediate offspring, family, group, clan, community, etc. Thus, far from thwarting mutual sympathy among men, the sexual instinct is to be regarded as the primitive cause of this feeling. Contempt for science will spare Tolstoy the cheerless recognition of the fact that his propaganda of abstinence deprives his abstract altruism of any foundation.

These being essentially the fundamental principles of Tolstoy's teachings, it is now superfluous to draw a parallel between them and the socialist conception. The difference so obviously appears from the foregoing review that it would necessarily be a repetition. There now remains to be outlined the practical inferences of Tolstoy's philosophy with regard to the emancipation movement of the workers, and the more specific charges Tolstoy makes against socialism.

Tolstoy agrees with socialists precisely as much as socialists agree with him, i. e., in the indictment against the present system. For the rest they are entirely at variance, and Tolstoy on many occasions gave expression to this antagonism. What must be considered his most complete and direct at-

\* Alexander Sutherland: "The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct," 2 vols., London, 1898.



tack on socialism appeared in a pamphlet published about a year ago,\* in which we find a special chapter devoted to exposing "The Bankruptcy of the Socialist Ideal." Let us say right here that were it not for the name of Tolstoy the attack it contains could be passed over without a word. The promisingly sounding title naturally suggests a heavy armory of elaborate arguments arrayed for the overthrow of the principal tenets of the socialist philosophy, to-wit: The materialistic conception of history, the theory of class-struggles, the analysis of the mechanism of capitalist production and the theory of value. But whoever expects a single word with regard to all these propositions, which to ignore and at the same time to destroy socialism seems to be unthinkable, will be thoroughly disappointed. Tolstoy evidently includes them in the general anathema of science and therefore deems a separate refutation superfluous. But then, it seems, he should not have thought it worth his while to expound the "Bankruptcy of the Socialist Ideal," since the latter is based on premises already done away with.

Let us consider his objections. Having repudiated the economists for their attempts to infer laws of industrial development and their assertion, "that rural laborers must enter the factory system," he contends that not private ownership of capital and land is the cause of labor's destitution, "but that which drives them from the villages." He further says: "The emancipation of the workers from the state of things (even in the distant future in which science promises them liberty) can be accomplished neither by shortening the hours of labor, nor by increasing wages, nor by the promised communalization of the means of production. All that can not improve their position, for the misery of the laborer's position . . . consists not in the longer or shorter hours of work, nor does it consist in the low rate of wages, nor in the fact that the railway or the factory is not theirs, but it consists in the fact that they are obliged to work in harmful, unnatural conditions often dangerous and destructive to life, and to live a barrack life in towns—a life full of temptations and immorality—and to do compulsory labor at another's bidding."† In other words: the misery of the laborer's position consists not in long hours and low wages, but in "harmful, unnatural conditions often dangerous and destructive to life;" not in the fact that the means of production are not theirs, but in the fact that they have to do "compulsory labor at another's bidding,"—as if those who strive to obtain shorter hours and higher wages do so for the abstract liking of short hours and high wages and

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\* "The Slavery of Our Times."

† "The Slavery of Our Times," pp. 86-87.

not for the sake of removing "harmful conditions;" as if socialists proposed collectivism not to abolish "compulsory labor at another's bidding," but because *communalization* spelled differently, *private ownership!*

Tolstoy reproaches socialists that they wish to perpetuate the causes that drive the peasants from the villages and "think it better for people to live in towns and to do compulsory machine work in factories rather than to live in villages and to work freely."\* This is utterly false. On the contrary, socialists recognize the causes that under the present system drive peasants into the industrial slavery of towns and direct all their efforts towards bringing about a state of things which will abolish the contrast of town and country. In the above assertion the arbitrary interpretation of the socialist theory is so obvious that it needs no further discussion.

"But even allowing this assertion . . . there remains in the very ideal itself, to which the men of science tell us the economic revolution is leading, an insoluble contradiction."† The contradiction which Tolstoy discerns in the socialist ideal is fourfold: First, how decide the length of time each man is to work, since the production must be apportioned? Second, "how are people to be induced to work at articles which some consider necessary and others consider unnecessary and even harmful?" Third, "which men are to do which work? Everybody will evidently prefer to do the light and pleasant work." And last, how will the degree of division of labor be regulated? These are essentially his objections to the socialist ideal. What they evince in the first place is that their author has not thought it worth his while to study or read socialist literature. And even if so, it is only blind predisposition that could make it possible to consider such naive objections as material. Moreover, even were they justified they could be disregarded, since socialism is not a scheme but a stage of economic evolution which is inevitable and must follow competition and private monopoly regardless of individual preferences. But socialists can afford to be generous and remove the scarecrows of a frightened imagination.

How long each man is to work and how the degree of division of labor will be regulated are questions that do not press for immediate settlement. When the world will be confronted with them it will have no difficulty in coping with these problems according to prevailing conditions. This will be the easier, inasmuch as the principal industries shall have been to a very great extent socialistically organized before they will be communalized. Nor need there be one central

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\* "Slavery of Our Times," p. 55.

