



UNIVERSITÀ
DEGLI STUDI
DI PADOVA

Sede Amministrativa: Università degli Studi di Padova
Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Geografiche e dell'Antichità.

SCUOLA DI DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN: STUDI STORICI, GEOGRAFICI, STORICO-RELIGIOSI.

INDIRIZZO: STUDI STORICI E DI STORIA RELIGIOSA

CICLO: XXVI

“The Orthodox Church Does Not Build on Other People's Foundations”.
The Orthodox Church in America during bishop Tikhon's years (1898-1907).

Direttore della Scuola: Ch.mo Prof. Maria Cristina La Rocca

Coordinatore d'indirizzo: Ch.mo Prof. Walter Panciera

Supervisore: Ch.mo Prof. Antonio Rigo

Dottorando: Monica Cognolato

Introduction	5
Chapter 1: Celebrating a Hundred Years of Mission in America.....	11
1.1 The Conquest.....	12
1.2 The Mission.....	17
1.3 Selling Alaska.....	26
1.4 The new San Francisco's See, adventures of settling.....	30
1.5 Bishop Nikolai (Ziorov).....	34
1.6 An Expanding Diocese?	39
1.7 A hundred years in America, seen by the Russian Orthodox Church.....	49
Chapter 2: A glance upon Tikhon's Diocese.....	54
2.1 Tikhon's Era (a hidden legacy?).....	55
2.1.2 A Short Biography.....	59
2.1.3 Landing.....	72
2.2 A difficult Staying: Tikhon's life in America.....	74
2.3 Tikhon's Church.....	94
2.3.2 A Church among the others.....	101
2.4 Tikhon's Diocese.....	129
Chapter 3: The first foundation. Clergy and structuration of the archbishopric.....	141
3.1. A clergy Soslovie rarity.....	145
3.2 We need clergy!.....	149
3.3 We need educated clergy.....	156
3.4 We need pastors.....	159
3.5 The Seraphim case.....	165
Chapter 4: The second foundation. Building Churches and acquiring Ecclesiastical Properties.....	171
4.1 Meaning of the temple, furnishing the temple.....	178
4.2 A project for the New York Cathedral.....	183
4.3 St. Tikhon's Monastery.....	187
4.4 From the shkolnoe delo to Minneapolis and Sitka's Seminaries.....	191
Chapter 5: The third foundation. Lay people between participation and identity.....	201
5.1 Trying to live with Uniates-reunited.....	203
5.2. Brotherhoods and Societies.....	208
5.3 Toward the 1907 council.....	214
5.4 An Orthodox Cultural production.....	218
Conclusions.....	228
Appendix	
1.The Bishops of the Mission	231
2. Immigration.....	231
3. Statistics.....	232
4. Parishes.....	235
Bibliography.....	249

Note on the names

In documents names of the clergy could be found transliterated in the documents in many different styles. Sometimes they are only anglicized, sometimes sounds are transformed to become understandable from English speaking population. In the thesis names will be standardized using scientific transliteration. Names of churches will be reported in English form.

Note on the Calendar

Difference between the Julian and Gregorian Calendar for the period considered is of 12 days before 1900 and thirteen days after. Usually Russian-American letters and documents reported both the systems of computation, while Russian documents used the Julian Calendar and American documents the Gregorian one. Nonetheless sometimes for Russian clergy living in America it is impossible to understand which one of the two is used by the writer in that specific letter.

Abbreviations

ARC Alaskan Russian Church, Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America. Diocese of Alaska. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington DC.

Documents are referred to as folder number, Reel number, photograph number.

RGIA Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv

GARF Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiskii Federatsii

Archival notation follows the standard practice of Russian archives: fond (f.), opis' (op.), delo (d.), list (l.), oborot (ob.).

APV Amerikanskii Pravoslavnoi Vestnik¹

Referred to through issue number, year of publication, pages. In case of English Supplements it is reported the month and year to which they refer to.

(ARC APV indicates that that issue could be found in the ARC archive. In this case both references are given).

¹ I would like Scott Kenworthy for sharing with me his APV copies, above his knowledge and support.

The Holy Orthodox Church

The Holy Orthodox Church possesses a Priesthood of unbroken succession from Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Her Liturgy is that of St. James of Jerusalem abbreviated by SS. Basil and Chrysostom. Her Ceremoonial is that of the Ancient Church, though well adapted to modern times. She numbers about one hundred and twenty-five millions of Christians, who are under the four Ancient Patriarchates of the East and the Holy Synod of Russia. In the United States besides the Russian, Syria-Arabic and Servian Clergy, whose names may be found in the subjoined list, there are several Greek Priests, who are under the Metropolitan of Athens, but who, so far as Episcopal Ministrations are concerned, call upon the Orthodox Archibishop of North America.

The Holy Orthodox Church recognizes but seven General Councils, and while holding inviolately the Catholic Faith as taught down to the close of the Seventh General, she is not in union with the fifth Patriarchate, namely, the Roman Catholic Church.

She holds out a loving hand to all who believe the *Ancient* Faith, whether in the East or West, and practice it, and who accept the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God. *Her continued prayer is for the unity of Christendom.*

From the *American Orthodox Messenger*, January 1906.²

² ARC APV Supplements, January 1906, pp. 61-64, D454, Reel 289, ff. 253-255.

Introduction

*Притом я старался благовествовать не там, где уже было известно имя Христово,
дабы не созидать начужом основании
Рим. 15, 20*

*Yea, so have I strived to preach the gospel, not where Christ was named,
lest I should build upon another man's foundation
Romans 15, 20*

Studying a diocese means inquiring the mechanisms sustaining a complex structure. A diocese has an internal hierarchy. It is the organic part of a broader institution, the Church. It should refer in different grades to the Holy Bible, the ancient canons and tradition together with the other organs of the Church. A diocese not only permits the maintainability of devotion practices and tools for daily parishes functioning but also is a vehicle, on the local level, of the developments and of the policies determined by a recognized Church central administration. It is thus the point of encounter of two types of history: cultural history (as history of religious thought, history of theology and history of spirituality) and material history. Each discipline refers to its own type of sources. Geographical delimitations of the diocese help us to understand the *événementiel* political history that will interact with it. Nonetheless, it should always be remembered that the church poses itself as the vanguard of the Kingdom of God, which opposes Eternity to the human measurements of time and Catholicity to national frontiers. Studying a Diocese in a precise moment of its history is then taking into account all these factors: external solicitations as well as internal tensions. It is a topic comprehending material, cultural and theological levels.

Our case-study, the only Orthodox diocese on the American continent in the years 1898-1907 proved to be a boundary structure. Besides the administrative role it had to maintain a missionary dimension on the basis of which it had relatively recently originated (1794). The missionary root made the structure preserve a distinguished Russian character, even though its widespread action extending from Alaska to Texas and from California to Cuba progressively involved immigrants coming from other Orthodox denominations in its life (initially recorded as Greeks, Syro-Arabs and Serbs but including also other nationalities). In these years the parishes previously referred to as areas of Mission were reshaped into structured institutions under the traditional form of deaneries while new types of Missions opened. However the neighboring presence other Christian confessions questioned the existence of the Orthodox Mission in America itself. Rethinking the role

of Orthodoxy in another country, outside the historic patriarchates was a challenge. Orthodoxy extending in America found itself not only outside the ancient Christian jurisdictional division but also bordering modern forms of Christian communities, which had developed from theological, sociological and historical motives that had been somehow underestimated in the old patriarchates but that strongly emerged as daily reality in the multi-religious American frame.³ Meeting with other Christian confessions was not a choice. Nonetheless this process meant to overcome the believers' religious identity, investing the human perception of self, of tradition (intended here as institutionalized system of devotion as well as collective memory), of rooted patterns of thought. The rethinking process itself was not to be taken for granted, since it required a great commitment on the bishop's part, who started while holding a leading position. Starting from the cases that arrived on his desk, he had to choose which was the world where he and his flock were to live, he had to decide whether to change or remain in the old pattern, with only Orthodox economical system and tradition on his side. The bishop appointed to the American See assumed his responsibility, thus becoming a guide toward a precise direction. He became the conscious builder of an Orthodox Church as well.

Bishop Tikhon

The leading position in North American and Aleutian Diocese from 1898 to 1907 was occupied by the young bishop Tikhon Bellavin (1865-1925). He became famous in America for his projects on the nascent eparchy and the broad material reorganization and intellectual redefinition he set up. Tikhon Bellavin was later elected patriarch of All Russias in 1917. This is the main topic argument articles regarding him explore. What happened in the last eight years of his life, the decisions he made in those difficult times as well as the Bolshevik reactions, the resolutions of the other churches, the Russian diaspora doubts and vindications are the most studied episodes of his life. Since he became a controversial character in Russian history and since Tikhon was not used to writing about himself we do not possess by now a biography that could clarify his vision of life, of church, of devotion.

Studying the American Diocese is also rediscovering the experiences that formed Tikhon's perspectives on the world. The period in which he held the position abroad was characterized in Russia by strong claims of church renovation. He, who was residing over the ocean, could only be a spectator of these movements, and had to form his opinions without the possibility of a concrete commitment. He was forced to patience and inactive observation of Russian ecclesiastical debates

³ J. FRISHMAN, W. OTTEN AND G. ROUWHORST, *Religious Identity and the Problem of Historical Foundation. The foundational character of Authoritative Sources in the History of Christianity and Judaism*. Brill 2004.

while dedicating his time to daily American occupations and the development of immediate projects as well as broader visions.

The flock

Studying Orthodoxy in America means first of all talking about immigrant communities. Strictly referring to material data, the development of the diocese could be ascribed originally to the increasing arrival of Orthodox believers on the American shores. As for the decade taken into consideration the records of the diocese reported at least a triplication in the number of parishioners. However, the efforts of the administration to provide pastorship to the whole flock however could not demonstrate the necessity to introduce variations to the traditional answers of church structuring. The Diocese development was the product also of the disorganized arrival of these first waves of immigrants. Orthodox denominations in America were seldom able to form a parish on ethnic basis. Each parish stemmed from a particular story of mixing different motherland cultures and fighting to preserve their heritage from Americanization processes. Communities were then able to create, through the mediation of Russian administrative and financial tools a collective memory in which they could set their own position in the New World.⁴

This first immigration was very different from the later diaspora which overlapped with it after a period of permanence in Europe. The trauma of Russian revolution and dissent between several factions in Russian Orthodoxy had not occurred yet as well as first World War repercussions on national claims could not be perceived. A peculiarity of these years, not always underlined by historiography, is that they were pre-traumas years, pre-world war years and pre-fallen of the Empires years. Immigrants conserved a different perspective of the world, of the New World and of the future. Tikhonian diocese had answered to Americanization processes in a pre-trauma condition developing a different a world view that turned out to be different from the one deriving from diaspora. American Orthodox tradition formed before and during Tikhonian years was mainly the reasoned accumulation of the collective memories of the different communities.⁵ The biggest challenge to face was maybe that of making the collective memories coexist in a concord narration of them all, which could fit the exigencies of all American parishes.

Although dissimilar from the later diaspora perspective, immigrants at the turn of the century conserved a strong relationship with their motherland and its habits. The life of the Diocese in the New World was repeatedly affected by events happening outside its borders. The continuous

4 The possibilities obtained through these means permitted them to raise vindications of autonomy in later years.

5 M. RAEFF, *Russia abroad: a cultural history of the Russian Emigration, 1919-1939*, Oxford University Press, New York 1990; N. ZERNOV, *The Russian Religious Reinassance of the twentieth century*, Harper and Row, New York 1963; A. ARJAKOVSKY, *The Way: Religious Thinkers of the Russian Emigration in Paris and Their Journal, 1915-1940*, Univrsity of Notre Dame Press 2013.

connection between American communities and their European roots should be taken into account while reading even the most American-centered issue. As a matter of fact this research could be included also into the field of trans-regional studies.

A Dialogue-based equilibrium

Starting then from the traditional *vulgata* of a leading bishop always remembered together with the controversial judgments of the decisions taken in his later years, and the few scientific works focused on his life in America, the present thesis is supposed to investigate in what consisted the bishop's leadership consisted beyond the explication of a traditional authority. It should be pointed out how concretely this leadership was exercised: which the specific problems posed to the interest of the young bishop were, how he solved them, and the criteria on the basis of which he acted, to conclude with the the Diocesan composite flock's answers to his guidance.

The documents conserved at the ARC (Alaskan Russian Church) archive at the Library of Congress on which this thesis is based are for the most part letters addressed to the bishop. Parish clergy and lay people wrote to him from the scattered parishes in the vast territories of North America. Unfortunately we could not count on the direct answers to these letters, the presence of which could complete the present work. Nonetheless concrete resolutions and other written documents answer to the problems addressed to the bishop. Reading Tikhon's refined homilies and articles printed in the diocesan bulletin offer a deep point of view on the several issues posed to his attention. Throughout the explanation of the processes, traditions grew in the eparchy and cases, community level of parishes' life is the one emerging most, since the documents usually concern strictly local matters. This micro-history is used in explaining the construction of an eparchial discourse.

The thesis would be outlined by the dialog between the two main focuses, the bishop on one side, the Diocese and his flock on the other.

The Russian soul of the Diocese in the American landscape

Young Tikhon was a Russian bishop. His models and patterns were Russian. The diocese he administered was nominally Russian too. Even though Orthodoxy in America could be considered the most peripheral land that was subdued to Russian influence, nonetheless Russian was the main language used in diocesan internal communications at this age and the educational agencies from which missionaries received their formation were Russian. So it is mainly in this pre-revolutionary world that we have to search for cultural answers and interpretations in dealing with Orthodoxy in America, together with a broader glance on Eastern Christian traditions.

Russian Orthodoxy at the end of XIX century has already been the object of many inquiries. However, recently previous historiographical certainties have been questioned in reason of new archival proofs. As professor Freeze proposed, during Silver age the church estate could not be completely relegated to the role of handmaiden of the state.⁶ This point of view is being nowadays progressively accepted. Diocesan administration, parish level, monastic life, missions, clergy *soslovie* with its social webs and institutions have increasingly become more and more materials for new research and books reinforcing scholarship on Russian Church History against old stereotypes. Also the present research aims to give a little contribution to this field, exploring the case of a Russian Mission outside the borders of Russian Empire.

Sources

The topic of this thesis which invested the period of Tikhon's American years, has received some interest by St. Vladimir's Seminary students, who especially in the sixties and seventy of the last century recollected materials and let the young bishop's service in the new world emerge. Though they were used to spread a precise point of view towards facts, in reading the past and the future of Orthodoxy in America, they started for the first time to take into consideration the American Orthodox Messenger and documents of Tikhon's time. In order to promote further researches it was necessary to augment the number of primary sources. The archive upon which the present thesis is based is the ARC (Alaskan Russian Church) fund in LC (Library of Congress). It was cataloged in 1984 and is easily manageable through microfilmed material.⁷ The ARC fund is the product of the sedimentation of donations. The first donation was given by the Most Reverend John S. Kedroff (Ioann S. Kedrovskii), Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Churches in North America and Canada in 1927.⁸ A second donation came from the Metropolitan Council of church in 1940 and the third one from the Right Reverend Nicholas J. Kedroff in 1943.

6 G. L. FREEZE, *Handmaiden of the State? The Orthodox Church in Imperial Russia reconsidered*, Journal of Ecclesiastical History 36 (1985), pp. 82-102.

7 *Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America, Diocese of Alaska Records. A Finding Aid to the Collection in the Library of Congress*. Prepared by Antoinette Shalkop, Brian McGuire, Vera W. DeBuchananne and staff members of the Manuscript and European division of the Library of Congress. Manuscript Division Library of Congress, Washington DC 2011. I will use this last edition though the first one was published in 1984.

8 The first donation is a part of the San Francisco Diocesan Archive that was moved from the Cathedral See to Minneapolis Seminary in the first years after its opening. The majority of the documents carried there seemed to have been moved to the Cathedral See in New York city in 1905, this is why Metropolitan John Kedroff (Ioann Kedrovskii) claimed jurisdiction. The rest of the documents regarding the San Francisco Archive were sent to the University of Minnesota and then transferred to the OCA Archive, in which since 1991 also other documents regarding the New York Cathedral Archive were gathered. Other documents coming from San Francisco Archive were kept in deanery Archives or sent to Chicago after the establishment of the Diocese of Minneapolis and Chicago. The last documents which remained in San Francisco were destroyed during the earthquake of 1906. Archive moving and dispersion caused also loss of documents and their displacing in private collections. *The Right Reverend Nestor, Bishop of the Aleutians and Alaska 1879-1882. Correspondence, reports, diary*. Translated and Edited by George Soldatow. Vol. I-II, AARDM Press, Minneapolis Minnesota 1993 (2nd 2000), vol.II p. 98.

The ARC fund conserved only a part of the materials about Tikhon's years. Other funds are those of the OCA archive, the AARDM archive and deaneries Archives. Another source of information could be found in the Russian Embassy in the United States fund, now located in Maryland at the NARA Archives under the name of Records of Imperial Consulates in the United States 1862-1922. Lack of time prevented from the examination of these sources.⁹

As for printed documents it was possible to refer to George Soldatow's production. While working with the materials from AARDM Archive and the OCA Archive he produced several contributions to the history of the American Diocese recollecting letters and materials written by the most prominent missionaries of those years. Two volumes were dedicated to father Alexander Hotovitskii's (archpriest in New York) writings and a volume was dedicated to father Ioann Nezdel'nitskii (Rural dean of the Eastern States).¹⁰ Moreover letters written by Tikhon during his American years and conserved in the RGIA fund in Moscow have been collected into a volume by A. Popov (PST *Pis'ma sviatitelia Tikhona Amerikanskii period zhizni i deiatel'nosti sviatitelia Tikhona Moskovskogo*, SPB 2010.).

The third primary source is the Diocesan Messenger (APV Amerikanskii Pravoslavnoi Vestnik). Articles published from 1898 to 1907 gave the historians the possibility to reconstruct not only the material appearance of the diocese but also the theological directions followed in those years. The homilies of the bishop are not seldom hosted in those very pages, and in rare cases even translated into English. Reprints of Tikhon's homilies have appeared in the last decade in separate collections.

9 The Catalog can be found online <http://www.archives.gov/research/microfilm/m1486.pdf>

10 *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946. Podvizhnik Pravoslaviia v Amerike. Sbornik pisem, statei i dokumentov*, Pod. Red. G. M. Soldatowa, T. I, 1896-1909, AARDM Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota 2011; *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi v Amerike*. Pod. Red. G. M. Soldatowa, T. I, 1896-1909, AARDM Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota 1998.

Chapter 1: Celebrating a Hundred Years of Mission in America

Although traveling by river was a joy, traveling on horseback was even better. In the forests, mountains and ravines, we saw everything. The fields everywhere were green and the season was joyous. It was May, June, July; but only bears grazed. We have seen enough of them, although they are peaceful. They are specialists in frightening horses. What I never even heard about, God has given me the possibility to see: sea otter, beaver, whales coming near our ship, swimming and playing. Those whales are the small animals, 40 meters long, the head about 15 meters.

(from a Letter of Monk Herman to Valaam)¹¹

In 1794 eight monks and two novices, mainly coming from the Valaam monastery and engaged by empress Catherine II arrived in the New Continent to spread Orthodox Church between natives, and spiritually guide Russian conquerors. In order to reach Alaska they had to cross Siberia. Their journey across the Russian Empire had taken an entire year. During the journey they had seen things they had never thought of, listened to languages not yet written, seen missionaries evangelizing and other travelers who in the ancestral slow walking through the eastern roads were the only heralds in lands still lacking colonizers. It was a big, quite empty empire even though its population was one of the biggest in the world. Catherine II sent these monks to the Alaskan natives, such a small and dispersed population, in the middle of a savage and hostile land, because Grigorii Ivanovich Shelikov, chief of the American Russian Company (the main company of those which were allowed to administer, trade and especially hunt in Alaska), asked for spiritual guidance for his men and for the natives.

Were they the first Orthodox people to come to America? Probably not. The “primogeniture” has to be assigned to others. For example in a legend we find rumors of a lost “Novgorod Colony”

¹¹ Quoted from BISHOP GREGORY (AFONSKY), *A History of the Orthodox Church in Alaska 1794-1917*, Kodiak 1977, pp. 24-25.

in Alaska,¹² then there are news from Spanish conquerors of Russian settlements in California, during the Reign of Carlos IV,¹³ or some other documents in the USA about single Orthodox people, converts, traveling through the country for business or pleasure. Philipp Ludwell was one of them.¹⁴ But the first organized mission was certainly the 1794 Russian one.

In 1894 a hundred years had passed since the first mission, and Orthodox Russians decided to celebrate their anniversary in the New World. The Mission had undergone many changes in a century. Though Alaska had been sold to the United States in 1867, Orthodoxy had already become part of the natives' life. Also, the bishop's see was not in Alaska anymore. It was moved to San Francisco. The whole Orthodox Mission was involved in the centenary festivities. Anywhere in the American Orthodox parishes special celebrations were being organized. In Russia, the Orthodox Church provided a publication about the mission. Alexander P. Lopukhin, was charged with the writing of the leaflet; he was a monk who in the eighties had worked in New York chapel and had already written books and articles about life and religion in America. These were the beginnings of the Missionary Diocese.

1.1 The Conquest

Russian presence in Alaska was rooted in an age-old process of conquering, which increased simultaneously to the European Epoch of explorations. In late 16th century the Muscovite Empire, finally free from Tatar yoke, was trying to enlarge its dominions and economic opportunities. Spain, Portugal, Holland, England sent ships to the New Worlds or tried to find an East-way through the sea. Russian adventurers preferred a conquering cavalcade towards eastern lands. Kliuchevskii, emphasizing the importance of this process in the creation of the Empire renamed Russian history as the “History of a nation that colonizes itself”.¹⁵ During following centuries the center of the empire considered it as a successful enterprise from several points of view: an attempt to enlarge and strengthen the empire, a hunting industry (through land and fur exploitation), a civilizing enterprise, an apostolic call towards Heathenism.¹⁶

12 T. FARRELLY, *A Lost colony of Novgorod in Alaska*, Slavonic and East European Review. American Series, 3/3 (oct.1944), pp. 33-38.

13 Records of the Russian-American Co. 1802-1867, The National Archives, Washington 1942, Roll #1, p.87-89, 91-94. Quoted from *The Right Reverend Nestor, Bishop of the Aleutians and Alaska 1879-1882. Correspondence, reports, diary*. Translated and Edited by George Soldatow. Vol. I AARDM Press, Minneapolis Minnesota 1993, p.9.

14 See www.orthodoxhistory.org

15 V. O. KLIUCHEVSKII, *Kurs Russkoi Istorii*, SPB1904. Lesson II <http://www.spsl.nsc.ru/history/kluch/kluch02.htm>

16 M. BASSIN, *Inventing Siberia: Visions of the Russian East in the Early Nineteenth Century*, The American Historical

As far as method is concerned, Russian expeditions to the East followed a traditional pattern: groups of armed bands (mainly Cossacks), were sent from the sovereign or from merchants to other lands, asking for tributes. For the most part they were *promyshlenniki* (fur hunters), self-contractors, self-entrepreneurs who gathered for a unique purpose, enrichment through hunting and fur trade. They were headed by generals, no less avid than the recruits themselves and urged to go to East, to hunt or buy fur from natives. This going East was an appropriation of lands in the name of Russian Czars as well. If a territory was seized by Russians it had to pay fur-taxes to Moscow. They served as a common means of interchange and of earning money from commerce. Fur became the common method of payment everywhere in Siberia. For its importance it was called “soft-gold”. It was a great business and the effort of gaining fur for oneself encouraged the Russian run to the East, whose cruelty fell at the end on natives and the lands *promyshlenniki* entered. The conquest was slowly structured within a web of fortresses, which were built farther and farther Eastward. They were the visible sign of Russian presence among Siberian tribes. Those fortified castles helped the *promyshlenniki* in dangerous occasions, repairing them from the adverse powers of the wild steppe. Conquering Siberia was not easy, rebellions against cruel methods of submission performed by the Cossacks toward natives required constant energies and new armies. Siberian tribes tried to raise against submission, raiding and depredation of fur as well as of boys and girls captured as slaves and sold in eastern region markets. Exploitation of people and lands, bore hard on them. The number of natives living in Siberia decreased, due to hardness of life and new diseases, carried by the conquerors. Sometimes mutinies started even from Cossacks lines either against their own rulers, or because of rivalry between the *promyshlenniki* who craved for commanding the expeditions. This conquering system, without a powerful guidance gave the Siberian submission a discontinuous, uncertain and rebellious character.¹⁷

It was this age-old process that carried Russians to cross the Eastern strait and to rule over Alaska. After the conquest of the Kurili Islands, Peter the Great decided to prepare an expedition to reveal if Asia and America were divided North-East. In 1727 he appointed a Danish sailor, Captain Vitus Bering, to accomplish this expedition. In 1728 Bering discovered the strait that now owns his name, traveling across it with the “*St. Gabriel*”, but he made no landfall on the American side. Due to the raise of rebellions in Kamchatka peninsula, the conquest had to stop for a decade.

Review, 96/3 (Jun 1991), pp. 763-794.

17 J. FORSYTH, *A History of the People of Siberia, Russian's North Asian Colony 1581-1990*, Cambridge University Press 1992; R. RISALITI, *Storia Problematica della Russia (XIV-XIX sec.). La formazione dello stato tricontinentale*, Firenze 2002, pp. 32-55; M. OLEKSA, *Orthodox Alaska. A theology of Mission*, Crestwood (NY), 1992, p. 81; J.R. GIBSON, *Russian Expansion in Siberia and America*, the Geographical Review, 70/2 (Apr.1980), pp. 127-136.

Moreover the awareness of the importance of drawing maps of the lands had increased.¹⁸ Discovering a new land involved the crossing of the sea, with bad weather conditions and a myriad of islands where collisions were possible, and this confirmed the awareness: it was necessary to draw maps of the land and islands, in order to survive the fury of the treacherous northern seas. The discovering of the Aleutian chain started in 1740 and was conducted together with a mapping process of the coasts of the Islands. This was a way firstly to catalog dangerous dockings and passages, in order to prevent shipwrecks, and then of numbering Islands and tribes. It took fifty years to map Aleutian Islands, Alaska Peninsula's coasts and Kodiak Island. This task was carried out through the endurance of little expeditions of fur hunters, who lived in one or another island long enough to reach a sufficient quantity of soft-gold to continue the enterprise. Little by little these experiences were organized and recognized as small fur-companies working on their own, which had to divide the profits of fur commerce only among the hunters. Most of the time Russian business venture in Alaska was then, also a discovering project, covering at the beginning the coasts and later the mainland. In 1812 the Russian hunters-conquerors founded Fort Ross, the southernmost possession of their colony, not far from Yerba Buena (renamed later San Francisco). It remained a Russian dominion despite the pressures of Spanish conquerors and settlers in California. In 1841 Fort Ross was sold to a private citizen, losing its role of vanguard of the Russian colony. In 1849 gold was found in California, even not far from Fort Ross as well. The golden rush had begun. Attracted by the high profits of fur and then also of gold a lot of *promyshlenniki* came to Alaska. Other Orthodox populations became sensible to this type of immigration too, as for example Serbs and Greeks.

The process of discovering Alaska was helped by the attention paid to its asperities. Nevertheless in spite of this cautiousness shipwrecks, inclemency of the weather, hard life together with bad nourishment among the crew, slowed the discovering operations. Even when they were in Siberia, Russians had to dwell with an unfortunate climate situation. Temperatures were extremely low and scarce and scant populations lived in tribes dispersed through the Islands, owing its hard traditions and style of life engraved into themselves by a secular fight with their land. They knew what to eat, and their bodies were fit to that, even though nourishing diseases were common. Furthermore frequent epidemics affected the populations, killing Russians as well as Alaskan natives. Vaccinations introduced by the conquerors became during those years a way of pacific contact and trust between them. In Alaska and Aleutian Islands in particular natives lived a hard life. The coast and Islands were inhabited by a large number of tribes, struggling with their lands to

18 V. KIVELSON, *Cartographies of Tsardom: the land and its meaning in seventeenth-century Russia*, Cornell University Press 2006, pp. 24-28.

survive. Inland life was the hardest one, because of the difficulty to find food, which was slightly easier to retrieve in the coast. The Alaskan diet was mainly composed by dried fish and hunt products. In summer it was possible fortunately to catch berries and gather mushrooms. The “potato line” had to be found later, in Sitka. Potato was the only agricultural species that could survive this North. This cultivation was experimented only with the arrival of missionaries. Russians had to dwell with the difficulty of carrying supplies from the Empire, they could not bear such a hard life without the help of their motherland's products.¹⁹

Alaska was difficult to conquer, both because of the presence of some warlike tribes and natural adversities. From the Aleutian, the northernmost tribe, living in the Aleutians chain, then in those islands like the Pribilof, St. George and St. Paul, Atka, Unalaska, Umnak divided between Sugpiaq, Unangan tribes and going more and more southward to Kodiak people, to the Tlingit tribes of Sitka, (the southern population) and the Eskimos and Athabascans living in the mainland, each group had its own particularities, history, language as well as a different approach to others and to religion. It should be enough to say that they were all conquered, because Russian venture had a strong military dimension, beyond the commercial one. Sometimes they rebelled against Russian conquerors, sometimes they helped them against their natural enemies from other tribes.²⁰ They hardly suffered the ruling of strangers, and saw their territory being both topographically as traditionally overlapped by theirs. New Russian names covered most of the old Heathen denominations. In the meanwhile Earthquakes and tsunamis affected the iced land, joining the apocalyptic conquest of Alaska and the uprising of local tribes against the conquerors. The “Soft-gold run” had soon started also in these territories. Sources were poor and the hunting system was different from Siberia by reason of a particular fauna. Sea otter was the common prey. Its value was higher than that of the sable, previously hunted in Siberia. Its color, extraordinarily similar to the white and grey land shades made hunting more difficult. Conquerors had to enslave natives because their eye-adaptation to the land was the only way to capture wildlife. Russians did not learn the new hunting skills, but simply organized Alaskan hunt-trade exploitation, guiding the natives in

19 G. A. MILLER, *Kodiak Kreol. Communities of Empire in Early Russian America*, Cornell University Press, 2010, which provides also a huge bibliography about concrete life in Russian America.

20 M. J. OLEKSA, *San German di Nuovo Valaam e l'evangelizzazione degli leuti di Kodiak*, in I. POPOV – G. M. PROCHOROV – T. R. RUDI – M. BADANIN – M. J. OLEKSA – E. V. ANISIMOV – A. B. EFIMOV – N. KAUCHTSCHISCHWILI – B. KUVŠINSKIJ – S. L. FIRSOV – S. MERLO – A. G. KRAVECKIJ – N. STRUVE – H. DYNIA – G. KOČETKOV – E. CLAPSIS, *Le missioni della chiesa ortodossa russa*, Magnano (BI), 2007, pp. 93-106; M. J. OLEKSA, *Orthodox Alaska. A Theology of Mission*, Crestwood 1992; M. J. OLEKSA, *Orthodoxy and the Evolution of the Aleut Culture*, in J. MEYENDORFF – D. OBOLENSKY – A. E. N. TACHIAOS – S. HACKEL – D. CONOMOS – V. MOROSAN – R. L. NICHOLS – P. VALLIERE – J. W. CUNNINGHAM – J. BRECK – J. PELIKAN – D. I. CIOBOTEA – S. S. HARAKAS – B. BOBRINSKOY – T. HOPKO – ARCHIMANDRITE AVGUSTIN (NIKITIN) – M. OLEKSA – D. GRIGORIEFF – L. KISHKOVSKY, *The Legacy of St Vladimir*, Crestwood (NY) 1990, pp. 243-248; L. T. BLACK, «*The Daily Journal of Father Juvenal*»: *A Cautionary Tale*, *Ethnohistory* 28/1 (Winter 1981), pp. 33-58, 42-43.

expeditions that could last even more than 4 years. The main interest Russians had in this new land was as in Siberia a hunting one, but the distance from European lands and scarcity of Russian colonizers urged Catherine II to give these lands to a single Fur Company, enabling it to organize and govern the developing colony. In 1781 the “Russian Trade Company” was born. In 1784 after the Sitkalidak battle, the series of successful battles which let Russians conquer Alaska started. Grigorii Ivanovich Shelikov, a Siberian trader took advantage of this situation and organized Russian conquerors in hunting and discovering Alaska. Natives surrendered to weapons and to the threats of Russian conquerors. They handed their sons and daughters over as prisoners, fearing what could happen to them and the rest of their family. These hostages were housed apart and taught Russian language and manner, so that they could become the bulk of the colony. Besides the battle, a permanent settlement was built in Kodiak. It was supposed to constitute the central nucleus of the colony.

In 1799 the “Russian-American Company” was formed, under the aegis of the Russian Emperor Paul I. It gained Monopoly over Alaska eventually resulting the winner among several other companies that until that moment had continued to conflict one with each other. A charter, which conferred administrative authority toward the Alaskan colony, was granted to this institution. The charter was successively confirmed by the other emperors, and remained as law until 1863. The Russian Monopoly soon crashed with European trade. First contacts with European armies in America showed the features was of a competitive trade. Russians never succeeded in selling pelts to West countries. Their enterprise and rule was constricted in isolation. They even had to be careful to pass information about their possessions to maintain control over the lands. Moreover, Europeans also tried to stir up Alaskan population against Russian rule and sold them weapons to sustain their attempts to rebel.

Russians had already tried to communicate with natives in the first fifty years of settlement. Relationships were hard, and for the most part focused on exploitation and women-catching. Most Russians were male. The permanence of this male community gave rise to a *metis* bilingual population, grown up in Alaskan habits by their Alaskan mothers and endowed with Alaskan hunting skills. Sometimes they had Russian names, knowledge of Russian language and rudiments of alphabetization.²¹ Also imperial directives encouraged the intermarriage, for several reasons. One of the them was to limit the diffusion of venereal diseases that the Russian *promyshlenniki* carried with them. Then, they aimed to facilitate the building of a strong and intermingled colonial society.²²

21 G. A. MILLER, *Kodiak Kreol* pp. 106-110.

22 BISHOP GREGORY (AFONSKY), *A History of the Orthodox Church in Alaska*, Kodiak Alaska 1978, pp.1-8; R. J. GIBSON,

Alaska became a commercial domain, ruled by a fur commercial company that owned monopoly over the land, the sea and local tribes. In exchange they promised Catherine II to take care of the population. The effects of these decisions fell on the people of Alaska and the wildlife. Animals decreased in number. The local fauna was seriously damaged by the insane exploitation of Russian companies.

1.2 The Mission

The Orthodox Mission in Alaska started as a historical product before Russian Church could be able to manage it. The development of an Orthodox Mission in America was close and consequent to the development of an idea of mission in Russian ecclesiastical circles and Academies. Through the expansion of the Empire, the so called Third Rome from Ivan III onwards, had acquired a religious character, and a messianic sense underneath its conquering waves; the concrete evangelization was sometimes left to the blow of the Holy Spirit.²³

The Slavic Orthodox tradition founded itself on the Cyrill-Methodian mission. Most of the time that was the main paradigm of missionary work. Single persons or little groups of monks felt an inner call to evangelization of the Heathen populations who lived among them. Following the conquering of itself, the struggling for freedom from Tatars, St. Rus' bore an array of Evangelizer Saints, like Hourgh (Gurii) and Barsanuphii, the “First to illuminate Kazan”. Since ancient times missionary monks or lays have been granted a particular place among the saints. They were called “Equal to Apostles” and this is the epithet Orthodox Church still continue to give them.²⁴ Their sanctity is classified through what they did in their life and not for the way they died. They own a special veneration among converted populations. At the beginning Russian mission was not an organic endeavor, financially supported by the state, but a free choice of single and remarkable individuals or a task that the Christian emperor asked them to accomplish (*podvig*).²⁵

European Dependence upon American Natives: the Case of Russian America, Ethnohistory 25/4 (Autumn 1978), pp. 359-385; V. ROCHAU, *St. Herman of Alaska and the Defense of Alaskan Native Peoples*, SVTQ 16/1 (1972), pp. 17-39; G. A. MILLER, *Kodiak Kreol* pp. 68-76.

23 V. SOLOVIEV, *La Russia e la Chiesa universale*, Edizioni di comunità, Milano 1947, see in particular the foreword written by Jean Gauvin.

24 O. CLEMENT, *La Chiesa ortodossa*, Brescia 2005. (*L'Église orthodoxe*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 2002); Russian bibliography in E. I. KOCHETKOVA, *Missionerskaia deiatel'nost' Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi vo vtoroi polovine XIX- nachale XX vv*, *Izvestiia Tul'skogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Gumanitarnye nauki* 2 (2010), pp. 75-83.

25 N. STRUVE, *Orthodox Missions. Past and Present*, SVTQ 7/1 (1963), pp. 31-42.

An entire Russian region, Karelia was converted through the foundation of monasteries between 13th and 15th century. They were the light of Christianity that had to illuminate the land surrounding them through their Christian culture, sanctity of life and *ritmia*, and to conquer populations to the True faith.²⁶ The quiet life of monasteries was forged after settling in pagan lands and taking the challenge with pagan idols that slowly were overthrown by building churches over temples or places considered sacred by the local religions. The *Regula* of the monasteries, that articulated the hours of the day founding them on prayer, strengthened the monks during their own fight. But Christianization was not only a destructive process. Monks trained themselves in the art of missionary work, remodeling their attitude towards pagan people upon that of the Cyrill-Methodian Mission. For example, we can read about Stefan of Perm', considered the first Russian missionary monk:

Stefan is similar to those Christian missionaries of the first millennium who preaching beyond the boundaries of the first Roman and then Byzantine Empire among pagan illiterates, created alphabets and grammars using their languages and did translations to those languages, eminently from Greek language. This is the case of Glagolitic Slav.²⁷

For a missionary monk his previous permanence in the monastery was indispensable. Where else could he have the opportunity to learn to read, write in Russian and to manage Greek language? Not only did monasteries build Christian souls, but they also helped the monks to develop missionary skills, realizing the missionary purpose hidden inside the Christian message of Salvation, which is not reserved but offered to the whole humankind.

Christianity in Siberia and Alaska came mostly with the Russian Rule, the mission itself was sometimes considered a step consequent o precedent to the conquest of a territory. Furthermore governors or local authorities often considered the missionary presence as a tool in administering and subjecting natives. It is maybe for this reason that Eugene Smirnoff called these first Russian monks: *colonist-monks*. From 1740 to 1764 was instituted also an *Agency for Converters' Affairs*. This institution increased the dissent toward the Russian empire among those who did not want to convert. The Agency was furnished of money and flour in order to ease conversions. The priests who worked there were the main spreaders and interpreters of the law, permitting privileges to those who converted to orthodoxy (as the exemption for soul' taxation, the impunity in case of

26 These Karelian monasteries were Valaam, Konevec, Murom, Paleostrov and Solovki. See G. M. PROCHOROV, *Alcune note su missione ortodossa e storia russa*, in I. POPOV – G. M. PROCHOROV – T. R. RUDI – M. BADANIN – M. J. OLEKSA – E. V. ANISIMOV – A. B. EFIMOV – N. KAUCHTSCHISCHWILI – B. KUVŠINSKIJ – S. L. FIRSOV – S. MERLO – A. G. KRAVECKIJ – N. STRUVE – H. DYNNA – G. KOČETKOV – E. CLAPSIS, *Le missioni della chiesa ortodossa russa*, Magnano (BI), 2007, pp. 35-52, 36.

27 Ivi p. 41.

delinquents...). Inequalities and injustices become an issue to report to the Sovereign in order to mitigate the “power of conversion”, that had become a way to escape social constrictions.²⁸ Conversions were perceived as a matter of exchange for benefits.

Later on the paradigm of conquest through or with the help and presence of missionaries was feared outside Russian boundaries as a first step to the conquest. Help from Imperial Russia was given in fact also to other Orthodox churches, like that of Syria and Palestine in their territories. This enterprise set off accusation from European countries of a conquering effort of the Russian Empire towards those lands. Moreover this paradigm of colonization, was not extraneous to the other powers.²⁹ But we can record also Russian missions that were not carried with an explicit thought of conquest, as those of China (1686), Japan (1861) and Korea (1898).³⁰ The trembling relationship between armies and missionaries became more uncomfortable also in consequence of the introduction of the Christian message. This pattern was frequent especially in Petrine times. Pagan populations sometimes assumed Colonization, Russification and Christianization as three faces of a unique process. But this perception was different in each context, due to local conditions and the relationship built between people and Russian rulers. Missionaries sometimes were deemed nearer than the Russian administration by the Heathens and used as a medium, as interpreters of their needs, which they presented to the Russian Governors of the region. Monks were considered not only as translators but as real interpreters, the most educated men the local population could refer to.³¹

Missionaries built ecclesiastical schools in their land of work, to teach how to read and write in Russian language. In those schools, the local language was taught as well, thanks to a proper alphabet, invented *ad hoc* by missionary personnel. Schools became the link between local tribes, the Orthodox church and the imperial administration. They were regarded as a step toward the

28 E. CLAY, *The Conversion of Non-Christians in Early Modern Russia*, in *Of Religion and Empire*, Cornell University Press 2001, pp. 115-143, 132-136.

29 T. G. STAVROU, *Russian Interests in Palestine 1882-1914*, Thessaloniki 1963; D. HOPWOOD, *Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine 1843-1914*, Clarendon Press Oxford 1969; H. L. MURRE-VAN DEN BERG, *Le missioni protestanti in Medio Oriente: il caso di Urmia (Iran nord occidentale), centro della Chiesa (nestoriana) d'Oriente*, contributo presentato presso la XXXIII Settimana europea STORIA RELIGIOSA EURO-MEDITERRANEA (II) in Villa Cagnola - Gazzada (Varese) - 6/10 Settembre 2011 dal Mediterraneo al Mar della Cina. L'irradiazione della tradizione cristiana di Antiochia nel continente asiatico e nel suo universo religioso; S. MERLO, *L'Ortodossia russa e Gerusalemme nel XIX secolo*, contributo presentato in the XXXIV settimana europea di STORIA RELIGIOSA EURO-MEDITERRANEA (III) Villa Cagnola - Gazzada (Varese) 3/7 Settembre 2012, Una Città fra Terra e Cielo Gerusalemme, le Religioni - le Chiese.

30 K. BAKER, *A History of the Orthodox Church in China, Korea and Japan*, Edwin Mellen Press, Lewinston (NY), 2006.

31 P. W. WERTH, *From “Pagans” to Muslims to “Baptized” Communists: Religious conversion and ethnic Particularity in Russia's Eastern Provinces*, *Comparative Studies in society and History* 42/3 (Jul. 2000), pp. 498-499; O. KOBZEFF, *Ruling Siberia: the Imperial Power, the Orthodox Church and the Native People*, SVTQ 30/3 (1986), 269-280; E. SMIRNOFF, *A Short Account of the Historical Development and of the present position of Russian Orthodox Missions*, London 1903.

civilization of populations. They provided alphabetization and children often learned also useful skills, which might prove helpful in local context. This was the core of the process of formation of an indigenous laity as well as an ecclesiastical elite, moulding pupils that later could have access to seminaries and could guide local administration and economy. Missionary monks enabled people to get in contact with and quietly understand the imperial administrative structures. Obviously besides the cultural education also a Christian education was prompted in these schools. Missionaries became then teachers and again translators, interpreters.

Aleutian mission in Alaska had all these features since 1794, when it began. Cyrill and Methodius were still the main paradigm of missionary work. An organization and evolution of this enterprise came later in 19th and 20th century when Russian missions were many, and the experiences received from them had been cataloged and analyzed by Ecclesiastical Academies. Indeed pressures from the center of the church rose. In 19th and first 20th century the Russian Church developed the missionary purpose as one of the main of its time. It was also a subject where Russian administration and church could show their pride in front of the European countries, as a lively field in civilization and christianization. Though not well studied as a comprehensive process we can refer to it as the aggregation of different structures and people interested in the topic, as well as of experiences and efforts of single missionaries who left written testimony of a Missionary spirituality. In 19th centuries for example we can find the words of Makarij Glucharev, of Archimandrite Spiridion and of Ioann Veniaminov.³² They report their experience and approach to a specific context but sometimes develop also practices and a meditation upon the mission itself. That century saw the birth of the Kazan' Academy (mainly dedicated to the Missionary education),³³ a Russian Missionary Society,³⁴ the Il'Minskii method, a School of thought derived from his teachings and eventually the translation of Christian literature to pagan languages.³⁵ The concern

32 N. STRUVE, *Orthodox Missions*; A. B. EFIMOV, *L'apostolo dell'Altaj Makarij Glucharev e I problemi dell-inculturazione*, in I. POPOV – G. M. PROCHOROV – T. R. RUDI – M. BADANIN – M. J. OLEKSA – E. V. ANISIMOV – A. B. EFIMOV – N. KAUCHTSCHISCHWILI – B. KUVŠINSKIJ – S. L. FIRSOV – S. MERLO – A. G. KRAVECKIJ – N. STRUVE – H. DYNIA – G. KOCHETKOV – E. CLAPSIS, *Le missioni della chiesa ortodossa russa*, Magnano (BI), 2007, pp. 123-140; ARCHIMANDRITA SPIRIDIONE, *Le mie missioni in Siberia, cose viste e vissute*, Torino 1982; S. MERLO, *Una vita per gli ultimi. Le missioni dell'archimandrita Spiridion*, Magnano (BI) 2008.

33 Kazan' Academy opened in 1840. The formation of this Academy transformed missionary work into one of the most important purpose of Russian Church's life. Its professors and work improved methods and moulded educated personnel among the Orthodox clergy. These developments were passed to the other three Ecclesiastical Academies of the Empire through their publications. N. IU. SUKHOVA, *Podgotovka i attestatsiia nauchno-bogoslovskikh kadrov v Kazanskoj dukhovnoi akademii v kontse XIX- nachale XX v.: problemy i dostizheniia*, Pravoslavnoi Sobesednik 1 (2013), pp. 14-32.

34 The Imperial Missionary Society was funded in 1865. See also ARCHIMANDRIT A. NIKITIN, *Missionerskaia deiatel'nost' russkoj pravoslavnoi tserkvi vo vtoroi polovine XIX-nachale XX vekov*, in *Missiia Tserkvi i sovremennoe pravoslavnoe missionerstvo mezhdunarodnaia bogoslovskaja konferenziia k 600-letiiu predstavleniia svt. Stefana Permskogo*, M 1997, pp. 50-54.

35 E. SMIRNOFF, *A short account*, pp.30-47; G. ROBINSON, *The Mission of Nikolai Il'Minskii, Lay Missionary of the Russian Orthodox Church (1821-1891)*, International Journal of Frontier Missions 7/3 (1990), pp. 75-83; R. P.

towards other historically Orthodox regions and their freedom from Muslims rose. Even if sometimes it was regarded more for its political shades, yet this interest was considered like a duty by the Third Rome. Besides, other events took place, such as the multiplying of specific missionary conventions, specific missionary careers, participation of missionary personnel back to Russia to the administrative ecclesiastical life and their achievement of major roles in the life of Russian Orthodox Church.

As it is said before, the Alaskan mission began with a small number of people sent by Catherine II. Before that, Christianity began to be spread in Alaska in an informal way, through sporadic actions undertaken by single individuals. For instance, Russian conquerors decided to baptize aborigines, and priests traveling as ship chaplains performed cumulative marriage ceremonies where they landed and found requests for a sacramental union between Russians and Alaskans. But they resolved exigences only in a palliative way, with no building plan behind that. Instead the 1794 Missionary staff came from the Valaam and Konev monasteries (both Karelian). Archimandrite Ioasaf (Bolotov 1757-1799) was the chief of the missionary expedition. He was the only one with theological education, and had been elevated to the rank of archimandrite in order to achieve respectability in the eyes of Alaskan populations.³⁶ The other missionaries sent there were Hieromonk Makarii (Alexandrov 1750-1799), Hieromonk Afanasii (Mikhailov 1758-1807), Hieromonk Iuvenalii (Govorukhin 1761-1796), Hieromonk Nektarii (Panov 1762-1808), Monk Herman (????-1837), Hierodeacon Stefan, Hierodeacon Mikhail (Govorukhin ????-1799), Monk Ioasaf (Alexeevich). They received a *progon* (travel stipend), granted from the Empress and taken from the Palestinian Mission funds, to supply the travel expenses, and were donated to them also church items to fulfill their aim with the respectability due to the cult. They traveled an entire year across Siberia to reach Alaska. On September 24th, 1794 they reached St. Paul Harbor, on Kodiak Island.³⁷ In fact in those years the center of the colony was still Kodiak and there they settled among the *promyshlenniki*. According to what historiography tells us in those times there were 225 Russians living among 8.000 natives.³⁸ Monks expected to find a chapel, a clergy house and a school as Shelikov had promised to the Empress. They found a quite different situation. They had to live next to the conquerors in the same house, they had to provide food for themselves even if originally had contracted for it. They had to face the cruel disposition and behavior of the conquerors towards the indigenou and to keep high morality among people who did not care about

GERACI, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in late tsarist Russia*, Cornell University Press 2001, pp. 47-157; S. BOLSHAKOFF, *The Foreign Missions* pp. 37-42

36 BISHOP G. AFONSKY, *A History* pp. 20-21; M. J. OLEKSA, *Orthodox Alaska* p.107.

37 Some historians set the arrival one year before, in 1793 as George Soldatow does, for example.

38 Idem p.25.

it or had completely different habits and values. They were not prepared to approach a different morality system such as that of Kodiak natives. Hardness of weather and conditions did not weaken them immediately. Also, they could not get in touch with Grigorii Shelikov, their official protector, because he did not live in Alaska, since he had left his company to the local administration of Alexander A. Baranov (1746-1819).

Monks organized their life there dividing occupations among them. Someone had to be responsible for concrete life, carrying food, water and wood home, baking bread and gardening, someone had to try to speak to Kodiak aborigines, someone else had to convert people living in the vicinity. They were ready to give their life in the struggle to win those lands to God. Aleutinians and Kodiak people seemed ready to become converted due to the old contact with Russian population. A lot of people spontaneously came to the missionaries asking for baptism and marriages. Ioasaf wrote about 12.000 people being baptized in the first two years of mission. They were curious about the Christian message, especially the young people, and accepted it freely, rejecting their old shamans. It has been questioned how conscious these requests were in the eyes of natives. A great number of sociological factors must be taken into account. For example baptism could be a way to please Russians, as a search for a better concrete condition or treatment. It was also a way to obtain kinship with a Russian member that was invested of the patronage authority over the baptized. It was a strategy to create better cohabitation.³⁹ However initially life at Kodiak was harder than the Valaam monks could imagine, not because of the missionary work itself, but because of the condition they found there, as this testimony, a compassionate letter full of complaints, written by Archimandrite Ioasaf to Shelikov tells us.

Dear Friend and Patron,

the love, respect and affection I have for you I can feel better than I can express the same on paper... thus leaving aside empty compliments, I shall talk to you about the following:

Having departed from Okhotsk August 13th, we arrived in Kodiak safely on the 24th of September. Throughout the winter there were many visitors who came voluntarily-inhabitants of Kodiak and also Alaskans, Kenai People and Chugach. We did baptize many.

We as yet have no church. We asked for a tent from the manager Alexander Andreevich but so far without result... Since my arrival at the harbor I find nothing whatsoever that should have been done in accordance with your good intentions accomplished. My only delight is in the Americans who are coming from everywhere to be baptized. The Russian not only do not aid them in this but on the contrary employ all possible means to scare them off. The reason for this is their dissolute life, which is put to shame by the good conduct of the Americans. I was barely able to convince some of the *promyshlenniki* to get married. The rest do not want to hear of it, but openly keep women even more than one each, which constitutes a great insult to Americans...

In terms of economics, nothing can be noted. Since our arrival there was hunger all the winter. We ate rotten three-year-old fish, to the last bit, although when we arrived here, fish were still running but not

39 G. A. MILLER, *Kodiak Kreol* pp.79-80.

harvested. The herring run was also there later, but the catch was conducted only two or three times. The Aleuts were not ordered to take halibut and...seines lay on the shore all winter long. The cows which were brought by the ships are only skins now, and most have died... only two goats remain...

Under our parkas, we are always half naked, and those parkas get very dirty. In the daytime, we feed the people. At night, we collect wood and bring it out of the forest ourselves...

Of all the books you sent to us, I received only a few, not more than twenty. Ten of these were service books, and they were all rotted and cannot be used. The rest I have not seen yet...

We regularly go to the beaches to collect sea snails and mussels and we have only some left-over bread which will not last long. Mr Baranov and his colleagues do not experience hunger. For him they hunt sea/lions and seals. From the Alaska Peninsula they bring caribou meat, and he always has milk... As the day dawns we think about food. We walk five versts (three miles) to get snails and mussels... There are over one hundred women laborers here, but not one is assigned to assist us.

The windows of our quarters were not sealed and were very poor; we barely survived the winter. It is true that he initially honored me. He reserved a pretty good room for me, but the brothers were placed in the barracks where the men lived with their prostitutes. I did not want to live apart from the brothers, and moved with them to other quarters. Beside the prostitutes, they used the barracks for games and dances that lasted all night, so that even major feast days were not observed...

If I were to describe all his actions to you in detail, I would have to write an entire book, and not a letter. About his loose life, even so, I should according to instructions which his Eminence gave me, report to him and to the Holy Synod, but my affection and respect for you convinced me to refrain from this for the time being. I am hoping that you in your wisdom will take measures to alleviate the situation...⁴⁰

Since no help came from Shelikov, Ioasaf tried then to reach the emperor. He convinced also Aleutian people to become subjects of the Russian emperor, Paul I (1796-1801), to defend themselves from the coercive work they were forced to do by the Company's employees. In this way they could claim their rights. He was not the only one in the mission who aimed at this goal. In 1798 Father Makarii went himself to the Russian emperor, with a report on the condition of Alaskan people. Whether he was moving with the approval of Ioasaf or not, his embassy to the emperor was not welcomed, since it was obscured by the strong advocates Shelikov's Company had at court. Moreover Ioasaf tried to improve this little mission with the right to institute a bishopric, in order to be strongest and self-reliable. The right was granted and Ioasaf in 1799 came to St. Petersburg to become the first Bishop of Alaska. Unfortunately during his travel back he died in a shipwreck and was unable to reach the coast of his already widowed land. The little mission lost its guide and was fearing again the usual attitude of the Company's employees, that was: "God is in heaven, the Czar is far away". The antagonism and rivalry between the Company and the Mission increased so deeply that the monks were afraid of going out of home and of celebrating, fearing the Company's repercussions. For a period they were officially "under house arrest".

In that territory the traditional scheme of missionary work was indeed very effective: translation, inculturation, schools linked missionaries with native people. It was not a process without difficulties. Some of the monks lost their life or their mental health in those snowy lands.

40 Letter to Baranov, written by Archimandrite Ioasaf. On May 25th, 1795. Quoted from M. J. Oleksa, *Orthodoxy and the Evolution* pp. 247-248.

As a matter of fact, however a traditional experience of monasticism was also carried out by the last survivor of the 1794 mission to remain in Alaska. Monk Herman isolated himself on a deserted island, escaping abuses and confinement, living alone as a hermit. From 1803 to 1807 another Hieromonk came to Alaska too, father Gideon (Fedotov 1770-1843). Despite his short permanence, he was the main promoter in the foundation of a local school. He prepared an alphabet in order to write Aleut language and translate for the first time the Lord's prayer.⁴¹ Although Gideon's coming had awakened hopes, the Mission was slowly dying as its components were buried in Alaska or returned to Russia. Only monk Herman survived until 1837 in Spruce Island as a hermit, on his "New Valaam" renamed after his former monastery, where he is recounted to had held a saint life.⁴²

The first phase of missionary work finished with Ioasaf's mission. In 1821 the Charter of the Company was reconfirmed and in it the colonial statute of Alaska was renewed. Its text was also enriched with the obligation to pay a stipend to the priests coming in those lands, and then to take care of the fact that liturgical services should be granted anywhere a significant Orthodox population was living in a settlement. After those first times it was really difficult to find in Russia someone else who wanted to serve in Alaska. The mission endured the lack of clergy for a long time. Priest Sokolov and his family answered to the request and arrived only in 1816. But they were still an exception. Even if they were not supported by missionary presence, the Alaskan people reached by Ioasaf's mission continued to call themselves Christians. They baptized their children by themselves as they had learned by the lay Russian personnel of the colony. Only with the arrival of St. Innokentii things changed considerably. In fact in the twenties of the 19th century the Mission rose again. Father Ioann Veniaminov (later bishop Innokentii) was appointed to Unalaska, father Frumentii Mordovskii to Kodiak and Jacob Netsvetov (first Kreol priest) to Atka Island. Veniaminov and his colleagues, finding out that Alaskan people had already been baptized, tried to enlighten them with Faith. The Christian message and a fragile sort of missionary life was carried out also by the local tribal structure that the missionaries had decided to use in the spreading of the message. In fact they used to give an administrative and leading role to the *toion* (a sort of local leader who had authority in Alaskan society). The *toion* was actually a Siberian name for this office, but they found it useful also in Christian context.⁴³ This tribal structure was more resilient to changes. It helped in maintaining the little Christian knowledge they had together with the Kreol population who was raised in missionary schools and volunteered to prevent the loss of the earlier missionary work in a

41 ARCHIMANDRITE A. (NIKITIN), *Russian America*, in J. MEYENDORFF – D. OBOLENSKY – A. E. N. TACHIAOS – S. HACKEL – D. CONOMOS – V. MOROSAN – R. L. NICHOLS – P. VALLIERE – J. W. CUNNINGHAM – J. BRECK – J. PELIKAN – D. D. I. CIOBOTEA – S. S. HARAKAS – B. BOBRINSKOY – T. HOPKO – ARCHIMANDRITE A. (NIKITIN) – M. OLEKSA – D. GRIGORIEFF – L. KISHKOVSKY, *The Legacy of St Vladimir*, Crestwood (NY) 1990, pp. 230-242.

42 Canonized by OCA as the first Orthodox saint of America in 1970.

43 BISHOP G. AFONSKY, *A HISTORY* p. 44; G. A. MILLER, *Kodiak Kreol* pp. 43-44.

time of scarcity of clergy.

Father Ioann Veniaminov, a talented linguist, geographer and scientist besides his missionary vocation is now remembered as the “Enlightener of America”. His experience as Russian Missioner is referred to as “veritable epic”,⁴⁴ and it can be regarded as one of the most important in the 19th century, as the numerous monographs and articles written about his life and works published from his times to nowadays show.⁴⁵ He came to Alaska in 1824 beginning his missionary task with his family. His coming can be considered as a new phase in the Missionary story of Russian Alaska. Not only did monks accept to go to Alaska but starting from 1824 also priests with their family did. That was the sign that the land was suited to receive a complete Orthodox life, with parishes and traditional Orthodox assets made of a presence of white as well as black clergy and the structures associated with them. Veniaminov improved the work of translation of the Gospels, Bible history and a short catechism, providing even the local language with a short grammar, written by himself. He worked for the construction of cult edifices, churches and chapels, asking the Company for financial sustain. Again, priests had the task to carry out pastoral visits of the villages in their district in summer months. Materials and money to supply these necessities had to be provided by the Company. He remained ten years working in the Unalaska district and was then moved to Sitka.

There, he restarted again his life, learning Tlingit language, opening a school and working for the building of a church edifice. One of the products of this period was the completion of St. Michael Cathedral, consecrated in 1848. Early left a widower, Ioann Veniaminov let his Siberian Bishop convince him to be tonsured. This eventually gave the church the possibility to elevate him to the rank of Bishop to cover Alaskan necessities. In 1840, in St. Petersburg he was consecrated Bishop of Kamchatka, the Kurile and the Aleutian Islands. His coming to St Petersburg gave relevance to the Russian Mission in Alaska. He had the opportunity to publish a book about Alaskan population and to give lectures about it, gaining credibility for himself and interests from the capital city of the empire. Then he returned to Sitka. An administrative center had to be built in that city, thus facilitating the missionary work through the regularization of it; there the missionary endeavor could be organized and it would be possible to maintain a correspondence with the center of the Russian Church. The Empire eventually asked the diocese to register his flock and collect statistical data. From Veniaminov's appointment on, a real collaboration between the Company and the

44 Innocent was canonized by OCA in 1977 as “Enlightener of the Aleuts, Apostle to America and Siberia”; quotation from N. STRUVE, *Orthodox Missions* p. 36.

45 For example, the most common are H. A. SHENITZ, *Father Veniaminov, the Enlightener of Alaska*, *American Slavic and East European Review* 18/1 (Feb 1959), pp. 55-59; V. ROCHAU, *Innocent Veniaminov and the Russian Mission to Alaska 1820-1840*, *SVTQ* 15/3 (1971), pp. 105-120; D. GRIGORIEFF, *Metropolitan Innocent: The Prophetic Missionary (1797-1879)*, *SVTQ* 21/1 (1977), pp. 18-36; A. NIKITIN, *Russian America*; S. BOLSHAKOFF, *The Foreign Missions* pp. 71-73, 75, 86.

mission took place, not only through the provision of funds but also in the administration of the colony and the cultural task of transforming Alaskan people into faithful subjects of the Russian Orthodox czar. Although even a theological seminary was founded in Sitka, unfortunately it was soon moved to Petropavlovsk. New missions were opened in those years in the mainland, among the Eskimos tribes, as those in Yukon, St. Michael Redoubt, Nushagak and Kenai. Natives participated in this task by helping missionaries, propagating Orthodox Faith by themselves and reinforcing the process on indigenization of Orthodoxy. But the mission was always poor in personnel.⁴⁶

The Asian-American bishopric was enlarged by the annexation of Amur region and parts of Siberia. The see was transferred to Blagoveshchensk in 1858. Bishop Innokentii provided a vicar who had to reside in Sitka to supply his absence from the distant Alaska. He elevated Archimandrite Peter (Sysakov) to the rank of bishop, a man who previously had worked as dean of Sitka's seminary. Bishop Peter led the Alaskan Church until 1867.

During those years the American Russian Company enlarged Russian properties in America. They reached the occidental border, where the Gold rush was increasing. In the meanwhile the Orthodox Mission was spreading its message, gathering through this different tribes in a unique faith. According to historical sources there were 12.028 Christians in Alaska in 1860. They could be counted also by populations: 784 Russians; 1.676 Creoles; 4.392 Aleuts; 937 Kenaitzes; 456 Chugach; 2.725 Eskimos; 447 Tinglits; 611 others. In 1867 the Mission could be shortly described as follows: one Bishop's Cathedral (Sitka), 9 churches, 35 chapels, 9 priests and two deacons, and up to 15.000 Christians.⁴⁷ Also schools, libraries and orphanages should be added to that.

1.3 Selling Alaska

On March 18th, 1867 Alaska was sold to the United States of America. It was an unexpected event, the result of a negotiation between the Biggest Empire and the Newest Democracy, which in those times considered themselves friends.⁴⁸ Emperor Alexander II, his brother and a handful of ministries gathered in St. Petersburg to decide what to do, with the Colony. The decision fell on the

46 I. VINKOVETSKY, *Russian America. An Overseas Colony of a Continental Empire*, Oxford University Press 2011, pp. 161-163.

47 BISHOP G. AFONSKY, *A History* p. 63; M. STOKOE - L. KISHKOVSKY, *Orthodox Christians in North America 1794-1994*, Orthodox Christian Publication Center 1995, p. 15.

48 N. E. SAUL, *Concord and Conflict. The United States and Russia 1867-1914*, University Press of Kansas 1996.

selling, and it was unanimous. They sent the proposal to the United States. The debate engaged before presenting the situation at Russian Ministries had been long and harsh, involving among others the Russian former governor of Alaska Baron Ferdinand Von Wrangell, Major General Alexander Kashevarov, a Kreol of Kodiak, who was a cartographer but retired in his last years to St. Petersburg and Captain Paul Golovin who had the task to evaluate Russian America's profits.⁴⁹ Economically not proficient, geographically distant and difficult to defend from the near powers, Alaska was considered by Russians not indispensable and expendable in order to concentrate the attention and the armies of the Romanov Empire in the Amur region, as also the Russian Geographical Society had advised.⁵⁰ Obtained through the right of discovery, Alaska was eventually sold to become another colony. Alaskans had then to wait until 1959 to become the 49th State of the United States.

The negotiated price was 7.2 millions of dollars. American press saluted this purchase in many ways. However opinions were for the most definitely opposing. Someone made fun of the acquisition, calling it the Seward's folly or Seward's Icebox, from the name of the American secretary of State that signed acquisition, someone else considered it a big step towards the geopolitical extension of influence that the United States could earn from this Land. The text of the treaty between the two powers is easily available on USA government Internet site, as well as the reactions of major magazines.⁵¹ Written in English and French, the treaty first presents the Plenipotentiaries who stipulated it, defines boundaries and then, in the following paragraphs, with regard to religion it reads as follows:

ARTICLE II (...) It is, however, understood and agreed, that the churches which have been built in the ceded territory by the Russian government, shall remain the property of such members of the Greek Oriental Church resident in the territory, as may choose to worship therein.

ARTICLE III The inhabitants of the ceded territory, according to their choice, reserving their natural allegiance, may return to Russia within three years; but if they should prefer to remain in the ceded territory, they, with the exception of uncivilized native tribes, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States, and shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion (...).

The year 1867 could be referred to as a watershed in the history of Russian America. After that new dynamics and new powers entered the life of the Diocese and his components. Russian

49 M. J. OLEKSA, *Orthodoxy and the Evolution* pp. 252-253.

50 M. BASSIN, *The Russian Geographical Society, the 'Amur Epoch', and the Great Siberian Expedition 1855-1863*, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 73/2 (1983), pp. 240-256, 240-244; M. BASSIN, *Inventing Siberia: Visions of the Russian East in the Early Nineteenth Century*, *The American Historical Review* 96/3 (1991), pp. 763-794.

51 <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=015/llsl015.db&recNum=572> and see also <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Alaska.html>

presence decreased, both among clergy and people, not only owing to the migration of Russians returning to their motherland but also because of the aggressive Americanization performed on these territories.⁵² The Alaskan Lands were supposed to be given a new identity. The new Era was imposed through military naval occupation (which however was not a new practice in United States colonization) of the coasts and the spread of a wave of protestant (mainly Presbyterian) missions. The pacific sold of Alaska was followed by a strong process of deconstruction of the previous world (close to rude conquest and pillage). Orthodox Identity was shaken also by the loss of subjection to the Christian Czar, even if he had provided protection for and had asked respect requesting religious prerogatives for his former subjects. This can be considered as a result of the contemporary system of powers, which commonly arrogated to themselves the role of defenders of their traditional, or merely dominant faith, like in the middle East during the 19th century. In the case of the Christian Emperor this *praxis* was actually the legacy of a long lasting tradition. Emperor Constantine himself, had asked the same religious prerogatives for his co-religionists to the Emperor of Persia, Cosroe.⁵³ With the selling treaty also in Russian America began the disjunction between the right administration, which was to be respected, and the mundane powers, which should have been accepted and obeyed but not considered the right reign.

From 1884 Alaska became a district of the USA, as stated by the Organic Act.⁵⁴ The literature about the middle land in which the clash of cultures had taken place in those years is wide. The battle was mainly fought about the school system that before was guided by the Orthodox Church and since the selling of the state was progressively centered around other religious denominations. The man who frequently and repeatedly several Russian Bishops deal with was the Presbyterian agent for the popular education Sheldon Jackson. The common language in the schooling system became English, that was previously quite unknown generally. Moreover the Orthodox Church had been an important part in the administrative system of the land and the encounter of a different state setting would have destabilized its role in the region. Also, a particular attention United States manifested towards Alaskan population was that of the healthcare, relieving the land from the dangerous threats of epidemics.⁵⁵

52 News about these changes arrived also in Russia through the correspondence that Nikolai Kovrigin kept up with the *Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie (The Orthodox Review)*, Sv. NIKOLAI KOVRIGIN, *Pis'ma iz Kalifornii*, PO June 1870, pp. 159-173; July 1870, pp. 189-212; Sept. 1870, pp. 279-288. It is noteworthy to report that the Alaskan vicariate counted only 36 Russians in 1907 (in majority clergy personnel and their families). ARC D438, Reel 281, ff. 230-231.

53 EUSEBIO DI CESAREA, *Vita di Costantino*, Milano 2009, Libro 4, XIII, pp.360-361. I would like to thank Vittorio Berti for this suggestion.

54 G. BERARDI, *School, Settlement and Sanitation in Alaska Native Villages*, *Ethnohistory*, 46/2 (1999), pp. 329-359.

55 S. KAN, *Russian Orthodox Brotherhoods Among the Tlingit: Missionary Goals and Response*, *Ethnohistory* 32/3 (1985), pp. 196-222; S. KAN, *Clan Mothers and Godmothers: Tlingit Women and Russian Orthodox Christianity, 1840-1940, Native American Women's Responses to Christianity*, *Ethnohistory* 43/4, (1996), pp. 613-641; M. J.

As Lydia Black underlined, the attitude towards Alaskan natives was modeled on that used towards Indian tribes in the other States. This was stated also in the second article of the selling treaty.⁵⁶ This harsh treatment caused a wave of conversions to the Orthodox Church, especially from Tlingit women who considered compulsory the passage to that religion that was still regarded a parcel of that culture Americans were trying to modify. Russian ancestry and heritage was for a long time considered important in the redefinition of the individual and community identity. Orthodoxy was perceived as traditional in opposition to the form of the new spreading Christianity. Alaskan Orthodoxy furthermore had to survive also a perpetual scarcity of clergy.⁵⁷

As archbishop of the American Mission, Innokentii, although he had been one of the most convinced advocate of focusing attention towards Amur region instead of improving Russian presence in Alaskan territories, learning that his flock had passed to the United States, tried to improve their situation, suggesting to the ober-procurator of the Holy Synod D. A. Tolstoi some pragmatic measures to take in the Aleutian and Alaskan Diocese in order to preserve the Orthodox Communities from the dispersion caused by the change of rule, and helped to develop a different role for the Orthodox Mission in America, as the status the Mission was being given was new. In the following letter he elucidate his vision upon the ceded territories.

December 5th, 1867

It reached my attention from Moscow that I allegedly wrote to someone saying that I was not pleased that our American colonies had been sold to the Americans. This is completely untrue. On the contrary I see in this event one of the ways of Providence by which our Orthodoxy can insert itself into the United States, where at the present time serious attention is being given. If I had been asking concerning this subject, this is what I would have advised:

- a) The American vicariate should not be closed.
- b) Rather than New Archangel [Sitka], the residence of the vicar bishop should be located in San Francisco, where climatic conditions are incomparably better and from where it is at least as convenient to have connections with the churches in the colonies as it is from Sitka.
- c) The present vicar and the whole New Archangel clergy except for one sacristan should be recalled to Russia, and a new vicar should be appointed who has knowledge of the English language. Likewise his entourage should be composed of persons who know English.
- d) The bishop should choose his own staff and be permitted to change members of his staff as well as to consecrate to the priesthood American citizens who will accept Orthodoxy with all his traditions and customs.
- e) The ruling Bishop and the clergy of the Orthodox Church in America should be permitted to serve the Divine Liturgy and other church services in English. And, as is self-evident, translations of the

OLEKSA, *Orthodoxy in Alaska: The Spiritual History of the Kodiak Aleut People*, SVTQ 25/1 (1981), pp. 3-20, 15-17; W. A. AMAROK – M. J. OLEKSA, *The Suppression of the Aleuts. The Conflict in Alaskan Education 1876-1916*, SVTQ 28/2 (1984), pp. 99-114; C. BATES- M. J. OLEKSA, *Conflicting Landscapes*, University of Alaska Press 2011; *The Right Reverend Nestor, Bishop of the Aleutians and Alaska 1879-1882. Correspondence, reports, diary*. Translated and Edited by G. SOLDATOW. Vol. II AARDM Press, Minneapolis Minnesota 1993 (2nd 2000), pp. 90-91, 98.

56 L. T. BLACK, *Russians in Alaska 1832-1867*, University of Alaska Press 2004.

57 H. A. SHENITZ, *The Vestiges of Old Russia in Alaska*, RR 14/1 (1955), pp. 55-59.

service books into English should be made.

f) In the pastorals schools, which will be created in San Francisco and elsewhere for the preparation of candidates for missionary and priestly duties, the curriculum must be in English and not in Russian, which will sooner or later be replaced by the former language.⁵⁸

Archbishop Innokentii was nominated Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna in 1868, and consequently his voice became more authoritative in the eyes of the Holy Synod. His project began to be put into effect and was slowly carried out until the conflagration of the Bolshevik Revolution, despite suffering from a more or less convinced commitment of the successive bishops of Alaska to the project. What Innokentii really could not imagine was the importance of immigration in the development of his former vicar diocese and how much the different waves of populations could have affected and enriched his project.

1.4 The new San Francisco's See, adventures of settling.

On September 20th, 1868 the first Orthodox parish in San Francisco was established. Father Nikolai Kovrigin was appointed to be its pastor, and for this reason he was moved from Sitka parish to California. Already in 1864 the Orthodox people living in San Francisco (less than five hundreds) organized a brotherhood. They came from very different backgrounds, since they were Russians, Balkan Slavs (Serbians and Montenegrins) and also Greeks. Russian people were mainly laborers drawn by the gold rush or rarely political dissidents escaped from the Empire; these later enlarged the Russian community of the city more than the Orthodox parish but indeed affected the immigrant Orthodox population dynamics as it will be explained. Orthodox people living in California increased in those times as the gold rush and state laws led them there. They requested a priest from the Russian Synod. In 1868 they were pleased with the announcement of father Nikolai's coming. His stipend was granted by the Holy Synod itself for two years.⁵⁹ Innokentii project's realization had begun.

The episcopal See was founded in San Francisco on June 10th, 1870. The first Bishop to be appointed to the New See was Ioann Mitropolskii. He spent two years in Sitka waiting and working to arrange the See, then moved to San Francisco, residing again two years on the "Russian Hill". Rumors of misconducts soon filled the air around him. Still, for Russians "God was in Heaven and

58 D. GRIGORIEFF, *Metropolitan Innocent* p. 35.

59 ARCHIMANDRITE SERAPHIM, *The Quest for* pp.19-20.

the Czar was far away”, even though they were under the law of California. Even his bishopric was almost internally divided, since the center (San Francisco) was very distant from the actual parishes. Yet, the bulk of its Diocese remained for almost two decades the population residing in Alaska. The first American parishes actually began to form in those years. For example the Greek parish of New Orleans, which counted among its parishioners also Slavs and Syrians, and the Greek one of Galveston with also Syrians, Serbs and Russians. Furthermore, we can recall the Russian parishes of New York and Seattle which were composed also by Greeks and Serbs. In Seattle moreover there were Ruthenians, Bulgars, Arabs and Gypsies. From the beginning the multiethnic, plurilinguistic and multicultural composition of the new Diocese was resolutely evident.⁶⁰

The economic system of the Mission meanwhile had undergone some changes. After the collapse of the Russian-American Company in 1863 the Mission was left without financial support. In fact the Alaskan Commercial Company founded in 1868 did not bear the obligation to provide the clergy with stipend. It had been founded by German traders in order to take advantage of the lucrative opportunity opened by the 1867 state selling. Furthermore, the Alaskan Commercial Company acquired the holdings of the Russian-American Company and improved the trade maintaining the legal monopoly in the Alaskan seal fur trade and adding the sector of transport of comestibles and supplies to Alaska. The Diocese will use this Company for most of its transfers of people and materials along the west coast. But the Company's service was completely at its employers' discretion. Priests, packages and correspondence were allowed to use the ships only in case of free space or in change of fur instead of money.⁶¹ The Mission was charged directly to the Russian Treasury. Metropolitan Veniaminov again interceded with the Holy Synod to obtain more funds to let the Alaskan church live and prosper. The request was accepted and the Russian sustenance increased during the following years, supplying the first exigencies of the rising church. In 1870 the Russian State Council, through the intercession of the Holy governing Synod, decided to provide 38.000 rubles a year, then in 1874 this amount was augmented to 50.300 rubles. In 1894 the sum reached 74.770 rubles and in 1897 89.930 rubles.⁶²

60 D. GRIGORIEFF, *The Orthodox Church in America from the Alaskan Mission to Autocephaly*, SVTQ 14/4 (1970), pp. 196-218, 201; A. DOUMOURAS, *Greek Orthodox Communities in America Before World War I*, SVTQ 11/4 (1967), pp.172-192; P. C. HASKELL, *American Civil Religion and the Greek Immigration: Religious Confrontation before the First World War*, SVTQ 18/3-4 (1974), pp.166-192; M. STOKOE-L. KISHKOVSKY, *Orthodox Christians* p. 42. They report 10 Orthodox parishes in the continent by 1890 and state that the parishes of the Diocese amounted to 350 in 1917.

61 N. H. H. GRABURN – M. LEE – J. ROUSSELOT, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Alaska Commercial Company Collection. Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology*. University of California Press, Berkley and Los Angeles 1996, p.5. It could happen that somewhere there were fur donations to the churches even in later years, due mostly to the local *consuetudo*. See for example the Kenai case, described in Bishop's Nestor correspondence with the Holy Synod. *The Right Reverend Nestor* Vol. II , p.16, for the methods of transporting see Ibidem p. 34-36.

62 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon, patriarkh Moskovskii, prosvetitel' Severnoi Ameriki: missionerskoe sluzhenie I dukhovnoe nasledie*, M 2009, pp. 55-56.

With the Bishop came to California also the vocational school of Sitka moved to San Francisco, together with all its personnel and teachers. As a matter of fact, however by the leaving of Bishop Ioann in 1876 the school was already closed.⁶³

It was a hard time for the Russian Mission. A long period of unquiet life had begun. In 1878 father Pavel Kedrolivanskii, Ioann Mitropolskii's temporary replacement, was murdered. Suspicions fell on Nikolai Kovrigin rival of Kedrolivanskii for the stewardship of the Diocese. The case investigated by local magazines was never taken up by the police. Nikolai Kovrigin was indeed later recalled back to Russia, but the story of the murder haunted the Orthodox community in the successive years.⁶⁴ The See was again left without a Bishop. Archpriest Vladimir Vechtmotov, a graduate from Kazan Academy, was requested to guide it in 1879. He moved to Sitka where the Orthodox church was re-flourishing after fifteen years of decline. Then in the same 1879 Nestor Zakkis was consecrated bishop of the Aleutians and Alaska. Bishop Nestor had been a Baron before consecration, serving in the Russian navy and was well versed in the English language⁶⁵. The task of establishing the center of the Diocese in San Francisco put him in contact with several western personalities, with which he maintained epistolary correspondence, like the President of the US Hayes. He asked for advice power or expert personalities. He began the translation of the Gospel into Eskimos language and for this reason relied on the Smithsonian Institution and Vermont State Library. He died in 1882, returning from a pastoral visit on the Alaskan mainland. The *Examiner* pointed out that Bishop Zakkis had committed suicide by reason of his dolorous health situation (apparently, he suffered of a violent form of *neuralgia*), but again the situation was not cleared up.⁶⁶ After that, a long period of transition began still under Vladimir Vechtomov, at the time president of the Ecclesiastical Consistory in San Francisco. At the head of the bishopric nominally was Isidor, Metropolitan of St. Petersburg. In spite of the uncertainty and misadventures of these first years the parish grew or tried to have a quite normal community life. In 1881 the Russian Cathedral in San Francisco in Powell Street was consecrated and dedicated to St. Alexander Nevskii. A new Russian Cathedral was desired by San Francisco's Orthodox flock almost since

63 APV 15 (1898), pp. 458-459.

64 T. EMMONS, *Alleged Sex & Threatened Violence. Doctor Russell, Bishop Vladimir and the Russians in San Francisco, 1887-1892*, Stanford 1997, pp.7-9; For Nikolas Kovrigin sent to Russia (Irkutsk), see Letter to His Beatitude Metropolitan Isidor, May 9/21st, 1879 from San Francisco, letter to the Most Reverend Veniamin Bishop of Irkutsk, May 1879 from San Francisco, and letter from San Francisco Dec 21st – Jan 2nd, 1880 all written by Bishop Nestor Zakkis, reported in *The Right Reverend Nestor* Vol. I, pp.33-36, 43-44, 66.

65 APV 16 (1898) p.479. Primary sources about him were printed as *The Right Reverend Nestor, Bishop of the Aleutians and Alaska 1879-1882. Correspondence, reports, diary*. Translated and Edited by G. SOLDATOW. Vol. I-II, AARDM Press, Minneapolis Minnesota 1993.

66 Already in December 1880 Nestor asked help from the Holy Synod. He did not feel to be the right person to accomplish the bishop's duty. As we read in one of his requests to the Holy Synod. *Ibidem* p.121. Letter from the Smithsonian *Ibidem* p.126 (from the OCA Archives).

Nestor's times, or even before. They were used to perform their liturgies in an ex-Lutheran church, re-adapted as Orthodox. Nestor had commented laconically on this edifice:

Under the Impression of all that I had seen, an idea immediately came into my mind- How could we Orthodox people build here our own church (which would be called cathedral for the entire Diocese)?⁶⁷

Nestor remembered that some years before a collection was held in Russia with the task of building a new cathedral in San Francisco, but it came to a negligible result.⁶⁸ The 1881 Cathedral burned on a fire in 1889, was then rebuilt and consecrated to Basil the Great. In 1897 its dedication changed again to the Holy Trinity. Vechtomov improved the parish conditions also opening again a parish school, offering lessons on Sunday.

In 1888 a new bishop was appointed in the American Diocese. He was fluent in English, French and Japanese because he had been formerly part of the Japanese Mission, where St. Nikolai Kasatkin was working. When Bishop Vladimir (Sokolov) went to USA he carried with himself Russian personnel, in 22 people, among whom there were psalmists, deacons and teachers. He was able to preach and serve liturgies in English. Talented in music, he translated the most common Russian liturgical chants into English. It is reported that he was the first to introduce the discontinuity in the remembrance of the Imperial Family during the liturgical services, replacing it with the American president's name.⁶⁹ It is reported also that he traveled very much visiting parishes and crossing the continent more than three times. He visited the new parishes that were gathered through the continent and requested the Holy Synod to send priests for them. He reestablished also the vocational school in San Francisco to provide clergy for his parishes. Indeed his permanence is linked to an unsolved and controversial case taken up by the tribunals of California from 1889 to 1892, about maltreatment or violence committed towards children in San Francisco's Diocesan

67 Letter to His Beatitude Most Reverend Metropolitan Isidor, *The Right Reverend Nestor* Vol. I, p.48.

68 Ivi

69 This was reconfirmed and specified by bishop Nikolai in 1898, as we can read in the *Vestnik* : "From the Ecclesiastical consistory of Alaska. Some of the clergy started a long process, asking to his eminence, Nikolai, Bishop of Aleutians and Alaska about when should the President of the United States be remembered in the liturgy and in the other services. In accordance with the disposition of his Eminence, the Ecclesiastical Consistory of Alaska hereby announced that remembering the President *is permitted only in the Liturgy of the catechumen* – in the great or augmented Litanies (*Ekteniia*), and nowhere else: in regard with the other services- morning and evening – in the Litanies, after the remembrance of "the pious Sovereign and the whole Imperial House ", and also during the years to come, when there are prayers in the occasion of the liberation of America from the dependence from England and in other similar cases. The custom of praying for the healthiness and welfare of the owner country came from the profound antiquity and is found on the commandment of apostle Paul [written] in the Letter to Timothy 2, 1-3 and in other places of the Holy Scriptures". APV 24 (1898), p.697. Translation mine. Previously the order to be kept in the Litanies at least in San Francisco's Cathedral intoned was: the names of the Russian Royal family, the Greek Royal family, the Serb Royal family, then the Montenegrin Royal Family and last the President of the US. G. SOLDATOW, *The Right Reverend Nestor* p.126.

school. We can't say whether it was a case of rivalries, ideological opponents or real abuses. Surely he was not well welcomed by the local community by reason of the introduction of a different language in the liturgy and his energetic stewardship of the mission. His main opponent was indeed not a parishioner but a doctor who had emigrated in USA in search of the possibility to realize his anarchic ideal. Bishop Vladimir was recalled to Russia before the case had been solved.⁷⁰

1.5 Bishop Nikolai (Ziorov)

Appointed on September 21st, 1891 as Bishop of Aleutians and Alaska he indefeasibly worked for the strengthening of the mission. The publication of the Messenger (*Amerikanskii Pravoslavnoi Vestnik*) started under his guidance; it was the official organ of the bishopric, issued in two languages, Russian and English. Through this bulletin news and directives spread in the Diocese, coming from the bishop himself or even from the Holy Synod in Russia. The existence of the *Messenger* helped the administrative center of the diocese to reach the most distant parishes. In his Official section (*Offitsial'nii otdel*) the approvals of divorces and nominees of clergy among the parishes were reported. They informed also about books that could be purchased by requesting them of the redaction, providing an initial type of formation and common background which the clergy could refer to. Nikolai obtained the right also to enlarge the composition and number of the Orthodox Clergy in America. This request had already been petitioned before but without success.⁷¹ He took care also of the States that were not supposed to have Orthodox population, encouraging exploratory journeys of missionaries and the aggregation of new parishes, which later requested resident clergy.⁷² Though this has not yet been studied or even appreciated from historiography bishop Nikolai's contribute to the formation of the Diocese is of first importance. Due to his efforts in those years a lot of missionary personnel came to America.

He encouraged the formation of a Mutual Aid Society to help immigrants in their frail life abroad, and the association of the Orthodox brotherhoods as a link between the parishes. He opened a school in Minneapolis that later had to be reshaped in the form of a Seminary.

70 T. EMMONS, *Alleged Sex & Threatened Violence*

71 Letter to His Eminence Nestor St. Petersburg, written by the oberprokuror Count Dmitrii Tolstoy on January 19th, 1879. Reported in *The Right Reverend Nestor* Vol. I, p. 29. In this letter it is written that the request had been accepted in 1874 but the State Treasure could not afford at the moment new expenses.

72 APV10 (1898), pp. 315-321. Maliarevskii; 11, feb 13th, 1898, p. 357; 21 (1898) pp. 602-615 Travel to Canada, Nikolai gave approval to the opening of new parishes; 22/23 (1898) p. 653 News about the reunion of two Canadian parishes: Lime Stoke and Rabbit Hill p. 661

Bishop Nikolai took care of the heavy situation of Alaskan natives who were not considered citizens yet, but on a par with Indians. He wrote to President McKinley to request an examination of the needs of Alaskan population. Moreover, he opened another way to help the Alaskan mission by obtaining that Alaskan parishes should be accepted under the protection and economical sustenance of the Missionary society in Russia. He had a pastoral approach to his native flock, caring for their spiritual life. They were far from San Francisco but not from his attentions. The articles that denounce abuses from other missionary denominations in Alaska or that reconstruct the story of the Alaskan parishes are numerous in the *Messenger*, reinforcing the sense of spiritual unity of the Diocese.⁷³ Nikolai provided his diocese also with gatherings of his preaches and teachings, that were published by the *Messenger's* typography in New York during his last years of service in America,⁷⁴ from which his missionary and Christian zeal emerges. During his journeys among Orthodox parishes he preached as a teacher. He said to them:

By force of this commandment of God, I, your archbishop, have undertaken as well my journey for you, but not in the purpose to baptize you, because you had already been baptized; but for the purpose to teach you to observe what our God taught us, and without preachers of the pastor, you are like illiterates, you can't teach.⁷⁵

He recommended them to pray, suggesting that they practice Jesus' prayer and often read psalms. The direction of souls was one of his primary objective. He found a Diocese without a solid structure and lacking in guidance. Thus probably responding also to a personal sensitivity he strongly elevated the role of clergy in front of the laity. In his preaches he emphasized the role of the Church in the Salvation of the soul, claiming that it was the only one that could lead to Salvation, even though he did not specify which Church, intending obviously the Orthodox one or possibly almost anyone that might have conserved the Apostolic succession in the consecration of Bishops.⁷⁶ His point of view towards other Christian confessions may be clarified through a particular brief article appeared later in the *Vestnik* in March 1898 under the title “Out of the church there is no Salvation”,⁷⁷ which was expressively preceded by the words “*Published by order of His*

73 For example, but there are more. APV 17 (1898), *A political preacher* p.515; 19 (1898) *From Unalaska* pp.552-558.

74 N. ZIOROV, *Propovedi preosviashennogo Nikolaia, Episkopa Aleutskago i Aliaskinago*, New York 1897 in ARC excerpts digitalized on www.asna.ca. There are also almost another American publications in the name of the bishop: N. ZIOROV, *tridzat' rechei i tri poslania preosviashennogo Nikolaia*, New York 1896; he continued the publication of his sermons even back in Russia as the following review testifies. P. KOZUTSKII, *Besedy, poucheniia, slova i rechi preosviashennogo Nikolaia, episkopa Tavricheskogo i Simferopolskago (1901-1905)*, MO Sept. 1905, pp.432-433.

75 N. ZIOROV, *Propovedi preosviashennogo* p.7.

76 N. ZIOROV, *Poucheni eo blagodati Bozhei skazannoe v Siktinskoi Arkhangelo-Mikhailovskoi Tserkvi* in *Propovedi preosviashennogo* pp. 7-11.

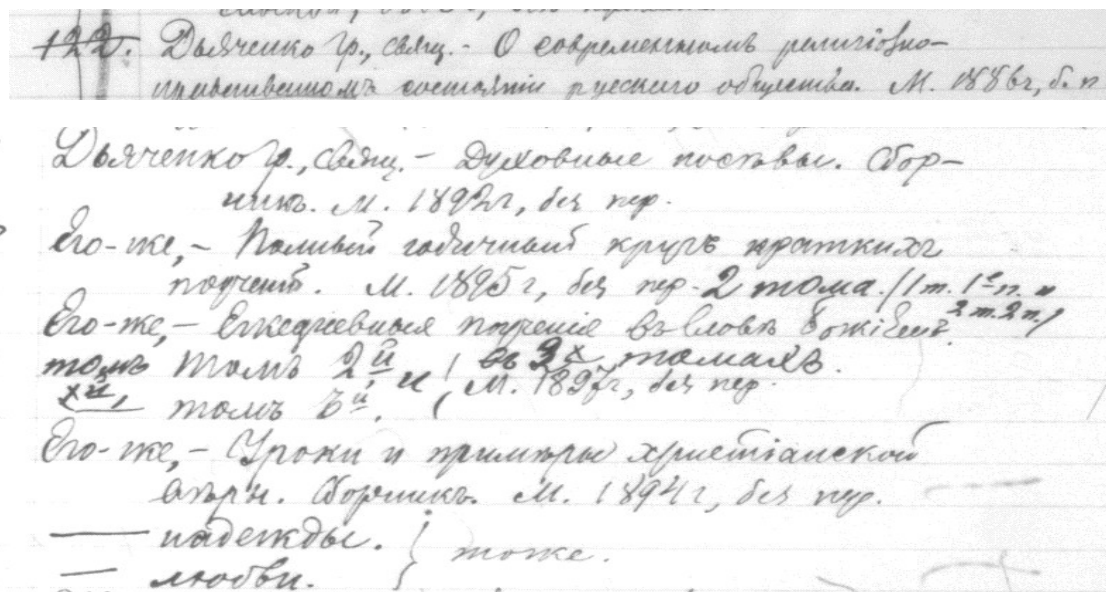
77 APV14 (1898), pp.409-411. Evidently recalling on Patristic legacy. For a recent comparative study see E. M. CONRADIE, *Creation and Salvation. Vol I. A Mosaic of Selected Classic Christian Theologies*, LIT 2012. Since Salvation is intended to be the result of a striving for reaching the image of Christ, a progressive deification of man,

Grace, the Right Reverend Nicholas, Bishop of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands”. I report the article in its entirety.

Only in true union with the Church, of which Christ is the head, and which He instituted for the salvation of men – in mental harmony with her, in obedience to her commandment and ordinances – is eternal salvation possible. All who wish to inherit salvation must necessarily become members of the Church. “Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God” (John. 3, 5). “If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and Publican” (Matthew 18, 17). “He who is not among the members of Christ”, says the Blessed Augustine, “can not have Christian salvation. A man may have honors, he may receive the Sacrament, he may sing “Hallelujah”, he may respond “Amen” he may hold the Gospel in his hand, he may have faith in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and preach that faith; but nowhere, except in the Orthodox Catholic Church can he find Salvation” (Appendix to the Works of the holy Fathers; ed of 1843, p.236).

The Holy martyr Saint Cyprian says:- “Men who do not keep close touch and sincerest communion with the Church, though they should yield themselves up to death for confessing the name of Christ, their sin shall not be washed in their blood; the indelible and heavy guilt of disunion is not cleansed even by suffering. He who abides outside the church cannot be a martyr; he who forsakes the Church, who is to reign, cannot be found worthy of the Kingdom” (“Christian Reading” 1837; part I: “On the Unity of the Christian Church”).

In the Russian version this article is referred to as a work of Grigorii Michailovich D'iachenko (1850-1903), better known for his Russian Slavonic dictionary but indeed a prolific theological writer.⁷⁸



through which all the world could be transfigured (the beginning of this striving posed in baptism and leading routes in Church's teachings), it is quite obvious to refer to the Church as the only or main giver of Salvation, because it introduces the believer to Christ, and to a way to Salvation certified by the Holy Fathers. On the other side only the help of God in his inscrutable judgment could help men in achieving the steps to deification, and consequently Salvation. P. Bouteneff clearly define the Orthodox point of view as: “Salvation is understood as *theosis* ('deification'), as communion, as illumination of understanding, as freedom from captivity; it is achieved through Christ's Incarnation, his divine-humanity, his teaching, his sacrifice on the Cross, the Church”. P. BOUTENEFF, *Christ and Salvation*, in M. B. CUNNINGHAM – E. THEOKRITOFF, *The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology*, Cambridge University Press 2008, pp. 93-106, 93.

⁷⁸ The images refer to books present in Tikhon's library ARC D477, Reel 303, f.513.

In this book he collected homilies or part of them from preachers everywhere in Russia, so that it could be used as a catechism and a practical guide to homiletic. This enterprise evidently reached also America. However the excerpts chosen by Nikolai came exactly from this book, published in 1890 with the permission of the Holy Synod.⁷⁹ The message that Nikolai had decided to leave to his diocese is quite clear. The Orthodox Church is the only Church that can lead to Salvation, no matter how the theological or even personal faith may be nearer to theirs. This uncompromisable point of view was well suited to the position of the Missionary Church in the Americas. Its role was that of maintaining the possibility of Salvation for those who in their motherland were born in the Orthodox faith and there baptized entering the church. In regard to Salvation of the others it has to be extended only through conversion. Even praying with other Christian confessions' members was not allowed because it might be without a worthy Orthodox guide (in reason of the poor reserve of Orthodox clergy in America). The previous article was followed by this actual and concrete specification:

Is it lawful to offer up prayers for living Christian of Heterodox Confessions?

