

Tolstoy's terrific Rebuke of Russia's Crimes

Full Text of His Awful Exhortation of the Imperial Government That Has Startled the World.

FOLLOWING is the full text of Count Tolstoy's recent arraignment of the Russian imperial government:

"Seven death sentences," the scathing rebuke begins, "two in St. Petersburg, one in Moscow, two in Penza, and two in Vilna. Four executions: two in Kherson, one in Vilna, one in Odessa."

Awful Record of Executions.

"I take up today's paper. Today, May 2, it is something awful. The paper contains these few words: 'To-day in Kherson on the Strebitskaya field in an attack made with intent to rob on a landed proprietor's estate in the Elizavetrad district.'"

Nooses Soaped by Hangmen.

"Several peasants similar to those who are about to be hanged, but armed with good boots on their feet, and with guns in their hands, accompany the condemned men. Beside them walk the hangmen, wearing a white apron and a red sash, and holding a cross. They are dressed in the same as the peasants, but their hands are behind their backs, lest they should be hanged and they were led to the gallows."

Pushed Off to Their Death.

"And then, one after another, living men are pushed under their feet, and by their own weight suddenly tighten the nooses around their necks and are painfully strangled. Men are hanging from the gallows, their bodies swaying, and their feet at first slowly swinging, and then resting motionless."

Responsibility Shifted to Army.

"Even such a subtle device is planned as this. Sentences are pronounced by a military tribunal, but it is not the military but civilians who have to be present at the execution. And the business is performed by unhappy, desperate men who have nothing left them but to soap the cords well that they may grip the necks without fall them to get well drunk, and then, by their own weight, they strangle the class people, in order more quickly and fully to forget their souls and their quality as men. A doctor makes his rounds of the bodies, and reports to the authorities that the bodies, now grown cold, are taken down and buried."

Tortures and Violence in Prisons.

"And not this kind of dreadful thing alone is being done but in the same place and with the same tortures and violence are being perpetrated in prisons, fortresses, and convict settlements."

Answers to Peace Excuse.

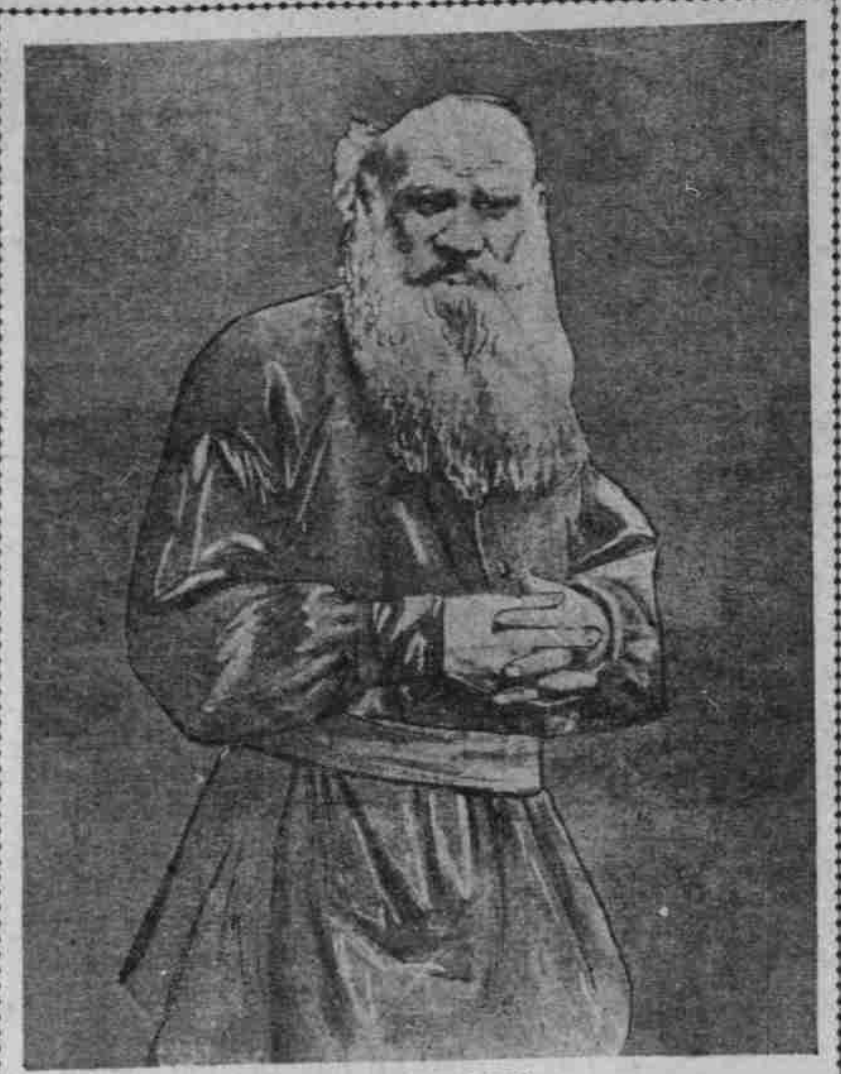
"You say you commit all these horrors to restore peace and order. By the fact that you, representatives of a Christian authority, leaders and teachers approved and encouraged, and still you do not condemn the last vestige of faith and morality in men by committing the greatest crimes—lies, perjury, torture of all sorts, and the last, and most heinous, the shedding of human blood—by every human hand not utterly depraved—not just a murderer, a single murderer, but murders innumerable, and the reason and love for nations, which you think to justify by stupid, all crimes, such and such statutes written by yourselves in these stupid and lying books of yours which you blasphemously call the law."

