Tolstoi, Leo. "The Kingdom of God Is Within You." Christianity Not as a Mystic Religion But as a New Theory of Life. Translated by Constance Garnett. Breinigsville, Pennsylvania: Watchmaker Publishing, 2011.

Count Leo Tolstoi (1828-1910 A.D.), known best for his epic novels *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*, experienced a psychological crisis later in life that led to his adoption of a Christian anarchism. His later spiritual works were less well received by the public than his novels. Tolstoi toyed with adopting a life as a peripatetic ascetic. During his last such sojourn, he died at a distant railway junction. *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* was written in 1893.

Introduction. Tolstoi accepts Christ's teaching, but rejects the church's views, especially with respect to Christian non-resistance to forcible evil. Tolstoi intends to present historical views on non-violence, the church's views, and finally his own views.

I. The Doctrine of Nonresistance [sic] to Evil by Force Has Been Professed by a Minority of Men from the Very Foundation of Christianity.

The American Quakers were first to respond to this book. They sent him materials demonstrating their conviction that Christians must not resist evil by force against people.

William Lloyd Garrison sent Tolstoi an 1838 Declaration from the Society for the Establishment of Peace Among Men (1838), which made these points. No man owes a duty to human government. Nations have no right to defend themselves by force. No government is approved and established by God. All preparations for wars, whether offensive or defensive, are unlawful. Since all governments bear arms, no Christian can hold office or vote for those who do. We forgive enemies, not punish them. Coercion generates coercion; only love conquers hatred. Non-resistance is the fundamental principle. Christians submit to all government ordinances, except those that violate non-resistance, and then Christians submit to the penalties assessed for their disobedience. The society shall proceed by preaching its doctrines, and, if opposed, shall not fear miseries inflicted. Participants feared that the radical approach of the Society and its journal would impede emancipation of American negroes, and the Society and journal folded.

Adin Ballou preached non-resistance. Ballou believed that profession of Christian faith and loyalty to the U.S. Constitution are incompatible, since the government exercises coercive force. When one man kills another, it is deemed murder. When a nation kills, it is deemed glory and scribbled in history books. Christians oppose evil by every good means, but not by returning evil. Christ lived this rule, and imposed it on followers. Jesus overturned the old rule of opposing wrong with equivalent wrong. Christians cannot rejoin evil with evil, vote, hold office or practice law, or voluntarily pay taxes. Non-resistance washes evil from one's own and one's enemy's heart. It is the only genuine opposition to evil. All other responses generate more evil. The result for the believer may be death, and will certainly entail suffering and loss.

Tolstoi notes that writings on non-resistance never receive public notice, which he takes as evidence of tacit censorship.

Helchitsky, in the fifteenth century, wrote *Net of Faith*, which declares non-resistance and why the idea has been abandoned. Helchitsky says that the church compromised, accepting temporal powers from Constantine, and lost its way. The church is not Christian. The true Christian emulates Jesus, gentle, meek, forgiving, refusing violence. He does not serve in armies, rule, vote, work in trade, or own land. Christians can work with their hands or farm.

Earlier works exposing the degeneracy of the Church were burned, along with their authors. So few ancient dissenters can be discovered.

Dymond answers what a Christian should do when drafted into military service. Refuse, he says. One cannot abdicate responsibility for one's acts. Conscience is non-delegable. When we acquiesce in the ill-acts of others, we ourselves have acted.

Musser asserts that Christians cannot war, yet they benefit from society based on violence. Therefore, Christians must not avail themselves of society's benefits, of courts or elections or other amenities.

Governments once accepted the religious refusal, but no longer. Tolstoi recounts a Tzarist draft. Five soldiers were tortured for refusal to fight, and then given over to psychological manipulation. This is the government pattern: secretly abuse the believer, get priests to castigate him, get political persons to examine him for treason, then have doctors examine, and then send him to the asylum. The ruling classes oppose true Christianity; the educated liberal public joins them. The proponents of non-violence are hushed up and put away.

II. Criticisms of the Doctrine of Non-Resistance to Evil by Force on the Part of Believers and of Unbelievers.

Freethinkers and religious authorities alike have criticized Tolstoi's thoughts.

