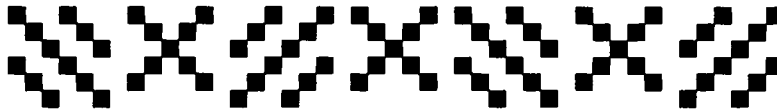


William Dudley Foulke and Russia

Aurele J. Violette*



In the last decades of the nineteenth century American knowledge of and interest in Russia were virtually nonexistent. Formal studies of Russian literature and history had not yet made their way into the curricula of American colleges and universities, and American books and articles about Russia were few.¹ During these years, however, Russian expansionism and increasing American involvement in world affairs gradually produced more information in books and periodicals. Those who wrote about Russia in this period were generally not academics but were instead individuals who either had come in direct contact with or who, for a variety of reasons, had developed an interest in the country. George Kennan, well-known author, journalist, and lecturer, was the foremost American authority on Russia although others such as Isabel F. Hapgood, Julian Ralph, and Stephan Bonsal were also beginning to increase American awareness of Russia.²

William Dudley Foulke, a Richmond, Indiana, attorney, also deserves inclusion among the late nineteenth century popularizers of Russia; yet, he has been completely ignored by studies that deal with the beginning of American writing on the subject.

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¹ See Archibald C. Coolidge, "A Plea for the Study of the History of Northern Europe," *American Historical Review*, II (October, 1896), 34-39; Clarence A. Manning, *A History of Slavic Studies in the United States* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1957), 17-24; and Paul N. Harper and Ronald Thompson, eds., *The Russia I Believe in: The Memoirs of Samuel N. Harper, 1902-1941* (Chicago, 1945), 9.

² Manning, *History of Slavic Studies in the United States*, 22-24; Taylor Stults, "Imperial Russia through American Eyes, 1894-1904: A Study of Public Opinion" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Missouri, 1970), 10ff; and Taylor Stults, "George Kennan: Russian Specialist of the 1890s," *Russian Review*, XXIX (July, 1970), 275-85.

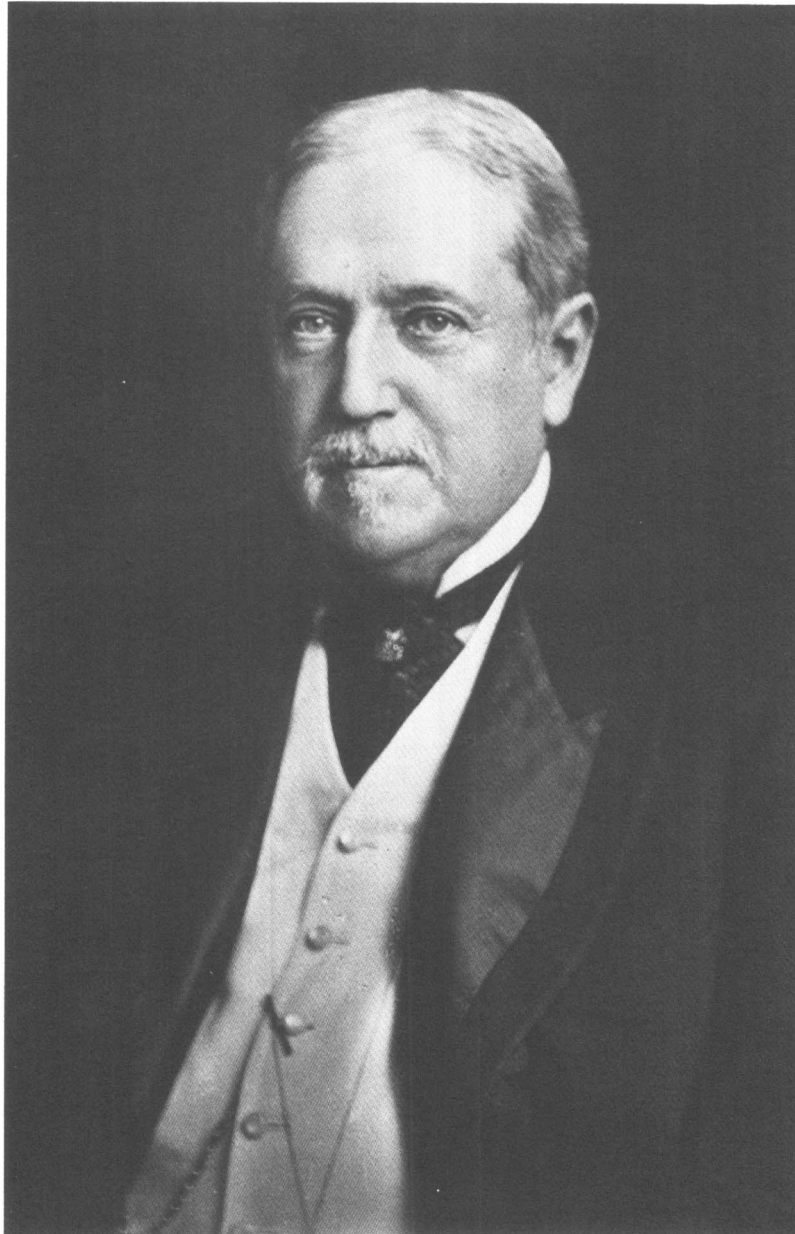
In the 1880s Foulke developed an interest in Russia that not only resulted in perceptive and widely read publications about the country but that also led to his involvement in a number of causes which promoted freedom in Russia. This aspect of Foulke's career, however, has been overshadowed by his lifelong dedication to civil service reform and the women's suffrage movements.

William Dudley Foulke (November 20, 1848-May 30, 1935) was born and raised in New York City where his father, Thomas Foulke, was the principal of New York City's largest grammar school. Descended from one of the original Welsh families brought to Pennsylvania in 1698 by William Penn, the Foulkes were members of the Hicksite church in which both William Dudley's father and grandfather were lay ministers. William Dudley Foulke was thus raised according to strict Quaker principles and was educated at the Friend's Institute in Rutherford Place where Thomas Foulke became the principal in 1861. William Dudley continued his education at Columbia University and was admitted to the bar in 1870.³

Following the completion of his formal education, Foulke established a law partnership with a former classmate in New York City and became actively involved in the Young Men's Municipal Reform Organization that fought unsuccessfully against the William M. "Boss" Tweed political machine. In 1876, however, Foulke gave up the practice of law in New York and moved to Richmond, Indiana. Family connections in the Hoosier city and the offer of a law partnership in a leading Richmond law firm apparently were the reasons for Foulke's decision to relocate in this eastern Indiana community of approximately ten thousand.

In the summer of 1870, while on a trip to California and Oregon, Foulke had met and fallen in love with Mary Taylor Reeves, the daughter of prominent Cincinnati businessman Mark E. Reeves and Caroline Middleton Reeves. In 1872 Foulke traveled with the Reeves family in Europe, and he and Mary were

