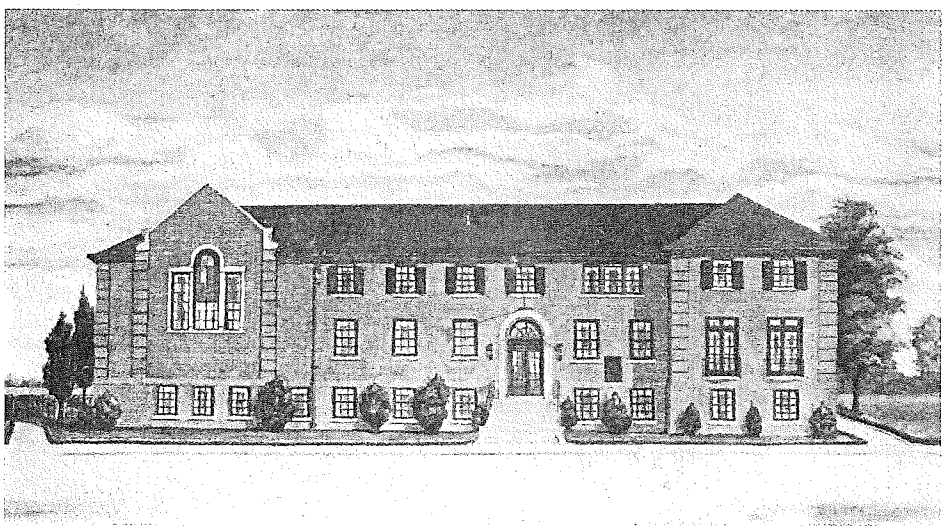
"Labor Temple roof playground and some of the boys and girls who use it," from the 20th Anniversary Annual Report, 1930 (RG 301.7, Box 10, Folder 54, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia).

munity House in Detroit as the automobile industry was being organized. Cummins served in the midst of a Slavic immigrant community until 1935, when he brought his experience to staff the Synod of Illinois.

Henry Hellyer, another of the Immigrant Fellows, was born in Russia of the Jewish faith. He had been converted to Christianity in Glasgow, Scotland. Hellyer emigrated to the United States where he became a citizen in 1909. He studied at Princeton Seminary and was ordained into the Presbyterian ministry in 1913. Hellyer, who had been disowned by his family in Russia,



Dodge Community House, from the 15th Anniversary Report, 1937. Illustration attributed to A. F. Castagne (RG 301.7, Box 10, Folder 27, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia).

made the critical decision to return to his homeland after graduation from Princeton. He was awarded an Immigrant Fellowship and returned to Eastern Europe in 1913. Hellyer and his wife traveled widely in the western and southwestern region of Russia assessing the economic and religious conditions of Jewish communities.[50] Upon his return to the United States in 1914, he became the superintendent of the Presbyterian Jewish Mission in Philadelphia. In 1916 the Board of Home Missions reported that the work of Hellyer among immigrants of Jewish background was the only comprehensive work among Jews in the United States under Presbyterian auspices.[51]

Howard Yergin, who had been an Immigrant Fellow in Italy in 1913–1914, returned to work among Italian immigrants in St. Louis. He served as the director of the Boyle Memorial Center in the East End Parish in St. Louis from 1914 to 1918. In 1919 Yergin was appointed the executive secretary of the American Parish in New York City. The American Parish had thrived under the chairmanship of Norman Thomas from 1911 to 1917. During Thomas's leadership the Church of the Ascension had been built at a cost of seventy thousand dollars. This Italian immigrant congregation had a membership of 329 and 100 catechumens in 1913. The total membership of the four congregations of the American Parish in 1915 was 958 with a Sunday school of 825. Howard Yergin assumed leadership of the American Parish in 1919 and was to carry on a ministry among Italian immigrants into the 1930s. It was in the American Parish that William Shriver had his initiation in immigrant ministry. It was here that Shriver developed his initial learning about immigrant people and his vision of the church's role as a listening and welcoming community.[52]

The eighth Immigrant Fellow, Spencer Towle, also served in Italian immigrant communities. A student at Auburn Seminary and a graduate of San Francisco Seminary, Towle was an Immigrant Fellow in Italy from 1912 to 1913. He returned to take charge of Italian work in Poughkeepsie in 1913 and then was in charge of Cascade Parish in Ole Elum, Washington from 1914 to 1915.

