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Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

THE EURO-AMERICAN SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH,
ITS FOUNDATION AND FUTURE, WITH SPECIAL FOCUS
ON SIX SUCH CONGREGATIONS IN NEW YORK CITY

A Project Report
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Ministry

by

Ned P. Maletin

July 1976

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I. INTRODUCTION

Task of the Project

The task of this project was to prepare a report on the present condition of the Euro-American Seventh-day Adventist church focusing on six such congregations in the Greater New York Conference. By studying their historical, cultural, and environmental background, the writer sought to determine whether the existence of such congregations, as separate units within the Seventh-day Adventist organization, was justified. And, on the basis of that investigation, to submit his recommendation in favor of their separate ethnic outreach among the groups they represent, or to recommend that they be incorporated with the English-speaking congregations of the above-mentioned conference.

Reasons for the Project

Since no study had been done to investigate the life and activity of the Euro-American congregations in the Greater New York Conference, the aim of this project was to find out whether there is a realistic prospect for growth of such congregations in the conference.

At the present time many congregations of European cultural background appear to be too isolated from the denominational mainstream; the lines of communication between the conference leadership and such congregations seem to stand in need of restoration. This

project's hope had been to bring a better understanding between the two and thus provide a firmer ground for an effective interaction.

Through this investigation and conscientious evaluation, the above-stated issues became clearer and more intelligent, not only for the benefit of the congregations and the conference mentioned, but also for the writer's own enrichment, as such investigation indeed enhanced his personal concept and understanding of the problem the Euro-American congregations face today.

Description of the Project

The writer saw this project as an investigation of the consciousness of the Euro-American church as a part of the whole denominational body. He endeavored to find out how that organizational unit functions within the body of Christ and how it contributes to its wholeness.

This investigation was carried out mostly in the city of New York since all six Euro-American churches of the Greater New York Conference are located there. The gathering of information for this project has been done in the following ways:

Research

To gain a proper understanding of the background and history of the Euro-American congregations of New York and evaluate the forces possibly affecting their growth or decline, it was necessary to study New York City's history, Greater New York Conference and New Jersey Conference minutes, Review and Herald, and other Seventh-day Adventist publications connected with this project's interests.

Interviews

The attitudes and aspirations of the congregations and leadership mentioned has been tested by extensive interviews. The writer believes that the pastors, church officers, and conference officials interviewed have expressed their feelings freely, being convinced that the interviews are of a personal and confidential nature.

Group Interviews

The writer conducted group meetings representing languages, ages, and church functions. These gatherings were carried out in the following manner: A church-sponsored social of informal and relaxed nature was usually arranged to provide the setting for a group discussion, then a paper concentrating on the problems an ethnic church faces today was presented for the purpose of opening the discussion. At the end of the session a few penetrating questions were usually placed before them for the purpose of a more definite expression of the participants on the discussed issues.

Pastoral Interviews

Pastoral interviews had to be personal and confidential. Every conversation was regarded as a contribution to the matter being studied. Only recorded interviews (written or taped) have been used to establish historical facts. Since many of these interviews have dealt with matters of a subjective nature (memory, feelings, opinions, recommendations), they were evaluated mainly on the basis of their logic and integrity.

Other Interviews

In a case where the conference minutes did not provide adequate information, or were completely silent on an issue of this project's concern, the writer attempted to derive his information by interviewing individuals who in the past have had to deal with such cases. The rules expressed in the previous paragraph were also applied here.

Expectations of the Project

The writer expects this project to sharpen his own personal sensitivity to the problem set forth in this project and produce a deep personal commitment to its solution.

Through this investigation and its conclusion the Greater New York Conference directly and the Atlantic Union Conference indirectly should be able to better relate to the problem besetting the Euro-American congregations found within their ecclesiastical territories.

The pastors and church leadership of the congregations involved could also benefit by the way of self-evaluation, augmented and inspired by this project.

A hopeful expectation of this project is that it should serve as a model for other conferences of the North American Division containing Euro-American congregations whereby they may be provoked to study and examine their relationship and responsibility toward such congregations and thus help to improve their lot.

The product of this project should encourage a more effective Christian witness in the conferences containing the

Euro-American churches.

The writer hopes to see other projects continuing the research and evaluation of the ethnic congregations and groups within the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Scope of the Project

This project is focused on the foundation, present condition, and future prospects of the Euro-American church, using as an illustration the six local congregations in New York City. The evaluation of such congregations has been based on their history, on their theological concept of the church, and on the environmental conditions surrounding them.

The chapter following the introduction exposes the historical groundwork upon which the Euro-American church had been founded. It discusses the reasons for great European migrations to the New World and how they affected the life of immigrants in America. Since American appeal, expressed by religious liberty, political freedom, and economic opportunity, was responsible for most of the European migrations, and ultimate creation of their congregations in the United States, the discussion on these issues has been somewhat lengthy. The reason for such procedure was to create a better understanding of the Euro-American church's background in order to evaluate its present and foresee its future more accurately; for without a broad basis of the church's history, understanding of these issues would be practically impossible.

The third chapter is concerned with the historical development focusing on the rise of the Euro-American congregations

and the evangelistic work of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in New York City. This chapter points to the fact that many of the earliest Adventist converts in New York were immigrants, and that some excellent opportunities for an effective outreach among them had been missed due to the inexperience of the young Seventh-day Adventist denomination. Influences affecting the Adventist awakening among the immigrants and reasons for their evangelistic decline have been discussed here.

The transition from history to evaluation called for some understanding of the church's theology regarding its purpose and service; therefore, a theological chapter has been included in the project. Two historical chapters precede the discussion on theology and two evaluating chapters follow it in order to make the theology of the church a reflecting and directing force of this project. However, since theology is the discipline which dominates the church's activity and is everywhere present in its life, the writer was careful not to let it become excessive in his discussion.

The chapter on the Euro-American church in New York City following the discourse on the theology of the church surveys the six congregations in the areas of their past experience, present condition, and future prospect, and offers some practical recommendations for their growth. A critical look has been taken at the ethnic congregations' attitudes toward the church organization, the denominational policies, the evangelistic work, and the relationship existing between the congregation and the ministry.

In the sixth chapter the author argues for the justification of such congregations' continuing existence, since, in his opinion,

there is still a place for them in the American multi-lingual and multi-cultural society.

Recommendations in the last chapter of this project indicate that the Euro-American church has passed its zenith of opportunity for an aggressive evangelism. Since immigration is the main supply for such church's growth, its existence and usefulness, therefore, depend on international conditions to determine its future prospects. However, while such congregations do exist in America and are responding to the Master's commission for witnessing, several recommendations have been given for the purpose of utilizing and directing their efforts toward a greater success in their gospel ministry.

II. AMERICA: A DREAM OF THE OPPRESSED AND POOR

America's Appeal

Religious Liberty

The question of liberty is a practical question. For millions who immigrated to America, liberty was to be a life experience. It is conceivable that very few were prepared at first to grasp the full meaning of freedom and comprehend the dimensions of its benefits. Their minds were not trained to think of a society without restrictions enforced by tyranny. Historian Oscar Handlin remarked that only a few could imagine an existence without restraint. "Just as prisoners grow familiar with the routine of the cell—while continuing to dream of release—are unable to conceive of a society in which men act without the guidance of bars and patrolled corridors,"¹ so the early settlers could not conceive of a completely free society.

The possibility for benefits of a free life did not come spontaneously or without pain. The first immigrants to the New World were driven from their homesteads by the claims of conscience. For centuries the European nations supported their established churches by persecuting nonconformists. Russia, Germany, Austria, England, and the Scandinavian lands often

¹Oscar Handlin, Statue of Liberty (New York: Newsweek, 1971), p. 69.

subjected their nonconformists to violence, while other European countries followed their established pattern of intolerance. Such situations were bound to force the disadvantaged to look for an escape. Their attention fell on America for refuge and freedom.¹

But the American form of religious freedom as it exists today is a by-product of circumstances caused by unforeseen developments of European immigration. The early colonists did not bring with them such an ideal religious freedom. "It emerged rather as an unplanned response to the conditions under which men and women peopled the wilderness."² To these settlers the relationship with God was of greatest importance, and faith in Him was the only standard of correct living. God created them in His own image and every person had a part to play in His planning for his earthly existence. So absolutely convinced of the rightness of their faith, they dared to disobey the authority of both church and state. Even if committed to the flames of the stake, they would not disobey the voice of God.

But this conviction of personal righteousness carried also a negative element which became a barrier to genuine religious liberty. The early immigrants had not left the church, but they considered the church corrupt and were eager to purify it. John Winthrop and his Massachusetts Bay Company is a good example of such enthusiasm and attitude toward religious freedom. He and his group were struck with the illumination that the best way to

¹Oscar Handlin, The Americans (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1963), p. 14.

²Ibid.

reform the church was to depart to some empty part of the world and thus demonstrate what the true purity of God's people is.

In the writer's opinion, such an attitude provided no place for tolerance toward those who might choose to disagree with them. They came from England to America for the sake of freedom, but that freedom was a freedom of their own. They needed it not for personal comfort, but for purification of the society, and they had no intention of extending such luxury to the dissenters. When Anne Hutchinson began to preach in an unaccepted way "the Puritans sternly drove her away lest her disruptive ideas cloud what they knew to be the truth." Anne found her refuge in Rhode Island where she was able to worship in her own way.¹

However, in one respect America greatly differed from Europe. The vastness of the New Continent provided the space for any one needing or wanting it. "The tiny settlements along the coast were lost in the vast emptiness, and people not tolerated in one place could make homes in another."² In some way the differences of religious commitment were responsible for the development of religious liberty as we know it today. As the consecutive waves of immigrants came to America with the determination to follow the dictates of their conscience, they established a chain of unconnected homesteads, each dominated by its own tradition and occupied by a different concern. In this way the adherents of the Church of England established themselves in

¹Handlin, Statue of Liberty, p. 71.

²Ibid.

Virginia, Roman Catholics in Maryland, Separatists in Plymouth, and Puritans in Massachusetts.¹

The practical demands of life forced the settlers of America to tolerate the diversity as long as each stayed within its own community. But a violation of such unwritten law usually brought a severe reaction. The experience of a young minister, among the early arrivals in Massachusetts, is an example of the religious fervor of the Puritans in that part of the country. Roger Williams dared to voice his opinions and doubts about the relationship of religion and the civil authority. He opposed the use of power to force others to accept beliefs which they would not accept otherwise; for he was convinced that "a good society ought to require no test of faith of its residents." Williams had to flee for his life from Boston to Rhode Island, where he helped in setting up a government according to his principles of religious liberty.²

Roger Williams championed the great principle of religious liberty which helped make America what it is today. His struggle was the starting point in the process of molding the special nature of the United States and its people. As America proclaimed the liberty and opened its doors to the oppressed, it set a precedent never experienced in the history of man. Religious liberty was the prime motivating force for the great mass movements of the people from Europe to America. Although the concept of liberty was not

¹J. F. Brown and J. S. Roubek, One America (New York: Prentice Hall, 1945), chap. 5.

²Handlin, Statue of Liberty, p. 71.

understood or appreciated by the early settlers, however, the very need for which they left Europe provided a broad base for its development. The right to maintain a personal relationship with God according to each man's conscience, in time produced a broad concept of man's right to live freely and with dignity. This concept was extended to political freedom and to man's chance for personal development. Thus this concept was ". . . intimately connected with the peopling of America . . . providing for all a safeguard of their freedom."¹

Political Freedom

The second factor responsible for immigration of millions to America is that of political freedom. When America proclaimed liberty and equality for its people, the Europeans at that time became increasingly hostile to the wide misuse of political power in their homelands. "The experience of a thousand years taught them to distinguish between the compulsion cloaked in legitimacy and that which was simply the oppressive exercise of power by one man over another."² When the earlier settlers found America to be the place of refuge for religious and political objectors, many Europeans determined to take advantage of such an opportunity.

Countries such as Norway, Sweden, and Serbia had not known the feudal order, but the remainder of Europe experienced the strong grip of that system. Even when the legal improvements arrived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was no guarantee for

¹Ibid., p. 83.

²Handlin, The Americans, p. 43.

the advancement of a just share of life for all residents. Big landowners took a much larger share of land for themselves, surrendering to the peasants only those tracts that were unsuitable for their own use. A large majority of the people had very little or no land. The ringing news of American opportunity and freedom, helped by the growing inequality in their own land, often resulted in sporadic uprisings and bloody revolutions.¹

Freedom to the persecuted meant the absence of oppression. In their own country freedom was not the same for them as it was for the privileged classes since each enjoyed rights commensurable with his wealth. The New World offered an opportunity to acquire both freedom and land, but very few were in a position to move. Therefore, there was no great rush of Europeans to the opened spaces of American lands nor to the blessings of American freedom. However, when America matured by understanding its national mission based on Christian and democratic principle and launched its effort against tyranny, the dream of European multitudes was made real and possible. "In revolting against British authority, the Americans looked upon their bid for freedom as a service to a world-wide cause."² By achieving freedom for itself America was able to offer the same to men and women who likewise appreciated it and prayed for it. Thus becoming the champion of human liberty without actively intervening anywhere in Europe, America invited the

¹Philip Taylor, The Distant Magnet (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1971), p. 22.

²John Higham, Strangers in the Land (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955), p. 22.

oppressed masses of Europe to find their rest in her bosom.

The American revolution was an encouraging force to many European disturbances of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The influence of and hope for American-type freedom spread throughout Germany, Italy, Ireland, England, Austria, and France. The revolution in France, for example, released a flow of events that continued for many years and in the end liquidated the old political order of that land. But the American revolution, and subsequent revolutions of Europe, were unlike that in England a century and a half earlier. They were secular in nature and aimed at political rather than religious change.¹

European disturbances forced many well-born and well-educated individuals to leave their countries and settle in the United States. A group of Frenchmen of this class fled to Rhineland with high hopes to return to their beloved country, but this was not to be. They immigrated to the United States for the reason of personal safety. After the fall of Napoleon many of his sympathizers found themselves in the same predicament, and they, too, took refuge in America. "In all well over 10,000—perhaps as many as 25,000—Frenchmen crossed the Atlantic during the revolutionary troubles in France."²

However, the largest number of immigrants came from Germany. A. B. Faust said that the Germans had had their Mayflower, too, in American history. It was the ship Concord which on October 6, 1683

¹Handlin, Statue of Liberty, p. 86.

²Ibid., p. 89.

brought the first body of German immigrants to the New World. Subsequently, Germany contributed twenty-five percent of the present Caucasian population of the United States; exceeded only by the English element which includes the Scots, North Irish, and Welsh. The first German settlers, led by F. D. Pastorius, established permanent settlements in Pennsylvania, then spread out to Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky.¹ The Moravians, a group of Bohemian Germans, settled in Pennsylvania and North Carolina under the leadership of Count Zinzendorf in 1741. The Hudson Valley was settled almost exclusively by the Palatine group, the name given to German refugees to England at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Saltburgers migrated to Georgia to build their homesteads in and around Charleston. Others went to Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and other cities of the east coast. Refuge from political and religious persecution was the main reason for German immigration. America was regarded by them as God's gift to the persecuted and oppressed.²

During the nineteenth century the old system of small feudal states in Germany and other European nations emerged into the steady rise in power of two autocratic empires, Prussia and Austria. The new political situation forced dissention among the free townsmen and the universities, but in most cases the dissenters lacked the power to make their demands for change effective and thus had to depart into exile. As these migrated to the United States,

¹Brown and Roubek, p. 102.

²John Higham, Send These to Me (New York: Athenem, 1975), p. 18.

thousands of others followed them. As they settled down to respectability, they became known as the "Gray" party in order to be distinguished from a later group of political immigrants known as "Green," who arrived from Germany and Austria after the failure of the uprising of 1848.¹ After the revolution of 1848, the German immigration to America was flooded by almost a million people. The year 1854 alone brought 215,000 newcomers to benefit Missouri, Wisconsin, and Texas with this great influx of Germans.²

The failure of the 1848 uprising brought many other European refugees to America. The Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Garibaldi was for a time an immigrant in the United States. Although he left America after a few years, thousands of his friends remained in the New World never to see Italy again. The unsuccessful fight for freedom in Ireland brought John Mitchel and Thomas D'Arcy McGee, the leaders of the Young Ireland, to the United States. Thousands of their friends who accompanied or followed them never returned to Ireland.

Thus America provided a refuge for European political leadership of every complexion. It encouraged the immigration of the rebels for more than a century. America believed that it was the destiny of the Republic to serve as a model to those who would rebel against tyranny and oppression. The radical revolutions of the socialistic type of the late nineteenth century were outside of American political experience, and when the bombings, such as one at

¹Handlin, Statue of Liberty, p. 93.

²Brown and Roubek, p. 104.

Chicago's Haymarket Square in 1886 by communistic elements, occurred, the American public thinking raised the question as to the wisdom of extending welcome to such adventurers. Nevertheless, the failure of the Russian revolution of 1905 produced a new wave of immigration, and America extended its welcome to such communistic leaders as Leon Trotsky, Alexandra Kollontai, and others.¹

The events in Russia and Europe at the beginning of this century confirmed the fears of the nativist groups in the United States that radical elements might use American political freedom for destructive purposes. Under such circumstances the United States withdrew from its traditional welcome of the refugees by closing the door against future mass immigration. The restrictions of 1921 and 1924 limited the admission on a quota basis. This was a victory for the reactionary nativist groups slowly developing among the Americans. Joseph Keppler's cartoon of 1893 insinuates "that in the background of many a restrictionist, who said that the poor should be kept out of America, stood a shadow of an immigrant peddler, boot-black, peasant or rag-picker,"² who somehow forgot that only a generation or two back he was an immigrant himself. If he could only have realized it, the similarities between himself and the new-coming immigrant were much greater than the differences between them. "They shared the same bitter experience at home, the courage to make the transatlantic crossing, and the energy and

¹Bill Severn, Ellis Island (New York: Julian Messner, 1971), p. 143.

²Quoted by Ann Novotni, Strangers at the Door (Riverside, Conn.: Chatham Press, 1971), p. 148.

adaptability to earn their own place in the nation of nations."¹ If he could have realized it, perhaps the traditional welcome never would have been worn out.

Economic Opportunity

By discovering the New World, the Europeans discovered opportunity. As the word spread around about the blessings of America, the Europeans caught a glimpse of what America might mean in terms of freedom from oppression and opportunity to improve their lot economically. At first such opportunity could be appreciated by the brave, the adventurer, or the persecuted. But as the time went on the circle of the interested was widening constantly.²

European merchants made their investments in organized expeditions to find precious metals and such rarities as sold well in European markets. American furs were wanted in England and other European countries. But immigrants had to learn that gold and silver were not as abundant in the New World as supposed at first, and that the rich returns are not meant to be everyone's fortune. Many disappointments and sacrifices accompanied such expeditions, but the cunning and the luck of some inspired hundreds and thousands of others to try again, and harder, in their pursuit of opportunity. The inspiring force, therefore, was opportunity, which made them captives of the world so mysterious and so challenging. American complexity was challenging to many, and

¹Ibid., p. 149.

²Handlin, Statue of Liberty, p. 100.

economic motives carried by the searchers of fortune found in it their "Eldorado."¹

Another group of opportunity seekers was "the offspring of families of wealth or good lineage who lacked appropriate prospects at home."² America was a God-given opportunity to such to redeem their credibility by acquiring lands or giving the New World a governmental know-how. Some of these engaged in the cattle ranch business, some in big farming, and others in public service. This group was followed by European speculators who brought thousands of peasants to their estates to start a new life in America. Many of these tenants were frustrated by the lies and empty promises of their would-be benefactors, but as they evaluated the circumstances of their new environment, they, too, fell under the influence of American mystery and challenge for opportunity and felt happy to be in America.

One such immigrant wrote to his relatives in Sweden of his impressions in America: "I have now been on American soil two and one half years, and have not been compelled to pay a penny for the privilege of living." A Norwegian expressed, "Here, it is not asked, what or who was your father, but the question is, what are you." Another Swede commented on President Lincoln, "How small and insignificant are the princes by the grace of God in Europe in comparison with this man, who began his life as a simple, working man and is now head of the world's largest and the most powerful

¹J. F. Kennedy, A Nation of Immigrants (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 10.

²Handlin, Statue of Liberty, p. 101.

republic."¹ These statements show how quickly the peasants of Europe adopted the American way of life as their own. Their want to live in freedom and dignity offset the hardship and disappointments; and so their number grew steadily. During the nineteenth century the economic circumstances of Europe compelled millions from England, Germany, Scandinavia, and other countries to establish farms throughout the United States.²

American opportunity was also appealing to the artisans and tradesmen who suffered from the adverse conditions of European economy. Those who lost their businesses, due to emerging industrial productivity, had no better choice but to seek an opportunity across the Atlantic. Such trained personnel were welcomed by the growing economy of the New World; they became "the backbone" of American industry. American history contains thousands of names, men and women, who had made great contributions to American economic development and cultural life.³

As the economic changes came, due to industrial development in Europe, people who had been intermediaries between the town business and the peasant in the village lost their function and with that, lost their livelihood. The Jews, therefore, found themselves in an economic desperation which forced them to join the flow of population to the New World. But this did not happen by a sudden

¹Taylor, p. 88.

²Ibid.

³See Laura Fermi, *Illustrious Immigrants* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968). Also Brown and Roubek, One America.

decision; Europe was their home for centuries. Even the bloody pogroms provided no sufficient reason for the Jews to make a move. To help them make their decision, Israel Zangwill, an English author who never settled in the United States himself but directed an immigration society for the Jews, wrote his book The Melting Pot, where he dramatizes the ideal of American democracy born in brotherhood and nourished by human intelligence.¹ Mary Antin promoted the same ideal earlier in her book, The Promised Land, in order to help the Jews make their decision sooner and more easily.² Hundreds of thousands of Jews from Russia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, and other countries of Europe finally did make their decision to come to America and settle in the "Promised Land."

Another wave of peasants arrived in America between 1846 and 1852 as a result of potato rot which destroyed the sole means of substance for millions of Irish and German peasants. When starvation struck down families, villages, and countries, the survivors fled, many of whom ultimately reached the shores of the New World. The disastrous crop failures that hit other European countries at different periods during the nineteenth century produced similar effects in Italy, Finland, Greece, and elsewhere on the continent.³

The pressure of desperation thus set many migrations in

¹Israel Zangwill, The Melting Pot (New York: Macmillan Co., 1916), 2:15.

²Mary Antin, The Promised Land (Boston: Houghton, 1912). Also see Higham, Strangers in the Land, p. 124.

³Handlin, Statue of Liberty, p. 106.

motion and contributed to the overall process of populating the United States of America. Religious liberty, political freedom, and economic opportunity were thus the major forces that triggered the explosion of American immigration as they affected different people at different times and in different ways. And there were probably some of each of these factors in the motivation of every immigrant. But one thing is certain, as John Kennedy observed, that every immigrant "served to reinforce and strengthen those elements in American society that had attracted him in the first place." The forces and motives of the people who made America what it is today "add up to the strengths and weaknesses" of this great land.¹

Mother of Exiles

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
 With conquering limbs astride from land to land,
 Here at our sea-washed, sunset-gates shall stand
 A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
 Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
 Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
 Glows world-wide welcome, her mild eyes command
 The air-bridged harbor that twin-cities frame.

"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she,
 With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
 Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
 The wretched refuse of your teeming shore;
 Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
 I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Emma Lazarus
 "The New Colossus" 1883²

¹Kennedy, p. 10.

²A photocopy of the original manuscript is in the possession of the American Jewish Historical Society as appears in H. E. Jacobs, The World of Emma Lazarus (New York: 1949), p. 178; critical review on the text see Higham, Send These to Me, pp. 78-87.

Immigration

Emma Lazarus, one of the Russian Jewish immigrants, correctly expressed the sentiments of the masses migrating to the New World. The sight of American land was the sight of hope to those who wanted life for themselves and their families. When immigration began, it began never to end. As long as America retains its character and name, there will be immigrations of new people from the Old World. If at any time in the future America closes its "golden door" to the "tempest-tossed, the tired and poor" and ceases to be the "Mother of Exiles," the world will lose a source of inspiration and strength. Even the members of the totalitarian governments feel more secure with America as a possible refuge in time of need.¹

The legislations of 1921 and 1924 greatly limited immigration but did not close the door completely. During the depression years of the late 1920's and 1930's immigration was at its lowest point in more than one hundred years, but it did not stop. For various reasons, men and women continued to come.² However, immigration increased after World War II when hundreds of thousands of displaced persons were admitted by special provision of Congress in 1948 and 1952. In 1956 some thirty thousand Hungarian Freedom Fighters were accepted by another special action of the Congress. Following the 1958 earthquakes in the Azores, which left

¹This observation is based on the writer's interviews with such persons who are now in the United States or hope to be permitted to come in.

