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E. V. Belousova
Yasnaya Polyana Museum
Translated by David Houston



“Your wretched native country...” Finnish visitors to Leo Tolstoy

In part seven, chapter twenty-five of *Anna Karenina*, there is a word that the main character cannot force herself to speak out loud, namely “Gelsingfors.” While conversing with his officer comrade Jashvin, Prince Vronsky refers to some romance Yashvin has had in Helsingfors

(Helsinki). The name of Finland’s capital city becomes repulsive to Anna because it is uttered specifically by Vronsky, with whom she has been quarrelling. In her subconscious she associates the word “Gelsingfors” with betrayal.

When writing *Anna Karenina* in the 1870s, Tolstoy as of yet had no personal contacts with Finland,¹ nor was he either recognized or read in Finland at the time. However, Finland became more familiar to him over time and the word “Gelsingfors” never appeared in a negative context again. “Finland, a wonderful country! I have never been there, but I have heard so much about it...” stated Tolstoy in an interview in 1897 after finding out that the interviewer, Aksel Germonius (1860–1912) was of Finnish extraction (Гермониус-Финн 117).² A year later, Tolstoy was even planning to escape to Finland from his domestically burdensome life. He mentioned this plan in a letter to a Finnish kindred spirit, the writer Arvid Järnefelt. Among the Finns it was Järnefelt who became his closest friend, though there were also many other contacts. By 1887, Tolstoy had been corresponding with a Finnish lieutenant-general, the religious thinker Carl Robert Sederholm (1818–1903). Tolstoy was struck by the similarity in their views of the essence of God and the teachings of Jesus (Хеллман, “Совпадение”; Gothóni 69–70; Nokkala 31–35). During his last twenty years Tolstoy became well-known and admired in Finland and not only as a writer of fiction. Along with the letters from Järnefelt and Sederholm, the archive of the Tolstoy Museum in Moscow contains around thirty letters sent to Tolstoy by Finnish correspondents. Topics vary from pleas for money to requests for guidance in life. Close to twenty Finns visited either Tolstoy’s home in Moscow or his estate Yasnaya Polyana. This essay is an attempt to identify these Finnish travellers and the nature of their visits to Tolstoy.³

“His ideas were more than strange...”

An unidentified Finn living in the Ryazan region discovered in 1892 that Tolstoy was staying nearby and taking part in famine relief. In a private letter published in a Swedish newspaper he tells how he set out to befriend the famous author. In the mansion of Count B. he found Tolstoy, an old, white-haired man, whose dress and long, unkempt beard made him look like a common Russian peasant. Upon learning that his visitor was from Finland, Tolstoy instantly took up the subject of Finland's position in the Russian Empire. It was a sensitive issue, and in the published letter Tolstoy's statements are replaced by tell-tale lines of plain full stops. The anonymous Finn was evidently not a supporter of the Russian's views in general, as he ended his letter in these words: “What Tolstoy said about political and religious matters was very interesting and entertaining, but his ideas were more than strange.”

In the late nineteenth century there were many Finns working and living in Russia in the armed forces, in industry and commerce, and as students in the universities. Colonel Hugo Standertskjöld (1844–1931) was a partner in a major munitions factory near Tula. Despite his military background and occupation, he wanted to meet Tolstoy, and in February 1894, he set out for Yasnaya Polyana in the company of a young officer named Paul Linder (1873–1940), who had come to the Russian interior to improve his knowledge of the language.

At the house, a servant took their fur coats and brought them to the writer's study. And there he was, sitting at his desk with his long beard resting over his chest (25). Linder noticed that the room had no upholstered furniture. The conversation at dinner ranged over all sorts of topics except for literature. They discussed “agriculture, horses, cows, pigs,” and Tolstoy complained that he had lost countless pigs and that the price of butter and other livestock products was very low. Linder wondered how Tolstoy could speak so passionately

about such trivial things, but figured that it was his way of relaxing and taking a break from his struggle with life's big questions. After dinner, Tolstoy's daughter Marya played piano in the drawing room while Tolstoy entertained his guests with stories of wolf hunting and his years as an officer in Caucasus. “All this was so new and interesting to me that I listened to him mute with admiration” Linder recalled 44 years after the event (27).