William Shriver's Immigrant Fellowship program was cut short by the First World War in 1914. While it engaged only eight recipients, the unique experience it provided created a leadership urgently needed in interpreting to the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. the hopes and aspirations of urban immigrant working people.[53] First, the Immigrant Fellows' European stay made the transition to work with immigrant communities in the United States more direct and less traumatic. Their learning of the language, life, and culture of the immigrants made for an immediate bridge into these communities. They became strong advocates within the neighborhood house movement and their commitment moved others to take immigrant work seriously. Second, the overseas experience heightened their sensitivity to the important roles of community, family, and ethnic loyalty in immigrants' lives. Their emphasis was less upon individual salvation and more upon aiding the assimilation of the immigrant community into U.S. society.[54] Third, work in immigrants' communities opened the Immigrant Fellows to the issues of justice which were integral to the immigrants' daily lives. This heightening awareness of the work and economic issues faced by ethnic communities saw its way into the programs and policies of the national boards of the Presbyterian Church.

XI

In 1921, the Department of Immigration attempted to revive the Immigrant Fellowship program under Kenneth Miller's office in the Board of Home Missions.[55] The dramatic decline in immigration during World War I, the postwar campaigns against foreign radicals, and the growing isolationism in the United States brought an end to the U.S. Open Door policy. The nativist forces which had been working consistently to re-

strict immigration were successful in the passage of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1921. The act limited annual immigration of any nationality to three percent of the number of foreign-born persons of that nationality resident in the United States as the time of the census of 1910. With the limitations on immigration, efforts to reestablish the Immigrant Fellowship program were aborted.

The restriction on immigration did not curtail efforts of the Department of Immigration to support and expand the programs of ministry to immigrant communities already in place. At the time of the reorganization of the Board of Home Missions into the Board of National Missions in 1923, William Shriver was a strong voice for the needs of the immigrant community. Speaking of behalf of this concern, Shriver reviewed the past history of the churches' program among immigrant peoples. He pointed to three approaches which had represented that program since the turn of the century:

1. The foreign-language church with a foreign-speaking or bilingual minister which was generally characterized by a program of evangelization with limited service to the community at large.

2. The neighborhood house which had concentrated its energies on programs of service to the immigrant community.

3. The English speaking church with a foreign constituency, which sought, with or without foreign-speaking workers, to provide services to the immediate immigrant community.[56]

Among the three, the neighborhood house had become the primary means by which the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. reached out to immigrant communities. By 1925, the denomination was sponsoring thirty neighborhood houses in cities across the United States. It was this work to which the Immigrant Fellows, upon their return to the U.S., gave their leadership. The Immigrant Fellows, though few in number, had provided the undergirding for the movement. The neighborhood house became a direct link between the urban presbyteries which sponsored them and the Board of National Missions which helped support them. The Department of Immigration, under Shriver's leadership provided support in the Board of National Missions' annual budget for staff in those urban presbyteries which were carrying out ministries among the ethnic groups in city neighborhoods.[57]

William Shriver, in his leadership of the Department of Immigration, had provided the rationale for the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. in its approach to the immigrant population. Taking his lead from the Immigrant Fellowship program and the work of the neighborhood house, he recognized that special attention needed to be paid to the struggles immigrants face in becoming part of a new society and at the same time to the communal and cultural values they brought with them. Shriver saw that recognition of this reality was essential in planning the mission of the church among immigrants. Shriver wrote, as the 1920s were beginning, that mission in the United States

> sets for its goal the redemption of the community and the establishing here and now of a Christian social order. That no vital human concern is outside the field of the Church's interest is the fresh discovery which controls our current Christian thinking. And along with this is the recognition of the fact that we are all bound up in the common, the communal life.[58]

The work of Presbyterian mission among immigrants in the United States, Shriver concluded,

