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## The Library at Iasnaia Poliana

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### Describing Tolstoy's Private Library: English Books at Iasnaia Poliana

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A foreign culture reveals itself more fully if seen through the eyes of *another* culture [...] We put new questions to a foreign culture, the likes of which it has not asked itself, in it we search for answers to these questions, and the foreign culture responds, opening new sides of itself to us, new depths of meaning. Without our *own* questions it is impossible to understand creatively anything different or foreign (meaning, of course, serious and genuine questions). In such a dialogical meeting of two cultures there is no merging or mixing together, as each retains its own wholeness and *open* integrity, but they are mutually enriched.

*M. M. Bakhtin*

In Tolstoy's library at Iasnaia Poliana there are approximately 2,200 books in English and of these around 1,500 are by English writers. Tolstoy had developed a deep interest in English literature since childhood and his favourite book during his adolescent years was Dickens's *David Copperfield*. During the 1860s and 1870s he read English novels avidly and in the last decades of his life this interest did not wane, though it took a somewhat different direction: in all his interviews with English and American correspondents Tolstoy always emphasized his special regard for the literature of nineteenth-century England and such writers as Dickens,

Trollope, and Thackeray. He referred to England as "the most educated country" (*PSS* 60: 330). In the spring of 1861 Tolstoy spent a total of sixteen days in London and managed to write only two letters from there, but he did succeed in visiting many places, including Parliament and St. James Hall, where he attended a lecture by Dickens. And in 1872 after an unpleasant incident at Iasnaia Poliana, during the course of which he found himself under investigation, Tolstoy, insulted and extremely agitated, planned to leave for England. In a letter to A. A. Tolstoy he stated, "I have decided to emigrate to England for good, or until freedom and dignity for every man is assured in our country. My wife views this prospect with pleasure—she loves everything English and it will be good for the children" (*PSS* 61: 314). He developed the same idea in another letter: "And to leave for England, because only there is the freedom of the individual guaranteed—guaranteed from any ugliness and for an independent and quiet life" (*PSS* 61: 319). In 1876 he remarked in one of his letters: "It seems to me that in Europe I could only live in England, [...]" (*PSS* 62: 260). In his conversations with the English journalist R. E. K. Long, Tolstoy said: "There is much I like in England, but what I know about its people I have drawn, for the most part, from English literature" (*Tolstoi i zarubezhnyi mir* 112-113).

When speaking of English authors in the Iasnaia Poliana collection one must start with William Shakespeare. The library contains no fewer than five separate editions of Shakespeare's works, including a seven-volume set published by Bernard Tauchnitz as part of the "Collection of British Authors" series. Volumes three to six contain numerous traces of Tolstoy's readings; a fact that contradicts the observation made by the English journalist Long that the writer was not adequately familiar with Shakespeare's plays (*Tolstoi i zarubezhnyi mir* 115). Particularly numerous are Tolstoy's characteristic notes made

in the margins of volumes five and six, on the pages of the plays *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*. Among the positive remarks left by Tolstoy, the letters "NB" appear on the pages of *King Henry IV* and *Julius Caesar*, and yet one also encounters a broad spectrum of negative evaluations: "bad taste," "nonsense," "meaninglessly stupid," "stupid for no reason," "superfluous rubbish," "banal," "for what," "artificial," etc. In all likelihood, these marginal notes were made just prior to Tolstoy's beginning work on a critical overview of the playwright entitled "On Shakespeare and Drama." It opened with the lines: "Now, before writing this article, being a seventy-five year old man and wanting to verify my opinions one more time, I read all of Shakespeare again" [...] (PSS 35: 217).

Tolstoy does not accept Shakespeare's aesthetics. It is not within the scope of the present paper to include an analysis of Tolstoy's perception of the great playwright; it is sufficient, however, to touch upon the reception of this article in England. Despite the less than positive nature of "On Shakespeare and Drama," Tolstoy nevertheless received sympathetic responses in Britain from John G. Sinclair, E. W. Ellis, and George Bernard Shaw.

One of the first English writers to enrich the aesthetic experience of the young Tolstoy was Laurence Sterne, a copy of whose *Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* [Paris: Baudry: French Library, 1835], is in the Iasnaia Poliana library. Long observed, "It seems to me that Tolstoy was better acquainted with the writers of the eighteenth century. He read and admired Fielding, Smollett, Richardson, and especially Swift. He found Addison boring and saw absolutely nothing of any merit in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. It was Sterne who roused his greatest admiration" (*Tolstoi i zarubezhnyi mir* 114). In 1851 in the Caucasus Tolstoy worked on a translation of *A Sentimental Journey* of which three fragments survive.

