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## Archival Research

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### Leo Tolstoy and James Mavor

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The State Memorial Museum-Estate of Leo Tolstoy "Iasnaia Poliana," Tula

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The first meeting of James Mavor and Leo Tolstoy took place in August 1899 at Iasnaia Poliana. Mavor, then aged 44, was Professor of Political Economy at the University of Toronto; Tolstoy, almost 71, was a world famous writer, humanist, philosopher, and religious prophet. The reason for this initial contact was the immigration to Canada of the Doukhobors.

#### Who Was James Mavor and How Did He Know About Tolstoy?

James Mavor was born in Stranraer, Wigtownshire, on December 8, 1854, into the family of a school teacher. His connection with Russia could be traced through his maternal grandfather. John Bridie, a sea captain engaged in Baltic and Far East trade, had spent a winter in Russia and for part of the time his wife and daughter had joined him there. His daughter, Mary Ann Bridie (later Mrs. Mavor), brought up her children on stories about Russia and Russian life, so that the young James Mavor was influenced by all things Russian from his early childhood.

As a student Mavor took night courses at Andersen's College and in 1874 he was admitted to the University of Glasgow. Two years later, after an attack of typhoid, he had to leave the university. Even without a degree, however, he acquired a good education through his dedication to self-education, his strict discipline, and his membership in Glasgow academic circles.

Mavor was editor of the *Scottish Art Review* for a while. At the same time he was interested in science, and was on friendly terms with the inven-

tor William Thompson. In Glasgow factories he met a large number of workers and observed the poor conditions under which they lived. He became a Socialist and actively participated in numerous socialist organizations. He wrote that ". . . Depression of life is as pervasive as the atmosphere. You feel it when you enter a city, . . . the deadly dullness of depressed human life. The very odours suggest it. The fetid air of misery exudes from the houses. Oh, the gauntness, the desolation, the emptiness of life, the hopeless weary waiting for death—in these teeming rabbit-hutches that men call homes and live and breed and die in!" (*The Political Situation and Labour Problems* 6) Mavor was not a Marxist, however: he rejected Marxian theory, although he studied it thoroughly.

He became one of the directors of the Glasgow Workingmen's Dwelling Company. He also joined the Fabian Society, where he met with George Bernard Shaw. The young energetic Mavor so impressed Shaw that later in his play "Candida" he named Candida's husband James Mavor. Leo Tolstoy knew of the Fabian Society in England through Shaw, who had sent some of his books to Iasnaia Poliana, and also through translator Constance Garnett. In December 1884, Mavor, along with William Morris, was one of the signatories of the founding Manifesto of the Socialist League.<sup>1</sup> Mavor's circle in England was very Tolstoyan: it included William Morris, Peter Kropotkin, and Edward Carpenter. Mavor spoke at their meetings and at Ruskinian groups, and in the early 1890s he joined the Glasgow Fabian Society. In November 1886, he met Kropotkin,

who was staying with James Stuart Blackie (a classical scholar and translator of Aeschylus) while he was lecturing on anarchism in Edinburgh. At that time Mavor was Professor of Political Economy at St. Mungo's College in Glasgow.<sup>2</sup>

By 1892 James Mavor was well known as an art critic, writer, economist, social reformer, and teacher. Acquainted with the leading British economists of the day, he was teaching Political Economy at the Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities and was lecturing throughout Scotland. He was the logical choice for the Chair of Political Economy at Toronto, and Professor Ashley, who had resigned the chair and gone to England to find a successor, offered him the job.

Mavor arrived in Toronto in autumn 1892. He settled in a house at 8 University Crescent (which no longer exists) and began Canadian contract research in the social sciences. He created a modern Department of Political Economy and introduced the teaching of commerce at the Honours level. Actively involved in charitable work, he had moved politically to the right. He would write later that "I regarded the socialist movement of the early eighties as the only intellectual movement of that time. . . I don't think that any young man of that period who was not in the same way touched by it was worth anything or has, if he has survived, since become worth anything" (Mavor Papers, vol. 35). Yet by the middle of the 'nineties he believed that capitalism might be the best way to develop the country and to cure poverty, providing that it was properly restrained and moralized.