> has been caught up in the new social spirit and its program is being shaped by the new social purpose. Without losing sight of the infinite worth of the individual—rather, because of an enlarged realization of it—home missions is satisfied today with nothing less than the redemption of the community and the establishment here and now of a Christian social order.[59]

NOTES

[1] Actions of the Board of Home Missions in the first two decades of the new century paved the way for inclusion in the church of many of those it origi-

nally considered a threat to its own and the nation's well-being. That the climate toward immigrants was beginning to change is evident in the report of the Standing Committee of Home Missions to the General Assembly in 1901 when it recognized the need for action among the new immigrant population: "The attention of your Committee has been called to the needs of scores of thousands of foreigners, notably Hungarians and Bohemians, in our great cities, whom the Presbyterian Church has some special responsibilities and opportunities, and yet for whose spiritual welfare we are apparently very little concerned." (*Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America . . . 1901* [cited hereafter as GA Minutes with date], 47.)

[2] See Robert T. Handy, "Charles L. Thompson: Presbyterian Architect of Cooperative Protestantism," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 33 (Dec. 1955): 214 ff; see also *Charles Lemuel Thompson: An Autobiography,* ed. Elizabeth Osborn Thompson (New York.: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1924); and Charles L. Thompson, *The Soul of America: The Contribution of Presbyterian Home Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1919), 150.

[3] The Board of Home Missions reported to the General Assembly in 1905:

> This condition of things was humiliating, after the interest taken and the instructions given by the last two Assemblies. It has been found possible to make bricks without straw, but it is manifestly impracticable to make bricks without either straw or clay. The Board has resolved for the coming year to undertake new work, and also more work for the foreign-speaking people in our land, even if the old work fails to receive all the help it desires. (*One Hundred and Third Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America . . . 1905* [reports cited hereafter as BHM Annual Report with date], 4.)

[4] BHM Annual Report 1907, 15.

[5] Stelzle gives his own reasons for being appointed superintendent of the Department of Immigration: "First, because the Labor Department had proven to be so successful, second, because practically all immigrants were workingmen, and third, because for the most part the immigrant was a city 'problem' and practically all of my activities were centered in the city." Charles Stelzle, *A Son of the Bowery* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1925), 147; for a further description of Stelzle's influence see Richard Poethig, "Charles Stelzle and the Roots of Industrial Mission," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 77 (Spring 1999): 29–43.

[6] The appointment of William P. Shriver as superintendent of the Department of Immigration brought a new perspective to ministry among immigrants. Shriver was the opposite of Charles Stelzle in social background, but shared his dedication for immigrant work. Shriver came from a wealthy Baltimore family with connections to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. After attending Union Theological Seminary in New York, Shriver went on to establish an industrial parish among Italian immigrants in the East Harlem section of New York City. During William Shriver's leadership, his office was a clearing house of Presbyterian churches and missions in the U.S. employing a language other than English. The office also maintained a directory of foreign-speaking pastors. Up-to-date information was carried on immigration statistics, immigrant population, and city evangelism (see BHM Annual Report 1914, 20).

[7] Anti-immigrant fervor had roots in the earlier nativist heritage which carried over from the pre-Civil War period. The Protestant churches' fear of Roman Catholic dominance and papal control of the central and southern European immigrants played a major role in native American fears. The Progressive movement in the first decade of the new century viewed the immigrant from the possibilities of democratic assimilation. The social settlement movement and the neighborhood houses of the Protestant churches played a major role in softening nativist hostilities toward the immigrant population. For an analysis of the role of progressivism and immigration see John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New York: Atheneum Press, 1963), 118 ff.

[8] From a paper entitled "Presbyterianism on Trial: In a Great City Presbytery," 1911, p. 1.

[9] Quoted from the Report of The Department of Immigration, for the year ending 31 March 1911, p. 6 in RG 14, 301.7, Box 10, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. Hereafter archives of the Presbyterian Historical Society will be designated PHS. See also Shriver's comments on ministerial leadership in *Immigrant Forces* (New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1913) where he states that "many discouragements have been sustained through the ordination to the ministry of men who were not thoroughly prepared, or were incompetent by other defect or limitation to meet the serious work to which the Church called them" (p. 23).

