

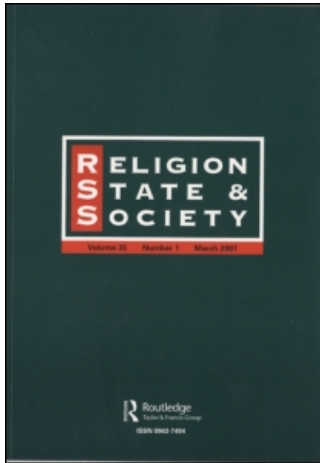
This article was downloaded by: [Miller, Matthew L.]

On: 23 February 2010

Access details: Access Details: [subscription number 919266547]

Publisher Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Religion, State and Society

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smp/title-content=t713444726>

A Hunger for Books: the American YMCA Press and Russian Readers

Matthew L. Miller

Online publication date: 15 February 2010

To cite this Article Miller, Matthew L.(2010) 'A Hunger for Books: the American YMCA Press and Russian Readers', Religion, State and Society, 38: 1, 53 – 73

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/09637490903500515

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09637490903500515>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf>

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

A Hunger for Books: the American YMCA Press and Russian Readers¹

MATTHEW L. MILLER

ABSTRACT

This article traces the history of the involvement of the American Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) with Russian-language publishing from its beginnings to the end of the twentieth century. During the period between the two world wars this was the primary source of Russian Orthodox theological and philosophical literature. In addition, it served as a catalyst for ferment within Orthodoxy by providing a forum for heated debate, especially in the pages of Put', a unique interdisciplinary journal of Christian thought. The unique role of the YMCA Press in the Russian emigration has been noted in a variety of studies. However, such evaluations usually do not pay attention to the original Protestant leadership of this remarkable Orthodox publishing house, the political impact of its avowedly non-political efforts, and the recent activities of the YMCA Press in Russia and Ukraine after the end of communism. The Press played a major role in preserving an important aspect of prerevolutionary Russian culture in Western Europe during the Soviet period until the repatriation of this culture following the collapse of the Soviet Union. In this way, the Press contributed to the expansion and enrichment of Eastern Orthodox Christianity.

This publishing house for all these years has been giving to Russians living in Russia the real bread of life. . . . I really have to testify that the hunger for books is really a much greater hunger than the hunger for food. . . . The greatest help that we can receive is precisely the kind of help that was given to us by Paul Anderson. (Anderson, n.d.a, preface)

Introduction

In the quotation at the head of this article Nataliya Solzhenitsyna praised the work of the YMCA Press during a New York City press conference held in 1982. Her remarks underscored the significance of a small enterprise begun some 66 years earlier, probably in 1916. During the First World War the American branch of the global Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) began to produce practical textbooks and Protestant writings for Russian citizens. However, the focus of the YMCA's publishing efforts later turned to religious literature for Russian émigrés living in western and central Europe. Initially, the YMCA's Russian title list included writings by such mainline Protestants as Harry Emerson Fosdick; but a few years later its theological titles primarily featured works by Russian Orthodox authors such as Sergei Bulgakov.

The unique role of the YMCA Press (henceforth the Press) in the Russian emigration has been noted in a variety of studies (including Raeff, 1990 and Davis,

1987). ‘The small establishment on the rue-de-la-Montagne-Sainte-Genève has remained the oldest, most important publisher of Russian books outside Russia. Its services to expatriate Russian culture have been incalculable’ (Johnston, 1988, p. 54). However, such evaluations usually do not pay attention to other aspects of the activity of the Press: its original Protestant leadership; the political impact of its avowedly non-political efforts; and the recent activities of the Press in Russia and Ukraine since the end of communism. The Press played a major role in preserving an important aspect of prerevolutionary Russian culture in Western Europe during the Soviet period until the repatriation of this culture following the collapse of the Soviet Union. In this way, it contributed to the expansion and enrichment of Orthodox Christianity.²

The full life-span of the Press has included six significant leaders: Julius Hecker,³ Paul B. Anderson⁴ and Nikolai Berdyayev⁵ until 1940, and after the war Donald Lowrie,⁶ Ivan Morozov⁷ and Nikita Struve.⁸ Anderson established the organisational foundation for the developed work of the Press, while Berdyayev provided the intellectual direction. Berdyayev’s literary productivity continued alongside his editorial and social activities: ‘Writing nine books in fifteen years, beside scores of articles and countless lectures, would be a notable record for any man. In addition, as he had done in Berlin, Berdyayev gave considerable time to students and other young people’ (Lowrie, 1960, p. 192). The Press built its programme on his writings, printing Russian editions of virtually all his books, but extended far beyond them.

From the First World War to 1924

Austria/Geneva

The Russian publishing effort through the Press began during the First World War as a result of the efforts of Julius Hecker, a theologically liberal Methodist clergyman who had grown up in St Petersburg. Hecker began the Russian publishing programme while he was working with prisoners of war at a camp at Wieselburg in Austria. He was teaching literacy classes to soldiers from a peasant background and created a series of primary readers (Anderson, n.d.a, p. 90) including selections from classic Russian literature. Hecker was responsible for 150,000 prisoners at a time for the one year he was there (between 1915 and 1917); during this period, 200,000 passed through the several prisoner of war camps surrounding the base camp at Wieselburg). ‘Hundreds, possibly thousands, learned to read in these prison-camp schools’ (Orr, 1919, p. 24).

After the USA entered the war he was forced to move to Switzerland, where he continued his work with funds provided by the War Work Council, a leadership body formed in November 1917 by YMCA leaders involved in service work among prisoners of war during the First World War. When the war prisoner aid work ended he returned to the USA and obtained YMCA authorisation and funding for an extensive textbook publishing programme (Latourette, 1957, p. 377). He received US\$50,000 from the International Committee of the YMCA for the establishment of a permanent department of Russian publications with the aim of providing literature in accordance with the YMCA’s goals. The International Committee of the YMCA later provided an additional US\$250,000 as the Russian Textbook Fund (Davis, 1987, p. 25). Hecker established the programme in Geneva, Switzerland, and enlisted the help of Russian assistants. There they planned to produce a variety of Russian-language books on history, anthropology, science and religion with the imprint

'World Alliance YMCA' (Anderson, n.d.a, p. 91). Four types of books were to be produced: (1) religious, moral and aesthetic; (2) technical, vocational and educational; (3) popular science; and (4) history, economics and sociology. A book list produced by Hecker included four books by Harry Emerson Fosdick, an American pastor and author who promoted modernist theology: *The Meaning of Prayer* and *The Manhood of the Master* (both printed), and *The Assurance of Immortality* and *The Meaning of Faith* (both in preparation). Also on the list was Walter Rauschenbusch's *The Social Principles of Jesus*. Hecker's books on the YMCA were also printed: *The YMCA at Work* and *Under the Sign of the Red Triangle* (Hecker, n.d.). Although many Russians read these works by American Protestants with appreciation, many within the Russian Orthodox community were offended by them. The most significant controversy surrounding the publishing activity of the YMCA developed at the beginning of this programme. The programme in fact printed only a limited number of books, including one work by Fosdick (Anderson, n.d.a, pp. 91, 104). Many émigré Russian Orthodox readers were offended by the religious and philosophical views expressed in these books, on the grounds that they contradicted traditional Orthodox teaching (Colton, 1940, p. 132).

Hecker was never able personally to distribute any books, for in 1920 the YMCA leader John R. Mott removed him from leadership of the publishing programme. Apparently Mott disagreed with Hecker's policy of collaborating with Russian socialists. Nikolai Rubakin,⁹ a socialist, had assisted him in producing books on popular science.

Hecker made no secret of his low opinion of Russian Orthodoxy. In 1920 he wrote that, for the Russian, 'morality has little to do with his religious life ...' (Hecker, 1920, p. 902), and in 1933 that 'Orthodoxy is ... conformity to the old rites and practices and has little or nothing to do with the teachings of the Bible and the basic dogma of the church' (Hecker, 1933, p. 26).

