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ARTICLE VIII.

THE SLAVIC RACES AND PANSLAVISM.

BY REV. CYRUS HAMLIN, D.D., CONSTANTINOPLE.

- THE three great races that divide the European continent and largely control the course of human events have had a remarkably different history. The Latin race reached its acme of power and glory while the Germanic race was barbarian and the Slavic race was unknown. Brief references were made to it by the ancient Greek writers; but they contain little that is definite or satisfactory.

The Latin race was the law-giving race before its reception of Christianity. It had searched deeply into the foundations of justice in all the relations of social and civil life. To its stern and cruel nature Christianity added the sweet attributes of mercy and benevolence; but as a race it had become corrupt beyond redemption. Its blood was renewed by pagan peoples; but the spiritual principles of the gospel were so early paganized that its civilization has been unsteady, overshadowed by centuries of darkness, fitful and extravagant in its modern progress. It seems now to have lost that leadership of the human race of which it has so much boasted.

The German race came later into history; but its march has been steadier and firmer. Rough and strong, it was slow in acquiring the polish and grace of the Latin in literature, art, morals, and science; but its influence has become predominant upon them all. It has renovated the religion which the Latin race paganized. Its science and its military power are too well known to need remark. A recent French writer confesses that the German race has become "respectable and respected"! There is little material in a Frenchman's brain to receive such an impression,

and if made it never lasts. Perhaps Sedan and subsequent events, rapidly following like lightning strokes, have burned it in.

Napoleon III. hoped to restore the confessedly lost "equilibrium of the Latin race" by the Mexican empire of Maximilian, and then by the Franco-Prussian war. The results of these measures only proved to the world that the German race, including the Anglo-Saxon, is the present leader of Europe. Its pre-eminence in arts, arms, science, and philosophy will hardly be questioned, unless by Frenchmen. It has an expansive power possessed by no other race. The nations it has planted, the power of assimilating other races to itself and its institutions, indicate a power and law of growth not possessed in the same eminent degree by any other European race. It is not simply the mother of children, but the mother of nations. Its strength is its own. It comes from within itself as a race. The so-called Latin nations are such by virtue of the Latin religion rather than by blood. France numbers herself with them as "the eldest son of the church." But no force can unify France, Italy, and Spain. The Germanic nations in Europe easily coalesce so as to form a great empire. German unity has been the watchword; and German power on the continent has been the result.

The Slavic race differs widely both from the Latin and the German. It is more religious, but less progressive. It submits to despotic government, and loves it, and has no aspirations after freedom. This race appeared in Europe in the sixth century, but without any decisive influence upon the course of events. Being safe from foreign attack by inhabiting the inaccessible regions of Russia, its natural increase has been great. "The Panslavic Benevolent Society of St. Petersburg" estimates the total number of Slavs in Europe at 90,365,633. But this great race is very far from being the unit which Russia wishes to make it. It has great tribal distinctions of a peculiar character, obscure in their origin, but often a source of vehement jealousies and op-

positions. The Pan Slavic Society — which originated in Austria, in an effort to awaken and purify the Slavic literature and dialects — has been made by Russia a mere political engine, to which she has added the term “benevolent.” These tribal differences are worthy of notice, as they reveal, if not one of the weaknesses, one of the annoyances of the great empire. The Pan Slavic Benevolent Society of St. Petersburg has simplified some things that were confusing. In its Ethnographical Chart it gives the following numbers and nomenclature, differing in many points from previous authorities: Russians and Ruthenians, 66,129,590; Serbo-Croats, 5,940,539; Slovenes, 1,287,000; Slovaks, 2,223,830; Czechs, 4,815,154; Poles, 9,492,162. These numbers do not make the grand total above by almost half a million; possibly in consequence of some typographical error. In all respects they differ from previous numerous, but are probably nearer the truth. The names are simplified, but with a suspicious political bearing. The 66,000,890 designated as Russian and Ruthenian have been divided as, Great Russians, 35,000,000; Little Russians, 15,000,000; White Russians, 2,000,000 to 3,000,000; Bulgarians, 5,500,000; amounting to only 58,000,000. These five and a half millions of Bulgarians are of priceless value in the eyes of Russia. They are Turkish subjects dwelling in European Turkey. They are her chief channel of entrance into Turkish politics. She claims them as her brethren by race and religion, and she feels all their sufferings as her own.

