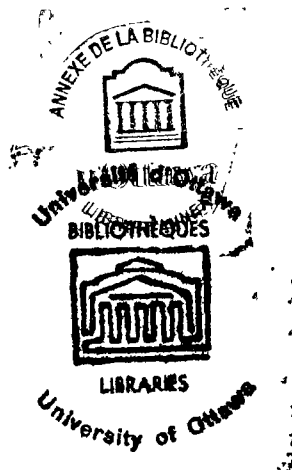


LEO NIKOLAEVICH TOLSTOY AND
THE EARLY ENGLISH VICTORIAN NOVELISTS:
WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY, CHARLES DICKENS,
ANTHONY TROLLOPE AND GEORGE ELIOT

by Victor Buyniak

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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INTRODUCTION

Western literary, philosophical and social ideas were responsible, to a great extent, for the intellectual development of many Russian authors and thinkers of the nineteenth century. Beginning with the eighteenth century, the time of the formation of the new period in Russian literature, Western ideas started penetrating into Russian cultivated society largely through French translations because of France's cultural importance in contemporary Europe. Literary influence appears to be most frequent and most fruitful at the times of the emergence of national literatures and of the radical change of direction of a particular literary tradition in a given literature. This statement holds true in reference to Russian literature as a whole and to the individual Russian authors of the eighteenth and, to a large degree, of the nineteenth century when French, English, and German writers and literatures in turn, and even concurrently, became known in Russia.

Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy (1828-1910), especially in his formative years, drew freely from this extensive source of Western knowledge, and throughout his long and prolific career as a writer, philosopher and social reformer continued a close contact with it. To evaluate the

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literary indebtedness and the intellectual relationship of Tolstoy to the early Victorian novelists, their works and ideas, one has to outline briefly the types of indebtedness and relationship as they appear in various forms of literature. It is also necessary to give a proper and more detailed account of Tolstoy's acquaintance with the manifold aspects of the English culture, his attitude toward it and his connections with it.

One of the aims of comparativists is to define the essence and types of such a literary proclivity.¹ Accordingly, they divide it into: influence, imitation, stylization, borrowing, and parallel.² Literary influence on an author results in the presence in his works of pervasive organic qualities in their essential inspiration or artistic presentation which, otherwise, would be absent, either in this form or at any essential stage of his development. To be meaningful, influence must be manifested intrinsically, upon or within the literary works themselves. It may be

1 See: J.T. Shaw, "Literary Indebtedness and Comparative Literary Studies", in N.P. Stallknecht and Frenz Horst, editors, Comparative Literature: Method and Perspective, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1961, passim.

2 Idem, ibid., p. 63-67.

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shown in style, images, characters, themes, mannerisms, and it may also be revealed in content, thought, ideas, the general Weltanschauung presented by particular works. An author may be considered to have been influenced by a foreign author when something from without can be demonstrated to have produced upon him, or in his artistic works, an effect which his native literary tradition and personal development do not explain.

It is, of course, necessary to provide satisfactory external evidence that the hypothetically influenced author could have been influenced by the author in question. For this purpose, mentions, allusions, quotations, diaries, the attestation of contemporaries and evidences of an author's reading must be used. The influence of literary works upon other literary works is perhaps the most convincingly demonstrable type, and perhaps aesthetically the most interesting. In addition, there is an influence upon the writer as a man. Here the mainspring may be from a literary or non-literary man. One of the most complex problems in the study of literary influence is that of direct and indirect impetus. The direct influence is often produced by the translation of the original work. The indirect influence takes place when there is still another author, an intermediary who, being the source of inspiration to the third author,

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is himself indebted in this respect to the original influencing author. Both direct and indirect influences may emphasize certain works of an author, and certain aspects of his creative personality, to the exclusion, or at least deprecation, of other features. The influencing author must be studied in relationship to the literary traditions where he wrote and exerted his influence.

In the case of imitations, the author yields to a certain degree his creative personality to that of another author, usually to some specific work, while at the same time the imitator is being freed from the detailed fidelity expected in a translation. Imitations have often been used as a pedagogic device in an artist's development. Related to an imitation, but perhaps best considered separately, is a stylization in which an author suggests for an artistic purpose another author or literary work, or even the style of an entire period, by a combination of style and subject matter.

A case of literary borrowing takes place when a writer helps himself to available materials or methods, especially to aphorisms, images, figures of speech, motifs, plot elements. The term "source" is perhaps most frequently used to indicate the place from which a borrowing is taken. Parallels are often involved in literary movements and may

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be produced presumably by different literatures and authors operating on the basis largely, if not entirely, of their own literary tradition.³ Thus, there exist many ways in which not only a beginner but also an experienced author can draw inspiration for his artistic creation from the common treasury of literature accumulated throughout the centuries.

The points dealing with literary and artistic relationships outlined above have been taken into consideration in the preparation of this thesis. To better illustrate and strengthen the arguments and comparisons, suitable excerpts and quotations from the works of the authors in question are included. Several editions of the original works are used. Relevant passages of various literary criticisms and opinions are frequently listed to substantiate the statements.

In transcribing the Russian names or words in this dissertation, the University of London transliteration system is followed wherever possible. The translations from the Russian language sources, hitherto not rendered in English, are by the present writer. Occasional amendments, particularly in the matter of punctuation and style, in

3 J.T. Shaw, op. cit., p. 63-70.

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excerpts from Tolstoy's works or quotations from his diaries in English translations, are also by the author of this dissertation. Two well-known editions of Tolstoy's works in English are used: Complete Works and Tolstoy Centenary Edition. Pertinent passages are taken from either edition, depending which one of them supplies a more appropriate version of the excerpt in question.

CHAPTER I

TOLSTOY AND MANY ASPECTS OF ENGLISH CULTURE

a) Tolstoy's early acquaintance with the English language and literature.

Tolstoy was fortunate in being born into a family and milieu possessing all those circumstances that were highly conducive to his intellectual development. As a member of the hereditary Russian aristocracy he was brought up in a home where it was a matter of routine to encourage, foster and practice all manner of cultural activities. Study of languages and readings in literature comprised some of the occupation which Leo, his three brothers and a sister, under the direction of their foreign tutors, were required to bear as children. As was the fashion of the time, it is true, the Tolstoy family paid much more attention to having their children taught French and German rather than English. However, the fact remains that the intellectual curiosity and cultural habits, once instilled in the children, prodded them to increase their knowledge on their own. Thus young Leo used to broaden his intellectual interests by studying English, the language his prematurely deceased mother knew. Although Tolstoy's opinions of England and the English varied during different periods of his life, he felt a certain attraction toward their

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institutions. While there have been speculations about the ethnic background of Tolstoy's ancestors on the part of various biographers, Leo considered himself a Russian. Yet he is reported as having once admitted that, were the Lord to give him another chance, "he would choose to be an Englishman."¹ In 1872, tired of Russian bureaucracy, intolerance and iniquities of life, Tolstoy contemplated emigrating, with his family, to England, where everybody's freedom and dignity, he thought, were assured.²

In Moscow there had existed, from the time of Catherine II until 1917, a fashionable and exclusive English Club patronized by the Russian nobility. In his twenties Leo belonged to this Club mention of which we find in his Journal and correspondence between 1849 and 1857.³ Likewise, various drafts of the following works: Boyhood, The Cossacks, War and Peace and Anna Karenina, contain numerous references of the various activities in the

1. E.J. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, New York, Vintage Russian Library, 1960, Vol. 1, p. 10.

2 Ibid., p. 340-41.

3 L.N. Tolstoy, Polnoe sobranie sochineniy, Moskva, Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoy Literatury, 1928-1958, Vol. 47, passim; Vol. 59, p. 73-74. Henceforth listed as Polnoe sobranie.

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English Club.⁴ The Irtenev boys' father in Boyhood is mentioned as its frequenter.⁵

There are no data indicating that Leo, his brothers, and sister, had an English-speaking tutor during their childhood. Yet, apparently, young Leo became acquainted quite early with the English language, perhaps through the family library. He notes in his memoirs:

This one publication, which I read ardently during my school years, was Chamber's Journal. It contained novels by James Payn, and other matter suited to my powers of mental digestion. From smuggled copies of Captain Marryat's novels I also got a good deal of culture, far more, I am sure, than from any of the lessons we endured.

At sixteen, when passing his entrance examination to the University of Kazan, he obtained a B mark in English.⁷ In journals and resolutions of young Tolstoy one finds repeated mentions of his planning to continue the study of

4 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 2, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, and 20, passim.

5 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 323, and 403.

6 A. Maude, The Life of Tolstoy, London, Oxford University Press, 1929, Vol. 1, p. 278.

7 Ibid., p. 34;
see also: N.N. Gusev, Letopis' zhizni i tvor-
chestva L.N. Tolstogo, 1828-1890, Moskva, Gosudarstvennoe
Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoy Literatury, 1958, p. 22.
Henceforth listed as Letopis', 1828-1890.

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the English language, dedicating to it two hours daily.⁸ His Journal lists a concentrated period of study of the English language from February to June 1847.⁹ Also, it reveals that Tolstoy studied English at Kazan University's law faculty in the year 1846-47. But, since English was not offered in the university at that time, apparently he studied it at home.¹⁰ In the following four years he often returned to the study of the English language, the result of which were his repeated attempts to translate the Sentimental Journey in 1851-52.

During his later years Tolstoy clearly recognized the shortcomings of his self-taught method of language, without a practical drill in conversation. Apparently the method consisted of reading The Vicar of Wakefield or some sermons of Sterne, learning the unfamiliar words, going "through the first part of grammar," and comparing them with a French version.¹¹ He was translating, as he said, in

8 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 41; cf., Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, Vol. 1, p. 65, and 67.

9 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 46, p. 246-261.

10 Ibid., p. 471.

11 Peter Rudy, "Young Lev Tolstoj's acquaintance with Sterne's Sermons and Griffith's The Koran," in The Slavic and East European Journal, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1960, p. 121-122.

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order to develop his memory and style.¹² At the beginning of 1866 Tolstoy hired English governesses for his children. There were more than a dozen such governesses in Tolstoy's family between 1866 and 1900, some of whom became true family friends.¹³ Thus his children, unlike himself, were better equipped to travel in English-speaking countries. He, indeed, had to take English lessons with a tutor in Paris during his first trip to Western Europe in order to improve his knowledge of this language.¹⁴

Tolstoy's acquaintance with some works of English literature was likewise as early as his acquaintance with the language. Apparently when still a child he had heard his elders reading "ghost" novels of Mrs. Ann Radcliffe (1764-1823), for in a draft of Boyhood he presents Nikolenka's grandmother reading Radcliffe's books.¹⁵ In variants of War and Peace he mentions: "I am writing of the period when /.../ our mothers /.../ were captivated by the novels of M-me Radcliffe /.../"¹⁶ Pierre Bezukhov, in the

12 K. Chernyy, U istokov podviga. L.N. Tolstoy na Kavkaze, Stavropol', Stavropol'skoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo, 1960, p. 16.

13 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 27-84, passim.

14 Henri Troyat, Tolstoy. Translated from the French by Nancy Amphoux. New York, Doubleday, 1967, p. 163.

15 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 2, p. 262.

16 E.Y. Zaydenshnur, "Poiski nachala romana Voyna i mir," in Literaturnoe nasledstvo, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1961, Vol. 69, Part 1, p. 380.

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same work, read all the novels of M-me Radcliffe, while his beautiful wife, Hélène, was bored with books in general and would not even read Radcliffe's fiction.¹⁷ So high was young Tolstoy's opinion of Mrs. Radcliffe's works that, when describing his beloved older brother Nicholas, he complimented him on "his imagination being such that for hours on end he could tell fairy-tales, ghost stories or amusing tales in the style of Mrs. Radcliffe."¹⁸ This was, indeed, a high compliment for Nicholas. Similarly Tolstoy knew of the English Milord George, the hero of a popular story which circulated in many versions among the Russian people. At the end of the eighteenth century Matvey Komarov published it in his own version, "A Story of Adventure of the English Milord George and Countess Frederica Louisa of Brandenburg." Later Tolstoy worked on a popular rendition of this story.¹⁹ Except for its name, the story was not representative of English culture in Russia.

Between fourteen and twenty-one years of age it is recorded that Tolstoy read, among the English authors, Sterne's Sentimental Journey and Dickens' David Copperfield,

17 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 13, p. 230, and 590.

18 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 47.

19 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 83, p. 495.

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in addition to American Prescott's Conquest of Mexico.²⁰ In 1850-51 he happened to read a Life of Benjamin Franklin, from which he borrowed several ideas.²¹ Two years later Tolstoy was enthusiastically reading a novel by Warren which at that time was appearing in instalments in the Fatherland Notes. Samuel Warren (1807-1877), an English novelist resembling Dickens in the nature of his writings, published in 1839 the best known of his novels, Ten Thousand a Year. This novel Tolstoy read in translation as Tyazhba /The Lawsuit/, and called it "excellent."²² His Journal under May 31, 1853, records the vicissitudes of Obri, the ideal hero of the novel, in a debtor's goal, during court trials, and through all his misfortunes until, having weathered all the storms, he returns to his initial happy condition.²³ Also, in his Journal, October 13, 1853, he mentions his reading of Disraeli's work, Literary Character or History of Genius, published in The Contemporary in the same year.²⁴ During his service in the Crimean War Tolstoy read, on various

20 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 17.

21 Ibid., p. 57.

22 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 68.

23 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 46, p. 162, 179, 423, 434.

24 Ibid., p. 177.

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occasions, novels of Dickens and Thackeray, besides Beecher-Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin.²⁵ After his return from the War Tolstoy's reading included more novels of Dickens and the new translations of Shakespeare's plays by Druzhinin.²⁶ Among the English authors he read, from the time of his first to his second return from Western Europe, were: Charlotte Brontë, Elizabeth Gaskell, Shakespeare, Macaulay, Bacon, George Eliot, and the journal Athenaeum.²⁷ After his trip to England and his marriage to Sophia Behrs Tolstoy's reading of the English writers and periodicals increased very substantially.

25 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 112.

26 Ibid., p. 224.

27 Ibid., p. 177; cf., Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, Vol. 1, p. 180, Note 4.

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b) The impact of the eighteenth century English novelists on Tolstoy.

Of the eighteenth century English novelists Laurence Sterne (1713-1768) exerted the greatest influence on young Tolstoy the writer. Not only was Sterne one of the first English authors whose works he had read but, in 1850, he conceived the idea of translating him into Russian.¹ Another result of this idea materialized in a planned novel of gypsy life, which was to depict the chance people that fell under his observation, and which he actually began writing.² While in the Caucasus, in 1851-1852, his Journal is filled with mentions of his working on a translation of certain parts of Sentimental Journey.³ The so-called Soviet Jubilee Edition reproduces in print these early attempts at translation by the young author.⁴ During the same period he was working on his first literary creations: A History of Yesterday, A Conversation of Two Ladies, and the first part

1 Y.S. Serebrovskaya, "Tri biograficheskikh ocherka Tolstogo," in Literaturnoe nasledstvo, Vol. 69, Part 1, p. 504; cf., S.N. Golubova, et. al., editors, L.N. Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Moskva, Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoy Literatury, 1960, Vol. 1, p. 57.

2 Nathan Haskell Dole, The Life of Count Lyof N. Tolstoi, New York, Crowell, 1911, p. 40.

3 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 46, passim.

4 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 249-278.

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of his trilogy, the novel Childhood.⁵ All of these reflect the Sternian influence on the young and inexperienced writer. Sterne's lively but refined humour, brilliant wit, love of humanity, and acute sensibility, as well as his various subtleties of style, attracted Tolstoy.

The influence of Sterne on him was exercised both directly and indirectly. The direct influence expressed itself in all those aspects in Sterne which appealed to Tolstoy most: his style, sensitiveness, unconventionality, impressionism, and his treatment of trivial things. Indirectly, the influence of Rousseau, the French, German and Russian writers of the eighteenth century, especially in respect to sentimentalism, was reinforced by that of Sterne.

Tolstoy's indebtedness to Sterne is most clearly marked in his first printed work, Childhood, but its traces are also visible in his succeeding works. In the construction of Childhood, in its loose array of scenes and descriptions, there is something of Sterne, and it may be said that Childhood is a sentimental journey into childhood.⁶ However, in the several drafts one can observe the care with which Tolstoy tried to eliminate the obvious traces of Sterne's

5 B.I. Bursov, L.N. Tolstoy. Seminariy, Leningrad, Gosudarstvennoe Uchebno-Pedagogicheskoe Izdatel'stvo, 1963, p. 74.

6 Alexander I. Nazaroff, Tolstoy, the Inconstant Genius, Harrap, 1930, p. 64.

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influence on Childhood. In the two sequels of the novel, Boyhood and Youth, the element of moral analysis is stronger. The chief subject there is the exposure of the selfishness and moral hypocrisy of children, for whom the author has no strong sentimental regard any longer.

Sterne was one of the most unconventional of authors. He discarded all rules of composition and tried to free himself completely from all the conventions imposed on the writer. In contemporary literature he introduced a new way of writing which was gladly accepted and employed by many later writers. He started to write comparatively late in life (when he was forty-five years of age) but his works indicate his maturity and mastery as an author.⁷

Sentimental Journey is a succession of portraits and scenes. But it is characteristic that in presenting them Sterne's eyes were so adjusted that small things often bulked larger in them than big ones. Therefore very frequently his scenes consist mainly of trifles; and yet, while using this technique, he manages to present life as closely as we can see it.⁸ According to Sterne, by giving pictures of trivial and unimportant things, one can

7 Virginia Woolf, The Common Reader, London, Hogarth Press, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 78.

8 Ibid., p. 82.

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create a detailed image of life. In addition, instead of describing his scenes for their own sake, he portrays first of all the sensations which he experiences while gazing at them.

In Sentimental Journey the reader is never allowed to forget that Sterne is above all things sensitive, sympathetic, humane; that above all things he prizes the decencies, the simplicities of the human heart.⁹ Indeed, Sterne introduces into his works a sentimentality which is often excessive. Refined humour, pathos, and ingenious artifice of style are thus Sterne's particular contribution to literature. In the early works of Tolstoy almost all these aspects of Sterne found a place. Any unimportant incident could put Sterne into a sentimental mood which frequently ended with tears. This excessive sentimentality appears often in Tolstoy's Childhood and extends to his other works of this period, for example, in the novel The Cossacks.¹⁰

Sterne was a very impressionistic author. His works are one continuous chain of sensations. Sometimes, because

9 Woolf, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 83.

10 See: L.N. Tolstoi, Complete Works, New York, Crowell, 1928, Vol. 10, Childhood, p. 2; Vol. 11, The Cossacks, p. 103.

of this, he is hard to understand, since his thoughts leap from one idea to another. Tolstoy tries to disguise his impressionism. He expresses his thoughts in short unconnected sentences, but they form a whole and present a definite picture. However, for this very impressionism he is indebted to Sterne. Examples of it may be found in his reflections on childhood in the novel of the same name.¹¹

Very closely connected with Sterne's impressionism is his fondness for details that have seldom anything to do with the matter which he is treating. Thus, starting from one point, instead of following a steady line and clinging to the subject, various trifles attract his attention which are completely irrelevant to the main idea. Indeed, his digressions from the subject occur so often that one can hardly find a chapter without them. Yorick meeting a French monk in Calais, for example, starts to describe his head, and his mind wanders from his point of departure elsewhere.¹²

While reading Tolstoy's earlier works, one is repeatedly struck by what might be called his struggle for adequate self-expression. This may, perhaps, be the reason

11 See: Childhood, p. 50.

12 The Works of Laurence Sterne, Cambridge, /Mass./, The Jenson Society, 1906, Vol. 5, A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy, p. 13.

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why so many of them remained unfinished. The above-mentioned fragment, A History of Yesterday, intended by the author as a longer work, may serve as an example. Even at this early date, in August, 1851, he accuses himself of a pernicious tendency to discursiveness, and proceeds to say: "Even my favourite author, Sterne, for all his immense talent in narration and clever prattle, is tediously discursive."¹³

Tolstoy was also touched by Sterne's generous heart and by his fine sense of humour. The English writer's love for the poor and the downtrodden of contemporary England attracted Tolstoy to Sterne. In Tristram Shandy Sterne presents with great feeling an incident in which Tristram's uncle, Toby, instead of killing, chases away an obtrusive fly which annoys him.¹⁴ A very similar scene is described in The Cossacks.¹⁵ Although Tolstoy was not one of those writers who, like Sterne, may be called humorists, he did, from time to time, like to add a touch of Sternian mild humor to his early works. An incident from Childhood may serve as an example. On her birthday, the Irtenev boys'

¹³ Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 66-67.

¹⁴ The Works of Laurence Sterne, Vol. 1, The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, p. 185-86.

¹⁵ The Cossacks, p. 78.

grandmother, while receiving congratulations and gifts, is presented with a little box on behalf of the boys' tutor. Perplexed as to where put the box, suddenly an idea suggests itself to her - to pass it to her son-in-law. The latter, in his turn, does not know what to do with it, and passes it to a clergyman present at this occasion. Thus the box begins to wander from hand to hand.¹⁶

With the help of many ingenuities of Sterne's way of writing, with his first published work, Tolstoy emerged as a writer who remained true to himself to the end. He never invented things through the exercise of his fancy. He never indulged in complicated plots, but took everything directly from life as it passed through his own inner or external experience. Almost devoid of purely inventive imagination, he was endowed with an incredible intuition regarding life, which was the backbone of his art. There is no plot in Childhood; one finds in it only flashes of a child's development up to his boyhood. Instead of a "story" the reader finds life itself, as represented by some of its casual yet typical fragments under such unexciting titles as Mamma, Papa, Lessons, Games, etc.

Finally, there are a few other aspects in which the influence of Sterne on the young Tolstoy is perceptible.

¹⁶ Childhood, p. 57.

One could call this type imitation and stylization. In some of his earlier works he imitates Sterne's various devices of style. Some of his characters in the stories Raid and Wood-Cutting Expedition are sketched in a Sternian manner. Epigrams and quotations from Sterne found their way into some of Tolstoy's works, for example, in the novel Boyhood, War and Peace, The Cossacks, and in his Journal.¹⁷ Indebtedness of this kind could be called borrowing. Mentions of Sternian "aquiline noses" are scattered in the Journal and Childhood.¹⁸ Some researchers presume that Sternian quotations listed in the Journal in 1851 represent extracts from Sterne's contemporary, Richard Griffith, whose works are attributed to Sterne.¹⁹

17 See: Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 2, p. 366; Vol. 9, p. 128; Vol. 46, p. 78, 79, 110; Vol. 47, p. 295; Vol. 46, p. 385.

18 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 46, p. 389.

19 Peter Rudy, "Young Lev Tolstoj's acquaintance with Sterne's Sermons and Griffith's The Koran," passim.

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Although a game called "Swiss Family Robinson" is mentioned in one of the drafts of Childhood, and Robinson Crusoe in a draft of Boyhood, there are no indications that Tolstoy became acquainted with any works of Daniel Defoe (1659-1731) in his youth.²¹ And, apparently, in his later dealings with the subject of Defoe only this one work comes into consideration. The topic of Robinson Crusoe is resumed in 1862 when that novel, adapted to the Russian reader, appears in Tolstoy's pedagogical journal, Yasnaya Polyana. Several people were involved in the translation and adaptation of Robinson Crusoe, but the main collaborator was Tolstoy himself. A student, A.P. Serdobol'skiy, helped to prepare the summary, and the teacher of Yasnaya Polyana school, Erlenvain, published it.²² Tolstoy was delightfully

21 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 1, p. 318; Vol. 2, p. 274.

22 Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 519, and 630.

flattered when he received a letter of commendation from his friend P.A. Pletnev, and especially from Pletnev's eight year old son, since the story was intended predominantly for children.²³ The adaptation became the most read piece of literature for Yasnaya Polyana school children and Tolstoy's family.²⁴ Much later, in 1897, Tolstoy recommended another adaptation of it by the teacher, I.F. Timonov, for its inclusion in the Intermediary, a publication for general readers.²⁵

Yasnopolyanskiy sbornik of 1962 deals with the translation and adaptation of the story.²⁶ For a better appeal to children the novel is presented in a fairy-tale form, with a suitable beginning and ending. It acquires moralizing tendencies. The irrelevant details, dates and

²³ Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 55, p. 424; also, Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 260.

²⁴ Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 61, p. 26, and 27.

²⁵ Ibid., Vol. 52, p. 488; Vol. 70, p. 215.

²⁶ I.A. Kashtanova, "Knizhki-prilozhenia k zhurnalu Yasnaya Polyana," in Yasnopolyanskiy sbornik, Tula, Tul'skoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo, 1962, p. 118-122.

complicated passages are eliminated, especially those pertaining to historical and geographical data. The narrative element is, as much as possible, replaced by a dramatic one, with dialogue. Its language and style resemble, to a large extent, a folkloristic creation.

The idea of a man stranded on an uninhabited island and relying on his own wits and resources always fascinated Tolstoy. In 1877 he planned and actually began writing a novel about the life of the Russian people, and in its second part intended to create a Russian Robinson.²⁷ In his Notes regarding some of the novels of the XVII-XIX centuries Tolstoy mentions that his Robinson will settle in the virgin lands of Samara where he will start a life from scratch.²⁸ Through the rest of his life, whenever an occasion presented itself, Tolstoy highly recommended Robinson Crusoe as the most suitable reading material for children. In his Journal and in memoirs of various members of his family numerous mentions of Robinson Crusoe being read by Tolstoy's children and grandchildren support his high opinion of the work.²⁹

27 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 55, p. 473.

28 Ibid., Vol. 17, p. 634.

29 Ibid., Vol. 84, p. 226; cf., Alexandra Tolstoy, Tolstoy. A Life of My Father. Translated by Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood. London, Gollancz, 1953, p. 345; Dmitrij Umanskij, editor, Tolstoj Denkwürdigkeiten. Erinnerungen und Briefe, Wien, Wiener Graphischen Werkstätte, 1921, Vol. 1, p. 211.

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Robinson Crusoe is also mentioned in some drafts of the Resurrection, in the essay "The Great Sin," and in the publication the Circle of Reading.³⁰

As mentioned before, Tolstoy became acquainted at an early date with The Vicar of Wakefield by Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774). His Journal under April 7, 1847, records: "To read The Vicar of Wakefield, learn all the unfamiliar words, and to cover the first part of grammar."³¹ His opinion of this work remained very high throughout his entire life. Several times in his letters he had occasions of warmly recommending it as "the best of Western literature." For example, in a letter to V.G. Chertkov, his follower and associate, dated January 7, 1887, he writes: "I have also reread The Vicar of Wakefield. Have you thought of it? This is a most delightful story for the Intermediary - with some very slight exceptions. But what a pleasure it is!"³² A lady of his acquaintance was doing its translation in a somewhat abbreviated form for this popular periodical.³³ When in 1889

30 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 33, p. 422; Vol. 34, p. 212; Vol. 40, p. 507; Vol. 41, p. 592; cf., Sergey Tolstoy, Tolstoy Remembered by His Son Sergey Tolstoy. Translated from the Russian by Moura Budberg. New York, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962, p. 58.

31 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 46, p. 29.

32 Ibid., Vol. 86, p. 3; also: Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 652.

33 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 86, p. 73.

Tolstoy's friends were selecting one hundred books for profitable reading, his answer to the choice of Goldsmith's novel was: "Certainly, yes. It is most beautiful."³⁴ Another such opinion is recorded in the year 1894, and in a variant of his treatise, What Is Art? There, The Vicar of Wakefield is mentioned as an example of universal art.³⁵ Toward the end of his life, in October, 1906, during a literary discussion Tolstoy expressed his admiration of Swift and Goldsmith by saying:

The more I try to read recent English writers, the more I admire Goldsmith, and, among all the novelties, I recommend The Vicar of Wakefield. It is pure, noble, ethical, and with serious content. May God grant that people write like that now.³⁶

Of Jonathan Swift (1667-1749) one finds the first mention in the 1870's. During the 1873-74 season Tolstoy was working on a tale, Skazka, in the vein of Swift's irony and Voltaire's sarcasm.³⁷ Unfortunately this Russian satire

34 N.N. Gusev and V.S. Mishin, "Tolstoy v 1880-e gody", in Literaturnoe nasledstvo, Vol. 69, Part 2, p. 101.

35 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 30, p. 414, and 548; also: N.N. Gusev, Letopis' zhizni i tvorchestva L.N. Tolstogo, 1891-1910, Moskva, Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoy Literatury, 1960, p. 141. Henceforth listed as Letopis', 1891-1910.

36 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 566; cf., Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 488.

37 N.N. Gusev, Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Materialy k biografii s 1870 po 1881 god, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1963, p. 217.

of the Gulliver type was never finished.³⁸In a letter to V. G. Chertkov, in 1887, Tolstoy recommended the publication of Gulliver's Travels in the Intermediary as belonging to the best samples of Western literature.³⁹In another letter, to George Kennan, in 1890, he quotes Swift in English: "We usually find it to be the best fruit which the birds have been pecking at."⁴⁰When his pacifist young friend, E.N. Drozhzhin, was arrested, Tolstoy took Gulliver to him.⁴¹In his Journal and Notebook Tolstoy used to record ideas reminiscent of Swift and his works; for example, in 1896: "It was still Swift who proposed to eat children."⁴²Or, in 1897: "Lilliputs' hairs have tied me up in such a manner that soon I won't be able to move unless I start to tear them up."⁴³Another quotation, dated November 10, 1897, compares the Lilliputs' hair, an invisible means of oppression, with the previous chains of serfdom, a visible symbol of

38 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 17, p. 135-136.

39 Ibid., Vol. 86, p. 11.

40 Ibid., Vol. 65, p. 139.

41 Ibid., Vol. 86, p. 228.

42 Ibid., Vol. 53, p. 120.

43 Ibid., p. 145.

slavery.⁴⁴ A quotation from Swift in French: "Nous avons tout juste assez de religion pour nous haïr, pas assez pour nous aimer,"⁴⁵ is recorded in the Notebook for the year 1901. Tolstoy's essay, Bethink Yourselves!, concerning the Russo-Japanese War, carries the following Swiftian quotation-epigraph:

Sometimes one prince quarreleth with another, for fear the other should quarrel with him. Sometimes a war is entered upon, because the enemy is too strong and sometimes because he is too weak. Sometimes our neighbours want the things which we have, or have the things which we want; and we both fight, till they take ours or give us theirs.⁴⁶

A befitting tribute to Swift is recorded by Tolstoy's elder son: "He /Tolstoy/ advised us to read Gulliver's Travels, young and old alike."⁴⁷

44 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 53, p. 160.

45 Ibid., Vol. 54, p. 551.

46 The above quotation is from: Jonathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels, Oxford, Blackwell, 1941, Part 4, Chapter V, p. 230. Tolstoy's Russian version of the above quotation may be found in Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 36, p. 104, and 617. Aylmer Maude's translation of the epigraph is in Tolstoy Centenary Edition, London, Humphrey Milford, 1933, Vol. 21, p. 209.

47 Tolstoy Remembered by His Son Sergey Tolstoy, p. 58.

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c) His trip to England in 1861.

It was in Switzerland, during his first trip to Western Europe in 1857, that Tolstoy met with the English people for the first time. Swiss hotels were then filled with English and American tourists. To his friendly, outgoing, uninhibited Slavic personality the coolness, reserve, and apparent lack of emotions on the part of the English seemed as a sign of pride and scorn for the outsiders. One of his early stories, Lucerne, deals with an incident where the English tourists completely disregard an itinerant musician, and it is Tolstoy who, to spite them, or perhaps to teach them a lesson, shows his magnanimity and fraternal love by inviting the despised musician to a dinner in the very midst of the "puffed-up" Englishmen. The behaviour of those seemingly self-centered, comfortable, unhappy English sightseers constantly annoyed Tolstoy - a tourist himself. He found many occasions to criticize them: "The English are morally naked people and go about like that without shame."¹ He argued with his English travelling companions about the revolting deeds of their government during the invasion of China in 1856.² His letters to friends at home were downright

1 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 172.

2 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 47, p. 125.

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in his disapproval of the conduct of the English tourists.³ However, these views did not prevent Tolstoy from keeping up a flirtation with a fellow-tourist -- an English girl named Dora.⁴

But despite his dislike of the English as individuals, he had a great admiration for them as a nation with democratic institutions. To study various aspects of English life and people he decided, during his second trip to Western Europe, to visit England. The middle of February 1861, finds him in London on an education-mission, seeking to learn everything of significance in foreign pedagogy so that nobody in Russia would dare question his authority in this respect. One ought to add that Tolstoy had tried to study, in theory and in practice, the system of education in Germany and in France before he arrived in England.

In London he lost no time in studying the city's educational methods. For a month he attended lectures and viewed exhibits at the Kensington Museum.⁵ He accorded to it his highest praise. One of his articles on education gives a detailed description of the Museum, its structure, operational procedures, types of displays and educational

3 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 60, p. 199.

4 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 172.

5 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 8, p. 253.

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processes.⁶ According to his memoirs, Tolstoy had learned more in the Kensington Museum about the Froebel education methods than in his repeated search for them in Germany.⁷ The lectures conducted by experts at the Kensington Museum were always followed by practical questions posed by the visitors; hence they conformed to the criterion of utility, always a primary principle in Tolstoy's pedagogical ideas. He was surprised to learn that the Museum was run by a private company and motivated by calculations of financial gain and not by philanthropy.⁸ And this was not the only enterprise of this kind in England which, Tolstoy thought, did ~~an~~ excellent work in educating the general public. He mentions also the National Home and Foreign School Society.⁹ He had to admit his admiration for the English, who were capable of organizing and effecting such matters, and to express his criticism of the Russians, who were quite behind any such projects.¹⁰

6 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 8, p. 252-253.

7 Ibid., p. 253.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., p. 252.

10 Ibid.

Tolstoy's interest in educational systems made him apply to the Council Office of the Department of Education for permission to visit London schools. An official of the Department furnished him with a letter of recommendation.¹¹ The letter was directed to an English pedagogue, E.C. Tupull, requesting him to facilitate "Count Leo Tolstoy, a Russian gentleman interested in English schools,"¹² in his further investigation of their functioning.

In 1862, after his return to Yasnaya Polyana, Tolstoy wrote an account of one of his visits to a London school in an article, "Social Work in the Field of Public Education."¹³ The practical experiences outlined in this article were of use to him in organizing and conducting his Yasnaya Polyana school for peasant children. In the countries he visited, especially in England, he bought various text-books and educational journals. Tolstoy compiled a list of his English collection which included more than 50 titles.¹⁴ Among them one finds primers, an assortment of readers, all geared for various levels and interests,

11 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 8, p. 609.

12 Ibid.

13 See: Ibid., p. 247-300.

14 Ibid., p. 395-398.

handbooks on arithmetic, bookkeeping, algebra, mathematics, geography, geology, zoology, natural history, chemistry, agriculture, and a variety of related topics. Six educational journals are also listed, one of them dedicated to Lancaster education, a system with which Tolstoy later experimented on his own children.¹⁵

During his stay in London Tolstoy visited the House of Commons and heard Palmerston speak for three hours. Later he confessed to his friend Aylmer Maude: "At that time I knew English with my eyes but not with my ears."¹⁶ Palmerston's avowed masterpiece of oratory left him cold, and England seemed to him "a country of the noblest ideals and yet of the coarsest materialism."¹⁷ The session in the House of Commons at that time was about the increase in expenditures for the navy which the opposition often rebutted.¹⁸ Apparently Palmerston's name "sank" in Tolstoy's memory during this period, because he uses it in his story Polikushka, a tragic narrative about a Russian serf, which

¹⁵ Tolstoy Remembered by His Son Sergey Tolstoy, p. 15.

¹⁶ Maude, The Life of Tolstoy, Vol. 1., p. 223.

¹⁷ Dole, The Life of Count Lyof Tolstoi, p. 155; cf., Tolstoy Remembered by His Son Sergey Tolstoy, p. 67.

¹⁸ Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 226.

has nothing to do with England.¹⁹ It is believed Tolstoy wrote the story while in London.²⁰

Certain institutions, customs and manners of the English he disliked. Among the institutions, he considered Parliament as a superfluous body, and those public societies which acted as agents of various political or religious parties or organizations - as harmful. He complained to Turgenev about the English type of charity, which consisted in choosing "one's own poor,"²¹ and in handing out to them, at stated periods, a certain minute fraction of one's own income. Indeed, he considered such an activity as hypocrisy.

Tolstoy's notorious break with Turgenev occurred soon after his return from England. The latter attached great importance to the education of his natural daughter. He praised her English governess who requested him to supply his daughter with a fixed sum for charitable purposes and encouraged her to help mend the tattered clothes of the poor. Tolstoy called the whole thing "an

19 L.H. Tolstoi, Complete Works, Vol. 12, Polikushka, p. 2.

20 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 7, p. 346.

21 S.A. Tolstoy, The Diary of Tolstoy's Wife, 1860-1891. Translated by Alexander Werth. London, Gollancz, 1928, p. 74.

insincere theatrical farce."²²As a result, this opinion provoked a violent argument between the two writers which ruptured their friendship for seventeen years.

It was in London that Tolstoy met his distinguished countryman, the revolutionary exile, Alexander Herzen. The latter had long been eager to meet Tolstoy whose Childhood he praised highly in his famous periodical, the Bell.²³By means of this journal many a liberal and democratic English idea travelled clandestinely to Russia, influencing the reforms of 1861. Herzen's young daughter, an avid reader of Tolstoy's stories and his most enthusiastic admirer, was very anxious to meet Tolstoy. Unfortunately, she was disappointed when she saw him. Tolstoy arrived dressed like a London dandy and began to describe a cockfight and a boxing match which he had seen earlier.²⁴

22 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 243.

23 Viktor Shklovskiy, Lev Tolstoy, Moskva, Molodaya Gvardiya, 1963, Vol. 1, p. 291.

24 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 212.

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d) His extensive reading of works on history, philosophy and literary criticism by English authors.

Tolstoy's interest in history, philosophy, the development of social ideas and literary criticism is well known. From his early youth he literally devoured available works of Rousseau, Hegel, Plato, Voltaire, Proudhon, Prescott, Thiers, Michaud, and many other such authors. In particular, the English philosophers, reformers, religious thinkers, idealists and social historians ranked prominently among Tolstoy's reading preferences. And the older he became, the wider grew his circle of intellectual interests. His inborn curiosity, which later acquired a drive to understand and explain the essence of human existence, made him one of the best read men endowed with a formidable reasoning power.

Tolstoy's outlook on life was conditioned by his innate characteristics, yet his personality was moulded under the influence of the ideas he derived from the works of ^{the} world's outstanding philosophers and thinkers, of which England produced so many. His character was in many respects complex and contradictory. Tolstoy was a man whose proud nature and strong sensuality were sharply at variance with an exceptionally keen sense of moral responsibility. This strong ethical sense appeared in him at a very early age.

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Perhaps it was inborn. Indeed, it was almost his only systematic conception of life. Its leading trait was a search for usefulness of all things he considered good. For him life itself had to have its rational purpose, without which death would be too terrible to contemplate. As a young man Tolstoy accepted a kind of pantheism, and came to believe that death ^{merely} was a natural phenomenon which man must accept as a normal part of life. He never entirely outgrew this conception, but later added to it a more positive and definite moral perception of life. He despised in himself the sins of indolence, purposelessness, and self-indulgence, which seemed to him a waste of time and energy. As he grew older, Tolstoy drew further away from the conception of a natural existence. For him life, in its biological aspects, tended to become evil. A critic of his views might almost say that he rejected life in order to propitiate his own fear of death.

Tolstoy's Journal of the years 1847-1853 records numerous instances of his reading Hume's Histoire d'Angleterre.¹ David Hume (1711-1776), a Scottish philosopher and historian, was the author of the famous History of England which Tolstoy began reading in a French translation.

¹ Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 46, passim.

"I begin to like history and to understand its use"² - is one of his entries in the Journal for 1852. One may recall that during his university years Tolstoy had some rather unpleasant experiences with the subject of history, which prompted him to remark: "History is nothing other than a collection of fables and useless trifles messed up with a mass of unnecessary dates and proper names."³ If one takes the quotation of 1852 at its face value, Hume ought to be credited with Tolstoy's change of heart with respect to history! Indeed, Tolstoy did become interested in history - the epilogue of War and Peace bears witness to this fact. There, the name of Hume and his History figure prominently in its variants.⁴ In his Confession Tolstoy maintains that Hume's and Voltaire's writings, although rough, sceptical, and sometimes contradictory, are expressions of people who have faith, while writings of Church Fathers and theologians are merely screens.⁵ Hume is also mentioned in his essay, "What Is Religion and Its Essence?", and a quotation from Hume's works is included in the Circle of Reading

2 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 52.

3 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 58.

4 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 15, p. 224, 226, 243, and 297.

5 Ibid., Vol. 23, p. 63.

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publication.⁶ Tolstoy's letter to the scholar N.N. Strakhov, dated October 16, 1887, quotes Hume, as also do his Notes.⁷

There are certain contradictions in Tolstoy's opinions about the English historian and essayist, Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859). He read his History of England between 1857 and 1859, but his comment at the end of April, 1858, is: "This history is too cold for me."⁸ In 1862 he began to question the idea of civilization's progress in which, like almost all his contemporaries, he had believed, and indulged in a sharp attack on Macaulay for the Third Chapter, Volume One, of his History which, he said, contained no proof that any actual progress had been achieved.⁹ In a variant of his essay, "Progress and the Definition of Education," Tolstoy studied in detail the assumptions of Macaulay that by 1685 real advancement had been attained in England and rejected them by supplying the correct facts.¹⁰ There is a number of mentions of Macaulay and his work in Tolstoy's various essays on education.¹¹ A draft of his early

6 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 35, p. 184, 187; Vol. 41, p. 384.

7 Ibid., Vol. 44, p. 105; Vol. 17, p. 724.

8 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 187.

9 Maude, The Life of Tolstoy, Vol. 1, p. 247.

10 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 13, p. 442-445.

