

## PATRIOTISM AN ANACHRONISM.

BY COUNT LEO TOLSTOI.

WHEREVER the authorities succeed, by a series of simultaneous and concerted measures, which are always at their command, in bringing the vulgar masses into an abnormally excited state, they say to us: Behold, this is a spontaneous manifestation of the popular will. Such manifestations as recently took place in Toulon and in Paris, or in Germany during the reception of the Emperor and Bismarck, or such as take place in Russia during all solemnities, only prove that the means of exciting the masses which are lodged in the hands of the authorities and the ruling classes, are so powerful that those possessing them can call forth at any time any kind of manifestation they wish, by simply appealing to the people's patriotic sentiments. But, on the other hand, nothing proves so effectively the absence of patriotism in the people as just these tremendous efforts, which are periodically made by the authorities and ruling classes for artificially exciting the patriotism of the people.

If the patriotic spirit is so innate in the people, why not let it show itself freely and of its own accord, instead of exciting it continually by all sorts of artifices? Let them stop in Russia, for a while at least, the practice of compelling the people to swear allegiance to every new Tzar, let them cease saying solemn prayers for the Tzar during every mass, let them cease celebrating his birthdays with the tolling of bells, with illuminations and the compulsory stoppage of work; let them cease placing his image in every public place, let them cease printing his name in large letters in all the prayer-books, calendars, and text-books; let them cease extolling him in all the books and papers which are printed for that purpose; let them cease throwing people into prison for the least disrespectful word said of him,—let them cease doing all such things, and then we shall see how much inclination there is inborn in the Russian people, in the genuine working classes, in Procopiy, in Ivan, to adore his Tzar, who for his pains delivers him into the hands of the landed proprietor and the rich capitalist.

Thus it is in Russia. And it is so elsewhere. Let the ruling classes of other countries, of Germany, of France, of Italy, and the rest, cease exciting the patriotism of their people, and we shall see how innate this imaginary spirit is in the populations of our time.

Their method, however, is to befog the minds of the people from infancy by every possible means—by the perversion of educational text-books, by the celebration of public masses, by sermons, speeches, books, papers, and monuments. They gather together a few thousand people by bribery or by force, further increasing their numbers by loafers, and when this mob, amid the booming of cannon and the strains of music, blinded by