According to the spirit and the sense of the church laws, the prayers of the Church should be offered up only for such believers as are or have been subject to the Church, who recognize or have recognized her as their Mother, who believe or have believed in her; but with those who keep aloof or have kept aloof from the Church, there must be no communion in prayer. According to the 45th Apostolic Rule, "if a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon shall merely pray with heretics, let him be excommunicated". The same punishment of excommunication is incurred by every one "who shall pray with one cut off from communion with the church, though it were in a house". The 46th Apostolic Rule forbids to receive offerings from heretics. These rules are repeated and confirmed in further ordinances of various Councils, [that of Antioch, Rule 2-d; that of Laodicea, Rules 6, 33, 37], - and on them church practice be based; and the pastor of a church must not, in the exercise of his pastoral functions, depart from them. It is evident that offering the prayers of the Church, for those who are not in communion with the Church, would not be consistent with these rules. (See the book "Functions of a Priest, as the Spiritual Guide of his Parishioners", by V. Pievnitsky. 2Ed Edit. Kiev 1891 p. 483)⁸⁰

79 Reprinted version G. M. D'IACHENKO, *Vera, nadezhda, liubov': Katekhiz. Poucheniia v 3-kh tt.*, M 1993.

80 APV 14 (1898), pp. 409-411. In a successive issue 22/23 (1898), pp. 631-632 this matter was approached from a liturgical point of view, expressed by a recognized and renown authority. As often happens, liturgies explain a precise point of view on topical questions. The article is titled as: **Opinion of Filaret, the Metropolitan of Moscow, on praying for followers of other than the Orthodox Faith.** *Published by order of the Right Reverend NICHOLAS, Bishop of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, for the information and guidance, in given cases, of the clergy of his diocese.* And it reads as follows: «The Orthodox Church prayeth for the union of the churches, meaning that the existing union between Orthodox churches may be preserved by God, and that, by the Grace of God, those churches may become re-united to the Orthodox Church which any wrong teaching hath separated from her. It is one thing to pray for the re-union of heterodox churches to the Orthodox Church in the *Liturgy of the Catechumens, and quite another thing to remember heterodox Christians in the Dyptichs at the celebration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. The heterodox, by the fact of their heterodoxy, have separated themselves from communion with the Sacrament of the Orthodox Church: to this fact corresponds that of their being unremembered at the celebration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist and of their exclusion from the Dyptichs.* However, that it is permitted to pray, in the Liturgy of the Faithful, for the re-union to the Orthodox Church of the churches that have separated from her, we see from the prayer in the Liturgy of Basil the Great: "Allay the dissensions of the churches"». It is noticeable how the re-unification was supposed to have a preferential lane in the process, for it is considered nearer than the heterodoxes.

The concrete role of the priest is recognized then not as that of a mere guide of his flock, but also as its defender. He had to take care of those who were inside the borders of Orthodoxy and, by doing so, he had to inspire his flock to do the same. The model which bishop Nikolai referred to was a closed on itself one. Despite the requests, the Russian Czar had signed the selling treaty of Alaska and bishop Nikolai had seen and sensed the strong processes of Americanization performed towards the natives and Russian people residing there. The way he chose for his diocese was that of conservation, limiting the contact with the other Christian confessions and concentrating the efforts towards his Orthodox flock and the Uniates reunited. Even though Nikolai was well aware that Orthodoxy had to prepare itself to face the American spiritual world providing its personal version of Christianity, he was probably afraid that they were not ready to endure it. The Eastern churches had to present the tradition, the faith of the Orthodox lands and make them accessible to occidental interest in order to face the West and illuminate its population with the true faith. In the *Vestnik* this process that had to be put in motion is connected also to the purpose of the Reunion of the Churches through the publication of a lecture delivered by a former American bishop, Vladimir Sokolov, in Moscow. Having demonstrated that the Orthodox church is the only one that really observed and enshrined the faith, tradition and rules of the seven Councils, that all the Westerners who approached Orthodoxy recognized it and that they had started a movement in their own churches as well to return to the essential and true faith professed by the Orthodox churches, as happened for example among the Old-Catholics and the Anglicans, he reminded Orthodox people what they had to do while this rapprochement was going on.

What then are we Orthodox to do in order to assist in the work of Christian unity after the measure of our strength? We do not need to seek the true faith like men of the West: by the Grace of God we have been born and trained within the pale of that holy Œcumenic Church which ever faithfully guards the new teaching of Christ. We have only to remember the words of the Apostle, “*Stand fast and hold the tradition which we have been taught whether by word or by epistle*” (II, Thes 2, 13). Do not forget that other Christians, no less enlightened and worthy than ourselves, have hard work to rid themselves of inherited errors and to find their way to the truth while this same pure truth is offered to us as a birthright by our holy Church. Stand fast then, and hold your traditions, but with reasonableness (...) that you may not be like the pharisees who, exaggerating the importance of secondary things, were inclined to “*omit the weightier matters of the law*” (Mt 23, 23), for as Eastern Patriarchates testify “*certain customs and rites in various places and churches were and are altered; but the unity of faith and harmony of dogmas remained unalterable*” (Encyclical of 1723) – it is only such reasonable faith that can unite in one all peoples and nations, leaving to them their legitimate share of freedom, but binding them in the unity of Christ's teaching.

While firmly and reasonably keeping the sacred pledge of your faith, do not hide it under a bushel. Russians have always been modest to a fault. Every thing foreign – not always of the best quality,- they are inclined to prefer to what is their own. (...) A Russian abroad hastens first of all to transform himself into a foreigner, and is mortally afraid of being known for a Russian. At home walking the streets of Moscow, he boldly and broadly crosses himself; but he feels an awkwardness in doing so before the eyes of people belonging to alien religions, when he walks those of Berlin or Paris. Such self abasement, not praiseworthy in itself, becomes absolutely criminal where religion is concerned. It is our duty, not to hide our holy faith, but to hold it up high as a torch, that it may illuminate the world (...) It is the duty of

Orthodox men and women to do everything in their power that this ignorance [of the Westerners about Orthodoxy] may be set a term to as soon as possible. Let the works of our Orthodox divines be spread in foreign lands broadcast (...); let our pastors and scholars speak as much as possible on Orthodoxy at foreign religious congresses and meetings (...). Let our prayer books and rituals be translated into foreign languages and distributed among the followers of heterodox religions (...) let our solemn, beautiful services be performed there more and more frequently.⁸¹

For this purpose bishop Nikolai blessed the beginning of a big project of compilation, translation and arrangement of the Liturgical Service book, an enterprise conducted by the Episcopalian Isabel Florence Hapgood and completed in 1906 when the Service Book was finally printed. It took eleven years of labor.⁸²

Perhaps even in the lecture of bishop Vladimir the emphasis remained on what the Orthodox Clergy had to do in order to accelerate the approach of churches. Lay people only had to hold the traditions and maintain their old world attitudes and behaviors.

1.6 An Expanding Diocese?

From the late eighties, we see a lot of Orthodox parishes requesting clergy in America. Each community, formed mostly on ethnic basis, independently one from the other, decided how to organize its ecclesiastical life, building its own church edifice and trying to receive a priest or other clergy from an Orthodox Bishop or a Patriarch. This passage often meant that they were recognized officially as an existent community, belonging to a specific ecclesiastical jurisdiction. They often submitted a request to their mother church, as the only way they knew to be recognized, or to avoid linguistic misunderstandings with local authorities. In some cases they were addressed even by their mother churches to the local Orthodox bishop, residing in San Francisco. Otherwise they were so lucky to be found out by Orthodox missionaries, who were sent from the bishop himself to acquaint him with the existence of these communities. As we have seen in the previous paragraph bishop Nikolai for example sent personnel in search of Orthodox people scattered through America. This acknowledgment did not mean the immediate development of these informal communities into parishes and their entrance in the jurisdiction of the bishop of San Francisco. In fact, they had to prove that they had enough Orthodox families to present a request to begin the process of accession.

81 APV V. SOKOLOV, *On the Reunion of the Churches*, lecture delivered in Moscow on December 3-15th, 1897.

Published in two parts. The first part appeared in APV14 (1898), pp. 414-427, the second in 15 (1898), pp. 441-455.

Quotation above taken from the second part, pp. 453-454.

82 See chapter 5.

Each community moreover had its own tendency, pro-Russian, philo-Russian, against-Russian, Greek, pro-ecumenical patriarchate, a Serbian affiliation ...etc. It was a period of strong nationalistic claims in Europe, and it rarely seemed to melt with the feeling of unity between sister Orthodox churches. Also the philetism heresy was perceived as a dividing step among those historical churches in Europe that found difficulties with being recognized as truly needing a particular and autonomous structure. In addition, Orthodox churches in the Ottoman Empire were pressed between a declining and angry imperial power and western ideas, suffering limited freedom. This European situation necessarily affected church life and reached also the American parishes.⁸³ Cohabitation was the challenge that Orthodox people in America tried to accomplish, which involved moaning and frequent complaining one denomination about the other and on their clergy, as reported by Bishop Nestor not long after his arrival in San Francisco.

I already encountered some disagreement among different ethnic Orthodox people: two delegations come to me, one from the Slavs and the other from the Greeks with a request to remove the church elder, who was elected to that duty only last November, but they did not present any reason which could be counted against him, and therefore I left these requests without attention.⁸⁴

Immigration in America for people from Slavic or Balkan countries was often a choice related to work, not a search for a new life as was mainly for protestant waves.⁸⁵ Orthodox people who came to America were poor and lacked education. Illiteracy was a norm. For many immigrants America was only a parenthesis in their life. They remained only the necessary time to earn enough money to improve their possibilities of life in Europe and then returned home. High remittances to their family in the motherland were one of these immigrants' main purposes.

Life was bitter and painfully toilsome, but these distressful currents were overcome by my sole ambition of acquiring a fortune as soon as possible in order to return home with financial security for my family. Nothing— ill health, hunger, pain or deprivations of any kind—would change the promise I had made myself when I left home. I was to succeed in this new nation of opportunities and only death would put an end to this ambition. I clenched my fists, grit my teeth and sharpened my wits daily in order to grasp the least opportunity to get ahead. It was an empty life, living the way I didn't want to live and knowing it, not liking the way things were and unable to see any way to change them.⁸⁶

Immigrants often traveled across the country and changed their residence more than twice, following job opportunities. Especially for some nations this was particularly evident, looking at the

83 See Chapter 2.3.

84 Letter without beginning from Bishop Nestor, *The Right Reverend Nestor* p. 65.

85 L. DINNERSTEIN – D. M. REIMERS, *Ethnic Americans 5th ed.*, Columbia University Press NY 2009.

86 Quoted from K.V. PETROV, *An Outline of the Cultural History of the Serbian Community in Chicago*, <http://muse.jhu.edu>, p.38, taken from J. MARICH, *Memoirs of John Marich* (typed manuscript), translated by Nada Marich Martin.

difference between the number of males and females who emigrated, as for example Serbian immigration data report.⁸⁷ A permanent settlement was more probable for a couple that decided to move together in the new country compared with an only male. This gender differential created a peculiar lifestyle in industrial or mining districts crowded with Slav people.⁸⁸ The low percentage of women in the comprehensive number of immigrants made them indispensable since they took care of these little Slavic worlds growing in the peripheries. They fed the men, washed their clothes and provided accommodation for all of them, increasing in this way their social position and usefulness, working really hard in order to house even ten or more bachelors in their apartments. This money source was very important for housekeeping and in the process of improving their at least miserable welfare.⁸⁹ Greeks arranged themselves differently, they used to live in “non-family groups” made up of masculine components.⁹⁰ A typical temporary immigration was that of Albanians, though with difficulty they were recorded separately at the entrance in the States. They mostly crowded the peripheries of big cities.

These communities than claimed a priest not for a missionary purpose, for evangelization of the land but in response to a temporary need for a spiritual guidance and a complete recreation of their identity (in which Christian Orthodox religion was fundamental) in the new world. Indeed it became also an experience of evangelization and conversion as we will see, but it was not its previous aim. The first Orthodox Parishes were made up of mixed population, as that born in New Orleans in 1864. There Greeks, Slavs and Arabs lived together, sharing the church edifice, where liturgical services are reported to have been held in various languages. Other parishes, founded by diplomats and foreign businessmen grew in New York (1870-1883), Chicago (1888), Portland (Oregon, 1890), Galveston (1890 ca), Seattle (1892).⁹¹ Instead, several of them were formed by a unique ethnic community.

Nevertheless also single individuals came nearer to Orthodoxy and decided to convert. Mostly they converted because it was a practical solution to marry an Orthodox partner, or because of the absence of an organized structure that could take care of their particular confession, as happened with the Middle East denominations like Maronites or Assyrians. Some western people approaching Orthodoxy decided to convert themselves and enter the Orthodox confession. These were single and

87 See appendix. Greek immigration too was affected by a high gender differential, male Greeks were about 96 % of Greek immigrants as reported by H. P. FAIRCHILD, *Greek Immigration to the United States*, Yale University Press 1911, p. 112, though Greeks were mostly males their perspective seemed to be more oriented to a naturalization in USA than the Serb one. Ibidem p. 211.

88 Ibidem; M. S. STANOYEVICH, *The Yugoslavs in the United States of America*, Yugoslav's section of America's Making, Inc. New York City 1921, p. 19.

89 J. DAVIS, *The Russian Immigrant*, New York 1922, especially pp. 54-90.

90 T. BURGESS, *Greeks in America* pp. 130-131.

91 M. STOKOE-L. KISHKOVSKY, *Orthodox Christians* p.23 ss.

rare cases, but they were important to understand what was happening: a new approach, a western approach to Orthodox ideas (not of an apologetic character) was slowly growing. How this approach grew in Tikhon's time will be analyzed in further chapters.

The largest group that started to organize itself in order to adhere to Russian Orthodoxy was that of the Galitian and Rusyn Uniates. Indeed the movement of “Reunification” (*soedinenie*) started in Russia even before.⁹² Immigrants coming to America from various regions of the actual Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Moldova and Ukraine and variously referred to as “Carpatho-Rusyns”, “Uhro-Rusyns”, “Galicians”, “Lemkos”, “Bucovinians”, “Trans Carpathian Ukrainians”, found themselves not well accepted by Catholic American Bishops and looked for a new religious affiliation. The massive increase of Orthodox America began exactly from the harsh attitude of American Catholic Bishops towards Uniate priests coming to the New world. These popes, once they had reached the parishes they were assigned to, had to present their credentials to the Catholic bishops to which they were supposed to be jurisdictionally attached. Furthermore they had to present a submission to them.⁹³ Due to the “American heresy”, Uniate priests were considered dangerous for the image of Catholic Church, which could result too jeopardized to be a serious competitor in the assets of North American religious recognition and equilibrium in the mainstream of Christian denominations in America.⁹⁴ Uniate parishes were a problem in the recognizance of Catholicism because they permitted differences in the liturgy and in other exterior practices. Moreover the question of the marriage of priesthood affected the relationship between Uniate clergy and Catholic bishops. As the anecdote says, the movement started from St. Mary's parish in Minneapolis and from a precise priest, father Alexis Toth, who in 1889 asked the permission to enter the Orthodox Church. He had received a bad welcome from his Catholic Bishop, Archbishop John Ireland, that was also one of the most convinced advocates of Americanism.⁹⁵

92 Mass conversion from the former Uniates were registered mainly in two waves after 1839 and after 1875, in the words of Serge Bolshakoff. The main worker in this field was Uniate Bishop Joseph Semashko (+ 1868). S.

BOLSHAKOFF, *The Foreign Missions* p. 106; E.P. BYLOUSOV, *Kulturno-istoricheskoe znachenie prazdnovaniia 75-letia Bozsoedinenia zapadno-russkikh uniatov, (1839-1914)*, MO, May 1914, pp. 3-12. See also J. BRADY, *Trasnational Conversions: Greek Catholic Migrants and Russky Orthodox Conversion Movements in Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Americas (1890-1914)*, PhD thesis University of Pittsburgh 2012. Received by the courtesy of the author.

93 J. SLIVKA, *Historical Mirror Sources of the Rusin and Hungarian Greek-Rite Catholics in the United States 1884-1963*, Brooklyn NY 1978, pp. 1-6.

94 R. AUBERT, *La chiesa cattolica in America dal 1848 al 1878*, in AA.VV., *Storia della Chiesa. Il pontificato di Pio IX (1846-1878)*, Vol. XXI/2, Torino 1976, pp. 653-657; J. HENNISEY, *La chiesa in America settentrionale*, in AA. VV. *Storia della chiesa. La chiesa e la società industriale (1878-1922)*, vol XXII/1, Alba (Cn) 1990, pp. 461-486; J. HENNISEY, *I cattolici degli Stati Uniti dalla scoperta dell'America ai nostri giorni*, Milano 1985, chapters XIV-XV.

95 A. SMIRENKO, *A case study: The Minneapolis Russian Community in Transition*, SVSQ 5/1-2 (1961), pp. 88-100; K.S. RUSSIN, *Father Alexis G. Toth and the Wilkesbarre Litigations*, SVTQ 16/3 (1972), pp. 128-149; K. SIMON S.J., *Alexis Toth and the Beginnings of the Orthodox Movement among the Rutenians in America (1891)*, OCP 54 (1988), pp. 387-428; J. JORGENSON, *Father Alexis Toth and the Transition of the Greek Catholic Community in Minneapolis to the Russian Orthodox Church*, SVTQ 32/2 (1988), pp. 119-138. For a translation or a transcription into English of the bulk of written sources about Alexis Toth see the works of G. SOLDATOW, *Archpriest Alexis Toth. Selected Letters*,

Toth sent to Bishop Vladimir of San Francisco first an envoy to taste the situation and then he started to deal with him the more appropriate manner to develop a relationship between his parishioners, the Russian bishop and he himself. Bishop Vladimir petitioned the Holy synod for this question, but he was soon recalled to Russia. His successor, Nikolai received the answer to proceed with the reunification in 1891. From this particular case a flow of requests started from many parishes to enter the Russian Orthodox Jurisdiction, and as a result they became finally Orthodox parishes. Father Alexis Toth was an indefatigable advocate of the reunion, traveling since this act among Uniate parishes and expounding the reasons why a reunion with Orthodoxy was profitable and right. During his life he helped 65 parishes to enter the Orthodox Communion, accelerating the process of Reunion. The *Messenger* in 1898 reported also an article written by himself in which he explained what was going to happen to Unia in his personal view. He referred to this process using a physical appellation and similitude as the *Dissolutio organica* of Uniatism in Orthodoxy, and moreover displaying his vision of the relationship between Orthodox and Catholic churches, disdaining in this way the situation of Unia in his motherland and the outrageous status of that in the new world.

The condition of the Uniates in their church at the present time has come to that level, -or it would be better to say, has fallen to such a degree, at which it starts to decompose, to rot and to deteriorate, - in medical language doctors call it *dissolutio organica*.

Really this condition is deplorable, extremely deplorable, and it could not even be different because of the subject of the matter,- the ill-fated Uniates. Unia is an illegitimate and prematurely born child of the Roman Church, as a matter of fact- of the Roman Pope, and of several traitors of the Russian nation; it was born with no life in it and it was fed only by persecutions, bloodshed and prisons, so that in three hundred years it could hardly grow- it could have survived only by all kinds of treatment.⁹⁶

The source of father Toth's lamentation was an article written by a Russian (Mr. Orlov, but Toth admitted it was certainly a pseudonym), which appeared in a Uniate magazine, *Svoboda* (freedom), where Unia was considered born out of a “sincere religious will”, while Toth firmly believed it was formed by reason of a political question. And he explained his position this way:

In Poland, in Galicia, in Hungary there are only political goals to destroy the Russian nationality- these are the reasons that Unia is supported, - since with it you would take away from a Russian the Orthodox faith, and you would force him into another one, in this case into the Latin one, - his spirit and

Sermons and Articles, Vol. I (1978) Synaxis Press, Chilliwack Canada, Vol. II (1982) AARDM Press Minneapolis, Minnesota, Vol. III-IV (1988) AARDM Press Minneapolis, Minnesota, ; and Eiusdem *The Writings of St. Alexis Toth, Confessor and Defender of Orthodoxy in America*, AARDM Press Minneapolis, Minnesota 1994; M.R. O'CONNELL, *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church*, Minnesota Historical Society Press 1988; Another version is reported in A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia eparkhiia pri sviatitele Tikhone*, M 2012, pp. 26-28, 130-135.

96 A. TOTH, *Dissolutio Organica*, APV 9 (1898), pp. 294-296 (I part); 10 (1898), pp. 323-325 (II part). Quotations used are from the first part. Translation is taken from G. SOLDATOW, *Archpriest Alexis Toth* Vol. II, p. 11

consciousness would be taken also, and he would begin to be ashamed of his nationality and he would become a Polack and a Hungarian! This has been proved by fact: thousands of people in Poland became Poles, in Hungary – Hungarians, only because of one reason, because they ended on the religious bridge-Unia, and came over to Latinization, and simultaneously they ceased to be Russian!⁹⁷

As we see, father Alexis was affirming that the question of religion was imperative in the formation of national consciousness in East Europe. His view was surely the simplification of a complex process of cultural change, due also to the actual philosophical and political *temperie*.⁹⁸ However it reflects the perspective the Orthodox church had toward Unia, as the interruption, abruptly performed and coercive in his imposition, of the traditional Russian character of the people pertaining to Holy Rus'. Union with Rome was seen eminently as a political act, useful in order to weaken the Russian identity in those who had become a Polish subjected population. Otherwise from this sanguine defense of what might be called, *latu sensu* and carefully used by reason of the specific differences, a Russian Orthodox Commonwealth,⁹⁹ we notice how deeply the religious belonging mattered in relation to the soil. The topic of Holy Rus' extension and the way Holy Rus' was born, built and funded on the pillars of its particular Orthodox sanctity, though not explicitly underlined, pervaded entirely Toth's tirade. Holy Rus' was also the soil of these populations, which were living on the borders of Orthodox confession. For this reason they had to remain Orthodox. This is in a few words the core of his argumentation.

Let's stop! Let's return to our original road,¹⁰⁰ let's go again to our Mother Orthodox Church, she cares not only about our souls but also preserves our Russian nationality... There was enough calamity, there has been enough disdain, there has been enough lackeys and servility¹⁰¹, - our bishops¹⁰² don't care about us, - only about their local problems; Rome is destroying us, subjecting us to the local Catholic bishops, who take away from us churches, nationality, rite, who take away our rights, keep us slaves, who do injustice to us, who want to tear us away from the church, the nationality; (...) - let's go back there where our beloved Mother Orthodox Church is who cares about her children, who cares about them sincerely and with love..., let's be Russians, let's be again sons, as our forefathers were: you know in us there is Russian blood flowing, - we have the right to live in the same way, as other nations, you know that the faith is ours, the church has been given by Christ the Saviour, by that faith and in that church our fathers and forefathers have saved themselves: - they were glorious and courageous, until the time that they fell away from the faith, from the church, and accepted Unia! Everybody honored them, as they also

97 Ibidem, p.12

98 M. PICCIN, *La politica etno-confessionale*

99 On Paschalis M. Kitromilides' pattern for the south Slavs. P. M. KITROMILIDES, *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy. Studies in the culture and political thought of south-eastern Europe*, Aldershot, Hampshire, UK 1994; P. M. KITROMILIDES, *The Legacy of French Revolution: Orthodoxy and Nationalism*, in *The Cambridge history of Christianity*, Vol.V Eastern Christianity, Cambridge University Press 2006, pp. 229-249; P. M. KITROMILIDES, *An Orthodox commonwealth: symbolic legacies and cultural encounters in southeastern Europe*, TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall UK 2007.

100The original road, could be translated also as natural road. This passage refers probably to the Russian nationalists' ideologies in the 18th century, even if the word used is not that of *iskonnyi* but *prirodnii*. M. PICCIN, *La politica etno-confessionale* pp. 31. See also J. BRADY, *Transnational Conversions*.

101He referred here probably to the approach of Catholic bishop to the Uniate priests. A letter written by a certain Orlov could be found also in J. SLIVKA, *Historical Mirror Sources* pp. 25-27.

102 Bishops.

honor those Russians, who today keep the forefathers' Orthodox faith!¹⁰³

In father Toth's words therefore we find the equation referring to the East Europe population that being Orthodox means being Russians. This affirmation was indeed completely adherent to bishop's Nikolai preaching, Russian point of view on reunification¹⁰⁴ and moreover to Pobedonostsev's renown Panslav political view on the religious question.¹⁰⁵ The ober-prokuror's orientation towards the East European Slavs had been that of a paternalistic policy since the seventies.¹⁰⁶

Russian protection upon Uniate parishes initially meant also funds and higher probability to receive a permanent priest, increasing in this way the quality of life of these newborn communities. Russian regulation on founding parishes dated back to Peter the Great's times, when parishes were constrained in a limited number not to dispel ecclesiastical funds. The Orthodox bishop had to submit each case of a new community requesting to become parish to the Holy Synod and investigate carefully the faithfuls moral and spiritual situation.¹⁰⁷ The bishopric could provide also America with priests through Russian State funds. This situation did not last long due to Witte prescriptions.¹⁰⁸ The first Uniate parishes to join the Orthodox communion were those in Pennsylvania: Wilkes-Barre, Old Forge, Pittsburgh and Osceola, but Chicago (Illinois) and Bridgeport (Connecticut) joined them as well.¹⁰⁹

Syrians, or Arab-Syrians or Arab Orthodox were another important group joining the Russian Mission. Their organized presence in USA has been testified almost since 1895, but their mass immigration started before that date almost at the end of the 70s. They moved to the US with their

103 This paragraph seems to be a quotation also in the original but neither the *Vestnik*, neither Soldatow proposed a previous source. Noteworthy is the word *Russkii* to say Russians instead of the expected *Rossiiskii*. *Russkii* designate the Russian Nationality while *Rossiiskii* meant generally who lived among the Russian geographical borderland despite considering himself of a different nationality. The words of Toth are perhaps emphasized by his decision to use this adjective instead of the other one.

104 E. P. BYLOUSOV, *Kulturno-istoricheskoe znachenie* p. 4. In which the author affirmed also that Unia was a mean to divert people from the tradition of their fathers and to grow in a different tradition, the latin one denying their Russianness and the formation of a specific nationality.

105 First and second literature on the Oberprokuror is exterminate but see for example the old but always useful biography written by R. F. BYRNES, *Pobedonoscev His life and his thought*, Bloomington Indiana University Press 1868; W. GIUSTI, *L'ultimo controrivoluzionario russo: Konstantin Pobedonoscev*, Edizioni Abete, Roma 1974; R. F. BYRNES, *Russia and the West: the Views of Pobedonostsev*, *The Journal of Modern History*, 40/2 (Jun 1968), pp. 234-256; W. WALSH, *Pobedonostsev and Pan-Slavism*, *Russian Review* VII, pp. 316-321; J. D. BASIL, *Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev: An Argument for a Russian State Church*, *Church History* 64/1 (March 1995), pp. 44-61, more bibliography can be found in *Readings in Russian Civilization. Revised Edition Vol II. Imperial Russia 1700-1917*. Introduction and notes by T. RIHA p. 390.

106 A. TAMBORRA, *L'Europa centro-orientale nei secoli XIX-XX*, pp.499-500, Milano 1973.

107 G. FREEZE, *The Parish clergy in nineteenth-century Russia : crisis reform counter-reform*, Princeton University Press 1983, pp. 28-29.

108 PST Letter to Flavian, Jan. 25th, 1899 pp. 20-21, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.32-33 ob; Letter to Flavian of Georgia, Nov. 2nd, 1899 pp. 47-48, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.44-45 ob.

109 ARCHIMANDRITE SERAFIM, *The Quest for Orthodox Church Unity in America*, New York 1973, pp. 21-22.

settling family, running away from a difficult way of life in their motherland and planning their future life in the New World. In 1895 “The Syrian Orthodox Benevolent Society” of New York needed a priest, they requested father Raphael Hawaweeny to come to America and guide them.¹¹⁰ He was at the moment professor of Arabic at Kazan Theological Academy. He soon became the pastor and spiritual leader of this community.

Serbs communities¹¹¹ were founded mostly by fr. Sebastian Dabovich. Son of Serb immigrants, he was born in San Francisco and knew English very well. His family attended services at the Russian mission, the children received education from the church as is testified in registers and letters. Fr. Sebastian furthermore went to Russia to receive Theological Education previously in Kiev and then in St. Petersburg's Academies. He was tonsured monk in 1892 and returned to the West Coast. He recollected Serbian workers for example in Jackson (California) to become members of an Orthodox Community. Fr. Sebastian helped them to have a resident priest. His service among Serbian parishes was officially recognized in 1896 by Bishop Nikolai. At Tikhon's time he was considered the soul of the Serbian Mission in USA. All these communities as Steelton, Portland, Milwaukee... which had stemmed from his endeavor were attached to the Russian Diocese.¹¹²

In the years we are trying to speak about Canada as well became a land of mass immigration. People who settled there were for the most part farmers, that came with their families to live and build their life in those territories. Canada encouraged the stabilization of population offering facilities to those communities who erected church edifices in three years from registration. Canadian conformation was suited for marginalized communities. There then was possible to find

110 Also father Shamie, later missionary in Syro-Arab America had studied at Kazan.

111 M. S. STANOYEVICH, *The Jugoslavs in the United States of America*

112 Sebastian Serb in roots Sebastian was one of the most important American builder of the archdiocese. Many doubted of his capacities and loyalty to the Russian orthodox church but he was a friend and an unshakable help for Tikhon's purposes. He was the archbishopric's *strannik*, he wandered through all the west coast looking for and on communities, carrying the heavy burden of the migrant life between immigrant communities. He was also a writer. His works were dear to orthodox people. S. DABOVICH, *The Holy Orthodox Church*, San Francisco 1898; *The Lives of the Saints*, San Francisco 1899; *Preaching in the Russian Church: Lectures and Sermons by a priest of the Holy Orthodox Church* (1899) His work is known also in Russia (Reviews by A. P. Lopukhin) KhCh 7 (1898), pp. 143-144; 5 (1899), p.1038. He wrote in english but knew also Russian. He was borne in 1863 in a Serbian family who had moved to San Francisco. He attended the local orthodox parish and brotherhood. In 1884 he went to Sitka while in 1885 he was sent to Russia, first in Kiev, than in the capital. Lopukhin inform us that he studied at St.Petersburg Theological Academy as a free listener for two years. KhCh 7 (1898), pp. 143-144. This might be a mistake or maybe Russian Consulate didn't consider this education enough, because in a letter he was said reknown of a bad education. He was ordained monk. Then in 1889 he returned to America, where bishop Vladimir àsokolovskii engaged him as english preacher for the San Francisco russian cathedral. He then founded several parishes as circuit rider. He was supposed the best candidate to beceme the “Serbian bishop” of the 1905 Tikhon's project. During the IWW he went to Serbia to serve as military chaplain. He returned for a short period in America but soon retired in a monastery. He died in Jugoslavia in 1940. K. V. PETROV, *An Outline of the Cultural History* pp.43-46; S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* pp. 82-83; B. FARLEY, *Circuit Riders to the Slavs and Greeks*; A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 364-432.

Uniate as well as Dukhobors and Old Believers' communities.¹¹³ The lands to settle in were enormous and the number of Orthodox priests and missionaries to send there still was very little. Between independent parishes and vagabond missionaries a confusion of priest certification was arising. However mechanisms rooted in US worked also for Canada.

In South America Orthodoxy is to be found a little later, but it grew restlessly in the 20th century.¹¹⁴

Those who came across the Russian Mission were fascinated not only by reason of the promise of economical funding coming from the Imperial Church but also of a symbolic link of their motherland churches. The fame of helper of Slav people and Orthodox in general (though this opinion was not easily shared by Greek Orthodox believers) was connected with the idea of Russian Orthodox Church. The building of the American Mission has been recounted, mostly by Russian historians or apologetic writers quite as a mythological narration throughout all the last century.¹¹⁵ The style of telling was surely that one, but it does not mean that those men who worked for that construction did not firmly and sincerely believe in what they were doing. Even if it can be considered a partial narration, written by rulers, as commonly happens with history, it does not involve that the dimension they were growing in was more than a project or a *utopia* for them; it was the reality in which they were living and struggling. Yet we have to look at what the archdiocese really was in its extension, authority and perspectives.

Olivier D. Herbel concluded its article on American Orthodoxy saying that instead of what Alexander Schmemmann thought, Orthodoxy in America really was a “jungle of ethnic ecclesiastical

113 The *Missionerskoe Obozrenie* (*The Missionary Review*) MO, is full of references to Dukhobors' life in Canada, their attempts to resist the hardness of life there and to convert Canadian people. It is particularly interesting that this magazine whose first aim was to inform clergy and people about the inner Russian mission, repeatedly paid attention to this specific part of the world. This continual references and updates are perhaps due to the wish to inform Russians about their own sectarians and their vicissitudes abroad. This magazine on which we will not return later dealt also with the spreading of different sects abroad trying to prevent them maybe from spreading in Russia as well as actually happened for example to the adventist of the seventh days or the testimonies of Jehovah or even to the Mormons. *O pereselenskom dvizhenii v Ameriku sredi zakavkazskikh dukhobor'-postnikov*, MO Mar. 1899 pp. 318-334; *Amerikanskoe zhit'e-byt'e zakavkazskikh dukhobor'*, MO Oct. 1899, pp. 423-425; *Posledniia izvestiia russkikh i zagranichnykh gazet o dukhoborakh v Amerike*, MO Jan. 1900, pp. 174-175; *Razcharovaniia golodaiuschikh v Amerike dukhobor i fariseiskoe poslanie k nim L. N. Tolstogo*, MO 1900 pp. 521-542; *K znoschastnoi sudbe dukhobor v Amerike*, MO 1900 pp. 839-840; *Esche o dukhobor v Kanade*, MO Jan. 1901 p. 147; *Esche o nyneshnem polozenii dukhobor v Kanade*, MO Dec. 1901 p. 891; *Pis'ma iz Kanady*, MO 1902 pp. 114-116; *Novye Vesti o Kanadskikh dukhoborov*, MO May 1903, pp. 1255-1256; *Esche o dukhoborakh izvestiia iz Ameriki*, MO Jun. 1903, p. 1378; *Novye bezumie dukhoborov*, MO Nov. 1903, p.928; *Krainiiaia partiia dukhoborov*, MO Mar. 1904 (I), p. 577; *Esche «Iskhod» v Ameriku*, MO Feb. 1905 pp. 414-416; *Emigratsiia Zakavkazskikh sektantov v Ameriku*, MO Sept. 1905, pp. 450-452.

114 S. BOLSHAKOFF, *The Foreign Missions* pp.93-94; See also the life of Konstantin Gavrilovic Izraszov in Buenos Aires from 1891 and classmate of the Patriarch at the St. Petersburg Theological Academy N. A. KRIVOSHEEVA, *Patriarshii kurs*, Vestnik PSTGU II: Istoriia. Istoriia Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi 2 (19) 2006, pp. 34-109, 94, note 14; TsVd 42 (1897) pp. 1535-1536.

115 O. HERBEL, *The Myth of Past Unity and the Origins of Jurisdictional Pluralism in American Orthodoxy*, JAOCH 1/1 (Aug 2011).

colonies". This might be true indeed. However at least at Tikhon's time parish mixed composition was the norm.¹¹⁶ But as the title of this thesis suggests the situation Russian missionaries had to face was not different in their perception from that of the first Apostles. Ecclesiastical foundations, coming from a different type of evangelization were the norm in the Americas. It was evident not only considering the other Christian confessions but also the orthodox ones. The Russian approach used towards all of them was taken from tradition, respect for the other confessions and denominations. American laws on religious freedom also challenged the perspective of confessional state of Russian hierarchy. Surely the matter at that point was to find a justification to the other Christian experiences. In the next chapter we will see how young bishop Tikhon resolved this question of means. In the next paragraph meanwhile we will try to provide an access to what evangelization in America means for Russians at Tikhon's time through the words of the main writer on this topic, professor Alexander Pavlovich Lopukhin.

Every experience of evangelization is described initially as an *epos* and then evolved, sometimes towards unity, sometimes towards a struggle determining a winner, a survivor for the future. Historical events, more than theological reflection would be the resolution of the jurisdictional question in the long period for Orthodox America. The process has not yet ended, as the American Orthodox panorama would suggest. The situation evolves year after year, shaken by internal scandals, liturgical misunderstandings among churches and the absence of a defined recognition from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of all the Jurisdictions. Spiritual centers had significantly split in the last decades as a different perception of the diaspora has been growing. But this sudden jump into our days aims only to underline the present statements of the contemporary second literature on the facts. A literature that might be considered useful to a particular view among Orthodox churches in America not less than the previous, written in St. Vladimir's *Golden Age*.

For completeness we provide in the appendix some results of the research through the Reports parishes were supposed to complete for the Bishop and the Holy Synod. It is noteworthy to say that these data came mostly from Russian or Slav parishes, as the ARC archive could provide. These were the numbers of people that recognized themselves as members of the Russian Orthodox Church (Mission) in America.

¹¹⁶ Appendix 2.

1.7 A hundred years in America, seen by the Russian Orthodox Church.

Renown Scholar, Alexander Pavlovich Lopukhin (1852-1904), was one of the pillars of the late 19th century St. Petersburg's Theological Academy. His written production was immense.¹¹⁷ He wrote extensively about theological issues, biblical history and exegesis but he was famous also for reviewing and translating foreign books into Russian and mastering a great deal of languages. This skill permitted him to be the actual translator of several western theological masterpieces. He then became the mediator of a part of western thought of his time. He was frequently criticized for his indefeasible will to popularize his production, and accused of the tendency to hide in his translation those theological differences dividing western authors from Russian Orthodox. His literary production is renown also today for the recently restarted re-publication of his commentaries on the Bible.¹¹⁸ Even in this field, he met sharp criticism. This time different theological perspectives came from German theological schools. He had to defend his point of view. His knowledge, erudition, capability to read in other languages and carry on correspondence with western theologians contributed to create a complex vision of the Bible. He was deeply interested in the archaeological researches conducted by western troupes; in his view the reconstruction of the ancient world would improve faith providing new evidence. He firmly believed that sharing knowledge was a way to make faith stronger. In spreading knowledge he worked through all his life. Born, raised and educated in Saratov region, Alexander Lopukhin graduated in St. Petersburg Theological Academy where while studying he began to deal with ecclesiastical magazines. In 1879 he was nominated as psalmist in New York's Russian Consulate chapel, because of his knowledge of English. He remained in US until 1882.¹¹⁹ In these years he wrote articles for Russian magazines and collaborated also with an American Orthodox journal published in New York City: "The Oriental Church". He wrote also other books, and meanwhile he had the opportunity to print in Russia the result of his observations on American society, its religious composition and spiritual thought.

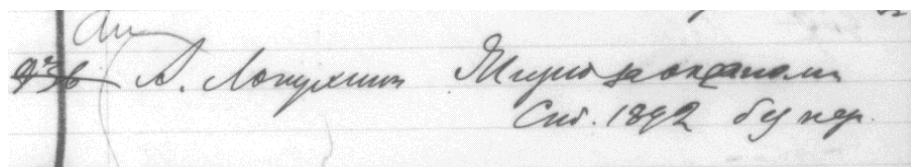
In 1883 he was requested by St. Petersburg Theological Academy to teach Compared theologies. From 1885 he taught there also History of Ancient Common Civilization. In 1892 he started to deal again with Russian magazines working for *Christian Lectures (Khristianskoe*

117 DIAKON D. IUREVICH, *Aleksandr Pavlovich Lopukhin: zhiznennyi podvig "asketa uchenogo truda" (k 150-letiiu so dnia pozhdeniia)*, TsVs 10 (2002); N. ZVEREV, *Zhizn' i trudy professora Spbda Aleksandra Pavlovicha Lopukhina (1852-1904)*, KhrCh 26 (2006), pp. 139-165.

118 See for example the site of Russian Statal Library in www.rsl.ru.

119 The New York chapel had had also another renown candidate to theology serving for some years, E. K. Smirnov. He later was moved to London.

Chtenie) and *The Church Messenger* (*Tserkovnyi Vestnik*). It is interesting to notice that thanks to his busy life Alexander Lopukhin represented for most Russians the opportunity to give a glance at American world above the Indian *cliché*. In that period he was chosen to be the writer of the pamphlet celebrating the centenary of the Orthodox Church in Alaska of 1894, an endeavor that had to remember the work of the Valaam Mission. This pamphlet was published twice, once as article in *Khristianskoe Chtenie*,¹²⁰ and then as a book. This later version was present also in Tikhon's library¹²¹ with a great number of other books that the Bishop carried with him in San Francisco.¹²² Lopukhin was indeed one of the first narrators Tikhon had listened to about America. Probably Tikhon knew Lopukhin from his Academy years, when Alexander Pavlovich was already a celebrity. Tikhon was also in contact with *Christian Lectures* for his publications. It is possible to argue that Tikhon shared at least a circle of acquaintances with Lopukhin.



1: Fragment from the book of Records of Tikhon's Library. ARC D477, Reel 303, f. 554.

Since Lopukhin's reconstruction of American spiritual life and of the Russian Mission was the most easily available in Tikhon's time, it is better to start from here our recognition. In fact, we have to say that the pamphlet was written with apologetic intention, and this is easily understandable because it was a commemorative product. By reading this old document we can get the image Russians and bishop Tikhon had of the enterprise, how they looked at the past of the Diocese, and perceived their actual work in America. We will reproduce here some passages that can be considered significant and clarify the general perception of the Mission :

One of the most active men among the promyshlenniki of that generation [that first to come to Alaska] was Grigorii Ivanovich Shelikov, a remarkable Russian man; he had made not only a bold

120 KhrCh 5 (1891), pp. 177-207.

121 ARC Book of Records of Tikhon's Library, the manuscript is handwritten by the bishop himself, the library was located in San Francisco as the position of the Records' Book attests, D477, Reel 303, f. 524.

122 Tikhon owned a lot of Lopukhin's books, those written about America, as well as those considering Church History: *Zhizn' za okeanom* and also "Promysl Bozhii v istorii chelovechestva" (ib., 1898); *Nastoiashchee i budushee Pravoslaviia v Amerike: Lektsiia chitannaia v torzhestvennom sobranii bratstva Presviatoi bogoroditsi 9 febr. 1897* — SPB: Tipo-lit. Pukhira. -Izvlech. Iz TsVs.- 11, 13, 14 (1897); *Stoletie Pravoslavnoi Missii v Severnoi Amerik. 1794-1894 gg, Istoricheskii ocherk ee deiatel'nosti v pamiat' 100 letnego iubileia, 25 sent. 1894 g.*- SPB. Tip. Katanskogo 1894 (obl. 1885), Izvlech. Iz KhrCh 1894; *Rimskii katolitsizm v Amerike: Issledovanie o sovremennom sostoianii i prichinakh bystrogo rosta Rimsko-Katolicheskoi Tserkvi v Soedinennykh Shtatakh Severnoi Ameriki*, SPB, tip. Dobrodeeva 1881, this later one ARC D477, Reel 303, f 526. As also the *pravoslavnaia bogoslovskaiia enziklopediia* and the *Istoriia khristianskoi tserkvi XIX veka*.

promyshlennik out of himself, but also a doughty patriot and a devoted son of the Church.¹²³

Gregorii Shelikov was considered a remarkable man for his capacity to organize the *promyshlenniki* and in doing this he might have limited their unthoughtful and violent approach to the natives. His company gave evidence of worrying about the civilization of natives, enlightening them without a strong and armed opposition. While they settled in Kodiak:

He saw that a hostile attitude towards them [natives] did not grant any success for the Company because it needed obedient and hard workers, such as only natives could be. For this reason he began with cordiality and gifts to obtain their affection and succeeded in this relationship so that these later, looking at the several Russian things unknown to them hitherto, for convenience began to adopt them and in this way subject themselves to the cultural influence of the newcomers hitherto hateful to them.¹²⁴

And it happened that

They themselves came to them, and carried their children wishing that Russians could take them as hostages or amanat and Shelikov, even if he often did not absolutely need those hostages, always cordially accepted them, and gave the parents several gifts. (...) This relationship granted Shelikov the possibility of gradually instilling into the savages [the idea], that he came to them not for their ruin, but to live in friendship with them and help them, and for this reason he told the astonished savages that far away from them there was the great Russian Empress, that her domains were so extensive that the sun never sets on them, that she reigned upon many people that lived prosperously under her scepter and that in the number of these people she was ready to accept also the Kodiaks. The savages listened and were touched [from this]. (...) It was necessary to eradicate also the enmity [present] deep inside (...) the same nature of savages. (...) They could be reborn in their own nature only through the diffusion of Christianity among them. And indeed Shelikov from the very beginning of his arrival among the savages began to instill into them little by little the principles of Christian faith. Gathering around him children and adults, he explained them the essence of Christian faith with a plain and comprehensible language.¹²⁵

These passages show the paternalistic character that Shelikov himself had depicted to the court as his own attitude towards natives. The colonization of Alaska was a duty. Russians like other Europeans were called to carry civilization (and Christian religion) to unenlightened populations. Furthermore religion was a peculiar way through which the savages could apprehend the conquerors' lifestyle, thoughts and behaviors. Religion was a medium to be considered preferential. Lopukhin continued the structure of the previous paragraph copying the sentences about citizenship but referring to religion. The God of Russians was powerful and helped them in peace and war. The powerful God of Russians could be also that of Kodiaks if they accepted Baptism. Lopukhin reported that some savages went to Shelikov and asked him to perform the rite of Baptism for them. Moreover «after that, it was already easy for Shelikov to instill into the new baptized also the

123 A. P. LOPUKHIN, *Stoletie pravoslavnoi missii* p. 6.

124 Ibidem pp. 7-8.

125 Ibidem pp. 8-9.

thought of citizenship».¹²⁶ Shelikov considered himself as the first to establish a church edifice on the island; however we have to say this appear to be in opposition to the Valaam Mission's testimony we own now. Lopukhin stated moreover that Shelikov was the first *promyshlennik*, among the many who baptized in the Aleutian Island, to think about the importance of a mission for the natives.¹²⁷

Lopukhin's telling carries us to Russia now, in order to see the interested reaction of the Empress at Shelikov's request for a mission. Then he lets us know about the jealousy showed by the Holy Synod about the spreading of the Orthodox Faith among savages. The Holy Synod was then supposed to apprentice the Mission, with all the necessities. We see how decision was made and the Valaam monastery was chosen to give his monks for the expedition, and then in the words of Lopukhin:

The Holy Synod found the necessity to give a particular instruction to the guide of the mission, and this instruction is very interesting to see which were, in the opinion of the Holy synod, the meaning and the characteristics of the tasks of the Christian mission in those times.¹²⁸

The instruction started with the words “You are entrusted with the duty of the apostles”. The missionaries have to carry the example of Christian life and how to be men of good will. And Lopukhin then continues explaining “the method” they have to follow:

The method recommended is Socratic, inductive. And the questions to be proposed to the savages should be about elementary truths of religion in that form or setting, so that [it comes] to them in their own thoughts, as if they were unconsciously induced to recognize the existence of God as the Supreme Benefactor and Fair Judge, and equally for the Saviour, [to recognize] Jesus Christ, who came to earth from heaven for the redemption of men from their misery.¹²⁹

After this the missionaries had to remember how to preach to the natives:

You are supposed to preach the learning from only one Gospel, Acts and the Letters of the Apostles, [in this way] not burdening the converts' reason, because they being in infancy, [it is to preach] with traditions as the more needed to the foundation of faith.¹³⁰

These few words show us how to deal with Russian Mission. The Diocese was read then as the result of care and Jealousy of the Church. Converts had to be guarded because in a childish

126 Ibidem p. 9.

127 Ibidem p.12.

128 Ibidem p.15.

129 Ibidem p.16.

130 Ivi.

condition of mind, they had to be trained in tradition more than in dogmas. Here the center of interest appears to be quite exclusively Alaskan natives. American citizens were not taken into account even if Lopukhin spent his period in America among them. Another topic was that of the savages, of the pagans. What had to be remembered in Russia was not their presence among different Christian believers, but the *podvig* of spreading the Orthodox faith among pagans. Despite this reduced presentation of the American Mission Lopukhin was deeply concerned about the approaching of churches towards Orthodoxy. After his experience in America he published a book about the Episcopal point of view about reunification, and this topic remained one of his interests throughout all of his life. He also welcomed in his articles the meeting and entering in communion of Nestorians. Beside this he always kept at a distance from Catholics, giving a bad judgment on them. Only Leo XIII's thought seemed to be closer to his taste. Indeed he translated and commented one of his encyclical letters. From this perspective the relationship between Orthodoxy and Old-Catholics became interesting in his eyes as well.¹³¹ He left a written document about this.¹³²

131 *DIAKON D. IUREVICH, aleksandr pavlovich lopukhin*

132 A. P. LOPUKHIN, *Na beregakh Reina: Iz putebykh zametok I vpechatlenii odnogo iz uchastnikov V-go Mezhdunarod. Starokatol. Kongressa v Bonne (iiul' 23-26- avg. 5-8 1902 g).*

Chapter 2: A glance upon Tikhon's Diocese

It is not the relative changes of the times that renew the course of our life, but *by the Lord are the steps of a man rightly directed* (Ps. 36:23), and what is new in our life depends on the will of the eternal God.¹³³

The controversial interpretation historians had given to this period of the Russian Orthodox Church in America (1898-1907) is that it can be considered as a transitional and formative stage between the Russian Mission form of administration and the further creation of what is now called the Orthodox Church in America (hereinafter OCA) that had to reach the stage of an autocephalus church in 1970 receiving the Tomos from the Russian Patriarch Alexei.¹³⁴ The sharp definition of historical boundaries that resulted from their reading of the events could depend probably from the jurisdictional quarrels raised in the last century and that lasted until present day.

The perception contemporaries had was indeed quite more complex than this sharp separation of patterns. Surely the administrative machine that we will see at work during Tikhon's time was founded on a strong core, built by his predecessor Bishop Nikolai. Even if he hastily fled America after Tikhon arrival, his imprinting and the certainty of structure he imposed on the bishopric were yet done to remain. Certainly a lot remained to be done, not only to allow the diocese function but also to read and comprehend the significance of his existence through ecclesiastical categories and maybe a conscious rethinking of his place in the new world, out of all the jurisdictions foreknown at that time.

133 OW St. Nicholas Church, New York, Jan. 11/24th, 1904 p. 245.

134 G. AFONSKY, *A History* p.74.

Tikhon's leading in America has already been underlined by many historians for his forward-looking, yet unfinished vision. The document presented to the Holy Synod in 1905 in which he proposed the path to autonomy for the archdiocese has for the past decades had a remarkable importance in historical and jurisdictional debates. But that vision was also the product of an actual overview of the territories, of a conception of the Orthodox church which was specific to Russia, and the role of this church in the traditional Orthodox world, and abroad, where the old Christian boundaries bordered modernity. From the solid holding of his point of view Tikhon rethought the Orthodox permanence in the new world. The Mission was perceived as messenger of a Christian evangelization among other Christian confessions; it had to work on a land that could become Holy as had happened in Russia by the building of a web of orthodox communities. It was supposed to embody a new apostolic time of multiple communities respecting their diversities.

In the year 1900 the name of the diocese become “of the Aleutians Islands and North America”, answering the request of Bishop Tikhon, who moved the center of the bishopric in New York city in 1905 trying to recalibrate the diocese's asset. By 1904 two new bishops had yet been consecrated, to help and balance the diocese's administration, as “ Tikhon's vision”¹³⁵ required. The first was the Arab Bishop Raphael Hawaweeny who since the nineties had been trying to recollect his parishioners and form communities within New York's area as well as outside. The second bishop was the Russian Innocent Pustynskii appointed as Bishop of Alaska and beginner of the succession of vicar orthodox bishops of America.

2.1 Tikhon's Era (a hidden legacy?).

This young Bishop, who was destined to become Patriarch in a dark age of sorrow and struggle to rescue the faith and the church, has not yet received a vast historiographical interest, not even on his American years. His life, the difficult times in which he lived and what he actually accomplished was too close to the still open wounds of division affecting Orthodoxy to eventually gain a complete rereading by historiographical critics. Furthermore the documents regarding his life and role in the Russian Church had been hidden to the historical research until the nineties under the heading “top secret” and the legends that grew around his figure still constitute a bulk in the traditional hagiography handed down upon him. On the other hand, another drawback affected

135 ARCHIMANDRITE SERAFIM, *The Quest for* pp. 24-28.

those who started to investigate his past: the patriarch's family name (Bellavin) had been changed in spelling since the twenties, through the writing with only one l. It seems a minor oversight but in a non-digitalized era this detail prevented data collection. These obstacles slowed research, until they were recently started to be resolved.¹³⁶

Several biographies can nowadays be read about the first post-synodical patriarch. Some of them are written in a fictional style, others are more attached to documents. A great work of collection of sources in Russia, such as books and articles written in the homeland as well as abroad had been made by Mikhail Efimovich Gubonin. Although he presented his completed book in 1965 at the centenary of the birth of the Patriarch, his manuscripts remained unpublished for several years, eventually seeing partially the light posthumously only in 2007. The author died in 1971.¹³⁷ These great endeavors were dedicated mostly to the last eight years of the life of the Patriarch. Or as they were called “all his seven and a half years of patriarchal *podvig*”.¹³⁸ However a lot of documents about him and written by him remain to be published or taken in serious consideration by historians. Westerners are indeed still waiting for a biography translated or originally written in occidental languages. A synthesis on life and operas of Tikhon remained to be done in historiography even after more than a decade from the first claimed for a serious research.

This meek figure, used sometimes as a symbol of martyrdom for faith, results in the complex of his acts and behaviors, in his decisions and projects not perfectly suitable to be cataloged by the actual categories of the patriarch's role. He sometimes may result cumbersome even outside the barriers of a traditional hagiography, even if he was perceived as “a living personification of the Russian National Unity and symbol of the Old Holy Rus', back to life through him”.¹³⁹ He was the first patriarch after two hundred years of vacancy. He was requested to personify the changes in the role of the patriarch his colleagues and the lay theologians proposed the church to adopt. This meant at that time to take under consideration the theological and ecclesiological developments born out in the Russian silver age. However, very different movements gathered and explained their position in 1917-1918 Moscow Local Council and it was not possible to cover and personify the entire range of proposals extending from a simple refreshment of ancient practices to returning to the origins the several representatives addressed the church. Indeed he had to endure political and social

136 M. I. VOSTRYSHEV, *Dokumental'nye istochniki zhizneopisania Patriarkha Tikhona*, in *Tserkov' v Istorii Rossii*, M 2007, pp. 247-255.

137 N. A. KRIVOSHEEVA, *Arkhiv Mikhaila Efimovicha Gubonina, posviashchennyi pamiati sviatogo Patriarkha Tikhona*, in *Tserkov' v Istorii Rossii*, M 2007, pp. 278-284.

138 Ibidem p. 280.

139 M. COGNOLATO, *Il patriarca Tichon nella memoria e nella storia*, paper presented in Canazei June 21/23rd, 2012; E A. GRIBANOVSKII, *Sviateishii Patriarkh Tikhon, kharakter ego lichnosti I deiatelnosti (Po lichnym vospominaniam)* in M. E. GUBONIN, *Sovremenniki* p. 20.

difficulties born out day by day from current events, without falling into temptation of connivance with the Bolshevik power. These dangers could hardly be foreseen even a year before the revolution. The connivance with Bolshevik power could have preserved the Patriarch from sacrifices, painful decisions and reductions of freedom but could have harmed even more heavily the Russian Church. He had then to decide how to maintain ecclesiastical traditions in an era of strong changes, almost always alone and on top of a progressively dismantled institution.

He was a man, with his preferences, passions, character that in the archival funds emerges in all his strength. He was a pastor, caring for his flock, touched and taken by his diocese's exigencies. He perceived himself to be more than we can believe a Christian of the first times, and to those times he was always referring, in an era of martyrdom (in his late years) as well as in a time of multiple churches that he experimented in America. A context this later different from the customary and familiar one dominated by the Big Church of the Old World. Maybe his young age experience could be helpful in justifying a state of mind that otherwise could be ascribed only to the persecution days. As a matter of fact his contemporaries, obviously in the last years of his existence narrate of him as a Christian of the ancient times, a martyr resisting schisms and persecutions under the Soviet rule. But it is arguable that time in orthodox perspective differs somewhat from its linear conceptualization given in west lands.¹⁴⁰ History, especially that of the first centuries of Christianity is continuously present and permeating the vicissitudes of the Tikhonian Church and his interpretations on the actual events. Tikhon used to recall these first times also in his American sermons. Sometimes when sifting through the documents conserved in the ARC archive the apostolic age horizon seems more concrete and significant than the laws and the way of life American States proposed to the immigrants. On the contrary, these laws appeared to be a source of disturbances for immigrant life and caused the search of new ways of living. The recall of past and traditions instead resulted stronger than the fleeting present and able to give a direction in the ecclesiastical and daily *delo*. While in America Tikhon did indeed perceive the reality mostly through church first centuries' eyes and scriptures than through his western contemporaries categories.

When writing about a saint, as Tikhon was officially considered since 1989 some questions could be risen regarding style to be adopted and facts to be reported. Examples of *Vita* offered us information apparently distant from the goals of research as results of literary standards. The historical perspective upon Tikhon's life and legacy undoubtedly exceed the hagiographical style. Indeed the purposes of the two texts are different. Nadieszda Kizenko in introducing her work about

140 R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, *Passaggio a Oriente. La modernità e l'Europa ortodossa*, Brescia 2012; see also my contribution on this book, M. COGNOLATO, *Davanti al Signore un giorno è come mille anni e mille anni come un giorno solo*, Studi e materiali di Storia delle Religioni (SMSR), forthcoming.

father John of Kronstadt asks herself about the process of evolution a saint identification is submitted to in front of the followers' eyes by the changing over the years of values, exigencies and political systems. She states that “A Saint's initial identification may no longer correspond to the needs of new generations of followers. A saint's fierce qualities that suited an age of turbulence might seem overly aggressive in later, more placid times. If living saints throw in their lot with a political faction and the other side triumphs, they also run the risk of becoming an anachronistic embarrassment, and the Church has either to ignore or to mask their more volatile qualities” and continues “For popular saints to maintain their place in people's hearts and minds as well as in the liturgy they must appeal on a level that transcends that of their original content”.¹⁴¹ If these reflections could suit the memory of John Kronstadt I am not convinced they could completely explain the decennial silence that covered Tikhon's person. He had some characteristics that could preserve him instead of condemning his *delo* to oblivion. He held the highest rank in the Russian Orthodox Church for the first time in two hundred years and for the last time in the next twenty. He was loved by Russians abroad as well as by those who remained, even though his name was not well received if pronounced in Soviet years for its (supposed) implication in counterrevolutionary forces. Nonetheless he is still waiting for a biographer. Maybe Kizenko suggested us a key to understanding Tikhon's life as well: his relation and outlook regarding time. The perception Tikhon had of himself was not separated from the mundane time. He considered himself as a person acting in his era for the achievement of his role in the History of Salvation. An History that tried to include the mundane with all his turbulences instead of detaching from them to attain a level that could transcend everyday living.

2.1.2 A Short Biography¹⁴²

Vasilii Ivanovich Bellavin, the future patriarch Tikhon was born on January 19/31st, 1865 in the Klin pogost' of Toropets, a region belonging to the Pskov governorate, in a family of clergy Soslovie.¹⁴³ The surname of the family as previously stated was in Soviet times reported as Belavin.

141 N. KIZENKO, *A Prodigal Saint, father John of Kronstadt and the Russian People*, The Pennsylvania State University Press. Second Edition 2003, p. 1

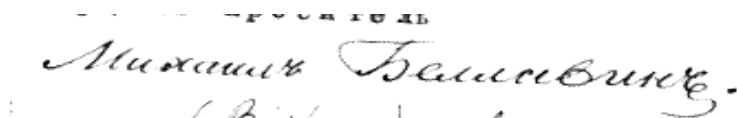
142 The short biography is written upon the information taken from N. NOVIKOV, *Davshaia na altar' Bozhii i otechestva luchshii plod*, in *Nauka i Religii* (2001) pp. 10-11; A. A. BOVKALO, *K istorii cem'i Bellavinykh*, *Vestnik PSTGU II: Istorii*. *Istorii* Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi 2 (19), 2006, pp. 11-16.

143 G. FREEZE, *The Soslovie (Estate) Paradigm and Russian Social History*, *The American Historical Review* 91/1 (1986), pp. 11-36.

The wrong spelling caused in the past some difficulties in finding information about the Patriarch and his family. But now it is possible to consider a certain number of sources.

Vassili's family had been attached to that region for generations. Timofei Terentievich, Tikhon's grandfather was diaciok in that neighborhood and it was there that he attained the status of priest, receiving the position of parish priest in Solki, precisely near Toropets. Ioann Timofeevich, Tikhon's father, studied at the parish school of the main city and then at the seminary, became priest first at Kharitonovo and then at Klin, both villages belonging to the Toropets district. Tikhon's mother's name was Anna Gavrilovna. She married Ioann Timofeevich at the age of sixteen.

Ioann Timofeevich and Anna Gavrilovna had remained ten years without children. However, Vasilii Ivanovich was the third of probably four children, even if usually it is reported that they were only three brothers. This is attributed to a dream Tikhon's father had, in which his mother appeared to him revealing the future of three of his sons. In this same dream the revelation was mainly about one of the three that was destined to be great. The first born of the family was Pavel Ivanovich, on January 14th, of the year 1857. In 1859, the second son was born and named Ivan Ivanovich, though he is usually not recorded in Tikhon's biographies. The fourth son was born much later, Mikhail, of eight years younger than Vasilii, on September 24th, 1873.¹⁴⁴ He followed his brother in his American adventure and died in San Francisco in 1902.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely reading "Vasilii Ivanovich Bellavin". The ink is dark and the handwriting is fluid and somewhat slanted to the right. There are some faint markings above and below the main signature.

As Novikov had highlighted the name Vasilii was never recorded before as a usual name in the Bellavin family. The name Vasilii was indeed chosen, providing the link to the *imperium* and the authoritative leading role that had to remain symbolic in the following years of Vasilii's life.¹⁴⁵ Vasilii's family remained until the end of 1869 in Klin where Tikhon was born. Vasilii grew then in Toropets' churchyard where his father served as priest, and studied at the local parish-school like his brothers. His father became there a member of the parish-school's committee. Concluding the local school Vasilii moved to the Pskov seminary.¹⁴⁶ His brother Pavel, on the other hand, seemed to have

144 ARC B2, Reel 8, ff. 99-100, Postscript to the recruiting request 1893, ff. 101-102 Request to appear performing military duties 1894, ff. 103-104 the same for 1895, f. 108 Service status, compiled by the Kholm Ecclesiastical Consistory in 1897. Damaged. From ff. 129-130 we know also that Mikhail's stipend as secretary was of 50\$ a month.

145 N. NOVIKOV, *Davshaia na altar'* p.11.

146 M. POL'SKII, *Novie Mucheniki Rossiiskie*, Jordanville 1949, p. 82ss; A. F. VASILIEVIC, *Ot ucitelskoi seminarii do pedagogiceskogo universiteta*, Vestnik Pskovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seria Soziialno-gumanitarnie i psikhlogo-pedagogiceskie nauki, 1 (2007), pp.1-10, 8. <http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/ot-uchitelskoy-seminarii-do-pedagogiceskogo-universiteta>

studied as a historian-philologist at the St. Petersburg Institute, and then became a Latin teacher at a seminary. All Tikhon's brothers died young. Pavel in 1883 at the age of 26, Ivan in the early nineties at 32, Mikhail in 1902 at 29. His mother Anna Gavrilovna died in 1904, after having seen her last surviving son visiting her that same year.¹⁴⁷

Vasilii studied at St. Petersburg Academy.¹⁴⁸ There he was famous for his charisma among the students and he was nicknamed “the patriarch”. His diligence and good attitude towards classmates were renowned. He chose to follow a traditional curriculum. Among the obligatory subjects such as the Study of the New and Old Testament, the Biblical history, an introduction to theology, patristics, Christian archeology and liturgics, ecclesiastical law, Church history, Russian church history, Slav churches histories, pedagogics, homilies history, logic and History of Philosophy he followed a philology course, which included Russian history and literature as well as literatures from abroad,¹⁴⁹ in addition to old Greek and archeology. As foreign languages he specialized in Greek and French. He was later appointed as librarian of the Academy's Library. This recognition followed a series of protests organized by students in order to access books conserved there and the possibility to gather in the librarian's rooms. The rector of the Academy Antonii (Vadkovskii) proposed as candidate for that position Vasilii even if for the library, as a students' room, it was supposed that students had to elect their own Librarian. Appointing Vasilii Ivanovich was considered a safe choice for the rector and a trustful option for the students. Petr Bulgakov, one of the patriarch's classmates in St. Petersburg Academy reported in his opera *patriarshii kurs* the convivial, yet devotional tenor of the gatherings in the patriarch's room. This portraying narration emphasizes and somehow enriches with details about daily life what was the place and authority Vasilii held in those times in his fellows relations. From the narration emerges the significance of the patriarch's figure as a leading character even in his younger years, although not in a centralizing manner but as a cozy guesting of the other students.¹⁵⁰

In those years the Tolstoian movement was flourishing and the Marxist theories began to enter even the seminaries. Tikhon involved himself in an analysis and tried to provide a personal answer to some of these cultural and behavioral questions. He later dealt with them in public,

147 A. A. BOVKALO, *K istorii cem'i Bellavinykh* pp. 14-15.

148 N. A. KRIVOSHEEVA, *Patriarshii kurs*, Vestnik PSTGU II: Istoriia. Istoriia Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi 2 (19) 2006, pp. 34-109.

149 Probably thank to this choose we can find registered in his library in San Francisco some western authors like for example Jules Verne. ARC D477, Reel 303, f. 532.

150 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* pp. 23-24; M. KÖHLER-BAUR, *La formazione religiosa superiore in Russia nel XIX secolo* in G. L. FREEZE – N. KAUCHTSCHISCHWILI – A. PIOVANO – S. SENYK – A. LAMBRECHTS – R. SALIZZONI – P. DESEILLE – E. BEHR-SIGEL – M. HAGENMEISTER – K. CH. FELMY – G. M. PROCHOROV – M. KOHLER-BAUR – T. R. RUDI – I. V. BASIN – R. ČEMUS – A. RIGO – V. A. KOTEL'NIKOV – S. IPATOVA – T. ŠPIDLIK – G. ZJABLICEV – M. GARZANITI – E. G. VODOLAZKIN, *La grande vigilia*, Magnano (BI) 1998, pp. 255-262; J. W. CUNNINGHAM, *A Vanquished Hope*, p. 45.

through the appearance of some articles that carried his signature in the *Strannik (the Wanderer)*, an ecclesiastical magazine published in St. Petersburg.¹⁵¹ He graduated from Academy with a thesis on Giansenism.¹⁵²

Even though the monastic choice was strongly encouraged, already in Academic years, he remained a layman during all his studies. In those same years Antonii Khrapovitskii held the role of inspector at the St. Petersburg Theological Academy. He was probably also Tikhon's teacher of Old Testament. Antonii surely emphasized the importance of the monastic role and vocation. This earlier sensibility toward monastic choice in Academy is well recorded for example in Bishop Eulogii's memories. After graduating, instead of the monastic tonsure Vasilii preferred spending time in teaching, holding a role at the Pskov Seminary where he himself had grown. After four years of teaching French and Theology (fundamental, dogmatic and moral) he decided for the tonsure. On December 14th, 1891 he received monastic tonsure, thereafter changing his name to Tikhon. As told by contemporaries in that occasion the church was full of students and people of Pskov, as he was loved and respected by its citizens.¹⁵³

His classmates Petr Ivanovich, asked him about the significance of this late decision. He answered him this way:

In your letter you write that the news of my tonsure surprised you a little(...). Indeed, during the Academy I for soul inclination gravitated towards monasticism, but I didn't solve for the tonsure then, firstly because I wanted to test myself, in any case, then I knew myself less then now, and secondly perhaps I being tonsured in the Academy, straight at the end of my curs, like all the other young monks, despite the absence of experience, would be appointed to an heading post, and this in the majority of the cases, seems accompanied harm to some [of them], and for the person, and for the deal.

Certainly even now, judging by human calculation, I by accepting monasticism may stand before the movement toward service (of which also Sabler talked) and now experience even God doesn't know if there is some in me.

However from your experience you also know that is better to serve even only one-two years than never serve. Needless to say that the teaching service is calmer than the administrative one. I served for the fourth year and by the grace of God in this time there was neither serious trouble. But in a leading post they did happen. Then what to do? To the true monk, more than to anyone, it's necessary to stock up patience, humility and less than anyone spare and be sorry for himself.¹⁵⁴

On December 22nd Tikhon was elevated to the rank of hieromonk. The tradition of a speed

151 M. I. VOSTRISHEV, *Dokumental'nye istochniki* p.249; V. BELLAVIN, *O litse Gospoda Iisusa Khrista*, Strannik SPB 1890, Tom. 2; V. BELLAVIN, *Vzgliad Sv. Tserkvi na brak (po povodu lozhnykh vozrenii grafa Tol'stogo)*, Strannik SPB 1893, Tom. 3; ARKHIMANDRIT TIKHON (BELLAVIN), *Vegetarianstvo i ego otlichie ot khristianskogo posta*, Strannik SPB 1895, Tom. 1; ARKHIMANDRIT TIKHON (BELLAVIN), *O podvizhnichestve*, Strannik SPB 1897, Tom.

152 The title was *Kenel and his relation with Giansenism (Kenel' i otnoshenie ego k Iansenizmu)*, KhCh 1893, 2/5 pp. 292-293.

153 M. POL'SKII, *Novie Mucheniki* p.86.

154 N. A. KRIVOSHEVA, *Patriarshii kurs* p.60 and p.70. Letter to Petr Ivanovic Bulgakov, Jan. 23, 1892, GARF f. 5973. op. 1, d. 2, l. 4.

career for those who accepted monasticism at a young age was imputed to a Sabler's decision.¹⁵⁵ Despite Tikhon's perplexities and disenchanted approach to this procedure, he found himself involved in the same process. He was soon assigned to the Kholm seminary recovering the role of inspector (1892) and then of rector, member of the *Kholm-Warsaw eparchial school Council* (president from 1896), dean of the women monasteries of the eparchy, under the protection of Bishop Flavian (Gorodetskii), who will remain even in later years a reference figure in his life as well as listening guide for him.¹⁵⁶

The seminary in Kholm had opened in 1759. At that time it was dedicated to the confessional unification of the people living in the region. In 1875 it was reunited with the Russian church, following the flow of people who converted to Orthodoxy. It is useful to remember that in that same year the Polish lands were once again divided between the near countries. During the Kholm years Tikhon promoted activities in order to improve the material living of the students but also to higher their spiritual enlightenment. His homilies production is attested by the numerous printed discourses he pronounced to his flock.¹⁵⁷

In 1897 he rose to the position of Bishop of Liublin, vicar of the Kholm-Warsaw eparchy.¹⁵⁸ He had not yet reached the customary age for being a Bishop but with a exception from the Holy Synod he could be appointed to that role. This first assignment seemed to have been also his first actual encounter with the Uniate families who wished or had to coercively convert to Orthodoxy, and that abounded in the diocese.¹⁵⁹ He continued his endeavor in the field of education, opening a parish school that served Orthodox people as well as children of families of other confessions. He

155 Ibidem p. 61.

156 Of this friendship, though asymmetrical for the age difference between the two remain to us the frequent letters they used to write each other. Popov published in 2010 a selection of those written by Tikhon in the USA period, to which we refer with PST, but the complete title is A. V. ПОПОВ, *Pis'ma sviatitelia Tikhona Amerikanskii period zhizni i deiatel'nosti sviatitelia Tikhona Moskovskogo*, SPB 2010. In the introduction of this book bishop Flavian is said of being born on July 26th, 1840 from a family of noble soslovie of the city of Orel. After receiving education in the city gymnasium he entered the law faculty of Moscow. Before the graduation he started to attend a monastery and in 1866 he was tonsured monk. In 1885 he was elevated to the rank of bishop and from that moment started the administrative career who led him after several important appointments eventually to the nomination as metropolitan of Kiev, where he died on November 4th, of the year 1915. In 1891 he was destined to the eparchy of Kholm'-Warsaw where he had to meet and work with Vasilii Bellavin. See also A. V. ПОПОВ, *Materialy k zhitiu sviatitelia Tikhona Moskovskogo. Amerikanskii period zhizni i deiatel'nosti sviatitelia Tikhona: Pervye gody sluzheniia episkopa Tikhona v Soedinennykh Shtatakh Severnoi Ameriki*, SPB 2008, p.5.

157 T. V. SHABANOVA, *Kholmskij period zisni I deiatel'nosti patriarkha Tikhona (Bellavina) 1892-1898*, Vestnik voennogo universiteta 2/26 (2011), pp. 132-136. <http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/holmskiy-period-zhizni-i-deyatelnosti-patriarha-tihona-bellavina-1892-1898-gg>

158 See TsVd 42/1897, p.387. For a description of the Kholm governorate see M. PICCIN, *La politica etno-confessionale zarista nel Regno di Polonia: la questione uniate di Cholm come esempio di nation-building russo (1831-1912)*, PhD Thesis. Ca'Foscari Univesity, Venice 2010-2011, pp. 25-26.

159 M. IU. DOSTAL', *Patriarkh Tikhon i slaviane (neskol'ko epizodov is zhizni i deiatel'nosti russkogo pervosviashchennika)*, in IU. E. IVONIN – L.I. IVONINA, *Religiia i Politika v Evrope XVI-XX vv.*, Smolensk 1998, pp. 114-123, 115-116.

founded also a high school. His care did not concentrate only on the ecclesiastical education but involved all the people of the city and the neighborhood. His attentive focus on these matters during his months as Liublin bishop quickened the opening of more than a hundred parish schools in less than a year.¹⁶⁰

People in Liublin as well as elsewhere remembered the young bishop for his proximity to the others. He was able to let people feel at ease with him. He inspired trust not for any specific quality or charm. He was perceived as a common reference point where to gather four advices and a trustworthy person. In the words of his later competitor to the Patriarchal throne Antonii Khrapovitskii, Tikhon reminded him of one of the characters of *War and Peace*: the old soldier Platon Karataev.¹⁶¹ Maybe this humble character could not seem adequate to the role of patriarch he was associated with. But the author specified how Tikhon resembled him:

In him the whole of them [who had been in contact with Tikhon] saw an open, pure Russian soul, sincerely benevolent toward everyone and not eulogizing before anybody (...) It might be there was not a friend particularly near to his Eminence Tikhon, since for him almost every [person] met was a friend. (...) Such relation it's a special gift of God supported by the Christian faithful to his will.¹⁶²

This partial portray of him might be completed by Jane Swan observation:

In all the recorded sermons and speeches, there is seldom any personal reference. Early in life, in his manner of living, and his dealings with people, he completely effaced all thoughts of self.¹⁶³

After only eleven months of service in Liublin Tikhon received the assignment to the North American Mission.¹⁶⁴ The news were not welcomed as it will explained in further detail in the following paragraph. However he accepted. Many memories about the patriarch underlined how this earlier and hard assignment was decisive in the patriarchal political-ecclesiological vision that helped him in his later years.¹⁶⁵ He left accompanied by his younger brother Mikhail, who later died while they were still abroad. His death was certainly one of the worst moment in Tikhon's life in America.¹⁶⁶

160 T. V. SHABANOVA, *Kholmiskii period zhizni*

161 See observation on the character Platon Karataev in L. STEINER, *For Humanity's sake. The Bildung's Roman in Russian culture*, University of Toronto Press 2011, pp. 118-126.

162 A. KHRAPOVITSKII, *Esche neskol'ko slov ob usopshem Patriarkhe i o patriarshestve*, in *Novoe Vremia* (Belgrad) 1212/ May 6th, 1925, quoted in N. A. KRIVOSHEEVA, *Patriarshii kurs* pp. 81-84.

163 J. SWAN, *Biography of Patriarch Tichon*, Jordanville 1964, p. 10.

164 *Tsvd* 40 (1898), p. 365.

165 However all these sources are related one to the other I. M. ANDREEV, *Kratkij obzor istorii Russkoi Tserkvi*, Holy Trinity Monastery, Jordanville NY 1951., pp.16-17; J. SWAN, *Biography of* p.10; M. POL'SKII, *Novie Mucheniki* p.87.

166 Mikhail Bellavin served in America as psalmist in Bridgeport (1898-1899) to became later the bishop's personal secretary and librarian for the San Francisco ecclesiastical consistory (1899-1902).

Tikhon left permanently the United States in 1907. When he came back to Russia everything had changed in his motherland. A storm had already fallen upon the Empire he knew, leaving after the first wave of protests a reactionary hold upon the society and the church. Fervor in Church development already turned into disillusion. In a decade an entire generation of church hierarchy had left place to another, even though the policy of appointment for the major metropolitan sees was centered upon conservatism and thus privileging old bishops in their conduction. A few words about Tikhon later life in Russia are necessary though our research will only focus on the period before his permanent departure from the new world. His role in America was held two years later by Bishop Platon (Rodzhestvenskii). The patriarch could not remain longer in America because the new Tikhon's flock was waiting for him in the ancient Iaroslav eparchy. In this Eparchy he remained as guide until 1913. Here he got in touch with Ioann of Kronstadt, eventually meeting him in 1908.¹⁶⁷ He started to visit his flock as he was used to even in America, this time reaching them by foot, taking care and time to go even to the smallest parishes, supervising the education given in parish schools and visiting the clergy in all their ranks, to understand of how they lived and what were their actual problems.¹⁶⁸ He was famous for his sobriety in food, dress and lifestyle, habits that he maintained even in his later years. When he was nominated as guide of another eparchy the city council decided to grant him the honorary citizenship of Iaroslav.¹⁶⁹

From 1913 to 1917 he was burdened with an eparchy that would soon to become a front line zone in the IWW: that of Litovsk and Vilnius. Here the difficult relationship between Orthodoxy and Catholicism was hoped to be resolved or at least softened by the presence of the long time accustomed to Christian coexistence archbishop Tikhon. In the area, there was also a noticeable presence of Jews. As it seems Tikhon was successful in recovering local respect even in the short time of peace he experienced there. During the first world war he resisted among his flock enduring the war times, remaining in front of the war-line of his eparchy, acting as a relief for soldiers as well as refugees. He received also a military rank for his permanence in the front line, in reason of his distinguished conduct. Then he left when the situation proved to be unbearable.

He found refuge in Moscow, and there he served in the Holy Synod. It was the period in which prince L'vov served as Oberprokuror, providing strength to an institution underpinned by old bishops.¹⁷⁰ Tikhon was appointed by the Holy Synod to resolve the bishop Varnava question in Tobolsk'. Bishop Varnava was a Rasputin protégé and due to his simplicity and careless guidance of

167 M. I. VOSTRISHEV, *Dokumental'nye istochniki* p.251; N. KIZENKO, *A Prodigal Saint*.

168 *Episzody ob ob'ezdakh Iaroslavskoi eparkhii*, in N. A. KRIVOSHEEVA, *Novye materialy iz arkhiva M. E. Gubonina*, Vestnik PSTGU II: Istoriiia. Istoriiia Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi 2 (19) 2006, pp. 110-138, 124-134.

169 M. POL'SKII, *Novie Mucheniki* p.100, 87.

170 I. M. ANDREEV, *Kratkij obzor* p.18; M. POL'SKII, *Novie Mucheniki* p.88.

the diocese he provoked scandals and indignation among the flock who eventually decided to depose him.¹⁷¹

After the turmoil of the February Revolution when people invoked also the election of their Metropolitan, Tikhon was chosen by the flock of Moscow to become their guide on June 21st, 1917. Upon the new Metropolitan fell the heavy organizational task of arranging a suitable home for the long invoked Pan-Russian Orthodox Council. Moreover he was chosen as its president during the first sessions. Works and activities for the Council had started already in 1905-1906,¹⁷² but only after eleven years the political situation had permitted its convocation. The composition of the participants was mixed, as the commission after interminable debates had decided to open the *Sobor'* also to a large lay representation and to priests, avoiding the more intransigent requests of the traditional party, of a gathering composed of bishops only. From every diocese were expected to come to Moscow two ecclesiastical delegates, three laymen and the ruling Bishop. Delegates were sent also by the four Theological Academies, military chaplains and universities. The members of the pre-*Sobor'* committee were considered participants *ex-officio*. The whole of the members, numbering 564 people had to be housed or accommodated in monasteries and other temporary solutions. Tikhon had to house them all. The *Sobor'* finally opened its works on August 15/28th, 1917.¹⁷³ During the Council the question of the Restoration of the Patriarchate strongly imposed itself, maybe also influenced by the increasing difficulties in the political situation. The Bolshevik Revolution had meanwhile already begun. The Kremlin was under bombardments and only a few cadets still had remained to defend it. The Metropolitan of Moscow went courageously to visit the wounded heart of his city after its collapse.

Meanwhile the works for a church reorganization were busily proceeding in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour. The method chosen to select the Patriarch, had been dusted out by a practice used in 17th century. It was composed of two steps. Firstly the members of the *Sobor'* had to indicate a candidate that could become patriarch. Each one of the names had to be sustained by a minimum number of votes. The three names that reached this number had then to be written down in slips of paper, put in an urn and then had to remain there an entire night. An old monk had to be chosen to pick one of the three paper the morning after. The name chosen would eventually become

171 M. POL'SKII, *Novie Mucheniki* p.88.

172 J. W. CUNNINGHAM, *A Vanquished Hope*.

173 *Sobranie opredelenii i Deianiia Sviaschennogo Sobora Pravoslavnoi Rossiiskoi Tserkvi 1917-1918 gg.* In <http://www.bogoslov.ru/library/text/369915/index.html>. As second literature see work of the leader of the Renovationist Movement A. I. VVEDENSKII, *Tserkov' i Gosudarstvo*, M 1923; and as recent historiographical studies H. DESTIVELLE, *La chiesa del concilio di Mosca*, Magnano (BI) 2003; D. V. POSPELOVSKIJ – S. L. FIRSOV – G. SCHULZ – A. N. KAŠEVAROV – A. MELLONI – I. SOLOV'EV – V. CYPIN – A. PIOVANO – H. DESTIVELLE – A. A. PLETNEVA – A. G. KRAVECKIJ – G. A. SCHRODER – M. V. ŠKAROVSKIJ – I. ALFEEV – M. STAVROU – H. LEGRAND, *Il concilio di Mosca*, Magnano (BI) 2004; E. SENKO, *La chiesa ortodossa russa nel periodo del concilio 1917-1918*, Nowy Sacz 2010.

the patriarch. Tikhon's name was the third one to enter in the urn, as it was selected in the Sobor' after several indications of election and finally reaching a sufficient number of votes. The old startsy Alexis of the Zosimov monastery had the honor of pulling out the name from the urn. Each one of the candidates was waiting for the decision in a different place of the city. A delegation came to notify Tikhon of his election as Patriarch of All Russias. Jane Swan carefully translated the first discourse after the news of his election:

Beloved in Christ, fathers and brethren;

I have just uttered the prescribed words: "I thank and accept and say nothing against". Of course, enormous is my gratitude to the Lord for the mercy bestowed on me. Great also is my gratitude to the members of the Holy all-Russian Sobor for the high honor of my election into the members of candidates for the Patriarchate. But arguing, as a man, I could say a lot against my present election. Your news about my election for the Patriarchate is to me that scroll on which was written, "weeping, sighing and sorrow", which scroll had to be eaten by the prophet Ezekiel (2:10, 3;1).

"And it spread it before me: and it was written within and without: and there was written wherein lamentations, and mourning and woe. Moreover he said unto me, Son of Man, eat that thou findest: eat this roll, and go speak unto the house of Israel".

How many tears will I have to swallow or how many sighs emit in my forthcoming Patriarchal office and especially in the present woeful year. Like the ancient leader of the Jews, Moses, I shall have to say to the Lord:

"And Moses said unto the Lord, wherefore hast thou afflicted thy servant? And wherefore have I nor found favor in thy sight, that thou layest the burden of all this people upon me? Have I conceived all this people? Have I begotten them, that thou shouldest say unto me, carry them in thy bosom, as a nursing father beareth the sucking child, unto the land which thou swarest unto their fathers?

Whence should I have flesh to give unto all this people? For they weep unto me saying: give us flesh, that we may eat. I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me" (Numbers 11:11-14).

From now on I am entrusted with the care for all the Russian churches, and what awaits me is the gradual dying for them all my days. Who is content with this even amongst those who are firmer than I? But let the will of the Lord to be done, I am strengthened by the fact that I have not sought this election. It came to me without my wish, even without the wish of men, according to the lot of God. I trust that the Lord who had called me, will Himself help me by His all-powerful grace to carry the burden which is placed on me and will make it a light burden. Let it be a comfort and encouragement for me that my election occurs not without the wish of the blessed Virgin. Twice she, by the coming of her holy icon of Vladimir in the Church of Christ the Savior, is present at my election.¹⁷⁴ This time the lot itself has been taken from her miracle-working icon. It is as if I were placing myself under her high protection. May she, the all-powerful, stretch out to me, who is so weak, the hand of her support and may she deliver this town and the whole Russian land from all need and sorrow.¹⁷⁵

The communist power had already attacked the Kremlin and disorders shook the city of Moscow and slowly took over the entire former empire. Though Revolution was destroying the world Tikhon knew and loved, he remained firm in his place. In his first speech as patriarch he accepted what he had to endure and later he maintained what he had promised even if the help he

174 The urn with the three names remained one night long in front of the icon of the Virgin of Vladimir, before the choosing of Startsy Alexis. The second reference to the intervention of the Virgin in his life might be to the election as Metropolitan of Moscow. His election had taken place in the Assumption Cathedral.

175 J. SWAN, *Biography of* p. 20.

could receive from his servants and subalterns lessened with the hardening of the persecutions. He persisted regardless what was happening, suffering with his flock the persecutions conducted on the church as the atheist policy was spreading. It turned into direct persecution with the arresting, imprisoning and killing of dozens of priests, monks and lay believers who opposed the desecration or even the closure of churches, perpetrated by the Bolshevik guards or in the disordered chaos of anarchy.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore this policy was supported with more subtle ways of taking away authority from the church: the sustainment to the dissent movement of the Renovationist church on one side, and the hint of a preferential way in dealing with Catholicism on the other. Both of these directions would prove to be mere illusions in the long period, at the end revealing themselves to be strategies of gaining control over all these religious structures and to divide a possible unified front of believers.¹⁷⁷

In 1918, with the later recognition of the Sobor', Patriarch Tikhon accused and denounced to the world the persecution the Bolshevik power had implemented in opposition to the church. He informed his flock to act according to these acknowledgments. The document it is here reported in its entirety because of the strong voice the patriarch elevated in this occasion.

The humble Tikhon,

by God's grace patriarch of Moscow and of all Russia, to the beloved in the Lord hierarchs, clergy, and all faithful members of the Russian Orthodox church.

“The Lord will deliver us from this present evil world” (Gal. 1:4).

The Holy Orthodox church of Christ is at present passing through difficult times in the Russian land; the open and secret foes of the truth of Christ began persecuting that truth, and are striving to destroy the work of Christ by sowing everywhere in place of Christian love the seeds of malice, hatred, and fratricidal warfare.

The commands of Christ regarding the love of the neighbors are forgotten or trampled upon; reports reach us daily concerning the astounding and beastly murders of wholly innocent people, and even of the sick upon their sick-beds, who are guilty perhaps only of having fulfilled their duty to their

176 The bibliography about the Russian Orthodox Church during soviet time is always broadening. See for example A. FERRARI -V. MOROZAN – A. DELL'ASTA – V. STRADA – P. MODESTO – S. MALETTA – V. ŠMYROV – V. KOTEL'NIKOV – M. VEZZALI – S. FIRSOV – G. MITROFANOV – L. NEGRI – S. LEBEDEV - B. BALESTRA – M. RESPINTI- A. DANIEL' - A. ROSINSKIJ – M. DELL'ASTA – R. SCALFI – I. SEMENENKO BASIN – F. GONZALEZ, *L'altro novecento. La Russia nella storia del ventesimo secolo. Atti del Convegno promosso da Fondazione Russa Cristiana e Diesse*, Bergamo 1999; O. VASIL'EVA, *Russia martire. La chiesa ortodossa dal 1917 al 1997*, Milano 1999; *Aktii sviateishevo Tikhona Patriarkha Moskovskogo i vseia Rossii, pozdneishie dokumenti i perepiska o kanonicheskom preemstve vishei tserkovnoi vlasti 1917-1943*, M 1994; D. V. POSPELOVSKIJ – S. L. FIRSOV – G. SCHULZ – A. N. KAŠEVAROV – A. MELLONI – I. SOLOV'EV – V. CYPIN – A. PIOVANO – H. DESTIVELLE – A. A. PLETNEVA – A. G. KRAVECKIJ – G. A. SCHRODER – M. V. ŠKAROVSKIJ – I. ALFEEV – M. STAVROU – H. LEGRAND, *Il concilio di Mosca*, Magnano (BI) 2004; L. REGEL'SON, *La tragedia della Chiesa russa 1917-1945*, Milano 1979; N. STRUVE, *Cristiani in URSS*, Torino 1965; M. POL'SKIJ, *Novie Mucheniki*; M. SPINKA, *The Church and the Russian Revolution*, New York 1927.

177 E. E. ROSLOF, *Red Priests*; R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, *Le nazioni non muoiono. Russia rivoluzionaria, Polonia Indipendente e Santa Sede*, Bologna 1992; V. V. LOBANOV, *Ob Obstoiatel'stvakh domashnevo aresta Patriarkha Tikhona v Mae 1902 g.*, in *Tserkov' v Istorii Rossii*, M 2007, pp. 268- 277; S. KENWORTHY, *Russian Reformation? The Program for Religious Renovation in the Orthodox Church, 1922-1925*, *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, University of Minnesota 16/17 (2000/2001), pp. 89-130.

Fatherland, and of having spent all their strength in the service of the national welfare. This happens not only under cover of the nocturnal darkness but openly in daylight, with hitherto unheard of audacity and merciless cruelty, without any sort of trial and despite all right and lawfulness, and it happens in our days almost in all the cities and villages of our country, as well as in our capital, and outlying regions (Petrograd, Moscow, Irkutsk, Sevastopol and others).

All this fills our heart with a deep and bitter sorrow and obliges us to turn to such outcasts of the human race with stern words of accusations and warning, in accordance with the command of the holy apostle: "them that sin reprove in the sight of all, that the rest also may be in fear (1Tim. V, 20).

Recall yourselves, ye senseless, and cease your bloody deeds. For what you are doing is not only a cruel deed; it is truth a satanic act, for which you shall suffer the fire of Gehenna in the life to come, beyond the grave, and the terrible curses of posterity in this present, earthly life.

By the authority given us by God, we forbid you to present yourselves for the sacraments of Christ and anathematize you, if you still bear the name of Christians, even if merely on account of your baptism you still belong to the Orthodox church.

I adjure all of you who are faithful children of the Orthodox church of Christ; not to commune with such outcasts of the human race in any matter whatsoever; "cast out the wicked from among you" (Cor V.13).

The most cruel persecution has likewise arisen against the holy church of Christ; the blessed sacraments, sanctifying the birth of man into the world, or blessing the marital union of the Christian family, have been pronounced unnecessary and superfluous; the holy churches are subjected either to destruction by reason of the gunfire directed against them (e.g. the holy Cathedrals of the Moscow Kremlin), or to plunder and sacrilegious injury (e.g. the Chapel of the Saviour in Petrograd). The saintly monasteries revered by the people (as the Alexander-Nevsky and Pochaevsky monasteries) are seized by the atheistic masters of the darkness of this world and are declared to be in some manner national property; schools, supported from the resources of the Orthodox Church to train the ministers of churches and are turned either into training institutes of infidelity or even directly into nurseries of immorality.

Property of monasteries and Orthodox churches is alienated from them under the guise of being national property, but without any right and even without any desire to act in accordance with the lawful will of the nation... Finally, the government which is pledged to uphold right and truth in Russia and to guarantee liberty and order everywhere, manifests only the most unbridled caprice and crassest violence over all, and especially in dealing with the Holy Orthodox Church.

Where are the limits of such a mockery of the Church of Christ? How and wherein may the attacks upon it by its raging enemies be stopped?

We appeal to all of you, believing and faithful children of the church; rise up in defense of our injured and oppressed "holy Mother".

The enemies of the church seize rule over her property by force of death dealing weapons; but you, rise to oppose them with the strength of our faith, with your own nation-wide outcry which would stop those senseless people and would show them that they have no right to call themselves protagonists of the people's welfare, initiators of a new life in accordance with the national ideal, for they are directly against the conscience of the people.

And if it should become necessary to suffer in behalf of the cause of Christ, we invite you, beloved children of the church, to suffer with us in accordance with the words of the holy apostle: "Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?". (Rom VIII, 35)

And you, brethren hierarchs, and clergy, do not lose even an hour in your spiritual task, and with fiery zeal call upon Church; convene religious gatherings; appeal not because of necessity, but take your own free choice, and oppose to the external violence the force of your genuine spirituality; we then positively affirmed that the enemies of the church of Christ shall be shamed and dispersed by the might of the cross of Christ, for the promise of the divine Cross-bearer is immutable; "I will build my church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it". (Matthew XVI, 18)

Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow and of all Russia, January 19, 1918.¹⁷⁸

178 J. SWAN, *Biography of* pp. 33-34. Quoted from M. SPINKA, *The Church and* pp.118-122.

This text is rich in content, it describes and judges the fierce and bloody feud between church and state that the Bolshevik power accomplished in a self determined and unilateral way. Tikhon saw, as well as his contemporaries, the annihilation of an entire world organization, soaked of a traditional symbolic significance. The actual persecution of the church was reinforced by a devastating propaganda against the past and the assets of the previous Holy Rus'. The Patriarch anathematized those who provoked these state of facts as this was the only way he could defend the church and warned his flock not to believe this movement and to guard their soul, when dealing with the new power. The moment was of extreme emergency but the Patriarch had to be careful in his statements because what he announced could provoke bloody retaliations on his flock.

The Pan Orthodox Sobor' members, though disappearing in numbers, nonetheless agreed with the words of the Patriarch and expressed their common feeling toward what was happening regarding the sudden transformation of the relationship between Church and State with an official resolution. From this moment on, the church could decide to follow decisions coming from a central, recognizable into a person, "living symbol of the Unity of the Church".¹⁷⁹ Though the council tried to predispose an entire setting of organs in order to help the managing of the church, these latter institutions progressively faded in the persecutions leaving the patriarch alone. He suffered enormously in seeing how his church and progressively his assistants and friends were cut down by propaganda and actual violent actions against the church and the believers.¹⁸⁰ The council tried to sustain his directives, answering the Bolshevik resolutions on the division between church and state with documents and acts pertaining their institutional point of view. These decisions and acts affected the Church life and the Patriarch in person. Although he appeared to be highly despondent to Bolshevik strategies and plans, he could not be easily sent to Siberia or in any other prison or labor camp. His person and role was too central to the international attention toward Russia. Nonetheless the Bolsheviks could persecute him through penal ways. He continued to represent the defendant of the traditional church even in those times of civil war and famine. Tikhon tried to face the long famine of 1921, using his international contacts to help the Russian people and mediate with the communist claiming in church assets in order to feed the people. Among the clergy he emphasized the faithfulness to the Holy Scriptures and the canons more than a winding strategy based on political schemes and perspectives. He maintained, for what we can see in the documents and letters written in those years, an ecclesiastical point of view of the world, retiring from the mundane and not compromising with human powers, their ideologies and ways of thinking. He was

179 M. E. GUBONIN, *Sovremenniki*, Tom II p. 13.

180 See for example the letter written to protopresbyter Ioann Kocurov's widow, December 9th, 1917, and reported in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 302, and in *Akty...* p. 167.

strongly convinced that not only Holy Rus' was still living among the Russian people but that the Church had to restart an internal evangelization in order to reconquer the country. It was indeed a battle for faith, for a vision of life, not merely for power.¹⁸¹

In the following years Tikhon was imprisoned, he appeared in court to answer to several acts that were considered counterrevolutionary, and suffered from personal attacks, continuously and openly carried out in the press, but also underneath the surface of the church through the financing and favor granted to schismatic branches of the Orthodox Church.¹⁸² Another type of intimidation was carried out by the Bolsheviks to his intimate life with personal aggressions and attempts to kill or threaten him. Indeed the many who remained faithful or returned to listen and follow the directives of the patriarch were called the *Tikhonites*, and were supposed to abide by the so-called *Tikhonian way*. During the years of prison and home arrest he developed this famous personal position, he proposed his flock to follow in the political equilibrium the federation tried to achieve. Tikhon tried to defend his church posing it as a third party in a neutral position towards the government. This *third way*, neither with the reds, neither with the whites derived from the profound attachment to the ecclesiastical tradition and the vision of the world previously mentioned. The *Tikhonian way*, clashed with other ecclesiastical views on the matter and was heavily contested as false or imposed to the Patriarch, from clergy groups living abroad. It generally resulted to be very problematic for the emigration but was one of the strong pillars that permitted to prevent the complete annihilation of the Russian Orthodox Church during the persecutions in those years. Meanwhile the administration of the eparchies became more and more difficult, the government displaced bishops and continued to imprison them as well as parishioners and clergy. Several laws in restricting parish life were approved, which limited not only the parish daily routine and activities but also the possibility of its existence. Several laws were passed with this purpose in mind, for example a determined number of parishioners had to sign a document in front of authorities in order to let a church open only for cults. The impediment to consider parishes as legal persons created other problems and a concrete damage to parish life, with the impossibility to provide a sustenance for priests and clergy personnel through sale of candles and ecclesiastical materials and the impossibility to continue the parish school system that was officially abolished completely. Of

181 See for example R. RÖSSLER, *Poslanie sviateishevo patriarkha Tikhona k dukhoventsvu ot 25 sentabria st. st. 1919 g.*, Messenger de l'Exarchat du Patriarche Russe en Europe Occidentale. Revue Trimestrelle. 21 Année (1974), pp. 23-29; I. N. SMOLIAKOV, *Rechi Sviatitelia Tikhona, Patriarkha Moskovskogo i vseia Rossii pri vruchenii zhezla novopostavlennym episkopam*, PSTGU II: Istorii. Istoriiia Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi 2 (23) 2007, pp. 99-103. Scott Kenworthy nonetheless underlined "The patriarch, who had been a moderate on issues of church reform before the revolution, took the opposite position – that the church needed to assume a defensive posture in order to weather the storm of revolution. As a result, both sides were driven further apart". S. KENWORTHY, *Russian Reformation?* pp. 89-130.

