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A View of the

RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY OF RUSSIA During the Nineteenth Century

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The time has been ripe these five years for a discerning analysis of the future of Russia, but it had not been a time when the majority of the readers, even the fair minded and cultured, were ready to see the situation in terms of its eternal and cardinal determinants. To-day the public is ready. Its artificially nourished hatreds and fears of the new grotesque dance of the Russian Bear are vanishing rapidly for want of the prepared food of propaganda; and at the end of a prolonged course of intensive "education" concerning Russia we are as ignorant as we were at the outbreak of the March revolution, except for the slowly dawning consciousness of that ignorance. The time to unswathe the enigma from the rags of misinformation is here, and the process is going on in a variety of ways.

In this humble attempt to contribute to the process I choose what is the most telling method, that of going to the enigma directly, disregarding its clothes. The future of Russia will be determined largely by the character of its people, by the dominant ideas this character gives birth to. Of these the most significant is the essential and vital religiosity of the people. I am quite aware, as is the reader, that opposing opinions have been advanced in regard to the reality of the deeply seated love of God and pity of all his creatures in the Russian people. What is more significant, however—and this is a fact that goes unnoticed alike to many sins of omission—is that in this discussion the people never consulted are the thinkers, who are more representatively Russian than either the comatose mass or the intellectual disciples of Western philosophic and political thought.

I mean to go to these people, and think their thoughts after them: I mean to discover what is in the mind of the Russian when he speaks as a Russian, free from the submissive dependence upon the thought of the West. Russia since the time of Peter the Great to the present day has been borrowing from Germany and from France; and because the richness of the accumulated thought of centuries supplied the Russian student much food, Russia has failed to express herself, except through its literature. In philosophy there are Kantians and neo-Kantians; Hegelians and neo-Hegelians; positivists and neo-positivists. In theology the dogmatic reverence for traditions of the past allowed very little consistent and critical thinking; the representative works, such as that of Makarius and of Bishop Silvester, are but recapitulations of the teachings of the Eastern church fathers, of Johannes of Damascus particularly. Read these, and you will search in vain for the soul of the Russian thinker, though you will find erudition and critical faculties which are usually denied of him. But there is a group of writers, whose prototype is Yakov Chaadayev and whose peer is Soloviov, who have tried consistently to express their souls in their philosophy; and the study of these men strengthens the belief in the religious idealism of the Russian and shatters the empty arguments of the opposition beyond all patching.

This group of thinkers, superficially known as Slavophils (though Chaadayev is usually excluded from this category), is large; but for our purposes it is sufficient to deal with only four men: Chaadayev, Kireyevski, Khomiakov, and Soloviov. These are sufficient because each one has developed largely one of the basic ideas of the school, while elaborating the ideas he found. The four ideas are: 1, the immanent religious basis of the historic process; 2, the idea of the self as an integral spirit; 3, the idea of the church; 4, the idea of the human-divine process. In Soloviov, the last man chronologically, each one of these ideas finds its flowering and is synthesized with the others. The influence of Soloviov upon the future of Russia is potent with spiritual possibilities greater than the possibilities of the combined politico-philosophical ideas of all political and economic parties taken together.

The order in which the cardinal ideas of Slavophil thought are here discussed is logical rather than chronological, though an attempt is made to separate the contributions of each of the four men.

MAN AS INTEGRAL SPIRIT

All the principal ideas of the school are rooted in a conception of man and of his relation to God; these determine the flow of history and the nature of the church. The consideration of the idea of man as "integral spirit." is logically the starting point of the discussion.

According to Kireyevsky, the human spirit consists of a spiritual kernel and a variety of functional tendencies. In the childhood of the race man was a real unity because these tendencies had not been differentiated. In the process of human development the original integration was lost as man in the search for truth and of the means of satisfaction of his physical needs allowed now one, now another of these functional tendencies to develop out of proportion to its relative worth. The results of this disintegration Kireyevsky believed to be evident in the sterile rationalism and vicious materialism of the West; in the moral degradation and spiritual degeneration of Europe; in the degrading economic and industrial order, and the brutal reaction against it. His estimate of Europe may have been a little too pessimistic in his day; it is strikingly close to the truth of things to-day.