11 Ibid., passim.

comedy, A Contaminated Family, presents Macaulay as a person of antiquated views.¹² Yet among his opinions on certain works of historians, recorded in 1906, opposite the entry on Macaulay one finds a flattering remark: "How easy to read."¹³

The historian, Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-1862), gets from Tolstoy a treatment similar to that of Macaulay. He criticizes Buckle for the assumption of civilization's progress that underlies his History of Civilization in England, which was very popular in Russia at that time.¹⁴ Buckle is mentioned in the play, A Contaminated Family, and in the theory of history in War and Peace.¹⁵ Some dozen references to Buckle are scattered through various writings of Tolstoy.¹⁶

First opinions about the Scottish historian, philosopher, and essayist, Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), were recorded by Tolstoy only in 1894. Apparently his attitude toward Carlyle's different works varied with time. In the beginning he did not like his writings "because he knew in

12 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 7, p. 308.

13 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 546.

14 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 8, passim.

15 Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 254, and 308; Vol. 12, p. 297, and 305.

16 See: Ibid., Vol. 13, 14, and 15.

advance what the historian was going to say."¹⁷ In a conversation with N.N. Strakhov and C.E. Turner, an Englishman teaching in Russia, during the summer of 1894, Tolstoy said the following about Carlyle: "I could never be captivated by him; his infatuation with heroes and aristocracy is revolting, and so is his scorn for the masses."¹⁸ Later, in 1906, he modified this opinion somewhat:

I tried to read Sartor Resartus but could not finish it; heroes and the heroic in history are not very good conceptions. His short book, Sphinx's Riddle, is the best of all - it is first-class reading.¹⁹

On the other hand, Carlyle's works contributed innumerable quotations and aphorisms to various collections Tolstoy prepared during the latter period of his life for the edification of general readers. He was reading and rereading Carlyle, searching for selections to the Circle of Reading, For Every Day, The Path of Life, Thoughts of Wise People.²⁰ In addition, other works of Tolstoy have references to Carlyle and his writings.

Perhaps of the greatest importance for Tolstoy in the field of art and aesthetic criticism was John Ruskin

17 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 199.

18 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 142.

19 Ibid., p. 563.

20 See: Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 91.

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(1819-1900). In him he found a kindred spirit, particularly in the second half of his life. A critic, Edward A. Steiner, who says that Tolstoy was specially attracted by Ruskin, although the two men never met, makes an interesting comparison between them:

Both were aristocrats to their very finger-tips, and both were making the way straight for the coming of a democracy. Both were artistic natures, yet laid great stress upon the value of common labor. Both formulated theories of arts in which they were not masters, and which have caused much shaking of heads among the artists. Ruskin was as intense as Tolstoi, but not so concentrated; he was as religious, but without being so rationalistic. In both of them the religious element was an important part and both have interpreted it "in terms of human relations."²¹

Indeed, a book in Japanese, Prophets of the XIX Century - Carlyle, Ruskin, Tolstoy, groups the three geniuses together.²² The critic Gilbert Phelps discusses the similarities between the three.²³

Sources list Tolstoy as reading, during various periods of time, the following works of Ruskin or about Ruskin: Munera Pulveris, Fors Clavigera, Crown of the Wild Olive, Stones of Venice, Selected Thoughts, Ruskin et la

21 Nathan Haskell Dole quoting Edward A. Steiner in The Life of Count Lyof N. Tolstoi, p. 155.

22 A. Shifman, Lev Tolstoy i Vostok, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoy Literatury, 1960, p. 367.

23 Gilbert Phelps, The Russian Novel in English Fiction, London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1956, p. 142.

Bible, and Ruskin Birthday Book. Perhaps more than one thousand quotations, epigraphs and thoughts from Ruskin's writings went into these publications: the Intermediary, Circle of Reading, Thoughts of Wise People, For Every Day, The Path of Life, and essays.

Among many opinions of Tolstoy regarding Ruskin one may list a few: - to Aylmer Maude he wrote: "His main characteristic is that he cannot free himself fully from the viewpoint of the Church's conception of Christianity."²⁴ In a letter to the peasant T.M. Bondarev he quotes from Fors Clavigera:

It is physically impossible that the true religious knowledge or pure morality could exist among those classes of a nation that do not work for their daily bread with their hands.²⁵

In 1898, the populist writer L.P. Nikiforov published a Russian translation of some selections from Ruskin's writings to which Tolstoy wrote an introduction. In it he said that in England Ruskin was known as a writer and art critic, but was ignored as a political economist and Christian moralist, yet his importance in those respects was undeniable.²⁶

Tolstoy's interest in Ruskin's ideas prompted him to read some works of William Morris (1834-1896), a poet,

²⁴ Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 385.

²⁵ Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 31, p. 70.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 91.

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writer, and Ruskin's chief disciple. Quotations from Morris' writings are to be found in various collections, for example, in the Circle of Reading.²⁷

Of the earlier philosophers Tolstoy knew the writings of Francis Bacon (1561-1626), John Locke (1632-1704), the Irishman George Berkeley (1684-1753), and the statesman-writer Edmund Burke (1729-1797). He was interested in pedagogical views of Bacon, whom, still in 1860, he considered "the founder of materialism."²⁸ In 1874 he read a Russian translation of Novum Organum.²⁹ Several works and publications of Tolstoy contain Bacon's name, titles of some of his essays and quotations of his writings. The situation is similar with Locke and Berkeley. Various ideas of these men have been included in the collections the Circle of Reading and Thoughts of Wise People.³⁰ Berkeley's Apology is considered in Tolstoy's letter of 1893; and in another, dated December 31, 1889, addressed to V.G. Chertkov, a reference is made to Berkeley's ideas as being similar to those of Tolstoy.³¹ Of Burke's works he selects the Enquiry into the

27 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 41, p. 137.

28 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 215.

29 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 48, p. 347.

30 Ibid., Vol. 40, 41, 42, 53, passim.

31 Ibid., Vol. 46, p. 449, 450; Vol. 85, p. 284.

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Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful and deals with it in What Is Art?, and some quotations in the Circle of Reading.³²

Two works of the nineteenth century writers, Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), and William-Angus Knight (1863-1916), occupy a prominent place in Tolstoy's writings during the decades 1880 and 1890. Hypatia, a novel typical of Alexandrian Neo-Platonism of the fifth century A.D., written by Kingsley and published in London (1853), was read by Tolstoy during May of 1884 and was highly praised by him.³³ Somewhat later this novel appeared in an abridged Russian form in the Intermediary.³⁴ "An excellent book,"³⁵ is Tolstoy's comment in reference to Knight's Philosophy of the Beautiful. He was reading the treatise of this London University professor in March 1894.³⁶ The work is discussed extensively in the variants and commentaries of What Is Art?.³⁷

421. 32 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 30, p. 43, 44; Vol. 41, p.

33 Ibid., Vol. 49, p. 89, 95, 96, 100, and 231.

34 Ibid., Vol. 85, p. 187.

35 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 126.

36 Ibid.

37 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 30, 70, 71, passim.

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In the field of social thought Tolstoy read works of distinguished English thinkers and reformers, from Thomas More (1478-1535) to Edward Carpenter (1844-1929). The social aspect of philosophy interested him as much as did the religious or moral elements of it. More's collection of writings about the economic situation in England of his time he read in 1901, rating it as "excellent."³⁸ His Utopia is mentioned in Tolstoy's articles on non-resistance, and quotations from it and his other writings are found in Tolstoy's collections.³⁹ He was likewise interested in Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) whose utilitarian doctrine and quotations from his literary output are reflected in various works of Tolstoy. In June 1889 he was reading the Confessions of an English Opium-Eater by the essayist Thomas de Quincey (1785-1859) who published this work in London in 1886.⁴⁰ The copy of this book is preserved in the Yasnaya Polyana library.⁴¹ Even Confucius' writings, translated into English by the Sinologist, James Legge (1815-1897), found its way into Tolstoy's library, supplying aphorisms for his collections.⁴²

³⁸ Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 392.

³⁹ Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 31, p. 84; Vol. 40, 41, 43, and 45, *passim*.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Vol. 50, p. 93, 94, and 97.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 309.

⁴² Derk Bodde, Tolstoy and China, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1950, *passim*.

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The four socially-minded authors, Owen, Mill, Lewes, and Spencer, had their share in furnishing Tolstoy with material and arguments to strengthen his views. The ideas of Robert Owen (1771-1858) are explored in two Tolstoy's essays: "The Slavery of Our Time," and "On the Social Movement in Russia."⁴³ When, in 1869, a treatise, The Subjection of Women, by John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) appeared in a Russian translation, N.N. Strakhov responded with an article, "The Feminine Question."⁴⁴ Both Strakhov and Tolstoy opposed the feminist movement on the grounds that woman is best left to her natural calling as wife and mother. Mill's Autobiography was of some importance to Tolstoy, and he supported the Englishman's view that it is inconceivable for an all-powerful God to have created a world in which evil exists.⁴⁵ Tolstoy advised students and young people to read the works of the follower of positive philosophy, George Henry Lewes (1817-1878), and himself liked to read them. This author is mentioned in several of Tolstoy's works and drafts.⁴⁶ In the 1890's Tolstoy recorded his reading of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), - his Classification

426. 43 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 34, p. 144; Vol. 38, p.

44 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 333.

45 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 38.

46 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 7, 8, 15, 20, 25, *passim*.

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of Sciences and his article in The Fortnightly Review, "Mr. Balfour's Dialectic."⁴⁷ His opinions, especially regarding parliaments, are to be found in several works of Tolstoy, among them in Anna Karenina, Resurrection, and in the essays, "What Then Must We Do?," "Why Do Men Stupefy Themselves?," and "Social Statics."⁴⁸

Among the younger generation, he was acquainted with the works of Davidson and Carpenter. In 1905 Tolstoy's son-in-law, M.S. Sukhotin, became a delegate to the first Duma. In Tolstoy's eyes the Duma was merely an imitation of Western European democratic institutions. He was glad to see this view shared by Morrison Davidson (1856-1879), a social thinker with anarchist inclinations, whose books he admired. Davidson wrote him of the defects of the English and American legislative systems, and added: "We, the people of Europe, expect from Russia at the present time not imitation, but guidance."⁴⁹ Tolstoy replied gratefully in English:

Your opinion of our Duma is, I regret to say, quite true. I hope that the fallacy of all this will soon be clear to everybody, and that we Russians will travel another road.⁵⁰

47 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 25, and 182.

48 See: Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 16, 25, 27, 38, and 33.

49 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 386.

50 Ibid., p. 386-387.

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Some five books of Davidson's are listed in Tolstoy's memoirs and correspondence: Annals of Toil, The Old Order and the New, The Gospel of the Poor, Let There Be Light, and A New Book of Kings. Numerous quotations, extracted from these works, can be found in the Tolstoy Jubilee Edition.⁵¹ In connection with his reading of the Annals of Toil, Tolstoy expressed his agreement with its Marxian belief that "history must be the history of the working masses," a fact "to be recognized soon by all."⁵²

Edward Carpenter (1844-1929) occupies a special position in Tolstoy's estimation of the English thinkers. In a letter to Aylmer Maude he remarks: "In my opinion, Carpenter is a worthy follower of Carlyle and Ruskin."⁵³ His books, Civilization, Its Cause and Cure, and Prisons, Police and Punishment, he highly appreciated.⁵⁴ In 1898 his eldest son translated Carpenter's article, "Modern Science," into Russian for the Northern Messenger, and Tolstoy wrote a Preface to it.⁵⁵ His wife, who at that time was publishing his Works in separate editions, was anxious to obtain Tolstoy's

51 See: Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 55, and 67.

52 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 296.

53 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 502.

54 Ibid., p. 218.

55 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 402.

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permission to use his introduction to the above article.⁵⁶

Numerous quotations from Carpenter's writings already mentioned and, in addition, those from Love's Coming of Age, were used in these publications: the Circle of Reading, For Every Day, and The Path of Life.

There is a connection between Tolstoy and the well-known literary critic, essayist and poet, Matthew Arnold (1822-1888). At the time of Tolstoy's visit to London both men were interested in questions of education. Afterwards, a lasting intellectual interrelationship and spiritual kinship developed between them. During the decade of the 1880's Tolstoy read Arnold's Literature and Dogma.⁵⁷ His correspondence with V.G. Chertkov contains many a reference to Arnold and his writings. Among them are mentioned Essays in Criticism, God and the Bible, and St. Paul and Protestantism. At various periods of time Tolstoy recommended the inclusions of translations from several of Arnold's works in the Intermediary.⁵⁸ A number of Tolstoy's writings reflect Arnold's ideas, and his Journal records

⁵⁶ Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 269.

⁵⁷ Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 50, p. 38; cf., Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 609, and 711.

⁵⁸ Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 76.

his opinion of this English author.⁵⁹

Matthew Arnold reciprocated Tolstoy's admiration by publishing in the December issue, 1887, of the Fortnightly Review a highly interesting article, entitled "Count Leo Tolstoi," on the latter's literary, religious, and philosophical productions. This essay introduced Tolstoy to the English-speaking readers. The relationship between Arnold and Tolstoy is much more extensive than can be rendered in this survey. Similarly, the survey of the English authors, philosophers and thinkers presented here, with whose works and ideas Tolstoy was concerned, is by no means complete. Other names might be added to this score.

⁵⁹ Folnoe sobranie, Vol. 50, p. 43.

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e) Tolstoy's English friends, translators, and followers of his ideas.

After the appearance of Tolstoy's literary masterpieces his fame began to spread at home and abroad. People representing every walk of life were anxious to see and to talk to one of the world's greatest authors, artists and thinkers. Some were attracted by his literary works, some by his ideas, and some by his magnetic personality. Quite a few of Tolstoy's English friends were at the same time involved in the activity of translating or publishing his writings, or became devoted followers of his teachings.

Among the people of this category the most eminent were Aylmer Maude (1858-1938) and his wife Louise. Having lived in Russia for twenty-three years, he had known Tolstoy personally since 1888, visited him often in Moscow and stayed with him repeatedly at Yasnaya Polyana. His wife was born in Moscow and lived there during the first forty years of her life. Both were good friends of Tolstoy and knew him intimately. Tolstoy read Maude's book, The Tsar's Coronation, and found its epilogue "excellent."¹ In 1896 Maude made the first translation of Tolstoy's writings, an extract from his diary, which he called "The Demands of Love." It appeared in the Daily Chronicle.²

1 Ietopis', 1891-1910, p. 217.

2 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 370.

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The first impression of Maude upon his arrival in Yasnaya Polyana, during the summer of 1897, was succinctly recorded by Tolstoy's wife: "ponderous and dull."³ Yet this successful businessman in Russia ultimately became the best known English translator and biographer of Tolstoy, an ardent follower of his ideas and, for a time, a supporter of the Tolstoyan agricultural colony at Purleigh in Essex. He was also to take a leading role in aiding the persecuted Dukhobors. During subsequent visits at Tolstoy's home, or at his own, Maude discussed with Tolstoy the works to be translated, and co-operated in the preparations of individual versions. The acquaintanceship with the Tolstoy family affairs and with people closely connected with the great man was useful. For years both Maude and his wife were to specialize almost exclusively in translating Tolstoy's works, and their knowledge of his essays and didactic writings helped them to understand his novels and stories which, in turn, strengthened their comprehension of his moralistic creations.

The first long article of Tolstoy that Maude translated was his "Letter on Non-Resistance to E.H. Crosby."⁴

3 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 233.

4 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 370.

In 1898 he published in England his translation of What Is Art?. Tolstoy, who supervised it, declared this English rendition to be the first complete unmutilated and correct edition of that particular work.⁵ Similarly, Tolstoy authorized the English translation of Resurrection by Maude's wife.⁶ At Tolstoy's request Maude went to Canada to arrange the Dukhobor immigration, the history of which he subsequently wrote. In the book called A Peculiar People he dealt at length with the matter that occupied much of Tolstoy's time and attention during the years 1896-1900. In 1901 there came out in London a collection, Tolstoy and His Problems, a series of essays by Maude.⁷ Also in London, seven years later, there appeared his biography, The Life of Tolstoy: Fifty Years and, in 1910, Later Years.⁸ But his and his wife's greatest contribution to Tolstoyana was the preparation of the twenty-one volume Tolstoy Centenary Edition, published by the Oxford University Press. It consists of a two-volume biography followed by translations of Tolstoy's most important writings.

5 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 239.

6 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 465.

7 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 54, p. 432.

8 Ibid., p. 583.

Besides personal contacts, the two men communicated extensively by correspondence. There were many matters to be discussed by mail. In England, the Maudes were working on various Tolstoy translations and biographies, and an exchange of ideas was essential to iron out the arising problems. Financial matters, especially those connected with the publications of translations, and the raising of money for the Dukhobor cause, were settled by letters. The resettlement of the Dukhobors in Canada, which was partly supervised by Maude, involved the two men in additional correspondence. Finally, Maude, being a follower of Tolstoy's doctrines, took an active part in organizing and supervising the Tolstoyan colony in England. The master was also anxious to know how his disciple was doing in this venture. Unfortunately, some letters had to deal with arguments that arose between Maude and V.G. Chertkov, another influential representative of Tolstoy in England. It is an established fact that Maude gained Tolstoy's complete confidence and earned the name of "Dear Friend"⁹ from him, as is revealed in the published correspondence records. The interrelation of these two men deserves a more extensive exploration. Only a brief account can be rendered here.

9 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 70-78, passim.

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Another Englishman living in Russia, Charles Edward Turner (1832-1903), became Tolstoy's friend and translator of some of his writings. Turner settled in Russia in 1852, and ten years later became a lecturer of the English literature and language at the University of St. Petersburg. Eventually he attained a professorship in the Imperial Alexander Lyceum where he remained for a period of more than 40 years. Tolstoy corresponded with him since 1892.¹⁰ In 1894 he visited Tolstoy in Yasnaya Polyana to discuss the translation of the article "Christianity and Patriotism" into English.¹¹ This translation appeared in the Daily Chronicle, May, 1894.¹² He also translated The Four Gospels and wrote a book entitled Count Tolstoi as Novelist and Thinker.¹³ Besides translating and writing, he had been lecturing in England on Tolstoy as an artist and thinker. These lectures were published in 1888 as Studies in Russian Literature. Once he told V.F. Lazurski, a literary historian:

Tolstoy has done more to popularize Russian literature among the English than all your writers put together. In his works there is a purposefulness and a religious interest that the English like.¹⁴

10 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 66, p. 235.

11 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 200.

12 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 52, p. 359.

13 Ibid., Vol. 66, p. 236.

14 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 200.

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An especially frequent exchange of letters between Tolstoy and Turner is recorded during 1894.¹⁵

Another prominent Englishman, William Ralston (1829-1889), Librarian of the British Museum and a corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, became acquainted with Tolstoy through Turgenev. He was an author of a series of books on Russian literature and travelled to Russia several times. Ralston was probably the only one of Turgenev's foreign friends to visit Spasskoe. His Songs of the Russian People (1872) and Russian Folk Tales (1873) were the first such materials to be rendered into English.¹⁶ It was Turgenev who persuaded Ralston to translate The Cossacks, regarding which he wrote to Tolstoy on October 1, 1878.¹⁷ The latter entered into correspondence with Ralston the same month, and inquired as to his opinion about the feasibility of translating his other works into English.¹⁸ Ralston intended to write a long article regarding War and Peace and asked Tolstoy about some biographical data. These data were eventually supplied to him by Turgenev, and the

15 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 67, passim.

16 Ibid., Vol. 62, p. 449.

17 Sophie Lafitte, Léon Tolstoï et ses contemporains, Paris, Pierre Seghers, 1960, p. 76; cf., Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 503.

18 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 62, p. 448-449.

result was an article, "Count Leo Tolstoy's Novels," published in the April, 1879, issue of the journal Nineteenth Century.¹⁹ He was among the first English critics to treat Tolstoy's fiction as a major development in the nineteenth century novel.

Many English friends and well-wishers responded promptly to Tolstoy's appeal for aid during the 1892 famine. Because of crop failures, millions of peasants faced starvation in central and southeastern Russia. In England a special committee was set up to raise funds, and a part of the money was specifically allocated for Tolstoy's use in that contingency. The Daily News, Daily Telegraph, and a number of other London newspapers published Tolstoy's appeal to the committee for the "Russian Famine Fund."²⁰ Fisher Unwin, a London publisher, was the secretary of the Fund and, in that capacity, conducted a correspondence with Tolstoy. The English Quakers contributed very generously to this relief project.²¹ John Bellows, an English Quaker, visited Tolstoy twice during the 1892-1893 period for the purpose of helping the famine-stricken population.²² His name appears often in Tolstoy's correspondence even in

19 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 62, p. 448-449.

20 Ibid., Vol. 66, *passim*.

21 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 171.

22 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 52, p. 343.

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later years, 1892-1910. Maude's friend, E.H. Brayley Hodgetts, who visited Tolstoy's relief kitchens, published a book, In the Track of the Russian Famine, London, 1892, which roused his compatriots' humanitarian feelings.²³ It must be added that the Russian government did not desire to advertise the country's misery at home or abroad, and Tolstoy's efforts in this respect increased the government's hostility towards him.

Another important English helper and friend during the famine years was Dr. Emil J. Dillon (1854-1933). A professor of comparative philology, he lived during the 1880's and 1890's in Russia. Besides his scholarly activity Dillon was the Russian correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph. In December 1890 he visited Tolstoy.²⁴ During the autumn of the following year Tolstoy realized that the public must be informed about the approaching famine. In "Letters on the Famine" he sought to show the social and moral obligations of all to the starving Russian masses. He wrote several other articles on the situation and sent them to various Russian magazines, but had little luck of getting them approved by the censor. In view of such a development Tolstoy gave instructions to his wife to send copies of one of his

23 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 302.

24 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 145.

articles, "A Fearful Problem," to his foreign friends for translation and publication abroad. In the meantime, in January 1892, a Russian review, Books of the Week, published a very abbreviated and much adulterated version of this article. The same month its undeleted translation by Dillon appeared in the Daily Telegraph.²⁵ Immediately, a reactionary newspaper, the Moscow Gazette, attacked Tolstoy for fomenting a vicious propaganda abroad about the famine situation. The matter received undue attention in the Council of Ministers and even at the Imperial Court. Dillon was also rebuked for his temerity in publishing such an article. Even Tolstoy's aunt, Alexandra Andreevna Tolstoy, who was closely connected with the St. Petersburg high society, was mistakenly convinced that this "son of perfidious Albion"²⁶ had published Tolstoy's article in England without the latter's permission.

But Dillon acted in accord with Tolstoy's wishes. Even before publishing "A Fearful Problem," the Daily Telegraph printed his translation of Tolstoy's article, "About Famine," entitled "Why Russian Peasants Hunger?"²⁷ Dillon

25 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 164.

26 Ibid., p. 166.

27 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 63.

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was also the first to prepare an English translation of "Why Do Men Stupefy Themselves?" for the London journal, Contemporary Review, February, 1891.²⁸ Next February Dillon arrived in Begichevka, the "headquarters" of the relief work for the Tolstoyans, to clarify the misunderstanding.²⁹ Tolstoy provided him then with a letter in which he stressed the authenticity of the English version of "A Fearful Problem."³⁰ Unfortunately, the matter was not solved so easily. For some time yet, Dillon, Tolstoy, and the Russian pro-government newspapers were engaged in polemics as to who was right and who was wrong. Years later Dillon has given his side of this whole incident in his book, Count Leo Tolstoy: A New Portrait, London, 1934. In addition, Dillon was the author of several articles on Russian literature. His name is also mentioned in Tolstoy's correspondence with his wife, with V.G. Chertkov, and in connection with such works as The Kreutzer Sonata, "Why Do Men Stupefy Themselves?" and The Kingdom of God Is Within You.³¹

28 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 27, p. 694.

29 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 66.

30 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 169.

31 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 27, 28, 29, 66, and 86, *passim*.

During the summer of 1903, Sidney Carlyle Cockerell, an English art connoisseur, visited Tolstoy in Yasnaya Polyana. Tolstoy talked with him at considerable length on different subjects, among them about Ruskin, Dickens, Shakespeare, Carlyle, and other English authors. The results of this event Cockerell later published as "Notes on a Visit to Leo Tolstoy at Yasnaya Polyana on July 12, 1903."³² After his return he sent Tolstoy several books and an engraving of Thomas More.³³ When, in June, 1904, the Times and other English newspapers printed reviews of Tolstoy's pamphlet, Bethink Yourselves!, dealing with the Russo-Japanese War, Cockerell wrote to him:

Yesterday's Times, which published your daring article, is now read more in England than anything you ever wrote. It will do much for the cause of peace in all countries.³⁴

Actually, some criticism appeared in English newspapers, chiefly in the Times, but its popular appreciation was shown by the Daily News, which welcomed the pamphlet as follows:

Yesterday Tolstoy released one of those great messages to humanity which leads us back to the first fundamental truth and at the same time impresses us with its surprising simplicity.³⁵

32 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 54, p. 523.

33 Ibid., Vol. 74, p. 162.

34 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 487.

35 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 358.

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Besides many other English friends of Tolstoy one ought to mention the great Irishman, George Bernard Shaw. The two men never met but they corresponded extensively, especially during the last years of Tolstoy's life. Naturally, they had much in common in the field of literature, art and ideas. Each read the other's works and expressed his opinions about them. In most cases these opinions were laudatory, but there were also disagreements. Of the latter a special prominence was attained by their dispute about the evaluation of Shakespeare's art.³⁶ Shaw wrote a brilliant, if somewhat intriguing, introduction to Maude's biography of Tolstoy and to Tolstoy Centenary Edition. He reminded his contemporaries that the great Russian author, despite his shortcomings, could be ignored no more than a mountain.³⁷ Shaw was instrumental in preparing and circulating, in 1922, a letter explaining the need and the advantages of such a Centenary Edition. More than one hundred persons of prominence in England, and over twenty in America, became signatories to Shaw's letter.³⁸ He delivered a memorable speech

36 See: S.M. Breitburg, "B. Shou v spore s Tolstym o Shekspire," in Literaturnoe nasledstvo, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1939, Vol. 37-38, p. 617-632.

37 "Bernard Shaw's Criticism of Tolstoy," in Current Literature, Vol. 51, Issue of July, 1911, p. 71-72.

38 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 468-472.

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at the Tolstoy Jubilee Evening, November 30, 1921, in London. These are only the most important aspects of the relationship between Tolstoy and Shaw.

Tolstoy did not properly establish himself in translation until later in the nineteenth century. It was as early as 1858 that his friend, the poet A.A. Fet, sent him an article about Childhood which was published in a London literary journal, the Continental Review.³⁹ The first translation of a work by Tolstoy into any West European language, Childhood and Youth (1862), passed generally unnoticed. One may remark that, unfortunately, a paraphrased rendition, rather than a translation of War and Peace from a French version, was done by an unscrupulous publisher, Henry Vizetelly, for a popular edition in the Everyman series. This untoward event for a long time prevented the appearance of a proper translation of this masterpiece.⁴⁰ Only the publication of The Cossacks (1878) inaugurated an impressive vogue for Tolstoy's works. In 1885 there appeared in English, in several translations, Christ's Christianity, including Confession, What I Believe, and A Short Account of the Gospels.⁴¹

By 1889 there were 27 editions of Tolstoy's works in the

39 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 190.

40 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 457.

41 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 23, p. 553.

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U.S.A., representing 16 different titles, many more than in England.⁴² An article by the critic and writer Havelock Ellis, published in The New Spirit, in 1892, was one of the landmarks in the history of Tolstoy's reception in England.⁴³

Comparably to the Maudes, another English couple, Edward and Constance Garnett, distinguished themselves as Tolstoy translators. They never met the great Russian author. Mrs. Garnett is well known for her translations of Turgenev's works. Between 1890 and 1896, she and an American, Mrs. Aline Delano, rendered into English several of Tolstoy's religious and moralizing articles. Her translation of The Kingdom of God Is Within You, in 1894, is mentioned in Tolstoy's memoirs.⁴⁴ A London firm of William Heinemann was publishing Garnetts' translations of Tolstoy between 1894 and 1904.⁴⁵ The masterpieces, War and Peace, Anna Karenina, The Death of Ivan Ilyich, appeared in his editions, and in 1906 V.G. Chertkov made an agreement with his firm entitling him to publish all new works of Tolstoy in English.⁴⁶ Tolstoy spoke well of the versions of Mrs. Constance

42 Phelps, The Russian Novel in English Fiction, p. 21.

43 Ibid., p. 140; see also: Havelock Ellis, "Tolstoy," in The New Spirit, London, Walter Scott, 1892, p. 174-227.

44 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 28, p. 369; Vol. 67, p. 15.

45 Ibid., Vol. 72, p. 400.

46 Ibid., Vol. 67, p. 14; Vol. 89, p. 35.

Garnett.⁴⁷ Although he detected many shortcomings in her work, her professional "competitor" Maude found her translations quite good.⁴⁸

Of special interest is the case of Tolstoy's follower, friend and translator who knew no Russian at all. John Coleman Kenworthy, an earnest English Methodist minister and writer, visited Tolstoy several times. His name is mentioned in Tolstoy's correspondence as early as 1887.⁴⁹ In 1894 Tolstoy read his book, Anatomy of Misery, liked it very much, and proposed to have it translated into Russian.⁵⁰ Later, he wrote an introduction to this book. Kenworthy became interested in Tolstoyan non-resistance doctrine and in his religious views quite early. In March, 1895, he sent Tolstoy an English translation of Union and Translation of the Four Gospels.⁵¹ At the end of that year he paid Tolstoy a visit in order to talk about his version and publication of Tolstoy's writings.⁵² Having become a prominent advocate in England of his Russian teacher's ideas, he established a Brotherhood

47 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 431.

48 Ibid., p. 461.

49 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 84, *passim*.

50 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 126.

51 Ibid., p. 175.

52 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 216.

Church at Croydon, and a Brotherhood Publishing Company for the dissemination of his own and other works with Tolstoyan tendency.⁵³ In 1896 a misunderstanding occurred between Penworthy and an English journalist, John Mason, concerning the right of the publication in English of "Patriotism or Peace." This article in an epistolary form was addressed by Tolstoy to Mason, and the latter published it in the Daily Chronicle.⁵⁴

The most intense publishing activity of Tolstoyana in England began with the arrival in that country of Vladimir Grigorevich Chertkov (1854-1936). Tolstoy became acquainted with him toward the end of 1883. Both as a guardian angel and as an evil genius, Chertkov played a most significant role throughout the remaining years of Tolstoy's life. He was a serious young officer who tendered his resignation from the army, the general influence of which he considered obnoxious. Then he became a devotee of Tolstoy's teachings. His ability to think as a true Tolstoyan and his power of persuasion made him indispensable to Tolstoy as his closest associate and confidant. In 1897 Chertkov, along with other Tolstoyans, circulated an appeal on behalf of the persecuted Dukhobors, for which he was arrested and

53 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 52, p. 354.

54 Ibid., Vol. 53, p. 444.

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sentenced to five years of exile. He was allowed to select England as his place of banishment. Accordingly, Chertkov and his wife went to that country and settled at Tecton House, close to Christchurch in Hampshire, where they spent the next ten years.⁵⁵

Immediately upon his arrival Chertkov began to rally Tolstoy's English friends and followers in support of a wide publishing activity. His plan was to print in the original a complete collection of Tolstoy's works prohibited by censorship in Russia, and to circulate a series of Tolstoyan pamphlets in the English language.⁵⁶ Even before his departure for England he prevailed upon Tolstoy to sign a letter handing over to him the arrangements for the English versions of Kenworthy's enterprise.⁵⁷ Maude, too, returned to England soon after Chertkov had settled there, and at Tolstoy's request allied himself with Chertkov's and Kenworthy's activity.⁵⁸ With the help of such resourceful friends and with the support of others, Chertkov was able to establish in Christchurch a Russian printing house, the "Free Word" and its branch, the "Free Age Press," for the

55 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 42, p. 667.

56 V. Bonch-Bruевич, editor, L.N. Tolstoy, Letopisi. K 120-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Gosudarstvennogo Literaturnogo Muzeya, 1948, p. 391.

57 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 359.

58 Ibid., p. 371.

English language publications. Both enterprises were very active. During Chertkov's stay in England, the "Free Age Press" published more than 60 large and small works of Tolstoy.⁵⁹ Kenworthy's firm continued printing similar translations between 1896 and 1905. One ought to add that both Chertkov and Kenworthy occasionally published relevant articles in the New Order, a journal of the Tolstoyan colony in Purleigh, Essex.⁶⁰

A number of translators and co-workers participated in Chertkov's venture. He was particularly fortunate in securing the services of A.C. Fifield as manager of the "Free Age Press." Chertkov had a talent for obtaining strenuous, free or cheap service from Tolstoy's sympathizers. Fifield's wife, who wrote under the pen-name of Salome Hocking, left an excellent sketch of him in Belinda the Backward: he could fascinate people to the extent of making them his slaves, but he could also antagonize them into becoming his severest enemies and critics.⁶¹ The less attractive features of his character, especially his stubbornness and temper, were responsible for numerous quarrels between him, Tolstoy's

59 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 85, p. 12.

60 L.N. Tolstoy, Letopisi. K 120-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya, p. 381.

61 Haude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 395.

wife, Maude, Kenworthy and certain Tolstoyans.

A number of Chertkov's co-workers consisted of individuals or groups directly interested in the Tolstoyan movement. There was Herbert P. Archer, the only Englishman who had lived among the Dukhobors in the Caucasus and wrote about their colonies.⁶² He was helpful in the process of their resettlement in Canada.⁶³ A member of the English Quakers and a friend of Kenworthy, Eliza Pickard, assisted Chertkov for some two years in writing various articles.⁶⁴ An English journalist, Harry Battersby, writing under the pen-name of Francis Prevost, was the translator of What Then Must We Do?.⁶⁵ Florence Holah co-authored with Chertkov A Short Biography of William Lloyd Garrison, the great emancipator of the American slaves. The work was published by the "Free Age Press" in 1903 with Tolstoy's introduction.⁶⁶ Another English woman writer and journalist, Isabella Fyvie Mayo, translated Tolstoy's The End of an Age for the same publication.⁶⁷ Frank Thompson visited Yasnaya Polyana at the

62 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 395, and 383.

63 Ibid., p. 383.

64 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 72, p. 411.

65 Ibid., Vol. 52, p. 327.

66 Ibid., Vol. 54, p. 536.

67 Ibid., Vol. 76, p. 145.

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end of 1906 and, after his return, became Chertkov's co-worker.⁶⁸ Succeeding A.C. Fifield as manager of the "Free Age Press," Thomas Laurie remained in that position from 1902 to 1910. Agnes and Mabel Cook translated for him Tolstoy's treatise, On Life, in 1902.⁶⁹

There were, of course, translators and newspapermen not connected with Chertkov's Press. Prominent among them was an English Doctor of Law and the Librarian of the British Museum, Charles Theodore Hagberg Wright. He translated Father Sergey, Hadji Murad, The False Coupon, and a number of other works of Tolstoy.⁷⁰ He also wrote about Tolstoy in English journals. On the occasion of the great man's eightieth anniversary Wright presented him personally a message of greetings and lofty praise. It was signed by more than eight hundred of his countrymen, including such figures as Meredith, Hardy, Wells, and Shaw.⁷¹ S.W. Daniel, publisher of the London journals, The Open Road and The Crank, and his wife Florence, as translators and editors, were responsible for the popularization of Tolstoy's works among the

68 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 77, p. 45.

69 Ibid., Vol. 26, p. 783.

70 Ibid., Vol. 75, p. 82.

71 Ibid.

English readers. They began to correspond with Tolstoy in 1906 and paid him a visit three years later.⁷² Likewise, the editor of London's Daily Chronicle, A.E. Fletcher, and its correspondent, V.B. Steveny, had an occasion to visit Yasnaya Polyana in the 1890's.⁷³ They exchanged letters with Tolstoy regularly and published several of his translated writings in their Daily.⁷⁴ Among other well-known translators of Tolstoy's works one might mention Katherine Mansfield (1888-1923), a short-story writer and literary critic.⁷⁵

But the relations with another London editor turned out to be less auspicious. William Thomas Stead (1849-1912), of the Review of Reviews, upon his visit to Tolstoy in 1888, published in the same year a book entitled Truth about Russia. In this book Stead dedicated a number of chapters to Tolstoy, proclaiming him as a super-Christian, but did not evaluate him as a novelist. Since Truth about Russia was simultaneously published in London, Paris, New York and Melbourne, it was not long before Tolstoy began receiving, from various newspapers, printed reports about

72 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 56, p. 427; Vol. 77, p. 33, and 34.

73 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 135.

74 Ibid., p. 135, and 263.

75 Phelps, op. cit., p. 189.

himself and his views which were not always satisfactory to him. They were apparently based on the information extracted from that book.⁷⁶ The April 29, 1890, issue of the Review of Reviews brought Stead's article, "The Story of the Month: Count Tolstoi's Kreutzer Sonata."⁷⁷ Tolstoy received the journal regularly, and his opinions of it ranged from "most interesting" to "disgusting."⁷⁸ In August, 1905, Stead sent to Yasnaya Polyana his article, "Count Tolstoi," which the Russian writer disliked, considering it as a piece of journalese.⁷⁹

When Stead was trying, through Maude, to arrange another visit to Tolstoy that year, the latter was at first favourably disposed to this request. However, he changed his mind upon learning that Stead was preparing to devote to him the Christmas Annual of the Review of Reviews for 1906, and wanted to ask him to contribute something to this issue.⁸⁰ Tolstoy, averse to the commercial exploitation of literature, looked upon this request as an attempt to make money out of him. As a result, he declined to furnish anything and withdrew his invitation to Stead to visit him

76 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 246.

77 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 65, p. 83.

78 Ibid., Vol. 51, p. 95.

79 Ibid., Vol. 76, p. 25.

80 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 444.

in Yasnaya Polyana.⁸¹

The above list of early English translators, which is not complete, and which does not include the Americans, may be supplemented by certain Russian translators. One of them was Baroness E.I. Mengden, to whom Tolstoy gave permission, in 1875, to render all his works into English.⁸² Similarly, P.I. Biryukov, one of Tolstoy's most devoted disciples and his future biographer, occasionally translated some of his writings. On October 23, the Times published his rendition of "Persecution of Christians in Russia in 1895" which was in reference to the Dukhobors and contained Tolstoy's introduction and epilogue.⁸³ It goes without saying that the Chertkovs belonged to the most active group in this field.

The blame for the imperfection and fortuity of Tolstoy's works in translation, which appeared during the second half of his life, rests partly with the great writer himself. An English critic of that period, J.H. Penson, correctly observes:

81 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 444.

82 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 62, p. 145.

83 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 191.

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Tolstoy /.../ by refusing copyright and inviting any one and every one to translate and publish his works, brought down upon the public a confused host of editions and translations, most of them hasty and ill-revised. In consequence his works have been, and still are, more obscure to English readers by misrepresentation than those of any other writer of first rank.⁸⁴

Apparently even an everyday access to some 3600 titles of English books and a large number of English periodicals, which were amassed in his library, could not imbue Tolstoy with the sense of English practicality.

Failure, if not disaster, overtook a great many disciples and followers of Tolstoy's various humanitarian ideas who tried to put them into practice. Tolstoy erred where many noble minds erred before him by advocating a remedy that fails when put to the test: trying to cure social ills by persuading people to stand aside from the main streams of human life. One of those unsuccessful ventures, which began to develop under the influence of his writings in the 1880's was the formation of "Tolstoy Colonies." They were springing up in various parts of Russia and, generally speaking, they failed to attain the goals for which they were set up. Later, similar colonies were started in England, Holland, and the United States, inflicting privations on those who joined them and causing much discord. Not a single colony

⁸⁴ Aylmer Maude quoting J.H. Penson in The Life of Tolstoy, Vol. 1, p. 456.

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was able to hold to its principles and show a satisfactory record. Their great stumbling-block proved to be the law of non-resistance, which condemns all physical force used to prevent any one from doing what he likes. Non-resistance occasioned harm when a man or a community adopted it as a rigid rule and thereby deprived himself, or itself, of the power to check obvious wrongs in what was sometimes the only way they could be checked.

A Tolstoyan agricultural colony was established in 1897 at Purleigh, near Maldon in Essex. Aylmer Maude, who at that time accepted Tolstoy's teaching unreservedly, became an active supporter of this colony. His co-workers were, besides Kenworthy, Arnold Eiloart who adapted Tolstoy's story, Ivan the Fool, for the English stage, and a Tolstoyan disciple, D.A. Khilkov, just released from exile in Russia. The colony had its own journal, The New Order. In its initial stage Tolstoy was sending encouraging letters to Maude and to other members of the colony.⁸⁵ At this point it ought to be mentioned that both Tolstoy and Chertkov avoided involving themselves in such undertakings, although the latter, because of his close connection with the colony, fomented discontent, quarrels and disunity

85 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 374.

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among its members.⁸⁶ Soon some adherents were disappointed to find that the rejection of the ordinary ways of carrying on industry and business was not conducive to efficient and harmonious activity, while zealous partisans of the movement, reluctant to admit that there was a flaw somewhere in the teaching, preferred to lay the blame on one another. Partly owing to the strain it put upon men's minds, and partly because all strenuous movements attract some ill-balanced people, there was much insanity at Purleigh. After many disappointments the operations in the colony were summed up by one sympathizer in these words: "There is more tomfoolery to the square yard in this movement than in any that I have ever known."⁸⁷ In reply to Maude's letter about the disintegration of the Purleigh colony, Tolstoy wrote as follows:

The failure of life in the Colony about which you write, is only an indication that the form of life which was chosen by the Colonists for the realization of their spiritual needs was not adequate. When a definite inner content exists in man, it finds for itself a corresponding form - generally unconsciously, i.e., when one is not thinking about the form and when the form is not defined in words.⁸⁸

86 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 379.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid., p. 405.

There was another Tolstoyan colony near Leeds. Tolstoy wrote a letter about it to one of its supporters, Ernest Ames, who was also Chertkov's co-worker. It was dated November 20, 1899.⁸⁹ This colony likewise ended in failure. In 1897 Tolstoy was visited by Arthur St. John, an English ex-officer from the India service.⁹⁰ Under the influence of Tolstoy's teaching he left it and took an active part in the Tolstoyan movement. He was interested in agricultural colonies and, after a trial participation in one in England, he went to Russia to study the Dukhobor problem. He also published a small provincial weekly, the Midland Herald, in which articles on Tolstoy's teachings and excerpts of his works appeared. St. John brought the money from the Quakers for the Dukhobor cause. He travelled to the Caucasus to contact them personally, but for his pains he was eventually arrested and deported.⁹¹ Tolstoy corresponded with him quite extensively from 1895 until 1910.⁹² Some five years before St. John's trek to the Caucasus two English Quakers covered the same distance.⁹³ The English Quakers never failed to

⁸⁹ Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 72, p. 247.