Even before he arrived in Toronto, Mavor had visited London and met many English writers and artists such as Havelock Ellis, a famous doctor and writer who wrote a book on Leo Tolstoy, and William Thomas Stead, a writer and a journalist, the editor of *Review of Reviews*, who had travelled across Russia and visited Tolstoy at Iasnaia Poliana and had written about him in his book *Truth about Russia*. It is remarkable that Mavor's attitude toward Oscar Wilde, whom he met in 1893, was similar to Tolstoy's opinion as expressed in his treatise *What is Art?*: like Tolstoy,

Mavor did not care for modern, "decadent" writers.

Through his charitable work, Mavor became acquainted with Jane Addams, who knew Tolstoy and had sent her books to Iasnaia Poliana (where they are still to be found in the library). He also continued his earlier friendship with Kropotkin. In September 1897, Kropotkin stayed with Mavor when he read two papers on his geographical expeditions at the annual meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held that year in Toronto. Kropotkin then travelled across Canada to Victoria, studying the prairies and the first settlements and meeting pioneers. Among these were people of Russian background, Mennonites in particular, who, having left Russia to avoid military service, were living communally in Canada. He described his trip in an article in *The Nineteenth Century* (March 1898). Vladimir Chertkov, Leo Tolstoy's friend and assistant, then in exile in England for his involvement in the publication of the appeal *Give Help! (Pomogite!)* to assist the Doukhobors, noticed the article and informed Tolstoy about it.

At that time Tolstoy was seeking aid for the Doukhobors, who were being persecuted in the Caucasus for their refusal to serve in the army. The situation of the Mennonites in Canada as described by Kropotkin seemed quite favourable for the possible settlement of the Doukhobors there. Kropotkin himself had written to Mavor from England about the possibility. According to George Woodcock, "They had received their land in large blocks, instead of quarter sections of 160 acres as happened to ordinary farmers under the Dominion Land Act, and had been allowed to settle in villages instead of being required to reside each on his own homestead. This enabled them to maintain their own form of communal organization, which was not unlike that of the Doukhobors, while they had also been exempted from the provision of the Canadian militia laws" (*Russian Writers and the Doukhobors* 111).

Mavor's papers indicate that, armed with the information provided by Kropotkin and Chertkov, on July 26th Mavor wrote to Clifford Sifton at his summer address in Rat Portage. He went on to

describe Doukhobor religious beliefs as similar to those of Count Tolstoy and his followers, their political views as similar to the Mennonites, their specific objection to military service, the reaction of the Russian government and the urgency with which 12,000 wished to immigrate" (Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, call no. 119, box 38 [10]). Mavor then wrote to a certain Mr. Mulock in England and advised him to meet Sir Patrick Geddes and John C. Kenworthy (who also contributed to Chertkov's book about the Doukhobors—*Christian Martyrdom in Russia*) to learn more about the Doukhobors. On the same day he wrote to Chertkov, Kropotkin, Geddes, and Tolstoy. The letter to Tolstoy contained five questions about the Doukhobors (Public Archives Canada, MG 29, C 16-14). Responding to Mavor's letter on August 4, 1898, Tolstoy gave a full account of the Doukhobors' situation, recommending them as the "best farmers in Russia." Tolstoy asked Mavor to calculate the costs necessary for the emigration for a family. In his letter to Tolstoy on October 28, 1898, Mavor wrote about the agreements with the Canadian government regarding the Doukhobor settlement in the district of Swan River.

### Mavor's First Visit to Tolstoy

When the Doukhobors arrived in Canada, Sergei, Tolstoy's oldest son, accompanied one of the ships, and visited Mavor in Toronto. Mavor himself travelled to the settlements to insure they were being treated well. He also decided to visit Russia. When he arrived in Moscow in July 1899, he received a warm letter from Sergei Tolstoy, inviting him to Iasnaia Poliana. According to Sophia Andreevna Tolstoy's diaries, Mavor was at the Tolstoy's estate in July 1899 (old style).

Mavor has left an insightful portrait of Tolstoy.

He bore his years well. His full untrimmed beard was grey, not white. He stood erectly with an easy poise and walked firmly with long strides. Like many Russians, he had broad shoulders and a slender waist. He wore, as was customary with him, long boots, into which his loose trousers were

tucked, and a faded peasant's blouse with a narrow leathern belt, into which he usually passed one or both of his hands. His forehead was high, his nose prominent and broad at the nostrils; his brilliant blue eyes were overhung by bushy eyebrows. His mouth was large, the lips were full and mobile. His gums were almost toothless. While his eyes revealed a strain of tenderness, there appeared to me to be a trace of hardness in his mouth. (*My Windows on the Street of the World*, vol. 2, 67)

Unlike other visitors Mavor realized at once that "the intellectual and moral difference between Tolstoy and his peasants constituted a gulf much wider and more impassable than any social gulf. George Brandes has described him as a typical muzhik, but this hardly conveys the impression he made upon my mind. Although he wore the dress of a peasant, he had neither the aspect nor the bearing of a peasant. No muzhik ever had his piercing eye or his air of composure and mastery" (*ibid.*, 68).

