

## The Tolstoy Archival and Manuscript Project

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As part of the Soviet-US project "Tolstoy and America," an effort is being made to locate and describe materials relating to Tolstoy in American archives. This project began with the greater NYC area, which has the richest concentration of Tolstoy manuscripts and materials in the United States. These materials are being collated with his published works, which seems not to have been done before. The collation of manuscript letters with Tolstoy's published correspondence has led to a number of findings: texts known only from his copy-books can now be verified in the original; dates that were suggested from internal or circumstantial evidence can also be established more precisely; and there are not only unpublished, but also unknown letters to be found in these collections.

A secondary type of material also belongs to this project: the archival documents of family members. There is a vast amount of manuscript material relating to the Tolstoy family in America which is still awaiting description. For example, on the Tolstoy Farm in Valley Cottage, fifty miles north of New York City, there is a small library, the second floor of which is filled with boxes of uncatalogued, undescribed archives. Another area of Tolstoyana comprises the memoirs and other first-hand material in the archives of Americans who visited Tolstoy. This secondary type should probably include materials by American Tolstoyans -- the large number of non-resistant pacifists, agrarian communists, non-traditional Christians, vegetarians, abolitionists, Unitarians, Quakers, and Shakers, among others, who were influenced by (or were at least sympathetic to) Tolstoy's writings and thought.

The most significant collection of Tolstoy's manuscripts are his letters in the personal funds of Aylmer Maude, Ernest Crosby, and Isabel Hapgood. A brief survey of these three will suggest something of their value. The largest such collection is Tolstoy's letters to Aylmer Maude (1858-1938), the English biographer and translator of Tolstoy -- not the first of the great translators, but nearly so, for he started his work about ten years later than Hapgood and Dole. He had the advantage of having spent over twenty years in Russia and met Tolstoy on several occasions, first while living there. Soon the acquaintance developed into discipleship. He was not a Slavist or even a translator by profession. Rather, when he first met Tolstoy, he was manager of the wholesale division of the Russian Carpet Company in Moscow. In 1897, motivated by his sympathy for Tolstoyan ideas and their incompatibility with the merchant's world of marketing rugs, he and his family left Moscow to settle in England. Because he had bought into the company, which did well, he was able to retire on his capital from the profits when he was forty. The Maudes settled near Chelmsford, in Kenworthy's Tolstoyan land colony.

There are 68 letters of Tolstoy to Maude at Columbia University, which represent a significant part of the total of about 90 known pieces of correspondence that he sent Maude between 1897 and 1910. Tolstoy corresponded with Maude more extensively than with any other Englishman or American. (This, however, represents just over one percent of Tolstoy's total extant correspondence, which comes to some 8600 pieces.) The correspondence was most intense when Maude was working on a translation or involved in a Tolstoyan project.

One would expect to find the letters to Maude in England in the Maude family archives. However, upon Aylmer Maude's death, his son Lionel gathered the Tolstoy materials - letters from Lev Nikolaevich and other family members - and offered them for sale through Sotheby's. These letters were bought by Charles Scribner's Sons in New York; Columbia University purchased them in 1947. Most of the Maude letters at Columbia have been published, in most cases from photocopies apparently received from Maude. Not all of Tolstoy's letters were photocopies, however, since a number of the texts are published from copybooks. A check of these letters shows that there are some discrepancies in the texts and dating. Most important, there are nine apparently unpublished letters. The first four unpublished letters belong to the series exchanged between Maude and Tolstoy concerning lexical questions of translating What is Art - late 1897 and early 1898. The remaining letters are of greater interest. In one (December 1898) Tolstoy expanded on his anti-intellectualism: "The longer I live, the more I become convinced that our excessive intellectual development greatly hinders us in life's business." He then related how his son Sergei once asked a peasant why he left his master: "One can't live with him, he is too frightfully wise. And I believe, Tolstoy continued, "that most of our failures come from our being too frightfully wise."