It seems likely that Tolstoy was reading Walter Scott in the 1850s, though only a single book by Scott, *Ivanhoe* (1863), remains in his library. At the time of his involvement in a debate with V. P. Botkin and I. S. Turgenev in 1857, Tolstoy

heatedly remarked in one of his letters: "One should not, as Walter Scott very likely said, make a crutch, or a stick, of literature" (PSS 60: 234). Notes in the first volume of *Correspondence with Russian Writers* suggest that this pronouncement by Scott was known to Tolstoy, in all likelihood, through A. V. Druzhinin's article, "The War Stories of Count L. N. Tolstoy and the Provincial Sketches of N. Shchedrin" (*Perepiska s russkimi pisateliami* 227).

In a letter from 1857 to V. P. Botkin, Tolstoy wrote with obvious delight about Charlotte Bronte, who, in many respects, may be considered a successor of Walter Scott: "Read the biography *Curer Bell*, which is terribly interesting on account of its intimate representation of [English] literary views [...]" (PSS 60: 218). The first volume of this work is to be found in Tolstoy's library as well as Elizabeth Haskell's book on Bronte. At the end of the 1850s, when he was becoming increasingly interested in problems of upbringing and education, Tolstoy read Bronte's *Jane Eyre*, which raised such highly topical issues as the education of society's lower classes.

In 1885 Tolstoy wrote to S. A. Tolstoy, "I am reading [George] Eliot's *Felix Holt*. It is an outstanding piece of work. I had read it previously, but at a time when I was very stupid and I completely forgot it. It is something that should be translated, if it hasn't been already" (PSS 83: 477). The book, published in 1867, bears Tolstoy's markings and notes, which were most likely made in 1885. Among the underlined passages there are several with philosophical connotations of which Tolstoy undoubtedly approved. The novel itself is full of the author's political scepticism and her faith in the moral perfection of personality, which, she believed, would eventually lead to the liberation of the working people. Like Tolstoy, Eliot despises privileges based on social origin, but, contrary to Tolstoy, would nevertheless like to retain them for everyone. In his essay *What is Art?*, Tolstoy referred to Eliot's novel *Adam Bede* as a model of the "highest art" in distinction to Turgenev who considered *The Mill on the Floss* to be her best work.<sup>1</sup> According to his diary, Tolstoy returned once again to read-

ing Eliot in 1900 (PSS 54: 35) and in the Iasnaia Poliana library there are five works by Eliot published under the "Collection of British Authors" series. Concerning *Scenes of Clerical Life*, and the story *Janet's Repentance* in particular, Tolstoy wrote to A. A. Tolstoya in 1859: "Fortunate are the people, who, like the English, imbibe Christian teaching with their mother's milk, and in such an elevated, purified form as evangelical Protestantism" (PSS 60: 300). Tolstoy's library also contains the works of Eliot's companion George Henry Lewes.

In his mature years Tolstoy enjoyed rereading the works he had first come to know as a young man. Such was the case with Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, to which he made several references in diary entries dating from 1896 to 1897. According to V. F. Bulgakov, in September of 1910 Tolstoy "wanted to reread Robinson [Crusoe]" (333). The library has two books by Swift in French; the first one, published in the eighteenth century, has dog-eared pages and was no doubt acquired by Tolstoy's parents, while the second was printed in 1841. Naturally, there are many books in Tolstoy's private library that belonged to his parents and N. S. Volkonsky, his maternal grandfather. Among these is the second oldest book in the library, Obadiah Sedwick's *The Humbled Sinner* (1656), as well as works by Byron, Richardson, and A. Smith (six volumes in French with the pages uncut). The library also contains eight volumes of the historian Thomas Macaulay, and both four- and twenty-one-volume editions of the writings of the historian David Hume, published at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. From April to June of 1852 Tolstoy read Hume's *Histoire d'Angleterre* "with pleasure" (PSS 41: 384) and he includes one of Hume's aphorisms in his weekly *Circle of Reading* (PSS 41: 384). Tolstoy makes mention of the fact that he is reading the first volume of Thomas Macaulay's *The History of England* in his diary entry for May 3, 1858, and he takes issue with Macaulay regarding the benefits of progress in the notes to his educational journal *Iasnaia Poliana*.