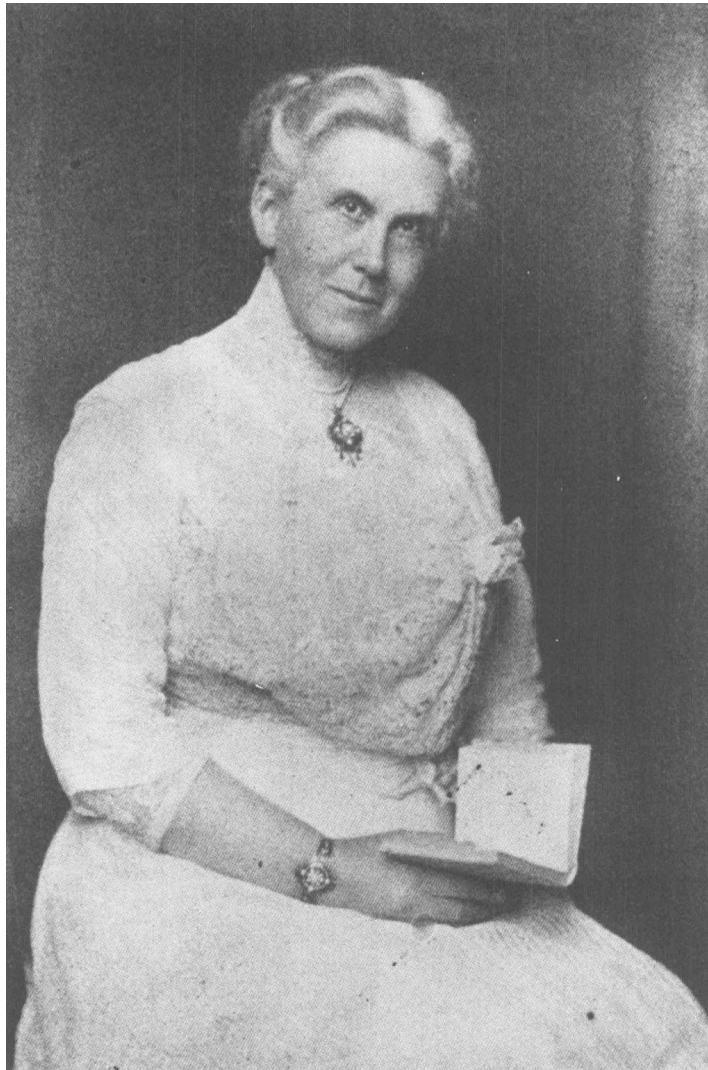
³ Biographical material about William Dudley Foulke and his family can be found in William Dudley Foulke, *A Hoosier Autobiography* (New York, 1922); Christopher B. Coleman, "William Dudley Foulke," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XXI, Supplement 1 (New York, 1944), 314-15; Lewis E. Cloud, "William Dudley Foulke, Civil Service Reformer" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Education, Ball State University, 1969); Arthur W. Shumaker, *A History of Indiana Literature, with Emphasis on the Authors of Imaginative Works Who Commenced Writing Prior to World War II* (Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. XLII; Indianapolis, 1962), 234-38. *Edward and Eleanor Foulke: Their Ancestry and Descendants, 1698-1898, A Memorial Volume* (Philadelphia, n.d.); "William Dudley Foulke: Early Life and Career," undated manuscript (Wayne County Historical Museum, Richmond, Indiana).



Courtesy Wayne County Historical Museum, Richmond, Ind.

WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE (1848-1935)

Known primarily for his involvement in the civil service reform and women's suffrage movements, Foulke also wrote one of the first American histories of Russia and was prominent in the movement to promote freedom and constitutional government in Russia before World War I.



Courtesy Wayne County Historical Museum, Richmond, Ind.

MARY TAYLOR REEVES (1853-1938)

The wife of William Dudley Foulke, Reeves was identified with the beginning of many cultural organizations in Richmond, Indiana. The Foulke family was related to two of Richmond's best known pioneer families—the Reeveses and the Morrisons. These names live on in the Morrison-Reeves Library in Richmond.

married at the American Legation in Paris on October 10, 1872. They then established a residence in Bloomfield, New Jersey; but, although Foulke's law practice in New York was promising, they moved to Richmond after three years to be close to Mary's family who, by then, had established their residence in Indiana. Foulke entered into a law partnership with Jesse P. Siddall, an attorney for the Pan Handle Railroad Company.

About a year after arriving in Richmond, the Foulkes purchased three acres of land and an old brick house on the outskirts of the city on Linden Hill. They subsequently constructed a large addition to the original structure, and the Foulke home soon became one of Richmond's landmarks. Over the years many distinguished guests were entertained there, including Julia Ward Howe, Richard H. Dana, Felix Adler, Albert J. Beveridge, George W. Julian, Lucian B. Swift, and David Starr Jordan, the president of Indiana University. The Foulkes also played a prominent role in the establishment of many of Richmond's literary, musical, and artistic organizations. Foulke served on the board of trustees of the Morrisson-Reeves Library and frequently delivered lectures on a variety of subjects at Earlham College.

For a while Foulke was also involved in state politics. In 1882 he was elected on the Republican ticket to a term in the Indiana Senate where he championed such issues as equal rights for married women, women's suffrage, and civil service reform. Foulke was one of the founders and the first president of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association and conducted a series of highly publicized investigations into the management of the Indiana State Insane Hospital, where many abuses were discovered.

Foulke also achieved prominence in a number of progressive national organizations. In 1885 he joined the National Civil Service Reform League, and in 1889-1890 he was the chairman of its special committee investigating congressional patronage and the administration of the Patent Office, Census Bureau, and the Post Office Department. It was during the course of these investigations that a close friendship developed between Foulke and Theodore Roosevelt, which association led, in 1901, to Foulke's appointment to the National Civil Service Commission on which he served until 1903. From the early 1880s Foulke also worked actively for the cause of women's suffrage, serving as president of the American Woman Suffrage Association from 1885 to 1890. He was active, as well, in the municipal reform movement and was president of the National Municipal League from 1910 to 1915. In 1915 he was an organizer of the League



Courtesy Richmond, Ind., *Palladium-Item*.

**WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE RESIDENCE
BEFORE BEING RAZED IN 1946**

Located at South 18th and South A streets, the Foulke residence was for many years one of Richmond's landmarks. St. Paul Lutheran Church is now located on this site.

to Enforce Peace that promoted the establishment of an international league of nations to safeguard peace in the postwar period.⁴

Exactly when Foulke's interest in Russia began to develop cannot be ascertained. His autobiography contains little revealing information. Foulke only notes: "I became interested in the history of Russia, especially in the events showing the encroachments of that empire in the Balkan Peninsula, in Central Asia, and in the Far East."⁵ As early as 1883 frequent references to Russia were appearing in Foulke's speeches, and by 1887 Foulke was publishing lengthy letters to many newspapers on various aspects of Russian civilization.⁶ In the same year he published a history of Russia entitled *Slav or Saxon*. It was intended, Foulke wrote later, to demonstrate "what then seemed the menace of autocracy to free institutions."⁷ The title of this study expressed Foulke's overriding concern—that a struggle for supremacy in the world was developing between Russia and Great Britain, which conflict would, unless major changes occurred, result in Russian global mastery and the imposition of Russian despotism worldwide. According to Foulke, "No geographical nor ethnographical limits have been broad enough to confine Russian ambition."⁸

⁴ Foulke was also a prolific writer. Among his major works are *Life of Oliver P. Morton, Including His Important Speeches* (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1899); *Fighting the Spoilsmen: Reminiscences of the Civil Service Reform Movement* (New York, 1919); *Roosevelt and the Spoilsmen* (New York, 1925); and *Lucius B. Swift: A Biography* (Indianapolis, 1930).

⁵ Foulke, *Hoosier Autobiography*, 94.

⁶ See, for example, "Address by William Dudley Foulke at Glen Miller, on July 4, 1883," William Dudley Foulke Papers (Manuscript Division, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, Indiana); "The Woman Question in Russia," *Woman's Journal* (Boston). A copy of this article is found in Foulke's Scrapbooks, II, 27-28. Foulke's Scrapbooks consist of twenty-six volumes of newspaper clippings on a variety of subjects and copies of Foulke's articles, letters, and speeches. Foulke kept them throughout most of his public career. Many clippings are undated, and the publication in which they appeared is not always indicated. The Scrapbooks are located in the Indiana Division, Indiana State Library.