During Mavor's week at Iasnaia Poliana, Tolstoy was working very hard on his novel *Resurrection*, the proceeds of which he donated to the Doukhobor emmigration fund. Tolstoy and Mavor took long walks, sometimes with Countess Sophia Andreevna and his daughters Tatiana and Alexandra. In Toronto Sergei Tolstoy had warned Mavor that his father would test his powers of endurance. Mavor remarks in his book that Tolstoy was satisfied with his stamina. They also played chess.

From their conversations Mavor deduced that Tolstoy respected Dickens and Ruskin most of all English writers. Mavor knew Tolstoy's writings well and questioned him particularly about *What is Art?* Tolstoy, according to Mavor, "was more or less familiar with the great classics; but he had not read systematically, and on any questions of philosophy or theology he was imperfectly informed" (*ibid.*, 69). In two directions, however, "Tolstoy was, if not supreme in his generation, at least among the foremost. As artist in letters no one among contemporary Russians surpassed him, excepting perhaps Turgenev, and among Englishmen none came near him excepting George Meredith and Thomas Hardy; as prophet or seer none

approached him in any country excepting Ruskin" (*ibid.*, 69-70). Mavor understood that the life of a prophet was hard mostly because of inevitable discipleship. He very vividly characterizes the disciples of Tolstoy as "the College of Cardinals."

During his visit Mavor met many members of Tolstoy's family and was charmed by their family life. He especially liked Tolstoy's sister Countess Marie (who was a nun) and the Countesses Tatiana and Olga (the wife of Tolstoy's son Andrew). Mavor found Tolstoy's wife, "extremely kind and hospitable," but he detected in her "a certain desire to impose her will upon others."

Mavor noticed Tolstoy's special interest in Henry George, the American economist and reformer. Tolstoy indeed admired George's land reform theories, and his library at Iasnaia Poliana contains many books by George with his marginalia. George, especially in Tolstoy's favourites among his books, *Progress and Poverty* and *Social Problems*, provided an economic basis for Tolstoy's religious doctrine of universal love, non-violence, and moral self-perfection. In his 80s Tolstoy suggested to the Russian Parliament (Duma) that they discuss George's land reforms, and he himself followed these when he turned land over to the peasants on his daughter Tatiana's estate, Ovsianikovo. As Mavor put it, "He was attracted to George because George brought the land question into a vivid light, and because the situation in Russia, in which the great landed proprietors were commercialising agriculture and altering the character of village life, corresponded in its general economic features to the situation in California, where the railway and land companies were commercialising land to their own advantage. Against this policy George's *Progress and Poverty* was primarily directed. . . . The chief attraction of George to Tolstoy was, however, the same as that of Dickens, namely, his enthusiasm for and sympathy with humanity" (*ibid.*, 75).

Mavor knew that George's idea of nationalization was regarded by many people in England and in Scotland as a panacea for all economic problems. Land Restoration Societies had been founded in both countries, especially in cities plagued by unemployment and trade fluctuation.

Mavor wrote of *Progress and Poverty* that "[it] is a verbose and humourless book, and yet it seized and for a long time retained the attention of the public. It leaned upon classical economic doctrines because its author knew no other and had digested these somewhat indifferently; but it placed these doctrines in a fresh light and drew startling conclusions from them. . . . What he did do, and for that he is entitled to full credit, was to contribute to the stimulation of public interest in economic questions. He contributed nothing to economic doctrine" (*ibid.*, 174, 175). In this connection Mavor quoted Amiel, whose works were highly respected by Tolstoy: "The various ISMS of the present are not fruitful principles: they are hardly given explanatory formulae. They are rather names of diseases, for they express some element in excess, some dangerous and abusive exaggeration" (*ibid.*, 176).