Religious critics sidestepped Tolstoi's analysis. All Christians must practice non-violent resistance. No theologian answered this assertion, but rather gave it the treatment predecessors had received. They obfuscated, criticized non-central points, and danced around the argument. Where opponents did respond, five arguments were indulged. Tolstoi presents them in order of ascending subtlety. 1) Refusal of force is not the teaching of Jesus. These people invent a Christ they prefer. 2) Christ taught nonviolence, but we must restrain wicked men by force or they will destroy all. We cannot distinguish good from wicked men. We are all members of one family. 3) Individually Christians must not resist evil, but they can resist in defense of their neighbors. This rule makes private judgment of danger to others determinative, and offers no restraint on violence at all. 4) Non-violence is Christ's rule, but only one of his rules. There are others to be obeyed. This objection misleads those who wish to be misled. The only commandment that receives this treatment is non-violence. No one obfuscates the commandment against fornication. 5) Non-violence is Christ's rule, and conflicts about its meaning were long ago settled. Let's discuss some other topic. Since discussing this problem only publicizes it, the commandment must be evaded. Tolstoi considers in particular the criticism of Farrar, which is of this sort.

Tolstoi expected freethinkers to discuss non-violence directly, but was disappointed. Freethinker responses were of two sorts. Conservatives objected because the rule would prevent their destruction of rebels. Rebels objected because the rule would outlaw rebellion. Russian critics said that the rule of non-violence would deflect Europe's civilization from its current path, thinking that Europe's present path is undoubtedly valid. Foreign critics rejected non-violence because it would require a change to our lives. They put Tolstoi's affection for the principle down to historical ignorance and failure to appreciate the high state of current civilization.

Tolstoi asks, when men disagree about an action's evil, how will they resolve their dispute? One must find a common criterion of judgment, or one must refuse to resist evil by force. Neither church nor freethinkers grasp the question Jesus was answering or the answer he gave.

III. Christianity Misunderstood by Believers.

Jesus' message has become muddled for the majority, though it is secure with a minority. The majority's incomprehension has a long history, being hidden by a blindness of familiarity from believers by the Church and from unbelievers by science.

The Church distorted Jesus' message by interpreting it, and then supporting those interpretations by supposed miracles associated with the interpreters. The more "miracles," the less comprehension. Jesus founded no church. The church invented itself. In each split, the departing declared the remaining heretical, and vice versa. Little effort has been invested in defining heresy itself, other than to note it differs from what the speaker believes. Heretics attempt to free themselves from petrified institution deluded in its belief it possesses absolute truth. Churches oppose Christ's teachings. A church is, in principle, an organization dedicated to principles Jesus rejected. The

practical business of churches is to inculcate in members ancient errors. Tolstoi recounts the church's demands upon a believer during life's course, its many rituals. This is all the Russian church teaches its 100 million. One must choose between the church's path and creeds, and the Sermon on the Mount. One who is dunking and kneeling has insufficient time to put Christ's teachings to work in his life. The church's efforts maintain savage idolatry, disseminate religious confusions, and suppress living faith when found. No man can understand and believe the Creeds as did men of the fourth century. Yet the churches hypnotize believers into their errors. Worst, churches fill the minds of children with falsehoods, nurture them into distorted characters, and then let them loose into the world to face incomprehensible contradictions with which they can ill cope. If the churches relaxed their deceptions for a moment, some would hear Jesus' message. That would be the end of churches.

IV. Christianity Misunderstood by Men of Science.

Men of science find in the churches' teachings only outmoded, impractical, and misdirected rules that should be rejected. Men and societies, even if unconsciously, adopt theories that give existence meaning, and adapt those theories to changing circumstances. Mankind produces people who develop these new theories. The theories are religion. Religion points humankind in a direction, and future humans differ from those who came before because of the pointing. These religions are three in number: 1) focus on the individual (animal life), 2) focus on society (pagan life), and 3) focus on all mankind (Christianity, or divine life). Humans are now in the transition to this third state. People who do not understand Christ, but nevertheless presume to interpret him, find in his teachings something exaggerated and beyond human capabilities. Nonresistance to evil is one such irrational teaching, so they think. They are right, if one thinks as a statist. Christ's laws create a process in which imperfect men strive for the ultimate. One does not attain, but only reaches. This is life's true meaning. To follow Christ is to move toward God. There are no rules for this process. The Sermon on the Mount describes the ideal: a) love all men, b) practice purity, c) live in today, d) never coerce, and e) love people who hate you.