182 E. E. ROSLOF, *Red Priests*.

course among these laws appeared the abolition of higher education for priest, a “privilege” that was no longer allowed since the first years after the Bolshevik revolution. Clergy was thus naturally destined to decline in number.

Patriarch Tikhon himself was continuously suspected and accused of being in contact with the emigration branches of the Church and to advise and spy for counterrevolution purposes. A strong propaganda against the Patriarch was published, enveloping him of an aura of suspicion that continued in later years. Even pamphlets were published in order to undermine the faithfuls' trust in his person. The leader of the Renovationist Church had the possibility to print three of these booklets in 1923.¹⁸³

The Patriarch's *keleinik*, Polozov probably died instead of Tikhon in the evening of December 9th, 1924. He had been the attendant of the Patriarch for the previous four years, and was shot, while guarding the Patriarch's room.¹⁸⁴ In the last months of his life the patriarch fell ill, nerves, frailty and general weakness lead to his hospitalization. While after the first weeks he felt better, new caused him to follow a new cycle of cures. Teeth and throat were his major problems. Even if a consultation with doctors had been made, they didn't find a cure for the patient, who died on March 25th, 1925. In the hospital period he was constantly visited by his adjutants, who reported to him problems and the general situation of the church for what they could be aware of. Even representatives from the Bolshevik party went to him to be reassured of his health. They proposed him to go to the south to rest himself from the ecclesiastical administrative duties. Needless to say, he never accepted this compromise, wishing to stay among his people until the end of his days instead.¹⁸⁵ His room was constantly full of visitors who wanted to talk with him about their life and sadness or only to receive his blessing. Before the funeral, the body was exposed in the Donskoi monastery where common people came to see and say the last farewell to him. At the celebration of his funeral a multitude of people was present, probably with hidden delegations coming from abroad. The Russian Orthodox Church in the meanwhile began to split in different branches and wings, due to the difficulties of communication with the communities still remaining inside the former Empire,¹⁸⁶ which got acquainted with the new power, or with those who were abroad,

183 A. I. VVEDENSKII, *Tserkov' i Gosudarstvo*, M 1923; A. I. VVEDENSKII, *Tserkov Patriarkha Tikhona*, M 1923; A. I. VVEDENSKII, *Za chto lishali sana byvshego Patriarkha Tikhona*, M 1923.

184 Author unknown, *kak byl ubit keleinik patriarkha*, in N. A. KRIVOSHEEVA, *Patriarskii kurs* pp. 85-86, Article reported to be printed in *Russkaia pressa* and conserved in GARF f. 5973, op. 1, d. 47, l. 96; *Popravka k soobshcheniiu o meste pogrebeniia Ia. O. Polozova v Donskom monastyre*, in N. A. KRIVOSHEEVA, *Novye materialy iz arkhiva M. E. Gubonina*, *Vestnik PSTGU II: Istorii. Istorii Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi* 2 (19) 2006, pp. 110-138, 115-116.

185 It is reported that he didn't want to go because of the fear that while he was away from Moscow people forget him and the church. M. POL'SKII, *Novie Mucheniki* p. 115.

186 E. E. ROSLOF, *Red Priests*

escaped from the new regime that did not trust the documents and patriarchal affirmations coming from a country considered occupied and not recognizing the lawfulness of the new government.¹⁸⁷

Tikhon was canonized as a saint in Russia in 1989 under the title of “Enlightener of the North America”.

2.1.3 Landing

After a long journey through Europe and across the ocean on Dec 1/13th, 1898 bishop Tikhon reached through the steamship “Champagne” New York city and then, after other 5 days of traveling Tikhon arrived in San Francisco.¹⁸⁸ The travel had been planned in detail in order to take advantage of the residences and Russian ecclesiastical personnel scattered through all Europe.¹⁸⁹ Tikhon went first to Berlin where he went in contact with father Mal'tsev. Then he took train and stopped in Paris where he was guest of father Rozhdestvenskii. These priests had to become not only the last bulwark of Orthodoxy in western Europe, but also managers of the traffic between the two continents, trustful individuals to which send and ask for shelter of people and things that were supposed to reach the two borders of Europe. They, together with the London chapel personnel were also an Orthodox interface to understand western society.

It is noteworthy to remember that even from Tikhon's journey through Europe that of the American mission is a totally different perspective from the first Valaam mission. Tikhon had to cross the west in order to become the American bishop, New York and San Francisco the main stops. Alaska was then considered even in Russian eyes not more than an appendix of the mission, though still enshrining the origins of it, and being the landscape of the first missionaries' *podvig*.

In New York city the new bishop was welcomed by a Russian delegation. Head of the delegation was the Russian consul Teplov. There was also the Arab flock with their Archimandrite, Raphael Hawaweeny. The consul gave a speech, the dames carried a bouquet and an Arab proclaimed verses in Arabic. Then they went to the church where father Alexander Hotovitskii gave a speech and the

187 M. RAEFF, *Russia Abroad* pp. 118-155. M. RODZIANKO, *The Truth about The russian Orthodox Church Abroad*, Translated from Russian by P. HILKO, Jordanville 1975.

188 PST Letter to Flavian, Dec. 3rd, 1898 pp. 15-16, RGIA f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l. 27-28 ob; He left SPB Nov. 15th, 8 pm and arrived to Berlin on Nov. 17th, 6 am. He left again in the afternoon and on Wednesday 18th, 6 am they stopped in Paris, and remained there for 3 days. Then on 21st he went to Le Havre and sailed at midday. On Nov. 30th, at 10 am Tikhon landed in New York city.

189 PST Letter to Flavian, Nov. 13th, 1898 pp. 13-14, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d. 752, l. 24-25 ob.

local brotherhood carried bread with salt as a welcoming gesture. Subsequently, there was a reception with several representatives from public as well as parish institutions. There were also Catholic and Anglican people.¹⁹⁰ Here in the New York church Archimandrite Raphael also gave a speech, a formal welcoming of the new bishop. In 1975 Leonid Kishkovsky translated this document and published it in English in the pages of the Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly:

Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord!

All twenty thousands members of the Syro-Arab colony living in New York and elsewhere in north America together with me greet your Grace, our new spiritual Father and Archpastor, on the occasion of your safe arrival. We are so bold to ask Your Grace for one thing - only that you will continue to give to us, the Orthodox Syro-Arabs living within the boundaries of your diocese, the same maternal love, the same paternal care, the same archpastoral attention, that was given to us by your most gracious predecessor. And we, on our part, remembering the words of the Apostle, "obey your leaders and submit to them, for they are keeping watch over your souls" (Heb. 13:17), not only promise to the Holy Synod and to Your Grace our full obedience and our filial submission to all your paternal commands and archpastoral directions, but we also fully deliver ourselves over to your archpastoral care and blessings.

May our Lord Jesus Christ, through the prayers of the Holy Nicholas of Myra in Lycia and Tikhon of Zadonsk, help Your Grace in this your new archpastoral ministry for the benefit of the Orthodox church and the flowering of the Orthodox Faith in this New World. Amen¹⁹¹

Though cheating on the Arab parishioners' number,¹⁹² Archimandrite Raphael managed to be, since the beginning of Tikhon's mandate, one of the main collaborators of the bishop, promising submission and fidelity to this new pastor. Syro-Arabs owned their church in New York, and through the effort of Raphael they already reached a distinguished position among the other mission' parishes. This is proved also by the honor he received in pronouncing his welcoming speech to the new bishop. However the first thing that Tikhon reports in one of his letters about the New World is "Here there is a house with 20 floors". Then he continued saying that it was cold and colder than people there in NYC could remember.¹⁹³ In simple notes of travel he recounts us all the astonishing meeting with this land. A feeling that he never lost, appreciating even the more uncomfortable of travels with unquenchable curiosity and learning from his journeys in a completely *chudaia* land.¹⁹⁴

Tikhon planned to arrive to San Francisco on December 11-12th, after a fast visit to Washington DC, in order to see the Russian Embassy and then stop in Allegheny. Unfortunately he

190 PST Letter to Flavian, Dec. 3rd, 1898 pp. 15-16, RGIA f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l. 27-28 ob.

191 L. KISHKOVSKY, *Archbishop Tikhon in America*, SVTQ 19/1 (1975), pp. 9-31, 10.

192 The Arab mission in America formed only in 1902, after a great endeavor of special recollection of registration and parishes dedicated only to Arabs counted in 1905 the number of 12.500 people ARC D 457, Reel 292, f. 72, f. 84, while in the *otchet* relating to 1899 they are recorded as 3596. A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiiu* pp. 152-153.

193 PST Letter to Flavian, Dec. 3rd, 1898 pp.15-16, RGIA f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d. 752, l. 27-28 ob.

194 For example he did not omit to visit Niagara falls. PST Letter to Flavian, May 5th, 1899 pp. 35-36, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d. 752, l. 38-39 ob.

could not meet Count Cassini at the Embassy. The night before Tikhon's arrival he suffered a heart stroke.¹⁹⁵ Tikhon went to Allegheny to meet the flock and pastor of an uniate-reunited parish and then arrived to San Francisco where Bishop Nikolai waited for him in order to give him the keys and finance. The day after Tikhon himself gave the journey prayer and took him to the train station. To administer the Diocese Nikolai left him a letter, a “testament”.¹⁹⁶

Then Tikhon could concentrate on the entirety of the Diocese, trying to manage the different situations, meeting the crowds who had been assigned to him, the buildings to repair or to fund in their entirety and, if he did have time and imagination, a way to rethink what was going on in his life and in the Orthodox church in America. First of all he had to acclimate himself. This is how he described his first days of San Francisco's residency.

In this time I'm trying to understand things a bit, knowing people and looking at the city (in his spiritual attitude). San Francisco is situated on the mountains, between the ocean and the gulf; the city is beautiful and really more quiet than New York, Chicago and other big cities. The climate is mild; now is greening something like spring. The archbishopric house is not big but clean...¹⁹⁷

2.2 A difficult Staying: Tikhon's life in America

Tikhon's nominee as bishop in the new world was not as smooth and well received as it seems reading articles written in the hagiography narration of his life. However, taking a glance upon his nine years of service in America, it is possible to suppose that the diocese readily and speedily improved under his willing guidance. Tikhon, still a young bishop at that time, simply did not want to remain in America. From the beginning, when he was informed by Vladimir Karlovich Sabler, the *vice-oberprokuror*, that the Aleutian Diocese would be his next assignment, he was saddened to leave and to go to such a distant place. The young bishop described in a letter to Bishop Flavian Gorodetskii his personal impression on this proposal, noting that Sabler told him about his predecessors in the American Diocese, yet not explaining to him the work he would endure once there, only describing the failed attempts that had preceded him. We read there how the perspective of going to America was more than unexpected, even quite disturbing. Maybe it was not better than even the proposal to be assigned to Vladivostok that he actually received.¹⁹⁸ Nonetheless Tikhon

195 PST Letter to Flavian, Dec. 22nd, 1898 pp.17-18, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d. 752, l. 29-31.

196 I did not find the letter in the ARC archive.

197 PST Letter to Flavian, Dec. 22nd, 1898 pp.17-18, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d. 752, l. 29-31.

198 PST Letters to Flavian 1898, especially Sept. 23rd, pp. 9-10, RGIA, f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.20-21 ob; but also Sept. 5th, pp. 8, RGIA, f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.19-19 ob;

wrote, with a phrase that became one of his common in every new role and assignment, that he never searched or wondered for the appointment. He trusted that it was only God's will that led him there where he was requested so He also would give His help to him, to accomplish the role he was asked to hold.¹⁹⁹

This same motive, the affirmative answering to a superior will, is a common theme in Tikhon's life as perhaps not in a different way from other saints' life. Nonetheless in this case we can underline how deep was the later commitment Tikhon possessed and used to maintain even in the more unexpected experiences of life and travel. Probably in this time, before his leaving for America, he was not totally aware of what was expecting him, of what eminently meant being an Orthodox bishop in America at that time. He could somewhat be aware of Lopukhin's writings, as we find them in his library in San Francisco and from the report of Tikhon's leaving from St. Petersburg in which is reported that Lopukhin himself, among others, accompanied the leaving bishop to the station.²⁰⁰ Tikhon in his Kholm years furthermore wrote in magazines which were Lopukhin's land of administration and of cultural influence.²⁰¹ Besides this in many homilies, also of the first months in America he refers to the Alaskan mission history and to the more important characters that spread it, news he could have read only in Lopukhin's accounts. In Tikhon's Academic years, a lesson delivered by Lopukhin in which he explained the American religiosity was taken as a starting point to display a similar religious commitment in Russian Society. It was 1886. Despite the ORRP (Society for the Dissemination of Moral-Religious Enlightenment in the Spirit of the Orthodox Church) born in 1880 from a reaction to Evangelical preaching in Russia, his founders decided since 1887 to foster a defensive line imbued by a similar reformed root, that of the American religious infrastructure. They aimed to augment the "educated classes' commitment to religion and their reliance on religious principles for the solution of social problems".²⁰² Lopukhin's vision on American Society, his desire to emulate these forms in Russia became a successful trend in the St. Petersburg diocese in those same years. Among lectures and religious meetings an entire setting of diocesan infrastructure and after-work activities was created, including libraries,

199 PST Letter to Flavian Oct. 31st, 1898, pp. 11-12, RGIA, f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.22-23 ob;

200 Popov reported that in the three weeks Tikhon passed in St. Petersburg, before leaving he got acquainted with the "necessary literature", yet not specifying what this was specifically neither his sources to affirm this. A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k* pp. 8-9. TsVs 47(1898), p.1624.

201 *Strannik* and several other magazines were the product of the St. Petersburg Academy policy in providing a scholar development of the clergy audience and an outcome in which to publish the best written products of the students of the Academy. The St. Petersburg Theological magazines developed during the nineteenth centuries submitting to the Academic reforms as well to the charisma and sensibilities of the Theological Academy's rectors. They referred to the capital Theological Academy's organisms and administration. J. HEDDA, *His Kingdom come* pp.33-46; Lopukhin was indeed in direct contact at least with the members of the Orthodox Mutual Aid Society who used him as a referent in order to receive books from St. Petersburg even in 1898. ARC D452 Reel 287 f.514.

202 J. HEDDA, *His Kingdom Come* pp. 86-99.

temperance societies, choirs, schools, publications.

Despite this enthusiastic vision on American society the perspective to go to the New World was indeed challenging: a demanding land that could absorb and consume a bishop's energies. The problems affecting this assignment were many, as Khairullina well summarized:

1. To manage a huge eparchy with a multinational flock mastering several languages, and with a little quantity of well organized parishes, schools, brotherhoods.

2. To endure the inconveniences, linked to limited finance, and the need to adapt to an unaccustomed socio-political and cultural-communitarian tradition.

3. To overcome long distances at first, so as to reach his eparchy, and to survey it, due to an insufficiently developed system of communications.

4. To know English language, the laws of the USA, to contact the representatives of different religious confessions and not to expect help from government while resolving certain problems.²⁰³

The argument that since the beginning worried Tikhon concerning this strange Diocese was the bad fame it gained. Nobody wanted to remain there and strange things happened. Uncertainty was perhaps the only sure expectation Tikhon had. Sabler in his talk said also something about his predecessors bishop Vladimir and Nikolai, how they were not in the right mission attitude, living and managing there, they were restless in their position, evidently for the feeling of inadequacy to their standards the Diocese proved to be.²⁰⁴

Surely this was not a good presentation for a new assignment, moreover the first one which a young bishop has to lead alone, in his early thirties. Additionally Tikhon did not know English. He was learned in French, German, Latin and Greek but he started to study English only once he arrived to the new world. In a letter he was really worried about it:

I started to study the English language as for the theory, but practically [I know] still nothing and without it, it's impossible to give a speech with it and have a correct pronunciation. Bishop Nikolai knew a lot of theory but spoke with difficulty.²⁰⁵

Language learning was not such a trivial task and certainly was not a low priority in the Orthodox Mission in the first years of the 20th century. Tikhon's generation was used to receive a good preparation in languages during his Academic life. The Il'minskii method, still in use in those

203 P. A. KHAIRULLINA, *Missionerskaia poezdka v Kvikhpakhsuiiu i Kuskovimskuiiu Missii (Aliaska) episkopa Tikhona (Bellavina)*, Vestnik Cheliabinskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta I: Istorii 1(17) 2005, pp. 84-92, 86.

Translation mine.

204 PST Letter to Flavian, Sept. 23rd, 1898 pp. 9-10, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l. 20-21 ob.

205 PST Letter to Flavian, May 5th, 1899 pp. 35-36, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d. 752, l. 38-39 ob.

years and regarded as one of the best way to expand Orthodoxy in the Eastern areas of the Empire required a strong previous linguistic preparation, before the transfer of missionaries to tribes and populations that spoke a completely different language from the Russian and Slav idioms. Particularly important in this period were the missions to the Siberian Muslims, shaman tribes and to the Japanese population. The missionaries who were requested to serve there had to complete a training course in which they had to learn to use the local language in predication and daily life. Even in Tikhon's Academic year there had been students who decided to follow courses to dedicate their life in the missionary service in Japan. Obviously the most famous missionary to Japan and to whom this experience was strongly connected is Nikolai Kasatkin, now Saint and renown as Enlightener of the Japanese people. It is noteworthy to say that Nikolai Kasatkin's experience was a model for Tikhon. He searched for inspiration from the actual missionary diocesan practices performed and applied to the Japanese experience, retailing a correspondence rich in curiosities and questions with Nikolai himself.²⁰⁶ Linguistic preparation could not be considered as a secondary requisite in Tikhon's mind. Furthermore he realized how the children and descendants of the first Russian immigrants already spoke and read English, sometimes better than the Russian language of their forefathers. He received many letters in English from them, such as those from the niece of father Kedrolivanskii, Alexandra, living in Los Gatos.²⁰⁷ The American language was indispensable also in dealing with other countries' Orthodox clergy, sent to administer ethnic parishes who expressed themselves in an insecure English, when not knowing Russian, to connect the bishop, or even with immigrants who for a reason or another chose to write to the bishop in the common language spoken in the new country. The Orthodox Church was a sure point of reference for immigrants, at least a place where someone could be understood in its necessities and habits, or a place where to look for help for documents to return to the motherland.²⁰⁸ Some letters are really amazing, while others are surprising. In the ARC archive for example we can find letters coming from the *Walla Walla* State penitentiary of Seattle.

12 Apr. Walla.

I received a couple of books a few days ago in the English language which I asked for Russian language. If you can please send me some books in the Russian language and also send me a calendar. I am sentenced to prison for the ??? of ten years. Mr John Brown and Winsley. I and john are both in cent of the crime that we are charged with and the judge that sentenced us admite he believed were in cent but the jury found us guilty because the jury was orded to find us guilty by the sheriff you see we cant write to you in russian an it is not alowed. If you dout my word about being sent her for nothing ask Benson aus in Seattle or S&B and at Tacoma Attorney at law you can find out by them and John Brown will pay all

206 Letters from Nikolai Kasatkin were published in APV 4 (1905), pp. 64-65; 9 (1905), pp. 165-167; 12 (1905), pp. 228-231; 10 (1906), pp. 191-195.

207 ARC H4, Reel 361, ff. 822-829.

208 ARC H4, Reel 361, f. Letter from Ninno Simon, Saginow (Michigan), Sept 5th, 1901.

expences if you can get us out.

Well this all for this time hoping you we know soon. Yours truly Winsley²⁰⁹

Another letter from Walla Walla came in June:

Dear Father I received your books few days ago. I was proud to get them. I can't find words to express my thanks. My health is good. I want to know in what you are going to do in Regard in getting my Counsel. In my behalf as you know I will need a Russian Counsel as I cant read or write in English if you will furnish me a Counsel I feel that I could come out and without doing my time. No I havent got my Russian papers in passaport if you will helped to get me out I will come back to Russia, so you can send me cards of my Counsel so I can write to him. The judge told me the he wasnt satisfied to my guilt himself it would be a good Idea to get a new trial.

From Wenske and Brown.²¹⁰

As it appears from the former notes, Tikhon like all Russian clergy, spent a lot of time answering letters and telegrams. In the ARC archive the main sign of his presence actually is the constant writing of the word *otvet* (answered) on the top of the several requests written to him. He answered to his clergy scattered through the States and Canada in order to help them resolve their problems and understand the parish situation from their reports. He answered to friends in Russia, to immigrant lay people asking him favors, mercy and sometimes a place where to live and work. An example of this is provided by a 1905 letter to the bishop, written by Andrei Solianka, supposedly a psalmist who found help and refuge in the Minneapolis Seminary with his family.²¹¹ He reported to the bishop's consideration how his job giver fired him because he was an Orthodox and the other job, which could have been that of psalmist, he had to leave due to the “radical Uniates” who expelled him. The situation was very complex and fluid in the Uniate parishes and sometimes the clergy found itself in the middle of a fight between family rivalries in the communities, a reason that could split the community in different observances.

Beside Tikhon had to answer to doctors writing him to notify the worsened health situation of his clergy and asking for them to return to Russia. Usually as a matter of fact they had to present a medical certification of their disease. We can find in the archive letters of this tone:

Most Reverend Sir

I desire to inform you for the benefit of a patient of mine, Mr. Paul V. Alexandreff, that it is imperative that he –Mr Alexandreff-- shall no longer officiate as Secretary and Assistant in the service of your Church in this city.

Mr Alexandreff has quite a serious affection of the throat, which renders farther service in his

209 ARC B2, Reel 8, f.134, Letter to Tikhon May 11th, 1902 from Wisley. Letters reported as appears.

210 ARC B2 Reel 8, f.135 Letter to Tikhon June 1st, 1902 from Wenske. He might be the same as the previous letter but with a different written surname

211 ARC, D452, Reel 287, f. 442-443. Letter to Tikhon Aug. 6/19th 1905, from Andrei Solianka.

present capacity dangerous to his health, and he should be relieved at once, without delay. Aside from Mr. Alexandreff's throat affection he is afflicted with bronchitis, of an acute nature at the present time, but which may become chronic if he continues to exercise the functions of his present position in the services of your church. Being of slight physique, Mr Alexandreff is a person who would easily become a victim of tuberculosis-- which, I believe had existed in his family.

Mr. Alexandroff inform me, in reply to my questions, that, in the discharge of his duties as assistant at the church services, he has to do a great deal of reading, considerable singing, or chanting. As his physician, I have forbidden him to continue to perform these altogether too arduous duties. Being a young man of strongly religious sentiments, he is loath to comply with my directions,--hence my appeal to Your Reverence to relieve him without delay.²¹²

Tikhon also had to manage correspondence coming from attorneys caring the interests of the Russian Orthodox Church in America,²¹³ from international and American organizations working in transatlantic delivery services, in order to get ecclesiastic newspapers and magazines, wine for the sacred services, icons and other paraphernalia coming from Russia and the Old World.²¹⁴ Sometimes he even tried to send something back to Russia with scarcity of results due to the harsh censorship imposed to the materials coming from abroad, especially when he had to communicate with people located in particular places:

Our Calendar, that I sent you at the beginning of the year, suffered another misfortune. The Censorship of Tiflis refused [it] with extreme strictness and sent it back as a foreign publication, even if in other Russian places it was freely accepted.²¹⁵

He had also to answer to the crowd of applications arriving from every corner of the Empire requesting a job as psalmist, teacher or priest in the American Diocese. He had then to communicate administrative matters relating to the *oberprokuror*, the Holy Synod and other institutions in Russia. He had to answer to people requesting information about the Orthodox Church for scientific articles and statistics or to address those who wanted to convert to Orthodoxy at the local priest with which they could talk and refer to.²¹⁶

Clergy was his main occupation. Family he had left did not seem to be one of the main topics

212 ARC B2 Reel 8, f. 139, Letter to Tikhon from a doctor, Oct. 30th, 1905.

213 As for example those who were required to discuss in tribunal the property of churches or cases of swindles and not paid performances claimed from third parts to the church. As ARC D470, Reel 298, f. 401.

214 Russian Orthodox imported wine from Europe and then sent it to Alaska. There were frequent delays or misunderstandings for alcohol product abroad was not always allowed, especially in Alaska. In 1882 the Custom House informed the Consul General of Russia in San Francisco that "the prohibition hither to existing in regard to shipments of wine and beer to Alaska has been removed", the consequence was the admission of the requested port wine to shipment. G. SOLDATOW, *The Right Reverend Nestor* Vol II, p. 111, ARC B 39-40, Reel 34-35, p. 390. See also ARC D499 Reel 314, f.475 Letter from the office of the Collector of customs, Port of Sitka, February 16th, 1900 to bishop Tikhon in which is confirmed that "Permits or shipping wine for sacramental purposes...is no longer a necessity". Another case, Tikhon had to face in those years, covering mostly the year 1900 was that of John Lennon Groceries. It was due to the composition of candles. The percentual of beeswax present in the candles was considered not adequate to the goods, so where hired chemistry analysts in order to ascertain the real composition of the candles. Papers in ARC D470, Reel 298, ff. 365, 366, 388, 389, 390.

215 PST Letter to Flavian, Sept. 6th, 1901 pp. 90-91, RGIA f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l. 68-69 ob.

216 ARC H4, Reel 360 ff 883-884. Correspondence from Frederick Cook 1903-1904, from the magazine "The Living Church". And from A.A. Muller a Roman Catholic priest ARC H4, Reel 360 ff. 888-889.

of writing of the young bishop. He had in Russia only his old mother. In 1900 he simply wrote about her that she was 69 and lived all alone. He could not let her come to America.²¹⁷ After Mikhail and his mother died,²¹⁸ he strongly wanted to return and permanently remain in Russia. This apparent detached mood does not mean that he was unable to recreate friendly relationships with people he found around himself and that filled his life in determinate moments. In the ARC materials we find letters from his summer months preferred place of vacation, Los Gatos. Here in this windy and quiet city of California he lived in a family in which he fit and found his place, a refuge.

Now I moved in a house near San Francisco, two hours by train. I rented a House, comfortable and secluded on the mountains (for 15 dollars a month) and I live there with my brother and a converse; On Sunday and feast days I go to serve in San Francisco²¹⁹

He even became the godfather to one little parishioner living in San Francisco. Also from this girl, Loelia (*Lēlia*) we can read letters, affectionate and tender in their respect toward the friendly bishop.²²⁰ Furthermore an unknown writer, reported to us that the bishop really like to take a look at family albums of photos in Yaroslavl, in order to discover ties and the more intimate life of his parishioners and clergy. This sensibility it is not possible to prove was present also during his previous years in the States, but surely in his consecration speech he regarded the duties of a bishop, into the concrete realization of being near to all and find in his parishioners and clergy a new family. He thus promised to love his American diocese like a wife when he landed.²²¹

At this first arriving of mine among you, my beloved brothers came to my mind the words that God said once through the prophet Osea: not my people I have called mine, and not those I loved, my love. (2,23)²²²

He specified that those words were the foundation of the calling to the gentiles in the Church of God. The Hebrews did not recognize Jesus Christ as the Saviour so those who were retained as the loved, the chosen people from God were replaced by the pagans to which the Christian Message was later preached. Among these pagans Tikhon numbered also the Alaskan populations that the Russian missionaries in the past centuries had enlightened. He considered himself the successor of

217 PST Letter to Flavian, Apr. 21st, 1900 pp. 64-65, RGIA f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.54-55 ob.

218 Her obituary is reported also in APV 10 (1904), p. 201.

219 PST Letter to Flavian, Jun. 12th, 1902 pp. 108-109, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d. 752, l. 80-81 ob.

220 ARC H4, Reel 360, ff. 870, 871, 872, 873. The letters are written in English.

221 For the report about family albums see A.V. VEDERNIKOV, *Revnitel Tserkovnogo Edinstva*, in M. E. GUBONIN, *Sovremenniki* Tom II, p.64.

222 *Zavieti i nastavlenia amerikanskoj pravoslavnoi Rusi ego Sviateishestva patriarkha Moskovskago i vceia Rossii Tikhona*. New York 1924, p. 7.

the numerous people who had worked for that purpose. He numbered the Valaam monks, father Ioann Veniaminov (later Metropolitan Innokentii), and his direct predecessor bishop Nikolai (Ziorov).

The will of God called me here either, unworthy to the apostolic service, and then now I even those who were not my people I will call my people and those who I did not love, my love.²²³

Even if he was well disposed, the issue of lack of priests, so dispersed, and the new assignment burdened heavy upon him. In a letter to bishop Flavian we find a quick hint that is plenty clarifying.

Your beautiful letters carry me great joy in my solitude.²²⁴

This loneliness he experienced was so deep at the beginning that when he received a letter from a friend informing him that he had been assigned to Vladivostok, Tikhon perceived this location as near and easily reachable. He was not afraid to cover long distances if he could find a meaningful connection waiting for him. He was always ready to do or to invent something, never letting get away the possibility of a friend nearby. He seemed to be never tired of researching a connection with whoever he considered representative of his Church.

My journey from San Francisco to Vladivostok [now] takes more time than through New York and European Russia. It's possible to think for the future to establish regular and frequent journeys among our two cities.²²⁵

Sadly his natural family links were abruptly cut down in those American years, leaving the young bishop completely alone. Under this burden he suffered strongly, and probably the distance worsened the situation. In November 1902, writing to his longtime friend and guide Flavian (Gorodetskii), in that moment Archbishop of Kharkov', Tikhon told him about his brother's unexpected death, which happened nine days before in San Francisco, while Tikhon himself was absent, visiting his flock. The letter is quite short, as the words in their strictness are profoundly revealing: "a heavy mountain fell upon me... Before the day of his death they had only sent me a telegram, which said that he had fallen ill with nerves".²²⁶ The bishop now had to care about the

223 Ivi.

224 PST Letter to Flavian, Apr. 21st, 1900 pp. 64-65, RGIA, f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d. 752, l. 54-55 ob. See also "Selfconfident in the motherland, Russian people abroad felt theirs insignificance and solitude", A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* p. 17; APV 1 (1899), p. 22.

225 PST Letter to Petr Bulgakov, Dec. 30th, 1901 pp. 97-98, GAR, f. 5973, op. 1, d. 2, l. 8-9 ob.

226 PST Letter to Flavian November 30th, 1902 pp. 123-124.

corpse of his brother and the burial that he wanted to be in the motherland. He strongly wanted to return to Russia, and not to come back to the land of others' hopes.

Despite his requesting, this was not possible. From 1903 to January 1904 he obtained only a vacancy of some months to spent in Russia. He took his time, buried his brother, visited his mother, meet his comrades of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, who happily gathered again around him, like when they were students. He spent months administering the Church, being chosen to cover a turn in the summer session of the Holy Synod. The letters we have of that period are full of energy and tell us how strong was Tikhon's will to participate in the life of the church. After this short period of permanence granted to him in Russia he had to return and endure again the life of a restless bishop, traveling through America and reaching immigrants parishes or natives communities. Many times from St. Petersburg came the hope of returning permanently to the motherland. However this proposal was always retracted for a reason or another. In July 1905 Tikhon wrote to his longtime friend Petr Ivanovich that someone in the Holy Synod proposed him for Finland. The *obepokuror* opposed this moving by virtue of the expected change of see in America. Tikhon had to supervise the rising of the new see and the administrative changes.²²⁷ It was definitely not easy to find a substitute who could accept to go so far.

The fact that he was *so far* from home represented for him not only the concrete distance that separated the bishop himself from his land, his nation (*strana*) as he always called it. It was for him the distance from his main world: that of the ecclesiastical life. It seems that we could also refer to decisions and the pulsing heart of church administration in describing what he lacked the most rather than human *nostalgia* of his people and Russian lifestyle. This summarization seems quite improper as referred to a man, considered a saint, remembered for his mildness and humility and easy going in his relationships with others. But if we take a look at his letters from the USA and compare them especially with what he wrote in the brief period he spent in Russia in 1904, during his summer as lecturer at the Holy Synod we can note only in these latter a simple joy in reporting what was going on, a flicker of excitement for being at the center of the church life even as only a listener and a clerk. The tone is totally different if compared with the letters coming from America. This former tone was his expression of love for his church and the representation of a deeply felt thought to work as best as he could for it. In America, among the things he lamented there was also a real distance from home in receiving news. Receiving news from St. Petersburg to San Francisco took 20 days and only 10-12 days to New York.²²⁸

227 N. A. KRIVOSHEEVA, *Patriarshii kurs* pp.74-75. Letter to Petr Ivanovic Bulgakov, Jul. 7th, 1905. GARF f. 5973, op. 1, d. 2, l. 13-14.

228 PST Letter to Flavian, Dec. 8th, 1900 pp. 76-77, RGIA f.796, op. 205 (1888-1915), d. 752, l. 64-65 ob.

In order to recover from the American distance he collected his strengths and recreated an ecclesiastical state of mind in which to live in, even abroad, that of the kingdom of God coming on the earth and announced by the Orthodox Church. In his comprehension of the several problems coming to him in his daily administration he imposed the look of eternity rather than a punctual answering to immediate necessities (though not neglecting them all, *for the glory of God*). This particular kind of far-sightedness and penchant for concise, competitive and meaningful glance were perhaps the most striking qualities of Tikhon's tenure, which permitted a real advancement of the diocese in awareness, structuring, ecclesiological development, as well as in the embodiment in the American context.

We can fathom how strongly Tikhon nurtured himself with the Orthodox tradition, despite and maybe because he perceived himself as a member of a millenarian church, yet he felt like one of the first converts living in a land of different creeds and different waves of evangelization. A parallel, that of the first years of the Church, he used with frequency in his homilies and speeches, not only to quote the Sacred books for advices and patterns of behavior but as a real life occurrences that could be perceived and applied in his very era and situations, and through he would read and act in the present difficulties.²²⁹

As it might seem Tikhon was not alone, he was constantly supported through a direct contact with the Holy Synod and the *oberprokuror*. He was compelled to refer anything that was happening in his jurisdiction as all the other Russian bishops, but sufficiently well-disposed to this work of “*otchioting*” through which he could gain advice and ask a personal intercession of the Czar in several questions and donations. Moreover, someone underlined the fact that in his missionary endeavor he was the heir of a strong scholarship that though not well defined at that time, or systematized as we westerners could think of, was well recognized and considered remarkable in the Russian Empire. Bishop Tikhon's epistolary with the Evangelizer of Japan Nikolai Kasatkin and his advices that are reported in the *Amerikanskii Vestnik* constitute a link to the precedent missionary tradition, that make us think of an offspring of Tikhon to the school of the long experienced missionary Nikolai (who worked also in the Amur region) and their common predecessor in the far east bishop Innokentii.

In his endless work for the development of an Orthodox church from a missionary web of communities, Tikhon posed himself in the position of listener and problem solver in that far-sighted way that distinguished him. As it appears from the first letters he received once in the US from the clergy, it is possible to see what he was requested to answer through his same presence: the necessity of a structuring guide, of a connection with the Holy Synod to request the necessary

²²⁹ See for example *Zavieti i nastavlenia* pp. 12, 21, 22, 40.

changes, to search for new personnel to the Lord's vineyard, to care for them in their spiritual and material needs. The ARC archive did not include the bishop's answers, but the facts and the visible development that took place in the Diocese in the following years shows us the strongest proof of the sensibility, the inventive and endless disposition of the bishop in requesting answers, money, people from Russia. For example in a letter he received from Allegheny on March 2nd, of the year 1899, the dean Ioann Nedzel'nitskii reported the situation he found himself in, asking what to do next. He explained how difficult it was to try to describe the spiritual condition of the flock and of the clergy living in his deanery (although bishop Nikolai deposed him, without explanation). He numbered 16 churches in his former deanery. They were all very distant, miles away one from the other. Moreover there were other Orthodox churches in his circumscription that he could not keep under his surveillance, the Syro-Arab church in New York and the Greek-Serb church in Galveston. He also reported that there were two Greek churches under the Athonite Metropolitan, one in Chicago and the other in New York.²³⁰ All the temples of the former deanery were non Orthodox-born churches. They had been re adapted to become orthodox in furniture and structure or otherwise while in other instances they were simply parts of houses dedicated to that purpose. He advised that, although there were churches that waited for consecration, they had not yet been taken in consideration for this. The Chicago and New York parishes, as those finding themselves in the biggest cities, were the most in need of a new cult edifice. There, the clergy lived inside them with their family. Many churches needed also liturgical paraphernalia (books, icons and vessels) and an adequate furniture. He reported he would remain the most of the year in Minneapolis to follow the missionary studies of which he was probably, it is possible to argue, an observer and organizer. He was unable to maintain authority in front of the many priests living in the deanery, maybe because of his deposition or because many of them, coming from Uniate parishes were rebellious towards him and unprepared to adequate completely to Orthodox standards, or maintain the parish in a chosen orthodoxy. Many parishes converted from Unia were without a permanent clergy guide. The Unia presence among the parishioners and the problems connected with their background was something Tikhon had already faced in his previous short experience as a pastor. In the Kholm region they were present as a minority, but indeed not so marginal in quantity that they were not taken in consideration by the ecclesiastical policies. The character of the young bishop of Kholm

230 "By 1893 there were already two Greek parishes in New York City: Holy Trinity, whose priests came from Athens, and Annunciation, whose priests were sent from Costantinople". D. GRIGORIEFF, *The Orthodox Church* p. 203; D. GRIGORIEFF, *The Historical Background of Orthodoxy in America*, SVTQ 5/1-2 (1961), pp. 3-53, 10. Father Nedzel'nitskii by that time had to coordinate and guard over Orthodox parishes in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota, New York, Connecticut, New Jersey. *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946. Podvizhnik Pravoslaviia v Amerike. Sbornik pisem, statei i dokumentov*, Pod. Red. G. M. Soldatova, T. I, 1896-1909, AARDM Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota 2011, p. 35.

moreover was useful in the approach and eventual “reunion” of some of these groups of Catholics to Russian Orthodoxy.²³¹

Father Ioann Nedzel'nitskii continued the letter lamenting that the Dean living in New York, probably due to his young age, was unable to maintain order in the region. Clergy was to educate, because they did not act like men of God with their attendances to theaters, circuses and their penchant for playing billiards.²³²

The situation in this region as in others was quite distressing. Sometimes the bishop felt lost and sad.

I slept for 12 nights on the ground in a tent; Provisions were for us, as they here say “short”, few; but more than everything we had to bear mosquitos and... (I'm sorry) louses, thanks to the nearness to the savages. To say it correctly, my life is less enviable and sad, I don't want to hide it to you. Any travel and bite is a half bad thing, you can bear it almost, but everywhere there is the necessity to devote oneself to work. But heaviest of everything is that all this [work] is done uselessly and this doesn't help and I myself I am left without help, without people and meaning.²³³

The young bishop lamented that in St. Petersburg they promised help but not even the Missionary Society eventually answered him. From the Holy Synod they sometimes did not answer even if he was not asking for money. Lack of funds were a major thought for Tikhon. He wrote to the *ober-prokuror* that he was thinking of funding an American Missionary Society in order to raise enough money to cover some of their major expenses. He presented the project to the Russian Holy Synod.²³⁴ However the project was rejected, because Alaska was already under protection of the Russian Orthodox Missionary Society. Tikhon knew that half the diocese was without help and also that the missionary Society was not able to fulfill Alaskan needs.²³⁵ But he could not continue with the project without approval from the higher hierarchies.

The missionary work in America had to be done on multiple levels in order to systematize and normalize the situation. First there was a material level. Tikhon had to improve the number of clerics, of churches, he had to find trustworthy men that could uplift the parish and deanery level. He had to start a program of construction, and fund-raising, while to encouraging local people with the sentiment of reaching the great step of building their own church edifice. The Energy required to

231 M. IU. DOSTAL', *Patriarkh Tikhon i slaviane*

232 ARC Reel 288, ff. 247-258, letter to Tikhon, from Ioann Nezdell'nitskii, blagocinnii of New York, Mar. 2nd, 1899 from Allegheny.

233 PST Letter to Flavian, Aug. 4th, 1900 pp. 67-68 RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d. 752, l. 56-57 ob.

234 PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, Mar. 23rd, 1900 pp. 62-63, RGIA f. 799, op. 25, year 1897, d. 226, l. 90-91. In *Zavieti i nastavlenia*, there is also the presentation in San Francisco of this idea after his return from the 1900 travel to Alaska, p.40.

235 PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, July 23rd, 1901 pp. 84-85, RGIA f. 797, op. 71, year 1901, otd. 2 stol3, d. 264, l.1-2 ob.

accomplish this project were enormous, from himself and from his collaborators too. But as they first wrote to him the problems, deeply feeling the inadequacies the church they belonged to, it was possible to involve them in the complete project of reformulation of the identity and character of the mission Tikhon was imposing step after step was to his new young and inexperienced “wife”. As a faithful husband he would care for her for as long as she was entrusted to him. However, in order to know the problems and general conditions of it, he had to journey through the land.

His letters from America, as a matter of fact, are always on the topic of traveling, sometimes describing what he saw here and there and the attitude of people toward religion, sometimes depicting his real adventures and the most strange episodes of his visiting. He rarely addressed on the American political, social or legal situation. This does not mean that he was not aware or not well informed of what was happening in the States: he had a unique perspective on the matter, obviously that of the Orthodox immigrants:

The strike goes on, our parishioners, suffer and grow poorer, and it's not possible to say when this heavy situation will come to an end. But the saddest thing is that again they will not come to an agreement. This will lead only to sedation and satisfaction. Without doubt, regulations in the future will be increased and goods more expensive. Salary will be the same and consequently it will not be enough. It means that we will come again to this end, strike and again suffer and grow poorer. In this situation it's necessary to help who need it. Why can't we form a particular fund, explicitly designated to help in time of strikes? Since a lot of our parishioners now work in factories and they will not join the current strike, they own a renowned prosperity. It would be a pity in an happy moment not to remember who are in need and suffer! In the same way when the needy will have theirs, why don't give them even as a little reserve for “the black day” that can come in the future?

How high the fees must be to form the fund, how and whom give – this can be judged by the brotherhood in their meetings; the fund could be open among the Mutual Aid Society's Consistory whom could furnish something for this matter [from her funds]. For the beginning of this source I send to the Society's Consistory from mine 100 dollars. God may give it success!²³⁶

His interest is oriented and again travels mainly to his homeland. He is always well informed on what was happening in the Motherland, and troubled by the process that began in 1905, and by the relapses of the war with Japan. The letters to his correspondents are an occasion to investigate and have more details on the life in Russia, even when the writer does not live there, but they might have more information than he had in America.

Despite this, Tikhon was always writing that he was traveling, or that he had just stopped moving, or that he was planning to go somewhere. Even in his first year of service he decided to accomplish a pastoral travel from San Francisco to Alaska. He was well aware of the precedent of Metropolitan Innokentii who traveled extensively through his diocese. However he was expected to

236 PST Letter to Benedict Turkevich, Jul. 9th, 1902 p.110, APV 14 (1902), pp. 306-307. In August of the same year father Aleksandr Hotovitskii reported to the bishop the Russian Consul opinion on the bishop proposal for strikers: “he didn't miss to comment (contrary to the general reticence), that it is very “boldly” and that in Russia perhaps they would deem it socialism” *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period* p. 93.

act this way. The custom to appoint young bishops that could withstand extreme weather and environmental duress was applied also in other difficult dioceses pertaining the Empire.²³⁷

Certainly, on the way to sacrifice it happens to prove enough things: once I slept on a steamboat, on the coal, laid on the cassock. With not a small relief, it went that I almost quite not suffered from sea-sickness – but in some moments the rolling was very strong, so that even the captain of the steamboat suffered the sea-sickness. I traveled for 4 months, I journeyed over 4000 versts, and [despite this] all the most distant places remained for the next year.²³⁸

In another letter he reported:

In Canada I went calmly if we consider that in some places was really wet from rain, roads were ugly and that once the coachman through himself out of the carriage and also I above the fall squeezed my leg and scratched my hand; it could be worse. In some way I pulled out the leg from the boot, that remained under the wheel. These things didn't prevent me to serve in the chapel, not far from where this incident had happened.²³⁹

Additionally he wanted to fulfill the wishes and hopes of his flock, visiting them. In his first travel to the north he approached the Pacific coast reaching, then the Esquimo villages situated in the north of Alaska and in doing this he followed the flowing of rivers. Reports of this first travel were written for the American Orthodox Messenger and have been successively studied or simply reprinted in recent times.²⁴⁰ The narration is full of adventure, peculiar ways to overcome natural obstacles and the simple joy of the people joining their unexpected pastor. Here we can find out a review of the gifts they wanted to give him, the Bishop cared for them, the solicitude to adequate to their customs, to impart a benediction to them, to answer their gifts with little crosses, with an homily or a visitation in their poor ways of living, though this resulted in wearing out the bishop as he wrote to Flavian:

Sincerely, I'm happy that Kharkov fits for you. I can't extol this: I suffer not only for an insufficiency of means but also for people's misery. For this we bear every kind of loathsome thing. I don't know how long my patience will last. I remember and regret the vicariate [of Kholm] at least there were less responsibilities.²⁴¹

However he was happy to be among his people, joining them in their cities, villages, daily occupations and material worries:

237 A. FRIESEN, *Filling in a Map Drawn by the Holy Synod: Omsk Bishop Create a Diocese*, Paper presented at the 43rd ASEEEES Convention, November 17-20, 2011 Washington, DC.

238 PST Letter to Flavian, Sept. 3rd, 1899 pp. 40-41, RGIA f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l. 42-43 ob.

239 PST Letter to Sabler, Sept. 3rd, 1901 pp. 86-87, RGIA f.796, op.182, year1901, d. 4069, l. 6-7 ob.

240 P. A. KHAIRULINA, *Missionerskaia poezdka v Kvikhpakhsuiiu i Kuskovimskuiiu Missii (Aliaska) episkopa Tikhona (Bellavina)*, Vestnik Cheliabinskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta I: Istorii 1(17) 2005, pp. 84-92.

241 PST Letter to Flavian, Mar. 6th, 1902 p. 99, RGIA f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.74-75 ob.

I remained in Canada for two weeks, consecrated two churches and a chapel. We have there more than two thousands parishioners of which Orthodox Bucovinians are half a thousand. Until now they live not as rich people because they have to buy agricultural machines. But the land is good, not drained. Unfortunately not always is possible to mature wheat because already in August there are frost and snow. Even though they end quickly they waste the bread (Now, thanks to God, we didn't have this), and they don't sow wheat in winter cause they fear that it freezes without snow. Also summer is not long. The hay they don't mow at all, grass is really good there. Generally speaking emigrants from Austria can be satisfied with Canada. They are saved from their two enemies- lack of land and Jews. Among our Dukhobors there are not these enemies so they don't gain anything when moving to Canada.²⁴²

We see the attention he posed in education of children and in the preservation of the dignity of the churches, how he cared for the glory of God being observed in a respectful manner even in those remote reaches.²⁴³ He felt this traveling and reaching of the people as a duty and as the only road to sociability, he could not abstain from, for he preached that also to his parishioners and clergy because in staying with and frequent Orthodox people they could reinforce their Orthodoxy, giving testimony and in this way caring for each other in faith:

Anyone has to travel, and here you cannot escape from this: the smartest priest (and it's only one) is at two days' distance, by train. (...) for a well agreeable cause they don't bother the archierei for a personal visit, but it's he himself to bother and disturb them.²⁴⁴

Like Tikhon also his clergy had then to travel through the country, moreover the local missions, at least in the first years, were organized around only one or two priests who had to cover the liturgical services of the parishes entrusted to them. This way of structuring had been called by an historian that of “circuit riders”.²⁴⁵ Missionaries had also to search other Orthodox communities in their nearnesses, as done with Tikhon's predecessors. Those communities had a lower number of people than that required, or were not able to sustain economically a resident priest were not recorded as parishes but as attached churches. Immigration moreover was unexpected and mostly created by job advices and requests. Upon this request new communities were born and thrived. In Russia in this same era, coinciding with the two decades of Nikolai and Tikhon's presence in America, it was prompted a project of colonization of Siberia, meant to display a studied and precise colony settlement, to which an entire set of population was directed. They were supposed to follow central administrative rules in order to build civilization and Russification of the Siberian lands. Whereas in the Russian Empire everything was subordinated to this planning, disposed from

242 PST Letter to Sabler, Sept. 3rd, 1901 pp. 86-87, RGIA f. 796, op.182, year 1901, d. 4069, l.6-7 ob.

243 *Conversation in Nenilchik, Kenai parish*, July 15th, 1899. In *Zavieti i nastavlenia* pp. 23-26, or in APV 17 (1899), pp. 458-460. On the bishop's commitment to local celebrations see the table reported in A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia eparkhiia pri sviatitele Tikhone*, M 2012, pp. 59-60.

244 PST Letter to Flavian, Nov. 30th, 1899 pp. 50-51, RGIA f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d. 752, l. 46-47 ob.

245 B. FARLEY, *Circuit Riders to the Slavs and Greeks*. The emphasis upon moving and meeting between people could be find also in the teachings of father John of Krostadt, shaped perhaps in a different way in order to fit a different context. N. KIZENKO, *A Prodigal Saint* p. 41.

the high levels of administration that predisposed how these communities had to relate with the lands, the properties, the individuals' role and necessities and where they have to move and settle, in the emigration to America there was no management from above.²⁴⁶ If work employment decreased, the same communities not long before implanted risked to disappear. Rooting of the people was scarce, because of the social composition they were subjected to. Composition of the emigration by reason of work was mostly male. A characteristic that facilitated the fluidity and temporary constitution of communities that could not grow more than the status of attached churches. In 1906 in relation to the major cities of the Western part of the United States Russian Orthodox Mission was present in, we find Russian in number of male 1812 and females 185, Galitians male 1127 and female 633, Ugrorussians in number of male 789 and female 160, Greeks in male 1496 and female 246, Arabs in male 216 and female 65, Bucovinians 2 and 2, 2 Creole males and 5 males to 4 females coming from other nationalities.²⁴⁷

The continuous bishop's moving was an harm not only to his personal physique but also to the diocese's stability. He perceived how frail was the structure of a body with an unstable and not easily identifiable head. In a letter to Flavian he wrote:

It's time again to go, for not less than three months and in force of this through away the other part of the eparchy (...) in this part income will not be harvested.²⁴⁸

Until 1904, when Innokentii Pustynskii was appointed vicar Bishop of Alaska, Tikhon had to travel all around his immense diocese, he alone providing a unique conjuncture to his complex set of lands.²⁴⁹ He traveled coast to coast, and he tried to extend his visit from the Northern Alaskan toions system of villages to the Southern and arid pueblos. His travels were sometimes recorded and reported to the parishioners through the *Amerikanskii Pravoslavnii Vestnik*. In 1899's spring Tikhon projected to visit the New York *blagocinnia*, including Minneapolis, North Prairie, Chicago, Streator, Marblehead, Cleveland, Buffalo, Allegheny, Pittsburgh, Osceola Mills, Philipsburg, Wilkesbarre, Oldforge, Scranton, Sheppton, Catasauqua, New York, Brooklyn, Ansonia, Yonkers, Bridgeport. He then moved to the Texas state to visit the Galveston parish. The travel took an entire

246 A. MASOERO, *Layers of Property in the tsar's settlement colony: projects of land privatization in Siberia in the late nineteenth century*, Central Asian Survey, 29/1, pp. 9-32.

247 ARC D457, Reel 292 f.102 and F.118. The data refers to the cities of Oldforge, Olyphant, Simpson, Pittsburg, Reading, South River, San Francisco, Salem, Seattle, Wilkinson, Portland, Scranton, St.Clair, Springfield, Streator-Madison and Troy.

248 PST Letter to Flavian, Mar. 30th, 1900 pp. 60-61 RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.52-53 ob.

249 He later, when already had settled in New York see, asked also Sebastian Dabovich to accomplish the task of runner between the west American parishes. Sometimes due to this Sebastian signed his telegrams to the bishop as *strannik*.

month from May 2nd to June 1st.²⁵⁰ In the summer of the same year he left for a visit to Alaska, stopping in Seattle and then visiting the parishes of Juneau, Sitka, Killisnoo, Nutchek, Seldovia (Kenai), Kodiak, Nenilchik, the Tyonek chapel, and the parish of Afognak, the New Valaam Island and Woody Island. Then he reached the northerner Unalaska, with a fast visit to the Belkofosky mission, a stop in the Unga Island and in the Illiliuk village. The travel was accomplished in two months from July 5th to September 6th.²⁵¹ He was in the Serbian parish of Jackson in the autumn of 1899 and again in the New York *blagocinnia* in winter 1899.²⁵² In the spring of 1900 he traveled for 78 days, along 11.000 Km, dedicating his time to the long distant Alaskan mission of Kuskowim and Kwickpack where an archieriei had never been before and where, due to the absence of gold the “Yankees” did not built easy traveling roads.²⁵³ In 1901 he visited the New York *blagocinnia* for the third time in three years. In this occasion he reversed the travel beginning with the visit to Galveston to continue with Hartshorne (Oklahoma), Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Yonkers, Ansonia, Bridgeport, Wilkesbarre. He stopped to pray in Old Forge and Scranton. He visited also the parish sites in Catasauqua, and the chapels in McAdoo and St. Clair. Then he stopped in the Serbian parish of McKeesport, to move then to the parishes of Charleroi, Allegheny, Cleveland, Marblehead, and return to Chicago. Then he moved to Minneapolis, North Prairie and also stopped in the chapel of Vance Creek (Wisconsin).²⁵⁴ In August 1901 he dedicated his time to Canada to spent eventually the first part of Autumn in Sitka, returning to San Francisco only in the month of October.²⁵⁵ In 1902 he started again a pastoral visit to the East coast cities. In the same year he visited also Seattle and Minneapolis.

In 1903 he was in Pennsylvania, than in the State of New York and in Pittsburgh. In 1904, even if he just returned from the transoceanic crossing,²⁵⁶ after accomplishing the ordination to bishopric of Raphael and visiting some parishes in the New York *blagocinnia*,²⁵⁷ he directed himself to the Missions growing in the Colorado state such as Denver and Pueblo.²⁵⁸ Only in April he could stop in San Francisco. In July he was moving again from the former cathedral see to Seattle, Canada, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Allegheny, Steelton and eventually New York, where he

250 ARC D471 Reel 300 ff. 99-100. This is one of the rare documents handwritten by the bishop present in the archive,

See also P. POPOV, *Amerikanskii period zhisni* pp. 18-36.

251 A. P. POPOV, *Amerikanskii period zhisni* pp. 37-50.

252 Ibidem pp. 51-71.

253 P. A. KHAIRULINA, *Missionerskaia poezdka* p. 87; PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, Mar. 23rd, 1900 pp. 62-63 RGIA f.799, op. 25, year 1897, d. 226, l. 90-91; A. P. POPOV, *Amerikanskii period zhisni* pp. 73-89.

254 A. P. POPOV, *Amerikanskii period zhisni* pp. 95-119.

255 Ibidem pp. 120-133.

256 With the visit of the orthodox communities in Berlin, Potsdam and Hamburg. APV April 14th, 7 (1904), pp. 122-125.

257 From Yonkers and Philadelphia for example. Respectively APV and March 28th, 6 (1904), pp. 107-109.

258 APV June 14th, 11 (1904), pp. 208-209.

had to stop in October.²⁵⁹ After the consecration festivities and celebrations the bishop visited Ansonia, Steelton again and continued the travel to San Francisco as Christmas destination, stopping also in St. Louis to see the universal exposition in Chicago and to consecrate the new church in Madison.²⁶⁰ Then during summer he spent some time to visit the Canadian parishes.²⁶¹ After a period in New York he returned to San Francisco. Wherever he went there was the gatherings of brotherhoods from the neighboring cities, a number of priests coming to serve together the liturgies, ordinations of priests and deacons. He was continuously involved in a work of exponential growth of the diocese, always looking forward. Every time he left again for the same travels around the continent he had to add new stops and visit the new parishes that had grown and organized in the meanwhile which were longing for his coming, the consecration of their new chapels or churches, the ordination of their clergy. Since 1904, with the appointment of bishop Innokentii Pustynskii in the vicar see of Sitka the *Messenger* registered the pastoral visits of the two Russian bishops moving through the continent.²⁶² Though always looking for a reciprocal contact it could happen that for some time they could not communicate with each other for a yet underdeveloped system of communication between the Alaskan territories and the rest of the States. At the end of February 1906 for example the *Messenger* reported an alarm on the bishop Innokentii disappearance because since November there was no sign of him. A letter signed by the priest Andrei Kashevarov residing in Sitka advised the Archbishop that they had not received information or telegrams from him since November 8th either. Bishop Innokentii had sailed in November to accomplish a pastoral visit that had to last two months but things went differently. Even the ship company was in distress, not knowing if the boat had reached the land and what had happened to the crew. Kashevarov added that a new ship was prepared to leave on February 10th, in Unalaska Island direction, to rescue or find news about the previous ship, the “Dora”, on which bishop Innokentii was supposed to have embarked in. This same ship was considered to be shipwrecked by the later assistance organized by the company.²⁶³ Fortunately Innokentii was discovered to have not been on board.

The Alaskan bishop eventually gave notice of himself only on the 1st of March, with a telegram, stating that he was on Kodiak Island.²⁶⁴ Only after that moment the several letters with

259 APV 9 (1904), pp. 161-163; APV 14 (1904), p. 265.

260 Narrations of these summer and autumn travels are reported in APV 18 (1904), pp. 350-355; 19 (1904), pp.

370-372, 20 (1904) pp. 393-403, 22 (1904) pp. 431-433; 23 (1904), pp. 450-462. See also PST Letter to Flavian,

Feb. 3rd, 1904 p.164, RGIA f.796, op.205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.122-123 ob.

261 PST Letter to Flavian, May 27th, 1904 pp.170-171, RGIA f.796, op.205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.132-133 ob.

262 See for example the first bishop Innokentii's travel to reach Sitka in APV April 28th, 8/1904 pp.143-146.

263 APV 4 (1906), pp. 61-62.

264 APV 7 (1906), p. 138. The return and winter travels of Innokentii are told in many APV numbers, and from several point of view. A complete account may be found in APV 10 (1906), pp. 197-199.

which Innokentii described his Alaskan winter, and the parishes' necessities arrived to Tikhon adding also the many ships he had to use to move in the stormy sea of the north.

In 1905 Tikhon had been divided between two cathedral Sees, that of San Francisco and that officially proclaimed the September 14th, in New York.²⁶⁵ He was indeed traveling from the first to the second, not disregarding the little parishes which were growing in between. He was expected in the Eastern States at the end of May, also attending the Mutual Aid Society's Convention in Cleveland, reaching the Serbian parish of Wilmerding and visiting next Mayfield, New York and Yonkers.²⁶⁶ He also moved to the Simpson-Olyphant parish.²⁶⁷ Returning to San Francisco at the beginning of June he stopped in the Colorado cities of Pueblo and Calhan and served in the local Orthodox communities.²⁶⁸ In July Tikhon went to Scranton and Old Forge.²⁶⁹ In August after the summer vacation he left San Francisco for a pastoral travel to Denver, Minneapolis, Winnipeg (and other places in Canada), Chicago and New York, to return again in Mayfield, Old Forge and Scranton in October. The following month he took time to see the parishes in New Britain, Bridgeport and Ansonia.²⁷⁰ In December he returned to Ansonia to consecrate the new parish church.²⁷¹ In 1906 Tikhon seemed to stop for a while, maybe in order to wait firstly to have news from Innokentii's fate, then to avoid dangers for himself too and to accomplish a project of structural reforms, similar to those linked with the conciliar trend that began in the Russian Orthodox Church in those same years, under the guidance of the Emperor Nikolai II. Nonetheless it is possible to record several short travels to Troy, Bridgeport, South River, Osceola Mills in the same spring, when bishop Innokentii came to New York and met with the archbishop and bishop Raphael. June passed between encounters in Washington with President Roosevelt, and visiting parishes next to New York such as Passaic and Yonkers. His visit continued with several stops in Niagara Falls, Mayfield, Scranton, Old Forge to reach Chicago and eventually Seattle.²⁷² In December he was already on the road stopping in Butte (Montana) for the consecration of a new Serbian Church and at the Minneapolis' Seminary.²⁷³ Despite this full time table of programs he was active in projects and always caring for his flock. Travel nonetheless could not be set aside from these duties.

Already before the sale of Alaska there was the awareness of the necessity of frequent

265 APV 14 (1905), p. 267.

266 APV 9 (1905), p. 179; 10 (1905), pp. 232-245.

267 APV 13 (1905), pp. 248-251.

268 APV 15 (1905), pp. 288-290;

269 APV 16 (1905), pp. 324-325;

270 APV 15 (1905), p. 287; 19 (1905), pp. 374-378; 22 (1905), pp. 431-435; 23 (1905), p. 467.

271 APV 1 (1906), pp. 7-10.

272 APV 10 (1906), pp. 199-203; 13 (1906), pp. 251-252; 17 (1906), pp. 339-340.

273 APV 24 (1906), p. 474.

pastoral travels through the American Mission and as it was already underlined, Tikhon himself had in mind those models of great pastors coming from the mission's past. Bishop Innokentii Veniaminov in suggesting the moving of the center of the Diocese from Sitka to San Francisco observed:

Rather than New Archangel [Sitka], the residence of the vicar bishop should be located in San Francisco, where climatic conditions are incomparably better and from where it is at least as convenient to have connections with the churches in the colonies as it is from Sitka.²⁷⁴

The climate situation was not to be neglected in such an extended diocese, they already had their climate martyrs whom among the others, Tikhon ascribe also Bishop Nestor.²⁷⁵ Moving in the Alaskan lands was difficult in those years. Still during Tikhon's time people had to be careful about when moving and incidents and unexpected cases occurred quite in every travel, not seldom reaching fearful extremes as happened with bishop Innokentii. Traveling through the northern territories in summer time was almost as dangerous as it was in winter. People had to move through the difficulties of ice melting as well as rivers and lakes being not solid enough, those water ways, frozen for several months during the year constituted the best way as well as the shortest to reach distant villages. However for those who came from San Francisco, as the Archbishop did, the more appropriate time of the year to reach Kodiak and even northern settlements was instead spring and summer when boats could sail north. On the other side of the spreading diocese, New York was really hot for Tikhon already in May, not to mention of other places, which were absolutely not resembling northern Russian climate. The bishop was not immune to these continuous changes: he was worried, for example, noting that he was going even more south and in a really hot place like Texas.²⁷⁶

In 1907 he could return to Russia, the Holy Synod had decided for bishop Platon to replace him. He could not wait any longer. In February he wrote:

In any case (...) I will move to Russia: it is the 9th year for me here (of 116 archierei in eparchies and vicariates, only 12 remained in their cathedra longer than me).²⁷⁷

Even if for a brief period in 1903 he could have recharged his patience in Russia and restarted

274 D. GRIGORIEFF, *Metropolitan Innocent* p. 35.

275 Conversation in the Week of the Glory of Orthodoxy, *Zaviety i Nastavleniia*, pp. 15-19, 16, or in APV 7 (1899), pp. 186-192.

276 PST Letter to Flavian, May 25th, 1899 p. 37, RGIA f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l. 40-41 ob. Climate affected also the celebrations, in New York city Tikhon celebrated in the church even though the temperature inside the temple reached 107° Fahrenheit. A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* pp. 30-32.

277 PST Letter to Flavian Feb 4th, 1907, pp.232-233. RGIA f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.167-168.

his work in the New World. The first impression in his returning, in the eyes of a reader of those years is that the bishop returned to accomplish a project, reluctantly, to finish something he had begun. From different sources it seems that this is not completely true. Tikhon returned to America strongly requesting vicar-bishops for Alaska, breaking links with bishop Grafton and the Episcopalians (with which he had entangled a dialog), presenting a project of determined structural improvement of the diocese. It seems that something had changed from the first years of his permanence in America. We do not possess documents that could tell us how this change in progress began and developed in Tikhon's mind. Maybe, but this is only a hypothesis, he perceived that the problems he had to struggle with in the first years could be less burdening for the bishop if a composite structure and an enlighten parishioners' flock resided in the diocese. However even if is not possible to perceive it through a systematic documentation, the growth of the diocese and its precise direction opened a way and enlighten some peculiarities the diocese was destined to follow along in Tikhon's mind. What he actually did seems, at least in his notes, to have one and only beneficiary: the Church.

2.3 Tikhon's Church

The bishop, in order to describe the structure and role the Orthodox church held in his own world view and thus building a narration upon which he could legitimize its presence and particularity in the United States, used several images taken mostly from the patristic literature, which involved New and Old Testaments' Holy Scriptures. The major source considered in this paragraph is obviously that of the homilies, speeches and teachings the bishop reserved to his flock.²⁷⁸ However printed and ARC archive materials on this subject are perhaps not enough to write a systematic description of Tikhon's ecclesiological vision and the possible development it undergone through the years. Nonetheless, by taking care of bringing together even indirect materials such as articles and documents coming from the official printed organ of the diocese, the APV, whom Tikhon supervised through father Alexander Hotovitskii we will try to unveil the

278 A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiu sviatitelia Tikhona Moskovskogo. Amerikanskii period zhizni i deiatel'nosti sviatitelia Tikhona: Pervye gody sluzheniia episkopa Tikhona v Soedinennyx Shtatax Severnoi Ameriki*, SPB 2008.; *Zavieta i nastavleniia amerikanskoi pravoslavnoi Rusi ego Sviateishestva patriarkha Moskovskago i vseia Rossii Tikhona*. New York 1924. For the use of speeches (*beseidy*) in late imperial ecclesiastical teachings see Vera Shevzov, *Russian Orthodoxy* pp. 78-80, J. HEDDA, *His Kingdom Come, Orthodox Pastorship and Social Activism in Revolutionary Russia*, Northern Illinois University Press 2008, pp. 60-63. Tikhon's homilies were appreciated by the pastors, the same bishop Nikolai (Ziorov) was impressed by it as wrote father Hotovitskii ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 807-808.

subtleties of his thought and explain key decisions that inflated his diocese guidance. The accumulation of images could lead to make a survey on certain sensitive themes, describing a glimpse on Tikhon's conception of the church, and the Russian Orthodox one in particular, or at least framing them into a micro-historical lens, giving us a hint of what he considered appropriate for the Orthodox American worshippers to believe about the church and to feel toward it.

The Church is first of all a mother in Tikhon's eyes. He selected and care profoundly for this traditional image and symbol to describe it, since his first years of service in Russia, working in Kholm.²⁷⁹ The image of the mother that he developed later was taken mainly perhaps from St. Cyprian of Carthage, the Alexandrian father of the III century.²⁸⁰

All of us, brethren, are children, and the church is our mother. And if we do not love the Church and hold to it the way children love their mother, then we will not enter into the Kingdom of the Heavenly Father, for according to the patristic saying, "He who does not have the Church as his mother has not God as his Father."²⁸¹

The explicit patristic provenience of the quotation is underlined also in the printed version. Concretely in Tikhon's mind what does this image stand for? Indeed for him, the mother was a symbol for a common ground into which to gather. It was a reference to a common cosmological system of significances in which he grew. A place in which codification of worship, laws, tradition, priorities, meanings and goals could be shared with the brothers. It was a place that reminded him of homeland and a prism of significance through which he could read everyday life. As it was already explained through documents the church from Tikhon's point of view is the mother that can give truth, love and peace to his flock and clergy. It's a community in which to rely on. It's a place where oneself can find rest. In one word, the church becomes with another image the kingdom of peace, on an interior as well as on an exterior level. It is interior because through the coming of Christ it carried a new relationship between man and God, man and himself, but it is also exterior acting on the relationships between man and his brothers.²⁸²

279 T. V. SHABANOVA, *Deiatelnost' arkhimandrita Tikhona na postu rektora Kholmskoi dukhovnoi seminarii po materialam Kholmsko-Varshaskogo eparkhial'nogo Vestnika 1892-1897*, in *Izvestiia Tomskogo politekhnicheskogo universiteta*, 6/320 (2012), pp. 167-172, 168.

280 R. E. HEINE, *Cyprian and Novatian*, in *The Cambridge History of the Early Christian Literature*, edited by Frances Young, Lewis Ayres and Andrew Louth, Cambridge University Press 2004, pp. 152-160; CIPRIANO DI CARTAGINE, *L'unità della Chiesa*, Edizioni studio domenicano Roma 2006 (Les Éditions du Cerf 2006).

281 OW *Sermon on the Sunday of the Prodigal Son*. Delivered at the Church School in Yonkers, New York (probably between 1902 and 1906), pp. 250. The quotation is from Kiprian *On the Unity of the Catholic Church* 6 (PL 4: 519). He uses the same image also in *Speech on the Orthodox Week*. San Francisco Cathedral, Feb 23rd, 1903, in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia Sviatitelia Tikhona*, M 2001, pp. 73-81, 76.

282 It must be took into consideration also the theological concept of the "Church as soul of the world" and according to this her capacity to transfigure the world in M. STEENBERG, *The Church*, in M. B. CUNNINGHAM – E. THEOKRITOFF, *The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology*, Cambridge University Press 2008, pp. 121-135, 129-130.

This Kingdom of peace on Earth which the Old Testament prophets foretold is the Church of Christ. It is the bearer, oracle, and dispenser of Christ's peace; it is here that one need to seek peace.²⁸³

Let also all friends of peace be assured that the Orthodox Church, the firstborn son who now calls all to peace, is in truth the Kingdom of peace on Earth!²⁸⁴

And again:

In the church of Christ peace is poured forth everywhere. Here people pray for the peace of the whole world, for the unity of all; here all call one another brothers and help one another; here people love everyone, even forgiving and doing good to their enemies. When Christians are obedient to the voice of the Church and live by its dictates, then they genuinely have peace and love.²⁸⁵

Tikhon put a special emphasis on the Orthodox Church dictates. The Orthodox church, the first son born by the Evangelical message, offered a preferential way to obtain peace and love even on Earth. In fact, the church could permit to surpass the natural tendency to dominion and oppression that was inveterate within the human presence on Earth.²⁸⁶ It is thus through the Orthodox Church's teachings that a Christian society could be achieved. A Christian Society that was founded by the Apostles, and described in its forming age in the *Acts*.²⁸⁷ Here is evident how this concept of Christianity was strongly attached to concrete reality, abstaining from any predominant otherworldly theological tendency. The realization of the kingdom of peace was not completely achieved but only foreseen and in progress. Tikhon continuously addressed to any believer of his diocese the invite to work for the reaching of this Apostolic society that was possible to build only through Christian teachings. Indeed this kingdom of peace was, taking another patristic image, a ship which sails in the fury of the sea and in constant struggle and fight with the

283 OW *Sermon on the Feast of Nativity*, Dec. 25th, 1899/ Jan 6th, 1900 p. 240. Reprinted in Russian in *Zaviety i nastavlenia* pp. 9-12.

284 Ibidem p. 241. He refers also to *the first Hague Peace Conference (May18-July29, 1899)*, convened by the initiative of the Tsar Nicholas II, as a prove of the Russian position as the Kingdom of peace. Tikhon tells his flock of this initiative also in another discourse, reported in *Reflections on the Birth of Christ* in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp. 44-46; APV 24 (1900), pp.484-487.

285 OW *Sermon on the Feast of Nativity* p. 240. See also the discourse of father A. Hotovitskii at Tikhon's first celebration in New York city in which the priest identify the Kingdom of God with the Orthodox Church. A. V. ПОПОВ, *Materialy k zhitiuu* p. 11. Another Sermon on peace given by Church is the *Greeting Speech on the visit of the Mayfield parish*, delivered May 3rd, 1903, in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia Sviatitelia* Tikhona, M 2001, pp. 87-90.

286 Ivi. I do not stop on the Russian religious philosophers that could had influenced such vision, because sources could not permit to inquire it extensively (Shorts of materials on Tikhon's thought). Some reflections could indeed be made by the reading of the always useful P. VALLIERE, *Modern Russian Theology Bukharev, Soloviev, Bulgakov: Orthodox Theology in a New Key*, Edinburgh 2000.

287 The notion and realization of a Christian Society was the result for which also father John of Kronstadt was striving for, not sharing the same vision of Tikhon perhaps, he was imbued by a more pessimistic vision on Russia. He saw "poverty and social inequality (...) as being the effects of an imperfect realization of the Gospel". See N. KIZENKO, *A Prodigal Saint* pp. 66-80, 79.

waves that try to make the sailors fall into the water, and sink the ship itself. The kingdom of peace is supposed to face this bitter fight until the end of time.²⁸⁸

The expressions kingdom of peace, the church on the Earth, and the Kingdom of God are overlapping in the bishop' speeches, not well separate in meaning. They seem to be easily interchangeable. It is possible to suppose that Kingdom of peace could be the imperfect image of the kingdom of God, struggling during the flow of time in reaching completion. Indeed both of them indicate a well defined feeling which is given to the believers only by attending church and following its teachings, as they fulfill the will of God in this endeavor, they should act with *fear* and *trembling* (Phil 2,12).²⁸⁹ This particular trend of “this-worldly” approach to theology, distances itself from the previous perspective prompted by the Russian Orthodox church as the Kingdom of God to come only in the life after death, expressing a theological otherworldly tendency. This latter “other-worldly” theology is ascribed mostly to the Peter I's church reformation and a Catholic influence on priest training, while the former was renewed and spread by the generation of the clergy educated in the St. Petersburg Theological Academy of the eighties and nineties of the nineteenth century. This generation proved to be the apex and result of a long process of redefinition of the priest's duties that took place during the nineteenth centuries, almost since the '40s and eventually leading to that movement that was renowned after the name of Renovatism. A revaluation of moral theology, pastoral theology and homiletics among the four Theological Academies shifted the attention of the priests from the dogmatic speculation to the care of the souls.²⁹⁰ A turning point in education that is considered by historiography to be at the foundation of the social engagement the Russian clergy experienced in the years between XIX and XX century. This younger generation of highly theologically educated priests shaped in different ways the commitment of transforming their same world on earth in the kingdom to come. Several thinkers expressed each one in their specific ways the purpose of humans striving in this world for the realization of the Kingdom of God and the relation of divine action to this. They were of ecclesiastic provenience as Antonii Vadkovskii,²⁹¹

288 *Speech on the Glory of Orthodoxy week APV 7* (1899), pp. 186-192; *Zaviety i nastavlenia* pp. 15-16. See also *Speech on the week 17 of the 50th Anniversary of the Serbs in the Church of Jackson*, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp. 26-29, 27.

289 *Sermon on the Consecration of the Orthodox Temple in Chicago*, March 15th, 1903. in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia Sviatitelia Tikhona*, M 2001, pp.82-86.

290 J. HEDDA, *His Kingdom Come, Orthodox Pastorship and Social Activism in Revolutionary Russia*, Northern Illinois University Press 2008, pp. 60-73; N. I. SUKHOVA, *Bogoslovskoe obrazovanie v Rossii v nachale XX v. (na primere Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii)*, *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* 15 (2011), pp. 141-155; N. I. SUKHOVA, *Pastyrskoe bogoslovie v Rossiiskoi Dukhovnoi Shkole (XVIII-nachalo XX v.)*, *Vestnik PSTGU 1: Teologiya. Filosofiya* 1(25) 2009, pp. 25-43; A. F. VASILIEVIC, *Ot ucitelskoi seminarii do pedagogicheskogo universiteta*, *Vestnik Pskovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya Soziialno-gumanitarniie i Psikhologo-pedagogicheskie Nauki*, 1 (2007), pp.1-10. For a theological contextualization see also J. STRICKLAND, *The Making of Holy Russia. The Orthodox Church and Russian Nationalism before the Revolution*, Holy Trinity Publication 2013, pp. 32-39.

291 Tikhon owned a collection of speeches of Metropolitan Antonii Vadkovskii, A. VADKOVSKII METROPOLITA SPTOGO I LADOGONKOGO, *Rechi, slova i poucheniia* (2. ed), SPB 1901. Recorded in ARC D 477, Reel 303, f.19.

Mikhail Sokolov of St. Petersburg, as well as of philosophical formation like Vladimir Solov'ev and Archimandrite Feodor Bukharev. Among the students there were more radical priests like father Georgii Gapon (protagonist of the *Bloody Sunday*), and father Grigorii Petrov,²⁹² who deservingly decided to struggle with the poorest and misunderstood fringes of the society, those who were uprooted from their birth context as the factory workers; or to dedicate their time to the social and structural reformation the Empire was entering in, by aligning themselves within political parties and thus being elected in the Dumas. Thus a different theological perspective resulted in a serious clergy engagement in the transformation of the mundane sphere of action, reappraising the church concern for the mundane problems.²⁹³ As it has been already noted, the engagement of Tikhon in the mundane things is strongly reduced in opportunities inasmuch for his stranger geographical and jurisdictional area of action. Despite this, he shared with his generation's colleagues of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy the desire to realize the Kingdom of God, or perhaps his image on earth prompting the people to adopt Christian ethics.²⁹⁴ This this-worldly commitment is perhaps to be considered the other purpose of Tikhon's action in his diocese. In front of a long perspective upon which he read the events, comparing them with those happened in the Apostolic epoch he gave also his parishioners the hope in the possibility of building the Kingdom of God, nearing this way the same end of time for them. We can maybe call this a millenarian perspective tempered by a slightly social engagement. It is noteworthy to underline how the identification between the Church and the Kingdom of peace expressed not only a state of feelings and a modality of relationships between believers but also a communitarian representation. However in Tikhon's view the realization of the Kingdom of God was linked to the church not only as transmitting the teachings of Christ but as an actual mean through which to realize it. The Church provides with her institutions and shape the eternal sign and starting point for its realization. She treasured up tradition

292 Grigorii Petrov's perspective was deeply influenced by the thought of the American Social Gospel, declined in the first phase of his pastoral activities on the individual level as the single man changing the world around him, and then into an institutional level looking for a collaboration of the social structures in fostering the ideal and conveying the forces for changing the world. J. HEDDA, *His Kingdom Come* pp. 106-125.

293 S. KENWORTHY, *An Orthodox Social Gospel in Late-Imperial Russia*, Religion and Society in Central and Eastern Europe, 1 (May 2006), pp. 1-29, 17-18; J. HEDDA, *His Kingdom Come, Orthodox Pastorship and Social Activism in Revolutionary Russia*, Northern Illinois University Press 2008. For a reading of the orthodox theological perspectives of that period, called "Orthodox Liberalism" see P. VALLIERE, *The Liberal Tradition in Russian Orthodox Theology*, in J. MEYENDORFF – D. OBOLENSKY – A. E. N. TACHIAOS – S. HACKEL – D. CONOMOS – V. MOROSAN – R. L. NICHOLS – P. VALLIERE – J. W. CUNNINGHAM – J. BRECK – J. PELIKAN – D. D. I. CIOBOTEA – S. S. HARAKAS – B. BOBRINSKOY – T. HOPKO – ARCHIMANDRITE AVGUSTIN (NIKITIN) – M. OLEKSA – D. GRIGORIEFF – L. KISHKOVSKY, *The Legacy of St. Vladimir, Crestwood (NY) 1990*. pp. 93-106; P. VALLIERE, *Modern Russian Theology*.

294 Father Petrov's point of view, reported by Paul Valliere is easy comparable in words with Tikhon's one: the kingdom of God was "perfect life on earth- life based not on the dominion of the force, of crude egoism, but on the principle of universal love, full justice, the recognition of all legitimate rights of persons... The Kingdom of God is the just, morally perfect life of the people on earth, life awakened by Christ the Saviour and structured according to his evangelical commands". P. R. VALLIERE, *Modes of Social Action in Russian Orthodoxy: the Case of Father Petrov Zateinik*, Russian History/Histoire Russe 4 (1977), 142-158, 147. Quoted also in S. KENWORTHY, *An Orthodox Social Gospel* p.18.

and the books of the fathers with their wisdom advices through which it was possible to lead to its building. The Kingdom of God, and thus the Church, are openly built by clergy as well as lay people and they act together for his realization, fostering this way an active participation of all the levels of the church and introducing even in the American experience the trend of conciliarity in decision (*Sobornost'*).²⁹⁵

The claim for peace in the world which rose from the Russian Emperor is perfectly concord in the bishop's homily to the will of the church, and with this identified. This detail maybe could give a glimpse of the actual comprehension and position the American bishop had of the relationship between the church and the Russian government.²⁹⁶ On the opposite of the Kingdom of God there is nonetheless the situation of struggling and fighting that believers had to face in this same world in reaching the truth. Many that had grown into unrighteousnesses of belief (those who belong to many other Christian confessions) and that wanted to reach the truth, in the words of the bishop are called to fight in order to finally succeed. Despite the determination of those who seek the truth the major obstacle derives from the enemies they have to fight against, their same family. Recalling Matthew 10, 34-35 Tikhon introduces the fight for faith as a typical element that leads to the bestowal of the keys of the Kingdom of God. Although these events seems to belong to the external field of the church, violence could find its way even inside it, carried by rivals and enemies who sought to destroy or severely harm the church. All these references are directed towards the Uniate families and individuals that repeatedly had motives of disagreement and rivalry with the Orthodox church and that had been motives of quarrels with the Catholic church since its foundation in the Old Continent.²⁹⁷ The church is the wife of Christ and in unity with him permits the opening of a nuptial banquet were all the flock is gathered, similarly to the parable (Mt. 22, 1-10). This banquet will be of spiritual character in the words of Tikhon. And the calling will not cease until the ends of times.²⁹⁸ The church is again compared to the mustard seed that even being the smallest of seeds became a big tree, under which even those birds who were not taken into account would find

295 In the APV is possible to read phrases as this: "the Church has a great destiny in store, - that of remodeling the whole world after its divine model", ARC APV Supplement February 1902, *Freedom and constraints in matter of Faith* p. 55, D 455, Reel 290, ff.367-385, 378.

296 OW *Sermon on the Feast of Nativity*, Dec 25, 1899/ Jan 6, 1900 p. 240. Reprinted in Russian in *Zaviety i nastavlenia* pp. 9-12; *A Sermon delivered by the Right Reverend Archbishop Tikhon on the Anniversary of the Coronation of the Emperor*, May 14-27th, 1905. In APV Supplement ARC D454, Reel 289, ff. 58-63. Russian Version in APV 10 (1905), pp. 184-186.

297 *Conversation on the 14th week after Pentecost, on the Consecration of the church in the village "Wostok", in Canada*, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp.65-69; APV 19/1901. In note several episodes of violence caused by Uniate people are reported. In 1892 in Wilkesbarre were thrown stones to a window of the church in which bishop Nikolai was serving. In Old Forge while priest Grigorii Grushka was working into a room people threw stones in that same room. In 1897 in Old Forge uniate people were ready to assault bishop Nikolai while he was visiting the church.

298 *Conversation on the 14th week after Pentecost, on the Consecration of the church in the village "Wostok", in Canada*, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp. 65-69; APV 19 (1901).

shelter.²⁹⁹

There are several other traditional images that the bishop used to describe the church. In relation to his diocese, he call her his wife, that he had to learn to know and love. He also referred to his diocese as resembling a body, with many members, each one accomplishing a duty, referring to the role of the bishop, of the clergy and of the lay people in the Christian community.³⁰⁰

Then he observed how the Church of God had been built on a immobile stone, and how that stone became also the church that had to be preserved steady in the heart of believers.³⁰¹ He retained it as the pearl of great price, that was worth struggles and fights in order to be obtained.³⁰² Many of these figures, together with others of Gospel or traditional provenience could be found also in the articles published in the official Messenger. Especially in one contribute: *What is the church?* that summarize in the end:

This is the image of the Church founded by Jesus Christ on earth. It is, of a truth:

1) the *Kingdom of God*, a kingdom of spirit and liberty, in which all nations, conditions and sexes (1 Cor. 12, 13; Gal. 3, 28; Col. 3, 11) are united by teaching and the Sacraments in the body of Christ and enter heaven with perfectly equal rights.

2) A *Net*, cast into the sea, and bringing forth diverse manner of fishes: continuing to announce to the world the Gospel message, it summons from the world to its saving fold the people sitting in darkness and the shadow of death.

3) The *Leaven*, which the woman placed in three measures of meal, until all was leavened: it was wrought, works and will work the saving transformation of mankind, until all profitable elements enter into his composition.

4) The *grain of mustard seed*, thrown into the earth, and growing into a spreading tree, already embracing with its branches a full third of mankind, and destined at the end of universal history to cover with them all the earth. Of this mighty tree, however, not all the branches are alike full of life and freshness: some throughout all their length are full of sap, and covered with fresh greenery, others have sap and greenness for half their length, but beyond this the bark is no longer the same and the leaves have a yellow tinge; others are drying up altogether. By their condition we can judge of their fruits.

5) Finally, it is the Flock, whose Shepherd is Christ (1 Pt. 5,4)³⁰³.

Throughout this images the church as institution became not only the realization of an utopian society promising peace, equality, salvation but also a shelter, a refuge and the means through which to perform the transformation of mankind, proving to be eventually not detachable by the Gospel's message and by faith in Christ, but aiming to reflect it.

299 *Teaching to a new appointed ierei (Vladimir Alexandrov) in Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp. 35-38, 36; APV 8 (1900) pp. 154-156. Quotation Mt. 13, 31-32.

300 *Sermon at the installation in the Archieieri's See*. Dec 11-23rd, 1898. *Zaviety i Nastavleniia* pp. 7-9, APV 2 (1899) pp. 50-51. The image of the wife came from the prophet Hosea's book The. image of the body with many members from 1 Cor. 12,12 ss.

301 *Sermon at the entrance in Sitka Cathedral*, Jun. 29th, 1899. *Zaviety i Nastavleniia* pp. 22-23, APV 17 (1899) pp. 458-460.

302 *Speech on the week 17 of the 50th Anniversary of the Serbs in the Church of Jackson*, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp. 26-29, 27-28. Quotation Mt. 13, 45-46.

303 ARC APV Supplement July 1902, M. Jastreboff, *What is the church?* pp. 232-234, ARC D455 Reel 290 ff.417-418.

2.3.2 A Church among the others

The condition of the Orthodox Church in America is first of all that of a web of immigrant communities besides that of a religious minority. It was constituted of lowly educated people that tended inasmuch to enhance and legitimize their social position in front of the public opinion, but eventually submitted to the common and governmentally encouraged process of Americanization destined to all minorities.³⁰⁴ The missionary church as the only agent who freely cared for the maintenance of traditions as characteristics of Orthodoxy had nonetheless to provide an answer to this process in order not to be left out by the disgregation of communities and progressive falling out of tradition and religious customs of his flock.³⁰⁵ Although the encounter between the immigrants and America resulted into a cultural battle, fought in order to preserve a series of traditional practices linked to an Orthodox daily routine as well as, where possible, the reconstruction abroad of an entire cosmos of significances and references that sustained and fulfilled the life of the believer in addition to the most pragmatic episodes and everyday necessities.

The recognition of the Americanization processes was widely discussed already in those years. How a minority group could preserve its differences while struggling to be accepted not only as labor force but as a cultural richness with its proper dignity without becoming only a mixing drop of a more complex, apparently and increasingly uniformed ocean, as was considered that of the inhabitants of America? Several Russian articles tackled the question. The American system was firstly analyzed in its conforming strategies. The most dangerous social engineering policy proved to be that of the schooling system, followed by the Labor condition, and finally the political system. Despite the punctual analysis we can consider that the Orthodox Church could actively answer only to the first issue, owing to the schooling tradition and practices Russians had already developed in

304 For a broader discussion K. I. LEONARD – A. STEPICK – M. A. VASQUEZ – J. HOLDAWAY, *Immigrant Faiths: Transforming Religious Life in America*, AltaMira Press 2006.

305 A disgregation that some of the denomination perceived even in their motherland, as did Serbs for example. Sebastian Dabovich “Apostle” of the Serbs in America in 1899 during a pastoral visit of Tikhon in Jackson (in which there was a growing Serbian immigrants community) addressed to the bishop the claim for unity of Orthodox in America, remembering him and the parishioners how sorrowful the situation was in the Old world for them that found themselves divided in five different groups: 3 autocephalus churches, a fourth part, linked with the Ecumenical patriarchate and the fifth under the Bucovinian Metropolia (Roumenian). A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* pp. 51-53.

their motherland.³⁰⁶ The second and the third factors, however, remained in the Church policies no more than the subject of homilies to believers, that finally resulted in comparisons between the systems of governance or in repetitive admonitions to the flock to behave in an “Orthodox way”.³⁰⁷ Moreover that same labor condition and aims of a similar political structures were only emerging in Russian social debates at that time. The Kingdom of peace dreamed and waited for by the bishop was definitely not what he could build in such place, due to the American political and labor system that he criticized for his distortions and dysfunctions:

Politic people, and flatterers, would have us be assured, that never before was there greater sympathy between man and man; never were there more institutions for the relief of want and suffering; never was there greater tolerance of divergent opinions than in present time. It may be so: but we are still very far from realizing Apostolic ideal. Sometimes, indeed, it would almost seem as though the breach between class and class was wider than ever. Of old the merchant lived among his employees, the territorial magnate surrounded by his tenants. In the country the owners of the soil are almost always absent, leaving the care of their estates to an agent, and taking themselves but little interest in those whom they employ. What sympathy can exist amidst classes so widely remote? The poor clerk and the proud agent or director with a fat purse? What fellowship, where the one knows so little of the other?³⁰⁸

Although criticisms on the American different political system took very rarely shape in the Bishop discourses, he finished to express a very harsh position at least once in describing the processes of democracy. In that case the Apostolic ideal was not actually taken into consideration, confining the analysis to purely mundane territory. The expression of sentiments of repulsion toward this type of government arrived significantly in 1905, a *critical juncture* in Russian History when the western models had already become the political issues in the motherland as well. And Americans, on their part, seeing themselves in a struggle against the British Empire, openly

306 N. N. BOGEMSKAIA, *Pravoslavnoe dukhovenstvo i religiozno-nravstvennoe prosveschenie prikhozhan vo vtotoi polovine XIX v.*, in *Nauchnye Vedomosti BelGu Serii Istorii. Politologii. Ekonomika. Informatika*. 1(72) 13, 2010 pp. 137-142.

307 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* pp. 401-405. On the “Orthodox Way” to live and behave very telling is a letter published in the Herald in which western view (especially European and secularized) on Eastern style is fervently criticized. It is titled: *Letter from the Orient*. Of this it will be reported some significant paragraphs. “Generally speaking, one of the greatest qualities of Oriental life is its unshakable fidelity to its foundation: religion. In most cases an Oriental lives for his faith, with him religious interests always count first. In western Europe a man's life is permeated nowadays with political and social interests, but in the Orient the interest of a man's life is reduced almost exclusively to questions of religion and good morality. Hence the seeming inertia and the supposed stagnation of the interior life of the Orient – the favorite theme of writers of a certain class – hence the dead stop of its civilization. Even to this day, the blessings of civilization have little attraction for an Oriental' though enlightened Europeans unanimously attack the Orient with the object of reeducating, sometimes, through missionaries, at other time, with the help of cannons and bombs, or of various tempting products of “civilization”, including all kind of gaieties. But the Orient is firm in its faith, it knows how to live and, when occasion offers, to die for it. Not only in private and social life, but even in his politics, an Oriental is strictly guided by his religious principles. His respect, his political sympathies and antipathies are entirely founded on religious grounds. He will honor and appreciate a man, be he even of a different creed, so long as he is able to see in him a man of sincere belief, devoted with the the whole of his soul to his faith. ARC APV Supplements 1901, n. XVIII-XXII, *Letter from the Orient*, translation from an unknown TsVd article. D 455, Reel 290, ff. 303-305.

308 ARC APV Supplements Oct. 1902, *Sermon preached in the Orthodox Cathedral in San Francisco on the Sunday after the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross*, pp. 310-311, D455, Reel 290, f. 444.

condemned autocracy.³⁰⁹ Maybe feeling surrounded by opposition and mockery the yet archbishop allowed himself to speak up.

As to the rule of people, beloved of dome types of men, it is an error to think that the people themselves can govern a country. It is supposed that the nation in national assemblies makes laws and elects officials. But this is so in theory only, and would be possible only in a state composed of single moderate-sized towns. But in reality it is not so. The great masses of people oppressed by cares for their daily life, and unacquainted with the higher objects of state, do not profit by their "autocracy". Handing over their rights to a few chosen people, who have their favor. How the elections are conducted, what means are used in order to be elected, there is no need of saying here. You have seen it all yourselves. And so the people does not rule, but the elected, (chosen not by the whole people, but by a part of the people, a majority, a party) who, in ruling, does not express the will of the whole people, but only of his own partisans. At times, they express solely their own will, forgetting the promises they made before election, caring for the good and interest of their own party, treating the members of the opposing party in a very despotic way, oppressing it and thrusting it out of power by all possible means.³¹⁰

Furthering the debate about assimilation there were those who emphasized the historical relevance of other populations' experiences, considering them as case studies to which refer to in order to learn how to preserve a proper distinction from the American type of living.³¹¹ Within these case studies, among which the more relevant was that of the Hebrews, the author perceives two major characteristics as essential to the maintenance of distinction: a national religion and a purely and intrinsic conservative character of the population. Examples that should be copied perhaps by Russians in America.

The Russian ferments of renovation and church reform that grew fervently in those years seemed

309 A. ASCHER, *The Revolution of 1905. Russia in Disarray*, Stanford University Press 1988. Interesting analysis of the American public opinion toward Russia in those years in A.W. THOMPSON- R. A. HART, *The Uncertain Crusade. America and the Russian Revolution of 1905*, University of Massachusetts Press 1970. In this book is reported how the image of autocracy was addressed to the president while he condescended in mild reforms and threatenings made by the Republican party. Also the Gotha of businessman found a place in the metaphorical use of Russian society and stereotypes under the pen of progressive writers. Colonel Alex S. Bacon, an American veteran living in Jackson stepped in defense of the Russian, readily the Herald printed his statements under the title: *Russia vs Japan* "Russia's friendship for America and France, the two great republics, has been marked, and of great value to each- especially to the United States during the trying ordeal of 1861/5, yet she is an absolute despotism, and we cannot endorse, or sympathize with, much that she is alleged to have done- notably her treatment of the Jews, and her laws against proselyting among Orthodox Russians. On these subjects we have no information that has not come through hostile channels, and on them we express no opinion. Her vast domain in Asia have great areas that are largely worthless or unattractive, sparsely settled by 18 millions of people, who are largely ignorant and semi/barbarous, and divided into the greatest variety of nationalities, languages, religions and cranks-- all of whom require a strong government (...) Much can be forgiven in Russia, however, in relation to her shortcomings, for her problems are complex and unique, and in very recent years she has shown marked improvements. Serfdom has been abolished, schools fostered and courts established along the line of new government railroads in the Caucasus, Trans-Caspia and Siberia, where ten years ago, was nothing but anarchy, with marauding bands of Tartar brigands making life uncertain and property valueless. Notwithstanding of the contrary, the greatest civilizing nation of recent years is Russia". ARC APV Supplements Sept. 1904, pp. 290-291, D 455, Reel 290, f. 512.