In autumn 1895, a visitor from America came to Yasnaya Polyana. In his diary Tolstoy didn't give his name; he just wrote: “a worker who has become rich—Finnish in origin, a socialist, a communist. Very insignificant looking, but he had a lot of interesting things to say, much more than sophisticated Americans” (PSS 53: 59). What especially interested Tolstoy was the Finn's account of the productivity and efficiency of work in America. There were five times more workers in Russia than in America engaged in heavy manual labor, and, using modern farming technology, one American farmer could plough four hectares of field in a day. A short work day, easy labor, good income: perhaps the American model could provide a solution to the worker question. “I will have to give all of this considerable thought,” Tolstoy wrote (PSS 53: 59).

“Protest, protest, protest!”

In the same year, 1895, Arvid Järnefelt (1861–1932) began his correspondence with Tolstoy. He had become a “Tolstoyan” four years earlier, having read, as a young twenty-nine-year-old lawyer, Tolstoy's *The Spirit of Christ's Teaching*. Järnefelt described his resulting “awakening,” in his book with the same title *Heräämiseni*, as “a great spiritual light that suddenly filled my soul, a light that can never more be extinguished, a light that has given me knowledge of eternal life” (143). In his first letter to Tolstoy, Järnefelt told him about his own work and about its reception, attaching a chapter translated into Russian.⁴ In Järnefelt

Tolstoy found a congenial soul and a supporter who was ready to disseminate his thoughts.

Tolstoy and Järnefelt met for the first time in the spring of 1899 in Moscow, where Järnefelt arrived with his brother Eero (1863–1937), a well-known painter. 1899 was a dramatic year in the history of Finno-Russian relations. New tsarist policies expressed in the so-called February Manifesto aimed to weaken the autonomy of the Grand Duchy. Finnish activists sought to prevent this goal, and asked Järnefelt to solicit Tolstoy's advice.

Tolstoy and Järnefelt's meeting was very warm:

He took my hand in such a friendly manner that all the clouds immediately disappeared from my mind. He looked me in the eyes, smiled and said 'So this is what you are like.' 'Yes, this is me!' I responded and burst out laughing. (*Matkaltani* 62)

Tolstoy sympathized with Finnish endeavors but only to the extent that their aims were not narrowly national but in accordance with universal striving towards "freedom and light." He felt close, not to the Finnish nation, but to Finnish individuals ready to fulfill God's will. As a campaign strategy Tolstoy suggested passive resistance: "Protest, protest, protest!" Refusing to obey a wrongful order was always correct. His last words to Järnefelt were "Everything is in Christ's teachings—it will solve *all* hardships" (103). In Tolstoy's view this was an important opportunity to try out passive resistance, civil disobedience and the power of Christian ethics, not only on a personal but also on a national scale.

Before the Järnefelts arrived, Jalmari Aalberg (1872–1904), a Finnish student at the Moscow University, had informed Tolstoy about the political crisis. In late 1898 and early 1899, Aalberg visited Tolstoy's Moscow home several times. His Finnish translation of *What Is Art?* had come out in 1898, and now he was interested in translating *Resurrection*, the novel Tolstoy was writing at the

time. In March 1899 Tolstoy received him in a worn-out, grayish peasant shirt, and showed his guest to his daughter's room, which happened to be the one nearest by. He asked about Finland and Aalberg explained the current situation as best he could. Afterwards, in a letter to his sister, the famous actress Ida Aalberg, he quoted Tolstoy's comments:

I am against all kinds of patriotism. It is harmful to humanity, for as long as there is patriotism, there are wars. But the Finns do not enthuse and boast with egoistical love of their country. That is not their main interest; they simply defend what is theirs by right. Instead of making the conditions in Finland similar to those in Russia, the opposite should be done, in my opinion. Why make better, happier conditions worse? It doesn't make any sense." Tolstoy spoke these words with a "confident, peaceful, humane and noble look in his eyes."⁵

"The whole system will split."