²See Immigration charts in Appendix B, pp. 173-179.

so many Portugese homeless, and the displacement of the Dutch from Indonesia, the Pastore-Kennedy-Walter Act provided for their admittance to the United States on a non-quota basis.¹

During the 124 years (1820-1943) in which the data has been available, approximately forty million immigrants came to America. Of this number, over thirty-three million, or 85 percent, were European, more than thirty million of which remained in the United States.² The largest number came from Germany, with its peak of immigration in 1882; followed by Italy, with its peak in 1907; Ireland in 1851; England in 1881; Austro-Hungary in 1907; and Russia in 1913. Germany thus yielded over 6,000,000 immigrants for the United States; Italy, 4,700,000; Ireland, 4,600,000; Austro-Hungary, 4,100,000; Great Britain, 4,000,000; Russia, 3,300,000; and Scandinavia, 2,000,000. It must be remembered that over 3,000,000 persons entered the United States by way of Canada.³

This mass immigration to America naturally produced many problems. One of them was the matter of assimilation. By the time the American Revolution came a great portion of the immigrants had already adjusted to the life and society of the New World. There was only one major ethnic crisis, however, that developed in Pennsylvania in the 1740's when the mushrooming Germans temporarily seemed an unassimilating alien mass. But this crisis was soon to pass. The Germans were too loosely held together to be able to

¹Kennedy, p. 35.

²W. S. Thompson, Population Problem, 3d ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1943), p. 376.

³Brown and Roubek, p. 13.

impose any changes in the already established way of life in America. A German leader of that period wrote: "You can hardly imagine how many denominations you will find here. . . . We are all going to and fro like fish in water but always at peace with each other." Further the same writer states: ". . . think of unlimited freedom and you will understand in what danger we are concerning our children." This leader's concern is about the inescapable process of assimilation which was already producing a blend of closely related ethnic groups.¹

This early crisis soon passed because there was no real problem in assimilation of ethnic relatives. But when the immigration of Italians, Slavs, and Jews filled the streets of American cities, the danger became real and acute. The first waves of immigrants had been largely Protestant; the second, heavily Catholic; but the latest great waves brought Orthodox Christians and Jews, which denied the American claim of being a Protestant country. The desire for mastery over their national life made Americans think in terms of a controlled immigration. In spite of some attempts during Theodore Roosevelt's administration to impose limitation, the largest inrush in American history was gathering its momentum year by year, until in the decade from 1905-1914 an average of more than a million people annually entered the "Promised Land" through the "Golden Door."²

This unrestricted inrush was bound to produce a reaction.

¹Taylor, chap. 12.

²Brown and Roubek, pp. 632-633.

The restriction laws of 1921 and 1924 followed to greatly limit the European influx. It seemed that America would disclaim its name the "Mother of Exiles." However, the Immigration Act of 1965 lifted the shadow of rejection and discrimination of 1921 and 1924 from the American conscience. By this new regulation the Mediterranean countries were able to produce a larger portion of the Europeans entering the United States. The Asian proportion of immigrants also improved. Asia and South America now exceed Europe. In 1950 Germany was still the leading country of new arrivals, but by 1972 it ceased to be the major source of immigrants.¹ The Immigration Act of 1965 is not discriminatory but it is still very restrictive.

Arriving in New York

From the day of its discovery, America had been an extraordinary magnet for the people of Europe. The reasons for its appeal have already been discussed. But the fact that it offered a country "of the people by the people and for the people" built on democratic principles with absence of religious discrimination and hereditary privilege, personal rights guaranteed by law, and political influence and power shared by many made them stand in awe before such an offer. As the result of these virtues well-publicized in Europe, immigrants flooded the ports of Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, and other coastal cities of America. But New York drew more immigrants from the Old World than all other cities together. The news of excellent waterways to the

¹Higham, Send These to Me, pp. 58-60.

interior of the New Continent which made its rich western lands accessible, and the reports for the need of labor to supply the growing industrial demands for workers invited these people to the New World.

Sailing to America, for most immigrants, was connected with many fears and perils. The passenger ship fares were too high for the poor, therefore, the returning tobacco, cotton, lumber, and other United States merchant vessels coming from Europe brought as many immigrants as they could possibly take. From whatever port these vessels sailed, immigrants, men, women, and children, were indiscriminately packed together in these ships with practically no concern for their health, sanitation, comfort, or dignity. They had to provide their own bedding, rat-proof boxes for storing their possessions and food, and, in many cases, had to cook their own food. But the greatest peril for most of them was disease. The unsanitary conditions combined with malnutrition took the lives of many and left others too ill to help themselves by the time they arrived at the shores of America.¹

Once in New York, the newcomers became the prey of cheaters and swindlers of every kind. They had to be constantly on the alert to escape the possible inconvenience from those who tried to steal whatever they could in the moment of their confusion and bewilderment. "Frequently they discovered that smiling fellow countrymen, seeming to offer help and sympathy, were the worst cheats of all. Irish swindlers bilked the Irish; Germans tricked

¹For fuller information see Severn, pp. 28-38.

the Germans."¹

As immigration increased, the old private houses near the docks of downtown New York were torn down, and long barrack-like housing units replaced them to gain profits for the landlords. Water was carried in buckets and toilets were placed in backyard shacks. On hot days the odor was unbearable, and in winter the hungry rats invaded the area. Such conditions invited diseases of all sorts which sometimes reached epidemic proportions spreading from one family to another and then to the whole neighborhood.

Instead of the open fields of his homeland, the immigrant walked the dirty, crowded streets of New York. His children played there because they had no where else to play, and he and his wife spent much of their time on the street to escape the rooms where they lived. Still if he worked and ate and had a roof over his head, he considered himself fortunate. He did not have to go out and beg, as many immigrants did.²

Living in such conditions, the immigrant projected an image of low reputation for himself in public minds as being connected with drunkenness, thievery, immorality, and vice of all kinds. A city investigation committee at one time found that many families slept on rags in basements and lived on scraps of food, and that up to fifty people huddled in some of those shelters divided into apartments by ragged blankets hung over ropes. The committee reported that as many as two-thirds of such persons were receiving some public assistance and were of foreign origin. But the immigration of such people continued in full speed day after day and year after year until New York was overcrowded with such

¹Ibid., p. 33.

²Handlin, The Americans, p. 281.

individuals.¹

Most of these people were country folk, small farmers or farm laborers. They had no experience with city life and perhaps had never seen a city until they decided to go to America. But the city fascinated them and so made a lasting impression upon their future life. John Kennedy quotes Oscar Handlin:

This is a place full of wonders for those who have never seen a city before. Amazement, the shadow of so much newness, covers them. Their minds reach to find a known comparison. But this is like nothing else in the world; no town, no fair, no market place was ever like it. And the new men, who will spend the rest of their lives in the city, pause. They look at the life of the city, take in the miriads of impressions and begin to shape their attitudes toward an urban society.²

Kennedy's example of Patrick Donnelly, an Irish farmer who with his family came to New York to improve his unfortunate lot at home, never to return to Ireland,³ is an example of millions of others who came from different countries of Europe for the same reason and never left New York. And as they stayed, they helped themselves and their families to become a special people of a special nation, which experienced as many changes and hardships as they did themselves.

Peopling of the Frontier

While most of the poor immigrants stayed in New York or other American port cities, the tide of North-European immigration, beginning about 1840, followed the Great Lakes and pushed westward

¹Severn, p. 35.

²Kennedy, pp. 12-13.

³Ibid., p. 11.

until it found a familiar landscape in the prairie states of the upper Mississippi Valley. Some of the new arrivals went to work in the copper mines of Michigan or in the iron mines of Minnesota, but most of them fastened their minds on farming. These North-Europeans, including Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Finns, and Icelanders, were conditioned by the rigors of life at home to withstand the hardships of the frontier. They proved to be the ideal pioneers to American western lands.

The usual start of their homesteads and farming was living in sod huts and clearing the land. Some of their homes were "no more than holes in a hillside shored up with logs and graced with paper windows. But they looked forward to the day they could have a cabin or a house."¹ Beside these problems they struggled with unrelenting forces of nature: hailstorms, blizzards, and plagues of grasshoppers and locusts. But they did not give up; they endured.

The North-Europeans were not the only ones conquering the American prairie lands. Great numbers of Germans and Austrians joined them in subduing the west. In the closing years of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, a wave of new immigration brought millions of Italians, Russians, Poles,² Czechoslovakians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and others from the eastern and southern parts of Europe. Most of these, as in the case of earlier immigrants, were people of the land, but they were forced to settle in the cities when they arrived

¹Ibid., p. 56.

²Ibid. Also see Brown and Roubek, chaps. 6, 8.

in America. However, many were helped by their friends or relatives to move on into the western states to seek their fortune there. Today their settlements are found in almost every state of the Union, from Maine to Florida and from New York to California, occupied with their various interests of life.¹

Those who had to stay in the city, or who chose to do so, had taken advantage of the already established ethnic communities such as "Little Italys," "Little Polands," or "Little Something Else" to ease their plight as they replaced the earlier immigrants in the poverty and overcrowded conditions of the old tenements. In many ways the experience of these people was a repetition of the historical events connected with their predecessors. But because of their ethnic communities they did not feel as much alone and neglected as those who had come before them. However, intolerance and hostility of the residents in those crowded tenements and the fear of sudden outbursts of disease made some reach for the rural area of the United States.

When the immigrants came to America, poverty and dependence on others compelled them to live where there was a possibility to earn their livelihood and where they could associate with people like themselves in language, habits, and religion. Generally they moved spontaneously either "into the ghettos that pockmarked the face of the great city," or into the wilderness of the American frontier. "The new arrivals knew the addresses before they stepped off the boat and gravitated thankfully to the islands of familiarity

¹Ibid., chap. 7.

in an environment in which all else was strange."¹ Life in America was much harder than they had expected, and their economic improvement did not come as quickly as they had hoped; but their motivating incentive helped them to be patient, enduring, determined, hard working, and, finally, successful in making America a lovely home for a heroic people.

Becoming American

American immigrants were men and women of courage. The stories about America they had heard back home were believed because there was an appeal of optimism in them necessary for success. However, when they arrived in the "Promised Land" and faced the hardships of a New World, utopianism quickly disappeared to give way to the reality of life. But their optimism did not go away; it stayed, and it helped them to adjust in the land which extended its welcome to them. Courageously they overcame the sentiments that tied them to the Old World and its way of life to become a new people in a new country—to become Americans.

A Frenchman, who travelled extensively in America and settled in New York in 1775, wrote an optimistic letter full of hope which characterizes millions of other letters written by new Americans to their relatives and friends during the three hundred years of their immigration to America. He said, "We are the most perfect society now existing in the world." Then he gives the reason: "Here man is free as he ought to be." And speaking of the laws governing the actions of the people in this "good land" he

¹Handlin, The Americans, p. 283.

explains that they protect the people as they arrive from the countries across the Atlantic by "stamping on them the symbol of adoption."¹

The writer of this letter defines the meaning of being an American. An American "is a European or the descendant of a European, who houses a strange mixture of blood which you find in no other country." In order to illustrate his point he uses a family "whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations." Therefore, he is an American who "leaving behind him all his old prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new make of life he has embraced."²

In a letter to his friend back home in Norway, a pioneering farmer expresses his optimism about America by saying, "We who are accustomed to work since childhood feel that this is Canaan. . . . Norway cannot be compared to America any more than a desert can be compared to a garden in full bloom." He gives vent to his joy for the fact that he is now an American and advises that America is not for those who are not willing to work to make it a Canaan; for "he who wants to make good here has to work, just as in other places in the world, but here everything is better rewarded." To this new American the process of Americanization was based on a person's ability and willingness to adjust. By working hard in his field or

¹Letter, J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur. See Appendix A.

²Ibid.

shop, one becomes American.¹

In The Promised Land, Mary Antin describes how she and her family became Americanized. The circumstances of their life experience prepared them for a quick and thorough transition with little pain or difficulty. The obstacles they met on the way were not great enough to discourage them from reaching their desired goal of becoming citizens of the United States of America. The most impressive fact in Mary's process of Americanization was the thought that the great George Washington, who was like a king in greatness, and she, a little Russian-Jewish immigrant, were fellow citizens. She said, "It thrilled me to realize what sudden greatness had fallen on me; and at the same time it sobered me, as with the sense of responsibility. I strove to conduct myself as befitted a Fellow Citizen."²

Even more than this experience of fellowship, privilege, and responsibility, as Mary described it, America gave itself to immigrants. It provided a country, a permanent home, for the persecuted, dispossessed, misunderstood, and bruised men and women of the Old World; and it filled the hungry stomachs, empty hearts, and thirsty souls; repaired broken and rejected lives. Here lies America's power to transform. This is what made Americanization for over forty million immigrants possible.³

¹Letter, G. G. Hovland. See Appendix A, pp. 145-146.

²Antin, The Promised Land. See Appendix A, pp. 154-157.

³The writer shares this experience with other immigrants since he is also an immigrant.

However, not all immigrants to America were so fortunate to experience the process of Americanization with joy and optimism as most did. Some came to this country against their free will; forced by the will of the stranger. Considering the manner of African immigration, Handlin remarked, "Those Europeans who survived the rigors of passage could look forward to the promise of a better life in America. But African 'immigrants' who somehow managed to survive found the lifetime of slavery."¹ Charles Ball, a slave born in Maryland, describes the immigration experience of another slave brought to America as a young man. His touching story makes one wonder if those who called themselves "civilized Christians" could indeed commit such a crime against the innocent.² But the evidences are abundant enough to make one realize that the ideal of liberty, freedom, and opportunity, wonderful as it is, is not powerful enough to elevate humanity above its natural tendency toward selfishness and cruelty; for "with his mouth (man) speaks peaceably to his neighbor, but in his heart he plans an ambush for him."³

.....

So this, then, is the way the United States was peopled from Atlantic to Pacific and from Canada to Mexico, and these are the people called "Americans," who without plan or design struggled to find a way to live together. After more than three centuries of

¹Letter, Charles Ball. See Appendix A, pp. 148-149.

²Ibid.

³Jer. 9:8.

searching for such a way, they find themselves still far from achieving this goal, but they are closer to it than most nations have ever been. Despite the occasional temptation of an escape to isolation, they usually remember that their cause has significance for all mankind, since the torch of liberty lighted by America illuminates the way of freedom for all men.¹

Those three motivating factors—religious liberty, political freedom, and economic opportunity—are indeed responsible for the success of the American people; hence each of these is deeply imbedded in the soul of every true American today. The Americans fought for their freedom, and they sacrificed much for it, but they sensed that freedom was not the end result of their toil and labor. Although they needed religious freedom, even more than that, they needed a deep religious experience that could fill the soul of the people in the New World.

The following chapter is concerned with the people's yearning for such religious experience during the period of great European migrations to America, and it discusses the influences affecting Adventist awakening among the people of New York City and other parts of the United States.

¹Handlin, Statue of Liberty, p. 134.

III. ADVENTISM REACHES NEW YORK CITY

Influences Effecting Adventist Awakening

Even a superficial assessment of the conditions in which the new Americans found themselves in the United States, particularly New York City, would suggest that there was a great need for mission work among the newcomers and that the situation provided a fertile ground for soul-winning among the Europeans. But unfortunately the Protestant denominations at that time demonstrated no awareness of such opportunity. The writer holds that if the Protestants had recognized their "fine hour" and made themselves available to the needs of the millions of Europeans already living in America and the multitudes still arriving to its shores, they could have led a great many immigrants into a new religious experience; and if the Protestants had expressed a sympathetic attitude toward the European newcomers, they could have attracted many immigrants to their type of Christianity. But, although the circumstances made the incoming Europeans conducive to religious influence, significant group conversions seldom happened in America at that time.

Readiness for Change

Before 1850, when the population of the United States was predominantly Protestant, about 16 percent of the residents were affiliated with some religious body; but by 1900 this changed to 36 percent. However, in 1950 the percentage had risen to 57, and in

1959, 63-1/2 percent of all Americans had been recorded as members of one or another of the 250 available denominations in the United States.¹ But since many of these denominations record as full members only adults in good standing, "the true figure should probably stand at 75 percent or higher," suggests S. Neill.² This may mean that the immigrant from Europe, needing a religious identification in a new country, could easily have been influenced for affiliation with other churches.

Protestant Problems

But the Protestant denominations of the late nineteenth century went through an experience of internal problems centering around certain theological concepts, which in many cases resulted in denominational regroupings. The situation brought some groups together into a larger church body and split others, relatively large, into smaller religious units. Among the Lutherans of various backgrounds, for example, there was a constant conflict due to their differing concepts of church polity and worship. The stronger faction among them leaned toward orthodoxy and conservatism stressing precision of doctrine, formality of worship, education of clergy, and subordination of laity. The other major faction leaned toward evangelical religious experience, which gave importance to man's responsiveness rather than biblical decrees, conversion experience rather than doctrinal precision, prayer meetings and

¹Figures given by H. P. Van Dusen in World Christian Handbook (London: World Dominion Press, 1962), p. 52.

²S. Neill, A History of Christian Missions (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1973), p. 566.

group Bible studies rather than ecclesiastical authority, and free prayer rather than liturgical services.¹

Conflict over justification, during the 1880's, split the Lutherans of America into the "Missourian" and "anti-Missourian" factions. Thus being occupied with its internal problems, this great body of American Protestantism virtually incapacitated itself for any significant appeal to the stream of arriving immigrants. At the same time the Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists, feeling well-established, began to acquire grander premises in the suburbs and to move out of the city, abandoning their Christian responsibility to care for the physical and spiritual needs of the heavily foreign urban population.²

Catholics Distrusted

However, the Catholic Church in America experienced no comparable doctrinal or ecclesiastical shaking, nor did it possess the means for acquiring the beautiful properties outside the city and moving out. Instead, the church made itself available to fill the gap created by the unavailable Protestants. In 1815 the Catholic Church had only five dioceses in the United States; in 1860 this number had risen to fifty-two. But by 1900 it had grown to more than seventy, and the number was still growing.³ Catholic

¹E. C. Nelson and E. L. Ferole, The Lutheran Church Among the North Americans (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1923), 2:229-240. Also A. R. Wentz, Lutheran Church in America (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1945).

²Ibid.

³R. H. Lord, J. E. Sexton, and E. T. Harrington, History of Archdiocese of Boston (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1944), 1:52-56.

churches in many cases were unplastered, barn-like structures, especially in the mining areas, and simple, frame buildings in New York and other cities. But as the Protestants moved out, the Catholics usually purchased their buildings and launched a program for consolidation of all Catholics in America. Thus the opportunity offered to the Protestants was practically thrown into the lap of the Catholic Church.¹

In spite of its magnificent growth, the Catholic Church did not do as well as the opportunity had promised. Many immigrants remembered the performance of the Church in Europe, where it, by the hands of the state, persecuted those who for one reason or another found themselves in the company of those opposing the Church. As they left their countries, they carried with them a deeply seated distrust of the Church. Although in America the Catholic Church carried the mission of a "Good Samaritan," the immigrants still could not believe that its performance was genuine enough for them to make peace with the Church. Thousands of Italians during the nineteenth century were seriously disenchanted with the Catholic Church for opposing the unification of Italy and shying away from supporting the liberty movement. The Catholics of Austro-Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia retained their misgivings about the Church that supported feudalistic and imperial oppressions against the people. To gather the disappointed and hurt in such circumstances was to offer a church that could demonstrate a genuine

¹J. G. Shea, History of Catholic Church in the U.S.A. (New York: J. G. Shea, 1892), 3:117-119; 4:160-171; 715.

love and concern for the suffering humanity. Because of its past record the Catholic Church was not able to impress them with its "Good Samaritan" ideals.¹

Message of Hope

The Seventh-day Adventist church came into existence in the century of the great European migrations. Being so young, the church was not able to undertake any significant evangelistic action to attract the immigrants. Besides, during its first few decades, the young church went through the experience of doctrinal tests, leadership changes, and organizational adjustments, which blurred its opportunity for big evangelism among intruding Europeans. When the church finally appeared ready for launching a strong mission program, a theological controversy broke out over the righteousness and justification question threatening to divide the young church, as it had the Lutherans a few years earlier.²

However, the church survived the threats of division and organized an agency called Foreign Mission Board of Seventh-day Adventists to direct the overseas mission work for the denomination. The efficiency and influence of that agency grew in the overseas fields to the extent that some of those missions became self-supporting, functioning as home bases for sending their own missionaries, so that the word "foreign" no longer carried the

¹Many early Seventh-day Adventist converts of European background carried such feelings of disappointment as long as they lived.

²S.D.A. Encyclopedia, s.v. "Righteousness by Faith."

original meaning and eventually was dropped from the agency's name.¹ So the church organized an effective program for foreign countries, which proved to be a blessing for the church outside North America, but failed to do the same for foreigners at home.

Although the young church failed to do as much for the new Americans as it did for the overseas missions, the Adventist message of the soon coming of Christ in the glory of His kingdom found a ready response in the hearts of many people who were either disappointed with their churches in Europe or needed such a message to compensate for the sufferings they were experiencing in America as immigrants.² In any case, it was the message of the kingdom that was so unique and so appealing to the immigrants that even without a well-organized evangelistic outreach Adventism found its converts among them.

Conversions in the Mid-West

Acceptance of the Advent message mentioned above and conversion of some new Americans from among the Germans, Scandinavians, and Russians was almost accidental. However, it was eventful enough to create a reaction in favor of Adventism among their countrymen in America.

J. G. Mattison, a Baptist minister and an immigrant from Denmark, learned of the Seventh-day Adventist truth in 1863 from a young friend, and he immediately began to share it with other

¹Ibid., s.v. "Mission Board."

²For better understanding of immigrants life in America read Severn's Ellis Island.

Scandinavian immigrants. Besides his heavy evangelistic activity, he published tracts and books, wrote articles and letters, edited a magazine, and visited churches and individuals. Through such efforts of this dedicated minister of the Seventh-day Adventist church, many individuals and families of Scandinavian background accepted the message he preached and became members of his church. As early as the 1870's the Scandinavian Adventists could be found in Minnesota, Wisconsin, the Dakotas, and Iowa. Most of the early Adventist camp meetings in those states were conducted in English, Scandinavian, and German.¹

L. R. Conradi, a Roman Catholic student, migrated to America and was converted to the Seventh-day Adventist faith in 1878. Immediately he gave himself to the study and preaching of the message and was soon ordained to the ministry. "He worked with energy for the German-speaking people of the Middle-West." Conradi earned for himself the name "The Missionary to the Germans." He organized churches and groups in many states of the Mid-west before the denomination sent him overseas as a missionary of the church in Europe.²

The churches which Mattison and Conradi established served as the base of Adventist evangelism among the immigrants of America. Their evangelism was as successful as it could be under the circumstances, but not as it could have been if the church had recognized its opportunity and carefully planned its evangelistic

¹S.D.A. Encyclopedia, s.v. "Mattison, John Gottlieb."

²Ibid., s.v. "Conradi, Louis Richard."

outreach for the various European groups coming to America in great numbers. It is almost a paradox that a denomination of such evangelistic zeal and missionary commitment, as the Seventh-day Adventist church is, could have failed to recognize its responsibility to the foreigners within its own base, the United States. The denominational leaders could not see that "Little Poland," "Little Budapest," or "Little Rome" in America were mission fields worthy of their attention and concern.

Adventist Theological Schools

From among the millions of Europeans who migrated to America to settle in the mid-west, many became Seventh-day Adventists. They continued to communicate in their own language, maintain their culture, and conduct church services in their own way. The number of such Adventists grew steadily. In order to provide an adequate education for the growing number of pastors, evangelists, and overseas missionaries, the concerned looked forward to the day when a training school could be established for such workers. Since 1891, the German group had operated a German training department at Union College, but it could not meet the needs of the foreign-speaking Adventists such as the Scandinavians, Slavs, and other groups.

In 1910 the Scandinavians ventured to open a school at Broadview, near Chicago, known as Broadview Swedish Seminary, and began to train workers in Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish.¹ In that same year the Germans purchased a beautiful piece of property with

¹Ibid., s.v. "Broadview Academy."

buildings adequate for an educational institution at Clinton, Missouri, and opened their school known as Clinton Theological Seminary. At Clinton school an emphasis was placed on the German language with the purpose of appealing to the great number of Germans living in the United States.¹ For some time these institutions operated their training programs separately, but eventually they merged into one well-accredited college which trained Seventh-day Adventist workers in many languages.