If humanity is to be saved, a new integration of the individual must take place. The true integrating tendency is the one which apprehends and subordinates the life of man to the spiritual kernel of it, for this kernel embraces the total personality of the individual and is the only reality. The cognitive tendency which apprehends the divine reality in man is faith. Faith, in Kireyevsky's terminology, is not belief; nor is it belief justified by reason. It is the mystic epistomological faculty of the spirit; and it functions only when all the other faculties, that is, when man as a whole, give it the right of way.

"While thought remains clear to the mind and is capable of verbal expression, it remains powerless to influence the soul and will. Only when it reaches the state of inexpressibleness does it come to maturity."²

¹Ivan Kireyevsky, Sobraniye sochineny, vol. ii, p. 27. ²Gershenzon, I. Kirsyevsky; in Vestnik Evropi, St. Petersburg, 1908, vol. 252, p. 615; toq I. K, Sobraniye sochineny, p. 628

When faith has so united the individual spirit with its source, which is God, the soul proceeds rapidly to complete harmony with the universe, which is its ultimate end.

This bare outline of a rich and fruitful idea takes on meaning and content in the thought of Vladimir Sergeyevich Soloviov. In Soloviov's philosophy it is rooted in the conception of God as the synthetic unity of the totality of spiritual selves, a notion which he makes not incompatible with the theistic idea. While the theogonic process in his philosophy is complex and faulty, it is also unessential to this discussion; it does, however, reveal the nature of man as a spirit possessed of a deep-seated and irradicable hunger to embrace within itself the totality of the universe.

On the basis of this spiritual conception of man Soloviov constructs a monadological metaphysics. Briefly, the ontological ground of the phenomenal universe is the multiplicity of interacting beings each of which realizes its idea, or its essence. This essence is determined qualitatively, but not quantitatively. The character of each self determines the interpretation it places upon the values it acquires in the process of interaction. This constitutes its qualitative determination. As for the quantitative determination of this process, the self may go on as long as there is anything in the universe which is still unappropriated by it.

Soloviov writes: "The interaction of the ontological beings or monads presupposes in them qualitative differences; the action of one monad upon the other is determined by its tendency toward the other and consists in that tendency; the basis of the tendency lies in the fact that the other ontological being represents something which is qualitatively different from the former, represents something which will give the former a new content which it does not possess; will complete its being." The self is therefore an absorber and assimilator of values. It is its nature to absorb all truth, all goodness, all beauty in the universe. This tendency expresses itself in two ways, one productive of evil and suffering, another of happiness and perfection. When the spiritually blind man attempts to absorb values by the process of subordination of other selves to his will, he fails because the process is not one of absorption in the ordinary sense. It is a process of a mutual creative effort which is possible only when it is free and, therefore, harmonious. The recognition of the spiritual values of other men stimulates the free co-creative effort, with the result that the self loses nothing in its giving, and cannot fail to receive.

What can be the limitation of this process of co-creation of values? On one side is man. On the other is the totality of all other selves in the universe and God. The limits are determined obviously by the capacities of God himself, by the limitless capacities of the Absolute. Man is therefore potentially limitless. Soloviov writes: "In the human form the being is ideally (that is, potentially) the All to the extent in which it can include the All in its consciousness; to the extent to which the All has for it a real and positive though ideal (that is, potential) being."

³ V. S. Soloviov, Sobraniye sochineny, vol. iii, p. 54.

Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 319. Essentially the same idea is expressed in vol. viii, p. 175.

As such man is called by Soloviov "The Second Absolute." The infinity of his possible growth and development places him in the same category with the Absolute except that for the time being he is not Absolute Being, but Absolute Becoming; also, he will never be Absolute Being except as his will is in perfect agreement, freely entered into, with the will of God.

What ennobles and commands the idea of the Second Absolute is the insistence that the act of becoming is a voluntary act, and the achievement an achievement of an active and free will. Notions similar to that of Soloviov's Second Absolute are discoverable in many pantheistic systems of philosophy and religion. But in these the achievement of absoluteness is an act of resignation of the world on one hand and the disappearance of the distinctive personality of the self on the other. We do not desire the achievement accompanied by self-annihilation. In fact such a desire would be a contradiction in terms. To Soloviov such a conception is obnoxious. The union with God, the complete self-realization of man, is an eternal act of the harmonious activity of two wills. This activity is necessarily free and completely conscious both on the part of God and man. At the basis of the thought of all the Slavophils lies this exalted and compelling view of the spiritual nature of man, and of the long road to perfection which may be marked by a Golgotha, but is crowned by the sonship with God. The importance of Christ is not so much in this or that moment of his life, not even in Calvary, but in the achievement in the human form of this perfection in the relations with God which made him as Absolute as God is.