⁹⁰ Ibid., Vol. 68, p. 13.

⁹¹ Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 234.

⁹² Tolstoy, Letopisi. II 120-letiyu so dnia rozhdeniya, p. 72, and 114.

⁹³ Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 88.

answer the call of oppressed humanity, and, in the case of the Dukhobors, they contributed both financial and moral support in helping to find them a refuge.

During the years of his religious and moral crisis Tolstoy became acquainted with some Russian followers of Lord Grenville Radstock (1831-1913), an ardent and persuasive English Evangelical preacher who travelled throughout Russia. Two brochures of Lord Radstock, "Safe and Happy" and "Under the Wing," which were popular in St. Petersburg during the 1870's, even found their way into Anna Karenina.⁹⁴ In 1888 Tolstoy read Modern Pharisaism, a book by an English religious writer, Albert Blake, noting in his Journal: "Glad to find views similar to my own."⁹⁵ Tolstoy corresponded with Blake in English.⁹⁶ The works of these two English authors supplied him with some philosophical and religious ideas to solve his crisis.

Among less~~er~~ known English followers of Tolstoy's teachings one might mention the following: A preacher and journalist, Walter Walsh, who, in 1905, wrote The Greater

94 L.N. Tolstoy, Sobranie sochineniy v dvadtsati tomakh, Moskva, Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoy Literatury, 1960, Vol. 9, p. 351.

95 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 700.

96 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 64, p. 193-195.

Parables of Tolstoy.⁹⁷ A woman, Ethel Wedgwood, was the author of the book entitled Tolstoy on Land and Slavery which was published in London.⁹⁸ Tolstoy evaluated this work as being "excellently composed" and wrote the author a letter to that effect.⁹⁹ Another woman, Dorothy Nesbitt, in a letter of January 3, 1910, described her life and the influence of Tolstoy's teachings on her.¹⁰⁰ To this list one might add a writer, Andrew White, who once visited Tolstoy, and sent him a book.¹⁰¹ However, the proselytizing activity of two English youths, Tom Ferris and Bertie Rowe, only annoyed Tolstoy. In 1903 they turned up at Yasnaya Polyana bent on converting him to spiritualism.¹⁰² Their half-starved, ragged condition aroused Tolstoy's pity. He fed and clothed them, and bought them return tickets to Moscow.¹⁰³

When Tolstoy's fame as a thinker and humanitarian spread abroad, many benevolent societies were anxious to

97 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 54, p. 661.

98 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 730.

99 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 80, p. 218.

100 Ibid., Vol. 81, p. 48.

101 Ibid., Vol. 56, p. 523.

102 Ibid., Vol. 88, p. 284.

103 Ibid.

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obtain the permission to use his name for their purposes. Thus The Manchester Tolstoy Society was formed. In 1895 its head, Percy Redfern, himself an author of a book on Tolstoy, wrote to him for support. Tolstoy replied:

I have always been of the conviction - and it cannot be changed - that to be a member of the ancient society founded by God at the beginning of the conscious life of humanity is more productive for myself and mankind than to be a member of any restricted society organized by us for the achievement of those aims which we in substance recognize /.../104

In 1900 The International Tolstoy Society for the propagation of his doctrines was founded.¹⁰⁵ A League of Universal Brotherhood of Native Races Association in London elected him as its vice-president.¹⁰⁶ In April, 1910, John Eastham, an organizer of the First Universal Racial Congress, invited Tolstoy to participate in its meetings in London. Tolstoy wanted to reply that all this was a jest coming from a representative of an empire, but Chertkov did not allow the letter to be sent.¹⁰⁷ It is therefore clear that Tolstoy was openly opposed to any such organizational ideas of his followers.

104 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 311.

105 Ibid., p. 297.

106 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 76, p. 297.

107 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 761.

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The above survey gives one an idea about Tolstoy's early acquaintance with the many aspects of English culture and about his direct or indirect involvement in some of these aspects during his mature life. In most cases he found a close correspondence between the ideas expressed by the English writers, philosophers and thinkers and his own. These intellectual contacts were very beneficial to his creative development. They exposed Tolstoy to the spiritual wealth of a great nation from which he could assimilate all that was the best. Familiarity with English culture enabled him to better understand human psychology in general and the way in which the English mind works. His great power of comprehension, analysis, adaptation and perfectioning of acquired ideas, and his talent of blending them with his own thoughts made him evolve into a universal genius.

CHAPTER II

TOLSTOY-THACKERAY

It is not easy to give a precise characterization of the Victorian period in English literature. The main features which distinguish this age in reference to life in general are: improved standards of morality, self-satisfaction engendered by the great increase of wealth, the prosperity of the nation as a whole, conscious rectitude and deficient sense of humour, and an unquestioning acceptance of authority and orthodoxy. Indeed, the literature of the time reflects these characteristics but does not limit itself only to them. "One is too prone to think of this era as an isolated and very British phenomenon of hoop skirts, frills, bustles, tight lacing and much fainting, lap dogs, large families, correct thinking, prudery, smug piety, and sentimental hypocrisy."¹

Actually, "Victorianism" existed in the nineteenth century in countries which had not gone through the same kind of experience as the Victorian England. The well-known literary critic, G.M. Young, used to ask his hearers which Victorian novelist wrote this passage:

¹ Joseph E. Baker, editor, The Reinterpretation of Victorian Literature, New York, Russell & Russell, 1962, p. 57.

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She had been brought up in one of the most exclusive establishments where three objects are regarded as of the highest importance. First comes French, then the piano, that she shall be able to amuse and soothe her husband, and lastly, a thorough acquaintance with the principles of household economy in its highest and most aesthetic sense, including the art of knitting purses.²

Was it Thackeray or Dickens or George Eliot? And he loved to give the answer: "It comes from Gogol's Dead Souls, I suppose the most intensely Russian book ever written."³

The year 1832, the date of the First Reform Bill, is generally accepted as the beginning of the early Victorian era, although Queen Victoria actually came to the throne in 1837. Critics consider this date as convenient for literary reasons, too: Walter Scott died in 1832, and his death marks a break with the period of the Romantic Revival; Goethe died in the same year; Coleridge and Lamb two years later; the Oxford Movement was making a definite beginning at that time; Tennyson and Browning were proffering their first poems; Dickens was scoring his earlier successes - all before Queen Victoria's accession. The upward limit for the period is fixed at 1860, a date also convenient from the literary point of view. The main reasons

2 Asa Briggs quoting G.M. Young in Victorians and Victorianism, Saskatoon, University of Saskatchewan Press, 1966, p. 16-17.

3 Ibid., p. 17.

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underlying this choice are the significant works that appeared about that time: Darwin's Origin of Species, Essays and Reviews, George Eliot's Adam Bede, and Meredith's Ordeal of Richard Feverel, which seem to indicate a new phase of Victorian development.⁴

William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863), born in Calcutta, the son of an East India Company official, had the advantage of attending institutions of higher learning in England. Throughout his whole life Thackeray was a journalist. Up to 1854 he was a regular contributor to Punch, and, later, the editor of The Cornhill. As a novelist he began late with Vanity Fair (1847-48), when he was thirty-six. Ten years later he was working at his last considerable novel, The Virginians (1857-59). Previously, in 1848-50 he had published Pendennis, in 1852 Henry Esmond, and in 1853-55 The Newcomes. Thackeray was also the author of The Book of Snobs, and his most ambitious, as well as his longest poem was, of all things, "The Legend of St. Sophia of Plooff." It was based, so the prefatory note informs us, on the legend of St. Sophia, whose statue is said to have walked of its own accord up the river Dnieper to take its station in the Church of Kiev. It is an amusing poem, but

4 John W. Cunliffe, Leaders of the Victorian Revolution, New York, Russell & Russell, 1963, p. 17.

it does not bear to any marked degree the imprint of Thackeray's individuality.⁵

Vanity Fair showed him at his best in a clear-sighted realism, a deep detestation of insincerity, as well as in a broad and powerful development of the narrative. His characterization is very subtle, and he is less troubled about presenting a moral solution than about evoking an image of life as he has seen it. This gives the true mark of greatness to Thackeray's portrait of Becky Sharp. She is an adventuress and a deceitful woman, but he presents her in such a manner that the audience can never retain an attitude of detached judgement. If the novel is populated with characters of the Becky Sharp type, then there is little wonder that Thackeray decided to give it the subtitle, "A Novel without a Hero." No wonder, likewise, that his contemporaries criticized him for his cynicism, while modern critics find him excessively sentimental.⁶

As an artist, Thackeray showed no consistent development from this first brilliant work. If Vanity Fair is "a novel without a hero," then Pendennis is certainly

5 See: The Works of Thackeray, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911, Vol. 20, "The Legend of St. Sophia of Kioff," p. 120-142.

6 Lewis Melville, William Makepeace Thackeray, London, Ernest Benn, 1927, p. 240.

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"a novel without a villain."⁷ It also contains frequent autobiographical elements. Thackeray was more intent on maintaining a unity of interest, but his grasp of the development of the plot is very slack. "In Pendennis and The Newcomes it drifts along in a succession of episodes to be cut short or extended as the author's caprice dictates. And both he and Trollope think nothing of having two or three plots, devoid of any essential connection, flowing on in a happy parallel independence at the same time."⁸ To complement the strength of the design which Vanity Fair possesses, Thackeray exhibits his skill in the presentation of individual scenes and characters. He is quite delicate in the portrayal of sentiment, and in the person of Colonel Newcome he tries to show what an English gentleman would like to be.

The defect in the structure of these two novels is corrected in Henry Esmond, which Thackeray wrote as a historical novel pertaining to the eighteenth century and even to final decades of the seventeenth, a period of which his lectures on "The English Humorists" and "The Four Georges" reveal him as a master. In Esmond he re-created the

7 Lionel Stevenson, The Showman of Vanity Fair, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947, p. 222.

8 David Cecil, Early Victorian Novelists, London, Constable, 1960, p. 8.

atmosphere of the age of Queen Anne, with a plot carefully devised, and a theme difficult to control. A similar historical reconstruction of the Old and the New World he tried to effect in another novel, The Virginians. It is, in a way, a continuation of Henry Esmond.

The outstanding French literary critic, Hippolyte Adolphe Taine (1828-1893) considered Thackeray the gloomiest of the English satirists after Swift.⁹ Several chapters in The Book of Snobs, those, for instance, on literary snobs, are worthy of Gulliver.¹⁰ Like Rousseau, Thackeray praised simple and affectionate manners; and like Rousseau, he hated the distinction of ranks. His satire is directed against aristocracy.¹¹ Almost everywhere, when Thackeray describes fine sentiments, he derives them from an ugly source: tenderness, kindness, love, are in his characters the effect of the nerves, of instinct, or of a moral disease. Amelia Sedley, Lady Castlewood, and Helen Pendennis may be considered as portrayals of such sentimentalities.¹²

9 Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, History of English Literature, New York, The Colonial Press, 1900, Vol. 3, p. 223.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

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The English critics see Thackeray's talent in a different light. No novelist has had a firmer grasp on the hard facts of individual existence. To Thackeray, as to Tolstoy, reality was

a thick, opaque, inextricably complex web of events, objects, characteristics, connected and divided by literally innumerable unidentifiable links /.../ gaps and sudden discontinuities /.../ visible and invisible.¹³

An eminent Victorian critic, Lord David Cecil, observed that Thackeray was "the first novelist to do what Tolstoy and Proust were to do more elaborately - use the novel to express a conscious, considered criticism of life."¹⁴ Cecil's understanding and sympathy in connection with the evaluation of Thackeray's works equals that of George Saintsbury, another important critic. But even Cecil seems to shoot wide of the mark when he speaks of the author of Vanity Fair, Pendennis, and Henry Esmond. He considers these works comparable to David Copperfield, The Return of the Native, The Idiot and Anna Karenina, as "imposing a moral order on experience."¹⁵

¹³ Gordon N. Ray, Thackeray. The Age of Wisdom. (1847-1863), New York, McGraw-Hill, 1958, p. 426-427.

¹⁴ Cecil, Early Victorian Novelists, p. 76.

¹⁵ J.Y.T. Greig, Thackeray. A Reconsideration, London, Oxford University Press, 1950, p. 5.

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When, in early 1850's Tolstoy began to write, Russian prose was more or less at the crossroads. In Pushkin, Lermontov and Gogol the purely narrative prose had already reached a climax which could hardly be surpassed. It was the critic Belinsky who tried to direct it along a new path and thus inaugurated the so-called "Natural School" in Russian literature. From literature in general he demanded simplicity, sincerity, truth to life and, likewise, service to Man. This, in the 1840's, meant a humanitarian trend towards betterment of mankind.

The roots of Tolstoy's art are to be found in his diaries which he kept, with intermissions, since 1847. Minute observation, self-analysis, self-criticism, a strong didactic and moralizing propensity -- such are the main characteristics of those diaries.¹⁶ Such are also at least some features of his writings whose affinity with his diaries is beyond doubt. He is particularly interested in discovering the semiconscious suppressed motives of his actions and in exposing the insincerity of the superficial ego. A detail that cannot fail to strike the reader of his diaries, as well as of certain of his stories written in the 1850's, is his inordinate love for classifications, which he arranges under numbered headings. It is a minor

16 Davie, "Tolstoy, Lermontov, and Others," p. 193.

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but nevertheless a significant detail. One is also struck by his predilection for psychological analysis. Nothing was safe from the lancet of his dissecting mind. Tolstoy's art is not the spontaneous revelation of the subconscious, but the conquest of the subconscious by lucid understanding.¹⁷

His first writings may best be understood as attempts to break sharply with literary Romanticism and to create a sense of real life as it exists. To this end he employs a great deal of specific, almost photographic, details. These details seem to depict not so much the objects and persons as to create the illusion of depth and reality, to imply that things are described with encyclopedic thoroughness. This use of particular details is continued through his two masterpieces. Only after his spiritual "conversion" did Tolstoy abandon it as an unnecessary mannerism of the realistic style.

Tolstoy was an intensifying not an inventive artist: he created people, but he did not invent characters and situations out of his head.¹⁸ He drew mainly on three sources: many of his characters had their prototypes in real life; borrowings from memoirs and histories;¹⁹ and, he

¹⁷ Boris Eykhenbaum, Lev Tolstoy, Leningrad, Friboy, 1928, Vol. 1, p. 104.

¹⁸ R.F. Christian, Tolstoy's "War and Peace." A Study, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962, p. 86.

¹⁹ Ibid.

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was ready to accept, if not always to acknowledge, inspiration from literature.²⁰ He often became absorbed in reading before turning anew to creative writing.²¹

Tolstoy's acquaintance with Thackeray's works began in 1853.²² At that time he was still in the Caucasus awaiting a transfer to the new theater of War - the Crimea. His Journal under January 21, 1854, records the following statement: "Thackeray was preparing his first novel for 30 years, and Alexander Dumas writes 2 novels per week."²³ Of course, there is no truth in this statement - Tolstoy was mistaken. Entries in the Journal and Notebook during June 1855 abound in mentions of reading the following works of Thackeray: Vanity Fair, Henry Esmond, The Newcomes and Pendennis.²⁴ One page in the Journal may serve as an example of these entries: "June 6 - read Esmond; June 7 - read Esmond, which I finished reading; June 8 and 9 - I am spending entire days reading Vanity Fair; June 10 - irregular reading of Vanity Fair."²⁵ He wrote in the Notebook for

20 Gusev, Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Materialy k biografii s 1870 po 1881 god, p. 193.

21 Ibid.

22 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 112.

23 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 46, p. 232.

24 Ibid., Vol. 47, *passim*.

25 Ibid., p. 45.

June: "Thackeray is objective to such an extent that his characters defend their false views, which are in opposition to each other, with an extremely clever irony."²⁶

Apparently in 1856 Tolstoy was rereading some of Thackeray's works, because he mentions them repeatedly in his Journal. The Newcomes he admired greatly.²⁷ In a letter to N.A. Nekrasov, dated July 2, 1856, Tolstoy asks to send him the fourth part of The Newcomes in the original English.²⁸ A Russian translation of The Newcomes appeared in the Contemporary, books 9-12, 1855, and 1-8, 1856.²⁹ In Tolstoy's library at Yasnaya Polyana there was preserved a four-volume Leipzig edition of The Newcomes, dated 1854-55.³⁰ A letter of November 19, 1856, to Valerya V. Arsenev, a neighbouring girl whom Tolstoy was considering as a marriage prospect at that time, recommends to her three sisters the reading of La foire aux vanités.³¹ In addition to the French version there appeared simultaneously two Russian translations of this novel in two competitive journals:

26 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 45, p. 184.

27 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 156, footnote.

28 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 120.

29 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 47, p. 346.

30 Ibid., Vol. 51, p. 195.

31 Ibid., Vol. 60, p. 120.

the Contemporary and the Fatherland Notes.³²

Between 1853 and 1856 Tolstoy read The Book of Snobs.³³ It was also in 1856 that the critic A.V. Drushinin, whose aesthetic views were similar to those of Tolstoy, was publicizing the works of Thackeray, in addition to which he wrote an enthusiastic article on The Newcomes.³⁴ Tolstoy's critic and biographer, Boris Eykhenbaum, presumes that Tolstoy must have been familiar with this article and had learned from it certain details of Thackeray's artistic and stylistic devices.³⁵ In 1857 The Newcomes was still the reading material for Tolstoy.³⁶

On the lighter side, when in 1863 Tolstoy was planning to write a comedy about nihilism, his father-in-law, A.E. Behrs, who was informed of this project, expressed the following idea about Leo: "/.../ you are our Thackeray, you have plenty of logic /.../"³⁷ In 1868, when his younger sister-in-law, Tanya, was to take a trip by

32 Eykhenbaum, Lev Tolstoy, Vol. 1, p. 76.

33 Antoni Semczuk, Lew Tolstoj, Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, 1963, p. 81.

34 Ibid.

35 Eykhenbaum, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 249-250.

36 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 177.

37 Tatyana A. Kuzminskaya, Tolstoy as I Knew Him, New York, Macmillan, 1948, p. 302.

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train, Tolstoy advised her to dress à la mode and have an English novel, Thackeray's, near at hand in the coach.³⁸

Other interests occupied Tolstoy's mind during the next two decades. His favourite English novelists, among them Thackeray, were neglected during that period. Yet, even then, a variant of What Is Art? mentions Thackeray's name as an author deserving of respect.³⁹ In 1890-91 Tolstoy was reading The Newcomes again. His opinion of the novel was not quite as favourable then.⁴⁰ On June 8, 1890, he notes: "There is in The Newcomes Clive's kindly mother-in-law; she torments both him and herself, only she suffers more."⁴¹ Tolstoy's Introduction to the Thoughts of Wise People acknowledges Thackeray's contribution to this collection.⁴² A quotation from Thackeray reads: "Sow action, and you reap habit; sow habit, and you harvest character; sow character, and you harvest fate."⁴³ An adaptation of epigraphs may be considered as a case of literary borrowing

38 Kuzminskaya, Tolstoy as I Knew Him, p. 460.

39 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 30, p. 246.

40 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 142.

41 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 51, p. 47.

42 Ibid., Vol. 39, p. XXIV.

43 Ibid., Vol. 40, p. 202.

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Tolstoy and Thackeray each underwent an unpleasant experience when ~~they were~~ ^{he was} twenty-nine years of age: they both witnessed a public execution, as a result of which both had similar ideas about capital punishment. On his return to Paris Tolstoy saw a man put to death by the guillotine. It made a lasting impression on him. He wrote in his diary under the date of April 18, 1858:

I rose before seven and went to see an execution. A stout, healthy neck and breast. The man kissed the Gospel, and then - death. How senseless! It made a deep impression /on me/ which will not be wasted. I am not a man of politics. Morals and art I know and love - they are within my powers. The guillotine kept me long from sleeping and made me reflect.⁴⁴

Similarly Thackeray, who in 1840 witnessed the execution of Courvoisier, the murderer of Lord William Russell, wrote of his revolt against murder, whether performed by a ruffian's knife or a hangman's rope, whether accompanied by a curse from the thief as he blows his victim's brains out or by a prayer from a judge on the bench in his wig and black cap.⁴⁵ He described the incident in Fraser's Magazine in an article entitled, "Going to See a Man Hanged."⁴⁶ Later, Thackeray revised his opinion about

44 Dole, The Life of Count Lyof Tolstoi, p. 116-117.

45 Ibid., p. 117.

46 Malcolm Elwin, Thackeray. A Personality, London, Jonathan Cape, 1932, p. 92.

judicial executions and came to regard such "sickly sentimentality" as wrong.⁴⁷ On the other hand, Tolstoy's views on the iniquity of capital punishment strengthened with age.

Thackeray occupies an important place among those English writers whose writings affected Tolstoy's early works. He was especially attracted then by Thackeray's treatment of human vanity so brilliantly presented in his Vanity Fair and The Book of Snobs. The satire of aristocratic or middle class society and the ideas for the creation of characters, as portrayed in Thackeray's works, were also elements which served Tolstoy as a source of inspiration. Both authors described a world which had been known to them intimately but which, in their hearts, they deeply disliked. The result of it was, in both cases, some entertaining reading for the public, not devoid, however, of moralizing tendencies. Both men were at heart moralists who could not help coming forward to preach a sermon from time to time. As a result, both were subjected to criticism for these tendencies, although the period in which they wrote was conducive to moralization.

The first traces of the treatment of human vanity are already visible in a draft of the story entitled

47 Dole, op. cit., p. 117.

A Christmas Night, written in 1853. The description of a society ball with its display of vanity and snobbery clearly indicates Tolstoy's preoccupation with this aspect of human behaviour.⁴⁸ The critic Konstantin Leontiev believes that Tolstoy had an urge to search for vanity in all people and on all occasions.⁴⁹ However, like Thackeray, he finds these proud and vain impulses in people of the educated class only.⁵⁰

During the next two years he was fighting in the Crimean campaign and describing it in unadorned realistic colors. His first patriotic sketch, Sevastopol in December, added greatly to his fame, and he realized this. At this time Tolstoy wrote in his diary: "/I/ have only now reached a period of real temptation through vanity. I could gain much in life if I wished to write without conviction."⁵¹

But he turned his back on the temptation of fame. In his next sketch, Sevastopol in May, he exposed the war with all its folly, cruelty, futility and hypocrisy. He ended the sketch:

48 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 3, p. 246-250.

49 Konstantin Leontiev, "The Novels of Count L.N. Tolstoy: Analysis, Style and Atmosphere," in Essays in Russian Literature, Athens, Ohio University Press, 1968, p. 304.

50 Ibid., p. 306.

51 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 132.

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There, I have said what I wished to say ...
 The hero of my tale, whom I love with all the
 strength of my soul, whom I have tried to set
 forth in all his beauty, and who has always been,
 is, and always will be most beautiful, is - the
 truth.⁵²

Tolstoy revealed the folly, hypocrisy, and utter futility of all that slaughter. Officers were eager to climb on the shoulders of fallen comrades in order to reach the promotions their deaths had made possible. Every one of them was a little Napoleon, a petty monster ready to kill men to get an extra medal or one-third additional pay.

As to the topic of human vanity Tolstoy devoted much space, especially in his second sketch. Writing a story in which the hero was Truth itself, he could not omit such an important problem as vanity, which actuates human beings even at the hour of their death. He bursts out with indignation against this vice:

Vanity! Vanity! and vanity everywhere, even on the brink of the grave, and among men ready to die for the highest convictions, vanity! It must be that it is a characteristic trait, and a peculiar malady of our century. Why was nothing ever heard of this passion among the men of former days any more than of the smallpox or the cholera? Why, in our age, are there but three sorts of people: those who accept the principle of vanity as a fact whose existence is inevitable and, therefore, just; those who accept it as an unfortunate but invincible condition; and

⁵² Tolstoi, Complete Works, Vol. 11, Sevastopol in May, p. 268.

those who, unconsciously, act with slavish subservience under its influence? Why did Homer and Shakespeare talk of love, of glory, of suffering, while the literature of our age is nothing but an endless narrative of snobs and vanity?⁵³

The above sentences read as if they came from the pen of Thackeray in his masterpiece Vanity Fair or The Book of Snobs. Thackeray observed human nature from a similar point of view. His George Osborne is one of the men described in the above passage. Here is how the author finds George and those similar to him on the eve of the great battle:

Our friend George was in the full career of the pleasures of Vanity Fair.

There never was, since the days of Darius, such a brilliant train of camp-followers as hung round the Duke of Wellington's army in the Low Countries in 1815, and led it dancing and feasting as it were, up to the very brink of battle.⁵⁴

It is true, Thackeray looks somewhat condescendingly on human follies. He is even inclined to excuse his characters for being vain, as his famous ending of Vanity Fair indicates.⁵⁵

Tolstoy lacks Thackeray's satirical approach in his Sevastopol Sketches. He wants to combat human vanity by

⁵³ Sevastopol in May, p. 228-229.

⁵⁴ W.M. Thackeray, Vanity Fair, London, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1899, p. 315.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 784.

means of straightforward criticism. His main purpose is to show the truth about war and to contrast the heroism and self-sacrifice of common soldiers with the vain endeavours of worthless higher officers. While the soldiers live for months in dirt and mud and finally die, their superiors think only about pleasure, military fame, distinction, and promotion. Tolstoy cannot look indifferently on the injustice and suffering on one side, and on the pride, incompetence, and vain desires on the other.

In Vanity Fair Thackeray presents either individuals or whole classes of society in their empty pursuits of life. People always imagine that they are better than others and try to treat their fellow-men accordingly. The ladies of Lord Steyne's company consider Rebecca Crawley as someone inferior and simply refuse to speak to her during a party.⁵⁶ The petty German princes of the Rhine principalities, although extremely poor and insignificant, give themselves airs of importance and power.⁵⁷

Tolstoy's higher officers in Sevastopol Sketches are of the same kind. Even at the front they strive to show their superiority and look for every opportunity to humiliate their inferiors. Here is a sample of their behaviour:

56 See: Thackeray, Vanity Fair, p. 553.

57 See: Ibid., p. 709.

At this moment an officer of the infantry entered the room.

"I I was ordered may I present myself to the Gen.... to his Excellency from General N?" he inquired, bowing with an air of embarrassment.

Kalugin rose but, without returning the officer's salute, he asked him, with insulting courtesy and strained official smile, whether "they" would not wait awhile; and, without inviting him to be seated or paying any further attention to him, he turned to Prince Galtsin and began to speak to him in French so that the unhappy officer, who remained standing in the middle of the room, absolutely did not know what to do with himself.⁵⁸

And yet these same officers are human, and behave decently when they are in their own circle. They only put an air of artificiality in the presence of the people not belonging to their class, just like the ladies of Lord Steyne's acquaintance:

But it is worthy of note that not only Prince Galtsin, but all the gentlemen who had placed themselves here, one at the window, another with his legs coiled up under him, a third at the piano, seemed totally different persons from what they had been when on the boulevard; there was nothing of that absurd arrogance and haughtiness which they exhibited in public to the infantry officers; here they were among their own set, and natural, especially Kalugin and Prince Galtsin, and were very good, amiable, and merry fellows.⁵⁹

Adjutant Kalugin is a very good example of human vanity. Whatever he does, it is with one end in view - to show off. His desire to create the best impression of

⁵⁸ Sevastopol in May, p. 236.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 235.

himself does not leave him even in moments of danger.

Malugin is actuated by vanity, by a desire to shine, by the hope of reward, of reputation, and by the charm of risk.⁶⁰

He resembles George Osborne in his plans to perform some deed of distinction during the war in order to be mentioned in the papers and thus to become reconciled with his father.

In Vanity Fair Thackeray presents a few typically vain characters, seen in different situations and on different occasions, who serve Tolstoy as models in his Sevastopol Sketches. The most important character in this respect is Joseph Sedley or Jos, the fat, cumbersome, lazy, stupid, cowardly, and extremely vain official in the Indian service. He has a very high opinion of himself, but everybody else knows his true value.

Jos, a civilian, goes over the Channel to Brussels together with the English troops to fight Napoleon's forces in the spring of 1815. He is full of enthusiasm and, although he does not belong to the army, he struts about in a military frock-coat, Hessian top-boots, and sword.⁶¹ With great assiduity he follows parades and drills and listens with the utmost attention to the conversation of his friends.

60 See: Sevastopol in May, p. 248.

61 See: Vanity Fair, p. 234.

officers.⁶² Joseph's courage is prodigious. He exclaims: "Doney attack us! My daer creature, my poor Emmy, don't be frightened. There is no danger. The Allies will be in Paris in two months, I tell you."⁶³

As to his external appearance and circumstances Joseph Sedley suggests Tolstoy's Pierre Bezukhov; however, the latter's character is completely devoid of vanity. On the other hand, a uniformed version of Jos, with an admixture of other characters, is Captain Mikhaylov. Like Jos, he was awkwardly built, not quite graceful, and seemed to be constrained in his movements.⁶⁴ He liked to parade in trousers with straps, and brilliantly polished his calf-skin boots.⁶⁵ In the hope of advancement he had transferred from the cavalry to the infantry for the duration of the campaign.

Like George Osborne and many of Thackeray's officers, Mikhaylov forms happy plans for fame and promotion. Although he is an adult person, he still dreams and plans in the same way as an adolescent:

62 Vanity Fair, p. 297.

63 Ibid., p. 299.

64 Sevastopol in May, p. 224.

65 Ibid.

And what will be the joy and amazement of Natasha when she suddenly reads in the "Invalid" a description of how I was the first to climb upon the cannon, and that I have received the George! I shall certainly be promoted to a full capitancy, by virtue of that old recommendation. Then I may very easily get the grade of major in the line, this very year, because many of our fellows have already been killed, and many more will be in this campaign. And after that there will be more affairs on hand, and a regiment will be entrusted to me, since I am an experienced man lieutenant-colonel the Order of St. Anna on my neck colonel!⁶⁶

In spite of his bright hopes for pleasure and distinction in Brussels, Jos Sedley is greatly frightened by the first cannon shots during the beginning of the Battle of Waterloo.⁶⁷ He gets ready to flee from Brussels and wants to take his sister with him.⁶⁸ His fear is increased by the arrival of a Belgian hussar who swears that the Allied armies are cut to pieces and that he is one of the few who managed to escape from death.⁶⁹ Carts with wounded soldiers begin to roll into the city and Jos looks with painful curiosity at their haggard faces, disfigured with pain and groans.⁷⁰ A much louder roar of cannon is heard, and cowardice gets the better of Jos. He flees from

66 Sevastopol in May, p. 226.

67 Vanity Fair, p. 343.

68 Ibid., p. 346.

69 Ibid., p. 346-348.

70 Ibid., p. 354.

Brussels, leaving behind his sister whom he has promised to protect.⁷¹

Captain Mikhaylov is not quite such a coward as Jos. He is actuated by mixed feelings of fear and by a narcissistic desire to be regarded as heroic during his first moments in the front lines. He thinks:

It is certainly foreordained that I am to be killed to-night, I feel it. And the principal point is that I need not have gone, but that I offered myself. And the man who thrusts himself forward is always killed. And what's the matter with that accursed Nepshisetsky? It is quite possible that he is not sick at all; and they will kill another man for his sake, they will infallibly kill him. However, if they don't kill me, I shall be promoted probably If I don't turn out a major, then I shall certainly get the Vladimir Cross.⁷²

But what a relief it is for Captain Mikhaylov when, instead of getting killed, after three hours under fire, he is recalled with his unit from the lines. Like Jos in Brussels, he considered during those three hours that his end was inevitable and, after receiving the order to withdraw, "he had great difficulty in keeping his feet from running away with him when he issued from the lodgements at the head of his corps, in company with Praskukhin."⁷³

Fear overpowers Jos Sedley only for a short time.

⁷¹ Vanity Fair, p. 359-360.

⁷² Sevastopol in May, p. 232.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 250.

Out of the danger, his vanity again takes possession of him. Upon his return to India he never ceases to talk about Napoleon, about the Battle of Waterloo and his own prowess in it, so much so that people of his acquaintance begin to call him "Waterloo Sedley."⁷⁴ His vanity reaches such an absurd stage that he boasts that "Napoleon never would have gone to St. Helena at all but for him, Jos Sedley."⁷⁵

Among Tolstoy's officers, those who have participated longer in battle never boast of their military prowess. On the contrary, it is men like Jos, who never saw battle or saw very little of it, that brag about their bravery.

The adjutant Kalugin, who does not know very much about military affairs at the front, tries to display his knowledge, like Jos about the Battle of Waterloo, to Prince Galtsin who knows still less about those things. He is not a specialist, yet he considers his judgment on military matters to be particularly accurate even if he uses wrong technical terms in explaining the position of the troops.⁷⁶

Prince Galtsin, a novice in the matter of war, behaved exactly like Jos Sedley in Brussels. After the first

74 Vanity Fair, p. 429.

75 Ibid., p. 650.

76 Sevastopol in May, p. 237.

shots at Waterloo Jos went out into the street mingling with the excited population.⁷⁷ And at the moment when a frightful crash of rifles was heard above the roar of the cannon at Sevastopol,

Prince Galtsin, under the influence of that oppressive emotion which the signs of a battle near at hand produce on a spectator who takes no part in it, went out into the street, and began to pace up and down there without any object.⁷⁸

The Belgian hussar, who fled from the field of action after the first encounter and repulse by the French, exaggerated greatly, saying that all the forces had been smashed to pieces and that only a few survived the onslaught of the French.⁷⁹ Tolstoy noticed the same thing: "A soldier who has been wounded in an engagement always thinks that the day has been lost, and that the encounter has been a frightfully bloody one."⁸⁰

In the sketch Sevastopol in December Tolstoy gives a picture of an officer of the Jos Sedley type who, over a bottle of wine, vaunts his valour:

The former has already drunk a good deal, and it is evident, from the breaks in his narrative, from

77 Vanity Fair, p. 344.

78 Sevastopol in May, p. 239.

79 Vanity Fair, p. 346-348.

80 Sevastopol in May, p. 242.

his undecided glance expressive of altogether too prominent a part which he has played in it all, and from excessive horror of it all, that he is widely departing from the strict statement of the truth.⁸¹

In Vanity Fair, George Osborne and his wife Amelia, who are merely children of merchants, are ignored in Brussels by the members of English noble families. Finally, George manages to become acquainted with Lord Bareacres' family and invites them to a splendid dinner.⁸² His vanity seems to be greatly flattered, but his joy is only of short duration, for Lady Bareacres and her daughter, although they condescendingly allow George to pay handsomely for their dinner, exclude his wife completely from the conversation, make her uncomfortable, and are determined to ignore their new acquaintances when in London.⁸³

⁸¹ Tolstoi, Complete Works, Vol. 11, Sevastopol in December, p. 214.

⁸² Vanity Fair, p. 304.

⁸³ Ibid.

Captain Mikhaylov's vanity, like Osborne's, drives him to join the company of higher officers whom he calls "aristocrats," but at the same time he is afraid to approach them:

What if they should, all at once, refuse to recognize me, or, having bowed to me, what if they continue their conversation among themselves, as though I did not exist, or walk away from me entirely and leave me standing there alone among the "aristocrats."⁸⁵

There is a connection between Vanity Fair and The Book of Snobs on the one side and the second Sevastopol Sketch on the other. The idea of snobbery, in a military context, is well expressed in the following passage:

To Captain Obzhogov, Staff-Captain Mikhaylov was an "aristocrat." To Staff-Captain Mikhaylov, Adjutant Kalugin was an "aristocrat," because he was an adjutant, and was on such footing with the other adjutants as to call them "thou." To Adjutant Kalugin, Count Nordov was an "aristocrat,"

⁸⁵ Sevastopol in May, p. 228.

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because he was an adjutant on the emperor's staff.⁸⁶

The word "snob" has a place in the English vocabulary. It is difficult to define it. Yet everybody knows what a snob is.⁸⁷ He is a child of aristocratical societies: he respects the man on the step above him, and despises the man on the step below him; in his innermost heart he finds it natural to kiss the boots of the first, and to kick the second; for one master there are always a hundred lackeys.⁸⁸ And among the snobs none are more insufferable than military snobs. They are to be found in all ranks, from a general to a cornet.⁸⁹

Tolstoy finished the third sketch, Sevastopol in August, in December 1855. The inspired war correspondent of the two previous sketches is absent. Here he is the author who is transposing the stuff of life into art. The didactic element and lyricism have, likewise, disappeared. Living characters, especially the two Kozeltsov brothers, give a touch of unity to the loosely constructed narration. But also in this sketch, in its panoramic, leisurely method of

⁸⁶ Sevastopol in May, p. 228.

⁸⁷ The Works of Thackeray, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911, Vol. 17, The Book of Snobs, p. 261.

⁸⁸ Taine, History of English Literature, Vol. 3, p. 223.

⁸⁹ See: The Book of Snobs, Chapter IX, "On Some Military Snobs."

telling the story, in the manner in which the plot is sacrificed to a number of details, and in its objectivity, one may detect a certain influence of Thackeray.⁹⁰ The Sevastopol Sketches are clearly efforts in the direction of the great masterpieces which came later.⁹¹

Thackeray's theme of vanity and the delineation of Thackerayan characters are visible in another Tolstoyan tale from military life, published in 1856, and entitled Meeting a Moscow Acquaintance in the Detachment.⁹² This long and awkward title was forced on him by the censor who was suspicious of the original short one, Reduced to the Ranks. In the story Tolstoy describes a meeting, during a military expedition in the Caucasus, between an officer and a Moscow nobleman, an acquaintance of his, who has been sent out as a common soldier for some insubordination.

The unfortunate soldier, Guskov, complains to the officer about the hard life in the regiment to which he, being of noble birth, cannot become accustomed. He manages to gain the officer's confidence to such an extent that the latter even lends him some money. But the first impressions which Guskov makes on the officer are not true. Later on

90 Eykhenbaum, Lev Tolstoy, Vol. 1, p. 237-238.

91 Ibid., p. 238.

92 Semczuk, Lew Tolstoj, p. 82.

the officer learns the real character of Guskov, who is but a snob, coward, and ingrate.

Guskov pretends to be a man to whom the military life, with its everyday monotony, stupid and coarse jokes, senseless parades and drills, card games, and drunken bouts, is insufferably dull and wearisome. He complains to the officer that "you might live ten years, and not see anything, and not hear about anything, except cards, wine, and gossip about rewards and campaigns."⁹³

In reality Guskov is not the intellectual he simulates to be, but a gambler, drunkard, boaster, and liar of the very type he criticizes. When a single cannon-ball explodes near the spot where the officer and Guskov are conversing, the latter acts like another Jos Sedley:

He crouched, cowering close to the ground, and stammered, trying to say something. "Th - That's th - the enemy's f - f - fire th - that's hidi"⁹⁴

And in vain did the officer look for his partner to finish the conversation - the latter disappeared instantaneously.⁹⁵ When, later on, the officer happened to pass by the tent in which Guskov was stationed, he heard him bragging in a loud

93 Tolstoi, Complete Works, Vol. 12, An Old Acquaintance, p. 102.

94 Ibid., p. 106.

95 Ibid.

voice about his importance, and drinking wine which he had bought with borrowed money.⁹⁶

In the stories written in the second half of the 1850's and early 1860's Tolstoy's center of interest is shifted from analysis to morality. Such tales as The Memoirs of a Billiard Marker, Two Hussars, Albert, Lucerne, Three Deaths, Polikushka, Strider: the Story of a Horse, and the novel Family Happiness are frankly didactic and moralistic, much more so than any of the stories of his last, dogmatic period. Their moral is the fallacy of civilization and the inferiority of the civilized, conscious, sophisticated man, with his artificially multiplied needs, as contrasted with natural man. They are important as an expression of that moral urge which was finally to bring Tolstoy to A Confession and to all his later work and teaching.

Two Hussars, a tale of military but not war life, published in 1856, also reflects Thackerayan method of treatment. In this tale he describes life in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the period that is dealt with in Vanity Fair and The Newcomes. In order to turn a moral, a didactic or other idea into a structural principle, Tolstoy often made use of the method of contrasts. But instead of showing his antitheses dramatically, he handled

96 An Old Acquaintance, p. 108.

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the theme in such a manner as to transfer the reader in turn from one contrast to the other until, through comparison, the basic idea underneath was brought out as concretely as possible. Two Hussars, originally entitled Father and Son, presents a dissimilarity between the characters of two generations. Accordingly, the story falls into two parts.

In the first is portrayed Count Fedor Turbin, a typical officer in a hussar regiment at the beginning of the century. He is a handsome, dashing young aristocrat, who appears for a single night in a provincial town and throws its society into turmoil. He likes to drink, to dance, to play cards, to spend his money left and right, but towards women he is gallant, and towards other people, generous. He forces a professional gambler, on the point of calling him to a duel, to return the money won at cards to its desperate owner, an inexperienced young card-player. To a gypsy band he recklessly casts bundles of bank-notes. Whenever he has money, he spends it, and when he has none, he borrows. In a wild escapade, before leaving town, he seduces a pretty widow. Yet no one is shocked by his behaviour, for his daring, generosity, and noble nature win him the admiration of all.

In the second part - about twenty years later - his son is described. The contrast is pointed, for the son is

a member of contemporary society which is noted for its calculating, materialistically priggish and miserly nature. Chance brings him to the same provincial town. As an officer he thrusts himself into the house of the widow his father had seduced and is billeted there. An experienced player, he wins money at cards from the unsuspecting widow and cynically lets her go into the expense of preparing meals, serving drinks, and arranging sleeping accomodation for himself and his fellow-officer. He tries unsuccessfully to seduce her pretty daughter. The young Turbin's petty, self-conscious characteristics have none of the natural, lovable qualities of his scapegrace father, and he leaves behind him a definitely unpleasant impression.