Men of science make a second error. They substitute love of humanity for love of God, deleting the divine from the human equation. People naturally love themselves, their kin, and their tribe members. People's ability to transfer affection falters at the state. Men seldom love their nations, since these are fictions. Still less can men love humanity, which is but an abstraction. Personal affection grows weaker with every transfer outward. It is too feeble to embrace mankind. Christian love, however, extends to all life and existence, and amounts to an endless extension of love. The fragment of the Son of God in each man waxes to make of him a creature that must love all things.

V. Contradiction Between Our Life and Our Christian Conscience.

People miscomprehend Jesus teaching because they believe it to be ideas that can be accepted without restructuring their lives. Christianity changes life. Mankind progresses in its theory of life, adopting a view appropriate to its needs as humanity grows. We are presently in a phase in which we have passed through animism to a social view of humanity, and that view is now, over thousands of years, being supplanted by Christ's teachings. Christianity appears to be of supernatural origin, but this is deceptive. Christ's teachings are only the world view appropriate to humanity's current stage of development. Yet men allow life to be governed by rules appropriate to five thousand years ago. Christianity teaches fundamentally that all men are brothers under one Father. Yet our social structures make some wealthy and others poor. So, all suffer, and most the toiling laborers, because we know what is right, but do not live that way.

Economically, the rich luxuriate in ill-gotten wealth; the poor labor of necessity at meaningless tasks in their degradation. The rich, if they have delicate consciences, suffer greatly. To ease the pain, they dull their consciences. But they keep their foot on the neck of workers, who, if released, will leap up to cut their wealthy oppressors.

Politically, law defines life. We, however, know that our laws are the product of greed and closed-door wrangling that distributes power to those who least deserve it. When we obey, we know justice is not done. Yet we obey.

Internationally, the contradictions are most poignant with respect to war. Tolstoi recounts the financial and personal costs of war and preparation for war. Wars bankrupt nations, weaken even the winners, and encamp millions of men waiting to murder one another. Christians are scandalized by the proposition that Jesus opposed all wars. Such peace as we have is merely a state of international tension in repose. Science colludes with governments to create tools by which to murder efficiently. Were the war chests diverted to human needs, we would create global peace.

So, all men, due to their conflicted consciences, live in despair. All seek an analgesic for their pain, generating a flurry of distractions and sedations to relieve themselves. Without these drugs and distracting occupations, half of humanity would commit suicide immediately.

VI. Attitude of Men of the Present Day to War.

One resolves the conflict between one's life and one's conscience by changing one or the other. Social inertia inhibits this move. People rationalize their existing lives, because living their convictions would require dismantling society as we know it. Men dance odd dances to avoid these conclusions, especially with respect to war. All talk of war as though one's participation in it were without choice. Tolstoi criticizes three types of evasions.

First, there are those who think war a European problem to be solved by arbitration requirements. Tolstoi cites at length the resolutions of the London Peace Conference of 1891, which rely on emphasizing the horrors of war and the benefits of arbitration. International arbitration and disarmament are a hoax. The essence of government is force acting against justice. Simply put, Christianity ends all government. Those who convene peace congresses play into the hands of government and militarism. Nothing comes of their speeches. No state will abandon having or using its army.

Second, there are those who think war a deplorable, yet unavoidable, disease. Tolstoi cites a long passage from Guy de Maupassant, asking why people do not rebel because of the suffering of war. Turn your guns against your government. War will end, but people will never do this. Tolstoi cites Edouard Rod, who bemoans the state making peaceful men slaughter one another. Technological advances put all of humanity at risk, not just armies. Both conclude that there is no exit from this dilemma.

Third, there are those who think war certainly unavoidable and, at least occasionally, desirable. These men have dead consciences. Tolstoi cites Jules Claretie, Emile Zola, de Vogue, de Maistre, and Darwin as exemplars of this sentiment. They opine that honor demands, unfortunately, dueling and war. Only the militarily strong find peace. War is the natural state of man, from war derives all advancement, and lack of war enfeebles peoples. War is a natural, if unpleasant tonic by which men avoid miseries such as corruption and moral degeneracy. War is a piece of the engine of natural selection, and shall endure as long as mankind walks the earth.