A third Finnish visitor, a retired colonel and a writer, Georg Fraser, (1849–1937), traveled to Moscow by train twice in the spring of 1899 to keep Tolstoy informed about the Finno-Russian conflict.⁶ Fraser told him about Finland's anxiety, emphasizing that he himself loved both countries. Tolstoy commented:

Well, when it comes to patriotism, you might already know that I neither admire nor recommend it. It is some sort of self-betrayal, the more dangerous as it always brings along arbitrariness of the most barbarous kind, the most extreme injustice. (5–6)

Still, the Finns had good reason to be desperate, Tolstoy pointed out. He considered his own ability to change the course of events to be limited. Everything was up to the Finns themselves:

Protest, protest, and if they are not willing to listen, protest anyway. They may take away

your rights—anything is possible by resorting to violence, but don't stop protesting. Don't give anything away freely, we'll see what happens if they try to force you. (9)

A praiseworthy form of protest was the Great Petition, a letter to the Russian Emperor signed by more than half a million Finns.

At Fraser's request, Tolstoy promised to try to pass on reliable information on the conflict and on the prevailing mood in Finland to the Emperor himself. Apparently his contacts failed him. Tolstoy, unlike Fraser, refused to believe that Nicholas II wasn't aware of the implication of the February Manifesto. Tolstoy saw the Finnish question as only one of several pressing matters awaiting an urgent solution. In spite of the conflicts, he viewed the future optimistically:

There are plenty of signs indicating a change towards a better tomorrow; this is always the case in times of reaction! When those in power get carried away, they abandon all caution, and the current situation is in every sense utterly unsustainable. (33)

Predicting revolutionary developments, Tolstoy said: "The whole system will be split. Autocracy is self-righteous, high-handed, arrogant; its time must come at some point!" (37).

Fraser visited Tolstoy for yet a third time in March 1900 to bring him up to date on the latest developments. Tolstoy welcomed him warmly: "I am so pleased to see you. How are things going? Your visit last spring gave me a lot to think about. Well, have you lost your patience yet? Are you tired of fighting?" (45).

As a gift, Fraser brought with him a facsimile of the "Pro Finlandia" appeal. European cultural figures such as Emil Zola and Henrik Ibsen, along with more than 1,000 other notables, had signed a letter of protest against the oppressive measures imposed by the Russian Tsar. No Russian names were to be found on the list, but Tolstoy assured Fraser that, had he been asked to do so, he would

have most definitely signed the petition. Fraser and Tolstoy discussed Russian censorship in Finland and the negative attitude of young Finns towards compulsory military service. Conscientious objection was the main principle of Tolstoy's pacifism, and now to his delight, he learned that the majority of young Finns refused to obey the call-up.

The conversation then shifted to the Boer War, which Fraser thought had a lot in common with the conflict between the Russians and the Finns. Finns were in a better position than the Boers, Tolstoy maintained, as they were dealing with "a good-hearted nation": "Russians are good people, their nature is Christian and they never take pleasure in other people's suffering." Fraser added: "And they suffer with the afflicted." (63).

An emotional Tolstoy said farewell to Fraser: "Goodbye, goodbye until we meet again! You shall see that everything will be all right. Courage, my dear friend, courage!" (65). As he was being driven back to the hotel, the Moscow cabman remarked on Fraser's uncommonly lengthy stay with Tolstoy: "The Count must like you very much indeed" (66).

"Your wretched native land..."

In spring, 1902, the publisher Wentzel Hagelstam (1863–1932) traveled with his wife to the Black Sea. At that time Tolstoy was staying in Gaspra on the Crimean peninsula, and although seriously ill, he still agreed to receive the Finnish guests. As Hagelstam didn't know any Russian, the conversation took place in French. Tolstoy told the visitors that he was very interested in their "wretched native land." The issue was politically sensitive. Hagelstam writes:

After that, he asked me some questions, which I answered truthfully, but some of them just cannot be repeated here... He shook his head and his beautiful, deep gaze that no words can describe met ours for a couple of silent seconds. (63)

Tolstoy repeated what he had said to Järnefelt and Fraser: military service is in conflict with a Christian conscience, and one should not agree to it.