The real theme of Two Hussars is the opposition of the two Turbins. Tolstoy's preference for the older generation, and his condemnation of the modern, are clearly apparent: the father is depicted with sympathy, the son - with distaste. The author looks toward the elder Turbin for ideals. He, in a sense, creates him a Dickensian character. The younger Turbin has the evil aspects common to heartless Thackerayan men.⁹⁷ In his diary Tolstoy noted a friend's remark that the son was described without love. This is the key to the story. At this time Tolstoy entered a significant

97 Semczuk, Lew Tolstoj, p. 82.

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literary observation in his Notebook:

The first condition of an author's popularity, i.e., the way to make himself loved, is the love with which he treats all his characters /.../ Thackeray and Gogol, though faithful to life and to the artistic, are pitiless and not at all affectionate.⁹⁸

The similarity between Thackeray's and Tolstoy's treatment is evident in the introduction to the tale. ~~and in the manner in which the family relationship is used to join both parts~~ There is a connection in this respect with The Newcomes.⁹⁹ Here is a quotation from the first chapter of this novel:

There was once a time when the sun used to shine brighter than it appears to do in this latter half of the nineteenth century; when the zest of life was certainly keener; when tavern wines seemed to be delicious, and tavern dinners the perfection of cookery; when the perusal of novels was productive of immense delight, and the monthly advent of magazine-day was hailed as an exciting holiday /.../ when the women of this world were a thousand times more beautiful than those of the present time /...etc./, /etc../.¹⁰⁰

The paragraph continues in like manner for more than a page. The second chapter also has such reminiscences.¹⁰¹

98 N.N. Ardens, Tvorcheskiy put' L.N. Tolstogo, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1962, p. 99.

99 Eykhenbaum, Lev Tolstoy, Vol. 1, p. 250.

100 The Works of Thackeray, Vol. 5, The Newcomes, p. 8.

101 Ibid., p. 19.

Similarly, Tolstoy begins his tale with a page-long paragraph:

Early in the nineteenth century, when there were as yet no railways or macadamized roads, no gaslight, no stearine candles, no low couches with spring cushions, no unvarnished furniture, no disillusioned youths with eye-glasses, no liberalizing women philosophers, nor any charming "dames aux camélias" of whom there are so many in our times, in those naïve days, when leaving Moscow for Petersburg in a coach or carriage provided with a kitchenful of home-made provisions one travelled for eight days /...etc./, /etc../.102

Again, the second part of the story has an introduction of its own:

More than twenty years had gone by. Much water had flowed away, many people had died, many born, many had grown up or grown old; still more ideas had been born and had died, much that was old and beautiful and much that was old and bad had perished; much that was beautiful and new had grown up, and still more that was immature, monstrous, and new, had come into God's world.103

The same method appears at the beginning of the Decembrists, the fragment Tolstoy began writing in 1860:

This happened not long ago, in the reign of Alexander II, in our days of civilization, progress, questions, regeneration of Russia, and so forth, and so forth; at a time when all of Russia celebrated the annihilation of the Black Sea fleet, and white-stoned Moscow received and congratulated on this happy event the remainders of the crews of that

102 Tolstoy Centenary Edition, Vol. 5, Two Hussars, p. 69.

103 Ibid., p. 111-112.

fleet, offering them a good Russian cup of vodka, and bread and salt, according to the good Russian custom, and bowing down to their feet. It was that time /...etc./, /etc./.104

Of course, we do not deal here with a concept of direct borrowing, but there is no coincidence in the similarity of the tone and evaluations. In resurrecting the customs and people of "olden times" Tolstoy reaches Thackeray's tradition of family chronicle. It seems that the author of The Book of Snobs played an important role in the origin of the "chronicle phase" in Tolstoy's works.¹⁰⁵ This refers not only to Two Hussars but also to War and Peace.¹⁰⁶ Despite the fact that Eykhenbaum in his study, Lev Tolstoy, admits a certain influence of Thackeray on Tolstoy's literary devices in Two Hussars and the Decembrists, he does not

104 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 17, Decembrists, p. 7.

Dickens infuses trenchancy and point into this convention, drawing it tautly together by paradox, e.g.:

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair /...etc./, /etc./.

The Works of Charles Dickens, London, Chapman and Hall, 1906, Vol. 28, Tale of Two Cities, p. 1.

105 Semczuk, Lev Tolstoj, p. 81;
Eykhenbaum, Lev Tolstoy, Vol. 1, p. 238.

106 Ibid., p. 250.

exclude the possibility that such a transition from the first to the second part could have been prompted by an article of a critic, B. Almazov, in 1851, who uses similar stylistic devices.¹⁰⁷

In the September issue of the Contemporary, 1857, Tolstoy published a story entitled Lucerne which he called an "article." It is his first moralistic tract. Here he develops ideas of the beauty of primitive art and its blending with nature, and of the fixed opposition of nature, morality, and art to political and social conventions. The voices of Rousseau and Thackeray ring loud and clear. Lucerne is, in a way, a signpost in Tolstoy's vast literary creations, pointing to the future moralizing direction of his works. The story deals with an incident during Tolstoy's stay there at the Schweizerhof hotel in July, 1857, which was outlined in Chapter I of this dissertation.

In reference to Lucerne Turgenev wrote to the critic V.P. Botkin on August 4, 1858: "I read his little article written in Switzerland. I did not like it. It is a mixture of Rousseau, Thackeray, and an abridged orthodox catechism."¹⁰⁸ To Tolstoy he wrote on December 7 of the same

107 Eykhenbaum, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 247-248.

108 N.N. Gusev, Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Materialy k biografii s 1855 po 1869 god, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1957, p. 224.

year: "Go your own way and write, but not in the style of the Lucerne moralizing-political sermon."¹⁰⁹ One ought to add that Turgenev was an admirer of Thackeray's works and visited him in London, in 1856.

In Lucerne Tolstoy cannot help noticing the airs of vanity exhibited by the English who travel as tourists in Europe. Thackeray dedicates a whole chapter to "English Snobs on the Continent" in his Book of Snobs. He describes them:

That brutal, ignorant, peevish bully of an Englishman is showing himself in every city of Europe. One of the dullest creatures under heaven, he goes trampling Europe under foot, shouldering his way into galleries and cathedrals, and bustling into palaces with his buckram uniform. At church or theatre, gala or picture-gallery, his face never varies. A thousand delightful sights pass before his bloodshot eyes, and don't affect him. Countless brilliant scenes of life and manners are shown him, but never move him. He goes to church, and calls the practices there degrading and superstitious; as if his altar was the only one that was acceptable. He goes to picture-galleries, and is more ignorant about art than a French shoeblack. Art, Nature, pass, and there is no dot of admiration in his stupid eyes; nothing moves him, except when a very great man comes his way, and then the rigid, proud, self-confident, inflexible British Snob can be as humble as a flunkey and as supple as a harlequin.¹¹⁰

Here is how Tolstoy finds the English tourists at meal-time:

¹⁰⁹ Gusev, Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Materialy k biografii s 1855 po 1869 god, p. 224.

¹¹⁰ The Book of Snobs, p. 127-128.

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On all sides gleamed the whitest of laces, the whitest of collars, the whitest of teeth - natural or artificial - and the whitest of complexions and hands. But the faces, many of them very handsome, expressed only a consciousness of their own well-being and a complete lack of interest in all that surrounded them, unless it directly concerned themselves; and the whitest of hands in rings and mittens moved only to adjust a collar, to cut up beef, or to lift a wine glass: no mental emotion was reflected in their movements /.../ Individual tourists, men and women, sat beside one another, not even exchanging a look /.../ Knives and forks moved on the plates with scarcely any sound, food was taken a little at a time /.../ The waiters, involuntarily subdued by the general silence, asked in a whisper what wine you would take.¹¹¹

But snobbery is not limited to any particular class of society, as both Thackeray and Tolstoy know it. Thackeray prepared a whole book to expose various kinds and degrees of snobs. Tolstoy notices it in the behaviour of the Swiss servants and the tourists. When he invited the itinerant singer to the hotel's dining room, this was his observation:

The waiter who came to take our order looked at us with a mildly supercilious smile and, thrusting his hands in his pockets, exchanged remarks with the hunchbacked dish-washer. He evidently wished to let us know that, feeling himself immeasurably superior to the singer in social standing, as well as on his own merits, he was not at all offended, but even quite amused, to be waiting on us.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Tolstoy Centenary Edition, Vol. 5, Lucerne, p. 223-224.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 234-235.

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Though we were shown to another table, I sat down with the dirty singer close to the Englishman, and ordered the unfinished bottle to be brought me. The Englishman and the lady looked first with surprise and then with anger at the little man who sat beside me more dead than alive. They exchanged some words, and the lady pushed away her plate and rustled her silk dress as they went away.¹¹³

This attitude provoked ire in the impetuous young Tolstoy.

He remarked on that occasion as follows:

I think that if the waiters and the porter had not been yielding I should have enjoyed a fight with them, or could have whacked the defenceless young English lady on the head with a stick. Had I been at Sevastopol at that moment I would gladly have rushed into an English trench to hack and slash at them.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Lucerne, p. 243.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 242.

The direct indignation against man's vices, so characteristic of Tolstoy's early works, gradually changes into a philosophical approach, though not devoid of sarcasm, in his later works. Thackeray's manner of writing was also sarcastic, but Tolstoy considered it as somewhat too cold for himself.¹¹⁵ The works written during the late 1850's reflect generally the philosophizing approach of Rousseauan-Thackerayan type to exhibit the inanities in human nature.

During the nineteenth century the theme of war occupies an ever greater place in European literature. The growth of the realistic tendencies and the decrease of the classic and romantic influence facilitates the development of the historical novel based rather on the material of the past than that of the present. Chapters on Napoleonic battles in La Chartreuse de Parme, Vanity Fair or Les Misérables played an important part in this development, enlarging the frame of action in a given novel. Still they

115 Tolstoy Remembered by His Son Sergey, p. 57.

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remain only as episodes helping to motivate the various turns of fate of the novels' characters. The episodes are not, however, connected with the problems of contemporary society as a whole. Tolstoy absorbed this accumulated experience in the description of war in European literature, and on its basis prepared new paths in this field. In War and Peace he depicted military activities in an unusually concrete, profound and artistically perfect manner.¹¹⁷ In this respect he considerably outdistanced the literary requirements and usages of Thackeray (in The Virginians), Walter Scott and Stendhal.¹¹⁸

The literary historian D.S. Mirsky says the following about this epic: "The philosophy of the novel is the glorification of nature and life at the expense of the sophistications of reason and civilization." ... "It is only the sophistication of conscious reason that contrives to spoil it. The general tone may be properly described as idyllic. The inclination towards the idyllic was from first to last an ever present possibility in Tolstoy. It is the opposite pole to his unceasing moral uneasiness."¹¹⁹

117 T.L. Motyleva, "L. Tolstoy i sevreennye zarubezhnye pisateli," in Literaturnoe nasledstvo, Vol. 69, Part 1, p. 159.

118 Ardens, Tvorcheskiy put' L.N. Tolstogo, p. 99.

119 D.S. Mirsky, A History of Russian Literature, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1955, p. 260-261.

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Tolstoy had the talent of an epic writer, but only when he turned towards an historical epoch did he produce a great epic. It was history that deepened the epic essence of his creativeness. At an earlier stage of his literary career the circumstances brought him in contact with Thackeray on the point of history. In formulating his famous quotation about Homer and Shakespeare on one side, and snobs and vanity on the other, in Sevastopol in May Tolstoy wished to indicate the very weak spot in contemporary European literature -- the decrease of attention paid to great universal subjects.¹²⁰

The nineteenth century reality evoked anger in Thackeray which resulted in pathos in his works and scepticism in his philosophy of life. Everything exalted, including heroism in history, aroused his doubts. In his novel, Henry Esmond, he writes:

¹²⁰ B.I. Bursov, Lev Tolstoy i russkiy roman, Moskva-Leningrad, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1963, p. 59.

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Why shall History go on kneeling to the end of time? I am for having her rise up off her knees, and take natural posture: not to be forever performing cringes and congees like a court-chamberlain, and shuffling backwards out of doors in the presence of the sovereign. In a word, I would have history familiar rather than heroic.¹²¹

The above quotation freely presents Thackeray's programme in his historical novels. It was already accomplished in the preceding work, Vanity Fair.¹²² Tolstoy could not disregard Thackeray's views in this respect if only for the fact that he was always greatly interested in the English novel.¹²³ And there is more than a simple coincidence between the two great novels, as some critics have noted.

Both in Vanity Fair and in War and Peace the authors deal with the same era -- the Napoleonic wars. There are undeniable proofs that Tolstoy, working on his epic some twenty years later than Thackeray, took into account the English writer's depiction of the subject.¹²⁴ Like

¹²¹ W.M. Thackeray, The History of Henry Esmond, Esq., New York, Grosset & Dunlap, 1931, p. 4.

¹²² Bursov, Lev Tolstoy i russkiy roman, p. 53.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Viktor Shklovskiy, Material i stil' v romane L'va Tolstogo "Voyna i mir," Moskva, Federatsiya, 1928, p. 224.

Thackeray, he is merciless in exposing the heroic side of History. But while the English novelist arrives at the conviction that historic events bring people only misfortunes in general, the Russian novelist seeks to discover a truly heroic content in history. It is not excluded that some pages of War and Peace contain polemic points addressed against Thackeray's novel.¹²⁵ In any case, individual passages in both novels give us ground for such conjectures.

In Chapter XXVIII of Vanity Fair Thackeray describes the moment preceding the Battle at Waterloo. Here he discusses the course and causes of historic events. The beginning of the long paragraph reads:

Those who like to lay down the History-book, and to speculate upon what "might" have happened in the world, but for the fatal occurrence of what actually did take place (a most puzzling, amusing, ingenious, and profitable kind of meditation), have no doubt often thought to themselves what a specially bad time Napoleon took to come back from Elba, and to let loose his eagle from Gulf San Juan to Notre Dame.¹²⁶

Thackeray scoffs at such people: what happened had to happen! This resembles Tolstoy in his theory of fatalism.

125 Bursov, Lev Tolstoy i russkiy roman, p. 62-63.

126 W.M. Thackeray, Vanity Fair, New York, The Modern Library, 1933, p. 302.

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Indeed, Thackeray was actually close to the fatalistic view of the course of history. But history, as defined in its generally accepted sense, interests him little. He is mainly concerned with what goes on outside the framework of history. He extends his own indifference to history to all people in general. From his point of view every human being is interested only in his own affairs, therefore all kinds of general problems are to him irrelevant. Directly after the derisive presentation of those who would like to speculate about the outcome of historical events, Thackeray continues: "In the meanwhile the business of life and living, and the pursuits of pleasure, especially went on as if no end were to be expected to them, and no enemy in front."¹²⁷

Let us now turn to War and Peace. Tolstoy describes a moment no less difficult for the Russians than the one depicted in the above excerpt from Vanity Fair in reference to the inhabitants of Brussels. Moscow is occupied by Napoleon. The destiny of Russia is being decided:

When Russia, already half-conquered, saw the inhabitants of Moscow flying to distant provinces, while the levies of militia went on without cessation, we - who did not live then - fancy that every individual, from the greatest to the least,

¹²⁷ Vanity Fair, p. 302.

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can have had but one idea: namely, that of sacrificing everything to save the country, or to perish with it.¹²⁸

In reality the picture was totally different, because individual human interests took possession of the people during that terrible time. And here Tolstoy continues his deliberation which resembles that of Thackeray:

But the reality was far from what we fancy it to be. The historic interest in those terrible years diverts our attention from the minor personal interests which, by their mere immediate pressure, blinded contemporary witnesses to the importance of all that was going on around them.¹²⁹

The similarity in the reasoning of Thackeray and Tolstoy is evident and indisputable. Nevertheless, their positions are different, even opposing. In Thackeray's novel the chief characters are occupied with their private, egotistic, immoral affairs. Without worrying about public contingencies, they are completely in the power of "vanity fair." Thackeray's nihilism with regard to his contemporariness brought him to historical nihilism.¹³⁰ His historic design was naturally converted into a novel-pamphlet on a historic subject.¹³¹ For Thackeray's individual heroes

¹²⁸ L.N. Tolstoi, War and Peace, London, Dent & Sons, 1910, Vol. 3, p. 175.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Bursov, op. cit., p. 64.

¹³¹ Ibid.

personal problems constitute the attainment of a career, pleasure, and riches.

The majority of Tolstoy's heroes from War and Peace are directly opposite to Thackeray's heroes as far as human relationships are concerned. Those Tolstoyan characters who are interested in their private affairs are likewise quite active and useful people. The more accomplished of Tolstoy's heroes always aspire to perfection or, in any case, to a better fulfilment of their human duties. In this connection one ought to keep in mind that War and Peace is a more complex novel than Vanity Fair. It represents two parallel and, to some extent, clashing novels. One of them is a domestic novel written in that homely language of the Russian gentry class which Tolstoy used in such a masterly manner.¹³² The other is of a military kind, full of theoretical comments and discussions, and often written in the style of a conscientious chronicle.

All Thackeray's important novels with which Tolstoy was acquainted are in the tradition of family chronicles. These novels played an important role in the development of Tolstoy's works of similar character. In the historical novel War and Peace family relationships occupy a significant position. Some of these features in Thackeray's

132 See: Nerejkowski, op. cit., p. 183.

novels, especially in Vanity Fair, Tolstoy utilized in his own manner in War and Peace. One has no difficulty in recognizing in Mr. Osborne Sr. the characteristics peculiar to the old Prince Bolkonsky, and in Mr. Sedley Sr. some features of the old Count Rostov.¹³³ The description of the entire Rostov family has something Thackerayan in it.¹³⁴

For this purpose certain literary critics single out Natasha Rostov. John Bayley contends that Natasha is in no sense a close female "study," like Eugenie Grandet or Emma Bovary. She is significantly closer to the English tradition of Emma Woodhouse and Becky Sharp.¹³⁵ James Farrell notes the difference between the treatment of Natasha by Tolstoy and of Amelia Sedley by Thackeray. According to him, Tolstoy laughs "with" Natasha, rejoicing in her delight of life; while Thackeray laughs "at" Amelia from the standpoint of the smug maturity of bourgeois, Victorian, advanced, and relatively progressive England.¹³⁶ Thus, unlike Thackeray, Tolstoy is not superior to his heroine.

133 Bursov, Lev Tolstoy i russkiy roman, p. 62.

134 Semczuk, Lew Tolstoj, p. 81.

135 John Bayley, Tolstoy and the Novel, London, Chatto & Windus, 1966, p. 155.

136 James T. Farrell, "Some Essays on Tolstoy's War and Peace and Anna Karenina," in Literature and Morality, New York, Vanguard Press, 1947, p. 201, footnote.

Generally speaking, the arrangement of the main characters, according to their family nests in both novels, gives us a certain basis for their comparison. Finally, both novels abound in similar situations. It is to be noted that War and Peace had actually been planned at first as an ordinary family novel of manners. Its title was to be All Is Well That Ends Well. History was to provide only the background for those aspects of family life which are essentially above history with all its political changes and catastrophes.

In reference to the problem of an author's superiority over his characters, mentioned above, it was required of the nineteenth century writer to be omniscient. In Thackeray's formulation, the novelist "ought to know everything."¹³⁷ His Vanity Fair literally overflows with such remarks. An example or two ought to illustrate the point:

If, a few pages back, the present writer claimed the privilege of peeping into Miss Amelia Sedley's bedroom, and understanding with the omniscience of the novelist all the gentle pains and passions which were tossing upon that innocent pillow, why should he not declare himself to be Rebecca's confidant too, master of her secrets, and seal-keeper of that young woman's conscience?¹³⁸

137 Bursov, Lev Tolstoy i russkiy roman, p. 21.

138 Vanity Fair, p. 162.

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I wonder whether she knew that it was not only Becky who wrote the letters, but that Mrs. Rawdon actually took and sent home the trophies - which she bought for a few francs, from one of the innumerable pedlars who immediately began to deal in relics of the war. The novelist, who knows everything, knows this also.¹³⁹

Since, from Thackeray's point of view, a novelist ought to know everything in order to follow his characters inseparably, he himself, therefore, becomes in a way a hero of his novel. And, indeed, Thackeray appears on and off the pages of his novels. In this respect he conforms with the tradition of the eighteenth century, in particular with that of Fielding. Thackeray motivates his exceptional knowledge as an author quite simply: such is the duty and, therefore, the right of the novelist. One may easily understand, then, that in its form Thackeray's novel becomes an eyewitness' narration bordering on the genre of memoirs and adventure stories, i.e., with its roots embedded in the traditions of the preceding centuries.

Tolstoy knew his own characters better than did Thackeray. Yet nowhere does he speak of his omniscience.¹⁴⁰ The main hero of a Tolstoy's novel embraces the total of the author's experiences and, at the same time, embodies the

¹³⁹ Vanity Fair, p. 364.

¹⁴⁰ Bursov, op. cit., p. 132.

analysis of these experiences in the interest of the hero's further spiritual quest. Therefore, Tolstoy believes in his hero in the same manner as he believes in himself, because both of them set as their aim the task of self-perfection.¹⁴¹ Tolstoy has demonstrated that the faith of his hero constantly collides with his self-analysis, but, this sort of analysis, in all its destructive power, does not annihilate the faith he possesses but leads it to a continuous replacement of one belief by another.¹⁴²

Ordinarily the novelist claims the right to pass comments on his hero in any way he considers best, and, in some cases, to have recourse to digressions into the past that explain the action of the present. The digressions in which Tolstoy indulges are something very different from the "bar-parlour chattiness"¹⁴³ of Fielding and Thackeray, as the critic E.M. Forster calls it, when the author gossips to his readers about his characters. Tolstoy has no need of commenting on his hero if only for the reason that his protagonist subjects himself to a critical, even merciless, self-analysis, which does not lower but elevate him

141 Bursov, Lev Tolstoy i russkiy roman, p. 132.

142 Ibid.

143 R.F. Christian quoting E.M. Forster in Tolstoy's "War and Peace." A Study, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962, p. 18.

in the eyes of the readers. However different might be the approaches to their characters that Tolstoy and Thackeray used, we ascertain from them that their characters enjoy, or at least sometimes acquire, a sort of freedom from the authors.¹⁴⁴ Often the development of the plot and the co-existence with other characters determine the fate of the main heroes independently of the author's will.

There are types of fiction essentially subject to the canons of symmetry and controlling dimensions. Actions end in a peal of ordnance.¹⁴⁵ Such is the conception realized in the last paragraph of Vanity Fair when Thackeray puts his puppets back in their box. Of necessity, the dramatist must have a formal termination and an assurance that "now our tale is ended."¹⁴⁶ But not so with Tolstoy. If one leaves out the concluding treatise on history, his characters grow old and dismal and do not live happily ever after. Obviously he knew that even the longest novel must have its last chapter, but he saw in that inevitability a distortion and sought to obscure it by building into his endings the preludes to his further works. In this respect War and Peace

144 George Steiner, Tolstoy or Dostoevsky, New York, Vintage Books, 1961, p. 111.

145 Waclaw Lednicki, Tolstoy between War and Peace, The Hague, Mouton, 1965, p. 129.

146 Steiner, Tolstoy or Dostoevsky, p. 111.

is an open form of the novel, as opposed to the closed one. Tolstoy in War and Peace transcends the limits of the novel and does what had previously been done by the epic. Thus War and Peace must not be put in a group with Vanity Fair, Madame Bovary, or The Mill on the Floss, but with the Iliad, in the sense that, when the novel is finished, the stream of life flows on.¹⁴⁷

Not all critics consider War and Peace superior to Vanity Fair. In 1887 Julia Wedgwood believed that Tolstoy's War and Peace was a novel inferior to Thackeray's Vanity Fair. She argued:

What does he /the reader/ remember of "Peace and War"? /sic/ A crowd of figures, a tangle of emotions, a hurried complex of incidents. Tolstoy gives a slice of experience. He selects nothing but a certain area of vision, and leaves its contents recorded in the proportion of their actual dimensions. There is no concentration, no rapid sweep of the brush, no broad shadow, everywhere only a transcript of the bewildering variety of actual light and shade.¹⁴⁸

The "slice of experience"¹⁴⁹ might well have become a method characteristic of the age, but she condemned it as a literary practice. Actuated by the above opinion and the general

147 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 418.

148 Julia Wedgwood, "Count Leo Tolstoy," in Contemporary Review, Vol. 52, Issue of August 1887, p. 252.

149 Ibid.

view of Matthew Arnold, a later critic, George Saintsbury, calls this novel a "piece of life."¹⁵⁰

On the other hand, a Vanity Fair reader remembers the novel in this respect:

A great love, faithful through absence, through coldness, through disappointment, struggling on, through long years, to the satisfaction in which, after all, there lies hid a still greater disappointment.¹⁵¹

And Julia Wedgwood continues to argue that Thackeray's presentation "is not only characterized by a method more suitable /.../ to historic treatment, but it much more nearly belongs to the period which it undertakes to describe."¹⁵² His novel recalled a set of feelings which were unknown to the generation of the critic. According to the author, Thackeray belongs

in a peculiar, but very real sense, to the world of Christian tradition. He was a Christian as he was an Englishman. He accepted his country's creed in the same spirit as he accepted its laws.¹⁵³

In a long paragraph the critic deals with various aspects of Tolstoy's art. She anticipates that the reader

¹⁵⁰ George Saintsbury, "Turgenev, Dostoievsky, and Tolstoy," in Donald Davie, editor, Russian Literature and Modern English Fiction, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1965, p. 27.

¹⁵¹ Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 252.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 253.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

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will find with her "many pages of 'Peace and War' insufferably tedious."¹⁵⁴ She ends the paragraph with the following statement:

Tolstoy's irrelevant detail, his painful reproduction of what is fragmentary and disproportionate, belongs to that search after truth which is the deepest thing in him, and adds its influence to make his page reflect as it does the mood of our own time: its hurry, its candour, its want of reticence, and then again its bewilderment, its questioning of all that its forerunners assumed, and its new assertion of whatever is saved from the wreck with the emphasis of individual conviction and fresh experience.¹⁵⁵

And again she goes on:

But the characteristics which fit him to express the life of the present seem to us somewhat to disqualify him to describe the life of the past. His work is everywhere redolent of the problem of the hour in which he writes, and his picture of "sixty years since" lacks the mellowness of history.¹⁵⁶

According to the usual standards, War and Peace ought to be called a historical novel. But, strangely enough it became more than that for the very reason that Tolstoy, in spite of his enormous intuition with regard to people and things, actually lacked the historical sense required for such a task. There is plenty of life, there is also much history in the novel, but on more than one occasion the two

154 Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 253.

155 Ibid.

156 Ibid.

seem to be on different planes. Tolstoy's own comments on the military and historical happenings of the period often encumber the narrative and they could easily be left out. Moreover, in the process of writing, the author, in a way, analysed history itself and in the end refused to assign it its due significance. The actual centre of gravity is not on the historical and the military, but on the "domestic" side of the novel.

Like so many later critics, Julia Wedgwood noted a certain resemblance between the two novels. Human vanity was the element common to both of them. In her own words she attests as follows:

That deep-felt moral is only one of the reasons which suggest a comparison between "Peace and War" and an English novel taking the same subject, and treating it with something of the same feeling - Thackeray's "Vanity Fair." In both we see in the background the dust and smoke of a great army, the thunder of cannon reaches our ears, the figures of the "dramatis personae" vanish into that cloud, and some reappear no more. The moral atmosphere of the two writers, moreover, is somewhat similar.¹⁵⁷

There is also a question in Wedgwood's article of the presentation of war itself. Is the presentation better to contemplate when done by the photographer or by the painter? In her opinion, Thackeray, a non-military man, like Shakespeare, depicts war as a painter, without getting

157 Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 252.

involved in all the abhorrent realistic details of human sufferings. Tolstoy, on the other hand, according to her, uses the photographer's technique, looking upon war "as a scene of horror and torture, of sudden terror, of selfish fear, and then again of bewildering confusion, of futile design, of wasted effort and planless sequence of events."¹⁵⁸ To an artist of the Thackeray, and especially of the Shakespeare type, war is "a source of the glow that comes over a man when he feels himself to be the member of a nation."¹⁵⁹ It is true that war makes a man feel himself to be the member of a nation as it also makes him feel pain. Therefore, the critic concludes that

the truth of the artist, though it is also the truth of the historian, may be left to take care of itself; what he should remember who has to make history is the truth of the photographer.¹⁶⁰

Tolstoy's process of destroying the heroic convention was promoted by his ruthless analysis of the psychological workings that result in a display of courage, and which are composed of vanity, lack of imagination, and stereotype thinking. But in spite of this exposure of war and military virtues, the general effect of War and Peace

158 Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 254.

159 Ibid.

160 Ibid.

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and of his other military stories is not unheroic or anti-militarist. It results rather in the glorification of the unconscious and unambitious at the expense of conscious and ambitious heroism, viz., of the private soldier and professional army officer at the expense of the smart young officer who has come to the front to taste the poetry of war and to win his St. George's Cross. The casual, matter-of-fact courage of the plain soldier and officer is what strikes the reader most of all in these military tales. The humble heroes of Tolstoy's early stories dealing with war are the descendants of Pushkin's Captain Mironov and of Lermontov's Maksim Maksimych, and are landmarks on the way to the soldiers and army officers of Captain Tushin's type in War and Peace.

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Among Thackeray's novels, Soviet literary critics distinguish the historical, satirical, socio- and satirico-psychological types. The first type is represented by Henry Esmond, where the author depicts an "unknown" hero against the background of important historical events.¹⁶³ The story of his personal life is interwoven with reports of his participation in a political struggle and his meeting with the leading personalities of the eighteenth century England. Satire is the main form of life depiction in Vanity Fair.¹⁶⁴ There were several characteristic tendencies in the socio-satirical novel of the nineteenth century. Often a satirical presentation of life was coupled with a pessimistic view of human nature. In the introduction to The Newcomes Thackeray wrote:

With the very first page of the human story do not love, and lies too, begin? So the tales were told ages before Aesop; and asses under lions' manes roared in Hebrew; and sly foxes flattered in Etruscan; and wolves in sheep's clothing gnashed their teeth in Sanscrit, no doubt.¹⁶⁵

163 M.B. Khrapchenko, Lev Tolstoy kak khudozhnik, Moskva, Sovetskiy Pisatel', 1963, p. 96.

164 Ibid., p. 250.

165 The Works of Thackeray, Vol. 5, The Newcomes, p. 6.

Tolstoy continued the traditions of the social and satirico-psychological novel and helped to develop the satirical traditions in world literature, especially those of Voltaire, Thackeray and Dickens.¹⁶⁶ The peculiarity of his genre in Anna Karenina consists in its being a collection of genres characteristic of several types of novels. His description of Karenin, Vronsky, and Anna has the vitality of Thackeray, as noticed by a critic.¹⁶⁷ Matthew Arnold also considered Anna Karenina as more representative of Tolstoy than War and Peace:

If one has to choose a representative work of Thackeray, it is Vanity Fair which one would take rather than The Virginians. In like manner I take Anna Karénine as the novel best representing Count Tolstoi.¹⁶⁸

Actually, in all its artistic essentials, except for the absence of the epic element, Anna Karenina is a continuation of War and Peace. The methods are the same in both novels. What has been said of the personages in War and

166 Khrapchenko, Lev Tolstoy kak khudozhnik, p. 370.

167 Bayley, Tolstoy and the Novel, p. 204.

168 Matthew Arnold, "Count Leo Tolstoi," in The Works of Matthew Arnold, London, Macmillan, 1903, Vol. 4, p. 190.

Peace may be repeated about those in Anna Karenina. The figures of Anna, Dolly, Kitty, Stiva, Vronsky, and of all the episodic and secondary personages, are as memorable as those of Natasha and Nicholas Rostov. Perhaps there is even a greater diversity and a more varied sympathy in the characters of Anna Karenina. Vronsky particularly is a genuine and fundamental addition to the world of Tolstoy. More than any other of his characters, he is substantially different from the author and in no way based on subjective vision.

Beginning with the eighth decade of the nineteenth century, Tolstoy was more and more preoccupied with questions of morality and religion. To Thackeray he turned only in search of aphorisms for his various collections. It is true, he was rereading some of Thackeray's works during the 1890's, but no longer was he so enthusiastic about them.¹⁶⁹ The novel he wrote during that period, Resurrection, displays strongly moralizing tendencies, even stronger than in any of Thackeray's works. Dr. Dushan Makovitski, Tolstoy's friend, physician and follower, noted down the following excerpt of the latter's conversation with his friend, A.A. Stakhovich, January 7, 1905:

¹⁶⁹ Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 55.

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A.A. Stakhovich asked about Mark Twain. Leo Nikolaevich said that his opinion of him was not high. - And Thackeray? - He falls far short of Dickens.¹⁷⁰

Since by 1863, the year of Thackeray's death, Tolstoy and his works were still sparsely disseminated in England, no opinions about him are known to have been expressed by that great English satirist.

¹⁷⁰ L.N. Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 244.

CHAPTER III

TOLSTOY-DICKENS

In Tolstoy's memoirs, as well as in the memoirs and journals of his relatives, friends, acquaintances and followers, Dickens' name, his works and opinions are mentioned more often than those of any other English Victorian novelist. In the bibliographies of literature on Tolstoy, covering the period 1917-1960, and containing over 8000 items, Dickens is listed only 9 times, in most cases the discussion dedicated to him not exceeding two pages, or being limited to sporadic notes.¹ The above bibliographies belong to the most extensive ones and have been compiled on the basis of previous bibliographies, but a full bibliography would require several volumes, and it is a work for some future scholar. Tolstoy-Dickens relationship deserves a comprehensive study.

Charles Dickens (1812-1870) is, in most ways, one of the greatest novelists that England has yet produced. A well-known French literary critic observes:

¹ N.G. Shelyapina, et al., editors, Bibliografiya literatury o L.N. Tolstom, 1917-1958, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Vsesoyuznoy Knizhnoy Palaty, 1960, passim;

N.G. Shelyapina, et al., editors, Bibliografiya literatury o L.N. Tolstom, 1959-1961, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo "Kniga," 1965, passim.

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There is a painter in Dickens, and an English painter. Never surely did a mind figure to itself with more exact detail or greater force all the parts and tints of a picture. Dickens is a poet; he is as much at home in the imaginative world as in the actual. French taste, always measured, revolts against these affected strokes, and yet his affectation is natural. The difference between a madman and a man of genius is not very great - the imagination of Dickens is like that of monomaniacs. To plunge oneself into an idea, to be absorbed by it, to see nothing else, to repeat it under a hundred forms, to enlarge it, to carry it thus enlarged to the eye of the spectator, to dazzle and overwhelm him with it, to stamp it upon him so firmly and deeply that he can never again tear it out of his memory - these are the great features of this imagination and style.²

After his preliminary Sketches by Boz (1836), Dickens published Pickwick Papers (1836-37), the supreme comic novel in the English language. The comedy is never superimposed, for it is an effortless expression of a comic view of life. Dickens seems to see things differently, in an amusing and exaggerated way, and he plunges with much exuberance from one adventure to another without any thought of plot or design. He is hampered by his age, which demands sentiment and reticence, but in the space that is allowed to him he scampers about as if he knew no restraint. Never was he less embarrassed by restrictions than in the profuseness of Pickwick Papers.

² Taine, History of English Literature, Vol. 3, p. 189.

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Dickens enjoyed life, but hated the social system into which he was born. There are many indications that he was half-way towards being a revolutionary, and in many of the later novels he was to attack the corruptions of his time. Yet his age exacted its penalty in demanding that those novels, if they were to be popular, should keep to the conventions of the middle-class society in morality and in vocabulary.

In Oliver Twist (1838) pathos is beginning to intrude on humour, and the author, appalled by the cruelty of his time, is feeling that he must convey a message through fiction to his hard-hearted generation. Dickens' invention is still abundant, as he tells the story of the virtuous pauper boy who has to submit to perils and temptations. The strength lies less in the pathos than in the scenes where the humour and satire of the figure of Mr. Bumble is the centre.

With Nicholas Nickleby (1838-39) the plot grows in importance, and Dickens shows his talent for the melodramatic. Satire is abundant in the Yorkshire school scenes, while much that is best lies in the humour of the theatre of Vincent Crummles and his company. The Old Curiosity Shop (1841) shows pathos transcending humour, especially in the death of little Nell: one feels that the only ritual known to Dickens' middle-class audience was the pageantry of

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funerals.³ Barnaby Rudge , written also in 1841, with its depiction of the Gordon Riots, is his first attempt at a historical novel; and here the plot, which had counted for little in Pickwick Papers, becomes increasingly important.

Before he wrote Martin Chuzzlewit in 1844, Dickens made his first journey to America, and the American scenes in this novel gave offence to his readers in the United States. Yet all of Dickens is here: Pecksniff and his daughters, Sairey Gamp, Tom Pinch, the gentle, kindly Dickensian figure, Mark Tapley who is both vigorous and virtuous; all in all, a great mastery of character and incident, quite well-managed. Between 1843 and 1848 Dickens wrote his Christmas Books, including The Christmas Carol. The most popular perhaps of all his works, this one reveals his belief in human kindness elaborated almost to mysticism. Dombey and Son (1848) displayed by its increased control of pathos how much his art had developed since The Old Curiosity Shop.

In David Copperfield (1850), a work of particular significance for Tolstoy, Dickens brought the first phase of his novel-writing to an end in a masterpiece with a strong autobiographical element, and with such firm characterizations as Micawber and Uriah Heep."The first quarter

3 Cf., Taine, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 185-222.

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of Jane Eyre, with the first quarter of David Copperfield, is the most profoundly-studied portrait of childhood in English."⁴"But after one hundred and sixty pages David grows up; and with his childhood, Dickens' certainty of vision disappears. He still sees vividly and entertainingly, the rest of the book is crammed with good things: but the grasp on reality which marked its opening is there no more."⁵

Bleak House, written in 1853, is the most conscious and deeply planned novel in Dickens' whole output, and clearly reveals that his art has moved far from the spontaneous gaiety of Pickwick Papers. It was followed by Hard Times (1854), dedicated to Carlyle. While in all his work the novelist is attacking the social conditions of his time, here he gives this theme a special emphasis. He satirizes in Coketown and Mr. Gradgrind the whole "laissez-faire" system of the Manchester school and suggests that its enlightened self-interest is unenlightened cruelty. A social bias again governs Little Dorrit (1857), in which the author attacks the Circumlocution Office and the methods of bureaucracy.

4 Cecil, Early Victorian Novelists, p. 134

5 Ibid., p. 58.

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The picture of prison life, which was a comic motive in Pickwick Papers, is now a serious theme in the portrayal of the debtors' goal.

With The Tale of Two Cities (1859) Dickens returned to the historical novel, and, inspired by Carlyle, made the French Revolution his theme. None of his works shows more clearly how wide and unpredictable were the resources of his genius. He completed two other novels, Great Expectations (1861) and Our Mutual Friend (1864) before his premature death in 1870, and he left unfinished the manuscript of The Mystery of Edwin Drood.

Dickens had little formal education. His father was often in prison for debt, and he himself had started early to earn his living in a blacking factory. Yet he was an artist and, like all great artists, saw the world as if it were an entirely fresh experience viewed for the first time. He had an extraordinary range of language, from comic invention to great eloquence. He created characters and situations with a skill that had been unequalled since Shakespeare.⁷ So deeply did he affect his audiences that the perspective of life beyond his novels entered into English tradition. Reason and theory he distrusted, but compassion

7 Taine, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 185-222.

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and cheerfulness of heart he elevated into supreme virtues. He knew in his more reflexive moments that merriment alone would not destroy the Coketowns of the world. This reflexion he kept mainly to himself, and his intense emotionalism helped him to conceal it.

Dickens' nature was involved in a high sensitivity which prevented him from obtaining that full vision of life which made Tolstoy one of the supreme novelists of the world, or from reaching the sense of tragedy of Dostoevsky. In matters of everyday life he was much more practical than both of them. From 1858 to 1868 he had given dramatic readings of his novels in England and America. They were profitable, and, despite the weariness of the journeys, he delighted in the applause they evoked. To Dickens an audience was like a heady wine; to make sure of the potency, he had to please the audience. With his reading tours he had literally ^{drove} ~~driven~~ himself to death. Yet, despite his personal ambitions, something had gone out of the English life when he died, something that was irreplaceable, a bright light that had shone upon the drab commercialism of the century, calling men back to laughter, kindness and to the disruption of the cruelties in which they appeared to take a gruesome delight.

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Tolstoy's favourite English author was Charles Dickens.⁸ He read some of Dickens' novels when still a boy, and they never ceased to appeal to him in later years. In his memoirs of 1891 we find a mention that during his boyhood, between 1843 and 1848, Dickens' David Copperfield made an immense impression upon him.⁹ Apparently Tolstoy's memory failed him somewhat at this stage, since David Copperfield was published for the first time in 1849-50, and its first Russian translation appeared in the journal the Contemporary in 1851.¹⁰ As a separate edition, this novel, translated by I.A. Vvedenskiy, was published in St. Petersburg in 1853.¹¹ David Copperfield interested Tolstoy so much that he wished to read it in the original. In a letter to his brother Sergey, dated November 26, 1853, he writes:

When you have an opportunity, or are yourself in Moscow, buy me Dickens' David Copperfield in English, and send me Saddler's English Dictionary which is among my books.¹²

By "Saddler" he meant, Murat-Sanders Enzyklopädisches Englisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Englisches Wörterbuch.¹³

8 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 103.

9 Dole, op. cit., p. 33; cf., Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 47.

10 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 46, p. 403.

11 Ibid., p. 404.

12 Ibid.; cf., Dole, op. cit., p. 71.

13 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 59, p. 253.

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In all probability Tolstoy read David Copperfield during the 1851-52 period in the Contemporary, since in a letter of December 10, 1851, he writes to his favourite brother Nicholas from Tiflis: "Your whole letter resembles the ending of Mr. Micawber's letters."¹⁴ In his diary under September 2, 1852, he records: "/.../ reading David Copperfield is a pleasure."¹⁵ It is of importance to establish the period in which he read David Copperfield because this novel had a marked influence on his first published piece of fiction, Childhood.¹⁶ On January 18, 1851, an entry in his diary reads: "To write the history of my childhood."¹⁷ There is, however, no evidence that he worked on this project during his stay in Moscow, but he pursued it later, in the Caucasus, completing it in July. In October, 1852, it appeared in print in the Contemporary.¹⁸ According to some Russian critics, in certain parts of Childhood Tolstoy's style shows the influence of Sterne, Dickens, Rousseau, and

14 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 59, p. 120.

15 N.N. Gusev, Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Materialy k biografii s 1855 po 1869 god, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1957, p. 57.

16 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 103, note 1; cf., Ardens, Tvorcheskiy put' L.N. Tolstogo, p. 31.

17 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 79.