⁷ William Dudley Foulke, *Slav or Saxon: A Study of the Growth and Tendencies of Russian Civilization* (New York, 1887); Foulke, *Hoosier Autobiography*, 95. Foulke based his history of Russia on books published in the late 1870s and early 1880s: Alfred N. Rambaud, *The History of Russia from the Earliest Times to 1877* (2 vols., London, 1879); Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, *L'empire des tsars et les Russes* (3 vols., Paris, 1881-1889); Victor Tissot, *Russes et Allemands* (Paris, 1881); Charles Marvin, *The Russians at the Gates of Herat* (New York, 1881); Donald MacKenzie Wallace, *Russia* (London, 1877); and several histories by the exiled Russian revolutionary Sergei Stepniak [Sergei Mikhailovich Kravchinskii], including *Underground Russia: Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life* (London, 1883); *The Russian Storm Cloud, or Russia in Her Relations to Neighbouring Countries* (London, 1886); and *Russia under the Tsars* (New York, 1885).

⁸ Foulke, *Slav or Saxon*, 45.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY. No. XLIII.

SLAV OR SAXON

A STUDY OF THE GROWTH AND TENDENCIES OF
RUSSIAN CIVILIZATION

BY

WM. D. FOULKE, A.M.

NEW YORK AND LONDON.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

The Knickerbocker Press

1887

TITLE PAGE FROM FOULKE'S *SLAV OR SAXON*

Foulke's history of Russia was published in a very popular series dealing primarily with public policy issues. It went through three editions by 1904.

Foulke had initiated his study of Russian history in order to understand the wellsprings of Russian behavior. In *Slav or Saxon* he conceived of Russian history as a "backward movement from freedom to autocracy."⁹ The original pacific, liberty-loving Slavic peoples of Russia had over the course of centuries been subordinated to the military power of the tsars of Muscovy. Democratic institutions, in the process, had been ruthlessly destroyed and all political power concentrated in the hands of the tsar. According to Foulke, the result was the creation of a despotism that exercised absolute control over the people and denied them their basic liberties. Because there was no significant internal opposition to the absolutism of the Russian autocracy, Foulke believed that it could pursue an expansionist policy with a determination and consistency denied parliamentary states. Russia's physical size also contributed to its strength and served the aims of the government: "The fact that Russia, as a whole can never be conquered gives her practical impunity, so long as her aim remains constant, and the great mass of the people continue to be utterly subservient to the will of their master."¹⁰

Only when the Russian masses were admitted to a share in the governance of the Russian state, Foulke thought, would the expansionist policies be abandoned and the impending collision between Slav and Saxon be avoided. To Foulke there was only one way to achieve this end: "The hope of coming times lies in the overthrow of centralized despotism, in the establishment of civil liberty in Russia, and in the substitution of industrial methods for its present military system."¹¹ Foulke believed that there was only one group in Russia capable of effecting the necessary changes—the current generation of revolutionaries, sometimes known as nihilists, who were struggling against the despotism of the tsarist system. The struggle for freedom and constitutional government justified the extreme measures that they were forced to use to promote a cause which, Foulke thought, Americans should support. Foulke reminded his readers:

The Russian revolutionist does not represent the lowest type of society in that Empire. It is the men who are largely favored by the existing order of things who have espoused the cause of the revolution, and they do it, not so much for themselves, as for the sake of the fifty millions of poor ignorant peasants whose wrongs would otherwise remain without a voice. They represent, like John Brown, that type of manhood which seeks by questionable means, not its own advantage, but the liberation of oppressed humanity.¹²

⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 136-37.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹² *Ibid.*, 141.

Readers of *Slav or Saxon* responded enthusiastically. Writing from Crawfordsville, Lew Wallace referred to the myth of friendship between Russia and the United States, a belief that had prevailed in America since the Civil War, and to the failure on the part of many Americans to understand the realities of Russian intentions and the oppressiveness of the Russian government.

So few people understand what Russian power represents. A vague idea of gratitude prevails in our country—gratitude to the Czar, and for what? For nothing disinterested. And then—my God, the horrible brutality of the imperial administration! Russian ideas of government once dominant and progress ends. On that day, Heaven help the world!¹³

George Kennan described *Slav or Saxon* as a “very accurate and judicious summary of Russian history and the Russian situation” and noted that “if people who pretend to be interested in Russia would only read it they would be able to talk much more intelligently upon Russian subjects than many of them do now.”¹⁴ From London, Sergei Stepniak, an exiled Russian revolutionary, praised Foulke’s history for its accuracy and boldness—qualities rare, he said, in books written about Russia by foreigners.

The chapters describing Russian climatic, and geographical conditions in connection with the national character are full of finest ideas and suggestions which are as just as they are graphic and fresh. The part referring to the serfdom and agrarian condition before Emancipation is very comprehensive and true, giving in a nutshell the substance of conditions so unlike those prevailing in other countries.¹⁵

Stepniak also observed that the book was especially timely and that it would exert some influence “upon the question now before the Senate.”¹⁶

The “question” to which Stepniak referred was an extradition treaty between the United States and Russia that had been introduced into the Senate in 1887. Until the 1880s there had been very little interest in formal extradition between the two countries. Few Russians had sought asylum in the United States,

¹³ Lew Wallace to William Dudley Foulke, January 5, 1888, Box 3, Folio 3, William Dudley Foulke Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.).

¹⁴ George Kennan to Foulke, February 4, 1888, *ibid.* Foulke’s friendship with Kennan began following the publication of *Slav or Saxon* when Foulke solicited Kennan’s comments on the book. Foulke subsequently saw a good deal of Kennan at Baddeck on Cape Breton Island, where Kennan had a summer home. Both men were also members of the Washington Literary Society and were associated with the American Society of Friends of Russian Freedom.

¹⁵ Sergei Stepniak to Foulke, January 27, March 1, 9, 1888, Box 3, Folio 3, Foulke Papers (Library of Congress).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

and it was unlikely that American fugitives would seek refuge in Russia. Despite the lack of a formal treaty, the traditional practice had been to permit the extradition of common criminals but not of individuals accused of political offenses—including the assassination of heads of state. However, as a wave of repression mounted in Russia in the 1880s, increasing numbers of Russian revolutionaries fled to the United States, and the Russian government then attempted to secure an extradition treaty in which assassinations or attempted assassinations of heads of state or their families would be regarded as nonpolitical crimes. The proposed 1887 treaty contained such a provision, and it became the focal point of opposition. Article 3 of the treaty, which was first published by the *New York World* on March 26, 1887, read: "The murder or manslaughter comprising the willful or negligent killing of the sovereign or chief magistrate of the State or of any member of his family, as well as an attempt to commit or participate in the said crimes, shall not be considered an offense of a political character."¹⁷

Opponents of the treaty used a variety of arguments against its ratification. Some objected to the veil of secrecy that surrounded the ratification process in the Senate. Others emphasized the radical departure from tradition and the one-sidedness of the treaty—only the Russian government would probably avail itself of extradition, and the United States would never derive any tangible benefit from it. All agreed that the treaty was just a cunning Russian subterfuge to recover revolutionaries who had fled abroad; the Russian government could too easily accuse a refugee of complicity in an imaginary plot, procure his extradition, try him in secret proceedings, and then condemn him.¹⁸

Foulke played a leading role in the widespread public protest against the treaty. In opposing it he drew upon his extensive knowledge of Russian conditions to add to the persuasiveness of his arguments and translated his intellectual interests in Russia into political activism. Foulke was opposed to the ratification of the treaty because it would legitimize the tsarist regime and would doom those who were extradited to execution or Siberian exile since justice was not available in Russian courts. In a letter to the editor of the Richmond, Indiana, *Sunday Register* Foulke emphasized the departure from tradition which the treaty represented. "It is common principle among free peoples,

¹⁷ Thomas A. Bailey, *America Faces Russia: Russian-American Relations from Early Times to Our Day* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1950), 156-57; *New York World*, March 26, 1887, p. 1.