The name George Gordon Byron is encountered in the materials for the novel *The Decembrists*, and in particular Tolstoy noted that "Byron arrived in Messolongi in 1824" (PSS 17: 462). Byron's name is also mentioned in the variants to the second volume of *War and Peace* in Tolstoy's musings about Nikolai Rostov (PSS 12: 368). Byron appears again in the treatise *What is Art?* as one of the "exceptional personalities," such as Leopardi and Heine, who expressed in their art "a feeling of the melancholy of life" (PSS 30: 88). In his introduction to F. von Polenz's novel, *The Peasant [Der Buttnerbauer]*, Tolstoy wrote: "In England after <Byron>, Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot there is a poor imitation of art with a pseudo-Christian idea" (PSS 34: 526). And yet on February 11, 1856, in a letter to the writer F. Tishchenko about his story *The Sinner*, Tolstoy sternly observed: "You've spoiled your story with the manorial indolence of Byronic literature" (PSS 63: 326).

At one time the Iasnaia Poliana library housed the works of the famous English satirist and playwright Henry Fielding. In his entry for October 16, 1906, Tolstoy's doctor, D. P. Makovitsky, records Tolstoy's intention to read *Tom Jones* for the first time. In another one of his entries for the same year, Makovitsky reproduces Tolstoy's comment: "As a novelty I am rereading the 'newest' writers—Goldsmith, Fielding, Swift" (271). Unfortunately, there is no trace of Tolstoy's impression of Fielding's encyclopaedic account of English life in the eighteenth century.

It is well known that in the 1860s and 1870s the library at Iasnaia Poliana acquired many books by English authors from the Tauchnitz "Collection of British and American Authors." Volumes from other editions were added as well. One example is the novels of Henry Wood that Tolstoy acquired and read in 1872 (PSS 61: 276). In his list of books that made an impression on him from 1860-1870, Tolstoy noted, "Miss Wood. Novels. Very large." During these years he was also reading and praising Anthony Trollope. Tolstoy first mentions the name of this

English novelist on the September 29, 1865: "Spent all day writing *The Battle*—It went badly. It won't do—it's not right. I read Trollope. It would be good if it weren't for the diffuseness" (PSS 48: 63). In his diary the following day there is a remarkable discourse on Trollope's "poetry." And on October 2, Tolstoy is still reading Trollope: "Trollope kills me with his skill. I console myself with the knowledge that he has his own and I have mine. To know what is mine—or, rather, what is *not mine*—that is what is important in art" (PSS 48: 64). According to the diary entry of October 3, Tolstoy finished reading *The Bertrams* (no longer in the library) and came to the conclusion that "too much of it is conventional" (PSS 48: 64). Tolstoy's next reference to this English novelist does not appear until January 1877, when, in a letter to his brother Sergei, he stated, "*The Prime Minister* [the last book in Trollope's trilogy of political novels] is excellent" (PSS 62: 302).

In the 1860s a four-volume collection of the letters and speeches of Lord Oliver Cromwell found its way onto the library shelves. And at this time the library's collection also included works by the novelist and social reformer Walter Besant, Hall Caine (with a dedicatory inscription), Dinah Craik, Sarah Grand, Charlotte Yonge (who wrote 120 novels), Scottish novelist Edmund Yates, Florence Marryat (author of 80 novels), and novelist Henry Kingsley.

In 1877 Tolstoy received a copy from N. N. Strakhov of Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor resartus*, still to be found in the library. Besides this book, the library contains *The Work of Life: Thoughts from Carlyle* [London: 1908] with notes by Makovitsky. In 1900 the library also received a book on Carlyle, John Ruskin, and Tolstoy himself entitled *The Prophets of the XIX Century* in a translation by I. S. Durnovo.

The library has nine books by the poet and socialist William Morris whose utopian ideas made an important contribution to the philosophy of Socialism; it also contains his biography written by John Mackail, an Oxford University professor.

All his life Tolstoy admired Dickens. In a letter written in 1904 to James Ley, he wrote: "I

think that Charles Dickens is the greatest novelist of the nineteenth century, and that his works, impressed with the true Christian spirit, have done and will continue to do a great deal of good to mankind" (PSS 75: 24). Diary entries about reading Dickens appear in the 1860s, 1870-80s, and 1890-1900s. The library has thirty-three books by Dickens published mostly in the Tauchnitz series. Several of the volumes bear traces of having been read by Tolstoy. In 1886 he wrote to V. G. Chertkov: "Dickens interests me more and more. I have asked Orlov to do a version of *A Tale of Two Cities*. I'll ask Ozmidov to do *Little Dorrit*. *Our Mutual Friend* is charming" (PSS 85: 324). Tolstoy called Dickens "a world genius," and "a genius, the likes of which are born once in a hundred years." In 1892 Tolstoy asked S. A. Tolstoy "to send *Martin Chuzzlewit*" (PSS 84: 168). In *What is Art?* Tolstoy names Dickens' works among the few examples of what he refers to as "the highest art."