Tolstoi responds. This third class of men is nihilists. Neither good nor evil exists, and they believe evolution dictates that they must, with force of arms, defend their individual existence. With such morbid consciences, war is indeed inevitable.

But the new age rushes upon them, the age of non-violence.

VII. Significance of Compulsory Service.

Universal compulsory military service evidences the split conscience of society. People sacrifice for the sake of nations, but as nations have grown larger, authority (which is lightly-veiled violence) compels citizens to labor in the military. Armies practice to do violence upon command. He who commands has power, and such power is always abused, despite our best efforts to properly select those who will wield power. Governments exercise authority and receive submission; this is no less violent than intertribal warfare, just less obviously so. When authorities control violence, they subject

their own people, often crushing them. Workers are little better than slaves. Citizens are duped into believing that government exists for their benefit, they could not live without it, and that anarchy would be a terrible state. Governments raise armies to defend government from its citizens, but tell the people it requires an army to defend against external threats. Armies keep the ruling class in power, despite aristocratic abuse of poorer citizens. Since neighboring governments are likewise crushing their citizens, governments also need armies to protect their booty from these juxtaposed criminals. These facts lead to army-races, in which every nation strives to keep pace with its neighbors. States require universal military service to get troops cheaply; the oppressed become their own oppressors. Universal conscription savages the social order, impairing property and labor and common action for the good. In acquiescing, we join in the evils. If universal military service were abrogated, the state oppression of its citizens would crumble.

Armies are justified by the notion that they can protect us from evil-doers in our midst. Though such persons used to exist centuries ago, none exists now. No one carries arms or kills at will. Criminals cannot be deterred by force. Only change of circumstance and moral suasion can affect them. Governments oppose all attempts by citizens to form new ways of life, forms that address underlying problems. Large armies do not defend us, but make it more likely our neighbors may attack us. Most men submit to the government's demands because they are hypnotized. Resisting would require the sort of critical thinking for which many have no capacity.

Complying with universal service robs one of daily freedom, puts him to the task of killing strangers, abuses his body, may result in disability or death, forces one to wear funny clothing, and may get one ribbons to pin on the funny clothing. Refusing to comply preserves one's dignity and God's favor, though it may result in a jail term. These facts raise for every man the religious question whether the state should persevere or be abolished.

VIII. Doctrine of Non-Resistance to Evil By Force Must Inevitably Be Accepted by Men of the Present Day.

Christianity presents a step forward in human existence. One adopts Christianity freely and internally or externally and experimentally. The latter path is tortured, but works. Conflicts emerge when people fight what they believe is evil. Christ taught that one defeats conflict by refusing to fight anyone. Men no longer believe one can define evil in a manner persuasive to all. Violence justifies itself. The means of maintaining the culture of violence are: 1) intimidation, which makes the state seem ordained of God and unchanging, 2) corruption, which is the essence of taxation and bureaucracy, 3) hypnotizing people by stunting their moral growth and indoctrinating them into the state's and churches' preferred ideas, and 4) creating armies, who support the government in the other three methods by violence. Conflicts consolidate power in the existing government. Only Christ's teaching of non-violence toward all in all circumstances can break this culture of violence. All men recognize this, but do not understand the means identically. Some hope in a second coming, others in the progress of the church. Some prefer gradual spread of values, while others anticipate violent communistic revolution. But all hate the existing order they find themselves upholding, but they cannot seem to help themselves. The status quo is most apparent in the standing army and universal conscription. Here, all submit to madmen but hardly notice doing so. Some believe more terrible weapons will end war. They will not. Men will go to slaughter by their millions.

IX. The Acceptance of the Christian Conception of Life Will Emancipate Men from the Miseries of Our Pagan Life.

In injuring the masses, Christianity has been harsher than was paganism. But, inwardly, humanity is in a nascent state of springtime bloom. Christianity, properly grasped, frees men to scorn governments because he belongs to Christ. Christians cannot be coerced. Though suffering can take happiness from the Christian, he still obeys God

and so is fulfilled. No Christian can swear loyalty to a nation state. His loyalty lies elsewhere. Christians disdain all human authority in obeying God. Christians do not fight, nor do they respond in kind when attacked. Men become Christians one at a time. When all have become Christians, human problems will dissolve and new life will commence.