In 1921 Constantine Sakharov, chairman of the Russian National Society, an émigré organisation based in New York City, wrote to the YMCA to complain about several books published by the YMCA for Russians. He stated that they directly or indirectly attacked the Russian Orthodox Church and that 'all of them are tainted with infamous socialistic, radical and even communistic propaganda'. He first provided details from the book *Velikiye slova zhizni* (*Great Words of Life*) by Rubakin. He was especially upset that the book ridiculed the traditional Christian understanding of God, sin, the sacraments and the church (Sakharov, 1921). C. V. Hibbard at the New York office replied directly to Sakharov's letter; he thanked him for his opinion but offered no apology. He noted that one of the Russian history books condemned by Sakharov was never distributed and suggested that Sakharov's point of view would not be shared by all other Russians (Hibbard, 1921).

One month later Ethan T. Colton, a key YMCA leader, wrote a general letter to 'the friends of our service [on] behalf of Russia' to respond to the Russian National Society's 'attack' on the Russian Literature Department (as the publishing programme was now called). Colton identified the Society as a group of 'extremely reactionary' Russians associated with a former member of the 'Black Hundred' (*sic*). He explained that the group had sent a letter of protest with quotes from several books to the YMCA and then forwarded the letter to many Russian Orthodox clergymen. Colton argued that one of the attacked books, *Great Words of Life*, was written by Rubakin, a former atheist materialist who had converted 'to the philosophic Christian position'. His book was therefore a defence of faith written to atheists, rather an attack on faith, as suggested by the group. Colton concluded his

letter with an explanation of the liquidation of the Russian Literature Committee (the leadership body of the Russian Literature Department). The reason given was the lack of possibility of working in Russia, 'Hecker having retired with the dissolution of the staff' (Colton, 1921).

Prague

In 1922 the leaders of the YMCA's Russian work reestablished the publishing programme. They used the funds allocated for Hecker's project to purchase a well-equipped printing plant with modern presses in Prague (Anderson, 1940b, p. 8; Latourette, 1957, p. 377). The new Prague location appeared to be ideal because of economic conditions and the availability of transport facilities (Colton, 1940, pp. 132–33). James Niederhauser, an American secretary (YMCA staff member) who had been employed in Siberia, served as the director of the new programme from 1921 to 1923. Anderson worked closely with Niederhauser during these years as the director of the Russian Correspondence School in Berlin,¹⁰ and in 1923 Anderson began to serve as the director of publishing as well (Davis, 1987, p. 26). Niederhauser chose to name the operation *IMKA TISK* – the Czech translation of 'YMCA Publishers' (Anderson, n.d.a, p. 97). The Prague funds became the Russian Literature Fund, an asset of the press (Colton, 1940, p. 133). This fund enabled the press leadership to begin operation as a publishing business.

Two major challenges to the YMCA Russian publishing programme developed as a result of Hecker's programme and the hasty planning of the Prague project. Hecker had produced works which were offensive to large numbers of émigrés. The planners of the Prague project apparently neglected to survey systematically the needs of their audience and the viability of distribution. Donald Davis points out that 'the main target of this misplaced humanitarianism was Russia, even though no definite approach to anyone in the USSR had been made' (Davis, 1987, p. 26).

During 1923 the Press published a translation of Mott's *Facing Young Men with the Living Christ* and 36 other books, primarily textbooks for the correspondence school. However, in the same year the Soviet government declared an embargo on the import of Russian-language publications. Niederhauser and Anderson had set up the operation for large-scale production, expecting to export huge quantities of textbooks into Russia. After the embargo the plant was virtually unusable, for only the small European émigré market remained (Latourette, 1957, pp. 377–78). Anderson remarked 'we were left high and dry' (Anderson, n.d.a, p. 102). However, after selling the plant, the YMCA almost totally recovered its investment, even after producing thousands of textbooks (Anderson, 1940b, p. 11).

Summary

From 1915 to 1924, then, the YMCA publishing effort focused on meeting the educational needs of Russians. During the First World War secretaries perceived an eagerness for education among Russian prisoners of war and aimed to provide suitable materials. During the Russian Civil War YMCA leaders realised that warfare was interrupting the nation's educational processes. They reasoned that a need existed for technical manuals (Davis, 1987, pp. 25–26) as well as textbooks ranging from primary to university levels within Russia's borders (Anderson, 1926b, p. 3).

The directors of the YMCA's Russian publishing efforts set their goals to match what they perceived to be the needs of their audience. Initially the YMCA produced

textbooks to be used by Russians – including prisoners of war and émigrés – and hoped to export large quantities to Russia. The directors of the correspondence school utilised these books in their instructional programmes (Latourette, 1957, p. 377).

Marc Raeff notes the YMCA Press in his monograph *Russia Abroad*:

The population of Russia Abroad was poor and scattered, but it demanded access to reading matter. Such material was not adequately provided by existing libraries and reading rooms. The paucity of Russian materials in local libraries made it necessary to reprint or republish textbooks and classical authors. It is not remarkable that many émigré publishing houses printed selected or complete works of Russia's favorite authors. Conversely, however, these circumstances made it more difficult for new works, especially by younger authors, to find publishers. (Raeff, 1990, p. 69)

Since the nineteenth century creative literature had provided the most important vehicle for Russia's intellectual and cultural life. After 1920 émigrés assumed that this trend would continue, so writing and publishing continued to sustain a 'sense of unity and coherence' (Raeff, 1990, p. 73) within the emigration. Raeff summarises the dilemma which emerged: 'There was no lack of potential authors, but given émigré circumstances and the world's economic condition, it was no small challenge to set up a publishing house and find a printer. It was even more difficult to organize the distribution to widely scattered and penurious customers' (Raeff, 1990, p. 74). However, émigrés set out boldly to develop new literary ventures; many hoped that in the climate of the New Economic Policy (1921–28) new publications could be distributed in Soviet Russia as well as among the émigré community. From 1918 to 1928 in Berlin the number of Russian émigré publishers totalled 188. 'Many had but an ephemeral existence, and many had only a few titles to their credit. Yet the number is quite extraordinary and had no counterpart in any émigré center' (Raeff, 1990, p. 77). The financial stability of the YMCA Press enabled it to make a more long-term contribution to the provision of high-quality intellectual works. The financial sponsorship of the American YMCA also provided indirectly for the material support of a number of Russian authors who would otherwise have needed to find other employment (Raeff, 1990, p. 78).

From 1924 to the Second World War

In 1924, after a financially favourable sale of the Prague plant, the publishing enterprise moved to Paris with the correspondence school and student movement.¹¹ As mentioned earlier, the goals of the YMCA Press changed as well. In Berlin, Anderson had developed relationships within the émigré academic community. He had cooperated with Berdyayev, the exiled Moscow philosophy professor, in the establishment of the Religious–Philosophical Academy (see endnote 4). As Anderson and his colleagues began to understand the intellectual and religious vitality of the Orthodox community, they decided to focus on the publication of Russian Orthodox literature. Meanwhile the Press continued to develop textbooks in small quantities to support the correspondence school (Latourette, 1957, p. 378). Local printers produced the finished books (Anderson, n.d.a, p. 127).

During the 1920s the Press maintained business relationships with Russian bookshops in 14 countries, but the Press could not reach self-sufficiency (Survey,

1930, p. 110). The YMCA continued to fund the Press, however, with the following motivation:

None of the Russian publishing houses already existing can afford to publish religious books. These are forced to publish books not because these books are needed for furthering spiritual culture but books that will meet with the best sales. Thus, in the present situation the publication service can be carried on only by some organization which is interested in spiritual welfare and is ready to make a certain financial sacrifice. There is no such Russian institution at the present moment. (Survey, 1930, p. 115)

Undoubtedly the Press made its greatest contribution to the Russian Orthodox émigré community after it moved to Paris. By actively investigating the needs and desires of the Russian diaspora, Anderson and his colleagues were able to assist in one of the areas of greatest need. Throughout his years in Paris Anderson attempted to purchase every work on religious topics produced in the Soviet Union (Anderson, 1940b, pp. 17–18). This study augmented his ability to cooperate intelligently and appropriately with the émigrés as they attempted to preserve Orthodox culture.

Anderson experienced difficulty in the business affairs of the Press as a result of the chaotic competitive interaction among the Russian publishers in Paris. In 1925 these publishers began to cooperate and formed a local professional society with Anderson as the chairman. This cooperation grew and in 1931 the firms established a joint stock company known as *Les Éditeurs Réunis*. In the period up to the Second World War the Press gained the position as the primary publisher of philosophical and religious books in the Russian language (Anderson, 1940b, pp. 20, 9, 32; Anon., 1985, p. 730).