Evil by Spreading Depravity.

"What is most dreadful in the whole matter is that all this is done with violence and killing, besides the direct evil done to the victims and their families, brings a yet more enormous evil on the whole people by spreading depravity, and by spreading amid dry straw, among the simple working folk, because all these iniquities, exceeding as they do a hundred-fold all that is done by the revolutionaries, are done as though they were something necessary, good, and unavoidable, and are not merely excused, but supported by different institutions inseparably connected in the people's minds with justice, and even with sanctity—namely, the church, the synod, the Duma, and the czar."

Executions Used to Be Rare.

"A short time ago there were not two executions to be found in all Russia. In the '90s there was only one. I remember how joyfully we awaited the execution at that time. No second executioner could be found in all Russia, and so the one was taken from place to place. Not so now."



COUNT LEO TOLSTOY.

affairs were in a bad way, having offered his services to perform the murders arranged by the government, and receiving 300 rubles (50) for each person hung, soon the paper has seen the long-haired man, addressing those whom other people are about to strangle with cords, says something about God and Christ, and immediately after these words the hangman (there are several, for one man would not manage so complicated a business) dissolves some soap, and having soaped the loop in the cords, that they may tighten better, soaps the shackled men, put around on them, lead them to the scaffold, and place the well-soaped noose around their necks."

Cut Rates for Murders.

"The next time five were to be hanged. The day before the execution a stranger came to see the organizer of governmental murders on a private matter. The organizer went out to him and the stranger said: 'The other day so and so charged you 75 rubles per man. Today I hear five are to be done. Let me have a word with you, and I'll do it at 15 rubles a head, and you may be sure it shall be done properly.'"

Inhuman Brutality Made Honorable.

"That is how the crimes committed by the government act on the workers. These terrible deeds must also have an influence on the majority of men of average morality. Continually hearing and reading about the most terrible inhuman brutality committed by the authorities, that is, by persons whom the people are accustomed to honor as the bearers of the majority of average people, especially the young, preoccupied with their own affairs, instead of realizing that those who are committing these crimes are the opposite conclusion, and argue that if men generally honored do things that seem to them to be horrible as these, why were not as horrible as we suppose."

Crime Becomes Natural.

"Of executions, hangings, murders and bombings, men now write and speak as they used to speak about the weather. Children play at hangings. Lads from the high schools, who are almost children, go to the gallows, dressed in military uniforms, ready to kill, just as they used to go out hunting. To kill off the large landed proprietors in order to seize their estates more easily, to murder people and to read the best solution of the land question."

No Better Than Rebels.

"They are doing just the same as you, and for the same motives. They are in the same—I should say 'comical'—delusion that men having formed for themselves a plan of what in their opinion is the desirable and proper arrangement, high and just, and offering the possibility of arranging other people's lives according to that plan. The delusion is the same. These methods are violence of all kinds, and the excuse is that an evil deed committed for the benefit of many cases to be immoral; and that, therefore, without offering against the moral law, one may lie, rob and kill whenever this leads to the realization of that proposed good condition for all. We can foresee, and which we wish to establish."

