

Martti Muukkonen

Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano – Formation of the Triangle Principle of the YMCA

Presentation to the TUHTI seminar of the Finnish Youth Research Society. Helsinki, 20 September 2001.

The Young Men's Christian Associations emerged in the first half of the 19th century as fruits of the Evangelical revival. Although there are some local associations that can trace their roots from the 18th century, the London YMCA from 1844 is normally regarded as the first YMCA. When there were similar associations in the continent, they got in correspondence and decided to meet in Paris when the Evangelical alliance had its conference during the World Exhibition in August 1855.

In that first YMCA World's Conference the movement adopted its Paris Basis, which became the basis for the international movement and later a model for other ecumenical organisations as well.

The text of the Paris Basis reads as follows:

The delegates of various Young Men's Christian Associations of Europe and America, assembled in Conference at Paris, the 22nd August, 1855, feeling that they are one in principle and in operation, recommend to their respective Societies to recognize with them the unity existing among their Associations, and whilst preserving a complete independence as to their particular organization and modes of action, to form a Confederation on the following fundamental principle, such principle to be regarded as the basis of admission of other Societies in future:

The Young Men's Christian Associations seek to unite those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and saviour according to the Holy Scriptures, desire to be His disciples in their faith and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom amongst young men.

This fundamental principle being admitted, the Conference further proposes:

1. That any differences of opinion on other subjects, however important in themselves, but not embraced by the specific designs of the Associations, shall not interfere with the harmonious relations of the confederated Societies.
2. That a travelling certificate of membership be designed, by which members of the confederated Societies shall be entitled to the privileges of any other Society belonging to this Confederation, and to the personal attentions of all its members.
3. That the system of correspondence adopted by this Conference shall apply to the Societies of this Confederation.

After the Paris Basis was accepted in the First World Conference, it soon received acceptance among the Local Associations and National Movements. However, there emerged three different models for using the Basis¹.

1. In Switzerland it was used as a personal test for membership - a candidate should sign it before he was accepted as a member.
2. In France and Switzerland it was a definition for the purpose of Local Associations and National Movements. This was natural because the Paris Basis had its origin in the French National Basis and Paris YMCA local Basis.
3. In North America, Britain and Germany the Paris Basis was understood as a bond between the National Movements in the World Alliance, as the Preamble of the Basis states. Americans and Germans, in particular, stressed the words 'whilst preserving a complete independence as to their particular organization and modes of action'. These national movements had their own bases. The quotation of the Preamble gave possibility to look the needs of local society and adopt the work in different contexts.

Thus, although the Basis was accepted unanimously, its role varied from country to country. These various understandings led to a situation where there were several national bases, which stated the purpose of the movement differently. The London YMCA had its Rule II, which stated the purpose of the Association as follows: "That the object of the Association be the improvement of the spiritual and mental condition of young men²." In the US, the Boston YMCA copied the London purpose but restricted its membership to men from Evangelical churches³. This 'Evangelical test' was manifested in the Portland Basis of the US YMCA, which was to be the basis of American associations from 1869 to 1931 when it was revised. One significant local expression of purpose comes from the New York City YMCA, which as early as 1866 presented its statement as follows: "The object of this Association shall be the improvement of the spiritual, mental, social and physical condition of young men⁴." This statement is perhaps the first formulation of the Four-fold program of the YMCA. This program was heavily bound to the emergence and expansion of physical education of young men and it is the theme of this presentation.

¹ Senaud 1953, 3; Shedd 1955a, 142, 273-276.

² Quoted in Shedd 1955a, 28.

³ Shedd 1955a, 70f.

⁴ Goss 1922, 1; Morse 1913, 79; Fellow Workmen for God 1953, 48; A Brief History of the YMCA Movement, 2001. Under chapter 'Civil War times'.

Elmer L. Johnson, in his *History of YMCA Physical Education*, notes that the roots of physical education were in German and Swedish systems of gymnastics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. When immigrants from these countries arrived to the US, they introduced their systems to their new country. Physical education had played a minor role in America during the occupation of the frontier land in the west. When in the second half of the nineteenth century the frontier faded, American society started to change from simply a rural society to a complex industrial one. The emergence and development of the YMCA physical education was part of this process.⁵

However, physical education of the YMCA was not just copying models from other countries. Behind the emergence of the physical education in the YMCA, there were religious, cultural and economic factors, which enabled its emergence and spread. One of the most important questions was whether physical education was acceptable at all in a religious organisation.