Among the Maude letters, with no explanation of how they got there, are two letters by Tolstoy to Bolton Hall: only one has been published, and that only from a copy. These letters of 1908 express his views on non-violent resistance, on Henry George's land ideas, and on how the State Duma seemed not to have the time to deal with his suggestions along these lines.

The second major collection, held at Vassar College, contains Tolstoy's letters written to Ernest Howard Crosby (1856-1907), an avid, dedicated Tolstoyan. Only 25 of Tolstoy's letters are extant. The 18 autographs that are in the archives at Vassar College might have been lost altogether, had it not been for the curiosity of Crosby's niece. Apparently intrigued by letters in an indecipherable hand which she found in a trunk, and unaware of their origin or author, she contributed them to her alma mater. Thus seven unpublished letters survived, as well as two published only in Russian translation.

Like Maude, Crosby was a Tolstoyan - whom Teddy Roosevelt scornfully called "the leader of the Tolstoy cult in America." There was much disappointment in this disgust: Crosby was to have had a brilliant political career, following in TR's footsteps. But in 1893 he read

Tolstoy's "On Life" (O zhizni), resigned from an international judgeship, traveled to Russia to meet the master, and corresponded with him until his death in 1907. Crosby propagated his teachings of non-resistance and George's single tax, wrote prolifically against American imperialism and against the arrogance of government and the courts. He satirized TR and the jingoist enthusiasm for the Spanish-American War in his 1902 Captain Jinks, Hero. Crosby, unlike Maude, did not translate, but wrote on Tolstoy - in 1896 Count Tolstoy's Philosophy of Life, and in 1897 a memoir of his visit, "Two Days with Count Tolstoy." In 1899 he helped Louise Maude prepare a translation of Voskresen'e (Resurrection) - and in a remarkable letter requested permission to tone down some of the explicit scenes in the novel.

The correspondence with Tolstoy began in 1894. In one of the unpublished letters Tolstoy gave Crosby the permission he requested to abbreviate Resurrection as he saw fit. Other letters deal with Crosby's Tolstoyan writings. In response to these writings Tolstoy composed a lengthy letter (over ten printed pages) to Crosby which turned into an open letter that he sent not to Crosby but to Kenworthy: in one of the unpublished letters (September 1896) Tolstoy explained how this essay came to be written and asked permission to publish it. Finally, in 1903 (in the last unpublished letter) Tolstoy thanked Crosby for his essay on Shakespeare and the working class, which he planned to publish in Russian. His foreword to this essay got out of hand and grew into "On Shakespeare and Drama" completed the following year, 1904.

The third collection of Tolstoy's letters is located in the archives of perhaps the most remarkable of his American correspondents - Isabel Hapgood (1850-1928). What seems most unusual about this translator-scholar, journalist, and Russophile is that she - unlike her fellow English-speaking students of Tolstoy - remained immune to the attractions of Tolstoy's teachings, which she resisted firmly to the end.

Hapgood was America's first reliable translator of Tolstoy, and indeed of all the Russian classics. Her first translations were of Tolstoy in 1886; she continued translating Gogol, Dostoevsky, Turgenev, Leskov, Alekseev, Gorky, Bunin, as well as byliny (Epic Songs of Russia), folk songs, and the Russian Orthodox Church Service. Her 1895 Russian Rambles is a journalist's attempt to interpret the Russian people for Americans. Her only competition for first place as America's premier translator of Russian literature was Nathan Haskell Dole (1852-1935). Though his knowledge of Russian seems to have been quite modest, they collaborated on a collected works of Tolstoy.

Hapgood was of English-Scots ancestry, born and brought up in Boston and Worcester; unlike Dole (Harvard, 1874), she had no benefit of university education. Indeed, she left school at 18, after three years in Miss. Porter's Seminary in Farmington, Connecticut. From 1876-86, she learned several languages on her own, including Russian.

At the end of this period, she began to publish translations from French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and Russian. She traveled to Russia for the first time in 1886, and on this trip she met Tolstoy and his family. The meeting resulted in published recollections and an authorized Life of Tolstoy (1888).