On May 26, 1856, Tolstoy wrote in his notebook:

The first condition of an author's popularity, i.e. the means he uses to make himself loved, is the love with which he treats all of his characters. Because of this Dickens's characters are the common friends of the entire world, they serve as a connection between a person in America and one in St. Petersburg; however, the characters of Thackeray and Gogol are faithful, malevolent, and aesthetically satisfying, but they are not loved. (PSS 47:178)

As Boris Eikhenbaum has pointed out, this statement occurred within the context of a dispute with A. V. Druzhinin who, contrary to Tolstoy, regarded William Thackeray as a significantly better author than Dickens. There are seven works by Thackeray in the Iasnaia Poliana library, most of which were published in the "Collection of British Authors" series. Reflecting in his notebook on June 9, 1856, Tolstoy observed: "Thackeray is so objective that his characters defend their false, opposing views to each other with terribly intelligent irony" (PSS 47: 184). Tolstoy returned to Thackeray at various times throughout his life. In June 1855 he

read *The History of Henry Esmond, Esq.* and *Vanity Fair*, and then *The Newcomes* a year later. It was apparently owing to Thackeray's representation of contemporary English society as a "fair of worldly vanities" that Tolstoy wrote in his story *Sevastopol in May*: "Why did the Homers and the Shakespeares speak of love, glory, and suffering, while the literature of our era is only an endless story of 'snobbery' and 'vanity'?" (PSS 4: 24). In a letter to V. V. Arsenieva dated October 19, 1856, Tolstoy recommends that she read *Vanity Fair* in the French translation. At the end of his life, in the collection *Daily Wisdom* Tolstoy included Thackeray's aphorism: "Sow a deed, and you'll reap a habit; sow a habit, and you'll reap a character; sow a character and you'll reap a destiny" (PSS 40: 202). While rereading *The Newcomes* in 1890, Tolstoy's attention became fixated on one of the heroines among the endless procession of characters representing the varied defects of English higher society: "In *The Newcomes* Clive's mother-in-law is good—she torments them both, only she torments herself more" (PSS 51: 47).

During the time when the publishing house Posrednik [Mediator] was in operation, Tolstoy recommended the historical novels of Edward Lytton for translation. One of his books, *Kenelm Chillingly: His Adventures and Opinions*, is still in the library and was most likely read by Tolstoy some time during the 1870s. Tolstoy also recommended a collection of stories for translation by Mary Braddon, the author of seventy-five novels, including the most celebrated of the Victorian thrillers, *Lady Audley's Secret*, which also remains in the library. The library also contains eight novels by Braddon under another name, Mary Maxwell. One of these, *Only a Clod*, bears Tolstoy's hand-written remarks. There are also novels by Mrs. Humphry Ward of whom Tolstoy spoke very highly and about whom he wrote to S. A. Tolstoy in 1892: "I am reading a very good book by the author of *Robert Elsmere*. The author's goal is to reveal the deceptiveness and appeal of feminine beauty. It is handled very subtly and intelligently" (PSS 84: 174; see also PSS 50: 19). Tolstoy likely also read *Miss Bretherton*, a copy of which is in

the library. In all of her works Ward touches on themes of moral purification and personal renewal, concepts that were very much in keeping with Tolstoy's ideas.

In his famous letter to Mikhail Lederle in 1891 Tolstoy mentions that the sermons of the theologian Frederick William Robertson made a "great" impression on him when he was between fifty and sixty-three years old. The library has two editions of Robertson's sermons, one in four volumes and another in one, the latter possessing traces of having been read by Tolstoy in the form of crosshatches and underlinings.

The library also possesses Oscar Wilde's last long poem, *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* (New York, 1889). The pages of the book bear the annotations of an unidentified reader. Tolstoy's negative attitude toward Wilde is widely known. His aesthetic and psychological purposes do not coincide with either Wilde's objections to realism in art, or his credo "art for art's sake," as proclaimed in his lecture, "The Renaissance of English Art. In *What is Art?* Tolstoy speaks harshly of "decadents and aesthetes such as Oscar Wilde" (PSS 30: 172).