For Mavor, Tolstoy's view of the State was even more uncompromising than that of Kropotkin: "Tolstoy disliked any attempt to control his own actions and had no desire to control others. Therefore he regarded State and legal action as cumbersome, even when benevolent, and less beneficial than more direct methods" (*ibid.*, 75-76). Tolstoy was not a Bakuninite. He followed not only the Russian tradition of anarchism but also American ideas of anarchism and civil disobedience found in the writings of Henry Thoreau. In 1904 Mavor described the difference between socialism and anarchy: "Socialism required compulsory action, while anarchism was not only not compulsory, but was positive for spontaneous action. There was probably a permanent opposition between the two" (Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, call no. 119, box 58 A [20]).

According to Mavor, Tolstoy knew very well that the Russian peasant "needed not merely improvement in his economic condition but, more importantly, improvement in his mental and moral character" (*My Windows on the Street of the World* 76). In 1899, Mavor visited the village of Iasnaia Poliana quite often, sometimes accompanied by Tolstoy.<sup>3</sup> He wrote that "the peasant allotments were small; the peasants all worked in the fields of the estate. So far as I could ascertain

there were no well-to-do peasants among them; they were ALL poor. The village house was in general the characteristic IZBA of the Russian peasant; each izba had a small houseyard enclosed in a fence of wattles. There were two or three brick houses, recently built by Tolstoy as an experiment. Wages at that time for field and household labour were very low" (*My Windows on the Street of the World* 77). As a political economist, Mavor researched life at Iasnaia Poliana on all levels.

Mavor made a favourable impression on Tolstoy, and in one of his letters of July 1899 he wrote about Mavor as "a serious and well thinking man" (*PSS* 90:312-13). When visiting Tolstoy, Mavor asked him about the peasant situation after the abolition of serfdom and Tolstoy asked one of his friends, A. Dunaev, to assist Mavor with books on this subject.

### The Doukhobors

According to A. Bowker, "Mavor did more than anyone else to interest official Canadian circles in the Doukhobors, helped arrange their immigration and settlement in Saskatchewan, and thereafter felt a strong responsibility to the Doukhobors and toward the Government which had acted on his advice" (*Truly Useful Men*). In spite of some reservations about Peter Verigin, Mavor thought that his leadership was necessary for the survival of the Doukhobors as a commune. He studied the Doukhor history, beliefs, and traditions thoroughly. (His attitude to the Doukhobors was in contrast to that of Herbert Archer or Aylmer Maude.)

In 1905 Mavor and Verigin planned to come together to Iasnaia Poliana, as Peter Verigin wrote to Tolstoy: "There is a Professor Mavor in Toronto—a good friend of ours; he and I have agreed to pay you a visit some time. . . ." (*Leo Tolstoy - Peter Verigin Correspondence*, 72-73). The Mavor-Verigin relationship was very complex. In 1913, when the Doukhobors were moving to British Columbia, Verigin decided that Mavor had lost his sympathy for them. In fact, although Mavor lost touch with them, he still followed their

activities attentively. He tried to maintain a balance between them and the Government. In 1903 on December 18 he wrote to Tolstoy about an article on the Doukhobors in *The Cooperator* by Edward H. James, a friend of young Lloyd Garrison. "This article was sent to me some time ago by Crosby and also by another friend. It impressed me most unfavourably. It appeared to me to be written from a very superficial point of view and to be full of serious mistakes. If it had been merely laudatory of the Doukhobors I should have thought nothing of it, but the author was not satisfied with mere laudation of the Doukhobors, he devoted himself to an attack upon the Canadian government and upon the officials who have had the very difficult task of dealing with the Doukhobors. He also praised Bodyansky whom all of us know as a most mischievous and absolutely unreliable person" (The Moscow State Museum of L. N. Tolstoy, manuscript division, 230/1). Tolstoy pencilled on the envelope of this letter "Answer." His son Sergei wrote to Mavor: "My father, not being quite well, charged me to answer on your letter about the article of E. James. Indeed my father has the intention of translating the article but he will not send it to the Doukhobors. He would be very sorry that any conflict could arise between the Doukhobors and the Canadian government as he agrees that the government has done very much for them" (*ibid.*).

