

leaving for Europe, Shriver had scheduled Holt for an intensive itinerary of Hungarian work in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and western New York. His visits to the steel industry areas of Youngstown, Ohio and western Pennsylvania highlighted the conditions under which immigrant communities lived in the midst of U.S. heavy industry.<sup>22</sup> In a visit to Cleveland, Holt was apprised by Pastor Toth, a pastor of the National Reformed Church of Hungary, of his church's opposition to the Presbyterian efforts to work with the Hungarian community in the United States.<sup>23</sup> He was to encounter this opposition early in his stay in Budapest.

After leaving Kenneth Miller and Ralph Cummins in Zagreb, where Cummins settled in with a Serbian family, Holt made his way to Budapest. Through recommendations from Hungarian pastors in the U.S., Holt was able to make arrangements for room and board with the family of Gyula Forgacs, a Hungarian pastor in Peczel, a village thirteen miles outside Budapest.<sup>24</sup> Holt immediately set about learning Hungarian and assessing the political and economic situation in Budapest and the surrounding region.

Holt soon became aware of the Hungarian government's policy on the emigration of Hungarian nationals. War was on the horizon in central Europe and the Hungarian government was refusing passports to men between the ages of seventeen and forty-two years. Hungarian men had been evading the law by slipping over the border into Austria and emigrating to the United States through Austria. In the summer of 1913 the Austro-Hungarian government entered into an agreement under which Austrian officials would return any Hungarian without a passport, and the Hungarian government would reciprocate with Austrians.<sup>25</sup>

The nationalist climate which pervaded Hungary carried over into the religious community. In a replay of what he had heard from Pastor Toth, Holt was again told of the opposition of the National Reformed Church of Hungary to Presbyterian work

among Magyar immigrants in the United States. The National Reformed Church maintained connections with the Hungarian Reformed Church in America. Set against the background of the nationalist fervor in Hungary, many in the National Reformed Church were concerned over the emigration of their people to America.

In one of his early letters to Shriver, Holt shared his thoughts about the Hungarian emigration situation. The work of the Hungarian Reformed Church in America, Holt pointed out, was begun for political motives. "The chief aim was, and is, to keep people Hungarians and bring them back to Hungary again. With that motive, the church here naturally thinks that we also have political motives and are working to keep their people in America. There are many of the ministers, however, Mr. Forgacs being among them, who are opposed to this policy of the National Church." Forgacs, Holt explained, had been commissioned to write "A Handbook on Home Missions" to be distributed to pastors in the Hungarian National Reformed Church. He included in the book a statement on emigration and the work of the church in America. Forgacs wanted to include in the book a brief statement from the head of the Department of Immigration or the Board of Home Missions "that it [was] not the aim of the Presbyterian Church in its work with the Hungarians to prevent or discourage them from returning again to the homeland."<sup>26</sup>

Holt asked Shriver, and in a separate letter to Charles Thompson, the secretary of the Board of Home Missions, for a letter clarifying the program of the Presbyterian Church. Holt realized that his presence as an immigrant fellow raised questions with the Hungarian government. It was important, Holt asserted, to assure Hungarian officials as well as leaders in the Hungarian National Church that he was not in Hungary to encourage the emigration of Hungarian nationals.<sup>27</sup>

Holt raised questions about the work of the Board of Home Missions among Mag-

yar immigrants. Since the National Reformed Church maintained its own connection with émigré Hungarians, some of its leaders were suspicious of Presbyterian efforts among the Hungarians. Holt asked Shriver:

What do we want? Do we want just friendly cooperation in the work? . . . [M]aking our plans together, helping one another, and mapping out territory so there will [be] no overlapping? Or does the Board really desire the continuation and extension of the work of the (Hungarian) National Church? Do we want them to do all they can and then do the rest ourselves, or do we want to do it ourselves? . . . [Is] it the purpose of the Board to extend this work with foreigners wherever possible or to let others do the work where they will and extend our work in fields where no work is being done?<sup>28</sup>

Holt saw a further problem with financial support. The National Reformed Church of Hungary had limited funds for its work among immigrants in the United States.