Tolstoy not only read the works of George Bernard Shaw, he also corresponded with him. The library has three books by Shaw: *John Bull's Other Island* (London, 1907), *Man and Superman* (London, 1906) (with an inscription by the author), and *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet* (London, 1909) (also inscribed by the author). Tolstoy's numerous remarks can be found in the margins of the first two books. Tolstoy first became acquainted with Shaw's works in January of 1907 when he read *Man and Superman*. Tolstoy held a rather negative opinion of this play, considering it to be "artificial" and "vulgar" and in his notebook on January 12, 1907, he entered: "Finished Shaw. He has more brains than is good for him" (PSS 56: 179). In writing this remark Tolstoy paraphrased the words spoken to Don Juan by the statue of the Commander in the third act of *Man and Superman*. Tolstoy had underlined and marked the words "you have more brains than is good for you" on page one hundred and twenty of the play and had written "NB" beside them. Tol-

stoy's copy of the play, which he had received from Shaw through his translator Aylmer Maude, is covered with his annotations and markings. Shaw's dedicatory inscription in the volume reads: "The interlude in the third act, pages 86-137, contains the author's conclusions with regards to religion, theology, and evolution, and are founded on his personal experience. Tolstoy's own experience will allow him to easily detect the authentic essence of the interlude as a confession and statement of faith from under the artistic invention" (*Biblioteka L. N. Tolstogo* 351). And in actual fact, the greatest number of Tolstoy's annotations, including the letters "NB," is found on pages 106 to 135. It is fully evident that Tolstoy had high regard for the negative attitude of the play's characters toward bourgeois civilization. At the time of the play's composition, Shaw agreed with Tolstoy that moral perfection should precede social reform. On March 9, 1908, Tolstoy read Shaw's article, "The Impossibility of Anarchism," sent to him by Maude, and noted: "Very interesting. Everything of his—plays—are very talented" (*PSS* 78: 111). Shaw did not welcome anarchism, regarding it as an aspiration to transform the existing order by revolutionary means, that is to say by violence.

Maude made every effort to entice Tolstoy to read Bernard Shaw. Every one of Shaw's books in the Iasnaia Poliana library was sent there by Maude. At one point while inquiring whether or not Tolstoy was acquainted with Shaw's article on anarchism, Maude asked: "Or are you not interested in the works of our leading playwright?" (*PSS* 77: 277). For his eightieth birthday Tolstoy received a special address from a number of English writers, and those who signed it included Shaw, E. Carpenter, George Meredith, and Rudyard Kipling. On August 17, 1908, Tolstoy wrote Shaw a long letter regarding his play *Man and Superman* in which he emphasized the differences in their perceptions of the world. In 1910 Shaw sent Tolstoy *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet*, and in the accompanying letter commented on Tolstoy's own play, *The Power of Darkness*: "In all the plays I know, I cannot recall a scene that so en-

raptured me as the scene with the old soldier in *The Power of Darkness*" (*PSS* 81: 255). Tolstoy replied: "I read your play with pleasure. I am in full sympathy with its subject" (*PSS* 81: 254). On the envelope of Shaw's letter there is the following comment in Tolstoy's handwriting: "From Shaw, smart—silly" (*PSS* 58: 361). In their correspondence Tolstoy and Shaw discussed theological questions. In his diary entry of April 16, 1910, V. F. Bulgakov quotes Tolstoy as saying: "Today I received a letter from one of those materialists. Bernard Shaw belongs among them. While denying God, he conducts polemics with the concepts of a personal God, God the Creator. They reason that if God created everything, then he also created evil, etc. . . . The formulation of the question is clerical" (Bulgakov 153). Interestingly, Shaw was one of the few who agreed with Tolstoy's negative evaluation of Shakespeare.

The Iasnaia Poliana library contains six books by H. G. Wells. One of these, *The Future of America*, has an inscription by the author and another, *New Worlds for Old*, contains numerous jottings and remarks made by Tolstoy. To all appearances it would appear that Wells sent Tolstoy these books himself. On November 21, 1906, Wells wrote Tolstoy: "My friend Aylmer Maude has informed me that you would be interested in taking a look at two or three of my books. I have never sent you my books because I imagine you are submerged under a stream of books that have been presented to you by every young writer from Europe and America [...] From my heart I hope that this torrent of books does not bore you in the slightest. I think that I have read around eighty of your works, everything that is possible to acquire in English" (*PSS* 76: 253). Tolstoy expressed his gratitude in his reply: "I expect great pleasure in reading them" (*PSS* 76: 252). It seems likely Tolstoy subsequently became interested in *New Worlds for Old*, in which he underlined numerous passages. On October 17, 1906, Makovitsky noted: "Maude recommended Herbert Wells to Tolstoy: 'He is read by people of advanced views.'" L. N.: "It does not interest me" (bk. 2, p. 272). On December 5, 1906, Makovitsky records Tolstoy as hav-

ing said: "I do not like this English refinement. This Wells, all these allusions, the need to know everything, such words [...] It is so banal! Supermen don't exist, all people are ordinary. I read three chapters of *The Future of America*, it is uninteresting, and I won't read any further" (bk. 2, p. 322).