The conception of the integrality of the human spirit does not merely emphasize the rights of the individual and the rights of the social self. It unites these in a synthesis which makes each step in the direction of the realization of the self a step of positive social value. In this society God is a member, as well as inorganic matter. This conception so broadens the field of ethical activity that it seems to demand a reconstruction in the field of ethical thinking. An attempt at such a reconstruction is made by Soloviov in the book called The Justification of the Good. This is the only purely philosophic work of Soloviov which the West knows, and, I believe, misinterprets. Some scholars, with Professor Mazaryk, believe that Soloviov attempted to base all moral action ultimately in the feeling of shame. Others emphasize the feeling of pity as the essence of morality. While it is true that some portions of the Justification lend themselves to either of the two interpretations, the work judged as a whole demands that we recognize at the basis of all morality the Godward impulse, which is expressed in the feeling of reverence and the exercise of piety.

Since the cause and the effect of a moral action are so closely allied as to influence both the actor and the sufferer of the action, Soloviov argues, it is necessary to find such principles of activity as will consider both the relative and absolute worth of the object of our activity. The total object, the universe inclusive of God, may be divided from the point of view of the worth of man, who is the actor, into three spheres: a, the sphere of beings alike to the actor, that is, the society of men; b, the

⁶ V. S. Soloviov, Sobraniye sochineny, vol. viii, p. 323.

⁶This book is translated into English by Natalie Doddington, published by the Clarendon Press.

sphere of being which is above man, that is, God; c, the sphere of being which is below man, that is, physical nature inclusive of man considered physically. The three moral feelings which dominate moral activity in each of these spheres respectively are pity, reverence, and shame. But the operation of these is dependent upon a deeper lying spiritual recognition of the reality of an ideal order in which all beings are in perfect communion with God.

Shame controls moral activity in the sphere of materiality because the overemphasis of the demands of the physical world is liable to blind us to the demands of the spirit, or to hinder us from the realization of these demands. The moral feeling of pity is not compassion with trivial pains and sufferings of man. Its essence lies in the virtual recognition by the one who experiences the feeling of the spiritual worth of the sufferer. The sufferer is ideally a Second Absolute, a perfect spirit; in reality he so debases himself as to create a seemingly unbridgeable chasm between his ideal state and his actuality. It is the recognition of this chasm, of this separation of man from God, which is responsible for the feeling of pity morally considered. The moral treatment of man is of such a character that will spur him on to the achievement of his ideality, or, at the very least, will not place obstacles in the way of the achievement. The feeling of reverence is based on the recognition of the superior and ultimate worth of God, and causes consequently the pious activity which consists in the free agreement with the will of God, and results in the complete perfection of man.8

Throughout the moral activity of man shame is present in the form of conscience. To this extent Professor Mazaryk is right. Throughout, the feeling of pity as sorrow for the incompleteness of the perfection which is possible to man is present. To this extent De Voguë is right. But throughout, that which motivates the activity of the feelings of shame and pity is the limited or complete recognition that the totality of values lies in God, and the completeness of perfection in the permeation of all our thought and actions and feelings by the feeling of reverence toward the Deity. It is for this reason that all the partial moral maxims strewn through the pages of the book are fulfilled and swallowed up in what Soloviov considers to be the highest command of religion as well as the absolute principle of morality: "In perfect harmony with the highest will, recognizing the value and the significance of all others to the degree in which they bear the image and the likeness of God, participate as actively as possible in the task of thine own perfection as well as that of all others, to the end that the kingdom of God may be realized on earth."9

Such, then, is the conception of the spiritual personality of man and of the moral ideas and feelings in him which are to lead him to perfection. This is the conception which is the very life-blood of all the moral teachings of this group of Russian thinkers, who, having set out on the voyage of discovery of the true way of life which the West has failed to supply, have discovered not merely their own souls, but the innermost soul of the

⁷ Soloviov, V. S., Opravdaniye dobra; in the Coll. Works, vol. viii, ch. iii.