Soon the leaders may see that their money and men may more efficiently be used at home in remedying conditions and preventing emigration, rather than in trying to bring back those who have already gone away. In such a case there will be many American congregations eager to come over to our care. Will we want to take them and will we be able? These churches cannot support themselves.<sup>29</sup>

In his reply to Holt's inquiry, Shriver took pain to point out the difficulty in describing to Holt's Hungarian inquirers the clear lines of Presbyterian mission policy. "As you are aware," Shriver wrote,

our whole Home Mission situation in this country is complicated by this assumption on the part of local presbyteries and synods of self-support and self-direction. This, of course, is in the interest of efficiency, but there is a tendency in this process to dis sever relation to a nation-wide and unified program; also there is a great variety of practice among various synods and presbyteries.<sup>30</sup>

Shriver then comes to the point: "The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. has no policy in its Magyar work. It has simply been taken up and carried out as best as might be by the various presbyteries."<sup>31</sup>

## VI

In actuality, however, engagement with the Magyar Protestant community in the United States had reinforced the recognition within the Board of Home Missions that support of foreign-speaking congregations was an essential approach for work among immigrant peoples. What was necessary was to help foreign-speaking pastors and congregations achieve a greater cohesiveness in their relations to one another. In its report of 1916 to the General Assembly, the Board of Home Missions analyzed the immigrant issue in this way:

The various racial [i.e., ethnic] groups do not know state or synodical bounds; they have common social interests binding them together wherever located in the industrial zone. Our Presbyterian work for immigrants has thus far failed sufficiently to take account of this factor. Presbyterian initiative and control, while desirable, has meant isolated and detached groups, people and pastors being left largely without helpful fellowship.<sup>32</sup>

The strong ethnic and cultural identities within the immigrant communities moved the Department of Immigration to adopt a policy of supporting biennial foreign-speaking conferences meant to develop communal relationships, but also to encourage publishing of literature and educational materials, and concern for social issues affecting the communities.<sup>33</sup> By 1922 biennial conferences for Magyar and Italian-speaking pastors had been established by the Board of Home Missions. The 134th General Assembly meeting in 1922 passed an action to "approve the policy worked out under the guidance of the Home Board of organizing biennial conferences of pastors of foreign speech together with their interested American brethren, and commend the Italian biennial conference and the Magyar biennial conference to the Synods and Presbyteries of the Church."<sup>34</sup>

## VII

In his initial plans for Immigrant Fellowship assignments, Shriver had determined that work among the Poles was to be a part

of the department's work. In considering Poland as a possibility, Shriver recognized the largely Roman Catholic background of the Polish people. Shriver, however, had been under pressure from Paul Fox, who needed assistance in his ministry within a large Polish community in Baltimore. Shriver designated Joel Hayden to carry out an assignment in Poland, with the assurance of work with Paul Fox after his return.

Hayden and his wife Hazel made the journey to Europe with Kenneth Miller in the summer of 1912. The Haydens, unlike Kenneth Miller, had no previous contacts in Krakow, which was their destination. There was, in fact, no Protestant community with which to relate in Krakow. The Haydens had chosen Austrian-ruled Krakow, rather than Russian-ruled Warsaw "because of the Austrian freedom as compared with Russian censorship."<sup>35</sup> Without letters of introduction the Haydens had difficulty making congenial housing arrangements or locating adequate Polish language instruction. During the first eight months of his stay in Krakow, Hayden faced continual health problems. In February 1913, the Haydens made a trip to Berlin for investigatory and health reasons.<sup>36</sup> Joel Hayden's condition changed in April 1913 when he and his wife moved to Silesia. Here they established residence in Limonowa and were able to make contact with the Protestant community.