John Galsworthy sent Tolstoy two volumes of his plays and inscribed one of them, *Justice*. Tolstoy read this play on March 23, 1910:

I arrived at eleven for tea and was told the contents. It is a good drama about prisons. It tells how an individual made a forgery and how he suffered because of it; the trial is well described and the prison is particularly well done, in solitary confinement where he sees nothing but his own gestures. There are astonishing scenes, describing how he is alone in prison. Then he is released and is required to register with a detective (a secret policeman) but the location is not provided; finally he returns to his previous place of employment. The detective arrives to arrest him for not registering himself. He jumps out the window and hurts himself badly. The ending is not good. (Makovitsky, bk. 4, p. 207)

Interestingly, Tolstoy initially refused to read Galsworthy's play, commenting, "Drama is not my favourite" (Makovitsky, bk. 4, p. 189). There is no mention of Tolstoy reading Galsworthy's earlier plays, *The Silver Box*, *Joy*, and *Strife*, first published in 1909.

In 1904 Tolstoy received a book inscribed by the author from the Irish patriot Michael Davitt shortly after his visit to Iasnaia Poliana. The library also has a number of books by the Irish feminist Frances Cobbe and one of these, *An Essay on Intuitive Morals*, contains Tolstoy's approving remarks. William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, also sent Tolstoy his writings.

In the 1890s Tolstoy read the works of the English philosopher and social reformer John Stuart Mill. His seminal work, *The Principles of Political Economy*, shows signs of having been read by Tolstoy. In his diary and in letters to N. N. Strakhov, Tolstoy takes issue with Mill over his theory of the relation of the common good to

the individual. In August 1895, Tolstoy read *Social Evolution* by the philosopher and idealist Benjamin Kidd and left numerous remarks.

During work on *What is Art?* Tolstoy closely studied the works of English philosophers and historians of art. However, no such books remain on the shelves at Iasnaia Poliana and it is clear from the Tolstoy's correspondence that the bulk of them were sent by N. I. Storozhenko from the Rumiantsev Library Moscow. Charles Wright who, in addition to being a doctor of law, was a writer, and the translator of *Father Sergius*, *The Forged Coupon*, and *Hadji-Murad*, sent Tolstoy Herbert Spencer's *An Autobiography* (published 1904). In thanking Wright for the book, Tolstoy wrote: "[...] I am not an admirer of Spencer, but I will read his autobiography [...] Important psychological facts appear to a greater extent in autobiographies often quite independently of their author's will. Such facts, I recall, struck me in Mill's autobiography" (PSS 75: 82).

The book *Machiavelli* by historian John Morley has hand-written remarks made by an unidentified person. Regarding this book, Tolstoy wrote: "I haven't read *Machiavelli*, but I know in advance that J. Morley must be good" (PSS 88: 49).

The library also has six books by Christian socialist John M. Davidson, sent to Tolstoy by the author. In 1894 Tolstoy wrote to him: "It is the greatest joy of my life to know persons such as you and to see, that the ideas, which I live for, are likewise the mainspring of life unto others..." (PSS 67: 178). On Tolstoy's initiative Davidson's books were published in Russian by Posrednik. Davidson's book, *The Forerunners of Henry George*, was a source for Tolstoy's article "To the Working People" and his essay, "The Annals of Toil," and aided Tolstoy in writing "The Slavery of Our Time." Tolstoy and Davidson corresponded and in one letter the English author enthusiastically wrote: "God bless you and the great Russian people in their grave sorrows!" (PSS 55: 548). On June 27, 1906, Tolstoy replied: "I have received your very remarkable letter and your book, *The Son of Man*. I have read it with the same feeling with which I

read all your books—the feeling that it is just what I would have said on the same manner but better and more energetically said” (PSS 76: 168).

There are twelve works by John Kenworthy in the library, many of them inscribed by the author, and Tolstoy himself is the subject of several of them. Tolstoy remarked of Kenworthy that “in terms of convictions he is one of the closest people to me” (PSS 68: 130). The two met several times in Moscow between December 21, 1894, and January 7, 1895, and Tolstoy granted Kenworthy’s Brotherhood Publishing Co. the rights to the first English language translations of his works.