⁸ Ibid., ch. iv. Both references are to part i of the book.

⁹ Soloviov, v, op. cit., vol. viii, pp. 204, italics in text.

Russian people. This is the force, we hope and must believe, which, latent in the spirit of the people, will one day take, and is already taking, possession of the course of Russian life, and will lead it to a religious and moral perfection in which alone lies the safety and happiness of mankind.

The Slavophil conception of the self colors all the other ideas of the school, including those which were developed before Kireyevsky first suggested the idea of the integral spirit. We must not be surprised to find it at the basis of the idea of the immanent religious principle of historic progress.

THE IMMANENT RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLE OF THE HISTORIC PROGRESS

The ideas of progress and process must be clearly distinguished in the thought of the religious school of Russian thinkers. They are in a sense the same, for the concepts of progress and process both imply a movement toward a goal. It would be perhaps not altogether true to say that while progress is a movement which achieves, process is one in which the end may be nothing more than a desideratum. The important distinction is that the end of the process may be the achievement of something even less desirable than the point of departure; while progress inevitably leaves us at a higher peak in the climb toward perfection.

The religious character of the historical process is an idea contributed to the thought of the school by its earliest representative. Peter Chaadayev (1794-1856) conceives society as progressing, "moving upward," to the extent to which it sees and accepts the truth of Christianity; to the extent to which the spirit of God dwells in the soul of the people. When the religious principle is absent progress is impossible. Man never reaches heaven either "par l'effet de son sublime nature" or "par la chemin de la patrie." The road upward is the road of God, the road of truth.²⁰

It is altogether insignificant that the road of God and the road of Rome seemed identical to Chaadayev; just as the road of God and the road of the Eastern Church seemed identical to Kireyevsky. The identification is due to the belief that these churches, respectively, cherished the ideal of progress with the aid of God; it is the ideal of a religiohistoric process which is significant. Nevertheless the conscious grounding of the progress of mankind in the conception of the spiritual integrality of the individual forced of necessity a departure from the church ideas of both Chaadayev and Kireyevsky. The progress of society toward perfection still proceeds under the guardianship of the church for Alexey Khomiakov (1804-1860), but it is for him neither the church of the West nor the church of the East. It is the church within the churches, where the religion of spiritual freedom reigns in the place of religion of law. Soloviov, while agreeing in essence with Khomiakov, has too great a faith in the organizations of Christianity to relegate them to the position of outward cores of the real spiritual guide of mankind. He attempts a synthesis of the two.

¹⁰ Chaadayev, P.Ya., Sochineniya i pisma, vol. i, p. 220. Chaadayev, like many other Russians of the nobility, preferred the French to the Russian language. It was also used for purposes of avoiding the censorship; books were often printed abroad and later translated into Russian.

We shall return to these conceptions of the church. For the present the principle of religious development of society is the important idea. This religious principle is the Christian idea of love, unadulterated love, and not charity; love of man in no way distinct from the love man bears to his immediate family. If humanity, claims Khomiakov, has not been progressing, it is because "sages and examiners of the Law of the Lord and the preachers of his teaching spoke often concerning the law, but no one spoke concerning the power of love; the nations have had the preaching of love as an obligation, but they had forgotten it as a divine gift which assures men the cognition of the absolute truth."

The revelation of the great love of God and the cognition of the absolute truth come to mankind in one and the same moment of history, in the person and the life of Jesus of Nazareth. There is in this historical occurrence not only the revelation of the infinite love of God for man, but the complete revelation of Deity; not only the complete free love of man for God, but the road to the achievement of complete truth in the life of man. Therefore, there is in this movement a break in the very nature of the cosmic and historic process due to a change from a painful semi-conscious seeking to a conscious knowledge and acceptance of the Way, of the Truth, of the Life. This break divides the historic process into its two parts: the strictly historical and the divine-human.

THE DIVINE-HUMAN PROCESS

The idea of the divine-human process is wholly a development of Soloviov. It is the man's beloved idea; it is the real synthesis of his thinking.