¹⁸ Bailey, *America Faces Russia*, 157-59.

that the right of extradition shall never be claimed for the recovery of political offenders. The greatest reformers of the century have been protected by this principle—Mazzini, Garibaldi, Victor Hugo, Kossuth, Castelar.”¹⁹ Foulke also noted that ratification of the treaty would place the United States in the company of such authoritarian states as Germany and Austria—the only countries that had similar treaties with Russia—and that through ratification Russia would obtain the United States’s “moral and legislative support for the perpetuation of her despotism.”²⁰

What was the nature of the system that the treaty would legitimize? It was, according to Foulke, “the last great despotism on earth, the only one which has withstood the glare of modern civilization, which demands the aid of the foremost champion of liberty, in forging the more securely the fetters which bind its slaves.” It was a system in which education was stifled and totally subservient to the demands of the state. It was a system in which ethnic minorities were not permitted to study and use their own languages, in which there existed arbitrary censorship of the press, and in which imprisonment without trial was commonplace. Foulke concluded that the treaty was directed against the only “men in Russia who dare strike a blow for liberty.” Comparing Russia’s revolutionaries to John Brown, Foulke claimed that they worked unselfishly for the “elevation of an oppressed people” and that the ratification of the treaty would transform the American people into the “slave hunters of Muscovy.”²¹

In the months that followed Foulke continued to write against the treaty and began to coordinate his activities with those of Kennan in Washington. Kennan talked to as many influential senators as possible in order to persuade them to vote against ratification. He distributed copies of his own articles on Russia to senators, as well as a circular letter to the Senate written by Foulke.²² This special circular reiterated Foulke’s earlier arguments and emphasized the unjust nature of the Russian judicial system. Noting that Russian jurisprudence did not

¹⁹ Letter to the editor, Richmond, Indiana, *Sunday Register*, June 17, 1887, in Foulke’s Scrapbooks, II, 27-28. Foulke’s letter was also published in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, June 20, 1887.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*; see also Foulke, *Autobiography*, 95-96.

²² Kennan to Foulke, December 20, 1887, Box 3, Folio 2, Foulke Papers (Library of Congress); Kennan to Foulke, February 4, 1888, Box 3, Folio 3, *ibid.* See also Frederick Travis, “George Kennan and Russia, 1865-1905” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, Emory University, 1974), 353-57.

conform to the principles adopted by civilized nations, he decried the lack of juries in the Russian military tribunals that tried political crimes, the secrecy which attended the deliberations of these tribunals, and the absence of adequate representation for those accused. Individuals surrendered to the Russian government under this treaty could not expect a fair hearing in Russian courts. Foulke then reminded the senators: "The foregoing considerations are submitted to you, not by a Nihilist, nor by anyone who sympathizes with their methods or theories, but by a native American citizen, who is anxious that the influence of a nation, which is justly proud of its liberty, should not be cast in the scale against others, who are struggling, however blindly and unreasonably, for theirs."²³

In 1888 there was enough opposition to the proposed treaty to prevent its leaving the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and in February, 1888, Kennan was able to report to Foulke that it would not be voted on during the current session of Congress.²⁴ The treaty languished for a number of years thereafter, but on February 26, 1893, the Senate, in executive session and without any prior notice, approved it. After an exchange of ratifications by the two governments, the treaty went into effect later in 1893.²⁵

Public protest was overwhelming and unanimous. The recently established American Society of Friends of Russian Freedom assumed leadership of the movement against the treaty.²⁶

²³ Circular letter to the Senate, 1887, Box 3, Folio 2, Foulke Papers (Library of Congress). See also letter to the editor, *Indianapolis Journal*, February 13, 1888, in Foulke's Scrapbooks, II, 40. This letter was written in rebuttal to an earlier letter to the *Journal* by a General Turchin who urged ratification of the treaty and attacked Kennan's articles on Russia.

²⁴ Kennan to Foulke, February 15, 1888, Box 3, Folio 3, Foulke Papers (Library of Congress).

²⁵ Bailey, *America Faces Russia*, 157-59. See also Louis J. Budd, "Twain, Howells, and the Boston Nihilists," *New England Quarterly*, XXXII (September, 1959), 361-65.

²⁶ The American Society of Friends of Russian Freedom was founded in 1891, on the model of a similar organization in Britain, by Julia Ward Howe and a number of other prominent Americans, including James Russell Lowell, George Kennan, William Lloyd Garrison, Edward Everett Hale, Alice Stone Blackwell, Lyman Abbot, and Mark Twain. Its purpose was "to aid by all moral and legal means the Russian patriots in their efforts to obtain for their country political freedom and self-government." Between 1891 and 1894 the society published an American edition of *Free Russia*, the organ of the English Society of Friends of Russian Freedom. This journal carried articles by Russians and other observers concerning domestic Russian developments and reprinted articles and editorials from American newspapers on such matters of current interest as the extradition treaty. See "The Russian Cause in America," *Free Russia*, I, no. 11 (June, 1891), 7-8; and Alice Stone Blackwell, "The Friends of Russian Freedom in America," *Free Russia*, XVII (January-April, 1906), 10-11.

In addition, petitions addressed to the president from a number of prominent Americans demanded an explanation of the circumstances surrounding the ratification.²⁷ Newspapers across the country—almost without exception—denounced the treaty and urged its abrogation.²⁸ Despite the storm of public protest, however, the extradition pact, which Foulke described as “one of the most dishonourable episodes in the history of American diplomacy,” remained in effect until 1917.²⁹

No issue comparable to that of the extradition treaty emerged to arouse American public opinion concerning Russia for about a decade. The Spanish-American War and dramatic developments in China preoccupied most Americans, and numerous organizations, including the Friends of Russian Freedom, which had been organized in the early 1890s in response to Russian questions, faded into inactivity. Foulke in this period was deeply involved in the civil service reform and women's movements but nonetheless published two new editions of *Slav or Saxon* that amended and expanded the 1887 volume. An edition in 1898 documented recent Russian aggression in China and further detailed the oppression of the tsarist system. In 1904 Foulke added discussions of the tsarist regime's intensifying attempts to Russify Finns, Armenians, Jews, and other ethnic minorities within the Russian Empire and of Russia's activities in Manchuria and Korea that led to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War.

By 1904 two developments coalesced to produce a new wave of anti-Russian activism in the United States. Increasing anti-Semitism in Russia climaxed in a violent and destructive pogrom in Kishenev in 1903. Rallies were organized in American

²⁷ “Petition of Prominent Men to Have the Terms Made Public,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1893, p. 8. Years later Kennan confided to Foulke that he believed that President Benjamin Harrison was mainly responsible for the treaty and suggested the reason for its ratification: “The Bering Sea arbitration in Paris was just coming on, [Secretary of State John W.] Foster and the President were very much interested in it, they wanted Russia to support our contentions, and they thought that if they put through this long-postponed treaty, it would predispose Russia in our favor.” Kennan to Foulke, February 17, 1911, Foulke Papers (Indiana State Library).

²⁸ See, for example, “Opinions on the Treaty,” *Free Russia*, III (March, 1893), 8-13; *ibid.* (April, 1893), 14-19; “The Treaty Condemned,” *Free Russia*, III (March, 1893), 5-7; William M. Salter, “America's Compact with Despotism in Russia,” *Free Russia*, III (April, 1893), 9-14; “Protest of the Society of American Friends of Russian Freedom,” *Free Russia*, III (May, 1893), 4-5; and “Society for the Abrogation of the Russian Extradition Treaty,” *New York Times*, June 17, 1893, p. 1.