In Limonowa, Hayden befriended a Russian professor from Kiev, who held a job in the Labor Bureau. The Russian had been expelled from Russia by the government for signing a petition which called upon the czar to bring justice to the land. When Hayden described the reason for his presence in Poland as an Immigrant Fellow, the Russian listened with disbelief. The professor associated the church, as he knew it in Russia, with the system of exploitation. He saw the clergy, who were landowners, as partners in the exploitation. The Russian could not believe that Hayden's church had any interest in benevolent action. The Russian, in fact, first saw Hayden as part of a

scheme of enslavement before the immigrant came to the United States.<sup>37</sup>

The town of Limonowa had many emigrants who had returned from America. The Russian professor suggested that Hayden carry out an investigation among the returnees. The inquiry, which they did jointly, gave Hayden a realistic view of the process of emigration. He found that the steamship companies were often the first to attract immigrants to America with posters and flyers about the good jobs and the democratic ways within the United States. Many who went to America found jobs as laborers in heavy industry in American cities. In his interviews the returned immigrants related stories about their lives on the job and the conditions in which they lived while in America. They had gone to America as foreigners; they returned to Europe as foreigners.<sup>38</sup> The churches in America, they told Hayden, were for the bosses just as they were in Limonowa. The view of the United States from a returned immigrant's eyes had a sobering effect on Hayden.

Hayden and his wife spent three months in Limonowa, making journeys into Galicia in western Poland, and into Russia. Hayden's investigations in central Europe put him in touch with peasants and labor groups in the places he visited.<sup>39</sup> It was the workers he met in Europe, particularly in Berlin, that made the greatest impression on his view of Europe's political situation. He saw the working people's struggles for justice as the basis for their emigration to the United States.

## VIII

While Henry Holt was settling down outside Budapest, Hungary, Ralph Cummins was beginning his stay in Agram (Zagreb), Croatia. Kenneth Miller's previous contacts in the city had aided Cummins's initial entry into Agram. Cummins, among the Immigrant Fellows, was one of the best prepared for the European venture. Before his entry into McCormick Seminary in Chicago, Cummins had worked for over a year

in the Union Stockyards of Chicago for Swift and Company. During his seminary education, he worked for two years as Boy's Work Director at the Christopher House on Fullerton Avenue, a settlement house in the midst of Serb, Montenegrin, and Bohemian communities.

In his letter of application to William Shriver for an Immigrant Fellowship, Cummins wrote: "I look upon work among immigrant and industrial communities as offering the neediest field . . . in the country. While at Swift and Co. I came into contact with many foreigners and saw how they lived or rather did not live behind the Stockyards. This was one of the things that led me into my work."<sup>40</sup> Besides the Immigrant Fellowship, Cummins was also recipient of the Bernardine Orme Smith Fellowship from McCormick Seminary for academic excellence. The seminary agreed that Cummins might use the fellowship for master's studies at a European university to aid in his work with immigrant communities.

Cummins settled in quickly at Zagreb-Agram, taking up residence with a Serbian family and enrolling at the University of Zagreb: Within the first week of his arrival, he had his first taste of the disintegrating situation in Croatia. In September 1913 Cummins was greeted in Zagreb with news of an attempted assassination of a high government official. On the eighty-third birthday of Emperor Francis Joseph, the commissary, i.e., the Austro-Hungarian official assigned to Zagreb, was shot by a young Croatian while he was attending the Roman Catholic cathedral. The twenty-two-year-old Croatian had just returned from the United States where he had been inspired to action by the radical articles he had read in Croatian-American newspapers. Fortunately the commissary sustained only a wound in the upper arm.<sup>41</sup>

Having been forewarned by Kenneth Miller of Hungarian officials' attitude toward foreigners, Cummins requested a letter from the U.S. Consul in Fiume to assure any Austro-Hungarian official who might

inquire, that his stay in Croatia was for peaceful purposes.<sup>42</sup> Cummins's studies at the University of Zagreb were in the Serbo-Croatian language, Slavic culture, and the European economy. After Cummins successfully completed the first semester, his father died suddenly in Cincinnati, forcing his return to the United States. His intent was to return to Zagreb, continue his studies and make journeys throughout Croatia, returning to the United States in early 1915. Upon his return to the U.S., he would begin work at the Gary Neighborhood House in the steel community of northwest Indiana.