RELIGIOUS ARGUMENTS were those that gave legitimacy to the physical education of the YMCA. In the 19th century, there were already signs of more positive attitudes towards recreation, sport and amusements than before. One major movement to pave the way was the Muscular Christianity. It was, according to Clifford W. Putney, "a movement geared toward reinjecting health and manliness back into Victorian religion." It emerged in Britain in the mid-1800's⁶ and spread soon to America as well. Along the emphasis on manliness, "its adherents sought to reduce women's influence in the Protestant churches." The movement declined after the First World War.⁷

Muscular Christianity had to face negative attitudes towards sports and amusements in general. Because these attitudes were justified by theological doctrines of Calvinism, Pietism and Methodism⁸, the positive attitude should be based on theological arguments as well. Max Weber has argued that the Western asceticism

⁵ Johnson 1979, 17ff. See also Macleod 1983, 3-28.

⁶ Bloomfield (1994) sees that Charles Kingsley, an advocate and philosopher of Muscular Christianity, was influenced by Emanuel Swedenborg's theses of the relationship between the soul and the body. She also notes the influence of German romanticism on Kingsley through Thomas Carlyle's works. Stephen Prickett (2001), in turn, notes that Kingsley was influenced by Matthew Arnold (headmaster of Rugby) who attempted "to create an enlightened and forward-looking religion. For him this meant a Christianity that was 'scientific,' 'non-semitic,' Indo-European, and Aryan... containing 'more of Plato and Socrates than Joshua and David.'" Prickett links this stream of nineteenth-century science directly to "the death-camps of the Second World War."

⁷ Putney 1995a. The American Muscular Christianity between 1880 and 1920 is studied by Putney 1995b. Also Macleod 1983, 44-54.

⁸ See Weber's (1970, 95-143) arguments on the asceticism of Calvinism, Pietism and Methodism.

had developed a systematic method of rational conduct with the purpose of overcoming the *status naturae*, to free man from the power of irrational impulses and his dependence on the world and nature. It attempted to subject man to the supremacy of a purposeful will, to bring his actions under constant self-control with a careful consideration of their ethical consequences.⁹

When sports were seen as worldly amusements, it was no wonder why Evangelicals had a negative attitude towards them. Muscular Christians, instead, saw physical education as a way "to consent to his service, as far as may be, all the powers of the body, mind and spirit"¹⁰.

The first theological justification in the YMCA for amusements and physical education was given at the Second World's Conference of YMCAs in Geneva in 1858¹¹. D.J. Gladstone, a leading member of the London YMCA, argued in his presentation that associations should offer good recreational programs to young men and defended his thesis mainly with historical examples and with some Biblical quotations. His argumentation started (according to Evangelical thinking of focusing on heaven instead of earthly matters) from the question whether recreational activities are meant to serve God or ourselves. He also made a distinction between detrimental and innocent recreation that saves people from bad habits. It is in this latter case that YMCAs have some responsibility on their members. There is always a danger that "an ignorant Christian and restrictive and narrow-minded spirit are often obstacles of the Gospel." Thus, according to Gladstone, a Christian association should avoid extremes and consider three questions. "Whether the situation require them? Does they harm the more important activities? Are its pious members able to sanctify the means which they will adopt?" In relation to the last question, Gladstone mentions that in America and England associations offer reading rooms that have journals and periodicals in order to serve people's intellectual, social and political benefit. In Germany, people gather to sing to their Lord to show their joy. In Holland they cultivate poems and stories in order to learn how God guides peoples of the earth. Thus, Gladstone's thesis for the legitimacy of recreation rests much on the Christian use of arts.¹²

Seven years later the Fourth World's Conference adopted the following resolution:

⁹ Weber 1970a, 118f. According to Weber (*idem* 107), this theology was expressed in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, which described how the Pilgrim escaped from the City of Destruction. During his journey the Pilgrim entered to the Vanity Fair where was sold, among others, "lusts, pleasures, and delights of all kinds (Bunyan 1951, 104)" and where people were hostile to those who wanted to "buy the truth (*idem*. 107)."