²⁹ Foulke, *Hoosier Autobiography*, 96. A resolution introduced into the Senate by Senator David Turpie of Indiana, calling for the abrogation of the treaty, was never acted upon.

cities to protest the minority policies of the Russian government. Official protests condemned the Russian atrocities, and the press was unanimous in its expressions of outrage.³⁰ The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War early in 1904 also had reverberations in the United States. Despite the fact that Japan was clearly the aggressor in this conflict, American opinion was sympathetic to the Japanese, and newspapers greeted each Russian military setback with enthusiasm.³¹ As a contemporary commentator observed, "American interest in Russia is passing through a period of intensity which it has never before known; and we are again realizing, as nations and as individuals, that we belong to the world, and that it can never be well with us until it is well with all."³²

Given the unpopularity and apparent weakness of the tsarist government as revealed by the inept performance of Russia's military in the initial stages of the Russo-Japanese War, a number of American intellectuals hoped to capitalize on anti-Russian sentiment to revive the organization that had crusaded against the extradition treaty in the 1890s—the American Society of Friends of Russian Freedom. Optimism ran higher than ever before that American public opinion could be marshaled to promote the cause of freedom in Russia. By early 1904 the society had been regenerated—largely through the efforts of Alice Stone Blackwell, a coeditor of the *Boston Woman's Journal* and daughter of the suffragette Lucy Stone. The new organization included many members of the original one—Kennan, Julia Ward Howe, Mark Twain, Lyman Abbot, and William Lloyd Garrison, to name a few—but also attracted an impressive group of new members from government, business, the settlement houses, and university circles. Included were Jacob Schiff, Lillian D. Wald, Jane Addams, Helena Dudley, Oswald Villard, William E. Walling, Arthur Bullard, the Reverend Minot J. Savage, and many others.³³ Foulke, who had just recently served as a Civil Service commissioner in the Theodore Roosevelt administration, was selected as president of the newly organized Friends. The announcement in *Free Russia* of his selection noted:

Mr. Foulke is the same acute writer whose excellent book, "Slav or Saxon," was reviewed in our columns many years ago. . . . He is, moreover, the author of two

³⁰ Ann E. Healy, "Tsarist Anti-Semitism and Russian-American Relations," *Slavic Review*, XLII (Fall, 1983), 416-17; Cyrus Adler, *The Voice of America on Kishineff* (Philadelphia, 1904).

³¹ Bailey, *America Faces Russia*, 186ff.

³² Edmund Noble, "America and the Russian Crisis," *Free Russia*, XVI (March, 1905), 36.

³³ Blackwell, "The Friends of Russian Freedom in America," 10.

other books: "The Life of Oliver P. Merton [sic]," and "Maya," a novel. These productions are, however, only so many sparks of his brilliant and many-sided personality. A graduate of Columbia University, and also of the Columbia Law School, he took to the law as a profession, but also filled several public posts: He was State Senator of Indiana, and later, National Civil Service Commissioner, besides being president for several years of the American Woman Suffrage Association. Being witty and genial by nature, Mr. Foulke is also an excellent speaker, and enjoys a high reputation as a politician.³⁴

The primary objective of the Friends of Russian Freedom was "to spread in the American Press correct views and information as to the evil results of Russian autocracy, and to help reformers in Russia in their efforts to bring about more modern and civilized conditions." The society, which Foulke described as lacking a "definite organization" and acting "as the occasion offered," at first functioned as a kind of news bureau, translating articles on conditions in Russia from the Russian press and extracting articles from *Free Russia* that were then distributed to all members of Congress and to several hundred of the principal newspapers throughout the United States.³⁵

The Friends also sponsored occasional mass meetings to call attention to conditions in Russia and to enlist further the sympathy of Americans on behalf of their cause. One such meeting sponsored by the New York branch of the Friends of Russian Freedom occurred on October 13, 1904, in the Cooper Union in New York City. Several speakers addressed the large crowd and denounced the extradition treaty and the Russian government's policies on minorities. Letters of support from Howe and others were read to the assembly. Foulke, who as president of the Friends of Russian Freedom presided over the meeting, recounted the tyrannies and imperialism that had characterized Russian history. Resolutions were then adopted denouncing the tsarist government's treatment of the Finns and religious persecution in the Russian Empire and urging the establishment of chapters of the Friends of Russian Freedom in every American city.³⁶ A British Friend who was present at the meeting was so moved by the proceedings that he later wrote that he returned home "with fresh enthusiasm for the sacred cause to which we are devoted—that cause of freedom for all the subjects of the Rus-

³⁴ "American Friends of Russian Freedom," *Free Russia*, XV (April, 1904), 40.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; Foulke, *Hoosier Autobiography*, 96.

³⁶ "Friends of Freedom Call Government Greatest Enemy of Liberty," *New York Times*, October 14, 1904, p. 7; "Fiery Speeches from Peace Delegates at Cooper Union," *New York Daily Tribune*, October 14, 1904, p. 4; "For Russian Freedom," *The Woman's Journal*, XXXV (October 22, 1904), 339. See also Foulke to Carl Mannerheim, November 8, 1904, Foulke Papers (Indiana State Library).

sian Tzar, for which we must work with ever-increasing vigour till the final triumph is achieved."³⁷

The role of the Friends of Russian Freedom expanded as the result of the actions of the Russian revolutionaries upon whom Foulke had showered so much praise in *Slav or Saxon*. In an attempt to capitalize upon the apparent American receptiveness for their cause, these radicals traveled across the Atlantic in increasing numbers in the period between 1904 and 1906 to secure public support, money, and munitions. The Friends became directly involved in planning and organizing the American tours of a number of these revolutionaries. Because of its social and political prominence, as well as the nationwide connections of its members, the society assumed a leading role in arranging dinners, scheduling lectures in major cities, and obtaining press coverage for the revolutionaries.³⁸

One of the first to tour the United States and the one with whom Foulke was most directly associated was Ekaterina Konstantinovna Breshko-Breshkovskaia, known as "Babushka" or the "Little Grandmother" of the Russian Revolution. Breshkovskaia had already been introduced to Americans by Kennan who had met her during his Siberian journey in 1885-1886 and had subsequently praised her courage and self-sacrifice in his extremely popular *Siberia and the Exile System* that had done so much to fashion American attitudes about Russia.³⁹

³⁷ J.F. Green, "The Cause of Russian Freedom in the U.S.A.," *Free Russia*, XV (November, 1904), 88.

³⁸ Arthur W. Thompson and Robert A. Hart, *The Uncertain Crusade: America and the Russian Revolution of 1905* (Amherst, Mass., 1970), 8; Arthur W. Thompson, "The Reception of Russian Revolutionary Leaders in America, 1904-1906," *American Quarterly*, XVIII (Fall, 1966), 452-76.

³⁹ George Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System* (2 vols., New York, 1970), II, 121-22. See also Kellogg Durland, "An Heroic Russian Woman," *The Woman's Journal*, XXXV (December 3, 1904), 385, 390-91. Of Polish and Russian aristocratic background, Breshkovskaia was born in 1844 in Vitebsk Province. She began participating in revolutionary circles in the early 1870s and in 1874 took part in the "To the People" movement that attempted to spark a peasant rebellion against the tsarist regime. She was subsequently arrested and tried for treason in the famous "Trial of 193" in 1878. She was convicted and became the first woman sentenced to hard labor in the Kara salt mines. She was not allowed to return to European Russia from her Siberian exile until 1896, when she resumed her revolutionary career. At the time of her American tour she was a leading member of the Socialist Revolutionary party that was known primarily for its advocacy of political assassinations and violent peasant uprisings as means of destroying the tsarist system. On her career see Alice Stone Blackwell, ed., *The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution: Reminiscences and Letters of Catherine Breshkovsky* (Boston, 1919); Lincoln Hutchinson, ed., *Hidden Springs of the Russian Revolution: Personal Memoirs of Katerina Breshkovskaia* (Stanford, Calif., 1931); and Jane E. Good, "Strangers in a Strange Land: Five Russian Radicals Visit the United States, 1890-1908" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, American University, 1979), 148-74.