18 Ibid., p. 99, and 102.

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Töpfer.¹⁹

Tolstoy's two sequel novels, continued in the same vein, Boyhood, published in 1854, and Youth, in 1857, and some other novels and stories written about that time, also reflect, to a certain extent, the impact of David Copperfield, Pickwick Papers and, generally, other works of

¹⁹ Ardens, Tvorcheskiy put' L.N. Tolstogo, p. 30-31; cf., N.N. Apostolov, Tolstoy i o Tolstom. Novye materialy, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Tolstovskogo Muzeya, 1924, p. 121; P. Popov, "Stil' rannikh povestey Tolstogo," in Literaturnoe nasledstvo, Vol. 35-36, p. 78-116.

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Dickens. In 1849 Pickwick Papers and Dombey and Son were translated into Russian and Dickens' biographer and friend, John Forster, made the following statement in this connection:

For the last eleven years your /Dickens'/ name enjoyed a wide celebrity in Russia, and from the banks of the Neva to the remotest parts of Siberia you are read with avidity. Your Dombey continues to inspire with enthusiasm the whole of the literary Russia.²⁰

It is worthy of note that the interest of the Russian reading public was so great that two leading journals decided to publish the translation of Dombey and Son at the same time, each claiming its version as the first of its kind, and thus creating literary "scandals."²¹

Undoubtedly, Tolstoy availed himself of this opportunity to get acquainted with these novels as he did with previous and following works of Dickens. In his diary, July 11 and 12, 1854, we find: "Reading Dickens' novel Bleak House in the Contemporary."²² He was making notes in the Journal about one of the characters of this novel and her childhood.²³ In the summer and fall of 1856 he read Pickwick

20 J. Forster, The Life of Charles Dickens, London, Chapman & Hall, 1874, p. 554-555.

21 Eykhenbaum, Lev Tolstoy, Vol. 1, p. 76.

22 Gusev, Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Materialy k biografii s 1855 po 1869 god, p. 79.

23 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 47, p. 478.

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Papers and Little Dorrit, while he was finishing his Youth.²⁴ Again, in his diary, in 1857, one reads: "Finished reading Pickwick Papers. Very good." And in his Notebook he wrote:

The first condition of an author's popularity, the prime means to make people like him, is the love with which he treats his characters. That is why Dickens's characters are the friends of all mankind; they are a bond of union between man in America and man in Petersburg.²⁵

Eight years later, in 1865, when classifying the literary works by content, he mentions that Pickwick Papers is first in the beauty and gaiety of situations.²⁶ Turgenev, who was himself an admirer of Dickens, noted certain resemblances between Childhood and Dombey and Son.²⁷ He once said:

Childhood is an outline of the first years of human life, similar to what Charles Dickens tries to present in his delightful novel, Dombey and Son; subtlety of psychological observation is mingled in it with the most touching poetry.²⁸

24 Gusev, Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Materialy k biografii s 1855 po 1869 god, p. 63, 120, 122, 125, and 127.

25 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 177; cf., Ardens, Tvorcheskiy put' L.N. Tolstogo, p. 99.

26 Gusev, op. cit., p. 654.

27 Royal A. Gettmann, Turgenev in England and America, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1941, p. 165.

28 S.P. Bychkov, editor, L.N. Tolstoy v russkoy kritike. Sbornik statey, Moskva, Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoy Literatury, 1960, p. 257.

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Only a fraction of opinions and remarks about Dickens and his works expressed by Tolstoy and his friends can be included here - they are too numerous to expand upon.

In Russia the decades 1840 and 1850 witnessed the process of an intensive publication of French and English literary masters in translations. Thick contemporary journals were vying with each other for suitable material to present to their readers, and in this "literary competition" Dickens was coming out as one of the winners by popular assent.²⁹ Beginning with Pickwick Papers through to Great Expectations nothing was overlooked among his works by the sharp-sighted translators of the time. Literary critics, V.G. Belinsky, A.V. Druzhinin, and Apollon Grigoriev were literally "pushing" Dickens' translations upon the public.³⁰ Belinsky called him "the gifted one,"³¹ and Druzhinin tried to compare his works with Dostoevsky's early output.

One ought to remember that these were also the decades of the apogee of Dickens' creative power. Young Tolstoy was then only a beginner in the field of literature. It was quite natural that he would be looking for models among Russian and foreign writers. In that process he found

29 Eykhenbaum, Lev Tolstoy, Vol. 1, p. 76.

30 Apostolov, op. cit., p. 110.

31 Ibid.

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the works of Dickens as most suitable for this purpose.³² At the same time he was trying to develop his own peculiarities of style, characterizations, mood, and other literary devices. Gradually, by working on details, by deepening and broadening the descriptions of ordinary events, by veiling his lines with a light mist of sentimentality, he evolved his own style of writing. But still, his early works betray many a feature borrowed, at times perhaps unconsciously, from Dickens.³³

Although Dickens wrote mainly about city life, and Tolstoy was more concerned with the rural realities in his works, novels like David Copperfield and Pickwick Papers, in which city and country are contrasted, had for Tolstoy great charm and interest. Several situations and characterizations in Tolstoy's early works can be traced, in the opinion of this writer, to David Copperfield. Also a few accounts of the happenings and descriptions of events in his works can be identified with similar ones in Dickens' novels.

Both David Copperfield and Tolstoy's first novels are to a certain extent autobiographical works; yet, in ^{neither} ~~both~~ cases, ^{is} ~~is~~ there ^a ~~no~~ complete identity of the protagonist of the novel and the author himself, especially in the case of

32 Apostolov, op. cit., p. 120.

33 Ibid., p. 115.

Dickens.³⁴ It is enough to read these works to find in them a certain kind of tone, an uncomplicated graceful way of slightly-humorous narration of events, common to both writers. The two young protagonists of Childhood and David Copperfield, in the initial periods of their lives, are brought up at home in an atmosphere which is permeated with motherly love, care, devotion and kindness.³⁵ Yet, this secure life ends very early for David, when his mother marries Mr. Murdstone. A contemporary critic has the following to say in this connection:

It is curious that David Copperfield, which Tolstoy much admired and which has in its first half so much of the primal vividness of Childhood, combines both a novel and also the Childhood type of work "sui generis." Like Tolstoy, Dickens needed the conventions of the novel; but unlike him he was quite prepared to use them to keep in motion a work which had reached the logical end of its own peculiar being; for with the hero's arrival at his Aunt Betsy Trotwood's house David Copperfield as such ends, and a novel with the same title takes over. There is a hesitation, a period of flatness when we say good bye to David and to the private Dickens with whom he is so closely identified, and then the more characteristic and official vitality of a Dickens novel takes over and begins to absorb and entertain us in a different way. Tolstoy never attempts this peculiarly Dickensian audacity of swapping horses in midstream, but the example of David Copperfield shows what a gap exists between the world and the method of Childhood and that of War and Peace.³⁶

34 Forster, op. cit., p. 600-601.

35 Ardens, op. cit., p. 31.

36 Bayley, Tolstoy and the Novel, p. 87.

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The parallels between the two novels are quite numerous. To begin with the sketching of characters, Nikolenka's mother, in Childhood, is a replica of the portrait of Mrs. Copperfield at the time when she married for the second time. Mrs. Copperfield is a sickly and delicate woman with a very weak will. She is wholly subdued in her house by Mr. Murdstone and his sister. She cannot resist their domination even though they mistreat her son David.

One must bear in mind that Tolstoy's mother died when he was only two years of age, so he could not sketch her personage in all reality. Nataliya Nikolaevna, Nikolenka's mother, is drawn in a Dickensian vein. Her husband is the actual master of her estate, and she has no will of her own. Like Mrs. Copperfield's maid, Peggotty, who well realizes her mistress' helplessness in her own house, the servants of the Irtenev household perceive similar things.³⁷ It was not Nataliya Nikolaevna's destiny to live long. Like Mrs. Copperfield, she dies early in life, and, like David, the nine year old Nikolenka is fetched ~~from his school in Moscow~~ to attend her funeral. The scene in which Nikolenka's nurse tells him about his mother's last moments

37 See: Childhood, p. 15.

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resembles very closely Dickens' presentation.³⁸ David's curiosity about his own grief after his mother's death, and his pride in it before his schoolfellows, may possibly have suggested an analysis of the same state of mind to Tolstoy.³⁹ The critic Apostolov also notices a similarity in this presentation, but he notes that descriptions of such events would be alike in many cases.⁴⁰

Tolstoy had always been fascinated by death, but only as a means of analysing it and delving into life. He used it as a touchstone for evaluating people: their responses to it show what they are like. This is particularly true of the above passage. There, the death of the young narrator's mother acts almost as a catalyst that precipitates his perceptions about the other members of the household and about himself. At the funeral he is most aware of the discomfort his clothes cause him, and keeps stealthily observing all the people who are present.

Nataliya Savishna, the nurse in Childhood, is a parallel to David's nurse. She is short and plump but, despite her unattractive exterior, she is endowed with

³⁸ See: Childhood, p. 98; Ch. Dickens, David Copperfield, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1894, Vol. 1, p. 135.

³⁹ Boris Eykhenbaum, Molodoy Tolstoy, Petersburg-Berlin, Izdatel'stvo Grzhebina, 1922, p. 75; cf., Bayley, op. cit., p. 87, footnote.

⁴⁰ Apostolov, op. cit., p. 116.

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positive traits of character. Peggotty is not just a paid servant. She really belongs to the family, and David feels deep affection for her. She is wholeheartedly devoted to the Copperfield family, and it is she who mourns her mistress most. Throughout the book she remains David's truest friend and well-wisher.

Tolstoy's Savishna, too, was "a plump, redcheeked, barefooted, but merry girl"⁴¹ and, although unattractive, possessed a heart of gold. She spent almost all her life in devoted service to her masters and all the members of the family considered her as a relative and not a stranger or servant. The death of her mistress, Nataliya Nikolaevna, deals a severe blow to Savishna. Here again, one should remember that a nurse, as a person replacing the children's mother, was a well-known personage in the nineteenth century Russian literature, and thus Tolstoy could draw her characterization also from Russian literary sources.

Tolstoy's critic Ya. Bilinkis notes that the feeling of people's need of one another, the mutual trust they crave, reciprocal love, respect and friendship, which permeate Tolstoy's trilogy, have something to do with similar qualities in Dickens' and Pushkin's works. According to Dickens, every human being must remember that he belongs

41 See: Childhood, p. 41.

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to humanity, and that in all his behaviour and actions he ought to manifest, under all circumstances, this feeling of belonging.⁴² The above sentiments and qualities are ever present in the works of Dickens and Tolstoy.

The characteristics of Miss Murdstone are similar to those of Mimi, the governess of the Irtenev girls. Miss Murdstone is an elderly lady, very harsh and sour, and never satisfied. She is a perfect image of a misanthrope, distrusting and disliking everyone, finding fault with everybody and everything. She never laughs, never smiles, and her tongue is always sharp and biting.

Mimi is, to a degree, Miss Murdstone's reflection. She is not a wicked woman, like Miss Murdstone, but her negative characteristics make her charges dislike her:

Marya Ivanovna was sitting with much dignity in one of the armchairs, symmetrically arranged at right angles to the divan, and giving instructions in a stern, repressed voice to the girls ... /.../

What an intolerable creature that Mimi was! It was impossible to talk about anything in her presence; she considered everything improper. Moreover, she was constantly exhorting us to speak French, and that, as if out of malice, just when we wanted to chatter in Russian; or at dinner - you would just begin to enjoy a dish, and want to be let alone, when she would infallibly say: "Eat that with bread," or, "How are you holding your fork?"⁴³

42 Ya. Bilinkis, O tvorchestve L.N. Tolstogo, Leningrad, Sovetskiy Pisatel', 1959, p. 163-164.

43 Childhood, p. 18-19.

Another negative Dickensian character, Miss Murdstone's brother Edward, finds his partial reflection in the French tutor, St. Jérôme. Edward Murdstone is a rather young man, tall and handsome but, on the other hand, very ambitious, imperious and cruel. Like his sister, he likes to torment his wife, David and the maid Peggotty. Apostolov presumes that into the description of St. Jérôme went some characteristics of a similar tutor from the novel Bibliothèque de mon oncle, by a Swiss writer, Rudolf Töpfer (1799-1846), whose work was very popular with young Tolstoy.⁴⁴ In his childhood Tolstoy had a French tutor, named St. Thomas, whose characteristics were later used for the make up of St. Jérôme. St. Thomas was a strict person but not as malicious as Edward Murdstone was.

There is a scene in Boyhood which very closely resembles one in David Copperfield. One day Nikolenka Irtenev did not prepare his lessons and was punished for that by St. Jérôme:

"Very well," he said, following me; "several times already, I have promised to punish you and your grandmamma wanted to beg you off; but now I see that nothing but the rod will make you mind, and you have fully deserved it to-day."

44 Apostolov, op. cit., p. 122.

He said this so loudly that every one heard his words. The blood retreated to my heart with unusual force. I felt that it was beating violently, that the color fled from my face, and that my lips trembled quite involuntarily. I must have looked terrible at that moment, for St. Jérôme, avoiding my glance, walked quickly up to me and seized me by the hand; but no sooner did I feel the touch of his hand than I became giddy and, beside myself with rage, I tore my hand away and struck him with all my childish strength ...

"Let me alone!" I shrieked at him through my tears; "not one of you loves me nor understands how unhappy I am. You are all hateful, disgusting," I added, turning to the whole company in a sort of fury.

But this time St. Jérôme came up to me with a pale, determined face, and before I had time to prepare for defense, he grasped both my hands as in a vise, with a powerful movement and dragged me away ...⁴⁵

Dickens' incident of David's punishment for the same reason runs like this:

He walked me up to my room slowly and gravely - I am certain he had a delight in that formal parade of executing justice - and when we got there, suddenly twisted my head under his arm.

"Mr. Murdstone! Sir!" I cried to him. "Don't! Pray don't beat me! I have tried to learn, sir, but I can't learn while you and Miss Murdstone are by. I can't indeed!"

"Can't you, indeed, David?" he said. "We will try that."

He had my head as in a vise, but I twined round somehow, and stopped him for a moment, entreating him not to beat me. It was only for a moment that I stopped him, for he cut me heavily an instant afterwards, and in the same instant I caught the hand with which he held me in my mouth, between my teeth on edge to think of it.⁴⁶

45 Tolstoi, Complete Works, Vol. 10, Boyhood, p. 160-61.

46 David Copperfield, Vol. 1, p. 58.

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A case of hero worship finds its parallel in Childhood. Young David, when sent to a boarding school for the first time, meets there an older pupil who appeals to him greatly both in physique and character. This young fellow, whom Dickens represents as Steerforth in David Copperfield, is endowed with the most attractive characteristics. He is tall, handsome, strong, very intelligent, well-behaved, honest, friendly, good-hearted and, in addition, rich. It is no wonder that David begins to admire him.

In Childhood such a paragon for Nikolenka Irtenev is Seriozha Ivin. Nikolenka literally falls in love with him:

The second Ivin, Serëzha, was a dark curly-haired boy with a firm, turned-up little nose, very fresh red lips that seldom entirely closed over his rather prominent white upper teeth, beautiful dark-blue eyes, and an unusually lively face. He never smiled, but either looked perfectly serious or laughed wholeheartedly, a ringing, resonant, and very captivating laugh. His original beauty struck me at first sight. I felt irresistibly attracted to him.⁴⁷

This admiration of perfection in a fellow human being which, on the part of David, persists throughout the first volume of David Copperfield, occurs quite often in Childhood, Boyhood and Youth. In addition to this feeling of admiration, both protagonists have similar whims and

⁴⁷ Tolstoy Centenary Edition, Vol. 3, Childhood, p. 77.

tribulations, both of them experience similar joys and sorrows.⁴⁸

There are, however, some essential differences in the relationship Nikolenka-Seriozha, and David-Steerforth. Nikolenka's infatuation with Seriozha is only a passing fad; there is no deep involvement between the two. On the other hand, David believes in Steerforth's nobility of character, in addition of admiring his exterior characteristics. His faith in Steerforth is shaken by the news of the latter's seduction of Em'ly. But the revindication of his character comes when Steerforth sacrifices his own life in order to save drowning fishermen during a raging sea storm.⁴⁹

As parallels could have served descriptions of some Dickensian scenes or, at times, even adaptations of the scenes themselves. In the very beginning of Childhood Tolstoy presents a picture of a lunch after a hunt which very vividly resembles a similar incident in Pickwick Papers. Tired hunters, after a long outing, at noon reach a certain spot where a cart with a tasty lunch and drinks is waiting for them to soothe their hunger and thirst. A tablecloth is spread on the grass under the shade of the trees, all kinds of choice pieces are unloaded from the vehicle,

48 Ardens, op. cit., p. 31.

49 See: David Copperfield, Chapter LV, "Tempest."

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and everybody enjoys this snack under the open sky.⁵⁰ There is also something Homeric in this simple description of hunt and rest.⁵¹

In Pickwick Papers it is the boy who brings out the lunch basket to the hunters. The eatables and drinks are unpacked, and on the verdant grass, under an old oak-tree, Mr. Pickwick's party sit down to their lunch.⁵²

There is an incident in Childhood which is almost identical with a situation in David Copperfield, the description of a ball. Youthful David is for the first time invited to a dance given by some people of local importance. David is infatuated with an older girl who already has a suitor, but, despite the suitor's presence, he, a mere boy, manages to win the lady for a dance:

The time arrives. "It is a waltz, I think," Miss Larkins doubtfully observes, when I present myself. "Do you waltz? If not, Captain Bailey -."

But I do waltz (pretty well, too, as it happens), and I take Miss Larkins out. I take her sternly from the side of Captain Bailey. He is wretched, I have no doubt; but he is nothing to me. I have been wretched, too, I waltz with the eldest Miss Larkins! I don't know where, among whom, or how long. I only know that I swim about in space, with a blue angel, in a state of blissful delirium, ...

50 See: Tolstoi, Complete Works, Childhood, p.26-29.

51 Steiner, op. cit., p. 71-76.

52 See: Ch. Dickens, Pickwick Papers, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1894, Vol. 1, p. 264-267.

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Miss Larkins, laughing, draws her hand through my arm, and says, "Now, take me back to Captain Bailey."⁵³

Tolstoy's Nikolenka also goes for the first time to a party held in the house of rich Moscow nobility. He, too, falls "deeply" in love with one of his girl acquaintances. He wants to show himself bold:

Seriozha proposed to me to be his vis-à-vis. "Very well," said I, "I have no partner, but I will find one." Casting a decisive glance about the room, I perceived that all ladies were engaged with the exception of one big girl, who was standing at the parlor door. A tall young man approached her with the intention, as I concluded, of inviting her to dance; he was within a couple of paces of her, but I was at the other end of the hall. In the twinkling of an eye, I flew across the space which separated me from her, sliding gracefully over the polished floor, and with a scrape of my foot and a firm voice, I invited her for the contra-dance. The big girl smiled patronizingly, gave me her hand, and the young man was left partnerless. I was so conscious of my power that I paid no heed to the young man's vexation; but afterwards I learned that he inquired who that frowsy boy was, who had jumped in front of him and taken away his partner.⁵⁴

In David Copperfield Dickens presents a girl, Agnes Wickfield, whose father adored her. Whenever she played the piano for him, he would look pensively at her, for she vividly reminded him of his deceased wife.⁵⁵ In Tolstoy's Boyhood we find Irtenev's father who behaves similarly

⁵³ David Copperfield, Vol. 1, p. 275-276.

⁵⁴ Childhood, p. 82-83.

⁵⁵ David Copperfield, Vol. 1, p. 229.

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toward his daughter Lyubochka after his wife's death.⁵⁶

There is something Dickensian in Tolstoy's descriptions of scenes of departure and revisiting the old places after a long interval. Tolstoy enjoys picturing such scenes and recollections. Remarks of this similarity may be found in some literary criticisms about him.⁵⁷ The relationship between Nikolenka and Sonechka resembles that of David and Emly. Grouping and sequences of characters, even facts, and the arrangement of material into chapters also form aspects which could be considered as a type of indebtedness to Dickens.⁵⁸

In David Copperfield one can find several masterly scenes where the author throws light on David's reminiscences and emotions upon seeing familiar spots after a long absence. One of these scenes is David's return to Mr. Peggotty's cabin in which he has spent many a happy moment in his early childhood. Everything there looks so familiar to him, yet so different and simple. Another such beautiful and melancholy moment is the scene of David's return to his

⁵⁶ Boyhood, p. 187.

⁵⁷ B.I. Bursov, Lev Tolstoy, ideynye iskaniya i tvorcheskiy metod, 1847-1862, Moskva, Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoy Literatury, 1960, p. 91; cf., Apostolov, op. cit., p. 117.

⁵⁸ Apostolov, op. cit., p. 119.

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native village. He views with sadness the local cemetery where his father, mother and baby brother are buried, and pensively contemplates his old home.⁵⁹ The recollections of young Nikolenka upon his return from school in Moscow to his old country house, the place of his happy childhood, and their descriptions are much the same as those presented by Dickens.⁶⁰

Among other parallels, the description of a thunderstorm especially, and, to a certain degree, of a drinking-party may be mentioned. Much later, in 1905, Dr. Dushan Makovitski notes the following excerpt from a conversation with Tolstoy: "He /Tolstoy/ said that he /Dickens/ describes the sea storm and the shipwreck well - better than Homer in Odyssey."⁶¹ Dickens' biographers also note that he always did storms well.⁶² However in neither of these events, in his early works, does Tolstoy surpass the dramatic skill of Dickens. His pictures are full of charm and vividness but his descriptions are rather idyllic than dramatic.

Dickens' Chapter IV, "Tempest," in the second volume

59 See: David Copperfield, Vol. 1, p. 143, and 325.

60 Tolstoi, Complete Works, Vol. 10, Youth, p. 303-304.

61 Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 244.

62 Ch. Dickens, The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1951, p. X.

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of David Copperfield, is a very powerful one, perhaps the greatest in the book. Having once read this chapter, one is bound to remember it for a long time. Tolstoy also devotes a special chapter to the description of a thunder-storm.⁶³ Seeing Dickens treat the subject in a separate section, he decided to do similarly. His presentation has to do with the countryside during a sudden storm in the summer.

Young Irtenev's first drinking-bout bears also close resemblance to David's first drinking-party. On this occasion both Nikolenka, David, and their respective friends, do not fail to get completely drunk and to misbehave. Like Dickens, again, Tolstoy devotes a separate part to this episode.⁶⁴

In Childhood and to a somewhat lesser extent in its two sequels Tolstoy succeeded for the first time in transposing the raw material of recorded experience into art. For a moment he abandoned his pioneering energy and was content to draw up a balance of what he had already acquired in a form not too unlike the accepted conventions of literature. In everything he wrote after Childhood and up to War and Peace he continued his forward movement,

63 See: Boyhood, Chapter II.

64 See: Youth, p. 353-359;
David Copperfield, Vol. 1, p. 366-368.

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experimenting, forging his instrument, never condescending to sacrifice his interest, in the process of his output, to the artistic effect of the finished product.

Childhood, Boyhood and Youth, the earliest novels of Tolstoy, reveal the most numerous and the most evident traces of indebtedness to Dickens. In continuing the traditions of the realistic family novel type of fiction Tolstoy follows Dickens, who in turn follows some earlier models himself. Eykhenbaum is of the opinion that it was namely from David Copperfield that young Tolstoy adopted the elements of the family type of novel.⁶⁵ Undoubtedly, in this early period, Tolstoy, be it consciously or subconsciously, was under Dickens' impact. He generally admitted this influence at that time and called Dickens the most Christian of all English novelists. "What a charm David Copperfield has!"⁶⁶ one may find among other quotations in his Journal. But, even at this initial stage, there were evident in Tolstoy's writings the seeds of a future master. With the development of his own artistic genius he grew more and more independent as a writer.

In 1856 Tolstoy published the story, A Russian Proprietor, intended as a part of a larger work, The Novel

65 Eykhenbaum, Molodoy Tolstoy, p. 37.

66 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 103.

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of a Russian Landowner, which he never finished. In this novel the author intended to depict the relations between a master and his serfs. The autobiographical aspects are clearly discernible. The nineteen-year-old hero of the novel writes his aunt of his decision to leave the university in order to devote all his efforts to his estate and to the welfare of his serfs. On the basis of her experience, his aunt is sceptical about the success of his plan. Despite all his efforts, the peasants remain poor, shirk education, and do not improve morally. Somehow the protagonist's plans all come to nothing. The serfs are suspicious and regard his offers of aid as just another scheme on the part of the master to get more work out of them.

Disappointed because of his failure to improve the lot of his peasants-serfs, Nekhlyudov, the hero of the story, escapes from reality into a romantic dream-world of the future:

I and my wife, whom I shall love as no one ever loved a wife before in the world, we shall always live amid this restful, poetical, rural nature, with our children and, maybe, with my old aunt. We have our love for each other, our love for our children; and we will both know that our aim is the right one... I will attend to the farm, the savings-bank, the workshop. And she, /.../ will go to the peasants' school, to the hospital, to some unfortunate peasant who, in truth, does not deserve help, and everywhere carry comfort and aid. 67

67 Tolstoi, Complete Works, Vol. 13, A Russian Proprietor, p. 58.

The above passage recalls David's romantic dreams about a happy married life with Dora Spenlow. In his imagination David builds a very similar image of married life to that of Nekhlyudov's but, unfortunately, after his marriage his life with Dora goes awry.

In connection with Dora it would be in order to mention here that Tolstoy named a dog, an Irish setter, Dora in honour of the heroine in David Copperfield.⁶⁸ His eldest son, Sergey, in his memoirs mentions: "We had another dog, Boffin, also from Dickens."⁶⁹ Boffin is a character from the novel Our Mutual Friend.

David, excited and impatient on the eve of his wedding with Dora, cannot believe himself to be so happy, and absolutely cannot imagine himself as a married man. Throughout the time of waiting and the ceremony he lives as if in a dream.⁷⁰ Tolstoy presents similar moments in A Russian Proprietor and in his novel Family Happiness which was published in 1859.⁷¹

Some similarity may be noticed between the character of a soldier in Tolstoy's story A Wood-Cutting

68 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 83, p. 34.

69 Tolstoy Remembered by His Son Sergey, p. 73.

70 See: David Copperfield, Vol. 2, p. 196-201.

71 See: A Russian Proprietor, p. 58; Tolstoi, Complete Works, Vol. 8, Family Happiness, p. 274.

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Expedition, published also in 1859, and Dickens' famous Sam Weller in Pickwick Papers. Sam, as Dickens presents him, is a hard-working, honest servant, much devoted to his master; but to other people, the readers, he seems to be something of a buffoon. Perhaps it is his natural behaviour which causes him find a funny side in every situation. Tolstoy's man, Chikin, is much of the same kind.⁷²

In reference to Pickwick Papers, S.Y. El'patevskiy, a writer and Tolstoy's co-worker, records a conversation which he had with Tolstoy much later, in 1902:

He /Tolstoy/ asked me unexpectedly, "what literature, which books influenced you most in your youth?" I began to recall and to list them ... Gogol ... Dickens ... "Dickens influenced you too?" Leo Tolstoy asked lively. "Have you read him in Russian? ... In English he is without comparison better ... He influenced me greatly, he was my favourite ... I read him several times. And you?" I have just reread, don't remember even which time, Pickwick Papers, and I told him so. Leo Nikolaevich was very pleased ... "Well, whom do you like there the best?" I mentioned that the most enchanting gentleman was Mr. Pickwick himself.

"Of course, of course! ... But who else of the secondary characters?"

I like all the secondary characters in Pickwick Papers so much that I became perplexed and named Mr. Weller.

"The younger one? But I like better the elder Weller, the father. Do You remember?" ...⁷³

⁷² See: Tolstoi, Complete Works, Vol. 12, A Wood-Cutting Expedition, p. 42;

cf., Eykhenbaum, Molodoy Tolstoy, p. 102.

⁷³ Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 176-177.

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Tolstoy himself, on October 18, 1905, said the following about Dickens and his Pickwick Papers:

I read Dickens' biography in Brockhaus /Efron Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar'/. Until he was 14, Dickens spent only two years in school, later he glued labels to shoe-polish containers. So he had no formal education; but what subtlety, what depth of ideas he had! ... His Pickwickers were written with cheerfulness that simply radiates from their faces.⁷⁴

Both David Copperfield and Childhood possess great charm, an undeniable attraction for their readers. Tolstoy's wife's feelings, as noted in her memoirs, can serve here as an example:

Tolstoy's Childhood and Dickens' David Copperfield made the greatest impression on me. When I finished reading Copperfield, I cried because I was sorry to part with the people who had become so dear to me.⁷⁵

Although the artistic indebtedness to Dickens might have decreased at the end of the 1850's and the early 1860's, when Tolstoy began working on War and Peace, the heritage of Dickensian ideas in the field of humanitarianism, education of children, social and political questions, and in other related fields lasted until Tolstoy's death. He was persistently searching for his own creative path:

⁷⁴ Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 264.

⁷⁵ Tikhon Polner, Tolstoy and His Wife, New York, Norton, 1945, p. 38.

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"to know what is mine, or rather what is not mine - this is art,"⁷⁶ he noted down in his Journal at the time when he was reading English, French and German authors. After his return from the first trip to Western Europe, in 1858, he noted in the journal Athenaeum an argument about the London Literary Fund Society in which Dickens took part.⁷⁷ This article attracted Tolstoy's attention because Dickens was mentioned in it, and because he himself was similarly involved in the St. Petersburg Literary Fund.⁷⁸

But it was only during his second trip that Tolstoy visited England and heard Dickens deliver a lecture on education. Much later, in 1905, Tolstoy recalled this particular evening in London, on March 3, 1861, which had moved him to tears:

He read excellently, and with his dignified, powerful figure he produced a vivid impression. At that time I was carried away by the question on education. I went to the West to learn about education. I understood little of spoken English then, knew it only theoretically, reading /.../⁷⁹

Asked by one of the friends, A.P. Sergeenko, whether he visited Dickens at his home or whether he met him personally, Tolstoy replied:

76 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 48, p. XII.

77 Ibid., p. 427.

78 Ibid.

79 Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 127.

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No, I did not dare. It is only now in fashion that people are not embarrassed meeting other people when it is necessary. It was different then. Besides, my English was bad.⁸⁰

Indeed, during his stay in London Tolstoy looked at that city "through Dickens' eyes," as he knew it from the great novelist's works.⁸¹

Dickens' portrait used to hang in Tolstoy's study in Yasnaya Polyana.⁸² He often referred to it. An English editor, Phillips, sent it to him in 1901 along with a new edition of Dickens' works, having learned about Tolstoy's high opinion of Dickens.⁸³ One evening in October 1905, he gave his eldest daughter Tatyana a chapter and a half of David Copperfield, which he especially liked, to read aloud. When she finished reading, he said:

What an enormous talent. I know, writers have moments of inspiration, when they succeed in everything /.../ Describing the handsome, educated, rich young man, Dickens does not take his side /.../ He /Dickens/ was tall with a face like that on the portrait in our guest room.⁸⁴

Tolstoy's follower, the above mentioned Sergeenko, notes in this connection:

⁸⁰ Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 250.

⁸¹ Shklovskiy, Lev Tolstoy, Vol. 1, p. 291.

⁸² Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 1, p. 318-319; Vol. 2, p. 265.

⁸³ Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 73, p. 362.

⁸⁴ Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 265.

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/Tolstoy/ ... began telling us in minute details about London streets in the 1860's, coaches, the literary meeting at which Dickens read, and other things. In a few lines characteristic of him he jotted down the portrait of Dickens.⁸⁵

On February 3, 1905, Tolstoy is recorded as saying: "There he /Dickens/ sits in my room, waiting for me. How nice!"⁸⁶

In the 1860's, the decade that produced War and Peace, Tolstoy read English novelists, among them Dickens. In his diary he specifically refers to Our Mutual Friend and Pickwick Papers. He notes down the comparison between Bella, the heroine of Our Mutual Friend, and Tanya, his younger sister-in-law.⁸⁷ In 1865, as he was planning his future works, his "dreams" expanded under the influence of his reading foreign works, and those of Dickens always evoked rapture in him.⁸⁸ The initial plan of War and Peace called for a kind of family novel in the spirit of Dickens, but Tolstoy intended to charge it with an intense contemporary appeal.⁸⁹ In one of the drafts of this novel he mentions that one cannot apply pragmatism in reference

85 Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 352.

86 Ibid., p. 248.

87 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 48, p. 65, and 479.

88 Gusev, op. cit., p. 654, and 687.

89 Eykhenbaum, Molodoy Tolstoy, p. 37.

to David Copperfield because it is art.⁹⁰

In January 1861, while in Paris, Tolstoy expressed his high opinion of the talented but rather vulgar novelist Paul de Kock (1794-1871): "He is the French Dickens," he said. "His characters are all drawn from life, and very perfectly, too."⁹¹ Literary circles in Paris were shocked at this comparison. The incident may serve to show that Tolstoy was then aware of Dickensian characterization, as he was aware of it during the 1850's.

The 1870's find Tolstoy at work on Anna Karenina and, in the latter part of the decade - on his Confession. One of the main characters in Anna Karenina, Stiva Oblonsky, is likened to Mr. Micawber for his carelessness.⁹² After the appearance of Anna Karenina Tolstoy's fame was at its peak. In England, where the cult of Russian novel became somewhat evident in the following decade, Tolstoy was admired for his insight into the souls of his characters and for his realism. In the 1880's literary critics there began to consider Dickens as a mere humorist, a Victorian, "who never knew the vast landscapes of the soul and the terrible corridors of the spirit,"⁹³ as did Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. The

90 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 15, p. 240.

91 Dole, op. cit., p. 153.

92 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 18, p. 45.

93 Steiner, op. cit., p. 43.

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tradition of Dickens was considered secular, whereas the art of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky was deemed religious. These evaluations of the critics were noted at the time by Tolstoy. In 1885, I.M. Ivakin, a tutor of Tolstoy's sons, records the following opinions of Tolstoy:

It always seemed to me - said Leo Nikolaevich - that /.../ while reading English authors /.../ they hide something, are hypocritical in some matters, do not tell things to the end. E.g., the real Dickens is considered by the English as an improper writer. With us, the Russians, it is just the opposite /.../94

Matthew Arnold, while recommending Tolstoy's Anna Karenina to English readers in 1887, used the same terms which George Eliot had used in her manifesto against Dickens:

The Russian novelist is thus master of a spell to which the secrets of human nature - both what is external and what is internal, gestures and manner no less than thought and feeling - willingly make themselves known.95

It is true that Anna Karenina, as art, is almost perfect. Dostoevsky himself noticed the high qualities of this novel and remarked about it in his Journal of an Author (1877)

94 N.N. Gusev and V.S. Mishin, editors, "Tolstoy v 1880-e gody," in Literaturnoe nasledstvo, Vol. 69, Part 2, p. 54.

95 G.H. Ford quoting Matthew Arnold in Dickens and His Readers, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955, p. 192;

cf., Phelps, op. cit., p. 37-38.

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that there was nothing in European literature that could be compared with it.

Yet, despite his lofty fame, Tolstoy's high opinion of Dickens did not diminish. He did his best to make sure that there would be room left for Dickens in the sunlight, and he consistently maintained that Dickens was one of the greatest novelists of the century.⁹⁶ Among the recollections of G.A. Rusanov, then a young man, we find one which is dated December 4-6, 1890, and which he recorded while visiting Yasnaya Polyana:

Somehow the conversation switched to Dickens, whom Tolstoy loved very much; (his portrait is hanging in the room previously serving as Tolstoy's study).

"Have you read his Tale of Two Cities? Our Mutual Friend?" And Leo Nikolaevich named to me another two or three novels of Dickens and, as if on purpose, just the ones I have not read ...

"Be sure to read them," he added. "Oh, how I envy you, how much pleasure is there in store for you. Dickens is on the highest level, a step lower is Thackeray, and still lower - Trollope."

"And George Eliot?" I asked.

"Oh, she is equal to Dickens, on the same level with him."⁹⁷

As noted by some critics, in certain aspects Dickens' novels continue to compare favourably with Anna Karenina. His friend, N.N. Strakhov, writes to him in 1877:

⁹⁶ Phelps, op. cit., p. 137;
cf., Ford, Dickens and His Readers, p. 185.

⁹⁷ Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 1, p. 318-319.

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"Anna Karenina is a great work of the Dickens and Balzac type, but it surpasses all their novels."¹⁰¹ Another, a more recent critic, while discussing the description of railways in novels, notes:

Apart from a chapter in Anna Karenina, it is hard to think of a parallel book which turns railways into art. Dickens conveyed by them his sense of a new world. Zola failed in La Bête Humaine.¹⁰²

After the publication of Anna Karenina Tolstoy, as usual, continued reading Dickens. Two entries from his wife's diary throw some light on the subject. The first, that of October 23, 1878, is as follows:

/.../ Lyova said to-day that he had read so much historical material that he would like to rest and read Dickens's Martin Chuzzlewit for a change. I know that when Lyova begins to read English novels he is sure to start writing again himself.¹⁰³

Apparently, from previous experiences, she associated in her mind the idea that whenever her husband began to read English novelists it meant that he himself was preparing to write something of his own. Another entry in her diary, dated November 6, 1878, reads:

101 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 469.

102 A.O.J. Cockshut, The Imagination of Charles Dickens, London, Collins, 1961, p. 91.

103 The Diary of Tolstoy's Wife, 1860-1891, p. 192.

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It worried him not to be able to write; in the evening he was reading Dickens's Dombey and Son, and suddenly said to me: "I've got an idea! I have been thinking of an old woman, imagining her figure, her appearance, and her thoughts; but I couldn't find a feeling to put into her, and now I've got it. It is that her old man, locked up in jail, is innocent."¹⁰⁴

An incident, similar to the one discussed above, can be found in Dombey and Son where Dickens describes an old beggar woman, Mrs. Brown, and her daughter Alice.¹⁰⁵

Tolstoy's Confession, written in 1878-79, and published in Switzerland, begins a turning point in his religious, moral, social, philosophical and artistic ideas. In the Confession the author describes his successive disillusionment with a life of pleasure, with conventional religion, and with science and philosophy. None of these provided him with any answer to his quest for the meaning of life. In all his searchings he had looked to the upper classes to provide him with an adequate answer. He finally discovered the true solution by observing the life of the peasants. He noted that they did not fear death, which they regarded as the natural and inevitable consequence of life, and thus he decided that their life itself must be good and natural. In their toil as well as in their generous and

¹⁰⁴ The Diary of Tolstoy's Wife, 1860-1891, p. 187.

¹⁰⁵ See: Dombey and Son, Chapter XXIV.

co-operative spirit he found the key to their happiness.

For some years after the above date Tolstoy refrained from writing fiction almost entirely. In the 1880's he turned to popular and didactic tales intended for peasants which culminated with his drama, The Power of Darkness. Like Dickens, he concentrated on narratives for children and on moralizing stories for unsophisticated adults. One of them, entitled Two Old Men, teaches the precepts of the true Christianity as both Dickens and Tolstoy understood it.

Two Old Men is one of the best of Tolstoy's didactic stories. It portrays two old peasants turned pilgrims. Before they die, they want to fulfil a vow - they wish to visit the Lord's Grave in Jerusalem. One of them thought that he had fulfilled his vow because, after long travels, he had reached the Holy Land. However, the other peasant, in his pilgrimage, came upon a destitute starving family. He decided to help the family, considering it his Christian duty. His travel money was soon spent on the needy family. He never reached the Holy Land. The other pilgrim, while returning home, came by chance upon the very family that was earlier helped by his companion. He heard the family's story and was brought to

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understand that "the best way to keep one's vows to God and to do His will is for each man, while he lives, to show love and do good to others."¹⁰⁷

From the artistic point of view, his only masterpiece of literature written during this period, was The Death of Ivan Ilyich (1886). His energies began to be devoted to the formulation of the principles of his new ethical system. He was especially occupied with biblical scholarship in an attempt to separate the essential ethical teachings of the Scriptures from the false dogmas which, he felt, had grown up around them. The early 1880's reflect this stage in Tolstoy's life. His readings conformed to it. Although he occasionally read Pickwick Papers, the English novelists, Dickens, Thackeray, and Trollope, who had for so long been his favourites, were now neglected - he turned to weightier religious works.

But not for long was Dickens discarded. Soon his novels again invigorated Tolstoy, only this time in a different capacity. In February, 1884, Tolstoy conceived an idea of establishing a popular magazine, designed for the masses. This publication, called the Intermediary /Posrednik/, developed into a pioneering publishing house which

¹⁰⁷ Tolstoy Centenary Edition, Vol. 13, Two Old Men, p. 102-130.

proved to be one of the few successful practical ventures inspired by him.

Tolstoy encouraged the Intermediary not only with contributions of his own but also with suggestions of works that might be printed in it. These were all books that he had read: Dickens' short stories, Oliver Twist, Little Dorrit, Bleak House, and Edwin Drood.¹⁰⁸ In a letter to his daughter Tanya, dated October 17, 1885, he writes that he is "slowly" reading Bleak House, which he marks as "very good," and thinking about the interpretation, for the people and school-children, of Oliver Twist. In November of the same year he recommends full translations, in popular editions, of Bleak House and Little Dorrit. "It is worthwhile," he remarks, "to try to do this especially with regard to Dickens, in order to render all the subtlety of his irony and feeling, to learn to understand the shades of his meaning." And he continues: "No one is better in this respect than Dickens."¹⁰⁹

Y.M. Ivakin notes some opinions of Tolstoy on Dickens during this period. The following is an excerpt of their conversation from Ivakin's diary:

108 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 522.

109 Ibid., p. 616.

Lately I /Tolstoy/ have been rereading Dickens' novels Little Dorrit and Bleak House. In my opinion, Dickens has not yet been fully evaluated. We don't know Dickens, but what power he is! Previously these novels seemed to me heavy and boring, but not now. What a power! He can have ten characters on stage but you, while reading him, do not forget even one of them. All these English institutions are presented in a light of irony in his works, everything is vested in such irony! /.../ In my opinion, heroes in his works are not lords, etc., but people: in rags, their faces pock-marked. They are his real heroes. His novel Oliver Twist is beautiful; I remember having narrated it to children several times and always with success.¹¹⁰

This was at the time when, under the effect of Russian novels, the reading public in England developed an inferiority complex as to their own novelists, a complex which also affected Dickens' status as a Victorian writer. As such, he began to be considered as conventional and artificial.¹¹¹ Strangely enough, the faults which the English critics tried to find in Dickens' novels, Tolstoy noted in the Russian writers of the 1880's. Recollections of several of his friends indicate the following opinions of Tolstoy:

The language of the majority of Russian writers suffers from excessive verbosity and simulation /.../ A genuine teacher of language in literature was Dickens. He always knew how to place himself in the positions and situations of the characters he described. And he knew how and what kind of language every one of these characters should use.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 621.