Murders Will Not Pacify.

"You say that this is the only means of pacifying the people and quelling the revolution; but that is evidently false. It is plain that you cannot pacify the people unless you satisfy the demand of most elements of the population, namely, the demand for the abolition of private property in land and refrain from confiscating it and in various ways treating the peasants as well as those unbalanced and envenomed people who have begun a violent struggle with you. You cannot pacify people by tormenting them by hanging women and children. However you may try to stifle in yourselves the reason and love by nations to human beings, you still have them within you and need only come to your senses and think in order to see that by acting as you do—that is, by taking part in such terrible crimes—you not only fail to cure the disease, but by driving it inward, make it worse."

Government Crimes Greater.

"You execute those whom you think dangerous, and so do they. So that while employing the same immoral means as they do for the attainment of your aim,

forts can bring back to its former condition, just as no efforts can turn a grown-up man into a child, and Social irritation or tranquillity cannot depend on whether Peter is alive or hanged or on whether John lives in liberty or in penal servitude at Nent-chinsk. Social irritation or tranquillity must depend not on how Peter or John alone but how the great majority of the nation regard their position, and the attitude of the majority to the government, to landed property, to the religion taught them, and on what this majority consider to be good or bad. The nature of events by no means lies in the material conditions of life, but in the spiritual condition of the people. Though you were even to kill and torture a whole tenth of the Russian nation the spiritual condition of the rest could not become such as you desire."

Pacification Further Off.

"So that all you are now doing with all your searches, spyings, eviling, prisons, penal settlements, and gallows does not bring the people to the state of tranquillity on the contrary increases the irritation and destroys all possibility of pacification."

Key to Freedom in Land.

"The answer is simple: 'Cease to do what you are doing.' 'Even if no one knew what ought to be done to the people, the whole people—many people know well that what is most wanted for the pacifying of the Russian people is the freedom of the land from private ownership, just as 50 years ago what was wanted was to free the peasants from serfdom—if no one knew this it would still be evident that to this world, where one ought not to do what but increases its irritation. Yet that is just what you are doing: for your own position you occupy, a position you erroneously consider advantageous, but which is really the most pitiful and abominable one. So do not say that you do it for the people; that is not true. All the abominations you do are for yourselves, for your own covetous ambitions, vain, vindictive, personal ends, in order to continue a little longer in the depravity in which you live and which seems to you desirable."

People See Through Selfishness.

"However much you may declare that all you do is done for the good of the people, men are beginning more and more to understand you, and more and more to despise you, and to regard your measures of restraint and suppression, not as you wish them to be regarded, as the action of some kind of higher collective being, the government—but as the personal evil deeds of separate self-seekers."

Seen Callous to Guilt.

"But you all, from the secretary of the court to the participants in the iniquities perpetrated every day—do not seem to feel your guilt, nor the shame you are in, nor the mark which the people, who fear me, and fear the more the greater your responsibility for the crimes; the public prosecutor more so; the general Governor more than the president, the president of the Council of Ministers more so still, and the czar most of all. You are afraid not because you know you are doing evil, but because you think other people do evil."

Quits Struggling and Speaks.

"I know that men are but human, that we all are weak, that we all err, and that one cannot judge another. I have long struggled against the thought of offering around me by those responsible for these awful crimes, and aroused the more the higher the stand on the social ladder. But I neither can nor will struggle against the feeling any longer. I cannot and will not, first, because an exposure of these people who do not see the full criminality of their actions is necessary for them as well as for the multitude that, influenced by the external honor and laudation accorded to those persons, approve their evil deeds, and secondly, I even try to initiate and excite and because (I frankly confess to) I hope my exposure of these men will, one way or another, evoke the expulsion I desire from the set in which I am now living, and in which I cannot but feel myself to be a participant in the crimes committed around me."

Government Crimes Greater.

"You execute those whom you think dangerous, and so do they. So that while employing the same immoral means as they do for the attainment of your aim,

you certainly cannot blame the revolutionaries. All you can adduce for your own justification, they can equally adduce for theirs; not to mention that you do much evil which they do not commit, such as squandering the wealth of the nation, preparing for war, making war, and subduing the oppressed foreign nationalities and much more. You have the traditions of the past to guard, and the action of the great men of the past as examples. They, too, have their traditions, and they have the example of the French Revolution; and as great men, models to copy, martyrs that perished for truth and freedom, they have no fewer of these than you."