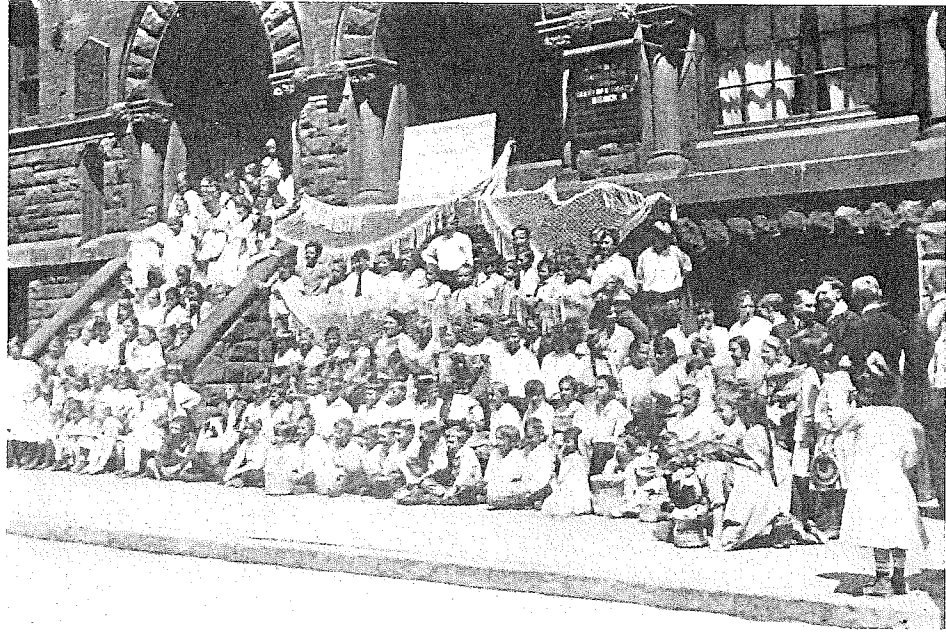
Cummins returned to Europe in late June 1914. Upon his arrival in Italy word came of the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand by a Serb patriot in Sarajevo. Cummins arrived in Zagreb on 1 August 1914 just as Austro-Hungary declared war against Serbia. This was followed by the declaration of war by Germany against Russia and France. Cummins's letter to Shriver from Zagreb on 9 August 1914 stated:

Suffice it to say that Agram has settled down somewhat since the time of the declaration of war when there were some real "doings" here. So far as personal safety is concerned there is no danger. Have a sort of pass from the authorities here which serves as a protection. Am located at the same address as before [with a Serbian family] and am putting in some good "licks" at the language.<sup>43</sup>

On his way back to Zagreb through Rome, Cummins met with Howard Yergin, the fifth Immigrant Fellow, who was living in Italy to study Italian in preparation for work with an Italian immigrant community in New York.

Cummins stayed on in Zagreb until early December when he sailed for New York. In his final report on the war he writes:

[I]n the city of Agram, the capitol of Croatia, with a population of some 90,000 people, the wounded are arriving daily by the trainload. It is the distributing point for the wounded coming from the Servian [Serbian] battlefield. Every public institution in the city has been turned into a barracks or hospital, and it was only a



Industrial class of daily vacation Bible School, Jan Hus Church and Neighborhood House, ca. 1917 (RG 301.7, Box 10, Folder 49, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia).

few weeks ago that the University buildings were cleaned of soldiers so that the work of instruction could be resumed. . . . All the wounded report that the Servians are fighting desperately—woman and children even taking active part in what they believe to be a war for the independence of Servian-speaking people in Austro-Hungary.<sup>44</sup>

## IX

The outbreak of the first World War cut short the Immigrant Fellowship program. Though short-lived, the program demonstrated the importance of immersion ministries, that is, of learning through participation in another person's culture. The Immigrant Fellows' European experience became instrumental in their ability to work within immigrant communities in U.S. cities. It also helped in their message to American Presbyterian congregations. Charles Thompson was to later write of them:

These men have gained a rich background for their work in this country—working knowledge of the language and above all else a passionate and contagious enthusiasm for their ministry. They will serve not alone in interpreting the best ideals of American Christian life to the immigrant but in interpreting back again to the Church the needs and aspirations of our new Americans.<sup>45</sup>