In 1919, when Mavor learned about the attempt to deprive the Doukhobors of their property by force in order to resettle veterans, he wrote an *Open Letter*, sent to every member of Parliament and newspaper editor in the country, to Sir Thomas White. No doubt Verigin was grateful for such friendly assistance. Some of the actions of Verigin and the Doukhobors irritated Mavor, however, and in 1923 he admitted to his friend J. B. MacLean that bringing the Doukhobors to Canada may have been a mistake (Public Archives of Canada, Mavor Papers). Nevertheless he remained a supporter and a friend. In 1904 he wrote that "Such a small producing community as the Doukhobors was more desirable than the aggrandising of productive companies. The Doukhobors are self-contained, so that the store-keepers com-

plain that they do not buy anything. Five years ago they started with very little. Last year, besides sustaining themselves, they bought \$250,000 of supplies, which they are investing in flour mills. The peasant is “fundamentally self sufficient”(Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, call no. 119, box 58 A[20]). This was a point of misunderstanding between Tolstoy and Mavor, as Tolstoy was skeptical about the Doukhobors’ prosperity, thinking that it would destroy their spirituality and high-mindedness.

In his letters to Tolstoy, Mavor updated him on the Doukhobors. Tolstoy wrote to him on November 30 (December 13), 1902: “I thank you for the information you give me of the Doukhobors. I was very pleased to see by the clippings of newspapers that you sent me that the Canadian government as well as the farmers behaved so well toward them. I think that if what they did seems to be madness from a worldly point of view, nevertheless, it will have a beneficent influence on many people who think that there can be only material motives for activity” (*PSS* 73: 334).

### Miscellaneous Facts about Mavor’s Library and his Published Opinion of Tolstoy as a Writer

Along with Tolstoy’s books in English, Mavor’s library contains some works on Tolstoy, among them two articles by Mavor: “Count Leo N. Tolstoy . . . : Being a chapter of *My Windows on the Street of the World* London, 1923. Vol. 2. 67-90; and “Tolstoy in The Victoria Magazine” - Toronto, S.a.. There is also one article written by Ed. A. Steiner: “Tolstoy To-day / III. with paintings by L. Pasternak.” *Outlook*, N.Y., 1903, Sept., vol.75, No 1. Regarding this second article, Mavor wrote to Tolstoy on December 18, 1903: “May I warn you also against the writings of a person called Steiner who has written some articles about you in *The Outlook*, an American magazine. The articles so far as their interpretation of your writings is concerned, are not very bad, but the personal remarks in them, especially about your family, are to my mind quite disgraceful. It is

significant of the want of serious purpose in both James and Steiner that when I wrote to them objecting to certain passages in their articles neither of them had the courtesy to reply to me” (The Moscow State Museum of L. N. Tolstoy, manuscript division, 230/1).

In Mavor’s library there is a special section of books on Russia in English, Russian, Polish, French, German, and Finnish. Some of them by famous Russian authors, they cover topics such as agriculture, history, and philosophy. Mavor learned Russian and in 1907 with Nathan Schachnov he translated the book by L. Sulerjitsky *To America With the Doukhobors* and published it in Moscow (publisher unknown).

In 1904 Mavor sent the book *The Modern Pilgrimage from Theology to Religion* by his old friend Robert L. Brewner to Tolstoy. He wrote to him: “I send you the book because it is really quite significant of the outcome of the Calvinist teaching of the past upon the present generation of Scotchmen. . . . It is really a very genuine human document presented with much literary skill” (*ibid.*).

Mavor had a bust of Tolstoy in his library. He was one of the first scholars to trace the parallel between Tolstoy and Walt Whitman, a typical Russian and a typical American. After his visit to Tolstoy he wrote an article about him in *Victorian Magazine*. In his opinion, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, and Tolstoy form a group apart not only among their contemporaries in Russia, but among all writers in Europe. Mavor demonstrates a subtle and profound understanding of Tolstoy’s importance: “Tolstoy may be regarded as summing up and completing the characters of his two great contemporaries. He also was infected with the humanism and the nihilism of the “forties”; he also, like Turgenev, was artist first and propagandist afterwards; like Dostoevsky, he developed a capacity for intimate and sustained analysis which, if it does not belong exclusively to science, at least indicates the scientific attitude. But Tolstoy added an element which, in some measure, was new to Russian humanism; he added the element of Mysticism” (Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, call no. 119, box 58 B [12]).

### Mavor's Second Visit to Iasnaia Poliana

In 1910 Mavor made one more pilgrimage to Russia to work on his book *The Economic History of Russia*. He travelled via Pacific and Siberian Railway. From Port Arthur on Mukden he wrote to Tolstoy on August 26 (old style), 1910 and Tolstoy's private doctor D. P. Makovitsky made an entry in his diary that Professor Mavor was going to come to Iasnaia Poliana.