Early in 1904 two Socialist revolutionaries billed simply as "Nikolaev and Rosenbaum" thrilled American audiences with their accounts of political assassinations and terrorism in Russia. Their success encouraged them to attempt to arrange a similar tour for Breshkovskaia whose experiences in tsarist jails and in Siberian exile might generate additional sympathy and financial support for their cause. Nikolaev approached the well-known anarchist Emma Goldman with the suggestion that she contact Kennan and Lyman Abbot of the *Outlook* to enlist the assistance of the Friends of Russian Freedom in sponsoring and organizing Breshkovskaia's tour. Instead, Goldman requested the help of Alice Stone Blackwell with whom she had corresponded since 1902. Goldman wrote to Blackwell about her efforts to establish contact with the Friends and suggested a meeting with Nikolaev, who would provide detailed information about conditions in Russia. Blackwell responded immediately to Goldman's request, noting that she would soon be in New York and that she would bring with her William Dudley Foulke, the president of the Friends of Russian Freedom, to meet Nikolaev and Goldman. Goldman's true identity, however, would be concealed from Foulke who would simply be informed that he would be meeting a "Miss Smith."⁴⁰

Miss Goldman later recalled the day of the meeting.

Before long, Alice Stone Blackwell arrived, and while we were having tea, there came a knock at the door. I opened it to a short, stout man all out of breath after his climb of five flights. "Are you Miss Smith?" he panted. "Yes," I replied brazenly; "you are Mr. Foulke, aren't you? Please come in." The good Rooseveltian Republican in Emma Goldman's flat at 210 East Thirteenth Street, sipping tea and discussing ways and means to undermine the Russian autocracy, would certainly have made a delicious story for the press.⁴¹

The discussions evidently went well. Both Foulke and Blackwell were apparently impressed by Nikolaev's account of conditions in Russia because several weeks later Blackwell informed Goldman that the Friends of Russian Freedom would do everything possible to bring Breshkovskaia before the American public.⁴²

Local branches of the Friends made the arrangements for Breshkovskaia's tour, which was launched with a mass meeting

⁴⁰ Emma Goldman, *Living My Life* (2 vols., New York, 1931), I, 360-61. Exactly when Foulke became aware of the ruse is impossible to determine. His autobiography makes no mention of the meeting with Goldman. It is quite possible that Foulke did not learn of "Miss Smith's" identity until 1928 when Goldman corresponded with him on another matter and identified herself as Miss E.G. Smith whose flat he had visited in New York in 1904. Emma Goldman to Foulke, September 11, 1928, Foulke Papers (Indiana State Library).

⁴¹ Goldman, *Living My Life*, I, 360-61.

⁴² *Ibid.*



Reproduced from Alice Stone Blackwell, ed., *The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution: Reminiscences and Letters of Catherine Breshkovsky* (Boston, 1919), frontispiece.

EKATERINA BRESHKO-BRESHKOVSKAIA (1844-1934)

Known as the "Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," Breshkovskaia after 1917 fell out of sympathy with the Bolshevik regime in Russia and left the country.

in Boston, over which Foulke presided. The meeting took place in Boston's famed Faneuil Hall on the evening of December 14, 1904. A boisterous assembly of over three thousand crowded into all available space. Most were Russian, Polish, and Jewish immigrants. Howe, the first speaker, made a plea for constitutional government in Russia. The climax to the evening's proceedings, however, came when Foulke introduced Breshkovskaia. Drawing upon his knowledge of Russian history, Foulke enumerated the misdeeds of the Russian autocracy and, prophesying a brighter future for Russia, he struck the optimistic note that would mark all of Breshkovskaia's appearances in the United States. "A new day is dawning for Russia, as it has dawned for the rest of the civilized world. Even her errors and injustices hasten her deliverance." Of Breshkovskaia he said: "it is not for us to teach her what true liberty means, it is for her to teach us."⁴³

Then Breshkovskaia, speaking in Russian in a voice filled with emotion, addressed the throng. Avoiding any mention of the political terrorism which was then rampant in Russia and with which she could not have easily disassociated herself, she compared Russia to an immense prison in which progressive Russians were confined; nonetheless, she tried to convince her audience that Russians were ready for freedom and that the time of their deliverance was near. Her remarks, as well as her appeal for financial support, were greeted by deafening applause and by cheers, waving handkerchiefs, and hats thrown into the air. Foulke remarked that he had attended many political gatherings but never one so enthusiastic; he judged Breshkovskaia's speech an "unqualified success."⁴⁴

Only one aspect of the Faneuil Hall meeting disturbed Foulke. Following Breshkovskaia's speech, a number of other radicals addressed the crowd in heated speeches in Polish, Russian, and Yiddish. Not being able to understand these speakers, Foulke suspected that statements were made that evening that were "anarchistic and sanguinary" in nature. He also feared that some of the funds collected might be used to "buy bombs and other missiles."⁴⁵ Several years later Foulke, who was visiting Howe in her Newport home, recalled these incidents and re-

⁴³ Alice Stone Blackwell, "Welcome to a Russian Woman," *The Woman's Journal*, XXXV (December 17, 1904), 401.

⁴⁴ Blackwell, *Little Grandmother*, 112-18; William Dudley Foulke, "Incidents of Visit of Noted Russian Agitator to America," Foulke's Scrapbooks, XIII, 17.

⁴⁵ Foulke, "Incidents of Visit of Noted Russian Agitator to America," Foulke's Scrapbooks, XIII, 17.

marked: "I have no doubt they said all sorts of things which you and I wouldn't approve of, and very likely if we knew it all we might find that we had made fools of ourselves." Howe, who was then approaching her ninetieth year, responded emphatically: "We could afford to make very great fools of ourselves in the cause of Russian freedom." Upon hearing her utter these words Foulke reflected warmly: "I always admired Mrs. Howe, but never so much as at that moment."⁴⁶

By all criteria Breshkovskaia's tour of the United States, which eventually took her to New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit, was a huge success. The grandmotherly Breshkovskaia kindled the sympathy of Americans as no Russian before her had done. Everywhere she went enthusiastic crowds welcomed her. By the time she left the United States in the spring of 1905, she had not only aroused the moral indignation of many Americans over conditions in Russia but had also collected ten thousand dollars to take back with her; yet, within a year of Breshkovskaia's visit, American interest in, as well as sympathy for, the Russian revolutionary movement had dwindled considerably. The end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 removed Russian issues from the headlines; and, then, Maxim Gorky's "scandalous" behavior during an American visit in 1906 undid much of the goodwill for Russian revolutionaries which Breshkovskaia had generated.⁴⁷

Ill health had by then also forced Foulke to cease active involvement in many organizations—including the Friends of Russian Freedom—and to retire to his home in Richmond, Indiana, where he later became editor and part-owner of the Richmond *Evening Item*. Foulke's interest in Russia, stimulated more than twenty years earlier, continued, however, and by the spring of 1907 Foulke was preparing for a prolonged European vacation that would take him to Russia where he would observe first-hand conditions about which he had only read or heard from others. While he intended to visit some of the sites where major events in Russian history had occurred, it is clear that he intended primarily to study the political situation to determine whether—in light of the changes brought about by the Revolution of 1905—there existed any real hope for the future development of democratic institutions in Russia.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Foulke, *Hoosier Autobiography*, 97. See also "Letter from Hon. W.D. Foulke," Foulke's Scrapbooks, XVI, 38.

⁴⁷ Thompson and Hart, *Uncertain Crusade*, 69-70; Good, "Strangers in a Strange Land," 175-242.

⁴⁸ William Dudley Foulke, *A Random Record of Travel during Fifty Years* (New York, 1925), 96-97.