The Bulgarians have been regarded by most writers as a Turanian race, — of the same blood and race with the Turks. The Pan Slavic Benevolent Society does not even allow them a tribal distinction from the “Great Russians.” A glance at their *physique* is sufficient to prove the society too benevolent in this regard. It has hitherto signally failed in *Russianizing* the Bulgarians, and it now tries to prove them already pure Russians by blood. Those who look to the physical aspect of the people alone would never doubt their Turanian origin. They are neither Russians nor Ruthenians;

but, on the other hand, they can hardly be Turanian. Their language is a pure Slavonic dialect. It is difficult to believe that so powerful a tribe, maintaining its unity, should ever so completely lose its mother tongue as to adopt another totally different, and leave no indications of the change. But the Bulgarians, if not of Tartar origin, are certainly a distinct tribe of Slavs.

The Servians and Croatians have always been regarded as separate tribes of the Slavic race. The Bosnians and Herzegovinans and Montenegrins belong to them. About half their number reside in Turkey, and half in Austria. The Poles are about half in Russia, the other half divided between Austria and Prussia. The Czechs are the Bohemians and Moravians of Austria; they constitute the most progressive and enlightened portion of the Slavic race. They furnished reformers — John Huss and Jerome of Prague — before the reformation. The evangelistic movement was arrested by a bloody arm, but the Slavs of Bohemia have always showed a tendency to liberalize Romanism, and the Protestant element from that people has been a very noble one.

The Croatians, especially as found in Herzegovina and Montenegrin, are the fiercest of all the Slavic tribes. It makes but little difference of what religion they are, — Catholic, Greek, or Mohammedan, — they have shown no desire for a milder and better civilization. Some recent attempts at schools in Montenegrin are the only exception. These regions have always been the hot-bed of revolt; and Russia finds ready and fit instruments for disturbing the quiet of the indolent man on the Bosphorus. Why the Panslavic Benevolent Society of St. Petersburg should have put the two tribes together under the term Serbo-Croats, it is difficult to see. If a compliment to the Croatians, it is hardly so to the Servians.

If the above were all the differences that sunder the Slavic race, the unification of it would not be so obviously impossible. With more culture the dialects might melt into one common language, and tribal animosities and jealousies might pass

away under the powerful leadership of Russia. But the mightier force of religion stands in the way. This great race has been *religionized* from four different sources—Rome, Constantinople, Geneva, and Mecca. Two of them are of minor consequence, politically considered. There are one and a half millions of Protestant Slavs in Hungary, a small body of Moravians in Germany, and about nine hundred thousand Mohammedan Slavs in Northern Turkey. These are in Bosnia and Servia, and the Pan Slavic Society calls them Serbo-Croats. There are, besides these, as many more Slavic converts to Islam scattered over European Turkey, intermingled with the Osmanlis Turks. The designation of nine hundred thousand Mohammedan Slavs in the Ethnographical Chart of the Society is simply absurd, unless confined strictly to Servia and Bosnia, and even then it would fall below the popular impression. Nineteen and a half millions are the estimated followers of the papal faith. There are six millions, or as the Pan Slavic Benevolent Society says 6,221,556, of schismatics and uniates in Russia. They have patiently borne the severest persecution for centuries; but even Russian absolutism has not been able to wear them out. They are known by different names, indicating different sects as, Rasskolnics, Mennonites, Molokans. The policy of extermination has sometimes raged against them, but as they have always been quiet and peaceable citizens, industrious, and frugal, the persecution has been of late years relaxed. A few have succeeded in escaping into Turkey, where they enjoy religious liberty, and a few have emigrated to America. The existence of these sects is a signal example of the power of religious convictions against imperial force.