[10] Shriver had gotten the idea for the Fellowships from a Y.M.C.A.-sponsored project which in 1908 had sent a group of college students, under the tutelage of Prof. Edward A. Steiner, to live for a year in the peasant districts of Hungary, Poland and Italy.

[11] Quoted from paper by William Shriver on "Immigrant Fellowships: Training a New Leadership for the Church," Department of Immigration, Bd. of Home Missions, 1911, p. 1, RG 14, 301.7, Box 10, PHS.

[12] Ibid., 1–2.

[13] Vincent Pisek was a major figure in organizing Presbyterian work among Czech immigrants. Besides his work at Jan Hus, he established work in the Midwest to which three Czech pastors were brought from Europe: Drs. Pokorny, Bren and Losa. Dr. Losa became superintendent of foreign work in the Presbytery of Pittsburgh. See Kenneth D. Miller, *The Czecho-Slovaks in America* (New York: George Doran Co., 1922), 139 ff.

[14] Letter of Shriver to Kenneth Miller, 10 May 1910, RG 14, 301.7, Box 10, PHS.

[15] The correspondence of the immigrant fellows with William Shriver is evidence of the volatile political and religious climate in which they found themselves. The letters are in RG 14, 301.7 Box 10, Board of Home Missions, PHS.

[16] Miller to Shriver, 29 October 1912, 6 November 1912, and 18 November 1912, PHS. Miller sends

pictures and a series of articles for publication in a New York newspaper or the pictorial Sunday edition.

[17] Letter of Kenneth Miller from Prague to Shriver, 6 November 1912, PHS.

[18] Miller to Shriver, 8 July 1913, PHS.

[19] Miller to Shriver, 5 May 1913, 10 May 1913, and 3 June 1913, PHS.

[20] Miller to Shriver, 18 November 1912, PHS.

[21] Miller to Shriver, 7 August 1913, PHS.

[22] Shriver to Harvey Holt, 24 April 1913, PHS. Shriver sets out the itinerary of six places where there are Magyar and Slavic communities. PHS.

[23] Holt to Shriver, 29 April 1913, PHS.

[24] Letter of Harvey Holt from Peczel, Hungary to William Shriver, 15 August 1913, PHS, tells of his and Ralph Cummins's meeting with Kenneth Miller upon their arrival in Fiume. He expresses appreciation for Miller's briefing on the political tensions in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He also tells of his settling in with the Rev. Gyula Forgacs family.

[25] Holt to Shriver, 8 October 1913, p. 4, PHS. Holt saw the actions of the Hungarian government against emigration of Hungarians as threatening the nature of the program in which he was engaged.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Holt to Shriver, 5 August 1913, p. 3, PHS. Holt visited the U.S. Consul in Budapest to obtain a letter of introduction to the Hungarian Secretary of the Interior which would explain the reason for his presence in Hungary. He wrote Shriver that he needed an official paper to explain his work so he would not be "suspected of being an agitator for emigration."

[28] Holt to Shriver, 8 October 1913, p. 2, PHS.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., p. 3.

[31] Shriver to Holt, 13 November 1913, PHS.

[32] BHM Annual Report 1916, 115.

[33] Ibid., 115ff.

[34] GA Minutes 1922, 216.

[35] Hayden to Shriver, n.d. (January 1913), p. 2, PHS.

[36] Hayden to Shriver, 7 January 1913 from Krakow and 20 February 1913 from Berlin, PHS. Under pressure in Krakow, the Haydens journeyed to Berlin for a respite. In the Berlin letter (p. 3) Hayden states that after October 1912 his condition worsened and he was facing "a probable nervous collapse."

[37] Hayden tells the story of his arrival in Limonowa and of his meeting with the Russian in Francis R. Bellamy, *Cleveland Goes On an Adventure* (New York: reprinted from the *Red Cross Magazine* by the Bd. of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1920).

[38] William Shriver details the character of immigration and the lives of immigrants in the U.S. in his *Immigrant Forces.* Shriver's analysis of the social and economic conditions in which the immigrants worked and lived in the United States supports what Hayden's interviews revealed and was important in conveying to his readers the struggles of the new immigrants. Charles Thompson, head of the Board of Home Missions, also recognized that not all immigrants were satisfied with conditions in the United States and that one-third returned to their homelands (Thompson, *The Soul of America,* 135 ff).