The two institutions, separately and jointly, produced some outstanding missionaries, evangelists, pastors, teachers, administrators, and leaders for the world mission of the Seventh-day Adventists. But their establishment came too late to be as effective as it could have been if it had been opened two decades earlier. The immigration laws of 1921 and 1924 virtually outdated their existence, first forcing them to merge and then to close a few years later. Not too long after their opening, there was already an anti-language feeling building up among the American-born young people, which militated against teaching in a foreign language and against a segregated institution. The Scandinavians, for example, exhibited such a remarkable ability for assimilation that in time they would have closed their school regardless of other negative forces mounting against their seminary.²

The opportunity for Adventists to make a sizeable gain among the new Americans passed them by practically unnoticed. While the

¹Ibid., s.v. "Clinton Theological Seminary."

²Ibid., s.v. "Broadview Academy."

Protestants were occupied with their doctrinal and organizational matters, acquiring properties and building beautiful sanctuaries, and while the Catholics were doing all they could to restore people's confidence in the church, the Adventists had their chance to witness as never before. But the Seventh-day Adventists missed their opportunity because of their youthfulness and inexperience. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that in spite of the church's immaturity and weakness, substantial gains had been made from among the European newcomers. The seminaries did much good in this respect.

A Breakthrough in New York City

Early Witnessing

According to J. K. Bellow's report to Elder James White in 1851, there was a Sabbath-keeping group of thirteen people in New York City at that time.¹ The earliest evangelistic work in New York was done by M. B. Czechowski, a converted Catholic priest and immigrant from Poland or Czechoslovakia. In 1860 he rented a chapel to conduct his meetings on the Sabbath for the newly converted Adventists, and on Sunday he conducted evangelistic meetings in the same chapel. According to a report to the Review and Herald, he conducted them in several different languages. Among those interested he specifically mentions the Germans and the Swedes.²

Czechowski had a burning desire to go to Europe as a

¹J. K. Bellow's Letter to James White. Review and Herald, Aug. 19, 1851, p. 15.

²S.D.A. Encyclopedia, s.v. "Greater New York Conference."

missionary of the Seventh-day Adventist church, but the young church was not yet ready to undertake such a step. Seeing that the denomination had no intention of sending him overseas, he let himself be engaged by another denomination for a missionary appointment to Europe in 1864. When he left, there was an organized church and several groups meeting every Sabbath in New York City. There is good reason to believe that most of Czechowski's converts were immigrants, since he was a multi-lingual preacher and since New York was indeed a city of immigrants.

Not until 1883 did the church do any serious evangelistic work in New York. In that year the New York City mission was opened, and the Brooklyn city mission was created in the following year. By 1898 there were five churches in the metropolitan area with the membership of about five hundred, according to J. N. Loughborough's report.¹ One of the five churches was Scandinavian, a result of J. F. Hensen's evangelistic efforts among the Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes in Brooklyn.²

Reaching Other Nationalities

After the organization of the Atlantic Union and reorganization of the local conference in 1901, Seventh-day Adventist work among the foreign-speaking people grew steadily in and around New York City. "Growth in membership among the German, Danish,

¹J. N. Loughborough's report. Review and Herald, May 23, 1898, p. 542.

²Interview with Mrs. G. Sowers, a charter member of an early Scandinavian church, 1973.

Norwegian, and Swedish members was rapid."¹ By 1911 there were four Scandinavian churches in the metropolitan area, a well-established German church in Brooklyn, and two on the New Jersey side. A Czechoslovakian church was organized in 1907 through the efforts of a dedicated layman, who later became its pastor and evangelist.² A few years later two other Czechoslovakian churches were raised in New Jersey and one in Connecticut, all in the metropolitan area of New York. John Silvak worked among the Hungarians and organized their church in New York in 1910. Three other Hungarian churches came into being in the metropolitan area during the following decade.³

Milan Ostoyic, the first Yugoslavian Adventist minister, came to New York in 1912 to instruct a group of interested Yugoslavians awakened by Joseph Spicer, who learned of Adventist teachings through a magazine he picked up in a railroad yard. This event led to the organization of the Yugoslavian church in Astoria. The new church sent Spicer to Broadview to prepare for the ministry. Through his evangelistic zeal, Theodore Carcich, now a retired vice-president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, was brought into the church membership.⁴ Rosario Calderone, a converted priest, began house-to-house work among the Italians in New York,

¹S.D.A. Encyclopedia, s.v. "Greater New York Conference."

²Interview with Elder J. Yakus, a retired Czechoslovakian S.D.A. minister, 1972.

³Interview with a charter member of the first Hungarian church in America, 1976.

⁴Story heard from J. Spicer and Theodore Carcich.

and L. Zecchetto, under the sponsorship of the General Conference, also worked in the city. This led to the establishment of two Italian churches there.¹

When O. A. Olsen became a full-time secretary of the North American Foreign Department of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists² in 1909, the foreign-speaking membership of the church included three thousand Germans, two thousand Danes and Norwegians, fifteen hundred Swedes, and some other nationalities."³ A good portion of this membership was in New York City and its metropolitan area. Before World War I foreign-speaking Adventist groups could be found in Brooklyn, Bronx, Queens, Jersey City, Perth Amboy, Newark, Paterson, Bridgeport, and other industrial centers in the area. Some of these groups were already organized into churches and others were on the way to being organized. At this time Adventism was stronger among the foreign groups than among the English-speaking Americans. The black Americans were practically untouched until J. K. Humphrey arrived to conduct evangelistic meetings for the black people in 1910.⁴

¹S.D.A. Encyclopedia, s.v. "Greater New York Conference."

²Ibid., s.v. "North American Mission Committee." This department was an official agency of the denomination for the care of all Seventh-day Adventist foreign-speaking congregations in America.

³Ibid.

⁴H. B. Weeks, "A Historical Study of Public Evangelism in the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1966), p. 63.

Concern for New York City Evangelism

Some years before World War I, Elder A. G. Daniells, then president of the General Conference, along with other denominational leaders, became increasingly concerned about evangelism in the city. Having been fired by the spirit of evangelistic adventure, Daniells endeavored to convey that spirit to all Seventh-day Adventist ministers working in the big cities. In his letter to a friend he said, "I wish I could fire the heart of every minister with the feeling I have regarding the importance and great value of evangelistic work."¹ Responding to such concern and challenge for evangelism in American cities, New York in particular, the president of the Greater New York Conference appealed to Elder Daniells for guidance and help. In the summer of 1910, O. O. Bernstein was sent with a team of workers, including Drs. D. H. and Laurette Kress, J. K. Humphrey, and A. V. Cotton, to conduct meetings in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx for the black and white English-speaking people. During that summer the team baptized more than two hundred new members.²

Despite the encouraging results in New York during the summer of 1910, it became evident to the church leaders that not all ministers had the qualifications to command significant audiences in that city. Reflecting upon this experience, Daniells remarked that the ministry of the Adventist church was "utterly unprepared" for

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

the task in New York.¹ The attempt to solve the problem of unpreparedness led the denomination into the creation of so-called evangelistic institutes, where carefully selected ministers were instructed in the techniques of effective communication, . . . advertising, and persuasive speaking.

A special committee on city work, which included the most successful evangelists and leaders the denomination possessed at that time, was appointed by the General Conference. The president of the Greater New York Conference and the successful evangelists of the summer before were members of that committee.² Besides the responsibility of choosing and training the prospective evangelists, the committee also reserved the prerogative of assigning them to various cities or areas for evangelistic efforts.³ Emphasizing importance of talent and personality, the institutes created a special image for the denominational evangelist as he grew into a charismatic personality.⁴ Many talented and well-trained ministers had been working in New York and had converted many city residents to the Seventh-day Adventist church. Churches had been organized throughout the city and its metropolitan areas. A new horizon of enormous dimensions for gospel presentation opened up before the young denomination. The concern for an effective approach to

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴A charismatic evangelist is a person who possesses a natural ability to win public attention as he presents the truth and procures decisions for Christ.

evangelism paid its dividends well in New York and elsewhere.

Evangelistic Decline Among the Ethnic Groups

Reasons for Decline

Lack of concern. Although the new approach the church adopted for its gospel outreach proved to be effective, nevertheless, it neglected to include the foreign-speaking workers in the program of training provided for the English-speaking evangelists. Nowhere in the committee minutes, or in private correspondence, can one find a serious concern for the millions of foreigners living in New York or elsewhere in North America. The records of the mentioned institutes left no indication of interest for those whom ". . . God in His providence, had sent to our very doors, and thrust them, as it were, into our arms, that they might learn the truth more perfectly, and be qualified to do the work we could not do."¹

Failing to provide such a practical help to at least a few foreign-speaking workers in New York and other areas of immigrant concentration, the denomination again failed to recognize its opportunity for success among the susceptible Europeans. However, this failure was not altogether negative in its nature, since it indirectly encouraged the creation of Broadview and Clinton Seminaries in which the workers of European background were able to receive their training and evangelistic direction. For years these institutions served as the bases for Adventist missionary work for Europeans in America and overseas.

¹Ellen G. White, Life Sketches (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1915), p. 213.

It would be worth mentioning that Broadview and Clinton had a very wholesome approach to evangelism. As the workers received their training, they were sent to work in the various fields, and they effected the springing up of new churches among the ethnic groups which these workers individually represented.¹ So effective was this method that at the end of the second decade European-American Seventh-day Adventist churches could be found in many cities, towns, and villages of the North American continent. Among them were German, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Polish, Russian, Rumanian, Italian, and Ukrainian. In 1919 the membership of these churches stood at 13,632 baptized members in 330 churches scattered throughout the continent.²

Thus the denominational, one-sided concern had been somehow compensated for the time being, though it still had a negative effect on the future development of the foreign-speaking churches in America.

Draft of workers. Before World War I Adventism was already known in many sections of Europe, but after the war the opportunity for witnessing increased manifold. At the beginning of the twentieth century Europe was dominated by governments which had had very close ties with their established churches. Witnessing with the purpose of raising a new church at the expense of the old one would naturally create negative reaction on the part of both church

¹As heard from Dr. Loeffler of Andrews University.

²S.D.A. Encyclopedia, s.v. "North American Mission Committee."

and state. Therefore, the early Adventist missionaries were restricted in their church activity and were often persecuted in one way or another. Spending the night in the police detention rooms was not uncommon to an experienced missionary. Imprisonment for a week or month, with no right to appeal, occasionally happened to the visiting pastors or literature evangelists.¹

However, this situation changed after the war. Three of the five pre-war empires collapsed giving way to freedom and democracy for a time. Now Adventism had its chance to witness as never before. Many workers with ability to work with the Europeans were called into the denominational service in Europe. By joining the work there, they greatly advanced the Adventist cause in those lands but deprived the American field of its best evangelists and pastors. The posts they left behind eventually were filled with less experienced and less productive workers who could not keep up with the assumed responsibility of their predecessors.²

Depression generation. Arriving in New York before World War I, an immigrant found the situation there good enough to make a living for himself and his wife, who also found a job as domestic help or garment worker. But when children were born that situation

¹The writer remembers stories which the visiting missionaries often conveyed to the churches during his childhood years. Elder L. R. Conradi, president of the European Division, related many such experiences. On his experiences in Russia see S.D.A. Encyclopedia, s.v. "Conradi, Louis Richard."

²These workers were from among the first American-born generation, who culturally had been removed from the ethnic group they represented. These men seldom stayed with the foreign-speaking work. German Brooklyn church produced more denominational workers than any other church in New York, but often had no pastor for its own service.

often changed. While the new generation was still small, the depression of 1921 inflicted hardship upon the family, and when the depression of the 1930's struck hard, survival seemed to be open to question. Living was frugal, sickness frequent, and hardship great. But the educated few were still in demand for office work, city employment, transportation, teaching, engineering, medical work, et cetera. Highly skilled personnel were still needed and were well paid for their services.¹

This difference resulting from education and skill was never to be forgotten by immigrant's children. Since they saw security in education, they determined to obtain it regardless of sacrifice or effort. Those who already had passed the age for such adventure made sure that their children did not miss their golden opportunity. The direction toward personal improvement, unfortunately, helped the new generation to turn its back on the old ethnic values as it strove for better success in life. To keep up with the demands of competitive education in America, everything had to be surrendered to the new purpose. This included the language, which was still spoken at home, and association with the young people of the same background and cultural heritage. The urge for social reclassification was stronger than any other concern, and this concern changed the generation from foreign to American.²

When Adventism reached the immigrants of New York, it seemed

¹See Albert Rees, Real Wages in Manufacturing 1890-1915 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961).

²Observations based on the writer's pastoral experience with first and second generation Americans in a foreign-speaking church.

as though their churches would grow uninterruptedly and indefinitely. The churches were full of happy and enthusiastic young people, but it took only two generations to make it evident that an ethnic culture can be painlessly forsaken and a foreign-speaking church thus abandoned.

Process of change. United States history bears witness that a dominant group always controlled the prevailing powers in American society. At one time that group was a majority group, but due to American immigration policies it lost its majority status. However, the controlling powers of the society's life remained in its hands. This is why the word "dominant" is a better designation for that group than the word "majority." J. C. Himes argues that that dominant group had established "its physical and cultural characteristics as the standards for judging outsiders and newcomers."¹ This means that those who were white and willing to accept the cultural norms, including religion, of the dominants, had the chance of being accepted by the group and thus improve their chances for success in American society.

The language of the dominant group was English and the religion, Protestant. This created problems for the Catholic, Orthodox, and Jewish groups because their languages and religions were different; although they were white and capable of learning the culture of the dominants. However, after World War I these also showed the signs of Americanization, expressed by their acceptance

¹J. C. Himes, Racial and Ethnic Relations (Greensboro, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1974), pp. 2-3.

of the dominant, Protestant influence. Thus the Europeans, such as the Germans, Swedes, Poles, Italians, and others—Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish—began to be absorbed into that dominant American culture. Because of the fact that the American Blacks, American Indians, Asian peoples, some Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans possessed physical traits that distinguished them from the white Americans, the Europeans found it more convenient to be absorbed into the like group than to be identified with the groups outside the established norm.

In 1920 New York was a city of many European national and language groups living in their own, larger or smaller, but isolated, communities. Each community had its ethnic name and characteristic. The German sections, for example, were famous for cleanliness, parties, and beer. The Scandinavian parts of Brooklyn were known for beautiful flower gardens and colorful life. The Italians had the best restaurants and served the most appetizing foods. A number of bazzaars in lower Manhattan were owned and operated by the Jews of various cultures and languages, with Yiddish as their means of communication. There were also markets in the city where the ethnic groups congregated in order to keep in touch with the cultural development of the peoples they represented. Some such markets looked, sounded, and smelled more like an Italian, Polish, or German city than New York. In the Jewish quarters the stores were closed on Saturday and Yiddish was used as the dominant language. In this way almost every nationality was represented in the life of New York City. Thus the languages, food, music,

entertainments, customs, and cultural characteristics were very much practiced and enjoyed by the new Americans at this period.¹

But as Himes pointed out, "a group's life changes and experiences are conditioned by the nature of social systems within which it lives."² It is also affected by that group's ability to comply with the norms imposed upon it by the society's dominant influence. Since the American system differentiated these life changes on the basis of physical characteristics, it was natural, therefore, for the Europeans to gravitate toward the dominant group's culture. In only one generation after World War I, the assimilation had gone so far that the message presented in their original language had no effect upon them as it did upon the generations earlier, for the change of words and values was already in process.

Decline and Immigration

Besides other Christian responsibilities, a language-church extends itself to the bewildered immigrant to help him find his haven of security and comfort in a world dominated by an unknown, and to him, alien culture. The immigrant thus becomes firmly affiliated with his benefactor, the church. But when his children, and even more his grandchildren, learn of the advantages of yielding to the forces of assimilation and turn their backs on the values of their fathers, the language church loses its continuity and future.

¹See W. H. Form and D. B. Miller, Industry, Labor and Community (New York: Harper & Row, 1960).

²Himes, p. 3.

The break causes the church to become stagnant and declining, because it loses its potential for replacement and growth. As a result of assimilating influences discussed above, it seems that the church of a language-group is not able to reach beyond the first American-born generation. Therefore, its future lies not in the foreign-descendent, but in the incoming immigrants whom it may serve, and who will in turn continue to carry its mission of service to the succeeding waves of newcomers. In this way, immigration has much to do with the conditions of the foreign-speaking church in America.

The fact that all such churches had been established at the time of large immigrations suggests the relationship between the two. At that time the organization of the Scandinavian, German, Italian, and all other foreign-speaking churches was possible because of an existing potential for their propagation. But when the restriction laws were initiated aiming to reduce such influx of newcomers, those churches stopped growing. Up to 1924, there were frequent swarmings among them to begin new companies, but after that year there were more mergers instead, which suggests that their "finest hour" may have passed.

The Scandinavian work is a good example of such development. Although the Scandinavians proved to be of all ethnic groups most susceptible to the American assimilation, still for several decades their churches grew in number and membership everywhere in the United States. This was so because the Scandinavians were constantly coming in large numbers to America; but when the new laws

restricted their influx, and, perhaps, their living standard at home improved to keep them from emigrating, their churches here immediately experienced a decline and, in the course of several decades, practically disappeared. The last Scandinavian congregation in New York yielded the property and name to its rapidly growing black membership in 1971.¹

The Czechoslovakian and Hungarian churches of metropolitan New York went through similar adjustments. The churches of Bridgeport were absorbed by the New York congregations. The Hungarian New Brunswick church strengthened the congregation in Perth Amboy by its merger with the latter.² The Czechoslovakian churches in New York and New Jersey, except the one in Newark, eventually merged with the English congregations, and thus died out. However, the two remaining Hungarian churches had been rejuvenated twice since World War II. In both cases the rejuvenation resulted from new immigrations made possible by the special actions of the Congress for the Displaced Persons in 1948 and the Hungarian Freedom Fighters in 1956.³

The Yugoslavian church in New York held its membership together without making any significant progress until the Congress provided for the admittance of the Displaced Persons and later of regular immigrants. The new immigrations reinforced the church in New York, and other congregations elsewhere in America, to reach out

¹Greater New York Conference Committee minutes, 1971.

²New Jersey Conference Committee minutes, 1965.

³See Kennedy, p. 35.

with zeal for soul-winning. As the result of house-to-house visitation, radio, and public evangelism, four new churches were organized in various American cities. Each congregation now has its own building and membership capable of continuing with the zeal of evangelism. Yugoslavia's political situation is such that emigrations are possible, and the new immigration laws of the United States welcomes the immigrants. The work among the Yugoslavs grows.¹

According to L. Halswick's report, there were more than one hundred German churches in America in 1942, with the total membership of over five thousand.² In the Greater New York area there were five German Seventh-day Adventist churches with a membership of nearly a thousand.³ Three of those churches have since united with English congregations, and one of the remaining conducts its services in English.⁴ What is the reason for the decline of these once strong churches? Is it the lack of commitment to the gospel responsibility? No. The reason is found in the drastic decline of German immigration to the United States.

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So it becomes evident that there is a relationship between

¹The writer is very familiar with the Yugoslavian churches in the United States and Canada.

²L. M. Halswick, Mission Fields at Home (Brookfield, Ill.: Pacific Press Publishing Association), p. 58.

³According to the Directories of the Greater New York and New Jersey Conferences.

⁴Since 1971.

the immigration influx and the growth of the foreign-speaking congregations in America. When the political conditions and the living standard of the European countries improved and their migration declined, the churches representing them in the United States also began to decline. On the other hand some such congregations gained in membership because of an increased influx in their favor. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the decline of immigration is one of the reasons for the present experience of the foreign-speaking churches in America.

However, to gain even a deeper insight of the problem discussed above; namely, the problem of growth of the Euro-American church, it seems advisable to take a theological view regarding the church and its mission in the world. Since its purpose and work are reflected in the relationship with the members within, and the social environment without its doors, the following chapter concerned with theology will bring the problem of the church's growth into a sharper focus for the purpose of further evaluation.

IV. THEOLOGY OF THE CHURCH

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce a theological aspect of the church of Christ, in order to create a fuller picture of the mission and function of the Euro-American church evaluated in this project. The first part of the chapter focuses on the organic structure of the church emphasizing its divine origin as the body of Christ, of which He is the Head and the High Priest. The second part stresses the church's responsibility for service as Christ's representative among men.

As an institution of God, the church is called to service in order to exhibit the divine character of its mission by unselfish and spontaneous work for the benefit and redemption of the human race. Because Christ desired to fellowship with the sons of man, He made the church a "holy priesthood" for the purpose of bestowing His grace upon those who would come to Him. In old times Christ initiated a love relationship between Himself and the children of Israel for that same purpose—service to humanity, but now He does that through His "holy nation"—the church.

As a channel of grace through its service, the church carries a great responsibility before the One who "elected" it for the gospel mission. Therefore its every intent, and its every action, evaluated with sobriety and grace reveals a new dimension in the horizon of God's purpose for His people. And thus, viewing the

Euro-American church through the window of the theology of the church will greatly help to examine it more correctly.

Fundamental Structure of the Church

God's People

The church of Jesus Christ is composed of individuals who ideally maintain a living communion with God through Christ and intimately fellowship with those who recognize Him as their Saviour. But even more than the sum of such individuals who rightly compose the membership of the church, and more than the product of their urge for religious fellowship, "the church is an Institution of God."¹ In this institution every member is regarded a son because of the redeeming grace poured out by God through His only Son, "that whoever believes in Him should have eternal life" (Jn. 3:16).²

A congregation of such individuals constitutes "God's people" (Eph. 3:14, 15). By this term the Old Testament denotes God's ownership over the children of Israel (Lev. 16:12; Jer. 11:4; 30:22), but the New Testament emphasizes the crucial continuity of that ownership as being transferred from the old Israel to the church of Christ (Rom. 9:25; 2 Cor. 6:16). When the children of Israel rebelled against God's ownership (Heb. 4:6; Jn. 19:15), God opened the way for the Gentiles to become "a holy nation, God's own people" (1 Pe. 2:9, 10; also Heb. 4:9; 11:25), and thus continue His traditional relationship with the sons of man. Of the church He

¹Hans Kung, The Church (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1967), p. 128.

²All Bible references in this paper are quoted from the Revised Standard Version unless otherwise indicated.

said, "And I will be their God and they shall be my people" (Heb. 8:10) and "they shall be called sons of the living God" (Rom. 9:26). God's seal of ownership thus had been placed upon the church.¹

The members of this new institution, the Christian church, are called by various names of honor in the New Testament; "elect" (Mt. 24:31; 2 Ti. 2:10), "saints" (Eph. 1:15; Php. 1:1), "disciples" (Acts 11:26), and "brethren" (Acts 15:1-3). These names indicate that God's relationship with the new institution is based on His new covenant whereby those who were "the children of God" (Heb. 8:10) become the congregation of God's people.²

The Body of Christ

The New Testament term, the body of Christ, implies that the baptized believers, regardless of their background, whether Jews or Gentiles, slaves or free, are all one in Christ through His sacrifice on the cross (1 Cor. 12:12, 13). Paul uses it to point out that such believers are not only the members of a new Christian community, but more than that, the members of Christ's own body (14-16). The notion of the body in connection with the church is undoubtedly one of his original ideas whereby he illustrates the organic union between Christ and His people, and the people among themselves. This organic relationship for Paul is a continuously present experience of interdependence which by nature generates the

¹Ellen G. White, The Acts of the Apostles (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1911), p. 9.

²Franklin M. Segler, A Theology of Church and Ministry (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1960), p. 3.

power of coherence and provides for a comfortable coexistence within the body. The love of Christ is that integrating power whereby the existence and function of each member is made possible and meaningful (Eph. 5:21-33).

Paul's ideas of a spiritual body on one hand, and organized functional institution on the other, in reality complement each other. F. M. Segler says, ". . . the church is the body of Christ at work in the world where the ideal and functional meet together." An institution is based and dominated by at least one idea, but that idea is tested by structural functions to determine its usefulness in practical reality.¹ The idea of the body of Christ had gone through its test, and still does, as the church ministers to the world of individuals within and without its membership. For Paul, as for every true follower of Jesus, the body of Christ is not a mystical body, but a reality of life, because "In Him we live and move and have our being" (Acts 17:28). The relationship of Christ to the church coordinates all actions and thinking of the members so that His character, purpose, and will is exhibited through them before the rest of the world.