The present regimes say to people going about their business: 1) promise to obey us without question, 2) let us tax you, 3) participate in pretended democracy, 4) help us torture prisoners, and 5) fight others with whom you have no complaint because we say to do so. Thinking people would decline this offer. But no. Most go right along with the proposal, flogging one another because some government tells them it is right.

Refusing to comply with government orders cuts at the heart of state authority. The government punishes them, but they are the first of millions. A new order emerges. A lone dissenter can cause change. Tolstoi tells of one Christian refusing to serve under arms. He is punished, treated for mental illness, banished to the hinterlands, and finally released, after having created untold trouble for the army. Governments have no idea what to do with such people. Revolutionists they kill. Christians fluster them. Every government requirement violates Christian conscience: allegiances, taxes, law, and military service. These impositions are the essence of government. True Christianity erodes the foundations of government. What is a government to do? Christians cannot be bribed, fooled, scared, imprisoned, or killed effectively. Governments are defenseless to the non-violent man of conviction. Christianity is a fire; the conflagration begins.

X. Evil Cannot Be Supressed [sic] by the Physical Force of Government. The Moral Progress of Humanity is Brought About Not Only by Individual Recognition of the Truth But Also Through the Establishment of a Public Opinion.

Christianity is fundamentally anarchist. Jesus was executed for his anarchist views. Only people in governments fail to see Jesus' anarchism. Christian anarchists assert that men have reached a place in their development where the prop of government is no longer necessary, where men prefer peaceful cooperation to war and violence, where they voluntarily undertake such cooperative ventures as are needful. Neither this idea, nor its opposite can be proved. The Christian knows that he has outgrown government, and declines to participate. Opponents argue that governments prevent evil men from attacking good men. But this is false. Government power brokers are not good; they acquired power because they love it and they use it to benefit themselves and their own. Generally, power passes from one bad man to the next. They do unto others what they would not like done unto themselves. Evil men have always dominated the good. Force always dominates those who refuse to respond in violence. All men are continually becoming better and better morally, even the wicked. Some progress consciously, but even those who evidence no intentional effort to improve, they nevertheless unconsciously adopt less-violent approaches. In the inevitable conclusion, no man will pick up the government's sword. The transition from government to Christian anarchy proceeds slowly at first by individual spiritual insight, but later rapidly, as public opinion shifts and most men adopt these attitudes based on their trust in others. Deep change cannot be effected by coercion. Stricter laws, copious prison cells, and numerous police do not diminish crime. Public opinion does. Force pales before public opinion. One can destroy nations and men by violence, but one cannot change them. Change comes from inward, spiritual forces, the visible talisman of which is public opinion. Non-Christian nations can be converted only by Christian lives lived before them, not by colonization, commercial exploitation, or silly sermons by missionaries. So too criminals. Christian example may affect them, but not prisons, drugs, gallows, seeing pointless luxury and shallowness in their captors. Use of force forestalls Christian public opinion. Some fear this change; bad people will savage us. This is an urban fear. Farmers know how little use is force against the power of nature. We must not fear the unknown in our new anarchist future. We are creating that future. We will adapt to new conditions. Such has life always been.

XI. The Christian Conception of Life Has Already Arisen in Our Society, and Will Infallibly Put an End to the Organization op [sic] Our Life Based on Force When That Will Be.

Public shame will convince people to abandon violence. People will refuse public service positions. Those who take such jobs are already of inferior intellect and moral quality. The rich have become less sophisticated cultural leaders, and kings have come to rule less well and creatively. So too, with the army, judges, prosecutors, jailers, police, clergy, executioners, tax collectors and capitalists. All have been affected unawares by Christian values. All people will eventually come to question the utility of keeping kings and armies, when they serve no purpose we value. All societal authorities based on force are doomed to pass away for lack of purpose. This is the promised kingdom of heaven breaking in upon us. No man knows when that event will be complete.

