

## LEO TOLSTOY.

Dedication of "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable," by  
Ernest Crosby.

Hail, Tolstoy, bold, archaic shape,  
Rude pattern of the man to be,  
From 'neath whose rugged traits escape  
Hints of a manhood fair and free.

I read a meaning in your face,  
A message wafted from above,  
Prophetic of an equal race  
Fused into one by robust love.

Like some quaint statue long concealed,  
Deep buried in Mycenae's mart,  
Wherein we clearly see revealed  
The promise of Hellenic art,

So stand you; while aloof and proud,  
The world that scribbles, prates, and frets  
Seems but a simpering, futile crowd  
Of Dresden china statuettes.

Like John the Baptist, once more scan  
The signs that mark the dawn of day.  
Forerunner of the Perfect Man,  
Make straight His path, prepare the way.

The desert too is your abode,  
Your garb and fare of little worth;  
Thus ever has the Spirit showed  
The coming reign of heaven on earth.

Not in kings' houses may we greet  
The prophets whom the world shall bless,  
To lay my verses at your feet  
I seek you in the wilderness.

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ADDRESS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF  
RUSSIA.

By Leo Tolstoy as Published in the Chicago Daily Journal  
of December 28, 1906.

By government I mean those who, availing themselves of established authority, can change the existing laws and put them in operation. In Russia these people were and still are: The czar, his ministers, and his nearest advisers.

The acknowledged basis of all governmental power is solely the promotion of the welfare of the people over whom the power is exerted.

But what are you—who now govern Russia—doing? You are fighting the revolutionists with shifts and cunning such as they employ against you, and, worst of all, with cruelty even greater than theirs. But of two contending parties the conqueror always is not the more shifty, cunning, cruel, or harsh of the two, but the one that is nearest to the aim toward which humanity is advancing.

Whether the revolutionists rightly or wrongly define the aim toward which they strive, they certainly aim at some new arrangement of life, while your only desire is to maintain yourselves in the profitable position in which you are established.

Therefore you will be unable to resist the revolution, with your banner of autocracy, even though it be with constitutional amendments, with perverted Christianity called orthodoxy, a renovated patriarchate, and all sorts of mystical interpretations.

All that is moribund and cannot be restored. Your salvation lies not in doumas, elected in this way or in that; still less in rifle shots, cannons, and executions; but it lies in confessing your sin against the people and trying to redeem it and efface it while you are still able to do so. Set before the people ideals of equity, goodness, and truth, more lofty and more just than those your opponents advocate. Place such an ideal before the people, not to save yourselves, but seriously and honestly setting yourselves to accomplish it, and you will not only save yourselves, but will save Russia from those ills already befalling her, and now threatening her.

Nor need you invent this ideal; it is the old, old ideal of all the Russian folk; the ideal of the restoration to the whole people—not to the peasants only, but to the whole people—of their natural and just right to the land.

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To men unaccustomed to think with their own minds this ideal seems unrealizable, because it is not a repetition of what has been done in Europe and America. But just because this ideal has nowhere yet been accomplished, it is the true ideal of our day, and, more, it is the nearest ideal, and one which, before it is accomplished in other countries, should now be accomplished in Russia.

Wipe out your sin by a good deed; while you still have the power, strive to destroy the ancient, crying, cruel injustice of private property in land, which is so vividly felt by the whole agricultural population, and from which they suffer so grievously, and you will have the support of all the best people—the so-called "intellectuals."

You will have with you all true constitutionalists, who cannot but see that before calling on the people to choose representatives, that people must be freed from the land slavery in which it now lives.

The socialists, too, will have to admit that they are with you, for the ideal which they set before themselves—the nationalization of the implements of labor—is attainable first of all by the nationalization of the chief implement of labor—the land.

The revolutionists, too, will be on your side, for the revolution which you will be accomplishing by freeing land from private ownership is one of the chief points in their program. On your side, above all, will be the whole 100,000,000 agricultural peasantry, which alone represents the real Russian people. Only do what you, occupying the place of government, are bound to do, and, while there is yet time, make it your business to establish the real welfare of the people, and in place of the feeling of fear and anger which you now encounter you will experience the joy of close union with the 100,000,000 Russian people; you will know the love and gratitude of this kindly folk, who will not remember your sins, but will love you for the good you do it, as it now loves him, or those, who freed it from slavery.

Remember that you are not czars, ministers, senators, and governors, but men; and having done this, in place of grief, despair and terror you will find the joy of forgiveness and of love.