Affiliation of the Churches

From the earliest days of Christianity, the local churches sought fellowship with one another and have cooperated in their missionary and benevolent enterprises. The church at Antioch and the church in Jerusalem exchanged their fraternal messengers to solve a problem of their mutual interest (Acts 13). The church at

¹Ibid., p. 12.

Philippi helped Paul in his missionary effort in Macedonia (Php. 1:3-5). Again, the church at Antioch sent Barnabas and Paul to the mission service of Asia. When the new churches had been established, the apostles revisited them several times in order to strengthen their common fellowship.

Segler gives several reasons why the local churches should be bound together into a mutual affiliation. The bond of unity provides benefits which a local church cannot realize by itself. These benefits are as follows:

1. Continuing education through various agencies with literature and information of mutual interests
2. Opportunity for witnessing and financing the great enterprises of world mission and service as an organized union of churches
3. Opportunity to challenge great objectives realistically
4. Privilege for sharing in a continuous creative development of improved methods in work performance
5. Inspiration and challenge of sharing with other churches within the fellowship
6. Sense of belonging in the union of like minds, resulting in mutual strength of the local churches¹

An isolation from the sisterhood of churches would be an isolation from the benefits which a large affiliated body desires to offer. The only reason for such an isolation would be the church's determination to run away from its responsibility of service to the world around. Since a church's usefulness is measured by its

¹Ibid., p. 231.

objectives, relative to the gospel commission; and since that commission is too great for any one local congregation to fulfill alone, the church must, therefore, seek strength in cooperating with other churches within the denomination to achieve its high objectives worthy of Christ's name. In reality the local church cannot afford to be isolated or independent since such an act may lead into provincialism and ultimate decay.¹

The High Priest

Jesus Christ is the High Priest of the church. A priest of the Old Testament order had to be a member of the priestly family; born into the priesthood of Aaron. But Christ is a Priest, not according to Aaron's prerogative, but after a divine appointment through the order of Melchizedek (Heb. 5:5). God made Him a High Priest for a special reason (Heb. 7:1-28; 5:4-6), therefore, His office differs from the office of an Old Testament high priest. The high priest then represented before God a people oppressed by sin, but was not able to sacrifice and pray effectively because of his own sinfulness and weakness. However "being like them and of them, he was able to feel with them and for them in compassion."²

But, Christ is a better High Priest because He is not subject to sin and temptation. He needs no sacrifice for His personal atonement (Heb. 5:7, 9), yet at the same time, He is also like us, sharing our weaknesses and feeling with us and for us in

¹This observation is based on the writer's experience as pastor of some churches tending toward such isolation.

²Kung, p. 370.

compassion, as He stands before God to present His great sacrifice for all of us. Scripturally, the office of the high priest of the church is found only in the priesthood of Christ. Paul said, "For there is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself as a ransom for all" (1 Ti. 2:5). Being the high priest of, and the sacrifice for the church, "consequently He is able for all time to save those who draw near to God through Him, since He always lives to make intercession for them" (Heb. 7:25).

Priesthood of the Believers

When the disciples returned from the Mount of Ascension, "They all with one accord devoted themselves to prayer . . . and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit . . . and the Lord added to their number day by day those who were saved (Acts 1:14; 2:4, 47). "This day, the day of Pentecost, marks the beginning of the Christian church of which the risen and exalted Saviour is Head.¹

Jesus prayed that when the time comes to take up the responsibility of the gospel, the church may understand its mission in the world and its service to the world. As it extends its influence around the globe as a well-disciplined spiritual body, so that it may be able to fulfill the divine mandate of proclaiming His soon coming in glory (Jn. 17:6-26). His desire for the church was that all its members may be "sanctified in the truth" and thus minister to the world as His earthly representatives. For this reason He consecrated them into a new priesthood, not after the old

¹Ibid., p. 11.

order of Aaron, but after the order of Jesus Christ, the Son of God; not only one person or a tribe, but every member of the "holy nation"; every true member of His church. This was to be the priesthood for which He was crucified on the cross, ". . . in God's sight chosen and precious . . . a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ" (1 Pe. 2:4, 5).¹

A believer who does not hold an ecclesiastical office in the church is still a Christian and a member of the church, but a person who holds an office without being committed to the faith and purpose of the church, in reality, is neither Christian nor a church member. Moreover, a committed believer is a priest appointed not by men but by God and plays a vital part within the Christian community regardless of his ecclesiastical office.² The church must be seen and appreciated first and foremost as the fellowship of faith in which the priestly function of each believer comes to its full demonstration and meaning. Only by commitment to the gospel mandate, within the community of faith, the believers become "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people" (1 Pe. 2:9).

As Jesus Christ, the High Priest of the heavenly sanctuary, serves before God for the benefit of all men, so does the priesthood of His believers serve for mankind on this earth. By their priestly service the believers identify with Christ and become one with Him

¹White, Acts of the Apostles, p. 91.

²Kung, p. 362.

in purpose and function. However, such commitment and service does not create a special class of privileged few but offers an opportunity for anyone to play an important part in the ministry and salvation of their still unsaved brethren. The idea of the priesthood of all believers is a logical conclusion based on the New Testament concept of the nature and purpose of the church.¹

Spiritual Gifts of the Church

Recognizing the church's need for a greater power whereby it may be able to accomplish the enormous task set before it, the Saviour, "before offering Himself as a sacrificial victim, instructed His disciples regarding a most essential and complete gift which He was to bestow upon them."² When He ascended to heaven "He gave gifts" to His church: "some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers" (Eph. 4:11). Others received the gifts of prophecy, service, teaching, exhortation, liberality, zeal, charity (Rom. 12:6-8), wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, miracles, prophecy, tongues, interpretation of tongues (1 Cor. 12:8-10).

The gifts of the Spirit were given to the church for edification in its responsibility for the gospel commission. Paul gives three reasons for which they are of particular need: "for the equipment of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for building up the body of Christ" (Eph. 4:12). The Apostle points out here

¹Ibid., p. 363.

²White, Acts of the Apostles, p. 47. See Jn. 14:12-24.

that the saints need to be well prepared for a special service as they enter the world to proclaim the gospel of Christ. The gifts are given to the church for no other purpose but ministry to itself and to the world; and they are still available, waiting to be used for the advancement of God's cause.

The apostolic gift was given to the leaders of the first Christian generation, however, and with the disappearance of the apostles, the gift became only a matter of history. Prophecy is rare in the church's history; the church neglected it because of frequent misuse of this gift. But the gifts of evangelism, pastorate, and teaching later provided a platform for some new ecclesiastical offices which had been developing from the early existence of the church. The New Testament mentions "bishops" (1 Ti. 3:1, 2; Tit. 1:7; Php. 1:1), "elders" (1 Pe. 5:1-3; 1 Ti. 5:17), and "deacons" (1 Ti. 3:18-20; Php. 1:1). As the church grew in reputation and power these offices grew also. They eventually isolated the clergy from the laity; contrary to the original intent of the spiritual gifts.¹

Purpose of the Church

Christian Ministry

The concept of the church and its purpose can be influenced

¹In the early church the elders or presbyters were probably the same as the bishops. It was an office derived from the Jewish usage of elders or rulers of synagogues. See Acts 4:8; 6:12; Heb. 11:2; 1 Pe. 5:1. Also see Ignatius, "Epistle to the Smyrneans," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, American ed. (New York: Christian Literature Co., 1896), 1:88

by forms the church assumed at different times in history. Kung pointed out that Christians may even become "the prisoners of the images the church made for itself."¹ If this assumption is historically correct, then Christians must be sure that they are free from such forms and images as they evaluate themselves. The basis for its freedom is the spiritual values the church received from Christ, who brought it to life through the Holy Spirit of God.

He said to the disciples, "You are the salt" and "You are the light of the world" (Mt. 5:13-16). Both expressions are concerned with the responsibility of Christian ministry to the world whereby it might be saved from the devastating results of sin. The church's purpose is designed by God to bring all men into unity for "building, completing, and, where necessary, rebuilding the ecclesiastical community of Jesus Christ of a ministry which furthers communion between men and God, and men with each other."²

Christ's goal for the church is to establish a community of disciples who will carry the gospel of His kingdom "to every nation and tribe and tongue and people" (Rev. 14:6); and who will witness of His love for mankind to every human being (Mt. 28:19, 20). His goal for the church is the ministry of love and concern for the perishing world. Through the church He desires to reconcile men to God so that the Holy Spirit may do His eternal work in their hearts

¹Kung, p. 4.

²Arnold Uleyn, It is I, Lord (New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969), Introduction.

and sanctify their hands for His labor of love.¹ Christ's labor is done through the service of His disciples. The work of redemption and sanctification depends on their willingness to work for Him. For this reason Christ appeals to the Christians to present themselves "as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God" (Rom. 12:1) as their conscientious service.

E. G. White supports the idea of service as the main task of the Christian church. She says, "The church is God's appointed agency for the salvation of men. It was organized for service, and its mission is to carry the gospel to the world." Further she states: "The church is a repository of the riches of the grace of Christ; and through the church will eventually be made manifest . . . the final and full display of the love of God." Therefore, those who claim to be His disciples must find "happiness in the happiness of those whom they help and bless."²

Community Service

The question may be asked, what is Christian service? Should Christians minister to the total human need, and should the church care for the whole person? The answer is yes. The church must meet man's physical, mental, spiritual, and other needs. The Bible directs specific commands to the congregation of God's people to help those in difficulty and need. W. P. Pinson refers to more than seventy such explicit commands throughout the two

¹Robert J. St. Clair, Neurotics in the Church (Westwood, N.J.: F. H. Revell Co., 1964).

²White, Acts of the Apostles, pp. 9, 12.

Testaments.¹ (For illustrations see Mt. 10:8; Lk. 9:2; 2 Ti. 4:2.)

Since the church has been commissioned for service it must, therefore, break the barriers between itself and the community where it is located and build bridges of good will by its concern for the needs and problems of its immediate environment. The church must minister to the community with love and grace of Christ as it extends its help unselfishly. "The church which lives to perpetuate its own institutional structure and self-interest is idolatrous and not Christian in purpose."² But the true church is aware of the danger of selfishness and is willing to die to self so that it may live for the world of persons for whom Christ Himself died.

As the Lord Jesus identifies Himself with the suffering ones, He points to the example of unselfish and true Christian service by the following words:

Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee? Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. Mt. 25:34-40 (KJV).

Humanity is waiting for the church to extend its help in the power and love of its Founder. When this happens "Christ will work

¹William M. Pinson, Jr., The Local Church in Ministry (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1973), p. 15.

²Segler, p. 226.

through every soul that will give himself up to be worked, not only to preach but to minister to the despairing and to inspire hope in the hearts of the hopeless."¹ Welfare service will then bring new opportunities to display the real concern and genuine love for the bruised and incapacitated men and women in this world of sin. The church needs to stop being concerned about itself so much and discover that it is not so difficult to be friendly and helpful to those outside the gate.² An attitude of friendliness can help the church to regain its original activity of love and make it willing to pay the price for it.

Pinson produced a list of problems and needs which a typical community in the United States may face today. Some of the suggestions would probably frighten away all except the brave. Such services as helping alcoholics, divorcees, gangs, homosexuals, juvenile offenders, narcotic addicts, night people, unwed parents, and released offenders would probably bring reactions from among some more conservative members. But the idea is not that the church must meet the needs of all existing problems in the community; rather, the idea is that the church should be helpful in solving at least some of them. In determining which of the community needs the church should try to meet, Pinson advises the following steps: (1) sensitize the members to be aware of human suffering; (2) find specific needs in the community and learn what has been done about

¹Ellen G. White, Welfare Ministry (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald Publishing Association, 1952), p. 23.

²Donald A. McGavran and Win C. Arn, How to Grow a Church (Glendale, Calif.: Regal Books, G/L, 1973), pp. 5-6.

them; (3) discover available resources for service; (4) establish priorities for action.¹ So as the church makes itself available for the service of Christ it will learn how to be loving and sacrificial as the apostolic church was in the past.

Another practical way of building bridges is to keep the dialogue between the church and community constantly open and flowing because, communication is the lifeblood of human relationship. When interpersonal relationship is neglected, mutual understanding dies out and suspicion and hostility take its place. "But a renewed dialogue can restore a dying relationship and bring new hope, health, and wholeness to individuals and groups."² Christ's dialogue with the Samaritan woman is a classic example of a dialogue for building bridges. For centuries the Jews and Samaritans had not spoken to each other, but just one well-constructed bridge brought salvation to many.

P. E. Johnson said, "Each of us is nourished into personhood through our relationship with others."³ It could also be said that each church develops its personhood through the relationship with its own community. To create a pleasant relationship with a long neglected community may not be an easy task. A true experience of joy is not easy to come by. Such an experience may often be mingled with pain; yet, there is a great joy in victory through

¹Pinson, p. 27.

²Rauel L. Howe, The Miracle of Dialogue (New York: Seabury Press, 1963), p. 3.

³Paul E. Johnson, The Middle Years (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), p. 38.

struggle. As the church launches the battle against complacency within and problems without, it should remember the promise, "Cast your burden upon the Lord and He will sustain you" (Ps. 55:22).

Home Service

Although the church is by purpose universal since it carries the responsibility of proclaiming a universal gospel of Christ (Mt. 24:14; Rev. 14:6), however, it is local geographically. To its local community it must give of itself in order to alleviate suffering and pain. But the church's supreme responsibility is the nurture of the members of the body of Christ. For without a strong and secure membership the church will not be able to launch out into a meaningful community program. To its own it must extend such services as preaching the Word (2 Ti. 4:2), teaching the doctrine (Tit. 1:9), baptizing the new believers (Mt. 28:19, 20), administering the Lord's supper (1 Cor. 11), helping the needy (Mt. 25:34-40), healing the sick (Mt. 10:8; Lk. 9:2), educating the young (1 Ti. 5:1, 2), caring for the old (1 Ti. 5:1, 2), and praying for the dying (Jas. 5:13-18).

The church is a congregation of persons desiring to have fellowship with Jesus Christ to become a community of saints. But the primary meaning of the body of Christ is to recognize that the individual members may have various personal needs of which the body must be mindful. To list only a few areas of need within the church: aged, bereaved, childless, engaged, gifted, hospitalized, home-bound, lonely, those with marriage problems, non-English speaking, overweight, parents, poor, single adults, unemployed, widowers,

widows, working parents, troubled youth. Many of these problems were not known to the early Christian community, but the modern church must not only know of their existence, it must find ways to minister to such needs. Pinson gives a list of more than a hundred examples of possible ministries that the church could develop in order to be helpful internally and externally.¹

Witness

When the Holy Spirit fell upon the believers on the day of Pentecost they "began to speak" (Acts 2:4), and a multitude came together as a result of their witness. Witnessing was the reason for the baptism of the Spirit. The Bible tells that Peter and the apostles witnessed in Jerusalem and Judea (Acts 8:34), Philip in Samaria (8:4-8), Paul and Barnabas among the Gentiles and the membership being "scattered throughout the region (4:1), and preached the word everywhere (see Mk. 16:20, KJV). The apostolic church correctly understood its responsibility of witnessing which produced a great harvest of souls. Their witness was characterized by the following activities:

Witness through preaching. "It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save the world" (1 Cor. 1:21, KJV). "We cannot but speak what we have seen and heard" (Acts 4:20). The New Testament writers speak of "preaching the gospel," "preaching the Kingdom of God," and "preaching Jesus Christ" to the believers and non-believers.

¹See Pinson's outline of needs, ministeries, and resources, pp. 49-89.

Witness through teaching. "Once the church has experienced the saving power of the gospel, it seeks to understand its full meaning and implication,"¹ which is done by teaching.

Witness through evangelism. While preaching comprehends both the church and the world, evangelism is the proclamation of the gospel to non-believers. Jesus commissioned the church to proclaim the good news of His Kingdom (Mk. 16:15). "The Lord designed that the presentation of the message should be the highest work carried out in the world."²

Witness through stewardship. Stewardship of life is a New Testament doctrine. Through so many of His parables, Jesus demonstrated His concern for stewardship. Paul said, "You are not your own, you are bought with a price" (1 Cor. 6:19). "Stewardship of life, talent, and possessions grows out of personal relationship in salvation. Nothing the Christian has is considered his own except in relationship to God's will for his life."³

Witness through healing. The care for people's physical well-being was very high in Christ's ministry. The early church regarded the care for the sick as the right arm of the work of evangelism (Mt. 10:1). Christ's invitation, "Come to me . . . and I will give you rest" (Mt. 11:28) must be continued by His representatives on this earth.

¹Segler, p. 28. Also see Charles H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949).

²Ellen G. White, Evangelism (Washington, D.C.: Review & Herald Publishing Association, 1946), p. 18.

³Segler, p. 31.

Witness through personal life. The words, "You are the salt," and "You are the light of the world" (Mt. 5:13, 14), mean that God's witnesses may be influencing some one of their fellowmen to come to Christ and be unburdened from the load of sin. A holy life is the best witness of Christ's love and redemption.

.....

This review of the church's privilege and responsibility points out that the church has an extraordinary mission to fulfill. But the divine appointment sets it apart for the mission, and the service of grace qualifies it for the task. United in the body of Christ as God's holy people, and having Him as its head, the church has found its main purpose in ministering to the "saints" within the congregation and in serving those without the church. Thus, by service the church identifies with its head and founder—Jesus Christ.

With this information regarding the nature and work of the church the following survey of the Euro-American congregations in New York City will prove to be more intelligent and more penetrating. Such comprehension of the condition of the congregations in New York will help to grasp the problem concerning the Euro-American church as a whole.

V. EURO-AMERICAN SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST

CHURCH IN NEW YORK TODAY

A Survey of Individual Congregations

German-Brooklyn

This congregation is not only the oldest among the Euro-American churches in the Greater New York Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, but it is the only church in the conference with its origin dating back to the last century. Other churches in the conference are either younger or have experienced moves and mergers and therefore can not claim the seniority over or equality to that of the German-Brooklyn church. From its organization this church was a strong congregation in many ways. Its membership for decades stood between three hundred and five hundred, and its soul-winning activities were demonstrated by the organization of several other German churches in the metropolitan area of New York. Besides these activities, the German-Brooklyn congregation contributed much to the development of the English-speaking work in the conference by giving hundreds of its young people to strengthen the membership and the leadership of the newly developing churches. It is claimed that this church produced more denominational workers than perhaps any other Seventh-day Adventist church in the eastern part of the United

States.¹ Its missionary activities and unselfish contributions to the denominational cause secured for it a place of honor among the sister churches within the boundaries of the local conference and beyond.

The membership of the German-Brooklyn church today stands at 143.² Although the membership figure suggests a decline, it is still a vital and active congregation. According to the comparative statement of tithes and offerings of the conference, the church contributed nearly \$55,000 in 1975.³ However, there are some serious social problems developing rapidly in its neighborhood which might force this once strong body to give up its evangelistic lamp. Besides the problems mentioned in the previous chapter, the church, because of its location, is no longer reaching the ethnic group for which it was originally built. The neighborhood is filling rapidly with Spanish-speaking people, and the church is trying to appeal to other European groups still living in the neighborhood by offering services in the English language. Evangelistic efforts of recent dates have brought members of non-German origin which indicate that, if the trend continues, the word "German" will soon be dropped from the church's name. It may also mean that after nearly a century the congregation may have to be relocated in favor of a Spanish-speaking Seventh-day Adventist congregation rapidly developing in the same

¹Statement based on testimonies of three former pastors and several past and present lay leaders of the church.

²Greater New York Conference Statement, March 31, 1976.

³These figures are rounded.

neighborhood.¹

German-Manhattan

The German-Manhattan congregation is one of the spiritual daughters of the German-Brooklyn church. It was brought to life before World War I when German immigration to the United States was large and constant; by 1925 it reached a membership of over two hundred. This church also was an active evangelistic agency of the Seventh-day Adventists among the Germans for nearly seventy years. Presently its membership stands at 118, and the yearly contribution to the denomination in monetary value exceeds \$60,000.² The church is located in a very expensive business section of Manhattan, which at the time of its erection was predominantly German. The sale of its air-right for \$500,000 in 1973 made it the richest church in the conference.³

However, in recent years the German-Manhattan church has experienced a constant decline. Besides the reasons discussed in the previous chapter, it eventually found itself among the skyscrapers of New York and deserted by the German population of approximately three decades ago. But the hardest blow to the church, which at one time boasted of a membership of over three hundred, was

¹Feeling expressed by members of both congregations by interviews, May 1976.

²Greater New York Conference Comparative Statement of Tithes and Mission Funds, March 31, 1976.

³One half of the received funds were donated to the conference and the needy churches of the Greater New York area.

the desertion of its young people.¹ After World War II the assimilation process became so rapid and definite that the church had no time for regrouping nor initiating redirection. As the old members move out to seek a more suitable place for retirement, or pass away because of old age, the remaining members are very pessimistic about their church's future.

Hungarian

The Hungarian congregation in New York was organized in 1910 and was instrumental in bringing to life other Hungarian Adventist churches in the metropolitan area. These churches exhibited a great zeal for evangelization of their countrymen, and, as the result of such dedication to the gospel commission, they were able to stand the blows of the immigration restrictions and the depression years. During those hard years the congregation of Bridgeport joined the church in New York in order to strengthen their mutual interests of soul-winning and thus assure their survival.

The church in New York was never located ideally in a community where the Hungarians lived; therefore, its evangelistic success was not as spectacular as that of the Perth Amboy congregation in New Jersey, which was built in the midst of the Hungarian settlement called "Budapest."² The church of New York should have been located in the Bronx,³ where most Hungarians live and where

¹Estimated chronological age of the present membership exceeds sixty.

²The writer was its pastor from 1965 to 1967.

³See United States Census of 1970.

they are not subject to such fast assimilation¹ as are the Germans; but there was no one who realized that need who could push the project toward its proper location. In spite of the cited disadvantage, the church was able to hold its membership for years without declining because of its strong radio evangelism and the printed materials sent to thousands of its countrymen.²

The present condition of the church is reflected in the conference report of 1975 indicating that the membership stands at fifty-six, and the financial contribution to the denomination was \$20,000.³ The church owns no building but meets in the New York Evangelistic Center. Its location is still far from the people it ought to serve, but it continues to carry on active radio and tract programs. This church is more removed from the main denominational stream than the German churches. It has some young people who easily converse in Hungarian. Because of the fact that assimilation is much slower in this church, it is reasonable to expect its existence, and possible growth, for quite some time.

Yugoslavian

This church is the most promising Euro-American church in New York City. There are several reasons for this. Besides its evangelistic aggressiveness and strong will for life, the church from its conception has been located in the community of its

¹The Hungarians are not related to the English-Americans as the Germans and Scandinavians are.

²Interview with Elder J. Solhmann, former pastor of the Hungarian church.

³Greater New York Conference Statement, March 31, 1976.

people.¹ This community, for some reason, has not gone through the process of change as have most other sections of New York City. Therefore, the Yugoslavian Seventh-day Adventists have gained seniority and, with that, the respect of their countrymen which could not be obtained otherwise. The responsibility of community life demanded that the church show itself worthy of the community's respect and trust.

During its long life the church had only two pastoral changes,² which means that each pastor had the opportunity to live and grow with the congregation and the community he served. One pastor served for thirty years, during which time the congregation purchased property, built a new church building, and established a press to print religious literature in the Yugoslavian language. When the present pastor came, he needed to keep up with the community expectations. The church was by then old and out of style, therefore, he and the congregation launched a building program which resulted in a beautiful new church, new press, and a strong evangelism with the printed page. The long pastoral service here proved to be an advantage for the church as well as for the community; perhaps for the Conference treasury, too.³

Present conditions of the Yugoslavian church are also reflected in the recent Conference statement whereby this church's

¹Yugoslavian church is located in Astoria where two-thirds of Yugoslavs in New York live.

²Elder J. Spires was succeeded by Elder B. Kanachky in 1936. Elder M. Radanchevic succeeded B. Kanachky in 1966.

³By interview of all three pastors.

membership stands at eighty, and the total contribution to the denomination in 1975 was \$48,000.¹ From its beginning the church showed no decline in membership or contributions, although the gain has never been great. The congregation is composed of middle-aged and young families with a number of young people and children. Visiting their service offers a thrilling experience of musical contribution to worship. Therefore, the optimistic view of the church's future shines out of every person engaged in an interview or group discussion.