There are four books by the poet and socialist Edward Carpenter, a former priest who lived on a small farm in Sheffield, in the Iasnaia Poliana library and one of them, *Prisons, Police, and Punishment*, contains Tolstoy’s reading marks and notes. Tolstoy read this book in 1909. In 1905 he read Carpenter’s *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure* and included an excerpt from it in his *Circle of Reading*. About this book Tolstoy commented: “Yesterday and today I was reading a book that has only just come into my hands, Edward Carpenter’s *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure*, and was delighted with it. The only part I had been familiar with was *Modern Science* [...] Please inform me about what you know of Carpenter himself. In my opinion he is a worthy successor to Carlyle and Ruskin” (PSS 75: 214). There are five works by John Ruskin in the library, but the English editions, in distinction from the Russian ones, show no signs of having been read by Tolstoy, who first became acquainted with the writings of Ruskin in the 1880s. Tolstoy read Ruskin with delight and also translated his works and wrote a foreword to a collection of his thoughts. He called Ruskin “one of the most remarkable people not only of England and of our time, but of all countries and of all times” (PSS 31: 96). He shared Ruskin’s artistic goal “to make all that is great and good in art accessible to the poorest classes (15).

Sometime during the second half of the 1880s Tolstoy began receiving religious books from England. Works by Albert Blake were

some of the first to arrive and are still in the library today. One of his books, *Modern Pharisaism*, has Tolstoy’s reading notes and markings as well as a letter from the author inserted between its pages. In 1888 Tolstoy wrote to Blake: “Thank you for the books you sent me. I read them at once and was pleased to find in them, particularly in *Modern Pharisaism*, an understanding of Christ’s teaching as he intended it to be understood, and indignation towards those who would try to hide it” (PSS 64: 195). Blake’s religious writings arrived when Tolstoy was working intensively on a series of religious-philosophical works.

Tolstoy included an excerpt from the works of the religious writer and doctor Ann Kingsford in his *Circle of Reading*, and her book, *The Perfect Way*, which is in the library, shows evidence of having been read by Tolstoy.

In the 1900s the library received the books of James William Petavel and after having read one of them, *Christianity and Progress*, Tolstoy, according to Makovitsky, remarked: “It is evident from his book that his attitude toward Christianity is ill-defined—half Christian, half clerical” (PSS 76: 141).

The library has a large quantity of polemical tracts by the English nobleman and translator of English novels into French, John George Tolle-mache Sinclair. Nearly all of them contain an inscription by the author. Sinclair, who knew Tolstoy’s article on Shakespeare (published in *The XX-th Century Review*), had written about Shakespeare in his book *Larmes et Souirires*. The library has two unstitched proofs of this book into which Sinclair had placed Tolstoy’s letter to him in French of December 2, 1906: “I received your letter and the parcel with different papers. I am very much gratified to know that your opinion of Shakespeare and his fame quite coincides with mine. I looked through the papers that you sent me and am sorry not to have found there the first volume of your book” (PSS 76: 251).

Two other authors deserve mention not so much for their importance to English culture, but for the sheer quantity of their books in Tolstoy’s collection. They are Charles Voysey and H. Croft Hiller. Voysey, a founder of the Theis-

tic Church of England and father of the famous architect Charles Francis Annesley Voysey, regularly sent his sermons to Iasnaia Poliana until his death in 1912. Tolstoy was highly tolerant of the large number of pamphlets from Voysey and even sent him a letter in which he wrote: "I was very glad to know that I had co-religionists of which I did not know anything till now" (PSS 73: 86). Of the sermons of Hiller Tolstoy wrote in his diary for February 13, 1909: "Read Croft Hiller. Incorrect, artificial assumption of violence for the restoration of the rights of God. Only love, but love only without violence is love" (PSS 57: 32).

V. G. Chertkov sent Tolstoy Robert Young's *Analytical Concordance to the Bible* [Edinburgh, 1880] and the book still rests on the shelf in the writer's study.