After their first meeting, Tolstoy asked Hapgood to translate The Kreutzer Sonata (1887-89). She refused because of the work's radical views of sexuality and family life. This led to a cooling of relations with Lev Nikolaevich, but apparently brought Hapgood closer to Sofia Andreevna. During her first visit she had asked Tolstoy why he didn't "return" to writing and give his readers another Anna Karenina or War and Peace. She apparently shared these thoughts with Sofia Andreevna, as letters from the latter indicate: Sofia Andreevna wrote to Hapgood in 1892 that Tolstoy had begun a new work which she hoped would be a novel, like Anna Karenina; a month later she sadly reported that it was a work of philosophy (probably The Kingdom of God, 1890-3). Tolstoy, now with some hesitation, asked Hapgood to translate this work as well, sending it with an emissary, a Professor Yanzhul of Moscow University. Hapgood read the manuscript, was outraged at the proposition, and returned it to the professor. She wrote an explanatory letter to Tolstoy in which she apologized for being unable to translate such a work of anarchy. Her refusal is not surprising, given the fact that she had translated the Russian Orthodox church service into English and also wrote a study of Russian church music (which remained unpublished). Yanzhul left a striking portrait of Hapgood in his memoirs: tall, loud, forceful, and knowledgeable. Unfortunately, she insisted on speaking her broken Russian, even though Yanzhul's wife was fluent in English.

The Hapgood archives in the New York Public Library contain eight letters from Tolstoy, of which four have been published and two others identified as unknown. Two published letters concern contributions Hapgood sent to Tolstoy in support of his peasant relief work during the 1892 famine. Hapgood had established a Tolstoy Fund and advertised for contributions in the Evening Post (New York) and that year sent over \$7000 to Tolstoy, who provided her with an accounting (which she translated). The five extant letters of Tolstoy from 1892 all deal with this Fund, as do six letters from Tatiana Lvovna written on her father's behalf and another six from Sofia Andreevna. When Hapgood gave these letters to the NYPL, she provided the Tolstoy letters with a seven-page typed commentary (1911), explaining their background and significance. In this valuable memoir she relates how she had attempted to sell the Tolstoy letters to obtain more funds to send for famine relief. Unfortunately (i.e. fortunately) the only response to her advertisement of the sale was from a Philadelphia butcher who offered five dollars for the lot. These archives contain the only Tolstoy manuscript that seems to exist in the NYC area: a copy of Tserkov' i gosudarstvo (Church and State, 1879), signed by Tolstoy, which was apparently given to Hapgood by Professor Yanzhul.

There is significant material here for the joint publication "Tolstoy and America" planned as part of the Soviet-US project. There is additional material in archives across the country. The next step of the project is to begin locating and describing these documents. There are, evidently, letters and other manuscripts in the archives of Cadius Marcellus Clay, of the Garrison family (William Lloyd), Jeremiah Curtin, Clarence Darrow, of the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore, the Shaker Alonzo Hollister, and even of John Harvey Kellogg of Battle Creek, Michigan. An inventory of these Tolstoy materials and other archival Tolstoyana will probably appear in the publication of the joint project. Just how the materials themselves may be used is still an open question. Certainly the unpublished letters and other materials will appear in the new PSS of Tolstoy that is now being undertaken to replace the 90-volume Jubilee edition.

There is much "missing" archival material, i.e. material that should exist somewhere in a personal, family, or institutional archive, but which does not appear in any listing. Indeed, much may have been lost. For example, there are copies of Tolstoy's letters to some sixty or so Americans, none of whose papers are listed in the usual archival indices. The Soviet scholars who have looked at these materials have expressed surprise at the incongruity of the number of letters received with the number Tolstoy sent. They have supplied a list of over twelve hundred unknown individuals (unknown except for name and address) who wrote to Tolstoy: the American side will try to help identify them.

Much material needs to be located, described, and awaits research. If anyone is interested in a copy of the current inventory (printed or in disk in MS-DOS format), please contact me. Also, anyone who knows of Tolstoy materials in United States archives or who would be willing to assist in the inventory process, please get in touch with me.

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