Hebrew Congregation

The Seventh-day Adventist Church first undertook the task of presenting the gospel to the Jews of America in 1894. But "the undertaking of this task presented many difficulties, as no methods had as yet been discovered on how to approach the Jew with the three-angels message."² The work among the Jews was very slow and often disappointing. After fifty years of pioneering among them, the first group of about fifteen members was organized in New York City.

Present membership of the Hebrew Congregation is forty-five, and its yearly contribution in funds to the denomination is \$15,000.³ To assess its present condition and forecast its future would be an impossible task. In the metropolitan area of New York, there are slightly over three million Jews which constitute about 52 percent of the total Jewish population in the United States. But

¹Greater New York Conference Statement, March 31, 1976.

²Halswick, p. 96.

³Greater New York Conference Statement, March 31, 1976.

these people differ greatly in culture, language, color, habits, and religious practice; and the difference may be so great that they would have no communication whatsoever one with another. At times this is reflected even among the Adventist-Jewish believers. The Adventist church needs able evangelists who would be able to bring Christ into the hearts of the Jews and erase all the prejudices from their lives in order to make a significant gain for the Seventh-day Adventist Church among the Jews.

This congregation has no young people and its Sabbath attendance is usually poor. Most members live too far away from the church. When they get together on the Sabbath, they do not understand each other because they speak different languages.¹ Looking at the situation from the human point of view the future of the Hebrew Adventist congregation is not very promising; in fact, it is very disappointing. However, the counsel given to the church is this: "The time has come when the Jews are to be given light . . . for there are to be multitudes convicted of the truth who will take their position for God."² Therefore, as long as there is a field for work, there must also be hope for success. The Jewish field is a great field and it requires matching optimism and patience.

Ukrainian

This church was organized in the 1950's when a number of Ukrainians were admitted to the United States as displaced persons

¹The writer interviewed several members who preferred to keep conversation in Hungarian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, and German rather than English, April and May 1976.

²Quoted by Halswick, p. 98.

resulting from World War II. Some of these immigrants were already Seventh-day Adventists who had heard of the Advent message in Poland or Germany.¹ Now they were able to witness and bring others into the church membership. At first the Ukrainians were members of the then existing Russian church, but when the group reached about thirty members they expressed a desire for a church of their own. As a result a new church was incorporated into the sisterhood of Adventist churches in the Greater New York Conference at the conference session of 1954.²

The organization of this church brought much joy into the hearts of the Ukrainian believers, but not for long. Some things had not been taken into consideration at the time of its organization. A demographic study, for example, had not been done to determine whether there was a community of Ukrainians in New York City whom the church could serve and which would provide the spiritual soil for its growth. The newly established church rented a large room at the New York Evangelistic Center, which was convenient for the members but too far removed from the nearest Ukrainian community to permit meaningful evangelization. Therefore, the group fell into the mood of isolation, and internal problems developed which completely halted the evangelistic opportunity of this young and feeble church. Eventually the Russian church joined the Ukrainians, but it was too late to improve their mutual condition

¹Interview of several members of the Ukrainian church, April and May 1976.

²Greater New York Conference Constituency Meeting, May 2, 1954.

of decline.¹

Presently the Ukrainian church membership stands at twenty-six, and the 1975 contribution of funds to the denomination was \$14,000.² The future of this congregation is not very encouraging. By the time someone recognizes the fact that the Ukrainian people do not live around Times Square but in the lower East Side, the congregation may become completely incapacitated to serve as an Adventist evangelistic agency at the right place and to the right people. Some members who do not attend keep their membership there for sentimental reasons, hoping against hope and praying against the obvious.³

The Ukrainian and Hebrew congregations are vivid examples of poor planning and neglect. This does not mean that the pastors and evangelists alone are responsible for the spiritual decline of these groups. They are not to be blamed for their lack of success. The responsibility falls on the conference leadership as well, for an evangelist may not be a statesman and a pastor may lack ability for long-range planning. However, the organizational leadership must be all this and more. Therefore, the responsibility for success, or lack thereof, is the responsibility of the whole church. If one lags, the whole body gets concerned until the problem is solved. In the same vein, the leadership of the local church must be concerned

¹Conclusion made on the basis of interviews with the two pastors who served the churches mentioned above, 1973 and 1976.

²Greater New York Conference Statement, March 31, 1976.

³By discussion with some members of the church, April 1976.

with the problems of its field and be sensitive to the needs of the struggling Euro-American congregations in New York City.

Attitudes Within the Church

Congregation

Attitude toward community. From the discussion in the previous chapter, one may recognize that New York City is a cosmopolitan giant, housing and feeding millions of human beings who differ one from another by race, nationality, culture, religion, and social status. The most pronounced division of the people is the division along the race line, the Negro and Caucasian—the Black and the White. Other differences mentioned earlier have also provided reasons for some to feel discriminated against, rejected, isolated, hated, or humiliated.

Very few Europeans came to America with means or honor to integrate them into the society where competition is the "holy" rule for success. In their struggle for success most Europeans have been subjected to social prejudices, but this did not break their determination for success. However, the process of Americanization found its beginning in the psychology of man, starting its growth from inside the man himself. Since American philosophy of success is based on rugged individualism and is thus intimately related to the rootless human selfishness, the Europeans, who before their arrival may have been idealistic, yielded to the dominant cultural influence sacrificing their pride and conviction to the new idol "success."

The change of values and goals thus changed their personality and, with that, their relationship toward people. Whereas,

before coming to America, they may have had an understanding for peoples' problems and sufferings, they now exhibited intolerance and discrimination against disadvantaged human beings. This attitude led to self-satisfaction and eventually to isolationism. It may be said that most Euro-American churches today are isolated; not because social conditions necessitate it, but because it is an American sickness which is extremely contagious among the Europeans. Therefore, if the community is not of the same type of people, as is the case to some degree with the Yugoslavian church, the church is usually unconcerned with the problems of its community. The only time the church people go to the community hall is to obtain permission for public solicitation of funds or for a building project.

But the church's purpose is designed by God to bring all men into unity for "building, completing, and where necessary, rebuilding the ecclesiastical community of Jesus Christ of a ministry which furthers communion between men and God, and men with each other (see p. 73). And since the church has been commissioned for service it must therefore break the barriers between itself and the community where it is located, and build bridges of good will by its concern for the needs and problems of its immediate environment. The church must minister to the community with love and grace of Christ as it extends its help unselfishly. "The church which lives to perpetuate its own institutional structure and self interest is idolatrous and not Christian in purpose." But the true church is aware of the danger of selfishness and is willing to die to self so that it may

live for the world of persons for whom Christ Himself died (see p. 75).

Attitude toward evangelism. Public evangelism in New York is more difficult today than ever before. Evening meetings in some areas are connected with real dangers.¹ The great changes taking place in the city life at this time cause a state of confusion among the church people; therefore, it is difficult to properly interpret the happenings of today and make realistic plans for tomorrow. Because of such conditions the community is losing its coherence, the family its solidarity, and crime is increasing by an alarming rate. Morality is declining even among the most conservative groups;² for men and women are becoming pleasure seekers today more than ever before in human history.³

Since Christian evangelism contributes nothing to people's physical excitement, but rather rebukes their sinful living, it is increasingly difficult to attract them to the gospel message by means of traditional evangelism. Another difficulty the Euro-American church in New York City faces is the fact that the immigrant's sons and grandsons prefer English to the language of their parents. Although culturally they may be Italian, Hungarian,

¹Crime in the streets, indifference, disregard for human dignity, and fear have nearly closed the possibility for evening meetings in many sections of New York City.

²Divorce rates are rising among the traditionally conservative groups. Single people living together is no longer considered immoral. See "The 20-Year Itch," Reader's Digest (May 1975), p. 79.

³2 Ti. 3:1-4.

German, or Yugoslavian, in real life they feel uncomfortable with any language other than English. On the other hand, the generation that still lives in the ethnic culture and language is too well set in its way of life to pay any attention to the preaching that may rebuke it for its complacency and irresponsible living.

The question is this, Is there a hope? Yes, there is a hope. The method of personal evangelism, whereby the gospel is brought into the home, can bring good results in soul-winning and keep the church alive and growing. This type of evangelism is the responsibility of every member. But will the members accept this responsibility? They will if they are led to comprehend the mission of the church.

It is necessary to understand that an immigrant is either an adventurer or a refugee, and that, in either case, he seeks first security for himself and his family in the new environment. Therefore, when the financial opportunity once comes within his reach, it becomes his main concern for quite some time. Because of his limited knowledge of the English language, he calls on the pastor for every business transaction he may have to perform, thus taking the pastor away from his plans along the evangelistic line. Both the pastor and the member find themselves involved in work which brings no spiritual reward.¹

Therefore, it may be said that the attitude of the Euro-American church members toward evangelism is the attitude of

¹This problem has been discussed by a group of language ministers at a recent meeting in New York and one in Chicago in 1975.

unconcern and disinterest. This situation can be corrected by teaching, by preaching, and by leading them through some practical experiences. Once the members learn to work for God and their fellowmen, no difficulty of city life would be able to discourage them, and the negative attitude could change into a positive one.¹

A practical way of evangelism is to build bridges and keep the dialogue between the church and community constantly open and flowing because, "communication is the lifeblood of human relationship." When interpersonal relationship is neglected, mutual understanding dies out and suspicion and hostility take its place. "But a renewed dialogue can restore a dying relationship and bring new hope, health, and wholeness to individuals and groups." Christ's dialogue with the Samaritan woman is a classic example of such evangelization by a dialogue that builds bridges. For centuries the Jews and Samaritans had not spoken to each other, but just one well-constructed bridge brought salvation to many (see p. 77).

Attitude toward parochial school. Very few Adventists of European background have learned to appreciate Christian education sponsored by the church in the United States. They cannot see the possibility of a good education in a small parochial school where sometimes several grades are taught together. In their minds such schools must be inferior educationally to a large public school

¹One pastor in New York succeeded in changing his congregation's attitude of indifference in evangelism. It took him two years to interest most of his members for soul-winning projects. Interview, May 1976.

where each grade meets separately and the system is sponsored by an abundance of public and government funds. This attitude may not be right, but it can be understood in light of the fact that the European countries do not permit private schools to compete with public education. Prior to their immigration the parents and children were indoctrinated by their governments that public school is the only true educational source in the world.

Besides the above argument against parochial education, the immigrant parents can not see the real need for sacrificing for tuition when the public system offers a free education for their children.¹ Because they do not understand that in a free society, such as America is, education is different than it is in Europe—although the same subjects and methods may be employed—therefore, they tend to ignore the opportunity the church offers for their children's Christian development. Even if convinced of such schools' advantages, a European immigrant would still send his children to a public school for fear of being looked down on by other parents in the church.²

According to a survey made in March 1976, of fifty-one elementary and high school children in the six Euro-American churches in New York, only three attended the Seventh-day Adventist church-sponsored schools. In a church where there are twenty-six school children, not one attends church-sponsored school, all go to

¹Impression based on a free discussion with nine parents, March 1976.

²Confessed by several parents participating in the discussion group.

public schools. An interview with the parents sending their children to the denominational school showed that at least one of the parents is not an immigrant, but American born. A discussion with the pastor of the church with twenty-six children of school age revealed his personal misgivings about denominational education. It was obvious that he could encourage no one to think in favor of Adventist Christian education.¹

The problem regarding education is related to the members' low opinion of the church. If they could grasp the true meaning of a congregation that constitutes the church of Christ, nothing would separate them from the blessings the church offers them.

A congregation of committed Christians constitutes "God's people" (Eph. 3:14, 15). By this term the Old Testament denotes God's ownership over the children of Israel (Lev. 16:12; Jer. 11:4; 30:22), but the New Testament emphasizes the crucial continuity of that ownership as being transferred from the old Israel to the church of Christ (Rom. 9:25; 2 Cor. 6:16). When the children of Israel rebelled against God's ownership (Heb. 4:6; Jn. 19:15), God opened the way for the Gentiles to become "a holy nation, God's own people" (1 Pe. 2:9, 10; also Heb. 4:9; 11:25), and thus continue His traditional relationship with the sons of man. Of the church He said, "And I will be their God and they shall be my people" (Heb. 8:10) and "they shall be called sons of the living God" (Rom. 9:26). God's seal of ownership thus had been placed upon the church

¹Some pastors expressed disapproval of conducting discussions with parents or children.

(see p. 64).

If they could understand that the purpose of Adventist education is to preserve that seal of God's ownership over them and their children, the sacrifice for such education would present no problem.

Attitude toward the denomination. Most of the Euro-American churches are socially isolated from the larger community endeavors of American life. For this reason their church services and social gatherings, even at their best, leave an impression of narrowness and shallowness. Visiting with them may create an opportunity for hospitality and good will on their part, but a sensitive observer will, nevertheless, detect this narrowness and shallowness as he enters into a closer relationship with them. Discussing the World Church may be boring to them. Complimenting the denomination for something good being done may produce undesirable criticism. However, they are well-informed about the denominational events, especially concerning the leadership of the church. Unfortunately, this information often comes to them with a wrong interpretation. Therefore, their attitude toward the denomination is a "we-they" nature.

But an isolation from the sisterhood of churches is an isolation from the benefits which a large affiliated body desires to offer. The only reason for such an isolation would be the church's determination to run away from its responsibility of service to the world around. Since a church's usefulness is measured by its objectives, relative to the gospel commission; and since that

commission is too great for any one local congregation to fulfill alone, the church must, therefore, seek strength in cooperating with other churches within the denomination to achieve its high objectives worthy of Christ's name. In reality the local church can not afford to be isolated or independent since such an act may lead into provincialism and ultimate decay (see pp. 67-68).

Four of the five pastors of the churches evaluated are immigrants. One of these four received his theological training in the United States; but all of them are European by culture, education, language, thinking, living, and pastoring. This may be the reason for the negative attitude the members express toward the denomination. It is possible that the interpretation of events and moods within the denomination comes from the pastors, not that they mean to be negative or critical, but because of the way they evaluate things in the light of their background. Another possibility for the "we-they" attitude may be psychological in origin. The pastor feels more at home with the people of his cultural background than with his fellow pastors in expressing his thinking and opinions on certain issues; and he expresses them within his culture where his judgments are more readily accepted or even greatly admired. This relationship, however innocent, leaves a germ of distrust in the minds of the church members who have never been exposed to the denominational horizons of world dimensions.

It may be well to look at still another possible reason for this negative attitude toward the denomination. As the denominational leaders occasionally visit these Euro-American

churches, they invariably misunderstand their apparent relationship with the visited church. As a part of their culture, most Europeans would go out of their way to show hospitality and good will for the guest. The guest will notice their generosity and interpret the event as his personal success in pleasing the church and thus forget to take the occasion seriously. Instead of going about the King's business, he enters into a relationship that can be misunderstood and criticized. Therefore, these visits need to be well planned, carrying the instructions of serious nature to satisfy the members' alert minds.¹

From the earliest days of Christianity, the local churches sought fellowship with one another and have cooperated in their missionary and benevolent enterprises. The church at Antioch and the church in Jerusalem exchanged their fraternal messengers to solve a problem of their mutual interest (Acts 13). The church at Philippi helped Paul in his missionary effort in Macedonia (Php. 1:3-5). Again, the church at Antioch sent Barnabas and Paul to the mission service of Asia. When the new churches had been established, the apostles revisited them several times in order to strengthen their common fellowship (see pp. 66-67).

This is an attitude which should replace the existing one; and this is an activity worthy of a Christian church and its leadership.

Attitude toward ministry. In a Euro-American church the

¹Their complaint is that the leadership does not take them seriously.

minister is a real servant of the congregation. Since he may be the only one to speak English well, he will be asked by the members to be their lawyer, employment agent, translator, purchasing agent, or a real estate counselor, and probably many other things besides. The member expects all this not as a matter of courtesy on the pastor's part, but as his pastoral obligation that goes together with his shepherding responsibility. Pastor's excuses, regardless of their legitimacy, are often interpreted as a lack of interest for the members or as sheer neglect of his pastoral duty.¹ Because of this awkward relationship the pastor is not judged so much by his spiritual contribution as by his ability and willingness to be everything to everybody. In cases where the pastors have not been available for "help," the problems mounted faster than they could be analyzed.

For this reason the pastor of such a group would first make sure that everything is well between himself and the congregation he serves before he undertakes other tasks for which a Seventh-day Adventist minister is called. Although such a situation keeps the pastor alert and ready for service, it nevertheless robs the Word of its priority. By the time he learns to be a "good minister" doing all that his congregation requires of him, his spiritual life and his theological concepts may be suffering drastic defeats. It is not unseen or unusual for a Euro-American church to come to a deadlock with the minister who learns slowly the importance of

¹This is the feeling of most pastors.

pleasing the people.¹ But if, on the other hand, he knows what to do in his dealings with the element of a different culture, he will be their hero and stay with them as long as he desires.²

Ministry

Personal problems. One of the difficulties that a pastor of a Euro-American church faces is his role as the middle man between his congregation and the outside world—between the congregation and the church organization. In his heart he is what his people are, but in his ministerial contacts with other ministers in the conference and in his relationship with the denominational leadership, his feelings are influenced differently. He becomes convinced that his church needs a reformation experience in order to grow spiritually, but he fears that such a reformation may take away the identity of the group he represents. In other words, he is afraid that such a reformation may augment the process of Americanization more than it would introduce spirituality into his church. Since he is not able to make such a decision, he, therefore, compromises within himself, and instead of growing as a person he weakens and deteriorates.³

Very few pastors of the Euro-American churches ever master the English language well enough to secure a comfortable place for

¹Conference officers are seldom called for help.

²Many such pastors stay for fifteen, twenty, or even more years.

³This observation is based on a discussion with several ministers in April 1976. Most are aware that the problem is in part their own.

themselves in the company of other ministers within the conference. Experiences of fellowship, such as conference retreats, workers' meetings, and ministerial councils, are more a burden to them than a joy. Unless there are some persons in the group in whose presence they can relax and express themselves, the experience of pastoral association brings nothing pleasant to them. Because an immigrant is a very sensitive person, suffering from a complex of self-consciousness, he will therefore tend to avoid discussion groups and other gatherings where he may be expected to participate. This he does because he is afraid that he might make himself a laughing-stock since he knows by experience that his American colleagues are often insensitive toward his personal complexities and problems.¹

Personal integrity. The problem that tends to reduce the pastor's integrity in a Euro-American church results from the nature of his ministry. He becomes so intimately tied to the members of the church that he becomes one of them and loses the ministerial dignity due him because of overfamiliarity. And since his pastoral activity is limited to the language and culture he represents, the pastor has little opportunity for his personal development to prove himself as being more than just an all-around man. Taking for granted that the pastor is a servant of the church, the members expect him to be around every time they need his service. Thus his personal need to extend the grace of genuine love and concern in time of their need is degraded. Such an attitude bruises the

¹The writer, being an immigrant, has gone through these experiences himself.

pastor's soul and leaves marks on his character which impair the growth of an ideal pastoral personality.¹

In difficult situations, such as family problems, church feuds, youth rebellions, and so forth, the pastor of an ethnic church may choose to lower his personal integrity for the sake of peace. He is much more apt to do this than an English-speaking pastor for obvious reason that the possibility for his transfer is much less. Therefore, it is not unusual for such a pastor to employ means such as compromising, politicking, gossiping, and, sometimes, plain lying.² Or he may yield to the desire of his church board to use the conference funds contrary to the denominational policy and not feel very guilty about it.³ This does not mean that he deliberately violates God's commandments, but rather it demonstrates his provincialism and state of desperation.

It must be emphasized that the pastors of the Euro-American churches, being immigrants themselves, accept the attitudes dominating the church membership as a norm of their own in life. As their parishoners lean toward the material possibilities of this good land of "wheat and barley, of wine and fig trees, a land of olive trees and honey," many of these pastors at the time of their retirement go with substantial financial security, as though compensating for the hardship during their pastoral service.

¹Expressed by several pastors and laymen in personal interviews during the last ten years.

²This is seen through the laymen's eyes. Interviews, January through May 1976.

³The writer knows of some such cases.

Through the years many have gone through a process of erosion toward the sacred responsibility of the true pastoral calling, but it is not unnatural when the circumstances are taken in consideration. The fact that they fought their fight alone accounts for many of their mistakes in the ministry.

Educational self-improvement. According to a research project done by the writer in 1975, the average educational level of an English-speaking pastor in the Greater New York Conference of Seventh-day Adventists stood at 5.7 years above the high school diploma, whereas the Euro-American minister reaches only 1.8 years beyond the high school education. This, however, does not mean that the Euro-American minister has no theological training; it indicates that the schools he attended are not institutions of higher learning according to the Seventh-day Adventist educational standards. Besides the formal education, an English-speaking minister has many possibilities for personal improvement, if he chooses to take advantage of them, but an immigrant pastor is very limited in what he can do to elevate himself educationally.¹ Therefore, he develops an attitude of self-sufficiency and does things to the best of his ability. Only two cases of interest in personal development, in the way of formal education, are observed during the last fifteen years among the Euro-American pastors.²

An immigrant pastor tends to look down upon the educational

¹Without a good command of the English language, he cannot take any advanced studies in this country.

²Both of these were relatively young men desiring to continue their education which was interrupted in Europe.

system of America. It may be that he suffers from a complex resulting from the fact that he is behind his American colleagues, and looking down upon American education provides a psychological crutch for his otherwise threatened stability. His personal problems along these lines may also be the reason for the lack of interest in Christian education in his church. If the church school is ever mentioned during the Sabbath morning hour, it is not mentioned in a way of promotion, but as a non-important matter.¹

Pastoral change. To effect a pastoral change in a Euro-American church can be a very involved thing. In many cases, such a pastor is an irreplaceable person. As a rule, a language church is very faithful in tithes and offerings, which may be connected to its legalistic theology, but the membership seldom bothers the organization with its demands or desires. The pastor is practically never in conflict with the conference, since he cares very little about its business and management. To lose a man of such relationship and spend the money for moving in another man, perhaps from a great distance, is not deemed wise at the conference level. As for the pastor, he would rather stay where he is, since his personal interests, such as his home, family, friends, and investments, are tied to his present place of residence. Even if there is a real need for a pastoral change, he is determined to stay on, if possible, until he finally retires at the age of seventy, feeling that he has done his work as faithfully as though the Lord had assigned it to

¹Such was recently heard in a New York church, June 1976.

him.¹

According to the survey mentioned above, the average age of an English-speaking pastor in the Greater New York Conference is forty-two, but the language pastor averages fifty-six. Since it is not easy to find a replacement for the language pastor, the conference usually encourages him to stay on as a retiree with some compensation for his service; and so, because of these monetary interests, the church consequently suffers spiritually. But if the church had the chance to work with a younger or different pastor for a time, a new spirit of revival would most likely take place in the lives of the membership of that congregation.

But who can blame that pastor for not recognizing the higher and more beautiful motive of his pastoral ministry, when during all of his service as a minister, he has been nothing more than a "stranger at the door" in a land of opportunity and blessing.² Too few knew or cared for his spiritual need; too few offered to help him to grow as a pastor and as a person. Evidently some lives have gone by in this way. Could it be that many efforts have been unrealized because denominational leadership really cared little for the progress of the struggling church and its pastor who have been and still are the "strangers at the door."

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¹Writer's personal knowledge of such cases.

²The writer interviewed several retired pastors who have expressed their feelings on this issue. They still carry disappointing memories of being accepted only as the second class ministry of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Through the years the Seventh-day Adventist Church consistently exhibited the spirit of the prevailing Anglo-Americanism. The methods of Americanization used outside the church were also applied within the church. As the assimilation process was fostered nationally by the government, it was also promoted by the leadership within the church. And since the dominant group in America had established "its physical and cultural characteristics as the standards for judging outsiders and newcomers,"¹ as Himes argues, and since the Europeans are physically and culturally related to the dominant Americans, the pressure for assimilation will probably remain upon them. This means that the European Adventists may not have a great chance for surviving very long within their culture, since they are wanted by the still dominant Caucasian Americans to strengthen their own position in the local congregations which are rapidly becoming non-Caucasian in most American big cities. And, knowing that the chances for improving their status within the church at large depends on being accepted by the dominant group, the younger generations of the language congregations will naturally gravitate toward that group.

This being stated about the Euro-American church, an impression may have been given that such church no longer has a real purpose within the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. Since the possibility for its growth is presently minimal, the hour of its passing away is at hand. However, the arguments for its existence need to be examined before such conclusions could be made.

¹See Himes, pp. 2-3.