"So that, if there is any difference between you, it is only that you wish everything to remain as it has, and that you do not wish to change. And in thinking that everything cannot always remain as it used to be, they would be more right than you had they not adopted from you the destructive and revolutionary idea that one set of men can know a form of life suitable for all men in the future, and that this form can be established by force."

Exist by Leave of Government.

"For the rest, they only do what you do, using the same means. They are all together your disciples; they have, as the saying is, picked up all your little dodges; they are not only your disciples, they are your products, your children. If you did not exist, neither would they; so that when you try to suppress them by force, you behave like a man who presses with his whole weight against a door that opens toward him."

"If there is any difference between you and them, it is certainly not in your but in their favor. The mitigating circumstances on their side are, firstly, that their crimes are committed under compulsion of the law, and secondly, that you are exposed to, and risks and dangers excuse much in the eyes of impressionable people. Secondly, that the immense majority of the nation, who are not exposed to whom it is natural to go astray, while you are for the most part men of mature age; old men to whom reasonable calmness and lenience toward the young should be shown. Thirdly, a mitigating circumstance in their favor is that, however odious their murders may be, they are not so coldly, systematically, and ruthlessly planned, transported, and galled and shotting."

"The fourth mitigating circumstance for the revolutionaries is that they all quite categorically repudiate religion and teaching, and consider that the end justifies the means, and therefore they act quite consistently when they kill one or more men for the sake of the imaginary welfare of the many; whereas, you—government men—from the lowest hanger to the highest of those who command the army and the navy, and the clergy, and the judiciary, which is altogether incompatible with the deeds you commit."

Sort of Man He Addresses.

"And it is you elderly men, leaders of other men, professing Christianity, it is you who say like children who have been fighting, 'we didn't begin it, they did.' And that is the best you can say, you who have taken on yourselves the role of rulers of the people."

Are You Not Men Above All?

"Before being hangmen, generals, public prosecutors, judges, premiers, or czar are you not men? Today allowed a peep into God's world, tomorrow ceasing to be men, you are to be hanged in a particular way have evoked and are evoking special hatred, should remember this.) Is it possible that you, who have had the most glorious glimpse of God's world, even if you be not murdered there, is always close behind us all, is it possible that in your lucid moments you do not see that what is in the world is not to torment and kill men; yourselves trembling with fear of being killed, lying to yourselves, to others and to God, assuring yourselves and others that you are doing an important and grand work for the welfare of millions? Is it possible that you, who are surrounded by the sound of bayonets, and by the customary soporifics, you do not each one of you know that all this is mere talk, only intended that while doing the most evil deeds, you may still consider yourself a good man?"

Must Live by Love Alone.

"You cannot but know that you, like each of us, have but one real duty, which includes all others—the duty of living the short space granted us in accord with the will that sent you into this world, and leaving it in accord with that will. And that will desires only one thing—love from man to man."

Fearing as Hangman is Feared.

"You are feared as the hangman or a wild animal is feared. People flatter you because at heart you are not only a murderer, but a coward, and you hate you and how they do hate you. And you know it, and are afraid of men."

Makes Change in Numbers.

"June 12, 1908. The papers have since contradicted the statement that 20 peasants were hanged. I can only say that eight of the mistakes, and not only that eight men, but the more the greater your responsibility for the crimes; the public prosecutor more so; the general Governor more than the president, the president of the Council of Ministers more so still, and the czar most of all. You are afraid not because you know you are doing evil, but because you think other people do evil."

THE COLUMBIA RIVER.