¹⁰ Kingsley in 1858 according to Bloomfield 1994, 174.

¹¹ It seems that during this time, the Muscular Christianity was in a stage what Herbert Blumer (1953, 199-202) has called general social movement. It means that the movement is more like a cultural trend without any specific organisation and expresses itself in texts of movement intellectuals who "are likely to be 'voices in the wilderness', pioneers without any solid following."

¹² Gladstone 1858; Shedd 1955a, 157.

The Conference considers that a proper combination of a worldly and an eternal profession is the best means of proving a living Christianity...

The Conference considers it a duty to call the attention of its members to the fact that a strengthening of the physical body through swimming, gymnastics, and such sport, is also a task which the Christian young man ought not to neglect.¹³

Gladstone's presentation and the resolution cited above gave legitimacy to the physical education and leisure activities in the YMCA. Although Germany had a longer tradition of gymnastics, the most important development of YMCA physical education took place in America.

As I noted above, the New York YMCA, which was the pioneer of physical education, accepted the Four-fold programme in its mission in 1866. Few years later, in 1869, the Association Building was erected with gymnasium, library, class-, reading- and social rooms¹⁴. The philosophy of the Four-fold Programme had its Biblical roots in Luke 2:52 (KJV): "And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man." Other frequently cited verses that legitimate physical education were 1 Cor 6:19 (KJV): "know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost"¹⁵ and Mark 12:30 (KJV): "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind". It is also good to remember that the whole verse of Juvenal's famous saying reads as follows: "Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano (You should pray for a sound mind in a sound body)"¹⁶. Thus, along with body and mind it contains the spiritual aspect as well.

The physical activities were seen as an extension of the social work of the YMCA. In this sense, it was only enlargement of the classical Christian *diakonia*. However, the fundamental question was "Will the gymnasium secularize the Association, or can the Association Christianize the gymnasium"¹⁷?" The New York Association defended their program by noting that associations often failed to hold members once converted - young men away from home needed wholesome recreation. If the YMCA does not give it, they fall into temptation. Thus, physical work was seen as one method in the 'post evangelisation' work of the association.¹⁸

¹³ Report of the IVth World's Conference 1865. Quoted in Shedd 1955a, 168f.

¹⁴ Morse 1913, 77.

¹⁵ Henri Johannot (1955, 651f.) says that Gladstone used this argument for the physical education in 1858. However, it does not exist in Gladstone's presentation or in the report of the conference.

¹⁶ Juvenalis 100-154, X, 356.

¹⁷ Morse 1913, 166.

¹⁸ Macleod 1983, 73; Johnson 1979, 27-42.

CULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES resonated with religious ones. David I. Macleod has argued that the rise of physical education was linked to the urban middle-class and its need to protect its lifestyle. He even notes that "this, rather than the better-known Social Gospel, was the churches' primary reaction to social change¹⁹." In addition to this, urbanisation brought the fear that "middle-class boys were growing weak and effeminate²⁰", as Macleod has said it. This turned men to Muscular Christianity, which emphasised male forms of religiosity. Along with the later uniform-dressed religious organisations (like the Boys' Brigades and Scouts), physical education of the YMCA answered that need.

Macleod argues that when the character-building program developed it was legitimated by the popular psychology beliefs that the mind is "composed of several major faculties: intellects, emotion, will, and sometimes conscience²¹." These could be trained, like muscles, through exercise. The philosophy of character builders was expressed by George J. Fisher in Edinburgh World's Conference in 1913 as follows:

Body, mind, soul, are one. Character has a physical basis... Brain and muscle are linked together as compactly as a chain of steel. Each muscle, directly or indirectly, is related to a cell in the brain. The initial movement of the muscle causes this brain cell to throw our processes. The more muscles used, the more cells thus stimulated... These motor cells, however, are not isolated or absolutely segregated, but among them are other cells, those which have to do with the higher life of thinking, emotion and willing... Motor cells may empower the cells of the intellect and the soul. That is to say by right bodily training we store up power in the motor brain which can be transferred to our intellects and our wills and our emotions empowering the former and enriching the latter, so that our bodies become the power stations of our higher life.²²



Figure 1:
**Body, mind
and spirit**

This ideology was crystallised in the symbol of the Red Triangle (figure 1) which Luther H. Gulick, the gymnastic instructor of the YMCA Springfield Training College, proposed in 1891. This logo with the YMCA initials (figure 2) became the best-known YMCA symbol throughout the world. Sometimes the triangle is surrounded by a circle and then it is equivalent to the Four-fold Program. There are hundreds of modifications of the Red Triangle as



Figure 2:
**YMCA Red
Triangle**

different activities have developed their own logos to symbolise both their

¹⁹ Macleod 1983, 35.