In order to meet this need, the following chapter will deal with such arguments by bringing into focus the reasons heretofore not considered which could justify the existence of the Euro-American church. Also this chapter will be concerned with the concept of church growth viewed from the perspectives of numerical and spiritual gains of a Christian congregation.

During his research the writer endeavored to find the best possible arguments to prove that the existence of the Euro-American church is both justified and necessary. But whether his findings qualify to be considered as success is left to the reader to determine.

VI. EURO-AMERICAN CONGREGATION WITHIN THE
SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH STRUCTURE

Justification for its Existence

Biblical Viewpoint

The direct, specific, and categorical command, "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations,"¹ has obligated the church to share the grace of salvation with all men. The Lord made the church an agency of His grace when He sent it to preach the gospel "everywhere . . . to every creature."² Therefore, He made the church responsible for proclaiming His good news to all who dwell on earth, "to every nation and tribe and tongue and people."³ This command includes all men. The work of the disciples is to go convert others to the marvelous grace of salvation and when these become His disciples, they, too, will go for the benefit of the ones who will follow them.⁴

After the Pentecost, many people of differing cultures and languages became disciples of Jesus Christ in the early church because they had seen the great signs that had followed the

¹Mt. 24:19.

²Mk. 16:15 (KJV).

³Rev. 14:6.

⁴See Chapter IV, "Witness," pg. 79.

preaching of the apostles. Their conversion was so genuine and complete, and their love for Christ and brethren so deep, that "as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the proceeds of what was sold and laid it at the apostles' feet."¹ Specific mention was made in the book of Acts of a convert from Cyprus who made a rather large contribution to the early Christian community. These people were able to sacrifice everything they possessed because Christ's redeeming grace inspired their motives for a higher purpose in life.

But when "the disciples were increasing in number the Hellenists murmured against the Hebrews because their widows were neglected in the daily distribution."² This, surely, was not a deliberate neglect on the part of the Jews, but rather a break of communication in which emotionalism took over.³ Had the apostles comprehended the nature of the universal gospel and immediately after the incident dispersed the converts according to their ethnic backgrounds, the problem which followed probably would not have happened. Perhaps the incident suggested that their attempt for assimilation was not necessary at all.

However, this incident was not the only recorded attempt for assimilation in the early Christian church. What happened between the Jews and Greeks in the Jerusalem congregation, happened many times in the Christian church later on in the cultural centers of

¹Acts 4:34.

²Acts 6:1.

³See White, Acts of the Apostles, p. 88.

Greece and Rome. The Jews at first demanded recognition and respect for seniority in their relationship with God, but Paul had to write against them for the sake of unity and peace among the members of various backgrounds in the church.¹ The Jewish actions were directed toward securing a firmer position in the rapidly growing church of non-Jewish converts. And what happened to the church in the cities with such cultural differences, as was the case with the Jews and Gentiles, is clear evidence that cultural barriers are not easily removed.

Jewish Christianity finally disappeared in the fourth and subsequent centuries, but not without persecution by their Gentile brethren. If persecution had been avoided, Jewish Christianity could have been saved and used as a bridge between the two cultural relatives—Judaism and Christianity. The early church gives an example of natural assimilation of those Jews who felt, for one reason or other, closer to the Gentiles than to their fellow Jews. However, their action did not come as a result of an enforced policy of the church, but because of their personal conviction and free choice.² In the same vein, the Seventh-day Adventist church in America must avoid the elimination of the language churches by pressures for assimilation, because once they lose their identity by force they will probably die.³

¹See Eph. 4:1-16.

²Examples: Paul, Barnabas, Philip, Mark, Silas, etc.

³In the Greater New York Conference at least fifteen churches of European background have died in the last fifty years.

It should be remembered that the New Testament emphasizes the idea of plurality by its mention of nations, languages, peoples, and tribes, and the church needs to be mindful of their existence, heritage, and possible contribution to the totality of the gospel appeal to the world.¹ The very first act of the Holy Spirit at the time of Pentecost was the distribution of tongues to the twelve apostles and other disciples of Christ in order to reach the multitudes representing thirteen different countries and languages gathered in Jerusalem.² Interestingly enough, the Holy Spirit did not give the gathered foreigners the ability to understand the Aramaic language, but bestowed upon the Galilean Jews the gift of tongues, thus enabling each to work for the people of the tongue he had received from the Holy Spirit.

The gifts of the Spirit were given to the church for edification in its responsibility for the gospel commission. Paul gives three reasons for which they are of particular need: "for the equipment of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for building up the body of Christ" (Eph. 4:12). The Apostle points out here that the saints need to be well prepared for a special service as they enter the world to proclaim the gospel of Christ. The gifts are given to the church for no other purpose but ministry to itself and to the world; and they are still available, waiting to be used for the advancement of God's cause (see pp. 71-72).

¹See Mt. 24:14; Mk. 16:17; Acts 2:3, 4, 11; Rev. 7:9; 10:11; 11:9; 13:7; 17:15.

²See Acts 2:5-13.

Therefore, the church should not undo that which has been initiated by the Holy Spirit. Assimilation should not become a policy or a process due to deliberate neglect on the part of the church, but must remain a free commodity for those who might want it. On the other hand, the church of a language or culture must never become a unit isolated from the denominational mainstream, or fall into a nationalistic feeling by which it comes closer to the nation it represents than to its sister churches of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. Both, undue pressure for assimilation by the church leadership, as well as the tendency toward isolation by some local churches, must be avoided since they contribute nothing to the spiritual growth of a congregation, but cause only the decay and eventual death of a language church. But a congregation's individuality, with the spirit of unity and cooperation, contributes to the beauty, health, and purpose of the body of Christ. Since the Lord never instructed His followers to preach the gospel in any one language, there is, therefore, a justification for the existence of a language church anywhere, including America.

Sociological Viewpoint

Every Seventh-day Adventist congregation should be a part of the larger social unit in which it exists and acts. This larger unit is the community of that congregation's location where it becomes distinguished by its unique character and purpose for the good of its neighborhood. The service that the local church ought to give to the community should come through its communication with the neighborhood regarding the nature of such service. The

Hungarian congregation, for example, on Times Square, the commercial center of the world, hardly can perform a meaningful service for that community because of its inability to reach it in order to communicate the readiness for service. However, the Yugoslavian church in Astoria, where thousands of Yugoslavs live and work, does come across such opportunities daily. It is imperative, therefore, that the church be located in the community where it can communicate and participate in the affairs of daily life.

Social relationship is important to a congregation as a group, as is to its individual members; for in an ideal relationship with the people of the community the members find their chance to witness for Christ and promote the blessing of His discipleship.

It could also be said that each church develops its personhood through the relationship with its own community. To create a pleasant relationship with a long neglected community may not be an easy task. A true experience of joy is not easy to come by. Such an experience may often be mingled with pain; yet, there is a great joy in victory through struggle. As the church launches the battle against complacency within, and problems without, it should remember the promise, "Cast your burden upon the Lord and He will sustain you" (Ps. 55:22; see pp. 77-78).

The following examples should help to explain the meaning of the above statement: Elder J. Spicer, the pastor of the Yugoslavian church in Astoria, New York, one day met young Theodore Carcich in the street while the youth was returning from work. Carcich was from the same community as Elder Spicer and he freely approached the

man with an invitation to his evangelistic meetings. The young man visited one of the meetings and was very impressed; the Bible teaching regarding the true church sank deep into his mind and heart. Being a Catholic, he felt shocked and confused, but there was Pastor Spicer, also a Yugoslav and a former Catholic, who could relate to the confused young man. Carcich spoke English much better than Yugoslavian, but he would not consider Bible studies by anyone but Elder Spicer who could give them in the Yugoslavian language.

During the period of instruction, Carcich met a young lady of German descent who needed a conviction of her own regarding the Bible prophecies. Therefore, the two began to attend an English-speaking Seventh-day Adventist church and to receive studies from its pastor. However, Pastor Spicer was the final authority in confirming everything they had learned from the English pastor. Eventually the two young people were married, baptized, and accepted into the membership of the church. Carcich and his wife were enrolled in the study program of Atlantic Union College which led him to become a pastor, evangelist, administrator, conference president, union president, North American Division president, and, finally, a vice-president of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists.¹

The contact with Carcich could be attributed to the community relationship, which the pastor utilized for the gospel purpose. Perhaps thousands of other members of the Seventh-day Adventist church have been won to Christ through these simple means of social

¹As heard from J. Spicer and T. Carcich.

relationship in a community life setting. This is specifically true in the soul-winning programs and experiences with the members of the Euro-American and other foreign-speaking congregations in America.

Therefore, it should be emphasized that the church's best opportunity for witnessing is in its own community; and if for some reason the church is not reaching the community, it may be that it needs to take a critical look at itself and seriously consider the alternatives—maybe relocation.¹

There is still another point which should be noticed by the church at large. Since many European countries have been, and still are, under the atheistic communist governments, printing of religious literature in those countries has been virtually impossible. Whatever printed material of Christian hope the believers in those lands received was the material sent by their fellow-Christians and countrymen in the United States. Thus the little Ukrainian congregation may be credited with sending thousands of such pieces of Christian literature to the believing and non-believing relatives in the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Thousands of Bibles have been delivered by the Euro-American churches of New York to the congregations and individuals in thirteen communistic countries of Europe. For some time the two major Bible Societies had no other channels for Bible distribution in those lands but through the Euro-American churches in New York. The Yugoslavian congregation purchased all the available Bibles in the Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian languages and succeeded in

¹See Chapter IV, "Witness," p. 79.

distributing them by the thousands to those who desperately needed them.¹

From this point of view, therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the existence of the Euro-American church in New York is justifiable. For it is quite conceivable that an English-speaking congregation could not reach the people of a different cultural background and impress them with the gospel of Christ. Most immigrants are skeptical and cautious in their dealing with anyone outside the immediate community. This is because of their many unpleasant experiences connected with the deliberate misrepresentations and calculated frauds in the past, but those whom they know they usually trust. For these reasons the Euro-American church should be supported and encouraged in the type of evangelism it could accomplish seeking new opportunities for reaching men and women of their own kind.

Political Viewpoint

This project has dealt with the development and character of American immigration, and it has been stated that the United States' success and greatness came from the courage and the quality of the people who migrated to America from other countries of the world. The character of a true American reveals that he is either an immigrant or descendent of an immigrant who had dedicated his all for making America "the most perfect society existing in the world";

¹Information received from Elders M. Rodancevich and M. Roshak, present pastors of the Yugoslavian and Ukrainian churches in New York, respectively.

for he houses a strange mixture of blood which one finds in no other country but in the United States. "Therefore he leaves behind all his old prejudices and manners and receives new ones from the new life he has embraced."¹

If this fact makes one an American, then he must never forget that he came to this continent to convert it into a New World; for it is not that the country could make him a better man, but that he made the country a better world. Therefore, a real American is proud of his heritage. He is proud of his immigrant background, because the memories of bravery and greatness inspire him to do the work generations of his predecessors had done before him to ennoble this continent. Therefore, America is for immigrants and immigrants are for America. For these two complementing opposites produced the spark of life in America as in no other country in the world; hence, without immigration America would have remained an unproductive wilderness, and without America the immigrants would have remained a worthless mass of humanity. But together they form "the most perfect society existing in the world."²

Since American history is largely a history of immigration, and since America's character grew out of that history, it will most likely remain the land of immigrants. Although the restriction laws of 1921 and 1924⁴ intended to make the entrance into the United States impossible, several million newcomers had been admitted before those laws were abolished. Very recently approximately

¹See Letter, J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur, Appendix A,

²Ibid.

140,000 Vietnamese immigrants found their acceptance and home in the United States, and it is reasonable to expect others to follow.¹ As long as America stands for freedom it will attract the freedom-loving people from the whole world. Moreover, since America throughout its history has consistently demonstrated an attitude of care for the oppressed, as the "Mother of Exiles," it will continue to provide the place and opportunity for those who come to find protection in its shelter of peace and security. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the political nature of the United States justifies the existence of ethnic groups and their congregations. Although the process of assimilation goes on, such congregations still have their place in American life.

Economical Viewpoint

It is true that some Euro-American churches do not contribute financially to the denomination as much as do many English-speaking congregations. However, neither does the denomination spend as much on them as it does on those contributing ones. The argument that each congregation in the Greater New York Conference should contribute over \$40,000 in order to make the conference program run properly, to meet its own evangelistic and administrative responsibility, and to support the world field, may be right. But to say that the Euro-American churches are a liability to the conference, because some of them do not contribute \$40,000 a year, is not correct.

¹"Refugee Success Story," Reader's Digest (June 1976), p. 182.

The average contribution per member in the Greater New York Conference for the first quarter of 1976 stands at \$187; but the contribution of the members from the Euro-American churches during the same period stands at \$239 per member. The total contributions of the six churches will exceed \$200,000 in the year 1976.¹ Approximately one half of the total will be spent for the ministry,² and the other half will be a contribution to the church at large. No Euro-American church maintains a church school to obligate the conference to pay for the teachers. No church spends large amounts of funds for evangelism, as the English, Spanish, and Black American churches of the conference do. No appropriations for church school buildings are required to drain the conference reserves. The Euro-American churches are not financial liabilities, but contributing units. In fact, 50 percent of their total contribution which will accumulate to over \$100,000 during 1976 will support the world field.³

Another aspect should be taken into consideration at this point. A Euro-American congregation in the United States is a mission church with a specific program, but with restricted possibility for numerical growth. This means that its needs for self-preservation and propagation are greater than the needs of the churches closer to the denominational center. Its evangelism calls

¹Based on Greater New York Conference Statement, March 31, 1976.

²For six pastors and a Bible worker or intern.

³Greater New York Conference Statement, March 31, 1976.

for approaches different from those usually followed by other churches. When such a church becomes a self-supporting and self-propagating organization, it should no longer be considered a liability to the denomination. And when it reaches financial stability, supporting the church at large by 100 percent of the amount it spends on its own life and evangelism, then it is no longer a mission church. Nevertheless, a Euro-American church is a mission church by its purpose, not by its financial status, and it must remain such regardless of the monetary ups or downs.

In places where the community provides a fertile field for evangelism, as is the case with many sections of New York for Spanish and Black Adventists, even a well-established church is only a mission church, because its evangelistic demands call for more than the congregation can afford financially; while a small church with less opportunity for evangelism can in fact be a supporting church. Therefore, there is no logic in discouraging the existence of a Euro-American church for financial reasons.

Possibilities for Growth

Biblical Concept of Growth

Christ's direct and specific commands, "Go ye therefore into all the world and preach the gospel to all creation" (Mk. 16:15),¹ and "As my Father sent me, even so send I you" (Jn. 20:21), reveal that the growth of the newly created church was indeed His concern. Jesus' teaching was heavily charged with expressions of

¹Biblical references in this section are many, therefore they will be included in the text.

growth throughout His illustrations as He dealt with the principles of salvation and the kingdom of God. Growth is therefore a concept which permeates all of His parables and sermons. These expressions could be classified by the following types of growth:

Quantitative growth. Expressions regarding quantity are seen in places where He spoke of the net catching fish (Mt. 13:47, 48); the invitation of the Galilean fishermen to become fishers of men (Mk. 1:17); and the illustration of the growing influence of yeast (Mt. 13:33).

Growth by harvesting. Imagery of ingathering comes to view as Jesus speaks about "white harvest" (Jn. 4:35), saying that He is the "Lord of the harvest" (Mt. 9:38) to whom the church must pray for the harvesters to go into the field ready for gathering in (Mt. 9:37, 38).

Interaction growth. Experience of interaction is a process whereby the church receives its spiritual nourishment from Jesus Christ to develop a sharing attitude of Christian fellowship with those who become His disciples. This experience is depicted by the allegory of the vine and the branches. The Lord said, "By this my Father is glorified that you bring forth much fruit, and thus prove to be my disciples" (Jn. 15:8). An interrelationship such as this produces "much fruit." It brings many to the knowledge of Christ. Such growth is a sign of discipleship.

Growing by incorporation. Christ's parable commanding the gathering of individuals from the highways and byways to His banquet (Lk. 14:21-24), points out that Christian fellowship rests on the

principle of constant growth. The process of incorporation, regardless of social differences, marks the true church of Christ. If a church claims to have a vital relationship with its Lord, it must be able to show a program whereby all men are welcome to its membership.

Organic growth. As a lover of nature and observer of its processes, Jesus drew great lessons from the concept of seed growing. By pointing out how a tiny mustard seed has an innate ability to become a mighty tree (Mt. 13:31, 32), and how the little seeds, falling on the good ground, are able to bring forth "some a hundred, some sixty, and some thirty fold" (Mt. 13:8), the Lord is teaching us that organic (physical) growth is a vital part of God's law of nature. Therefore, we must see the relationship between life and growth; for only by God's principle of growth can the little things become mighty objects.

Growth by penetration. The power of penetration is illustrated in the Scriptures by the penetration of light. As the light goes through the darkness and dispels it, so does the gospel truth conquer the spiritual darkness and destroy its ignorance and sin. Jesus declared, "I am the Light of the world" (Jn. 8:12; 9:5), and "You are the light of the world" (Mt. 5:14), therefore, "Let the light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and give glory to your Father in heaven" (Mt. 5:6). This means that we are responsible for the light of truth to penetrate into every community, home, and heart of men and women who need to grow for His

kingdom.¹

The disciples understood their Master's imagery of growth, and they continued to use the same principle as they communicated the "good news" to others. Their writings are full of expressions such as development, expansion, multiplication, building, numbering, gains, and so forth—all comprehended in growth.²

A Unifying Ingredient

Criterion for evaluation. Jesus and His disciples spoke freely about the numbers and comparisons connected with growth, but some pastors and members oppose statistical comparisons of their church's progress. Their opposition is based on their deliberate misunderstanding of David's punishment for numbering Israel (1 Chr. 21), disregarding the fact that on other occasions God specifically directed such exercises among His people (Num. 1:17-19; 2:32-34; 26:1-4).

Christ's growth principle for the early church leaders was a unifying ingredient on which the wholeness of the church depended (Eph. 4:1-16). Peter, therefore, advocated that a very diligent shepherding is impossible without a careful and constant numbering. Only by a persevering watch and repeated counting can the shepherd become aware that one of his many sheep is missing, and may be crying for help. These biblical references testify that as long as numbering is free from human pride, it plays a vital part in the

¹A. R. Tippitt, Church Growth and the Word of God (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1970), p. 13.

²Ibid., p. 14.

life and organization of the church.

However, if for some reason the statistical criterion of growth is distrusted, or even discarded completely, as is the case with some Euro-American churches in New York, and we propose to determine what is profitable for the church on wholly different grounds, we may run into very serious problems. It is true that numerical increase is not the only characteristic of Christian growth, but there is growth in grace, relationship, education, and stewardship; still the statistical criterion is the only instrument available to human beings whereby they can review, analyze, and improve the growth of their church.¹

Need for data gathering. In view of these remarks, it appears that one important approach to evaluate the church is to examine its statistical records and thus determine whether it is progressing in its evangelistic outreach. But unfortunately those records are seldom available to accommodate one in such a task. To have information about the number added to the church directly by programs of public evangelism, rather than by biological growth, would help very much in knowing how to proceed with the evaluation of a Euro-American church.

These remarks, being somewhat charged with a concern for numerical growth based on statistical criterion, may indirectly suggest a reproof for neglect in this vital area, but their real intent is to create an awareness of statistical importance in

¹See D. A. McGavran, How Churches Grow (New York: Friendship Press, 1970), chap. 12.

checking and evaluating the progress of a church. If there is a need for bookkeeping, recording, and numbering in heaven, how much more such procedures are needed here on earth. If one wants to know where his church stands on the scale of a progress chart, he must carefully establish data gathering so that a review and/or reassessment can be done at any time and in an accurate way.¹

Conditions for Growth

Proper location. It has been suggested that a Euro-American church should be located in a community where its service and influence can be seen and appreciated. Its location must be in an area where it can best extend its evangelistic influence to the people of its language and cultural background. When Jesus alluded to the net catching fish, and invited the Galilean fishermen to become fishers of men, He indicated that the gospel workers must be where the people are. The Galileans understood this figure of speech to mean that they should always be where they could communicate His message to as many people as possible. Therefore, if the church is too far removed from its community it cannot be an effective messenger of the gospel to it. This principle should not be disregarded because it is a principle by which a language church may be brought to a new life in Christ again.

The Euro-American congregations in New York should understand that their evangelistic success, and with it their existence,

¹Information on data gathering relative to church life and work see V. Gerber, God's Way to Keep a Church Going and Growing (Glendale, Calif.: Regal Books, 1973), pp. 56-60.

depends to a large degree on the proper location of the church. However, only one of the six churches in New York is presently located in the community of its own ethnic group.¹ Therefore, a plan should be developed by the denominational leadership, in cooperation with the local churches, to relocate those which need to be relocated into the community where they can be "fishers of men" to the glory of God and encouragement of their members.²

Witnessing for Christ. Jesus' figure of speech regarding the ready harvest but wanting for harvesters indicates that those who are invited to witness for Him are sadly reluctant to do the work Christ appointed them to do. Witnessing is a spiritual gauge which indicates the church's responsiveness to its Master's call for the gospel responsibility; and the faithfulness in witnessing conditions the church to grow spiritually and physically.

The Euro-American congregations should also realize that their main responsibility is to tell the story of salvation which Christ secured for all men and alert them of His soon coming in power and glory. Since the church must prepare a people for His appearance, the congregations need to relieve the pastors from unnecessary demands imposed upon them and let them organize the churches so that each congregation may accept its responsibility of witnessing as it launches its soul-winning program in the community. The pastors also need to readjust their ministry as they

¹This church could serve as a model of ideal location.

²Relocation must be preceded by a thorough demographic study of the future location of the church.

switch from the "baby-sitting" type of pastoring to a vigorous evangelistic ministry of the Word. Doing this, the ministry will be revived, the church brought to life, and the community evangelized.

Attitude of love. A church of European background is in constant danger of isolation. Theoretically, it may well know that the Christian experience is gained by association with other human beings, but it finds it rather difficult to include into its fellowship those who do not "belong." However, the principle of relationship should be exercised by extending self in love toward all people—Adventist and non-Adventist. An expansion of the heart could solve the problem of isolation. Pastors and members need to overcome their personal complexes, forget their problems, and lead the congregation from one victory of love to the next one until the adjustment of relationship within and without the church is perfected in Christ.

The growth in love causes the church to grow organically also. This principle has been demonstrated over and over again in many places. Approximately 90 percent of the new converts in the Euro-American churches of New York have been brought into the membership of the church through such attitude.¹ Just a plain concern for people sometimes brings a person to the knowledge of Christ and the life of peace. One dedicated lay member alone has brought thirty-seven persons into church membership. In an interview with that member it was learned that her broken English did not stand in the way of eleven English-speaking persons

¹Percentage approximated on the basis of personal testimonies.

accepting the teachings of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.¹

Another member of a Euro-American church witnessed to his family and relatives, and after a long period of rejection and persecution, was instrumental in bringing fourteen people into the church.² A member over eighty years of age prayed for a long time for his young relative who was a Roman Catholic priest. Writing letters of love, without mentioning Adventism, evoked a great respect for the man behind the words of Christian concern and definite purpose in life. By the time the two men met, the priest had read The Desire of Ages, Prophets and Kings, and The Acts of the Apostles written by E. G. White, a Seventh-day Adventist writer. He accepted the Adventist teachings and presently witnesses in Europe.³

It should be pointed out also that most of such conversions in the Euro-American churches could be attributed to only a few persons. However, if the work of witnessing could attract a larger number of participants, with a genuine desire to share their faith with those who might be interested, the possibility for growth of the Euro-American churches would greatly improve.

Periodical evaluation and recording. In order to grow, a church must be constantly alert; it must notice the changes taking place within or without its immediate environment. For this reason the church ought to develop a system by which it evaluates itself

¹Information received from the member in several interviews. The stories of her witnessing are excellent material for a book.

²Most of the newly converted reside in Europe.

³Interview with a member of the Yugoslavian church in New York, May 1976.

periodically and records all happenings and actions with their results. By doing this the church installs a spiritual compass for itself to determine the exact position of its past and present, and thus decides which course to take in the future. This system would be helpful to any Seventh-day Adventist church, but to a church of the foreign background it should be of particular importance and interest.