310 ARC APV Supplements May 1905, A Sermon delivered by the Right Reverend Archbishop Tikhon on the Anniversary of the Coronation of the Emperor, May 14/27th, pp. 156-157, in D454, Reel 289, f. 62. It is noteworthy to compare this position to that of the longtime Oberprokuror. K. P. POBEDONOSTSEV, *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, London 1898.

311 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* pp. 401-405.

not to stir up division among the missionary clergy. Rather the huddling up behind national boundaries and the image of the protector of Orthodoxy Tsar Nicholas II carried over in public debate, provoked rumors in the non-Russians believers resolving in a typical accusation, that of *Czardoxy*.³¹² Those who were willing to diversify from Orthodoxy imputed this political affiliation to the missionary church in order to prod and take advantage of the nascent nationalistic tendencies among the non-Russians Orthodox immigrants. Major motivations at the base of *Czardoxy* accusations were economic, since the salary of missionary priests came mostly directly from the Holy Synod financing system with the help of Russian Missionary Society. Furthermore until 1905 leading positions in the Diocese were evidently held only by clergy of Russian provenience. The many eparchy national groups claimed progressively for *self-determination*.³¹³ Tikhon complaining on this appellation that resulted highly depreciative and dangerous in front of the reunited Uniate and aware of the importance of the national aspect of the church but even proud of his Russian origins, emphasized in several occasions the fidelity to a nationality as useful to the individual existence. He considered maintaining national traditions as a preferential way to enter into Orthodoxy, preserving a *this-worldly* perspective toward the realization of the Kingdom of God on Earth, yet it was an affiliation that could ease the opening of the *other-worldly* gates. Indeed the maintaining of the pure Orthodoxy could permit the believers to access into the Kingdom of God.³¹⁴

America was founded as the land of religious communities living together and Orthodox people found themselves to be no more than another religious community among the others.³¹⁵ Here Orthodox people had to gather in a strong communitarian system to resist the multi religious frame of a “fragmented society” split into different confessions. It was somehow an experience that foreshadowed the reformation Russian society had to deal in 1905 with the freedom of conscience Act signed by Czar Nicholas II.³¹⁶ This steady communitarian system that superimposed the identification between the *Orthodox community* to the *immigrant community* was perceived as the

312 PST Letter to Flavian, Jan 23rd, 1903 pp. 127-128, in RGIA, f.796, op.205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.86-87 ob.

Looking at the bishop's Sermons it is indisputable how he identified the two communities: that of the orthodox with that of his motherland. He addressed to the believers as brothers always referring to their faith side by side with their population belonging (*brat'ia po vere I po narodnosti* or *po vere I po otechestve*).

313 M. COGNOLATO, *Who wants to be an American bishop?* Article presented at the 12th Annual Havighurst Young Researchers Conference Orthodox Christianity in Russia and Eastern Europe: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, February 14th, 2013. See also *Conversation on the 14th week after Pentecost, on the Consecration of the church in the village “Wostok”, in Canada*, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp. 65-69; APV 19 (1901). *Czardoxy* was defined as: “the bought of the uniate sheep with Muscovite rubles”. APV 22 (1901), p. 465.

314 *Speech on the week 17 of the 50th Anniversary of the Serbs in the Church of Jackson*, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp. 26-29, 28.

315A. PORTERFIELD- J. CORRIGAN, *Religion in American History*, Wiley- Blackwell 2010.

316 P. L. MICHELSON, “*The first and most sacred right*”: *Religious freedom and the liberation of the Russian Nation 1825-1905*, Ph.D thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2007; P. W. WERTH, *Arbiters of the Free Conscience: State, Religion, and the Problem of Confessional Transfer after 1905*, in M. D. STEINBERG- H. COLEMAN, *Sacred Stories: religion and spirituality in Modern Russia*, Indiana University Press 2007, pp. 179-199.

only way to preserve a distinction of the Slav particularities in the American context. This is one of the main concrete and cogent reasons at the base of the animosity toward the birth of Orthodox parishes that tried to distinguish themselves from the Russian mission. Although theological and canonical reasons were proposed to sustain the choice to affiliate to one jurisdiction or to another, perhaps we can say that originally Russians strived to create a community that could be easily recognizable from outside, a purpose no different from that of the Americanist Catholics. However the famous Tikhon's project foresaw the challenge of creating a free displaying of national peculiarities inside the boundaries of the Orthodox community of immigrants.³¹⁷ Therefore, several organizations and associations were created to gather people around an Orthodox identity. They grew on the engagement of those individuals or parishes who were Russians as well from those who came from other Orthodox denominations. Communities, linked together by the belonging to the same church were sometimes the main social helper for the new or old immigrants alike. Some words would be said later about the Mutual Aid Society, the specific institution that was supposed to support immigrant in their main economic problems when they could not provide for themselves. Here it is to underline how the connection provided by the church guided by a bishop could also help to find a place were not being considered inferior to the other Americans and where to find social connections that could support people in their primary necessities.³¹⁸ Although the complex situation and the usually poor conditions of immigrants in everyday life were an open wound in the life of the new communities, the organizations arose around a strictly traditional series of well-renowned Orthodox institutions that helped them in maintaining their background alive. Brotherhoods and parish schools guarded over the preservation of devotion as well as of languages and traditional costumes in the incoming generations. In a second step of Tikhon administration, community itself was perceived as a gathering agent, already capable of representing branches of the diocese. It became subsequently yet even a decisive part of the body of the church through the conciliar system Tikhon tried to introduce in the years we are taking under consideration.

However the dangers of a multi religious society were perceived differently in Alaska and in the other states, because of the different story and different conditions the communities had to face. In Alaska the parishes could count on the recognition of a historical Orthodox church, and then due to this they could take advantage of their canonical status.³¹⁹ Meanwhile Orthodox clergy could not understand how they could be considered people to which other Christian denominations would

317 See further.

318 Charity is perceived in late Imperial Church one of the most important way to realize the Kingdom of God on Earth, gaining for the giver and the receiver also a proper salvific significance. J. HEDDA, *His Kingdom* pp. 74-75; V. SHEVZOV, *Russian Orthodoxy* pp. 72-73.

319 Ilarion Alfaeev, *La chiesa ortodossa* pp. 373-375.

dedicate missionary efforts, as happened since 1867, with the selling of Alaska to the States. In the 1905 *otchet* to the Holy Synod, bishop Innokentii (Pustinskii) of Alaska complaining about the situation and asking to double the funds for the mission, enumerated how many different Christian missionaries were working in his jurisdiction: Presbyterians, Baptists, Moravians, Jesuits, Methodists, the Salvation Army and also Pagans.³²⁰ And openly in the *Messenger*, the eparchy released a similar description:

We have about 10.000 brethren in Alaska, who are Orthodox Christians. Into this field, which is rightly ours from the beginning, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Moravian, and other missionaries have arrived. They went to Alaska for conversions as much as for any other purpose. In some instances, side by side with our little orphanages, poor schools and struggling missions, these different sectarians preachers, supported by rich people in Washington, New York, Boston and other places, thinking of course that they are doing the right thing, have erected grand homes, industrial schools finely equipped, cheerful meeting houses, and are gathering in our children, the children of the Christ in Orthodox Church. The [Orthodox] priests and their assistants, the school teachers, are working hard.³²¹

Already in 1899, at his first pastoral visit to Alaska, bishop Tikhon realized how worrisome the situation had become there for his missionaries. In the *otchet* relating to the years 1899-1900 Tikhon recounted the Synod how in a Baptist institute he visited in Kodiak the director responded him that the proposal to send to the institute Orthodox priests who could care about the spiritual enlightenment of the children who came from Orthodox families would be regarded as an interference in the life of the institute. Despite the promise done in front of the parents of not impeding the children of their religion, the access of other confession instructors was not allowed in these schools.³²² At Unalaska there was a Methodist institute for girls, and in Sitka the bishop reported the work of Jesuits, Lutherans and Episcopalians. Furthermore the Esquimo people, seeing all those Christian quarreling one another started to prefer to return to the shamanic religion. Nonetheless in 1902 the metriki books and Tikhon himself reported that something happened under his pastoral guidance and action: re-conversions or new-conversions to Orthodoxy had newly began.

Definitely the reaction to *inoslavie* missions and the Americanization process in Alaska was eminently identitarian. It produced a strengthening on the barriers of Orthodoxy, confirming Orthodox proper habits and customs, perhaps not differing too much from bishop Nikolai (Ziorov) outlined position:

320 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 294. For a similar reproach see also APV 7 (1896), pp. 111-112. Local pastors provided description of adversary denomination's successes as for the Presbyterians reported by father Antonii in APV 17 (1903), pp. 300-302.

321 ARC APV Supplements Oct. 1902, *Sermon preached in the Orthodox Cathedral in San Francisco on the Sunday after the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross*, pp. 313-314, D455, Reel 290, ff. 445-446.

322 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* pp. 87-89; A. V. ПОПОВ, *Materialy k zhitiuu* pp. 148-158.

It is not for the support of the old order of church life, this so-to-speak spiritual “conservatism”, to which the instructive words of today's apostolic reading profoundly appeal: *But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them* (II Tim. 3:14).³²³

Apart from Alaska, in the other states of North America Orthodox immigrants had to daily relate themselves in order to maintain traditions and religion. They lived scattered and in little groups among numerous people of other creeds. Tensions ran deep also internally in the single communities, thus increasing the reverberation outside of their problems. Because of the mixed composition of parishes, of the absence of a widespread permanent clergy to guide them and the presence of many powerful temptations inside the communities, instabilities were frequent in adequating to the new context of settling. Moreover lay people lamented upon their pastors' behavior: “They don't act like fathers and guides to the emigrant's souls” after hearing such answers as: “What did you expect? It's hard for all”. They asked for new priests who could care about them.³²⁴ While some debated for the construction of a parish, others tried to hide from open manifestations of Orthodoxy:

How speedily some of us lose the Orthodox faith in this country of many creeds and tribes! They begin their apostasy with things, which in their eyes have but little importance. They judge it is “old fashioned” and “not accepted amongst educated people” to observe all such customs as praying before and after meals, or even morning and night, to wear a cross, to keep ikons in their houses and to keep church holidays and fast days. They even do not stop at this, but go further: they seldom go to church and sometimes not at all, as a man has to have some rest on Sunday (... in a saloon); they do not go to confession, they dispense with church marriages and delay baptizing their children. And in this way their ties with Orthodox faith are broken! They remember the church on their death bed, and some don't even do that!³²⁵

And in another occasion Tikhon thus spoke:

Remember that is not the conditional change of seasons which renews our mode of life (...) Let not this seeking of ours to tend towards the destruction of our old customs, sanctified by many centuries, let our earthly wanderings be made holy by its perfect harmony with the eternal truth of the Providence of God. If even the familiar customs of our very day life can be so dear to us, the sacred customs of our faith, of our churchianity and the Orthodox mode of life, which is as ancient as Christianity, bequeathed to us by Christ, ought to be hundred times dearer.³²⁶

These sad considerations Tikhon observed on his parishes' attendance, because though the

323 OW *St. Nicholas Church*, New York, Jan. 11/24th, 1904, p. 245.

324 *Vzgliad amerikanskoi pravoslavnoi gazety “Svet” na sovremennyya zadachi pravoslavnogo dukhovenstva*, MO Dec. 1905, p. 1233.

325 ARC APV Supplements Mar. 1903, *Sermon on the Orthodox Week* pp. 74-75, D455, Reel 290, ff. 570-571.

326 ARC APV Supplements Feb. 1904, *Tikhon's speech, on the first Sunday after his return from Russia Jan 18th, 1904 in NY Cathedral*, pp. 33-34, D 455, Reel 290, ff. 625-626.

numbers of parishioners were increasing on paper,³²⁷ nonetheless they were already losing their original Russian/Orthodox character. The Orthodox practices could be regarded as not adequate to modern standards by occidental minds, in facing different criteria of devotion and *churchianity*. Tikhon strongly opposed this vision confronting western Christianity with the fundamentals of Orthodoxy: ancient derivation, faithfulness to tradition and the centenarian keeping of the uncorrupted truth.

The Holy Orthodox Church is also true to the Apostolic bequest. Having resisted the oppressions of its enemies during many centuries, it has preserved and still preserves the holy faith exactly such as it was transmitted to the subsequent generation of Christians by the Holy Apostles and Teachers. On this grounds, lovers of novelties often accuse our church of inertia and listlessness (...) Do not we, who live in this country, often see people of alien creeds, growing satiated with continual novelties in their faith and being drawn towards the Orthodox Church, hoping to find in it firm unshakable foundations, in which their troubled spirit could find rest?³²⁸

The thorny border of demarcation was that of sacraments. The number of them and their definition stood as limit in mingling the Orthodox faithful in America.³²⁹ They were not only regarded as steps in a man's life³³⁰ but marks of belonging, occasions for registration into the archives of a parish, for the reenactment of a motherland type of feast and old-European stereotyped religious, social and communitarian behavior. In the words of father Sebastian Dabovich: "Genuine piety cannot be concealed in the heart without manifesting itself by exterior practices of religion (...) It is natural for men to express his sentiments by signs and ceremonies, for from the fullness of the heart the mouth speak".³³¹

And in another occasion Tikhon renewed his thinking to his flock:

The Holy Orthodox Church also keeps the apostolic testament. Having shattered the abuses raised

327 They were growing on paper also because of a lack of attention of priests that recorded dead or already moved persons as still belonging to the parish. See the bishop's note on Proposal to the North American Clergy Consistory, Dec 1st, 1900 n. 65 *About clearly displaying of the exact amount of the parishioners in the parishes*, in *Zaviety I Nastavlenia* p. 48; APV 24/1900, p.493.

328 *Ibidem* pp. 35-36 (ff. 626-627).

329 Matters such as sacraments are strictly regulated by the Orthodox Church upon the rules written during the seven ecumenical councils and could not be changed by only one of the Orthodox Churches. This question proved to be a set fire for the Irvine case, when he submitted to reordination in order to enter Russian Orthodox Church and later serve in the New York Cathedral, thus ruining and abruptly ending in disguise the friendly relationship between the American Orthodox mission and bishop Grafton and the Anglicans. D. O. HERBEL, *Turning to tradition: Intra-Christian Converts and the making of an American Orthodox Church*, Ph. D. Thesis dissertation 2009. Articles written by Irvine about himself and the matter fulfill the pages of the *Vestnik* as well as the answer to Grafton by Tikhon himself in APV Supplement Nov. 1905, pp. 370-374, also in *TsVestnik* 51-52 (1905), p. 1638, and in *PST Letter to bishop Charles Grafton* pp. 207-208. Yet the Irvine case had not been the first to subdue to such a decision but undoubtedly arouse a bigger amount of sensation than that of an anglican priest, Erasmus J.H. Van Deerlin who in a letter from Norfolk (Nebraska) dated June 21st, 1902 asked for entering Orthodoxy, and was disposable to reordination ARC D471 Reel 300, ff. 11-12.

330 A. VAN GENNEP, *The Rites of passages*, The University of Chicago Press 2011 (1908).

331 S. DABOVICH, *The Holy Orthodox Church or the Ritual, Services, and Sacraments of the Eastern Apostolic (Greek-Russian) Orthodox Church*, San Francisco 1898, p.11. Parts of the book late would be reprinted in the *Vestnik*.

against it over the course of the long centuries by its enemies, up to now it has kept and maintained the holy Faith as passed on by the Holy Apostles and teachers to the generations following them. Because of this, lovers of innovation quite often accuse it of being ossified and lifeless. Who of us has not heard similar reproaches? But do they not return upon the heads of the accusers? Have not we, who reside here, often come to see how heterodox people, fed up by constant innovations in faith, are drawn to the universal Orthodox Church and strive to find in it sound and immovable foundations on which they can pacify their restless souls?³³²

However those “immovable foundations” on which he confided were also the basis on which he thought to build another ecclesiastic Orthodox system, there in America. He actually tried to modify the land by intensifying the works of physical and plastic visible presence of Orthodoxy, surrounding the states with buildings for worship, dedicated to new and old saints (churches, chapels, cemeteries, monasteries and schools); encouraging traditional gatherings of people as brotherhoods (whose names again numbered a host of saints); promoting with special efforts the development of a local Orthodox education system.³³³ This plastic and even topographic ever-growing map could reinforce the orthodox presence in their persistence as a conservative group of people and believers even though they will not present themselves as a particularly *virtuosi* flock. Living surrounded by a net of meaningful places could help memory itself.³³⁴ Recognition of the past of the mission and a preservation of the memory of the men who built it was a part of the process through which it was possible to create a sanctified landscape. A realization of pneumatological teachings of the Orthodox Church, and “sanctified natural environment represented heaven on earth”.³³⁵ Then, for example, two schools were dedicated to famous Orthodox missionaries, as bishop Ioasaf and bishop Innokentii, respectively in Kodiak and in Sitka.³³⁶ In the latter Tikhon even proposed to open a museum.³³⁷

If Russian people far from their homeland do not lose their sense of nationality among other more numerous ethnic groups, then this is thanks to their native Faith and Holy temples, binding together the

332 OW St. Nicholas Church, New York, Jan 11/24th, 1904 p. 246.

333 In 1923 the committee for printing the Sermons of Tikhon arrived to define his teachings as referring to the *Amerikanskoi Pravoslavnoi Rusi*, to the American Orthodox Rus', providing an identification between the old religious world from which they came and were culturally linked and the new ecclesiastical system the Patriarch had tried to build in the New World, recreating it spatially and with the concepts of time, church and community. *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* p. 83.

334 In Complex Systems Theory this passage is identified like “Denomination” and consist in the construction of a congruent, shared entire cosmos of linguistic significance upon the world. The second step, that of “Reification” consist in the building of edifices that besides a concrete role in the functioning of the system, become also a symbolic rupture of the non-signifying space around them. Denomination and Reification results to be creative processes achieving the goal to make heavy of significance particular region of the space, upon which they insist. A. TURCO, *Verso una teoria geografica della complessità*, Milano 1988; F. GIRAUT, *Conceptualiser le territoire*, in *Revue Historiens et géographes*, 403 (2008) pp. 57-67.

335 J. STRICKLAND, *The Making of Holy Russia* pp. 39-44, 43.

336 *Proposal to the Alaskan Ecclesiastical Consistory in reason of the 100th Anniversary of the institution of a Russian Orthodox bishop in America*, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia*, p. 31, APV 5 (1899), pp. 138-139;

337 *Proposal to American Ecclesiastical Consistory of the opening in Sitka of a “Innokentii's Depot”*, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* p. 73, APV 14 (1901), p. 305.

Russian people!³³⁸

On this autonomous constructions he presents another difference in the Orthodox community in comparison to the other Churches. The Holy faith of their forefathers, the plastic transformation of the land with the Golden domes, the gathering of the faithful in these shrines, fortresses of faith, that could defend them from a stranger land incorporating them, meanwhile, could preserve a purely Orthodox devotion along with familiar actions and feelings. Attending church became not only a need dictated by nostalgia, but an occasion in which to spread the mission even among the very Orthodox immigrants and the Uniate reunited, and finally to catechize them in case of Christian illiteracy. Vera Shevzov in her book “Russian Orthodoxy on the Eve of Revolution” underlines how, in the years of the beginning of XX century, the Russian Orthodox Church even in the motherland restarted a process of definition of “corporate boundaries” upon itself, born from the comparison with the other religions after a long period of vacancy.³³⁹ Her scholar work thus provides a connection between Tikhon's action and those of the Imperial Russian dioceses, recreating a similar scenario on which it is possible to ascribe even part of Tikhon's *Amerikanskoe delo*.

The original characteristics of the Russian people, their great devotion to the Orthodox faith, to the Holy Churches and offices, still distinguish Russians even when they are away from their country, here, in a strange land. What else caused the building of so many of our Churches in America? What else guided the builders and the flock of this majestic Cathedral, under the shelter of which we have just offered the Bloodless Sacrifice? Accustomed to the Church of God from childhood, the soul of a Russian feels troubled and oppressed, when away from it, in foreign countries. But then how great is the joy that fills his heart, when by the grace of God he succeeds in erecting a familiar Orthodox Church, be it ever so small.

This is the pivot around which Russian gather here. If Russians do not lose their nationality so far from their country, lost in the midst of other more numerous nationalities, they have to thank for it the faith of their fathers and the holy churches which bind Russian people together.

Brethren, we also are surrounded here by strangers, by people of different creeds and alien confessions. Amongst them there can be found some, who would be quite willing to play the part of your uninvited guardians and enlighteners, catching you in their nets.³⁴⁰

The speech is addressed explicitly to Russian people, even though the New York Cathedral in which this sermon was preached was attended by several Orthodox representatives of other nationalities and by American people as well. It demonstrates however how the model of the Mission was deeply Russian.³⁴¹ Despite a continuous facing and experiencing of other faiths, the

338 OW *A Talk for the New Year*, delivered in St. Nicholas Church, New York, Jan. 11/24th, 1904, p. 247.

339 V. SHEVZOV, *Russian Orthodoxy on the Eve of Revolution*, Oxford University Press 2004, pp.14-15.

340 ARC APV Supplements Feb. 1904, *Tikhon's speech, on the first Sunday after his return from Russia*. Delivered in NY Cathedral on Jan. 18th, 1904, pp. 36-37, D455 Reel 290, f. 627.

341 In an address to Serbs Tikhon encouraged them to overlap the boundaries ethnic as well as cultural that divide them. In order to gain the Kingdom of God they were required to keep the true faith in Christ, and following this way he observed they could also maintain their particular tradition. S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 91. July 17th, 1899.

bishop advised his flock not to stop in defense to their faith, disputing with other confession's representatives, but to address them to their pastor.³⁴² He suggested the image of the letters to Corinthians to describe how they would have to deal with the non-Orthodox people. They would have to abstain from the contact with non-Christians, maybe not in a judgmental way but to prevent mingling with them and thus preserve purity.³⁴³ Although he observed that with other Christians it was even possible to pray together, but only with whom the shape of Christianity resembled more the *traditional and true religion*. As Tikhon clarified to the diocese: the other Christians *glorify differently God. They hold the truth in unrighteousness*.³⁴⁴

The dogmatic teaching about God and the universe, about man and his relation to God, revealed with all the clearness and completeness possible for man; the ethical teaching, touching the supreme height it is possible for earthly man to reach, the fundamental law of the Christian faith and life, the law of love, incredible in the world of profit seeking egotism, the law which destroys the beast in man and build up the holy image of God instead; all that is truly great, all that was unknown to common humanity, having been but dimly felt and foreseen by the greatest minds amongst the best people, all with which Christianity astounded the world, with which it conquered the wisdom of the world – all this is preserved in Orthodoxy in purity, intactness and faithfulness, which are greater than anywhere else. However I do not speak here about the superiority of the Christian religion as compared to all the other religions, - all the civilized world is already convinced of it and the unbelievers equally do not deny it. I want to draw the attention to the superiority of Orthodoxy to other religions, which also belong to Christianity to its undeniable truth even when compared with the latter. True enough, we, who have had the unspeakable happiness to have been born in Orthodoxy, as it is hold this superiority above any doubt and can not possibly demand any proofs. Nevertheless any Christian will profit by even a cursory glance at other Christian creeds. The purity and incomparable superiority of Orthodoxy will only gain by the comparison, and it will become only the clearer for us and what a priceless treasure we possess in our Orthodoxy.³⁴⁵

The argument defending the righteousness of the Orthodox Church in believing is then displayed on many fronts, for example the historical proof.

Our Orthodox Church guards so rigorously and unswervingly all the sacred heirlooms of apostolic and patristic traditions, canons and customs; so firmly it safe-guards the holiness of the primitive

342 *Conversation on the day of the Equal to the Apostles prince Vladimir, Enlightner of Rus'*, July 15th, 1899 Nenilchik, (Alaska) and in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp. 23-26, in APV 17/1899, pp. 458-460.

343 *Speech on the week 17 of the 50th Anniversary of the Serbs in the Church of Jackson*, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp. 26-29, 26. The quotation are 1Cor 5,10, 2Cor 6,14-16. On the purity see also, *Conversation on the 14th week on the 50th Anniversary from the consecration of the church in the village of Wostok in Canada*, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp. 65-66, in APV 19 (1901).

344 Rom 1,18. The position of the Orthodox Church among the others was valued attentively by the eparchial guides: "The idea of the church contains the essential characteristic of oneness, as indivisible as the truth of Christianity. But if in reality there exist several religious Christian communities differing more or less in the dogma as well as in their cult, their mutual relation can not be but purely negative, for each of these creeds considering itself to be the only church of Christ denies by so doing the truth of every other. And so, from the purely church point of view, there is no such thing as religious toleration" and again "every other church is 'an attempt against the truth of religion, a crime of heresy or of dissent'. Every church has its own church laws. 'no creed allows to its members to enter into an unconditioned religious communication, or the so called *communicatio in sacris*, with the member of another '". ARC APV Supplement Aug. 1902, *The Attitude of the Church towards the outside Christian Communities. The mutual relation of various Christian creeds from the Canonical point of view* pp. 241-244, D455, Reel 290, ff. 423-425.

345 ARC APV Supplement Oct. 1902 *Orthodoxy as the only true and salutary religion* pp. 333-335, in D455, Reel 290, ff. 455-456.

orthodox Christian antiquity.

And so, the history of Orthodoxy, even as most cursory glance, gives us striking and evident proofs of its divinity and truth. Bearing witness to the universally known origin of Orthodoxy from Christ Son of God Himself, history unfold before us the eloquent picture of the long centuries through which Christianity has lined, conquering all earthly violence and infernal plotting and bringing down to our days its purity, intactness and sanctity. But besides these so to say exterior signs, Orthodoxy possesses many inner proofs of its decided superiority over all other human religious proofs which go to show its divine greatness and perfection, as the one true and salutary religion.³⁴⁶

Nonetheless Tikhon seems sometimes to recognize dignity and *truth in unrighteousness* also to other Christian confessions. A step, this, that was not so welcomed in all the circles of Orthodox theology. But how did the eparchy explain this position to his faithful? And upon what ground did the bishop base these statements?

It is maybe possible to start from the same presentation of the Christianity's historical development through reporting an excerpt from an article written by the Anglophone priest, right executive hand of the Tikhonian American administration, Archimandrite Sebastian Dabovich. The article is explicitly titled "What is truth?", and was printed in the *American Orthodox Messenger* in 1904.

Of course, you all know that Christendom, unfortunately, is divided. The most prominent branches which hold claims to Catholic Truth are three. The most ancient and for many other reasons the first among these three, who lay claims to catholic truth, is our Eastern Orthodox Church. Then follows the Anglican with her several sister churches. The third, which holds claims to Catholic truth, is the Roman Church. In divided Christendom there is still another party – the Protestants and sectarians, with several different associations. Some of this fourth party hold claims to Bible truth. Bible truth is only a part of the whole and perfect truth, which, when separate from the complete organism of the Church, is something vague and abstract, and therefore a particle can have no complete results nor powerful efficiency in the eternal harmony of God's plans in saving the world.

We should pray and work in order to speed on that day in which a large part of Western Catholicism will unite with Orthodox Catholicism, for all peoples of the earth are called to be children of the Common Kingdom of God: Undisputed claims of catholicity belong to Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Athens, Constantinople, Moscow; and France, England and America have rights as well as Rome, which is not the Capital City of the World – but of Italy.³⁴⁷

The Orthodox hierarchy of rightfulness among Christianity, and attention due to the several divisions is slightly delineated. The orient, Orthodox by tradition, could claim for catholicity and owns the possibility to choose practices and methods of union with the other churches if it is retained it possible. *The complete organism of the Church* is not to be avoided in order to achieve the salvation of the world.

The tone is sarcastic toward western claims, perhaps over the missionary overwhelming presence due to the accusations coming from there. Already in 1899 in an homily spoken in San

346 Ivi.

347 ARC APV Supplement Mar. 1904, S. Dabovich, *What is truth?*, pp. 82-83, ARC D 455, Reel 290, f. 625.

Francisco's Cathedral, Tikhon underlined how one of the most common observation the westerners addressed to the Orthodox church was that it had lost its missionary purpose because of its remaining anchored to the form, the purity of teaching and old traditions. He opposed to this view the concreteness of their presence in America, of the mission to the Nestorians residing in Urmia to finish with an explanation of the difference of methods used in missionary endeavors by the two churches. The Orthodox church does not base its mission upon congregations and the numerous methods of advertising conversion successes that were instead expression of the western churches' missionary commitments.³⁴⁸ Moreover he explicitly denounces other churches' intrusiveness in their already converted communities present in Alaska, perhaps, it seems, idealizing too much the Orthodox experience. Alternatively, thinking in a purest way, he was expressing his personal zeal in what the missionary endeavor should be:

The Orthodox Church in the spreading of the Christian message is not used to build on other's foundations, affirming Christianity there, were someone else already preached. While the others Christian communities often gather the fruits, were originally someone else sow, and they are not contrary to use money and violence to take into shelter “sheep of another flock”. The Orthodox Church avoid also those admissions that are sometimes used by the non-orthodox missionaries: it does not recourse to illegal means for the conversion to Christianity, it does not engage with human prejudices and fears. It does not leave out the purity of the Evangelical truth in order to obtain many more members but deems important not only the number of believers but also the quality of their faith.³⁴⁹

348 About the Western Christian Missions in the ancient patriarchates the APV is overwhelmed with examples. The articles often reported the pouring out of money, states conveyed in this endeavor in order to acquire the trust of people, improving thus a colonial system: “The governments of all Western nations understand all this perfectly. Consequently we see that they try to found their influence in the Orient chiefly on religious foundations. Hence the solicitude of the German Emperor, which in a Protestant looks so strange at first, to secure the success of the Catholic Church in the Orient, hence the generosity of the atheistic government of France, which assigns hundreds of thousands towards the same end. Even the States of North America are quite energetic in the support of their Presbyterian propagandists amongst the Christians of the Orient”. ARC APV Supplements 1901, n. XVIII-XXII, *Letters from the Orient*, D 455, Reel 290, ff. 303-305 (from a TsVd article) Other methods are those of providing food and shelter to the poor people to obtain conversion as the Jesuits were accused to do by the archbishop. It occurred that Jesuits were accused also of wanting to rule cemeteries, as in the village of Ukhagmiut (Near Ikogmiut, Alaska). *Sermon on the first Sunday after the return from Alaska in the Cathedral Church of San Francisco*, June 23rd, 1900 in *Zaviety I Nastavleniia* pp. 38-40; in APV 16 (1900), pp. 318-319. See also A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* pp. 83-84.

349 *Sermon on the Orthodox Week*, San Francisco Mar. 7th, 1899, in *Zaviety i Nastavleniia* pp. 15-19, 18. Also in APV 7 (1899), pp. 186-192. On the quality of the faith he spoke often, for example in the *Sermon to the new ordained ierei Benedict Turkevich*, March 30th, 1902 IN S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia Sviatitelia* Tikhona, M 2001, pp. 54-58. On the methods of conversion see also ARC APV Supplement February 1902, *Freedom and constraints in matter of Faith* pp. 36-37, D 455, Reel 290, ff. 367-385, 369: “The measure of constraint, they can not touch it [Faith] in the least, as they act in a region which is alien to it, in the region of the physical, the material, not the spiritual. In this sense, every man has a natural right, granted to him by God and Nature, to believe, what he thinks true, and to repudiate what he judges false; every man is absolutely free in his religious beliefs. This point of view was unknown to the Heathen world and belongs to Christianity, it was revealed by the Gospels and introduced into the civilized life of humanity by the Church of the Holy Martyrs. Our Saviour Himself implanted the Kingdom of Heaven in terrestrial regions by his words and his works alone, and, likewise ordered His apostles to employ only means of spiritual and moral character, that the belief in Him should spread, and, no exterior or constraining means. When his disciples – James and John – wanted to call down the fire on the inhabitants of a certain Samaritan village, who refused to receive the Lord, the Lord said unto them: “Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; for the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them” (Luke 9, 55-56). That is to say, people ought not be allowed to undergo physical suffering and death, in order that the salutary faith in the Son of God should be

He then continued emphasizing the significance of mission as a *podvig*,³⁵⁰ which had to be accomplished in silence, submission to the will of God and without fanfare in self glorious praise. He reported, in order to reinforce his position, a phrase of bishop Innokentii Veniaminov, who had said that he wished not to be remembered for what he had done, which could be ascribed only to God's will, but for tender and friendly ties with the people. Nonetheless it is proved by conversion numbers that also Orthodox people converted other Christians to their own denomination. The successes of the Orthodox Mission in America were recognized also in the motherland, as reported clearly in an article from the *Tserkovnye Vedomosti* in 1908:

From the day of opening of the majestic Russian Cathedral in New York to the Orthodox Church fast began to come to the reunion to Orthodoxy all the kin believers: Uniates, Pomors, Edinoverzi...³⁵¹ and more, all those who don't have their proper Church in America, and don't want to attend to one stranger to them. This is the time for flowering of the Russian Church.³⁵²

The problem of how to motivate the presence of the Orthodox Church abroad, in a multi religious framework, was probably lingering in the mind of the eparchy or at least of his clergy and bishops if we can now find articles dealing with *Freedom and constraints in matter of faith*.³⁵³ Freedom of religion was discussed on three levels: freedom of internal belief, freedom of externally professing a belief and freedom of the church.

So, how to reconcile these two points: respect for their Christian mission and care for converts that nurtured an ambivalence of perspectives? It is necessary to go at the inner motive of the missionary purpose. Why missions do exist? And what type of missionary practices and strategies did the Imperial Russian Church foster, shape and display? Starting from this latter question, it was already suggested that the study on Russian missions is a neglected chapter of the history of the Russian Church. Eugene Clay in his *The Conversion of Non-Christian in Early Modern Russia*

awakened and established in the hearts of men. Towards this end, there exist different means – earnest preaching and the power of God, acting through the preachers”.

350 On bishop Tikhon's conception of the *podvig* see *O podvizhnichestve*, Strannik SPB 1897, Tom. 2.

351 That of *Edinoverie* “Unity in faith” is the solution that Platon (Levshin) proposed to the Empress Catherine II to reunite the Old Believers to the Russian Orthodox Church. He argued that the essence of the faith was the same and thus they could have their own parishes. The Old Believers perceived differently this type of politic that was institutionalized under Paul I. Their understanding of *Edinoverie* was that it was merely a masked step toward conversion. This affected the project that didn't obtain the expected success. I. PAERT, *Old Believers, Religious Dissent and Gender in Russia, 1760-1850*, Manchester University Press 2003, pp. 58ss. Pomors were called instead those Old Believers that settled in the Kola Peninsula on the Barents sea, developing their distinct dialect and traditions.

352 TsV 7/1908, quoted from S. A. BELIAEV, *Amerikanskoe sluzhenie* p. 152. Requests of conversions in the Empire were submitted to the decision of the bishop or of the Metropolitan and then published in the *Tserkovnoe Vedomosti* that spread the news through the empire. V. SKVORZOV, *Missionerskii Posokh*, SPB, Kolokol 1912. Similar official acts could be find even in the official section (*ofitsialnii otdel'*) of the APV.

353 ARC APV Supplements Feb. 1902, *Freedom and constraints in matter of faith* pp. 33-68, D455 Reel 290 ff. 367-385.

observed firstly how scarce are the scholar works produced on this topic, providing however a useful bibliography.³⁵⁴ He described the mission as growing through centuries in a role of standardization of population, progressively assuming the role of a tool of the state in organizing, culturally assimilating and reshaping tribes into a colonial set of structures and regulations. The encounter of different cultures on one side *crystallized* the Russian religious self-understanding while on the other offered the possibility to tribes of enhancing their cultural and social structures, understanding the rule of the Empire and obtaining through their conversion facilities and rights.³⁵⁵ This occurrence into the Russian Empire was prompted by the state. But this perspective does not fit abroad. It could only be seen as a Trojan horse toward colonialism. Immigrant churches as a product do not belong to the tradition of the Russian church, excluding the consulate chapels, which catered not more than a handful of parishioners, like consulate personnel and their families.³⁵⁶ Jurisdiction quarrels had not yet begun between Orthodox churches claiming for the new world. So why did the Russian Orthodox Church have to persist in financing and caring for a mission located in another country?

Mission ultimately calling is the dissemination of the Evangelical message of Christ in the world, that same message that can lead people to Salvation. A word Salvation that has occurred already many times into the excerpts taken into examination. This is the main point: Salvation. What differentiates the Orthodox church from the other Christian denomination is that, in the words of the Imperial Orthodox clergy, it offered the preferential way to believers to reach Salvation. Salvation is intimately related to this feeling that could be reached only through church in a mostly communitarian experience, besides the individual reaching. Salvation, as we have seen, is a communitarian experience, because in Orthodoxy it is not only the salvation of the single individuals but a project to save the world itself, to which all believers are called.

We live surrounded by people of alien creeds; in the sea of other religions, our church is a small island of salvation, towards which swim some of the people, plunged into the sea of life. "Come hurry help", we sometimes hear from the heathen of far Alaska, and oftener from those who are our brothers in blood and once were our brothers in faith also, the people of the Union. "Receive us into your community, give us one of your good pastors, send us a priest that we might have the divine service performed for us of a holiday, help us to build a church, to start a school for our children, so that they do not lose in America their faith and nationality", - those are the wails we often hear, especially of late(...) But who is to work for the spread of the Orthodox faith, for the increase of the children of the Orthodox Church? Pastors and missionaries, you answer. You are right; but are they to be alone? St.Paul wisely compares the church of Christ to a body, and the life of a body is shared by all the members. So it ought to be in the life of the church also. (...) The spread of Christ's faith ought to be near and precious to the heart of every

354 E. CLAY, *The Conversion of Non Christian in Early Modern Russia* in R. P. GERACI – M. KHODARKOVSKY, *Of Religion and Empire. Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia*, Cornell University Press 2001, pp. 115-143, 116.

355 Ibidem.

356 Aa.Vv., *Histoire de l'Eglise orthodoxe en Europe occidentale au 20e siecle*, Paris, 2005.

Christian. In this work every member of the church ought to take a lively and heart felt interest. This interest may show itself in a personal preached of the Gospel of Christ. And to our joy, we know of such examples amongst our lay brethren. (...) Needless to say, it's not everybody among us, who has the opportunity or the faculty to preach the Gospel personally. And in view of this I shall indicate to you brethren, what every man can do for the spread of Orthodoxy and what he ought to do. The Apostolic Epistles often disclose the fact, that when the Apostles went to distant places to preach, the faithful often helped them with their prayers and their offerings. Saint Paul sought this help of the Christian especially. (...) Don't we often hear such remarks as these: "what is the use of these especial prayers for the newly initiated? They do not exist in our time, except perhaps, in the out of the way places of America and Asia, let them pray for such prayers only needlessly prolong the service which is not short by any means, as it is". Woe to our lack of wisdom! Woe to our careless and idleness!"³⁵⁷

Here appears another traditional image to describe the church, that used by St. Paul of the body with many and different members, everyone accomplishing their duties and working together for the good functioning of the body itself. This image could make us think about a slightly strict separation of roles in the Orthodox Church in America. Certainly the missionary corpus of priests and monks was the main instrument the bishop could use in concretely spreading the Evangelical message. And actually it will be seen later how attentively the bishop chose and followed his collaborators in their permanence in the new world. He firstly encouraged them to meet together in order to better manage the church life. However this was only a part of the diocese and the lay presence was considered indispensable in managing the parishes. Schools, brotherhoods and even parish and diocesan administration were mainly composed and often administered by lay-people. Evangelization and the spreading of Orthodoxy was everyone's duty.³⁵⁸ Someone could accomplish that through an actual evangelization among heathens, someone else was requested to reinforce mission with prayer, the maintaining of an orthodox behavior and offerings. Evangelization was a collective act, made of the active spreading of a message or of passive patience, testimony and charity.³⁵⁹

The extension of Orthodoxy and of this model was considered a duty to be accomplished by Orthodox people, for His Kingdom to come eventually on earth:

Holding to the Orthodox faith, as to something holy, loving it with all their hearts and prizing it above all, the Orthodox people ought, moreover, to endeavor to spread it amongst people of other creeds (...) The light of Orthodoxy was not lit to shine only on a small number of men. The Orthodox Church is universal; (...) We ought to share our spiritual wealth, our truth, light and joy with others, who are deprived of these blessings, but often are seeking them and thirsting for them.³⁶⁰

Nonetheless, Tikhon with his clergy left an open window through which was possible to read

357 ARC APV Supplements Mar. 1903, *Sermon on the Orthodox Week*, pp. 74-81, D455 Reel 290, ff. 570-574.

358 At his arrival to United States the bishop tried to remember his flock that "We own the truth, we own the Keys of the Kingdom of God" and for this reason to light above people with the light coming from orthodoxy so they could see and near the Orthodox Church. A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiyu* pp. 12-13; APV 1 (1899), p.16.

359 Charity was a traditional way through which achieve Salvation. See for example the explanation delivered by father John of Kronstadt in N. KIZENKO, *A Prodigal Saint* pp. 66-71

360 ARC APV Supplements Mar. 1903, *Sermon on the Orthodox Week* pp. 76-77, D455, Reel 290 ff. 571-572.

a relation with other Christian Churches. This could be regarded as an anomaly in the missionary policies. Maybe it was influenced by proto-ecumenical movements or by the approaches the other confessions displayed toward Orthodoxy. Indeed in America Orthodoxy was surrounded by curiosity for their peculiar processions and religious practices, devotion and splendor. In a letter to the ober-procurator Pobedonostsev, bishop Tikhon for example told about curiosity of American people on a liturgical practice performed in New York, the “Jordan Procession”.³⁶¹

Missions were of course firstly directed towards heathery. To direct missionary efforts toward another Christian church mean not recognizing it her as a carrier of the salvific power. A reflection that started in reaction, recognizing of being themselves object of mission, especially in the Alaskan lands. The argumentation is clearly exposed in the *Amerikanskii Pravoslavnoi Vestnik* in an article that is unfortunately not signed:

What course remained to other missions? A great mass of the natives were still deeply sunk in heathery. For them Christianity would be a true salvation. To them the new missions ought to have directed their propaganda. Yet various protestant missions in Alaska did not chose to take this course. They preferred to invade the arena of the Russian mission, creating trouble and confusion.(...) Such deeds and such doers do not enlarge the field of Christ, but on the contrary they cover it with tares. They do not enlighten those who are in darkness and the shadow of death, but on the contrary put out little spark of faith in newly converted souls. Yet this is universally so in Alaska. There people try to rise their own edifice on somebody's else foundation, fancying they are doing good work. People often reproach us saying that our church is inert, that we do not fulfill the commandments of our Saviour, for we have no missions. This is a great injustice. We have missions, but they are to be found amongst people who do not know Christ as yet, where we lead towards true faith and life those who either have never known it as yet or have been led away from it. The Orthodox Church does not build on other people's foundations. And we are certain of the sympathy of those of the workers in the vineyard of Christ, who are of the same opinion. Our friends, the clergy of the Episcopal Church, in answering Russians who came to them with their spiritual needs, or merely happening to hear of Russians in some out of the way corner of America, often referred them to the nearest Russian priest, who could help his fellow clergy-men. More than this, they communicated with our clergy by writing, inviting them to make use of their homes and churches. This always goes to our hearts. Our gratitude is assured to them. The various ultra protestant leaders ought to take lessons of them.³⁶²

Maybe starting from the perspective of cooperation with Episcopalians, a particular vision took way and argumentation through the pages of the *Messenger*: that of religious tolerance and the admission of the possibility of others into the managing of salvific power. In an article titled “*Christian religious toleration*” is possible to read:

361 PST *Letter to Pobedonostsev*, Jan. 7th, 1900 pp. 54-55, RGIA f.799, op. 14, year 1899, d.1052, l.19-20 ob; *Letter to Flavian*, Jan 24th, 1900 pp. 56-57, RGIA, f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.48-49 ob; A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* p. 69.

362 ARC APV Supplements Feb. 1904, *Misleading missions*, pp. 41-43; D455, Reel 290, ff. 629-630. Also from the Greek point of view proselytism toward Eastern Christians in America appear to be a problem: “For American Protestants to try to proselytize the Eastern Orthodox Christians here in America is not only almost an impossible task, but also totally wrong and unchristian”. T. BURGESS, *Greeks in America* p. 122. During the appointment of Innokentii Pustynsky as vicar bishop of Alaska Tikhon explicitly underlined this problem, warning his young collaborator to defend their flock from “those who want to build their edifice on stranger foundations”. S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi* p. 100.

We never know whom and when the Lord chooses to call to salvation through His grace. And so our first duty is never to neglect anybody, never to shun anybody, as the Lord Himself neither neglects nor shuns. The true religious toleration is the image of Divine long suffering patiently awaiting the conversion of all: the erring, the hardened and the ill-wishers. Living in peace with all the followers of alien creeds, ever ready to show them service, attention and benevolence, in all matters of social intercourse, we should ever be thinking: "how are we to know that somebody is not be saved through us"? And this is such that it does not decrease either our faith or the greatness of the Lord's name amongst the alien (Rom 2, 24. 1 Tim 6,1).³⁶³

Sharing of salvific power is then the link to other Christian churches, even though sometimes in Tikhon's homilies this vision appeared to be still doubtful, moving uncertain steps in a dangerous and pioneering relationship with other churches. Maybe it was only the choice to protect the less theologically educated people, preventing them from doubts in approaching other confessions. Nonetheless especially regarding the Catholic Church and its clergy the previous statements resulted hardly to be believed if compared with the harsh reproaches the bishop addressed to them in sermons.³⁶⁴ Although talking of an ecumenical dialog is premature in this time, tentative approaches were undoubtedly to be read under the surface of similar writings. Tikhon himself experienced friendship and collaboration with Episcopalians but was aware that his own perspective upon the matter could not prevent the necessity for an official pronouncement of an ecumenical council.³⁶⁵ Since this sharing of salutary power was so uncertain, the Orthodox pastors had to protect their believers from temptation of follow other teachers.

Religious toleration is the fruit of Christian wisdom. (...) He is aware that the majority of Christians, who have accepted the word of truth in the simplicity of their hearts and accomplishing their salvation in the childlike obedience to the statutes of the Church, may be turned away from the right path by the cunning of false teachers, like the innocent Eve by the vile of the serpent. I fear for you, he says:- this is the true zeal and care of love, indeed! He trembles over them and seeks for means of protecting them. He knows that his solicitude towards the children of the church is to struggle against the zeal of the false teachers, and is anxious to guard them against errors. (...) But the children of the church are called children just because they have fathers, and the fathers were given them to defend and to protect them. There is no doubt, that the first means of his protection consists in the sermon, in the enlightenment of humble Christians, in the struggle with false doctrines. (...) Would it be considered contrary to honor and justice, if parents used their authority to keep temptation away from their families, in order to protect innocent children.(...) Christian toleration binds the children of the Church to preserve towards everybody an attitude of peace and love and not to infringe by violence on the province of others, but it does not demand from them that they should remain defenseless when the enemy, arms in hand, breaks into the

363 ARC APV Supplement Sept. 1902, *Christian Religious Toleration*, pp. 293-296; D455 Reel 290, ff. 469-471.

364 Tikhon was very harsh towards catholic clergy that he defined blinds guide of blinds. He defined this way those pastors who having recognized the truth in orthodoxy yet do not want to submit to it, and thus guide their same flock to perdition. In his words, spoken in Wilkesbarre where a hard struggle had been fight upon the church edifice between Uniate and Catholics the bishop warned his flock not to follow those spiritual blinds that can be met among themselves also. Finishing with the words: "We thanks The Lord God brethren because he gave us the light and the reason to recognize the truth, and remaining in her we will pray Christ, giver of light, because he will enlighten the eyes even to our brothers, so they will not sleep in the eternal death". *Sermon on the week of the blind, spoken in Wilkesbarre*, in *Zaviety i Nastavleniia*, pp. 64-65; APV 10 (1901), pp. 192-193.

365 PST *Letter to Charles Grafton*, pp. 207-208; also in APV Supplements Nov. 1905 pp. 370-374, reprinted in TsVs 51-52 (1905), p. 1638.

precincts of the church, committing sacrilege against what the church deems sacred and ransacking the church's possessions. Then religious tolerance is to be put aside, giving place to the zeal of God alone, which, like a flame, shall devour adversaries (Eb. 10,27). Then the children of the Church are to be transformed into warriors of God, and their God Himself, the God of peace, becomes a God of war and strife.³⁶⁶

From this point of view, natural consequence is the mission practiced among the Uniates whom the Russian Orthodox church considered its own lost children.³⁶⁷ Proselytism thus seems condemned if used in the reciprocal Christian lands of foundation.³⁶⁸ Even if the jurisdictional system seemed to provide a chart to which compare and determine for each church a side of the world to save, the claiming for the salvation of all the humankind displayed by the Russian Orthodox church during Tikhon's time could cause some incoherences in the economic plan at a planetary level, in lands not defined by ancient canons.

However in the English Supplement of Oct. 1905, it can be found what we can call a *Manifesto* of this *salvation sharing* perspective. Here there is a translation in English of an original Russian article written by Fedor Gustavovich Ternier and titled *Modern Relations between churches*. It deals obviously first of all with the theme of proselytism, providing an accusation of it, and an alternative approach to the issue:

In view of the importance this idea of the church has for the Christendom, it is doubtlessly the duty of the members of the church with the oldest tradition to spread this idea. Because the future union of the churches, or the restoration of the "one flock" will become possibly only when this idea is assimilated by the West. It stands to reason though, that this endeavor must not take the shape of the formal proselytism abroad, but of a constant readiness to expound the truth.³⁶⁹

Ternier's vision undoubtedly reflect that of the American archbishop. Without condescending

366 ARC APV Supplement Sept. 1902, *Christian Religious Toleration*, pp. 293-296; D455, Reel 290, ff. 469-471.

367 This seems-double register continued also later in looking at missions. In 1943 Serge Bolshakoff still wrote: "The Reunion of the Uniates of Ukraine and White Russia in 1839 with the Russian Church, and the mass conversions of the Estonian and Latvian Lutherans, which began a little later can only be mentioned here as they cannot be called foreign Missions in the sense of missions to non-Christians. Nevertheless, they both witness to the fact that the Russian Church did not lose its consciousness that the Church of Christ is bound to work for the conversion of schismatics and heretics as well as of pagans", only to add two pages later: "The present world is convulsed by wars and revolutions and very far from being Christian. Really, the whole world is now a mission-field, and perhaps the older Christian nations need more missionaries than the younger Christian communities recently started among unbelievers and still living in the spring-time of conversion. Co-operation among the Christian Churches at home and abroad will do much in to promote missionary advance. (...) the Russian missions have so far avoided planting themselves in areas occupied by others, and so have escaped unpleasant results which are only too well known to missionaries". Indeed he return at the end of the book to apologize Russian historical missionarism in Eastern Europe: "It may be noted that the Russian Church has avoided proselytizing among other Christians. There have never existed Orthodox missions to the Latin Poles or to the German Lutherans, but the Orthodox church worked strenuously to recover her own children who had passed into Roman obedience or lapsed into Russian non-conformity". S. BOLSHAKOFF, *The Foreign Missions* p.13, 15, 105-106.

368 Providing an anticipation of the Balamand treaty of 1993.

369 ARC APV Supplements Oct. 1905, *Modern Relations between churches* by F. G. TERNIER, pp. 324-325, D454, Reel 289, ff. 149-150.

to other churches forms and peculiarities outside Orthodoxy, Terner proposed nonetheless respect toward the Church-form which the churches share and the importance that the believers invest in it. Tikhon's claims for readiness of intervention and testimony whenever requested echoed these verses. Testimony and presence whenever someone is in search for Orthodoxy is proposed as the only possible answer to proselytism.

We must accept as a duty the spiritual propaganda of the true idea of the church. Proselytizing is quite a different thing, which is repulsive to our inborn instinct, though the desire to import the truth we have learned is perfectly natural. What is at the bottom of our instinctive repulsion against proselytism? Chiefly the fact that proselytizing easily awakens the most antichristian passions, like anger hatred and the rest. The nearer a subject is to the heart of a man, the more stirred up he would be if anything disrespectful was shown towards this subject. Yet if you want to convert a man to your religious views, you have to speak to him about the defects of his own creed, that is about the defects of that, which he holds dearest. (...) In this lies the essential difference between the proselytism and the spiritual propaganda. Proselytizing coming as it does uninvited always is importune to some degree and bears the mark of personal aggressiveness. Consequently it always produces a reaction in an opposite direction. But the spiritual propaganda is entirely free from any such defect. It acts only where it can be an answer to a question, and so it acts usefully and beneficially. Where it meets no demand, it merely remains inactive, arousing no evil passions.

Proselytism could find a logical justification only in the theory of there being no salvation outside the church, if the monopoly of saving individuals could be exclusively claimed for this or that given church and if it would be claimed that all who are out of it are lost for ever. Following the spirit of the Gospels, the Orthodox church never spoke so dreadful a condemnation which could not come but from narrow intolerance.³⁷⁰

At this point of the article we find a quote from the letter to Romans 2, 10-16, which refers to the natural law as in some way and in some cases leading the hearts of heathen men to follow the law of God. However, Terner's reasoning went far beyond the relationships between churches, as that of the apostle. But again the key of the discourse is the sharing of managing salvation, a question that Terner disputes quoting Apostle Paul himself in trying to instill doubts upon the traditional belief of Cyprian of Carthage formulation that there is Salvation only inside the church (*Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*), leaning on the completely opposite side.³⁷¹ Another mark upon which Terner seems to direct our attention is what he considers Proselytism: he underlines it several times, during the discourse. Proselytism is very different from evangelization because it wants to spread the boundaries of a church. He admitted the importance of his own church for each single believer but encourages everyone to go beyond his personal feelings and human attachment. Terner eventually considered the position of a single individual referring to his church, coming to quite unexpected conclusions.

370 Ibidem pp. 329-330; ff.152-153.

371 The principle *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus* seems to appear for the first time in a Origenian homily upon the Joshua book III,5 (SC 71, p.142), be spread through Cyprian of Carthage's *Epistula ad Jubaianum Epistles 73*, 21 (PL 3, 1123B) and then taken by Augustine See also J.T BRETZKE SJ, *Consecrated phrases: A Latin Theological Dictionary: Latin expressions commonly founded in theological writings (3rd Edition)*, Liturgical Press 2013, p.79.

In cases of individuals the life a man leads is certainly more important than the details of a doctrine. It is indisputable the life a man leads, being conditioned by the moral attitudes of the man, is considerably influenced by his view of the object of life in general, that is by his religious convictions. Categorical questions like life eternal, responsibility, free will and so on must condition our moral aspirations and all the tendencies of our life, depending on the way we solve them. But taking into consideration that all the most vital questions are solved almost identically in all the Christian religions, we may maintain that the doctrinal differences in the domain of Christianity have no direct significance for individuals, influencing them only indirectly in as far as they submit to the spirit and the tendency imported into the whole community by some given religion.³⁷²

Even though church as it was explained in the previous paragraph held an enormous importance in the life of bishop Tikhon who not only belonged but strived for it, ready to sacrifice even himself for the enlightening power of Orthodoxy and recognizing in it his world and the world to come, the *Messenger*, for a while was putting aside a new formula in order to justify some different position in the relationship with other modern churches. It was perhaps this unbalanced relationship between a strong construction of a way through life, steady in purposes and methods, self-confirming an identitarian willingness in confronting with a fragile bridge laid towards the many other churches surrounding the *Island of salvation* lengthy in results and uncertain in movements that prompted a hesitating step in this direction, nonetheless pursued by the young bishop. However the same Metropolitan Filaret had suspended his judgment on the other Christian confession saying he was aware of the fact that each church insisted they have the purest faith in compared to the others. He then preferred to submit to “the Holy Spirit of God who rules the church”.³⁷³

But who was F. G. Terner, the author of the original article? And from what point of view did he started his considerations? The story of the author deserves to get told in order to explain how complex could be the creation of a perspective and what unpredictable implications could spring out an article written in a context when applied to another. Fedor Gustavovich Terner (1828-1906),³⁷⁴ had been a collaborator of the Ministry of Finance during Alexander III and Nicholas II Reigns, member of the Government Council and senator. During his career as servitor of the state he dealt with customs laws, settlement systems in Siberian lands, providing statistical studies and elaborating new plans to improve the Empire functioning.³⁷⁵ Despite his economic skills he was

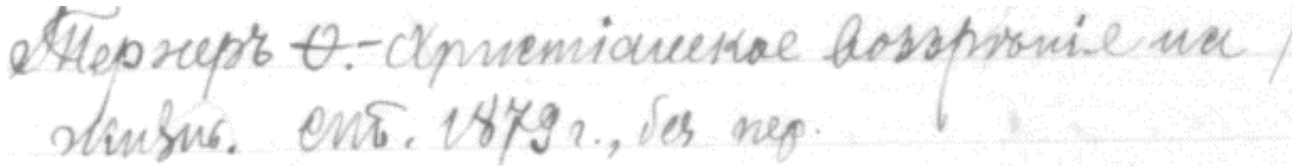
372 ARC APV Supplements Oct. 1905, *Modern Relations between churches* by F. G. Terner, pp. 334-335, D454, Reel 289, ff. 154-155.

373 Quoted in V. SOLOVIEV, *La Chiesa* p. 71

374 M. COGNOLATO, “*Finitum non est capax infiniti*”. *La scrittura di una conversione come comprensione e delimitazione della propria e altrui finitezza*, *Autobiografia*. Journal on Life Writing and the Representation of the Self in Russian Culture, forthcoming.

375 He started his career working as translator for the ministry external affairs for he could manage several languages. Then changed several positions in different department recovering roles in gathering statistics and being sent to missions of representation abroad. He then was appointed as customs law researcher, studying the systems used abroad and then providing a plan for the Empire. In 1864-1865 he gave lectures to Alexander III about statistic and

renowned since the seventies for his writings on religious philosophy. A copy of his masterpiece: *The Christian point of view on the world in comparison with the philosophy of optimism and that of pessimism (Khristianskoe bozzrenie na zhizn' v sravnenii s Filos. Optimizmom I pessimizmom)*, published in 1879 is to be found also in Tikhon's library at S. Francisco.³⁷⁶



Тернеръ Ф.-Христианское воззрѣніе на
міръ. СПб. 1879 г., 103 стр.

On December 1874 Fedor Gustavovich lost his wife after a long illness. They had been married for almost two years. During her illness and in the months following her death Ternera went through a profound spiritual crisis. While people surrounding him tried to carry him back to life he involved himself in philosophical inquiries first, and then in religious commitment, in order to pacify his restless soul, anguishing for answers to his pain. His innermost thoughts (interior movements) are then registered in a diary where he annotated what helped him depart from “the laconic desperation” he had fallen in. His elaboration of mourning had begun. He interested himself in several western authors like Albert Reville, Vinnet, Buchner and the Count Agenore de Gasparin, Vacherot, Guizot, Humboldt. He concerned himself with the problems of the men in this world, concentrating mainly on his solitude. After a disquisition on the best religion for mankind, he encountered and acknowledged the historical form in which he found his consolation, the Christian one. Through his philosophical readings he confronted with it and recognized in it the possibility to love through and eminently after the departure of loves one and thus winning death. Completing his thought the reflection and importance on the solitude of man in his ultimate moment of life, encountering death seemed to him as a rescue of man's life from the eternal and indifferent toils of nature. The moment of death may appear to be as a moment of solitude for men but it is instead a moment of election of the single individual from everything else. This moment becomes at the same time access to relations suspended by death. How these could be restored he specified is not given us to know. The hope to gain back the relationship with his wife lead him to faith. To the moment

economic matters. Later he entered in the minister of finance and the of the Treasury of the czar. He was interested in land questions such as division, administration and governing of the lands. Among his work production the most important researchers and reports are to be considered: *Dvizhenie vneshnei torgovli Rossii s 1853 po 1856 g.*, SPB 1858; *O rabochem klasse I merakh k obespecheniiu ego blagosostoianiiia*, SPB 1860; *Kratkoe rukovodstvo k izucheniiu politicheskoi ekonomii*, SPB 1862; *Sravnitel'noe obozrenie akzionernogo zakonodatel'stva glavneishicikh evropeiskikh stran*, SPB 1871; *Fabrichnoe zakonodatel'stvo Germanii*, SPB 1874; *Akzionerniie obschestva*, SPB 1875; *Gosudarstvo I Zemlevladienie*, 2voll 1896-1901; *Voprosii voznikaiuschie po predmetu uluchsheniia biita krest'ian*, SPB 1902; *Zamechaniia na trudii Redakcionnoi komissii Ministerstva vnutrennikh del po peresmotru zakonopolozhenii o kres'tianakh*, SPB 1904. He recounted his life in an autobiographical two volumes book *Vospominaniia zhizni F.G. Ternera*, SPB 1910.

376 ARC D477, Reel 303, f. 513.

(of his death) he wanted to prepare himself, working on his person to become the man he wanted to be when that moment would arrive. In this passage he changes his perspective completely: from focusing on death he returned into life. He described how during this lucubration made in solitude he found in himself a calling from life itself: a relative reminded him of his duties toward the other components of his family; during his frequent walks he entered in churches in which pastors delivered homilies calling to care for the living. He began then his wandering through the different Christian confessions present in Russia, meanwhile confronting with other several reading of theological and spiritual inspiration. Initially he seemed to prefer the Lutheran liturgies. He felt at ease with them because of their immediateness in symbolic meanings. Some of his friends carried him to a meeting in which Lord Radstock had been invited as preacher. The parable of the movement that grew around this preacher is well depicted by Nikolai Leskov in his essay *The Schism of the Higher Society*.³⁷⁷ Turner actively attended the subsequent meetings of Lord Radstock's supporters that convinced himself to spread the Awakening to the masses. He was charged, like other High Society's members, with the duty of approaching a coachman (recognized as the lower society's most easy contact), and to propose to him to go to the coachman's house and with his family to read together the Gospel, explaining its significance to them. He was totally embarrassed by this duty but after a while accepted. His approach to a coachman went well and he started to read and preach the Gospel to the coachman's family, developing a relationship of sincere trust with him on their part and of tenderness in his respect. His commitment to this experience of Sunday meetings lasted more than a year. Although George Florovskii squeezed Turner's commitment on the experience of what would later be called as the Pashkovite movement, in his autobiography Fedor Gustavovich admitted to have never been interested in dogmatic quarrels.³⁷⁸ Recounting other experiences of religious confront he underlines his relation to Christ as the fulcrum of his faith more than the belonging to a precise dogmatic formulation, even though his nearness to Orthodoxy would increase in the years to come. He was invited by friends to participate also to the Bonn convention, organized by Old Catholics, as a listening member of the Orthodox delegation, thus being in the middle of dogmatic discussions. And even in later meetings with the monks of New Athos, with Vitalii at that time rector of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, with Filaret or writing to Gladstone he abstained from discussions on dogmas. During the seventies he became renowned as a proficient spiritual writer, being considered as the third Russian Spiritual

377 N. LESKOV, *Veliksvetskii Raskol*, SPB 1877. For a secondary literature level D. FOUNTAIN, *Lord Radstock and the Russian Awakening*, Southhampton: Mayflower Christian Books, 1988; E. HEIER, *Religious Schism in the Russian Aristocracy 1860-1900 Radstockism and Pashkovism*, The Hague 1970; R. DE GIORGI, *I quieti della terra, Gli stundisti: un movimento evangelico- battista nella Russia del XIX secolo*, Torino 2005; R. DE GIORGI, *Radstock's Last Prayer*, in *Russica Romana* XII (2005), pp.132-136.

378 G. FLOROVSKII, *Vie della teologia russa*, Genova 1987, p. 317.

writer of his era, after Tolstoi and Soloviev.³⁷⁹ He delivered lectures and exegesis of the Scriptures, for which he became famous, attaining such fame that one of his essays on the church was translated into English and presented to Russian immigrants and the American people. Although the reaction to Radstock's preaching was considered one of the main causes of the development of a parish priest class engaged in social Gospel at the end of the century, this same experience seems to have had been at the foundation of a starting dialog with Episcopalians in America. Terner's position was not very well known at the time for Radstockists higher society members were often under pseudonymous or reported only with their initials to prevent possible discriminations or even imprisonment. The Radstockist movement had indeed great success. Heier in his study tried to disclose some of the reasons why this could have happened, how it gained the attention of a part of society considered detached from discussing religious matters, or entering in the westerner secularization pattern.

Part of the reason for the success of the movement was that it was not entirely new. Long before Lord Radstock's arrival in Russia the devotional and moral application of the humiliation of Christ, the call to meekness, poverty, humility, and obedience had been brought to the attention of the Russian people. This manifested itself primarily in the veneration of saints; and in the monasteries contemplative monasticism reached its acme in the 1860's and 1870's. Both were important factors in the revival of the spiritual life of the country, and many people wandered to holy place in search of a religious help and aspiration (...) Apart from these indirect influences, the church was not idle in extending instructions leading to an ideal of Christian life. The teaching and writings of the eighteenth century St. Tikhon Zadonskii, canonized in 1861, were presented as exemplary, and from 1884 on they were introduced into all ecclesiastical schools in Russia. St. Tikhon kept Christ before him always as the true image of humility; he never refused to help others, charity and pastoral care were central in his life, and his thoughts were nourished by the New Testament (...) G. V. Florovskii considers St. Tikhon's *True Cristianity* (1770-1772) of great historical significance. (...) Excerpts from this work were extensively used by the Radostocists in the spread of their teaching. This is an indication that the essence of the new teaching was first and foremost the revival of the Christian ideal, an ideal which was nourished and supported by all available religious literature regardless of origin.³⁸⁰

In his brief summary Heier opened several windows on traditional Russian devotion and personal charisma of St. Tikhon of Zadonsk to explain the roots upon which probably Radstockism flourished. Despite his reformed roots the first Movement was not trying to create another church in Russia. Preachers and Radstock himself were concerned with the spreading of the Gospel

379 We remember among the others *Svoboda sovesti i otnosheniia gosudarstva k tserkvi*, SPB 1877; *Khristianskoe vozzrenie na zhizn' v sravnenii s filosofskim optimizmom i pessimizmom: Chteniia v o-ve liubitelei dukhov. Prosvescheniia*, SPB 1879; *K delu o raskole*, SPB 1881; *Tserkov'* (4 Voll.), *Obsschie poniatiiia o tserkvi, Tserkov' perciikh vekov. Otdelenie Zapada i pravoslavnaia Tserkov'*, *Nashe vremia i otnoshenie tserkvei mezhdru soboi*, SPB 1885; *Opiit kratkogo iz'iasneniia na Evangelie ot Ioanna*, SPB 1886; *Opiit iz'iasneniia na poslanie sviatogo apostola Pavla k Filippiizam*, SPB 1889.

380 E. HEIER, *Religious Schism* pp. 48-49. The juncture between Radstockism (later Pashkovism) with readings of devotional character, especially written by Tikhon of Zadonsk is confirmed even by other contemporaries sources. Pashkovism was considered a diverting sect, of protestant matrix so it appeared as such in magazines as something to fight with. It was presented through brief historical introduction and explications of their methods of preaching. Their usage of Tikhon of Zadonsk spirituality, model of the American bishop could have near different sensibilities on different matters V. SKVORZOV, *Missionerskij Posokh* p.335.

independently from the church to which someone could refer or attest to belong to, not even caring about that. However protestant and reformed churches were not unknown on Russian soil: their presence is documented in Russia since XVI century, as well as western church dissidents in pre-reform periods.³⁸¹ They saw a multiplication during the years, following the preaching of singular personalities or recovering from practices imported from western movements, like the *stunda* fringes. Aiming at their defeat, the Orthodox church provided several manuals that described how to approach and recognize them. During the last decades of nineteenth centuries, with the explosion of ecclesiastical printings, such topic was treated also by common diocesan magazines. Nonetheless the religious difference between Eastern and Western Christendom was underlined also by the education of young generations of priests.³⁸²

As priests perceived a new impulse in reaction from other world views such as that of the Awakening movement or of the Social Gospel, nonetheless there were also in Russia those who considered the coming of western knowledge of Christianity incomprehensible for an Orthodox man. Such was the opinion of the ober-procurator K. P. Pobedonostsev. In a chapter of his *Reflections of a Russian Statesman* he made an example of conversation that could happen between a Protestant and an Orthodox man:

Prove me thy faith by the deeds, - a terrible command! What can a believer answer when his questioner seeks to recognize the faith by the works. If such a question were put by a protestant to a member of the Orthodox Church, what would the answer be? He could only hang his head. He would feel that he had nothing to show, that all was imperfect and disorderly. But in a minute he might lift his head and say: "We have nothing to show, sinners as we are, yet neither are you beyond reproach. Come to us, live with us, see our faith, study our sentiments, and you will learn to love us. As for our works, you will see such as they are". From such an answer ninety-nine percent would turn with a contemptuous laugh. The truth is that we do not know, and dare not show our works.³⁸³

This quote reveals how deeply Pobedonostsev perceived the difference of vision between the protestant-reformed churches and the orthodox church. The Orthodox were not bothered by western problems simply because they did not perceived them as such; but they had other ways to face those same Christian questions. He displays how deep was the difference between those who, as the westerners had to study, delineate, define something and those who, as the easterners, propose the disorders of life itself as a prove of the deeds, in a purely different way, unacceptable to the most of

381 IVAN IL TERRIBILE-JAN ROKYTA, *Disputa sul protestantesimo. Un confronto tra ortodossia e riforma nel 1570*, Introduzione versione e note a cura di L. Ronchi De Michelis, Claudiana, Torino 1979; C. G. DE MICHELIS, *La Valdesia di Novgorod. Giudaizzanti e prima riforma (sec. XV)*, Claudiana, Torino 1993; L. RONCHI DE MICHELIS, *Eresia e Riforma nel cinquecento. La dissidenza religiosa in Russia*, Claudiana, Torino 2000; R. DE GIORGI, *I quieti della terra, Gli stundisti: un movimento evangelico-battista nella Russia del XIX secolo*, Torino 2005.

382 ANTONII OF UFA (KHRAPOVITSKII), *Chem otlichaetsia pravoslavnaia vera ot zapadniikh ispovedanii*, MO VI (1901), pp. 3-13. Reprinted in the American eparchial Herald. ARC APV Supplement Jan. 1903, Bishop Antonii of Volynia, *In what the Orthodox Faith differs from the Western Creeds*, pp. 23-38, D455, Reel 290, ff. 540-548.

383 K. P. POBEDONOSTSEV, *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, London 1898, pp. 192-193.

westerners.

Pobedonostsev's viewpoint on this is very clear: he considers individuality as ruling in the westerner churches while in the east the Christian community is more important than confronting the singularity of the self. He wrote also a reproach to these who do not consider properly the church as an institution in its complete meaning, the intelligenty:

He who is truly Russian, heart and soul, knows what the church of God means to the Russian people. Piety, experience, and respect for religious feelings are not enough in order to understand the importance of the Church for the Russian people, or to love this Church as one's own. It is necessary to live the life of the people, to pray with it in congregation, to feel the heart beating in accord, penetrated by the solemnity, inspired by the same words and the same chants. Thus many who know the faith only from their private chapels, frequented by select congregations, have no true understanding of the Church, or of religious sentiment, and regard with indifference or repulsion those rites and customs which to the people are especially dear, and constitute the beauty of the church.³⁸⁴

The ober-procurator did not appreciate the formation of little churches, that could harm the understanding of the universality of church. He disguises the repulsion of Higher classes toward those simple people practices of piety because they were considered as simplified forms of superstition. But retaining to protect the proper characteristics of Orthodoxy he also refused the dialog and confront with other Christian experiences.³⁸⁵

Year 1905 carried to Russian Orthodox church the challenge to deal with the Decree of Toleration on 17th, April. However a discussion on the role of the Orthodox church in the life of the Russian Empire among its citizen started even before, coming to very different conclusions. From the dream of reunification of churches prompted by V. Soloviev at the beginning of the century, to the reflections of the ober-procurator K. P. Pobedonostsev, to the several groups of intelligenty to finally touch the simple citizens. In 1905 the organ of the Inner Mission, the Missionary Review deemed possible to freely and publicly eventually answer to the some really interesting questions posed by a Lutheran reader: “Why salvation is possible only in the Orthodox Church? And is possible salvation if I live following the Gospel, but I'm not member of the Orthodox church?”³⁸⁶ The answer they kept telling is that if the Church of Christ is one as the Holy Gospels attest, then also the Faith that can save is only one. The author says that the question had been the matter of apologetic literature for centuries so it was not possible to sum it up in a few pages. Nonetheless he could summarize it this way: the Orthodox church is the only one who maintains the original faith, while Catholics resorted to hierarchy and papism, Lutherans and Calvinists on their part annihilated the values of deeds and rested only on faith, betraying the equilibrium between faith and deeds.

384 KONSTANTIN P. POBEDONOSTSEV, *Reflections* p. 218.

385 As the relationship with Old Catholics proved.

386 N. GRINIAKIN, *Tserkov' i spasenie*, MO Oct. 1905, pp.697-702.

Furthermore while the Pope claimed for himself the power to save, the Lutherans and Calvinists posed the salvation on the will of God only. Besides this, he had to admit that in every place people were afraid of God and follow His teachings (Acts 10,35). It was to remembered also, he said, that one of the gifts of the Holy Spirit is *glossolalia*, a gift prompted to spread salvation by allowing to speak and baptize people from other nationalities. And he ends with these words:

On the question if could be possible to be saved outside the Orthodox church, we answer: it's possible, in our thought, but as much as also the grace from the governor-legislator of the living and acting people is ignorant of his own law. The question and the answer have the intention to be for those who borne and grew in the ignorance or the theological Christian separation of confession, or even for the same Christians. The destiny of them is in the hands of God. If their hearts would be touched here on earth by the word of God or at the limits of the earthly life, as “also the souls who found himself in the darkness” (1 Pt. 3,19), and was preached to them the Kingdom of God, this to us is unknown. Above all the legislators, [the major is] the law. We preach Orthodoxy, as the way of Salvation, lawful and faithful given by Christ; how much could be possible Salvation in other ways, we don't know, and because “not proving the hidden”, in the opinion of St. John Chrysostom and preferring the known to the unknown, everywhere and always ready to confess as immutable Truth of Christ: the way to the eternal life was indicated from our Redeemer only in the Orthodox Church. Who live out of the law and is not responsible of the will of the Lord, he also will be judge outside of the law. And they [have] neither commandment, neither example or justification for those, who knew this will of God or might know, and the pursuance of this shall be subjected to, in the words of the Saviour, the “throb to many”. “Live as the Gospel say” without the Church means hang as “clouds persecuted from any wind”,³⁸⁷ and conduct their life with a Christian moral without Christians' dogmas, in the help of the atheist denies or even in the autonomy of moral [judgment] of any Kant, means to be, in the [words] of apostle Paul, “the unhappier of all”.³⁸⁸

Russian theology was, at the time, investing on rediscovering a purely Orthodox view, in consequence of a conscious reaction toward the western framework characteristic of what George Florovskii renames “Western captivity of the Orthodox mind” in theology, which followed the Petrine era. An investment, this, that involved also Soteriological debates at the end of 19th century, when the most famous theologians expressed “polemics against legalism and rationalism” typical of the Anselmian view of Redemption and Salvation that had previously entered the Theological Academies.³⁸⁹ John Meyendorff in his analysis, distinguished two main directions of thought ruling the late 19th century after the philocalic revival had taken place while the early Slavophiles³⁹⁰ thought had entered discussion among the Academic establishment. The first direction of thought following a “moralizing trend” was supported by the works of the famous Antonii Khrapovitskii³⁹¹ and Sergii Stragorodskii³⁹² while the second, named by Meyendorff “anti-rationalistic”, sought to

387 Remodeled upon Ju. 1,12 and 2 Pt. 2,17.

388 N. GRINIAKIN, *Tserkov' i spasenie*, MO Oct. 1905, pp. 697-702.

389 J. MEYENDORFF, *New Life in Christ: Salvation in Orthodox Theology*, in *Theological Studies* 50 (1989), pp. 481-499, 483.

390 Meyendorff mentioned here the works of I. Kireevskii and A. S. Khomiakov.

391 Several articles written by him can be find in the Herald. Encouraging believers to practices of self-perfection and condemning the ideal of salvation as retained by westerners, Antonii quote the Holy fathers to shape an Orthodox view. ARC APV Supplement January 1903, Bishop Antonii of Volynia, *In what the Orthodox Faith differs from the Western Creeds*, pp. 23-38, D455, Reel 290, ff. 540-548.

392 Tikhon possessed a copy of that thesis in San Francisco. *Pravoslavnoe uchenie o spasenii*, SPB 1903. ARC D479 Reel 303, f.515.

overcome “philosophical secularism” and atheism. The latter was initiated by V. S. Soloviev and continued by his followers in the motherland as well as in the Diaspora. The theological revival invested an entire cosmological discourse, it questions the perception of the believer himself regarding his place in the world, his relationship with his church, the “comprehension of life”, avoiding the use of Westerner categorizes and Scholasticism to invest in a renovated knowledge of the ancient fathers of the church, that were being rediscovered and printed. The complexity of the picture on theological debates at the beginning of 20th century is conveyed also by the contribution given by a new generation of *intelligenty* that found themselves questioned by religious subjects and that tried to interpret them through their vision of the world, painted mostly by philosophical constructions.³⁹³ They then gathered in experiments of dialog with representatives of the ecclesiastical *soslovie* in informal yet productive meetings such as the St. Petersburg evenings promoted by the Merezkovskiis and patronized by the St. Petersburg Theological Academy rector Antonii Vadkovskii.³⁹⁴

Tikhon's position was nearer to the first theological trend, not only for personal acquaintance with the major exponents, studies and readings but for his own sensibility nourished by the love for his church, in which he grew and which he chose as a wife, differently from Ternier.³⁹⁵ Similarly to him, perhaps, he decided to remain faithful to her only. He continued to emphasize the importance of Conversion and of the Missionary work until his last day as archbishop in America, never tired of reminding to his clergy and flock the reason of the presence of their mission in the new world, as his farewell Sermon of the March 17th, 1907 proved:

... Orthodox people must care for the dissemination of the Orthodox faith among the heterodox. Christ the Savior said that men lightning a lamp do not put it under a bushel, but on a stand, and it gives light to all in the house (Mt 5,15). The light of Orthodoxy also is not lit for a small circle of people. No, the Orthodox faith is catholic; it remembers the commandment of its Founder: “Go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation. Make disciples of all nations” (Mk 16,15: Mt 28,19). It is our obligation to share our spiritual treasures, our truth, our light and our joy with those who do not have these gifts. And this duty lies not only on pastors and missionaries, but also on lay people, for the church of Christ, in the wise comparison of St. Paul, is a body, and in the life of the body every members take part.

For each of us the dissemination of the Christian faith must be a favorite task, close to our hearts and precious to

393 N. BERDIAEV – S. BULGAKOV – M. GERSENZON – A. S. IZGOEV – B. A. KISTJAKOVSKIJ – P. B. STRUVE, S. L. FRANK, *La Svolta. Vechi. L' "intelligencija russa tra il 1905 e il 1917*, Milano 1990; E. G. FARRUGIA S.J., C. SIMON S.J., K. ANTONOV, G. ORECHANOV, N. VAGANOVA, S. CAPRIO, R. VALLE, “*Vechi*”, *pietre miliari del pensiero religioso russo 1909-2009*, Pontificio Istituto Orientale Roma 2012; P.C. BORI – P. BETTILOLO, *Movimenti religiosi in Russia*

394 Tikhon possessed a collettanea of his speeches in San Francisco *Rechi, slova i poucheniia* (2 ed.), SPB 1901. ARC D 479 Reel 303 f.519. As is possible to perceive the social composition of those involved in the process of a Russian religious Renaissance was vary. In the words of V. Shevzov: “The work of Russia's academic theologians and religious philosophers often dovetailed and proved mutually influential. The theological journals testify to the interaction, as do the various circles of religious thinkers and academic theologians that regularly gathered in order to discuss the burning philosophical and religious issues of the day” V. SHEVZOV, *The Russian Tradition*, in A. CASIDAY, *The Orthodox Christian World*, Routledge, London 2011, pp.15-40, 26.

395 J. STRICKLAND, *The Making of Holy Russia. The Orthodox Church and Russian Nationalism before the Revolution*, Holy Trinity Publication 2013.

us; in this task each member of the Church must take an active part – some by personal missionary effort, some by monetary support and service to the “needs of the saints”, and some by prayer to the Lord that He might teach “establish and increase His Church” and that he might “teach the word of truth” to those who do not know Christ, might “reveal to them the gospel of righteousness, unite them to His Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church”.³⁹⁶

2.4 Tikhon's Diocese

The American Diocese's functioning was well tested already before Tikhon's arrival. Since St. Innokentii's tenure, the administrative structure was similar to that of the motherland. Connection between the several parishes was provided by a central organ called Clergy Consistory (*Dukhovnoe Pravlenie*), while local administration was still changing in order to better answer the exigencies of different types of geographical location of the communities.³⁹⁷ In 1898 the Consistory was located in San Francisco, but in 1905 it was moved to New York City, following the relocating Cathedral See. Its composition varied considerably during the years of Tikhon's permanence in America, but initially generally maintained the backbone personnel it had at the beginning of his tenure, which developed in the years and included the keenest collaborators of the bishop. The tasks these members were supposed to accomplish were those common also in the other dioceses of the Russian Empire. Chancellery, bureaucratic matters, advices to the bishop and management of standard cases. They would later have to forward them to the Russian Holy Synod for regulation, debate and possible confirmation (as, for example, in divorce cases).³⁹⁸ They also had to summarize issues to present them to the bishop for signature or decision, they would send him mail while he was in travel through the eparchy and to put order to the huge quantity of data from deaneries and parishes referring to incomes and expenses of the parishes, finally they would handle demographic censuses as well as requests for conversions and building projects. They also guarded over the broader economic situation of the diocese as well as provide to the priests individual salaries, taking

396 L. KISHKOVSKY, *Patriarch Tikhon: A Vision of Orthodox Mission in the New World* in J. MEYENDORFF – D. OBOLENSKY – A. E. N. TACHIAOS – S. HACKEL – D. CONOMOS – V. MOROSAN – R. L. NICHOLS – P. VALLIERE – J. W. CUNNINGHAM – J. BRECK – J. PELIKAN – D. D. I. CIOBOTEA – S. S. HARAKAS – B. BOBRINSKOY – T. HOPKO – ARCHIMANDRITE AVGUSTIN (NIKITIN) – M. OLEKSA – D. GRIGORIEFF – L. KISHKOVSKY, *The Legacy of St Vladimir*, Crestwood (NY) 1990, p. 273.

397 For the formation, original role and 1841 Statute of the Diocesan Consistory see G. L. FREEZE, *The Parish clergy*, pp. 27-28, 40-41.

398 ARC D442, Reel 282, ff. 499-505. Maria Chevernik Sarnik, got the divorce from his husband Joseph, by the County court of Bridgeport in 1904. The local priest Benedict Turkevich is requested about this by the clergy consistory because of her asking the bishop permission for a new marriage. For a discussion of marriage in late Imperial Russia G. L. FREEZE, *Bringing Order to the Russian Family: Marriage and Divorce in Imperial Russia, 1760-1860*, *Journal of Modern History* 62/4 (1990), pp. 709-746; G. L. FREEZE, *Profane Narratives about a Holy Sacrament: Marriage and Divorce in Late Imperial Russia*, in M. D. STEINBERG- H. J. COLEMAN, *Sacred Stories: religious and Spirituality in modern Russia*, Indiana University Press 2007, pp. 146-178;

care of their allocation even in the most distant cities of the Orthodox mission.³⁹⁹ In Alaska, this task was very important due to the interruption of communication in winter months that could leave the priests without monetary arrangements if the Consistory failed to provide to anticipate in warmer months the clergy salaries.

Ecclesiastical Consistory's Composition ⁴⁰⁰	1899 ⁴⁰¹ (and 1898)	1902	1903	1904	1906
	Rev. Feodor Pashkovskii <u>secretary</u> Archimandrite Feoklit dean Candidate at the Theological Academy of Kiev, inoodeacon N. Renskii <u>treasurer</u> (until October) Psalmist G. Krasov correspondent with the consistory and responsible for the eparchial warehouse	Rev. Feodor Pashkovskii <u>secretary</u> Rev. Ioann Shamie <u>treasurer</u> Rev. Sebastian Dabovich dean	Rev. Feodor Pashkovskii <u>secretary</u> Rev. Peter Popov <u>treasurer</u> Rev. Sebastian Dabovich dean	Rev. Feodor Pashkovskii <u>secretary</u> Rev. Sebastian Dabovich president of the fraternal fund of the clergy Rev. Peter Popov <u>treasurer</u> Mr. Nikolai Greevskii	Rev Benedict Turkevich <u>secretary</u> Rev. Archpriest Alexander A. Hotovitskii Rev. Peter Popov <u>treasurer</u> Mr. Nikolai Greevskii Superintendent of the Depository

On a second level, nearer to the territories, there were figures appointed with the role of *superintendents*, rural deans (*blagochinnyi*), as those present in the motherland. In Freeze's words, they “had to supervise subordinate clergy and provide good order (*blagochinie*) in the parish”.⁴⁰² In concrete terms, they were requested to report about the situation of their deanery, behavior of clergy and flock who were entrusted to them. Russian clergy in America took seriously their appointment to the position. About those who recovered this role it is hard to say something because of the scarcity of data recording their presence. Only signatures of letters give us a glimpse of the distribution of roles between the clergy. Moreover the incessant exponential growth of the eparchy required an ever-changing geographical subdivision, the elevation of some areas to the rank of deanery or the abolishing of others. Alaskan *blagochinnye* were the most stable, due to a longtime approved division of competences. There were two long-time recognizable rural deaneries, that of Unalaska in the North-West region of the eparchy, that was managed by father Alexander Kedrovskii since 1894, when he arrived from Russia as teacher for the Unalaska school. There in

399 The archive is full reports of clergy payment accounts, as well as of receipt. treasurer Petr Popov was the responsible for these accounts. See for example ARC D456, Reel 292, f.539. A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p. 177. On the better period for the delivery of salaries see PST Letter to Ostroumov, July 21st, 1901 pp. 82-83, RGIA, f.799, op. 31, year 1895, d. 263, l. 53-54 ob.

400 Data from ARC APV Supplements Jan. 1902, D455, Reel 290, ff.363-364; Feb. 1903, D455, Reel 290, ff.565-566; Mar. 1904, D455, Reel 290, ff.660-662, Jan. 1906, pp. 61-64, D454, Reel 289, ff.253-254.

401 A. V. ПОПОВ, *Materialy k zhitiuu* p.150.

402 For the role of the *Duchovnoe Pravlenie* and the *Blagocinnyi* in the Russian Dioceses see G. L. Freeze, *The Parish clergy* pp. 28-29.

Unalaska bishop Nikolai appointed him first deacon, priest and finally dean.⁴⁰³ The second Alaskan deanery was that of Sitka. When Bishop Innokentii (Pustinskii) arrived in the US the Sitka deanery had been already properly reshaped into a vicarious see, but before 1904 it was under the guidance and care of hieromonk Antonii.

Turning to the mainland, the New York region's blagocinnii was Ioann Nezdel'nitskii since 1895, restored in his position by Tikhon after his deposition ordered by Bishop Nikolai.⁴⁰⁴ The clergy who referred to a *blagochinniia* was supposed to meet occasionally in order to debate issues, prepare requests and present specific local problems. The NY deanery clergy, for example, met in 1899 around the bishop in Allegheny while Tikhon was there in pastoral visit.⁴⁰⁵ Deaneries were sometimes temporary, in order to answer to the requirements of immigrant settlements, which were following job offerings across the country. Such a high degree of mobility affected even the Diocesan structure. In 1900, during his ordination, Petr Popov received the appointment to Bridgeport (Connecticut), as helper of the blagocinnii even if he was young,⁴⁰⁶ but he was soon requested to the Clergy Consistory, while the Diocese continued changing its appearance. In 1902, priest Alexander Nemolovskii took his position. He had to guard over 9 of the 23 parishes of the blagocinniia (which had reached the number of 24 parishes in 1903).⁴⁰⁷ After the moving of the Cathedral See to New York city, San Francisco took the role of deanery while it accomplished the duties related to a deanery also previously, *de facto* for the continue absences the bishop was forced to take due to the pastoral visits across the extension of his diocese.

A third level was that formed by those who were called in recent historiography “circuit riders”, people who covered enormous distances during the year in order to serve in distant parishes and care for spiritual necessities of those communities that could not yet aspire to have their own resident priest.⁴⁰⁸ They were a contemporary version of those figures that in ancient times had been recorded as *Periodeuts*. Considering rural parishes in the high Egypt not populated enough to gain a resident priest, these figures were used in celebrating liturgies in little communities and maintaining links with the bishop, who stayed in the Metropolitan city. Then they had been codified by the

403 ARC Clergy book, Unalaska parish. D93, Reel 94, ff.322-323.

404 ARC Letter to Tikhon, mar 2nd, 1899 from Ioann Nezdel'nitskii Allegheny, D453, Reel 288, ff.247-258; A. B.

EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia eparkhiia* pp. 91-92.

405 A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* pp. 24-25.

406 *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* p.43; In 1901 proposed to divide the deanery into two parts already appointing Popov as Dean of New York while he should remain as Pittsburg and Catasauqua dean *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* pp. 31, 35-36.

407 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia eparkhiia* pp. 92-93.

408 B. FARLEY, *Circuit Riders to the Slavs and Greeks: Missionary Priests and the Establishment of the Russian Orthodox Church in the American West, 1890-1910*, Washington D.C. Kennan Institute 2000.

<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/circuit-riders-to-the-slavs-and-greeks-missionary-priests-and-the-establishment-the>

canons of the Laodicea Council. Periodeuts could be recognized because of the duty to carry a catholic letter with them, that could state their legality of being entrusted with the liturgical needs of the *kora* surrounding the more populated cities with a bishop.⁴⁰⁹ Periodeuts' importance was recognized also in the other eastern patriarchates. Deanery cities in the end of 19th - beginning of 20th century North America were requested to cover the necessities of the less numerous parishioner communities through the appointment of periodeuts, to accomplish missionary purposes by the presence of differentiated clergy personnel who could reach groups of Orthodox people (and if they were lucky, they already had gathered around a chapel). As it is evident, this three-level construction represents only the outline for a mainly Russian flock. Due to the particular conformation and composition of the American Diocese, bishop Tikhon was trying to build another structure, already functioning *de facto* as an intermediate corpus between the Russian Orthodox Church traditional pattern and the never ending and multi-denominational flow of immigrants.

	1899 ⁴¹⁰	1904	1906 Rural Deans system ⁴¹¹
Rural deans ⁴¹² (Blagocinnye)	<p><u>Sitka</u>, Hieromonk Antonii (7 parishes).</p> <p><u>Unalaska</u>, father Alexander Kedrovskii (7 parishes).</p> <p><u>New York</u>, father Ioann Nezdelskii, he resided in Allegheny (11 parishes).</p> <p>The others were directly submitted to the ecclesiastical consistory (1. San Francisco and the attached church Jackson, 2. The Syro-Arab mission in New York with Montreal church attached, 3. The mission of Seattle, 4. The Galveston mission).</p>	<p><u>New York</u>, Archpriest Ioann Nedzel'nitskii, he lived in Allegheny.</p> <p><u>Pittsburg and Catasauqua</u>, (Pennsylvania), father Alexander Nemolovskii</p> <p><u>Unalaska</u>, father Alexander Kedrovskii</p> <p>The Sitka deanery had already become Vicarious see.</p>	<p><u>Rural Dean of Russian Churches in Eastern States of America</u>, Very Rev Ioann Nedzel'nitskii (17 parishes). - with a part gathered around Pittsburgh, later to Chicago (Father Ioann Kochurov).</p> <p><u>Rural Dean of Russian Churches in Western States</u>, father Feodor Pashkovskii (6 parishes).</p> <p><u>Rural Dean of Russian Churches in Alaska</u>, father Alexander Kedrovskii</p> <p>The New York deanery and the Sitka deanery had become the Archbishop and vicar bishop see.</p>

Nonetheless it is noteworthy to underline that he never dismissed the traditional Russian system, rather than rethinking the entire eparchy administration, he tried to introduce another level, not diminishing the importance of the others already in function. Here was born the famous

409 J. LEBRETON – J. ZEILLER, *Histoire de L'Église*. Vol II: *De la fin du IIe siècle à la paix constantinienne* (Paris: Bloud and Gay 1946), p. 354. See also Laodicea Council canon 41 “That a sacred person or cleric is not to travel without canonical letters”, W. A. JURGENS, *The Faith of the Early fathers. Vol. I Pre-Nicene and Nicene eras* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press 1970), pp. 315-317.

410 A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiu* p.150.

411 In 1907 was inaugurated the Canadian Blagocinnia under the responsibility of Rev. Mikhail Skibinskii. In 1908 was opened also the Pennsylvania detached blagocinnia. A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaja i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp.71-72, 93-94.

412 ARC APV Supplements Mar. 1904, D455, Reel 290, ff.660-662; Jan. 1906, pp. 61-64, D454, Reel 289, ff.253-254.

Tikhon's project, presented in 1905 to the Holy Synod. The text of the project, famous in historiography of Orthodox America read as follows:

As to the See of North America it ought to be made into an Exarchate of the Russian Church. The fact is that this See is composed not only of different nationalities, but also of different Orthodox Churches, which though one in faith with each other have their own peculiarities in the canonical order, the office ritual and the parish life. These peculiarities are dear to them and altogether tolerable from the general Orthodox point of view. This is why we do not consider that we have the right to interfere with the national character of the churches in this country, and on the contrary, try to preserve it, giving each a chance to be governed directly by chiefs of the same nationality.

Thus the Orthodox Syrian Church in this country was given its own Bishop (the Right Reverend Raphael of Brooklyn), who nominally is the second vicar of the Archbishop of the Aleutians See but who, in his own field of activity, is almost independent. The Bishop of Alaska is similarly situated. The Serbian parishes are directly subject to a separate chief, who at present is an Archimandrite, but may be consecrated a Bishop in the near future. The Greeks of this country also wish to have their own Bishop and have entered into communication with the Synod of Athens on the subject. In short it is possible that there will be formed in America an entire Exarchate of national Orthodox Churches with their own Bishops, whose Exarch is to be the Russian Archbishop.