Foulke's tour took him to four of the empire's principal cities—Helsinki, St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Warsaw. Very little that he saw in any of these places tempted him to revise opinions he had earlier expressed about the backwardness of social and economic conditions in the Russian Empire. In St. Petersburg, the modern capital of Russia built in the eighteenth century by Peter the Great, Foulke remained unimpressed by the many bridges, broad streets, and imposing buildings. Behind the elaborate facades provided by the Winter Palace, the Admiralty, the Peter-Paul Fortress, and other structures was a shabby city totally devoid of the "picturesqueness of age" and concealing unimaginable human misery behind superficial splendor. "All these I saw and wondered at the splendor of the great Autocracy which had won a sixth part of the whole world for its empire, but could not win the content or happiness of its own subjects."⁴⁹ Russia's ancient capital, Moscow, was in many ways more interesting and exotic. The contrasts in colors, architectural styles, types of peoples, and dress were much more vivid than in cosmopolitan St. Petersburg. Yet, this center of "Holy Russia" with its impressive Kremlin also evoked memories of the countless political assassinations and barbaric cruelties that had plagued Russian history, and the poor in rags whom Foulke saw everywhere only reminded him of the tremendous human cost of all the monuments around him.⁵⁰

Foulke had traveled to Russia with the intention of procuring information on the political situation from unofficial sources as well as from official ones. He carried with him letters of introduction to various political opponents of the tsarist regime, letters the existence of which—if known—might have caused the bearer difficulties with the authorities. Before leaving Sweden Foulke had met with Count Carl Mannerheim, a Finnish patriot who had been banished from the Russian Empire by Nicholas II and who was then living in exile in Stockholm.⁵¹ Mannerheim provided Foulke with letters of introduction to other nationalists in Finland who would explain further the political situation in that

⁴⁹ William Dudley Foulke, "Letter of Travel, St. Petersburg, 22 April 1907," Foulke's Scrapbooks, VIII, 93. See also Foulke, *A Random Record of Travel*, 98-101.

⁵⁰ William Dudley Foulke, "Letter of Travel, Moscow, 25 April 1907," Foulke's Scrapbooks, VIII, 91-92; Foulke, *A Random Record of Travel*, 109-10.

⁵¹ During a visit to the United States in 1904 Mannerheim had been introduced by Foulke to Theodore Roosevelt with whom Mannerheim had a long conversation about conditions in the Russian Empire. See William Dudley Foulke, Memo, October, 1904, Foulke Papers (Indiana State Library); Carl Mannerheim to Foulke, October 22, 1904, *ibid.*

part of the empire. Upon arriving in Helsinki, Foulke used a letter to contact a professor of Sanskrit who had been a leader of a recent Finnish rebellion against Russian rule. A long conversation ensued during which the professor recounted the history of Finland's relationship to Russia, culminating in the rebellion against Russian rule that had won political concessions for the Finns. The professor, in turn, introduced Foulke to another leader in the revolutionary movement who provided additional details of the rebellion and who gave Foulke letters to a number of other revolutionaries in St. Petersburg.⁵²

Shortly after his arrival in the capital, Foulke presented one of these letters to an assistant secretary of state for Finland, who secretly supported the Finnish revolutionary movement. The oppressive atmosphere of suspicion that Foulke had sensed from the moment of his arrival in the Russian Empire was emphasized during the course of his interview with this official, which began in a government office. Before any matters of substance could be discussed, the official interposed: "We do not talk of such things here but if you come to my house tomorrow morning for breakfast I will introduce you to some gentlemen who will give you the information you wish." Foulke agreed, and he later conjectured that, because of the matters discussed at the meeting, the participants—if the meeting had been discovered by the police—would have been imprisoned or exiled to Siberia.⁵³

Another meeting with the assistant secretary further evidenced the uncanny atmosphere in which Foulke found himself. The two men were engaged in a conversation in a private room at the Hotel d'Angleterre where Foulke was staying in St. Petersburg when a waiter entered the room. The official immediately changed the subject of conversation and remarked after the waiter had left: "They are all spies. Every word he hears will be reported." The assistant secretary also arranged for Foulke to meet with General Karl Fredrik Langhoff, the head of the Department of State for Finland, and called for the American at the hotel prior to the meeting. As they were about to leave, Foulke noted that his escort did not call for a carriage at the door of the hotel but rather walked around the corner and selected a vehicle at random. Then they drove, not to the Department of State, but to an adjoining street where they alighted from the carriage and went around a corner to an adjacent building. They entered and went upstairs to a mirror on the first

⁵² Foulke, *A Random Record of Travel*, 96, 98.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 101.

landing. The assistant secretary pushed the mirror, which revolved to disclose a secret entrance to the Department of State next door. After going through some rear passages, Foulke was finally ushered into General Langhoff's apartment. In the discussion that followed, Langhoff assured Foulke that the constitutional rights of the Finnish people were secure and that there was little likelihood of major trouble in Finland in the future.⁵⁴

No secrecy attended Foulke's visit to the imperial Duma, the national parliament established for Russia following the Revolution of 1905. The American ambassador in St. Petersburg provided Foulke with an embassy carriage with a coachman and a footman for the ride from the hotel to the Tauride Palace where the Duma was in session. Upon arrival at the palace, liveried attendants greeted the visitor with great respect and conducted him to the diplomatic gallery where he could observe the proceedings. The gentleman from Indiana later recalled: "I tried to look haughty and princely as I passed them but I am sure the effort was a failure."⁵⁵

Foulke not only observed the proceedings of the Duma but also conversed with some of its members about Russia's political future. One of the most memorable meetings occurred in the corridors of the Duma when Foulke was introduced to Paul Miliukov, a noted historian and leader of the Constitutional Democratic (Kadet) party. During their conversations Miliukov showed Foulke a mark that had been placed in his hat—a circle with a cross within it, which was a sign that Miliukov had been condemned to death by the ultraconservative terroristic organization known as the "Black Hundreds." When Foulke told Miliukov that he had spoken at a Faneuil Hall meeting in honor of Breshkovskaia, the Russian remarked that he had been in the United States at the time but would not have dared attend the meeting because, had he done so, he would have been denied reentry into Russia. Then Miliukov underscored the fact that Foulke himself was taking some personal risk in traveling in Russia, reminding him that if the authorities knew of his role in the Faneuil Hall meeting he would probably be immediately expelled from the country.⁵⁶

Foulke's observations and meetings with representatives of official and unofficial Russia revealed that the country was still

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 101-102; William Dudley Foulke, "Address to Richmond, Indiana Commercial Club," Foulke's Scrapbooks, VIII, 90.

⁵⁵ Foulke, *A Random Record of Travel*, 102.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 103. Foulke was also entertained by Miliukov at his home in St. Petersburg. See Foulke to Paul Miliukov, June, 1917, Foulke Papers (Indiana State Library).

experiencing severe problems and that the new political system was still far from perfect. Liberal opponents of the tsarist regime, like Miliukov, lived in daily fear for their lives, and the acts of political terrorism that were reported every day in the press dismayed Foulke. Distrust, he observed, pervaded every aspect of Russian life and society, and the administrative tyrannies of the Russian government continued unabated. Arbitrary censorship was the rule. The judicial system was subject to many abuses. The tsar's powers—despite the political changes brought about by the Revolution of 1905—remained unimpaired, and the powers of the imperial Duma were slight. Moreover, political parties in that body were numerous and polarized between the political right and the political left, creating a situation that might lead to parliamentary inaction.⁵⁷

Despite these problems and the everyday violence and suffering that he observed and that he believed would exist for some time to come, Foulke concluded his journey with a conditional—but optimistic—outlook for Russia's future. Foulke had lent his support to Russian revolutionaries in the past because they had no legitimate means to effect change, and he had been able to understand the desperation that forced them to adopt extreme measures although he did not approve of their methods.⁵⁸ As a result of his experiences in the Russian Empire, he was convinced that the seeds of democracy had finally been planted on Russian soil and that the necessity for political violence would slowly diminish. Foulke was encouraged by the situation in Fin-

⁵⁷ Foulke, *A Random Record of Travel*, 103-104.