The collection at Iasnaia Poliana also possesses a small book by the religious writer Frederic William Farrar who interpreted Tolstoy's religious doctrine with great subtlety and understanding. The name of the English theologian appears first in diary entries for the years 1879 and 1880. On June 10, 1885, Chertkov wrote Tolstoy:

I found Farrar's book *Seekers After God* in which he expounds on the life and teachings of Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, those very individuals about whom you find it necessary to write for the people. I will deliver this book to you upon my return. It is good in as much as it impartially exposes the negative side of these people. (PSS 85: 226-227)

Tolstoy responded negatively to Farrar's article about him in *Forum* (October 1888, No. 2): "... a press-clipping from *Forum* with Farrar's article—utterly shallow. An objection to Christ in the name of Christ. Terrible. Replied via Tanya" (PSS 50: 13). Tolstoy also criticised this article in his treatise *The Kingdom of God is Within You*. In reply to N. N. Strakhov, who had offered to send him Farrar's *The Life of Christ*, Tolstoy wrote that he "cannot stand" Farrar and referred to him as an "hypocritical writer" (PSS 65: 176). In the 1900s, however, Tolstoy included a num-

ber of his adages in *The Circle of Reading* and *Daily Wisdom*.

Books on pacifism number among the collection and one such book, devoted to the World Congress on Peace of 1890 in London, has numerous marks and annotations made by Tolstoy. Another book in the library's collection is *Through Famine-Stricken Russia*, with an inscription to Tolstoy by the author, William Stevener. Tolstoy is also the subject of one of the chapters of the book.

The library has a rather large quantity of books by English authors that bear evidence of ownership by S. A. and A. L. Tolstaya and S. L. Tolstoy. There is also an entire series of book on vegetarianism. One of these, *The Ethics of Diet: A Catena of Authorities Deprecatory of the Practise of Flesh-Eating* (London, 1883) by Howard Williams, was translated by M. L. Tolstoy (?) and published by Posrednik. In 1891 Tolstoy wrote: "[...] read an excellent history on views of vegetarianism in antiquity" (PSS 84: 78). Eleven books by Alexander Haig on the ethics of nutrition are also in the library's catalogue. Tolstoy noted in a letter to Haig that his favourites among the materials the doctor had sent him were *Truth, Strength and Freedom or Mental and Spiritual Evolution* and *The Parting of the Ways and Some Fragments*. Tolstoy was also surprised to encounter a man with religious views among scientists and doctors (PSS 75: 232).

Aylmer Maude sent *The Effects of the Factory System* (London, 1899) by Allen Clarke to Tolstoy who wrote the author: "Your book [...] has enjoyed great success" (PSS 75: 113). The pages of another book by Clarke, *Eternal Question*, are covered with Tolstoy's underlinings and crosshatches.

The library also has a large number of works on the Quakers. One of these, *War: Its Causes, Consequences. Lawfulness, Etc.* (Manchester, 1889) by Jonathan Dymond, may have been sent to Tolstoy by Chertkov. In a letter to Chertkov, Tolstoy made the following remark about Quaker beliefs: "I have always been sympathetic to their teaching" (PSS 85: 225). A

book of selections from the writings of William Penn is also in the library's collection.

Books with Tolstoy as their subject began to turn up at Iasnaia Poliana in the 1890s and 1900s. There are twelve books by the writer's first English translator and biographer, Aylmer Maude. Most of these are about Tolstoy, but one, called *The Tsar's Coronation*, deals with the events of Khodynka field (during which many people were killed) and contains a large number of Tolstoy's reading marks and notes. According to Makovitsky, Tolstoy read Maude's book prior to writing his story *Khodynka* (PSS 58: 326). Tolstoy highly admired Maude's talents as a translator and confessed to him in one letter: "I could not wish for a better translator on account of your knowledge of both languages and your self-control in every instance" (PSS 71: 520).

In 1888 the well-known English journalist, publisher, and writer William Thomas Stead published his book *Truth About Russia*. In it he devotes three chapters to Tolstoy whom he had met at Iasnaia Poliana. In addition to this book, there are three other books by Stead in the library and each of them is inscribed by the author.

The library also possesses the galley proofs of *The Greater Parables of Tolstoy* (London, 1905) by another English researcher on Tolstoy, Herbert Welsh, as well as a separate edition of the same work published in 1906 that bears the author's inscription. In 1902 Welsh sent Tolstoy *The Moral Damage of War*, which has not remained in the library's collection. However, Tolstoy described this book as "very useful" and "first-rate" (PSS 54: 330).

There were no hard and fast rules or fixed artistic standards for Tolstoy-the-reader. He possessed a wide spectrum of writings in English, from "high art" to religious homilies, polemical tracts, pamphlets, and essays on efficient nutrition and healthy living. His numerous marginalia in the books of English authors at the Iasnaia Poliana library offers an insight into how the writer interpreted what he read. It also helps identify key sources of his fiction and polemics.

## Notes

1. Notes and markings, in probability made by Tolstoy, appear on pages 80, 82, 198, 287, and 316 of the second volume of *The Mill on the Floss*.

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