In his own field of work each of these Bishops is to be independent, but the affairs which concern the American Church in general are to be decided by a General Council, presided over by the Russian Archbishop. Though him will be preserved the connection of the Orthodox Church of America with the Church of All the Russias and a degree of dependence of the former on the latter. Also we must keep in view that, compared with the life in the old country, life in America has its peculiarities, with which the local Orthodox Church is obliged to take notice of, and that consequently it ought to be allowed to be more autonomous than other Metropolitan Districts of Russia. The future Exarchate of North America may be composed as follows:

- 1) the Archbishopric of New York, with all the dependent Russian churches in the United States and Canada;
- 2) the Bishopric of Alaska, which is to embrace all the churches of the Orthodox Inhabitants: Russians, Aleutians, Red Indians and Eskimos;
- 3) the Bishopric of Brooklyn: Syrians;
- 4) the Bishopric of Chicago: Serbians;
- 5) the bishopric of [omitted in original]: Greeks.⁴¹³

Although presented to the Holy Synod only in the conjuncture provided by the events of 1905, the project could become the realization of a process that had already started. The distinguishing American shape and the reorientation the diocese had faced in the preceding decades were underrepresented even in the name. This iced situation risked to nullify the efforts of plurality in national representation. Already in 1899 the young bishop had petitioned to the Holy Synod for the possibility to change the name of the diocese. Subsequently the Diocese acquired the denomination of Aleutian Islands and North America, while the clergy could be effectively referred to as American. Furthermore, since Tikhon almost immediately acknowledged how the

413 ARCHIMANDRITE SERAFIM, *The Quest for* pp. 25-26. Also in *Documents I*, SVTQ 1 (1975), pp.49-50. The document was diffused in 1905 through the *Messenger* as a paragraph of Tikhon's report for the All-Russian Local Sobor' APV 23 (1905), pp. 460-466, 461.

continued mobility of the bishop affected the diocese functioning, as he wrote on the eve of leaving for Alaska: “It's time again to go, for not less of three months and in force of this through away the other part of the eparchy (...) in this part income will not be harvested”,⁴¹⁴ he requested for the institution of a vicariate, and the appointing of at least one vicar bishop in the early first times of his permanence in America, insisting on the topic so much that he actually put a clause regarding this for his returning to the New World in 1904. He proposed Innocent Pustynskii,⁴¹⁵ a Russian cleric educated in Kiev, who had been appointed to the role of vicar regent of the prestigious Chudov monastery, located in the Kremlin, and that had already served previously in San Francisco and then in Alaska for five years. The news was spreading through Alaska already at the end of 1903. The local clergy was requested to diffuse the name of the Bishop and to acquaint parishioners to his arrival.⁴¹⁶ His appointment to the Alaskan See had been conveyed by the Russian Holy Synod in November 1903, and the elevation celebrated in St. Petersburg in December 1903. From a letter that Tikhon sent to Flavian and from the letters recollecting by Soldatow we can deduce that Innocent's nature was maybe that of a solitary, yet responsible and active man.⁴¹⁷ He deeply cared for his diocese, especially for the Alaskan vicariate, and was ready to help his bishop. It is reported that he even assisted at students' exams in Minneapolis. Education and enlightenment were at the top of his thoughts during his permanence in Alaska, considering the nature of the letters he received from government and local teachers.⁴¹⁸

The third to be elevated at the position of bishop in North America in the first years of 19th

414 PST Letter to Flavian, Mar. 30th, 1900 pp. 60-61 RGIA, f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d. 752, l. 52-53 ob. In another letter to Flavian Tikhon thus explained the vicariate issue. “Now 'Pro domo sua'. Being at home, instead of rest I found a mass of letters and things [to do]. These and certainly a lot more request me to write a letter to Konstantin Petrovich to give me a vicar. This was already requested by my predecessor, bishop Nicolai in 1895 and after him the enterprise spread and complicated itself. Certainly he will find not a little objections and difficulties, whom the major – monetary; but I wrote that I'm ready to remain only with 3.000 rubles and give up 2.000 [5000 rubles was Tikhon's monthly salary] for the vicar: it will be enough for both. The main will remain in the States and the vicar will go to Sitka where anything is ready for him: cathedral, baptistery, archiepiscopal house, clergy, school. Otherwise he would exclude the option to return to America. PST Letter to Flavian, Oct. 30th, 1901 pp. 92-93, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.70-71 ob. He confirmed this proposal also in Letter to Flavian, May 28th, 1903 pp. 138-139, RGIA f.796, op. 205 years 1888-1915, d.752, l. 97-98 ob.

415 G. SOLDATOW, *Preosviaschennyi episkop Innokentii (Pustynskii) i Aliaskinskoe Vikariatstvo 1902-1909. Podvizhnik Pravoslavia v Amerike. Sbornik pisem, statei, otchetov i dokumentov*. Pod redakzei G. M. Soldatova Tom 1-2, Minneapolis SSHA 2012.

416 ARC B27, Reel 25, ff.626-627.

417 G. SOLDATOW, *Preosviaschennyi episkop Innokentii*; PST c.239. Letter to Metropolitan Flavian (Gorodetzky) October 29th, 1908.

418 Bishop Innokentii proved to care very much to his Alaskan vicariate, struggling for its welfare and improving enlightenment among the flock. Nonetheless he was very critic towards Tikhon's administration considering it too weak because of his collegiality in decision and the character of his advisers of which he gave a very harsh description in a letter to the bishop of Pskov Arsenii (Stadnitskii). Innokentii's experience in Alaska is resumed in the 10th chapter of A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaja i Severo-Amerikanskaja* pp. 310-364 while the letter in question is quoted in pp. 353-354, dated Nov 17th, 1906, and conserved in GARF f. 550, op.1, d. 308, l. 105-108. Bishop Tikhon was usual to assist Minneapolis exams even before Innokentii's arrival *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946*, p. 36.

century was a Syro-Arab, the pillar of this ethnic community; his name was Raphael Hawaweeny.⁴¹⁹ Before the call to America he taught at the Kazan Theological Academy, holding a teaching position as professor of Arabic language. Raphael was consecrated bishop on March 11th, 1904 by Archbishop Tikhon and bishop Innocent, with the permission of Meletios II, Patriarch of Antioch. The permission was requested in order to maintain good relations with the Orthodox church the Arab immigrants related to.⁴²⁰ Meletios proclaimed the bishop's consecration in America (performed by Russian bishops) not only valid but also valuable in considering Raphael a bishop of the See of Antioch, sanctioning for him thus a double fidelity. With a letter to the Ecclesiastical consistory bishop Raphael communicated his appointment to the guide of the Syro-Arab North American Mission by order of the Russian Emperor himself.⁴²¹ As chief of the Syro-Arab Mission he had to facilitate the gathering and erection of new parishes and provide them with pastors. In doing this he was supposed to ask for official appointments by the Archbishop, in order to let the Syro-Arab missionary personnel receive a salary for their work.⁴²² Raphael asked funds to reinforce the ties with the Russian church and defend his flock from “the malevolent Maronite and Uniate people among the Syro-Arabs”.⁴²³ In his annual *otchet* (report) of 1898 he wrote that the Orthodox Syro-Arabs in America numbered 15.000 souls, for only four pastors.⁴²⁴ This number of clergymen grew over the years, thanks to the indefatigable commitment of bishop Raphael and, on the other side, the friendly answering of Tikhon, always prompt to be a useful medium between the composite diocese's needs and the Russian Holy Synod. Bishop Raphael was considered so indispensable by his flock that hearing rumors about a probable appointment to Lebanon of their shepherd, they sent a petition to the Holy Synod of Russia, as well as to the Antioch one, to have him remain in America.⁴²⁵ Bishop Raphael, since his arrival in America, started to reunite the dispersed Arab population into communities. He accomplished three missionary travels across America, one in 1895, the second in 1898 and the third one in 1899. He watched over priests, the construction of

419 BISHOP BASIL (ESSEY), *Our Father Among the Saints Raphael Bishop of Brooklyn: Good Shepherd of the Lost Sheep in America*, Antakya Press, 2000; B. ESSEY, *Saint Raphael Hawaweeny, Bishop of Brooklyn: “The Good Shepherd of the Lost Sheep in America”*, in A. CASIDAY, *The Orthodox Christian World*, Routledge, London 2012, pp. 338-344.

420 PST Letter to Patriarch Meletii 1904, p. 247. In 1899 Meletios Doumani became Patriarch of Antioch. He was the first Arab in 168 years to reach that title. Russians were involved in the matter. Tikhon on the occasion of the Consecration of the Arab Church in New York delivered a Sermon in which he emphasized the link between the two populations (Russian and Arab) united in the same faith. Circulating across the diocese there were rumors that Raphael could be chosen to recover the previous role Meletios had left as it actually happened, but he renounced in order to fulfill his duty toward the Arab American parishes. Furthermore, later in 1901 he was called again by the Antioch patriarchate, this time with the proposal to recover the role of vicar-bishop in Beirut. But he refused again. S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* pp.83-84; J. MEYENDORFF, *The Patriarch of Antioch and North America in 1904*, SVTQ 33/1 (1989), pp. 80-86. Raphael was the first orthodox to be elevated to the rank of bishop in America.

421 ARC B8, Reel 12, f.538. Letter with Syrian intestacy, dated November 4/16th 1898.

422 ARC B8, Reel 12, ff.541-544. Letters to Tikhon.

423 ARC B8, Reel 12, f.546. Letter to Tikhon, dated February 11/23rd, 1899.

424 ARC B8, Reel 12, f.549-552. Syro-Arab Otchet (Annual Report) for the year 1898.

425 ARC B8 Reel 12, f.562-563. Letter to Tikhon with no date, no sign, in English. Washed out.

temples, of cemeteries, and wrote books in Arabic to fulfill the spiritual and liturgical exigencies of his flock.⁴²⁶ At the beginning of his mandate Tikhon was welcomed by Raphael Hawaweeny who asked him to consider also the Syro-Arab flock as children of the same church. In answering this, Tikhon underlined how all the members of the Orthodox flock were dear to him. Despite in Russia it was not possible to see it, because all the orthodox were Russians, here in the new land this quality appeared in all his evidence outside Russian boundaries, as in America Greeks, Syro-Arabs and others met together under the same Orthodox church.⁴²⁷

The three bishops cooperated in the work of strengthening the presence and efficacy of the diocesan structure among the immigrants, to provide spiritual guidance, sacramental comfort and create a community that could remind them of those parishes they had left in their homeland. Each one of the three bishops was appointed by his principal authority. They reciprocally confirmed each other in their own role. Their appointment followed the rules given by the seven councils upon the bishop's role, consecration and duties. All three of them observed carefully the rules of the states they came from and had to learn and respect the rules of the states they were called to enlighten.

Since the numerous presence of Greeks in America requesting a bishop of their own, Tikhon inserted the request of a special Greek vicar bishop in his plan. Relationships with this denomination were peculiar because, if in the western coast parishes had been mixed with Russians, Serbians and Greeks, in eastern coast they tended to congregate in separate communities, erecting their own church and ministering by themselves, acknowledging only the authority of the European bishops over them.⁴²⁸ Their situation in the Old World was quite different from that experienced from the other patriarchates in that time, split between jurisdiction claiming autocephaly or internally lacerated by feuds. As for the Ecumenical patriarchate there were families of phanariots, who tried to achieve power by enthronization of their candidates as patriarch. The succession and deposition of patriarchs in Istanbul were so rapid that only in the 19th century it is possible to count 15 between 1835 and 1901, some of them deposed and reinstated another time or even two.⁴²⁹ Instead

426 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 83. In 1898 was published his first book. It is still in use in American communities, written in Arab language is "The Book of True Consolation in the Divine Prayers".

427 APV 1 (1899), p. 14. Quoted also in L. KISHKOVSKY, *Archbishop Tikhon in America*, SVTQ 1 (1975), pp. 9-31, 10; A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* pp. 11-12; APV 1 (1899), p. 12.

428 The Greek mass immigration started in the sixties of the 19th century. The parish of New Orleans seems to have been founded in 1864. Thirty years after Greek parishes can be recounted also in New York, Chicago, Lowell (Mass.), Philadelphia, Boston, Atlanta and Savannah. A. DOMOURAS, *Greek Orthodox communities in America Before World War I*, SVTQ 4 (1967), pp. 172-191.

429 D. GRIGORIEFF, *The Orthodox Church* p. 203; D. GRIGORIEFF, *The Historical Background* pp. 10-11. See also A. PALMIERI, *I patriarchi del Fanar nel XIX sec.*, in *Bessarione* 61 (1901), pp. 66-67; the *Bessarione* journal printed in Rome reported for all the years we are dealing into consideration reports of the situation in the Middle East among the Eastern churches. A contemporary Russian view on the Eastern patriarchates is that of V. SOLOVIEV, *La Chiesa* p. 110; More recent on the topic V. MARTANO, *Athenagoras, il patriarca (1886-1972)*, Bologna 1996; G. DEL ZANNA, *I cristiani e il Medio Oriente (1798-1924)*, Bologna 2011. See also the already quoted books written by P. M.

the Orthodox church in Greece though experiencing alternatives fortunes under the new Greek kingdom was freely associating and recovering its national role also in power of the nation building process that was going on since the accession to independence of Greece. This same different position was also reflected in the aspirations the Greek clergy and parishes displayed in the new world. They openly looked for freedom from the other Orthodox patriarchates.

In 1911 parishes of Greek composition reached 36.⁴³⁰ In the words of Thomas Burgess, the Church of the Greek immigrants in America was in a difficult situation, due to the irresponsibility of the system allowed by the mother church. He admitted how fast Greeks abandoned their tandem with Slavs and preferred to have their own edifices and cult temples. Previously they were, for the most part attached to other ethnic groups and provided by the Russian bishop with a priest that was Greek by ancestors but trained in Russian schools. This priest could manage liturgies in different languages and therefore satisfy his mixed parishioners' exigencies. The claim of independence of Greeks from Russian Jurisdiction had been taken up by the Constantinople patriarchate and then relinquished to the Holy Synod of Athens. However Macedonians in America were highly touched by this decision, seeing them like protégés and ready disappearing under Greek rule. The parishes situation was highly unstable. The Bishop and the Synod to which the priests referred to was in Europe. They worked in parishes usually born and grown around ethnic societies, the laws of which quite never allowed them to speak with a pastoral authority over local matters. Sometimes priests were fired by the same communities because they did not accept their style of life. Burgess invoked a local resident Bishop as the only solution to this situation.⁴³¹

In describing how many the branches of Orthodox Church there are, numbering all the fifteen independent churches recognized in those times he stated: "In America there are people and clergy from nearly all these Orthodox branches. But alas, the political rancor between Slav and Greek have thus far made cooperation between these two elements impossible".⁴³² Yet the animosity between the parishes increased in 1903-04 when three members of the Holy Trinity Greek parish in New York bought and thus became legally the owners of the Church, it seems, as Grigorieff states, "*in order to avoid being under the jurisdiction of the Russian Church*".⁴³³ Always the same historian alleged that in 1905 the Greek Church obtained a diversified incorporation from the Russians into

Kitromilides.

430 Atlanta, Baltimore, Birmingham, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, Galveston, Haverhill, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Lowell, Lynn, Manchester, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Nashua, Newark, New York, Omaha, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Portland, Providence, Pueblo, St. Louis, Salt Lake city, San Francisco, Savannah, Seattle, Sheboygan, Springfield, Washington DC. About 15 of them owned their buildings. H. PRATT FAIRCHILD, *Greek Immigration* p. 208.

431 T. BURGESS, *Greeks in America* pp. 55-58; M. BRUNEAU, *L'Eglise Orthodoxe et la diaspora hellénique*, *Social Compass* 40/2 (1993), pp.199-216, 204. I owe the knowledge of this article to dott. Angela Falcetta.

432 T. Burgess, *Greeks in America* p.121.

433 D. GRIGORIEFF, *The Orthodox Church* p. 203; D. GRIGORIEFF, *The Historical Background* pp. 10-11.

the state of New York, under the name of Hellenic Eastern Christian Orthodox Church. Grigorieff pointed out that in Midwest and East coast Greek communities persisted a sort of *double loyalty*, the communities recognizing both the authorities upon them, that of the Russian bishop at the same time and that of the Greek or Constantinople jurisdiction. In the western coast presence of committed Greek and Russian speaking pastors helped the Mission continue unifying denominations.⁴³⁴

However in Tikhon's time the situation was magmatic to such degree as to still receive requests from the Greek immigrants in order to join or help them orient themselves in the complex maze of immigrant Orthodoxy. Moreover, there were also Greeks who asked the Russian bishop to become pastors. One case is that of Ioann Solomonides, a Greek doctor living in New York, who asked bishop Raphael to help him become priest and cure the Orthodox souls as well as their bodies.⁴³⁵ The result of this requests was the activation of a series of contacts with the bishop of Smyrne, the city from where Ioann Solomonides came from, and after requests of approbation he could enter the number of the servants of the Orthodox faith in America. After this we find references to him in administrative correspondence between bishop Tikhon and V. K. Sabler. The bishop was petitioning the possibility of sending Ioann to study in a Russian Theological Academy.⁴³⁶ Ioann Solomonides was one of the first to warn the bishop about the tendency of his fellows in detaching themselves from the missionary diocese. He even argued the bishop could activate some “preventive measures” in order to stop the movement. He even attribute his becoming a priest to: “The divine dreams to unite the Hellenistic communities of America with the all brethren for a unique Orthodox diocese”.⁴³⁷ He thus explain his compatriots stance:

The Hellenistic antagonism to the religious united activity is fact not unknown. They are taken new steps for further separation and are preparing openly show to American people that there is not united Orthodox center, and common activity by bringing here a metropolitan, who will be forced by the demand of his community to stand far from us. After the establishment of the division we will see its bad result. By a wise and intelligent way we can prevent their further acts or the least we can diminish its effects and prepare for a better comprehensible activity.

Certainly it is not wise to show antagonistic spirit, neither without their consent to appoint a bishop for them.⁴³⁸

He made himself available to the bishop to follow the Greek issue, adding that he was aware of how the archbishop cared for the unity of all the branches of Orthodoxy in America. He thought he could successfully accomplish his duty because of several arguments that he listed:

434 *Russian Orthodoxy in the Pacific Northwest: The Diary of Father Michael Andreades, 1905-1906*, The Pacific Northwest Quarterly 92/3 (2001), pp.127-136.

435 ARC B8, Reel 12, ff.566-568. Letter to the North American Ecclesiastical Consistory May 12/25th, 1904.

436 PST Letter to V. K. Sabler February 1st, 1905, p.182.

437 ARC H5, Reel 362, ff.117-121. Letter in English to Tikhon. Feb. 9th, 1907 NY (Union Theological Seminary).

438 Ivi.

1) The Greeks will have no reason to complain for our Bishopric ordination for the American branch.

2) In Athens and Constantinople they know me well and are prepared to leave the Greek churches of America to our guidance. At present they are afraid their political party, but after regulated facts and opening a branch for work, they will think deeper and understand that they must not send other bishop independently acting, where already a compact and well organized Orthodox diocese is established.

3) If the Greeks will not follow us and want have a special bishop of their own, we will receive him gladly and brotherly, trying again to unite them with us upon new bases indicated by the circumstances meanwhile I shall continue preaching and celebrating and living from my medical practice until the income of the see will be sufficient then I shall take care for the clerical duty alone.⁴³⁹

Solomonides hinted between the lines the possibility of him being elevated to the rank of bishop for the “American-Greeks”, suggesting that his candidature could be pleasantly received also in the motherland. Yet the fracture was maybe too deep and spread in the territories to hope to reunite all the Greek parishes acting from above. There already had been disputes and tries of blackmailing the Slav administration by some representatives of the Greek parishes. Even the Greek Royal consulate was aware of that situation and tried to warn the Russian Missionary Diocese of what was happening.⁴⁴⁰ Nonetheless probably, almost initially the relationships were good even with the Greek detached parishes or at least remained on a dialogued hostility, as seen by the Easter wishes sent to bishop Tikhon by one of the first independent Greek parishes. Since 1904 several churches asked to become Hellenic independent churches. The Russian patriarchate could not interfere in their administration. Besides this official statement there were many other examples of Greeks cooperating in working with the Russian structure, sometimes only in asking funds for construction or furniture and Iconostasis for their churches.⁴⁴¹



Illustration 2: Easter Greetings, ARC H5, Reel 362, f. 269

439 Ivi.

440 ARC B2, Reel 8, f140. Letter to Father Andreadis from the Royal Consulate of Greece (Hans Heidnh), Dec. 13-26th, No year.

441 ARC H1, Reel 359, ff.691-694. Rev. Georges Joakeim of the Lowell parish called him “our protector”. See also the case of hieromonk Dorothei of the Chicago Greek church visiting dean Ioann Nedtsel'nitskii, after periodeuting in Canada in 1901 *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* pp. 31.

Bishop Raphael Hawaweeny, the first to receive bishop Tikhon on his landing in New York in 1898, was also the first to update his successor, bishop Platon (Rozhdestvenskii) on the state of the eparchy in 1909:

And so from a small Kernal of the Orthodox Spiritual Mission which was known as the Aleutian Diocese, a mighty oak has grown which is called the North American Diocese with two Vicar Bishops- of the Aleutians for the Aleuts and all the Alaskan islands, and Brooklyn for all Syro-Arabs – with these other heads of Orthodox missions: the Greek Archimandrite Theoklitos in Galveston, the Serbian Archimandrite Sebastian for the Serbs, and the American Priest Nathaniel for the Americans, with four religious journals – in Russian, Arabic, Serbian and English, and one religious newspaper for the Little-Russians. Besides all this the North American Diocese has two Seminaries- in Minneapolis and Sitka, two training schools in Cleveland and Unalaska, one Orphan's Home, one Monastery, a number of Sunday Schools and church Cemeteries, and more than one hundred parishes – the majority of which have their own church buildings - at the head of which stands this beautiful Cathedral, the Clergy number one hundred with Your Eminence at the Head.⁴⁴²

Although bishop Tikhon had to deal with an entire transformation of the Mission entrusted to him by the Holy Synod, providing material help as well an intellectual and ecclesiastical discussion of the motives and meanings of the Orthodox Church in America, he left a developed diocese to his successor, ready to flourish and with a series of programs that could be increased and perfected in the following years. He went to the foundations of their presence in America, holding true what he knew the most: “The age-old principles of the Russian people -its love for the Orthodox Faith, holy temples and divine services- are also present with the Russian people outside the borders of the fatherland, here, abroad”.⁴⁴³ These principles, fundamentals (*nachala*): the love of people for the Orthodox Faith, the holy temples and divine services were also those which Tikhon tried to emphasize in his American endeavor. They will be analyzed in the following chapters: the strengthening of an American clergy personnel, construction of edifices, and construction of parish structures and webs.

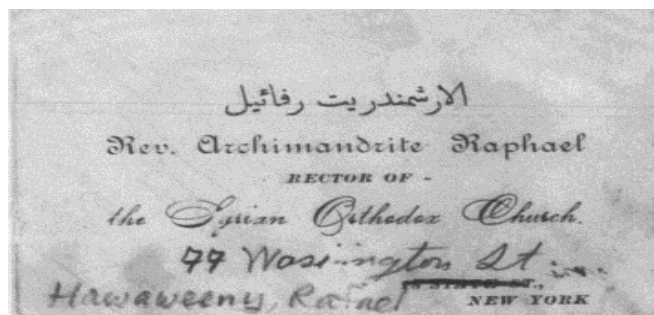


Illustration 3: business card

ARC B8, Reel 12, f.578.

442 ARCHIMANDRITE SERAFIM, *The Quest for* p. 27.

443 OW A Talk for the New Year. St. Nicholas Church, New York, January 11/24th, 1904, p. 246.

Chapter 3: **The first foundation. Clergy and structuration of the archbishopric.**

My heart is filled with sadness, (forgive me). [...] A thousand times I would like to wish not to be able to bind on earth but to be binded myself, so that I would have the power to bind others, even by the power entrusted to me by a higher Authority. I do not complain (Lord preserve me) but I only open myself to you as a useless son. Having to ask You my Lord those questions I did not expect a direct instruction to the church regulations, that I myself have under my hands, I read them and exactly that brings me to trembling; but I expected from you a fatherly explanation for my severe perplexity. Is there an implacable -truthful law also somewhere boundless love, - I am myself also a person with weaknesses. If these rules that your Eminence designed to inform me about will be followed, then almost everyone in Kodiak has to be tied up! Maybe with a few exceptions. Having lived about 16 years in a monastery, zealously, consciously knowing my own sinfulness, having no care of any kind, besides only that of keeping my own conscience clear and about my own confession but not of others, - having lived like that, to tell under the protection of wings of elders, as does a sick child in the hands of a nannie, having just recovered health and somewhat matured? Suddenly I meet face to face a horrible moral sickness and monstrous vices, that I have to heal other people. I am inexperienced in spiritual practice and I did not know before my own weaknesses.

Hieromonk Nikita, Kodiak, Dec 2nd, 1880.⁴⁴⁴

Since the publication of professor Gregory Freeze's books about the condition of Russian Parish clergy in 18th and 19th century, a new interest toward the so called "Clergy Soslovie" has developed also in Historiographical Studies of Russian provenience, moreover eased by the recent opening of the archives.⁴⁴⁵ This new interest comprises the shaping of questions about social and cultural composition of the clergy; their role, main activities and duties in the communities; the material means which were placed at their disposal by the parishioners or granted by the state; new questions about their expenses or systems of self-helping as a caste as well as the development of caste-problematics and inner political and cultural tendencies; a definition in number of their actual presence and dispersion in the Empire, sustained by demographic methods of cataloging; the displaying of a gamut of different relationships toward the other Russian castes and eventually the capability of exercising authority of spiritual as cultural character in the eyes of the parishioners.⁴⁴⁶

444 Letter from Hieromonk Nikita, Kodiak Dec. 2nd, 1880, in *The Right Reverend Nestor* pp. 119-121.

445 G. L. FREEZE, *The Parish clergy in nineteenth-century Russia : crisis, reform counter-reform*, Princeton University Press 1983. G. L. FREEZE, *The Russian levites: parish clergy in the eighteenth century*, Harvard University press 1977.

446 D. SCARBOROUGH, *The White Priest at Work: the Growth of Clerical Community and Clerical Philanthropy in Late Imperial Russia*, Paper presented at the 43rd Annual Convention of the ASEES, November 17-20, 2011,

Indeed these questions raised also new perspectives on the dissent movements that spread in Russian clergy at the beginning of 20th century, which were actually nearest to the “White clergy” sensibilities.⁴⁴⁷ Despite this new flow of methodically analyzed documents located in the central archives as well as those pertaining to the regional funds of the Empire, the American experience had been quite relegated to a dark corner due to his peculiarities, especially concerning its mixed cultural imprinting and separateness.

The American Diocese's ethnic mixed composition requested not only an organized and far-sighted leader but also an array of indefatigable, problem-solving and committed helpers who could be entrusted with the different parts of the exarchate. Some of them have already been dedicating relevant works, through the collection of materials and documents (as for bishop Innokentii Pustinskii, father Alexander Hotovitskii and father Ioann Nedzel'nitskii),⁴⁴⁸ through biographies or short essays (like for the Archimandrite Sebastian Dabovich),⁴⁴⁹ and other studies which are going to appear (like a collection of the homilies of Raphael Hawaweeny), tells us how the interest toward this field is still burning.⁴⁵⁰ Many other priests are yet to be studied and deserve attention like father Alexander Kedrovskii, dean in Unalaska or father Mikhail Andreades and Vladimir Alexandrov, pillar of the West Coast mission, or father Mikhail Skibinskii, Enlightener of Canada. This chapter is not meant to become a survey in prosopography of the Diocesan clergy, but it will point to them as actors of the huge web of relationships that united the Diocese. Some issues in which quite all of them could be involved will be explored. Selected arguments will underline how clergy was

Washington DC; S. KENWORTHY, *An Orthodox Social Gospel in Late-Imperial Russia*, Religion and Society in Central and Eastern Europe, 1(May 2006), pp. 1-29. A. V. MANGILEVA, *Sovremennaia istoriografiia istorii dukhovnogo sosloviia v Rossii XIX- nachala XX v.*, Vestnik Ekaterinburgskoi dukhovnoi seminarii 1(5) 2013, pp. 134-149; A. V. MANGILEVA - *Sem'ia kak tzentr formirovaniia soslovnoi kultury belogo dukhovenstva (na primere cem'i kapustinykh)*, in *Obschestvennaia mysl' i traditsii Russkoi dukhovnoi kultury v istoricheskikh i literaturnykh pamiatnikakh XVI-XX vv. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, Novosibirsk 2005, pp. 28-36.

447 A pioneering work was that of P. C. BORI – P. BETTILOLO, *Movimenti religiosi in Russia prima della rivoluzione (1900-1917)*, Brescia 1978.

448 G. SOLDATOW, *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi v Amerike. Pod. Red. G. M. Soldatowa, T. I, 1896-1909*, AARDM Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota 1998. Alexander Hotovitskii, born in 1871 from a clergy Soslovie family in Zhitomir (Volynia), studied in the local seminary then in the St. Petersburg Theological Academy. He graduated in 1895. In that same year he applied to go to America. He was assigned in June to the New York city parish as second church reader. In 1896 he was ordinate to the diaconate and then to the priesthood. In his American service he recovered the role of Dean, Responsible for the Treasury, director of the APV, of the Mutual Aid Society, he got in contact also with the YMCA, the Episcopalians, the civil authorities of the US. He remained 12 years in America, was assigned then to Finland as Dean of all the orthodox churches in the city of Helsinki, later in 1917 he returned to Russia as the Church Keeper of the Christ the Saviour Cathedral. He died in 1937 in a concentration camp after his last arrest in 1931, and the Cathedral demolition. He was one of the most active Tikhon's collaborators. Alexander was in fact sent to resolve difficult cases (for example in Philadelphia) and trusted of the responsibility of the main organs of the Diocese.

449 A. VALLENS, *Archimandrite Sebastian Dabovich. The first American Serbian Orthodox Apostle*, HIEROMONK DAMASCENE (CHRISTIANSEN), *Archimandrite Sebastian Dabovich. Serbian Orthodox Apostle to America*, OW 43/1-2 (2007).

450 http://www.ancientfaith.com/podcasts/history/the_homilies_of_st._raphael_hawaweeny#11208 (October 21st, 2013).

intended to be one of the foundations of the Diocesan functioning and living, on which the bishop could rely on in a normal asset; however, they could autonomously carry out their work in his absence as well.

In a Missionary diocese, the clergy personnel is supposed to be first of all composed by missionaries. The Missionary purpose, even if representing a common concern in the life of the eparchy, was nonetheless entrusted concretely to specific clergy personnel. There were Mission centers, the main of which in Tikhon's time were still located in Alaska as for instance the distant Mission of Kwickpack and Kuskowim, but also in other parts of the Diocese like Canada, Seattle and Galveston, or formed around ethnic compositions like that of the Syro-Arabs and the Serbs ones; there were stable parishes, with their *periodeuts* accomplishing the liturgical and pastoral duties in the villages around the main Orthodox parishes. There were finally cultural approaches to Americans that could be spread through publications and the presence of the parish itself.

Little communities gathered around a chapel and visited by a *periodeut* usually soon requested to have a resident priest. The families signed a petition requesting that the bishop should let them establish a parish. They had to propose a salary that they could collect among themselves and that could sustain the priest's necessities. The salary was considered a strong clause in order to grant a priest, otherwise the parish was destined to be attached to a larger one (*pripisany*), as happened in Russia, where the capability of maintaining a priest's family increasingly became the turning point in receiving the status of autonomous parish after the reform of 1869 and the Synod Acts of 1890 and 1905.⁴⁵¹ In America this capability did not mean an immediate status of autonomy due to scarcity of priests, but it prevented the parish system from collapsing under the high mobility of immigrants that could leave ghost or impoverished towns behind them. The richness parameter (in wealth and believers) guided the foundation of an American Orthodox parishes' web.

Having a permanent priest in the parish was considered not only a way to obtain spiritual and ethical care in an immigrant community, but a way to resemble Russia as well: "The parish priest stood as an authority in the ecclesiastic system not only liturgically but educationally as well. Parishioners recognized him as a teacher and preacher, not only in religious and ethical matters but also in regard to more practical concerns".⁴⁵² The very articulate *curricula studiorum* priests were submitted to in Russian seminaries became sometimes also a source of material help for the communities that were entrusted to them. In Sitka, father Methodius Vvedenskii, who was disposed

451 V. SHEVZOV, *Russian Orthodoxy* pp. 73-75, 80-94.

452 Ibidem p. 80.

and educated to medicine was so welcomed and became so indispensable to his community that he was praised with a public letter written by the inhabitants of his city. The letter of gratitude was printed in the *American Orthodox Messenger*, informing all the Diocese that Sitka community wanted to give him a silver cross as a sign of gratitude.⁴⁵³ Another doctor of which we have testimonies in those years was aforementioned Ioann Solomonides.

The clergy displayed material interest in their parishioners wellbeing and in the knowledge of their economic activities, which reverberated in the articles reported in the APV. Things such as apiaries in Sitka (built by father Methodius Vvedenskii himself) and the health of fishing appear as topics requiring entire pages of discussion.⁴⁵⁴ And they deserved no less space than other more ecclesiastical concerns. The possible economic wealth of the community was an appeal the bishop himself used to obtain funds for his diocese. In requesting the permission to build a male monastery he emphasized the economic return it could imply for those families involved in a monastic structure.⁴⁵⁵

Since mundane experience seemed to be a skill requested of the clergy before going to the Missionary diocese, it is not surprising that the teaching experience became a common characteristic to which priests had to answer. Teaching programs will be analyzed in a following chapter, it suffices here to say that they usually did not avoid subjects concerning practical life such as hygiene, arithmetic and geography, English language and history (especially in Alaska where parish schools had to function as the only source of education) rather than providing only lessons of chanting, prayers, Gospel readings and the sayings of the Holy fathers of the Church. In at least one case we have knowledge that an Orthodox priest was requested to teach also in a public school.⁴⁵⁶

Clergy personnel moving from Russia to America were provided of a sum of money before leaving, it was called the *progon*. It was planned to serve as a payment for the traveling costs, and helping fund in the first two years of work in the new world, reaching for this reason a large amount. Since the availability of *progon* did not seem to be problematic, those country priests that lived in miserable condition in the poorest Dioceses of Russia frequently asked to be reassigned

453 *Letter to the Editor*, *Russian American Messenger* APV August 28th, 1900 16/4 p.327 For the education programs in the Russian seminaries see G. Freeze, *The parish clergy* pp. 443-537; M. Köhler-Baur, *La formazione religiosa superiore in Russia nel XIX secolo*, in Gregory L. Freeze – N. Kauchtschischwili – A. Piovano – S. Senyk – A. Lambrechts – R. Salizzoni – P. Deseille – E. Behr-Sigel – M. Hagenmeister – K. Ch. Felmy – G. M. Prochorov – M. Kohler-Baur – T. R. Rudi – I. V. Basin – R. Čemus – A. Rigo – V. A. Kotel'nikov – S. Ipatova – T. Špidlik – G. Zjablicev – M. Garzaniti – E. G. Vodolazkin, *La grande vigilia*, Magnano (BI) 1998; M. COGNOLATO, *La ricerca degli inizi e dei fondamenti della chiesa ortodossa d'America*, 2009-2010 M.A. Dissertation, pp. 108-114.

454 Tikhon Shalamof, *A reply to the article "The Ruination of the Alaska fisheries" in the Weekly Examiner of march 9, 1900* in APV July 28th, 1900, 14/4 pp.286-288; *Apiculture at Sitka* APV October 28th, 1900 20/4 pp. 417-418.

455 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 89.

456 He was Vasilii Petrov Kashevarov in Unalaska. ARC B11, Reel 14, ff. 490.

to the American shores. But none of these desperate men reached the New World, since the chosen ones were shrewdly valued, in behavior and education.

Although endowed with practical skills clergy personnel were mainly asked to take care of the spiritual guidance of their flock. Tikhon often reminded to his clergy that they had to resemble the First Pastor in manners. Even though many priests complained that their main tasks seemed to them to the accomplishment of bureaucratic duties and journeys in order to reach their parishioners, the bishop, while addressing to them, always emphasized their role in communities and did not avoid asking a profound commitment to the *podvig* they were requested to do. He asked them to work on themselves primarily, to read the Gospel, to improve themselves continuously, in order to finally produce a better service to their flock and the Orthodox Church.

3.1. A clergy Soslovie rarity

One of the most controversial features of Russian Orthodox Church was the formation of a secluded caste among the clergy, who married daughters of priests, had their proper schools and handed on parish properties from father to son.⁴⁵⁷ Although several reforms were put in action in order to modify these long lasting Russian costumes the task was difficult to fulfill, especially since it provided a perpetuation of a lifestyle that was inherited as well as the study of liturgies and chant. Studying the American Soslovie implies to take in charge typically missionary problems as: the displacing of uprooted personnel, while in the motherland they did not tend to move but to replace the previous clergy generation in the same region of settlement of their forefathers; the temporary permanence of the clergy in the missionary endeavor which could last two or three years or seldom cover a period of more than a decade but that was normally destined to finish with the candidate life as his family rarely remained in the new world; the completely different system of recruitment owing to a different density of Orthodox people and the initial absence of a seminary in which to train local clergy; and eventually the quite atypical cases of conversion (or reunion) of priests coming from other Christian denominations to Orthodoxy (especially from Unia). The Clergy Soslovie in America had no time to grow as a characteristic feature of Orthodox Russian Mission. The mission stemmed originally from monks could not easily afford even decades later that social

457 G. FREEZE, *The Soslovie (Estate) Paradigm and Russian Social History*, *The American Historical Review* 91/1 (1986), pp. 11-36.

family system. Perhaps only in Alaska and especially in such isolated places as the Missions established in the Islands an example of settling of this pattern.

The Kashevarov family, who might be traced back to Baranov's times is maybe the best example of the possibility to establish a Russian clergy Soslovie in America. Philip Kashevarov had been one of Baranov's foreman but in the meantime he had maintained himself and his family near to the Russian Mission and monks. This family generated in the following century a lot of priests and teachers who can be recognized while leafing through the lists of clergy personnel; some of them led Aleutian communities.⁴⁵⁸ A deacon, Vasili (Gavrilov) Kashevarov and a psalmist, Petr (Petrov) Kashevarov, could be found in San Francisco in 1870 while bishop Ioann Mitropolskii was appointed to the new Cathedral See.⁴⁵⁹ At Tikhon's times almost three branches of the Kashevarovs working for the eparchy could be counted, thus representing at that time the unique example of clearly visible clergy Soslovie in the North American and Alaskan Diocese:

1. Petr Petrov Kashevarov (former priest of Kodiak).

● Petr Petrov Kashevarov *1857, Belkovsk-Unalaska-St.George Island.

1898 Deacon in Unalaska. He had studied at San Francisco's Orthodox school. He had to be reassigned and asked not to be sent again in Belkovsk (in which he was assigned since 1875, but in 1894 he was destined to Kuskowim for one year) where he admitted to have behaved very badly. Instead he asked to be sent as priest to St. George Island (one of the Pribilof Island). He was permitted to go there but he had to promise to remain for at least 5 years. He was elevated to the rank of priest. On the promise he made on his consecration there is also the signature of his wife Anna Tikhonovna (daughter of a Russian merchant, *1861) who promised to behave adequately to the rank of his husband. He there held also the role of teacher. She taught English in that same school since 1898.⁴⁶⁰

1903 He requested to be sent to Unalaska.⁴⁶¹

○ Lavrentii Petrov Kashevarov * 1882, SPB seminary-Unga-Sitka.

1902 Seminary in SPB (since 1895).⁴⁶²

1903 Assigned to Unga as psalmist and teacher.⁴⁶³

1904 Moved to Sitka as teacher.⁴⁶⁴

○ Petr Petrov Kashevarov * 1885 we have news of him, for his brother Lavrentii petitioned the bishop to let him also attend the seminary in Russia. He studied at the Unalaska Veniaminov School.⁴⁶⁵

○ Vladimir Petrov Kashevarov *1887. He studied at the Unalaska Veniaminov School.⁴⁶⁶

458 M.J. OLEKSA, *Orthodoxy and the Evolution* pp.252-253; *The Alaskan Russian Church Archives. Records of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic church of North America-- Diocese of Alaska*, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress 1984, p. 26.

459 APV 15 (1898), p. 459.

460 ARC B11, Reel 14, ff. 251-252; 253-254; 255-256; 263-264; A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p.40; Appointing document ARC D56, Reel 72, f.325; Record of the English lessons D54, Reel 71, f.230; St.George Island parish register D151, Reel 221, ff.289-290.

461 ARC B11, Reel 14, f. 289.

462 ARC B10, Reel 13, f. 671; APV 3 (1897), p.76.

463 ARC B10, Reel 13, f. 672; 676; D32, Reel 58, ff.559-560.

464 ARC B10, Reel 13, ff. 678-679.

465 ARC H1, Reel 360, ff.434-435; D151, Reel 221, ff.289-290.

466 ARC D151, Reel 221, ff.289-290.

2. Petr Filippov Kashevarov (who probably had a brother Pavel Filippov, he was priest in Kodiak too).

● Nikolai Petrov Kashevarov * 1858 Afognak - Nushagak- Kodiak- Unga.

1898 He was priest in Afognak. Received a Silver medal, had studied in San Francisco, married to Alexandra Apollonia.⁴⁶⁷

1900 He was assigned to Nushagak and asked for a psalmist to help him. He was also a teacher in the local school. In those years he accumulated a great debt with the Alaskan Commercial company.⁴⁶⁸

1905 Bishop Innokentii appointed him to Kodiak.

Then probably he retired and asked to be assigned to Unga Island as psalmist in reason of his poorness.⁴⁶⁹

○ Ilia Nikolev Kashevarov *1891.

○ Andrei Nikolaev Kashevarov *1895. He is recorded to have studied at Nushagak parish school in the years 1903-1905.⁴⁷⁰

○ Nikolai Nikolaev Kashevarov *1898.

○ Nina Nikolaevna *1900.

● Andrei Petrov Kashevarov *1863 Nutchek, Kodiak, Sitka.

1898 Psalmist and teacher in Nutchek, asked to be appointed to Kodiak, where he was sent. He had studied in San Francisco in the Cathedral school and in public school (and had served as a psalmist in San Francisco). Married to Marfa Trifleva, daughter of a Kreol.⁴⁷¹

1900 He was transferred to Sitka, where he also as helped the teacher in the Missionary School.⁴⁷²

1904 He was elevated to the rank of deacon and then of priest. (He became the second priest of the Cathedral of Sitka). He was later appointed to Jackson (California).⁴⁷³

○ Kirill Andreev Kashevarov *1896.

○ Nina Andreevna *1898.

● Vasilii Petrov Kashevarov *1868 Nushagak-Unalaska

1898 Psalmist in Nushagak. Since his wife was ill he asked to move to Unalaska, where there was a doctor. He proposed himself as psalmist and teacher. As his health worsened as well, he again asked to be replaced. He had studied at San Francisco in the Cathedral school and in public school and bishop Vladimir had then appointed him as English teacher in the local seminary. He was married with Alexandera Nikolaevna, daughter of the priest of St.Paul Island (N. Rysev), she studied at the parish school of Kodiak.⁴⁷⁴

1899 In Unalaska he asked for ordination. He was ordained deacon and then priest by bishop Tikhon.⁴⁷⁵

1903 Second teacher in Unalaska and priest. They proposed him to become a teacher in the public school and since they paid him he decided to accept. He made a proposal to manage himself with the Saturday school but to leave some teaching in the parish school to other teachers.⁴⁷⁶

1907 He asked to return in Nushagak.⁴⁷⁷

○ Elizaveta Vassilevna *1884.

○ Petr Vassiliev Kashevarov *1898. He is reported to have studied in Nushagak parish school in the years 1906-1908.⁴⁷⁸

467 ARC D254, Reel 175, ff.300-302;

468 ARC B10, Reel 14, ff.68-69; 70-71; 75; 83.

469 ARC B10, Reel 14, f.84

470 ARC D191, Reel 138, ff. 274-291.

471 ARC B10, Reel 13, ff.567-568; 569; D254, Reel 175, ff. 200-203.

472 ARC B10, Reel 13, ff. 575-576; 584.

473 ARC B10, Reel 13, ff. 623-624; 626-627. A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p. 428.

474 ARC B11, Reel 14, ff. 475-476; 477; 478; D96, Reel 94, ff.434-435.

475 ARC B11, Reel 14, ff. 480.

476 ARC B11, Reel 14, ff. 490.

477 ARC B11, Reel 14, ff. 496.

478 ARC D191, Reel 138, ff. 293-312.

3. Vasilii Gavrilov Kashevarov Killisnoo-San Francisco

1898 Ex-deacon. Asked to be appointed to Killisnoo as psalmist and teacher.⁴⁷⁹

1899 He repeatedly asked to return in San Francisco.⁴⁸⁰

It is possible to see that unlike their Russian counterparts they seldom married daughters of priests but like them usually received the best regional Orthodox education of their time. In fact they were sent to study in San Francisco (cathedral school and sometimes in the public school also) or for the youngest generation in one case even in a St. Petersburg seminary (the Alexander Nevskii). Thus the Kashevarov family members were not only priests or deacons but were appointed also as teachers. Moreover also one of their wife, Anna Tikhonovna worked as English teacher.⁴⁸¹ Near the names of the members of the family there have been recorded the names of the places where they served only during Tikhon permanence. It was to underline the high mobility their families were subjected to as well as how the parish pastoral guidance could not repose on familiarity and on a geographical stability as the Russian clergy soslovie structure led to think. The last generation, which stemmed from bishop Nikolai's and bishop Tikhon's permanence in America, was too young to have been enrolled in seminarian studies for the years under examination. It could be nonetheless interesting to inquire whether they continued the soslovie or took other professional careers.

Another numerous family was that of the Kedrovskii. A family originated in Vologda region, of clergy soslovie, they resided mostly in Alaska. The most important of them was priest Alexander Nikolaev (1893-1908), who held the post of *Blagocinnii* in Unalaska district for more than a decade, since 1894.⁴⁸² His brother, priest Raphael Nikolaev was reported to have served in St. George Island and in Unalaska as psalmist and teacher. He had previously been shifted to Unalaska because his previous appointment had proved to be damaging his health. However his moving was not sufficient. He finally had to return to Russia with his family (2 adults and 4 children) in 1900 because of his illness.⁴⁸³ There was also a third brother working in Alaska: Apollinariii Nikolaev (in America 1901-1915), he started his American career as psalmist and since 1903 he was also a teacher in Unalaska.⁴⁸⁴ Looking at the names of the clergy there appears also a Ioann Kedrovskii,

479 ARC B11, Reel 14, ff.445-446; D96, Reel 94, f.415, 418-419.

480 ARC B11, Reel 14, ff. 447; 477.

481 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p.135.

482 ARC Clergy Book, Unalaska parish, D 93, Reel 94, ff. 322-323; D96, Reel 94, f.434. Born in 1871 he was married to Anna Mitrofanova, daughter of a priest of Vologda diocese (she had been a teacher). They had five children: Afagangel, Angelina, Adelaida, Valerian and Aristoklii.

483 PST Letter to V. K. Sabler, Apr 29th, 1899 pp. 28, RGIA, f.799, op. 25, year 1897, d.226, l.32-33 ob, See also ARC B13 Reel 16, f.14-18.

484 ARC D96, Reel 94, ff.419-421; 436-437, Born in 1875, married to Anna Nikolaevna he had two children: Valentina and Boris.

probably the later Renovatianist bishop of New York. He served during the years 1904-1906 in the cities of Old Forge and Chicago. The Kedrovskii example shows the feature of a *horizontal clergy soslovie*, extended in one generation but involving several members of the same family. The case of two brothers who left together for the American land was less rare. Benedikt Turkevich was followed after some years by his brother who would become bishop Leontii in Orthodox America.⁴⁸⁵ The Alexandrov brothers father Vladimir and psalmist Pavel lived in Seattle.⁴⁸⁶ There were also the Kal'nev brothers psalmist Alexander and father Vladimir.⁴⁸⁷ The Mitropolskii family composed by bishop Ioann and his brother Pavel had reached the shore of America already in the late sixties. It happened thirty years before bishop Tikhon came to America, later accompanied by his brother.

3.2 We need clergy!

One of the first duties Tikhon encountered was that of ordaining clergy to priesthood and deacons, but also of appointing psalmists. Since his first days after landing, he started visiting the parishes of the East coast. On December 2/14th and 3/15th Vladimir Kal'nev of Allegheny and Miron Volkai of Sheppton became deacons, on the occasion of his passing through the cities. Three days later Volkai was ordained priest and appointed to Sheppton.⁴⁸⁸ It seems, looking at the documents in the archive, that every kind of event was a good occasion for elevating clergy: during church consecration as in 1906 in Minneapolis, where M. Fekula was elevated to the rank of deacon and Andrei Solianka to that of ipodeacon, because of the bishop's pastoral visit, or for the congresses of brotherhoods.⁴⁸⁹ Sometimes selection of personnel was requested on a linguistic skill exigence. In 1900 in Allegheny Vladimir Kal'nev was consecrated priest because of his mastering Serbian language, an essential knowledge in such a mixed parish. In Lowell the Arab community requested the bishop to consecrate as priest a businessman of their city, Mikhail Husan.⁴⁹⁰ Despite Tikhon commitment to the search for missionaries, the lack of personnel continued to be a wound to the

485 A. SCHMEMANN, *Three bishops*, SVTQ

486 ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 506-508.

487 ARC B9, Reel 13, ff. 286-293; Alexander Alexandrov Kal'nev finished the Elizavetgrad Institute in 1892 and after having held several roles in the Cherson Diocese in 1898 was accepted in the American Mission. There was also another brother psalmist Pavel but we don't know if he had served in the American Mission.

488 A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* pp. 12-15; APV 1 (1899), pp. 16-17. Miron Volkai later returned to Unia.

489 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 135, 125.

490 A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* pp. 29, 64.

eparchy during all those years. The absence of a formed clergy *soslovie* increased the problem, causing a gap in a traditional natural source of levites. A great number of priests and deans lamented how that they were always on the run, following trains, in peregrination from one parish to the other in order to serve the vast amount of communities entrusted to them. Rev. Alexander Hotovitskii of New York for example explained his problems to the bishop, acquainting him with of the growing number of the New York attached parishes he had to run to and asking for help.⁴⁹¹

Furthermore the frequent elevation to priesthood soon depleted the number of lower clergy present in the diocese. In 1900 Tikhon wrote that the only deacon of the eparchy, father Ilya, had had to be consecrated as a priest. Those who had been prepared to become psalmists often chose other careers because they could not sustain their life and their families with the low salary granted by parishes. If not recognized as resident psalmists they could not even count on a minimum fixed stipend each month.⁴⁹² The bishop in the end was always asking for clergy personnel from his links in Russia, and it is noteworthy to say he was especially looking for monks, who could be easier maintained by poor communities, because without a family. In a letter to the vice ober-procurator Sabler, after a refusal by a priest who promised to go to serve in America he was exasperated: "I need people and I don't know them, where I am going to take them?"⁴⁹³ He insisted so much that he felt embarrassed for it: "I bothered Vladimir Karlovich, with the issue to provide hieromonks for America, [Hope] he did not get angry with me because of this! Even in Russia it is not easy to find people and here for us it is even worse!"⁴⁹⁴

Distance from Russia to America still represented a great problem, despite the significant improvement of travel systems in comparison to the first mission situation. Sometimes, after being chosen, candidates to clergy service were not seen for months in the place where they were supposed to work. Alaskan region was the most difficult zone. Priests still did not want to go there.

491 ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 824-827. Letter to Tikhon March 2/19th, 1899; ff. 829-832 Letter to Tikhon March 6th, 1899 also reported in *Sv. Aleksandr: Missionerskii period* pp. 30-32.

492 PST Letter to Flavian, Dec 8th, 1900 pp.76-77, RGIA f.796, op.205 (1888-1915), d.752, l.64-65 ob. For a survey on the different position of clergy, and the reform on ranks of 1869 see G. L. FREEZE, *The Parish clergy* p.53, 317. For psalmists choosing other professions see for example *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* pp. 18-20, 42.

493 PST Letter to Sabler, Sept. 3rd, 1901 pp.86-87, RGIA f. 796, op. 182, year 1901, d. 4069 l. 6-7 ob. Tikhon carried with him friends and clergy he knew from Kholm' time, but they were not enough to satisfy the eparchy exigencies. Actually sometimes he received strange requests from people that placed themselves at his disposal and that were difficult to value in their effective trustfulness. For example once he wrote: "We find hunters, where until now we had not even thought of casting our nets. (...) A repented Tolstoian, about whom I know nothing, and I'm not going to ask more about him, so I don't know neither his purposes nor his means. Certainly I will be happy if he will succeed in bringing Canadian Dukhobors back to reason, but with what forces?" PST Letter to Sabler, Mar. 12th, 1902 pp. 101-102, RGIA, f.796, op. 183, year 1902, d.4515, l.1-2 ob;

494 PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, Dec. 4th, 1901 p. 96, RGIA, f.796, op. 183, year 1902, d.4454, l.3-3 ob.

It was too cold for them.⁴⁹⁵ Even monks refused to go there, appealing to family problems!⁴⁹⁶

	1898 ⁴⁹⁷	1903 ⁴⁹⁸	1905 ⁴⁹⁹
Priests	42	4 Archimandrites 3 Protoierei 9 Hieromonks 34 priests	3 Archimandrites 3 Protoierei 3 Hieromonks 53 priests
Deacons		1 Hierodeacon	3 Hierodeacons
Psalmists	25	24	38 psalmists and teachers
tot	67	75	103

Parishes usually waited a long time to finally see their clergy, sometimes they even suggested someone a parishioner had known before the departure for America. Waiting wore out people. Communities reached the point to offer to pay everything was requested by the candidate, but however the priest did not come or they had to wait again. This time waste of time ruined trust in the church or caused problems in the celebrations of liturgies and in the life of parishes who saw the growth of groups of power among the laity, often divided by ethnic boundaries.⁵⁰⁰

In his letters Tikhon frequently lamented the situation of the clergy in his diocese. It was really difficult to find priests and missionaries that were honest and apt to the job in the new world. When he finished his acquaintances at the Kholm seminary, or friends to whom ask for recommended personnel he had to look for candidates through the application system.⁵⁰¹ The Library of Congress Archive is full of applications arrived in the two cathedral see of New York and San Francisco. Young seminarians, desperate priests without collocation or gaining the minimum for subsistence asked for a job. A great number of them were attracted by earning the *progon*, or

495 PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, May 2nd, 1899 pp. 31-33, RGIA f. 799, op. 25, year 1897, d. 226, l. 34-35 ob. In a letter a psalmist, Simeon Sal'nzev from Turkestan, asked him (pretending to be writing to bishop Pavel!) for a place where he could find good weather due to his health problems. ARC D 451, Reel 287, ff.153-154. Also a candidate of theology of Kazan, Vladimir Podobedov asked him to be sent everywhere but not Alaska. He claimed he was interested in English speaking countries. ARC D 451, Reel 287, ff.155-160.

496 PST Letter to V.K. Sabler, Sept 3rd, 1901 pp. 86-87, RGIA f.796, op.182, year 1901, d.4069, l. 6-7 ob. Father Nedzel'nitskii ascribe the refusal of many priests to go to America to ignorance on local lifestyle. He said that in Russia it was still thought America mainly lived by Indians that could "*scalpirovat*" missionaries. *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* p. 37.

497 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p. 21. Quotation from the 1898 otchet.

498 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 399. From APV 1903, pp. 30-31.

499 Ibidem otchet 1905, p. 295.

500 PST Letter to Sabler, Jan. 13th, 1904 pp.177-178, RGIA, f.796, op. 182, year 1901, d.4122, l.100-101.

501 His American clergy also was committed in choosing priests: they were requested to give referees to those they already knew as happened in 1899 when Ioann Nedzel'nitskii answered to Tikhon about a certain Moldavian priest, father Sumarenko *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946*, pp. 11-12.

were fascinated by the idea of seeing and sensing a new style of life. Tikhon consequently had to research motives to believe in their good intentions and good way of life. He asked their previous dioceses for the *service status* when possible, or the seminary personnel the candidate affirmed to pertain or have attended for a personal valuation of the individual and his habits (usually reported by the rector). However the choice was a question of fortune and trust in people. Sometimes the choice deeply affected the parish the candidate was assigned to, the new arrived becoming a benediction or a misfortune for them. It seems that the bishop's major criteria in choosing personnel were three. First: candidates did not have to show too much interest in *progon*. "It's not little troublesome with those Russian-American "birds" that fly across there and back to their parts!".⁵⁰² Tikhon lamented that a lot of candidates applied only in order to receive the *progon*. They used it to come to America but after a while, tired of the hard life and displacing, they asked to return to their motherland after only two or three years. To Tikhon choosing represented a heavy burden on his shoulders since a good deal of money of Russian church were dispersed and wasted. These expenditures was one of the main items on the Holy Synod's list for the Missionary Diocese.⁵⁰³ Moreover it was not easy to ask for *progon* for certain categories of people. For example for novices it was hardly granted.⁵⁰⁴

The second criteria was that of behavior, the habits of a priest. Tikhon proved to be very selective on the matter. Of a priest he said: "he is sober and educated, he drinks they say, but not a lot, we don't know about women".⁵⁰⁵ Alcoholism was a big problem for clergy as for lay immigrants. Tikhon tried to send back clergy with alcohol problems to Russia.⁵⁰⁶ He tried to avoid also scandals, as we have news of a priest who had a relation with a Hungarian woman, and lived with her and her daughter, though he had a wife with children living in the Hapsburg Empire. His name was Dimitrii Gebbei. Carpatho-Russian in provenience, he was a Uniate priest who had joined Orthodoxy in St. Petersburg in September 1898. Before the reunion he had been teacher of Church history and Canon law. Once in America he had been appointed responsible for the parish in

502 PST Letter to Sabler, Sept. 5th, 1901 pp.88-89, RGIA, f.796, op. 182, year 1901, d.4069, l.11-12 ob; For example the case of Evgenii Sollogub ARC D 451, Reel 287, ff. 163-167. Father Nedzel'nitskii called them "tourists" priests, or there was also who left with good intentions, but arriving in America became "materialist". *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* p. 37, 76.

503 PST Letter to Flavian, Feb. 3rd, 1900 pp.58-59, RGIA, f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.50-51 ob.

504 PST Letter to V. K. Sabler, Dec. 2nd, 1900 p. 79, RGIA, f.799, op.17 (1901), d.267, l. 1-1ob. In a note Tikhon underlined how a *progon* could be requested for who accepted to remain 3, 5 or 10 years. ARC D 452, Reel 287, ff. 454-455. Letter to Tikhon Nov 9th, 1899, from Kazmin Konstantin and Popov Lev, Novocerkassk.

505 PST Letter to Flavian, Mar. 30th, 1900 pp. 60-61, RGIA f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d. 752, l. 52-53 ob.

506 PST Letter to Flavian, Nov. 19th, 1902 RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.82-83 ob. On the matter see also N. N. BOGEMSKAIA, *Pravoslavnoe dukhovenstvo i religiozno-nrastvennoe prosveschenie prikhozhan vo vtoroi polovine XIX v.*, Nauchnye Vedomosti BelGu Serii Istorii. Politologii. Ekonomika. Informatika. 1 (72), 2010, pp. 137-142. He saw to lay people through construction of temperance societies where people could gather enhancing their cultural and social life through religious-moral-cultural lectures but also with the use of the magic lamp *Zaviety i nastavlenia* pp. 75-76.

Minneapolis and inspector in the missionary school.⁵⁰⁷ This father that “seemed modest and discrete at first sight” caused many problems to bishop Tikhon. Several letters were gathered in order to reconstruct his behavior during his service in three American parishes (Minneapolis - Philadelphia - Bridgeport). It was not only a question of morality: he had caused there also administration problems. Tikhon reported that while Dimitrii proved to be useless in certain cases, in others he turned out to be even a damage to the parishes' life and their internal equilibrium. Moreover in autumn 1900 he was affected by paralysis. Though lamenting his reprehensible conduct, the bishop tried to help him to go back to his wife, to Europe.⁵⁰⁸

Even converted clergy from Uniatism as category caused several problems to the bishop, because they were considered not completely reliable. The temptation to return to the Catholic church was high for them since they often had the main responsibilities in ferrying the parishes to an Orthodox life. In Bridgeport for example since 1894 there was Mikhail Balog, a priest that, being accused of laxity from his parishioners, finally took the decision to retire. The Administration approved on hand his proposal because Balog had already been considered negligent in accomplishing his duties before, by his superior. In 1899 he returned to Uniatism.⁵⁰⁹ Failure in the economic administration of a parish was considered a less serious fault, the dean Ioann Nedzel'nitskii himself had problems in managing the parishes' budgets. Maybe only for the reason that he had too many parishes to guard. Nonetheless he was not reprimanded for this, but only substituted by a resident priest that could better serve the community.⁵¹⁰ Money problems were common among clergy that especially in Alaska indebted themselves to feed their families. Often retired positions did not offer enough support, so they used to ask for a part time role of psalmist somewhere in the Diocese to reinforce their income.⁵¹¹

The third criteria in selecting clergy was motivation and self-commitment to the missionary *podvig*. Tikhon tried to manage the “complex task”⁵¹² of choosing and appointing clergy. In a letter to Flavian he recounted to have received a request from a man called Iakobiuk. Tikhon was really perplexed about it. In the letter he wrote that he would like to be assumed as psalmist “even in the

507 A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* p. 18. He signed as professor while waiting for a position in US. ARC B7, Reel 11, f. 392. The application in which he announced the reunion to Orthodox Church and the request to be assigned to Minneapolis is in ARC B7, Reel 11, ff. 393-394, and it is dated September 1898 at the reception. He states that he is ready to leave for America after completing bureaucratic matters in Russia and the resolution of family issues.

508 PST Letter to Flavian, Mar 23rd, 1901 pp. 80-81, RGIA f.796, op.205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.66-67 ob. Father Nedzel'nitskii as dean reported several times about Gebbei's behaviour and health. *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946*, pp. 14-15, 23-25 and father Hotovitskii also *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period* pp. 73, 82-83.

509 A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* pp. 33-34. He had also problems with his wife and little child bad health. ARC H1 Reel 359, ff.128-129; *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* pp. 18-20.

510 As happened in Chicago A. B. EFIMOV - O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaiia* p. 117.

511 See for example in the data reported on the Kashevarov family.

512 G. L. FREEZE, *The Parish clergy* p. 29.

most distant island” and for the heaviest work. Tikhon had met Iakobiuk before and thought that his proposing was not believable. He asked his confessor if had ever happened to him to meet Iakobiuk recently: “Where does all this strength come from? And he is so steadfast?(...) did not you see changes in him? And did not he explain what attracted him to America? To take him without knowing it is a risk”.⁵¹³ Nonetheless also examples of too zealous priests were to condemn, the slow work of the bureaucratic church machine was to be respected, with its scheduled timetable in confirming appointments. Despite the scarcity of people bishop Tikhon also wanted that parish priests could decently live in the New World, ascertaining whether the money they received was caring enough. Perhaps he took care of this aspect looking at the example of the previous generations of missionaries, begging for a psalmist position in their retirement years. As example of the bishop's attentions we will report the case of P. Kohannik, a newly graduated student from the Tavrich seminary, that in 1902 wrote him, asking to become a Missioner to America. He already had a family. In order to maintain it the stipend had to be elevated, therefore only a conspicuous community could grant him a pleasant material life. Tikhon answered Kohannik that while waiting for a suitable opening position he had to go to his bishop, Nikolai (Ziorov) of Tavrich and Simferopol' and ask for a temporary appointment. Kohannik on his side insisted on coming to America, suggesting Troy parish as a possible solution. The bishop raised objections about the salary they proposed there: it was too low for a priest with family. It would be better, from his point of view to look for somewhere else. Instead of waiting Tikhon's answer, Kohannik went to St. Peterburg and asked the *progon* for himself.⁵¹⁴ “It is because of your imprudence and hurry” the bishop eventually wrote, that he could not expect to achieve a good salary.⁵¹⁵ Nonetheless he was appointed to Charleroi.

One of the best application letters of which we have news is that of two seminarians, writing from Novocerkassk'.⁵¹⁶ Their names were Konstantin Kazmin and Lev Popov, they were completing the VI class of the Donskoi seminary. They eventually did not enter the Missionary Diocese service but they simply and purely asked the bishop for some information and then brooded over entering in such a “strange and savage endeavor”. They sincerely exposed their situation besides the stereotyped formulas in such a style that their motivations were likely to be taken seriously. Bishop Tikhon, as he always did, took notes on the letter itself, in order to remember how to answer them. This time however his usually quick *graffito* style is substituted by a better handwriting, as the

513 PST Letter to Flavian, Feb. 3rd, 1900 pp. 58-59, RGIA f. 796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d. 752, l. 50-51 ob.

514 PST Letter to Sabler, July 29th, 1902 pp. 111-112, RGIA, f.796, op. 183, year 1902, d.4594, l.1-2;

515 PST Letter to P. Iu. Kokhannik, July 29th, 1902 p.113, RGIA, f.799, op.17, year 1902, d.286, l.39-39 ob.

516 ARC D 452, Reel 287, ff. 454-455. Letter to Tikhon Nov. 9th, 1899, from Kazmin Konstantin and Popov Lev, Novocerkassk.

tenderness of the request could have moved him. After the usual introduction formulas, they started with a premise:

Since we had the news that one of our Orthodox missions in America had had a propitious turn, that the Slavians went out in search for the truth and are near to the union with Orthodoxy and that this fermentation of the Slavians catches the attention of our Mission, we presume that this all requires a lot of strength and work; for this reason we dare to propose our weak strength at your disposition.

They tried consciously to sustain their motivations relying on sincerity and honor. By rhetoric questions they asked the bishop: “you, your eminence certainly may ask us, is sincere your intention? What motivations lead you to leave the motherland, where the work is so great that the hands needed are uncountable?”. Given the questions, they tried also to answer: they could not go to the Academy, for material impossibility (probably they could not gain a fellowship, but this is not specified). In their future they expected for themselves “the modest service of country psalmists”. They called it “modest” because “it does not demand efforts and hard work. And as long as we are young and strong, we should profit from this strength”. They apologized that they did not possess a certificate that could attest their education in order to achieve a teaching position. So, they repeated, their perspective, remaining in Russia, is that of a sad “country inactivity”. Although uncertain of the result of their application Konstantin and Lev had the courage to propose themselves “as teachers, psalmists or even for a missionary task, if needed”. Nonetheless they added: “However we only desire to commit ourselves to the endeavor”. They remitted themselves to the wisdom of the bishop, since they added: “your eminence knows our seminars' program, (... so you could) look where it is possible to send us, where the settlement could take advantage of us”. Then they started to pose questions to the bishop, which he himself numerated in the letter:

1. Could they be useful to the Missionary Diocese?
2. To what mansions could the bishop appoint them once they completed the seminary?
3. What are their material conditions going to be?
4. Then how do they need to act in order to become candidates to America?
5. Are travel expenses paid by the Church?
6. Is indispensable that they learn English, which is probably the common language spoken in America?
7. For how many years would they be obliged to serve?

Konstantin and Lev again apologized for their questions, hoping that Tikhon could pass over

their inexperience and could consider it useful to employ their strength for the advantage of the Mission. Taking a glance to the notes it is possible to see that he answered to each question of theirs, proving his good will to bring them to America, suggesting the possibility of gaining a living for their service and the practices that permitted them to achieve a *progon*, and finally that they should learn English in America. He eventually noted down that they could be asked to remain in America, for 3, 5 or 10 years according to their decision. Even though they were not enrolled in the mission they asked for, they definitely show us what could the anxieties and curiosities of a young missionary be.⁵¹⁷

The increasing presences and numbers in the mission during the years drew the interest of many Americans that started to attend the services. In order to let Americans understand Orthodoxy, a priest of English mother tongue and American state of mind was indispensable, at least in the cathedral church. It was for these reasons that the archbishop decided to receive Ingram Irvine in the bosom of the Orthodox Church.⁵¹⁸ Displaying this policy damaged the relationship between Episcopalian and Russian Orthodox representatives. It was followed by a skirmish on magazines, in which articles appeared where each one of the two sides vindicated the prerogative to act as their tradition or law prescribed in that case. The Episcopalians accused the Orthodox church of betrayal and the latter invoked a misunderstanding of the process that had previously been going on between them.⁵¹⁹ The main point of the quarrel was the re-ordination Irvine had to undergo. He had been defrocked by the Episcopalians so Orthodox explained they had to act this way. Tikhon concluded his letter, quoting the American laws on their side: “But once he has to come to us as a laymen, in this land of religious freedom, no one could forbid him to ask for ordination and to receive it as no one could forbid me to ordain him”.⁵²⁰

3.3 We need educated clergy

Thus the clergy constitution was very composite. This was mirrored in their education not only in reason of the immigrant provenience (the clergy could come from the Russian Empire as well as from Greece, former Syria, former Serbia, and sometimes also America, reflecting the

517 Questions perhaps common even to those older missionaries who had already been accepted in the service as Hieromonk Arsenii (Chagovtsov). ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 181-184.

518 PST Letter to A. D. Tuttle, Bishop of Missouri Oct. 16th, 1905 pp. 204-205, APV Supplement Nov. 1905, pp. 366-369.

519 PST Letter to Bishop Grafton pp. 207-208, in APV Suppl Nov 1905, pp.370-374, also in TsVs 51-52 (1905), p.1638.

520 Ivi.

education possibilities and traditions of each particular Orthodox denominations), but also because of conversions to Orthodoxy of priests coming from Unia (as A. Toth or Balog) or from the Anglican church (as Irwine and Van Deerlin), who received a completely different education to priesthood. Especially dogmatic and pastoral guidance turned out to be different. For example Ioann Ol'shevskii, priest of Mayfield that led his parishioners to Orthodoxy in 1902 was trained in Rome and was a Basilian. Nonetheless during bishop Nikolai's tenure the majority of priests had received a preparation that could seldom count on Academical studies and that often stopped at seminary education.⁵²¹ Bishop Nestor indeed had already raised his voice in order to ease the process of sending Alaskan students to Russian Institutions:

I would like and find it important, to raise the level of the education of the local clergy, especially for the reason of a great propaganda by heterodox missionaries in America.⁵²²

Among the exceptions (truly in growth) in the middle nineties could be counted some of the most important missionaries in America, like father Alexander Hotovitskii, since 1896 serving in New York and John Kochurov that served in Chicago covering the period from 1895 to 1907.⁵²³ Both left just after graduating from St. Petersburg Academy. In later years the standard was elevated also in Alaska. Parishes requested educated personnel or at least someone who was attending courses in the American seminaries or was going to graduate there as psalmists. For example in 1903 even in the Mission of St. Mikhail Reduct the parish requested a psalmist that should be also a student in the Unalaska missionary school.⁵²⁴

In order to elevate the clergy preparation the diocese used, even before Tikhon's arrival,⁵²⁵ to send the best students of the Missionary schools to Russian seminaries; they were supposed to return home after the studies and spiritually guide their brethren. They were not obliged to continue to priesthood, they were expected to return as young psalmists, deacons and acquire experience in the American parishes. Tikhon himself provided money to let American clergy's sons or promising children study in Russia, despite the low success of these study expeditions. In 1899 the bishop

521 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p.165, 17.

522 Letter from Bishop Nestor, without beginning. *The Right Reverend Nestor, Vol I*, p.65.

523 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p.114.

524 ARC D49, Reel 68, f.438.

525 In 1897, the American diocesan consistory paid charges for Petr Chubarov, Aleksandr Veniaminov, Petr Kohannik, Ivan Kaniuk, Georgii Vachmar and Lavrentii Kashevarov sent to study in a seminary in St. Petersburg. They had usually been studying in Sitka Missionary school previously and then sent to Russia to complete their studies since in America the possibility of attending lessons in an Orthodox high school was not yet provided. APV 3 (1897), p.76; ARC D479 Reel 304, f.441; B10, Reel 14, f.671-674. In 1898 the charges were paid also for Alexander Nedzel'nitskii e Ivan Hanlon. ARC D479 Reel 304, f.440. Hanlon is said in 1899 to have been accompanied to St. Petersburg by "known Jews". H1, Reel 359, ff. 822-823. In 1899 also Viktor Nedzel'nitskii was accepted to study at the Alexander Nevski Institute (St. Petersburg ?). *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946*, pp. 13-14, 25.

himself admitted the high percentage of disciplinary problems found in young students abroad, since they were separated from their world at a very young age and exposed to loneliness.⁵²⁶ However Tikhon was requested to participate in financing studies of future missionaries.⁵²⁷ He was involved even in other types of studies, because his flock decided to ask him to help them to send their children to study abroad.⁵²⁸ These young students had to be tutored in every aspect, not only financially: the diocese had to book and schedule journeys for them, providing the approbation of documents (from the consulate) that could lead them to destination and finally see to a chain of friendly hosts, who had to receive them in the ports, feed them, house them, and provide all that was necessary to carry out the following legs of the journey conducting them to Russia. For example the story of the journey of two students of Unalaska Missionary School, Ivan Khoroshev and Nikolai Avvakumov, is noteworthy. In 1905 they were sent to study in Russia. Their journey consisted in traveling by ship from Unalaska to San Francisco, by train from San Francisco to New York where they were welcomed by Alexander Hotovitskii, then by ship from San Francisco to Bremen. They had to reach Berlin from there and then father (*protoierei*) A. P. Mal'tsev was expected to send them to St. Petersburg by train. On arriving in New York, the two students proved to be already very tired of inconveniences, also because someone had tempted to steal their money. They asked father Alexander to arrange their journey so that they did not have to carry a big amount of money with them. He had to write to father Mal'tsev, explain the matter, and ask him to buy the tickets for Khoroshev and Avvakumov, adding that he would repay him later. Alexander specified that he gave the two students a sum of money that could grant them the arrival in Berlin (14 dollars). He assured bishop Tikhon they had reached Berlin as father Mal'tsev wrote him about it.⁵²⁹ Traveling to Russia was not only expensive in money (the two tickets to Bremen amounted to 105 dollars), but also in energies. Again the organization of these journeys fell on the shoulders of the most active missionaries of the American Diocese.

Furthermore owing to his composite clergy the diocese tried to request also a place for non-Russian students in St. Petersburg, who could not count on Russian relatives, as happened to doctor Ioann Solomonides. The problem of Uniate formed priests as it was already underlined was also

526 He noted also that students returning to America after 8 eight years in Russia proved to have forgotten the English language. APV 17 (1906), p.333; A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp.259-260. A note of father Nedzel'nitskii having two sons studying in St. Petersburg let us know that he paid an English teacher to gave them private lessons there. *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* pp.18-20.

527 ARC D477, Reel 304 f.433. Telegram to the Bishop 1903, probably from Tiflis, in which they asked to pay the charge for Ivan Corcoran studying in Russia.

528 Someone asked for financial support to let their son study in Bremen. The subject is not specified. ARC D452, Reel 288, f.64.

529 ARC D452, Reel 288, ff.104-105 Letter to the NAEC jun/jul 30th, 1905 from Hotovitskii. Of Nikolai Avvakumow we have also the affirmative answer from Ikogmiut in response to the blagocinnii Alexander Kedrovskii looking for the baptism certificate. ARC D218, Reel 150, f. 200. Letter to A. Kedrovskii, Feb. 4th, 1904.

particularly relevant. The diocese tried to offer an “Orthodox education” also to them , sending them to study in Russia as well.⁵³⁰ Russian Academies and Seminaries were used to granting students from abroad the possibility to attend their institutions. At the end of XIX century it seemed even quite normal. The Kiev Theological Academy and the seminaries of that city for example hosted an “Arab colony” among their students. Actually their fees were paid by the Imperial Orthodox Society for Palestine. Among them there was also the future bishop Raphael (Hawaweey).⁵³¹ Besides them, Ukrainians, Bulgars, Serbs and Greeks were recorded in the Kiev Academy registers.⁵³²

The establishment of an American seminary seemed day by day a growing necessity. Moreover it happened that candidates from Russia suggested that they could finish their studies in an American seminary, while serving as psalmists and teachers in a nearby parish, since they were not aware that the Diocese did not provide anything like that. A certain Antonii Kaziukov, student of the 5th year of Odessa's seminary, among others proposed this eventuality to bishop Tikhon, who had to refuse reluctantly as he wrote in his usual note for a successive answer on the top of the page: there are no Seminaries or Academies of Orthodox Theology.⁵³³

3.4 We need pastors

Educated clergy meant also a spiritually trained pastor. Tikhon insisted with his priests on continuing the way of self-perfection once appointed. They had to maintain vigilance on themselves before advicing their flock.⁵³⁴ The model of the pastor at the end of XIX century in Russia was

530 Tikhon for example in 1902 wrote to Sabler: “Father Toth is looking after a certain Ugro-russian priest Arendazkii. Certainly if he could study in Russia he might be useful for us. Is it possible to see to him at St. Petersburg or Kiev's Theological Academy?” PST Letter to Sabler, Mar 12th, 1902 pp. 101-102, RGIA, f.796, op. 183, year 1902, d.4515, l.1-2 ob.

531 He studied first in Kiev and then in Kazan, held several responsible positions, and while in Russia tried to spread the difficult situation the Syrian clergy (and Arab in general) was living in his motherland, that having to respond to the “Greek captivity”.

532 N. Iu. Sukhova, «*Arabskaia Koloniia*» v Kieve: *Stipendiaty Imperatorskogo Pravoslavnogo Palestinskogo obshchestva v Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii (1887-1918)*, Trudy Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii 17 (2012), pp.181-192; B. V. V. Burega, *Inostrannye studenty v dukhovnykh akademiakh Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi: istoriia i sovremennost'*, in www.bogoslov.ru/text/print/1432252.html Visited on October 10th, 2013. Also father Philipp Sredanovich of Montenegrin origin, at the beginning of the 20th century priest in Steelton studied at St. Petersburg Academy. A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p.378.

533 ARC D452, Reel 287, f. 451 Letter to Tikhon Oct. 19th, 1900 from Antonii Kaziukov, Odessa.

534 *Teaching to a new appointed ierei (Vladimir Alexandrov) March 19th, 1901*, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp.35-38; APV 8 (1900), pp. 154-156. Similarities in TIKHON OF ZADONSK, *Journey* p. 59. See also F. G. ROGERS, *Spiritual Direction in the Orthodox Tradition*, in G.W. MOON -D. G. BENNER, *Spiritual Direction and the Care of Souls: A Guide to*

remodeled on that proposed by father Ioann of Kronstadt, who finally succeeded in restoring the figure of the priest. The white clergy that had been despised and relegated in the panorama of the figures striving to sanctity of the Russian religious mind, acquired a new prestige through him and his efforts.⁵³⁵ His asceticism was deeply imbued with the lectures of the fathers of the church. Although recognized as a model also in American Orthodoxy (quoted in sermons and translated for the Messenger), John of Kronstadt's type of life was not the main proposal bishop Tikhon advised to his clergy. Surely the strive for self perfection followed the same old traditional patterns of his, coming from Syrian elders and the monks of the desert, John Climacus and Chrysostomus. Nonetheless the rigidities the *Kronstadskii* tried to observe in his daily life, regarding abstaining from luxury in food and comfort of housing, were often a part of normal life in immigrant communities owing to scarcity in tools and means. Bishop Tikhon instead encouraged his clergy to the *Missionary podvig*, patience, meekness in their everyday *delo*. He proposed them to maintain that same state of mind in pursuing their offices. He recommended them to continue to read the Holy Books. At least the entire Bible for once. But to continue reading and meditating the message of God. In the loneliness provided by long distances a continue reading of the Holy books could guide and reassure them.⁵³⁶ Yet American clergy had another prototype to follow, that of father Ioann Veniaminov (bishop Innokentii), who is usually remembered as bishop and metropolitan in his later years as widower, whereas in actual fact he had started as a young priest his American *podvig* striving as a simple mission founder. The vicar bishop of Alaska, Innokentii Pustynskii, choose the same name when he became monk. Bishop Tikhon was very careful in every ordination to address a special message of spiritual enlightenment to the candidate to priesthood. He appealed to the candidates he was elevating touching the note of the common pastorship entrusted to them as well as to himself.⁵³⁷ He never reproached them for misbehavior but was always firmly pointing to self-perfection, though never reaching the highness of asceticism. He encouraged them to act, to devote themselves to the improvement of the life of their flock, and advised them against stopping in inactivity.

On 30th March 1902, Tikhon reminded Benedict Turkevich, brother of the most famous

Christian Approaches and Practices, InterVarsity Press 2004, pp. 31-54.

535 N. KIZENKO, *A Prodigal*. The figure of the priest eventually overwhelmed that of the bishop in St. John of Kronstadt's action because of his explicit affirmation of the role of pastors as the followers of apostles in duties and mission. Father John put emphasis on the practice of the Sacrament of the attendance to Mass interpreting a new role across the traditional scheme of celebrating, moving the fatherhood from the elders to a communitarian experience under his leading guidance. All these efforts resulted in shaping the new prestige of the pastor in the community.

536 *Sermon on the ordination of the ierei Petr Popov, spoken in the Cathedral Church Sept. 17th, 1900, in Zaviety I Nastavleniia*, pp. 42-44; APV 19 (1900), pp. 378-379; *Meditation on the beginning of the new year (1901) and the new century (XX)*, in *Zaviety I Nastavleniia*, pp. 53-56; APV 1 (1901), pp. 2-4; *Sermon on the ordination of the ierei Benedict Turkevich, March 30th, 1902* in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia*, pp. 54-58.

537 A pastorship that before mentioning the first pastor echoed of the Old Testament lectures, for example it was modeled on Ezechiel 34, 12-14, 16.

Leonid, of the “weapons” soldiers of Christ have with them, in the Spiritual war they have to fight. He enumerated them: truth, the word of God as “spiritual sword”, the belt of faith, the armor of justice and the helmet of salvation (Eph. 6,14-17). He wanted to explain what concretely might be the sword of truth: to catechize. Tikhon underlined how Benedict should be a testimony of truth and in doing this he should use only one thing: he considered teaching as the best and unique way to testimony. He should be patient, and not should try to persuade his audience with shrewdness, or tricks. This is in the bishop's words the right way to illuminate the darkness of those who are striving on earth. The man of faith should be meek but at the same time jealous of the truth he is entrusted with by the Orthodox Church, defending it.⁵³⁸ And truth will win the attention of those who were longing for truth and justice. Tikhon insisted on the quality of conversions, not in the number of them. The word of God, the spiritual sword as in Pauline quotation is doubled-edged, able to penetrate in the deepest part of the soul. It is a hammer that could hit and soften the heart of men. It is also a fire that could devour the human impurities, sinfulness, and could move the soul. The word of God is a teacher, is unmasking, is correlative and punitive. It has the capability of preparing every man to any kind of enterprise. Bishop Tikhon encouraged Benedict to meditate day and night on the word of God. Seminary studies are not achieved once for all. He eventually enumerated the characteristics of a good pastor: faith, justice, piety, love, patience, meekness.⁵³⁹ Another weapon was to be added to those in that list: the Holy Cross; bishop Tikhon, quoting the liturgy, defined it: strength, fortitude, support, shield, victory and confirmation.⁵⁴⁰

He was aware that most of his priests had a family and were overwhelmed by bureaucratic matters, so they risked being consumed and tired out by daily life. But they should persist in their duties and patiently wait for parishioners to come to them.⁵⁴¹ Tikhon recommended to father Mikhail Skibinskii, destined to the Canadian mission, to be always ready to work for Christ, to maintain a jealous heart and sobriety in thoughts. To be careful not to grow lazy. There was always something to do for the true pastor (opposing to the country inactivity the two seminarians of Novocerkassk seemed to suggest). The bishop begged not to take into account how some pastors lamented their inactivity.⁵⁴² He encouraged Skibinskii to continue to commit himself: to build

538 *Sermon on the ordination of the ierei Mikhail Potochnii*, Feb. 15th, 1904, in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia*, pp. 110-113.

539 APV 1 (1901), pp. 2-4; *Sermon on the ordination of the ierei Benedict Turkevich*, Mar. 30th, 1902 in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia*, pp. 54-58.

540 *Sermon on the ordination of the ierei Mikhail Potochnii*, Feb. 15th, 1904, in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia*, pp. 110-113.

541 A group of Rusyns exposed a lamentation on this matter, which was published in the *Svet'*, passed through the APV to reach finally the MO, X 18-19 (1905), p. 1233.

542 Bishop Innokentii (Pustynskii) reported looking for monks in order to establish a monastery in Alaska reported that one of them answering his request described the work in Alaska as boring and without “serious endeavors”. APV 8 (1905), pp. 152.

churches and chapels, to try to have connections with the local government in order to obtain help with the construction of edifices and institution of parishes. Tikhon reminded Skibinskii to take care of the associations of brotherhoods, institution of schools and lectures. He encouraged him in his future duties, father Mikhail should not be scared of representing an educated person among immigrants, instead he should be meek and show piety towards them; remembering how the first pastor himself showed piety with miracles, healing sick people in their corporal weaknesses and not only teaching them, Tikhon thus underlined how asceticism did not suit those people who had to endure difficulties in their actual life. The material necessities were to be considered as well as heavy afflictions and thus be respected as such.⁵⁴³ The bishop recommended that Skibinskii should care especially of the poor Uniate parishes not seldom deceived by other preachers, who finally left them acknowledging how miserable the condition of the priest could be among their poor communities.⁵⁴⁴ He should preserve truth among them. He must be merciful with those “wandering sheep” that had become food for “any beast of the field”. To be a good pastor is also what Tikhon asked to his vicar bishop Innokentii. On handing him the crosier he thus said:

Of this (love for Aleut people) I am assured by the fact of your exchanging your present easy and comfortable circumstances for the needs and hardships of the life in Alaska, though you know them well. I do not think that in this you were attracted by the high honors of your present superior title. In America, more than anywhere else, the position of a Bishop is, in the words of Saint Isidor the Pelusiat, *a labor, not a luxury, a responsible service, not an irresponsible domination, a fatherly care, not an oppressing willfulness.*

Now, you receive this crosier not only as a symbol of your archiepiscopal authority, but also as a pilgrim's staff, on which you will have to lean many a time on the rough pathways in the northern tundras. You also receive it as a shepherd's staff, with which a good shepherd guards his flock from the greed of the “wolves, which seek its ruin”, from the attacks and appropriations of various missionaries, who do not object to “building their edifice on somebody else's foundation”.⁵⁴⁵

However Tikhon reminded also his second vicar (bishop Raphael) of the role of the pastor, quoting the Gospel of Matthew 20, 25-28 and emphasizing how this position required *fatherly care* instead of an *oppressing willfulness* or an *overwhelming autocracy*.⁵⁴⁶

Although piteousness and mercy should be compulsory virtues for the Diocesan pastors Tikhon warned them also against the difficulties of being a pastor regarding the behavior of their sheep. Even though he told Mikhail Skibinskii not to be scared of being a point of reference as well as an educated man, the bishop pointed out to father Vladimir Alexandrov, that it was not easy to

543 *An address on the occasion of the handing of the Croisier to the Right Reverend Innocent, bishop of Alaska* in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia*, pp. 97-100; also in ARC Supplement Mar. 1904, pp. 71-72. ARC D455, Reel 290, ff.646-647.

544 He gave this same recommendation to Mikhail Potochnii who came from a former Uniate family. *Sermon on the ordination of the ierei Mikhail Potochnii*, Feb. 15th, 1904, in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia*, pp. 110-113.

545 Ivi.

546 *An address on the occasion of the handing of the Crosier to the Right Reverend Raphael, bishop of Brooklyn. Feb. 29th, 1904* in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia*, pp. 114-116.

enter a parish as a recognized guide and that the flock did not always prove to be meek to their appointed pastor. The priest had thus to patiently wait for his parishioners to get accustomed to the presence of clergy. Due to its scarcity most of the parishes were used to living without clergy, seldom remembering the spiritual necessities while struggling in the daily fight with primary necessities. Father Vladimir had to prove welcoming to those who wanted to enter the church as well as to those who showed no interest in it, recreating this way a parish around him, while before the community could only be built only on family links.⁵⁴⁷

The good pastors of the diocese could find a certain amount of advice and updating on the *American Orthodox Messenger*. The APV redaction took great care of maintaining a good amount of pieces of advice through its publications. It was a printed refresher course, that could reach even the most distant islands of the Aleutian Archipelago. To answer the several problems that were presented to the bishop and the Ecclesiastical Consistory the APV we find an accurate set of pieces of advices dealing with content, methods and significance of the missionary enterprise. They were useful also in the case of conversion from Hebraism, Mohammedanism and non-Christian religions. It was possible to find concrete observations on the missionary task as:

While forming good relations with foreigners and gaining their good will and confidence, a missionary should at the same time industriously learn their language, beliefs, morals and their whole social and domestic condition.⁵⁴⁸

And also:

Preaching through an interpreter is wearisome and tiring for both the preacher and the hearers; it loses all vivacity, all feeling, all that heavenly fire, which it may have on the lips of the preacher himself, if he be sincere and animated.⁵⁴⁹

Advices of gender sensibilities shows how to share time between male and female worship without disregarding one of them, even if women usually in the mission territories did not usually speak more than one or two words of Russian language. Without women's commitment the missionary work would fail and for this reason the author emphasizes the indispensable linguistic skill for missionary personnel.⁵⁵⁰ However the APV did not offer only in concrete suggestions. Thanks to Sebastian Dabovich's book on liturgy an entire reading of the main liturgies was

547 *Teaching to a new appointed ierei (Vladimir Alexandrov) March 19th, 1901*, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp. 35-38; APV 8 (1900) pp.154-156.

548 ARC APV Supplements Sept. 1902, Hieromonk Dionysius, *The Ideals of Russian-Orthodox Foreign missionary Work*, p. 275; ARC D455, Reel 290, f.460.

549 ARC APV Supplements Sept. 1902, Hieromonk Dionysius, *The Ideals of Russian-Orthodox Foreign missionary Work* p. 277; ARC D455, Reel 290, f.461.

550 These same statements underlined the opening of an Orthodox Institute for girls in Kodiak APV 14 (1901), p. 299.

proposed. It helped the new converted priests to reshape their Orthodoxy, fixing also their methods of serving. Specific articles underlined in which moments only baptized people could remain in the church, providing again a guide to a Mission celebrant.

The Liturgy of the Catechumens is that part of the service in which those who are preparing for holy baptism are allowed to be present. It consists in prayer and the expounding of the Word of God. At the Liturgy of the Faithful only such, who are baptized are allowed remain, and those who have access to the holy Table"-i. e. those who are not excommunicated for grievous sins for a certain number of days, or month, until they show repentance.⁵⁵¹

Besides other notes of this sort archimandrite Sebastian proposed the diocesan pastors to meditate on the sacrament's meaning on the pages of the Messenger, through the publication in chapters of his masterpiece, involving also Russian-American priests in a readaptation of their tradition:

The priest makes mention of all the living; he prays for the right pious rulers, kings, princes, all Defenders of the Orthodox Christian Faith, FOR THE HEAD AND POWERS THAT BE OF THE COUNTRY IN WHICH HE RESIDES, THAT GOD BLESSED THEM, AND ALL MAY BE ABLE TO LEAD A TRANQUIL *and quiet life in all piety and gravity.*⁵⁵²

There were common materials even in the motherland from which the redaction could draw information. Sometimes they were also translated in English to help the new clergy to read them. There were brief thoughts of the Metropolitan Filaret, on which to meditate as well as extensive articles on the most different points of view on contemporary church. Besides Turner's articles that invited priests to religious toleration (among Christian denominations), there were also articles that could help them to maintain their peculiar Orthodox traditions and state of mind and not to lose them in long years of living in Western countries, surrounded by other parameters:

The other manuals of our religious life, the ones that are common to the educated classes and to the masses, to our contemporaries and to the ancestors as far back as the 9th century and earlier, consist of prayers, hymns and the moral teachings of the Holy Fathers. (...)Let us take the example of the best Christians among us, such guides of the true Christian living as Ambrosius, Father John and Bishop Theophanius. They were no narrow fanatics, they kept up their intercourse with lay writers and were a credit to seminaries and academies, which brought them up. But in spite of all this if you try to find in their sermons any quotations or references to our school and our scientific theology, you will find none, except in the most casual way.

If you offer to them whole mountains of learned books to help their sermons, they will hardly find anything in them that they would wish to borrow. Though free from the errors of the West, yet founded on Western principles, our theological science is so foreign to the real religious life of the Orthodox Christians, that not only can it not guide this life, but it simply can not come near to it.⁵⁵³

551 ARC APV Supplements Feb. 1903, The Service of the Church- Divine Liturgy p. 48. ARC D455, Reel 290, f.555.

552 Ibidem p. 42 (f.552).

553 ARC APV Supplements Jan.1903, In what the Orthodox Faith differs from the Western Creeds. Bishop Antonii of Volynia, pp. 23-25. ARC D455, Reel 290, ff.540-541.

3.5 The Seraphim case⁵⁵⁴

The fluid Orthodox American clergy situation was difficult to standardize, and it seems that the North American Consistory and the bishop tried to avoid possible gaps in understanding between jurisdictional boundaries, ethnic peculiarities and different languages through an overwhelming amount of communication. Bureaucracy, negotiations in belonging and dialog proved to be effectual methods to govern the problems emerging in actual life. The web of communications was extended also to the Orthodox patriarchates (involving directly the singular bishops) and the Russian Holy Synod. This web was supposed to maintain friendly relationships between the several actors of the Old and New world, as well as permit new practices to be put in use, when approved by the holders of traditions. Although unexpected cases happened and were solved through this web of relationships, it could not help in case of total lack of a whatsoever link of the person pretending to be a cleric with renown centers of authority. That is what happened with the arrival of a certain Seraphim who pretended to be a bishop appointed by the Greeks for the Orthodox people of America. Seraphim, of Russian origins, was a defrocked monk, who arrived in November 1902 in America, establishing himself in Yonkers (NY).⁵⁵⁵ He claimed to be “the American Metropolitan”. Renowned for his gift as a preacher also in the neighborhoods he attracted the local parishioners and those from the nearby communities. The first hitch of Tikhon with this case is at the end of November even though he was well informed by New York priests and the local *periodeuts* about Yonkers' expectations fifteen days before, when Seraphim had not yet arrived.⁵⁵⁶ Tikhon thus described him:

One of these days a certain Seraphim Ustvolskii arrived in America from Athos, who claims to have graduated in St. Petersburg Academy in the year 1881, to have been priest at the court of Moscow, to have divorced, entered the Khutinskii monastery, then to have betaken himself to the East; through the blessing of the unrecognized Patriarch Anthimus,⁵⁵⁷ he was ordained among the unrecognized [patriarchs]

554 This paragraph is a rearrangement of my article: *Who wants to be an “American” bishop? The Seraphim Ustvolskii's case. Leading, traveling and confutation of a false Metropolitan in America 1902-1905*, presented at the Havighurst Center, Young Researchers conference February 2013.

555 For a biography of Seraphim see M. COGNOLATO, *Who wants to be an “American” bishop?*; PST note 1, pp.124-126; Cenobite Denasii with others, *From the Holy Mount of Athos, earthly inheritance of the Heavenly Empress to the members of “the Russian Orthodox community in Canada, without foundations”, built and headed by the false Metropolitan Seraphim, fraternal exhortation* (in Russian), APV 7 (1906), p.129

556 G. SOLDATOW, *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii* Tom 1, p. 98. This peculiar documents hosts some lucubrations made by the local Orthodox clergy. Since they were not waiting for him they guessed that the patriarch could have sent him to the Uniate parish living in the city of Yonkers, which could have promised him to reunite in the case of a resident bishop. Father Alexander developed this hypothesis on the observation of the factual union the two communities of Yonkers (Orthodox and Uniate) had been going through once the news of Seraphim's arrival had spread among them.

557 Tikhon may refer to Anthimus VII, Patriarch of Constantinople 1895-1896. Cenobite Denasii hints at the visit of Seraphim to the several deposed Patriarchs residing in the Prince's Islands: see Cenobite Denasii with others, *From*

to be bishop of America; without my knowledge and resolute to establish himself in the Orthodox parish of Yonkers, he served there and during liturgy he consecrated two laymen as deacons (one of them married with a Catholic). Then what else? I'll write to the Holy Synod.⁵⁵⁸

Seraphim's permanence in Yonkers seemed to have stopped abruptly after just two months of his parish conduction, as the parishioners could not afford any longer his expensive way of life and were informed that the sacrament he performed were not valid in front of (civil and ecclesiastical) law. Tikhon again talk about Seraphim in one of his letters

Seraphim, as could be expected, did not remain a long time in Yonkers: the parishioners chased him away and locked the church in front of him. At Christmas he proclaimed himself Metropolitan and place the white klubok with the cross upon himself. [He had done this] slightly too soon! Shortly, before this, he had sent a request to the emperor about the restoration of the patriarchate in Russia (tacitly suggesting himself as a candidate for the [position] of the future Patriarch of the whole Russia). Undoubtedly a disconcerted man. Besides he drinks. Now he is hanging out in New York. He is not going to have success. He has done too many false steps since the beginning.⁵⁵⁹

Here Tikhon is telling Flavian about his pity for Seraphim. The bishop's anger was directed more towards his demanding flock than poured out on his rival. In his view Seraphim was a bewildered man. He needed the American land, for his aspirations or because it was the only place left where he could become someone (since he had already traveled through the Eastern patriarchates in search for consideration). But Seraphim probably did not expect to find himself among this ungovernable, Utopian flock, which was not meek to his guide as Tikhon had expected too,⁵⁶⁰ instead they had soon rebelled to him, took the management of the church away from him, without even allowing him the possibility to enter. "He was slightly overhasted in doing all this!" commented bishop Tikhon, maybe with a mixture of envy. We know from previous analysis how difficult it was to go on with something in the Diocese. Tikhon had to take care of everything, not only "the tradition" but also bureaucratic accomplishments, negotiations with the other Orthodox patriarchates, the scarcity of clergy (and the parameters and education required in order to become missionaries), the legacies of Russian church and the recriminations of the emerging nationalistic East European movements which accused the Mission of being a *Tsareslavie's* tool. Lastly he had to deal with funding campaigns and scarcity of resources. He was supposed to carry money into the parishes and not to ask for any, and when he tried to do so in reason of Witte's closure of funds he found opposition or embarrass from parishes which could not afford such costs. Seraphim had overcome all these problems in two months, without worrying about links to other churches, ethnic

the Holy Mount of Athos.