During these years the American YMCA accomplished at least five things through the Press. The Press produced a collection of significant theological and philosophical literature which was widely used among émigré Russian Orthodox clergy and laymen. The faculty of the Orthodox theological academy the Institut St-Serge was able to distribute its writings through the Press (Kasinec, 1972, p. 41). The Press assisted Berdyayev in publishing *Put'*, the world's only intellectual journal grounded in Russian Orthodoxy (Lowrie, 1960, p. 199). As Anderson's successor Donald Lowrie explained, 'the worth of such literature . . . can be calculated only against the dark background of the state presses of Communist Russia that pour out deluges of materialistic atheism' (Colton, 1940, p. 134). The Press also contributed to literature production for the entire Russian émigré community through its support for *Les Éditeurs Réunis*. Anderson and his colleagues also made a contribution to readers in other countries, for other agencies translated several titles into English, French, German and other languages (Latourette, 1957, p. 378; Zander, 195?, pp. 5–99), and these translations introduced many Catholics and Protestants to the thought of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Russian Orthodox Books

For a long time Russian authors had written 'lives of saints' to inspire and challenge young men and women. Working together with Russian advisers, Anderson decided to publish a historical biography of Saint Sergi of Radonezh; he selected Boris Zaitsev, an accomplished novelist, to write it. Émigrés eagerly purchased this work, so the Press continued to publish new lives of saints (Zander, 195?, p. 118).

A key figure in the shift of the Press from practical textbooks to Russian religious thought (and from Prague to Berlin) was Aleksandr Semenovich Yashchenko, the Berlin publisher of a new journal *Novaya russkaya kniga*. He planned to publish an anthology of articles on contemporary issues in Russian religion. This anthology became one of the first two books published with the imprint ‘YMCA Press’ (as opposed to ‘World Alliance YMCA’): *Problemy russkogo religioznogo soznaniya* (*Issues in Russian Religious Thinking*) was published along with Berdyayev’s *Mirovozzreniye Dostoyevskogo* (*The World View of Dostoevsky*) in 1924 (Ivanova, 2004, pp. 342, 350). Anderson explained the significance of the publication of *Problemy* ...:

This volume ... made an impression on the Russian reading public as showing that the YMCA was not a Protestant proselytizing organization, but one which held to the idea that its work must represent the indigenous thought and aspirations of the Russian people. It set the tone for our program The YMCA had thus identified itself with creative Orthodox doctrine. (Anderson, n.d.a, pp. 118–19)

From 1924, then, the Press addressed the religious needs of the Russian émigré population in Europe, publishing religious–philosophical books at higher, middle and lower educational levels (Ivanova, 2004, p. 351). Several secretaries working among the émigrés noted a growing interest among the ‘homesick million’ in literature which would satisfy their longing for traditional Orthodox topics (Anderson, n.d.a, p. 106). They believed that the shortage of Russian religious literature was the result of three factors. First, the Soviet government had placed severe restrictions on the production of religious books and periodicals (Anderson, 1928, p. 1). Second, the Soviet government was also waging a fierce war on religion through atheistic literature; during the first three months of 1930, for example, Soviet presses printed over 140 million pamphlets of antireligious content (Colton, 1940, p. 134). Finally, few publishing houses in Europe were willing to print Russian religious literature, for the effort would produce a relatively meagre profit (Anderson, 1928, p. 2).

By producing Russian Orthodox religious literature the Press was attempting to build character among young people, study contemporary social challenges and preserve traditional Russian culture.

The YMCA offers its literature service as one of the most effective single means at present for Russian religious leaders to have a positive and helpful influence for the building [of] character in the youth of emigrant and indigenous populations, and for retaining their loyalty to the Church. (Fundamentals, 1929, p. 44)

The Press encouraged authors to address social and moral problems, such as atheistic materialism and labour issues, from a distinctively Orthodox Christian perspective, and the directors of the Press hoped that the production of quality works of philosophy and theology would help to preserve and develop Russian Christian culture (Anderson, 1928, pp. 5–6). Colton supported the publishing of Orthodox literature but feared that these books would not communicate with Russian young people who were materialist in outlook. He asked Anderson to find an author for a book on Marxism and Christianity which could attract this type of student to Christianity (Colton, 1926, p. 5).

The conservative émigré Russian Orthodox leadership continued to distrust the American YMCA even after the Press began to publish traditional Orthodox literature. In 1926 a group of influential bishops issued a pronouncement which declared that the YMCA was ‘anti-Christian’ and forbade members of the Orthodox Church from organising under its auspices. The Press, like the Russian Student Christian Movement, was directly affected by the 1926 decisions of the Council of Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, which met in Sremski Karlovci in Yugoslavia. The Council affirmed its condemnation of the YMCA, the YWCA and the World Student Christian Federation¹² as anti-Christian and heretical and threatened excommunication of Orthodox believers who maintained relationships with these organisations. The YMCA was described as ‘Masonic’ because of its publication of two books, *The Social Principles of Jesus* by Rauschenbusch and *Manhood of the Master* by Fosdick. Key authors, including Berdyayev, Bulgakov, Kartashev and Zen’kovsky, were charged with heresy (Anderson, 1926a). One example of the fallout from this decision is a letter from Archbishop Feofan of Sofia to the Press. The archbishop writes to explain why he cannot participate in the activities of the Press. He states that the Synod decision of 25 November 1926 forbids bishops and clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church to do so. He specifically mentions the ‘energetic agitation’ of YMCA workers in promoting US recognition of the Soviet Union and in the work of the Living Church (Feofan, 1926). Gustave Kullmann¹³ and Anderson actively worked to address the Council’s concerns, and although the YMCA never gained acceptance among the most conservative of the Orthodox hierarchs, by 1939 most leaders of the émigré Russian Orthodox Church in Europe had granted their blessing to the YMCA’s work (Colton, 1940, pp. 183–84, 134).

The Press continued to produce academic works in religious philosophy and theology in addition to the more popular spiritual writings. Five years after the first Orthodox publication the Press had published eight works classified as ‘Problems of Life and Religion’, eight philosophy titles, four theology texts, three works on church services, and eight works classified as ‘Lives of Saints and History of the Orthodox Church’ (Fundamentals, 1929, Appendix IX). Another early publication was a translation of the Russian Orthodox liturgy into English by Isabel F. Hapgood: ‘the highest prelates of the Russian Church, both in America and in Europe, have endorsed this version – the only complete English edition in existence’ (Copy, n.d.).

Anderson managed to convince his superiors to give their active support, during the Depression, to a publishing house which produced religious–philosophical works which were very different from the practical Christian books preferred by American Protestants.

Berdyayev emerged as the leading Russian participant in the work of the Press. He also participated widely in the religious life of Paris and developed a network of friendships with Orthodox, Catholics¹⁴ and Anglicans (Anderson, 1940a, p. 5). He served as the senior editor, working with Anderson, YMCA staff member Gustave Kullmann and Boris Vysheslavtsev, a philosophy professor from Moscow.¹⁵ He worked carefully and thoroughly, personally evaluating every proposed manuscript (Lowrie, 1960, p. 201).

Journals

In 1925 Berdyayev discussed with Anderson the possibility of publishing a journal which could serve as a forum for the exchange of religious, philosophical and literary

ideas. With special funding from Mott, the journal *Put'* became an integral element of the YMCA Press programme. Raeff evaluates it as the 'most significant religious journal of Russia Abroad' (Raeff, 1990, p. 144). Berdyayev served as the sole editor for each of the journal's 61 issues from 1925 until 1940 when the German invasion of France curtailed publication (Anderson, n.d.a, pp. 141–42).¹⁶ He allowed a variety of opinions to be published; he refused only 'clearly obscurantist or malicious reactionary' authors (Lowrie, 1960, p. 199).

The Press published two other journals besides *Put'*: *Novy grad* (1934–39), edited by G. P. Fedotov, which had more social–political content than *Put'*, and *Pravoslavnaya mysl'* (1928–54), which included articles written by professors at the Institut St-Serge (Anderson, 1972, p. 10).

Colton had originally wanted *Put'* to be an interconfessional journal which would include both Orthodoxy and Protestantism, while Anderson and Kullman envisaged a journal focusing on Russian Orthodoxy. Kullman was not opposed to an interconfessional journal, especially if it included attention to Roman Catholicism, but he sensed that the journal most desired by his Russian friends was a journal of Russian religious thought based in Orthodoxy. He also believed that many Russian émigrés, especially the more conservative ones, would not welcome what they would see as 'Protestant American propaganda' in the journal. He believed that western Christian ideas would be discussed in the journal but thought that Russians themselves should be free to choose the approach (Kullmann, 1925, pp. 2–3).