Stop not, O Wanderer, in thy search for Nature's grandest sights. Upon the banks of Rhone or Rhine, to find supreme delight, not only that eight men, but the more the greater your responsibility for the crimes; the public prosecutor more so; the general Governor more than the president, the president of the Council of Ministers more so still, and the czar most of all. You are afraid not because you know you are doing evil, but because you think other people do evil."

fare, in the name of the protection and tranquillity of the inhabitants of Russia. For me, therefore, exists the destination of the people, deprived of the first, most natural right of men, the right to use the land on which he is born; for me the half million men torn away from their homes and families, and dressed in uniforms and taught to kill; for me that false so-called priesthood, whose chief duty it is to prevent and conceal truth; for me all these transports of men from place to place; for me these hundreds of thousands of hungry workmen wandering about of hunger for these hundreds of thousands of unfortunate dying of typhus and scurvy in the fortresses and prisons which do not suffice for such a multitude; for me the mothers, wives and fathers of the exiles, the prisoners and those who are hung, are suffering; for me are these spies and this bribery; for me the interference of these doctors and present my horrible work goes on of these hangmen, at first enlisted with difficulty, but now no longer so loathing that they well soaped cords, from which hang women, children and peasants; for me exists this terrible embitterment of man against his fellow-man."

Room Even Connected With Crime.

"Strange as is the statement that all this is done for me, and that I am a participant in these terrible deeds, I cannot but feel that there is an indubitable interdependence between my spacious room, my dinner, my clothing, my furniture, and these terrible crimes committed to get rid of those who would like to take from me what I use. And though I know that these homeless, enterprising, and despising people, who but for the government's threats would deprive me of all I am using—are products of that same government's action, still I cannot help feeling that at present my room really is dependent upon all the horrors that are now being perpetrated by the government."

Would Take Noose Himself.

"And being conscious of this, I can no longer endure it, but must free myself from this intolerable position. It is impossible to live so. I, at any rate, cannot and will not live so."

Would Take Noose Himself.

"That is why I write this, and will circulate it by all means in my power. Both in Russia and abroad, that one of these inhuman deeds may be stopped, or that my connection with them may be snapped and I put in prison, where I may be clearly conscious of the horrors I am not committed on my behalf; or still better (so good that I dare not even dream of such happiness) they may put me, as on those 20 or 12 peasants, on a bench, so that by my own weight I may tighten the well-soaped noose around my old neck."

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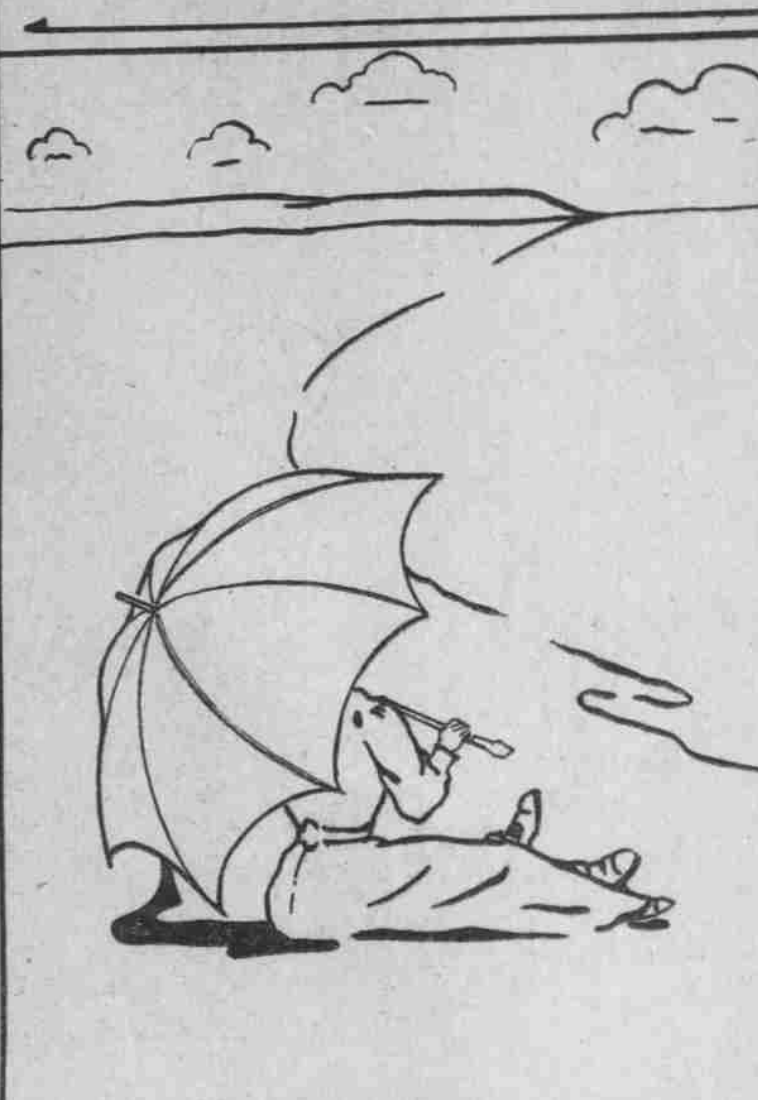
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"There's no music like a little river's. It plays the same tune (and that's the favorite) over and over again, and yet does not weary of it. It takes the mind out-of-doors; and though we should be grateful for good houses, there is, after all, no house like God's out-of-doors. And lastly, sir, it quiets a man down like saying his prayers."