558 PST Letter to Flavian 30th, November 1902, pp.123-124 in RGIA f.796, op.205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.84-85 ob.

559 PST Letter to Flavian 23rd, January 1903, pp. 127-128 in RGIA f.796, op.205, years 1888-915, d.752, l.86-87 ob.

560 *Zaviety i Nastavleniia* pp. 7-9.

sensibilities and legal issues, avoiding the value of registers and involving the parishioners in a movement, a spring of enthusiasm sustained by their own savings. They provided him with funds for his journeys, his living and supported his projects. He rapidly gained fellows in America. It was too soon, it was too easy. It is remarkable that some sources emphasized the social commitment of Seraphim's Sermons. Although the messages instilled in preaching could be a turning point in Seraphim's American enterprise, which could distinguish him from the more traditional preaching of bishop Tikhon (though it was already noted how he himself was influenced by the new theological trend developed by St. Petersburg Academy of the '80s-'90s and was considered a good preacher) it is not possible to state how his predication was like. Unfortunately we do not possess recollections of Seraphim's homilies.

Seraphim was thrown out of the city. Yonkers parish, which was previously periodically visited by *periodeuts*, tried to re-enter the Diocesan administration. The negotiations were conducted by a representation of the local brotherhood. They had to prove repentance in the eyes of the local priests. Missionary clergy started to recover trust and reverence from the parishioners step by step. In the words of Alexander Hotovitskii, resident priest of New York parish, they had “to prove the sincerity of their repentance and intention”.⁵⁶¹ Evidently this process as Hotovitskii seriously doubted was not easily and immediately obtainable. One of the first Diocese's reactions was to improve missionary work in the area affected by Seraphim's preaching. A new priest was destined to help the precedent local missionary unit, his name was priest Alexander Nemolovskii.⁵⁶² The diocese spread rumors about the false-bishop. The Orthodox parish priests were informed to warn their flock against Seraphim's behavior and to beware of him. Meanwhile Seraphim and his fellows had moved to New York, struggling to collect money in order to build a *Russian-style* monastery there. His deacons were again sent across the New World, struggling for their mission, looking for new acolytes. On September 19th, 1903 the Diocese took a great step against the false bishop with the publication of an article in the New York Times, titled: *Russian Church Authorities Denounce Father Ustvol'sky. Styled himself “Seraphim, Metropolitan of America”, and Performed Rites of Baptism, Marriage, and Ordinations.*⁵⁶³ However, after being chased away from his first parish, Seraphim was not defeated yet, neither in his personal pride, nor in his resourcefulness. He went to Canada. In March 1903 he already was in Winnipeg, trying to regain consensus there, preaching among Ukrainians.⁵⁶⁴ Finally he had fortune, he was chosen as preacher and founder of a

561 G. SOLDATOW, *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii* Tom 1, p. 111.

562 ARC D472, Reel 300, f.138. Letter to the North American Ecclesiastical consistory, November 27th, 1902.

Handwritten by Tikhon.

563 <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9405E=DD1439E433A2575AC1A96F9C946297D6CF>

Visited on 10th, January 2013.

564 O. T. MARTYNOWICH, *Ukrainians in Canada: the formative period, 1881-1924*, in *National History as a Cultural*

new church that he named the “All-Russian Patriarchal Orthodox Church”.⁵⁶⁵ He tried to return to Russia, in order to get the Holy Synod to recognize his church and where he escaped arrest. Although preaching among Ukrainians seemed initially promising he soon lost his parishioners, remaining with a handle of followers. He inspired them with the last initiative of his we have information about, the construction of the “tin can cathedral”. The building enterprise attracted curious people from the neighborhood more than believers. In 1908 Seraphim left for California, leaving the historical records too.

Tikhon evidently followed the adventures of his rival because in October 1905 he reported to have been visiting incognito the tin can cathedral. The bishop compares what he had seen with the scenes of a theater, in which a farce is going to be presented. His comments fall heavily and sadly upon Seraphim's flock. Once more he did not reproach the false bishop, again punished by life, but the unstable Orthodox believers.

His prophets, having broken the bonds with him, founded an independent church “without foundations” and they fooled his population, who, in the local free country, particularly love dreaming of freedom and independence.⁵⁶⁶

Probably in 1905 Tikhon returned to visit Yonkers. Although the local community had been keen to Seraphim for only two months, they had high expectations before his arrival: the Uniate community had rejoined the Orthodox one, forgetting previous quarrels and misunderstandings in order to achieve their own independence from the limiting structures both belonged to. Lay people gathered into the brotherhood had the impression to wield power over their religious belonging. Enthusiasm for the success of autonomous requests won over prudence deriving from poor means. The subject of Tikhon's homily was that of the prodigal son, whether he had chosen it or not, the reference to the recent past of the parish was not omitted.

But the parable of the prodigal son proves true not only for each of us sinners, but for entire human communities, ecclesiastical and civil. There are such examples -and you brethren, know them yourself – when a few people sometimes do not like the routines established from old in a certain community which do not allow room for self-will under the governing law, and they would like to make a show of themselves, to stand out, and to make everyone talk about them.⁵⁶⁷

process, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991, p. 290. See also M. TATARYN, *Canada Eastern Christians* in P. BRAMADAT- D. SELJAK, *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, University of Toronto Press 2008, pp. 278-329.

565 http://umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/departments/ukrainian_canadian_studies/media/05_The_Seraphimite_Independence_Greek_Presbyterian_and_United_Churches.pdf Visited on January 11th, 2013.

566 PST Letter to Pobedonostsev Oct. 23rd, 1905, pp. 200-201, in RGIA f.1574, op.2, years 1881-1905, d.60, l. 44-46 ob.

567 OW, Sermon on the Sunday of the Prodigal Son. Delivered at the Church School in Yonkers, New York (probably between 1902 and 1906), pp. 249-250.

Here is the description of Seraphim's behavior through the Scriptures, to continue then to include in the picture the role of his deacons and that of the community:

And do they seek out allies with whose help they can be made bosses of the whole community and do what they want. Understanding that money is power, like the prodigal son they demand for themselves the part of the possessions due to them, and often enough take even what is not their due. They try to stir up the community against lawful authority, to tear it away from its father's house, in which it was born and raised. Having been freed from lawful authority, they invite themselves to be the leaders of malleable people, who act entirely according to their bidding. They finally deflect the others from the true path, leading them wherever it pops into their heads, dragging them into various adventures, squandering both spiritual and material riches, leading them to the point of destitution and ruin. Then they usually cast them off and disappear, concealing and saving themselves from righteous indignation. And there remains just one road of those abandoned and deceived for them: to return, like the prodigal son, under their father's roof, which they had so light-mindedly abandoned... (...) Not always, however, does it end so happily; other prodigal sons do not return to their father's house at all and finally perish.⁵⁶⁸

This image could be useful for the parish in order to know in what position they were in Tikhon's and Diocese's consideration. They had to return to the law, and trust it. Even if they were enjoying a relative independence, through the brotherhood's managing of the parish they had to follow the Diocese's authority, without falling into the temptation of complete-self-guidance, that is experiencing the disorder of life without the fences of the Orthodox ecclesiology. Evidence proves that they behaved well after that episode, because Yonkers parish received a stable priest and the diocese's *metriki books* continued to report the numbers belonging to them. However unexpected and problematic, Seraphim's case proved to be a source of meditation to the young Tikhon. He recurred to the Holy fathers to understand the problems and provide a traditional narration in which to insert what his diocese was experiencing. This episode seemed to catalyze several motives of dissent and knots of disgregation he was well aware of:

The Saint apostle wrote: it is needful that the heresies are... We ought to have Seraphim too, as we had Uniates and several among our parishioners that were not averse to reproaching us of "Tsardoxy" and they think that the Orthodoxy is among Greeks, and not among Muskovites. Well, here they had been waiting for a bishop "from the Greeks", "from the four Eastern Patriarchs" as Seraphim showed himself to be (actually not a single one ruling Patriarch: Joachim of Constantinople directly named him deceiver), and they saw that all this "Tsardoxy" is better, and that this is also our present Orthodoxy.⁵⁶⁹

The Russian Orthodox Church proved to be better organized, and strongly connected with the Eastern Patriarchs through this misadventure. Despite the extreme need of clergy the self-will in ecclesiology turned out to be a complete disaster for the Orthodox parishes that chose it, ruined by deceivers. Long procedures at least assured them of the regularity of their parishes. Priests arrived in the diocese could be sent home if they did not fit the parish necessities, and their requests should

568 Ivi.

569 PST Letter to Flavian January 23rd, 1903, pp.127-128, in RGIA f.796, op.205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.86-87 ob.

be approved by the consistory. Brotherhoods, communities, priests could refer all to a resident bishop in the same continent, responsible for the well being of his wife, the American Diocese.

Chapter 4:
The second foundation.
Building Churches and acquiring Ecclesiastical Properties

It is not only common reason, which tells us, together with our sense of beautiful, but also with our deep sense of veneration for the awful holiness of Almighty God our love for him our Saviour, whose works are manifests in so rich, so wide and such a grand Providence, that we are compelled to build our temples – the monuments of our salvation- according to our best.⁵⁷⁰

As Vera Shevzov noted, a temple played “a pivotal role in expression and formation of individual and corporate Orthodox self-understanding”.⁵⁷¹ Although American Orthodox communities started praying and celebrating services in private houses, or even in building's floors rented for worshipping purpose, at Tikhon's time the North American mission was mature enough to establish a permanent sites of prayer, because of parishioners' requests and the extension the mission was going to reach, as Archimandrite Sebastian common reasons suggest. Orthodoxy was ready to visibly display itself as a Church residing also in the New world. It needed only a bishop that could take this burden on his back. Tikhon accepted the challenge of looking around himself, experiencing serving liturgies in temporary or second-hand temples.

Russian Empire's buildings which constituted the nexus of the Orthodox communities, experienced in the centuries a growing diversification of tasks and offered skills, in addition to worship. Nonetheless, in contradiction with the motherland's growing diversification of functions between *Parish Churches* and *Institutional Churches* (those which were attached to schools, monasteries and lay enterprises as societies and foundations) in the American Diocese the economic burden of a role diversification and thus a multiplication of temples and personnel could prove to be unbearable in such a rising context. Churches even when attached to institutes, organizations,

570 S. DABOVICH, *The Holy* p. 12.

571 V. SHEVZOV, *Russian Orthodoxy* p. 54.

presses, schools were beyond any doubt eminently parish leading focused. Looking at the administrative papers, temples commonly were not cataloged in any other way than parish churches. In contrast, parish schools always sought locally for the education of the little migrants were often guested in the parish temple's rooms.⁵⁷²

Orthodox Churches in America seem to overcome the Russian pattern Vera Shevzov exposes as the main one for Russian churches of that time: that of firstly a church edifice, clergy and possibly the flock.⁵⁷³ She, taking into consideration the laws regulating Russian parish life describes the presence of a community of people gathered around a church as possible but not essential for the life and reason of existence of that same temple. Clergy, was unless otherwise considered, “essential” to the constitution of an *ekklesia*. Describing the several types of “Orthodox communities” in Russia she thus observes:

There was a category of non parish churches, suggesting that the gathering of lay faithful was superfluous to the notion of church when understood in this way. In contrast, the clergy were considered essential to the church's functioning, and therefore they were categorized separately from the parish, or *prikhod*, which was understood as including only laity. Consequently, the Church in its local manifestation, consisted of a temple, blessed by a bishop and constructed with his blessing, the clergy, who serviced that temple and fulfilled the religious needs of believers, and a church elder, whom parishioners (or a town council in case of non parish churches) chose to help manage parish finances. As the canon lawyer N. Zaozerskii noted, the believers themselves were basically incidental to its definition. There could be a church without a parish but no parish without a church.⁵⁷⁴

This pattern was completely turned out in the American mission. A proper temple was the last step of church local manifestation. Furthermore, the rarity of clergy that could be permanently resident serving was another flaw in this traditional scheme. Only laity was for sure. Furthermore American legislation usually favored reliance on a person. The church edifice in America was supposed to be a parish property rather than belonging to the Russian Orthodox Church. It was entered in the state registers as a brotherhood's property, sometimes it appears to be on the priest's name, or on the bishop's. Every State had his own legislation on which the church's construction committee had to inform and then act in consequence.⁵⁷⁵

Parishioners, lay flock constituted the main center of ecclesiastical life in the American local

572 For a comparison with the St. Petersburg's assets J. HEDDA, *His Kingdom* pp. 23-28.

573 V. SHEVZOV, *Russian Orthodoxy* pp. 16-27.

574 Ibidem p. 23.

575 See for different examples of owners ARC D457, Reel 292, ff.23-29, 59-60, 74-75. For example the church in Simpson (Pennsylvania) was entered under the name of the bishop. ARC D465, Reel 295, f.684. The developing of a Canadian Mission added new cases in this jungle of rules on property: “There are a lot of things still to do in Canada: consecrated church are not yet finished, we have to build new chapels, and we need to register our corporation at the Canadian parliament ecc...certainly there is not easy, but we have spiritual consolation”. PST Letter to Sabler, Sept. 5th, 1901 pp. 88-89, RGIA f.796, op. 182, year 1901, d.4069, l.11-12 ob.

missions. They requested clergy, organized themselves in brotherhoods, took care of the parish buildings and sometimes of finance registration. Parishioners were involved in charitable organizations as the Mutual Aid Society, they were called to participate in the conciliar life of the church through representatives in the meetings, following the example of Nikolai Kasatkin's Orthodox mission in Japan. They were the core of the communities, following a recent and increasing trend in Russian Orthodox Church, that of laity involvement.⁵⁷⁶ Furthermore in Tikhon's words, parishioners breathing autonomy “in the local free country, particularly love dreaming of freedom and independence”, and of such the clergy should take note, in acting among them. But the Orthodox Church could not traditionally rely on single communities as on the single lay believer, instead it had to represent the broad passing of believers through this earth, gathering and praying for a common salvation. Edifying an American Orthodox Rus' meant exactly this: providing a plastic and a more traditional structure upon which to rely on, visually, administratively and spiritually.⁵⁷⁷ Building churches mean also to constitute administrative units (even when they happened to be seldom visited by a *periodeut*). A church could assure the presence of a community, materially signaling a center for worshiping, gathering and identifying themselves. Since for migrant individuals registration of liturgical events as marriages and baptisms was more important than for resident people (for they could not rely on long time links), a church, a parish or even a chapel were symbols even of this administrative task, where registers were compiled and memory conserved. Requests for baptism certificates were very frequently attended by the American Orthodox priests.⁵⁷⁸

In 1898 big and old parishes already had edifices they could consider a place of worship. Maybe they did not have good furniture, or paraments. Sometimes they needed to be restored, sometimes they were too small for a community reaching new proportions. In reason of Tikhon's commitment in church *delo* construction in those years he was able to consecrate a wave of new Orthodox Churches. If in 1900 the Diocese counted 42 churches and 57 chapels, at the beginning of 1903 there were 52 churches (10 attached) and 69 houses of prayer while in 1905 statistics reported

576 G. FREEZE, *De-Churching and Believing in Twentieth Century Russia*, lecture delivered at the 12th Annual Havighurst Young Researchers Conference Orthodox Christianity in Russia and Eastern Europe: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, February 14th, 2013; V. SHEVZOV, *Chapels and the Ecclesiastical World of Prerevolutionary Russian Peasants*, *Slavic Review* 55/3 (1996), pp. 585-613.

577 APV 13 (1905), pp. 258-260. Arsenii explicitly called it this way. For parishes reunited the presence of an Orthodox shaped temple could be a remembering of their choose. A. B. EFIMOV - O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia eparkhiia* p. 89. This pneumatological sense on temples should not be forgotten in front of the most common sociological theory of churches as identity markers. See for example L. VOYÉ, *The need and the search for Sacred Places. A Sociological Perspective* in T. COOMANS, H. DE DIJN, J. DE MAEYER, R. HEYNICKX & B. VERSCHAFFEL, eds., *Loci Sacri. Understanding Sacred Places*, Leuven University Press 2012, pp. 73-92.

578 As example ARC D452, Reel 288, f.86. Letter to North American Consistory, Oct. 26th, 1901 from Hotovitskii.

72 churches and 83 buildings as chapels and houses of prayer.⁵⁷⁹ Although parishes mainly built new edifices, there were also cases of communities which decided to buy temples from other Christian confessions, as happened in Mckeessport with the bought of a church from Lutherans and in Charleoi from protestants as well. It was noteworthy that some of them were built more than once while Tikhon remained in the States, disrupted by natural forces or burned to the ground like in Minneapolis (1904) and OldForge (1903).⁵⁸⁰ In 1906 an earthquake in San Francisco severely damaged the San Francisco Cathedral, and in 1900 a hurricane partially destroyed the St. Constantine and Helena church in Galveston.⁵⁸¹ In 1903 the Madison community was overwhelmed by Mississippi and Missouri rivers flooding.⁵⁸² Other temples were so poorly built that they needed to be restructured or completely rebuilt after a limited number of years. In Catasauqua for example the church, that was finished in 1900, needed the opening of a new yard already in 1903.

Like for the priest's ordination, the bishop's pastoral visits were attentively scheduled on first stone blessings or on consecration's occasions, through an efficient optimized time-table. In 1900 for example, the bishop celebrated for built purpose in Hartshorne, Wilkesbarre (with also the cemetery's consecration), St.Clair, Chicago, Beaver Creek and eventually in Bukovina for the consecration of a chapel. At the end of 1902, Tikhon performed inaugural services at the church of Troy and in Philadelphia. Among those which were terminated in 1903 there were the Chicago Cathedral, and the churches in Steelton, Pittsburgh, Madison...⁵⁸³ Ceremonies, especially in big cities assumed also a public character, since representatives of the institution and other friendly Christian denominations were invited to participate. However during his pastoral journeys Tikhon also visited empty fields or old edifices where to build new churches, chapels, cemeteries... He took valuation of projects, discussed with parishioners in order to understand their wishes and their financial possibilities.

Although challenging in time and magnitude the projects and realization of churches were entrusted to local commissions to which the bishop usually took direct supervision. Several issues were then taken into account: material needs of the parish, often meager financial funds, style and furniture.

579 APV 1(1901), p. 16; S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 399; Ibidem otchet 1905, p. 296; APV 2 (1903), pp. 30-31.

580 APV 7 (1903), pp. 161-162; 22 (1905), pp. 431-435; A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 134-135, 138. For the Minneapolis case see also G. M. GYRISCO, *East Slav Identity and Church Architecture in Minneapolis, Minnesota*, in G. M. GYRISCO, *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* Vol. 7 Exploring Everyday Landscapes (1997), pp. 199-211.

581 PST Letter to Flavian, May 19th, 1906 p. 222, RGIA f.796, op.205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.163-164. In 1906 in consequence of the earthquake a fire broke out, devouring the old Cathedral. It had been already sold but almost two days before Rusyns still had continued to serve there. Of sacred furnishings only essential could be saved. The construction of a new church in San Francisco became even more necessary.

582 *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946*, pp. 69-70.

583 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 69-70, 120, 153-154, 158. In Troy it was requested help in committee supervision to the bishop as in funding to the Mutual Aid Society. ARC, D452, Reel 288, f.85. Letter to Tikhon 14th Jun. 1901, from Hotovitskii.

also a refectory to feed the poor (image); variety is explicit also in another case, that of the Minneapolis parish complex comprising the church, the seminary, the school and a huge Reunion's room finally consecrated in 1906.⁵⁸⁷

The biggest and long-time acknowledged problem in the church *delo* was that of financing.⁵⁸⁸ Building meant buying land, deciding for a project (and then to paying an architect), buying materials and paying hodmen. Although Tikhon usually asked help from the Russian State council and the Russian economic department, he could obtain lesser sums at the starting and then rates for a period of 25-30 years. Eventually the bishop wrote to Pobedonostsev asking protection on this matter.⁵⁸⁹ Interest to banks fell heavy on the immigrant communities, and ever more on their priests, who became preoccupied with huge debt solving. Loans in bigger as in lesser constructions were preceded by the signature of a contract and the restitution obligation with interests. Frequently the bishop was requested to intervene as a guarantee of payment. Solving debt was a great success for parishes, which perhaps remained completely unable to pay furniture, icons, Holy vessels and paraments.⁵⁹⁰ Nonetheless building on debt was not only an Orthodox practice:

As you see, we are building everything. Help to this American conditions, also the rich Catholics build churches with debts: banks are satisfied if they pay accurately even the interests on the interests. It's within our reach, meanwhile for we, who are not rich, nonetheless have big need for churches.⁵⁹¹

In little parishes circuit readers clergy subscribed collection of money to repair or even build

587 A committee for the construction of Pittsburgh's church was at work already in 1900, when after receiving a donation from the Russian Emperor and had gathered the rest of money was bought a piece of land in which to build the church, they built a temporary church and clergy house. Refectory opened in later years is said to have been feeding from 20 to 35 people every day. A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 127-128. There were cases of plans decided by the consistory and returned by the parish community, lamenting a shape "inappropriate" to the Russian Orthodox church (Rossiskii), as happened in New Britain in 1899. The ieromonk Ptolomei asked the bishop if he could send them other plans because he heard from the blagocinnii that the consistory owned project by other architects. Besides the shape they would have like the parish school to be located under the church. ARC D442, Reel 283, ff. 22-23. Plan of the Pittsburgh parish complex is in ARC D464, Reel 295, f. 321. Pittsburgh was one of the parishes born from Uniate reunion. Money for the building collected also in Russia. See *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* pp. 14-17.

588 Bishop Nestor for example in 1877 had to renounce the construction of the San Francisco Cathedral because the money gathered in the collection were not enough. Letter from the Department of the Orthodox Faith to Bishop Nestor, Nov. 2nd, 1879, in *The Right Reverend Nestor*, Vol I, pp. 56-57. See also the preoccupied letter written by A. Hotovitskii about Yonkers parish in 1899. They wanted to have a new church, but in order to spare it will have only a chapel proportions. ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 859-867, Letter to Tikhon Oct. 11th/23rd, 1899.

589 PST Letter to A.I. Ostroumov, Feb. 28th, 1899 pp. 26-27, RGIA f.799, op. 25, year 1897, d.226, 1.29-30.

590 ARC D440, Reel 281, f.454. Letter to bishop Nikolai of Nov. 1895. The debt contracted for the building of the Jackson Church had been completely payed from the "goodwill" parishioners. The parish asked the bishop help to adorn the altar. D444, Reel 283, f.764. For the Streator temple the bishop was asked to sign papers for the local priest paying "the balance of the mortgage loan of the Streator property". Tikhon was asked to sign again everything after three weeks for the bank errors in valuating properties. f.770. Considering the number of buildings added to the diocese during Tikhon's American years it should be taken into account how these papers affected his daily job preventing him for pastorship. It is quite obvious to observe that he tried to avoid loans asking the complete buildings' payment from Russia.

591 PST Letter to Flavian, Apr. 5th, 1902 p. 104, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, 1.76-77ob.

church edifices. The collection was often slowly carried out during the passing by of many years in reason of the poor condition in which immigrant families lived. Selected priests left for Russia, for a period of several months to publicize Orthodox American projects of constructions they would collect subscriptions in the motherland. Usually they asked for an Emperor donation and for a blessing of father John of Kronstadt on the collection books, which he was always signing, thus showing his blessing to the endeavor in front of the Russian people, and even donating some hundreds of rubles.⁵⁹² Collecting money was used as a method to build infrastructures as to start charitable associations and religious institutions. Tikhon himself gave example subsidizing great constructions and sustaining private people as cultural enterprises.⁵⁹³ However it could comport some risks. Thinking of him as trustworthy person, the Chicago parishioners elected as starosta a banker: Dmitrii Petrovich Fridliander. Thus deciding to build the cathedral since 1893 they started to collect money and entrusted them to him. Fridliander fled with the parish funds and with those of several parishioners. Yet not all of them had trusted the starosta. Tikhon had to intervene in peace keeping among the parishioners because a rival candidate to the starosta position, F.D. Ebel and his supporters had begun to recriminate the parish decision.⁵⁹⁴

Above temples there were other parish exigencies waiting for answer as that of cemeteries, which began to be massively built in these years in the big Orthodox parishes as that of Minneapolis in 1899 and even in the little communities like that of the Serbs of Los Angeles in 1906.⁵⁹⁵ Schools were another big exigency, but they could be accommodated in the temple's rooms. Seminaries also as it was already underlined became more and more a necessity. Meanwhile in the 1905 relation to the Holy Synod bishop Tikhon observed how the presence of a monastery could be extremely important in the diocese. It could become a center for pilgrimage in America.⁵⁹⁶ This thought was completely coherent in the project of Christianize (Orthodoxize) this new land in which the Orthodox people found themselves to live in. Not to build upon other churches' foundation does not

592 B. FARLEY, *Circuit Riders to the Slavs and Greeks* pp.11-12. For the Chicago case and father Kochurov collecting PST Letter to Sabler, Sept. 5th, 1901 pp. 88-89, RGIA f.796, op. 182, year 1901, d.4069, l.11-12 ob; A. B. EFIMOV-O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p. 119.

593 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 26. Several parish priests economically helped their communities in constructing churches, donating sum of money from their own savings. Archimandrite Sebastian Dabovich devoted the money proceeds from the selling of one of his books to the construction of the San Francisco church. A. B. EFIMOV-O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p. 401.

594 A. B. EFIMOV-O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 114-118; PST Letter to Sabler, Apr. 29th, 1899 p. 29, RGIA f.799, op.25, year 1897, d.226, l.32-33; PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, May 2nd, 1899 pp. 31-33, RGIA f.799, op.25, year 1897, d.226, l.34-35 ob. See also *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* pp. 11-12.

595 A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* p. 19; ARC D441, Reel 281, f.639. The Serb ieromonk Nikifor, of the Jackson parish in date 10-23 November 1906 asked permission to the bishop to consecrate a cemetery in a Serb community in Los Angeles, because they had the opportunity to buy a field for that purpose. For other examples see APV 1 (1905), p. 19 about liturgical procedures to consecrate a new cemetery, APV 11 (1906), pp. 207-208 for Allegheny, APV 19 (1906), pp. 375-376 for the consecration of a chapel at the New York's cemetery.

596 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon otchet* 1905, p. 293.

mean not to create a coherent Orthodox land through visible signs of presence and worship. Moreover, this facilitated the pneumatological tension underlying the Orthodox church.

4.1 Meaning of the temple, furnishing the temple

A Church, besides the meanings decided by its building committee members, owns a special significance to every believer, born by his experiences, personal feelings and sense. A temple could be stylistically thought to emphasize communal services or to facilitate meditation and individual prayer, to ease and reach magnificence in the fulfillment of liturgical celebrations and practices, redolent of incenses.⁵⁹⁷ Orthodox churches in America were indeed “places of communion” into which to gain flock, immigrant nostalgia and edifying new world enthusiasm into a concrete symbolic home. However in the bishop's mind it had nonetheless to maintain the pneumatological aspiration inherited by Russian Orthodoxy. The temple was considered then not only a place of worship but an enlightening source for the surrounding area, a starting point for the transfiguration of the world. Although resounding in purpose, reality was the slow construction and care of often little, dispersed, churches.⁵⁹⁸ Tikhon often received description as that from father Andreades visiting the Portland chapel:

There are holes in the walls, the iconostasis is made of cardboard with only one icon, and there are no chalices or altar plates of any kind. It is a depressing atmosphere in which to worship.⁵⁹⁹

It was not only a question of motivation: Bishop Tikhon cared for the appearance and well-functioning of the temples as aesthetically supporting the Orthodox mission, considering churches' beauty as fundamental for the adoption of Orthodoxy, as his reaction to visiting the Seraphimite tin

597 R. KIECKHEFER, *Theology in Stone: Church Architecture From Byzantium to Berkley*, Oxford University Press 2004. Especially introduction.

598 Preaching during St. Nikolai's cathedral consecration in New York Tikhon admitted “we also many a time were sorry that our church was small, poor and uncomfortable. Today we put an end to regrets of this kind, the Lord took notice of our heartfelt longings, that; in this great city there should be erected a church worthy of the great Russian nation and answering to the greatness of the Orthodox faith. It is true that in wealth our new church is inferior to many churches of the great Russian land, but, for a compensation, She, like the temple of Solomon, has a missionary importance: we trust that people of alien creeds will also hear of it, and will come to it and pray, lifting their arms towards Our Lord!”. ARC APV Supplements Nov.- Dec. 1902, *An address made by Very Reverend Bishop Tikhon on the occasion of dedication of the Russian Orthodox Church in New York*, pp. 339-343, ARC D455, Reel 290, ff. 479-480. For sadness in considering how long San Francisco Cathedral was not responding in shape to a temple but to a normal house see *An address made at the farewell liturgy in San Francisco August 14th, 1905* in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia*, pp. 137-141.

599 B. FARLEY, *Russian Orthodoxy in the Pacific Northwest* p. 133.

can cathedral also demonstrated.

Preaching in Nenilchik (Alaska), on the day of the prince Vladimir, Equal to Apostles, Enlightener of Holy Rus', Tikhon took time to explain his flock the importance of the church edifice, of its beauty and why parishioners should care about it even in their little Mission. He provided a traditional narration to explain his thoughts reconstructing in front of them the events that carried the Russian Prince to adopt the Orthodox Religion. The American bishop described using the Old Nestor chronicle the arrival of the messengers representatives of different religions at the 10th century Russian court, prince Vladimir's sudden interest toward the religion described by a Greek monk, the perplexities and doubts of the boyars, to finish with the decision to choose trustworthy people, to send them in the several messenger's countries to directly observe devotion and life of their inhabitants. Results were dissatisfying wherever they went except for Constantinople (*Tsargrad*), where the envoys had been completely overwhelmed by the magnificent experience of participating at the liturgical service in the city cathedral, the famous Hagia Sophia. They perceived it to open Heaven and to be no more on earth. From this narration Tikhon exposed to the Nenilchik people some considerations:

From here, brethren, you can see how signifying in faith matters is the temple of God and the liturgical service. The Church is the house of God, his privileged place of residence on earth. Here the Christian is received in the law of God, enlightened by the faith in Christ; here he is consecrated by the mysteries and upon him are plentiful poured out the benedictions of the Holy Spirit, that heal its impotences in spirit and body; here his prayers increase with the prayers of the multitude of believers, pastors and of the same heavenly powers that with us serve invisibly. After that (...) resemble this right man of the Old testament that rejoiced when they called him in to the temple. His spirit tended there as the Olen to the spring (...). Visiting your church, take care also of his splendor. It is not worthy in front of God, it is a shame in front of the other people and ruinous for our souls if the churches of God will be miserable among us (...). The Lord loves those who love the splendor of his home and doesn't leave them out from his great mercy and rich generousities.⁶⁰⁰

Tikhon thus encouraged his flock to take care of their churches, even their little chapels, for the Glory of God, but also for their dignity and position among the other people and the other believers: the splendor and magnificence of a church he reclaimed as a requisite intrinsic to the same presence of Orthodoxy. Moreover Tikhon draw a connection between the Orthodox temples: they were the medium through which the single prayer could join with the others and reach God. He defined Church as the physical structure in which God could live and in which parishioners could thus receive the law of God, the enlightenment of the soul by the faith in Christ and the gifts from the Holy Spirit. He compared Prince Vladimir to king David and the church construction to that of the temple of Jerusalem connecting the Orthodox believers to the old Testament chosen people. He

⁶⁰⁰ *Sermon on the day of the equal to apostles, prince Vladimir enlightener of Rus*, Nenilchik (Alaska) July 15th, 1899 in *Zaviety i Nastavleniia* pp. 23-26, 24-25; in APV 17 (1899), pp. 458-460.

sustained the need of majesty in church construction with argumentations coming from the Old Testament and tradition. The same splendor of the church was the link to the initial baptism of the Prince and after him, that of the whole Russia. It is of no surprise that Tikhon decided to use Vladimir's baptism episode since it was largely widespread in the preceding years in which recurred the Holy Rus' baptism anniversary festivities (1888), when monastery's press, clergy and historians competed in a patriotic flowering of popular literature “for control of collective historical imagination”.⁶⁰¹

Building an Orthodox temple meant once the land was bought, the architect found, the plan negotiated, the loan signed from a bank and the complex built also furnishing it with altars and iconostasis, supplying absence of Holy paraments and vessels. Quoting a renown historian, icons:

As objects of sacred beauty, they embellished the church with divine glory and inspired the faithful to “rejoice with holy joy”. But they did more than simply gild the church; they clothed it. The identification of the icon with clothing and garments implied that without them the church was naked, vulnerable, and susceptible to destructive elements. Icons formed the church's “facade”, so to speak, as a type of shield and defense.⁶⁰²

A defense difficult to recover in America, where icon painters were not common even though they could seldom be found in Alaska.⁶⁰³ Some painters could be found also among Greeks and Syro-Arabs immigrants as those who contributed in decorating the Allegheny parish church.⁶⁰⁴ Links with Russia and motherlands could help in this case, perhaps adding the preoccupations to accommodate these precious holy objects' dispatch. From the Holy Mountain also came icons:⁶⁰⁵ two monks signing Mefodii and Denasii usually were in charge of the icon shipment. They entrusted icons to an agency located in Odessa, from where the materials stocked in sealed cases and embarked for the transoceanic crossing eventually reached the shores of the New World. However cases not always reached the port or the right church to which they were destined to, causing deep apprehension in the Athos' sender preoccupied by icon deteriorating processes caused

601 J. STRICKLAND, *The Making of* pp. 41,53. Literature on Vladimir Equal to the Apostles written for the Anniversary are reported in note 24, p. 232; Tikhon's San Francisco library record reports that he had a life of the princess Olga, printed in Pskov 1893, ARC D477, Reel 303, f.534.

602 V. SHEVZOV, *Between Purity and Pluralism: Icon and Anathema in Modern Russia, 1860-1917*, in J.J.A. GATRALL – D. GREENFIELD, *Alter Icons. The Russian Icon and Modernity*, The Pennsylvania State University 2010, pp. 50-73, 56.

603 ARC D29, Reel 57, f.731 Hieromnk Antonii informs Tikhon that from Attu Island were sent two icons as gifts to monk Denasii on Mount Athos: one Mother of God and one St. Panteleimon.

604 *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* pp. 31-32, 41. Even though glad for having a depicted church the Allegheny priest writing to the bishop admitted that the decorations could not suit someone with artistic taste. However his parishioners loved that images and so for him those images “reached their task”. The Constantinople Greek painter was Aristotle Lazaridis.

605 Icons from Mount Athos were received in the Pribilof Islands ARC D132, Reel 111, f.427, in the Kwickpack Mission D222, Reel 154, f.111 and a Tikhvinskaia Mother of God in Belkovsk D172, Reel 131, ff. 343-344. See also *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period* pp. 22-23.

by the longer than expected icon exposition to wetness in ships and depots.⁶⁰⁶ Some cases were wrongly delivered to the consulate in New York, or to the Russian Transportation Company Office. Icons dispatching caused other bureaucratic work as Consulate personnel asked the Consistory and bishop Tikhon not to give their address as shipment address for cases with icons (as they had arranged also with bishop Nikolai), while Transportation Company recurred to the bishop to pay the custom tax.⁶⁰⁷ In occasion of the New York Russian Cathedral's inauguration, monk Denasii sent an icon of the *Three-handed Mother of God*, which had to be placed in that same day in the Syro-Arab church of Brooklyn. Meanwhile he was working also to an *Iverskaya Mother of God*. A *Queen of Heaven* was instead destined to a further project, that of “clothing” a monastery in Alaska.⁶⁰⁸

Another probable icon painter to which the eparchy and especially San Francisco cathedral owned debt was a certain Alexandra Vinogradova, which spent her life at the beginning of 20th century moving between Paris, Nice, Aix les Bains and Switzerland, with desultory brief visits to Russia. Tikhon maintained a correspondence with her, continuing the relationship the eparchy had had also in bishop Nikolai's years. However, even if she never specified to be an icon painter, this subject was always present in her letters. She could be the author of at least three icons ornamenting the San Francisco cathedral: a Saviour, a *Tikhvinskaia* Mother of God, and a Saviour not painted by man hand. She asked Tikhon if he could send her pictures of her *liubimaia* Cathedral in which she could recognize her icons and then rejoiced. In another letter she asked for more time to finish the “*dobroe deianie*”, or sent money to help the mission and especially the Women Orthodox Society in San Francisco.⁶⁰⁹

Tikhon and his clergy were deeply committed in what we may called the liturgical *delo*.⁶¹⁰ Any church of the diocese should be well equipped as a census of regalia demonstrates. Every single

606 ARC D452, Reel 287, f. 447. In this letter monk Denasii provide a brief guide on refreshing icons after a perilous ocean crossing, he attentively mixed technical skills in using colors, wax and silver with a graduation of sanctity in the parts of the icon on which could be necessary to intervene thus scheduling the phases of icon refreshment.

607 ARC D 452, Reel 287, f.451 Letter to Tikhon May 5/16th 1899, from Ambassador Kassini; ARC D452, Reel 288, ff. 99-100 Letter to NAEC Sept. 8th, 1904; f.75. Letter to Tikhon 17/30th Aug. 1900, from Russian Transportation Society; f.76 Letter to Tikhon 27/10th Oct. 1900 from Russian Transportation Society; f.77 Letter to NAEC 9/22nd Oct. 1900 from Russian Transportation Society. In one letter monk Denasii asked Tikhon to send back the cases for the Altai Mission because they could arrive to him, adding their Turkish address ARC D452, Reel 287, f. 448.

608 ARC D452, Reel 287, f. 446, Letters to Tikhon apr 1900, from monk Denasii. Of the Three handed Mother of God Denasii specified “of which a lot had been written and that slowly is going to be introduced also in the Russian Church”. Inside the icon Denasii was able to put some relics. ARC D452, Reel 287, f. 448; The arrival in America of the *Queen of Heaven* was recorded also in APV 8 (1905), pp. 152-153.

609 ARC H5, Reel 362, ff. 231-252.

610 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* pp. 299-300, Reports two letters from Tikhon to father Leonid Turkevich. The first from Yaroslavl, dated May 10th, 1908 in which the archbishop advised father Leonid to look for bells in America as they did for New York's cathedral in order to lessen travel and custom expenses. The second dated October 3-16th reported no year. In this latter Tikhon informed Leonid of the sending of paraments and that he was continuing to look for other things necessary to him. See also ARC D452, Reel 288 Letter to the Eparchial'nii sklad Jan. 16/29th 1902 from Hotovitskii.

step in equipping temples was strictly and painstakingly covered to the end. Neither an occasion was lost: even the promise received by father Alexander Hotovitskii from a Russian Institute for girls for the gift of a parament, while he was collecting money for the New York Cathedral was taken into account. Tikhon wrote to bishop Flavian if he could remember this promise to that Institute, residing in his eparchy.⁶¹¹ In 1906 Tikhon asked that same father Alexander to dedicate part of count Witte donation to cover expenses for New York Cathedral furniture.⁶¹² Since American Mission was renown in Orthodox circuits, unexpected donations reach the New World churches. In 1906 for example a testamentary legacy of Holy vessels destined to the Holy Synod was redirected toward the New York cathedral. A letter from Evgenii Smirnov to Tikhon reconstruct the legacy's iter. Father Evgenii was requested to write a finding aid (and an economic valuation) of the legacy by the Holy Synod, since he was in London were the dead priest lived (father Stefan Gaferli). Answering he estimated the legacy to an amount of 2.000 rubles and suggested the Holy Synod to dispatch it to America, in reason of poverty of vestments and vessels in New York cathedral of which he had notice, adding that vestments could help also other new built local churches. The Holy Synod asked Smirnov to personally write to Tikhon and arrange about the whole question. He then packed all the legacy sending it to the Russian church of New York, providing also an insurance for the case, writing to the Russian consulate in New York warning them on its content and the ship on which the case was on board.⁶¹³ Underlying preciousness of liturgical vestments in New York as elsewhere is the number of laundry tickets conserved in the archive.

Despite Tikhon's readiness to intervene, there were always exceptions and last minute surprises in visiting diocese, that demonstrated how much work his wife needed as he recalled after a pastoral journey to Marblehead:

There the church is new and beautiful, but it looks totally uniate: without iconostasis, with uniate benches and [priest] chair, on which for the first time it happened to me to celebrate.⁶¹⁴

611 PST Letter to Flavian, Mar. 6th, 1902 p. 99, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.74-75 ob.

612 ARC D452, Reel 288, f.122 Letter to Tikhon, Apr. 24th, 1906 from Hotovitskii. In 1905 count Witte came to US to sign the peace treaty with Japan. This visit left on the minister a favorable impression about the missionary works. He donated 5.000 dollars to the cause which could grant printing to the Hapgood's translation of the Orthodox Liturgy. The letter written to Bishop Tikhon by minister Witte and answering telegram are reported also in *K prebyvaniu gr. S. Iu. Vitte v Amerike*, MO Nov. 1905, pp. 934-935. In this former letter the money are donated in order to cover the necessities of the Orthodox churches in America, “*na nuzhdy pravoslavnykh tserkvei v Amerike*”.

613 ARC D453, Reel 288, ff. 332-333, letter to Tikhon from Evgenii Smirnov Nov. 10/23rd, 1906 from London.

614 PST Letter to Flavian May 5th, 1899 pp. 35-36, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.38-39 ob.

4.2 A project for the New York Cathedral

Although even Bishop Nikolai (Ziorov) proposed to change the diocese's center from San Francisco to New York, this wish could be fulfilled completely only later by bishop Tikhon in 1905. After recognizing how the New York growing community requested more and more direct intervention of a residing bishop he inquires for parish edifices guesting the bishop cathedra with enough dignity. Tikhon sent to Holy Synod the official patent for moving his residence and the eparchial see only in 1904 (the answer arriving in September 1905), while soon after his arrival in America he sent a request for the changing of the name of the diocese in order to better represent its geographical development.⁶¹⁵ Already in 1899, when Tikhon interested himself in the plans for a new church in New York city, he pointed out that it should be the main one of the eparchy.⁶¹⁶ Notwithstanding the enthusiasm with which Father Alexander Hotovitskii on his very first letter to the newly arrived bishop had proposed him to build a new Orthodox church in New York, the request was refused. He had found out a solution in an old church on sale in the most aristocratic part of the city: nearby there was also another old edifice that could serve as house for the clergy personnel.⁶¹⁷ In those years the New York Orthodox church was situated in a modest civil edifice on the Second Avenue. The first floor, directly under the church, was occupied by a laundry service and a refectory. In the same edifice lived the priest (with his family) and two psalmists, in addition to the typography machines.⁶¹⁸ The overcrowded edifice seemed then more little and uncomfortable than it actually was. Nonetheless too small for a growing center of Mission as New York was becoming, growing hour after hour. Thus Hotovitskii described celebrations for the New York parish in such a “microscopic” church:

It is heavy until tears to see masses of Orthodox people (that at times came from distant places) trying without hope to penetrate, also in the corridor, striving at church...In the last feasts, confirmation of this was given to the Vladika Tikhon which came to us at that time for ecclesiastical affairs and in serving liturgy in our little church he commented: “I suffered with all my soul”.⁶¹⁹

615 APV 14 (1905), p. 267.

616 PST Letter to A.I. Ostroumov, Feb. 28th, 1899 pp. 26-27, RGIA f. 799, op. 25, year 1897, d. 226, l. 29-30; PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, May 2nd, 1899 pp. 31-33, RGIA f.799, op. 25, year 1897, d. 226, l. 34-35 ob; ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 813-817 Letter to Tikhon from A. Hotovitskii, Mar.1899.

617 ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 807-811, 810-811. Letter to Tikhon 28th, Dec. 1898, from A. Hotovitskii.

618 APV 5 (1900), pp. 100-103; S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* pp. 65-66; A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia eparkhiia* pp.98. Descriptions of living in the New York clergy apartments and the need for a new cathedral are often referred to in father Hotovitskii's letters to the bishop. See for example *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period* pp. 21, 26, 29, 58-61.

619 APV 5 (1900), pp. 100-103; *Problemy razvitiia pravoslaviia v severnoi amerike vo vremia arkhieiskogo pravleniia arkhiepiskopa Tikhona (Bellavina) 1899-1906 gg.*, Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Istorii. 3/15 (2011), pp.155-160, 159. <http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/problemy-razvitiya-pravoslaviya-v-severnoy-amerike-vo-vremya-arhiereyskogo-pravleniya-arhiepiskopa-tihona-bellavina-1899-1906-gg>

Since the bishop's prolonged stays aggravated the space managing problems drawing crowds from surrounding communities, above adding one bed, Tikhon suggested that he could live between New York and Chicago in autumn and winter months and return to San Francisco during spring and summer.⁶²⁰ It was a compromise but it could work for a period.

In the meanwhile research for the construction of a cathedral continued under the surveillance of father Alexandr. He got informed about New York State law from a legal advisor. Brothers Coudert consulted on the matter explained that the church and the land could not be hold by a Russian bishop, as an alien citizen. The New York statute divided between incorporated/not incorporated parishes. In reason of obtaining facilities in the construction and holding Brothers Coudert suggested incorporation, and the successive phases which the building committee had to care about quoting from the 1895 Laws: “A certificate of incorporation of an incorporated Christian Orthodox Catholic Church of the Eastern Confession shall be executed and acknowledged by the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary and the Consul General of Russia to the United States thus acknowledged and received as such by the United States”. And also that the Ambassador (Cassini) and the Consul General “shall by virtue of office be the trustees of every incorporated Christian Orthodox Catholic Church of the Eastern Confession in the State”.⁶²¹ Following the process, the Russian Ambassador was then asked to trustee the land bought for the Cathedral temple.⁶²²

The operation of land buying was completed quite speedily in 1899 while the bishop was in Alaska for a pastoral visit. As for the land payment Tikhon himself had to explain what had happened with the building committee to *oberprokurator* Pobedonostsev, requesting him about the acquisition, carried out not respecting bureaucracy formalities.⁶²³ He wrote that the local building committee acted and concluded the contract before his returning in New York. The young bishop probably used an half-true affirmation in answering to Pobedonostsev in order to avoid long-time procedures with Holy Synod. In a brief note conserved in the ARC archive brothers Coudert asked the bishop to go and sign the contract on December 12th, at noon indicating how the contract was not yet formally concluded while Tikhon stated it for granted to Pobedonostsev already at the beginning of November.

The Finnish architect John Bergensen was chosen to project the Cathedral on experience and

620 PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, Nov. 1st, 1899 pp. 44-46, RGIA f.799, op. 25, year 1897, d.226, l. 73-74 ob.

621 ARC D452, Reel 287, f.84. Letter from Brothers Coudert to Hotovitskii, Nov. 13th, 1899.

622 ARC D452, Reel 287, f.83. Letter from Brothers Coudert to Hotovitskii, Nov. 21st, 1899; H1, Reel 359, ff. 867-871
Letter to Tikhon from Hotovitskii, Nov 11th/ 23rd, 1899; Confirmed in PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, Jan. 7th, 1900
pp. 54-55, RGIA f.799, op. 14, year 1899, d.1052, l. 19-20 ob.

623 PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, Nov. 1st, 1899 pp. 44-46, RGIA f. 799, op. 25, year 1897, d. 226, l. 73-74 ob.

aesthetic sensibility. He had spent many years living in Russia, acknowledging himself with Russian Orthodox architecture and was living at that time in New York City. He later was requested to build other Orthodox churches in America as that of Berlin (New Hampshire 1915).⁶²⁴ The New York Cathedral, which had to contain at least 700-800 people was planned to be rich in facilities: with light, water and heating systems. It would cost 55,995.85\$ (interior and iconostasis not comprised), adding to that sum also a 2.5% of the costs to pay to Bergensen.⁶²⁵ Father Alexander Hotovitskii could not afford the entire sum, even though bishop Tikhon had worked in the previous years to accumulate cathedral funding. In payment of the New York Cathedral Russian Treasury consented to pay a 1.000\$ a year for a period of 25 years. During the construction a bank was supposed to give father Alexandr precise sums of money to pay the labor. It was a quite laborious system. Tikhon tried to avoid the processes asking to have the entire sum all at once, not to loan money from American banks and thus spare the interest payments that would have been a bleeding wound in the eparchy finances for more decades to come.⁶²⁶ Father Alexander was then sent to Russia in order to promote a collection of money for the Cathedral building and its decorations. His endeavor was accompanied and presented to the wide public by the publication of an article in *Tserkovnye Vedomosti*, written by Alexander himself.⁶²⁷ Tikhon celebrated the pose of the first stone on May 1901, while the cathedral could be dedicated to St. Nicholas on November 10/23rd, 1902.⁶²⁸

On that occasion the church filled with pilgrims from the neighborhoods as well as by religious and state authorities. There were representatives from the Russian Embassies in America (US and Canada) and from the city administration. There was also bishop Grafton of the

624 M. J. CHAIAT, *American Religious Architecture: Sacred Places for every Community*, John Wiley and Sons 1997, p. 44. Initially it was thought to request a plan from the architect of the Russian Holy Synod, while later it was decided to announce a competition on proposals for the Cathedral's plans. ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 867-871 Letter to Tikhon from Hotovitskii, Nov 11th/ 23rd, 1899; H1, Reel 359, ff. 871-873, Letter to Tikhon from Hotovitskii Nov. 17th/28th, 1899.

625 ARC D452, Reel 287, f.86. Letter from John Bergesen to Hotovitskii, Jan. 17th, 1900; PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, Jan. 7th, 1900 pp. 54-55, RGIA f.799, op. 14, year 1899, d.1052, l.19-20 ob; ARC D452, Reel 287, ff. 87-89. Letter (copy) from Bright to Brothers Coudert Dec. 9th, 1901; letter (copy) with no sender to New York Security and Trust Company Dec. 9th, 1901. The plan was revised several times in order to respect aesthetic suggestions on Russian ancient standards, to be respected especially on the facade from the Russian technical committee at the Economic Department of the Holy Synod and also on security standards from the New York city Construction Department. *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period* pp. 62-73. Later projects about the interior and bought of a bell in West Troy are reported in *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period* pp. 85-86, 93.

626 PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, Nov. 1st, 1899 pp. 44-46, RGIA f. 799, op. 25, year 1897, d. 226, l. 73-74 ob. See also *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period* p. 25, 35-38, 41-46, 94-98.

627 TsVd, 6 (1900), pp. 223-229; APV 5 (1900), pp. 100-103; *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period* pp. 49-52. An heartfelt resume of his travel and his petition to the Holy Synod for a Sunday collection dedicated to the New York Cathedral construction is reported and eventually achieved in pp. 55-56, 87.

628 During the ceremony it is remembered the position of a memorial table at the church foundation: "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Built in honor and memory of St. Nicholas, during the pious and autocratic rule of the sovereign Emperor Nicholas Aleksandrovich: William McKinley was president of the United States of America and his eminence Tikhon bishop of the Aleutinians and of North America. In the year from the creation of the world 7400 and from the Birth of Christ 1901. May 9/22nd; TsVd 22 (1901), pp. 788-790. See also S. A. BELIAEV, *Amerikanskoe sluzhenie* p. 156.

Episcopalian church of Fond du Lac.⁶²⁹ Tikhon pronounced a sermon that should be joyful for the results finally achieved in building. However the New York consecration Sermon could be better understood read together with other two sermons, those pronounced in the occasion of his visit to Sitka Cathedral in September 1901 and Tikhon's farewell address in San Francisco in 1905. These three homilies on Cathedrals repeated one after the other a strong appeal to the parishioners for the shaping of an Orthodox position and role in the New World. As he did in Sitka, remembering with parishioners the times when bishop Veniaminov was among them and their city considered the diocese center, Tikhon tried to describe the cathedral city role (moving from Sitka to San Francisco and Eventually to New York) resembling the story of Israel and the meanings of their development as kingdom and the coming of Christ, all characterized by the necessity of moving. While collocating Sitka, Mission among the pagan into a Deuteronomy stage and San Francisco, land of preaching yet capable of standing alone like a community funded by Apostles and reinforced by a long time predicament, in New York Tikhon highlights his preaching a time of Glory for Israel:⁶³⁰

I greet you, Russian Orthodox people, on the solemn occasion of the dedication of your church. The present day is as joyous for us, as once was the day for Israel, when, in the reign of Solomon, the temple of the Lord was erected instead of the tabernacle.

Truly enough, until now in New York we had but a tabernacle. Like the tabernacle carried from one town to another, our church also was moved from one place to another. And like David being sorry that he dwelt in a house of cedar but the ark of God dwelt within curtains (II Samuel 7.2) we also many a time were sorry that our church was small, poor and uncomfortable. Today we put an end to regrets of this kind, the Lord took notice of our heartfelt longings, that; in this great city there should be erected a church worthy of the great Russian nation and answering to the greatness of the Orthodox faith.⁶³¹

It is true that in wealth our new church is inferior to many churches of the great Russian land, but, for a compensation, She, like the temple of Solomon, has a missionary importance: we trust that people of alien creeds will also hear of it, and will come to it and pray, lifting their arms towards Our Lord!

And so let us thank the Lord, who should Himself so gracious to us, in moving good Russian people to sacrifice, that this church should be erected, and in consecrating it today with the Grace of the Holy Spirit.⁶³²

He dissipated doubts about Russian Orthodox presence in America, encouraging to permanently settling religiously in the city, not fearing about being a Christian community among the others. The Cathedral church being itself a symbol of their commitment in the process, caring not to lose their traditions and instead of being testimonials of their faith through the displaying of

629 PST Letter to Flavian, Nov. 19th, 1902 RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.82-83 ob.

630 *Address spoken at the Sitka Cathedral on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the arriving of bishop Innokentii to Sitka, September 27th, 1901* in *Zaviety i nastavlenia* pp. 71-73; *Address on the occasion of the farewell celebration in San Francisco, August 14th, 1905* in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia Sviatitelia Tikhona*, M 2001 pp. 137-141.

631 The Syro-Arab Orthodox community asked the bishop for the building of their own church in New York City, that was built in Brooklyn in the same years of the Russian one. Request from Archimandrite Raphael (Hawaweeny) in ARC B8, Reel 12, ff.553-554.

632 ARC APV Supplements Nov.-Dec. 1902, *An address made by Very Reverend Bishop Tikhon on the occasion of dedication of the Russian Orthodox Church in New York*, pp. 339-343, ARC D455, Reel 290, ff.479-480.

the legacy of their fathers and respect of local authorities.

Now if so be ye have lasted that the Lord is gracious (1Pt. 2,3), having helped you to erect this stately stone building, you also brethren, in the words of St. Peter the Apostle, as lively stones are built up a spiritual house (2,5) that is to say you compose a church community, as firm and as lasting as this church of years.

Up to this day, so long as you had no regular church here, so long as you had but a temporary place for it, it seemed both to foreigners and to yourselves that possibly the work of the Orthodox Church in this country was also but temporary. But now that you have a regular church, these apprehensions are dissipated. *I will build my church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it (Mt 16,18), and so I am with you always, even unto the end of the world, amen (28,20)*".

We believe and trust that these promises of Christ have reference to our work here as well and so do come to this church without fear, but gather around it duringly and form one unanimous family, tied with the bonds of faith and love.

You know that at home in Russia church and parish are intimately related to each other. Let it be the same way amongst you. Love your church and visit it often. Of old Russian people always were known for their piety and their love for the Holy churches of God: holy Russia is built on churches and is beautiful by them. Unfortunately, there are Russians, who, once they got abroad, begin, through lack of moral courage, to be ashamed to preserve the good customs of the religion of their fathers, and think that by giving them up they will secure the respect of the foreigners. This is a bitter and a sad error: no one respect renegades! Needless to say, that it was about these that our Lord spoke: *Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels (Mc 8, 38)*

You should act differently: stand by the Orthodox faith, preserve the tradition of you fathers, and love the church of the Lord.

Gathering around the temple, build out of yourselves a spiritual house (1 Pt 2,5), so that to be able to give yourselves, your souls and your life to the service of God. Do not forget that both your church and church community have a missionary importance: *you are a chosen generation a peculiar people (1 Pt 2, 9)*, so that you may announce to the foreigners around you the wondrous light of Orthodoxy.

In one of the beautiful prayers, which were said at the consecration of this holy edifice, we pray the Lord that the erected church should serve *for the guidance of our lives, for the fulfillment of righteous living and for the realization of all truths.*

And so I think it timely, at the dedication of your church, to implore you in the words of St. Peter, which can closely be applied to you also. *Dear beloved, I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts which was against the soul, but lead a righteous life so that the followers of different creeds all around you should glorify God and your church by your good works, which they shall behold. For so is the will of God that well doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. As free and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God, obey all authorities, honor all men, love the brotherhood, fear God. And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves: for charity shall cover the multitude of sins. Finally be you all of one mind, having compassion one of another, love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous. And when you minister to each other, minister in the ability which God giveth, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.*⁶³³

4.3 St. Tikhon's Monastery

In 1897 bishop Nikolai (Ziorov), aware of the necessity of a monastery in the American eparchy, proposed the opening of even two monasteries: a male one to be located in Elovii Island (in which monk Herman had lived as an hermit in the years of the first Valaam Mission) and a

633 ARC APV Supplements Nov.-Dec. 1902, *An address made by Very Reverend Bishop Tikhon on the occasion of dedication of the Russian Orthodox Church in New York*, pp.339-343, D455, Reel 290, ff.479-480.

female one that would be built in Osceola Mills.⁶³⁴ Bishop Tikhon, caring as always to the suggestions of his predecessors, already in 1901 confirmed bishop Nikolai's evaluation adding on his part that the life of the eparchy could not be considered completed without a monastery.⁶³⁵ After years of preparation in November 1905 he sent an official request to the Holy Synod for the opening of a male monastery in Pennsylvania. The reasons underlying the request of a monastery were numerous. It should become a center for the enlightening of the surrounding area: monks living permanently there should celebrate in the little parishes and communities that were rose around. Monastery, as had happened in other Russian Missions (China and Urmia as recent examples) could become one of the missionary centers: it could be a shelter in which clergy would stop to regain spiritual forces for the Mission. Meanwhile it could become also a good education institute in training psalmists (of which Tikhon underlined the eparchy had a huge necessity); it could finally assume the role of elders' base for living (“earthly angels”, “Heavenly men”), to which immigrants could refer to for spiritual advising. It could raise novices from the American population. Finally it also could offer a nearer destination to pilgrimages, a symbolic gathering place able to guest and fed pilgrims enriching this way the holy landscaping.⁶³⁶ It could become also an economic enhancing to the zone: a monastery required labor in maintenance and it would be even more with the opening of an attached school (to compete with the other confessional schools in the neighborhood) and a home for orphans.⁶³⁷ Hieromonk Arsenii (Chagovtsov), serving since 1903 in America (firstly in West Troy parish and then from autumn 1904 in Mayfield) was finally delegated to the construction of the entire complex. He was a widow that felt the loneliness of his condition as treasurer of a noisy monastery in Kharkov' had asked for being readdressed to the “*apostolic delo*” in the American eparchy, introduced by the intercession of bishop Flavian (Gorodetzky). He even started to study English before leaving for America.⁶³⁸

The city of Mayfield was the chosen place for establishing the monastery: some Russian

634 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p. 187, quoting the 1897 otchet, RGIA, f. 796, op. 179, d. 4034, l. 8ob-9. Bishop Innokentii Pustynskii also pressed and wished to have a male missionary monastery in Alaska trying to recruit monks already working in American Southern parishes but receiving only refusals. Tikhon defended them from bishop Innokentii's lamentation observing that it was not for the goal to establish a monastery that they came to America but for parish' guidance, APV 8 (1905), pp. 151-158.

635 APV 11 (1906), p. 208.

636 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp.188, 192. Otchet 1905 RGIA f. 796, op.187, d.7376, l. 4. See also the opinion of hieromonk Arsenii before the construction in APV 19 (1903), pp. 331-334; 9 (1904), pp. 163-165; 8 (1905), pp. 151-158. For a recent work on the significance of sacred places see A. VEILLOUX, *What makes a monastery a sacred place?* in T. COOMANS, H. DE DIJN, J. DE MAEYER, R. HEYNICKX & B. VERSCHAFFEL, eds., *Loci Sacri. Understanding Sacred Places*, Leuven University Press 2012, pp. 29-34.

637S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* pp. 89, 293 Otchet 1905. The experience was not a novelty in Russian philanthropic activities. See for example Scott Kenworthy, *Russian Monasticism and Social Engagement: The Case of the Trinity-Sergius Lavra in the Nineteenth Century*, in *Philanthropy and Social Compassion in Eastern Orthodox Tradition*. Papers of Sophia Institute Academic Conference, New York Dec. 2009. Edited by M. J. Pereira, Sophia Institute in Orthodox Theology Vol. 2, New York 2010, pp.163-181.

638 ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 181-184; ff. 215-222. Bishop Innokentii elsewhere defined Hieromonk Arsenii “a fanatic”.

immigrants gave for free 59 acres of land in which to build the church and Arsenii involved the diocese in the buying of other 82 acres of land, comprising a house with eight rooms, a cowshed, a bathroom and a garden covered with apple trees. The total cost was of 26.000 dollars of which 1.000 were immediately paid.⁶³⁹ The monastery should be composed of 16-18 cells and dedicated to St. Tikhon of Zadonsk.⁶⁴⁰ The complex even though very expensive was paid through reiterate money collections and finance helping from the Mutual Aid Society.⁶⁴¹ Above the acquisition money, projects in restructuring and building of new edifices, such as a new church were completed one after the other in the following years.⁶⁴² The celebrations for the beginning of the construction of the main corpus (*zakladka*) of the monastery were held already at the end of 1905 in Tikhon's presence.⁶⁴³ Meanwhile Arsenii tried to populate the monastery inviting monks from Russia and shaping the monastery into an educative center. Although initially the monastery was promisingly inhabited by two monks and seven novices, the numbers of the community living in the monk community in those years remained stable around seven-eight people.⁶⁴⁴ During the years 1903-1905 Arsenii had contacted monks in Russia looking for someone who could join him in the starting monastery. Eventually Arsenii found a hierodeacon who could come to America: deacon Aleksei Andreevich (Boguslavskii) who could become a monk once landed in the new world but he was readdressed in serving the near American parishes. Unfortunately even when finding candidates there were external difficulties: father Kliment, a monk who seemed to be well disposed for leaving was finally refused by his superiors which opposed a “veto” to the fulfilling of his missionary desire.⁶⁴⁵ Nonetheless Arsenii succeeded in creating a little community formed by hierodeacon Ipatii, who could become monk once arrived to America, a teacher for the orphans that he wanted to elevate at the role of psalmist and two young adjutants recruited in the neighborhoods one of which named Andrei (Repella). They helped the monastery's life functioning and slowly got accustomed to the monks' life.⁶⁴⁶

Arsenii tried to avoid the problem of elderying looking for an old monk in Russia that could

639 ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 257-260; APV 11 (1905), pp. 225-226. A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 190-191.

640 PST Letter to Flavian Dec. 12th, 1905 p. 214, RGIA, f. 796, op.205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.154-154ob.

641 APV 17 (1905), pp. 333-336. See for example ARC D463, Reel 295, ff. 41, 43-44.

642 APV 11 (1906), pp. 214-229. Description of the monastery and of future projects. The iconostasis for the monastery church was donated by the New York community. It belonged to their previous temple. An Orthodox cemetery had been built already in 1905. APV 24 (1905), pp. 476, 481.

643 APV 24 (1905), pp. 473-475, 480-482. The *zakladka* had been held on December 8th.

644 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p.192. In June 1906 there were eight members in the monastic community: hieromonk Arsenii, hieromonk Tikhon (priest of the Hartshorne parish), hieromonk Ipatii as economer, brother Andrei Repella, brother Konstantin Chupa, brother Mikhail Gavula, brother Andrei Pristash, brother Nikita Konechin as novices. APV 11 (1906), p. 208.

645 ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 233-236, 249, 229-232; A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 531-532.

646 About Ipatii's travel expenses ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 267-270.

also follow the novices in their formation. From Russia eventually came father Feodor (Slabinskii) who was renamed Seraphim as a monk. He incurred in disciplinary problems in the following years while serving in America, upsetting the project of monastery life dreamed by father Arsenii.⁶⁴⁷

Besides the monastery, the complex guested an orphan home. It had been strongly supported by the 6th Convention of the Mutual Aid Society, which had composed also a committee for its realization. The Mutual Aid Society was then requested to economically sustain not only the construction of the monastery complex but also the actual expenses of children maintainance, paying for example 4 dollars at month for each child living in the Orphan home (opened on July 15/28th, 1905).⁶⁴⁸ Already in 1906 there were 12 children living there (from 6 months to 10 years), 5 boys and seven girls. The Orphan home personnel was composed by father Arsenii himself, monk Nikolai (Iablonskii), charged with the economic management and who helped children with their homeworks, Sister Anastasia Vichak (which had two children living in the Orphan home for free), sister Elena Salagub recovering the role of woman cook (with a child living with her at the Orphan home). Children for the most part needed help from outside because lack of knowledge of English and thus difficulty in attending public school. There were also problems linked with children health.

In 1906 the monastery's church also was finally consecrated by the three bishops composing the Orthodox hierarchy of the Diocese. The 17/30th May had to become a symbolic day claiming the pilgrimage of Orthodox Americans to the monastery complex located in South Canaan. Since the consecration it was customary to have celebrations running in different places of the monastery complex: in 1906 the first group following bishop Tikhon celebrated into the church, while the second one following bishop Raphael celebrated outside the church. Trains had been appositely arranged in order to help the pilgrims' arrival.⁶⁴⁹ Celebrations and anniversaries started to be occasions to determine the life of the monastery, not only as gathering place but also for the internal development, always in the optic of optimizing time: during the temple consecration Arsenii was elevated to the rank of igumen while Andrei and Konstantin were tonsured as monks.⁶⁵⁰ Later in that same year Tikhon lived at the monastery for forty days and while there elevated to the rank of monks the young Antonii and the starets arrived from Russia Seraphim. The young Antonii (brother Andrei Repella) is described in the bishop's words as “the first monk among its inhabitants... the

647 ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 347-350, ff. 414-417. A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp.199-201. On displaying of Russian eldering see I. PAERT, *Spiritual Elders: Charisma and Tradition in Russian Orthodoxy*, Northern Illinois University Press 2010.

648 APV 24 (1905), pp. 476-477.

649 APV 12 (1906), pp. 235-239. For a deeply felt welcoming of the Russian monastic life in America which explicitly refer to implanting a Russian lifestyle (byt') see the article in APV 11 (1906), pp. 214-229.

650 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp.196-198. For anniversaries see APV 15 (1906), pp. 291-294; 16 (1906), pp. 311-314.

firstborn son of our monastery” and the day of his tonsure as “the record of your Salvation”. The young bishop underlined how the self-willed world would perceive the decision of tonsure of a young man, accepting to bear the yoke of “stand fast against temptations” without having being previously proven by the world. Instead speaking about Seraphim tonsured monk the day after Antonii, Tikhon said “you are already in deep old age, having lived for a long time in the world and come to know the meaning of both its sorrows and joys”. He could then rejoice in achieving the monk rank and being of help as starets in the new built monastery.⁶⁵¹

4.4 From the *shkolnoe delo* to Minneapolis and Sitka's Seminaries

Materials about schools, institutes, lessons, conserved at the Library of Congress archive is immense especially concerning Alaska. This short paragraph will try as always to put address some issues and delineate main strategies even though much work it is still to be done and could open an entire world, extraordinary in its preciseness and wealth of details.

The 1898 otchet reported there were 29 parishes and 55 schools (20 parish schools and 35 gramota schools) working in the American Orthodox diocese, evidencing how schooling was one of the first goals of the mission implanted by bishop Nikolai. Not only parishes but even numerous communities gathered around chapels could boast the educative sense of their presence.⁶⁵² In the 1905 otchet the number grew to 80 schools and 2100 children studying of both sexes. In six schools there were attached institutes in which students could find hospitality.⁶⁵³ Father Evgenii Smirnov in his 1903 *Short Account of the Historical Development and of the present position of Russian Orthodox Missions* commented the opened school numbers as a result of a central policy of the Russian Empire: “The entire history of Russian Missions is in reality nothing else but the history of the Christian instruction of the natives in Russia. Such is the view taken by a great Russian statesman, and the best authority on Russian history, the Russian Church, Russian Education and missionary work, Mr. C. P. Pobedonostzeff”.⁶⁵⁴ Indeed education and school system are closely linked to the beginnings of the American Mission, being the Valaam monks the first to open a

651 OW *Addresses at the Tonsures of Monks Anthony and Seraphim. St. Tikhon's Monastery, Pennsylvania*, Aug. 13th-14th, 1906, pp. 251-255; S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia* pp.160-164.

652 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp.21-22 and 239. Quotation from the 1898 otchet, in RGIA f.796, op. 442, d.1707, l. 4ob; APV 8 (1900), p. 156, 162.

653 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 297. The Institutes guested 115 students that year.

654 E. SMIRNOFF, *A Short Account* p.70. For a comparison with Russian education see B. EKLOF, *Russian Peasant Schools: Officialdom, Village Culture, and Popular Pedagogy, 1861-1914*, University of California Press 1986, pp. 155-176.

school in Kodiak in the same year of their arrival in 1794 (though they were supposed to find an already functioning school). In the following decades the number of people capable of reading and writing in Alaska surpassed the Russian Empire percentage. Already in 1841 the first seminary was opened, then the Sitka school also was reshaped into a seminary but following the presence of the bishop was moved to Iakutsk in 1859. Only in 1872 bishop Ioann Mitropolskii opened a school in San Francisco with the goal of a higher education for the Orthodox immigrants children and the Alaskan best students. From 1873 to 1876 four of the students were ordained as pastors and sent to Alaska, bishop Vladimir (Sokolovskii) thus being the first one to promote a higher educational policy in the diocese.

However since the immigrant's sons started to work usually at thirteen the goal to which bishop Nikolai (Ziorov) pressed his diocese instead was to amplify their Orthodox education in the years preceding their sent to work perhaps trying to contrast the process of “Americanization” they were subjected to, attending public schools.⁶⁵⁵ Already in those times the polemics against the schooling imposed to Alaskan and generally immigrant pupils were deep and harsh. Schooling, as it was observed, was the main way of Americanization. And this was not what Russians thought their children to become. In Tikhon's words to a new appointed priest: “I say it to you either, as I did to others, I don't hold back [to say] that from the ecclesiastical schools depends the future of Orthodoxy in this zone, that schools are especially necessary here, because in the public schools of this country, as you yourself know, they don't teach the law of God”.⁶⁵⁶ An “army of teachers”, this was the expression used by Russians to describe their adversaries of the American public school. Missioners answered them with the operation called the “*shkolnoe delo*”. A war of education perhaps fought mostly in Alaska, since after 1867 Orthodox schools were accused to be a tool for the Russification of people and a betrayal perpetrated against the United States government. The young bishop finally wrote a defense of the Orthodox schools in a letter to Sheldon Jackson. The first proof, presented as accusation, was the daily prayer students addressed for the czar. Bishop Tikhon underlined then how students addressed daily even the prayer for the US president. The second proof was that of studying the Old Slav and Russian. Tikhon explained this choice as necessary in order to understand the meaning of celebrations, which were performed in these languages. The letter answering Sheldon Jackson offered the bishop the opportunity to emphasize the importance Orthodox schools had in the civilization of the most distant tribes of Alaska and in

655 In the 1895 *otchet* it was underlined how quite in every parish there was a school, often it was a Sunday school that in festivities and summer lessons tried to add an Orthodox view on the children's life. A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 222-223, 225, 234. Quotation from RGIA, f.796, op.177, d.3290. C. BATES-M. J. OLEKSA, *Conflicting Landscapes*.

656 *Teaching to a new appointed ierei (Vladimir Alexandrov) in Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp.35-38, 36; APV 8 (1900), pp. 154-156.

the creation of good citizens, underlying that Orthodox schools constituted a web reaching the most distant islands of Alaska, where a handful of children belonging quite entirely to Orthodox confession could access at least elementary education, unless not arriving at them, because public school could not afford the expenses to cover such distant and dispersed requests of formation. In reason of this service and of the number of Orthodox children Tikhon asked subsidies from the government that would pay for the schools' civic function and not for their religious confession, extending services also to non-Orthodox children.⁶⁵⁷

The Russian parochial school, being the true child of her great mother, the Church, is entirely free from the Spirit of intolerance, and her attitude towards the American public and government is one of cordially expressed solidarity with all humane, good and enlightened measures.⁶⁵⁸

Accusations of betrayal perpetrated towards the Orthodox schools in Alaska proved that in the northern part of the Diocese a missionary war between confessions was still fought through educational systems and methods of students recruitment. This war found an easily exploitable land in reason of the hard condition Alaskan people were subjected to. Usually big institutes, established by non-orthodox missions, were committed in searching for students, taking them out from their communities and transferring them in Alaskan biggest cities. Even environmental difficulties and inhospitable climate created difficulties in maintaining children of widowed parents. Schools thus resulted also as organs of social assistance, and the easiest to place a child in a safe institute, the better. The sad case of Irene Sorovikoff can be clearly assessed in this perspective. She was a widow residing first in Unga, then in Illuluk and decided to place her children in religious institutes until eighteen years of age, for the impossibility of maintaining them. In 1904 she left her 10 years son, Mikhail to the St. Sergii Orthodox School in Unalaska while four years before she entrusted her daughter Annie, thirteen years of age to “The Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America” in Unalaska.⁶⁵⁹ Another similar case is that of Alexander Shaiashnikov who entrusted his nephew Tatiana, 9 years old to the Orthodox “Women's Herman House of Kodiak” in 1902, until the eighteen years of age.⁶⁶⁰

The Orthodox institute for girls in Kodiak had been opened in 1901 through the help of the

657 *Answer to General Sheldon Jackson*, in *Zaviety i Nastavleniia* pp.29-31; PST Letter to Sheldon Jackson, Nov. 29th, 1899, pp. 49-50; APV 4 (1900), pp. 82-84; The prayer of Thanksgiving also was dedicated to the President of United States. ARC D455, Reel 290, ff. 283-284. Supplement of the American Orthodox Messenger XVIII-XXII (1901).

Actually in 1900 Alaska were recorded 43 schools for 41 localities plus 2 missionary schools, the whole serving 787 pupils APV 8 (1900), p.163. Even the distant St. Paul Island owned one in which studied 17 boys and seven girls in that same year. A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhituu* p.77.

658 APV 8 (1900), p.159.

659 ARC D64, Reel 78, f.360 e ff. 409-410. The contract with the *Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America* provided clauses for the eventuality of children's escape.

660 ARC D64, Reel 78, f. 361.

All-Russias Missionary Society. Building expenses and a yearly fund of 1000 dollars were thus granted. Tikhon himself granted 75 dollars more every year in order to cover at least the expenses of one girl.⁶⁶¹ Courses taught resembled that of the parish-schools, since they were established in two classes: law of God, Russian, English, history, geography, mathematics, singing and house keeping. The women institute in Kodiak followed the opening of what in Sitka had opened in the previous year. This particular attention to girls' education was the consequence of the necessity to educate and maintain Alaskan women into the Orthodox faith. Often, Tikhon recognized how women were the only Alaskan holders of the Orthodox faith and those on which burdened the continuation of it in their lands. Furthermore, pressure for girls to be educated from other missions was very high.⁶⁶² Moreover educating girls in churchianity was also a step toward the constitution of a web of preferential Institutes to which clergy could send their daughters as was happening in Russia among the spiritual estate, thus forming an American generation of possible educated clergy wives and women Orthodox teachers.⁶⁶³ Girls' education was not only an Alaskan choice, in 1905 in Mayfield was opened also a school for girls. Since in Mayfield Orthodox parish the number of scholarly aged children reached 200 with only one teacher to care for all of them, it was decided to divide the boys from the girls. While in morning hours all the children attended to American public school's lessons, from 4 to 6 they followed the Orthodox courses.⁶⁶⁴

Bishop Tikhon on his part as could be seen also by the data showed above was investing the diocese with a school policy that tried to cover all ages: from the children to the higher education with the establishment of institutes in which they could also live and seminars.⁶⁶⁵ Although from

661 APV 14 (1901), pp. 299-300. A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 249-250.

662 *Proposal to the North American Clergy Consistory* of the Nov. 17th, 1900 n.62, on the construction in Alaska of a school-institute for girls, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* p. 47; APV 23 (1900), p.479. Contemporary anthropological studies confirm the bishop's point of view S. KAN, *Russian Orthodox Brotherhoods Among the Tlingit: Missionary Goals and Response*, *Ethnohistory* 32/3 (1985), pp. 196-222; S. KAN, *Clan Mothers and Godmothers: Tlingit Women and Russian Orthodox Christianity, 1840-1940*, *Ethnohistory* 43/4, *Native American Women's Responses to Christianity* (Autumn 1996), pp. 613-641.

663 Ioann Efimov Orlov a widow priest, working in St.Paul Island enrolled two of his three daughters to study at the Kodiak women Institute. While Ol'ga and Nadezhda (13 and 10 years old) studied at Kodiak, Nikolai and Alexandra (8 and 5 years old) are recorded as living with him in the parish house for the year 1903 ARC D137, Reel 115, ff. 168-169; B. L. KOLESNIKOVA, *Zhenschina dukhovnogo sosloviia v sisteme narodnogo obrazovaniia Rossii XIX-nachala XX vv. (na primere Tambovskoi gubernii)*, *Nauchnye Vedomosti Belgorodskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Narodnoe Obrazovanie. Pedagogika* 1 (2007), pp. 67-71.

664 APV 5 (1905), pp. 95-96; A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 250-251. Charged for the School organization was once again monk Arsenii who in 1905 recruited with less difficulties than monks, two women of proved experience in teaching and also talented in music. Both came from Kharkov. One was a certain teacher Safonova «not scared of the school or of the job» that was able to follow the works of a choir and Elizaveta krasnosel'skaia which had recently completed her courses in music ARC H1, Reel 359, ff.229-232; 238-241; 242-245.

665 He worked also on a regulamentation of the entire complex of schools trying to uniform them in the juridical asset as could be seen by a 1902 letter "St. Synod's chancellery at he beginning of the year requested the Ecclesiastical Consistory about the American missionary schools' regulation project (...) I have not yet received annotations about this subject". PST Letter to S.V. Kersky, May 22nd, 1902 p.107, RGIA f.796, op. 174, year 1893, d. 3093, l.146-146 ob.

usual historiography the emphasis on the main edifices and enterprises took the scene, it is not to forget the bishop's commitment to the single little advancements of his diocese. He wanted all his flock to participate and being deeply enlighten by the churchianity. Even the most distant or little parishes. Visiting the Nenilchik parish, in the day of the equal to apostles Prince Vladimir, Tikhon reminded to his flock how deep was the concern of the Prince toward the enlightenment of Russian people. The prince wanted to distance darkness to his people, avoiding that they remained benighted opening to them the light of the knowledge of the law of God through schools. Pointing at prince Vladimir, the bishop ascribed the spiritual enlightenment directly connecting it with education. Following his example also the inhabitants of Nenilchik should send their children to the Orthodox parish school to learn the Fear of God, principle of all wisdom.⁶⁶⁶ Diocese school system could be recognized as having three different types of Orthodox schools:

1. summer-parish school (functioning when public schools were closed, usually on Saturday morning and during summer months).
2. gramota school (especially in Alaska, substituting completely public schools).
3. Church-parish school (on Russian clergy institutes model, in two classes. There were only three of them: Sitka, Unalaska and Minneapolis).⁶⁶⁷

Primary schools (gramota) where the most numerous, in quite every Alaskan parish the priests or their adjutants provided an elementary education to children exploiting tradition and coeval renowned linguistic methods.⁶⁶⁸ The situation was quite different from Alaska to the material America. In Alaska schools possessed a different meaning for the indigenous, providing a connection to a tradition mostly shared by the majority of population residing there.⁶⁶⁹ In the material states school was the center of culture and the way in which the parents could imbibe in their children some of the world they had left with immigration. However pupils studied their prayers, a short ecclesiastical history, how to read Old Slav and sing hymns in church. Here the main type was that of parish schools.

The third type, that of church-parish schools was more complex, addressed to children that had already received preparation. Usually they were admitted around 12-13 years of age. The two-

666 *An Address on the day of the equal to apostles prince Vladimir*; July 15th, 1899 Nenilchik (Alaska), in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp. 23-26; APV 17 (1899), pp.458-460.

667 On Sitka school, funded in 1893 (4+2 years), from 1897 Innokentii Missionary School see A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 234-235. The second was Unalaska School, funded in 1893. Every chapel attached to Unalaska parish was supposed to maintain at least one of the students. The edifice was dedicated to bishop Innokentii (Veniaminov). On Minneapolis' School, funded in 1897-1898 see A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 236-237.

668 In 1907 for example 40 copies of "Obuchenie Tserk. Clavian. Gramote "Il'minskago"" were supposed to arrive in Unalaska ARC D52, Reel 70, f. 47.

669 Poor material condition in schools, and Orthodox institutes rose also claims for a better living (at least in feeding standard and dressing) from a Special Agent of Treasure Department in 1901. ARC D 64, Reel 78, ff. 373-375.

classes schools in Sitka, Unalaska and Minneapolis were, at Tikhon's arrival the higher Orthodox education offered and for this reason clergy had to attend Russian seminaries or Academies for a better education.

Subjects taught in the church-parish schools were:⁶⁷⁰

Sitka ⁶⁷¹	Law of God, Russian, Old Slav, Mathematics, English, History, Geography, Calligraphy, Church chanting.
Unalaska	Catechesis, Russian, Old Slav, Aleut Grammar, English, Holy History, Geography, Ecclesiastic Institutions, Church history, Calligraphy, Church chanting.
Minneapolis	Law of God, Russian, Old Slav, Mathematics, English, Calligraphy, Church chanting.

The teaching of English received always a special attention since children of second or third generation did not know Russian at all but spoke a mixed language. In Sitka since 1900 a certain Miss Patton was requested from public school for this purpose, as here also other schools had American personnel for teaching a language that their Russian teachers mastered usually with difficulty.⁶⁷²

Nonetheless preparation in Minneapolis disappointed the bishop at his arrival: "I have been in Minneapolis for days. There has been open a Missionary School in two classes, with a preach class. But that there it's still insignificant (...) even old people don't know the sacred history of the New Testament".⁶⁷³ Tikhon then expressed the necessity to overcome this shift between Russian clergy formation and the American one. During Tikhon's years this type of school received an entire transformation becoming an equivalent of the Russian seminars, though never reaching their standards in the eyes of Russian observers.⁶⁷⁴ Already in 1903 the bishop had petitioned to the Holy Synod the license to have an American Seminary: it should be adequate to the necessities of the Diocese. As it was underlined in the previous chapter, the Orthodox American boys who wanted to access the clergy estate had great difficulties for the absence of a proper educational possibility in the nearness. Moreover differences in culture and pastoral conditions between Russian and

670 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 234-237; A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* p.19.

At Minneapolis church-parish school bishop Tikhon presided also to a pedagogical meeting in which the parish clergy intertwined with the teacher in a collegial decision on the pedagogical as well as pastoral strategies.

671 In 1903 and 1904 subjects increased with the adoption of courses in apologetics, pastorship, Church History, Church Institutions, Pedagogics, Dialectics. A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p. 244. Quotation from Otchet 1903 in RGIA f.796, op.185, d.5851, l.17 ob; APV 6 (1905), p. 104.

672 APV 21 (1900), p. 424; 20 (1900), p. 415.

673 PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, May 2nd, 1899 pp. 31-33, RGIA, f.799, op. 25, year 1897, d.226, l.34-35 ob. See also APV 20 (1900), pp. 414-417. In the Minneapolis church-parish school there were 20 students in each class during 1901. It was proposed to open a third class. APV 15 (1901), pp. 310-315.

674 D. GRIGORIEFF, *The Historical Background* p.12.

American Orthodoxy increased year after year requiring a specific formation for the new clergy generation. The huge potential of the nascent American Orthodox Church should be received and cultivated in appropriate structures. A seminary could also permit the formation of a theological and ecclesiological center.

An energetic improvement should be exercised on clergy formation, which had received less attention in previous years. Choosing Innokentii (Pustynskii) as vicar bishop was itself an innovation since his interests in pastorship discussed in his thesis defended in Kazan Academy in 1902 remained until today a topic work for the discussion of it. Bishop Innokentii grew up in the era of spread interest and space among the pastor formation of pastorship. Indeed he could afford and better comprehend in an already thought and self cleared perspective the problems of pastorship what were the new and old problems an educational ecclesiastical system had to resolve in order to have a working foreign corpus of well-prepared Orthodox clergy.⁶⁷⁵

Although already in 1903 a commission started to work in order to resolve issues relating to the constitution of a proper seminary, the process of decision-making lasted for considerable time. They identified four main issues: subjects to be taught, the place in which to build, the composition of teachers and, how to cover expenses. Tikhon asked the Diocesan clergy to express their opinion over the four issues. Results were later published on the Diocese's printed organ.⁶⁷⁶ The Seminary was finally opened in 1905 in Minneapolis, under the rectorship of Konstantin Popov initially and since November 1906 by father Leonid Turkevich. Archimandrite Anatolii (Kamenski, former rector at the Odessa Seminary) taught together with B. Bensin (Theology candidate), father Kal'nev and a teacher for English subjects.⁶⁷⁷

During the first year it guested 14 students, while already in the second their number reached the 21 matriculations. The Seminary increased also internal mobility for the best students, even though it was an already experienced practice: letters coming from Unga Island told us of three students sent to study at San Francisco in 1902. From another letter it seems that children had to be sent in a public school in Pennsylvania.⁶⁷⁸ The seminary remained in Minneapolis even after

675 N. Iu. SUKHOVA, *Pastyrskoe bogoslovie v Rossiiskoi Dухovnoi Shkole (XVIII-nachalo XX v.)*, Vestnik PSTGU 1: Theology. Philosophy 2009 1(25), pp.25-43, 26.

676 Charged of the role of commissioners were dean I. Nedzelnitzkii, priest A. Nemolovskii, priest K. Popov, priest I. Kapanadze and a teacher Kukulevskii APV 18 (1903), p. 309. Dean I. Nedzelnitzkii's opinion could be find in APV 21 (1903), p. 372.

677 J. MEYENDORFF, *St. Vladimir's Faculty. Our predecessors in A Legacy of Excellence 1938-1988*, Crestwood (NY)1988, p. 9; *St. Vladimir's Seminary, 1938-1958*, SVSQ 2/3 (1958), pp. 2-10; B. M. BENSIN, *Twenty Years ago*, SVSQ 2/3 (1958), pp.11-20; PST Letter to Archimandrite Anatolii June 24th, 1906, p. 223. RGIA f.796, op. 187, year 1906, d.7309, l.7-8 ob. Letter to Anatolii Kamenskii from the Consistory of Alaska Mar 5th, 1898, ARC B9, Reel 13, f. 327.

678 Brothers Ioann and Vassili Foster together with Isaak Gould, ARC D 32, Reel 58, f. 580. Gould was admitted also to the American Public School, he was the son of a widow (Irina) re-married to the Unga psalmist Andrea Golovin

Tikhon's departure for Russia even though several projects of moving were always at hand, for the wish to locate it nearer to New York as Cathedral See. This movement would change the Holy Landscaping tentative introduced by bishop Tikhon, made explicitly on the emphasis of definite centers of Orthodoxy, each one conveying its own meaning. Eventually in 1912 the seminary was moved to Tenafly (New Jersey).⁶⁷⁹

	1 class ⁶⁸⁰	2 class	3 class
1	Liturgy	Liturgy	Practical Pastorship
2	New Testament	Church history	Russian Church History
3	English	Medieval History	Apologetics
4	Medieval History in English	Old Testament	Dogmatic Theology
5	All-Russian literature theory	Geometry	Malorussian Literature
6	Chanting	Chanting	Homiletics
7	Old-Slav language	Russian literature	English
8	Algebra	English	

Bishop Innokentii visiting the Minneapolis seminary, considering it as States Centered, not easily affordable by Alaskan students in linguistic skills and not useful for them as preparation offered, decided to open also an Alaskan Seminary. Alaskan students should maintain their culture, language and local links in order to become useful psalmists, deacon and priests for their people. Innokentii also proposed to start a debate on the necessity of studying the Russian language in front of the ever lowering rates of Russian living in the region. In 1906 Seminary lessons were started in Sitka, with 4 students. In that first class subjects taught were those in the following table. Teachers were not sent for from Russia but recruited among the available local personnel: bishop Innokentii Himself was committed into the enterprise together with father Kashevarov, Archimandrite Mefodii, Madame Von Der Fur for Algebra and Lavrentii Kashevarov.⁶⁸¹

f.581 e f.582. Students to Pennsylvania D32 Reel 58, ff.583-584. Request from New York, written from the father of a boy (13 years old) that previously had attended school in Russia and offering to pay 5 dollars for each month. ARC D452, Reel 287 letter to Tikhon Apr. 19th, 1900 from Aleksandr Liashok; request from Rosylin (Washington) from a father for his son of 12 years ARC D 467, Reel 296, f. 569; request from San Francisco, written by Sebastian Dabovich for the brightest student of San Francisco's school Bozhidar Tomanovich of 12. ARC D479, Reel 304, f.451. From a priest requesting a place for his sons ARC D 441 reel 282 letter to Tikhon July 6th 1899 from George Kohannik.

679S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 298 and 301 Letters to father Leonid Turkevich from Iaroslav Dec. 8th, 1907; from Iaroslav Mar. 29th, 1908; from Iaroslav June 11th, 1910; from Iaroslavl January 23rd, 1912.

680 APV 12 (1907), p. 223.

681 APV 20 (1906), p.392; APV 7 (1905), p. 125. Maria Von Der Fur lived for 35 years in America before holding the role of teacher for the Orthodox Diocese. She sustained exams as teacher in 1901, while she lived with the Nezdell'nitskii family. The Dean had proposed her as teacher for the Women Institute in Kodiak. *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946*, pp. 26-28.

1. cl	Old Testament	Fundamental Theology	Literature	History	Algebra	Kolosh Language	Aleut Language	Chanting	Medicine
Ex ter nal	Bookbinding craft								

In the years 1905-1906 Alaskan schools were submitted to a new reorganization policy in consequence of which the majority of them closed. Quite only Orthodox schools remained in function. The new legislation divided between schools for Indians, submitted to a superintendent residing in Sitka and through him to the Ministry of Education, and school for white people which were supposed to refer to the local governor and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Public schools would be opened for not less than twenty students and a local committee should interest in the opening of these schools, working for free on their constitution. In consequence of these restrictions the number of students at the Orthodox school tripled. Bishop Innokentii reacted, proposing a plan of education to be covered by his teachers, ready to conduce an American program taught in English so long as the state granted the former public schools edifices at their disposition, because parish structures could not guest such a number of students. However the proposal was not accepted. Innokentii considered the educating task always one of the first goal of his permanence in America. He visited Sheldon Jackson petitioning a resolution for the opening of Alaskan schools. He reminded US President Roosevelt about the Alaskan education question during his visit in Washington on May 27th/June 9th, 1907.⁶⁸²

Over Seminary projects there was the opening of a parish school in Cleveland. For this purpose the land of a dismissed Catholic monastery, with a stone building was bought in 1902. It contained a school and a church. It was thought to be a preparatory school to enter the Seminary.⁶⁸³ Furthermore in Jackson opened the only Serbian directed parish school of the Diocese. Works for its construction started in 1901.⁶⁸⁴ However a sense of broad education also addressed to the adults was the presence of the “readers club”, where immigrants could increase their training and understanding of their religious culture and its provenience.⁶⁸⁵

With bishop Platon's arrival things slightly changed as in programs, that should not be addressed to a Russian-American second or third generation audience, with the adequation to American standards but to a more traditional and Russian system of study. Lessening of economic resources affected the situation with the closing of the Sitka seminary in 1911 which was considered too expensive for the low numbers of matriculations. Bishop Innokentii moreover was not more

682 APV 8 (1907), p. 139.

683 APV 2 (1905), p. 24; Otchet 1905 in APV 17 (1906), p. 333.

684 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p. 253; APV 16 (1901), pp. 340-342.

685 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 78.

there to defend its creature. The Seminary improvement was substituted by attention on the parish schools' level.

Chapter 5:
The third foundation.
Lay people between participation and identity

*Tikhon hoped that by having clergy and laity working together, the thorny administrative and canonical issues involved with the trustee control of immigrant parishes would find their resolution.*⁶⁸⁶

Orthodox parishes in America had been usually accustomed to self organize themselves in piety and devotion because scarcity of clergy and news left them without a spiritual guide for months, years, sometime for decades. Periodicists in their travels, found new communities each year but their occasional visiting could not guarantee the prosecution of a community life that was thus charged to local volunteers called *kurators* or *starostas* (common also in parishes with resident priests). The *starosta* was a layman, usually a renowned one, who had a preminent position in his work, or civic responsibilities. The Sitka starosta since September 1898 until 1912 was Sergei I. Kostromitinov, an official of the Alaskan army.⁶⁸⁷ The Alaskan *starostas* sometimes were considered a substitutive figure for the practice of the old-aged *toion* system. Nonetheless the practice of selection was common in all the parishes: the selection was made at community level, passed through all the grades of the Diocesan construction and was then ratified directly by the bishop.⁶⁸⁸ However those who were elected to this role not always proved to be trustworthy, tending to abuse of the power thus achieved and demanding to act not only in economic administration but also in the displaying of churchianity. It was not unusual that they represented only one part of the community thus creating dissension or at least a difficult equilibrium in the community's

686 M. STOKOE-L.KISHKOVSKY, *Orthodox Christians* p.38.

687 After being reconferred in the position in 1909, in 1912 he was elevated to the priesthood ARC B14, Reel 16, ff. 465-466, 480.

688 For example in 1904, on St. George Island the previous starosta had died after 4 years of service and the parish had then decided to chose another one, a kreol, Andronik Iovlev Filimonov ARC D117, Reel 119, f.153. In the words of Kostromitinov the election was to be intended as “Vox populi- vox Dei”, ARC B14, Reel 16, ff.467-469.

managing.⁶⁸⁹ Moreover the prolonged absence of control could raise cases of frauds. Father Andreades on his way to Portland chapel to celebrate a funeral was readdressed by the local starosta, Mr. Darovich (a Syro-Arab), to celebrate in his own house by reason of the chapel's bad conditions. Mr. Darovich collected money during the service, justifying his action by claiming to have had authorization from the precedent resident priests of Seattle, Sebastian Dabovich and father Alexandrov. Since authorization had not been granted by them, Darovich fled from the city before the next arrival of father Andreades to Portland.⁶⁹⁰

Lay people participated also in other ways to the life of their communities, through the constitution of brotherhoods and choirs that usually were the main manifestation of Orthodoxy appearing in the cities. They marched on parade at Tikhon's coming, for example wearing a uniform or traditional dresses, singing through the streets and carrying banners and icons in processions. Women societies organized street markets in order to collect money for church purposes or were supposed to care to the church decorations.⁶⁹¹ Laity was committed in ordinary yearly Russian collections like that dedicated to the Jerusalem and the Palestinian Christians, or that toward the Russian Red Cross, but also for exceptional facts in helping the diocese. For example they were requested to intervene in case of famines and epidemics in the poorest parishes of Alaska.⁶⁹² Tikhon himself encouraged this practice, evoking how in the apostolic Age Christian communities used to help each other.⁶⁹³

Parishes raised in social commitment with the opening of Temperance societies in order to prevent alcoholism; during Sunday, parishes' rooms were open, offering activities like spiritual lectures, child representations, entertainments also using magic lanterns and musical instruments. These enlightenment practices were in use in St. Petersburg at those times, promoted by the ORRP (*Society for the dissemination of Moral-Religious Enlightenment in the Spirit of the Orthodox*

689 Tikhon reported as most evident cases those of Minneapolis and Bridgeport in his 1898 otchet. A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutkaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia eparkhiia* pp.32-33, 89.