²⁰ Macleod 1983, 44. 29-59.

²¹ Macleod 1983, 30.

²² Fisher 1913, 4.

attachments to YMCA and their special activity.

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES of the physical education programmes for associations helped the diffusion of the idea. When the gymnasium had gained legitimacy within the YMCA, the idea could start to spread. The expansion started practically in the 1880's in the US. While in 1876 there was only two gymnasiums and three physical directors, ten years later there were 101 gymnasiums and 35 physical directors. In 1896, the figures were 495 and 220.²³ The expansion of gymnastics was favoured by the diminishing of revival and participation in religious meetings. The idea spread also to other countries and the idea of Four-fold work was accepted in Europe as well²⁴. Mayer N. Zald, who looks the YMCA from the organisation study perspective, underlines the economic opportunity structures in the development of the gymnasium in the YMCA²⁵. He argues that the traditional collections and philanthropical donations "did not provide much financial stability" and that both residences and gymnasiums stabilised the economic status of YMCAs.²⁶

Zald notes that in the first half of the 20th century the business incomes (= accommodation and gymnasium services to non-members) were almost half of the income. However, the larger the association, the larger role the business income had in its budget. In this sense, the YMCA of the US was not any more economically "a membership organisation, since many nonmembers paid for services", as Zald puts it.²⁷

TRADITIONAL EVANGELISM and Four-fold Programme became two alternate ways of activities in the US. When the New York Association led the development of four-fold programme, the Chicago Association remained in the traditional Evangelical programme. Morse describes the difference between these associations with the following quotation of an International Committee member:

²³ Zald 1970, 33; Shedd 1955b, 289.

²⁴ Senior Director of physical Education for Europe, Geo E. Goss (1922) reported to the Copenhagen plenary in 1922 as follows: "The second Association to include physical activities in its programme was Lausanne (Switzerland) which took this action in 1872; the third, Liverpool, (England) in 1877; the next associations were: Montreal and Toronto (Canada), Stockholm (Sweden) and Paris (France), all of which commenced in 1888." Goss probably means that in these years those associations changed their constitutions and accepted officially the Four-fold Programme as their mission. As we saw above, there were already 101 gymnasiums in the US in 1886.

²⁵ Zald represents the American Resource Mobilization tradition of social movement studies. According to Alberto Melucci (1984, 821), the difference to European New Social Movement research is that when Europeans answer the question "why?" American focus on the question "how?"

²⁶ Zald 1970, 43ff.

²⁷ Zald 1970, 45.

In the year 1870, soon after the New York building had been dedicated, I visited Chicago, and as a beginner in Association work was deeply impressed with the contrast between the building which I had just left in New York, and the one in Chicago, with its very large hall and ample provisions for general evangelistic services for all the community, held there every Sunday. But I found in this Chicago building comparatively little accommodation for the fourfold, distinctive work for young men. These two buildings stood, in 1870, for the two different phases of work then prevalent in the Associations.²⁸

This difference of approaches was seen in a meeting of American secretaries in 1879 at Baltimore, when the former secretary of Chicago YMCA, Dwight L. Moody, explained his resignation from the YMCA:

There are many ways of reaching young men; I would recommend a gymnasium, classes, medical lectures, social receptions, music, and all unobjectionable agencies; these are for week days. We do not want simply evangelistic meetings. I have tried that method in Association work and failed; so I gave it up and became an evangelist. You cannot do both and succeed. ...Again, let me say, a man cannot be an evangelist and a general secretary without spoiling his work in both.²⁹

From this on, the Four-fold Programme became the major strategy of the association work instead of large evangelical campaigns in the US. This does not mean that religious activities were downplayed. On the contrary, the idea of symmetrical manhood was understood as means of evangelisation. L. Wilbur Messer, General secretary of the Chicago YMCA, expressed the mission in his address to the Basle World's Conference in 1898 as follows: "The association seeks to preach the Gospel to young men - good news, the full and free salvation, which purifies the heart, redeems and sanctifies the body, enlightens the mind, anti brightens and makes attractive the social nature³⁰."