Those portions of the Slavic tribes that are papal or protestant use the Latin alphabet, the rest the Cyrillic. About 21,000,000 the former, and 69,000,000 the latter; the Pan Slavic Society says 69,346,671. Each alphabet abhors the other, and will not allow that it is fit to be read. The alphabets indicate the two different sources from which the Slavic tribes were christianized—Rome and Constanti-

nople. The Greek monks, Cyril and Methodius, are honored as the great missionaries to the Slavs in the ninth century. They gave them an alphabet, which is, for the most part, a modification of the Greek capitals, with additions to their number, and it bears the name of its author, Cyril. These religious differences are the great obstacles to Pan Slavism. More than twenty-eight of the ninety millions firmly reject the Russian church. Persecutions, violent and relentless, the advantages offered to proselytes, the progress of the age, the revolutions of centuries, all are powerless to unite these masses that have fallen off from the great body, or have never been united to it.

It may be said that the Germanic spirit moulded the German communities into one, without regard to religious faith. The Roman Catholic was, in a measure, faithful to fatherland, as against the French. Why then should not Pan Slavism, in like manner, mould all the Slavonic peoples into the Russian policy, and animate them with its spirit?

The following considerations may throw light upon this question :

The civil and religious organization of the government is not such as to inspire confidence in dissidents from its faith. The emperor can not only say, "l'état c'est moi," but also, "l'église c'est moi." He is equally the head of church and state. For a long time the Russian church was organized under a patriarch in nominal subjection to Constantinople. Peter the Great abolished the patriarchate, and in 1721 established the holy synod, the president of which is the minister of public instruction. Synod and president are alike the creatures of his will. The church is a branch of the imperial government. This is a far more effective union of church and state than the papacy has ever realized. The civil power is fully competent to support the largest claims of the spiritual power, and has never to wait for the support of princes to carry out its designs. Its power and authority, temporal and spiritual, are all within itself. The emperor crowns himself and communes himself, as being

both sovereign and high-priest. A government which is such a perfect union of spiritual and temporal despotism, can never have the confidence of dissident sects. Where there is no freedom there can be no enthusiastic loyalty among the oppressed sectaries. The catechism, which is taught to every peasant and every peasant child, consecrates, from childhood up, the idea of the temporal and spiritual headship of the emperor. It is a chief article of religion in the minds of the masses. It is absolute subjection to one human will. This makes every Russian look upon republicanism with abhorrence and contempt. He regards it as atheistical and absurd. Russia professes, for political reasons, great friendship for us, and her officials make sport of the ease with which we are cajoled and deceived.

Again, the *administration* of the church is such that the Panslavic Society and the doctrines of Panslavism will be inoperative outside of the church. An absolute spiritual despotism reigns over all ecclesiastical affairs. The government professes to tolerate all sects ; but so severe has been its pressure to force Protestants and Catholics into the Russian church, in violation of solemn pledges, that the Evangelical Alliance sent a large and influential deputation in 1873 to remonstrate. No one outside of the church is allowed to preach the gospel even to Mohammedans. The liberty which has penetrated all papal lands has found no foothold in Russia. The Protestant missionary cannot even enter the land as a traveller, except to pass through it by some designated route ; and should he vary from it the police will force him back. The extreme severity with which the people are guarded from all evangelistic efforts has no parallel in modern times. Russia trusts wholly to the unification of force, and she can have only so much as that secures. The Polish officers who are driven to the communion by the bayonet do not therefore love the church.

The Panslavic Benevolent Society of St. Petersburg hopes to influence all the Slavs of Turkey to become ready and efficient instruments of Russian ambition on the Bos-

phorus. With the Mohammedan portion it can do nothing. With the Croatians of Herzegovina, political intrigue has been successful. With the Bulgarians, the largest and most highly prized Slavic fragment of the great race, there has been positive success in certain directions. There has been a great awakening of national life. There is among them a very earnest desire for education. They have broken loose from the government of the Greek church in direct opposition to the wishes of Russia. The general freedom of the press and of education in Turkey, and the aid of existing schools and colleges, have contributed to an unexampled progress, but not wholly under Russian guidance. She is distrusted, and cannot mould this Bulgarian fragment of the race to her will, although she now proclaims a perfect brotherhood with it. While she has formed a party she cannot lead the whole people. The most influential and intelligent portion would prefer autonomy with Turkey as suzerain, to the all absorbing and despotic power of Russia. Pan Slavism goes with the Bulgarians but part way, and stops short of the designs of Russia. Her crushing despotism bars its way.