¹¹¹ Ford, op. cit., p. 191.

¹¹² Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 1, p. 398.

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Another striking example /of the deterioration of the reading public's taste/ is that of the English prose writers. From the great Dickens to George Eliot and then to Thackeray, from Thackeray to Trollope, and then already begin the shapeless fabrications of Kiplings, Hall Caines, Rider Haggards, etc. /.../ In England, after Byron, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, there follows a poor substitute of art; with a pseudo-Christian idea, The Christian, spreads in millions of copies, and Kipling is considered as an example of an outstanding writer.¹¹³

In his Le roman russe, published in 1886, and later translated into English, de Vogüé discusses the impact of the Russian novel in France and adds that the Russian novelists owed much more to Dickens than to Balzac.¹¹⁴ In 1888 Aylmer Maude notes in this connection the following:

Tolstoy says that at the present time the novel is on a much lower level, both in England and in France, than when it was young. Dickens and Hugo were then in their prime, and who nowadays can equal them? Consciously they selected subjects important to life, and developed them in such a way that the readers were permeated with their feelings. They appealed for pity, compassion, they were protectors of the poor and the oppressed, and they expressed their indignation at the persisting evil in such a way that they touched the peoples' hearts.¹¹⁵

In the meantime the demand for abridged and adapted forms of Dickens' novels, to appear in the Intermediary,

113 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 34, p. 275, and 526.

114 Phelps, op. cit., p. 34.

115 Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 1, p. 435.

increased. Friends and co-workers were contacted by Tolstoy to prepare suitable popular editions of Edwin Drood, Oliver Twist, Little Dorrit, Tale of Two Cities, and Our Mutual Friend. In a letter to V.G. Chertkov, dated February 22, 1886, Tolstoy writes that he himself is very much interested in editing for the Intermediary, in an adapted form, the Tale of Two Cities, Little Dorrit, and the most enjoyable Our Mutual Friend.¹¹⁶ The Intermediary played an enormous role in the popularization of Dickens' works in Russia.¹¹⁷ Adaptations of Dickens' novels came out under such intriguing titles as: Daughter of a Convict or From Smithy to Riches / Great Expectations / Frightful Apparitions or a Soul Risen from the Dead / The Christmas Carol / Rich Man's Children / Dombey and Son /, etc.¹¹⁸

The decade of 1890's marks Tolstoy's new attitude toward art, a result of his previous change. He condemned his earlier writings, which he now regarded as harmful, since, in his opinion, they were written from motives of vanity and in ignorance of the truth. Art, in his later

¹¹⁶ Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 1, p. 346; cf., Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 628.

¹¹⁷ Yu.V. Fridlender, et al., editors, Charl's Dikkens. Bibliografiya russkikh perevodov i kriticheskoy literatury na russkom yazyke, 1838-1960, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Vsesoyuznoy Knizhnoy Palaty, 1962, p. 17.

¹¹⁸ Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 85, p. 288.

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view, ought to be infused with a spirit which is morally uplifting. It has to be simple enough for most men to comprehend, and it is to be freed from sensuality. The new theory of art is expounded in his treatise What Is Art?, published in 1897, after fifteen years of thought and deliberation.

Tolstoy could not help being an artist, once he set out to tell a story. Yet he declared a fierce and dogmatic war on art at the very moment when nothing seemed to be beyond the range of his own artistic power. And the ruthlessness with which he turned against his own former creations can only be explained by the fact that, for some reason or other, his attacks were disguised attacks directed primarily against himself. While reading him, it is not difficult to notice that, time and again, he was impelled to act against himself as though warding off certain dangers besetting his inner life. And when these became particularly strong, his counter-measures, too, had to become adequate. So Tolstoy's works are largely a record of his own inner conflict or conflicts the nature of which was motivated by his complicated personality.

However, his new requirements for art in literature do not leave out his beloved Dickens from the aesthetic field. V.F. Lazurskiy, a professor of West-European literature at Odessa University, notes the following opinion of

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Tolstoy on art, June 24, 1894:

One ought to understand art without studying it. Take, e.g., a novel of Walter Scott or even Dickens and read it to a peasant: he will understand it. But make him listen to a symphony of Tchaikovsky or Brahms or any other, and he will hear only noises.¹¹⁹

Excerpts from Tolstoy's essay, *What Is Art?*, prove further that Dickens' novels were, according to Tolstoy, universal art:

If I were asked to give modern examples of each of these kinds of art - religious and universal - as examples of the highest art, flowing from love of God and man, /.../ in literature I should name The Robbers, V. Hugo's Les pauvres gens and Les misérables; the novels and stories of Dickens - The Tale of Two Cities, The Christmas Carol, The Chimes, and others /.../ ¹²⁰

In connection with Tolstoy's changed conception of religion and art, some French critics note that Dickens was a great religious teacher and, as such, was a kindred spirit to Tolstoy, because he loved the poor, the humble, the low, and denounced injustice, oppression and cruelty. Dickens' Bleak House teaches us to detest the mere bourgeois virtue, and anticipates Tolstoy's Resurrection in interpreting the divine message: "Thou shalt not judge." French critics consider him not only as Tolstoy's but also as Dostoevsky's teacher:

¹¹⁹ Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 11.

¹²⁰ G.H. Perris, The Life and Teaching of Leo Tolstoy, London, Grant Richards, 1904, p. 215.

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Aux yeux du public russe ... Dickens est surtout le créateur de la petite Nell, le poète des humiliés et des "offensés": c'est par là surtout qu'il a été le maître de Dostoïevsky comme du comte Tolstoï.¹²¹

Indeed, Tolstoy's appreciation of Dickens in later years was enhanced by his own progressive obsession with religious problems. What Is Art? rests on the quixotic premise that the story of Nell and her grandfather is greater art than King Lear.¹²² In his essay, Shakespeare and the Drama, he even introduces a humorous incident from Pickwick Papers where Mr. Pickwick finds a stone with an inscription on a farmer's threshold, which causes much polemics among the scholars.¹²³ Dr. Makovitsky recorded the following opinion of Tolstoy in June, 1905:

Dickens cannot be imitated. His heroes are those who are forgotten, the poor; he despises the lords. With Shakespeare it is the opposite: dukes are heroes, peasants are clowns.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Ford, op. cit., p. 192-193; cf., Lindstrom, Tolstoï en France, p. 134.

¹²² Ford, op. cit., p. 193; cf., G. Orwell, "Lear, Tolstoy and the Fool," in Collected Essays, London, Secker & Warburg, 1961, p. 414-434; also, Constantine Bida, "Shakespeare and National Traits in Slavic Literatures," in Proceedings of the IVth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association, The Hague-Paris, 1966, p. 275-280.

¹²³ Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 35, p. 249.

¹²⁴ Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 516.

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In the meantime, under the influence of the aesthetic criticism of the 1890's, English readers "discovered" Dickens' philosophical and psychological ineptitude in comparison with the Russian and the contemporary English novelists, and his artistic inadequacy in comparison with Flaubert, Maupassant, and Henry James. One of the requirements of the aesthetic criticism was that the author must be present in his work like God in creation, invisible and almighty, everywhere felt but nowhere seen. Tolstoy considered that Dickens' relationship to his characters was an ideal one, and said of him: "It is well when an author stands just outside his subject, so that one continually doubts whether the treatment is subjective or objective."¹²⁵ Permeated with the aesthetic criticism and infatuated with Tolstoy and Meredith, serious young readers of the 1890's tried to banish Dickens as "too gutterly gutter."¹²⁶

In this period of Tolstoy's life another aspect for which Dickens might be partially credited took a marked form -- his dislike of governments and autocracy. To his

125 Ford, op. cit., p. 214-215.

126 Ibid., p. 238.

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many English readers Dickens' sneers at parliament as "the national dustyard," in David Copperfield, and his account of the Eatanswill election, in Pickwick Papers, seemed merely humorous; but to Tolstoy, with his inherent dislike of government, this testimony from a great English author, who had served as a parliamentary reporter, seemed an irrefutable evidence of the futility of parliaments.¹²⁸ When Tolstoy's outlook on life led him to condemn governments in general, it predisposed him to extend that condemnation to parliamentary as well as to autocratic governments. And his condemnation of empty, superfluous verbosity of parliamentarians was even stricter than that of Dickens.¹²⁹ In reality, Dickens' criticisms of the English institutions were not constructive, but Tolstoy took them seriously.

The last ten years of Tolstoy's life culminated in his philosophical and moral conflicts with the official Russian Orthodox Church, the state, the society and, finally, with his own family. Yet he was still working intensively, and Dickens continued to remain his closest friend. During the 1904-05 period, Tolstoy and many of his followers and guests in his estate, laboured on the collection

128 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 47-48; cf., Una Pope-Hennessy, Charles Dickens, New York, Howell, Soskin, 1946, p. XI-XII.

129 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 48-49.

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of material for the Circle of Reading, a production designed to reflect in a broad sense Tolstoy's religious philosophy through the medium of a great number of quotations drawn from numerous thinkers and partly from his own works. In this connection he studied the works of many ancient and contemporary philosophers and was rereading Dickens, whose works always evoked joy in him:

I am rereading Dickens. I am looking for something suitable for the Circle of Reading, so far unsuccessfully. But how well he writes. Dickens is a universal genius. He even makes dead objects alive: "the sea is laughing."¹³⁰

He often remarked about Dickens' wit and the beauty of his descriptions. He said of him: "Dickens is someone special, someone outstanding."¹³¹ In his opinion, neither Thackeray nor Mark Twain measured up to Dickens, and he preferred Dickens to Victor Hugo because the latter repelled him with his pathos. Many a happy moment was experienced by Tolstoy, his children and friends whenever they conversed about Dickens and read his works. Great Expectations was read to his favourite small son, Vanichka, who was dying. The boy remarked that the story was sad because its heroine

¹³⁰ Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 244.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 252.

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Estella did not marry Pip.¹³² Several persons recorded in their memoirs one excerpt, dated February 4, 1905:

Leo Nikolaevich began a conversation about Dickens saying that he reads him with a special interest, feeling and joy, almost naively, in passages where Dickens describes children /.../ He /Dickens/ likes the weak and the poor, and scorns the rich everywhere. Strangely, he often describes thieves. In one story a woman thief seizes a boy's cap, but her hand becomes entangled in his hair. She takes scissors and wants to cut the hair but stops when she recalls the curls of her boy son.¹³³

Of course, Tolstoy, or the person who recorded this incident, confused the facts somewhat. The passage in question is from Dombey and Son, where the thief woman is Mrs. Brown, her boy is actually her daughter Alice, and the boy with the curls is again a girl, Florence Dombey.¹³⁴

Another impression is recorded by Sergeenko on February 8, 1905:

Leo Nikolaevich /.../ reads a lot /.../ especially is he enraptured by Dickens whom he reads for the second time, and of whose works he narrates whole passages: "Do you remember in Dombey and Son, when to Dombey comes this ... and begins to lay on the table the bank-notes, then watches, silver spoons, and how, having done that, he waves a kiss to the ladies with his hand."¹³⁵

¹³² Sofiya Andreevna Tolstoy, The Countess Tolstoy's Later Diary, 1891-1897. Translated from the Russian by Alexander Werth, London, Gollancz, 1929, p. 248.

¹³³ Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 244, 248, 252, and 253.

¹³⁴ Dombey and Son, Chapter VI.

¹³⁵ Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 126-127.

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The above incident refers to Captain Cuttle who lost his hand and used a hook instead, which, in this case, he waved at the ladies.¹³⁶ At this time Tolstoy also read The Old Curiosity Shop, which he praised. He said that the chapter on gaol would be suitable for his Circle of Reading.

Tolstoy's son Sergey recalls that his father read David Copperfield in 1905, and notes the following statement of Tolstoy himself: "Uncle Seriozha used to say: 'When you begin reading Dickens it is as if you were entering from a dirty pub into a respectable society'."¹³⁷ Excerpts from memoirs of other acquaintances of Tolstoy further corroborate the fact that the latter always enjoyed Dickens' novels.¹³⁸ When Sergeenko once asked him whether he recalled now, while reading Dickens, his first impressions of him, Tolstoy answered: "No, he is new for me. In my youth I read him, I devoured him like Rousseau, Schopenhauer."¹³⁹

An evaluation of Tolstoy-Dickens artistic and spiritual relationship would be incomplete without a few

¹³⁶ The incident is also recalled by the writer V.G. Korolenko, "My First Encounter with Dickens," in Davie, Russian Literature and Modern English Fiction, p. 111.

¹³⁷ Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 244; cf., D.P. Makovitski, "Yasnopolyanskies zapiski," in Yasnopolyanskiy sbornik, Tula, Tul'skoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo, 1960, p. 173.

¹³⁸ Makovitski, "Yasnopolyanskies zapiski," p. 180.

¹³⁹ Tolstoy v vospominaniakh, Vol. 2, p. 251.

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opinions of some fellow authors on the subject. While discussing Gogol Tolstoy once mentioned to Maude that among Russian authors Gogol resembled Dickens in humour, but he had none of his broad humane sympathies; that, of Russian authors, Pushkin was the foremost and, like Dickens, had no second.¹⁴⁰ Concerning the three authors: Dickens, Gogol and Tolstoy, a modern literary critic writes:

In this respect, however, it is likely that the influence of Dickens was at least just as great as that of Gogol ... Certainly Dickens animates the inanimate just as Gogol does, but he does not rob this animation from his human figures. They too are extravagantly animated in scale. Dickens' world is not dehumanized and again, nowhere but in Dickens do we find this tag of peculiar detail recurring continually to distinguish one character from another, as we have seen it in the cases of Pozdnishchev, the Princess Bolkonski, and Karenin. In Dickens the superfluous detail by which the reader identifies a character is usually a conversational phrase - "waiting for something to turn up," - "Barkis is willing," - "I will not desert Mr. Micawber." In Tolstoy the tag is a physical characteristic. But the principle is the same.¹⁴¹

In his talk on Tolstoy, in 1921, G.B. Shaw, who praised his last novel, Resurrection, made the following remark:

140 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 464.

141 Davie, "Tolstoy, Lermontov, and Others," in Russian Literature and Modern English Fiction, p. 174-175.

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Tolstoy does not moralize openly, and in this respect I find the superiority of his method over Dickens' method. Tolstoy is able to open the soul like one opens a bottle with a corkscrew, without letting one know whether he is a humorist, or letting one feel that he is laughing. His way is predominantly tragi-comic.¹⁴²

The struggle between the moralist and the artist that had been reflected in the last pages of Anna Karenina is everywhere in evidence in Resurrection. Rarely does the moralizing element appear without the rich, variegated garments of real life. The essence of all that Tolstoy had thought and suffered since his spiritual change is condensed in the pages of the book. It is a novel of purpose, but, then, so are many of Dickens' works and a goodly number of great novels in general. The principal purpose of Resurrection is to reveal the evil consequences of the violence of government and the hypocrisy of the Russian Church.

Lord David Cecil noted:

Nor is he /Dickens/ less admired by expert judges. Tolstoy - and who should know better than he - thought him one of the few supreme novelists that had ever lived.¹⁴³

This testimony Cecil could have strengthened with opinions of other prominent Russian authors and critics.

¹⁴² G.B. Shaw, "Tolstoy: Tragedian or Comedian," in The Works of Bernard Shaw, London, Constable, 1930-1938, Vol. 29, p. 278.

¹⁴³ Cecil, op. cit., p. 55.

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A.Ch. Swinburne (1837-1909), who at the time had been fighting a losing battle in defense of Dickens' reputation in England, was overjoyed to bolster up his forces with Tolstoy's high recommendation of the English novelist.¹⁴⁴ In George Orwell's essay, "Charles Dickens," one may find a very interesting comparison and juxtaposition of Dickens and Tolstoy:

Why is it that Tolstoy's grasp seems so much larger than Dickens's - why is it that he seems able to tell you so much more about yourself? It is not that he is more gifted, or even, in the last analysis, more intelligent. It is because he is writing about people who are growing. His characters are struggling to make their souls, whereas Dickens's are already finished and perfect. In my own mind Dickens's people are present far more often and far more vividly than Tolstoy's, but always in a single unchangeable attitude, like pictures or pieces of furniture. You cannot hold an imaginary conversation with a Dickens character as you can with, say, Peter Bezoukhov. And this is not merely because of Tolstoy's greater seriousness, for there are also comic characters that you can imagine yourself talking to ... It is because Dickens's characters have no mental life. They say perfectly the thing that they have to say, but they cannot be conceived as talking about anything else. /.../ Does this mean that Tolstoy's novels are "better" than Dickens's? The truth is that it is absurd to make such comparisons in terms of "better" or "worse." If I were forced to compare Tolstoy with Dickens, I should say that Tolstoy's appeal will probably be wider in the long run, because

144 Ford, op. cit., p. 192;
cf., Arthur Quiller-Couch, Charles Dickens and Other Victorians, New York, Putnam, 1925, p. 99.

Dickens is scarcely intelligible outside the English-speaking culture; on the other hand, Dickens is able to reach simple people which Tolstoy is not. Tolstoy's characters can cross a frontier, Dickens can be portrayed on a cigarette-card. /.../ Their purposes barely intersect.¹⁴⁵

While still rereading Dickens' novels during the last decade of his life, Tolstoy however did not always agree with his previous opinions of some of the English writer's individual works.¹⁴⁶ He mentioned on various occasions that he would like to write an article about his favourite English author.¹⁴⁷ He said: "If I had time I would write about Dickens. He gave me great pleasure and influenced me."¹⁴⁸ Unfortunately, he never came around to doing it.

¹⁴⁵ G. Orwell, "Charles Dickens," in Collected Essays, p. 82-83.

¹⁴⁶ Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 55, passim; Vol. 56, p. 142; also, Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 521, and 652.

¹⁴⁷ Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 533.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 668.

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In no place, source or material can one find Dickens' opinions on Tolstoy. Undoubtedly, had he lived longer, he would have become aware of Tolstoy whose works began to acquire world fame in the 1870's and 1880's. He did take notice of Turgenev, Tolstoy's senior by ten years, some of whose sketches appeared in his Household Words during the Crimean War.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Ford, op. cit., p. 191.

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In addition to being great writers, both Dickens and Tolstoy were reformers: Dickens a social reformer, Tolstoy a reformer in many fields. Both men had the same religious philosophy: the New Testament is the best book in the world. In his will Dickens emphasized:

/.../ and I exhort my dear children humbly to try to guide themselves by the teaching of the New Testament in its broad spirit, and to put no faith in any man's narrow construction of its letter here and there.¹⁵¹

Dickens believed that good could come only from the spontaneous action of the individual. Institutions, governments, he suspected; class distinctions, he hated. Such was his philosophy of life. What is more, he wrote accordingly. That was also exactly what Tolstoy believed and taught in his later works.

The greatness of both men depends ultimately on their stature as artists rather than on their position as ethical thinkers and reformers. Still, one must not overlook the fact that a deep interest in moral problems is implicit in almost everything they wrote. They could interest themselves in, and successfully depict, the apparently petty details and the most elemental facts of everyday reality because, as moralists, they were concerned with them in a profoundly ethical sense.

¹⁵¹ Forster, op. cit., p. 952.

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Less than four months before he died Tolstoy still kept advising the young people to read Dickens. He said: "All his characters are my personal friends. I am constantly comparing them with living persons, and living persons with them /.../." ¹⁵² And no one could pay a better tribute to Dickens than Tolstoy once did in a letter written in English:

I think that Charles Dickens is the greatest novel writer of the 19th 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. ¹⁵³

To recapitulate this chapter, one notices that the Tolstoy-Dickens relationship may be divided into two main categories: the artistic impact of Dickens on the early works of Tolstoy, chiefly in the drawing of characters and presentation of situations; the admiration of Dickensian ideas in the field of humanitarianism, education, ethical, social and political questions which prevails in the second part of Tolstoy's life. Throughout all his life Tolstoy retained a very high opinion of Dickens, despite the latter's

¹⁵² Valentin Bulgakov, L.N. Tolstoy v posledniy god ego zhizni, Moskva, Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoy Literatury, 1960, p. 259.

¹⁵³ Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 476.

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unpopularity with the literary critics and readers in the second part of the Victorian period in England. Dickens' premature death in 1870 prevented him from getting acquainted with the works and ideas of the rising genius of Tolstoy and from making their spiritual relationship mutual.

CHAPTER IV

TOLSTOY-TROLLOPE

Anthony Trollope (1815-1882) was a great admirer and an avowed disciple of Thackeray. Artistically, however, he did not have much in common either with Thackeray or with any other of his contemporaries. He was not a satirist of the Thackeray's type, a caricaturist like Dickens, or a moralist like George Eliot.¹ Trollope was one of the most typical novelists of the Victorian period.² He wrote by the clock and produced works which the reading public of the time craved: novels of more or less ordinary life, ranging from the lower middle to the upper classes, correctly observed, diversified by sufficient incidents not of an extravagant kind, and furnished with descriptions and conversations not too complicated but natural and clever enough.

His interests and experiences were fairly wide: he came from a literary family, was educated at Winchester and Harrow, and spent the greater part of his life as an official of the Post Office. His duties took him to different

1 Joseph E. Baker, editor, The Reinterpretation of Victorian Literature, New York, Russell & Russell, 1962, p. 81.

2 George Saintsbury, A History of Nineteenth Century Literature, London, Macmillan, 1908, p. 339.

places at home and abroad. He was an enthusiastic fox-hunter, somewhat fond of society and of club-life, ambitious enough at least to try other paths than those of fiction. Everything that he saw he could turn into excellent novel-material. He had a very easy and quite unpretentious gift for narrative, a fertile fantasy, a style that seemed to carry the reader on effortlessly, and a happy imagination for creating character and incident. No writer could exceed him in depicting the humour of public office, few in drawing the scenes of clerical life and of the hunting-field. Trollope was a male Jane Austen, cruder and more expansive, but equally secure in his knowledge of what he could do, and with the same clear determination not to transgress into worlds which he did not understand.³ He left an enormous number of novels, which at one time were ~~the~~ most popular reading material.

Unfortunately, the appearance of his delightful Autobiography almost immediately after his death, where he frankly detailed the habits of novel-writing as if it were as simple as cobbling, contributed largely to the depreciation of his art among the critics and the readers. Frankness was unendurable to the Victorians, and Trollope's

³ Quiller-Couch, op. cit., p. 233; cf., Cecil, op. cit., p. 262-264.

portrait of himself was hardly conducive to the formation of a high opinion about his works. For years he passed below the horizon and many of his best novels were available only in the editions of the German Tauchnitz (1859-83), which could not legally be brought into England.⁴ It was in the Tauchnitz edition that Tolstoy became acquainted with Trollope. Eleven volumes of this issue were found in Tolstoy's library at Yasnaya Polyana.⁵

Trollope began writing in the 1840's, his first novel, The Macdermots of Ballycloran, being published in 1847. But it was The Warden (1855), a novel of clerical life, that brought him prominence. With its disregard for a plot, The Warden was typical of all the novels that were to follow. It would, indeed, have been incompatible with his choice of the middle range of characters to have involved them in sensational and complicated situations: ordinary people commonly lead ordinary lives. Then followed novels, stories, biographies, even plays, to a number of some one hundred, all of unequal artistic value. Trollope's novels

4 Winifred Gregory Gerould and James Thayer Gerould, A Guide to Trollope, London, Oxford University Press, 1948, p. V; cf., Michael Sadleir, Trollope: A Bibliography, London, Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1964, p. 133, footnote.

5 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 66, p. 66.

can be grouped into cycles, ranging from the psychological through the fantastic to the burlesque. The best known of his novels belong to three cycles, six titles in each: Barsetshire, Political, and Social Satire. The arrangement of novels into cycles, where actions and characters are connected from novel to novel, had a certain significance for Tolstoy who, occasionally, found himself in similar positions when ending one novel and beginning another.

Tolstoy found elements in Trollope's novels which appealed to him and connected these novels with some works of Thackeray and Dickens. Trollope had an extraordinarily clear eye for the emotions of class-consciousness: pride of birth, social inferiority, the uneasy arrogance of upstarts. His snobs are among the best in English literature. True, they are not the most profoundly studied ones. Trollope cannot, as Thackeray can, penetrate the soul of the snob to expose his secret yearnings, vanities and mortifications. But, on the other hand, his power of accurate observation makes him paint their surface more truthfully. He was incapable of drawing a George Osborne, but he was also incapable of that crude over-emphasis with which Thackeray draws Lady Bareacres.⁶ Trollope's characters are, at their

⁶ Cecil, op. cit., p. 269.

worst, probable. They never undergo incredible conversions like Mr. Micawber, or act in a manner inconsistent with their natures like Becky Sharp. Dickens, interested primarily in individual idiosyncrasy, communicates life only to highly individual types of character; Thackeray, intent to illustrate the workings of human vanity - to characters that exhibit these workings most clearly. But Trollope, concerned merely to draw what he sees, makes a commonplace man like Frank Gresham as living an eccentric as Mrs. Proudie.⁷ In dealing with his characters he was always kindly; however weak, however vicious he had made them, it is seldom that he did not hint at traits which relieved their baseness.⁸

A world of parliamentarians with its entourage, a world known to Tolstoy from Dickens, is presented in the cycle of Political novels. Its characters, engaged in their "high" snobbish schemes and aspirations, correspond in vividness to another set, that of the clerical world with their "petty" squabbles, in the cycle of Barsetshire novels - both sets equally disgusting to Tolstoy. Trollope was interested in recording the grave iniquities that had

7 Cecil, op. cit., p. 253.

8 Gerould and Gerould, op. cit., p. VI.

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developed within the fabric of the Church of England. He was also keenly aware of the injustice of the system of rotten boroughs and the corruption that attended parliamentary elections; but like a true Englishman, the old ways were dear to him. In a way he was a critic but in no sense an iconoclast.⁹ Tolstoy shared the ideas of Trollope in this respect, but his feelings were much stronger. In connection with Trollope, one may speak of a form of an indirect influence. Through him, some aspects which Tolstoy found in Thackeray and Dickens became assimilated and strengthened in the Russian novelist.

As has already been indicated in previous chapters, Tolstoy's opinion of Trollope's works was never as high as was his opinion of Dickens', Thackeray's and George Eliot's works. Still, a number of entries in Tolstoy's memoirs and correspondence testify that he was interested in Trollope and his novels. The first mention of his reading of Trollope is recorded in September 1865: "I am reading The Bertrams... quite good."¹⁰ This novel he was reading several days, for another entry, of October 3, reads: "Finished reading Trollope. Too much conventional."¹¹ According to Eykhenbaum, by

9 Gerould and Gerould, op. cit., p. VI.

10 Gusev, op. cit., p. 687.

11 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 306-307.

"conventional" Tolstoy understood the customary way of tying excessively plot or plots and later untying them by means of various literary devices.¹² However, this might not be the case with Trollope's art. On the other hand, an entry of two days before proclaims: "Trollope kills me with his mastery. I am glad that he has/mastery/ and I have found mine /art/."

¹³ The Bertrams is a novel of the Social Satire cycle, published in 1859. It deals with the vicissitudes of a wealthy merchant's family. The action takes place in various localities in England and in the Holy Land. In addition to the main plot concerning the Bertrams, there is a secondary plot involving characters of the clerical circles. As with most of Trollope's novels, this one suffers somewhat from diffuseness. Tolstoy noticed it, too, by remarking: "The Bertrams would be good if it were not for 'diffuseness'."¹⁴ David Cecil characterizes the shortcomings in Trollope's art as follows:

His view of the novel was as orthodox as his other views. His books are constructed within the regular Victorian convention; panoramas of character and incident, drawn more from the outside than the inside, avoiding any mention of the spiritual and animal aspects of human nature. And even more frankly than any of his contemporaries, Trollope

¹² Eykhenbaum, Lev Tolstoy, Vol. 2, p. 269.

¹³ Ardens, op. cit., p. 246.

¹⁴ Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 48, p. 63.

writes to entertain - altering his plot to please his readers, rounding every story unashamedly up with a happy marriage. This coupled with a typical Victorian carelessness, meant that his books suffered from the customary Victorian faults of form; diffuseness, repetition, incoherence, divided interest.¹⁵

Sporadic mentions of Trollope and his novels by Tolstoy appear also during the period 1870-1890. In a letter to his brother Sergey, dated January 10-11, 1877, he writes: "Prime Minister - excellent."¹⁶ V.M. Sechkarev presumes that the letter was addressed not to Tolstoy's brother but to Tolstoy's son Sergey.¹⁷ But why should he write a letter about a novel for adults to a thirteen-year-old boy (born June 28, 1863) living in the same house? The Prime Minister, published in 1876, is the last part of Trollope's Political trilogy: Phineas Finn (1869), and Phineas Redux (1874), describing Prime Ministers Gladstone and Disraeli and their respective struggle in parliamentary life - not, of course, without secondary plots.

Between the age of 35 and 50 Tolstoy was to a degree under the influence of Trollope's novels.¹⁸ During the

15 Cecil, op. cit., p. 246.

16 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 466.

17 V. Setschkareff, "Tolstoj und Trollope," in Festschrift für Max Vasmer, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1956, p. 472.

18 Ibid.

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preparation of War and Peace he read Trollope's novels for different reasons:¹⁹ his mind became more receptive to new ideas and his power of thinking was sharpened;²⁰ and he derived relaxation from his assiduous labours or studies in remote fields.²¹ To a publisher and bookseller, M.M. Lederle, who asked him to supply a list of books and authors that influenced him, Tolstoy mentioned in a letter of October 25, 1891, among other writers, Trollope and his novels.²² In one of his articles of 1891 he called Trollope's male characters "lazy-bones."²³

Trollope's art differed from the art of other novelists in that he avoided creating situations which might cause suspense for the reader. On the contrary, he was trying to write in such a way as to put the reader at ease - to give pleasure in the form of a relaxing perusal. In one of his Barsetshire novels, Barchester Towers, published in 1857, and dealing with the vicissitudes of the clergy in a cathedral town, the author tells his readers in advance what the solution of the plot will be:

19 Phelps, op. cit., p. 179.

20 Gusev, op. cit., p. 654.

21 Dole, op. cit., p. 212.

22 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 66, p. 68; cf., Setschkareff, op. cit., p. 472.

23 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 29, p. 63.

But let the gentle-hearted reader be under no apprehension whatsoever. It is not destined that Eleanor shall marry Mr. Slope or Bertie Stanhope. And here, perhaps, it may be allowed to the novelist to explain his views on a very important point in the art of telling tales. He ventures to reprobate that system which goes so far to violate all proper confidence between the author and his readers, by maintaining nearly to the end of the third volume a mystery as to the fate of their favourite personage. /.../ Nay, take the last chapter if you please - learn from its pages all the results of our troubled story, and the story shall have lost none of its interest, if indeed there be any interest in it to lose.²⁴

Barchester Towers is considered to be one of the best of Trollope's novels, and it is presumed that Tolstoy knew it.²⁵ In thus revealing his intentions in advance, Trollope, like Thackeray, puts himself in the position of an omniscient author. Similarly, the last chapter of The Bertrams begins:

Methinks it is almost unnecessary to write this last chapter. The story, as I have had to tell it, is all told. The object has been made plain - or, if not so, can certainly not be made plainer in these last six or seven pages. The results of weakness and folly - of such weakness and such folly as is too customary among us - have been declared. What further fortune fate had in store for those whose names have been familiar to us, might be guessed by all. But, nevertheless, custom, and the desire of making an end of the undertaken work, and in some sort completing it, compels me to this concluding chapter.²⁶

24 Anthony Trollope, Barchester Towers, London, Oxford University Press, 1953, Vol. 1, p. 143.

25 Setchkareff, op. cit., p. 474.

26 Anthony Trollope, The Bertrams, Leipzig, Der Verlag Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1859, Vol. 2, p. 386.

Tolstoy must have been aware of such literary devices. Finding Trollope too conventional, as he noted it in connection with reading The Bertrams, he decided to rid himself of this imperfection. In Eykhenbaum's opinion Tolstoy's way of writing consisted of "contrasting parallel subject lines the convergences of which are marked merely by a dotted line ...; this construction could be designated as a construction of interruptions, a construction not according to the principle of plot, but to that of montage."²⁷ Perhaps the most difficult part in novel-writing is to provide a suitable end. In this respect Tolstoy decided to forego this part completely in some of his works. In the ending of The Death of Ivan Ilyich the act of death is described in no more than two lines: "He drew in a breath, stopped in the midst of a sigh, stretched out, and died."²⁸ Indeed, a very marked example of anticlimax.

But The Death of Ivan Ilyich appeared in 1885. Tolstoy's earlier literary creations were not free from the faults he saw in other writers, among them Trollope.

27 Eykhenbaum, Lev Tolstoy, Vol. 2, p. 269.

28 Tolstoy Centenary Edition, Vol. 15, The Death of Ivan Ilyich, p. 73; also see: Leontiev, op. cit., p. 273.

One can hardly talk about a proper ending in War and Peace with its essay on history. Even Anna Karenina ends with Levin's story, which actually is the beginning of another novel about his and his family's life.

It was also Trollope who, in addition to Thackeray, provided Tolstoy with examples of the family-chronicle type of novels. Some ideas about this type he could have derived from the work of a less~~er~~-known Russian writer of the nineteenth century, D.N. Begichev (1786-1855). His book, entitled The Kholmsky Family (1832), although it does not reveal a notable mastery on the part of the author, ~~it~~ nevertheless could have provided Tolstoy with a Russian model of a realistic novel of this type.²⁹

Eykhenbaum terms the initial phase of Tolstoy's work on War and Peace an "English" period. The plot deals here with family chronicles and love-affairs, similar to Trollopian and Thackerayan novels. The "love quartet:" Natasha, Anatoly, Prince Andrew and Pierre may serve as an example of Tolstoy's artistic assimilation of the English method in family-chronicle types of novels.³⁰ The critic believes that the English Victorian novelists, among them Trollope and Thackeray, assisted Tolstoy in mastering the

29 Shklovskiy, Lev Tolstoy, Vol. 1, p. 99.

30 Eykhenbaum, Lev Tolstoy, Vol. 2, p. 280.

art of the family-chronicles. Homer and Goethe, on the other hand inspired and emboldened him to penetrate and to develop not only battle but also philosophical subject-matter in the novel.³¹ Eykhenbaum considers this not as an instance of direct influence or borrowing from these authors but as a case of Tolstoy's availing himself of already existing literary examples.³²

Trollope created a world of his own in his novels in which he shifted characters from novel to novel and from generation to generation. It is no wonder, then, that his novels can be grouped into cycles. Of course, French novelists of that time were also developing the so-called "roman fleuve," especially Zola and Balzac. It is quite plausible that in the composition of War and Peace Tolstoy was actuated by such a cycle as Barsetshire Chronicles and the novel The Bertrams, which he was reading at the time. These novels abound in parallel plots dealing with different families. Later, in his Political cycle, Trollope skilfully blended plots of family history with those of political life.

The importance of the family memoir in Tolstoy's artistic development was already mentioned in connection

31 Eykhenbaum, Lev Tolstoy, Vol. 2, p. 318.

32 Ibid.

with Thackeray. The memoir can have no plot, and Eykhenbaum points out the absence of a plot in the young author's work.³³ In a sense, Tolstoy cared little for plot, considering it unnecessary and unnatural, but it is only when he started to make use of it in the most conventional sense that his greatest achievement began. As it turned out, War and Peace became perhaps the first example of the "open-end" novel, in which the stream of life itself creates the form of the work, and where the initial and the terminal points in the narrative are almost arbitrary.³⁴

Tolstoy's novels, even the ones of the early period, have no absolutely bad or good characters. They are well-rounded, with negative characteristics being blended into positive ones, and are always in a state of flux. Tolstoy compares his personages with rivers which are, as the case may be, small, big, clear, murky, slow, swift, warm, cold, etc.³⁵ And in the world of Trollope's creations he could find plenty of examples for such characters. Critics noted certain realistic traits in Trollopian characters: there are no Uriah Heep and Agnes Wickfield stereotypes in his

33 See: Bayley, op. cit., p. 20.

34 See: Percy Lubbock, The Craft of Fiction, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921, p. 41.

35 Setschkareff, op. cit., p. 476.

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novels. A brief excerpt from his Autobiography is sufficient to illustrate how true to life his characters were:

I have been often asked in what period of my early life I had lived so long in a cathedral city as to have become intimate with the ways of a Close. I never lived in any cathedral city, except London, never knew anything of any Close, and at that time had enjoyed no peculiar intimacy with any clergyman. My archdeacon, who has been said to be life-like, and for whom I confess that I have all a parent's fond affection, was, I think, the simple result of an effort of my moral consciousness. It was such as that, in my opinion, that an archdeacon should be, or, at any rate, would be with such advantages as an archdeacon might have; and lo! an archdeacon was produced, who has been declared by competent authorities to be a real archdeacon down to the very ground. And yet, as far as I can remember, I had not then even spoken to an archdeacon.³⁶

This faculty of perception as applied to his characters explains the reasons of their behaviour. Trollope notes in The Bertrams: "The motives by which men are actuated in their conduct are not only various, but mixed."³⁷ The motivation of characters in Tolstoy is even more studied, since he analyzes in detail each one of them. A few examples of Trollope's psychological apperception will show how closely they resemble similar deliberations of Tolstoy. Following are excerpts from The Bertrams:

³⁶ Anthony Trollope, An Autobiography, London, Oxford University Press, 1924, p. 85.

³⁷ The Bertrams, Vol. 2, p. 197.

Had he utterly denied the fact of his ever having mentioned the matter to any one, and had it been afterwards discovered that such denial was false, Mr. Bertram would not have been by much so angry. The offence and the lie together, but joined with the fear and deference to which the lie would have testified, would be nothing so black as the offence without the lie, and without the fear, and without the deference.³⁸

Let any of us in any attempt that we may make convince ourselves with ever so much firmness that we shall fail, yet we are hardly the less downhearted when the failure comes. We assure ourselves that we are not sanguine, but we assure ourselves falsely. It is man's nature to be sanguine; his nature, and perhaps his greatest privilege.³⁹

The above could also serve as examples of Trollope's diffusive style.

Sechkarev notes that people see things and describe them in a conventional way, according to a certain established pattern.⁴⁰ But however conventional Trollope was in the writing of his works, occasionally he tried to hit a note of unconventionality. Two characters of his novel The Bertrams, George Bertram and Arthur Wilkinson, meet in the Holy Land, the cradle of religions, and engage in the following philosophical discussion:

38 The Bertrams, Vol. 1, p. 299.

39 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 159.

40 Setschkareff, op. cit., p. 477.

- And God's worship is ridiculous? - No; but any pretence of worshipping God is so. /.../ What idea of man can be so magnificent as that which represents him with his hands closed, and his eyes turned to that heaven with which he holds communion? /.../ - How many of those who were sitting by silently while you preached really believed? - All, I hope ... - I wonder whether there was one; one believer in all that which you called on us to say that we believed? one, for instance, who believes in the communion of saints? one who believes in the resurrection of the body? - /.../ Then why should farmer Buttercup be called on to believe in the communion of the saints? What does he believe about it? Or why should you make little Flora Buttercup tell such a huge fib as to say, that she believes in the resurrection of the body? /.../ Come explain to me this about resurrection of the body. /.../ Ah, that I could believe! /.../ But you, you, the priest, the teacher of the people, you, who should make it all so easy, you will make it so difficult, so impossible. /.../ - You should look to the Bible, not to us. - Yes; it is there that is our stumbling-block. /.../ I can not believe that evil is good. I can not believe that man placed here by God shall receive or not receive future happiness as he may chance to agree or not to agree with certain doctors who, somewhere about the fourth century, or perhaps later, had themselves so much difficulty in coming to any agreement on the disputed subject. /.../ - If every man and every child is to select, how shall we have a church? - And if no church, how then parsons?⁴¹

The argumentation in the above discussion is close to Tolstoy's belief in Christ and his teachings and to his refusal to believe in the teachings of the organized Christian Churches. An outstanding example of the artistic exposition of these views can be found in his novel Resurrection, in its famous scene of church service in the

41 The Bertrams, Vol. 2, p. 58 ff.

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penitentiary.⁴²

Of this novel the literary historian Mirsky writes:

Resurrection presents Tolstoy and his teaching from the most unattractive side. /.../ But its best qualities are not characteristic of the later Tolstoy: they are rather, in a minor degree, those of Anna Karenina and War and Peace. /.../ the early story of Maslova is the best part of the book. It is full of that elusive poetry which reminds one of the subtle poetic atmosphere that accompanies Natasha in War and Peace. The account of the trial is excellent -- sustained, concentrated, unexaggerated satire. It has not been surpassed by Tolstoy, except perhaps in the second part of the same novel, where he satirizes the bureaucratic society of Petersburg. But his satirically blasphemous account of an Orthodox Church service, prohibited by the censorship and absent in pre-Revolutionary editions printed in Russia, can scarcely be qualified otherwise than as a grave lapse from good taste. It is quite gratuitous and unnecessary for the mechanism of the novel.⁴³

The novel has some other parallel aspects which correspond, in a very general way, to similar ones in The Bertrams. Much of the time action takes place in the court of justice. Yet, the treatment in both novels is essentially different. It is perhaps the idea of concern for a proper application of justice that underlies the strivings of both writers. An excerpt from a conversation between George Bertram and his friend, the successful barrister, Sir Henry Harcourt, illustrates this concern:

42 See: Resurrection, Book One, Chapter 39, and 40.

43 Mirsky, A History of Russian Literature, p. 307.

And you think that Perch ought to have succeeded? /.../ - If a man's case be weak, then he is to have no advocate? That's your idea of justice. - If it be so weak that no one can be got to think it right, of course he should have no advocate. - And how are you to know till you have taken the matter up and sifted it? But what you propose is Quixotic in every way.⁴³

The adjective "Quixotic" is used by Trollope to denote a mistaken, "mixed-up" view of life or things.⁴⁴ Perhaps a passage from The Prime Minister will explain it better:

When he had described a certain line of conduct as Quixotic he had been very much in earnest. He did not usually indulge in strong language, and Quixotic, when applied to the conduct of a Prime Minister, was, to his ideas, very strong. The thing described as Quixotic had now been done, and the Duke of St. Bungay was a disappointed man.⁴⁵

"Quixotic" actions of parliaments and irrational procedures of governing bodies, so well depicted in Trollope's novels of the Political cycle, was another aspect which brought Tolstoy closer to Trollope. It is true, he had such authorities as Rousseau and Dickens to support his convictions in respect to futility of governments. Although Trollope is not considered as an overt satirist or moralizer, some of his passages sound as if they came from the

43 The Bertrams, Vol. 1, p. 211.

44 Setschkareff, op. cit., p. 479.

45 Anthony Trollope, The Prime Minister, London, Oxford University Press, 1952, Vol. 2, p. 239-240.

pen of such a one. Here is an example:

The House was not shocked by statements so absolutely at variance with each other, coming from two gentlemen who had been lately members of the same Government, and who must be supposed to know what they were talking about, but seemed to think that upon the whole Sir Orlando had done his duty.⁴⁶

Occasionally Trollope becomes a cynic, like Thackeray, as for instance, when depicting the aftermath of Caroline Waddington's wedding ceremony with Sir Henry Harcourt: "And now the words have been said, the vows have been plighted, the magic circlet of pure gold has done wondrous work."⁴⁷

Tolstoy's cynicism and even his merciless irony against all institutions, the Church and the State included, is masterfully portrayed in the already mentioned Resurrection. Realism and irony were never stronger in any of his works than in this novel. Sometimes an entire situation is shown in such a perspective that even the most obvious words and gestures of the characters concerned cannot help but become ironical in action.