Prior to the coming of Christ there was in the soul of every man a brooding for God, for limitlessness, and therefore for the All. In the name of this craving man sacrificed and committed crimes, loved and hated, killed and befriended. In the name of this craving he sought his God in the woods and the fields; he thought to find him in the sunlight and in the darkness of impenetrable night. And the brooding continued. He found his God in the forefathers and he discovered him abiding in animals; he relegated his God to the high heavens; he found him in the deep recesses of the under world. And the brooding continued. Then, in despair, he admitted his failure and built his altar to the only God he knew—the Unknown God. But the great silent brooding continued unabated. And so this reaching out, this brooding must continue until the true reality of the Deity is revealed in Jesus.

What had occurred in the great moment? What is the importance of the life of Christ? Is it that our sins have been forgiven? Or that we were "washed whiter than snow"? Perhaps so. The more significant fact is that from now on the blind reaching out, the heart-breaking brooding need no longer go on. Man need no longer struggle hopelessly in the attempt to find God, in his desire to enrich his life with the beauty and the wonder of the universe. The cross on Calvary is not a monument; it is a guidepost set up by one who had traveled the trail. It indicates the way toward complete perfection; and however difficult this way may

¹¹ Khomiakov, A. S., Sobrancye Sochineney, vol. ii, p. 108.

be in the actual accomplishment, its greater values are its simplicity and its certainty of achievement.

The way is simple. What in essence did Jesus do? He subordinated his reason and the demands of his body, his "rational and material essences," to his spiritual essence. The act of subordination was free, a result of the recognition of the priority of the spiritual principle in man. As a principle it is indeed simple: it requires the subordination of all the faculties of man to that spiritual quality in his character in which he is one with God; but it requires also that subordination be a free subordination of man to his spiritual self as "to the good, and not as to the powerful." ¹²²

The achievement of the ideal unity is certain if the way is accepted. It is true that the process leading to the achievement is difficult, for in it is involved man with all his temporal imperfections and limitations. In it is involved also God with all his perfection and freedom from limitations. This last factor makes the process as certain as the former makes it difficult and slow. Because the truth of Christ is the truth of God it cannot fail to prevail ultimately; and the divine-human whole, the body of Christ, the true church, will one day include within itself the whole of mankind.

THE IDEA OF THE CHURCH

Where is the kernel of that ultimate church to-day? That is the obvious question. It is characteristic of this group of thinkers that they throughout identify the movement to perfection with the church. But through the century the concept of the church varies significantly; from Chaadayev and Kireyevsky to Khomiakov, from Khomiakov to Soloviov.

As it had been mentioned above, Chaadayev regarded the Roman Catholic Church as the true church. The explanation of this belief is not difficult. What appealed to Chaadayev, who was keenly trying to verify his theory of the religious character of history, was the fact of the militant policy of the church; its actual connection with the historical changes.

For Kireyevsky also there is only one true church—the Eastern Church. The rationalistic tendency of the West has destroyed the unity of faith there. Reason having been enthroned, it had declared its authority over faith. The result is the development of a Protestantism, which is to Kireyevsky a sort of negative Christianity, a formal Catholicism and an atheistic rationalism. The Eastern Church, on the other hand, has been guarding its faith and its traditions, and has preserved them zealously in their erstwhile purity. If, then, salvation is to come by way of the church, the bearer of salvation is the Eastern Church.

It is obvious that the position of both men is narrowly, provincially dogmatic. Chaadayev overlooks that the militant activity of the church of Rome forced that church to part with the councils of God on more than one occasion. Kireyevsky overlooks the abuses, the sterility, the lifelessness of the church of Byzantium. One cannot be certain that Khomiakov was aware of the inadequacy of the individual churches because he saw the abuses. He did recognize that, in principle, no church

¹² Khomiakov, op. cit., vol. i, p. 178.

organization may boast to be the true church, the body of Christ; especially no church which in any way availed itself of force and constraint. The characteristic that distinguishes the religion of Christ from all other religions, with the possible exception of Judaism, is that it is a religion of freedom, and not one of compulsion. If, therefore, there is a church unity anywhere it is necessary to examine whether it is a unity freely entered into; for "in the affairs of faith a forced unity is a falsehood and a forced obedience is death."13 This "death" reigns supreme in the organized churches of the East and of the West, and the true church is therefore not coincident with any church organization. Its membership includes people of all churches, but those only who have freely entered into "the unity of Christ which saves all creatures," as well as the angels and the saints. It is a society of beings who, in the sense of their participation in the group, are out of limitations of time and space. "The bond is the bond of love of a God who is love; this bond is responsible for the free inner harmony attained by its members."14

The church is the source of absolute truth, not in the sense of being authoritative in all matters. "The church is not authoritative, just as God is not authoritative, as Christ is not authoritative; for every authority is external to us."15 For the men who have entered the church the church is itself the living spiritual representation of the truth; and its authority lies in its character.