Between the Slavic and the Islamic despotisms in Russia and Turkey there is a difference little understood. In the former, the government officials are generally educated men; in the latter, uneducated. The universities of Russia are sufficient to furnish officers for the army and navy, and for the civil service. The departments of law and medicine are well filled. In Turkey there is a theory of education, but little of practice. The "ulema," the elite, attain that dignity through a system of education, *Koranic*, and wholly unfitted to modern times, or to any times. And even this system is disregarded, and a more ignorant set of men never governed an empire than have governed Turkey since the death of Aali and Fuad Pachas.

The Russian emperor has an executive force, and can make his power felt at points the most remote. The Turkish emperor is weak, and his distant ministers defy or evade his orders. He is surrounded by deception, and really knows

little of his own situation with respect to affairs internal or foreign. Under a government so weak and inefficient industries suffer, and official oppression is generally unrebuked. But, on the other hand, the Turkish emperor leaves to the towns and villages, and to the different sects in religion, a degree of freedom in self-government, in education, and in religion, which has raised the Turkish peasantry far above the Russian. According to the most reliable statistics that can be obtained of the two countries, the proportion of readers in Turkey is double that of Russia. Both countries after the Crimean war liberated their serfs. The Bulgarian serfs in Turkey have risen in civilization and intelligence with unexampled rapidity, while the liberated serfs of Russia remain in the most deplorable barbarism and misery. The one despotism allows freedom of action in certain things of priceless value to man; the other does not allow it.

Commerce and the arts would doubtless flourish under the severe and regular administration of Russia; freedom of thought, intelligence, and religion under Turkish rule. Under the former the missionary work is possible, and in point of fact is progressive; under the latter it is impossible. No missionary foot ever desecrates the "holy soil of Russia." While some scores of Moslems have been baptized in Turkey, and are living there unmolested, no convert from the Russian church has been allowed to profess any evangelic faith, nor is even a Mohammedan or pagan permitted to adopt any form of Christianity but the Russian, with all its picture and saint worship, its auricular confession, priestly absolution, and transubstantiation, with their logical train of errors.

"The Eastern Question," then, involves not simply the predominance of an ambitious power over the civilized world, but the domination of a spiritual anti-christian despotism over all freedom of thought, over the press, education, and all religious development so far as its influence can reach. It involves the advent of a new papacy, with an army and navy fully competent to make its will obeyed in both

Christian and pagan lands. When it shall possess not only the Black Sea, but the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles, and by consequence the Mediterranean, who shall then limit its power? Is this advent consistent with the interests of the civilized world?

ARTICLE IX.

DR. P. ASMUS ON INDO-GERMANIC NATURAL RELIGION.¹

BY PROF. M. BESSER, KLOSTER U. L. F., MAGDEBURG.

WHO will not hail with joy a promise of light and order amid the chaos of special investigations on the field of Indo-Germanic religions? Order; for it is evident, from the very title, that the author means to consider the whole subject from one point of view. He uses the singular — "The Indo-Germanic Religion," not "Religions." Light; for the additional title, "A Contribution to the Philosophy of Religion," shows that the author has a philosophical intention in this treatment of a part of the history of religion. How far this is an advantage would appear from a consideration of the principles involved in the philosophical parts of the book, especially of the Introduction. This latter is in two parts — one discussing the Theory of Apprehension, and one the Philosophy of Religion. But a consideration of this kind we must postpone till the second and final part of the work appears; for the author cannot give his decision on the questions on the philosophy of religion until he reaches that part of the work. For it is promised that the second part shall treat of the Absolute Deity, investigating the mode in which he appears as such in the different religions. Further, it will treat of the spiritualization of the Indo-Germanic natural religion; and finally, of the relation of this religion to Christianity.

Of the Introduction we will say here only that the author seeks a basis for investigations in the philosophy of religion by a refutation of the philosophy and theology which assert that God cannot be known. He holds firmly, with Hegel, that thought can penetrate the Absolute — that the Absolute is comprehensible by us. Reviewer thinks there should be in the Introduction a discussion and definition of the conception "religion," and also that there should be established some standard by which the

¹ P. Asmus, Dr., Privatdocent der Philosophie a. d. Universität zu Halle. 1 Band: Indogermanische Naturreligion. Halle: Verlag von Pfeffer. gr. 8. S. 237. 1875.