46 The Prime Minister, Vol. 2, p. 148.

47 The Bertrams, Vol. 2, p. 129.

The essence of Tolstoy's art was to push analysis to its furthest limit.⁴⁹ As a result, the details he offers are not complex cultural facts but, as it were, atoms of experience -- the indivisible units of immediate perception. An important form of this dissecting and atomizing method which survived all the changes of his style is what V. Shklovsky has called "making it strange."⁵⁰ It consists in never calling complex things by their accepted names, but always disintegrating a complex action or object into its indivisible components. A contemporary critic has the following to say about this method:

49 See: Davie, "Tolstoy, Lermontov, and Others," p. 193.

50 Viktor Shklovskiy in his Material i stil' v romane L'va Tolstogo "Voyna i mir," calls this artistic device "ostranenie." He indicates several cases of its use in War and Peace. According to Shklovskiy, the device had been known and used extensively throughout the history of art but Tolstoy developed it to its greatest intensity and variety.

His device for "making it strange" is something that all readers might have attempted themselves in their bungling attempts to write. It is common currency, a convention so familiar that we no longer see it as conventional. There was perhaps never an artist of such power who was so little of an innovator as Tolstoy. All his originality consisted in pushing to the limit the discoveries made by others.⁵¹

This method strips the world of the labels attached to it by habit and social convention, and gives it such an appearance as might have seemed to Adam on the day of Creation. It is easy to see that the method, while it gives unusual freshness to imaginative representation, is in essence hostile to all culture and social forms, and is psychologically akin to anarchism. This method is the principal feature that distinguishes the work of Tolstoy from that of other realists.

There are moments in Tolstoy's works where the author observes the activities of his characters through the eyes of someone who does not understand what is going on, someone "Quixotic," uninitiated. Then these activities or characters' behaviour make no sense. Examples of this "alienation" one can find in War and Peace, for instance, when Natasha goes to see an opera for the first time or when Pierre observes the battle at Borodino.⁵² But the best

⁵¹ Davie, "Tolstoy, Lermontov, and Others," p. 194.

⁵² See: War and Peace, Part Eight, Chapter 9, and Part Ten, Chapter 31-32.

examples of alienation may be seen in the previously-mentioned scene of the penitentiary church service in Resurrection, and in the work where the main character is not even a human being. Strider: the Story of a Horse, is certainly one of the most characteristic and curious of all Tolstoy's writings. It is a satire upon civilized mankind from the point of view of a horse. The method of "making it strange" is pushed to its furthest limits. It is essentially a descendant of the Persian, Chinese, and similar literature of the eighteenth century, where oriental observers were introduced simply to expose the absurdities of contemporary life. Here more than elsewhere Tolstoy is the faithful disciple of French rationalism. It is interesting to note, however, that the keenest point of the satire is turned against the institution of property, and it is characteristic that the story, written just before his marriage, was published as late as twenty-two years afterward.

Sechkarev sees in the peculiar description of Mr. Bertram's burial some lexical analogies with Tolstoy's presentation of a similar scene after the death of Serpukhovskiy, a character burdensome to all who had to deal with him: "get rid of" and "uborka tela v zemlyu."⁵³ Perhaps

53 Setschkareff, op. cit., p. 479-480.

the analogy is incidental. There are no indications that Tolstoy read The Bertrams before 1865. How well Trollope knew where to use alienation can be illustrated by a humorous scene with Mr. Stistick, a limited low-brow member of Parliament, obsessed by social reform ideas, in a debate with the judge:

Five hundred and fifty-five thousand male children ... - Suppose we say boys, said the judge. Boys? asked Mr. Stistick, not quite understanding him, but rather disconcerted by the familiarity of the word. - Well, I suppose they must be boys; at least most of them. - They are all from nine to twelve, I say, continued Mr. Stistick completely bewildered. - Oh, that alters the question, said the judge. Not at all, said Mr. Stistick /.../54

The debate continues for pages with the word "boys" always creating a stumbling-block.⁵⁵

There are other situations noted as similar by Sechkarev in the works of Trollope and Tolstoy. A scene where Caroline Waddington confesses to her husband that she loves George Bertram reminds one of a like occurrence in Anna Karenina, when, after the races, the heroine declares her love for Vronsky.⁵⁶ Also, strange as it may seem, the famous suicide scene of Anna has its parallel in The Prime

54 The Bertrams, Vol. 2, p. 185.

55 Ibid.; cf. Setschkareff, op. cit., p. 480.

56 See: Anna Karenina, Part Two, Chapter 29.

Minister. In both cases, Anna and the hero of the second plot in Trollope's novel, Ferdinand Lopez, perish under the wheels of the second train by stepping down into its path from the platform. Small details in the description of the act, the atmosphere of tension and unexpectedness, the action passing automatically in both cases, make it into a comparable scene.⁵⁷ Perhaps, a matter of coincidence might be mentioned here: the final parts of Anna Karenina appeared in 1877, the time Tolstoy was reading The Prime Minister and commenting upon it.⁵⁸ Finally, there is a certain likeness between George Bertram and Pierre Bezukhov.⁵⁹

Of course, all the above similarities and instances do not prove that Tolstoy was directly influenced by Trollope or even indebted to him. These are rather comparisons between the two writers, taking into account Tolstoy's later testimony that Trollope did make a certain impact on him. He read Trollope at the time when he was aware of what was artistically his and what was not. Various critics do draw our attention to occasional

57 See: The Prime Minister, Vol. 2, p. 194;
Anna Karenina, Part Seven, Chapter 31.

58 Cf., Footnote 16 in this Chapter.

59 Setschkareff, op. cit., p. 480.

comparisons between the two authors, but just as often they contrast them.

Hugh Walpole notes:

It may seem as audacious to compare the art of Trollope with the art of Tolstoi as to place the tidy fields and primrose lanes of England besides the steppes and vast horizons of Russia; but these writers and these countries have certain things in common.

Tolstoi was the conscious artist, and when he prepared the huge canvas of War and Peace it was a deliberate and far-seeing effort. When Trollope adventured through the opening pages of The Warden he did not know where he would find himself next. /.../ So he began, but when we, his readers, look back on the whole panorama of the Barsetshire and political novels we get something far wider, more generous, more enduring than a mere clever evocation of place. We get not only Barchester and its country roads and lanes, but all mid-Victorian England, and then, beyond that again, a realization of a whole world of human experience and intention. If it is "the sum total of bridges and frozen rivers, forests, roads, gardens, fields" which give War and Peace its sonority and amplitude, so it is the sum total of vicarage gardens, High Streets in sunlight, London rooms and corners, cathedral precincts, passages in the House of Commons, drawing-room tea-tables, the bars of public houses, ditches, sloping fields of the Hunt driving the fox to his last lair, that give these Barchester novels their great size and quality.

The sense of space is a dangerous virtue for a novelist, and Tolstoi himself by no means escapes the charge of securing it sometimes by looseness and casual methods of attack. Trollope's looseness is one of his gravest sins.⁶⁰

However, the presentation of "the sum total" of life, of life in all its diversity, was not the only

⁶⁰ Hugh Walpole, Anthony Trollope, London, Macmillan, 1929, p. 185 ff.

justification for Tolstoy to write his masterpiece. If one were to make this inference on the basis of the novel, it would be a superficial conclusion. Life of this kind was not enough for the author - not even when it displayed its wealth as lavishly as it did. He accepted its variety, but reserved his misgivings. Unable to accept life without a meaning, he put his own doubts and queries into Pierre Bezukhov and Prince Andrew, both of them important characters of the novel. But, however anxious their spiritual quest, it does not yet disturb the general tenor of War and Peace to the extent of undermining Tolstoy's cult of life.

Walpole continues:

Wonderful true pictures of a section of human life though they are, the Barsetshire novels are not universal as Crime and Punishment, Anna Karenina, War and Peace, Le Rouge et le Noir, Illusions Perdues, The Return of the Native are universal. They are not universal because in the first place, they do not deal in universal ideas, and, in the second place, because they convey no sense of the poetical mysticism that lies at the heart of all human life. /...../

Of all the greater novelists Tolstoi alone moves like God, flinging creations into a void and leaving them to find their own world for themselves. /...../

Trollope's creative zest was his finest quality, but because the amateur ignored too completely the powers of the technical professional he was prevented from being a novelist of the first class, of the class of Tolstoi, Fielding, Flaubert, and Balzac.⁶¹

61 Walpole, op. cit., p. 71-72, 169, 182-183.

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Perhaps Trollope's critic is too unfair in judging him, and too generous in respect to Tolstoy.

Another Trollopian scholar, B.A. Booth, agrees with the opinions of Walpole. He also adds:

If a novelist concerns himself in any way with the dark recesses of the human heart, it is a temptation to compare him with Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. Such an analogy can be suggested only as a matter of dim and far-off Trollopian prescience of the great Russian novel, but that there are any valid points of reference at all is a tribute to the potential power, in this respect never realized, of the young novelist.⁶²

There exists, without doubt, a certain relationship between the works of Tolstoy and Trollope. The latter did not "discern the /.../ intricacies of human impulse" like Tolstoy.⁶³ But the world of his novels was as familiar to his readers as the world of Tolstoy's novels.⁶⁴ Even the diffuseness, for which he blamed Trollope, he used for his own benefit. And because of his inborn talent, his works very often profited by it, whereas Trollope's creative power actually suffered on account of his verbosity. The last decades of the present era witness a certain revival

62 B.A. Booth, Anthony Trollope, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1958, p. 108.

63 Cecil, op. cit., p. 248.

64 A. Clutton-Brock, More Essays on Books, London, Methuen, 1921, p. 150.

of Trollope after a time of partial oblivion. Tolstoy recognized his significance much earlier and, consciously or not, exploited those literary devices which were to his advantage.

CHAPTER V

TOLSTOY-GEORGE ELIOT

George Eliot, the pen name of Mary Ann Evans (1819-1880), was the most learned of all the women novelists of the nineteenth century. Before she wrote fiction, she had translated David Friedrich Strauss's (1808-1874) Leben Jesu, and acted as assistant editor of the Westminster Review. She nearly married Herbert Spencer, the philosopher, except that he found her too morbidly intellectual. Although Spencer did not marry her, he introduced her to G.H. Lewes, a writer of great competence. With Lewes she lived, and he encouraged her to divert her attention from philosophy to fiction. Her early Scenes of Clerical Life (1857) had an immediate success. Dickens wrote her an enthusiastic letter in 1858, suspecting her to be a woman writer.¹

She followed these short narratives with a long novel, Adam Bede (1859), and her reputation was made. Against the background of English rural life, which she knew so well, she created a far stronger theme than the Victorian novel had previously permitted. In Hetty Sorrel she showed a young girl, seduced and led to child murder; and her imagination played sympathetically around this lively and

¹ J. Lewis May, George Eliot, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1930, p. 126.

pathetic figure. While in Hetty she allowed a free play to her intuitions, her intellect controlled the positive characters in the novel, *Dinah and Adam Bede*. The problem for George Eliot as a novelist was whether her intuitions or her intellect would ultimately gain control. In the end her intellect won, and that was the hour of her defeat as an artist. In Adam Bede she was still tolerably free, and in her descriptions and characterizations she showed not only intimacy and understanding, but a strong sense of humour which, in Mrs. Poyser, is reminiscent of Scott, and even Shakespeare.

The Mill on the Floss (1860) showed her dilemma even more clearly. This was a Wordsworthian story told in prose as a novel.² In part, it is the life of a brother and sister, and is presented with great sensitivity: the girl - passionate, dimly mystical, introspective, reacting against the coarser and more unruly values of the boy. All this George Eliot sensed intuitively, but her intellect had constructed a plan for the novel which puts this natural study into a melodramatic ending. The different elements in her mind found a balance in the shorter narrative of Silas Marner (1861) where all is admirably ordered to form a

2 Walter Allen, George Eliot, New York, Collier-Macmillan, 1964, p. 119.

single design. The story deals with the discovery of an abandoned infant girl by a queer old miser - an event that changes his life completely. Such a warm narrative about the life of simple folk appealed immensely to Tolstoy, especially during the period when he was compiling reading material for popular consumption.³

The turning-point of her career was her attempt in Romola (1863) to write a historical novel of the Italian Renaissance. All that learning could offer her in the preparation for the novel George Eliot possessed, but the spirit of that period of strangely conflicting values is absent, and Romola herself appears as some graceful nineteenth-century Pre-Raphaelite who has wandered by mistake into Renaissance Italy. Felix Holt (1866), a novel of the Radicalism of the Reform Bill period, with an over-elaborate plot, showed the penalties she was paying for the loss of her early spontaneity. Her socialism was one of the elements that always appealed to Tolstoy.⁴

However, she had not reached the limit of her achievements, for in Middlemarch (1871-72) she coordinated

3 A very similar, if not identical, theme is used by a well-known Polish writer, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (1812-1887) in one of his populist novels, Jermola.

4 Lindstrom, Tolstoï en France, p. 134.

her powers to construct one of the great novels of the century. The subtitle of this novel is: A Study of Provincial Life. It portrays a community inimical to influences from the outside. She returns from the past to contemporary times, and presents sympathetically the lives of a number of families and studies their reactions. With all its imperfections Middlemarch is one of the few English novels written for adult people.⁵

There was something of George Eliot's nature in her works. In Adam Bede there is a hint of her in Dinah. She shows herself far more openly and completely in Maggie in The Mill on the Floss. She is Janet in Janet's Repentance, as well as Romola; likewise she is Dorothea in Middlemarch, seeking wisdom and finding one scarcely knows what in her marriage with Ladislaw.⁶ The case is similar with Tolstoy who likes to identify himself with some of his heroes. Also, like Tolstoy, she is known for basing her fiction characters on living people around her. For instance, Celia Brooke, in Middlemarch, is patterned on the writer's sister Chrissey, and Casaubon is a delineation of the philosopher Herbert Spencer.⁷

⁵ Virginia Woolf, Collected Essays, London, Hogarth Press, 1966, Vol. 1, p. 201.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ May, op. cit., p. 294.

In Daniel Deronda (1876), a novel of social realism, George Eliot shifts from depicting the difficulties and romances of a group of people in English society to a treatment of anti-Semitism in Victorian England. Like Middlemarch, this novel is distinguished by realistic appraisals of people at all levels of society, from the august and benevolent Sir Hugo Mallinger to Ezra Cohen, the crafty yet generous shopkeeper in the East End.

In George Eliot's work one is aware of her desire to enlarge the possibilities of the novel as a form of expression: she wishes to include new themes, to penetrate more deeply into character. She is not a satirist. The movement of her mind did not lend itself to comedy.⁸ Many English readers found her novels profoundly sad. In the opinion of an early American critic, however, her stories are "rollicking comedies" compared with the terrifying shadow cast by the literature of the Slavs.⁹

As was mentioned previously, Tolstoy considered George Eliot as a writer of great talent. Mme Th. Bentzon, who visited Tolstoy in 1902, published an account of this visit in the Revue des deux Mondes, August 15, 1902. A part

8 Woolf, Collected Essays, Vol. 1, p. 200.

9 William Lyon Phelps, Essays on Russian Novelists, New York, Macmillan, 1926, p. 30.

of it, dealing with George Eliot, reads as follows:

Mme Bentzon demande à l'auteur de la Sonate à Kreutzer ce qu'il pensait des théories antiféministes de George Eliot; évidemment cette féministe acharnée aurait voulu mettre sur la voie le moraliste qui était si hostile au "sexe faible." Mais Tolstoï, avec astuce et élégance, évite le piège et répond avec la courtoisie d'un homme parfaitement bien élevé, qu'il voulait la libre expression des qualités de chacun, homme ou femme, pourvu que ce qu'on appelle la culture n'efface pas les vertus essentielles, n'engendre pas l'orgueil.¹⁰

The above reference is to Tolstoy's famous piece which he had finished in 1889, The Kreutzer Sonata. The hero of this narrative has murdered his wife in a fit of jealousy. On his acquittal, he reveals the motive and the details of his crime. But the story itself is used by the author as a pretext for accumulating indictments against sex, women, marriage, culture - in fact, against anything which spelled danger to his own ideal of society and virtue.

Actually, Tolstoy's preoccupation with the question of women's place and function in society crystallized much earlier. The novel Family Happiness and two unfinished comedies, almost identical in plot, "Uncle's Blessing" and "Free Love," both written in 1856, were directed against the feminist ideas of George Sand (1803-1876).¹¹ His profound

¹⁰ Lindstrom, op. cit., p. 135.

¹¹ See: Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 7, p. 169-180.

dislike of the wrtings and ideas of this prolific French novelist was very well known. In 1868 Tolstoy wrote an article entitled: "Marriage and Woman's Vocation."¹² In this short article he expounded his credo about the feminine question. Every human being is created to serve humanity in a number of ways. This refers especially to men. Sometimes their duties are so manifold that it actually does not matter very much if they fail in one of their obligations. Women's main calling in life is bearing children, and in this capacity they must not fail. This is the only function in their life which sets them apart from men. Otherwise, they can perform practically all men's duties. Only after the task of childbirth and upbringing has been completed may women join the men's world and become their helpers. Tolstoy views with disgust those young women who begin working in men's field without having first fulfilled their prime duty toward humanity. The gist of these ideas was later expounded in another article, "To Women," 1886.¹³ It was also included in the Circle of Reading for 1904.

The ideas expressed in these articles met with sharp criticism among the liberal classes of society. Nevertheless,

12 See: Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 7, p. 133-135.

13 See: Ibid., Vol. 42, p. 296-298;
also, p. 42 in this thesis.

Tolstoy adhered to his views. All his major works deal, in various degrees, with women, their obligations toward society and the consequences they have to face if they do not properly discharge their duties. So strong was Tolstoy's antipathy toward women in his latter years that he is reported to have said to a French journalist and acquaintance, Jules Huret (1864-1915): "You ask me whether I consider woman man's equal. I reply that I know she is, in all respects, morally his inferior."¹⁴ For Tolstoy who considered himself to be fair in his opinions this was a very strong bias.

George Eliot, this "self-educated farmer's daughter," kept company with the women intellectuals of the day, who were involved in problems connected with feminine emancipation.¹⁵ Such books as Herbert Spencer's Rights of Women were read and discussed in these feminist circles.¹⁶ As a woman, she would be normally expected to take up feminine duties. However, her so-called "masculine" mind longed for the exchange of ideas with men. She could carry out feminine tasks competently but she could not help

14 Merejkowski, op. cit., p. 51, footnote.

15 May, op. cit., p. 33.

16 Elizabeth S. Haldane, George Eliot and Her Times, London, Hodder, 1927, p. 75.

deploring the type of feminine mind which absorbs itself exclusively in domesticity. During the 1850's, while in Germany, she wrote:

I shudder at the sight of a woman in society, for I know I shall have to sit on the sofa with her all the evening listening to her stupidities, while the men on the other side of the table are discussing all the subjects I care to hear about.¹⁷

George Eliot's opinions on the feminine question reveal a mixture of conservative and reforming tendencies.¹⁸ She always felt that there were physical and physiological differences between men and women.¹⁹ She never suggested that women deserve an equal social standing with men, and in this belief she was conservative. But she was convinced that women required an equal moral and intellectual culture, not only for themselves but, also, for the general good of society, and this was her progressive tendency. She was advocating education for women but was against rash experiments in this field.²⁰ She stressed rather the value of the moral influence that women might exert on society. To make themselves worthier recipients of responsibility, she

17 Margaret Crompton, George Eliot: The Woman, London, Cassell, 1960, p. 16.

18 Thomas Pinney, Essays of George Eliot, New York, Columbia University Press, 1963, p. 8.

19 Haldane, George Eliot and Her Times, p. 84.

20 Ibid.

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felt, women should do something by way of self-education.²¹

Just as Tolstoy's characters were the exponents of his ideas, so George Eliot used hers as spokesmen of her beliefs:

For George Eliot, one of the advantages of anonymity was the freedom it gave her to speak out on the question of woman's place in society. In her later years, because of her anomalous position, she scrupulously refrained from any public comment on the question, and though the problems of her heroines in the novels may touch it indirectly, they are concerned with a much wider range of issues than the status of women. In her articles, however, she was at liberty to say what she would.²²

In three of her essays: "Women in France," "Margaret Fuller and Mary Wollstonecraft," and "Silly Novels by Lady Novelists," she develops, directly or by implication, her radical conviction that the culture of women requires their admission "to a common fund of ideas, to common objects of interest with men."²³

Although nowadays George Eliot is regarded as a great novelist, some thirty years ago people imagined her as a figure more important in the history of women's emancipation than in the history of literature. As late as 1933

21 Crompton, George Eliot: The Woman, p. 76.

22 Pinney, Essays of George Eliot, p. 7.

23 Ibid., p. 8.

a woman critic called her "George Sand plus science and minus sex."²⁴ George Sand appealed to her greatly. In 1846 in a letter to one of her women friends she wrote:

I should never dream of going to her /George Sand's/ writings as a moral code or text-book. I don't care whether I agree with her about marriage or not, but I cannot read six pages without feeling that it is given to her to delineate human passion and its results, and some of the moral instincts and their tendencies, with such truthfulness, such nicety of discrimination, such tragic power and withal, such loving gentle humour, that one might live a century with nothing but one's own dull faculties, and not know so much as those six pages will suggest.²⁵

Tolstoy's first acquaintance with the writings of George Eliot dates in the period 1857-59, when her two works of fiction appeared.²⁶ Of Adam Bede he said in his Journal, October 11, 1859: "Very tragic, although untrue and full of one thought."²⁷ In a letter to Countess A.A. Tolstoy, dated June 12, 1859, he wrote:

If you were in Russia, I would send you Scenes of Clerical Life by Eliot, but at the moment I only ask you to read its part, Janet's Repentance. Fortunate are the people who, like the English, imbibe with their mothers' milk Christian teaching in such a purified, high form as evangelical protestantism. - Here is a moral and religious book

24 Allen, op. cit., p. 15.

25 Haldane, op. cit., p. 60.

26 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 48, p. 22.

27 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 206.

that appealed to me greatly and made a strong impression on me. "Strong?" - I have lied; nothing already makes a strong impression on me - I have dried up.²⁸

Yet, between 1863 and 1878, he designates the influence of George Eliot's novels as "great."²⁹

During the 1880's Tolstoy's estimation of Eliot's works remained unchanged. In 1884 he is reported as approving her novels, notably Adam Bede.³⁰ The year 1885 finds him reading the novel Felix Holt, the Radical.³¹ To his wife he wrote on February 2, 1885: "I am reading Eliot's Felix Holt. An exceptional work; here is a book which ought to be translated."³² The same year Tolstoy wrote to V.G. Chertkov: "There is a novel by George Eliot. It also seems good."³³ The reference in this instance is to the works to be included in the Intermediary. During the following years adaptations of three novels appeared in that publication: The Mill on the Floss, Adam Bede, and Silas Marner.³⁴

28 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 60, p. 300.

29 Ibid., Vol. 64, p. 68.

30 G.H. Perris, The Life and Teaching of Leo Tolstoy, London, Grant Richards, 1904, p. 215.

31 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 76.

32 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 83, p. 477.

33 Ibid., Vol. 85, p. 189.

34 Ibid., p. 192.

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Tolstoy himself was trying his hand at translating a chapter from Janet's Repentance, dealing with the incident where Janet is turned out by her drunken husband into the streets during a cold March night.³⁵

In its famous chapter on universal art in Tolstoy's treatise What Is Art?, Adam Bede is mentioned as its best example.³⁶ In 1900, during his studies of philosophy, religion and ethics, he read Eliot's books for relaxation.³⁷ He continued to hold them in high regard.³⁸ In the Yasnaya Polyana library were preserved the following novels of George Eliot in the Tauchnitz edition: Adam Bede (1859), Felix Holt, the Radical (1867), Romola (1863), The Mill on the Floss (1860), and Middlemarch (1872-74).³⁹ The first three mentioned contained Tolstoy's remarks in some of the margins.⁴⁰ It was impossible to establish which work of Eliot Tolstoy was reading in August 1900.⁴¹

35 See: Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 83; cf., Janet's Repentance, Chapter 15.

36 See: What Is Art?, Chapter 16.

37 Simmons, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 296.

38 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 54, p. 35.

39 Ibid., p. 423.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

Several quotations from various works of George Eliot's were included by Tolstoy in the following publications: the Circle of Reading, Thoughts of Wise People, The Path of Life, and For Every Day. In particular, one quotation was repeated in all four publications:

There does not exist such an evil deed for which only the perpetrator could be punished. We cannot prevent our evil deeds from spreading to other people. Our deeds, good and bad, are like our children; they live and act not according to our will but according to their own.⁴²

Cecil, too, noted in George Eliot's philosophy the idea that

... she was sure that those who live a virtuous life are essentially contented, that those who live a vicious are essentially discontented. However well-meaning a person might be, or however lucky, she was sure that you cannot escape the consequences of your own actions; that your sins find you out, that the slightest slip will be visited on you, if not immediately then later.⁴³

In her fiction she insisted on the inevitability of consequences, the theme that "what a man sows that shall he also reap."⁴⁴ Mr. Irwine, the Parson, speaks for the author

⁴² See: Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 40, p. 366; Vol. 41, p. 491; Vol. 43, p. 309; Vol. 45, p. 58.

⁴³ Cecil, op. cit., p. 303.

⁴⁴ Gerald Bullett, George Eliot, Her Life and Books, London, Collins, 1947, p. 145.

when he says: "Consequences are unpitying. Our deeds carry their terrible consequences, quite apart from any fluctuations that went before - consequences that are hardly ever confined to ourselves."⁴⁵ An individual must adjust to the community in which he lives. Society is a closely woven web which, when touched at any point, trembles in all its parts. Arthur Donnithorne's thoughtless seduction of Hetty Sorrel, in Adam Bede, not only leads her to murder her baby and to her imprisonment but also to Adam's wretchedness. It also brings about shame on the Poysers and very nearly causes their departure from Hayslope. In other words, it disrupts a whole community. Nothing can be the same again.

Mrs. Transome, in Felix Holt, is probably George Eliot's finest and most intense embodiment of retribution for wrongdoing. She has sinned long before the novel begins and stands before the reader as an example of a wasted life -- wasted because committed to a sin which cannot be undone and the consequences of which cannot be evaded. Into the portrayal of Mrs. Transome go all George Eliot's most intense apprehensions of the workings of sin. She is her creator's most powerful symbol of the bleakness and bitterness of despair and guilt that consume the perpetrator of

⁴⁵ The Works of George Eliot, Edinburgh and London, Blackwood and Sons, 1878, Adam Bede, Vol. 1, p. 258.

sin.

Dorothea Brooke, in Middlemarch, is the victim of her own headstrong enthusiasm, of her ignorance of the world and of herself, of her lack of self-discipline. She rushes into a marriage with Casaubon who turns out to be a pseudo-scholar living in a "paper" world like Tolstoy's Karenin.⁴⁶ Her behaviour is almost that of a spoilt child who has been allowed her own way too long. But with age she changes for the better. In Dorothea, George Eliot wishes to show the consequences of rectitude which are undoubtedly less dramatic but just as important. The ending of Middlemarch reads:

Her /Dorothea's/ finely-touched spirit had still its fine issues, though they were not widely visible. Her full nature, like that river of which Cyrus broke the strength, spent itself in channels which had no great name on the earth. But the effect of her being on those around her was incalculably diffusive: for the growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs.⁴⁷

It is quite possible that the above ethical concept advocated by George Eliot prompted Tolstoy to write a long short story, The False Coupon, which he had planned in the

⁴⁶ Henry Gifford, "D.H. Lawrence and Anna Karenina," in Davie, Russian Literature and Modern English Fiction, p. 162.

⁴⁷ Middlemarch, Vol. 3, p. 465.

late 1880's and finished in 1905. It is a brilliantly constructed tale, related in his new simple and rapid narrative manner; and it concerns a succession of evil deeds that grow out of the initial evil act - the counterfeiting of a promissory note. All persons and their immediate families into whose possession the coupon falls are affected by it. They are forced to lie, cheat, are involved in thefts, lawsuits, imprisonment, even murder. In turn, the evil deeds are contrasted with a series of good actions that lead to the salvation of all concerned. The tale is quite unrealistic, but it is deeply moving, and displays a profound faith in the ultimate power of the good to triumph over evil.⁴⁸

Two other quotations included in the Circle of Reading are of importance. They present ideas of George Eliot which coincided with his own:

Our lives constitute for us a moral tradition like the life of the ancestors constituted a tradition for a clan. A great deed performed by us becomes a motive to coordinate all our life to this deed.⁴⁹

What greater thing is there for two human souls than to feel that they are joined for life - to strengthen each other in all labour, to rest on each other in all sorrow, to minister to each other in

48 See: Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 55.

49 Ibid., Vol. 41, p. 49.

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all pain, to be one with each other in silent, unspeakable memories at the moment of the last parting?⁵⁰

The use and the adaptation of quotations and epigraphs from George Eliot's works falls under the category of borrowings.

Questions of ethics, morality and religion obsessed George Eliot to no lesser extent than they did preoccupy Tolstoy. Her absorption with these problems is said to have affected her literary work.⁵¹ The usual view is that her work suffered because, engrossed as she was in moral questions, she accentuated them excessively in her novels to the detriment of her creative powers.⁵² Needless to say, the case was practically the same with Tolstoy after his "conversion."

George Eliot grew up in a home where religious precepts were strictly observed. As a young woman she studied books on the essence of Christianity, its history and philosophy. Her initial passionate belief in Christianity was gradually being choked by her dislike of dogma and by her own observation of the people around her. Because they were Christian it did not automatically make them act like Christians. Like Tolstoy, she tried to explain religion

⁵⁰ Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 41, p. 162; cf., May, op. cit., p. 182.

⁵¹ Joan Bennett, George Eliot, Her Mind and Her Art, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1948, p. IX.

⁵² Ibid.

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rationally.⁵³ As to him, Christianity meant to her the system of belief invented by a succession of theological committees during the centuries that followed Christ's death, and not His wisdom, His inspiration and His example.⁵⁴

She saw a wide gap between the essence of Christianity and the practice of the Church. In 1842 she broke off with her Church, never to return to it. By doing so she incurred the ill will of her father and her brother.⁵⁵ There was even talk of George Eliot's "conversion" from Evangelical Christianity to religious agnosticism.⁵⁶ Some ten years after her break she went to live with G.H. Lewes, a man who was still married in the eyes of the law, since he could not obtain a divorce. She remained true to him until his death in 1878. To return to the Church she would have to give up Lewes. That she could not bring herself to do. Therefore she had to formulate an apologia which could explain and justify her conduct to the world. Even in this instance, although the causes of rupture with the established Church were different in the case of Tolstoy and

53 Pinney, op. cit., p. 40.

54 Bullett, op. cit., p. 128.

55 Haldane, op. cit., p. 48; cf., Bullett, op. cit.
p. 38.

56 Bennett, op. cit., p. IX.

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that of George Eliot, there is an analogy to Tolstoy's ex-communication in 1901. George Eliot based her defence

on intellectual emancipation, broadmindedness, superiority to outworn creeds, and to those who continued to criticize her she could point to the happiness of her relations with Lewes and say it were well if every union blessed by the Church could turn out as happily as hers.⁵⁷

It took great courage in the nineteenth century English society to go against the precepts of the established Church and the accepted code of morality. To any ordinary religious person of the time she was living with Lewes in a state of sin. But in her opinion Lewes' marriage was no longer sanctified because love was absent, whereas her own union with him, though not a bond in the legal sense, was sanctified by something higher than man-made laws. Among the more liberal classes of society George Eliot was regarded as one who had clung with devotion to her principles, even if those principles were held to be fallacious and injurious - or, in theological language - sinful. Because of the loyalty with which she had adhered to her principles, the seriousness of her character, her genius as a writer, her culture, dignity and gentleness, gradually, people, even the strictest of them, forgave her for her offense. It was felt that, if she had erred, she

⁵⁷ May, op. cit., p. 191.

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had done so from lofty motives, and the irregularity of her private life was generally ignored.

Her books began to be freely admitted into family circles even as suitable for Sunday reading. In spite of having broken the social laws of the time herself, in all her books George Eliot advocated the accepted morals of the time and never ceased to stress the sanctity of family life. There were even opinions that she tried to "expiate" her sin in her novel writing.⁵⁸ She kept insisting in her books on the necessity for self-sacrifice. Self-sacrifice is good because human happiness depends on it. A person cannot live alone and social life is incompatible with self-indulgence.⁵⁹ For her, the only guide to right behaviour was the good of others, and the characters in her fiction act according to these precepts.⁶⁰ Yet, there is nothing in her philosophy inconsistent with the maxim that the individual has a right to seek, or at any rate to accept, his own happiness, providing that in doing so he does not jeopardize the happiness of others. In her view, traditional and religious precepts are not binding in life. One has to rely on one's own moral

58 Bullett, op. cit., p. 95.

59 Bennett, op. cit., p. 85.

60 Ibid.

code.⁶¹ Being broadminded herself, she wished others to have the same liberal outlook.

If Tolstoy violated the rules of morality it was during the period previous to his marriage. In his married life he made painstaking efforts to adhere to self-imposed moral precepts. Self-sacrifice was the virtue he preached constantly. He was also often accused of becoming a moralist in his advanced years in order to expiate the dissoluteness of his earlier period of life. His prestige in the domain of morality was so great that no excommunication edict by a Church could undermine the confidence of his readers and followers of his philosophy. His works were widely read and were considered to be imbued with high moral principles and Christian spirit.

Several critics saw elements for comparison in some works of George Eliot and Tolstoy. Like Tolstoy, though in a less spectacular manner, she tries to measure individual life against the flow of history, showing society as shaping and being shaped by each of its human units.⁶² Cecil said that like War and Peace, Middlemarch is concerned with how

61 Allen, op. cit., p. 93.

62 Barbara Hardy, The Novels of George Eliot, London, The Athlone Press, 1959, p. 235.

to live and what to think, not just as these problems present themselves to the man in the street, but to the artist and the philosopher.⁶³ Like Tolstoy in War and Peace, George Eliot shows us the cosmic process, not only in a single drama but in several; not simply in an individual but in a whole society.⁶⁴ Cecil continues:

Her books never give us that intense unalloyed pleasure we get from the great masters. Though like Tolstoy she is an interesting critic of life, though she constructs well like Jane Austen, though like Dickens she creates a world, yet when we set her achievement in any of these lines beside those of these famous competitors, we feel something lacking.

/...../
It is easy to see why she fails to stand a comparison with Tolstoy. Her vision of life is smaller. She knows about life in provincial nineteenth-century England, life in Middlemarch, the life of merchants and doctors and squires and humble clergymen and small town politicians. /.../ Moreover, like all Victorian rationalists, she is a Philistine. She pays lip-service to art, but like Dorothea Brooke confronted with the statues of the Vatican, she does not really see why people set such a value on it. Constructed within so confined an area of vision, it is inevitable that her criticism of life is inadequate. Compared to Tolstoy's it seems petty, drab, provincial. Middlemarch may be the nearest English equivalent to War and Peace, but it is a provincial sort of War and Peace.

/...../
Yet she is not as satisfying as Dickens is. For she is as inferior to him in his distinguishing quality as she is to Tolstoy and Jane Austen in theirs: she is inferior to him in creative imagination.⁶⁵

63 Cecil, op. cit., p. 292.

64 Ibid., p. 304.

65 Ibid., p. 321, 322, and 324.

Apparently Cecil was greatly impressed by Tolstoy's art. It is enough to remember the zest with which the latter describes certain episodes of his childhood and boyhood, countless scenes in War and Peace, the skating, horse-racing, hunting, and mowing in Anna Karenina, in order to realize how amazingly the truth of life can be intensified and completed by the truth of art. Far from being escapist, his art becomes both an affirmation and examination of life. Furthermore, Tolstoy introduces his characters to the reader with great thoroughness. He not only shows them through a number of situations, but also through their typical gestures, their manner of speech, their soliloquies, until they stand before the reader as alive and three-dimensional as though they were his most intimate acquaintances. With all this he combines a vitality which passes at times into exuberance - not of a romantic kind, but such as gives an impression of an overflow of life itself. It is little wonder that a contemporary English critic calls Tolstoy an "intensifying genius."⁶⁶

Another critic, Jerome Thale, contends that Middlemarch, like War and Peace, has so much in it that it is difficult even to isolate its subject. There are several

⁶⁶ Christian, op. cit., p. 86.

love affairs, an account of thwarted ambition, a misguided heroine, a withered scholar, and other components.⁶⁷ All this prolific output, imaginative penetration, breadth with depth, amplitude and delicacy of craftsmanship in Middlemarch are almost Tolstoyan.⁶⁸ When we read Tolstoy and George Eliot, we have to enlarge our concept of narrative design, although this does not mean that their larger and more complex delineation cannot meet the aesthetic demands of unity and order.⁶⁹

Walter Allen sums up the attempts of his predecessors in comparing the two great writers and adds some of his own comments:

Thus, the contemplation of George Eliot leads two such utterly dissimilar critics as David Cecil and F.R. Leavis to invoke Tolstoy. Cecil calls Middlemarch "a provincial War and Peace," while Leavis, thinking primarily of Daniel Deronda writes, "Of George Eliot it can /.../ be said that her best work has a Tolstoyan depth and reality." When Leavis says that "the extraordinary reality of Anna Karenina /.../ comes of an immense moral interest in human nature that provides the light and courage for a profound psychological analysis" and applies this to Daniel Deronda, he is obviously right, just as, if you are looking for an English counterpart to War and Peace, Middlemarch is probably the nearest thing you will find.

67 Jerome Thale, The Novels of George Eliot, New York, Columbia University Press, 1959, p. 107.

68 Bullett, op. cit., p. 221.

69 Hardy, op. cit., p. 3.

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Yet, though the comparison with Tolstoy and the praise it implies are just, it needs great qualification if it is to make complete sense. One may compare George Eliot to Tolstoy - one would never dream of comparing Tolstoy to George Eliot; for there are whole vast ranges of human experience that Tolstoy has which are not to be found in George Eliot at all. /.../ "One cannot imagine George Eliot encompassing either Levin's simple joy at being alive and in love or the complex intensities of Anna Karenina's passion." In the same way, Middlemarch is not only much smaller, much more restricted, than War and Peace as a panorama of life in history, it also lacks entirely the simple, sensuous, almost animal joy in being alive that permeates Tolstoy's novel.⁷⁰

Thus the subject of juxtaposition shifts from War and Peace to Anna Karenina. Perhaps this latter work, composed in the tradition of an English family novel with an admixture of features from a French "adultery" novel, submits itself better to such a comparison. George Moore in his essay, "Turgenev and Tolstoy," notes that "the composition of Anna Karenina seems to be derived from the English novel, and its realism suggests a French source."⁷¹ The critic believes that the system of grouping characters into family relationships resembles that of a novel by Thackeray or Eliot while all the realistic details pertaining to adultery point mainly toward Madame Bovary.⁷² One ought to

70 Allen, op. cit., p. 184.

71 George Moore, "Turgenev and Tolstoy," in Davie, Russian Literature and Modern English Fiction, p. 40.

72 See: Ibid., p. 40, and 41.

remember that Flaubert's novel appeared in print some twenty years prior to Anna Karenina.

The double or even multiple plot in Anna Karenina makes this novel of marriage a truly searching study. Tolstoy's treatment reveals a wide scope in that he portrays three separate marriages: Karenin and Anna, Levin and Kitty, Oblonsky and Dolly. All of them are woven into a pattern, dictated primarily by an underlying moral idea. The richness and maturity of his argument would be less clear to us if he had chosen, like Flaubert, to dwell exclusively on a single case. In this respect the novel resembles Middlemarch more than the French novels of this type.

Furthermore, the structure of Anna Karenina is based on the parallelism of a double contrast. One of them is the contrast between the artificial and demoralizing complexities of city life as compared with rooted existence of the countryside. By the countryside Tolstoy understood above all his own ancestral manor. At that time he was still a firmly established landowner. The second contrast, following from the first, is one between the two principal couples: Kitty-Levin and Anna-Vronsky. While the more or less virtuous squire Levin and his respectable Kitty settle

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down to a happy patriarchal existence, the beautiful adul-
tress Anna and her lover Vronsky find in their liaison no
contentment and are crushed in the end by an inevitable
catastrophe. Thus Tolstoy's novel incorporates both the
"countryside" features, a subject in many of George Eliot's
works, and the "city" elements, liked so much by the French
novelists.