Two years later, in the spring of 1904, the doctor and politician Adolf Törngren (1860–1943) visited Tolstoy. He had gone to Russia to meet prominent statesmen and to familiarize himself with the current political situation. In St Petersburg he was advised to go and see Tolstoy as well, and after some adventures he did arrive at Yasnaya Polyana, all wet and cold, in the company of Tolstoy's son, Ilya Lvovich. They were immediately called to dinner, and to Törngren's relief, it was not all vegetarian. The lively conversation did not touch upon political matters, and it was only afterwards that Törngren got a chance to talk about the tsarist policy of oppression. Tolstoy's advice remained unchanged:

You have to use your passive resistance, it really pleases me. It has a great influence and it's the only thing you can do. You must try to build strong consensus for the cause. It shouldn't be impossible, as long as the weak don't start to make concessions. Is it true that Finns have contributed in bringing autocratic rule to your country? That, in my opinion, should be the last act of a Finnish man. (358–359)

Tolstoy also objected to the fact that Finland was about to make a contribution to the Russian Empire's military fund in order to exempt Finnish young men from military service. How can any self-respecting nation agree to such a policy? Tolstoy's idealistic view of the Finns as a united and ethically highly-developed people was starting to waver. Through Arvid Järnefelt's letters he was well informed about the latest turns in the Finno-Russian conflict; Tolstoy recommended Järnefelt as an authority figure to Törngren, who also supported passive resistance tactics. He was amazed that his Finnish friend hadn't yet been sent into exile to Siberia.

“You just have to have the will...”

In the summer of 1904 two Finnish students of Slavic philology, Jalo Landgren (later Kalima, 1884–1952) and Osmo Starck (later Tuorila, 1891–1933), met Tolstoy. Ivan Gorbunov-Posadov, director of the *Posrednik* publishing house, helped the young men to find a place where they could practice Russian during the summer. They stayed in the province of Tula, on Khatunka farm, owned by Mikhail Bulygin, a former military officer and a close friend of Tolstoy.

The two Finns politely declined an opportunity to visit nearby Yasnaya Polyana because they did not want to disturb Tolstoy without any real cause. Tolstoy happened to ride to Khatunka, however, and the students, who were working on the hayfield, were immediately summoned. “How young you are!” a surprised Tolstoy exclaimed when Landgren and Starck arrived, nervous and out of breath (Kalima Jalo).

Discussion around the tea table quickly turned to the news that had just arrived from Finland: Governor General Nikolai Bobrikov had been shot by Eugen Schauman, a Finnish patriot. Tolstoy already knew of the content of the letter that Schauman had written to Nicholas II, and Landgren was surprised to sense some sympathy towards the assassin even though Tolstoy emphasized that under no circumstances did he approve of murder.

As it turned out, however, the assassination of Bobrikov—a blatant refusal of passive resistance—accelerated Tolstoy's increasing disillusionment with the Finns and their cause. Tolstoy also spoke to Landgren and Starck of Järnefelt, showing familiarity with his works. Tolstoy praised Järnefelt's latest books, *Helena* and *Orjan oppi* (*The Teachings of a Slave*), for their content, but called them artistically weak. Perhaps, Landgren speculated, Tolstoy was merely repeating Järnefelt's own words.

As evening approached, “the stooped, seventy-six-year-old vigorous man” mounted his horse and rode towards home. Landgren was left to ponder his appearance. The white peasant’s shirt and the long boots he recognized from numerous photographs, but the man himself was surprisingly large in stature and his gaze seemed to turn inward. The future professor of Slavic philology at Helsinki University was also taken aback by Tolstoy’s manner of speech. It had a “musical evenness” untypical for Russian speakers. Tolstoy emphasized nothing with his voice and did not gesture with his hands the way Russians usually did.