690 B. FARLEY, *Russian Orthodoxy in the Pacific Northwest* p. 132.

691 Visiting Charleroi Tikhon met even two choirs: a Serbian and a Russian one. When disponsible a salmist was charged with the choir's care, like in Philadelphia where psalmist I Andreev directed the choir. APV 14 (1901), p. 295, A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutkaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia eparkhiia* p. 157. See also the Allegheny example in A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* pp. 58-59.

692 For example a Society guided by a certain Ioann Naumow in NY. ARC D452, Reel 288, f.111 Letter to NAEC, feb 20th 1905, from Hotovitskii, or money given from the syro-arab parish of Johnstown ARC D452, Reel 288, f.121 Letter to Alexander Hotovitskii jun 18th/ jul.1st 1905 from Bishop Raphael Hawaweeny. The most renown collection was that for *the Orthodox people of Jerusalem and the Holy Land* of which were to be collected on the Sunday of Jesus entering Jerusalem. The ARC archive has numerous examples of donations. For example that of the Troy parish in 1904 (5 dollars), ARC D458, Reel 292 f.334.

693 Already in 1900 Tikhon suggested to render actual again the mutual Aid the first centuries parishes gave one to each other in time of need. He refers explicitly to those lines (Acts 11,29) to emphasize how the several communities could established a link between them, helping each other to sustain the daily necessities. *Sermon preached at the San Francisco Cathedral on the first Sunday returning from Alaska*, June 23rd, 1900, in *Zaviety i nastavlenia*, pp. 38-40; APV 16/1900 pp. 318-319.

Church, Obshchestvo rasprostraneniia religiozno-nravstvennogo prosveshcheniia v dukhe pravoslavnoi tserkvi) and the Nevski Temperance Society. The American Diocese thus inscribed itself in the number of those Russian institutions in late Imperial age accepting and spreading “experimental” experiences into which devise a common cultural form between the Orthodox tradition and the challenges of the present situation, a “reconfiguration of pre-existing symbols, beliefs and practices”.⁶⁹⁴

As it could be observed parishioners were concerned mostly with parish-level problems, the community, its internal assets being their ecclesiastic horizon. With Tikhon's arrival, an effort to try to change this perspective was made: challenging the Diocese through the introduction of collegiality in decision and in a diffuse care for the church of all the continent at least. Concord and reciprocal knowledge between parishes was what the young bishop tried to instill in his flock, the absence of which however he recalled many times in his reports.

5.1 Trying to live with Uniates-reunited

Since the Minneapolis' first uniate parish-reunion in North America, planned under bishop Vladimir's protection by father Alexis Toth many former uniate parishes had chosen to join the Orthodox Diocese in America. The movement was continue, but not always stable or peaceful. Several motives of dissent affected the calm and concord living of these parishes. Some examples of Uniate-reunited parishes will be hereby shown.

In asking for reunion, a part of a community population addressed a petition to the Orthodox bishop, usually through an Orthodox priest living nearby. The Marblehead community for example followed this *iter* in 1899. The rural dean Ioann Nedzel'nitskii (residing in Allegheny) and father Stepanov of Cleveland then organized ta parish meeting. They told parishioners the history of the Unia Movement and continued with a brief teaching about Orthodoxy. Gathered people were interrogated about their intention of reunion, stipulated economic accords (the Orthodox diocese could not cover expenses of edifices' maintaining and a possible resident clergy stipend), nominated a *starosta* and *kurators*.⁶⁹⁵ The case of Mayfield instead was more similar to that of Minneapolis. In

694 *Proposal to the North American Ecclesiastical consistory*, in *Zaviety i Nastavleniia* pp. 74-75; APV 14 (1901), p. 305; J. HEDDA, *His Kingdom Come* pp. 86-105; W. A. MCKEE, *Sobering Up the Soul of the People: The Politics of Popular Temperance in Late Imperial Society*, *The Russian Review* 58 (1999), pp. 212-233, quotation p. 215.

695 After dean Ioann Nezdelnitskii and father Stepanov departure from Marblehead, part of the flock having listened at the economic conditions posed by the Orthodox Diocese decided not to reunite. A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p. 172; *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* p. 18. In case of small communities

1902 they decided for reunion guided by their priest, father Olshevskii (a Basilian monk who had studied in Rome) after the arrival of a request of submission from a Catholic bishop. Tikhon writing to Pobedonostsev about Mayfield observed that the parish seemed to be big and the passage to Orthodoxy peaceful: they already had the parish house, a school, the cemetery and even promised to maintain the priest with their own money without a salary from the Holy Synod. He specified also that there were in Mayfield many uniates who did not know what unia was and considered themselves Orthodox even before the request.⁶⁹⁶

Another example was that of Slovaktown (Arkansas). In May 1899 father Ioann Kochurov wrote to the Diocese introducing the request of the little community, mostly composed by Galitian people.

1. Fam. Midlian' Georgii	42	5. Fam. Kasimir Anna	32	Georgii	5
Sofiia	36	Anna	9	Anna	3
Georgii	10	Ivan	7	Stefan	7m.
Mariia	3	Maria	4	Nestor Boris	32
2. Fam. Vuk' Ivan	39	Mikhail	1	11. Fam. Enkerd' Maria	30
Susanna	37	6. Fam. Stefancik Maria	60	Mikhail	9
Anna	16	Mikhail	37	Anna	6
Susanna	7	Elena (wife)	24	Ivan	2
Ivan	6	Maria	3	12. Fam. Vaendi Maik	48
Mariia	2	Anna	2	13. Fam. Feodarkavich Mikhail ⁶⁹⁷	
3 Fam. Lopsak Varvara	26	7. Fam. Stefancik Ilia	42	Mararita	2
Mikail'	5	Susanna (wife)	37	Georgii	13m.
Mariia	2	Anna	7		
4. Fam Van Dick Susanna	75	Maria	4		
Nikolai Van Dick	55	8. Fam. Matulka Anna	43		
Anna (wife)	57	9 Fam. Andrej Jierod'	10		
Nikolai	18	10. Fam. Bozhko Maria	27		
Ekaterina	16	Maria	7		
Iunilion	9	Notor	6		

As always the request should be accompanied by a list of the families who presented and sometimes signed the petition. Even though usually only the male head of the family was recorded

it was seldom possible to grant a resident priest for the little sum they could pay. Accord on reunion was then discussed on how many times a month a periodeut could serve liturgy in their church. As father Alexander observed in the case of 1901 Troy reunion “we developed a *modus vivendi* in a meeting” *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period* pp. 74-75.

696 PST Letter to K.P. Pobedonostsev, Oct. 22nd, 1902 pp. 118-119, RGIA f.796, op183, year 1902, d.4643, l.2-3 ob.

See also the excerpt from a letter to the *SVET'* reported in PST p. 120.

697 Coming from the Allegheny Orthodox Church.

father Kochurov, reporting in details the parish composition offer to us an example of migrant community. He recognized 13 family groups, for each of them we can recognize the head of the family (often a woman) and the age of each component.⁶⁹⁸ Galitians families were usually split: males working across the continent, women remaining with their children waiting somewhere. Of 50 communities' members 30 were under 20 years of age. Once received the patent of reunion from the Russian Holy Synod, and having their reunion publicly recognized through its publication in the pages of the APV, the community was ready to confront with administering matters.

After Minneapolis' reunion things changed on economic support.⁶⁹⁹ The mass reunion of uniate verified under bishop Nikolai had been encouraged by Holy Synod economic help toward the new parishes. But those asking for reunion some years later experienced a different relationship. The Russian Empire started to distinguish between Russian parishes with Russian priests, which could receive a salary from the Holy Synod and all the others who could no longer access this privilege. Count Witte started this policy toward former Uniates stating that he refused to pay for “Galitian political exiled”.⁷⁰⁰ As happened in Mayfield, the requesting communities had to accept the economic conditions posed by the Orthodox Diocese: debts should not be compelled to be paid out by the Diocese, which will not pay also for the construction of new edifices or for the maintaining of clergy, liturgy performances and resident clergy travels. From here, the necessity to contract a salary for the resident priest and the hard task for the young bishop to match a candidate to the right parish in order that he and his family could live with dignity with the salary granted from the parish. However parishes often promised what they could not keep, and, after a short period of time, started requesting help from the Diocese and lamentation grew among the clergy remaining for long time without a stipend. Moreover it was difficult to explain why some parishes could receive economic help even if big in size and population and thus able to self-pay their personnel while others could not.⁷⁰¹ Tikhon then reported this grief to the ober-prokurator: the archbishopric could not sustain them all, while the new parishes are seldom able to keep their promises. He sadly concluded that, without money, it was more difficult that Uniate people would reunite to Orthodoxy. Furthermore money coming from Russia started to decrease sensibly. Parishes would need to become economically autonomous and ready to help each other. Although, since

698 ARC D440, Reel 281, ff. 434-435.

699 About it Tikhon observed in a Sermon addressed to them “For you, brethen, as firstborn of the Uniates into Orthodoxy, great and rich mercies are being poured out by the representatives of the Orthodox Church here in full and generous measure. I consider it superfluous to enumerate these mercies, as I think your grateful heart itself will suggest to you how much and what has been done for your good!”. OW, *Sermon at the St. Mary Orthodox church in Minneapolis* Apr. 25th/May 7th, 1899, p. 236.

700 PST Letter to Flavian, Jan. 25th, 1899 pp. 20-21, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.32-33 ob; Letter to Flavian of Georgia, Nov. 2nd, 1899 pp. 47-48, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.44-45 ob.

701 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 175-177.

1901 projects on improved parish management and economic autonomy appeared on the APV, the problem was not resolved before Tikhon's departure. Instead in 1907 the question became of first importance so that the Diocesan Sobor' proposed the institution of a permanent economic commission. They tried to exploit traditional instruments like brotherhoods financing projects, candles' selling, flock collections in the most important religious feasts.⁷⁰²

Parishes reunited were not always self-confident and stable in their decision, often crossed by strong dissensions, they could easily jump from Unia to Orthodoxy and back to Unia. As Tikhon described them, Uniates were "lovers of freedom".⁷⁰³ It could happen that they finally decided to detach themselves from both the confessions and fund an autonomous parish that could link with American Christian denominations or self-detached autocephalus churches sustained by proto-nationalistic movements, exported abroad as for the Ukrainians of Canada. In a letter a Uniate layman well explicated his point of view:

These people built churches, rectories, schools for their own money and are supporting the priests financially. It seems as if the people and clergy gave up their rights, became his subjects as it is in the Old country. These people's rights are to pay, support, be silent and obey, etc...

In the Old country if a Lord or some person financially support the church, became a Patron, he even had the right to have the priest of his choice appointed to a parish.

Lately a movement began for an autonomous administration- that the laity are to take part in the church affairs with the priests, to become a stronger fort for the defense of the Church. The clergy and the laity are inspired by such administration to stand up and be ready to defend the Church.

The Catholic Hierarchy was persuaded not to oppose such an autonomy, but to support it. The sooner, the better it will be for the good of the Church.

In the land of the free it would be ridiculous to support and work for a cause without representation.⁷⁰⁴

Also the Catholic front had its own problems, which were similar to those of the reunited as it is evident. Although with difficulty, nonetheless some immigrants returning to homeland in Europe decided to retain their new adopted confession, spreading it in their old neighborhood as it happened for a group of Rusyni from Bekherov village. Having left behind them Unia in America, returning home they decided to build their own church, an Orthodox one and to have their own priest. The money was collected in America and as for the priest they asked their former bishop Tikhon to provide one for them. He wrote to the Serbian bishop in Budapest (Lukian) to entrust the new parish in the right jurisdiction, receiving nonetheless a cold answer. The migrants lamented

702 APV 5 (1907), pp. 82-86; A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 179-181.

703 PST Letter to Flavian, Mar. 30th, 1900 pp. 60-61, RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.52-53 ob.

704 Views of a layman concerning the actions of the Apostolic Visitor. (A.R.Viestnik July 4, 1902 ,p.2) cited in J. SLIVKA, *Historical Mirror Sources* p. 32. Note the echo of American Independence slogan "No taxation without representation".

also the starting of a persecution from the Magyar government, preoccupied of Russian interference and how their Rusyn representation at government abstained to intervene in their defense for the same political reasons. Tikhon wrote to Pobedonostsev in order to obtain help from him in convincing other bishops to take care of them:

It's necessary also that someone of the Orthodox powers take care about the moved people and that they find jurisdiction under someone. As "North-American" I cannot manage "European affairs".⁷⁰⁵

Reunited priests were difficult to manage, sometimes they returned to the Catholic Church attracted by the old way of life they better knew better or by promises coming from Rome to recognize their status as Uniate. There were also human cases of priest uniate-reunited still undecided between Unia and Orthodoxy, or unrecognized by their former parish, who wandered through the American continent with their families. It could happen that they wrote to the Russian bishop for help. Balog for example was an old uniate priest serving in Bridgeport. When his parish was assigned to someone else, he tried to return to Hungary from which he and his family came from, but he could not afford travel expenses and finally asked Tikhon for help. The young bishop interceded for him requesting that he and his family could remain in America serving the Orthodox Diocese.⁷⁰⁶

However the longest and saddest question proved to be that of former Uniate churches' property. Split communities found themselves in possession of only one church, that was usually registered as a community's property. Each one of the parts vindicated the property as theirs and usually went to trial. Lawyers' expenses burdened on the parishes so hard that they could have built a new church with them. Temples had once again become the community's symbols. The *Wilkesbarre's litigation* was perhaps the most famous quarrel. It started before Tikhon's coming to US but he was overwhelmed by it like his predecessors.⁷⁰⁷ During the 1900 Holy Easter Orthodox

705 PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, Jul. 23rd, 1901 pp. 84-85, RGIA f. 797, op. 71, year 1901, otd. 2 stol. 3, d. 264, l. 1-2 ob. On Rusyni's migration see also J. BRADY, *Trasnational Conversions*.

706 PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, Jan. 16th, 1899 p. 19, RGIA f.796, op. 179, year 1898, d.3999, l.23. From 1902 the Uniates had a visiting bishop in USA, his name was Andrew Hodobay. They referred to him for financial as well as jurisdictional problems. In their search for freedom and foreknowing by the Latin rite bishops they asked for help Austro-Hungarian authorities, in their motherland as even in embassies in USA. J. SLIVKA, *The Historical Mirror*, pp. 28-30 ss. Relationship with Uniate priests was very fluid. Examples in confronting with Hodobay policies in *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946*, pp. 48-54, 59.

707 PST Letter to Kassini, Sept. 23rd, 1899 pp. 42-43, AVPRI f.170, op. 512/1, year 1894, d. 559, l. 135-136 ob; K. S. RUSSIN, *Father Alexis G. Toth*. Tikhon working together with a lawyer office for a Canadian quarrel had to relate to father E. Smirnoff, looking for English materials that could help the lawyers in their work. They were looking for a Russian book on the history of the Uniate church. Smirnoff recommended them the History of the Russian Church written by A. N. Mouravieff, translated by the rev. R. W. Blackmore and printed in London in 1842, a bibliographical rarity already at that time. Smirnoff refers also to the inadequacy of the adjectives Greek Orthodox in the Greek Rite denomination. He sent the book to father Hotovitskii to be donated at the NY Cathedral's library. ARC D453 Reel 288, ff. 332, 334. Letter to NAEC, apr 2/15th 1907 from Evgenii Smirnoff, London.

Wilkesbarre Orthodox people were compelled to leave their church by the Catholics vindicating the church as their own. Orthodox people then decided to build another one. The following year at the church consecration Tikhon addressed a sermon in the newly built Resurrection's Church in Wilkesbarre. He presented to his flock their past this way: Catholics probably had thought that leaving the Orthodox without a church edifice meant to seriously damage their attendance and carrying the new parish to death. Tikhon compared this type of reasoning to that of the Hebrews condemning Jesus, they thought that through killing him, his message would be buried also and probably his disciples would disperse. Instead Christ Resurrection follow his death, and from there began the widest spreading of Christian teachings. For this reason the bishop advised Wilkesbarre Orthodox people to dedicate their church to the Resurrection of Christ.⁷⁰⁸

Wilkesbarre was only one of the many communities split between Unia and Orthodoxy. Also the Minneapolis community, “the first born of reunification” experienced dissent, in Tikhon words: “there is there a total lack of peace and concord”.⁷⁰⁹ Old Forge also had uneasy population, divided between Uniate and Reunited. Father Grigorii Grushka remaining at work one night saw a stone thrown inside his room from the window. Even bishop Nikolai (Ziorov), visiting the parish had been importuned by a man who declared that the church belonged to the Uniates, because it had been built with their offerings. Police had to intervene in sedating the scuffle created by this statement.⁷¹⁰

5.2. Brotherhoods and Societies

Brotherhoods were a constant feature in parishes' life already at Tikhon's arrival, conveying an Orthodox lecture of the world through their names and presence, unifying the strengths of the resident Orthodox believers. They were one of the main forces of aggregation for the Diocese, organizing participation, donations, activities and education among the parishioners. They helped in preserving the past left in the motherland in the new towns. Alaskan brotherhoods and sisterhoods had also been helpful in preserving the Orthodox identity.⁷¹¹ As a common structure in the old

708 *Sermon on the week of the blind, spoken in Wilkesbarre*, in *Zaviety i Nastavleniia*, pp. 64-65; APV 10 (1901), pp. 192-193.

709 PST Letter to Sabler, Apr. 29th, 1899 p. 29, RGIA f.799, op. 25, year 1897, d.226, l.32-33.

710 APV 5 (1897), pp.162-163; 9 (1897), pp. 165-168.

711 S. KAN, *Russian Orthodox Brotherhoods Among the Tlingit: Missionary Goals and Response*, *Ethnohistory* 32/3 (1985), pp. 196-222; S. KAN, *Clan Mothers and Godmothers: Tlingit Women and Russian Orthodox Christianity, 1840-1940*, *Ethnohistory* 43/4, *Native American Women's Responses to Christianity* (Autumn 1996), pp. 613-641.

world, American brothers could refer to similar precedents in Europe and were favored by a Russian recent trend in funding Societies of Orthodox inspiration that comprised not only laity by clergy too.⁷¹² However the multietnic composition of communities was usually plasticly visible from the number of brotherhoods present in the Diocese. Each denomination built their own. In New York city there were one dedicated to the birth of the Holy Mother of God and a Syro-Arab nominated after St. Nikolai (like in Streator and Cleveland). The citizens of Yonkers could join that of St. John the Baptist while those living in Ansonia, Troy and Passaic had theirs dedicated to St. Basil. In Minneapolis, like also in Bridgeport there was one brotherhood dedicated to St. Peter and Paul. The Jackson parish, mainly Serbian had also his own brotherhood, nominated after St. Sava.⁷¹³ In Chicago and Streator there were two each. In the city of Bridgeport there were three. Two of them were linked to the Diocesan Mutual Aid Society (one for men and the other for women) while the third was especially concerned with parish management and the choir meetings. In 1899 the number of brotherhoods in the Diocese was 38 (4 for women only) but they had risen to 80 in 1905.⁷¹⁴

Mutual Aid Society was funded in 1895 by bishop Nikolai with the purpose of concretely helping the poorest parishes through a web of Orthodox believers who could care each other from the position of long-aged settled immigrants to newest arrived. Representatives from each section met each year in an annual convention. However the action of several Mutual Aid Societies was recognized since bishop Nestor's time when they were almost committed in providing a dignified burial to Orthodox immigrants. They were not always connected with the diocesan structure as coming to know and recognizing the presence of an Orthodox bishop in US was still not for granted:

Very often it happens, that we find out about the existence of one or another Orthodox already at the end of his life, at the time when 20-30 funeral carriages arrive at the church for a funeral procession. But even in the last moment of his earthly existence it happens, that the priest does not take any part. Some Orthodox person would register himself with some Mutual Aid Society where he pays one or two dollars monthly, - and after his death his body is carried into the hall of that society and he is buried with prayers according to the Rites of that society, the members make a more or less luxurius funeral procession, and at the end of all that the orphaned family receives a considerable assistance of 200-1000 dollars, according to the amount of payments that the deceased made.⁷¹⁵

712 D. SCARBOROUGH, *The White Priest at Work: the Growth of Clerical Community and Clerical Philanthropy in Late Imperial Russia*, Paper presented at the 43rd Annual Convention of the ASEEEES, November 17-20, 2011, Washington DC; A. LINDEMEYER, *Poverty is Not a Vice: Charity, Society and the State in Imperial Russia*, Princeton University Press 1996.

713 A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiyu* pp. 12, 19-21, 51; A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 137-138, 159; APV 1 (1899) pp. 14-15.

714 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 114, 145-146; S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon otchet 1905* pp. 68, 296; *Problemy razvitiia pravoslaviia v severnoi amerike vo vremia arkhiepiskopogo pravleniia arkhiepiskopa Tikhona (Bellavina) 1899-1906 gg.*, Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Istoriia. 3/15 (2011), pp. 155-160. Serbian brotherhoods and societies only, counted 75; APV 6 (1905), pp. 113-114.

715 G. SOLDATOW, *The Right Reverend Nestor* p. 113.

The Mutual Aid Society was one of the most important organizations that helped the immigrants. It took care not only of the ill and dead immigrants helping them in obtaining and paying medical care and family support, but provided also money for diocesan common purposes as in building the Minneapolis Seminary and the Orphan Home. The bishop encouraged the brotherhoods, who reunited to Orthodoxy to the caring for their parish edifices, orthodox moods, life and faith.⁷¹⁶ Uniate brotherhoods in fact often lead the parishes to reunion, starting the process of nearing the representatives of the parishes with those of the local Orthodox deanery. This was the case for example of the Marblehead community.⁷¹⁷ It was not only about the fact of easing and leading a process: in order to be fully accepted into Orthodoxy the brotherhood itself was expected to join the diocesan Mutual Aid Society entering thus into a network of sustainability and financial support for the all diocese. Although the apparent fluidity of the process, this proved to be muddling, confronting with misunderstandings of ethnic, financial and purely human character. The continental character of the institution however resulted in an intrinsic slow motion: not only members had to be informed reaching the most distant communities of the diocese but also its same internal structure proved unfruitful: secretary and president of the society lived in different cities and could not easily debate issues. The *Svet'*, the Mutual Aid Society magazine was hindered by impossibility of regular issues and purely human misunderstandings between present and past delegates in managing it.⁷¹⁸ Sometimes it could happen that mix-ups were brought to attorney's mediation to find resolution.

Dear sir,

I have been consulted by Samuel Kitchak and Metro Kiser, both of Wilkenson, concerning an organization designated as the Orthodox Catholic mutual Aid Society, and it appear from their statements that their rights in this society have been disregarded. They say they have faithfully and honestly lived up to the rules and regulations of the Society, and contributed towards the building of the Society's property at Wilkenson, in which they have an interest. They inform me that without any hearing or proceeding whatsoever they were summarily turned out of the society, and deprived of their rights therein, and of their rights and interest in the property which they had contributed towards creating and building.

All this, so they state, was under the direction of Rev. V. Alexandruff, of Seattle, and they desired that I wrote you and lay the matter before you. Will you kindly give this your attention and cause such action to be taken in the matter as will restore their rights to them. Yours respectfully. Marshall k. Snell.⁷¹⁹

While little conflicts between a single brotherhood and the Mutual Aid Society could easily be resolved through the personal intervention of the bishop to calm down souls and in reporting peace, in 1901 the Convention of the Mutual Aid Society found itself illegitimated by another Convention

716 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p. 178, quotation from the 1903 otchet. RGIA f. 796, op. 185, d.5851, l.16-16 ob. S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 68.

717 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p. 173.

718 *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* pp. 23-28.

719 ARC B2, Reel 8, f. 133, Letter from Tacoma (Washington) March 8th, 1901.

organized by Serbian brotherhoods that associated themselves as a “national” basis Mutual Aid Society. The official one found itself curtailed of 400 members. This same action was followed by an anonymous letter written in Serbian to the New York *blagocinnii*, accused of bad behaviour and of tortures regarding Serbians. It seems that the accusations were temporarily placated with the appointment of a Russian priest who already served in Serbian parishes (father Kal'nev) in Pittsburgh, from where he could manage the question of his compatriots that trusted him.⁷²⁰

As it has been underlined in the preceding chapter, brotherhoods and Mutual Aid Society were considered the principal instrument in strengthening the diocese' structure. They were always taken into consideration as collectors of funds, as community's organizers in absence of resident clergy, as connectors of local experiences, as shadow administrators of the church properties. Usually even though the local priest was invited to the meetings, brotherhoods decided their president, secretary and treasurer independently, through elections.⁷²¹ Sometimes this resulted in overhanging accumulations of roles and power of certain members into the communities. Leading positions in brotherhoods were particularly important in influencing the community's asset: nonetheless, inconveniences could be built also by common members. Besides the fact that the presence of several brotherhoods could become a source of richness for a community, it could also become a source of problems in managing organization and relations between them. Thus arose cases in which personal interests of certain local notable people, conflicted with the diocesan program, creating a quarrel between clergy personnel and lay representatives. In 1905 Philadelphia father Alexander Nemolovskii for example could not disentangle a complicated issue alone. The Philadelphia parish was composed mainly by Ukrainians and Galitians. Alarming Telegrams threatening to hire an uniate priest had been sent by parishioners to the bishop, who decided to intervene.⁷²² Nemolovskii was reassigned to another parish. In his support thus came father Alexander Hotovitskii from New York parish and the “*Strannik*”, igumen Sebastian Dabovich who had to temporary cover father Nemolovskii's role in Philadelphia as a “special priest”.⁷²³ They were sent there in order to ease the departure of father Nemolovskii from his service in Philadelphia. He

720 *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* pp. 23-31.

721 See the detailed account of the New York brotherhood 1897 election recounted to bishop Nikolai by father A.

Hotovitskii in *Sv. Aleksandr: Missionerskii period* pp. 16-18. Reporting a letter from ARC D450, Reel 287, ff. 43-47.

722 It is later explained that the notable who had suggested this would have like to convince an uniate priest to join Orthodoxy and then became the Philadelphia priest. For the history of congregations in Philadelphia see R. A.

CNAAN, *The other Philadelphia's story: how local congregations support quality of life in Urban America*, University of Pennsylvania Press 2006. The Philadelphia Orthodox parish had suffered in the years before of a quite absence of guidance, since it was trusted to father Gebbei that could not strengthen it because of his prolonged illness. As father Nedzel'nitskii observed in 1900 the parish would have need fresh strenghts ready to carry out a “muscles” job, gathering all the several Orthodox denominations' groups living in the city (as there were for example 500 Greeks and Syro-Arabs) and to face the Uniate parish of the city. *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* pp. 18-21.

723 For father Sebastian's point of view see ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 520-522. Letter to Tikhon Apr. 16th, 1905, and father Nemolovskii's in ARC D463, Reel 295, ff. 36-37. Letter to Tikhon Apr. 5/18th, 1905.

had to announce the decision to the local flock under motives of health. But there were also other reasons that grieved on his leaving. He could not sustain longer the “haughty illusions” of those Rusyns thinking to deserve all the stands on ceremony for the cents they gave the Society and which “got spoiled by the desire to be the bosses”. He also promised to pay the debt and the interests he owned to his creditors. A debt resulted from the church building expenses. He asked his parishioners however to love his successor, not remaining attached to his memory.⁷²⁴ Father Hotovitskii wrote a resume to bishop Tikhon, he described the “tender ceremony” happened in the church explaining that, from his point of view, it should had mitigated the turbulences affecting the Philadelphia parish, and what surprisingly happened next. Father Alexander Hotovitskii was coming nearer by a local notable tossed about. He asked to father Alexander if the diocese wanted a scandal to happen there in Philadelphia, adding that the people did not want a new priest. The contrast between the flock praying in silence with composure and the notable's threats was evident. After the ceremony there was a meeting with the local brotherhood. That same notable with others tried to raise dissension among the members conveyed, but with no results. They eventually followed the two father Alexander into a separate room heaping insults on them. The fathers invited them to explain their reasons. The scandal was not raised on the people's supposed affection toward father Nemolovskii. Instead these notable's threats in father Hotovitskii's resume were connected essentially with the creditors who doubted Nemolovskii would have repaid them once moved from the city to another assignment. They requested that the debt should be paid immediately (1635 dollars) otherwise they would have closed the church, which was registered under the brotherhood's name as their property and would not let enter other priests. Meanwhile they also would have refused his position to the *starosta*.⁷²⁵ Father A. Hotovitskii wrote that when father Sebastian firstly came on Friday actually found the church closed. The key was given only at father Nemolovskii's arrival on Saturday after his “word of honor”. As about the *starosta*, he was very important to the parish school and in church reading, but he was scared of finding himself outside of the local notables' protection. He was afraid that they could “send him away like a vile beast”. Later after the *Vespers* the meeting with the brotherhood continued. Father Alexander Hotovitskii explained to the members why they were there, he read the telegrams arrived to the bishop as well as a document written by Tikhon himself to the parish. The brotherhood asserted to have been completely kept in the dark about the matter. They had only requested father Nemolovskii to sign a document in which he promised to remain with them, for they were sincerely proud to have him among them. After a while he informed them that he really had to move in reason of health problems: then the

724 ARC D452, Reel 288, ff.113-117 Letter to Tikhon Apr. 6th, 1905 from Hotovitskiiii.

725 Starosta Vasilii Smakula appointed in the 1904 summer. ARC D463, Reel 295, f.26. Letter to Tikhon June 10th, 1904.

brotherhood voted to ask a new priest to the bishop, though someone was contrary. The president of the brotherhood expressed regret at the evidence of how some of the members would have posed their will as the brotherhood's will. Some members were so indignant at the explanations of the fact, to propose in the future to expel from the brotherhood those members who would have act like this. The notables then started to scream, shout out and eventually came to blows with the other members. Father Nemolovskii assessing this as the usual ending of all the brotherhood's meetings dragged away father Hotovitskii from there.

In the following days father Hotovitskii and igumen Sebastian received the other creditors, who were sadly under those notables' influence, and asked them to wait and they consented not to pressure over father Nemolovskii. A widow (who was in the number of the creditors) cried out that those same notables had forced her to join their position. Father Nemolovskii, wrote father Hotovitskii was firmly convinced to pay all the sum in time, however, he continued the saddest thing was that from a good enterprise, that of building the church, the Philadelphia parish is suffering all those evils. Orthodox landscaping could not avoid involving parishes into human affairs and quarrels.⁷²⁶

This is but one example of how local dynamics could affect the entire diocese, involving several priests and energies. Sometimes patriotic issues represented by *ad hoc* societies also raised fractures into the parishes (as happened for example in 1904 Charleroi and Allegheny). Clergy referred usually these problems as a new air of freedom communities experienced in the new world.⁷²⁷

Recognizing how the concentration on local interests could be dangerous for the diocese well-being, besides the confusion parishes were able to create, Tikhon decided to open their perspective. They were invited to assume a new role during Tikhon's years, being actors into the central managing of the eparchy. Lay people had to prepare not only the dispatching of representatives to the Annual convention of the Mutual Aid Society but also to American Councils.

726 After eight months those same members of the brotherhood started to threat also the new priest father Kostantin Seletskii with money questions and the same indecision of some members between Catholic and Orthodox churches. ARC H3, Reel 361, ff. 955-956. Letter to Tikhon Dec. 22nd, 1905. See also new plans of building and credits described above that difficulties with the brotherhood in psalmist selection in H3, Reel 361, ff. 959-962, 963. Letter to Tikhon Feb. 23rd, 1906, Apr. 18th, 1906.

727 ARC H1, Reel 360, ff. 455-457. He recounted how strangely was for him to face a group of patriots quarreling for the belonging of a cemetery with Uniates.

5.3 Toward the 1907 council

On February 20-22nd, 1907 was held in Mayfield (Pennsylvania) in the Church of St. John the Baptist a Local Council (Pomestnyi Sobor'), otherwise called the "All-American Council", organized by the Archbishop himself. Arranged with difficulty through the work of many years, and finally convoked in January 1907, it is considered by historians of Orthodox America the last official act of Tikhon as archbishop in America. Usually Sobor' were convened during warm months, preferably after Easter celebrations, but 1907 was supposed to be also the year for the convocation of the All-Russian Local Sobor to which bishop Tikhon was supposed to participate. Even though there were rumors regarding the postponement of the Russian Sobor', Tikhon could not risk to superpose the two events. However, since he had been nominated to the Diocese of Yaroslavl and Rostov after the convocation of the Sobor', the committee organizing it asked bishop Innokentii Pustynskii for advice. Tikhon could no more ratify all the resolutions that would be taken into the Sobor', so was it the right time to go on with the project? Innokentii answered affirmatively. Tikhon could unofficially lead the Sobor', while the resolution would wait the arrival of the new bishop for ratification.⁷²⁸

Tikhon get early interested in Conciliarity. He started discussions into the American Messenger and asked for advice to the bishop of Japan Nikolai Kasatkin. Representatives of the Japanese Orthodox Mission had already started to convene in regular meetings, besides the difficulties arising with the war between Russia and Japan (1904-1905). The letters between the two bishops had mainly covered the subject of economic help for the Orthodox Japanese community and the sustenance (in body and soul) of Russian prisoners of war. However in 1906 when the first necessities were calmed down by the peace treaty between Russia and Japan, bishop Nikolai started answering Tikhon's questions on Conciliarity, explaining how they prepared to the event collecting a dossier on the state of the Mission, with data on baptisms, marriages, funerals, on the building of churches and children attending parish schools. Data came from all the parishes, as well as requests and letters describing local questions. Participants to the Sobor' were the priests, the catechists and lay representatives from each parish. Nikolai described in detail the ceremony and rituals they already got acquainted with: prayers and services performed together, the summoning of the precedent year of preaching performed by the Missions, the order of speeches, the role of catechists.

728 Convocation in APV 1 (1907), pp. 19-20. Notice of Tikhon's nomination in Yaroslavl Diocese in APV 4 (1907), p.61; Considerations about the Russian local Sobor' PST Letter to Flavian Feb 4th, 1907, pp. 232-233. RGIA f.796, op.205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.167-168 ob; A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 499-500.

He described how the participants behaved and the spirit this meeting created among them. He also made some examples of what representatives and clergy could ask, as for example the thorny question of augmenting the number of priests, though the Japanese Orthodox church was not yet ready to have their own priests, converts declaring themselves unworthy of clergy's responsibilities, or about the permanence or change of the catechists in the parishes.⁷²⁹

Conciliarity was introduced in Orthodox American debates almost since 1905. Articles appearing in APV documented an entire process of legitimization of the practice.⁷³⁰ Conciliarity was expressed together with the necessity for a further autonomy from the mother church and the real form of church administration as “assembly of believers”. It could be resumed by the new experienced approach between Church and State, and considered necessary by the archbishop and the American clergy.⁷³¹ Although councils were a usual practice for other Christian confessions present in the United States, the convening of a local Sobor' for the Orthodox American Church is mainly to be attributed to the contemporary debate born in those same years in Russia. However conciliarity was not only a Russian prerogative: Greek rite Catholic priests got used to meet several times in the eighties, nineties and in the first years of the 20th century, in order to secure a concord orientation of their parishes. Some of these meetings opted for Orthodoxy, some others for submission to Latin rite bishop or for creating a jurisdictional autonomy.

The Orthodox American Sobor' was prepared firstly by clergy meetings, in deanery level as in supposed Diocesan level, this to be yet considered “a big step forward in the life of the Russian Orthodox Church in America” in the Messenger's words.⁷³² It seems that in 1902 a clergy meeting would had been held in coincidence with the consecration of the St. Nikolai's Cathedral in New York.⁷³³ On May 20th/ June 2nd, 1905 at Cleveland was convened the meeting of the Diocesan Clergy to which actually participated 13 priests over the archbishop, mostly coming from the East coast

729 APV 10 (1906), pp. 191-195; S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* pp. 93-94. The ARC archive contains also the Japanese otchet for the year 1904-1905 in D455, Reel 290, ff. 244-255, as well as materials proving collections for the Russian prisoners of war in D465, Reel 295, ff. 614-616; D480, Reel 304, ff.558-596; D499, Reel 314, ff.322-324. The war with Japan proved to be very hardly perceived in America for the international support and public opinion of the other powers against the Russian Army. See for example the article written by the Ambassador Count Cassini *Russian in the Far East* in APV English Supplement May 1904, pp. 142-158 in ARC D455, Reel 290, ff. 686-694, and the article *Russian vs Japan*, written by Col. Alex S. Bacon APV English Supplement September 1904, pp. 289-307 in ARC D455, Reel 290, ff. 511-520.

730 APV numbers reporting articles about Councils of preparatory character, only for clergy or open to the laity: 12 (1905), p. 245; 13 (1905), pp. 255-256; 16 (1905), pp. 328-330; 21 (1905), pp. 424-428; 3 (1906), pp. 44-47; 4 (1906), pp. 72-79; 6 (1906), pp. 105-107; 10 (1906), pp. 204-205; 22 (1906), pp. 432-438; 23 (1906), pp. 458-459.

There had been clergy councils at deanery level even before.

731 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* pp. 95-96; APV 13 (1905), p. 255; J. SLIVKA, *The Historical Mirror*.

732 APV 13 (1905), p. 255.

733 PST Letter to Flavian, Nov. 19th, 1902 RGIA f.796, op. 205, years 1888-1915, d.752, l.82-83 ob. The Committee appointed in order to follow the Sobor' developing was formed by president A. Hotovitskii, secretary B. Turkevich and hieromonk Arsenii.

parishes, notably no one from Alaska. Cleveland had guested in that same period also the 6th Conference of the Mutual Aid Society, with delegates coming from the American brotherhoods.⁷³⁴ The Clergy meeting reflected on the fact that each one of the American parishes was not born by the will of someone but in reason of the decision of its flock to unite for the purpose of building it. Although from age long practiced this order in construction had never been the subject of a broad reflection. In the Cleveland clergy meeting, it was decided that since the situation of the Orthodox Mission in America was so different from that in the Imperial Russian and Austrian contexts, it also had to develop a more apt type of governance. The practice of the Synods, experienced in the first centuries of Christianity should be actualized. In the meantime confronting with this issue American Orthodox clergy expressed a criticism toward the Old world church for the deep hierarchy's link with state interests and the bureaucratization developed from a parallel ministerial structure governing it (perhaps not differently from the contemporary Russian debates). Lay should be deeply involved in diocese administration, claiming them to “active participation in the church-parish construction in America” in Tikhon's point of view thus lining up with the emergence of the parish's trend visible also in the Russian Empire.⁷³⁵

The Diocesan clergy assembly was repeated as preparatory meeting for the Local Sobor' on July 20th/Aug 2nd, 1905 in Old Forge (Pennsylvania). It was presided by bishop Raphael, while Tikhon sent a telegram to the participants. Sobornost' was reconfirmed as the main ideal in administering the Diocese, though it was added that the theory was not easily practiced because of the parishioners inability to manage the ideal or their incapability to even in comprehend it (though in the opinion of father Turkevich Sobornost' already existed and was practiced in the parishes, but was not sanctioned and moreover each parish had its own type). Nonetheless it was in the assembly opinion not possible to take a definitive decision on the main questions without lay representatives' presence but only express the clergy's *pia desideria*. For this reason the committee already established in the previous Cleveland meeting had to continue working, studying the canons on church foundation and the structures working in the different patriarchates, in order to present them at the future Local Council for a common evaluation. However, the direction indicated by the clergy was that the Sobor' should undertake a work of reformation, revising the construction of the church,

734 APV 12 (1905), pp. 245-246; 13 (1905), pp. 255-256; S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 296. Priests attending the clergy meeting: A. Hotovitskii, hier. Arsenii, I. Kapanadze, B. Turkevich, A. Nemolovskii, I. Kochurov, V. Alexandrov, V. Dubinskii, L. Vladishevskii, V. Kal'nev, M. Potochnii, I. Klopotovskii.

735 G. FREEZE, *De-Churching and Believing in Twentieth Century Russia*, lecture delivered at the 12th Annual Havighurst Young Researchers Conference Orthodox Christianity in Russia and Eastern Europe: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, February 14th, 2013. Quotation from the Cleveland meeting protocol APV 12 (1905), p. 245. For a contemporary critic (though it could seem “new and arch liberal”) of the Russian bureaucratic system applied to church administration, encouraging clergy meetings that “do not affect the the bishop monarchism model” see also APV 13 (1905), pp. 256-258, probably written by A. Nemolovskii. Tikhon's opinion in APV 23 (1905), pp. 460-466, 461-462.

the Orthodox American one on Sobornost'. The committee had also to work on fund raising to cover the Sobor' expenses. Meanwhile these same researches and the ideal of Councilliarity should be explained to the flock in each parish as well as the projects that would be discussed at the Sobor' through the *Messenger* and the organ of the Mutual Aid Society, *The Svet'*. The clergy assembly nonetheless expressed pronounciation on the principle of election for the dean role, for abolition of privileges accessible only by higher educated clergy (the golden cross), for clergy stipend to be paid entirely by the immigrant population without help from the Russian Holy Synod and for the dedication of the Orphan home in Mayfield to San Tikhon of Zadonsk.⁷³⁶ Although it was thought to convene an American Local Sobor comprising the presence of clergy as well as of lay representatives already in the Autumn of 1905 in New York city for the movement of the Cathedral see from San Francisco to New York, the expenses finally resulted too high to be afforded and the Sobor' was postponed.⁷³⁷ All the year 1906 passed in discussions and research of means. Only in January 1907 the Sobor' was eventually convened.

It was thought that it could be held in conjunction with the Annual Convention of the Russian Orthodox Catholic Mutual Aid Society in order to ease expenses and reduce the numbers of days priests were absent from their parishes. The Convention should occupy the delegates until Wednesday while for the rest of the week they were supposed to attend the Sobor' meetings. As it could be seen the optimization of time and energies was always a pillar in diocese's managing. Things went differently however, since the Mutual Aid Society Convention consumed quite all the time disposable. The Sobor' thus constituted only of three evening meetings and an entire morning, about seven hours in total.⁷³⁸ Tikhon himself addressed two issues at the Sobor': the first was how to develop the mission (*shirit'*) and the second was about the possible methods fto achieve autonomy.

During the first session it was requested to write a statute for the Orthodox Church of America because because while the single parishes were registered in the different states, the Church in its entirety was still lacking a statute through which it could be recognized by the state and the other believers. In the statute should be regulate the internal relationships between the parishes and the center (the clergy consistory). In the same session it was decided also the official designation of the

736 There were 12 priests attending the Old Forge meeting and a teacher from the Cleveland institute: A. Toth, A. Hotovitskii, hier. Arsenii, I. Kochurov, I. Kapanadze; B. Turkevich; I. Zotikov, I. Klopotovskii, L. Vladishevskii, V. Rubinskii, A. Boguslavskii, A. Nemolovskii and teacher psalmist G. Cherepin., APV 16 (1905), pp. 328-330; 21 (1905), pp. 424-430. About election of dean and priests, Tikhon considered American parishes were not yet ready. But he affirmed the principle was right. APV 23 (1905), p.464. It is noteworthy how the polemic was raised not between privileges dividing black and white clergy as it could be expected but on education level, though this issue is strictly connected to that same polemic because of black clergy engaged in diocesan administration usually possessed higher education than white clergy. Notes on this question had been written by father Nedzel'nitskii already in 1901 *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* p. 30.

737 APV 13 (1905), p. 256. A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 499-500.

738 APV 5 (1907), p. 80. Priest A. Hotovitskii leading as always the processes was elected president with 25 votes.

Mission that should be registered as Russian Orthodox Greek-Catholic Church (*Russkaia Pravoslavnaia Greko-Katholiceskaia*). The second session was dedicated to financial problems. The Diocese should develop methods that could help it to maintain itself, personnel and activities without external support. An apposite committee should work on the matter during the Sobor' but also once it was finished. In the last session were posed liturgical problems. Although many priests aspired to liturgical unity the denominational differences in cult were traditionally correct. Thus it was decided that in each parish information should be gathered out about cult proceedings and after evaluation it should be decided if they were correct in front of dogmas and thus declared tolerable.⁷³⁹

Though the preparatory meetings had promised more than it was eventually possible to debate in Mayfield, arguments invested each parish in its specificity meanwhile trying to compose them in a unique plan. Sobornost' and great ideals seems to had been recomposed into single definite questions that could start up a way for the entire diocese, that of recognizing each parish as a part of it, providing a regulation on its different organisms' relationship and also a statute into which Orthodox parishes could recognize themselves while the other confessions could start to understand them.

OCA historiography claim to be Tikhon's will that the Diocese should adopt a “conciliar form of administration”, in Mark Stokoe's words:

Tikhon hoped that by having clergy and laity work together, the thorny administrative and canonical issues involved with the trustee control of immigrant parishes would find their resolution.⁷⁴⁰

5.4 An Orthodox Cultural production

Orthodox cultural production in America was essentially the result of a natural meeting: on one side there was a request from immigrants in search of contact with compatriots and on the other the encounter between different world systems, the American with the Russian, the several orthodox denominations with each other, second-third generation immigrants with their forefathers culture.

The first cultural acquisition was certainly the publication of several Orthodox magazines providing a web and a common reference to immigrants. From 1860 the Russian Orthodox Church

739 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 502-504; S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 92.

740 M. STOKOE-L. KISHKOVSKY, *Orthodox Christians* pp. 23, 38.

widely encouraged the diffusion of a net of *eparkhial'nie vedomosti* through all the Empire which had to compete in the marketplace of ideas, in opposition to lay journals, a policy evidently influencing also the American Orthodox production. A lively and expanding Orthodox press grew together with the American archdiocese between the years 1870 and 1920. The *Slavonian* started its publications in San Francisco in 1871, the *Oriental Church Magazine (Zhurnal Vostochnoi Tserkvi)*, directed by father Nicholas Bjerring in New York appeared from 1878 to 1883. The Eparchial, monthly, bilingual magazine *The Russian Orthodox American Messenger* started publication from 1896 onward, twice a month and with an English supplement. It could boast of the protection of the Mother Empress Maria Fedorovna, because of her role of patron of the Russian Missionary Society. Father Alexander Hotovitskii once more was at the center of the endeavour, he managed the eparchial typography, wrote relations and got informed the bishop and the consistory about the magazine issues and the internal expenses (such as to pay translators and copyright of images used). He asked for adequateness of fees for his employees. He was also the one who managed the newspaper annual subscriptions and the shipping process, even to Alaska.⁷⁴¹ Attached to the APV there were usually other publications, Russian books in English or Alaskan translations, calendars and so forth that usually got advertisements on the last pages of that same magazine. In 1899 for example the book of Sokolov “Teaching on the Liturgical Service of the Orthodox Church” was published in 300 exemplars in New York.⁷⁴²

Orthodox American magazines' presence and shape was surely implemented by the contemporary growing of press experience, definition of techniques and style by the Orthodox journals in the motherland. This is visible especially from the hierarchical order of importance the several journals gained in the new territory. In front of a press product that become since 1899 the official organ of the eparchy (the previously referred to as *Amerikanskii Vestnik*), address to a more theologically educated audience but through them trying to reach all the flock of the eparchy, it was developed a net of different journals, expression of ethnic particularities or of organizations such as the Mutual Aid Society. On a successive level there were also those magazines, more locally concerned and directed to a restricted audience. These publications were expression of regional or

741 G. L. FREEZE, *The Parish clergy* pp. 46-47; N. V. KURIKOV, *Pervye angliiskie perevody russkikh bogosluzhebnykh knig v SSHA*, in *Problemy ekumenizma i missionerskoi praktiki*, M. 1996, pp. 157-162; ARC D452, Reel 288, ff. 103-104 Letter to Tikhon, Dec 22nd, 1904 from Hotovitskii; f.122 Letter to Tikhon, Jan.10th, 1906 from Hotovitskii; f. 78 Letter to the NAEC, Jan. 4th, 1904 by Hotovitskii; ff. 87-88. Letter to Tikhon, Jan 4th, 1901 from Hotovitskii; f. 85 Letter to Tikhon July 23rd, 1901 by Hotovitskii. The New York typography was especially charged of publishing forms that should be send to all the parishes of the eparchy in order to ease the priest's collection of local data. However they could not cover the entire need and so part of them were requested from Russia. APV articles were decided together with bishop Tikhon as appear from the written exchanges between them *Sv. Aleksandr: Missionerskii period.*

742 ARC D452, Reel 288, ff. 66-67. Letter to Tikhon, Mar. 26th, 1899 by Hotovitskii; F.72 Letter to the OEC 8/20th sept, 1899 by Hotovitskii. The Russian title was *Uchenie o bogosluzheniia*.

even only on parish groups.⁷⁴³ The Mutual Aid Society organ was the “Svet”, funded in 1897. Tikhon improved the journal credibility investigating the behavior of his redactor, father Grigorii Grushka in reason of his bad attitude toward the brotherhoods and absence of methodical publications. Finding noxious that he continued leading the publication, the *Svet'* was assigned to father Benedict Turkevich and later to father Alexander Nemolovskii, and printed in Philadelphia.⁷⁴⁴ In 1904 Bishop Raphael started to publish the Syro-Arab newspaper, *Al-Kalimat* (the word). Greeks counted 16 Orthodox magazines in US, two daily publications and others on a weekly print.⁷⁴⁵ However Serbians were perhaps the most prolific writers, comprising magazines, books, chanting collections and calendars. Newspapers printing began in 1869 in San Francisco.⁷⁴⁶ The most famous books were those written by M. Obalovich who was also the redactor of a magazine. Instead the official Serbian publication of the eparchy was the Messenger of the *Serbian Orthodox Mission in America* (Glasnik Serbskoi Pravoslavnoi Missii v Amerike) printed by the *strannik*, Archimandrite Sebastian. Another publication under clergy supervision was that of *Faith and Reason* (Vera I razum), founded by the Montenegrin father Philip Sredanovich, considered the most educated priest present in the American Serbian Division of the Russian Mission.⁷⁴⁷ Although Sebastian's deep and strenuous commitment to the unification of Serbian immigrants as a separate unit of the Russian Orthodox Mission in America,⁷⁴⁸ several communities started to invoke an autonomous status, requesting confirmation by bishop residing in their motherland. The split Orthodox Serbian community in Europe at the moment divided in five different institutions affected events in immigration easing processes of misunderstandings and immobility on one side but also left enough space for vindication of autonomy among the immigrants.⁷⁴⁹ It prevented consequently the

743 M. V. NOVAK - F. B. BESHUKOVA, *Tipologicheskaia kharakteristika pečati Russkoi pravoslavnoi Tserkvi SSHA perioda XIX-XX: kategoriia «izdatel'-uchreditel'»*, in *Vestnik Adygeiskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*. Seria 2: Filologija i iskusstvovedenie 4 (2012), pp. 23-30.

744 PST Letter to Pobedonostsev, May 2nd, 1899 pp. 31-33, RGIA f.799, op. 25, year 1897, d. 226, l. 34-35 ob.; S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p.69; ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 813-817 Letter to Tikhon from A. Hotovitskii, March 1899. Problems about the substitution of father Grigorii Grushka are recounted also in *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period* pp. 64-69.

745 S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 84; H. P. FAIRCHILD, *Greek Immigration* p. 209.

746 R. P. GAKOVICH – M. RADOVICH, *Serbs in the US and Canada*; K. VINDAKOVIC PETROV, *An Outline of the Cultural History*, p. 36. Since 1869 began the so-called San Francisco period of Serbian publications.

747 APV 3 (1906), pp. 55-57; S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p. 297; A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 379-380. His letter (dated Dec. 14/27 Dec. 1906, from Wilmerding parish) requesting to Tikhon to let him become a Periodic Missioner (*Raz'ezhat'*) is in ARC D466, Reel 296, ff. 358-361. For Montenegrin's settlement in US see the recent E. R. BARKAN, *Immigrants in American History: Arrival, Adaptation, and Integration*, ABC CLIO LLC, 2013, pp. 521-528.

748 Nonetheless in the previous years had spread voices doubting his faithfulness to the Russian Diocese. M. COGNOLATO, *Who wants to be an American bishop?*

749 R. SHOENFELD, *Stato, ortodossia e identità serba nel XIX e XX secolo*, in A. BALDINETTI – A. PITASSIO, *Dopo L'impero ottomano: stati nazione e comunità religiose*, Rubettino 2006, pp. 57-80; For a contemporary description see A. PALMIERI, *L'Ortodossia serba. Le origini del cristianesimo serbo e le fasi storiche della Chiesa serba*, Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali e Discipline Ausiliarie 246/62 (1913), pp. 176-190. It is noteworthy to see how Aurelio Palmieri used A. P. Lopukhin's point of view on the Serbian case. See also the situation described by Tikhon in the 1905 otchet APV 17 (1906), p. .335.

achievement of a Serbian structured Mission in America as foreseen by bishop Tikhon. Sebastian himself had traveled in the old world to meet all the metropolitans involved in the case. The Serbian patriarch Georgii and the Holy Synod of Serbian bishops questioned regarding this in 1905 gave no consensus to the elevation of a Serbian monk to the role of Vicar bishop in reason of their low information about Serbian immigrants in America. However a Serbian Mission guided by Archimandrite Sebastian having its center in Chicago was opened on Sept.18th/Oct.1st, 1905.⁷⁵⁰ In the following months and years, in consequence of the old world immobility, desires of separatism grew in the American Serbian communities. They were sustained by two priests who Sebastian had recently lead in the process of accession to the service of the Diocese and considered trustworthy: father Pavel Radoslaevich and father Philip Sredanovich.⁷⁵¹ In late 1905 father Radoslaevich organized meetings in South Chicago, which were also publicized in local daily journals:

A Servian national meeting will be held tomorrow at noon at the Servian Church... The meeting will follow the services which will be conducted according to the Greek Orthodox Church. (...)

The main object of this meeting is to protest against the movement about to be made by the various Russian archbishops and noblemen who are endeavoring to place all the Servian churches and parishes under the direct control of the Russian diocese. It is a well known fact that all Servian churches throughout the country have been built and are now supported by the Servian people only, there being over half a million of them in America. The real intention of the Russian nobility is to confer the title of Bishop upon the worthy Rev. Sebastian Dabovich and to give him absolute control of the Servian churches and parishes in America. This gentleman is of Servian descent, but was born in America and educated in a Russian monastery, being unfit for such a position of responsibility.⁷⁵²

After a schedule of the several interventions to be expected in the meeting, starting with that of father Radoslaevich “What is the Servian Church and what is the Russian Church?” and that of the secretary of the Serbian Benevolent Society “Is the Worthy Rev. Sebastian Dabovich a real Servian?”, the article reported a phrase from an interview to father Radoslaevich stating that:

We are tired of Austrias, Hungarian, Russian and Turkish tyranny. We do not want any bureaucracy in Free America. Everybody is welcome.⁷⁵³

The movement was as could be seen the result of an unsatisfactory situation. It grew on the old world conditions as on resentment. Its proponents designed a boundary even with those

750 APV 19 (1905), pp. 373-374. The Russian Mission in Chicago already had their temple and church edifices but the Serbian Mission decided to built a new church complex thus arising critics by father Alexander Hotovitskii. APV 18 (1905), p. 367.

751 ARC H1, Reel 359, f. 528. Letter to Tikhon from Sebastian Nov. 29th, 1905. Father Radoslaevich of Austrian origins was ordained in New York by Tikhon in autumn 1905.

752 Article from The Daily calumet, South Chicago, Saturday Evening Dec. 30th, 1905. Cut and sent to Tikhon by Sebastian the article could be found in ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 530-531.

753 Ivi.

compatriots as Archimandrite Sebastian not purely Serbian. It was mainly a lay movement since Serbian clergy usually had been educated under the Russian protection. One of these borderline exponents was father Philip Sredanovich who instead used his magazine as a spreading means for separatist ideas even though he had not yet completely chosen his position in the quarrel. Sebastian was then entrusted by Tikhon with the task of observing father Pavel and Philip's movements, their appeals to the flock, eventually reporting to the bishop what was happening. A tentative separation was consumed already at the end of 1905 when Radoslaevich stopped to remember bishop Tikhon's name during liturgical services, after that of the patriarch of Karlowitz Georgii and that of bishop Mikhail. In the same month some other Serbian immigrants asked to have a bishop from Vienna.⁷⁵⁴ It appeared visibly how the Serbian movement was not well organized in itself: it was not possible to disentangle the matter: the patriarch in Karlowitz as well as the bishops in Belgrade and Montenegro could accept an American bishop under Russian protection while the Austrian bishop and all the others "would fight to death" to oppose such a statement.⁷⁵⁵ After Radoslaevich defrockment, things went easier but even though the year 1906 passed in continuous research for arrangement between the Serbian jurisdictions and the Russian Mission the quarrel in America could not be resolved until the Serbian Sobor' held on May 1907, in Makkesport. It gathered around bishop Innokentii's leading, while Tikhon had already left for Russia and bishop Platon not yet reached the American shores. Nonetheless peace relations got worst in the following years, consuming Archimandrite Sebastian hopes and arriving to the starting up of a process toward the formation of an autonomous Serbian Orthodox Church in North America in 1913.⁷⁵⁶

Second and third generation Orthodox immigrants found great difficulties in following the liturgical services performed in their parishes, for they did not know the language of their forefathers anymore. Parish schools resulted not enough in preserving the linguistic adaptation. Although the requirement of linguistic adaptation had proven more and more visible only during Tikhon's years, the process of translation into English of the text of services had already began in the previous decades pressed by westerners curiosity and growing of interest in the Orthodox vision of the world and of Devotion. However converts of western origins had been since the beginnings perhaps the most concerned in the project of translations.

Above the translation of John Chrysostom's service completed by the Greek priest Agapius

754 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 411-418. See also APV 3 (1906), pp. 55-60.

755 ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 532-534, Letter to Tikhon Dec. 22ⁿ, 1905.

756 There had been tentatives of arrangements through the sending of visitors from the Serbian church of Karlowitz and letters from the Balkan churches (Belgrade and Montenegro) in which bishops promised to trust their American flock to Tikhon and Archimandrite Sebastian. ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 573-575, 577-579, 585. Letters to Tikhon June 12th, July 24th, Aug. 29th, 1906. For the Resolutions of the Serbian Sobor' see APV 11 (1907), pp. 202-203; A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp. 419-432.

Honcharenko in 1865, there had been in the following decades experiments of English Services performed in the New York chapel by priest Nicholas Bjerring. He was helped by the psalmists of the St. Petersburg Academy who were sent there to complete their experience with a missionary period. Alexander Lopukhin himself, of whom we referenced to in the first chapter, was probably one of those. Although Bjerring's endeavor had always been considered like a corner stone in the construction of an American Orthodox Church in those time he was criticized by his helpers for his services could not be recognized as traditional Orthodox Services. Indeed he was strongly appreciated by the High Society, and was a friend of President Ulysses Grant. His connections could prove very useful for a just born missionary experience in the United States. Nicolai Bjerring arranged a double publication of this translation, the first in 1873 and the second in 1884.⁷⁵⁷

The opus magnum of translation from Russian to English started in London resulting however into a joined effort, a triangulation performed between the London consulate, American translators and the Russian Holy Synod. The London translator was a neophyte, his name S. J. Heatherly. This publication received eventually an official sanction from the Holy Synod.⁷⁵⁸

During the eighties new translations appeared in other western languages, such as German. Then these were used as a medium in providing new English translation of the services. Moreover at the end of the same decade the priest Smirnov, who was working in the London Embassy's chapel, began to publish in the local magazine "the Orthodox Catholic Review" new translations. Conscious of the misconception these translations carried with them two Russian-American bishops, Nikolai Ziorov and Tikhon Bellavin asked a new translation from two eminent scholars, Korolevskii a linguist of Russian, teaching in the London college and the theologian Nikolai V. Orlov.⁷⁵⁹ Several bishop before Tikhon's time could boast their manage of the English language. It is reported that bishop Ioann Mitropolskii (1870-1876) could face theological disputes in English, that bishop Nestor could speak fluently and bishop Vladimir could even preach in English. Bishop Tikhon served in Old Slav, Greek and English. He was greeted with a special acknowledgement as Doctor of Theology from the Episcopal Church for his gift in preaching.⁷⁶⁰

757 *The Offices of the Oriental Church, with an Historical Introduction*. Ed by Rev. Nicholas Bjerring, NY 1884. On Nicholas Bjerring (1838-1900) a Dane who passed from Catholicism to Orthodoxy in 1870, to became a Presbyterian pastor in 1883 and returned again to Catholicism as a layman in 1899, see the recent book that tried to report his thought in several periods of his life. REV. D. O. HERBEL, *Nicholas Bjerring. The Collected Works*, Prairie Parish Press 2011; REV. D. O. HERBEL, *Turning to tradition: Intra-Christian Converts and the making of an American Orthodox Church*, Ph.D. Thesis dissertation 2009 (Printed Oxford University Press 2014), introduction pp. 1-2; N. V. KURIKOV, *Pervye angliiskie* p. 158.

758 *The Divine Liturgies of our Holy Fathers John Chrysostom and Basil the Great*. With authorization of the Most Holy Governing Synod of Russia. NY 1873.

759 For example N. V. KURIKOV, *Pervye angliiskie* in note 14 and note 17, 18 p. 163 reported many publications that from the sixties of the XIX century started to introduce the oriental liturgies and theology in western lands.

760 University of Wisconsin. In the meanwhile grew the priest Sebastian Dabovich that with his trilingual preparation could afford the mission's exigencies. There were several examples of a multi-language ceremonies: Sebastian Dabovich used to preach and pray in Serbian as well as in English A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu* pp. 53, 58-59.

Meanwhile the *American Orthodox Vestnik* dedicated a special attention toward the shortest services, the Menologion, the Thanksgiving service of the Holy Orthodox Church (dedicated to the US president)... all of them were commented and explained in English, developing in this way a precise Orthodox lexicon in which to write, a theological language that could be borrowed from other Christian denominations but not exclusively. In 1901 was completed and published the Catechism of Metropolitan Filaret, translated into English.⁷⁶¹ There were also special services conducted on American feasts like for example the prayer for those who died in war, “*Decoration Day*”.⁷⁶² The use and the speaking of Orthodox theology created a cocoon in which grew the more complex endeavor of a translation of all the liturgical services. The English Orthodox Service Book appeared in 1906, after a decade from the beginning of its translation. It was accomplished by a friend of the Russian Church in America, Isabel Florence Hapgood. She was a well-known linguist. She had been the American translator for the major Tolstoy's works and could boast to have known him personally, spending time at Iasnaia Poliana. She was a correspondent of his daughter. Isabel Hapgood translated also works of other famous writers, like Gogol', Turgenev, Leskov and Gorkii for the American audience.⁷⁶³

Although expenses of translation and printing resulted to be very high, support was found out by an American collection together with a contribution from the Holy Synod, Emperor Nikolai II and a Count Witte donation to the New York Cathedral, while he was in America signing the peace treaty with Japan.⁷⁶⁴

761 *The Catechism of the Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church*; examined and approved by the Most Holy Governing Synod, and published for the use of Schools, and of all orthodox Christians, by the North American ecclesiastical consistory, with the blessing of the Most Reverend Tikhon Bishop of the Orthodox Greek Russian Church In North America (Written by Metropolitan Filaret, of Moscow, and translated by Rev. R.W. Blackmore), San Francisco 1901. *Catechism of the Orthodox Church* (Katikhizis' Pravoslavnoi tserkvi) San Francisco 1901; *Thanksgiving Service of the Holy Orthodox Church* (Bladarstvennoe molebstvie sv. pravosl. tserkvi), San Francisco 1901.

762 Tikhon served the Decoration Day prayer for example in Sheppton on May 18/30th, 1899. A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiu* p. 28. “From this translation the President of American Republic can begin to know how Russian orthodox people display their thank to God” Review by A. P. Lopukhin in KhCh 6 (1901), p. 1000.

763 Born in 1850 in Boston, she was an episcopalian. She was the first to inform Americans of the Patriarch's death. Died in 1928. The entire title of the book, which took 9 years of work is *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox - Catholic Apostolic (Graeco-Russian) Church; compiled, translated and arranged from the old Church-Slavonic Service books of the Russian Church and collated with the Service books of the Russian Church, and collated with the Service books of the Greek Church*, by Isabel Florence Hapgood, Boston and New York 1906. This text will be revised in 1922. In '60 and '70 will appeared new translations from Greek into in english under the aegis of A. Schmemmann. P. MEYENDORFF, *The Liturgical Path of Orthodoxy in America*, SVTQ 40/1 (1996), pp. 43-64. On Hapgood's life see N. E. SAUL, *Concord and Conflict: the United States and Russia 1867-1914*, University Press of Kansas 1996, pp. 290-291, 326-329; 335-350; 355-364; N. E. SAUL, *Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood and Russian Arts in America*, Paper presented at the 43rd Annual Convention of the ASEEEES, November 17-20, 2011, Washington DC; L. GYNZBURG, *A Lady of Many Talents: The Legacy of Slavophile Isabel Florence Hapgood*, Paper presented at the 43rd Annual Convention of the ASEEEES, November 17-20, 2011, Washington DC; M. LEDKOVSKY, *A Linguistic Bridge to Orthodoxy. In Memoriam Isabel Florence Hapgood*, A lecture delivered at the Twelfth Annual Russian Orthodox Musicians Conference, 7-11 October 1998, Washington D.C.

764 Expenses are recorded to detail. Like those covering the figures illustrating the Service Book (150 dollars). ARC D452, Reel 288, f. 97 Letter to NAEC Aug. 19th, 1904 from Hotovitskii.

Cultural production was in these years mainly a work of translation. Many translators worked for the New York parish, some especially employed for the Messenger's issues and its English Supplements. Translations of books in English, Malorussian, Alaskan languages encountered difficulties in publication in Moscow, not only for the absence in the Russian language of some specific characters but also for the censure objecting on the presence of such a books in the Russian Empire. It could happen that printing license for a publication would be granted only after the promising that none of the copies would remain on the Imperial land.⁷⁶⁵ Translators gained a special place as well as those who were able to write theological as well as broad vision articles. They exchanged books between themselves, often actually recurring to the bishop's library for further lectures or to his links with the old world in satisfying curiosities or informing for a background readings. It is not so strange to find in Hotovitskii letters references to books or requests coming from this little circuit of APV writers and addressed to the San Francisco library.⁷⁶⁶ The Orthodox Cultural production in English was perhaps still a further step in Tikhon's vision a necessity that should be taken under observation for the new generations quickly forgetting their forefathers' mother tongue.

Perhaps a lost occasion of encounter and exchange was that of Episcopalians, though it actually started with the most benevolent auspices. In the early winter of 1899 father Alexander Hotovitskii received from Episcopalians supporters of the idea of the “reunification of confessions” the request to translate a book in Russian and print it in New York's Diocesan typography. It was probably the “Vindication of Anglican Orders”, written by father Arthur Lowndes and published in 1897. Father Hotovitskii and bishop Tikhon worked also for the diffusion of the book, preparing a list of Russian bishops and professors to which send the book.⁷⁶⁷ The most famous episode of proto-ecumenical meeting however goes back to the following year, 1900. It does exist a photography taken on November 1900, about what was called by journalists the “Fond du Lac Circus”. The photography referred to a particular ceremony were Tikhon participated, accompanied by father Sebastian Dabovich and father Ioann Kochurov. They all seem very young compared to the others ecclesiastic immortalized in the picture. Among them many Anglicans bishop, actually the organizers of the ceremony, and also bishop Koslowski of the Polish old-Catholic church of

⁷⁶⁵ *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period* p. 66. For a Malorussian book see for example the one written by father Nezdol'nitskii *Nastavlenie v pravoslavnoi vere* which he asked to be printed in New York Vestnik typography. *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* p. 55.

⁷⁶⁶ Above father Hotovitskii, a translator Ragozina (who is said to be near to retirement) and father Turkevich.

⁷⁶⁷ ARC H1, Reel 359, ff. 873-875. Letter to Tikhon from father Hotovitskii, Nov 20th /Dec. 2nd, 1899; reported in *Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period* p. 47. The book in question is A. LOWNDES, *Vindication of Anglican Orders*, New York, J. Pott & co.; London, Rivingtons, 1897. Father Hotovitskii and bishop Tikhon included in the list among others: the Rectors of the four Russian Theological Academies, K. P. Pobedonostsev, V. K. Sabler, prof. A. P. Lopukhin, prof. Sokolov, prof. Bulgakov, prof. Bolotov, prof. Lebedev, father Smirnov of London and father Mal'tsev of Berlin.

Chicago. The event was perceived as inappropriate in some Episcopalians circuits.⁷⁶⁸

They had been invited in Fond du Lac by Bishop Charles C. Grafton (1830-1912) to perform a common consecration of his vicar bishop Weller. Grafton had been the main introducer of the monasticism in the Anglican church. After his consecration as priest he went to study in England where he met the ideas of the Oxford Movement, promoting it also in the American church. On 1889 he was appointed bishop at Fond du Lac in the state of Wisconsin. He became the first monk-bishop among the Episcopalians. He introduced into the American devotion the writings of the Orthodox saints of the first centuries. In the Wisconsin state, already in 1841 three deacons, blessed by the bishop approbation opened a missionary school that had to develop in the complex of Nashotah House. It was thought to become a missionary center as well as the beginning of a male monastery. Bishop Tikhon pronounced a speech on the occasion of Weller consecration. It was perceived favorably by bishops as a first step in the road to reunion:

Your Grace, reverend fathers, and brothers in Christ. On receiving the kind invitation of the Right Reverend Bishop Grafton, to be present at the consecration of his co-adjutor, I counted it my pleasant duty to accept this invitation, in the hope that Christ, the true Head of the Church, who guides all things for the glory of His Church, might, perhaps, also render fruitful my present journey hither. I do not take upon myself to judge whether it will bring forth any fruits or results for your Church, and I will recount only those beneficial observations which I personally made, during my stay among you, and which may have a certain significance in the eyes of our Church, in connection with the weighty question of the union of the Churches.

Before the present worthy assembly, it would be superfluous to say how much the division of Christian is contrary to the spirit of Christ, how deceptive it is for those who are not Christians, and to what degree it weakens our forces and our successes, - it is superfluous, because each one of you without doubt keenly feels the full importance and sacredness of union concerning Christ. And we, brothers, must not only pray that the wished for hour should come quickly, when we shall all be one flock, with one Shepherd, Christ, but we on our side must make efforts and work for this holy aim. It may be that it will not be accomplished in our time, but we ought to sow seeds for it, for the Lord will remember in His Kingdom not only those who reap but also those who sow, and according to the word of Saviour, "sower and reaper" will rejoice together.

Likewise I do not doubt, that you, being men consecrated, are fully conscious of all the seriousness of this great matter of union.⁷⁶⁹

Sebastian Dabovich was useful also in this occasion as generally in dealing with Americans because of his managing the language. Tikhon was successively invited to other celebrations, or to

768 This picture is remembered in every work explaining the relationship established between American Anglicans and Russian Orthodox in those times. The entire composition of the photographs is the following: bishop Charlie Chapman Grafton, bishop Isaak Lee Nikolson of Milwaukee, bishop Charlie Palmerston Anderson, coadjutor in Chicago, bishop A. Koslowski of the Polish Old-Catholics of USA, G. Mott Williams of Markett, bishop Reginald Heber Weller, coadjutor of Fond du Lac, bishop Joseph Marshall Francis of Indiana, bishop William E. McLaren, bishop Arthur E. Williams, coadjutor in the Nebraska state, and the three Orthodox representatives. M. TAGANOV, *Anglo-katoliki v Viskonsie i sviatitel' Tikhon: istoriia odnoi fotografii*, Vestnik PSTGU II: Istorii. Istorii. Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi 2 (19) 2006, pp. 17-26; ARC APV Supplements 1901, n. XVIII-XXII, Ritual Anarchy. D454, Reel 290, ff. 308-310.

769 ARC APV Supplements 1901, n. XVIII-XXII, Tikhon's speech at Fond du Lac, D455, Reel 290, ff. 310-312.

give advices to Episcopalian bishops. The relationship between the two churches seemed to grow in reciprocal courtesies and gifts.⁷⁷⁰

The acquaintance between Grafton and Tikhon developed into friendship. They wrote to each other, the topic was initially that of the English translations of the Service Lectionary, then Theology, they exchanged books in order to better know each other. Finally Tikhon introduced Grafton to the Russian Holy Synod helping him in organizing his travel to the Muscovite Empire in 1903.⁷⁷¹

Tikhon actually warned bishop Grafton that his coming to Russia could be premature thus risking to ruin the process of approaching between the two churches and advised him to postpone the journey. Tikhon was well acquainted with the long periods necessary to the Holy Synod to constitute commissions and approve resolutions and informed bishop Grafton that the commission on Anglicanism had not yet been established.⁷⁷² Eventually bishop Grafton visited Russia at the end of 1903, while Tikhon was there for his sighed-for summer pause. In 1905 Tikhon was awarded with the title of “Honorary Doctorate in Theology” by Nashotah House. Although the Fond du Lac event could be described as promisingly “proto-ecumenical”, it resulted nonetheless ephemeral as evidenced by the Irvine case.⁷⁷³

770 PST Letter to Flavian Oct 6th, 1900 p. 74, RGIA, f.796, op.205 (1888-1915), d.752, l.62-63 ob; Letter to Bishop Grafton, Nov 7th, 1900 p. 75.

771 M. TAGANOV, *Anglo-katoliki v Viskonsie*

772 PST Letter to K.P Pobedonostsev, Aug. 7th, 1903, p.146, RGIA, f.797, op.73, year 1903, otd 2. stol 3, d.364, l.1-2.

773 Chapter 3.

Conclusions

In 1908 with the coming of bishop Platon (Rozhdestvenskii) a new policy was impressed on the American eparchy. Considering the low means and strength at disposition the new bishop reshaped the goals of the Orthodox presence in America. While much more attention was planned to be addressed to the immigrants' parishes in Canada and United States, Alaska and the mission among pagans should be considered a goal of second importance. This step provoked a redefinition of roles as bishop Innokentii lamented receiving no answers from bishop Platon and looking at the decline of his Alaskan vicariate which remained in stand by owing to absence of confirmation to proceed with ordinations of clergy and construction of new parish edifices, the diminution of attention towards aborigines, their education sensibilities, linguistic needs and the difficult environmental condition in which the Mission grew. Bishop Innokentii's last years in Alaska were embittered by the new eparchy policy. However decisive was Platon's coming in the turning point of the American Mission, it should be emphasized that decreasing of financial means, which had already Tikhon pointed out and warned the members of 1907 Mayfield Sobor', was at the basis of this new policy that had inevitably to decide on what concentrate efforts. The reorganization seemed to cut out also the diocesan broader vision thought by Tikhon himself.

Although Tikhon's vision had already been celebrated in the past years by historiography, it should be noticed that what he proposed was not only an ecclesiological redefinition of boundaries and jurisdictions. Instead it could be seen as a new soul for the American Orthodox Mission, an attempt of culturally and theologically rethink its presence in America. It was ecclesologically built on the calling of the first apostles to carry the Gospel to all nations, to lands inhabited by pagans or to others where Christian preachers had already landed. Maintaining a caring pastorship and the application of the Apostolic ideal were Tikhonian approach to the American diocese.

Orthodox immigrants at his time were still strongly linked with traditions and languages of their motherlands, as the bishop himself actually was. Orthodox Russian background and patterns were his usual state of mind. He referred to Institutions he knew to manage his diocese, looking to clergy *soslovie* when possible, to a Russian model in parish administration and to Russian cultural production as a medium with the American world above relations between Orthodox denominations. Tikhon was indeed a man of his age, of his church and of his Empire. He was not an innovator always referring to tradition, nonetheless he was open to the discussion of problems, committed to the reaching of higher goals strongly debated also on Russian soil like the Reunion of

Churches and Sobornost'. However he was well aware of his limited power. Orthodoxy bordering modernity in America was a challenge he could not face alone. Decisions on behaviors and possible adaptations to the new world peculiarities were to be discussed firstly at the higher levels of the Russian Orthodox church and then adopted in accordance with the opinions of the other Orthodox churches. While waiting for resolutions he could only refer only to canons and tradition.

In the Age of the rising nations in Middle East and Eastern Europe proposing a common horizon, smelling of Empire, to immigrants with different backgrounds, sensibilities and languages was not an easy task, as is possible to see by looking at quarrels, debates and divisions exploding in different parts of the American diocese. However the pattern seemed to work for a while and moreover involved a relevant quantity of people that believed in the project. It turned out to be a cultural operation in the narration of a common history for the immigrants gathered around the mission, as well as the concrete construction of an Orthodox landscape into which the flock could recognize their place in the new world and the boundaries within which to inscribe their religious sense of membership. Creating a pneumatological Institution residing and acting on the new shores was indicated by immigrant themselves as the “construction of an American Holy Rus'”, comprising in this affirmation the idea of the construction of a local church but with a model (an utopia maybe) to which refer. The translation into English of liturgical services and religious books that started in those years adds a concrete signal of a slow inculturation of Christianity that was going to start.

The Americanization processes could be already perceived in the communities of immigrants though the continue flow of people from the Old world expected the Mission to remember homeland more than being a local institution. Second and third generation being a low percentage of the total of believers as well as converts (except for the Uniate case) represented only a possible future for the mission, a possible stage of development to which the American diocese could easily get adequate in time of peace. What was the link with America then? The laws, the problems, the religious context that the Mission managed to get into were American. America was for immigrants the desire of freedom from old world boundaries. Nonetheless the diocese as a transregional institution turned out to be constantly overwhelmed by the issues coming from the distant old world. Divisions and hostilities that grew on one side of the ocean reverberated distorted or amplified on the other side.

Although communities created a parish and asked to be under the Russian bishop's jurisdiction, they usually retained the power to decide on local matters. Brotherhoods strongly shouted out their opinions and asked for confrontation with the bishop often threatening separation. The American Diocese as a matter of fact stemmed from by parishes. It was not an operation from

the top, though perideuts's work surely helped its standardization. Probably recognizing the importance of local involvement in central processes, and influenced by Russian debates the bishop tried to explain the Church to his flock by comparing it to an assembly of believers (immigrant believers) gathered around the purpose of achieving Salvation for themselves and the surrounding world. This same parish born model is evident also in the restructuring pattern imposed by the young bishop. He acted as was seen in chapter three, four and five on the clergy presence, on the building enterprise and to raise a Diocesan self-conscience in the flock, augmenting it in each parish and providing a web of information pulsing outside bureaucratic channels. He emphasized collegiality in administration taking care of the Sobor' practice, first among the clergy and then, when possible also with lay people.

The American case read in its complex could be described as an Institution in search of an equilibrium, that seemed to have been achieved during Tikhon's years. Surely due to the bishop's commitment and capability of building an inclusive vision this long searched for equilibrium could survive to the multilevel expansion of the diocese, in believers, personnel, buildings, experiences.

Appendix

1. The Bishops of the Mission

Bishop Ioasaf (Bolotov) 1799 See of Kodiak.

Bishop Innokentii (Veniaminov) 1840-1858 See of Sitka.

Bishop Petr (Sysakov), vicar of Veniaminov 1858-1867 See of Sitka.

Bishop Pavel (Popov) 1867-1870 See of Sitka.

Bishop Ioann (Mitropolskii) 1870-1879, See of San Francisco (Living there from 1872).

Bishop Nestor (Zakkis) 1879-1882, See of San Francisco.

1882-1888 under the aegis of Isidor , Metropolitan of St. Petersburg.

Bishop Vladimir (Sokolovskii) 1888-1891, See of San Francisco.

Bishop Nikolai (Ziorov) 1891-1898, See of San Francisco.

Bishop Tikhon (Bellavin) 1898-1907, See of San Francisco. From 1905 See of New York.

2. Immigration

Percentage of males in 1907

Germans	60.4 %
Hebrews	53.9%
Italians (north)	79.4%
Italians (south)	78.7%
Scandinavians	63.9%
Bulgarians, Servians, Montenegrins	97.2 %

From Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States*, Yale University Press 1911, p.113.

3. Statistics

A major problem was that of recording. Data seldom arrived on time from the parishes that were not covered enough by clergy to guarantee a census service. Numbers represent also the actual knowledge of Orthodox settlements above immigration and natural growing of communities.

	1899 ⁷⁷⁴	1901 ⁷⁷⁵	1903 ⁷⁷⁶	1905 ⁷⁷⁷	1907 ⁷⁷⁸
Russians	140	725	876	2735	4142
Galitians	12	2448	3718	7801	8141
Uhro-Russians	6	4450	3950	5016	5012
Bucovinians			2707	6023 (with Rumenians)	7535
Serbs and other Slavs	987	1420	2461	11000	1919+ Serbian parishes 15.000 ⁷⁷⁹
Greeks	229	541	668	460	1829
Syro-Arabs	167	3596	6113	12000	383+ Syro-Arab parishes 16.000 ⁷⁸⁰
Creols	2087	2234	2268	2170	2410
Indians	2137	2121	2147	2026	1878
Aleutinians	2710	3367	2406	1906	2119
Esquimos	5099 ⁷⁸¹	8750	4839	3618	3646
Other nationalities	17	77	41	128	70
Tot	13.591	29.329	32.194	54.883	70.084

Year 1902⁷⁸² is not well covered with archive data but I will proved useful nonetheless to give what could be possible to gather about Russians (1035), Galitians (2450), Uhro-Russians (4264), Bucovinians (1500), Serbs and other Slavs (2500), Greeks (600), Syro-Arabs (5502), Creols (1014), Indians (829), Aleutinians (1101), Esquimos (2679), Other nationalities (397), totalizing (23.671).

Year 1906⁷⁸³ also is not well covered by archive data. Russians (2598), Galitians (2460), Uhro-Russians (2242), Bucovinians (4), Serbs and other Slavs (1511), Greks (1743), Syro-Arabs (283), Creols (2172), Indians (1803), Aleutinians (2102), Esquimos (3736), Other nationalities (50), totalizing (20.704).

774 Data from Sitka+ Unalaska deaneries (tot Orthodox believers 12.127) ARC D438, Reel 281, f.212; D116, Reel 105, f. 537, and data from San Francisco, Jackson, others California, Arizona, Nevada, Montana, Colorado. ARC D 500, Reel 315, f.247.

775 TsVd 14 (1901), p.289. Quoted in B. FARLEY, *Russian Orthodoxy in the Pacific Northwest* p.135, note 17.

776 APV 1903, p.46. S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* p.401.

777 Ibidem p.67.

778 Data from Alaska region (tot Orthodox believers 10.422) ARC D438, Reel 281, ff. 230-231

779 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 136, 147.

780 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 135, 148.

781 3610 esquimo people were written and then canceled in the report. ARC D116, Reel 105, f. 537.

782 N. Iu. SUKHOVA, «*Arabskaia koloniia*» p.186, note 16, source not specified. Unalaska Deanery ARC D116, Reel 105, f. 543. Sitka deanery data not available (except for Sitka parish 1901 ARC D438, Reel 281, f. 221).

783 Data from Alaska region (tot Orthodox believers 10.425) ARC D438, Reel 281, ff. 227-228; Data from West Troy, ARC D458, Reel 292, f. 349; Data from Cleveland ARC D459, Reel 292, f. 654; Data from Minneapolis Mission (comprising Wisconsin, North Dakota and Chisholm, Minnesota) ARC D449, Reel 286, f. 174, 190; Data from Bridgeport ARC D442, Reel 282, f. 527, 540. Data from Old forge, Olyphant, Simpson, Pittsburgh, Reading, South River, San Francisco, Salem, Seattle (Wilkinson and Portland), Scranton, St. Clair, Springfield, Streator (and Madison) from ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 102, 118. San Francisco, Canada and New York area not available.

1907 parishes' composition

	Russia ns	Galitia ns	Uhro- Russia ns	Bucovi nians	Serbs and other Slavs	Greeks	Syro- Arabs	Creols	Indians	Aleutin ians	Esquim os	Other nation alities	
Sitka (Alaska) ⁷⁸⁴	5							196	518				719
Killisnoo (Alaska)	1							4	267			6	278
Juneau (Alaska)	5				326	1		46	270				648
Tatilak (Alaska)								178	111	213			502
Kenai (Alaska)	5							145	711	94	142		1097
Kodiak (Alaska)	2							468	1	406		3	880
Afognak (Alaska)								415		362		1	778
Belkovsk (Alaska)	6							420		92	74		592
Unalaska (Alaska)	8							287		451	6		752
St. George (Alaska)								45		48			93
St. Paul (Alaska)								85		90			175
St. Mikhail (Alaska)								44		5	348	1	398
Kwickpack (Alaska)	1							18			857		876
Kuskowim (Alaska)								22			531		553
Nushagak (Alaska)								35		358	1686		2081
NewYork (New York) ⁷⁸⁵	734	272	50		38								1094
South River (New Jersey)	98												98
Yonkers (New York) ⁷⁸⁶	40	145	16	8									209
Wilkes-Barre (Pennsylvania)	12	1358	80										1450
Charleroi-Ambridge (Pennsylvania)	30	555	30										615
Buffalo (New York) ⁷⁸⁷	52	18	113	4			5						192
Newark (New Jersey) ⁷⁸⁸	75	206	34		22								337
New Britain (Connecticut) ⁷⁸⁹	111		52		5	15							183
Bridgeport (Connecticut) ⁷⁹⁰	170	30	477		9	25							711
Ansonia (Connecticut) ⁷⁹¹	177	196	28		18	81	54					1	555
Chicago (Illinois) ⁷⁹²	422	478											900
Joliet (Illinois)			75										75
Streator (Illinois)	1		92										93

784 Data from Alaska region (tot Orthodox believers 10.422) ARC D438, Reel 281, ff. 230-231

785 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 119, 133.

786 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 135, 148.

787 ARC D450, Reel 286, f. 754.

788 ARC D450, Reel 286, ff. 476, 489.

789 ARC D442, Reel 283, ff. 58, 74.

790 ARC D442, Reel 282, ff. 527, 540.

791 ARC D441, Reel 282, f. 156 comprehending also Derby, Shelton, Seymore, New Haven.

792 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 166, 181.

Slovaktown		41											41
Canada ⁷⁹⁵	54	896		7491									8441
	4142	8141	5012	7535	1919	1829	383	2410	1878	2119	3646	70	39.084

4. Parishes

1900 The Mission structure and data⁷⁹⁶

Parish	Attached churches and chapels	Rector priests	Other Clergy	Other buildings ⁷⁹⁷	Parishioners ⁷⁹⁸
<u>San Francisco</u> (California) Holy Trinity Cathedral	- <u>Jackson</u> , St. Sava	Bishop Tikhon - personal secretary Mikhail Bellavin - Hieromonk Sebastian Dabovich	- Hieromonk Ioann - Father Feodor Pashkovsky - Hierodeacon Ilia		915 (All California)
<u>Seattle</u> (Washington) St. Spiridion	- <u>Wilkeson</u> , Holy Trinity - <u>Portland</u> (Oregon), chapel	Vladimir Alexandrov			
<u>Galveston</u> (Texas) St. Constantine and Helen	- <u>Hartshorne</u> (Oklahoma), chapel	Archimandrite Feoclit	Hieromonk Pimen in Hartshorne		
<u>Minneapolis</u> (Minnesota), St. Mary's Church	- <u>North Prairie</u> , chapel	Konstantin Popov		- parish school ⁷⁹⁹ (2 classes + psalmist class) - Library - Institute for students	
<u>Chicago</u> (Illinois), St. Vladimir Church	- <u>Streator</u> , Three Hierarchs church	Ioann Kochurov	- starosta Dimitrii Petrovich Frilander		
<u>Cleveland</u> (Ohio), St. Theodosius Church	- <u>Marblehead</u> , Holy Assumption Church.	Victor Stepanov	- teacher	- School	
<u>Allegheny</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Alexander Nevsky	- <u>Buffalo</u> (New York), Ss. Peter and Paul Church	Ioann Nedzel'nitskii rural dean	Father Vladimir Kal'nev	- Parish school* (Allegheny) - Cemetery	
<u>Osceola Mills</u> (Pennsylvania), Nativity of the Virgin Mary	- <u>Philipsburg</u> , Nativity of St. John Baptist's Church	Iason Kappanadze		- 2 parish schools *	
<u>Wilkes-Barre</u> (Pennsylvania), Holy Resurrection Cathedral		Archpriest Alexis Toth		- Parish school* - Cemetery*	
<u>Old Forge</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Michael Church	- <u>Scranton</u> , Ss. Peter and Paul Church (on rent)	Grigorii Grushka			
<u>Catasauqua</u> , (Pennsylvania), Holy Trinity Church.	- <u>Sheppton</u> (Pennsylvania), St. John the Baptist Church	Miron Volkai (returned to unia)	- Father Victor Toth - Psalmist Andrei Tarasar both in Sheppton	- Cemetery ⁸⁰⁰	
<u>Philadelphia</u> (Pennsylvania),		Dimitrii Gebbei			

795 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 135, 148.

796 APV V5/01, p.16.

797 * This symbol indicate that the bishop made a visit into that institution, data from A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiuu*; Data on Alaskan schools from APV 8 (1900), p.162.

798 Data 1899 Western states (S. Francisco, Jackson, others in California, Arizona, Nevada, Montana, Colorado) from ARC D500, Reel 315, f. 247; 1899 Sitka deanery D438, Reel 281, ff. 212-216; In one copy there resulted to be 250 male Serbians in Afognak. Probably saltuary workers, do not considered here in statistics; Unalaska deanery ARC D116, Reel 105, f. 537.

799 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp.130-133.

800 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* pp.163.

St.	St. Andrew's Church.				
	<u>New York</u> (New York), St. Nicholas Church	- <u>Yonkers</u> , Holy Trinity Church	Archpriest Alexander Hotovitskii	Father Ilia Zotikov	
	<u>Bridgeport</u> , (Connecticut), Holy Ghost Church		Petr Popov		
	<u>Ansonia</u> , (Connecticut), Three Hierarchs Church		Monk Ptolomei Timchenko		
	<u>Sitka</u> (Alaska), St. Michael the Archangel Cathedral	- <u>Sitka</u> , Annunciation of the Theotokos chapel	Igumen Antonii Dashkevich	- Missionary School - Parish school - Gramota school - Cemetery*	684
	<u>Juneau</u> (Alaska), St. Nicholas Church		Alexander Iaroshevich	- Parish school*	279
	<u>Killisnoo</u> (Alaska), St. Andrew.			- Gramota school*	493
	<u>Nuchek</u> (Alaska), Trasfiguration Church	- chapels in 3 villages		- Parish school	481
	<u>Kodiak</u> (Alaska), Holy Resurrection Church	- chapels in 7 villages	Tikhon Shalamov	- Parish school dedicated to bishop Ioasaf ⁸⁰¹	933
	<u>Afognak</u> (Alaska), St. Mary Church	- chapels in 4 villages		- Parish school	568
	<u>Kenai</u> (Alaska), Holy Assumption of the Virgin Mary	- chapels in 7 villages (one in Nenilchik)	Ioann Bortnovskii	- Parish school - Parish school in Nenilchik -3 gramota schools in Seldovia, Alexandrovsk, Tuiunak	1058
	<u>Belkofsky</u> (Alaska), Holy Resurrection Church	-chapels in 7 villages		- toen* - starostas in several villages	- Parish school - 5 gramota schools 603
	<u>Unalaska</u> (Alaska), Holy Ascension of Our Lord	- Atka, St. Nicholas Church -chapels in 7 villages	Alexander Nikolaev Kedrovsky	-Psalmist Leontii Ivanov Sivtsov -Psalmist Andrei Karpov Lodochnikov -Mikhail Andreev Skibinskii teacher - Psalmist Vladimir Mainov teacher ⁸⁰²	- Missionary school Ioann Veniaminov - 7 gramota schools 977
	<u>St. George Island</u> (Alaska), St. George Church		Petr Petrov Kashevarov	- Psalmist Nikolai Sebastianov Merkur'ev ⁸⁰³ - starosta Petr Ananiev Prokop'ev ⁸⁰⁴	- Parish school 106
	<u>St. Paul Island</u> (Alaska), Ss. Peter and Paul Church		Nikolai Rysev	- starosta G. I. Emanova (Aleut) ⁸⁰⁵	-parish school* 186
	<u>St. Michael Redoubt</u> (Alaska), Protecting Veil of the Holy Theotokos			- Psalmist Nikifor Amkan*	- Gramota school* Not recorded
	<u>Ikogmiut</u> or Kwickpack Mission (Alaska), Elevation of the Holy Cross Church	- chapels in 2 villages	Iacob Korchinskii	-Toion*	- Cemetery - Parish school - Gramota school 2034

801 *Proposal to the Alaskan Clergy Consistory about the 100th Anniversary of the institution of a Russian Orthodox Bishop in America*, in *Zaviety i Nastavlenia* pp.31-32, APV 5/1899 pp.138-139.

802 ARC D49, Reel 68, f.423. Appointment.

803 He was translator and psalmist, had been a student at the theological school in San Francisco. APV 20 (1900), pp. 409-414.

804 ARC B 11, Reel 14, ff. 269-270; D117, Reel 119, f.153.

805 ARC D 49, Reel 68, f.412.

Pavlovsk or Kuskokwim Mission (Alaska), St. Sergius Church	- chapel in 1 village	Ioann Orlov*		- Parish house*	757
Nushagak (Alaska), Ss. Peter and Paul	- chapels in 16 villages			- Parish school - 6 gramota schools	2968
The Orthodox Syro-Arabian Mission in America, St. Nicholas' Church (New York). Archimandrite Raphael rector, attached chapel in Lowell (Canada)					

1901 The Mission structure and data⁸⁰⁶

Parish	Attached churches	Rector priests	Other Clergy	Other buildings ⁸⁰⁷	Parishioners ⁸⁰⁸
<u>San Francisco</u> (California) Holy Trinity Cathedral		Bishop Tikhon personal secretary Mikhail Bellavin Hieromonk Sebastian Dabovich	-Father Ioann Shemie -Father Feodor Pashkovsky -Father Nikolai Mitropolskii -Hierodeacon Ilia Psalmists: -Nikolai Greevsky -Nikolai Stepanov		
<u>Seattle</u> (Washington) St. Spiridion	- <u>Jackson</u> (California), St. Sava - <u>Wilkeson</u> , Holy Trinity - <u>Portland</u> (Oregon), chapel	Vladimir Alexandrov	Psalmist Pavel Alexandrov	- School for girls. ⁸⁰⁹	
<u>Galveston</u> (Texas), St. Costantine and Helen		Archimandrite Feoklit	Psalmist Michail Kundinovskii	- School*	
<u>Hartshorne</u> (Oklahoma), St. Cyril and Methodius		Vacant (hieromonk Pimen Goburnov)		- Sunday school*	
<u>Minneapolis</u> (Minnesota), St. Mary's Church	- <u>North Prairie</u> , Chapel - (Wisconsin) Chapel - <u>Stuartborn</u> (Manitoba, Canada) 2 Chapels.	Kostantin Popov (also teacher)	-Psalmist Pavel Zaichenko, teacher - Archimandrite Anatolii (Kamenskii),-i-president and teacher - Miss Bradley, teacher - Psalmist Grigorii Varkhol, teacher in North Prairie	- Missionary school (2 classes + psalmist class) - Library - Institute for students - School in North prairie - Sunday school in Minneapolis	1434
<u>Chicago</u> (Illinois), St. Vladimir Church	- <u>Streator</u> , Three Hierarchs church	Ioann Kochurov	Psalmist Benedict Turkevich	- School in Streator	718
<u>Cleveland</u> (Ohio), St. Theodosius Church	- <u>Marblehead</u> , Holy Assumption Church. - <u>Buffalo</u> (New York), Ss. Peter and Paul Church	Victor Stepanov	- Singer-teacher Chichilo in Marblehead. - Psalmist Ioann Repich (and teacher)	- Cemetery - School	560
<u>Allegheny</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Alexander Nevsky	- Orthodox Mutual Aid society administrative center (parish comprising Pittsburg-Allegheny)	Ioann Nedzel'nitskii rural dean and president of the Society	Psalmist Alexander Kukulevskii, teacher and secretary of the Society	- School	1540
<u>Charleroi</u> (Pennsylvania), St. John the Baptist Church		Pimen Marchenko (and teacher)	- psalmist Gordishinskii		603
<u>Mckeesport</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Sava		Vladimir Kal'nev	- psalmist		1300

806 1901 Blagocinnii otchet for the New York deanery in *Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946* pp. 35-47.