Contrary to popular impression, Tolstoy does not
attempt to show in this novel that Anna is punished because
of her sin of adultery. Even as the narration begins,
Anna's brother, Stiva Oblonsky, commits this sin and goes
unpunished. She is rather destroyed because of her inabi-
lity to cope with the social and psychological consequences
of her adulterous relation with Vronsky. The book is magni-
ficent as a psychological study of the degeneration of a
woman who is in love and fears desperately that her lover
will desert her. In this respect it is closer to novels
like Madame Bovary than to George Eliot's works. And it is
doubly tragic for Anna that Vronsky whom, despite the con-
ventionalities of society, she has chosen, should himself
be imbued with a spirit of conformity. He displays what
George Eliot calls "spots of commonness."⁷³ In his portrayal

⁷³ Gifford, "D.H. Lawrence and Anna Karenina",
p. 162.

of female characters and in the depth of their psychological analysis Tolstoy can easily rival George Eliot, a woman herself, whose novels are distinguished by psychological realism and whose characters are subjected to intense critical scrutiny.⁷⁴

Another critic, F. R. Leavis , adds further material to the topic of comparison between George Eliot and Tolstoy:

For a positive indication of her place and quality I think of a Russian; not Turgenev, but a far greater, Tolstoy - who, we all know, is pre-eminent in getting "the spirit of life itself." George Eliot, of course, is not as transcendently great as Tolstoy, but she is great, and great in the same way. The extraordinary reality of Anna Karenina (his supreme masterpiece, I think) comes of an intense moral interest in human nature that provides the light and courage for a profound psychological analysis. This analysis is rendered in art by means that are like those used by George Eliot in Gwendolen Harleth /Daniel Deronda/ /.../75

Barbara Hardy proceeds to elaborate her point in this respect by stating that the double plots of Felix Holt and Anna Karenina are highly rigid pieces of parallelism as compared with Middlemarch, where the structure has its effect of human generalization and differentiation, but

74 Allen, op. cit., p. 180.

75 Richard Stang, editor, Discussions of George Eliot, Boston, Heath, 1960, p. 55, quoting F.R. Leavis, "George Eliot," in the above publication.

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avoids the stiffness of symmetry.⁷⁶

Parallelisms have been found in connection with the study of the make-up of certain characters, stylistic devices and situations in Adam Bede and Anna Karenina. On the basis of selected evidence an author attempts to demonstrate that George Eliot's great novel must "have profoundly influenced Tolstoy's conception" of his masterpiece in the initial stages of its creation.⁷⁷ In his article, W. Gareth Jones sets out to outline the similarities in both books, supplying suitable excerpts from the text. He claims that certain elements in Adam Bede reappear in Anna Karenina in an expanded and intensified form.

Tolstoy was quick to recognize George Eliot's creative power as a fiction writer. Adam Bede was of special significance to him as a novel which had "the grandeur and the simplicity of the soil and of the people whose life is rooted in the soil."⁷⁸ There is no reason to deny that this novel, of all the works of George Eliot, might have produced the greatest impact on him. But Jones points out that Tolstoy read Adam Bede in 1859, and that he commenced work

76 Hardy, op. cit., p. 93.

77 W. Gareth Jones, "George Eliot's 'Adam Bede' and Tolstoy's Conception of 'Anna Karenina'," in The Modern Language Review, Vol. 61, No. 3, Issue of July, 1966, p.473.

78 Anne Fremantle, George Eliot, London, Duckworth, 1933, p. 87.

on Anna Karenina in 1873. Unless he decided to reread this particular novel at the time of writing Anna Karenina, there seems little probability that he could have remembered intimate details from a book he perused some fourteen years ago. The biographical data do not bear out the fact that he was actually occupied with Adam Bede in 1873.

The argument in Jones' article is that the prototype for the characterization of the main heroine of Tolstoy's novel is Hetty Sorrel. In connection with this there are situations, descriptions and devices similar in both novels. As main support for this supposition the author uses the statement of the Soviet biographer, N.N. Gusev, which reads: "Anna is undoubtedly a composite character. It is impossible to indicate any definite prototypes either for Anna's external portrait, or her psychological make-up."⁷⁹ Gusev says this although he must be undoubtedly aware of a different opinion about this fact, advanced by Tolstoy's sister-in-law, T.A. Kuzminskaya.⁸⁰ Apparently he considers her theory as unreliable.

⁷⁹ N.N. Gusev, Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Materialy k biografii s 1870 po 1881 god, p. 301.

⁸⁰ See: Jones, op. cit., p. 474.

The author then sets out to compare relevant excerpts describing Anna's external features, as they appear in various drafts of the novel, with the portrayal of Hetty in Adam Bede. There are undoubtedly similarities in both descriptions.⁸¹ In addition to physical details Jones lists several other circumstances which are analogous in the two novels. Among them of significance are: both heroines are seduced; both of them (in earlier drafts) are contemplating drowning themselves; both seducers seek to dispel the effect produced by the news of their mistress' pregnancy by means of a horse ride; both horses are bay mares, and in the early drafts Vronsky's horse had an English name; both are military men, and both suffer a social setback after the news of pregnancy which constitutes for them a great vexation. There are also minor coincidences in both works: the haymaking scenes - in both cases in a field named the Big Meadow; the children and the dogs appearing in both novels; and the pangs of conscience suffered by the seducers.

Of course, all these instances are similar enough to induce one to draw comparisons, but the data from Tolstoy's memoirs, notebooks and diaries do not offer the necessary evidence that while planning Anna Karenina he was taking Adam Bede as his model. Furthermore, how is one to

81 See: Jones, op. cit., p. 474-476.

explain the difference in age between the two protagonists? Hetty is only seventeen years of age and unmarried, Anna is in her thirties and with one child.

There are incidental similarities between other works of Tolstoy and of George Eliot. War and Peace and Middlemarch could serve here as examples. A reader of these works might point out, for instance, that there is a certain resemblance between Hélène and Pierre in War and Peace, and Rosamond and Lydgate in Middlemarch. Hélène is a young woman aware of her beauty, complacent, snobbish, spoiled by her father. She marries in order to be rich. If one were to take all these characteristics into consideration one could involuntarily link Rosamond Vincy with Hélène. Similarly, Hélène's husband, Pierre, and Rosamond's husband, Lydgate, have something in common by trying to find a solution to the question of life itself while their wives are interested only in themselves. But these are merely coincidences. There are no biographical indications of any borrowings here. And how could there be any? George Eliot wrote Middlemarch in 1871-72, whereas Tolstoy wrote War and Peace several years earlier.

In talking about style, critics note that George Eliot seldom applies the indirect style; it occurs chiefly

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in her use in such instances as irony, metaphor, and symbolic imagery; but like Tolstoy and Trollope, she is most familiar to us for her direct style.⁸² In artistic technique Tolstoy rivals the most famous West European writers: Stendhal, Balzac, Dickens, George Eliot, Zola, Cervantes.⁸³ George Eliot was holding her own, artistically speaking, since the critics

would see in the story of Gwendolen and Grandcourt - in its conception and development, and in the depth of its moral perspective - mastery of a kind that we expect from Tolstoy or Turgenev, from Flaubert and Stendhal. Indeed, George Eliot has little to fear by comparison with the second and third of these names.⁸⁴

The French critic Melchior de Vogüé was right when he maintained, during the 1880's, that a hundred years hence there will be no hesitation in assigning to George Eliot ^athe foremost place ~~amongst~~ ^{with} Turgenev and Tolstoy.⁸⁵

Yet critics admit that in one respect George Eliot's work was a failure. Although she called her book Romola a historical romance, she was not writing a romance in that sense. Her purpose and her achievement, when she succeeds,

82 Thale, op. cit., p. 148.

83 Jean Cassou, Grandeur et infamie de Tolstoï, Paris, Editions Bernard Grasset, 1932, p. 40.

84 Robert Speaight, George Eliot, London, Arthur Barker, 1954, p. 121.

85 Haldane, op. cit., p. 303.

is the serious novel that enlarges the sympathies and exercises the ethical discriminations of the reader. Her success depends upon her creative impulse moving freely and confidently in the world of her own experience. Perhaps the great historical novels are the ones like War and Peace which do not reach further back than to the writer's own youth or to one generation earlier.⁸⁶

George Eliot, Jane Austen, and Dickens do demonstrate that modern society and daily happenings could provide materials for artistic and moral preoccupations as enthralling as those which poets and writers had drawn from earlier philosophies.⁸⁷ To break with Romantic traditions in literature Tolstoy applied the use of narrative details. For the unlikely coincidences and exaggerations of the Russian romantic novel he substituted a novel of events which occur in everyday life. Nothing is artificial or elaborated; indeed, Tolstoy chooses the commonest, most elemental incidents of daily life to build on. Much of his material he drew from his own life or from the life of those about him.

Yet, the English novelists had inhibitions in presenting some of these daily happenings in comparison

⁸⁶ Bennett, George Eliot, Her Mind and Her Art, p. 150.

⁸⁷ Steiner, op. cit., p. 21.

with Tolstoy's treatment of them. Take, for example, the Rostovs from War and Peace and compare them with a nineteenth-century English fictional family sketched by George Eliot, Thackeray or Dickens. The English novelists "feed back their own mature moral preoccupations into descriptions of childhood and family life."⁸⁸ Or was it that most English Victorian families really lacked the spontaneity and the emotional atavism of family life in War and Peace?⁸⁹ Little wonder that The Spectator in 1886 voiced the general opinion of the then limited group acquainted with Russian literature when it hailed Tolstoy as not only one of the greatest Russian writers, but also the most important among contemporary realists.⁹⁰ The London Quarterly proclaimed that the Russian novelists were as much a part of the age as Byron, Dickens, Thackeray and George Eliot.⁹¹

The elements that attracted Tolstoy to George Eliot were her erudition, her true interest in social problems, religion, philosophy, and the question of ethics. Her absorption with the lower classes of society in her novels, among them with peasantry, made her a kindred spirit to

88 Bayley, op. cit., p. 114.

89 Ibid.

90 "A Russian Novelist," editorial article in The Spectator, Vol. 59, Issue of July 10, 1886, p. 938.

91 Phelps, op. cit., p. 37.

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Tolstoy's own ideas and preoccupations. It is true, his sympathy for the compact uncivilized masses, as well as his detestation of anything that threatened to disrupt them, had its roots in his personal phobias, the clues to which are amply provided by his works. Although George Eliot was not always consistent in following the advice she gave to her heroines, Tolstoy, who himself occasionally departed in practice from his teachings, had no such aversion to her feminine characters as he had for her feminist French counterpart - George Sand.

CHAPTER VI

TOLSTOY AND THE OTHER EARLY VICTORIAN NOVELISTS

It goes without saying that Tolstoy was acquainted with various English literary works of the time immediately preceding the Victorians, the Victorian period itself and its concluding stage. Mention was made that, as a young man, he read some novels of Mrs. Radcliffe, Disraeli, Warren, de Quincey, Kingsley, Mrs. Gaskell, and Brontë sisters.¹ In addition to classical English novels and authors he was also interested in works on social, religious, philosophical, even sensational themes. The above considerations explain the fact why Tolstoy read literary productions of second-rate writers or authors with passing popularity.

Naturally, among the prominent Romantics, Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) occupies an important place in Tolstoy's views on literature and art. He became acquainted with Scott's novels early, since Rob Roy is mentioned in Youth, Ivanhoe in a draft of this work, and the name of that English novelist figures in the commentaries referring to Pushkin's story, The Coffin-Maker.² As was previously

1 See: Chapter I in this dissertation, *passim*.

2 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 2, p. 145, and 315; Vol. 8, p. 536.

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mentioned, Tolstoy had friendly relations with the writer and critic A.V. Druzhinin. The latter was a serious student of English literature and, among his many good translations and critical works in the field, there was also an essay on Walter Scott. It was in 1857 that Tolstoy read this criticism in the Provincial Sketches of Saltykov-Shchedrin, and extracted the following quotation from it:

We ought to mention here an example of Sir Walter Scott's advice to young writers of his time: - Remember, gentlemen, that literature ought to be to us like a staff to a pilgrim, not like a crutch to a cripple. Love art, serve art, but do not lean completely on it, don't forget to have some other practical occupation in life besides literature. - "What would happen to me now if somebody knocked out this crutch from under me?" - Tolstoy asked himself.³

Although Scott, along with Byron and other eighteenth century West-European writers, played an important role in the artistic development of the first great Russian authors of the new period, among them Pushkin, Tolstoy did not regard Scott as a great novelist. Besides, this opinion underwent changes. Tolstoy did not like the imitations of Walter Scott in the domain of historical novels, and pointed out the false interpretation of life presented by this novelist during various historical epochs.⁴

³ Gusev, Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Materialy k biografii s 1855 po 1869 god, p. 248.

⁴ Tolstoy Remembered by His Son Sergey, p. 58.

Accordingly, in War and Peace Tolstoy worked out a method of his own as far as historical novel is concerned, a method based neither on Scott nor on Dumas.⁵ Scott's theory of this kind of novel is criticized in drafts of War and Peace.⁶

Like other novelists, Tolstoy felt drawn by the comfortable escapist lure of this type of historical novel then popularized by Scott. But he revolted emphatically against overworked poetic sentiments and the paraferalia of medieval picturesqueness.⁷ Walter Scott wrote long introductions to many of his novels, reminding one of the gradual approach to a bridge; but once he began the current of his narration it continued uninterrupted. In this respect Tolstoy's art in War and Peace differed from that of Scott - no long introductions - the reader was placed directly in the middle of events. As it turned out, War and Peace became an epic instead of a traditional historical novel. In 1866 he said that, unlike Victor Hugo, Scott

5 Gusev, Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Materialy k biografii s 1870 po 1881 god, p. 876.

6 Ibid., p. 840; cf., Khrapchenko, Lev Tolstoy kak khudozhnik, p. 94-97.

7 Richard Hare, "Tolstoy's Motives for Writing War and Peace," in The Russian Review, Vol. 15, No. 2, Issue of 1956, p. 111.

would not be remembered.⁸

During the second half of his life Tolstoy's opinions of Walter Scott were not consistent. He recommended his novels for adaptations in the Intermediary.⁹ In What Is Art? he contended that, since a peasant would understand a novel of Scott when it was read to him even though he did not understand classical music, his works were art.¹⁰ On the other hand, the tutor I.M. Ivakin records a conversation with Tolstoy in 1885:

Continuing our talk on literature, we began discoursing about the novels of Walter Scott. Leo Nikolaevich expressed his disapproval of him, and recalled that when Walter Scott died, one of his /Scott's/ acquaintances said: "Well, thank goodness, at least now they won't ask me whether I have read his latest novel!"¹¹

The biographer N.H. Dole remarked in 1892 that Tolstoy once liked Walter Scott but did not like him any longer in his later years.¹² In a conversation about Scott on November 9, 1906, Tolstoy said of his works: "very boring."¹³

8 Gusev, op. cit., p. 688.

9 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 665.

10 L.N. Tolstoy v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, Vol. 2, p. 11; cf., What Is Art?.

11 N.N. Gusev and V.S. Mishin, editors, "Tolstoy v 1880-e gody," in Literaturnoe nasledstvo, Vol. 69, Part 2, p. 49.

12 Dole, op. cit., p. 345.

13 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 570.

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Curiously enough, Tolstoy's journals, notebooks, memoirs and correspondence mention no opinions about another eminent feminine novelist, Jane Austen (1775-1817). Austen possesses her due place in the formation of realistic prose in Russian literature.¹⁴ Some critics, notwithstanding, try to draw resemblances between various works of Austen and Tolstoy. R.F. Christian states that Austen wrote more economically and with greater wit than Tolstoy in War and Peace.¹⁵ In connection with Anna Karenina, Bayley writes:

In Tolstoy's hands Moscow and Petersburg family life becomes a universal thing. Irrespective of social level some families are like this, some like that: and the conventions of collective existence in each powerfully affect the fates and fortunes of individual members, when these go on to lead their own lives. Jane Austen, like Tolstoy, took this for granted. In Mansfield Park she shows us nothing of the Crawfords' upbringing, but she makes quite clear what effect its shortcomings had on the crucial decisions of their adult lives.¹⁶

Tolstoy's Journal, March 26, 1889, records: "read Paul Ferrole."¹⁷ The reference here is to Caroline Clive (1801-1873) who used the above pseudonym, and whose novel, A Tale, first published in Leipzig (1856), he read in a

14 E.A. Bogolyubov, et al., editors, Istoriya russkoy literatury, Moskva-Leningrad, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1956, Vol. 9, Part 2, p. 493.

15 Christian, op. cit., p. 121.

16 Bayley, op. cit., p. 211.

17 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 50, p. 57.

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Russian translation of 1859 by F. Nenarokomov. Another English woman writer, Harriet Martineau (1802-1876), who was physically incapacitated since her birth, contributed numerous quotations for Tolstoy's publications the Circle of Reading and The Path of Life.¹⁸ Martineau began writing in 1821, and dealt with religious subjects. Tolstoy included aphorisms from her works in his article, The Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908) and in a religious essay, Single Commandment.¹⁹

Edward G. Bulwer Lytton (1803-1873) who, as a follower of Scott, produced a number of historical novels, was very popular in Russia in translation during the 1840's and 1850's. For a while, his novels appearing in instalments in various literary journals, were "most read" by the Russian public.²⁰ The Contemporary, No. 7, 1853, published a translation of his My Novel or Variety of English Life (1853). Tolstoy, apparently, read it in this issue.²¹ In a letter to N.N. Rubinshtein, the director of the Moscow Conservatory and a friend, he writes, March 30-31, 1887, that a number of novels, among them some by Bulwer Lytton, have been sent

18 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 41, 42, 45, passim.

19 Ibid., Vol. 37, p. 230; Vol. 38, p. 104, and 111.

20 Apostolov, op. cit., p. 109.

21 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 46, p. 437.

to persons wishing to redo them for publication in the so-called Sytin edition.²² I.D. Sytin, a Moscow publisher of inexpensive books, was in charge of printing materials for the Intermediary. A similar letter to his wife, dated April 7, 1887, inquires about the possibility of interesting Tanya, her younger sister, in the task of adapting English novels, among them Lytton's, for the same publication.²³ In July 1886 Chertkov sent Tolstoy a novel by an English publicist and writer, W.Th. Skene (1809-1892).²⁴ Tolstoy had read the novel in question, Hidden Depths, published in London in 1886, and wrote Chertkov to this effect.²⁵

During his stay in Switzerland Tolstoy's Journal records that between July 16th and August 13th, 1857, he was sporadically reading about Brontë.²⁶ The reference is to The Life of Charlotte Brontë, a biography from the pen of her close friend writer, Mrs. Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865), published in the same year. It was this book, a literary novelty at the time, which fell into his hands abroad. Judging from repeated notes in the Journal, he read it

22 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 44, p. 30.

23 Ibid., Vol. 84, p. 22.

24 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 640.

25 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 85, p. 376.

26 Ibid., Vol. 47, p. 144, 145, 146, 151, and 152.

carefully and was satisfied with it, as is witnessed by the excerpt from his letter from Zurich to the critic V.P.

Botkin, July 21:

Read Currer Bell's biography; extremely interesting in its intimate presentation of the literary views of various prominent circles of contemporary English writers, and their relations.²⁷

It was from this biography that Tolstoy learned about Brontës' father changing his Irish name Prunty into its present Frenchified form.²⁸

Charlotte Brontë (1816-1855), wrote the novels: Jane Eyre (1847), Shirley (1849), and Villette (1853), all three dedicated to the analysis of the feminine soul. It was in 1856 that Tolstoy wrote Family Happiness, based on his relations with Valeya V. Arsenev, a girl he had nearly married about two years earlier. For this novel, according to the English critic Theodore Redpath, Tolstoy borrowed the notion of a female narrator from Jane Eyre.²⁹ He compels his narrator to be the kind of ideal girl who, he feels, would suit him, while he himself takes up, as it were, the position of its hero - Rochester. Family Happiness was his first attempt at a conventional novel, one found in English

27 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 60, p. 218.

28 Ibid., Vol. 47, p. 480.

29 Theodore Redpath, Tolstoy, London, Bowes & Bowes, 1960, p. 54.

fiction of the period. The work is curious in that it aimed to prove that if the two protagonists had married, they would have been unhappy.

Some critics draw certain analogies between Tolstoy's heroines and the heroine of Emily Brontë (1818-1848), whose single novel, Wuthering Heights, appeared in 1847. Catherine Linton, a passionate girl created out of the author's own imagination, portrayed as she is without any of those vivifying accidents of individuality that caught the eye of Tolstoy, never achieves the intimate reality of Natasha Rostov.³⁰ It is true, Emily Brontë had greater depth of imagination than Tolstoy.³¹ He based his characters on real people.

During the period of composing War and Peace it was Tolstoy's habit to read a book not directly connected with the task he had at hand. The book was often an English novel. In addition to the writers named above, Mrs. Henry

30 Cecil, op. cit., p. 176.

31 Christian, op. cit., p. 121.

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Wood, nee Ellen Price (1814-1887), was his favourite author.³³ In the previously mentioned letter to M.M. Lederle, Tolstoy lists the novels of Mrs. Wood as having been of "great influence" on him during the period 1863-1878.³⁴ To his brother Sergey he wrote on March 9, 1872: "I am reading Wood - a wonderful novel."³⁵ Mrs. Wood's novel, Within the Maze, appeared in the same year.³⁶ He likewise recommended the adaptation of her novels for publication in the Intermediary.³⁷

Tolstoy was also interested in other writers of Victorian England - his contemporaries and juniors. He read their works and voiced opinions about them. Thus, on September 28, 1865, he was reading a novel by Julia Kavanagh (1824-1877), an author of many now forgotten novels from the life of high society.³⁸ He evaluated her work as "stupid."³⁹ Unfortunately Tolstoy does not mention in his Journal which novel of Kavanagh he read. George Meredith

33 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 316.

34 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 66, p. 68.

35 Ibid., Vol. 61, p. 276.

36 Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 388.

37 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 64, p. 30.

38 Ibid., Vol. 48, p. 63.

39 Ibid.

(1828-1909), was his coeval, and in 1908 both writers exchanged congratulatory notes on the occasion of their eightieth anniversary. When Aylmer Maude requested Tolstoy to sign the congratulatory address to Meredith on January 5, 1908, the former recalled having read Meredith's novels in the 1850's.⁴⁰ Tolstoy remarked: "Heroes of his novels are contentious and polemical."⁴¹

In July, 1884, Chertkov sent Tolstoy two novels: Picadilly, by Laurence Oliphant (1829-1888), and The Ground Ash, by H.W. Pullen (1836-1903).⁴² Oliphant wrote novels and travel books, among them one on Russia; Pullen was a Revivalist writer. His book deals with a story of a public school, and was published in 1874. Toward the end of his life, in 1910, Tolstoy read the book of General William Booth (1829-1912), In Darkest England, and the Way Out (1890) which he remarked as being "satisfactory."⁴³ Its Russian translation, entitled V trushchobakh Anglii, by P. Sementkovskiy appeared in Petersburg in 1891.⁴⁴ Tolstoy always praised the work of the Salvation Army. In his didactic treatise, The

40 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 607.

41 Ibid.

42 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 49, p. 244.

43 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 727.

44 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 85, p. 86.

Kingdom of God Is Within You, he mentions Booth and the beneficial work of his organization.⁴⁵ The literary relationship between Tolstoy and Mary Elizabeth Braddon (1837-1915) is somewhat more extensive. Braddon wrote in the style of the novel of adventure. Tolstoy could have known the following of her works: Trails of the Serpent (1860), Lady Lisle (1861), Lady Audley's Secret (1862), Eleanor's Victory (1863), Aurora Floyd (1863), John Marchmont's Legacy (1864), Henry Denbar (1864), and In Great Waters and Other Tales (1887).⁴⁶ Two of the above novels, Lady Audley's Secret and John Marchmont's Legacy, have been preserved in the Yasnaya Polyana library.⁴⁷

Tolstoy's correspondence reveals that his acquaintance with Braddon's novels dates since 1864. The letter to his wife, dated December 7th of that year, indicates that he had bought ten volumes of English novels which he intends to read with her and that he had already perused one novel by Braddon.⁴⁸ Under September 30, 1865, he notes in

45 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 28, p. 98, and 297.

46 A. Petrovskiy, et al., editors, "Neizdannyye dnevniki Tolstogo," in Literaturnoe nasledstvo, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1939, Vol. 37-38, p. 101.

47 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 83, p. 87.

48 Ibid., p. 85; cf., Letopis', 1828-1890, p. 303.

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his diary: "The poetry of a novelist consists in: 1. /pre-sentation of/ interest /and/ calculation of events - Braddon."⁴⁹ In a letter to his brother Sergey, May 1868, he writes: "I am sending you the second part of Braddon."⁵⁰

However, a different opinion is recorded by I.M. Ivakin in 1885; Tolstoy then said to him:

English novelists have made such a plaything of books. Their works are a senseless play of light and shade spots, nonsense, as is the case, for example, with Braddon, whose novels, like those of many other English writers, have a stamp of being made by a factory, despite the mastery of language.⁵¹

A letter to his wife, April 7, 1887, requests adaptations of Braddon's novels for the Intermediary.⁵² Two letters in 1891 to L.P. Nikiforov, June 24th and August 9th, mention Braddon's stories.⁵³ The collection of the stories which Nikiforov is asked to translate is "not so bad."⁵⁴

Tolstoy critics note coincidences of some plot situations and characters in War and Peace and Aurora Floyd.⁵⁵ They base their remarks apparently on reminiscences of

49 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 5, p. 322; Vol. 48, p. 64.

50 Ibid., Vol. 59, p. 201.

51 Gusev and Mishin, op. cit., p. 50.

52 Polnoe sobranie, Vol. 84, p. 22.

53 Ibid., Vol. 65, p. 322; Vol. 66, p. 30.

54 Letopis', 1891-1910, p. 38.

55 Bursov, op. cit., p. 59-60.

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of Tolstoy's favourite sister-in-law, Tanya. In her memoirs of the first half of the 1860's she recalls the following incident:

Sometimes he read aloud to us. I remember him reading an English novel in translation, Aurora Floyd, by Mrs. Braddon. He liked this novel and often interrupted the reading with exclamations: "They certainly know how to write, these English! All these minute details draw a true picture of life. Tanya, have you recognized yourself in this novel?" Lev Nikolaevich asked me.

"In Aurora?"

"Well yes, of course?"

"I don't want to be like that. It's not true" - I cried blushing. "I will never be like her."

"No, all joking apart, this is you," continued Lev Nikolaevich half joking, half serious.

"Mais c'est vrai, Léon," said Auntie. "Les traits du caractère sont les mêmes."

This upset me still more. Lev Nikolaevich laughed and continued reading.

"Sergey Nikolaevich compared me with 'la petite comtesse', but she at least is really charming," I thought. "But this is unheard of! ... To fall in love with a groom!"

The thought of a groom, like our Indyushkin, amused me. The plot of the novel was as follows: Aurora, the daughter of rich and proud parents, fell in love with her riding master, and gave herself to him; this brought misfortune upon her life, and also on her parents. The riding master was vividly depicted in the novel; sensual, base, handsome, and daringly ignoble. I don't remember the end of the novel. Afterward I tried to obtain this novel in order to see in it exactly which of Aurora's traits resembled Natasha in War and Peace. I remember well that both Sonya and I commented on this. But I did not succeed in getting this novel in translation.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Kuzminskaya, Tolstoy as I Knew Him, p. 258-259.

The romance of Aurora with the groom has its counterpart in the elopement of Natasha Rostov with Anatoly Kuragin in War and Peace. Shklovskiy notes a few other points of coincidence.⁵⁷ In childhood, both Aurora's and Natasha's external features are described as unattractive. Both girls later refuse their hand to their suitors but marry the men who love them most. The reader also finds correspondences, in both novels, of relationships, Aurora - Lucy and Natasha - Sonya. Both sets of sisters have the same differences, i.e., since Aurora and Natasha lack beauty, Lucy and Sonya possess it to the highest degree.

This juxtaposition of War and Peace with Aurora Floyd prompts Maude to draw analogies, or differences, between War and Peace and The Daisy Chain, a novel of still another English woman writer, Charlotte Mary Yonge (1823-1901):

Turning to the second period, that of the great novels, in War and Peace this instrument of analysis is fully perfected and is now only a means to an end in itself. The nearest approach to War and Peace in the period before Tolstoy would be the old family novels of Charlotte Yonge for example, taken, that is, purely as a literary form. Compare the construction of War and Peace and The Daisy Chain. There are two differences. First, Tolstoy has gone through a period of preparation in his early work, which Miss Yonge had not, and he had an instrument of construction superior even to Stendhal's. Secondly, Tolstoy

57 Shklovskiy, Material i stil' v romane L'va Tolstogo "Voyna i mir", p. 228-230.

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placed his novel in an historical setting. This is one of the most vital points of War and Peace, though it has often been said that Tolstoy had no sense of "historicity."⁵⁸

Tolstoy was also acquainted with the works of some English novelists who wrote during the later part of the Victorian and during the modern period. He voiced his opinions about their writings, corresponded with a few of them, and exerted, in turn, an influence on their works. One could mention here the following authors: Thomas Hardy (1840-1928), Henry James (1843-1916), Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894), Mrs. Humphry Ward (1851-1920), George Moore (1852-1933), Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936), Herbert George Wells (1866-1946), John Galsworthy (1867-1933), and a number of the less important ones.

The English novel, although of great significance in Tolstoy's development as a writer, was not the only literary genre he read and was aesthetically interested in. Besides Shakespeare's plays he was familiar with some works of Milton, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Swinburne, Oscar Wilde, and other poets and playwrights.

Sample opinions of the literary journals of the time indicate Tolstoy's impact on English literature with the appearance of the French and English translations of

58 Maude, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 417.

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War and Peace and Anna Karenina. These masterpieces created a widespread public interest in him and supplied an impetus to extensive related discussions in the Saturday Review, The Spectator, the Contemporary Review, the Westminster Review, and the Fortnightly Review. In Victorian England, during the 1880's, the works of the naturalists Zola and Ibsen were under constant attacks by literary critics. These critics also found realism, even naturalism, in Tolstoy's novels, but this was a higher realism, that of mental and spiritual truth, not such as was expressed in the works of the contemporary French novelists who limited it to external and trivial details.

High praise was accorded Tolstoy for his War and Peace. The Spectator found it so pervaded with kindly tolerance "that the reader cannot help sympathizing with the great powers for good that lie below a rough exterior."⁵⁹ Tolstoy is a realist, but his is not

the repulsive realism of the modern French school, which seems to consist largely in dragging forward and exposing to the light that shameful side of human nature which it should rather be our interest to hide and duty to conceal.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ "Tolstoi's 'War and Peace'," article in The Spectator, Vol. 60, Issue of February 5, 1887, p. 202.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

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On the other hand, the Contemporary Review, more critically cautious, objected to Tolstoy's scientific technique and fatalistic philosophy in War and Peace.⁶¹ The Saturday Review wrote:

If he /Tolstoy/ chose, he could beat MM. Daudet and Zola and de Goncourt at their own game; but their barren pessimism is not for him, and the last word of his study, inexorable till then, is a word of hope and faith.⁶²

The Westminster Review expressed the increasing enthusiasm of most of the journals of this period when it eulogized Tolstoy as the greatest of all contemporary novelists.⁶³ French and English fiction being decadent, they thought it contained no noteworthy traces of the spiritual ascendancy which distinguishes great art:

His /Tolstoy's/ realism, unlike that of the declining French school, is not the realism of the gutter. From the gutter, indeed, he does not recoil, but in it he sees the image of the sky.⁶⁴

Somehow the Victorian critics tried to see Tolstoy's realism as spiritual, humanitarian, moral, and permeated

61 Julia Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 253.

62 "Count Tolstoi's Novels," article in Saturday Review, Vol. 63, Issue of January 1, 1887, p. 23.

63 "Count Tolstoi's Life and Works," editorial article in Westminster Review, Vol. 130, Issue of September, 1888, p. 282.

64 Ibid.

with faith, hope, and charity, in contrast to the French impersonal, mechanistic and sordid materialism. The Spectator continued to assure its readers that frank and outspoken as Tolstoy was, "no wholesome mind could take the slightest harm from the perusal of his pages."⁶⁵ Thus, by the end of the century, Tolstoy and the Russian novel were firmly established in England. It was reassuring for the Victorians to discover a literature and an author that, although employing much of the naturalist technique, reasserted a faith which could be comfortably interpreted in terms familiar and dear to them. Popular Victorian reaction to this issue of art and morality could be aptly summarized by the Westminster Review:

It is refreshing, in these degenerate days of the modern novel, to turn from the inane indelicacies of fashionable fiction, from the hysterical emanations of the unhealthy imagination of the New Woman and the vapid vapourings of the "fin-de-siècle" young man, to the luminous pages of a literature that has in it all the life of true realism, whilst it does not flaunt in our faces those lower phases of human nature which are best left to the imagination of the prurient.⁶⁶

65 "Count Tolstoi's Early Reminiscences," review article in The Spectator, Vol. 62, Issue of June 1, 1889, p. 763.

66 R.G. Burton, "An Appreciation of Russian Fictional Literature," in Westminster Review, Vol. 144, Issue of November, 1895, p. 539.

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Small wonder, then, that the reputation of the Russian novel, initiated in England by Turgenev and continued by Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, attained such eminence toward the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. It is therefore not amazing that Tolstoy's works and ideas had such an impact on the generation of English authors who began their literary career at the end of the Victorian period or immediately following it. George Gissing, David Herbert Lawrence, Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield, Aldous Huxley, to mention only a few of the more popular ones, were under Tolstoy's influence.⁶⁷ Also such American novelists as William Dean Howells, Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, Ernest Hemingway and Sinclair Lewis owed much to Tolstoy.⁶⁸

The grandiose scale of Tolstoy's operations in his novels at first overawed the critics. Later English critics, such as Edmund Gosse, G.K. Chesterton, Percy Lubbock, E.M. Forster, George Saintsbury, Rebecca West, and others, tended to substitute the accepted attitude of glorification of Tolstoy and his works by a more critical evaluation. It

67 See: Phelps, op. cit., p. 138-155.

68 Ibid., p. 146, 147, 153, and 154;
cf., Ardens, op. cit., p. 666.

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took time to establish a happy medium in the field of Tolstoy criticism in England - to evaluate him objectively. Nowadays all critics admit that in time Tolstoy repaid tenfold his debt to literature and its masters, as well as to the ideas of thinkers and philosophers in general, and those from England in particular, who all helped him to develop his spiritual potential.

CONCLUSION

The body of this dissertation clearly indicates that Tolstoy's association with English literature and culture was very strong. Of special significance to him were the works of English writers who chronologically preceded him: novelists of the eighteenth century and early Victorians. Like every author and every human being, he had his likes and dislikes in choosing writers and their works.

He began his literary career in the period when the realistic novel was flourishing in the West and gaining ground in Russia. Even before him literary Russia was affected by such great Western European novelists as Fielding, Sterne, Rousseau, Goethe, Scott, Balzac, Stendhal, Dickens, and, at home, by Pushkin, Gogol and Lermontov. Undoubtedly Western European realism played an important role in the formation and the development of the Russian realistic novel. Later on the experience of the Western European novel was taken into account by all prominent Russian writers, which fact explains the existence of a literary and artistic relationship between the Russian novelists and their Western European counterparts.

Tolstoy, especially during the early years of his career as a writer, owed a great deal to the Western European

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literary tradition. He found a close link between his own ideas and those of his West-European predecessors. Their sentiments and their interpretation of various human values he considered as relative to his. He recognized them not only as masters, who showed him by their example in which direction he might develop his own talents, but also as rich sources from which he could draw a variety of material for his own use. Their impact on the young Russian author was diverse. He was indebted to each of them for different things, and the extent of the indebtedness itself varied in each individual situation. There were also instances where Tolstoy was negatively affected by some of their works, as was the case in his literary relationship with George Sand.

The four Victorian novelists and the works discussed in this dissertation had a beneficial effect on Tolstoy. They provided him with creative material, literary devices, artistic examples, numerous ideas, and, above all, inspired him. His testimonies of them are constantly favourable, if one takes into consideration his changing views on life, art, and human nature during the different stages of his literary career. Through his works he transmitted what he thought was the best in his predecessors to his innumerable readers in Russia and, indirectly, to those in the whole world. His high appreciation of them strengthened their prestige in the realm of literature, aesthetics, and ideas.

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And, because of his stature in the domain of art and thought, his opinions inspired respect and confidence.

Individually, Tolstoy's war scenes owe something to Thackeray, from whose example he learned that, by showing the reactions of various people to the stress of battle, one might analyse fundamental traits of character - particularly vanity. In this respect Thackeray's colorful gallery of snobs supplied ample material for the selection of types. He also derived from Thackeray's works some ideas for developing the family chronicle type of novel and for the sketching of his personages.

Dickens, who was remarkable as a creator of character, appealed to him greatly. From him Tolstoy learned characterizations for many portraitures in his early works. His autobiographical novels, Childhood, Boyhood, and Youth, were written with Dickens' masterpiece, David Copperfield, in mind and contain a number of parallel or similar scenes and events. In the field of ideas Dickens' spirit of true Christianity and his principles of love for the underprivileged impressed Tolstoy deeply and guided him throughout his entire life.

In Trollope, who himself was a follower of Thackeray's art, he found features closely connected with the latter's productions: continuation of the tradition in the

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family chronicle type of novel and the portrayal of snobbery in society. Certain literary devices of Trollope further served Tolstoy in his own work as examples. On the basis of Trollope's novels he had also learned how to avoid the pitfalls of diffuseness and verbosity.

Although the general opinion concerning women writers in the nineteenth century was not high, and Tolstoy himself frequently adhered to this opinion, he had the deepest respect for George Eliot. Her concern for the lower classes and for women naturally appealed to Tolstoy. George Eliot's preoccupation with questions of philosophy, ethics, morality and religion served to stimulate his interest and his pursuit of these weighty matters. Like Dickens', her artistic creations submitted themselves well to the popular adaptations and translations that appeared in the Intermediary.

None of the four novelists listed above, nor any of the other early Victorian writers also mentioned, have any recorded opinions of Tolstoy or his works. Apparently, by 1880, Tolstoy was still relatively little known in England. It was too early even for Trollope (who was the last of the four to die, in 1882), to observe the growing renown of Tolstoy, and his contribution to literature and art.

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Tolstoy's universal significance in the field of literature and thought can be hardly overestimated. Practically every country now bears an imprint of his influence on numerous individuals and on many human endeavours. A man of great talent, and even of greater perseverance, brought up on Western art and ideas, adapting and perfecting them whenever necessary, he produced such masterpieces in the literary domain that he attained one of the highest places among the world's foremost authors. Nurtured on the best of universal culture, his works are of pre-eminent value. Although the majority of them deal with typically Russian subjects, they are perfectly comprehensible and appealing to one and all because they are in the field of general human experience.

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As an authority on Dickens, Ford deals with many aspects of the great Victorian writer's art and his popularity in England. The work is supplied with extensive notes and bibliography.

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----- Letopis' zhizni i tvorchestva L.N. Tolstogo, 1891-1910, Moskva, Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoy Literatury, 1960, 916 p.

The above two items are of great importance in studying the events of life and the creative development of Tolstoy. They contain manifold data concerning various aspects of the writer's life and his literary career.

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----- Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Materialy k biografii s 1870 po 1881 god, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1963, 693 p.

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Woolf, Virginia, Collected Essays, London, Hogarth Press, 1966, Vol. 1, 361 p.

A number of essays on various authors, among them one on Turgenev's novels, and one on the Russian point of view.

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APPENDIX 1

ABSTRACT OF

Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy and
the Early English Victorian Novelists:
William Makepeace Thackeray, Charles Dickens,
Anthony Trollope and George Eliot ¹

Western literary, philosophical and social ideas were responsible to a great extent for the intellectual development of many Russian authors and thinkers of the nineteenth century. Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy (1828-1910), especially in his formative years, drew freely from this extensive source of Western knowledge, and throughout his long and prolific career as a writer, philosopher and social reformer maintained a close contact with it.

Tolstoy's diaries, journals, correspondence, memoirs of his relatives, friends and followers, works of his biographers and visitors to his estate, attest to an early and strong interest of this outstanding Russian author in the manifold aspects of the English culture. In

¹ Victor Buyniak, doctoral thesis presented to the Department of Slavic Studies, Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, November 1969, vi-320 p.

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the field of literature the English novel in general played a significant role in the aesthetic growth of Tolstoy. In particular, the intellectual relationship to the works and ideas of the early Victorian novelists was of great importance to the Russian writer. The four Victorian authors discussed in this thesis had a decidedly positive effect on Tolstoy. They provided him with creative material, literary devices, artistic examples, numerous ideas and, above all, imbued him with inspiration.

Individually, Tolstoy's war scenes owe something to Thackeray, from whose example he learned that by showing the reactions of various people to the stress of battle, one might analyse fundamental traits of character, particularly vanity. In this respect Thackeray's colourful gallery of snobs supplied ample material for the selection of types. He also derived from Thackeray's works some ideas for developing the family chronicle type of novel and for sketching his personages.

The Tolstoy-Dickens relationship may be divided into two main categories. The artistic heritage of Dickens is evident in the early works of Tolstoy, chiefly in the drawing of characters and presentation of situations. The admiration of Dickensian ideas in the field of humanitarianism, education, ethical, social and political questions

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prevails in the second part of Tolstoy's life. Throughout all his career Tolstoy retained a very high opinion of Dickens, despite the latter's unpopularity with the literary critics and readers during the second part of the Victorian period in England.

In Trollope, himself a follower of Thackeray's art, he found features closely connected with the latter's productions: continuation of the tradition in the family chronicle type of novel and the portrayal of snobbery in society. Certain literary devices of Trollope further served as examples to Tolstoy in his own work. On the basis of the former's novels he had also learned how to avoid the pitfalls of diffuseness and verbosity.

The elements that attracted Tolstoy to George Eliot were her erudition, her true interest in social problems, feminist questions, religion, philosophy, and ethics. Her absorption with the lower classes of society in her novels, particularly with the peasantry, made her a kindred spirit to Tolstoy's own ideas and preoccupations. Although she was not always consistent in following the advice she gave to her heroines, Tolstoy, who himself occasionally departed in practice from his teachings, had no such aversion to her characters as he had to her French feminist counterpart - George Sand's.

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In addition to the above mentioned novelists he was interested in the works of other Victorians writing on literary, social, religious, philosophical, even sensational themes. Samples of his recorded reactions to some of the authors and works he read are included in this dissertation.