Mavor arrived in Moscow at the beginning of August and shortly after his arrival he was invited by his friend V. V. Sviatlovsky of St. Petersburg to go to the Crimea, to Yalta, for a week or two. Probably on his way from Yalta he visited the estate of Konstantin Pobedonostsev to collect material about the living conditions of the Russian peasants. It was not until the end of August that he managed to get to Tula and from there to Iasnaia Poliana. In the collection of Mavor's Papers (University of Toronto) there is a note written by Valentin Bulgakov, Tolstoy's secretary (handwriting identified by the author of this article), in which he describes how to get to the estate of Tolstoy's daughter, Tatiana L. Sukhotina-Tolstoy, as Tolstoy was there at the end of August. Bulgakov probably gave this note to Mavor at Chertkov's small estate Teliatinki near Iasnaia Poliana. (Mavor had gone there when he found out in Tula that Tolstoy was visiting his daughter.) There he was informed about the current situation in Tolstoy's family: "I had been aware in general of these conditions, but the details new to me were very distressing. Chertkov was rather prone to emotional views; but when all due allowance was made on this score, I gathered that the conduct of some of her sons and her attitude towards her husband suggested that the Countess Tolstoy, in spite of many good qualities, was an over-fond mother and a rather less than devoted wife. The marriage of Tatiana had, I realized, made a great difference in the family relations. Her practical sagacity had enabled her to act as a unifying influence, and through her shrewd management of the affairs of the estate had kept the family in comfortable circumstances" (*My Windows on the Street of the World* 81).

After this, Mavor felt uncertain about going to Mzensk, to Tatiana's estate, to visit Tolstoy there. But Vladimir Chertkov telegraphed to Tatiana and Mavor received an urgent invitation to come. After spending some days with the Chertkovs, Mavor went to the neighbouring Iasnaia Poliana, where he met Olga, Tolstoy's daughter-in-law, and his son Leo. His observations of the estate were melancholy: "I had no leisure to do otherwise than make casual observations, but the indications of inferior management of the estate thrust themselves into the eyes. The apples in the orchard had been sold on the trees to a Moscow dealer, and they were being picked by labourers employed by him and under his superintendence. . . . The roads on the estate were almost impassable in the daytime, and at night were quite impassable. The village was clearly deteriorated. The brick houses—a new experiment in 1899 at the time of my former visit—were now tumbling to pieces; the izbas were dilapidated and the whole village bore a forlorn aspect. I left Iasnaia Poliana with a feeling of profound depression" (*ibid.*, 83).

According to Tolstoy's and Makovitsky's diaries, Mavor arrived at Kochety, Tatiana's estate, on August 30 (old style): "As I drove through it I recognised at once the enormous difference between it and Iasnaia Poliana. Here everything was obviously well managed and everybody was prosperous" (*ibid.*). Mavor was glad to meet Tolstoy in fairly good health, though "during the interval of eleven years between my visits he had become thinner, and at this moment was clearly deficient in animation. He had just passed his eighty-second birthday" (*ibid.*).

Tolstoy made an attempt to tell Mavor about his family affairs. Mavor politely stopped him. He was sure that had he allowed Tolstoy "to state his side of the case to me, I should have felt morally bound to return to Iasnaia Poliana and to learn what the Countess had to say on her own behalf. In that way I should have been dragged into the position of a kind of arbiter in a domestic dispute actively in progress. Such a position would have been intolerable" (*ibid.*, 84). Instead, "we had a long walk, and he spoke about the future of the

world. He found no comfort in governmental changes, and little in any social changes taken by themselves. He thought that the great need of the world was a religious movement" (*ibid.*). Mavor did not see any striking difference between the ideals of Tolstoy of 1855 when he was thinking about the creation of a new religion corresponding to the development of mankind, and the Tolstoy of 1910: "He thus may be said to have begun and ended his life with the same aspiration—an aspiration that in some way he might be himself a Messiah, or even might be elected to have Messiahship thrust upon him" (*ibid.*, 85).

