Some two months after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, the Kremlin resurrected the Panslavic idea. A Panslavic Committee met in Moscow on August 10, 1941, to call upon Slavs everywhere, about two hundred million of them, to unite against the German aggressors. Less than four years later, the Kremlin again put Panslavism to use in seeking to consolidate its new dominion over Eastern Europe.

The author was in a position to watch both the defensive and the aggressive aspects of Soviet Panslavism at close range. In April, 1942, he attended the American Slav Congress in Detroit as a private observer. He again saw Panslavism operate in Yugoslavia in 1944-46 while a member of the OSS American Military Mission to Marshal Tito. More recently he observed its workings in Czechoslovakia in 1948-49 while engaged in research for this study. It was this experience, coupled with an awareness of the increasingly important role of the Slavic peoples in modern history, which prompted the present work.

Nevertheless, in writing the pages which follow, the author has made an effort not to intrude the present upon the past. Parallels between Tsarist and Soviet Panslavism will no doubt suggest themselves to the reader. Yet, like all past phenomena, Russian Panslavism of the nineteenth century must be studied for its own sake, and not as a "precursor," if it is to be understood.

By Panslavism is meant the historic tendency of the Slavic peoples to manifest in some tangible way, whether cultural or political, their consciousness of ethnic kinship. Far from being an isolated phenomenon, Panslavism has its roots in the same soil which nourished its Western counterparts—Pan-Germanism, Pan-Latinism, and similar patterns of thought and action. If the term "Panslavism" has been used somewhat loosely, not only by the protagonists and the enemies of this movement, but even by scholars,

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it is because the movement itself has consisted of scattered and sometimes mutually hostile forms. Manifestations ranging from vague expressions of Slavic cultural solidarity to more or less specific programs for the political unification either of all the Slavs (plus certain non-Slavs) or of a regional grouping of several Slavic peoples have all been generally regarded as "Panslavic." In the nineteenth century these forms included Austro-Slavism, an idea fostered especially by various Czech and Slovak leaders; Polish Messianism; the Illyrian movement of the South Slavs; Slavic federalism as advocated by certain Ukrainian patriots; and Great Russian Panslavism. This study is limited to the last of these, and then only to the period of its emergence as a developed ideology and movement. This work is intended to be chiefly a contribution to the history of ideas rather than to the history of Russian foreign policy. The author hopes to describe the further course of Russian Panslavism in a subsequent volume.

The structure of the present work requires some explanation. The opening chapter presents a survey of Panslavic manifestations in Russia before the reign of Alexander II, that is, before Russian Panslavism became a public movement with a distinct program. A chapter on Slavophilism in the 1840's offers an introduction to the philosophical origins of the Russian Panslavic ideology. The third chapter deals with the general concepts of the Panslavist ideology itself. The following chapters are devoted to more specific and practical ideas of Russian Panslavism or to organizations and activities directed to putting these ideas into effect.

The author belongs to a generation of young American students of Russian history which has not had access to Soviet libraries. Especially frustrating was his inability to make use of Panslavist archives in the Lenin Library—materials which the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences has only recently begun to gather and to classify. Despite this handicap, over three quarters of the many sources used in the following study consist of the public writings and private correspondence of Russian Panslavists and their contemporaries. Most of these works were found in this country, though the author was fortunate in being able to use the resources of both the Russian Archive and the Slavic Li-

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brary in Prague. Thus while the present work cannot hope to be definitive, it does aspire to present the most complete study of Russian Panslavism in the 1850's and 1860's which can now be published on the basis of the available materials.