A recent study by L. D. Yezova describes the breadth of *Put'*:

The variety of themes of the journal turned every issue into a true encyclopedia of Russian spiritual culture, and the quantity of themes and authors was so great that an analysis of all this intellectual richness would require research in more than one discipline. Here are the issues of church rapprochement, the ecumenical movement, the church life of other confessions, literature, art, ancient history, general church history, philosophy, psychology, the student movement, the spiritual formation of émigré young people, an evaluation of the condition of the Orthodox Church in Soviet Russia, the world crisis of culture, the councils of the early church, theological education, pilgrimages to the Holy Land and so on. (Yezova, 2001, pp. 49–50)

Yezova also highlights its unique editorial approach:

The journal *Put'* was a unique publication for its time. There were no similar journals in Russia or in the emigration. Berdyayev, as general editor, was able to realise in his work all the best that had been accumulated by the experience of publication of various journals with similar subject-matter in prerevolutionary Russia. *Put'* represented experience of a discussion publication which was not dominated by ideology, either political or religious. This was unique for Russian theoretical journals, particularly with a religious–philosophical approach. (Yezova, 2001, p. 63)

For the YMCA office in New York and other sponsors Anderson promoted *Put'* for its 'potential significance for a philosophical–religious revival in Soviet Russia in the future. It would seem, on the evidence of the illegal Berdiaevite group in Leningrad in the 1960s, and the keen interest shown by some circles of the

dissident Soviet intelligentsia that this hope was not quite in vain' (Raeff, 1990, p. 144). *Put'* was clearly not a tool of its capitalist benefactors, for it continued a prerevolutionary tradition which criticised both revolutionary materialism and bourgeois capitalism: 'they carried on and broadened the critique by former Marxists such as Struve, Bulgakov ...' (Raeff, 1990, p. 146). Not all welcomed *Put'* with open arms, however: it 'was received with acclamation by some and sharp criticism by other reviewers. It is charged with being both too liberal and too Orthodox' (Anderson, n.d.b, p. 8).

The American leaders of the Russian work frequently said that they were most interested in person-to-person work. One example of importance to them would be the young Russian man who wrote to thank the editor for the September 1925 edition of *Put'*, which helped him in his journey to Orthodox Christianity. He described his past trials in the civil war, attempted suicide, struggle with tuberculosis and attempts to find a purpose for life. Reading the articles 'gave peace and joy to my soul exhausted by a vain search of Truth' (Vladimir, 1926, p. 1).

From the Second World War to 2000

By 1939 the Press had published a total of 274 titles. As mentioned earlier, the Second World War disrupted its publishing and European distribution activities. Sales were limited to France and the prisoner-of-war programme, which provided books to Russian prisoners held in German camps. The 1940s also saw the deaths of two of its main authors: Sergei Bulgakov in 1944 and Berdyayev in 1948.

Donald Lowrie became director of the Press in 1947 since Anderson was supervising the work in Europe for the American YMCA. After the death of Berdyayev, his heir turned over the rights to his books in return for an annuity. This provided a steady source of income for the Press (Anderson, n.d.c, p. 5). In addition to the YMCA subsidy, book sales and the profits from Berdyayev translations, the Press also received funding from the East European Fund.¹⁷ When the Chekhov Publishing House¹⁸ was liquidated the YMCA Press received its remaining stock; the proceeds were reinvested to fund new publishing (Anderson, 1972, p. 12).

After the war the Press established contact with the new Moscow Patriarch Aleksii I. He requested books for the reopened theological academies and seminaries (Anderson, 1949, p. 2). In 1946 the Press began sending small numbers of copies of all its published religious works to the Patriarchate or one of the leading bishops for this purpose (Anderson, 1951, p. 2). Anderson later clarified that the 'YMCA Press does not engage in any illegal shipments to the Soviet Union' (Anderson, 1975b, p. 2).

After the war the Press also expanded its publication of fiction and poetry, including the complete works of Dostoyevsky, which at the time were not available in the USSR, and the works of Anna Akhmatova, Marina Tsvetayeva, Andrei Platonov and Vladimir Voinovich (YMCA-Press, 1975?, pp. 1–2).

Nikita Struve writes that after Berdyayev died in 1948 the leadership of the Press at the YMCA in the USA was passed on to Americans who did not share the perspective and experience of Anderson and Lowrie. Those who received authority over the Russian work did not share an appreciation for the religious–philosophical approach of the Press: to them it seemed alien and irrelevant. The 1950s brought an end to direct American YMCA involvement: Anderson oversaw the disengagement progress of the YMCA's International Committee from its Russian work in Paris. Lowrie retired in 1955 and Anderson was able to arrange a transfer of the ownership of the Press to the

Russian Student Christian Movement (*Russkoye studencheskoye khristianskoye dvizheniye*) (Anderson, 1972, pp. 10–11; Kartashev and Struve, 1990, pp. 25–27). The office of the YMCA in Paris was closed and a Board of Trustees was formed for the Institut St-Serge. Anderson apparently worked very carefully to cover every detail of the transition, especially with regard to finances and support staff personnel (Anderson, 1959, pp. 1–3).

By 1955 the Press had published 126,342 volumes of 400 titles (Lowrie, 1955, p. 1). By 1959 Berdyayev's works had been translated into 14 languages, with more than ten titles published in English, French, German and Spanish (Translations, 1959, p. 1).

'A revival of the press began with the end of Khrushchev's second thaw and with the development of *samizdat* (self-publishing), which quickly turned into *tamizdat* (publishing abroad). The press received manuscripts often without the knowledge of the authors ...' (Kartashev and Struve, 1990, p. 30). In 1967 the Press was the first publisher in the West to reprint Mikhail Bulgakov's novel *Master i Margarita* (which was first published in the journal *Novy mir*) (List, 1974).

Nikita Struve took over as director of the Press during a time of difficult transition in the 1950s. In 1961 the Press acquired a property, including a bookshop, on Rue de la Montagne Sainte-Geneviève in Paris. A new era for the Press began with this move (Kartashev and Struve, 1990, pp. 28–29). Readers frequenting the bookshop included students of a Catholic college in Rome where priests were trained for undercover religious work in the USSR (So Faith Endured, 1960). Metropolitan Nikolai, exarch for Western Europe for the Moscow Patriarchate, and Bishop Nikodim, the head of the Foreign Office of the Moscow Patriarchate, visited the shop and purchased many books. Anderson commented 'This is evidence of the interest of the Moscow Patriarchate in our publications. They do not get [to] publish theological or other religious works in [the] U.S.S.R., except for the monthly Journal and the [Almanac]' (Anderson, 1961). Interest in the publications of the Press grew inside the USSR during the 1960s. Sources inside the country reported that Vasili Zen'kovsky's *Istoriya russkoi filosofii* (*History of Russian Philosophy*), published by the press, was mimeographed in 500 copies and distributed to the intellectual leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church and some members of the Academy of Sciences. Joel Nystrom of the YMCA interpreted the event in this way:

The International Committee members should be informed of the fact that the 'Russian Work' is *not* an 'emigrant' undertaking; it is part and parcel of the struggle *within* the Soviet Union to turn Russian culture into creative Christian channels. It is fighting the battle of American and World Christians against Communist Atheism. (Nystrom, 1965, pp. 1–2)

The Press received a great deal of publicity in the late 1960s and 1970s after it published several works by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. It published the first full-length Russian version of *Rakovy korpus* (*Cancer Ward*) (Raymont, 1968). The publication of *Arkhipelag GULag* was a bomb which exploded on 28 December 1973. For the first time the Press received worldwide attention. In a few weeks 50,000 copies were sold – a record for Russian émigré publishing. Nikita Struve later pointed out that only then did many American YMCA leaders find out about the publishing activities taking place for Russians in Paris; he also noted the ironic parallel between Lenin's exile of intellectuals in 1922 and Brezhnev's exile of Solzhenitsyn in 1974. 'The first allowed the creation of the publishing house, the second gave it a new impulse' (Kartashev and