The writer found that most Euro-American churches do not have a regular time set for their board meetings or church business meetings, nor do they record any of their actions. When asked why they do not have a definite time for such activities, one pastor said that it is because they run a church, not a government. A group discussion brought to light the fact that the neglect of recording is the result of their background. It has often been the practice of European governments to interfere in the church business, which forced the church to conduct its business in an unbusinesslike manner for the purpose of secrecy, and this habit has been continued by the pastors as they migrated to America. The pastors, therefore, need information as to the advantages of keeping accurate up-to-date records of the events concerning the church life and its progress.¹

Other characteristics of church growth. It has been stated above that numerical growth is not the only characteristic of Christian progress, but that there is growth in grace, relationship,

¹McGavran calls it "a diagnosis of church health." See McGavran, How to Grow a Church, pp. 60-66.

education, and stewardship. The symbol of growth may also be used for qualitative values. According to Peter, God expects His people to "grow in grace and knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."¹ They must grow up in maturity in Christ,² which is demonstrated by their growth in faith and love through Christ,³ as Paul expressed in his writings. Therefore, with its continuous efforts for growth the church must grow on two levels: the level of discipling which is physical and quantitative and the level of perfecting which is spiritual and qualitative.⁴

A Euro-American church may not have the opportunity to grow much in the way of discipling since its territory is usually limited; however, it has every opportunity to grow at the level of perfection in order to prepare its people for the coming of the Lord. It has been observed that many members of the Euro-American churches donate large sums of their savings to the church for preaching the gospel of Christ's kingdom among those who would believe.⁵ And this suggests that in spite of their many disadvantages, the Euro-American churches by the grace of God, may enter into a relationship with Christ which equips them "for the

¹2 Pe. 3:18.

²Eph. 4:15.

³2 Th. 1:3.

⁴See Tippett, pp. 27-28.

⁵Interviews with eleven such donors from March 16-June 20, 1976.

work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ."¹ On this basis their existence may be justified, although their possibility for numerical growth may always remain limited.

¹Eph. 4:12.

VII. CONCLUSION

Summary

To summarize the main points of this project's concern in the study and evaluation of the Euro-American church viewed through the congregations of the Greater New York Conference, the following facts should be reemphasized:

1. A Euro-American congregation is composed of European immigrants who reside permanently in the United States of America, but who do not wish to give up their cultural heritage or abandon the way of life developed and perpetuated by many generations of their predecessors (see pp. 117-119).

The purpose of a Euro-American Seventh-day Adventist congregation is to help the church at large proclaim the good news of Christ's soon return and to prepare a people ready for His second coming in glory. As the church serves to the world and endeavors to reach "every tribe and nation and people" by proclaiming God's redeeming grace through Christ to all men, the Euro-American congregation finds justification for its existence by assuming the witnessing responsibility for the people of its own culture.

Christ's goal for the church is to establish a community of disciples who will carry the gospel of His kingdom "to every nation and tribe and tongue and people" (Rev. 14:6); and who will witness of His love for mankind to every human being (Mt. 28:19, 20).

His goal for the church is the ministry of love and concern for the perishing world. Through the church He desires to reconcile men to God so that the Holy Spirit may do His eternal work in their hearts and sanctify their hands for His labor of love. Christ's labor is done through the service of His disciples. The work of redemption and sanctification depends on their willingness to work for Him. For this reason Christ appeals to the Christians to present themselves "as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God" (Rom. 12:1) as their conscientious service (see p. 73).

2. However, should a Euro-American Seventh-day Adventist congregation become withdrawn from the denominational life and activity and become a self-sufficient and/or isolated unit, it automatically forfeits the privilege to witness in the name of the united body of Christ--the church; for by removing itself from the denominational life, it removes the lampstand of the gospel light from its place designated by Christ. But witnessing for Him in cooperation with the denomination's evangelistic programs justifies a Euro-American congregation's fellowship with the church at large.

The notion of the body in connection with the church is a New Testament idea whereby Paul illustrated the organic union between Christ and His people, and the people among themselves. The organic relationship is a continuously present experience of interdependence which by nature generates the power of coherence and provides for a comfortable coexistence within the body. The love of Christ is that integrating power which makes the existence and function of each congregation and member possible and meaningful (see pp. 65-66).

3. A Euro-American congregation is the church's mission outpost among the people of another language or cultural background whom the church desires to reach with the gospel message. Because of its special purpose such an outpost should receive special support and attention of the church until it becomes self-supporting and a contributing unit of the church.

The field of a Euro-American congregation is limited to the people whom it ethnically represents. A great harvest of souls should not be expected from a congregation with such limitations. However, its outreach should be so planned that the maximum gain can be realized within that limitation (see pp. 122-123).

4. In the past the denomination has demonstrated its inability to recognize the moments of evangelistic opportunity effectively to advance the Advent message among the new Americans, however, it should be pointed out that this limitation resulted not from the church's deliberate neglect of its responsibility for the immigrants, but from its inexperience in coping with the pressing issues of its formative period (see pp. 45-46).

5. After more than a century of its existence as an organized body, the church has not yet initiated a definite plan for an effective outreach for those who communicate in a language other than English and live in a culture other than Anglo-American (see pp. 43-44).

The process of assimilation which has taken place in American life found its way into the church's life also. At the present time it appears that the denominational leadership desires to strengthen its evangelistic appeal by using the English language

alone as the vehicle of communication for all Americans. But whether this attitude will provide a platform for a strong evangelism that will move the people of other cultures toward the new life in Christ remains to be seen. The writer holds that regardless of the seeming practicability and/or economy of this present trend, the church should disengage from the policy of forced assimilation and begin searching for new avenues to reach the millions "within the gates" (see pp. 109-110).

Recommendations

On the basis of this project's concerns, the following recommendations are being submitted:

1. The North American Mission Committee of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists should be made a central and coordinating body for the purpose of initiating new ideas for the spiritual and numerical growth of the Euro-American churches in the North American Division; and as such it should create a concept of responsibility throughout the organizational structure of the denomination as to the nature, purpose, direction, and evangelistic methods of such churches.

2. The North American Mission Committee should appoint a commission for reviewing and evaluating the existing conditions of each Euro-American church and its pastor. These findings should be reported to the following: the North American Mission Committee, the local conference, and the congregation that has been thus evaluated.

The evaluating commission should be so composed that one of its members be from the pastoral group of the Euro-American

churches, but not from the church being evaluated.

3. The North American Mission Committee should assume the responsibility of initiating pastoral changes by way of recommendations to the conferences concerned, if it deems such a pastoral move necessary.

4. A Euro-American company should never be organized into a local church without an adequate evaluation, based on a thorough demographic study showing that there is an existing community in which the new church may serve and grow.

5. When a company is organized into a local church, it should be made plain to its membership that if the new body becomes a gross financial liability to the conference, the North American Mission Committee will allow the conference to dismiss its pastor and/or disband the church. A numerical membership minimum should also be agreed upon at the time of the church's organization.

6. It should also be made plain at this time that the purpose of the church is not to perpetuate the culture and language, but to prepare a people for the kingdom of Christ. Therefore, a cultural change within such a church should not be looked upon as a loss of identity, since Adventist identity is neither here nor there but is in Jesus Christ. Such natural assimilation is to be expected.

7. The conference should treat such a church and its pastor with all the honor and respect accorded other congregations in the conference. Visits from the departments of the conference should not be neglected, but should be frequent and well planned.

8. Evangelistic efforts for the Euro-American should be carefully planned by the churches and the conference, and the costly efforts

of city evangelism should be shared by the church, conference, and the North American Mission Committee. A detailed report, oral or written, should be given to the North American Committee for the purpose of information, recommendation, or direction of such efforts in the field.

9. A Euro-American church should not be allowed to move out of its language and/or cultural community. In the event the community changes, the church should relocate in a place where it can best witness to the faith for which it stands and make its old location available to another Seventh-day Adventist church which can serve the changed community more adequately.

10. A central and well-organized Bible Correspondence School should be established for evangelistic purposes for the Euro-American churches. The most natural location in the North American Division for such a school is New York City because it houses many nationalities and uses many languages.

11. Literature should be produced in various languages to help the churches reach their evangelistic objectives. The content of the books or tracts should be consistent with the technology and purpose of the authorized Seventh-day Adventist literature. Publication of any printed page must carry the mark of the best literary style of the language it represents.

12. Great care should be given to the radio work; and, wherever possible, air time should be secured for programs of quality and propriety, subject to the same regulations as those for literature.

13. Occasional pulpit exchanges should be arranged for the purpose of public evangelism and spiritual revival in the church.

14. An adequate knowledge of the English language should be strictly required for the pastorship in any of the Euro-American churches. Exception to this rule should be made only in the case of urgent need, but even under such circumstances the incoming pastor should be required to learn the language as soon as possible.

15. The North American Committee in cooperation with the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary should prepare extension schools designed to help the pastors of the Euro-American churches wherever there is a possibility for such a project.

16. Each pastor of a Euro-American church, up to the age of fifty-five, should be encouraged to audit or take for credit, depending on his ability and arrangement with the conference, one summer session of seminary work every seven years.

17. A newly organized church should agree to promote Christian education on all levels by sending their children and young people to the denominational schools whenever possible, and it should allow them to have an English-speaking class in the church if they so desire.

18. Ethnic gatherings, similar to camp meetings, should be encouraged to meet annually where the ministers, the lay leaders, and other members may participate in soul-winning seminars and discuss various facets of church life within their ethnic interests.

19. Meetings for young people should be organized to encourage their interest in religion, music, art, sports, and other wholesome activities. Communication in the English language should not be discouraged.

20. A council of ministers and lay leaders of the congregations in New York should be organized and held quarterly for the purpose of discussing the issues of mutual interest and encouragement.

APPENDIX A

Immigrant Memoirs

The American Dream

J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur's Letters from an American Farmer is perhaps the earliest complete description of "the American, this new man." Born in France, Crevecoeur traveled extensively throughout the colonies before settling in New York in the early 1770's. From his farm in Orange County, he recorded an impassioned and optimistic vision of America's potentialities.

We are the most perfect society now existing in the world. Here man is free as he ought to be; nor is this pleasing equality so transitory as many others are. Many ages will not see the shores of our great lakes replenished with inland nations, nor the unknown bounds of North America entirely peopled. Who can tell how far it extends? Who can tell the millions of men whom it will feed and contain? for no European foot has yet travelled half the extent of this mighty continent!

. . . whence came all these people? they are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes. From this promiscuous breed, that race now called Americans have arisen. . . .

In this great American asylum, the poor of Europe have by some means met together, and in consequence of various causes; to what purpose should they ask one another what countrymen they are? Alas, two thirds of them had no country. Can a wretch who wanders about, who works and starves, whose life is a continual scene of sore affliction or pinching penury; can that man call England or any other kingdom his country? A country that had no bread for him, whose fields procured him no harvest, who met with nothing but frowns of the rich, the severity of the laws, with jails and punishments; who owned not a single foot of the extensive surface of this planet? No! urged by a variety of motives, here they came. Every thing has tended to regenerate them; new laws, a new mode of living, a new social system; here they are become men: in Europe they were as so many useless plants, wanting vegetative mould, and refreshing showers; they withered, and were mowed down by want, hunger, and war; but now

by the power of transplantation, like all other plants they have taken root and flourished! Formerly they were not numbered in any civil lists of their country, except in those of the poor; here they rank as citizens. By what invisible power has this surprising metamorphosis been performed? By that of the laws and that of their industry. The laws, the indulgent laws, protect them as they arrive, stamping on them the symbol of adoption. . . .

. . . What then is the American, this new man? He is either an European, or the descendant of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigour, and industry which began long since in the east; they will finish the great circle. The Americans were once scattered all over Europe; here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared, and which will hereafter become distinct by the power of the different climates they inhabit. The American ought therefore to love this country much better than that wherein either he or his forefathers were born. Here the rewards of his industry follow with equal steps the progress of his labour; his labour is founded on the basis of nature, self-interest; can it want a stronger allurement? Wives and children, who before in vain demanded of him a morsel of bread, now, fat and frolicsome, gladly help their father to clear those fields whence exuberant crops are to arise to feed and to clothe them all; without any part being claimed, either by a despotic prince, a rich abbot, or a mighty lord. . . . The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labour, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence. — This is an American.

J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur
Letters from an American Farmer, 1782

The Voyage Over

To Gjert G. Hoyland, a Norwegian pioneer, America was the land of opportunity—provided one was willing to work hard. In a letter written in 1838 to a friend back home, he gives judicious and practical advice to the prospective immigrant.

I cannot neglect my duty to write, reminded as I am of my old native country Norway and my friends there. Since my childhood, I have been very deficient in education, but as I hope that this letter will reach you safely, I take occasion to write with the hope that those who have more intelligence than I will take my humble contribution in good part. More particularly, this is addressed to you whom I came to know as a faithful friend. I know that this year reports on America are not lacking in Norway, as far as they get through; but they differ according to everybody's understanding and insight.

I suppose that people are emigrating in great numbers from Norway now, and every emigrant has a different attitude. Many have arrived here who knew Norway under straitened circumstances, and looking back, they see only the burdens they have cast off and feel happy in their emigration, especially for their children. But those, on the other hand, who grew up in the nurture of pious parents and who always enjoyed earthly happiness, will find sorrow and regret if they expect God to supply them a paradise here without the necessity of working. Everyone who leaves Norway with this fond hope is deceiving himself thoroughly. Anyone who wants to make good here has to work, just as in all other places in the world. But here everything is better rewarded. This fact repels many people, though anyone with common sense ought to know that in time life rewards each as he deserves. Therefore, it seems to me all who take a notion to visit this country had better consider the matter carefully before they leave their homes, nor should they enter upon the venture frivolously or intoxicated by greed for material things. This applies especially to people who vacillate and lack firmness.

Since the length of the journey makes the trip here rather expensive, those who want to manage on their own without contracting any debts must be prepared to pay from seventy to eighty specie dollars for every adult and half that amount for children, besides the price of provisions. When they arrive here, they find that no land is available in Illinois, though there is some farther west; but it requires money and patience to get there. The land around here that has enough woodland has been bought up and is inhabited. We have an unbelievable amount of vast grass plains (savannas) that extend for many miles with the most marvelous grazing for the animals imaginable. As much hay as anyone could desire may be mowed with little trouble. Surely no sensible man could wish for a better place. But even

so, many people are dissatisfied with everything, especially those who are full of ambition. They bother others with their regrets and pine for the ceremonies and compliments of the fine world. We set little store by that sort of thing here. We who are accustomed to work since childhood feel that this is Canaan when we consider the fertile soil that without manuring brings forth such rich crops of everything. Norway cannot be compared to America any more than a desert can be compared to a garden in full bloom. . . .

I am glad that I came here, though things have not always gone according to my wish since I left New York, where I settled at first. . . . I have bought 160 acres of land which lies in the shape of a quadrangle and is two miles in circumference. The land here is beautiful, but the winter is long with a piercing kind of cold that I have never known the like of before. Moreover, the heat is so intense that sometimes it is difficult to bear long spells of it during our seasons of hard work. Therefore, I do not advise anyone in Norway who is making a good living there to leave it, particularly not older people, for they will not be able to get along. Since they cannot learn the language and are ill suited for hard work, everything will displease them here. But unattached persons will be able to better themselves. If I live long enough, I plan to visit you some time.

The Almighty Lord will be with you all in your several undertakings. I hope you are well—I am myself well, God be praised.

Gjert G. Hovland
Letter to a Friend, 1838

Whatever it was they sought to escape by emigrating to the New World—economic hardship, religious persecution, or political oppression—the vast majority of nineteenth-century immigrants first had to endure the treacherous Atlantic crossing to reach their goal. An anonymous Norwegian immigrant describes his shipboard experiences in the confined space below decks known as the steerage.

The crossing from Liverpool was a bad one. We went on board our ship on October 13 and left on the morning of the fourteenth, but we did not get any farther than to an anchorage about half a Norwegian mile from Liverpool, where we were forced to stay until the eighteenth because cholera had been raging on a few ships that left about the same time as we did. On one of the ships which had left a couple of days earlier 125 persons had died, but on board my ship only twelve persons died during the voyage, and a child was born three days before we reached the shore of America.

The crossing was terrible. Three days after we had left land, we had a frightful storm, and during the night we lost the mainmast and the foremast, so that later we had to get along by means of jury-rigged masts and sails. Many of the berths on the lower deck collapsed, and water poured down through the hatchways so that coffers, trunks, sacks, and all kinds of loose objects floated around in the water and were in great part broken against the sides of the ship because of the terribly heavy sea. That many provisions were spoiled and clothes and the like damaged by the water is easy to understand. This storm lasted two days and two nights, and during this time we had to go both hungry and thirsty, since we could not manage to prepare anything in the galley where everybody was supposed to cook his own food. We could not get any fresh water either.

In the galley there was a large stove; but as there were always a lot of people who wanted to cook, the only law that prevailed here was club law. The strongest and most aggressive could always, although with difficulty, get something cooked, while the weaker and more timid got nothing or had to content themselves with being the last in line, at the risk of having their pots, with half-cooked food, thrown off the fire when the stronger were pleased to come back.

Fights and quarrels were daily occurrences, and the company had done nothing to make sure that everybody was treated justly and the promises that had been made were kept. In Christiania (now Oslo) we were promised all sorts of things—for instance, that the food would be excellent. With regard to this, let me give you just one small illustration of the way these promises were kept. Every Saturday we got our provisions; they consisted of six or seven biscuits, about three eighths of a pound of brown sugar, a little wheat flour, some rice and groats, and ten pounds of beef; the meat was to last for the whole passage, but most of it was bone. What kind of food do you think one could prepare with this, especially since we got so little water for cooking that we might very well have used up all of it at once?

At our departure we were promised a sufficient amount of fresh water, but we got so little that we had to be satisfied with making a small cup of tea in the morning and cooking a little porridge later in the day. As for getting water to quench our thirst, that was out of the question. We could not make any broth with the meat we had been given but had to cut it into small pieces and cook it with the porridge. I used the wheat flour I had been given for baking a small cake on Sunday; and being fairly strong and aggressive I shoved back at people and succeeded in getting this holiday treat for myself. Otherwise, our daily fare was the small cup of tea I have mentioned and a biscuit in the morning and porridge for dinner. For supper we had nothing, and I can truthfully say that never . . . have I suffered more, nor do I believe that people can suffer more than . . . on (these) overpraised ships. . . .

From the knowledge I have of America now, I think I shall never suffer such want anywhere as I did on board the ship, where we were so starved and thirsty that I thought I should never set

foot on land again. God be praised, during the crossing I did not suffer from any other illness than hunger and thirst. From what I have already said, you may imagine how my life has been during this time, for I went on board on October 13 and did not get ashore till November 28.

Anonymous
Letter to his Mother, c. 1853

Those Europeans who survived the rigors of passage could look forward to the promise of a better life in America. But African "immigrants" who somehow managed to survive their involuntary voyage faced a lifetime of slavery. In this excerpt from his autobiography, Charles Ball, a slave born in late eighteenth-century Maryland, relates the life story of an African-born slave he met on a Carolina plantation. Although the language is not that of an uneducated slave—since Ball did not do the actual writing—the experiences he describes are.

About a month after I came to the (neighboring African) village we were alarmed one morning, just at break of day, by the horrible uproar caused by mingled shouts of men, and blows given with heavy sticks upon large wooden drums. The village was surrounded by enemies, who attacked us with clubs, long wooden spears, and bows and arrows. After fighting for more than an hour, those who were not fortunate enough to run away, were made prisoners. It was not the object of our enemies to kill; they wished to take us alive, and sell us as slaves. I was knocked down by a heavy blow of a club, and when I recovered from the stupor that followed, I found myself tied fast with the long rope that I had brought from the desert, and in which I had formerly led the camels of my masters.

We were immediately led away from this village, through the forest, and were compelled to travel all day, as fast as we could walk. We had nothing to eat on this journey, but a small quantity of grain, taken with ourselves . . . We travelled three weeks in the woods—sometimes without any path at all; and arrived one day at a large river with a rapid current. . . .

. . . (We) formed a raft, upon which we all placed ourselves, and descended the river for three days, when we came in sight of what appeared to me the most wonderful object in the world; this was a large ship, at anchor, in the river. When our raft came near the ship, the white people—for such they were on board—assisted to take us on deck, and the logs were suffered to float

down the river.

I had never seen white people before; and they appeared to me the ugliest creatures in the world. The persons who brought us down the river received payment for us of the people in the ship, in various articles, of which I remember that a keg of liquor, and some yards of blue and red cotton cloth, were the principal. At the time we came into this ship, she was full of black people, who were all confined in a dark and low place, in irons. The women were in irons as well as the men.

About twenty persons were seized in our village, at the time I was; and amongst these were three children, so young that they were not able to walk, or to eat any hard substance. The mothers of these children had brought them all the way with them; and had them in their arms when we were taken on board this ship.

When they put us in irons, to be sent to our place of confinement in the ship, the men who fastened the irons on these mothers, took the children out of their hands, and threw them over the side of the ship, into the water. When this was done, two of the women leaped overboard after the children—the third was already confined by a chain to another woman, and could not get into the water, but in struggling to disengage herself she broke her arm, and died a few days after, of a fever. One of the two women who were in the river, was carried down by the weight of her irons, before she could be rescued; but the other was taken up by some men in a boat, and brought on board. This woman threw herself overboard one night, when we were at sea.

The weather was very hot, whilst we lay in the river, and many of us died every day; but the number brought on board greatly exceeded those who died, and at the end of two weeks the place in which we were confined was so full that no one could lie down; and we were obliged to sit all the time, for the room was not high enough for us to stand. When our prison would hold no more, the ship sailed down the river, and on the second day after she sailed, I heard the roaring of the ocean, as it dashed against her sides.

After we had been at sea some days, the irons were removed from the women, and they were permitted to go upon deck; but whenever the wind blew high, they were driven down amongst us.

We had nothing to eat but yams, which were thrown amongst us at random—and of these we had scarcely enough to support life. More than one-third of us died on the passage; and when we arrived at Charleston, I was not able to stand. It was more than a week after I left the ship, before I could straighten my limbs. I was bought by a trader, with several others; brought up the country and sold to our present master; I have been here five years.

Charles Ball
A Narrative of the Life and Adventures
of Charles Ball, a Black Man, 1837

First Impressions

Carl Schurz was forced to flee his native Germany at the age of nineteen, after serving as an officer in the abortive 1848 uprising. The young revolutionary—who was to become a brigadier general during the Civil War and later U. S. Senator from Missouri and Secretary of the Interior—describes his earliest impressions of American democracy.

During our sojourn in Philadelphia (in the 1850's) our social intercourse was necessarily limited. But I availed myself of every opportunity of talking with people of various classes and of thus informing myself about their ways of thinking, their hopes and apprehensions, their prejudices and their sympathies. At the same time I industriously studied the political history and institutions of the country, and, as to current events and their significance, my newspaper reading soon went beyond the columns of the Ledger. The impressions I received were summed up in a letter which at that period I wrote to my friend, Miss Malwida von Meysenburg. I had long forgotten it when years afterwards it turned up in her "Memoirs of an Idealist," an exceedingly interesting book which has so well held its place in literature that but recently, more than a quarter of a century after its first appearance, a new edition has been printed and widely read.

In that letter I described how the European idealists, as I knew them in the old world, would at first be startled, if not shocked, by the aspect of a really free people, —a democracy in full operation on a large scale, —the most contradictory tendencies and antagonistic movements openly at work, side by side, or against one another, enlightenment and stupid bigotry, good citizenship and lawlessness, benevolent and open-handed public spirit and rapacious greed, democracy and slavery, independent spirit and subserviency to party despotism and to predominant public opinion—all this in bewildering confusion. The newly arrived European democrat, having lived in a world of theories and imaginings without having had any practical experience of a democracy at work, beholding it for the first time, asks himself: "Is this really a people living in freedom? Is this the realization of my ideal?" He is puzzled and perplexed until it dawns upon him that, in a condition of real freedom, a man manifests himself, not as he ought to be, but as he is, with all his bad as well as his good qualities, instincts, and impulses: with all his attributes of strength as well as all his weaknesses; that this, therefore, is not an ideal state, but simply a state in which the forces of good have a free field as against the forces of evil, and in which the victories of virtue, of enlightenment, and of progress are not achieved by some power

or agency outside of the people, for their benefit, but by the people themselves.