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But that this may happen, you must not undertake this work superficially as a means of safety, but sin-

cerely, seriously, and with your soul's whole strength. Then you will see what eager, reasonable, and harmonious activity will be displayed in the best spheres of society, bringing the best men of all classes to the front and depriving of all importance those who now disturb Russia. Do this, and all those terrible, brutal elements of revenge, anger, avarice, vanity, and ambition, and above all of ignorance, will disappear, which now come to the front, infecting, agitating, and tormenting Russia—and of which you are guilty.

Yes, only two exits are now open to you, men of the government—a fratricidal slaughter and all the horrors of a revolution leading to your inevitable and disgraceful destruction, or the peaceful fulfillment of the ancient and just demands of the whole people, showing other Christian nations both that the injustice from which men have suffered so long and so cruelly can be abolished, and how to abolish it.

Whether the form of social organization under which you hold power has or has not outlived its day, so long as you still hold power, use it not to multiply the evil you have already done, and the hatred you have already provoked, but use it to accomplish a great and good deed not for your nation alone but for all mankind. If this social organization has outlived its day, let the last act done under it be one not of falsehood and cruelty, but of goodness and truth.

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### "I LOVE MY COUNTRY TOO WELL TO BE A PATRIOT."

Ernest Crosby in "Swords and Plowshares."

I am no patriot.

I do not wish my countrymen to overrun the world.

I love the date-palm equally with the pine-tree, and each in its place.

I am as true a friend to the banana and orange as to the pear and apple.

I thank the genial breath of climate for making men different.

I am glad to know that, if my people succeed in spreading over the face of the earth, they will gradually differ from each other as they attune themselves to every degree of latitude and longitude.

Humanity is no air to be strummed on one note or upon one instrument.

It is a symphony where every note and instrument has its part, and would be sadly missed.

I do not take the side of the cornet against the violin, for the cornet needs the violin.

I am no patriot.

I love my country too well to be a patriot.

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### IMPERIALISM ABROAD HAS PRODUCED IMPERIALISM AT HOME.

Portions of the Address of the President, Moorfield Storey,  
at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, Held in Boston,  
Nov. 24 and Dec. 3, 1906.

At the meeting lately held in New York to honor the memory of our great leader, Carl Schurz, Mr. Choate quoted the words of Lincoln:

Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it.

In that faith we meet again to renew our adhesion to the principles of the great Declaration upon which

our government was founded and in which all Americans believed until 1898, and to record anew our protest against the brutal and wicked doctrine, that one nation has the right to govern another without that other's consent. Civilization the world over is suffering from the un-Christian doctrine that "all the nations upon earth" were not "created of one blood" and with equal rights; that the equal opportunity which we are taught now to call "the square deal" was denied to more than half the human race at their birth, and that the rich color of the Arab, the yellow of the Chinese and Japanese, the brown of the Filipino and the darker hue of the Negro, are all badges of inferiority. The so-called race problem confronts us everywhere, and this great country which has fought a civil war to deliver itself "from the body of this death" is face to face with it again in a most acute form.

The doctrine that one race or class of men is by nature superior to all others is as old as evil. It is not very long since in every country some men thought themselves set by divine appointment above their fellows of the same race and color. One hundred and fifty years ago the Duchess of Buckingham could say when asked to hear a sermon of Whitefield's: "It is monstrous to be told that you have a heart as sinful as the common wretches that crawl on the earth." Shortly before that time, to quote from Macaulay, the Englishman thought that the Irishman "did not belong to our branch of the great human family," and "very complacently inferred that he was naturally a being of a higher order than the Irishman." In 1789 the French noble called his fellow Frenchmen "canaille." Fifty years ago in our own country whites and blacks alike held themselves superior to "the poor white trash" of certain regions.

These delusions have passed. Those whom the Duchess would have called "the common wretches that crawl on the earth," are to-day a controlling force in the government of England. The Irish, the down-trodden and persecuted Jews, the poor whites, have all made good their claim, at least to equality with their fellow-men, if indeed they are content to stop there. The "canaille" have given to France some of her proudest names. The superstition that white men are necessarily superior to men of darker skins must go also, and another century or less will see its end. Russia has learned the lesson from Japan, as Rome learned it from the Arabs, and both paid dear for the instruction. Let us hope that we may learn the truth more easily, for learn it we must.

The present creed of the white man seems to be that greater strength gives him the right to deal with his inferiors as he pleases, and to force his will upon them no matter at what cost to them. Superiority gives him rights, but imposes no obligations, at least none to those who resist his desires. It is a curiously barbarous notion of what constitutes superiority, since among the attributes that distinguish man it exalts strength and cunning, which he shares with the beast, above those qualities which bring him a little nearer to the angels. Superiority is rightly defined in the words of Lord Russell about civilization, which I like to quote:

Its true signs are thought for the poor and suffering, chivalrous regard and respect for women, the frank rec-