Landgren and Starck met Tolstoy a second time at Gorbunov-Posadov’s summer house, located in the vicinity of Yasnaya Polyana. The members of the household were sitting around the samovar when Tolstoy unexpectedly appeared. This time, all mirth vanished as he began speaking of the Russo-Japanese war with all its violence. He severely criticized official Christianity and the Orthodox Church over their passivity in the struggle against this form of evil. “Are you Lutherans?” he asked the Finnish students, adding that in this regard Lutheranism was no better than other Christian denominations. Landgren did not like Tolstoy’s passionate and outspoken manner, but he accepted it as an important aspect of the writer’s character (Kalima Jalo).

In the following year, 1905, the year of revolution, Jalo Landgren’s brother, Eino Landgren (from 1906 Kalima, 1882–1972) visited Tolstoy. Kalima, the future head of the Finnish National Theatre, held a scholarship at Moscow University. In his memoirs, Kalima calls the visit to Tolstoy the most important of his life. When commenting on Finland’s situation, Tolstoy expressed suspicion that either the law or Alexander II’s promises could really provide Finns with the security they needed. Furthermore, he was thoroughly disappointed with Finnish protests against military call-ups, as he by now had come to realize that they were not based

upon antimilitarism, but rather objections to an illegal statute.

There were many guests at Yasnaya Polyana that day, and Tolstoy explained to them his negative attitude towards murder and terrorism, emphasized the necessity of personal spiritual growth, complained about the tragic state of the Russian intelligentsia after it had lost its religious basis, and talked about art, for which he set higher standards than anyone else. He asked Kalima about Järnefelt, whose works he considered ideologically flawless but artistically rather poor. Kalima, who felt drawn to Tolstoyism, asked Tolstoy how one could gain enough strength to let go of the past and change one’s way of life. “You just have to have the will,” Tolstoy responded. “If you don’t take the decisive step, then you don’t really want to do it” (Kalima, “Muistelmia...” 699). Even though Kalima did not begin to live by Tolstoyan convictions, he didn’t forget Tolstoy; in 1908 he even wrote a book, *Leo Tolstoi*, about the life and works of the Russian writer.

“A strange quiver ran through my body...”

Hannes Jukonen (1873–1961), a notary, spent the first half of 1905 on the Crimean peninsula in Sevastopol, with its temperate climate and beautiful nature. His landlady, Countess von Poll, knew Tolstoy, and when Jukonen was planning to return to Finland in June, he decided at her suggestion to visit Yasnaya Polyana and relay her greetings to Tolstoy. A talkative young peasant drove Jukonen in his carriage from the small Shchekino railway station to Tolstoy’s estate. Did the driver happen to know Tolstoy? “Well, why would I not know the old boy (бабушка)?” was the answer. “He’s a good man; tea and food are served to everyone who goes there” (Jukonen). His only complaint was that Tolstoy tried to stop local peasants from drinking vodka.

As Yasnaya Polyana started to loom in the distance, Jukonen felt he was approaching “a sacred place.” The master of the house was working in a

hayfield, but due to arrive for lunch very soon. In the meantime Jukonen chatted with Tolstoy's youngest daughter, Aleksandra Lvovna, and Dora Westerlund, the Swedish wife of Tolstoy's son Lev Lvovich. When it became clear that Jukonen had no intention of discussing "literary matters and matters of principle" with Tolstoy, it was decided that he could see the author without further notice. Now the hay makers showed up in the yard, Tolstoy himself in the forefront, scythe slung over his shoulder:

A giant, white beard spread over his chest, thick, protruding eyebrows overshadowing a mountainous forehead, deep eyes, watching everything with a mysterious dreamy gaze. He was large in stature, and as he stood there, it felt as if he had grown to the size of a giant, wanting to scrutinize me to the very bottom of my soul. (Jukonen).