Struve, 1990, pp. 30–31).¹⁹ A writer from the *International Herald Tribune* offered this view:

The YMCA Press operates with very little fanfare behind a facade that is unpretentious almost to the point of camouflage In the end, it comes down to this: The YMCA Press is not in the business of grinding axes, or of fighting ideological wars. It's in the business, of course, of furthering the Christian faith – but more broadly in the book business. To that end, the new Solzhenitsyn is on sale . . . at 48 francs. (Marder, 1975)

On 9 April 1975 Solzhenitsyn visited the office of the Press in Paris: Anderson, Struve, Morozov and others were present. Anderson and Solzhenitsyn discussed Anderson's early days in Russia in 1917 and 1918. The author had known of Anderson's imprisonment in the Lubyanka. Anderson invited him to visit him in the USA, and Solzhenitsyn said that he would like to use research libraries in America. They also talked about the YMCA's work in the USA. The formal part of the meeting discussed copyrights, distribution and similar matters (Anderson, 1975a). Solzhenitsyn gave Anderson a book with the inscription 'To Paul Anderson with thanks and respect, remembering how much he has done for Russian culture' (Anderson, 1975b). In his autobiography Solzhenitsyn referred to his publishers as 'selfless' (Solzhenitsyn, 1979, p. 383).²⁰ When he first met Anderson he exclaimed '*Otets IMKI!*' ('Father of the YMCA Press!') (Davies, 1986, p. 57). The Press also supported Solzhenitsyn in a less obvious manner. Through publishing the writings of Berdyayev and Bulgakov it indirectly inspired Solzhenitsyn to continue their critique of materialism and atheism. Readers in the Soviet Union distributed the works of émigrés through unofficial channels. Nicolas Zernov²¹ writes that many emigrants of the 1970s who had been inspired by this literature were attempting to 'pursue ideas which were the centre of attention for their grandfathers' (Zernov, 1976, p. 326). In 1974 the Press published *Iz-pod glyb* (*From Under the Rubble*), a collection of essays by Solzhenitsyn and others which stressed the need for a moral and ethical revolution in Soviet Russia. *From Under the Rubble* followed the path of *Vekhi* (*Landmarks*) and *Iz glubiny* (*Out of the Depths*), for the philosophical positions and literary forms of the 1974 publication followed the models of the earlier collections (Hayward, 1975, pp. v–vii).²² These essays called for a return to the ideas of Berdyayev and Bulgakov. Solzhenitsyn wrote 'History is us – and there is no alternative but to shoulder the burden of what we so passionately desire and bear it out of the depths' (Solzhenitsyn *et al.*, 1975, p. x). By supporting the work of Solzhenitsyn the American YMCA contributed to the development of one wing of Russian literary culture.

By the 1970s the *Vestnik russkogo khristianskogo dvizheniya* was filling the role which had been played by *Put'* during the interwar years – a 'thick journal' (*tolsty zhurnal'*) of philosophical, religious and literary explorations (Kartashev and Struve, 1990, pp. 34–35); both were published by the Press for a broad section of the Russian émigré population. The Press continued to publish works which were banned in the Soviet Union until the Gorbachev period. These included the works of Maksimilian Voloshin, Osip Mandel'shtam, Anna Akhmatova, Lev Gumilev, Mariya Tsvetayeva and a number of lesser-known poets and writers.

Paul Anderson died in 1985. He had been the strongest connection between the American YMCA and the Press, and according to Struve his death finally severed the link between the two organisations (Kartashev and Struve, 1990, p. 33).

In 1990 Struve wrote

For many years, almost 70 years, the publisher YMCA Press stood almost alone in guarding Russian culture. Today, when the emancipation of Russia is beginning, it will become one of its centres, equally with domestic publishing houses. In a common work of grandfathers, fathers and grandsons, here, abroad and there in Russia, the YMCA Press, looking back, not without justifiable pride in the long path it has travelled, is ready to continue its service to the Russian word and to Russian Orthodox theological and church culture. (Kartashev and Struve, 1990, p. 40)²³

The Press was able to return openly to Russia in 1990. On 17 September an exhibition called *70 let izdatel'stvu IMKA-Press 1920–1990* (70 Years of the Publishing House YMCA Press: 1920–1990) opened at the Library of Foreign Literature (*Biblioteka inostranoi literatury*) in Moscow, organised by the *Knizhnaya palata SSSR* and the publishing house *Khudozhestvennaya literatura*. This event allowed Struve to enter the USSR for the first time. The following spring, in March 1991, the Press was featured in an exhibition in Leningrad. At this event Dmitri Sergeyevich Likhachev (1906–99), the literary scholar who was considered by many to be the guardian of Russian culture, reflected on the significance of the authors whose books were published by the Press. Struve also shared with those attending his reflections about the men who had founded the Press but had not lived to see it return to Russia. Struve focused on the contribution of Mott to the project (Avgustin, 2001, pp. 163–64; Struve, 1991). From 1990 to 1992 the Press opened libraries in Moscow, St Petersburg, Novosibirsk, Kiev, Tver', Orel, Voronezh and Stavropol'. These libraries opened within large existing libraries and were open to the public. This project was supported by Patriarch Aleksii II. From 1990 to 1992 the Press also developed a relationship with the Russian publisher *Russky put'* to reprint YMCA Press books. In these first two years more than 150,000 books were sold (Moskvin, 1992, pp. 280–82).²⁴ The grand opening of the *Biblioteka-fond 'Russkoye Zarubezh'ye'* (Library-Foundation 'Russia Abroad') took place in Moscow on 9 December 1995. The founders of this new institution were the Press, the Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn Social Fund (*Obshchestvenny fond Aleksandra Solzhenitsyna*) and the city of Moscow. Solzhenitsyn, Struve and Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk all spoke at the event. The building is now located in Moscow at 2 ulitsa Nizhnyaya Radishchevskaya. In June 1996 the library held a special event at which Solzhenitsyn presented his collection of 800 manuscript memoirs of Russian émigrés. In his comments at the opening of the Library-Foundation Struve said

In these last years has begun the return of the heritage of the Russian emigration, its blending with a culture which did not die, in spite of suffocation and oppression in the homeland. Books are being republished, scholarly conferences are gathering, research is being written Today, opening the Library-Foundation of Russia Abroad, we, assisting in this return, are beginning a work which for now is still humble, but in thought and in perspective is significant. The first descendants of the Russian émigrés – I am not speaking only for myself, but for many of my contemporaries . . . sense that in the heart of Russia a long-awaited house is opening for them. This is their *own* house, devoted to the work of their fathers and grandfathers. (Struve, 1996, pp. 278–79)

In September 2000 the Press celebrated its tenth year of work in Russia with an event in Moscow. Over the previous ten years the Press had presented exhibitions of its books in 50 cities in Russia (Yemel'yanova, 2000, pp. 267–68).

Assessments

When American and Russian participants looked back at their venture in publishing they usually emphasised the uniqueness and timeliness of the programme. In 1955 Donald Lowrie concluded

Had not the YMCA-Press existed, it is probable that many of these books would never even have been written. The knowledge that they could hope to have philosophical and theological works published provided a great incentive to thinkers in the Russian emigration, and hence important works were produced which otherwise might never have seen the light. (Lowrie, 1955, p. 1)

In 1955 the émigré historian Anton Kartashev wrote

This is not a paradox, not a betrayal of the [Press's] original assignment, not unprincipled opportunism on the part of its practical leaders. This is a conscientious and intentional incarnation... of enthusiasm, especially characteristic of Americans.

The creators of the YMCA Press had the gift of freedom. They did not stress one preconceived doctrine. They encountered the fact of the spiritual needs of the emigration, interpreting it with trust and good will. These were people of prerevolutionary Russia, who were fluent in the Russian language, were interested in Russian culture, and shared the optimistic premonition of their leader... J. Mott about the great Christian future of the Russian people. Here we name the Americans P. F. Anderson, E. I. MacNaughten²⁵ and D. I. Lowrie.

One of the interesting, essential component parts of general Russian culture remains, not crushed, and not entirely stifled – but continuing to live successfully, developing, blooming, and waiting for the moment when it can return to the maternal bosom of the culture of its homeland, from which it was temporarily and unnaturally pushed out!