[39] Hayden to William Shriver from Berlin, 5 March 1913, PHS.

[40] Ralph Cummins to Shriver, 3 December 1912, PHS.

[41] Cummins to William Shriver from Zagreb-Agram, 1 September 1913, PHS.

[42] Ibid. p. 4.

[43] Cummins to William Shriver from Zagreb-Agram, 9 August 1914, p. 2, PHS.

[44] Cummins final report, 22 December 1914, PHS.

[45] Cited in Thompson, *The Soul of America,* 140.

[46] Among the Immigrant Fellows, Kenneth Miller maintained his connections with those among whom he had lived in Europe. In 1921 he was sent to Europe as representative of the General Assembly's Committee on Work on the Continent of Europe. He reported on the growth of the Czech Brethren Church in a two-year period from two small congregations and 500 members in the Pilsen district to thirty congregations and 16,000 members (BHM Annual Report 1922, 45). Miller's books *The Czecho-Slovaks in America* and *Peasant Pioneers* (New York: Council of Women for Home Missions & Missionary Education Movement, 1925) were important in developing understanding of those of Slavic background.

[47] Bellamy, *Cleveland Goes On An Adventure,* 3.

[48] Ibid, 5.

[49] On Hungarian ministry see John Dikovics, *Our Magyar Presbyterians* (New York: Bd. of National Missions, Unit of City and Industrial Work, 1945), 39.

[50] Henry Hellyer to Shriver, 6 October 1913, from Jassy, Roumania; 24 February 1914, Warsaw, Poland (Russia); 14 March 1914, Warsaw; PHS.

[51] BHM Annual Report 1916, 113 ff.

[52] Reflecting on evangelical work among the Italian immigrants, Shriver stated in January 1935:

> The initial drive came from Italians themselves, as an evangelical movement among Italians, and not as a missionary project thrust by Americans from the outside on an unreceptive population. The future of the work among the four and a half million Italians in the U.S. of the first and second generations who sustain no vital relation to a Christian church must increasingly rest on the leadership which these churches command.

See also William Shriver, *Adventure in Missions: The Story of Presbyterian Work With Italians* (New York: Unit of City and Industrial Work, Bd. of National Missions, 1946).

[53] John Higham sees the social settlement movement, including the neighborhood house, as one of the few places in the experiences of immigrants where there was acceptance. "The democratic experimental philosophy behind the settlements contrasted sharply with the nativistic tendencies of most late nineteenth century humanitarians and reformers. Of all old-stock Americans, settlement workers gained the fullest understanding, compassion, and respect of the new immigration." (Higham, *Strangers in the Land,* 119–20.)

[54] Paula Benkart documents the change of Presbyterian attitudes toward immigrants over a 35-year period, from the hostile feelings expressed in the *Home Mission Monthly* in the late nineteenth century to the increasing sympathetic acceptance and defense of the immigrant by the end of the first decade of the

twentieth century expressed both in Presbyterian publications and in the programs of the neighborhood and settlement houses. The work of William Shriver and the Immigrant Fellowship program can be viewed as primary examples of this change. See Paula K. Benkart, "Changing Attitudes of Presbyterians Toward Southern and Eastern European Immigrants, 1880–1914," *Journal of Presbyterian History,* 49 (Fall 1971): 222–45.

[55] From a circular entitled "Immigrant Work Fellowships" (February 1921), RG 14, 301.7, Box 10, PHS. The four-page circular also included notification of Industrial Fellowships which covered twelve months' training and study in an U.S. industrial community.

[56] BHM Annual Report 1923, 80.

[57] Letter, 24 February 1979, from Henry D. Jones, who served as director of the Gary Neighborhood House and of the Dodge Community Center, Detroit, author's files; see also Christine T. Wilson, *Thirty Neighborhood Houses* (New York: Bd. of National Missions, 1925); also *Proceedings of the Conference of Neighborhood House Work* (New York: Bd. of National Missions, 1925).

[58] BHM Annual Report 1920, 10.

[59] Ibid.