† *Ibid.*

industrial administration over the whole globe. It is natural to suppose that the socialist state will form a confederacy of industrial republics, larger or smaller, in accordance with local conditions. As to production of articles which some may consider unnecessary or harmful, it is enough to say here that there is no reason to think why Tolstoy, for instance, would be compelled to work in a distillery or a butcher-shop if he is a vegetarian. In general, compulsion can hardly be spoken of in a co-operative society, where no one would have to be subjected to authority and each would be obliged to do his share of work in order to satisfy his own needs. What concerns unpleasant and hard work, there will not be much of it in a society with a high stage of technique and without profit-seeking as the only motive in industry. It should also be remembered that the modern cant of the "dignity of labor," in which wealthy idlers so much indulge, will necessarily become a truth in a commonwealth based on the co-operative labor of all. Besides, it may be conjectured that those who will do harder and more unpleasant work will work less. All these objections are especially strange as coming from Tolstoy, who professes so much confidence in the altruistic nature of men. He, more than anyone else, should have made allowance for the prevalence of this feeling in a society where all are economically safe.

It cannot be expected that these plain answers would satisfy Tolstoy or any other apostle of non-resistance. It is in the nature of things that a believer in free will should also believe in "absolute" freedom. He will therefore discern coercion in every natural obligation resulting from communal life and labor, forgetting that "absolute" freedom can be but an ideal and will never become an "absolute" reality, since one man's freedom must end where another's begins.

Now, what does Tolstoy offer instead of socialism? His propositions to the world's workers can be inferred from the foregoing elucidation of his views. He repudiates Malthus, of course, but by his teachings on sexual relations practically proposes to the workingman Malthusianism, leaving him no other choice than to altogether abstain or to starve himself by producing a large family. It makes no difference to the laborer that Malthus was actuated in his proposition by his economic class-interest, or Tolstoy by a would-be moral principle. His views on art, science and industry evince a tendency not to increase the worker's share of enjoyment in them, but to reduce the higher classes to their primitive level, or lower still. According to him, one of the causes of evil lies in the too highly developed wants of the proletariat, while socialism sees in their low standard of life, in "der verdamnten Bedurfmislosigkeit der Massen," an obstruction to their cultural

progress. Together with the rotten fruits of civilization he rejects all the fresh and nourishing ones, whose cultivation took thousands of years and were raised by mankind at the expense of its blood and sweat. Socialists will retain all that is worth having, for it is folly to suppose that the human race will renounce all that has been acquired by its geniuses. Some of Tolstoy's propositions have some positive meaning for the propertied classes: renunciation of their wealth, moral regeneration; but for the toiler who has nothing to renounce, they remain high-sounding Christian sermons void of inner significance. He tells him to be patient and wait until his oppressors shall become pervaded with Christian love and ideas of the happiness of ascetic life and agricultural labor. Still better, if the workingman realizes that the "kingdom of heaven is within us," then he would become happy in his mundane misery and free in his bonds. Tolstoy had no right to scoff at the metaphysicians who declared that the only actual freedom is that of the spirit. This is indeed the only logical result of his teaching of non-resistance so far as the "modern slaves" are concerned. The doctrine of non-resistance, convenient as it is to all kinds of oppression, is the culminating point of his reactionary tendencies. It would enervate and emasculate labor and render it the perpetual prey of the exploiters. Like the church it actually preaches subjection, with the difference that the church does it in the name of future retribution, and Tolstoy in the name of morality. Tolstoy hates war and strife. So do socialists. But while Tolstoy would have peace even at the price of liberty, socialists prefer war for freedom to the peace of slavery. Tolstoy's philosophy involves quietism and, if accepted, would lead to intellectual apathy and stagnation. Socialism based on evolutionary science means development and progress. Fortunately, the unreasonableness of Tolstoyism is so manifest to plain common sense that its influence need not be feared. In its unceasing forward movement the human race with unerring instinct borrows from its thinkers only what it can assimilate in its historic evolution. It was thus France acted with regard to Jean Jacques Rousseau—Tolstoy's great prototype of the eighteenth century. When Rousseau sent Voltaire a copy of his famous prize essay on the causes of inequality among men,\* in which he eloquently depicted the evils of civilization and recommended that humanity should return to nature and to the simple life of primitive men, the patriarch of Farney acknowledged the gift in a courteous letter, where he remarks with fine irony: "You may please men by telling them the

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\* "Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inegalite des conditions parmi les hommes."

truth about them, but you would not make them better. It would be impossible to paint the horrors of human society in stronger colors than you did. No one ever displayed so much intelligence striving to make us stupid; reading your book one is overtaken by a desire of crawling on his fours. However, as it is more than sixty years since I lost this habit, I unfortunately feel that it will be impossible for me to return to it."\*

France of the great revolution, so vigorously promoted by the negative analysis of Rousseau's genius, has together with Voltaire declined his positive proposals and did not return to the age of crawling on fours. Nor will our age of a still greater and more thorough revolution renounce its manhood and return to its primitive stage by adopting the beliefs and ideals of Tolstoy's ascetic Christianity. Still, as in the case of Rousseau, the great social forces of the coming revolution will hail with gratitude the marvelous work Tolstoy is doing in uprooting the pillars of bourgeois society. Future generations will study Tolstoy the artist; but his teachings will probably in due time be forgotten by the bulk of the civilized world. Tolstoy will survive Tolstoyism.

*B. H. Brumberg.*

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\* Voltaire, *Oeuvres completes*. Paris, 1824-1832, LXXVI., 112 et seq.