The missionary emphasis was even more stressed a bit later in Messer's paper:

The membership, where suitable equipment is provided, is composed more largely of non-Christians than of professed disciples of Christ. This fact is inspiring because it enables the association to reach religiously and develop broadly great numbers of young men who are prejudiced against Christ and his Church. The command of our Master, ringing down through the centuries, is to "preach the gospel to every creature."³¹ The association seeks to obey this injunction among all young men.

Although American models diffused to Europe and other continents as well, the European YMCA remained mainly traditional type association work. One major reason for this was that especially in the Lutheran territory, the YMCAs were practically part of the church. In many cases, the

²⁸ Morse 1913, 77ff.

²⁹ Morse 1913, 123f.

³⁰ Messer 1898, 5.

³¹ Messer 1898, 6.

Associations had been formed by local pastors as a mean to do youth work. This link to parishes has remained in some countries until today³².

If we compare ideologies stated in the Paris Basis and in the Four-fold programme, we can see that the Paris Basis focuses mainly on the organisational level of the movement and its emphasis is on membership and mission. The Red Triangle, in turn, focuses on the individual. In this sense, the Basis and the YMCA Red Triangle can be seen as supplementary statements. On the other hand, although the idea of Red Triangle was to develop the whole man, in time the idea led to specialisation of various activities. In some fields, like in Boys' Work, the basic idea was kept. However, among older age groups the specialisation led to a situation where the idea of the Red Triangle was manifested only in national and association levels – not any more on individual level. Thus, the association might have Bible classes, choirs and sports facilities but these activities served separate segments constituency. Especially physical education secretaries were willing to let the preaching be a responsibility of general secretaries while they concentrated on coaching. In this sense, 'means became ends by themselves'.

Kommentti [MM1]: Etsi tähän viite.

In international level, the Red Triangle had widely replaced the official emblem of the World Alliance during the World War I. From 1920 to 1923 Plenary Meetings paid attention on the issue. While proposals were made to adopt the Red Triangle as official emblem of the World's Alliance, the 1923 Plenary at Velden, Austria, decided that "the official badge of the World's Alliance would remain as present."³³

In general, the impact of the adoption of Four-fold programme on the mission view of the YMCA, has been in the widening of the mission. While the traditional Evangelicalism emphasised evangelism, Bible classes and Christian charity, the Four-fold programme expanded the charity to well being of the whole man. In the same time, the focus changed from reactive charity to prevention of the need of charity by teaching hygiene, giving education and advocating healthy lifestyle. Although the core of the physical education was in gymnastics and sports, it also included the whole range of human physical well being.

When the idea of the Red Triangle was legitimated, it had similar consequences that are known from the missionary fields: proclaiming the Gospel can be put aside if it is impossible because other

³² For example, when the Danish YMCA feasted its hundredth anniversary it advertised itself with stickers that stated: "En del af kirken (One part of the church)."

fields of activities compensate the lack of preaching (like missionary hospitals in countries that do not permit religious preaching). For example, in South America, religious activities were impossible because of Catholic resistance. In that situation, concentration on social work and physical education was not seen as giving up the final goal but as one mean to reach the goal.

Another question is whether the YMCA members (or even leaders) know the philosophy behind the Red Triangle. In many cases, Christians today ask where is the “C”? Especially in the Anglo-Saxon context, it is often hard to find. When times passed, the means became ends by themselves and the physical education became the major point in many YMCAs not only in the Anglo-Saxon territory but also around the world. However, the pendulum is turning back: there is more and more need to revive the Christian basis of the movement. This time the impulses are coming from the Third World. In many cases people say: “We are hungry (oppressed, refugees, etc.), let’s look what the Bible says about this?” Thus, the new spirituality is growing from bottom up instead of the traditional evangelism, which served both the questions and answers in the same baggage. However, it is another story and will be told in another time.