807 The symbol * indicates data coming from A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia eparkhiia pri sviatitele Tikhone*, M 2012.

808 ARC D457, Reel 292, f. 4.

809 APV 17 (1901), pp. 355-358.

<u>Osceola Mills</u> (Pennsylvania), Nativity of the Virgin Mary	- <u>Philipsburg</u> , Nativity of St. John Baptist's Church	Iason Kapanadze (and teacher)	- psalmist	- 2 Schools - Sunday school in Philippsburg.	627
<u>Wilkes-Barre</u> (Pennsylvania), Holy Resurrection Cathedral		Archpriest Alexis Toth	Father Mikhail Perchach	- Cemetery - School	1028
<u>Old Forge</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Michael Church	- <u>Scranton</u> , Ss. Peter and Paul Church (on rent).	Iliia Klopotovskiy (and teacher)	Psalmist Ioann Gratzon, teacher	- Cemetery - School	559
<u>Sheppton</u> (Pennsylvania), St. John the Baptist Church	- <u>McAdoo</u> , chapel - <u>St. Clair</u> , chapel	Feofan Buketov		- Cemetery	
<u>Catasauqua</u> , (Pennsylvania), Holy St. Trinity Church.	<u>Philadelphia</u> , St. Andrew's Church.	Alexander Nemolovsky (initially father Dimitrii Gebbei)			
<u>New York</u> (New York), St. Nicholas Church	- <u>Yonkers</u> , Holy Trinity Church - <u>Troy</u> , St. Basil Church - <u>Passaic</u> (New Jersey), Three Hierarchs' Church	Alexander Hotovitskii	Father Iliia Zotikov		
<u>Bridgeport</u> , (Connecticut), Holy Ghost Church		Petr Popov	Psalmist Alexander Trofimovich	- Parish school*	
<u>Ansonia</u> , (Connecticut), Three Hierarchs Church		Monk Ptolomei Timchenko (later Alexander Nemolovsky)			
<u>Sitka</u> (Alaska), St. Michael the Archangel Cathedral	- <u>Sitka</u> , Annunciation of the Theotokos chapel	Monk Antonii Dashkevich	I. Popov and S. Cherepnin teachers	- Missionary School - Parish school - Gramota school - Cemetery	710 ⁸¹⁰
<u>Juneau</u> (Alaska), St. Nicholas Church		Alexander Iaroshevich		- Parish school	
<u>Killisnoo</u> (Alaska), St. Andrew.		Ioann Sobolev			
<u>Nuchek</u> (Alaska), Trasfiguration Church	- chapels in 3 villages	Hieromonk Mefodii		- Parish school	
<u>Kodiak</u> (Alaska), Holy Resurrection Church	- chapels in 7 villages	Tikhon Shalamov		- Parish school dedicated to bishop Ioasaf	
<u>Afognak</u> (Alaska), St. Mary Church	- chapels in 4 villages	Vassili Martysh		- Parish school	
<u>Kenai</u> (Alaska), Holy Assumption of the Virgin Mary	- chapels in 7 villages (one in Nenilchik)	Ioann Bortnovskii		- Parish school - Parish school in Nenilchik -3 gramota schools in Seldovia, Alexandrovsk, Tuiunak	
<u>Unalaska</u> (Alaska), Holy Ascension of Our Lord	- Atka, St. Nicholas Church -chapels in 7 villages	Alexander Kedrovskii, dean	Father Vasilii Kashevarov	- Missionary school Ioann Veniaminov - 7 gramota schools	
<u>Unga</u> (Alaska), Vladimir Mother of God, chapel		Nikolai Rysev			
<u>St. George Island</u> (Alaska), St. George Church		Petr Kashevarov		- Parish school	
<u>St. Paul Island</u> (Alaska), Ss. Peter and Paul Church		Ioann Orlov		- Parish school	
<u>St. Michael Redoubt</u> (Alaska), Protecting Veil of the Holy Theotokos		Peter Orlov			

<u>Ikogmiut</u> or Kwickpack Mission (Alaska), Elevation of the Holy Cross Church	- chapels in 2 villages	Hieromok Amfilokii			
<u>Pavlovsk</u> or Kuskokwim Mission (Alaska), St. Sergius Church	- chapel in 1 village	Konstantin Pavlov			
<u>Nushagak</u> (Alaska), Ss. Peter and Paul	- chapels in 16 villages	Nikolai Kashevarov		- Parish school - 6 gramota schools	
<u>Wostok</u> (Alberta, Canada), Holy Trinity Church		Mikhail Skibinskii	Psalmist Ioann Soroka		
The Orthodox Syro-Arabian Mission in America, St. Nicholas Church (New York). Very Rev Archimandrite Raphael, rector. Father Mikhail Husan assistant.					

1902 The Mission structure and data⁸¹¹

Parish	Attached churches	Rector priests	Other Clergy	Other buildings or activities ⁸¹²	Parishioners ⁸¹³
<u>San Francisco</u> (California) Holy Trinity Cathedral	<u>Jackson</u> (California), St. Sava. Serbian parish.	Bishop Tikhon Sebastian Dabovich	-Father Feodor Pashkovskii -Father Petr Popov -Father Nikolai Mitropolskii -Hierodeacon Ilia Psalmist Nikolai Greevskii Nikolai Stepanov	- School in Jackson ⁸¹⁴	
<u>Seattle</u> (Washington) St. Spiridion	- <u>Wilkeson</u> , Holy Trinity - <u>Portland</u> (Oregon), chapel	Vladimir Alexandrov	Psalmist Pavel Alexandrov		
<u>Galveston</u> (Texas), St. Costantine and Helen		Archimandrite Feoklit	Psalmist Mikhail Kurdinovskii	- School.	
<u>Hartshorne</u> (Indiana), St. Cyril & Methodius		Hieromonk Tikhon Rostovskii		- Sunday school	
<u>Minneapolis</u> (Minnesota), St. Mary's Church	- <u>North Prairie</u> , Chapel - (Wisconsin) Chapel	Kostantin Popov (and teacher)	-Psalmist Pavel Zaichenko (and teacher) -Psalmist A. Tutmock, -Alexander Kukulevskii teacher. -Archimandrite Anatolii teacher -V. Basacla teacher - Miss Bradley, teacher	- Russian Missionary School in two years, -Sunday Parish School* - library - cemetery	1434*
<u>Chicago</u> (Illinois), Holy Trinity	- <u>Streator</u> , Three Hierarchs church	Ioann Kochurov	-Psalmist Alexander Kal'nev. -Psalmist in Streator Mikhail Potochnii -M. Popi teacher in Streator*	-Parish School in Streator, - cemetery ⁸¹⁵	611+107**
<u>Cleveland</u> (Ohio), St. Theodosius Church		Iason Kappanadze (and teacher)	Psalmist Gavriil Cherepin	Parish School	331**

811 APV feb 1903 ff. 565-566, pp. 30-31. and in S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon* pp. 396-399 The orthography of the names appear as in the magazine.

812 The indication * refer to New York+ other areas, parish records 1901-1907, ARC D457 Reel 292 ff.15-16.

813 The indication ** refer to New York+ other areas, parish records 1901-1907, ARC D457 Reel 292 f. 4; Unalaska deanery from ARC D116, Reel 105, f.543.

814 A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutkaia i Severo-Amerikanskaia* p. 370.

815 I. Kochurov, *K prebyvaniu Ego sviaschenstva, Preosviashenneishevo Tikhona, v Chicago* APV 2 (1901), pp.30-32.

<u>Marblehead</u> , Holy Assumption Church.		Hieromonk Arsenii			72**
<u>Allegheny</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Alexander Nevsky			Psalmist Ioann Kedrovskii (and teacher)	Parish school*	1540* *816
<u>Buffalo</u> (New York), Ss. Peter and Paul Church		Vladimir Kal'nev			157**
<u>Pittsburgh</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Mikhail Church		Prot. Ioann Nezdell'nitskii			
<u>Charleroi</u> , (Pennsylvania), St. Ioann the Baptist Church		Petr Kohannik	-Psalmist M. Gordishinskii -Hieromonk Pimen teacher	Parish school*	603**
<u>Mckeessport</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Sava		Ilia Komadin			1300**
<u>Philipsburg</u> , Nativity of St. John Baptist's Church	<u>Osceola Mills</u> (Pennsylvania), Nativity of the Virgin Mary	Hieromonk Ioann Krasnov	Psalmist Mikhail Moroz	- 2 Schools - Sunday school in Philippsburg.	627**
<u>Wilkes-Barre</u> (Pennsylvania), Holy Resurrection Cathedral		Archpriest Alexis Toth	Psalmist, father Mikhail Perchach (and teacher)	-Saturday parish school in Wilkesbarre -Parish evening school in Kingstown.* -Cemetery	1028** 817
<u>Old Forge</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Michael Church	- <u>Scranton</u> , Ss. Peter and Paul Church	Ilia Klopotovskii (and teacher in Old Forge)	Psalmist Ioann Gratzon, teacher in Scranton	2 Parish schools	305+254**
<u>Sheppton</u> (Pennsylvania), St. John the Baptist Church	- <u>McAdoo</u> , chapel - <u>St.Clair</u> , chapel	Feofan Buketov later Antonii Doroshuk	Psalmist V. Mosgovoi	School	256 ⁸¹⁸
<u>Catasauqua</u> , (Pennsylvania), Holy St. Trinity Church.	<u>Philadelphia</u> , St. Andrew's Church.	Alexander Nemolovskii	-Psalmist Andrei Tarasar -Psalmist I. Andreev in Philadelphia.	In Philadelphia ⁸¹⁹ - reading room - library - school	184+287
<u>Brooklyn</u> (New York) St. Nicholas, Syro-Arab parish	- <u>Worcester</u> (Massachussets). Chapel - <u>Montreal</u> Canada. Chapel.	Archimandrite Rafail Hawaweeny	- father Georgii Maaliuf, - father Mikhail Husan (Worcester), - Archimandrite Meletii		
<u>New York</u> (New York), St. Nicholas Church	- <u>Yonkers</u> , Holy Trinity Church (vacant)	Archpriest Alexander Hotovitskii	-Father Ilia Zotikov -Psalmist Dimitrii Popov	-APV redaction -Parish School*	634+126
<u>Troy</u> (New York), St. Basil Church		Leontii Vladishevskii		- Cemetery ⁸²⁰	96
<u>Passaic</u> (New Jersey), Three Hierarchs' Church		Hieromonk Antonii (Doroshuk)			78
<u>Bridgeport</u> (Connecticut), Holy Ghost Church	<u>Ansonia</u> , Three Hierarchs Church (vacant)	Benedikt Turkevich	Psalmist Alexander Trofimovich	-SVET' redaction	237+236
<u>Mayfield</u> (Pennsylvania) St. John the Baptist		Ioann Olshevskii		-school -cemetery	1200**
<u>New Britain</u> (Conneticut), St. Cyril and Methodius		Hieromonk Ptolomei Timchenko			150
<u>Sitka</u> (Alaska), St.	- <u>Sitka</u> , Annunciation	Antonii	-I. Chubarov, teacher	- Innocent Missionary School	

816 Allegheny and Pittsburgh

817 Number difficult to recognize. It could be also 1007.

818 1903 Orthodox population in New York, Yonkers, Bridgeport, Ansonia, Passaic, Troy, New Britain, Philadelphia, Catasauqua, Sheppton ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 18, 34.

819 APV 21(1903), pp.386-388.

820 APV 2 (1903) pp.24-27.

Michael the Archangel Cathedral	of the Theotokos chapel	Dashkevich	-Andrei Kashevarov, teacher	- Parish school - Gramota school - Cemetery	
<u>Juneau</u> (Alaska), St. Nicholas Church		Alexander Iaroshevich	-Psalmist, father Ilia Katanuk	- Parish school	
<u>Killisnoo</u> (Alaska), St. Andrew.		Ioann Sobolev	-Psalmist, father Vasilii Larionov		
<u>Nuchek</u> (Alaska), Trasfiguration Church	-chapels in 4 villages	Hieromonk Mefodii	-Psalmist, father M. Stepanov	- Parish school	
<u>Kodiak</u> (Alaska), Holy Resurrection Church	-chapels in 7 villages.	Tikhon Shalamov	-Psalmist A. Shadura -M. Von der Fur teacher in the institute-school for girls.	-parish school dedicated to bishop Ioasaf -Institute for girls	
<u>Afognak</u> (Alaska), St. Mary Church	-chapels in 8 villages.	Vasilii Martysh	-Psalmist, father T. Shirotin	- Parish school	
<u>Kenai</u> (Alaska), Holy Assumption of the Virgin Mary	- chapels in 7 villages	Ioann Bortnovskii	Psalmist, father V. Dejkar	- Parish school - Parish school in Nenilchik -3 gramota schools in Seldovia, Alexandrovsk, Tuiunak	
<u>Belkofsky</u> (Alaska), Resurrection Church	-chapels in 6 villages.	Evfimii Aleksin			402
<u>Unalaska</u> (Alaska), Holy Ascension of Our Lord	-chapels in 8 villages	Alexander Kedrovskii	-father Vasilii Kashevarov -Psalmist Apollinariii Kedrovskii ⁸²¹	- Ioann Veniaminov Missionary School - 7 gramota schools	759
<u>Unga</u> (Alaska), Vladimir Mother of God, chapel		Nikolai Rysev	-starosta Petr Koriakin ⁸²²	-cemetery	104 ⁸²³
<u>St. George Island</u> (Alaska), St. George Church		Petr Kashevarov		-Parish school	92
<u>St. Paul Island</u> (Alaska), Ss. Peter and Paul Church		Ioann Orlov		-Parish school	159
<u>St. Michael Redoubt</u> (Alaska), Protecting Veil of the Holy Theotokos	- chapel in Kotlik	Petr Orlov			Not recorded
<u>Ikogmiut</u> or Kwickpack Mission (Alaska), Elevation of the Holy Cross Church	-chapels in 2 villages	Hieromonk Amfilokii	-Psalmist Nikifor Amkan		557
<u>Pavlovsk</u> or Kuskokwim Mission (Alaska), St. Sergius Church	-chapel in Ulagmiut	Konstantin Pavlov	-Psalmist, father Mikhail Kukichuk		502
<u>Nushagak</u> (Alaska), Ss. Peter and Paul	-chapels in 15 villages.	Nikolai Kashevarov		-Parish school - 6 gramaota schools	2560
<u>Wostok</u> (Alberta, Canada), St. Trinity Church	- <u>Bukovina</u> (Alberta), St. Nicholas - <u>Biber Creek</u> , chapel - <u>Rabbit Hill</u> , chapel - <u>Edmonton</u> , chapel	Mikhail Skibinskii	Psalmist Ioann Soroka		

821 ARC D49, Reel 68, f.434.

822 ARC D31, Reel 58, f.559.

823 ARC D42, Reel 59, f.351.

1904 Structure of the Mission and Data.⁸²⁴

Archbishop Tikhon (Bellavin), winter residence New York

summer residence San Francisco

Bishop Innocent (Pustinskii) of Alaska. First vicar of the Diocese of North America, residence Sitka

Bishop Raphael (Hawaweeny) of Brooklyn. Second Vicar of the Diocese of North America, Head of the Syroarabian Orthodox Mission.

Parish	Attached churches	Rector priests	Other Clergy	Other buildings	Parishioners ⁸²⁵
<u>San Francisco</u> (California) Holy Trinity Cathedral	<u>Jackson</u> (California), St. Sava. Serbian parish.	Sebastian Dabovich	Father Feodor Pashkovskii Father Petr Popov, Father Nikolai Mitropolskii Hierodeacon Ilia Choirmaster Nikolai Greevskii, Psalmist Alexander Kal'nev	- School in Jackson	
<u>Seattle</u> (Washington), St. Spiridion	<u>Portland</u> (Oregon), chapel	Vladimir Alexandrov	Psalmist Pavel Alexandrov		
<u>Wilkeson</u> (Washington), Holy Trinity		Grigorii Shutak			
<u>Globville</u> (Colorado)		Vladimir Kal'nev			
<u>Galveston</u> (Texas), St. Costantine and Helen		Archimandrite Feoklit	Psalmist Mikhail Kurdinovskii	- School.	
<u>Hartshorne</u> (Indiana), St. Cyril & Methodius		Hieromonk Tikhon Rostovskii	- starosta Vasilii Prokopchak ⁸²⁶	- Sunday school - cemetery ⁸²⁷	
<u>Minneapolis</u> (Minnesota), St. Mary's Church	- <u>North Prairie</u> , Chapel - (Wisconsin) Chapel	Konstantin Popov	-Psalmist Alexander Veniaminov, -Psalmist A. Tutmock, - -Psalmist in North Prairie chapel. Alexander Kukulevskii	- Russian Missionary Seminary -Sunday Parish School - library - cemetery	1124
<u>Chicago</u> (Illinois), Holy Trinity		Ioann Kochurov	Ioann Kedrovskii	- cemetery	881
<u>Streator</u> , Three Hierarchs church		Mikhail Potochnii		-Parish School	130
<u>Cleveland</u> (Ohio), St. Theodosius Church		Iason Kappanadze	Psalmist Gavriil Cherepin	-Headquarters of the Mutual Aid Society -Parish School	843
<u>Marblehead</u> (Ohio), Holy Assumption Church.		Grigorii Variashkin			145
<u>Allegheny</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Alexander Nevsky		Nikolai Koshevich	Psalmist Iosef Stefanko	-Parish school -cemetery	1200
<u>Buffalo</u> (New York), Ss. Peter and Paul Church		Nikolai Holin	Psalmist Alexander Kal'nev		147
<u>Pittsburgh</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Mikhail Church		Archpriest Ioann Nezdel'nitskii	Psalmist S. Lukach		980
<u>Charleroi</u> , (Pennsylvania), St. John the Baptist Church		Petr Kohanik	B. Basalyga.	Parish school	673

824 APV Supplement march 1904, ff660-566?.

825 Data New York 1905 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 86, 100 (Orthodox population in Mayfield, Osceola, Buffalo, Marblehead, Allegheny, Minneapolis, Charleroi, Chicago, Old Forge, Scranton, Streater, Madison, Cleveland, Philadelphia, St. Clair, Wilkesbarre, Pittsburgh, Catasauqua, Sheppton, West Troy, Sompson).

826 APV 10 (1904), pp.185-186.

827 Ivi.

<u>Mckeessport</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Sava		Ilia Komadin	N. Greeb		
<u>Philipsburg</u> , Nativity of St. John Baptist's Church	<u>Osceola Mills</u> (Pennsylvania), Nativity of the Virgin Mary	Hieromonk Ioanniki Kraskov	Psalmist Mikhail Moroz	- 2 Schools - Sunday school in Philipsburg.	750
<u>Wilkes-Barre</u> (Pennsylvania), Holy Resurrection Church		Archpriest Alexis Toth	Psalmist, father Mikhail Perchach	-Saturday parish school in Wilkesbarre -Parish evening school in Kingstown. -Cemetery	1450
<u>Old Forge</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Michael Church	<u>Scranton</u> , Ss. Peter and Paul Church	Ilia klopotovskii	Psalmist Ioann Gratzov	2 Parish schools	466+41 2
<u>Steelton</u> (Pennsylvania), Serbian Church		Philipp Sredanovich			
<u>Sheppton</u> (Pennsylvania), St. John the Baptist Church	- <u>McAdoo</u> , chapel - <u>St.Clair</u> , chapel	Antonii Doroshuk		School	725+11 0 (With Catasau ua)
<u>Catasauqua</u> , (Pennsylvania), Holy Trinity Church.		Alexander Nemolovskii	Psalmist, Andrei Tarasar		
<u>Philadelphia</u> , St. Andrew's Church.			K. Audev	- Reading room - Library - School	500
<u>Brooklyn</u> (New York) St. Nicholas, Syro-Arab parish		Archimandrite Meletii Karrum			
<u>Worcester</u> (Massachussets), St. George, Syro-Arab parish		Mikhail Husan			
<u>Toledo</u> (Ohio) Syro-Arab parish		vacant			
<u>Montreal</u> (Canada) Syro-Arab parish		Georgii Mahfooz			
<u>Boston</u> (Massachussets) Syro-Arab parish		vacant			
<u>New York</u> (New York), St. Nicholas Church		Archpriest Alexander Hotovitskii	-Father Ilia Zotikov -Psalmist Dimitrii Popov	- APV redaction -Parish School	
<u>Yonkers</u> (New York), Holy Trinity Church		Leontii Vladishevskii			
<u>Troy</u> (New York), St. Basil Church		Arsenii Chahovtsov	S. Fritz	-Parish school - Cemetery	
<u>Passaic</u> (New Jersey), Three Hierarchs' Church		Ioannik Kiiko			
<u>Bridgeport</u> (Connecticut), Holy Ghost Church		Benedikt Turkevich	Psalmist Alexander Trophimovich,	-SVET redaction -school	237 ⁸²⁸
<u>Ansonia</u> (Connecticut), Three Hierarchs Church		Feofan Buketov			
<u>Mayfield</u> (Pennsylvania) St. John the Baptist		Ioann Olshevskii (later Arsenii Chagovtsov)		-School -Cemetery	834
<u>New Britain</u> (Conneticut), St. Cyril and Methodius		Hieromonk Ptolomei Timchenko			
<u>Sitka</u> (Alaska), St. Michael the Archangel Cathedral	- <u>Sitka</u> , Annunciation of the Theotokos chapel	Antonii Dashkevich	-Hierodeacon Antonii, - I. Chubarov -Andrei Kashevarov,	- Innocent Missionary School - Parish school	743 ⁸²⁹

828 Also in ARC D442, Reel 282, ff. 507-508, 524.

829 ARC D438, Reel 281, f.225; The Sitka, Juneau and Killisnoo 1905 Orthodox population in ARC D438, Reel 281, f.226.

			teachers.	- Gramota school - Cemetery	
<u>Juneau</u> (Alaska), St. Nicholas Church	- <u>Douglas</u> , St. Sava Church, serbian.	Alexander Iaroshevich	Psalmist, father Ilia Katanuk.	- Parish school	825
<u>Killisnoo</u> (Alaska), St. Andrew.		Ioann Sobolev	X. Sokolov		229
<u>Nuchek</u> (Alaska), Trasfiguration Church	- chapels in 4 villages.	Hieromonk Mefodii	Psalmist, father Mikhail Stepanov	- Parish school	
<u>Kodiak</u> (Alaska), Holy Resurrection Church	-chapels in 7 villages.	Tikhon Shalamov	-Psalmist A. Shadura -M. Von der Fur president in the institute-school for girls.	- Missionary School dedicated to bishop Ioasaf -Institute for girls	
<u>Afognak</u> (Alaska), St. Mary Church	- chapels in 8 villages.	Vasilii Martysh	-Psalmst M. Shirotin	- Parish school	
<u>Kenai</u> (Alaska), Holy Assumption of the Virgin Mary	- chapels in 7 villages	Ioann Bortnovskii	Psalmsist, father V. Dejkar	- Parish school - Parish school in Nenilchik -3 gramota schools in Seldovia, Alexandrovsk, Tuiunak	
<u>Belkofsky</u> (Alaska), Resurrection Church	-chapels in 7 villages.	Evfimii Aleksin			
<u>Unalaska</u> (Alaska), Holy Ascension of Our Lord	-chapels in 8 villages	Alexander Kedrovskii	-Father Vasilii Kashevarov, -Psalmsit Apollinariii Kedrovskii, -teacher Simeon Samuilovich	- Ioann Veniaminov Missionary School -7 Gramota schools	
<u>Unga</u> (Alaska), Vladimir Mother of God, chapel		Nikolai Rysev	-Lavrentii Kashevarov -Psalmist Petr Chubarov (and teacher) ⁸³⁰	-school	
<u>St. George Island</u> (Alaska), St. George Church		Petr Kashevarov	- Mr. Merkuliev -starosta Andronik Iovlev Filimonov ⁸³¹	- Parish school	
<u>St. Paul Island</u> (Alaska), Ss. Peter and Paul Church		Ioann Orlov	Mr. Grigorii Kochergin	- Parish school	
<u>St. Michael Redoubt</u> (Alaska), Protecting Veil of the Holy Theotokos	- chapel in <u>Kotlik</u>	Petr Orlov	C. Repin		
<u>Ikogmiut</u> or Kwickpack Mission (Alaska), Elevation of the Holy Cross Church	-chapels in 2 villages	Hieromonk Amfilokii	Psalmsit Nikifor Amkan		
<u>Pavlovsk</u> or Kuskokwim Mission (Alaska), St. Sergius Church	-chapel in <u>Ulagmiut</u>	Konstantin Pavlov	Psalmist, father Mikhail Kukichuk		
<u>Nushagak</u> (Alaska), Ss. Peter and Paul	-chapels in 15 villages.	Nikolai Kashevarov	-Deacon Vasilii Orlov -I. Koslov	- Parish school - 6 gramota schools	

830 ARC D31, Reel 58, ff. 562-563.

831 ARC D177, Reel 119, f. 153.

1906 Structure of the Mission and Data.⁸³²

Archbishop Tikhon (Bellavin), of North America and Aleutian Islands.

Bishop Innocent (Pustinskii) of Alaska.

Bishop Raphael (Hawaweeny) of Brooklyn. Head of the Syrian Branch of the Orthodox Church in America.

Archimandrite Sebastian Dabovich, Administrator of the Servian Branch of the Orthodox Church in America.

Parish	Attached churches	Rector priests	Other Clergy	Other buildings	Parishioners ⁸³³
<u>New York</u> (New York), St. Nicholas Church	- <u>South River</u> (New Jersey)	Archpriest Alexander Hotovitskii	-father Iliia Zotikov -father Ingram Nathaniel Irvine D.D. -father Ioannik Kiiko - father Alexander Kal'nev, -N.T. Greevsky, -Psalmist I. Lachno,	- APV redaction -Parish School	S. River 265
<u>San Francisco</u> (California) Holy Trinity Cathedral		Feodor Pashkovsky	Father Nikolai Mitropolskii Psalmist Georgii Popov		704
<u>Seattle</u> (Washington) St. Spiridion	- <u>Wilkeson</u> , Holy Trinity - <u>Portland</u> (Oregon), chapel - <u>Salem</u> (Oregon)	Mikhail Andreades	Psalmist Pavel Alexandrov		2207+521 Salem
<u>Denver</u> (Colorado), Transfiguration Church		Grigorii Shutak			328 ⁸³⁴
<u>Pueblo</u> (Colorado), St. Michael	- <u>Calhan</u> (Colorado), St. Mary's	Vladimir Kal'nev			155 Calhan ⁸³⁵
<u>Galveston</u> (Texas), St. Costantine and Helen		Archimandrite Feoklit Triantafilidis		- School.	280 ⁸³⁶
<u>Hartshorne</u> (Indiana), St. Cyril & Methodius		Grigorii Variashkin		- Sunday school - cemetery ⁸³⁷	184 ⁸³⁸
<u>Minneapolis</u> (Minnesota), St. Mary's Church	- <u>Winsconsin</u> , St. Michael. - <u>North Prairie</u> , Chapel	Konstantin Popov	-Psalmist V. Bensin, -Psalmist I. Moroz at North Prairie, -Alexander Kukulevskii teacher.	- Russian Missionary Seminary -Sunday Parish School - library - cemetery	1327 ⁸³⁹
<u>Chicago</u> (Illinois), Holy Trinity		Ioann Kochurov	-deacon Ioann Kedrovskii	- cemetery	900 ⁸⁴⁰
<u>Streator</u> , Three Hierarchs church	- <u>Madison</u> (Illinois), St. Mary Church	Mikhail Potochnii		-Parish School	250
<u>Cleveland</u> (Ohio), St. Theodosius Church		Iason Kappanadze	-Psalmist Vasilii Oranovskii, - teacher V. Vasiliov.	-Headquarters of the Mutual Aid Society - Missionary School	677 ⁸⁴¹

832 ARC APV Supplement Jan. 1906 D455, Reel 289, ff.253-255, pp. 61-64; APV 2 (1906), pp. 36-39. For the year 1907, the minutes of the Mayfield Sobor records 86 parishes and 77.000 parishioners. D. GRIGORIEFF, *The historical background* p.12.

833 Data from the Alaskan region ARC D438, Reel 281, ff. 227-228; for Western states and Nedzel'ntskii deanery ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 102, 118.

834 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 182, 198 but only 174 in D500, Reel 315, f. 266. Referring to 1907.

835 ARC D500, Reel 315, f. 266. Referring to 1907.

836 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 161, 181. 600 in D500, Reel 315, f. 266. Referring to 1907.

837 Ivi.

838 ARC D500, Reel 315, f. 266. Referring to 1907.

839 ARC D449, Reel 282, ff. 527, 540. The number comprises Orthodox believers living in Minneapolis, Clayton, Bryd (?), Cornucopia (Wisconsin), North Prairie, Wilton, Lehr (North Dakota), Chisholm (Minnesota).

840 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 166, 181. 819 in D457, Reel 292, ff. 53, 70. Referring to 1907.

841 ARC D459, Reel 292, f. 654.

<u>Marblehead</u> (Ohio), Holy Assumption Church.	- <u>Kelly Island</u> , Ss. Peter and Paul Church	Antonii Doroschuk			152 ⁸⁴²
<u>Allegheny</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Alexander Nevsky		Vladimir Alexandrov	Psalmist A. Trofimovich	-Parish school -cemetery	1535 ⁸⁴³
<u>Buffalo</u> (New York), Ss. Peter and Paul Church		Alexander Veniaminov			192 ⁸⁴⁴
<u>Pittsburgh</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Mikhail Church		Petr Kohanik	Psalmist J. Lomokin	-library (since 1907) -refectory for the poors	1684
<u>Charleroi</u> , (Pennsylvania), St. John the Baptist Church		Petr Kohannik	-Psalmist Feodor Dashenko	Parish school	611 ⁸⁴⁵
<u>Philipsburg</u> (Pennsylvania), Nativity of St. John Baptist's Church	- <u>Osceola Mills</u> , Nativity of the Virgin Mary - <u>Patton</u> , Ss. Peter and Paul Church	Hieromonk Ioannik Kraskov	-Psalmist Mikhail Moroz	- 2 Schools - Sunday school in Philippsburg.	266+207 +56 ⁸⁴⁶
<u>Wilkes-Barre</u> (Pennsylvania), Holy Resurrection Church		Archpriest Alexis Toth	Psalmist Mikhail Perchach	-Saturday parish school in Wilkesbarre -Parish evening school in Kingstown. -Cemetery	1450 ⁸⁴⁷
<u>Old Forge</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Michael Church	<u>Scranton</u> , Ss. Peter and Paul Church	Ilia klopotovskii	Psalmist Ioann Gratzov	2 Parish schools	986
<u>Sheppton</u> (Pennsylvania), St. John the Baptist Church	- <u>St.Clair</u> , chapel	Leontii Vladishevskii		School	St. Clair 112
<u>Catasauqua</u> , (Pennsylvania), Holy Trinity Church.	- <u>Reading</u> , St. Basil the Great. - <u>McAdoo</u> , St. Mary	Alexander Nemolovskii	Psalmist Andrei Tarasar		Reading 264
<u>Philadelphia</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Andrew's Church.		Konstantin Seletskii		- Reading room - Library - School --SVET redaction	400 ⁸⁴⁸
<u>Yonkers</u> (New York), Holy Trinity Church		Benedict Turkevich	Psalmist, Stefan Lukach		201 ⁸⁴⁹
<u>West Troy</u> (New York), St. Basil the Great Church	<u>Watervliet</u>	Vasilii Roubinskii	Psalmist Stefan Fritz	-Parish school - Cemetery	162 ⁸⁵⁰
<u>Passaic</u> (New Jersey), Three Hierarchs' Church	<u>Garfield</u>	Petr Popov			
<u>Bridgeport</u> (Connecticut), Holy Ghost Church		vacant		-school	655 ⁸⁵¹
<u>Ansonia</u> (Connecticut), Three Hierarchs Church		Feofan Buketov	Psalmist Konstantin Buketov		555 ⁸⁵²
<u>Mayfield</u> (Pennsylvania) St. John the Baptist	<u>Bakie</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Mary's chapel	Arsenii Chagovtsov	Psalmist Gavriil Cherepnin	-School -Cemetery	1164 ⁸⁵³
<u>Simpson</u> (Pennsylvania), St. Basil the Great		A. Boguslavskii	Psalmist I. Wolk		244
<u>Olyphant</u> (Pennsylvania),		A. Boguslavskii	Psalmist I. Kolesnikov		111

842 ARCD457, Reel 292, ff. 182, 198; 261 in D457, Reel 292, ff. 166, 181. Referring to 1907.

843 ARCD457, Reel 292, ff. 182, 198; 1674 in D457, Reel 292, ff. 166, 181. Referring to 1907.

844 ARCD457, Reel 292, ff. 182, 198; 147 in D457, Reel 292, ff. 166, 181. Referring to 1907.

845 Charleroi-Embridge. ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 135, 148. Referring to 1907.

846 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 166, 181. Referring to 1907.

847 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 135, 148. Referring to 1907.

848ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 166, 181; 720 in D457, Reel 292, ff. 53, 70. Referring to 1907.

849ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 135, 148; 221 in D457, Reel 292, ff. 53, 70. Referring to 1907.

850 ARC D458, Reel 292, f. 349.

851 ARC D442, Reel 282, ff. 527, 540.

852 ARC D441, Reel 282, f.156; D457, Reel 292, ff. 182, 198. Referring to 1907 comprising: Derby Shelton, Seymore, New Haven.

853 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 166, 181. 1117 in D457, Reel 292, ff. 182, 198. Referring to 1907.

St. Nicholas Church					
<u>South Canaan</u> (Pennsylvania)			Tikhon Rostovskii	- St. Tikhon male monastery -Orphan's home -Cemetery	
<u>New Britain</u> (Conneticut), St. Cyril and Methodius		Hieromonk Ptolomei Timchenko			183 ⁸⁵⁴
<u>Sitka</u> (Alaska), St. Michael the Archangel Cathedral	- <u>Sitka</u> , Annunciation of the Theotokos chapel	Bishop Innocent	-Hierodeacon Antonii, -father Kashevarov, -Hierodeacon Serafim Samuilovich, -Petr Kashevarov, teacher.	- Innocent Seminary - Parish school - Gramota school - Cemetery	742 ⁸⁵⁵
<u>Juneau</u> (Alaska), St. Nicholas Church		Alexander Iaroshevich	Psalmsist Ilia Katanuk	- Parish school	848
<u>Killisnoo</u> (Alaska), St. Andrew.		Ioann Sobolev	Psalmsist X. Sokolov		218
<u>Nuchek</u> (Alaska), Trasfiguration Church	- chapels in 4 villages.	Hieromonk Mefodii	Psalmsist Grigoriev	- Parish school	475
<u>Kodiak</u> (Alaska), Holy Resurrection Church	-chapels in 7 villages.	Vasilii Martysh	-deacon Pavel Shadura, -Miss L. Alexandrov teacher	- Missionary School dedicated to bishop Ioasaf -Institute for girls	917
<u>Afognak</u> (Alaska), St. Mary Church	- chapels in 7 villages.	W. Petelin	Psalmsist T. Shirotin	- Parish school	799
<u>Kenai</u> (Alaska), Holy Assumption of the Virgin Mary		Ioann Bortnovskii	Psalmsist V. Dejkar	- Parish school - Parish school in Nenilchik -3 gramota schools in Seldovia, Alexandrovsk, Tuiunak	1074
<u>Belkofsky</u> (Alaska), Resurrection Church	-chapels in 7 villages.	Evfimii Aleksin			519
<u>Unalaska</u> (Alaska), Holy Ascension of Our Lord	-chapels in 8 villages	Alexander Kedrovskii	-Father Vasilii Kasahevarov, -Father Nikolai Rysev, -Psalmsist Alexander Kedrovskii, -Petr Chubarov, teacher	- Ioann Veniaminov Missionary School -7 Gramota schools	878
<u>St. George Island</u> (Alaska), St. George Church		Petr Kashevarov	Mr. Merkuliev	- Parish school	97
<u>St. Paul Island</u> (Alaska), Ss. Peter and Paul Church		Ioann Orlov	Psalmsist Mr. Grigorii Kochergin	- Parish school	167
<u>St. Michael Redoubt</u> (Alaska), Protecting Veil of the Holy Theotokos	- chapel in <u>Kotlik</u>	Petr Orlov	Rotlino		381
<u>Ikogmiut</u> or Kwickpack Mission (Alaska), Elevation of the Holy Cross Church	- chapels in 2 villages	Hieromonk Amfilokii	Psalmsist Nikolai Belkov		719
<u>Pavlovsk</u> or Kuskokwim Mission (Alaska), St. Sergius Church	-chapel in <u>Ulagmiut</u>	Konstantin Pavlov	Father P. Amkan		595
<u>Nushagak</u> (Alaska), Ss. Peter and Paul		Vassili Kashevarov	Ioann Orlov	- Parish school - 6 gramota schools	1996
Canadian Mission: ⁸⁵⁶ <u>Wostok</u> (Alberta), Holy Trinity Church (Mikhail Skibinsky) <u>Bukovina</u> (Alberta), St. Nicholas					

854 ARC D 457, Reel 292, ff. 182, 198; D442, Reel 283, ff. 58, 74. Referring to 1907.

855 704 in ARC D438, Reel 281, ff. 227-228.

856 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 135, 148. 1906 Data reported 950 Orthodox believers in Canada, mostly Galitians and Russians. The 1907 data referring to Winnipeg, Wostok, Kisilievo, Conor, Montreal and Stuartborn counted 8.444 Orthodox believers divided between Russians, Galitians and Bucovinians (7.491). D457, Reel 292, ff. 53, 70.

Kiselevo (Alberta), Holy Virgin
Withford (Alberta), St. Mikhael
Shandro (Alberta), St. Mary's
Beaver Lake (Alberta), St. James
Beaver Creek (Alberta), St. Mary's
Edmonton (Alberta), St. Barbara
Rabbit Hill (Alberta), Ascension Church
Conor (Assiniboia), St. Mary's
Crooked Lake, Transfiguration Church
Incigeru, St. Mary's
Salt Coats (Assiniboia), St. Elias the Prophet
Salt Coats (Assiniboia), Ss. Peter and Paul Church
Stuartborn (Manitoba), St. Demetrius of Solun
Stuartborn (Manitoba), St. Michael
Winnipeg (Manitoba), Canadian Mission (J. Sechinskii, Psalmist J. Soroka)

Syro-Arab Mission:⁸⁵⁷ Brooklyn (New York) St. Nicholas Syro-Arab Cathedral (Bishop Raphael, father J. Solomonidis, Psalmist E. Upaish)
Glens Falls (New York), St. George Church
Worcester (Massachusetts), St. George Church (J. Hussan)
Lawrence (Massachusetts), Syro-Arab Mission (Archimandrite Meletios)
Boston (Massachusetts), Syro-Arab Mission (George Maaluf)
Wilkes-Barre (Pennsylvania), St. Mary (Dormition) Church (M. Khurree)
Johnstown (Pennsylvania),
Kearney (Nebraska), St. George Church (N. Yannie)
Montreal (Canada), St. Nicholas Church (George Mahfooz)
Toledo (Ohio),
Chicago (Illinois),
Santiago (Cuba).

Serbian parishes:⁸⁵⁸ Jackson (California), St. Sava. Serbian Mission (Hieromonk Nikifor).
Chicago (Illinois), Resurrection Church (Archimandrite Sebastian Dabovich, father Radoslaevich, hierodeacon Damian).
Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania), Serbian parish (S. Voevodich).
Mckeesport (Pennsylvania), St. Sava (Hieromonk Nestor).
Wilmerding (Pennsylvania), St. Nicholas (Philipp Sredanovich).
Steeltown (Pennsylvania), Serbian Mission (Alexander Stoianovich).
Johnstown (Pennsylvania), St. Nicholas Church.
Butte (Montana), Holy Trinity.
Douglas (Alaska), St. Sava.
West Seneca (New York).
Milwaukee (Wisconsin).
Kansas City (Kansas), St. George.
Los Angeles (California).

857 ARC D457, Reel 292, f.142; A. ISSA, *Our Father among* p. 69.

858 ARC D457, Reel 292, ff. 136, 147.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- V. BELLAVIN, *O litse Gospoda Iisusa Khrista*, Strannik SPB 1890, Tom. 2.
- *Vzgliad Sv. Tserkvi na brak (po povodu lozhnykh vozzrenii grafa Tol'stogo)*, Strannik SPB 1893, Tom. 3.
- ARKHIMANDRIT TIKHON (BELLAVIN), *Vegetarianstvo i ego otlichie ot khristianskogo posta*, Strannik SPB 1895, Tom. 1.
- *O podvizhnichestve*, Strannik SPB 1897, Tom. 2.
- *Zaviety i nastavlenia amerikanskoi pravoslavnoi Rusi ego Sviateishestva patriarkha Moskovskogo i vseia Rossii Tikhona*. New York 1924.
- ARCHPRIEST A. TOTH. *Selected Letters, Sermons and Articles*, translated and edited by George Soldatow Vol. I (1978) Synaxis Press, Chilliwack Canada, Vol. II (1982), Vol. III-IV (1988) AARDM Press Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- Otets Ioann Nedzel'nitskii 1866-1946. Podvizhnik Pravoslaviia v Amerike. Sbornik pisem, statei i dokumentov*, Pod. Red. G. M. Soldatowa, T. I, 1896-1909, AARDM Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota 2011.
- Sv. Aleksandr. Missionerskii period Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi v Amerike*. Pod. Red. G. M. Soldatowa, T. I, 1896-1909, AARDM Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota 1998.
- The Right Reverend Nestor, Bishop of the Aleutians and Alaska 1879-1882. Correspondence, reports, diary*. Translated and Edited by George Soldatow. Vol. I-II, AARDM Press, Minneapolis Minnesota 1993 (2nd 2000).
- The Writings of St. Alexis Toth, Confessor and Defender of Orthodoxy in America*, translated and edited by George Soldatow AARDM Press Minneapolis, Minnesota 1994.
- A. V. POPOV, *Materialy k zhitiu sviatitelia Tikhona Moskovskogo. Amerikanskii period zhizni i deiatel'nosti sviatitelia Tikhona: Pervye gody sluzheniia episkopa Tikhona v Soedinennykh Shtatakh Severnoi Ameriki*, SPB 2008.
- *Pis'ma sviatitelia Tikhona Amerikanskii period zhizni i deiatel'nosti sviatitelia Tikhona Moskovskogo*, SPB 2010.
- S. S. SHIROKOV, *Propovedi i Poucheniia Sviatitelia Tikhona*, M 2001.

Magazines

- Il Bessarione*, Roma 1896-1908.
- APV Amerikanskii Pravoslavnoi Vestnik 1898-1907*.
- JAOCH Journal of the American Orthodox Church History, Society for Orthodox Christian Histories in the Americas*, Prairie Parish Press. (Website <http://prairieparishpress.com>).
- OCP *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Roma.
- OW *Orthodox Word* monographyc number 5(262)/44 (Sept. - Oct. 2008), California, USA.
- SVSQ St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly, New York.
- SVTQ St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly, Crestwood, New York.
- RR *Russian Review*.
- PO *Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie* 1870-1871.
- MO *Missionerskoe Obozrenie* 1898-1914.
- TsVd *Tserkovnye Vedomosti* 1897-1908.
- TsV *Tserkovnii Vestnik*

Secondary Sources

Books

- Aa.Vv., *Histoire de l'Eglise orthodoxe en Europe occidentale au 20e siecle*, Paris, 2005.
- I. ALFEEV, *La Chiesa ortodossa russa. Vol. I Profilo storico*, Bologna 2013.
- ARCHIMANDRITA SPIRIDIONE, *Le mie missioni in Siberia, cose viste e vissute*, Torino 1982.
- ARCHIMANDRITE SERAFIM, *The Quest for Orthodox Church Unity in America*, New York 1973.
- A. ARJAKOVSKY, *The Way: Religious Thinkers of the Russian Emigration in Paris and Their Journal, 1915-1940*, Univtsity of Notre Dame Press 2013.
- A. ASCHER, *The Revolution of 1905. Russia in Disarray*, Stanford University Press 1988.
- K. BAKER, *A History of the Orthodox Church in China, Korea and Japan*, Edwin Mellen Press, Lewinston (NY), 2006.
- I. S. BELLJUSTIN, *Description of the Clergy in Rural Russia. The Memoir of a Nineteenth-Century Parish Priest*, Ithaca (NY)1985.
- N. BERDJAEV – S. BULGAKOV – M. GERSENZON – A. S. IZGOEV – B. A. KISTJAKOVSKIJ – P. B. STRUVE, S. L. FRANK, *La Svolta. Vecchi. L'”intelligencija russa tra il 1905 e il 1917*, Milano 1990.
- BISHOP GREGORY (AFONSKY), *A History of the Orthodox Church in Alaska*, Kodiak 1978.
- E. R. BARKAN, *Immigrants in American History: Arrival, Adaptation, and Integration*, ABC CLIO LLC, 2013, pp. 521-528.
- C. BATES- M. J. OLEKSA, *Conflicting Landscapes*, University of Alaska Press 2011.
- L. T. BLACK, *Russians in Alaska 1832-1867*, University of Alaska Press 2004.
- A. BOGOLEPOV, *Toward an American Orthodox Church*, Crestwood (NY), 2001.
- S. BOLSHAKOFF, *The Foreign Missions of the Russian Orthodox Church*, Edinburgh 1943.
- P. C. BORI – P. BETTILOLO, *Movimenti religiosi in Russia prima della rivoluzione (1900-1917)*, Brescia 1978.
- P. BURGESS, *Greeks in America. An Account of their Coming, Progress, Customs, Living and Aspirations with an Historical Introduction and the stories of some famous American-Greeks*, Sherman, French & Company 1913.
- J. BRADY, *Trasnational Conversions: Greek Catholic Migrants and Russky Orthodox Conversion Movements in Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Americas (1890-1914)*, PhD Dissertation University of Pittsburgh 2012. Received by the courtesy of the author.
- J.T. BRETZKE SJ, *Consecrated phrases: A Latin Theological Dictionary: Latin expressions commonly founded in theological writings (3rd Edition)*, Liturgical Press 2013.
- R. F. BYRNES, *Pobedonoscev His life and his thought*, Bloomington Indiana University Press 1868.
- M. J. CHAIAT, *American Religious Architecture: Sacred Places for every Community*, John Wiley and Sons 1997.
- CIPRIANO DI CARTAGINE, *L'unità della Chiesa*, Edizioni studio domenicano Roma 2006 (Les Éditions du Cerf 2006).
- O. CLEMENT, *La Chiesa ortodossa*, Brescia 2005. (*L'Église orthodoxe*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 2002).
- R. A. CNAAN, *The other Phialdelphia's story: how local congregations support quality of life in Urban America*, University of Pennsylvania Press 2006.
- M. COGNOLATO, *La ricerca degli inizi e dei fondamenti della chiesa ortodossa d'America*, 2009-2010 M.A. Dissertation.
- E. M. CONRADIE, *Creation and Salvation. Vol I. A Mosaic of Selected Classic Christian Theologies*, LIT 2012.
- T. COOMANS, H. DE DIJN, J. DE MAEYER, R. HEYNICKX & B. VERSCHAFFEL, eds., *Loci Sacri. Understanding Sacred Places*, Leuven University Press 2012.

- J. W. CUNNINGHAM, *A Vanquished Hope. The Movement for Church Renewal in Russia, 1905-1906*, Crestwood (NY) 1981.
- S. DABOVICH, *The Holy Orthodox Church or the Ritual, Services, and Sacraments of the Eastern Apostolic (Greek-Russian) Orthodox Church*, San Francisco 1898
- J. DAVIS, *The Russian Immigrant*, New York 1922.
- R. DE GIORGI, *I quieti della terra. Gli stundisti: un movimento evangelico-battista nella Russia del XIX secolo*, Torino 2005.
- C. G. DE MICHELIS, *La Valdesia di Novgorod. Giudaizzanti e prima riforma (sec. XV)*, Claudiana, Torino 1993.
- G. DEL ZANNA, *I cristiani e il Medio Oriente (1798-1924)*, Bologna 2011.
- H. DESTIVELLE, *La chiesa del concilio di Mosca*, Magnano (BI) 2003.
- L. DINNERSTEIN – D. M. REIMERS, *Ethnic Americans 5ed.*, Columbia University Press NY 2009.
- B. EKLOF, *Russian Peasant Schools: Officialdom, Village Culture, and Popular Pedagogy, 1861-1914*, University of California Press 1986.
- T. EMMONS, *Alleged Sex & Threatened Violence. Doctor Russell, Bishop Vladimir and the Russians in San Francisco, 1887-1892*, Stanford 1997.
- EUSEBIO DI CESAREA, *Vita di Costantino*, Milano 2009.
- E. G. FARRUGIA S.J., C. SIMON S.J., K. ANTONOV, G. ORECHANOV, N. VAGANOVA, S. CAPRIO, R. VALLE, "Vechi", *pietre miliari del pensiero religioso russo 1909-2009*, Pontificio Istituto Orientale Roma 2012.
- Father Nicola Yanney. A Timeline of His Life & Missionary Journeys*, St. George Orthodox Church, Kearney, Nebraska. <http://www.saintgeorgekearney.com/files/Father%20Nicola/FN-timeline-for-parish-website.pdf>
- A. FERRARI -V. MOROZAN – A. DELL'ASTA – V. STRADA – P. MODESTO – S. MALETTA – V. ŠMYROV – V. KOTEL'NIKOV – M. VEZZALI – S. FIRSOV – G. MITROFANOV – L. NEGRI – S. LEBEDEV - B. BALESTRA – M. RESPINTI- A. DANIEL' - A. ROSINSKIJ – M. DELL'ASTA – R. SCALFI – I. SEMENENKO BASIN – F. GONZALEZ, *L'altro novecento. La Russia nella storia del ventesimo secolo. Atti del Convegno promosso da Fondazione Russa Cristiana e Diesse*, Bergamo 1999.
- J. FORSYTH, *A History of the People of Siberia, Russian's North Asian Colony 1581-1990*, Cambridge University Press 1992.
- D. FOUNTAIN, *Lord Radstock and the Russian Awakening*, Southampton: Mayflower Christian Books, 1988
- G. L. FREEZE, *The Parish clergy in nineteenth-century Russia : crisis reform counter-reform*, Princeton University Press 1983.
- The Russian levites: parish clergy in the eighteenth century*, Harvard University Press 1977.
- G. L. FREEZE – N. KAUCHTSCHISCHWILI – A. PIOVANO – S. SENYK – A. LAMBRECHTS – R. SALIZZONI – P. DESEILLE – E. BEHR-SIGEL – M. HAGENMEISTER – K. CH. FELMY – G. M. PROCHOROV – M. KOHLER-BAUR – T. R. RUDI – I. V. BASIN – R. ČEMUS – A. RIGO – V. A. KOTEL'NIKOV – S. IPATOVA – T. ŠPIDLIK – G. ZJABLICEV – M. GARZANITI – E. G. VODOLAZKIN, *La grande vigilia*, Magnano (BI) 1998.
- J. FRISHMAN, W. OTTEN AND G. ROUWHORST, *Religious Identity and the Problem of Historical Foundation. The foundational character of Authoritative Sources in the History of Christianity and Judaism*. Brill 2004.
- R. P. GAKOVICH – M. RADOVICH, *Serbs in the US and Canada. A comprehensive bibliography. Second Edition, revised and enlarged*, Immigration History Research Center St. Paul Minnesota, University of Minnesota 1992.
- R. P. GERACI, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in late tsarist Russia*, Cornell University Press 2001.
- R. P. GERACI – M. KHODARKOVSKY, *Of religion and Empire. Mission, Conversion and Tolerance in tsarist Russia*, Cornell University Press 2001.
- W. GIUSTI, *L'ultimo controrivoluzionario russo: Konstantin Pobedonoscev*, Edizioni Abete, Roma

1974

N. H. H. GRABURN – M. LEE – J. L. ROUSSELOT, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Alaska Commercial Company Collection. Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1996.

S. W. HARDWICK, *Russian refuge: religion, migration, and settlement on the North American Pacific rim*, The University of Chicago Press 1993.

S. HAYCOX, *Alaska. An American Colony*, University of Washington Press 2002.

J. HEDDA, *His Kingdom Come, Orthodox Pastorship and Social Activism in Revolutionary Russia*, Northern Illinois University Press 2008.

J. HENNISEY, *I cattolici degli Stati Uniti dalla scoperta dell'America ai nostri giorni*, Milano 1985.

REV. D. O. HERBEL, *Turning to tradition: Intra-Christian Converts and the making of an American Orthodox Church*, Ph.D. Thesis dissertation 2009. (Printed Oxford University Press 2014).

- *Nicholas Bjerring. The Collected Works*, Prairie Parish Press 2011.

D. HOPWOOD, *Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine 1843-1914*, Oxford University Press 1969.

W. B. HUSBAND, *The Human Tradition in Modern Russia*, Scholarly Resources Inc, Wilmington DE, 2000.

A. ISSA, *Our Father among the Saints Raphael Bishop of Brooklyn. "Good Shepherd of the Lost Sheep in America"*, Antakya Press 2000.

IVAN IL TERRIBILE - JAN ROKYTA, *Disputa sul protestantesimo. Un confronto tra ortodossia e riforma nel 1570*, Introduzione versione e note a cura di L. Ronchi De Michelis, Claudiana, Torino 1979.

V. IVANOV, *The Russian Orthodox Church of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands and its relation to Native American Traditions- An attempt at a Multicultural Society, 1794-1912*, Library of Congress 1997.

R. KIECKHEFER, *Theology in Stone: Church Architecture From Byzantium to Berkeley*, Oxford University Press 2004.

M. P. KITROMILIDES, *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy. Studies in the culture and political Thought of South Eastern Europe*, Aldershot 1994.

- *An Orthodox Commonwealth: symbolic legacies and cultural encounters in southeastern Europe*, UK 2007.

N. KIZENKO, *A Prodigal Saint. Father John of Kronstadt and the Russian People*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

V. KIVELSON, *Cartographies of Tsardom: the land and its meaning in seventeenth-century Russia*, Cornell University Press 2006.

V. KOZHUHAROV, *Towards a Theology of Mission*, VESTA Publishing House, Veliko Tarnovo Bulgaria 2006.

K. I. LEONARD – A. STEPICK – M. A. VASQUEZ – J. HOLDAWAY, *Immigrant Faiths: Transforming Religious Life in America*, AltaMira Press 2006.

A. LINDEMEYER, *Poverty is Not a Vice: Charity, Society and the State in Imperial Russia*, Princeton University Press 1996.

P. R. MAGOCSI, *Our People. Carpatho-Rusyns and Their Descendants in North America*, Toronto 1984.

V. MARTANO, *Athenagoras, il patriarca (1886-1972)*, Bologna 1996.

O. T. MARTYNOWICH, *Ukrainians in Canada: the formative period, 1881-1924*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991.

MELETIOS DI NIKOPOLIS – A. LOUF – V. GROLIMUND – A. PIOVANO – G. M. PROCHOROV – O. V. PANČENKO – S. SENYK – P. N. ZYRJANOV – N. KAUCHTSCHISCHWILI – G. GLUCHOVA – N. LAVRINENKO, *Vie del monachesimo russo*, Magnano (BI) 2002.

J. MEYENDORFF – D. OBOLENSKY – A. E. N. TACHIAOS – S. HACKEL – D. CONOMOS – V. MOROSAN – R. L. NICHOLS – P. VALLIERE – J. W. CUNNINGHAM – J. BRECK – J. PELIKAN – D. D. I. CIOBOTEA – S. S. HARAKAS

- B. BOBRINSKOY – T. HOPKO – ARCHIMANDRITE AVGUSTIN (NIKITIN) – M. OLEKSA – D. GRIGORIEFF – L. KISHKOVSKY, *The Legacy of St Vladimir*, Crestwood (NY) 1990.
- S. MERLO, *Una vita per gli ultimi. Le missioni dell'archimandrita Spiridion*, Magnano (BI) 2008.
- P. L. MICHELSON, “*The first and most sacred right*”: *Religious freedom and the liberation of the Russian Nation 1825-1905*, Ph.D thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2007.
- G. A. MILLER, *Kodiak Kreol. Communities of Empire in Early Russian America*, Cornell University Press, 2010.
- R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, *Passaggio a Oriente. La modernità e l'Europa ortodossa*, Brescia 2012.
- *Le nazioni non muoiono. Russia rivoluzionaria, Polonia Indipendente e Santa Sede*, Bologna 1992.
- M. R. O'CONNELL, *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church*, Minnesota Historical Society Press 1988.
- M. J. OLEKSA, *Orthodox Alaska. A Theology of Mission*, Crestwood 1992.
- I. PAERT, *Old Believers, Religious Dissent and Gender in Russia, 1760-1850*, Manchester University Press 2003.
- *Spiritual Elders: Charisma and Tradition in Russian Orthodoxy*, Northern Illinois University Press 2010.
- A. PALMIERI, *La chiesa russa*, Firenze 1908.
- M. PICCIN, *La politica etno-confessionale zarista nel Regno di Polonia: la questione uniate di Cholm come esempio di nation-building russo (1831-1912)*, PhD Dissertation Ca'Foscari University, Venice 2010-2011.
- K. P. POBEDONOSTSEV, *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, London 1898.
- I. POPOV – G. M. PROCHOROV – T. R. RUDI – M. BADANIN – M. J. OLEKSA – E. V. ANISIMOV – A. B. EFIMOV – N. KAUCHTSCHISCHWILI – B. KUVŠINSKIJ – S. L. FIRSOV – S. MERLO – A. G. KRAVECKIJ – N. STRUVE – H. DYNNA – G. KOČETKOV – E. CLAPIS, *Le missioni della chiesa ortodossa russa*, Magnano (BI), 2007.
- A. PORTERFIELD- J. CORRIGAN, *Religion in American History*, Wiley- Blackwell 2010.
- D. V. POSPELOVSKIJ – S. L. FIRSOV – G. SCHULZ – A. N. KAŠEVAROV – A. MELLONI – I. SOLOV'EV – V. CYPIN – A. PIOVANO – H. DESTIVELLE – A. A. PLETNEVA – A. G. KRAVECKIJ – G. A. SCHRODER – M. V. ŠKAROVSKIJ – I. ALFEEV – M. STAVROU – H. LEGRAND, *Il concilio di Mosca*, Magnano (BI) 2004.
- H. PRATT FAIRCHILD, *Greek Immigration to the United States*, Yale University Press 1911.
- M. RAEFF, *Russia abroad: a cultural history of the Russian Emigration, 1919-1939*, Oxford University Press, New York 1990;
- L. REGEL'SON, *La tragedia della Chiesa russa 1917-1945*, Milano 1979.
- R. RISALITI, *Storia Problematica della Russia (XIV-XIX sec.). La formazione dello stato tricontinentale*, Firenze 2002.
- A. ROCCUCCI, *Stalin e il patriarca. Chiesa ortodossa e potere sovietico 1917-1958*, Torino 2011.
- P. RODOPOULOS, *An Overview of Orthodox Canon Law*, Orthodox Research Institute, Rollinsford NH 2007.
- M. RODZIANKO, *The Truth about the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad*, translated from the Russian by P. Hilko, Jordanville 1975.
- L. RONCHI DE MICHELIS, *Eresia e Riforma nel cinquecento. La dissidenza religiosa in Russia*, Claudiana, Torino 2000.
- E. E. ROSLOF, *Red Priests: Renovationism, Russian Orthodoxy, and Revolution 1905-1946*, Bloomington Indiana University Press 2002.
- N. E. SAUL, *Concord and Conflict. The United States and Russia 1867-1914*, University Press of Kansas 1996.
- E. SENKO, *La chiesa ortodossa russa nel periodo del concilio 1917-1918*, Nowy Sącz (Polonia) 2010.

- V. SHEVZOV, *Russian Orthodoxy on the Eve of Revolution*, Oxford University Press 2004.
- A. SINJAVSKIJ, *Ivan lo Scemo. Paganesimo, magia e religione del popolo russo*, Napoli 1993.
- J. SLIVKA, *Historical Mirror Sources of the Rusin and Hungarian Greek-Rite Catholics in the United States 1884-1963*, Brooklyn NY 1978.
- E. SMIRNOFF, *A Short Account of the Historical Development and of the present position of Russian Orthodox Missions*, London 1903.
- V. SOLOVIEV, *La Russia e la Chiesa universale*, Edizioni di comunità, Milano 1947.
- M. SPINKA, *The Church and the Russian Revolution*, New York 1927.
- TH. G. STAVROU, *Russian Interest in Palestine 1882-1914. A Study of Religious and educational Enterprise*, Thessaloniki 1963.
- TH. G. STAVROU -P. R. WEISENSEL, *Russian Travelers to the Christian East from the 12th to the 20th century*, 1986.
- M. D. STEINBERG- H. COLEMAN, *Sacred Stories: religion and spirituality in Modern Russia*, Indiana University Press 2007.
- L. STEINER, *For Humanity's sake. The Bildung's Roman in Russian culture*, University of Toronto Press 2011.
- M. STOKOE – L. KISHKOVSKY, *Orthodox Christians in North America 1794-1994*, Orthodox Christians, Publications Center 1995.
- M. STOYAN STANOYEVICH, *The Yugoslavs in the United States of America*, Yugoslav's section of America's Making, Inc. New York City 1921.
- J. STRICKLAND, *The Making of Holy Russia. The Orthodox Church and Russian Nationalism before the Revolution*, Holy Trinity Publication 2013.
- N. STRUVE, *Cristiani in URSS*, Torino 1965.
- J. SWAN, *Biography of Patriarch Tichon*, Jordanville 1964.
- A. TAMBORRA, *L' Europa centro-orientale nei secoli XIX-XX*, pp.499-500, Milano 1973.
- C. TARASAR- J. H. ERICKSON, *Orthodox America 1794-1976. Development of the Orthodox Church in America*, New York 1975.
- A.W. THOMPSON- R. A. HART, *The Uncertain Crusade. America and the Russian Revolution of 1905*, University of Massachusetts Press 1970.
- A. TURCO, *Verso una teoria geografica della complessità*, Milano 1988.
- P. VALLIERE, *Modern Russian Theology Bukharev, Soloviev, Bulgakov: Orthodox Theology in a New Key*, Edinburgh 2000.
- A. VAN GENNEP, *The Rites of passages*, The University of Chicago Press 2011 (1908).
- O. VASIL'EVA, *Russia martire. La chiesa ortodossa dal 1917 al 1997*, Milano 1999.
- I. VINKOVETSKY, *Russian America. An Overseas Colony of a Continental Empire*, Oxford University Press 2011.
- L. B. ZAVERUKHA- N. BOGDAN, *Russian San Francisco. Images of America*, Charleston (South Carolina), 2010
- N. ZERNOV, *The Russian Religious Reinassance of the twentieth century*, Harper and Row, New York 1963.

Articles

- M. AGURSKY, *Caught in a Cross Fire: the Russian Church Between Holy Sinod and Radical Right*, OCP L (1984), pp. 163-196.
- M. ALDANOV, *A Russian Commune in Kansas*, Russian Review 4/1 (1944), pp. 30-44.
- W. A. AMAROK -REV. M. J. OLEKSA, *The Suppression of the Aleuts. The Conflict in Alaskan Education 1876-1916*, SVTQ 28/2 (1984), pp. 99-114.
- R. AUBERT, *La chiesa cattolica in America dal 1848 al 1878*, in AA.VV., *Storia della Chiesa. Il*

pontificato di Pio IX (1846-1878), Vol. XXI/2, Torino 1976, pp. 653-657;

J. D. BASIL, *Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev: An Argument for a Russian State Church*, *Church History* 64/1 (1995), pp. 44-61.

M. BASSIN, *The Russian Geographical Society, the 'Amur Epoch', and the Great Siberian Expedition 1855-1863*, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 73/2 (1983), pp. 240-256.

- *Inventing Siberia: Visions of the Russian East in the Early Nineteenth Century*, *The American Historical Review* 96/3 (1991), pp. 763-794.

B. M. BENSIN, *Twenty Years ago*, *SVSQ* 2/3 (1958), pp. 11-20

G. BERARDI, *School, Settlement and Sanitation in Alaska Native Villages*, *Ethnohistory* 46/2 (1999), pp. 329-359.

L. T. BLACK, «*The Daily Journal of Father Juvenal*»: *A Cautionary Tale*, *Ethnohistory* 28/1 (1981), pp. 33-58.

A. A. BOGOLEPOV, *Conditions of Autocephaly*, *SVSQ* 5/3 (1961), pp. 11-46.

P. BOUTENEFF, *Christ and Salvation*, in M. B. CUNNINGHAM – E. THEOKRITOFF, *The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology*, Cambridge University Press 2008, pp. 93-106.

M. BRUNEAU, *L'Eglise Orthodoxe et la diaspora hellénique*, *Social Compass* 40/2 (1993), pp. 199-216.

R. F. BYRNES, *Russia and the West: the Views of Pobedonostsev*, *The Journal of Modern History*, 40/2 (1968), pp. 234-256

M. COGNOLATO, *Davanti al Signore un giorno è come mille anni e mille anni come un giorno solo*, *Studi e materiali di Storia delle Religioni (SMSR)*, forthcoming.

- “*Finitum non est capax infiniti*”. *La scrittura di una conversione come comprensione e delimitazione della propria e altrui finitezza*, *Autobiografia. Journal on Life Writing and the Representation of the Self in Russian Culture*, forthcoming.

R. CROSKY, *The Russian Orthodox Church in Alaska: Innokentii Veniaminov's Supplementary account 1858*, *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 66/1(1975), pp. 26-29.

M. CSOBA DEHASS, *Daily Negotiation of Traditions in a Russian Orthodox Sugpiaq village in Alaska*, *Ethnology* 3 (2007), pp. 205-216.

A. CUTLER, *The Tyranny of Hagia Sophia: Notes on a Greek Orthodox Church Design in the United States*, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 31/1 (1972), pp. 38-50.

HIEROMONK DAMASCENE (CHRISTIENSEN), *Archimandrite Sebastian Dabovich. Serbian Orthodox Apostle to America*, *OW* 43:1-2 (2007).

A. DOUMOURAS, *Greek Orthodox Communities in America Before World War I*, *SVTQ* 11/4 (1967), pp. 172-189.

J. H. ERICKSON, *Autocephaly in Orthodox Canonical literature to the Thirteenth Century*, *SVTQ* 15/1-2 (1971), pp. 28-41.

B. ESSEY, *Saint Raphael Hawaweeny, Bishop of Brooklyn: “The Good Shepherd of the Lost Sheep in America”*, in A. CASIDAY, *The Orthodox Christian World*, Routledge, London 2012, pp. 338-344.

B. FARLEY, *Circuit Riders to the Slavs and Greeks: Missionary Priests and the Establishment of the Russian Orthodox Church in the American West, 1890-1910*, Washington D.C. Kennan Institute 2000. <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/circuit-riders-to-the-slavs-and-greeks-missionary-priests-and-the-establishment-the>

- *Russian Orthodoxy in the Pacific Northwest: The Diary of Father Michael Andreades, 1905-1906*, *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 92/3 (2001), pp. 127-136.

T. FARRELLY, *A Lost colony of Novgorod in Alaska*, *Slavonic and East European Review. American Series*, 3/3 (1944), pp. 33-38.

G. L. FREEZE, *A National Liberation Movement and the Shift in Russian Liberalism, 1901- 1903*, *Slavic Review* 28/1 (1969), pp. 81-91.

- *Handmaiden of the State? The Orthodox Church in Imperial Russia reconsidered*, *Journal of*

- Ecclesiastical History 36 (1985), pp. 82-102.
- *The Soslovie (Estate) Paradigm and Russian Social History*, *The American Historical Review* 91/1 (1986), pp. 11-36.
 - *The Orthodox Church and Serfdom in Prereform Russia*, *Slavic Review* 48/3 (1989), pp. 361-387.
 - *Bringing Order to the Russian Family: Marriage and Divorce in Imperial Russia, 1760-1860*, *Journal of Modern History* 62/4 (1990), pp. 709-746.
 - *Subversive Piety: Religion and the Political Crisis in Late Imperial Russia*, *Journal of Modern History* 68/2 (1996), pp. 308-350.
 - J. R. GIBSON, *European Dependence upon American Natives: the Case of Russian America*, *Ethnohistory* 25/4 (1978), pp. 359-385
 - *Russian Expansion in Siberia and America*, *the Geographical Review*, 70/2 (1980), pp. 127-136.
 - F. GIRAUT, *Conceptualiser le territoire*, in *Revue Historiens et géographes*, 403 (2008) pp. 57-67.
 - D. GRIGORIEFF, *The Historical Background of Orthodoxy in America*, *SVTQ* 5/1-2 (1961), pp. 3-53.
 - *The Orthodox Church in America from the Alaskan Mission to Autocephaly*, *SVTQ* 14/4 (1970), pp. 196-218.
 - *The Orthodox Church in America. An Historical Survey*, *Russian Review* 31/2 (1972), pp. 138-152.
 - *Metropolitan Innocent: The Prophetic Missionary (1797-1879)*, *SVTQ* 21/1 (1977), pp. 18-36;
 - G. M. GYRISCO, *East Slav Identity and Church Architecture in Minneapolis, Minnesota*, in G. M. GYRISCO, *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture Vol. 7 Exploring Everyday Landscapes* (1997), pp. 199-211.
 - S. HACKEL, *Diaspora Problems of the Russian Emigration*, in the *Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol.5 2006, pp.539-557.
 - P. C. HASKELL, *Archbishop Tikhon and bishop Grafton: An Early Chapter in Anglo-Orthodox Relations in the New World. Part One*, *SVTQ* 11/4 (1967), pp. 193-204.
 - *Archbishop Tikhon and Bishop Grafton: An Early Chapter in Anglo-Orthodox Relations in the New World. Part Two*, *SVTQ* 12/1 (1968), pp. 2-15.
 - *American Civil Religion and the Greek Immigration: Religious Confrontation Before the first World War*, *SVTQ* 18/3-4 (1974), pp. 166-192.
 - R. E. HEINE, *Cyprian and Novatian*, in *The Cambridge History of the Early Christian Literature*, edited by Frances Young, Lewis Ayres and Andrew Louth, Cambridge University Press 2004, pp. 152-160;
 - J. HENNISEY, *La chiesa in America settentrionale*, in AA. VV. *Storia della chiesa. La chiesa e la società industriale (1878-1922)*, vol. XXII/1, Alba (Cn) 1990, pp. 461-486;
 - D. O. HERBEL, *The Myth of Past Unity and the Origins of Jurisdictional Pluralism in American Orthodoxy*, *Journal of American Orthodox Church History* 1/1 (Aug 2011).
 - *Orthodoxy in North America*, in A. CASIDAY, *The Orthodox Christian World*, Routledge, London 2012, pp. 164-178.
 - J. JORGENSON, *Father Alexis Toth and the transition of the Greek Catholic Community in Minneapolis to the Russian Orthodox Church*, *SVTQ* 32/2 (1988), pp. 119-138.
 - S. KAN, *Russian Orthodox Brotherhoods Among the Tlingit: Missionary Goals and Response*, *Ethnohistory* 32/3 (1985), pp. 196-222.
 - *Clan Mothers and Godmothers: Tlingit Women and Russian Orthodox Christianity, 1840-1940*, *Ethnohistory* 43/4, *Native American Women's Responses to Christianity* (Autumn 1996), pp. 613-641.
 - S. KENWORTHY, *Russian Reformation? The Program for Religious Renovation in the Orthodox Church, 1922-1925*, *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, University of Minnesota 16/17 (2000/2001), pp. 89-130.

- *An Orthodox Social Gospel in Late-Imperial Russia*, Religion and Society in Central and Eastern Europe, 1(2006), pp. 1-29.
- *Russian Monasticism and Social Engagement: The Case of the Trinity-Sergius Lavra in the Nineteenth Century*, in *Philanthropy and Social Compassion in Eastern Orthodox Tradition*. Papers of Sophia Institute Academic Conference, New York Dec. 2009. Edited by M. J. Pereira, Sophia Institute in Orthodox Theology Vol.2, New York 2010, pp. 163-181.
- V. KESICH, *The Orthodox Church in America*, Russian Review 20/3 (1961), pp. 185-193.
- L. KISHKOVSKY, *Archbishop Tikhon in America*, SVTQ 1/19 (1975), pp. 9-31.
- O. KOBZEFF, *Ruling Siberia: the Imperial Power, the Orthodox Church and the Native People*, SVTQ 30/3 (1986), pp. 269-280.
- M. P. KITROMILIDES, *The Legacy of the French Revolution: Orthodoxy and Nationalism*, The Cambridge History of Christianity, vol.5 Eastern Christianity 2006, pp. 229-249.
- A. MASOERO, *Layers of Property in the tsar's settlement colony: projects of land privatization in Siberia in the late nineteenth century*, Central Asian Survey, 29/1, pp. 9-32.
- W. A. MCKEE, *Sobering Up the Soul of the People: The Politics of Popular Temperance in Late Imperial Society*, Russian Review 58 (1999), pp. 212-233.
- J. MEYENDORFF, *One bishop in One City*, SVSQ 5/1-2 (1961), pp. 54-62.
- *New Life in Christ: Salvation in Orthodox Theology*, Theological Studies 50 (1989), pp. 481-499.
- *The Patriarch of Antioch and North America in 1904*, SVTQ 33/1 (1989), pp. 80-86.
- P. MEYENDORFF, *The Liturgical Path of Orthodoxy in America*, SVTQ 40/1 (1996), pp. 43-64.
- R. NICHOLS – R. CROSKY, *The condition of the Orthodox Church in Russian America. Innokentii Veniaminov's History of the Russian Church in Alaska*, The Pacific Northwest Quarterly 63/2 (1972), pp. 41-54.
- E. OBERLANDER, *The All-Russian Fascist Party*, Journal of Church History 1/1 (1966), pp. 158-173.
- M. J. OLEKSA, *Orthodoxy in Alaska: The Spiritual History of the Kodiak Aleut People*, SVTQ 25/1 (1981), pp. 3-20.
- A. PALMIERI, *I patriarchi del Fanar nel XIX sec.*, Bessarione 61 (1901), pp. 66-67.
- *L'Ortodossia serba. Le origini del cristianesimo serbo e le fasi storiche della Chiesa serba*, Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali e Discipline Ausiliarie 246/62 (1913), pp. 176-190.
- K. VINDAKOVIC PETROV, *An Outline of the Cultural History of the Serbian Community in Chicago*, <http://muse.jhu.edu>
- G. ROBINSON, *The Mission of Nikolai Il'Minskii, Lay Missionary of the Russian Orthodox Church (1821-1891)*, International Journal of Frontier Missions 7/3 (1990), pp. 75-83.
- V. ROCHAU, *Innocent Veniaminov and the Russian Mission to Alaska 1820-1840*, SVTQ 15/3 (1971), pp. 105-120;
- *St. Herman of Alaska and the Defense of Alaskan Native Peoples*, SVTQ 16/1 (1972), pp.17-39
- F. G. ROGERS, *Spiritual Direction in the Orthodox Tradition*, in G.W. MOON -D. G. BENNER, *Spiritual Direction and the Care of Souls: A Guide to Christian Approaches and Practices*, InterVarsity Press 2004, pp. 31-54.
- H. ROGGER, *Was there a Russian Fascism? The Union of Russian People*, Journal of Modern History 36/4 (1964), pp. 398-415.
- J. ROMAN, *The Establishment of the American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Diocese in 1938: a Major Carpatho-Russian Uniate return to Orthodoxy*, SVTQ 20/3 (1976), pp. 132-160.
- K. S. RUSSIN, *Father Alexis G. Toth and the Wilkesbarre Litigations*, SVTQ 16/3 (1972), pp. 128-149.
- T. SALOUTOS, *The Greek Orthodox Church in the United States and Assimilation*, International Migration Review 7/4 (1973), pp. 395-407.

- A. SCHMEMANN, *Episcopatus unus est*, SVSQ 4/4 (1960), pp. 26-29.
- H. A. SHENITZ, *Father Veniaminov, the Enlightener of Alaska*, *American Slavic and East European Review* 18/1 (1959), pp. 75-80.
- *The Vestiges of Old Russia in Alaska*, *Russian Review* 14/1 (1955), pp.55-59.
- V. SHEVZOV, *Chapels and the Ecclesiastical World of Prerevolutionary Russian Peasants*, *Slavic Review* 55/3 (1996), pp. 585-613.
- *Letting the People go to Church. Reflections on Orthodox and community in Late Imperial Russia*, in V. A. KIVELSON-R. H. GREENE, *Orthodox Russia. Belief and Practice under the Tsars*, The Pennsylvania State University Press 2003, pp. 59-77.
- *Between Purity and Pluralism: Icon and Anathema in Modern Russia, 1860-1917*, in J.J.A. GATRALL – D. GREENFIELD, *Alter Icons. The Russian Icon and Modernity*, The Pennsylvania State University 2010, pp. 50-73.
- *The Russian Tradition*, in A. CASIDAY, *The Orthodox Christian World*, Routledge, London 2012, pp. 15-40.
- R. SHOENFELD, *Stato, ortodossia e identità serba nel XIX e XX secolo*, in A. BALDINETTI – A. PITASSIO, *Dopo L'impero ottomano: stati nazione e comunità religiose*, Rubettino 2006, pp. 57-80.
- D. SHUB, *Bibliography. The Russian Press in the United States*, *Russian Review* 3/1 (1943), pp. 120-128.
- K. SIMON, *S. J. Alexis Toth and the Beginnings of the Orthodox Movement Among the Rutenians in America (1891)*, *OCP* 54 (1988), pp. 387-428.
- A. SMIRENKO, *A Case Study: The Minneapolis Russian Community in Transition*, SVSQ 5/1-2 (1961), pp. 88-100.
- T. L. SMITH, *Religion and Ethnicity in America*, *The American Historical Review* 83/5 (1978), pp. 1155-1185.
- S. SMITH-PETER, *Creating a Creole Estate in early nineteenth-century Russian America*, *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 51/2-3 (2010), pp. 441-459.
- *Russian America in Russian and American Historiography*, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 14/1 (2013), pp. 93-100.
- St. Vladimir's Seminary, 1938-1958*, SVSQ 2/3 (1958), pp. 2-10;
- M. STEENBERG, *The Church*, in M. B. CUNNINGHAM – E. THEOKRITOFF, *The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology*, Cambridge University Press 2008, pp. 121-135.
- N. STRUVE, *Orthodox Missions. Past and Present*, SVTQ 7/1 (1963), pp. 31-42.
- M. TATARYN, *Canada Eastern Christians* in P. BRAMADAT- D. SELJAK, *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, University of Toronto Press 2008, pp. 278-329.
- A. VALLENS, *Archimandrite Sebastian Dabovich. The first American Serbian Orthodox Apostle*, 2005, on www.transfigcathedral.org/faith/corner/Dabovich.pdf
- P. R. VALLIERE, *Modes of Social Action in Russian Orthodoxy: the Case of Father Petrov Zateinik*, *Russian History/Histoire Russe* 4 (1977), pp. 142-158.
- W. WALSH, *Pobedonostsev and Pan-Slavism*, *Russian Review* VII, pp. 316-321
- P. W. WERTH, *From "Pagans" ti Muslims to "Baptized" Communists: Religious conversion and ethnic Particularity in Russia's Eastern Provinces*, *Comparatives Studies in society and History* 42/3 (2000), pp. 498-499.

Lectures and Papers

- M. COGNOLATO, *Il patriarca Tichon nella memoria e nella storia*, paper presented in Canazei June 21/23rd, 2012.
- *Who wants to be an American bishop?* Article presented at the 12th Annual Havighurst Young Researchers Conference Orthodox Christianity in Russia and Eastern Europe: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, February 14th, 2013.

G. FREEZE, *De-Churching and Believing in Twentieth Century Russia*, A lecture delivered at the 12th Annual Havighurst Young Researchers Conference Orthodox Christianity in Russia and Eastern Europe: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, February 14th, 2013.

A. FRIESEN, *Filling in a Map Drawn by the Holy Synod: Omsk Bishop Create a Diocese*, Paper presented at the 43rd ASEEES Convention, November 17-20, 2011 Washington, DC.

L. GYNZBURG, *A Lady of Many Talents: The Legacy of Slavophile Isabel Florence Hapgood*, Paper presented at the 43rd Annual Convention of the ASEEES, November 17-20, 2011, Washington DC.

M. LEDKOVSKY, *A Linguistic Bridge to Orthodoxy. In Memoriam Isabel Florence Hapgood*, A lecture delivered at the Twelfth Annual Russian Orthodox Musicians Conference, 7-11 October 1998, Washington D.C.

S. MERLO, *L'Ortodossia russa e Gerusalemme nel XIX secolo*, contributo presentato in the XXXIV settimana europea di STORIA RELIGIOSA EURO-MEDITERRANEA (III) Villa Cagnola - Gazzada (Varese) 3/7 Settembre 2012, Una Città fra Terra e Cielo Gerusalemme, le Religioni - le Chiese.

H. L. MURRE-VAN DEN BERG, *Le missioni protestanti in Medio Oriente: il caso di Urmia (Iran nord occidentale), centro della Chiesa (nestoriana) d'Oriente*, contributo presentato presso la XXXIII Settimana europea STORIA RELIGIOSA EURO-MEDITERRANEA (II) in Villa Cagnola - Gazzada (Varese) - 6/10 Settembre 2011 dal Mediterraneo al Mar della Cina. L'irradiazione della tradizione cristiana di Antiochia nel continente asiatico e nel suo universo religioso.

N. E. SAUL, *Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood and Russian Arts in America*, Paper presented at the 43rd Annual Convention of the ASEEES, November 17-20, 2011, Washington DC.

D. SCARBOROUGH, *The White Priest at Work: the Growth of Clerical Community and Clerical Philanthropy in Late Imperial Russia*, Paper presented at the 43rd Annual Convention of the ASEEES, November 17-20, 2011, Washington DC.

Russian bibliography

Books

Akty sviateishevo Tikhona Patriarkha Moskovskogo i vseia Rossii, pozdneishie dokumenti i perezpiska o kanonicheskom preemstve vishei tserkovnoi vlasti 1917-1943, M 1994.

I. M. ANDREEV, *Kratkii obzor istorii Russkoi Tserkvi*, Holy Trinity Monastery, Jordanville NY 1951.

Vospominaniia zhizni F.G. Ternera, SPB 1910

A. I. VVEDENSKII, *Tserkov' i Gosudarstvo*, M 1923.

-*Tserkov' Patriarkha Tikhona*, M 1923.

-*Za chto lishali sana byvshego Patriarkha Tikhona*, M 1923.

M. I. VOSTRYSHEV, *Patriarkh Tikhon*, M 2009.

M. E. GUBONIN, *Sovremenniki o Patriarkhe Tikhone*, Tom I-II, Pravoslavnogo Sviato-Tikhonovskogo Gumanitarnogo Un-ta, 2007.

A. B. EFIMOV- O. V. LASAEVA, *Aleutskaiia i Severo-Amerikanskaia eparkhiia pri sviatitele Tikhone*, M 2012.

ZH. A. ZABOLOTSKII, *Russkaia Immigratsiia v Brasilii*, Santa Rosa 2009 (4ed.).

A. P. LOPUKHIN, *Religiia v Amerike*, SPB 1882.

- *Stoletie pravoslavnoi missii v S. Amerike*, SPB 1894.

M. POL'SKII, *Novie Mucheniki Rossiiskie*, Jordanville 1949.

Russkaja Pravoslavnaia Zerkov v Severnoj Amerike. Istoricheskaja spravka, Holy Trinity Monastery, Jordanville NY 1955.

V. SKVORZOV, *Missionerskii Posokh*, SPB, Kolokol 1912.

S. STRAGORODSKII, *Pravoslavnoe uchenie o spasenii*, SPB 1903.
S. S. SHIROKOV, *Sviatitel' Tikhon, patriarkh Moskovskii, prosvetitel' Severnoi Ameriki: missiionerskoe sluzhenie I dukhovnoe nasledie*, M 2009.

Articles

M. A. ADAMOV, *Stanovlenie i razvitie dukhovnykh seminarii Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi XVIII-nachala XX vekov*, Nauchnye Bedomosti BelGU, Serii Istorii. Politologiya. Ekonomika. Informatika. 7(78) 2010, pp.103-114.

A. M. ANTONOVA, *Iazykovye problemy angloiazynchnogo naimenovaniia chramov russkogo pravoslaviia*, in *Tserkov' v Istorii Rossii*, M 2007 pp. 453-466.

N. A. ARALOVETS, *Religiosnye tsennosti orientatsii rossiskoi gorodoskoi sem'i v pervoi chetverti XX v.*, in *Tserkov' v Istorii Rossii*, M 2007, pp. 285-287.

S. A. BELIAEV, *Amerikanskoe sluzhenie Patriarkha Tikhona (1898-1907)*, in *Problemy ekumenizma i missiionerskoi praktiki*, M 1996, pp. 147-156. Riprinted in Tul'skie eparkhial'nye vedomosti izdanie Tul'skogo eparkhial'nogo upravleniia 13 (76) 2007, pp. 12-18.

N. N. BOGEMSKAIA, *Pravoslavnoe dukhovenstvo i religiozno-nrastvennoe prosveschenie prikhozhan vo vtoroi polovine XIX v.*, Nauchnye Vedomosti BelGU Serii Istorii. Politologiya. Ekonomika. Informatika. 1 (72) 2010, pp. 137-142.

A. A. BOVKALO, *K istorii cem'i Bellavinykh*, Vestnik PSTGU II: Istorii. Istorii Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi 2 (19), 2006, pp. 11-16.

PROT. VITALII BOROBOI, *Missiia Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi: Istorii i Perspektiva*, in *Missiia Tserkvi i covremennoe pravoslavnoe missiionerstvo mezhdunarodnaia bogoslovskaiia konferenziia k 600-letiiu prestavleniia svt. Stefana Permskogo*, M 1997, pp. 30-38.

V. V. Burega, *Inostrannye studenty v dukhovnykh akademiakh Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi: istorii i sovremennost'*, in www.bogoslov.ru/text/print/1432252.html (Visited October 10th, 2013).

E. P. BYLOUSOV, *Kulturno-istoricheskoe znachenie prazdnovaniia 75-letiiu Bozsoedineniia zapadno-russkikh uniatov, (1839-1914)*, MO, May 1914, pp. 3-12

A. F. VASILIEVIC, *Ot ucitelskoi seminarii do pedagogicheskogo universiteta*, Vestnik Pskovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriii Soziialno-gumanitarniie i Psikhlogo-pedagogicheskie Nauki, 1 (2007), pp.1-10.

M. I. VOSTRYSHEV, *Dokumental'nye istochniki zhisneopisaniia Patriarkha Tikhona*, in *Tserkov' v Istorii Rossii*, M 2007, pp. 247-255.

V. A. GONCHAROVA, *Perepiska narkoma inostrannykh del G.V. Chicherina s Sekretariatom TsK RKP(b) po povodu poezdki Sviateishevo Patriarkha Tikhona v Angliiu*, Vestnik PSTGU II: Istorii. Istorii Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi 2 (27) 2008, pp. 110-115.

PROT. D. GRIGORIEV, *Tserkovnye traditsii i opyt missii*, in *Missiia Tserkvi i covremennoe pravoslavnoe missiionerstvo mezhdunarodnaia bogoslovskaiia konferenziia k 600-letiiu prestavleniia svt. Stefana Permskogo*, M 1997, pp. 39-49. This same article appeared in a previous english version in J. MEYENDORFF — D. OBOLENSKY -A. E. N.TACHIAOS — S. HACKEL -D. CONOMOS — V. MOROSAN — R. L. NICHOLS — P. VALLIERE — J. W. CUNNINGHAM — J. BRECK — J. PELIKAN — D. D. I. CIOBOTEA — S. S. HARAKAS — B. BOBRINSKOY — T. HOPKO — ARCHIMANDRITE AVGUSTIN (NIKITIN) — M. OLEKSA — D. GRIGORIEFF — L. KISHKOVSKY, *The Legacy of St Vladimir*, Crestwood (NY) 1990, pp. 259-266.

M. IU. DOSTAL', *Patriarkh Tikhon i slaviane (neskol'ko epizodov is zhisni i deiatel'nosti russkogo pervosviashchennika)*, in IU. E. IVONIN — L.I. IVONINA, *Religiia i Politika v Evrope XVI-XX vv.*, Smolensk 1998, pp. 114-123.

M. G. EVSTIGNEEVA, *Sozial'no-Psikhologicheskii faktor v zhizni i deiatel'nosti pravoslavnogo prikhodskogo dukhovenstva v 60-e gg. XIX- nachale XX v.*, in Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo

universiteta 303 (2007), pp. 74-76.

N. ZVEREV, *Zhishn' i trudy professora Spbda Aleksandra Pavlovicha Lopukhina, (1852-1904)*, KhChT 26 (2006), pp.139-165.

Z. P. INOZEEMTSEVA, *Dokumental'niie nasledie russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi v coctave arkhivnogo fonda RF i problemi ego aktualizatsii*, in *Tserkov' v Istorii Rossii*, M 2007 pp. 418-425.

V. O. KLIUCHEVSKII, *Kurs Russkoi Istorii*, SPB1904. Lesson II
<http://www.spsl.nsc.ru/history/kluch/kluch02.htm>

B. L. KOLESNIKOVA, *Zhenschina dukhovnogo sosloviia v sisteme narodnogo obrazovaniia Rossii XIX- nachala XX vv. (na primere Tambovskoi gubernii)*, Nauchnye Vedomosti Belgorodskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Narodnoe Obrazovanie. Pedagogika 1 (2007), pp. 67-71.

E. I. KOCHETKOVA, *Missionerskaia deiatel'nost' Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi vo vtoroi polovine XIX- nachale XX vv.*, Izvestiia Tul'skogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Gumanitarnye nauki 2 (2010), pp. 75-83.

N. A. KRIVOSHEEVA, *Patriarshii kurs*, Vestnik PSTGU II: Istorii. Istoriiia Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi 2 (19) 2006, pp. 34-109.

- *Novye materialy iz arkhiva M. E. Gubonina*, Vestnik PSTGU II: Istorii. Istoriiia Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi 2 (19) 2006, pp. 110-138.

- *Arkhiv Mikhaila Efimovicha Gubonina, posviashchennyi pamiati sviatogo Patriarkha Tikhona*, in *Tserkov' v Istorii Rossii*, M 2007, pp. 278-284.

N. V. KURKOV, *Pervye angliiskie perevody russkikh bogoslužhebnykh knig v SSHA*, in *Problemy ekumenizma i missionerskoi praktiki*, M 1996, pp. 157-162.

I. L. KYZLASOVA, *O blagoslovenii Patriarkhom Tikhonom trudov deiatelei kul'tury po cokhraneniuiu i restavratsii pamiatnikov drevnei zhivopisi*, Vestnik PSTGU II: Istorii. Istoriiia Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi 2 (19) 2006, pp. 27-33.

V. V. LOBANOV, *Ob Obstoiatel'stvakh domashnevo aresta Patriarkha Tikhona v Mae 1902 g.*, in *Tserkov' v Istorii Rossii*, M 2007, pp. 268-277.

A. V. MANGILEVA, *Sem'ia kak tsentr formirovaniia soslovnoi kultury belogo dukhovenstva (na primere cem'i kapustinykh)*, in *Obschestvennaia mysl' i traditsii Russkoi dukhovnoi kultury v istoricheskikh i literaturnykh pamiatnikakh XVI-XX vv. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, Novosibirsk 2005, pp. 28-36.

- *Sovremennaia istoriografiia istorii dukhovnogo sosloviia v Rossii XIX- nachala XX v.*, Vestnik Ekaterinburgkoi dukhovnoi seminarii 1(5) 2013, pp. 134-149.

ARCHIMANDRIT A. NIKITIN, *Missionerskaia deiatel'nost' russkoi pravoslavnoi Tserkvi vo vtoroi polovine XIX-nachale XX vekov*, in *Missiia Tserkvi i sovremennoe pravoslavnoe missionerstvo mezhdunarodnaia bogoslovskaiia konferenziia k 600-letiiu prestavleniia svt. Stefana Permskogo*, M 1997, pp. 50-54.

M. V. NOVAK - F. B. BESHUKOVA, *Tipologicheskaia kharakteristika pechati Russkoi pravoslavnoi Tserkvi SSHA perioda XIX-XX: kategoriia «izdatel'-uchreditel'»*, Vestnik Adygeiskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Serii 2: Filologiiia i iskusstvovedenie 4 (2012), pp. 23-30.

N. NOVIKOV, *Davshaia na altar' Bozhii i otechestva luchshii plod*, in *Nauka i Religiia* (2001) pp. 10-11.

R. RÖSSLER, *Poslanie sviateishevo Patriarkha Tikhona k dukhoventsvu ot 25 sentabria st.1919 g.*, Messenger de l'Exarchat du Patriarche Russe en Europe Occidentale. Revue Trimestrelle. 21 Anneé (1974), pp. 23-29.

I. N. SMOLIAKOV, *Rechi Sviatitelia Tikhona, Patriarkha Moskovskogo i vseia Rossii pri vruchenii zhezla novopostavlenным episkopam*, PSTGU II: Istorii. Istoriiia Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi 2 (23) 2007, pp. 99-103.

N. Iu. SUKHOVA, *Pastyrskoe bogoslovie v Rossiiskoi Dukhovnoi Shkole (XVIII-nachalo XX v.)*, Vestnik PSTGU 1: Teologiiia. Filosofiiia 1(25) 2009, pp. 25-43.

- *Bogoslovskoe obrazovanie v Rossii v nachale XX v. (na primere Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii)*,

Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii 15 (2011), pp. 141-155.

- «*Arabskaia Koloniia*» v Kieve: *Stipendiaty Imperatorskogo Pravoslavnogo Palestinskogo obschestva v Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii (1887-1918)*, Trudy Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii 17 (2012), pp.181-192.

- *Podgotovka i attestatsiia nauchno-bogoslovskikh kadrov v Kazanskoj dukhovnoi akademii v kontse XIX- nachale XX v.: problemy i dostizheniia*, Pravoslavnoi Sobesednik 1 (2013), pp. 14-32.

M. TAGANOV, *Anglo-katoliki v Viskonsie i sviatitel' Tikhon: istoriia odnoi fotografii*, Vestnik PSTGU II: Istoriiia. Istoriiia Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi 2 (19) 2006, pp.17-26.

P. A. KHAIRULINA, *Missionerskaia poezdka v Kvikhpakhsuiiu i Kuskovimskuiiu Missii (Aliaska) episkopa Tikhona (Bellavina)*, Vestnik Cheliabinskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta I: Istoriiia 1(17) 2005, pp. 84-92.

ANTONII OF UFA (KHRAPOVITSKII), *Chem otlichaetsia pravoslavnaia vera ot zapadniikh ispovedanii*, MO VI (1901), pp.3-13.

T. V. Shabanova, *Kholmiskii period zhizni i deiatel'nosti Patriarkha Tikhona (Bellavina) 1892-1898*, Vestnik Voennogo Universiteta 2/26 (2011), pp. 132-136.

DIAKON D. IUREVICH, *Aleksandr Pavlovich Lopukhin: zhiznennyi podvig «asketa uchenogo truda» (k 150 letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia)*, Tserkovnyi Vestnik 10 (2002).