Soloviov is in essential agreement with Khomiakov; but the agreement is not complete. He rises in defense of church organizations as true elements in the body of Christ. The presence of the spirit of God in the church, even though only a small number of the congregation are in complete accord with that spirit, is a sufficient safeguard for its essential righteousness and holiness. It is therefore unnecessary to separate the existing church organizations from the church invisible. The church organizations are members of the body of Christ because of the divine element which enters into the life, and is the foundation of the life of the church; it is impossible for limited and sinful mankind to pollute in any way what is hallowed by the Spirit of God.

Thus Soloviov achieves the synthesis of the conception of the holiness of church organization and of the church invisible. But church organizations are many; if as human organizations they have strayed from the complete truth, the holiness of the Spirit of God preserved their real value. Hence Soloviov does not speak concerning the form or organization of the church. He always speaks of forms. 10 All churches are ultimately members in the body of Christ: Roman Catholic, Greek-Catholic, Protestant. Neither of these churches expresses the truth of Christ completely because of the failure to emphasize all aspects and meanings of Christ. Roman Church emphasizes particularly the meaning of Christ as King; the Eastern Church regards him largely as a priest; the Protestant Church scresses his meaning as a prophet. Christ was the complete and perfect embodiment of the three; and the first step in the achievement of perfect

¹³ Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 192.

¹⁴ Thid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸ Soloviov, V. S., Sobr. soch., vol. iii, p. 400.

church organization is the reunion of the churches into a Church Universal which will unite and balance the three functions of the church and thus become the adequate tool for the salvation of the world.

On the topic of this union Soloviov wrote a good deal. The limitations and the purpose of this article permit nothing more than a mention of it. It is significant to note that since the revolution there has been a greater freedom of intercourse between the Russian Church and the Protestant organizations than ever before. This must not be ascribed to the revolution. The freedom of thought expressing itself in a desire for church unity has been there for a long time. The revolution, having dissolved the bonds of church and state, had but added the freedom of expression to this freedom in thought.

The ideas treated in this article are not mere philosophical ramifications of cloistered divines who are out of touch with the people; neither are they the ideas of men who have been fed on the hot-house food imported from abroad. These are the thoughts of a group of men who are representative of the Russian people at their best. Only where the people because of lack of education remain inarticulate, these men have learned to express themselves.

What the revolution will do ultimately to further the ideas of these men by giving the church complete freedom of its field or to prevent the ideas from taking a stronger hold on the thought of the masses one cannot tell. Neither can one tell what these ideas will do to the revolution. The future, which is a great revealer of hidden things, will show. But these ideas and ideals are of the peculiar nature of immortal thoughts, and they shall remain alive to lead Russia some day to its salvation. There was Byzantium; there is Rome; it is the hope of the spiritually minded in Russia that one day it will be Moscow, Moscow at the center of Christian activity.

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^{·11} This may be peak a lack of awareness of the so-called persecution of the churches and of religion in Russia. I may say outright that I do no believe any evidence of the persecution has been brought to us. Apart from the separation of the church from the state, which has grave economic consequences for the church, the only other material fact brought to our notice is the confiscation of some church jewelry and gold which were converted into corn. This action every man will approve. It is necessary to feed the starving. There is evidence of an intellectual attack and persecution of clergymen for anti-revolutionary activity. The intellectual attack the church must welcome. It has the truth, therefore it will win. Treasonable activity against an established government is punishable in any state. The attempt to color the political misfortunes of the clergy under suspicion or on trial with a religious background is natural, but unjust. The members of the higher clergy in Russia are monarchists in too many cases to make it impossible to believe the political treason of Patriarch Tikhon. As for the Roman clergy recently found guilty of treason, history presents us with too many cases of clergymen playing politics to make one doubt that Monsignor Butchkarevitch and his "crew" were, or at least may have been, attending to politics rather than religion. The Russian government claims to have the proofs, and unless we have evidence to the contrary we must accept the facts as offered us.

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