Literature:

Bloomfield Anne

1994 Muscular Christian or Mystic? Charles Kingsley Reappraised. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11, 1994, 2, Aug, 172-190.

Blumer Herbert

1953 *Collective Behavior*. In Lee Alfred M. (ed.): *Principles of Sociology*. Reprinting of revised edition. Barnes & Noble. New York.

A Brief History of the YMCA Movement

2001 <http://www.ymca.net/about/cont/history.htm> 20.3.2001 12:27

Bunyan John

1951(1678) *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. J.M. Dent & sons. Ltd., London. & E.P. Dutton & co. Inc., New York.

Fellow Workmen for God

1953 *A Guide to Study and Discussion for the XXII World Conference of the World’s Alliance of Young Men’s Christian Associations*. World’s Alliance of YMCAs. Geneva.

Fisher George J.

1913 *The Influence of the Physical work in Relating the Young Men’s Christian Association to Unconverted Young men, and the Great Force It Has Been in the Making of Christian Manhood*. Paper presented to the World’s Conference of Young Men’s Christian Associations in Edinburgh, Scotland, June 11-15, 1913.

Gladstone J.H.

1858 *Du besoin de délassement chez les jeunes gens. Rapport lu à la seconde Conférence universelle des Unions chrétiennes de jeunes gens, réunie à Genève en Août 1858*. Pfeffer & Puky. Genève.

³³ Quoted by Shedd 1955b, 489.

- Goss Geo. E.
1922 Report on the YMCA Programme of Physical Education. Paper presented to the Plenary Session of the World's Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, Copenhagen, 1922. In Archives of the World Alliance of YMCAs T2, box 245.
- Johannot Henri
1955 The Field of Action. In Shedd Clarence Prouty & al. History of the World's Alliance of YMCA's. SPCK. London.
- Johnson Elmer L.
1979 The History of YMCA Physical Education. Association Press. Follet Publishing Company. Chicago.
- Juvenalis Decimus Junius
100-128 Iuni Ivvenalis satvra X. The Latin Library.
<http://www.gmu.edu/departments/fld/CLASSICS/juvenal10.html>
- Macleod, David I.
1983 Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920. The University of Wisconsin Press. Madison.
- Melucci Alberto
1984 An end to social movements? Introductory paper to the sessions on "new movements and change in organizational form." Social Science Information 23, 1984, 819-835
- Messer L. Wilbur
1898 The Present Standing of the American Young Men's Christian Associations: The Privileges Which They Enjoy. A Paper Prepared by L. Wilbur Messer, General Secretary, Chicago, for the Fourteenth Conference of the Young Men's Christian Associations in All Lands, held at Basle, Switzerland, July 6-10, 1898. The International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations. New York.
- Morse Richard C.
1913 History of the North American Young Men's Christian Associations. Association Press. New York.
- Prickett Stephen
2001 Purging Christianity of Its Semitic Origins: Arnold, Kingsley, and the Bible. The Victorian Web.
<http://landow.stg.brown.edu/victorian/arnold/prickett1.html> - 4.4.2001
- Putney Clifford W.
1995a Muscular Christianity. The Strenuous Mood in American Protestantism, 1880-1920. ProQuest - Dissertation Abstracts DAI-A 56/02, p. 680, Aug 1995. Order no: AAC 9518314.
1995b Muscular Christianity. The Strenuous Mood in American Protestantism, 1880-1920. PhD. Brandeis University.
- Senaud Auguste
1953 Historical statement about the Paris Basis. PleG No.12/ Com.II/B. World's Committee of YMCA Plenary Meeting Geneva July 23rd-31st,1953. In the archives of the World Alliance of YMCAs. Geneva. T.2.box.180.
- Shedd Clarence Prouty
1955a Formative Years, 1844-1878 pp. 15-198. In Shedd Clarence Prouty & al. History of the World's Alliance of YMCA's. SPCK. London.
1955b Expanding Vision, 1878-1913 pp 199-429. In Shedd Clarence Prouty & al. History of the World's Alliance of YMCA's. SPCK. London.
- Weber Max
1970(1930) The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Unwin University Books. London.
- Zald Mayer N.
1970 Organizational Change. The Political Economy of the YMCA. Chicago University Press. Chicago.