Yes, the publication in 35 years of more than 250 titles (approximately 600,000 volumes) of books, brochures and periodical editions, to serve the requirements of the two million (including America) in the Russian dispersion – this is at the very least a humanitarian and cultural virtue which is worthy of a high moral prize. And the humble workers of the American YMCA subjectively, perhaps, do not seek more. But our Russian debt is to give them just recognition for their activity, which surpasses both their and our expectations. (Kartashev and Struve, 1990, pp. 1, 6, 12–14)

In 1980 Struve commented on the developments of the 1960s and 1970s:

This is a new page in the life of the publishing house and it is connected first of all with Russia, with those spiritual processes which are developing there in the homeland. It would not be an exaggeration to say there has been a

meeting of the Press with an awakened Russia. It would simply not have been possible for this kind of meeting not to have taken place. The words 'preservation' and 'development' point in a certain direction. The direction of all these years is clearly seen by looking at the articles in *Put'*, *Novy grad* or *Vestnik*. It would be impossible for the richest spiritual potential, preserved and multiplied here, in emigration, not to return home to Russia. It was just a matter of time. Now it is returning – as books There is no need for me . . . to explain what kind of thirst there is for books.

But parallel with this goes a reciprocal process – a flow of manuscripts from Russia to the Press. During all the previous years of emigration the activity of the Press was forced to be a monologue. Now it is becoming a dialogue, a cooperation in the moral recovery of the country. (Struve, 1980, p. 12)

The influence of the YMCA Press and its authors continues in Russia today: the return of the émigrés took longer than expected, but the hopes of the first generation were realised, at least in part, after their departure.

Notes

- 1 The author presented a summary of the material in this article at the national convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in November 2008.
- 2 For discussion of the social, political and religious context of the YMCA Press see my own PhD dissertation (Miller, 2006), which analyses the impact of the activities of the YMCA on Russians during the late imperial and early Soviet periods. The YMCA, the largest American service organisation, initiated its intense engagement with Russians in 1900. During the First World War the YMCA organised assistance for prisoners of war, and after the emigration of many Russians to Central and Western Europe founded the YMCA Press and supported the *Institut de Théologie Orthodoxe St-Serge* in Paris. The research is based on the YMCA's archival records, observations found in Moscow and Paris archives, and memoirs of Russian and American participants. The YMCA's activity has been known to specialists, but this dissertation is the first comprehensive discussion of an extraordinary period of interaction between American and Russian cultures.
- 3 Julius Hecker (1881–1943), a Methodist minister, worked for the YMCA from 1916 to 1921. He was born in 1881 in St Petersburg to parents with German citizenship; Russian was his first language. He emigrated with his family to the USA in 1902 and received citizenship in 1913. He completed a PhD at Columbia University and worked for the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church among Russians in New York City. During the First World War he worked with the YMCA at Russian prisoner of war camps in Austria–Hungary. In 1921 he moved to Soviet Russia with his family and worked on educational projects under the supervision of the Commissariat of Education. He was a prolific socialist writer and an outspoken opponent of traditional Orthodoxy, which he saw as lacking moral power or creative thinking. He became a counsellor and promoter for the Living Church, a movement for radical change within Russian Orthodoxy after the revolution. He also became an advocate for the USA's recognition of Soviet Russia. He supported many of the Bolsheviks' ideals, but not their atheism. In the 1930s he was exiled to Siberia.
- 4 Paul B. Anderson (1894–1985) worked to serve the Russian people from his first trip to Russia in 1917 until his death in 1985. He had a long-term, in-depth involvement with Slavic life and made a serious attempt to understand language, history and culture. He provided leadership or support for almost every aspect of the YMCA's Russian ministry. He grew up in Iowa and studied at the University of Iowa. Anderson was Lutheran but later began to

attend Episcopal services. After graduation he became a YMCA secretary (staff member) and served for four years in China. In 1917 he was invited to serve as personal assistant to John R. Mott for a US diplomatic mission to Russia. Mott, the leader of the American YMCA's global ministry, served as a mentor to Anderson throughout his life. Anderson arrived in Petrograd on 12 June 1917 and remained in the city after the Root Mission returned to America. Initially he focused on assisting with the administration of YMCA service to prisoners of war. The Bolshevik uprising in 1917 disrupted the work, yet Anderson continued with his duties until September 1918, when he was arrested in Moscow. Suspected of 'counter-revolutionary' activity, he was taken by a government security officer to the Lubyanka prison. He was released, but shortly thereafter the YMCA ended its full-scale service in Soviet Russia. From 1920 to 1924 Anderson lived in Berlin and participated in a variety of creative service programmes. First he served as director of the Russian Correspondence School, a study programme designed to assist uprooted Russian emigrants in their vocational education. During this time in Berlin Anderson became director of the YMCA's Russian-language publishing programme. He participated in the 1922 formation of the Religious-Philosophical Academy (*Religiozno-filosofskaya akademiya*), a lecture series which featured several exiled Russian Orthodox intellectuals, including Semen Frank and Nikolai Berdyayev. Anderson also supported the development of the Russian Student Christian Movement (RSCM), an association of Orthodox fellowship groups which were meeting at universities in various European cities. As the economy of Germany declined, many Russian émigrés pressed on to France in search of employment. By 1924 60,000 refugees had settled in Paris, so Anderson and his YMCA colleagues transported their services to the French capital. Anderson emerged as the Association's most influential leader during its ministry to Russians in Paris. He continued to administer the growing correspondence school and to assist both the RSCM and the YMCA Press. He also contributed to the new Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris (renamed the *Institut de Théologie Orthodoxe St-Serge* in 1940), an Orthodox seminary which prepared priests for service. During these years Anderson's understanding of Orthodox worship and thought grew, and he emerged as one of the first western experts on religion in the Soviet Union. Anderson moved from Paris to the USA in 1941. His full-time work with Russians ended at this time, but his service to the world Orthodox community continued until his death in 1985.

- 5 Nikolai Aleksandrovich Berdyayev (1874–1948) was a prominent Russian religious and political philosopher. He was born in Kiev, but later lived in St Petersburg, Berlin and Paris. Berdyayev wrote as an Orthodox Christian, but he sharply criticised many attitudes and behaviours within the church. He wrote many scholarly books, articles and essays and deeply influenced Russian, French and global thinkers. He established contacts with the YMCA in Berlin which developed in Paris. He provided intellectual leadership for the Religious-Philosophical Academy and the YMCA Press until his death.
- 6 Donald A. Lowrie (1889–1974) worked in Russia for the YMCA from 1916 to 1922, and continued working with Russians, especially students, from 1922 to 1932. He later continued his work with the YMCA from 1939 to 1952 with prisoners of war and refugees.
- 7 Ivan Vasil'yevich Morozov (1919–78) served as director of the YMCA Press from 1959 to 1978. He also served as instructor in church history for the *Institut de Théologie Orthodoxe St-Serge* (where he had studied) and as general secretary of the Russian Student Christian Movement in France.
- 8 Nikita Alekseyevich Struve (1931–), the grandson of Petr Bergardovich Struve, began working as an editor with the YMCA Press in the 1950s and served as director for many years into the twenty-first century. He served as leader of the Russian Student Christian Movement and editor of its journal, *Vestnik russkogo studencheskogo khristianskogo dvizheniya*. Struve was also professor of Russian literature at the University of Paris. I had a meeting with him on 16 May 2005 at the YMCA bookshop in Paris.
- 9 Nikolai Aleksandrovich Rubakin (1862–1946) was a moderate Russian socialist who wrote a wide variety of popular works on scientific, philosophical and educational themes. He was

born near St Petersburg, but emigrated to Geneva in 1907 in response to political pressures. He organised significant private libraries both in Russia and in Switzerland.