XII. Conclusion—Repent Ye, For the Kingdom of Heaven Is At Hand.

The Russian government has taken to flogging and killing disobedient paupers. All governments do so, in one way or another. Tolstoi recounts the severe flogging of twelve recalcitrants when they refused to give up randomly chosen women of their village to imprisonment. Those in power convince themselves that their privileges do not derive from murder and torture because these tactics are not always employed. Some violent men compel others to submit, gain advantages thereby and then promptly forget how they came by their boon. Men do what their consciences forbid without even noticing. Tolstoi asks repeatedly what this fact means for mankind. Otherwise good men rely on the belief that, without coercion, civilization will certainly fall in order to justify their participation in armies and organized violence. Great privilege is inherently unstable, and so people of power laud the existing state of things because these conditions support their advantages. Authorities give orders, others execute them. If citizens refused to follow the orders, no further violence would come. It is citizen acquiescence that sustains the violent system. But the minions are drunk on power. General education teaches that murder and Christianity are compatible, and that doing murder for government is praiseworthy. Soldiers are taught to obey without question, except when doing so breaks faith with the Tzar. With these lessons, aristocrats intentionally deceive their workers.

Tolstoi recounts army recruiting day at Zemsky Courthouse, all the fathers bringing their sons to sign up for murder, and the conscription of Piotr Sidorov. All this militarism is a mass deception. Every life is sacred. No other principal may serve as a basis for morality. To kill in vengeance is to further injure oneself, once already injured.

Keeping armies is mad for normal people. Even if governed by a sane man, there remains no assurance a cretin will not take over tomorrow. The high classes support military violence because it preserves their privileges. Further, kings seek to implicate as many citizens in their crimes as possible, to reduce their own moral exposure. Long chains of command dilute responsibility. Horrors ensue without notice. High class men put lower classes to the nasty tasks. Lower class men do the violence, but blame their orders on the high classes. No one assumes responsibility. The higher classes believe themselves chosen and blessed. They teach the lower classes they are cursed and owe obedience. All human cruelties follow from inequality and evasion of responsibility.

Tolstoi admits that most men are fatigued and intoxicated to the extent that, with their modest native mental inabilities, they merely follow along unquestioning. There are times, like the present, when the new way of life has broken in, but most people are not courageous enough to seize it, preferring the old and superceded way of life. Some soldiers may throw off their hypnotism, and refuse to kill. This outcome depends wholly upon the vitality of Christian truth within the individual. Some disagree. These argue that not individual appreciation of truth but general social and economic conditions determine the course of morality. This theory is fundamentally conservative, encouraging every man to violate his conscience to preserve existing systems.

Economic relations suffer all these same hypocrisies. The trader buys below value and sell above value to people too stupid or desperate to care about the swindle. Manufacturers live by bleeding dry their factory workers for gain, and then put up almshouses to expiate their sins. Hypocrisy rends every aspect of society; indignation is, for most people, impossible. Progress in material circumstance is irrelevant where men do not act according to the truths they know. Humans can only be united by truth; all should, therefore, pursue it. Being respectable in violence (generals, legislators, traders) is worse that being patent in it (thieves, murderers). Our fortunes, executions, wars, luxuries, and religious trappings are the more persistent and dangerous problem.

Tolstoi recites what opponents counter, that workers contract freely and such abuses as exist are being ameliorated. With wise legislation and education, the poor's plight improves. Armies and police exist to prevent the excesses of people who act against their own interests. So too gallows.

Tolstoi responds that this is more hypocrisy. Men progress in their grasp of truth. Even one who feels powerless to change can recognize his untoward actions and condemn them. Men are constantly progressing from less to more truth, which means that there are known truths, emergent truths, and truths we have yet to encounter. The movement is inevitable. One participates in it with joy in God or is dragged along unwilling. Truth is inexorable. It defines how one ought to act. It also defines how one will act. Human freedom lies only in the choice whether to go along happily or grudgingly. This is not so much freedom as we might like or imagine we have. But it is all the freedom that exists.

If people would spend one percent of the effort they devote to material things on sorting out the truths they know, the kingdom of heaven would dawn. We know not what will come. It cannot be predicted because it depends upon people and circumstances unknown. Our current pagan form of life does not make us more secure. Death and impermanence haunt all our actions. In a time, nothing will remain of us or our acts, no matter how rich, powerful, brilliant, or saintly one might be.

Our duties to God exceed any human obligation. No man involuntarily violates his conscience. One may lack the inner strength to throw off society, but all have the strength to cease to lie about society. Only in truth-telling are men wholly free. Conscience guides us.

The kingdom of God arrives in the harmony of all living creatures. Harmony requires shared truth. That truth, the kingdom of God, lies within us.