Part of the agreement of those who received Immigrant Fellowships was to serve in U.S. communities where there were concentrations of peoples from the countries to which they had been assigned. The original agreement stipulated a period for not less than three years with a guarantee of an adequate salary. The first participants, Ken Miller and Joel Hayden, went to work with immigrant groups in New York and Baltimore. Upon his return to the U.S. in 1913, Ken Miller became director of the Jan Hus Neighborhood House in the Bohemian community on New York's midtown East Side. By 1915, at the time of the five hundredth anniversary of the death of Jan Hus, the neighborhood house was under construction to serve the Bohemian community. In 1917 Miller returned to Europe as a Y.M.C.A. secretary to work with the Czechoslovak Army in Russia and Siberia until 1919. On his return to the United States Miller was appointed the associate director in the Office of City and Immigrant Work at the Board of Home Missions. Miller, while working in this position, maintained his connections with the Jan Hus congregation and its neighborhood house.<sup>46</sup>

Joel Hayden, who had been assigned to

western Poland, returned in 1913 to serve as associate pastor of St. Paul's Polish Church in Baltimore until 1917. St. Paul's pastor Paul Fox and Hayden undertook the publication of a Polish monthly magazine, *Advance*, under the editorship of Czelaw Lukaszewicz. In 1917, Hayden moved to the Woodland Avenue Presbyterian Church in downtown Cleveland, Ohio. The Woodland Avenue congregation, once a prominent Presbyterian church in Cleveland, was now in a neighborhood undergoing major racial and ethnic change.

Francis Bellamy, writing on the Cleveland neighborhood in which Hayden arrived in 1918, compared it with the Woodland Avenue church's setting twenty-five years earlier.

Toward Fifty-fifth stretched a miniature ghetto, the Yiddish signs, the Yiddish faces, the Yiddish stores, all bespeaking Zion. On the steps before the doors sat [an] assemblage of Negroes and Italians. . . . All up and down the Avenue lounged the foreigner, staring at movie signs, at clothing sales, at sample shoes, at rag peddlers' pushcarts. . . . Twenty-five years before the scene had been different. Beautiful residences then, these tenements, shadowed by stately elms. Lawns and gardens, these crowded yards filled with rickety shacks. And filled to overflowing of a Sunday the pews of this church with the social leaders of Cleveland and their families.<sup>47</sup>

This was the community Hayden served from 1918 to 1922. Hayden opened up the Woodlawn Avenue Presbyterian Church and reached out to the Jews, to the Poles, to the Bohemians, and to the African Americans in the community. Such was the climate that Hayden fostered at the church that the writer reported:

One by one the foreign national societies of Cleveland are beginning to understand that the Woodland Avenue pulpit is an open forum for all their protests. And the different industrial groups are beginning to see that here is a place where they can make heard their voices to their adopted country. In a word, they are entering upon the road that leads to change by social and political methods, and away from direct action and the counsel of despair.<sup>48</sup>

Henry Holt, who had lived in Budapest during his internship year, returned in 1914



Entrance to the Labor Temple in New York City, from the 20th Anniversary Annual Report, 1930 (RG 301.7, Box 10, Folder 54, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia).

to work at the Mayflower Parish in a large Hungarian community in Cleveland. Holt served the parish until 1916 when he was called to serve at the First Magyar Presbyterian Church and Neighborhood House in New York City. Gabriel Dokus, from Bloomfield Seminary, was sent as an Immigrant Fellow to Hungary for six months in 1912. Dokus returned in November 1912 to serve a Hungarian mission based at Labor Temple on 14th Street in New York. Dokus went in 1915 to serve as pastor of a Hungarian mission begun by First Presbyterian Church of Canton, Ohio. The Hungarian congregation later became bilingual.<sup>49</sup>

Ralph Cummins, who had lived in Croatia from 1913 to 1914, returned to spend the next twenty years of his ministry serving in the neighborhood house movement. Cummins began in 1915 as the director of the Gary Neighborhood House in the conglomerate steel community southeast of Chicago. The community served by the Gary Neighborhood House was home to Slavic, Serbian, Croatian, Magyar, and Polish immigrants. Cummins was called in 1922 to become director of Dodge Com-