With trembling voice, Jukonen explained his business and handed Countess von Poll's letter. Tolstoy's spontaneous reaction was warm: He spread his arms, embraced the Finn and kissed both his cheeks and his forehead. "My legs seemed to be trembling and a strange quiver ran through my body." Tolstoy invited Jukonen to join him for cabbage soup in the farmhands' building. The dining hall was full of people, but Jukonen deduced from their appearance and dull expressions that the mansion's workers and Tolstoy shared little in common. Tolstoy immediately plunged into a conversation with "a grubby old man" on the other side of the table. Jukonen thought he heard the writer explaining that food was necessary only for man to stay alive while feeding the soul was much more important. Addressing Jukonen, who sat next to him, Tolstoy commented on the Russo-Japanese war and "all the misery and unhappiness that wars bring to people." He also inquired about how the peasant and worker question had been resolved in Finland.

After dinner Jukonen was invited to the main building along with other foreign guests. Countess Sofya Andreevna, her back slightly bent, was fussing among them. Jukonen was allowed to see Tolstoy's study with its worn-out sofa, an old-fashioned writing desk, a long bookshelf with informative literature in various languages, and copies of paintings on the walls. Jukonen was in a hurry to catch the Moscow train but even so the farewells were unforgettable:

As I stood there on the mild June evening in front of the big-bearded spiritual giant with his high forehead, it felt like one of the prophets from Biblical times had made an appearance in the world. (Jukonen)

On Death and Land Ownership

Arvid Järnefelt went to see Tolstoy for a second and last time in March, 1910. As in 1899, he did not travel for personal reasons but at the bidding of his countrymen. Two years earlier he had asked Tolstoy, on behalf of the Finnish magazine *Guardian* (*Valvoja*), to offer his views on the present state of Finland. A new period of oppression had begun and the Finns were again searching for the best way to defend their national interests. Tolstoy's response to an explicit request for support was evasive. Repeating himself, he stressed that people were close to him not because they lived in some particular country, but only if they shared a common view of life and a mutual love arising from that view. Patriotic feelings should be suppressed, especially if they provoked a struggle that could lead to bloodshed:

In life there are no other circumstances in which people, and good people, can commit such terrible crimes as those done in the name of patriotism. I do understand that oppressed people, like the Poles and Finns, can easily fall prey to this horrible temptation, but still I cannot but feel sorry for those people who give in to it. (Kapxy 49)⁷

This time, Järnefelt came to see Tolstoy together with his children Eero (1888–1970) and Liisa (1893–1978).⁸ They settled at Telyatinki farm, owned by Vladimir Chertkov, from which they twice visited nearby Yasnaya Polyana. This was a time of acute family crisis, mainly due to disputes concerning Tolstoy's last will. The very mention of Tolstoy's and Järnefelt's close friend and kindred spirit, Chertkov, made the Countess furious. Only after Tolstoy had invited his guests to his study was it possible to conduct a calm conversation. The conversation ranged over topics from atheism, socialism, pacifism, and vegetarianism to Tolstoy's book of aphorisms, *Wise Thoughts for Every Day*, and Järnefelt's new play *Tiitus (Titus)*, which Tolstoy frankly criticised to his friend. Tolstoy asked about Finland and marvelled at the high standing of popular education. He did not forget the children: Tolstoy showed Eero how cleverly the Chinese had solved the Pythagorean theorem, and he asked Liisa which language she liked best. It turned out that both she and he preferred English.

In 1910 Tolstoy was especially interested in land ownership, which he regarded as one of the most burning contemporary issues. Järnefelt agreed with him; he had dealt with it in his own works and, furthermore, he had translated Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* into Finnish. Tolstoy agreed with Järnefelt that the American political economist George was the highest authority on this matter, but now they had to admit that no one else still took George seriously. They also talked about death, and in a letter to Chertkov (April, 1910) Järnefelt quoted Tolstoy as saying "When you are my age, you will see death as something very blissful" (PSS 58: 345). Twenty years later Järnefelt revealed that Tolstoy had also told him of his plan to leave home (V[ilja]nen).

After their meetings Tolstoy wrote in his diary: "Järnef[elt]. His play doesn't interest me much as a play" (PSS 58: 28). In a letter to Chertkov he was more enthusiastic: "Once again, I have fallen in love with Järnefelt, and I was happy that his play

pleased me, and now, the more I think about it, the more I like it" (PSS 88–89: 178).

"Do you like our kvass?"