- 10 The Russian Correspondence School was organised by the American YMCA to help provide technical vocational training for up to 300,000 Russian prisoners of war awaiting repatriation after the First World War. Paul B. Anderson began to implement this programme upon his arrival in Europe in 1921. The first student enrolled in the autumn of that year. In 1923 the focus of the school shifted from prisoners of war to Russian workers across Europe. In 1931 the correspondence school evolved into the Russian Superior Technical Institute. The institute closed in 1961; over 12,000 men and women studied in the correspondence school and institute from 1921 to 1961.
- 11 The American YMCA participated in the work of two Russian student Christian movements which were similar in purpose but quite different in approach. The original Russian Student Christian Movement (*Russkoye studencheskoye khristianskoye dvizheniye*) was founded in 1899 and later emerged as a unique interconfessional community which connected men and women from many universities and institutes of the Russian Empire. The American YMCA served as a catalyst in this process and introduced a variety of its optimistic ideas and pragmatic methods into the RSCM. John R. Mott of the YMCA played a key role in the formation of the movement. Over time the movement adopted a more exclusive Orthodox identity while also adapting a number of the YMCA's approaches, such as small intense discussion groups and annual leadership conferences. After the revolutions of 1917 the movement was reorganised in several European university cities as many Russian young people began new lives in emigration. However, a wing continued to function within Soviet Russia until its extermination during the 1930s.
- 12 The World Student Christian Federation (WSCF), a global network of student associations, was organised in 1895 by John R. Mott, the American YMCA's leader for global ministry. It was an interconfessional organisation which attempted to support and unite student Christian movements throughout the world. The Russian Student Christian Movement was formally accepted as a member in 1913.
- 13 Gustave Gerard Kullmann (1894–1961) was a key leader in the YMCA's work among Russians, especially students. He was not an American but a European. He earned a university degree in Germany and a law degree at the University of Zürich. From 1918 to 1919 he was a YMCA secretary for student work in Switzerland, but in 1920 he began working with the American programme for émigré Russians. He belonged to the Swiss Reformed Church but in the 1930s converted to Russian Orthodoxy.
- 14 Berdyayev collaborated closely with French Catholic philosophers and writers, including Jacques Maritain and others associated with the journals *Esprit* and *Temps présent*.
- 15 Boris Petrovich Vysheslavtsev (1877–1954) was a professor of philosophy at Moscow University until he was exiled in 1922. He settled in Paris, where he taught at the *Institut de Théologie Orthodoxe St-Serge* and participated in the editorial work of the YMCA Press.
- 16 For an in-depth (656 pp.) evaluation of the philosophical trends represented by the journal's authors and the ideological evolution of the publication see Arzhakovsky (2000).
- 17 The East European Fund was set up as an independent organisation by the Ford Foundation in 1951 to assist émigrés from the USSR and increase knowledge of the USSR in the West. The fund provided financial grants to a wide range of organisations.
- 18 The Chekhov Publishing House was founded in 1951 by the East European Fund with financial support from the Ford Foundation. Publication focused on novels, memoirs and history which reflected and supported the development of western values. In 1956 the YMCA Press took over the sales of books published by the Chekhov Publishing House. From 1952 to 1956 Chekhov was the major publisher of Russian-language books in the noncommunist world: 162 titles were published.
- 19 Details on the publication of Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* are provided in Arkhipelag (1973). The issue of *Vestnik russkogo studencheskogo khristianskogo dvizheniya* in which this

- article appears also includes the first publication of Solzhenitsyn's *Zhit' ne po lzhi!* (pp. vii–viii, 1–3).
- 20 Solzhenitsyn describes the development of his relationship with the Press in more detail in Solzhenitsyn, 1995, pp. 216, 218, 222–23, 229–30, 235, 245, 247–48.
- 21 Nicolas Zernov (1898–1980) was born in Russia but emigrated during his student years. In Belgrade he participated in a student Christian group which eventually joined the Russian Student Christian Movement. Zernov became one of the most dynamic and influential leaders of the RSCM. He earned a doctoral degree from Oxford University, published a variety of books on Russian Orthodoxy and ecumenism, and travelled the world as a spokesman for the cause of Christian unity. During his later years he taught at Oxford.
- 22 For commentary on *Iz-pod glyb* see Raeff (1975).
- 23 For an additional perspective on the role of the YMCA Press in catalysing the preservation of Russian religious culture and promoting Orthodoxy in the West see Weidle (1976, pp. 4, 6).
- 24 On the 1990 Moscow exhibition see also Vystavka (1990). On a later trip to the Russian north, see Privalov (2002). For discussion of the broader context of publishing in Russia after 1985, see Batalden (1993).
- 25 Edgar 'Pete' MacNaughten (1882–1933) began his service among Russian prisoners of war with the YMCA in 1916. He was one of five YMCA secretaries who were able to work in Soviet Russia under the direction of the American Relief Administration (ARA) from 1922 to 1924. He was assigned to provide food aid to Russian professors and students: the programme was called the Student Relief Service. He later worked in Paris along with Paul B. Anderson and G. G. Kullman; MacNaughten preferred an interconfessional method of ministry rather than an exclusively Orthodox approach. However, he was an active fundraiser for the Orthodox Theological Institute.

References

(a) Books and Articles

- Anderson, P. B. (n.d.a) *No East or West: the Memoirs of Paul B. Anderson* (ed. D. E. Davis), unpublished draft in the possession of Dr Mark Elliott.
- Anon. (1985) 'Paul B. Anderson', *The Christian Century*, 102, 25 (14–21 August), p. 730.
- Arkipelag (1973) 'Arkipelag GULag', *Vestnik russkogo studencheskogo khristianskogo dvizheniia*, 108/109/110, II–III–IV, pp. iii–v.
- Arzhakovskiy, A. (2000) *Zhurnal Put' (1925–1940): pokoleniye russkikh religioznykh myslitelei v emigratsii* (Kiev, Feniks).
- Avgustin (2001) Arkhimandrit Avgustin (Nikitin), *Metodizm i pravoslaviye* (St Petersburg, Svetoch).
- Batalden, S. K. (1993) 'The contemporary politics of the Russian Bible: religious publication in a period of glasnost', in S. K. Batalden (ed.), *Seeking God: the Recovery of Religious Identity in Orthodox Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia* (DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press), pp. 232–47.
- Colton, E. T. (1940) *Forty Years with Russians* (New York, Association Press).
- Davies [sic: should be Davis], D. E. (1986) 'Paul B. Anderson (1894–1985)', *Sobornost*, 8, 1, pp. 55–58.
- Davis, D. E. (1987) 'The American YMCA and the Russian emigration', *Sobornost*, 9, pp. 24–41.
- Hayward, M. (1975) Introduction to A. Solzhenitsyn *et al.*, *From Under the Rubble* (trans. Michael Scammell) (Boston, Little, Brown, and Co.), pp. v–viii.
- Hecker, J. F. (1920) 'The religious characteristics of the Russian soul', *Methodist Review*, 103 (November), pp. 897–907.
- Hecker, J. F. (1933) *Religion and Communism: a Study of Religion and Atheism in Soviet Russia* (London, Chapman and Hall).