⁵⁸ See William Dudley Foulke, "Letter to the Editor of the [Richmond] Item," March 19, 1908, Foulke Papers (Indiana State Library). This letter, based on an address to the Chicago City Club entitled "On the Right of Free Speech," was prompted by the Chicago police's forcible removal of Emma Goldman from a lecture hall in the spring of 1908 before she had had the opportunity to speak. Foulke severely criticized the actions of the police and defended Goldman's right to address fellow citizens on any subject. "The principles of anarchy which she represents are held by us in supreme abhorrence. It seems ridiculous even to dream that orderly society can exist without organized government, and when it is proposed to overthrow such government by assassination, the crime we most detest, the proposal naturally arouses our execration." Then Foulke referred to his recent Russian trip and drew a lesson for Americans: "I could not refrain from contrasting these terrible alternatives with the happy condition of our own country, where men could speak and write and convince their fellow-citizens and finally secure relief by law. But the moment the police can say, 'this man or this woman shall not speak,' the government to that extent is actually Russianized. Then for the first time can the anarchist truly cry upon the heels of his assassinations, 'I had no other remedy.' Then for the first time the sympathy of really patriotic Americans will be accorded even to such as Emma Goldman, if her lips are closed by arbitrary power." See also Richard Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman* (Chicago, 1961), 122-23; and Alice Stone Blackwell to Foulke, March 30, 1908, Foulke Papers (Indiana State Library).

land where a degree of internal autonomy had been allowed the Finns and where a constitutional regime was in the process of being established, and the imperial Duma, despite its weaknesses, was providing Russians with political education and with training in political methods and legislative procedure.⁵⁹ Further, the Constitutional Democratic party, provided it could withstand the attacks of the left and the right, offered Russia a "real hope of reasonable reform." Foulke predicted: "Out of this ferment it seems to me one thing is sure—there will be a gain in Russian liberalism. The doubtful thing is, what amount of blood and suffering will be required in its production."⁶⁰

From the time that Foulke had begun writing on Russia in the 1880s he had expressed a belief in the ability of the press and public opinion abroad to promote the cause of freedom in that country. Although his direct involvement in Russian causes was sporadic, Foulke did not waver in his conviction that improving the level of public understanding and arousing public opinion about conditions in the empire ultimately served that end. By keeping hostile opinion trained on Russia through petitions, mass meetings, and condemnations of the tsarist regime in the press, Foulke—like many progressives—believed that concerned Americans could at the very least provide encouragement to those Russians who were committed to democratic principles. Foulke was aware enough of the complexities of Russian social and political conditions and of the difficulties in sustaining American interest in Russian issues to realize that the outcome of the momentous struggles that were occurring in Russia would, in the final analysis, be determined by Russians themselves. Nevertheless, it did appear in the decade following the Revolution of 1905 that there was slow, steady progress toward the establishment of a constitutional regime.

Peaceful progress toward that goal, however, was interrupted by the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The fighting imposed tremendous stresses and strains on Russian society, brought all the anarchistic forces in Russia to the fore, and ultimately produced the overthrow of the tsarist regime. The war revealed the fragility of Russia's political and economic system and the country's military ill-preparedness when it came to a protracted conflict. Popular disenchantment with the war and with the government that bore the responsibility for Russia's

⁵⁹ Foulke, *A Random Record of Travel*, 103-104.

⁶⁰ William Dudley Foulke, "The Russian Duma (Chapel Address at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, 1907)," Foulke's Scrapbooks, VIII, 80, 84.

inability to wage the war more effectively led, in March, 1917, to the first of two revolutions in that year. During the course of the March Revolution, Nicholas II was forced to abdicate; political power then devolved into the hands of a number of liberal Duma politicians organized into a Provisional Government. The political program enunciated by the new regime promised national elections to a Constituent Assembly that would determine Russia's political future.⁶¹

At the time of the March Revolution, Foulke was a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the League to Enforce Peace that had been established in the United States in 1915. Although taken by surprise by the swiftness of the March events, Foulke responded to them for two reasons. The revolution's goal was the establishment of free government in Russia—something for which he had been striving his entire life. Further, the revolution made it possible to transform the conflict in which the world was still involved into a democratic crusade. Ever since the outbreak of World War I the “unnatural alliance” of autocratic Russia and the western democracies had troubled Foulke.⁶² The overthrow of the tsarist system changed the struggle into a “great contest between democracy and military tyranny” and qualified Russia for membership in a League of Honor.⁶³

Disillusionment soon followed. A second revolution in November led eventually to the establishment of a communist regime in Russia. Foulke was outraged by this turn of events and later reflected that the “real Russian revolution for the purpose of acquiring a free government” had been perverted by “crazy Bolshevism.”⁶⁴ The November Revolution also changed the character of the Muscovite menace against which he had been writing since the 1880s, and in that section of his autobiography entitled “Retrospect” he reflected: “today the greatest danger in that quarter is from the propagation of the communist doctrines so suddenly adopted.”⁶⁵

After World War I Foulke gradually assumed a less active role in many of the organizations and causes that had preoccu-

⁶¹ Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1932* (New York, 1984), 34ff. The first prime minister in the Provisional Government was Prince George E. Lvov, and the foreign minister was Paul Miliukov.

⁶² See William Dudley Foulke, “Russia and Great Britain: Will a Second World War Follow the Present if the Allies are Successful?” (1915), Foulke's Scrapbooks, XIX, 149-50.

⁶³ Foulke to Miliukov, June, 1917, Foulke Papers (Indiana State Library).

⁶⁴ Foulke to Kennan, July 7, 1922, *ibid.*

⁶⁵ Foulke, *Hoosier Autobiography*, 221-22. See also William Dudley Foulke, “The Decline of Modern Civilization,” *Current History*, XVIII (August, 1923), 756.

pied him during the previous fifty years. He devoted himself primarily to writing, although, until ill health forced his complete retirement, he was a frequent speaker before Richmond civic and literary groups. In 1928 Earlham College, at its eighty-first commencement, recognized Foulke's life of service by conferring on him the honorary degree Doctor of Laws. In his commencement address Foulke elaborated upon the theme that had concluded his autobiography and that in a sense summed up his life. Entitled "The Golden Mean," it called attention to the advantages to be enjoyed from following a temperate course in life and to some of the disadvantages to be found in radical stands.

In his speech Foulke addressed himself to a number of concerns, but he primarily directed his remarks to politics where moderation, he felt, should be the rule. "The man who would upset the world and build it all anew and the man who would crystallize everything that now exists so that it should last forever are equally wrong." Revealing that his opinion of the regime that had come to power in Russia in November, 1917, had not changed, Foulke pointed to the Soviet government as the most conspicuous example of radicalism in the world. Russia had rejected the possibility of gradually reforming its old institutions in favor of a radical reorganization of society, which had produced a despotism worse than that it had replaced. "The government of the Czar was the most infamous in modern time, but instead of reform proceeding step by step, leading to the evolution of constitutional liberty as in England, the old institutions were destroyed at once and the new tyranny of the proletariat, with its hundreds of thousands of judicial murders for opinions sake, was worse than the despotism it supplanted."⁶⁶

In this, his last major public statement on conditions in Russia, Foulke intended to caution Americans against believing that their governmental institutions were permanently fixed or that they should be radically altered. Either course, he thought, was fraught with dire consequences and threatened liberty. The history of Russia revealed to him the perils of extremism and how precious—and fragile—were the freedoms that Americans enjoyed.

⁶⁶ Richmond *Palladium*, June 12, 1928, p. 11.