Two weeks after the Järnefelts' visit, Tolstoy wrote in his diary: "A visit by a journalist from Finland. I agreed to meet him and talked a lot, fierily and well" (PSS 58: 32). The journalist in question was Paul Olberg (1878–1966), who had come to interview Tolstoy at the bidding of the Swedish Helsinki daily *Capital Newspaper (Hufvudstadsbladet)*. Olberg, however, was not a Finnish journalist, but a Latvian Menshevik who worked as a journalist in Russia while writing for Finnish outlets as well.⁹ Revealing his ambivalent stance, Tolstoy offered his views on Finland for the last time. "I can assure you that there is hardly a single Finn who would suffer from the current status of Finland as much as I do," he said, with tears in his eyes (Adler). But he was quick to add that he was not commiserating with just the Finns, but also with the Poles, the Lithuanians and the Jews—in a word, with all downtrodden peoples. However, the solution to the difficult situation was not to be sought in patriotism as had been done so many times previously, but rather in the religious consciousness of each individual. The national questions had to be resolved on the basis of religious conscience and human dignity.

The last Finn to meet Tolstoy was Lempi Tukiainen (1882–1974), a graduate of Helsinki University. She spent part of the summer of 1910 at Chertkov's estate, Telyatinki, the center of the Tolstoyanism. In July, Tolstoy himself arrived at Telyatinki on horseback. Tolstoy's doctor Makovitsky wrote in his diary: "There [Tolstoy] was introduced to, among others, Lempi Karlovna, a Finnish student of Slavic philology" (294). Tukiainen visited Yasnaya Polyana once more at the beginning of August "to talk with Lev Nikolayevich" (Булгаков 292).¹⁰ What was discussed, we do not know.¹¹

Descriptions of visits to Tolstoy's estate became such a popular literary genre in Finland that they were even parodied. In 1908, the pseudonymous Figge published a fictitious account of his visit the previous autumn to Yasnaya Polyana in the satirical magazine *Lighthouse* (*Fyren*, Helsinki). Everything he sees around him fills him with awe and respect. The very thought of meeting the great man intimidates him, but in the end the discussion boils down to one simple question posed by Tolstoy: "Do you like our kvass?" On the subject of Tolstoy's daily routine, Figge discovers the following:

Usually he sleeps in the night and is awake in the day. In the morning he does his morning exercises and drinks his morning tea; in the evening, he does his evening exercises and drinks his evening tea.

When he finally gets to ask whether it was arduous to write *War and Peace*, Tolstoy himself has already retired to his study, leaving his wife to answer: "Not at all. Can you imagine, I didn't grow the slightest bit weary!" (8).

Over the 20 years during which various Finns visited Tolstoy in Moscow or at Yasnaya Polyana, Tolstoy's reputation as a writer had slowly grown in Finland. *War and Peace* was translated into Finnish for the first time in the mid-1890's and *Anna Karenina* in 1910. *Resurrection* appeared in two Finnish translations in 1899–1900. The Finnish visitors to Tolstoy, however, seemed to show no interest in these works. Sometimes they asked questions about the meaning of life and the teachings of Jesus, but they were particularly keen to hear his thoughts on the "Finnish question." They were unfailingly met with sympathy from Tolstoy's side, even though his message was not always to their liking. What all the visitors had in common was a powerful sense of having met one of the most significant persons of their age, their great contemporary Leo Tolstoy.