- Ivanova, Ye. V. (2004) 'Deyatel'nost' izdatel'stva "YMCA-Press" v Berline', *Vestnik russkogo khristianskogo dvizheniya*, 188, II, pp. 334–63.
- Johnston, R. H. (1988) *New Mecca, New Babylon: Paris and the Russian Exiles, 1920–1945* (Kingston, ON, McGill–Queen's University Press).
- Kartashev, A. V. and Struve, N. A. (1990) *70 let izdatel'stva 'YMCA-Press': 1920–1990* (Paris, YMCA Press).
- Kasinec, E. (1972) 'Bibliographical census: Russian emigre theologians and philosophers in the Seminary Library collection', *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 16, pp. 40–44.
- Latourette, K. S. (1957) *World Service: a History of the Foreign Work and World Service of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada* (New York, Association Press).
- Lowrie, D. A. (1960) *Rebellious Prophet: a Life of Nicolai Berdyaev* (New York, Harper and Brothers).
- Miller, M. L. (2006) *American Philanthropy among Russians: the Work of the YMCA, 1900–1940*, PhD thesis, University of Minnesota.
- Moskvin, V. (1992) 'YMCA-Press v gorodakh Rossii i Ukrainy', *Vestnik russkogo khristianskogo dvizheniya*, 166, III, pp. 280–82.
- Orr, W. (1919) 'Educational work of the Young Men's Christian Associations, 1916–1918', Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 53 (Washington, Government Printing Office).
- Privalov, I. (ed.) (2002) *'YMCA-Press' v Arkhangel'ske: vstrechi s N.A. Struve: lektsii, interv'yu, besedy* (Archangel'sk, Obshchina Khrama Sreteniya Gospodnya).
- Raeff, M. (1975) 'Iz-pod glyb and the history of Russian social thought', *Russian Review*, 34, pp. 476–88.
- Raeff, M. (1990) *Russia Abroad: a Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919–1939* (New York, Oxford University Press).
- Solzhenitsyn, A., Agursky, A. A. B., Barabanov, E., Borisov, V., Korsakov, F. and Shafarevich, I. (1975) *From Under the Rubble* (trans. Michael Scammell) (Boston, Little, Brown, and Co.).
- Solzhenitsyn, A. I. (1979) *The Oak and the Calf: Sketches of Literary Life in the Soviet Union* (trans. Harry Willetts) (New York, Harper and Row).
- Solzhenitsyn, A. (1995) *Invisible Allies* (trans. Alexis Klimoff and Michael Nicholson) (Washington, Counterpoint).
- Struve, N. (1980) 'IMKA-Press, 80-e gody' (interview with Nikita Struve by Vladimir Alloi), *Russkaya mysl'* (Paris), 11 September, 3325, p. 12.
- Struve, N. (1991) 'Retrieving the lost' (interview with Nikita Struve by V. Semenko), *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 1, pp. 43–45.
- Struve, N. (1996) 'IMKA-Press po goradam i vesyam Rossii i stolitsam vostochnoi Yevropy', *Vestnik russkogo khristianskogo dvizheniya*, 173, I, pp. 277–80.
- Vystavka (1990) 'Vystavka izdatel'stva IMKA-Press v Moskve', *Vestnik russkogo khristianskogo dvizheniya*, 159, II, pp. 307–10.
- Weidle, W. (1976) 'The YMCA-Press in Paris connects past and future', *The Orthodox Church*, May, pp. 4, 6.
- Yemel'yanova, T. (2000) '10-letniye "IMKA-Press" v Rossii', *Vestnik russkogo khristianskogo dvizheniya*, 181, III, pp. 266–68.
- Yezova, L. D. (2001) 'Pereosmysleniye opyta russkoi dukhovnoi kul'tury parizhskim zhurnalom *Put'*,' in K. Z. Akopian (ed.), *Rossiiskaya intelligentsiya na rodine i v zarubezh'ye: novyye dokumenty i materialy* (Moscow, Ministerstvo kul'tury Rossiiskoi Federatsii and Rossiisky institut kul'turologii).
- Zander, L. (ed.) (195?) *List of the Writings of Professors of the Russian Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris 1925–1954* (Paris, The Russian Orthodox Theological Institute).
- Zernov, N. (1976) 'The significance of the Russian Orthodox diaspora and its effect on the Christian West', in D. Baker (ed.), *The Orthodox Churches and the West* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell).

(b) Archival Material***Kautz Family YMCA Archives (KFYA), University of Minnesota Libraries, Minneapolis***

- Anderson, P. B. (n.d.b) *Russian Service in Europe, Annual Report for the Year 1925*. Annual Reports, 1925–29. Russian Work – Europe, Restricted, Correspondence and Reports, 1920–29, Annual Reports, 1920–29.
- Anderson, P. B. (n.d.c) *International Committee YMCA, Russian Work in 1949*. Russian Literature Account #3 1949–1950. YMCA of the USA, Anderson, Paul B, 2.
- Anderson, P. B. (1926a) Letter to E. T. Colton, 19 July. Karlovitz Criticism. Russian Church.
- Anderson, P. B. (1940a) *Administrative Report of Paul B. Anderson for 1939, Paris, France, 25 January*. Annual Reports 1933–49. Russian Work – Europe, Restricted, Budgets and Appropriations, Correspondence and Reports, 1950–, Financial Transactions.
- Anderson, P. B. (1949) *Russian Work in Europe, Report on Consultations in July and August 1949*, 9 August. 1964. France, Russian Work, 1925–1965.
- Anderson, P. B. (1951) Letter to John R. Mott, 19 April. Corr. and Reports 1950–. Russian Work, Restricted, Publications, YMCA Press in Paris.
- Anderson, P. B. (1959) *Progress Report on Russian Work*, 19 October. Chekhov, 10–12/59. France, RSCM – YMCA Press 1957–60, Chekhov Press, 1950s.
- Anderson, P. B. (1961) Memorandum to Millard F. Collins, Robert Frers and others, 21 April. 1960–61. France, Russian Work, 1956–1968.
- Anderson, P. B. (1972) *A Brief History of YMCA Press*, February. Corr. And Reports 1950–. Russian Work, Restricted, Publications, YMCA Press in Paris.
- Anderson, P. B. (1975a) *Visit with Alexander Solzhenitsyn [sic] and His Wife at the YMCA Press in Paris*, 13 April. Solzhenitsyn, YMCA of the USA, Anderson, Paul B, 3.
- Anderson, P. B. (1975b) Letter to Harry Brunger, 1 September. Solzhenitsyn. YMCA of the USA, Anderson, Paul B, 3.
- Colton, E. T. (1921) Letter ‘To the Friends of Our Service in Behalf of Russia’, 26 May, Correspondence. Russian Work, Restricted, Ethan T. Colton Collection.
- Colton, E. T. (1926) Letter to John R. Mott, 24 May. YMCA Relations (1926–). Russian Church.
- Copy (n.d.) Association Press, New York, *Advertising Copy on the Russian Service Book*. Orthodox Service Book. Russian Church.
- Feofan, Archbishop (1926) Letter to N. A. Klepinin, 2 December, translation. YMCA Relations (1926–). Russian Church.
- Hecker, J. F. (n.d.) *Statement Pertaining to Department of Foreign Language Publications*. Julius Hecker, 1915–1924. Russian Work, Restricted, Correspondence and Reports, 1922–44.
- Hibbard, C. V. (1921) Letter to Constantine Sakharov, 12 April. Correspondence and Reports, 1921. Russian Work, Restricted, Correspondence and Reports, 1918–21.
- Kullmann, G. G. (1925) Letter to E. T. Colton, 10 February. Y Press. YMCA of the USA, Anderson, Paul B, 3.
- List, S. (1974) ‘Portrait of an unusual publishing house’, *Die Zeit*, 25 January (trans. Paul B. Anderson), no page numbers. Articles. Russian Work, Restricted, Publications, YMCA Press in Paris.
- Lowrie, D. A. (1955) *Study of Russian Publishing Program*, 5 January. 1/55. France, Russian Work, 1954–1955, N. Goncharoff Research Project, 1954–1955.
- Marder, I. (1975) ‘One of the focal points of world publishing’, *International Herald Tribune*, 14 February, no page number. Articles. Russian Work, Restricted, Publications, YMCA Press in Paris.
- Nystrom, J. E. (1965) Memorandum to the members of the Executive Committee of the International Committee, YMCA’s, 4 February. Correspondence (C-D). Paul B. Anderson, Correspondence 1964–65.

- Raymont, H. (1968) 'Russian emigres gain in publishing', *The New York Times*, 30 October. Articles. Russian Work, Restricted, Publications, YMCA Press in Paris.
- Sakharov, C. (1921) Letter to the YMCA, 8 April. Correspondence and Reports, 1921. Russian Work, Restricted, Correspondence and Reports, 1918–21.
- So Faith Endured (1960) 'So faith endured ...', *Newsweek*, 24 October, reprint, no page number. M General. 1943–6. YMCA of the USA, Anderson, Paul B., 2.
- Survey (1930) [International Survey Committee], *Survey of North American YMCA Service to Russians in Europe*. Russia. International Survey – 1930, Roumania, Russia, South Africa, Box 12.
- Translations (1959) *Translations of Works by N. A. Berdyaev, Senior Editor Russian YMCA-Press, 1923–1947*, 1 June. Chekhov, 6-9/59. France, RSCM – YMCA Press 1957–60, Chekhov Press 1950s.
- Vladimir (1926) Letter from Vladimir [Nosovich] to the editor of *Put'*, 28 February. Russian Work. YMCA of the USA, Anderson, Paul B., 3.
- YMCA-Press (1975?) *YMCA-Press* (promotional sheet). YMCA Press. YMCA of the USA, Anderson, Paul B., 1.

Paul B. Anderson Papers (PBAP), Archives, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

- Anderson, P. B. (1926b) *The American Y.M.C.A. in Service for Russia*, November.
- Anderson, P. B. (1928) *Russian Literature Service 'YMCA Press'*, 1 March.
- Anderson, P. B. (1940b) *Notes on the Development of Y.M.C.A. Work for Russians Outside Russia, 1919–1939*.
- Fundamentals (1929) [Paul B. Anderson] *Fundamentals of the Young Men's Christian Association*, unpublished draft.