Mavor met Doctor Makovitsky who was the only other visitor at Tatiana's estate. According to Makovitsky's diary for August 30, Tolstoy left his work earlier than usual in order to meet Mavor at 11 a.m.. They talked about China, about religion, culture, and the current political situation. Makovitsky mentions that at dinner they talked about Henry George's reforms, which Mavor strongly opposed and Tatiana favoured. Tolstoy told Mavor that all the arguments in George's favour were moral ones. Then they talked about William J. Bryan. (In his book Mavor is mistaken when he writes that Tolstoy told him in 1899 that Bryan had visited. In fact Bryan visited Tolstoy in December 1903, and it is obvious that Tolstoy told Mavor about Bryan's visit in August 1910.)

On August 30, 1910 Tolstoy noted in his diary that "Mavor arrived. Professor. Very lively, but a professor. . ." On September 1 he wrote to his wife that "Mavor was here couple of days ago. He is very interesting with his stories about China and Japan. . ." (*PSS* 58: 97).

Mavor's visit to Tolstoy was short—he had much to do in Moscow and St. Petersburg, though he wished he had stayed longer. Mavor rightly observed that "What Tolstoy needed at that moment was a little healthy and common-sense companionship, support against the atmosphere of idolatry on the one hand and on the other of petty worries over domestic, pecuniary and like complications which incurably compromised the simplicity he had strained after himself and advocated for others" (*My Windows on the Street of the World* 85). When Mavor was taking his leave he had a

feeling that he was bidding Tolstoy farewell forever. And indeed, less than two months later Tolstoy left Iasnaia Poliana and ten days later died in a distant railway station, Astapovo.

### Final Remarks

Mavor learned of Tolstoy's departure from Iasnaia Poliana from V. V. Sviatlovsky whose card of November 5, 1910, appears among Mavor's Papers. On December 11, 1910, there was a memorial service in St. George's Hall honouring Tolstoy, who was a member of the Friends' Association of Toronto. The ceremony included national airs and Chopin's funeral march. Along with Mavor, who gave a brief biography of Tolstoy, there were many other speakers including two Russians.

Tolstoy surely would have appreciated Mavor's book, *An Economic History of Russia*, which was published in 1914 and was praised more highly at the time than *Russia* by Donald Mackenzie Wallace. In his book Mavor analysed the conditions of Russian peasants after the establishment of factory industry—a concern of Tolstoy's. According to the papers in Mavor's archive, there was a plan to publish the book in Russia in 1914, but the First World War seems to have prevented this. Panteleimon Nikolaev, who had helped Mavor with this book in 1907-1908, was supposed to have been the translator. James Mavor remained interested in Russia until the end of his life. His attitude to the February Revolution of 1917 was a sombre one. In a very Tolstoyan vein, he warned the enthusiastic public in his address to the Empire Club of Canada in Toronto on April 5, 1917, that "It must be remembered that a revolution, especially in Russia, has to encounter very big risks; first, the risk of a revolt of the extreme element; next, the risk of the ignorance of the people through not knowing what is happening—and you may be quite sure that tens of millions of Russians do not know what is happening" (Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, call no. 119, box 66 [8]). Mavor wrote *The Russian Revolution*, which was published three years after his death.

In his tribute to Mavor, Sir Patrick Geddes



expressed the high mission he had faithfully tried to carry out: "Such men are never common, but have been especially rare in our day; since without, of course, claiming to him the genius of Leonardo or of Goethe, he expressed the comprehensive range of their cultural interests beyond any other man I know of in our times" (*James Mavor and His World* 8).

According to Mavor, "Tolstoy represents the Russian mind in a unique manner" (*My Windows on the Street of the World* 89). Mavor was confident that "Tolstoy, had he lived, might have been appalled at the consequences of the Revolution; but had he been told beforehand that civilisation would have been swept away, I do not think that he would have been moved. In his Messianism Tolstoy also represented Russia, which looks upon herself as a Messiah among the nations" (*ibid.*).

### Notes

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1. After 1886 Mavor was not an active participant in the League though he remained a friend of William Morris until the death of the latter. There are six books by Morris in Tolstoy's library and Tolstoy also met Sydney Cockrell, William Morris's secretary, in 1903 at Iasnaia Poliana.

2. According to other sources, Mavor became Professor of Political Economy at St. Mungo's College in 1889. In his autobiography, Mavor presents an interesting portrait of Peter Kropotkin.

3. There are three photographs of the village in Mavor's archives. On his return to Canada he received a letter from Countess Tolstoy of August 4/16, 1899, informing him that she had sent him some pictures of his visit. The Mavor archives also contain some excellent pictures of James Mavor among the members of Leo Tolstoy's family which attest to her photographic abilities.

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