Notes

1. In 1849 Tolstoy wrote to his brother in a letter from St Petersburg that he was planning to visit Helsingfors (*PSS* 59: 28–30). He never fulfilled the plan.
2. The translations here and elsewhere are mine. Aksel Karlovich Germonius (Hermonius) was born in St Petersburg, but spoke Swedish and considered himself a Finn. He worked as a journalist in Moscow and Odessa, using the pseudonym "Finn". Germonius died in Poltava.
3. Armo Nokkala (177–183, 190–193) was the first to gather information about the visits of Arvid Järnefelt and other Finns to Tolstoy.
4. The correspondence of Tolstoy and Järnefelt has been published in the magazine *The North* (Север, Petrozavodsk), see Kapxy 36–51.
5. Hugo Hjalmar Aalberg's letter to Ida Aalberg 17 March 1899 (Archive of Ida Aalberg. Coll. 1.1. The manuscript collection of the Finnish National Library). Ida Aalberg published part of this letter in *Uusi Suometar* (Aalberg 1899). See also Heikkilä, Ida Alberg, 368–369 and Heikkilä, "Tolstoi tuomitsi...."
6. According to Armo Nokkala (180–181), Järnefelt and Fraser may have visited Tolstoy simultaneously on April 4/161899. I believe that while Fraser's first visit did take place on that date, the Järnefelt brothers visited Tolstoy at his Moscow home two or three days earlier (Хеллман, "Л.Н. Толстой" 227).
7. The letter was published in Finnish translation in *Valvoja* 1908, 228.
8. Both children have described their visit to Tolstoy in 1910, see Järnefelt Eero and Wathén.
9. After the October Revolution Olberg fled to Germany. In 1933 he came as a political refugee to Sweden, where he died in 1966.
10. In the Russian sources "Lempi Karlovna's" family name Tukiainen is not mentioned, but it can be established through Ketola 141, 243.
11. After Tolstoy's death, Tukiainen gave a speech at the Student's Discussion Forum in Helsinki, where she

spoke about her meetings with Tolstoy (“Hedersbetygelser för Tolstojs minne”). Unfortunately, she apparently never published the paper.

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Ben Hellman
Helsinki University



Leo Tolstoy's Use of Lucy Mallory's Moralistic Writing in *the Circle of Reading*

Though Tolstoy made use of material from Lucy A. Rose Mallory's *The World's Advance-Thought* (1886–1918)—most extensively in *Circle of Reading* (1906)—he did not agree with all of her views. This essay will explore the areas of agreement in Tolstoy and Mallory's philosophy, and try to reconcile some of their most obvious differences. It will provide some background on American metaphysical organizations to help understand Mallory's religious and philosophical beliefs and context.

The World's Advance-Thought had an international readership. Alongside wide-ranging discussions of American metaphysical thought, it carried articles about political, economic, and

social issues of the day. Mallory criticized organized religion and government, spoke out forcefully for women's suffrage, advocated temperance, and denounced meat eating with a ferocity that attracted Tolstoy's attention. He quoted her views on vegetarianism in *Circle of Reading* (PSS 41: 119, 42: 19).

With the exception of a few newspaper articles and encyclopedia entries, most of the information about Lucy Mallory's life and views can be found in her journal. Mallory (1843–1920) did not start her life in Oregon.¹ Lowenstein reports that her father, Aaron Rose (1813–1899), came from Ulster County, New York. His German-Jewish farming family decided to go west in 1838 and put down roots in Coldwater, Michigan (30–31). Records show his marriage to a Minerva Kellogg, age seventeen, by a justice of the peace, and the birth of two daughters. Minerva died giving birth to the second child, Lucy A. Rose, on September 15, 1843 (Rose 9). The 1850 census indicates Lucy's age as seven (U.S. Census 1850, Branch county, Michigan 97/97: 303). Her father remarried and traveled by wagon train to the Oregon territory, where in 1854 he founded Roseburg. Rose became a leading businessman and served a term in the territorial legislature (1855–1856) (McKinley 212).

Lucy received a rudimentary education in a log-cabin school on the Oregon frontier (Booth 4–5). In 1860, she married her schoolteacher, Rufus Mallory (1831–1914); he became a successful lawyer, judge and member of Congress (McKinley 156).

Mallory's belief in "the Communion of spirits," which she discusses in *The World's Advance-Thought*, stemmed from her childhood contact with an Umpqua Indian boy, who appears to have introduced her to shamanistic rituals (Mallory, Vol. 27 Feb. 1917: 78). As to Mallory's mature influences, a reading of the *World's Advance-Thought* showed her to be a Spiritualist, interested in Swedenborgianism, Transcendentalism, and Quakerism, all of which looked toward the "inner