—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON



"The Widow" TO SAY NOTHING OF THE MAN

The Widow: To Say Nothing of the Man, by Helen Rowland. Illustrated. \$1. Dodge Publishing Co., New York City.

On page nine she dies, and on page ten her husband dies. And so on. The grinding skeleton seems to peer at you from every chapter. The story swiftly changes to this country, its principal characters being Jewish people, and they learnedly discuss their faith. They are at intervals joined by Catholics and Unitarians, and the conversations often have a sombre, theological flavor, the general trend being deep seriousness. The heroine is Miss Grace Feld, who changes from the faith of Israel to that of the Catholic Church, and under the name of Sister Catherine she joins a convent. And of course she dies before very long, under distressing conditions, and the general atmosphere of tears is increased.

The title of the novel may be understood by this quotation from the closing chapter: "The idea of a uniform belief in God and the immortality of the soul in conjunction with the precepts of Moses, Jesus, and other great teachers, so that an individual of every human race, and so that no difference of creed will exist to intervene between the souls of men, is to me a beautiful one. If we can only plant the seed of this conception of a unitary belief in the propagation of souls, and in future generations, it will sweep on as surely as the wind of the times. . . . It is 'The Irresistible Current.'"

The author's must be complimented on her charming word pictures of Jewish life. Helen Rowland, the author of "The Irresistible Current," is a well-written story by Eleanor Marx Avelling, Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. The social lessons taught in this little book were never published during the lifetime of Marx, but the papers on which they were written were found after the death of Engels. In a measure, it is now so clearly given in an epitome of the first volume of "Capital." On being asked what is the best succession of books for the student to read, the author explained the principles of socialism, Edward Avelling answers, first, Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," then the present work, and afterwards the first volume of "Capital" and the student's Marx.

"Value, Price and Profit" is a terrific arraignment of capitalism, and is a masterpiece of the abolition of the wages system. What ought to be placed in place of these said wages, by which we live at present, is not clearly explained. Glistening generalities are used in speaking of the final emancipation of the working class. The Voice of the City, by O. Henry. The Melrose Company, New York City. I don't know if the remark has struck many people, but O. Henry, king of short story tellers, is the Guy de Maupassant of America. No other writer comes near him for crisp, delicious fiction, and his modern New York life issued under the head "The Voice of the City," the voice being each character's particular cry. The stories have a strong, clear, and better-natural volume to take away on a vacation trip than this one. "A Lick with Fruit," "Dougherty's Eye Opener," and "The Momento" are the strongest stories. They can be enjoyed without working your brain too much, and all tell about human, work-a-day Americans. No Lady Clara Vere de Vere for our author.

Henry James and William Dean Howells may be the solid, roast-beef on the table of fiction. O. Henry is the delicate salad. J. M. QUENTON. IN LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP. "Japan" in the central throne of the Pacific Monthly for August, a representation of an "old" Japanese face appears on the front cover, as a Mikado mask, and one of the frankest discussions to be read anywhere on today's new situation, and also a reprint of Salto's article, "The Coming Struggle in the Far East." Charlton B. Perkins' contribution on "Chinese Absence of Feeling," showing the utter lack of sympathy of the race, is remarkable for its calm study of an often misunderstood subject. The biggest fiction feature is "The Backsetting of Kaseki," a well-written story by John Fermin Wilson. C. E. S. Wood, it is announced, will contribute two poems to the September issue of the magazine—a "Song of Summer," and a round-up. Of course, the biggest literary announcement of the month is that in next month's number the opening chapters of Jack London's new novel, "Martin Eden," will appear. The publishers of the Pacific Monthly have advertised this opening attraction of London's so well that interest in it is widespread.