Such victories of the forces of good may be slow in being accomplished, but they will be all the more thorough and durable in their effects, because they will be the product of the people's own thought and effort. The people may commit follies or mistakes ever so grievous, but having committed those follies or mistakes themselves and upon their own responsibility, they will be apt to profit by their own experience. If those mistakes were rectified by some superior authority, the people would be apt to run into the same mistakes again. If the people are left to correct the mistakes themselves, they will more surely progress in wisdom as well as in the sense of responsibility. Whatever stands upon the bottom of the popular intelligence, stands upon far firmer ground than that which rests merely upon superior authority.

"Here in America," I wrote to my friend, "you can see daily how little a people needs to be governed. There are governments, but no masters; there are governors, but they are only commissioners, agents. What there is here of great institutions of learning, of churches, of great commercial institutions, lines of communication, etc., almost always owes its existence, not to official authority, but to the spontaneous co-operation of private citizens. Here you witness the productiveness of freedom. You see a magnificent church—a voluntary association of private persons has founded it; an orphan asylum built of marble—a wealthy citizen has erected it; a university—some rich men have left a large bequest for educational purposes, which serves as a capital stock, and the university then lives, so to speak, almost on subscriptions; and so on without end. We learn here how superfluous is the action of governments concerning a multitude of things in which in Europe it is deemed absolutely indispensable, and how the freedom to do something awakens the desire to do it."

Although I am well aware of its crudities of expression, its inaccuracies of statement, and of the incompleteness of its presentation of American conditions, I quote this letter because it portrays fairly well the workings of the mind of a young man who has been suddenly transplanted from the Old World—its ways of thinking, its traditional views of life, its struggles, illusions, and ideals—into a new world where he witnesses the operation of elementary forces in open daylight, and the realities of free government in undisguised exhibition.

Carl Schurz
The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz, 1907

The high expectations of immigrants who sought to make their fortunes by buying land in America were often cruelly shattered.

This anonymous Welshman found almost nothing to his liking in the

Kansas of 1870.

After I landed in New York I came to the conclusion that the less one travels in this country the better off one is. It would have been better had I not left New York which is the best place that the Yankees have here. But some people persuaded me that the further west the better it is. I could not believe this but I gave it a try during the winter which was the best time, as I was out of work. I am sending you newspapers from the people selling the land here so that you can judge for yourselves. But beware of catching the American fever when reading them. You can say before starting to read them that every word is untrue. What enticed me to Kansas was to get a little land but by now the amount of land I expect to get is six feet by two feet. The people in the Old Country do not have the vaguest idea what sort of place America is. . . . Those who have lived here ten years look more like Indians than Welshmen. They have not been able in ten years to save enough money to build a house of any kind. They live in holes in the ground something like the potato-caches that you see in Wales. The sight of them is enough to put anyone off who is thinking of farming in America. The truth is that the land in Kansas is expensive for nothing. Many think that all of the land here is good but that is a great mistake. There is land in almost every state which is not worth having even if you got it for nothing. . . .

. . . The government gives twenty miles of land to the railroad companies on either side of the line and of course everyone in these new states wants to be as near to the iron road as they can and when a new railroad is being built the land sharks buy up the land straight-away from the company. And remember that the Yankees here are sharp and they always pick the best and they can perhaps put down the money. And then along come the Welsh and they have what is left and with perhaps ten years to pay for it and having bought it perhaps quite cheaply. The next task will be to entice the simple Welshman to buy land from them which belongs to the railroad company. They do the same thing with government land if they see that some place is likely to be settled. They are there by the hundreds picking the best land for about two dollars and selling it again for perhaps fifty dollars. Many would think from the papers in the Old Country that all you have to do is come to a state and settle there, that the land is to be had for practically nothing, but this is completely wrong. There is plenty of land in every state hardly even touched. You would think that it belonged to no one but try to get a bit of it and you straight-away find that it belongs to a land shark and it is the same all over the country. Thousands of Americans have made their fortunes selling land. . . . Well, you say, what sort of place is America for a poor man or a working man? It is a poor, yes, a very poor place here, especially the farther west you go. One could do better in New York or Pennsylvania if only one could get regular work, which is almost as difficult, if not more so, than in Manchester, due to the weather and the lack of materials. A man can hardly

keep himself with one thing and another. He does not work half his time and there are too many workmen here by half and as everything is so dear and work so scarce it is a poor place for a man without money.

Anonymous

Letter to his Brother and Sister, 1870

Despite the hardships many immigrants suffered in America, few of them ever forgot their first awe-inspiring glimpse of the Statue of Liberty, symbol of the nation's promise. Edward Corsi, who later became commissioner of the immigrant processing center at Ellis Island, recalls the wonder, excitement, and apprehension of a ten-year-old Italian boy's first contact with America.

My first impressions of the new world will always remain etched in my memory, particularly that hazy October morning (in 1907) when I first saw Ellis Island. The steamer Florida, fourteen days out of Naples, filled to capacity with sixteen hundred natives of Italy, had weathered one of the worst storms in our captain's memory; and glad we were, both children and grownups, to leave the open sea and come at last through the Narrows into the Bay.

My mother, my stepfather, my brother Giuseppe, and my two sisters, Liberta and Helvetia, all of us together, happy that we had come through the storm safely, clustered on the foredeck for fear of separation and looked with wonder on this miraculous land of our dreams.

Giuseppe and I held tightly to stepfather's hands, while Liberta and Helvetia clung to mother. Passengers all about us were crowding against the rail. Jabbered conversation, sharp cries, laughs and cheers—a steadily rising din filled the air. Mothers and fathers lifted up the babies so that they too could see, off to the left, the Statue of Liberty.

I looked at the statue with a sense of bewilderment, half doubting its reality. Looming shadowy through the mist, it brought silence to the decks of the Florida. This symbol of America—this enormous expression of what we had all been taught was the inner meaning of this new country we were coming to—inspired awe in the hopeful immigrants. Many older persons among us, burdened with a thousand memories of what they were leaving behind, had been openly weeping ever since we entered the narrower waters on our final approach toward the unknown. Now somehow steadied, I suppose, by the concreteness of the symbol of America's freedom, they dried their tears.

Directly in front of the Florida, half visible in the faintly-colored haze, rose a second and even greater challenge

to the imagination.

"Mountains!" I cried to Giuseppe. "Look at them!"

"They're strange," he said, "why don't they have snow on them?" He was craning his neck and standing on tiptoe to stare at the New York skyline.

Stepfather looked toward the skyscrapers, and, smiling, assured us that they were not mountains but buildings—"the highest buildings in the world."

On every side the harbor offered its marvels: tugs, barges, sloops, lighters, sluggish freighters and giant ocean liners—all moving in different directions, managing, by what seemed to us a miracle, to dart in and out and up and down without colliding with one another. They spoke to us through the varied sounds of their whistles, and the Florida replied with a deep echoing voice. Bells clanged through our ship, precipitating a new flurry among our fellow-passengers. Many of these people had come from provinces far distant from ours, and were shouting to one another in dialects strange to me. Everything combined to increase our excitement, and we rushed from deck to deck, fearful lest we miss the smallest detail of the spectacle.

Finally the Florida veered to the left, turning northward into the Hudson River, and now the incredible buildings of lower Manhattan came very close to us.

The officers of the ship, mighty and unapproachable beings they seemed to me, went striding up and down the decks shouting orders and directions and driving the immigrants before them. Scowling and gesturing, they pushed and pulled the passengers, herding us into separate groups as though we were animals. A few moments later we came to our dock, and the long journey was over.

Edward Corsi

In the Shadow of Liberty, 1935

Born in a Russian ghetto in 1881, the descendant of generations of persecuted Jews, Mary Antin entered public school in a Boston slum at the age of twelve. In The Promised Land, she describes her joyous odyssey from immigrant to American.

What the child thinks and feels is a reflection of the hopes, desires, and purposes of the parents who brought him overseas, no matter how precocious and independent the child may be. Your immigrant inspectors will tell you what poverty the foreigner brings in his baggage, what want in his pockets. Let the overgrown boy of twelve, reverently drawing his letters in the baby class, testify to the noble dreams and high ideals that may be hidden beneath the greasy caftan of the immigrant. . . .

Father himself conducted us to school. He would not have delegated that mission to the President of the United States. He had awaited the day with impatience equal to mine, and the

visions he saw as he hurried us over the sun-flecked pavements transcended all my dreams. Almost his first act on landing on American soil, three years before, had been his application for naturalization. . . . and at the earliest moment allowed by the law, he became a citizen of the United States. It is true that he had left home in search of bread for his hungry family, but he went blessing the necessity that drove him to America. The boasted freedom of the New World meant to him far more than the right to reside, travel, and work wherever he pleased; it meant the freedom to speak his thoughts, to throw off the shackles of superstition, to test his own fate, unhindered by political or religious tyranny. He was only a young man when he landed—thirty-two; and most of his life he had been held in leading-strings (a state of dependence). He was hungry for his untasted manhood.

Three years passed in sordid struggle and disappointment. He was not prepared to make a living even in America, where the day laborer eats wheat instead of rye. . . . In business, nothing prospered with him. Some fault of hand or mind or temperment led him to failure where other men found success. Wherever the blame for his disabilities be placed, he reaped their bitter fruit. "Give me bread!" he cried to America. "What will you do to earn it?" the challenge came back. And he found that he was master of no art, of no trade; that even his precious learning was of no avail. . . .

So it was with a heart full of longing and hope that my father led us to school on that first day. He took long strides in his eagerness, the rest of us running and hopping to keep up.

At last (we) stood around the teacher's desk; and my father, in his impossible English, gave us over in her charge, with some broken word of his hopes for us that his swelling heart could no longer contain. . . .

. . . This foreigner, who brought his children to school as if it were an act of consecration, who regarded the teacher of the primer class with reverence, who spoke of visions, like a man inspired, in a common schoolroom, was not like other aliens, who brought their children in dull obedience to the law; was not like the native fathers, who brought their unmanageable boys, glad to be relieved of their care. I think Miss Nixon (the teacher) guessed what my father's best English could not convey. I think she divined that by the simple act of delivering our school certificates to her he took possession of America. . . .

How long would you say, wise reader, it takes to make an American? By the middle of my second year in school I had reached the sixth grade. When, after the Christmas holidays, we began to study the life of Washington, running through a summary of the Revolution, and the early days of the Republic, it seemed to me that all my reading and study had been idle until then. The reader, the arithmetic, the song book, that had so fascinated me until now, became suddenly sober exercise books. . . . I could not pronounce the name of George Washington without a pause. Never had I prayed, never had I chanted the songs of David, never had I called upon the Most Holy, in such utter reverence and

worship as I repeated the simple sentences of my child's story of the patriot. I gazed with adoration at the portraits of George and Martha Washington, till I could see them with my eyes shut. . . .

. . . George Washington, who died long before I was born, was like a king in greatness, and he and I were Fellow Citizens. There was a great deal about Fellow Citizens in the patriotic literature we read at this time; and I knew from my father how I also was a citizen, by virtue of my relation to him. Undoubtedly I was a Fellow Citizen, and George Washington was another. It thrilled me to realize what sudden greatness had fallen on me; and at the same time it sobered me, as with a sense of responsibility. I strove to conduct myself as befitted a Fellow Citizen. . . .

What more could America give a child? Ah, much more! As I read how the patriots planned the Revolution, and the women gave their sons to die in battle, and the heroes led to victory, and the rejoicing people set up the Republic, it dawned on me gradually what was meant by my country. . . .

Where had been my country until now? What flag had I loved? What heroes had I worshipped? The very names of these things had been unknown to me. Well I knew that Polotzk (a Russian ghetto) was not my country. It was goluth—exile. . . . We knew what it was to be Jews in exile, from the spiteful treatment we suffered at the hands of the smallest urchin who crossed himself. . . . But the story of the Exodus was not history to me in the sense that the story of the American Revolution was. It was more like a glorious myth, a belief in which had the effect of cutting me off from the actual world, by linking me with a world of phantoms. . . . In very truth we were a people without a country. Surrounded by mocking foes and detractors, it was difficult for me to realize the persons of my people's heroes or the events in which they moved. . . . For the conditions of our civil life did not permit us to cultivate a spirit of nationalism. The freedom of worship that was grudgingly granted . . . by no means included the right to set up openly any ideal of a Hebrew State, any hero other than the Czar. . . . As to our future, we Jews in Polotzk had no national expectations; only a lifeworn dreamer here and there hoped to die in Palestine. . . .

So it came to pass that we did not know what my country could mean to a man. And as we had no country, so we had no flag to love. It was by no far-fetched symbolism that the banner of the House of Romanoff became the emblem of our latter-day bondage in our eyes. Even a child would know how to hate the flag that we were forced, on pain of severe penalties, to hoist above our housetops, in celebration of the advent of one of our oppressors. And as it was with country and flag, so it was with heroes of war. We hated the uniform of the soldier, to the last brass button. On the person of a Gentile, it was the symbol of tyranny; on the person of a Jew, it was the emblem of shame.

So a little Jewish girl in Polotzk was apt to grow up hungry-minded and empty-hearted; and if, still in her outreaching youth, she was set down in a land of outspoken patriotism, she

was likely to love her new country with a great love, and to embrace its heroes in a great worship. Naturalization, with us Russian Jews, may mean more than the adoption of the immigrant by America. It may mean the adoption of America by the immigrant.

Mary Antin
The Promised Land, 1912

Culture Shock

Constantine Panunzio—penniless and ignorant of the English language when he arrived in Boston harbor—jumped ship in order to escape a sadistic captain and earn enough money to return to his native Italian town of Molfetta. The treatment the eighteen-year-old sailor experienced on land was typical of the reception many newcomers encountered in America's major cities at the turn of the century.

Late in the evening of September 8, 1902, when the turmoil of the street traffic was subsiding, and the silence of the night was slowly creeping over the city, I took my sea chest, my sailor bag and all I had and set foot on American soil. I was in America. Of immigration laws I had not even a knowledge of their existence; of the English language I knew not a word; of friends I had none in Boston or elsewhere in America to whom I might turn for counsel or help. I had exactly fifty cents remaining out of a dollar which the captain had finally seen fit to give me. But as I was soon to earn money and return to Molfetta, I felt no concern.

. . . So the next morning bright and early . . . I started out in search of a job. I roamed about the streets, not knowing where or to whom to turn. That day and the next four days I had one loaf of bread each day for food and at night, not having money with which to purchase shelter, I stayed on the recreation pier on Commercial Street. One night, very weary and lonely, I lay upon a bench and soon dozed off into a light sleep. The next thing I knew I cried out in bitter pain and fright. A policeman had stolen up on me very quietly and with his club had dealt me a heavy blow upon the soles of my feet. He drove me away, and I think I cried; I cried my first American cry. What became of me that night I cannot say. And the next day and the next. . . . I just roamed aimlessly about the streets, between the Public Gardens with its flowers and the water-side, where I watched the children at play, even as I had played at the water's brink in old Molfetta.

Those first five days in America have left an impression upon my mind which can never be erased with the years, and which gives me a most profound sense of sympathy for immigrants as they arrive. . . .

So we went out to hunt our first job in America. For several mornings Louis (a French sailor Panunzio met in Boston) and I went to North Square, where there were generally a large number of men loitering in groups discussing all kinds of subjects, particularly the labor market. One morning . . . we saw a fat man coming toward us. "Buon giorno, padrone," said

one of the men. "Padrone?" said I to myself. Now the word "padrone" in Italy is applied to a proprietor, generally a respectable man, at least one whose dress and appearance distinguish him as a man of means. This man not only showed no signs of good breeding in his face, but he was unshaven and dirty and his clothes were shabby. I could not quite understand how he could be called "padrone." However, I said nothing, first because I wanted to get back home, and second because I wanted to be polite when I was in American society!

The "padrone" came up to our group and began to wax eloquent and to gesticulate (both in Sicilian dialect) about the advantages of a certain job. I remember very clearly the points which he emphasized: "It is not very far, only twelve miles from Boston. For a few cents you can come back any time you wish. . . . The company has a 'shantee' in which you can sleep, and a 'storo' where you can buy your 'grosserie' all very cheap. 'Buona page,'" he continued "(Good pay), \$1.25 per day, and you only have to pay me fifty cents a week for having gotten you this 'gooda jobba.' I only do it to help you and because you are my countrymen. If you come back here at six o'clock tonight with your buddies, I myself will take you out."

The magnanimity of this man impressed Louis and me very profoundly; we looked at each other and said, "Wonderful!" We decided we would go; so at the appointed hour we returned to the very spot. About twenty men finally gathered there and we were led to North Station. There we took a train to some suburban place, the name of which I have never been able to learn. On reaching our destination we were taken to the "shantee" where we were introduced to two long open bunks filled with straw. These were to be our beds. The "storo" of which we had been told was at one end of the shanty. The next morning we were taken out to work. It was a sultry autumn day. The "peek" (pick) seemed to grow heavier at every stroke and the "shuvle" (shovel) wider and larger in its capacity to hold the gravel. The second day was no better than the first, and the third was worse than the second. The work was heavy and monotonous to Louis and myself especially, who had never been "contadini" (farm laborers) like the rest. The "padrone" whose magnanimity had so stirred us was little better than a brute. We began to do some simple figuring and discovered that when we had paid for our groceries at the "storo," for the privilege of sleeping in the shanty, and the fifty cents to the "padrone" for having been so condescending as to employ us, we would have nothing left but sore arms and backs. So on the afternoon of the third day Louis and I held a solemn conclave and decided to part company with "peek and shuvle,"—forever. We left, without receiving a cent of pay, of course.

Constantine M. Panunzio
The Soul of an Immigrant, 1969

For many immigrants, adjustment to American mores and values involved the sacrifice of older, deeply held ideals. Edward Bok, a Dutch immigrant who eventually became editor of the Ladies Home Journal, recalls the lessons he learned in the streets of Boston in the 1870's.

When I came to the United States as a lad of six, the most needful lesson for me, as a boy, was the necessity for thrift. I had been taught in my home across the sea that thrift was one of the fundamentals in a successful life. My family had come from a land (the Netherlands) noted for its thrift; but we had been in the United States only a few days before the realization came home strongly to my father and mother that they had brought their children to a land of waste.

Where the Dutchman saved, the American wasted. There was waste, and the most prodigal waste, on every hand. In every street-car and on every ferry-boat the floors and seats were littered with newspapers that had been read and thrown away or left behind. If I went to a grocery store to buy a peck of potatoes, and a potato rolled off the heaping measure, the groceryman, instead of picking it up, kicked it into the gutter for the wheels of his wagon to run over. The butcher's waste filled my mother's soul with dismay. If I bought a scuttle of coal at the corner grocery, the coal that missed the scuttle, instead of being shovelled up and put back into the bin, was swept into the street. My young eyes quickly saw this; in the evening I gathered up the coal thus swept away, and during the course of a week I collected a scuttleful. The first time my mother saw the garbage pail of a family almost as poor as our own, with the wife and husband constantly complaining that they could not get along, she could scarcely believe her eyes. A half pan of hominy of the preceeding day's breakfast lay in the pail next to a third of a loaf of bread. In later years, when I saw, daily, a scow loaded with the garbage of Brooklyn householders being towed through New York harbor out to sea, it was an easy calculation that what was thrown away in a week's time from Brooklyn homes would feed the poor of the Netherlands.

At school, I quickly learned that to "save money" was to be "stingy"; as a young man, I soon found that the American disliked the word "economy," and on every hand as plenty grew spending grew. There was literally nothing in American life to teach me thrift or economy; everything to teach me to spend and to waste.

I saw men who had earned good salaries in their prime, reach the years of incapacity as dependents. I saw families on every hand either living quite up to their means or beyond them; rarely within them. The more a man earned, the more he—or his wife—spent. I saw fathers and mothers and their children dressed beyond their incomes. The proportion of families who

ran into debt was far greater than those who saved. . . .

As a Dutch boy, one of the cardinal truths taught me was that whatever was worth doing was worth doing well: that next to honesty came thoroughness as a factor in success. It was not enough that anything should be done: it was not done at all if it was not done well. I came to America to be taught exactly the opposite. The two infernal Americanisms "That's good enough" and "That will do" were early taught me, together with the maxim of quantity rather than quality.

Edward Bok

The Americanization of Edward Bok, 1920

Constantine Panunzio, the young Italian sailor whose bitter experience as a day laborer was previously described, remained in America and became a clergyman and social worker. He returned to Boston's North End in 1914 at the age of thirty to appraise his countrymen's adjustment to American life.

As I looked about me I said to myself: "Well, this is a real immigrant community, of which I have heard so much in the American world!" From the moment I first set foot in it, I began to be conscious of the tremendous difficulties which on the one hand confront America in her desire and efforts to assimilate immigrant groups; and which, on the other, are in the way of the immigrants themselves in their need, and often their desire, to become an integral part of the body American.

For one thing, here was a congestion the like of which I had never seen before. Within the narrow limits of one-half square mile were crowded together thirty-five thousand people, living tier upon tier, huddled together until the very heavens seemed to be shut out. These narrow alley-like streets of Old Boston were one mass of litter. The air was laden with soot and dirt. Ill odors arose from every direction. Here were no trees; no parks worthy of the name; no playgrounds other than the dirty streets for the children to play on; no birds to sing their songs; no flowers to waft their perfume; and only small strips of sky to be seen; while around the entire neighborhood like a mighty cordon, a thousand thousand wheels of commercial activity whirled incessantly day and night, making noises which would rack the sturdiest of nerves.

And who was responsible for this condition of things, for this crowding together? Were the immigrants alone to blame? Did they not occupy the very best tenements available, the moment they were erected and thrown open to them, even though at exorbitant rates?

Not only was all this true, but every sign of America seemed to have been systematically rooted out from this community as if

with a ruthless purpose. Here still stood old Faneuil Hall, the Cradle of Liberty; here the old North Church still lifted its steeple as if reminding one of the part it had played in the Revolutionary War; . . . and here too, the spot where the Boston Tea Party . . . had taken place. But while these monuments stood like sentinels reminding one of what this neighborhood had once been, now every last vestige of America was gone!. All the American churches, homes, clubs and other institutions which once had graced these streets were gone forever; gone to some more favorable spot in the uptown section of the city, leaving this community to work out its own destiny as best it could. There were churches here, to be sure, Catholic and Protestant and Jewish, but they were representative of other than America; they were under the leadership of men who consciously or unconsciously, stood for other than American sentiments and ideals. In the homes and on the streets no English language was spoken save by the children; on the newsstands a paper in English could scarcely be found; here were scores if not hundreds of societies, national, provincial, local and sub-local, in which English was not usually spoken and in which other than American interests were largely represented. There were schools also in which the future citizens of America were taught in a language other than English. Here, when on a certain patriotic occasion, the American flag was raised a moment sooner than another flag, the person responsible for such a "crime" was nearly rushed out of the community. Above the stores . . . the signs were mainly in a foreign language. In a word, here was a community in America in which there was not a sign of the best of American life. . . .

Nor was this the whole story. Not only were all the constructive forces of American society absent from this community, but also some of its very worst features seemed to have been systematically poured into the neighborhood to prey upon the life of the people in their all too apparent helplessness. Here within this half mile square were no less than 111 saloons, not because the people wanted or patronized them to any great extent, but because saloons were needed for revenue, so it was claimed. . . .

And while this was in no way a typical American community, neither did it resemble Italy. No one with the least amount of Italian pride in him would want to boast that this was in any sense an Italian community. In fact, more than one investigator from Italy had pronounced it the very contradiction of all that Italian society stood for. . . . For in this city within a city it was the misfits of Italian society who were "i prominenti" and held dominance; it was those who could "bluff it through," who were the "bankers" and the publicists; it was the unscrupulous politician who controlled things; it was the quack who made his money; the shyster lawyer who held the people within the palm of his hand. . . . Again, here were thrown together by the hand of fate the humblest elements of Italian society, who though leading a peaceful existence, still were representing and perpetuating in a miniature way the interests

of a hundred petty little principalities and powers in the limits of a single community. Here a thousand trifling, provincial and local animosities and controversies were brought together and fostered in a way that out-Babeled Babel. This conglomeration of folks would have been as much an anomaly in Italy as it was in America. The best of all that Italy stood for was not here. . . .

. . . Even with the small children, there are almost unconquerable difficulties to surmount as long as they are born or brought up in immigrant communities such as I have described. Can we really ever effect their assimilation so long as they live in these strange little worlds? . . .

A woman in our constituency had three children, two boys, one seven and the other five years old, and a baby girl. She was a widow and was having a bitter struggle to eke out an existence. She came to me one day requesting that I interest myself in placing the little girl in a nursery, and the boys in a kindergarten or school. I proceeded to make such arrangements at the public school, when one day she came to my office and broke out crying. I could not make out what the trouble was. After she calmed down, I asked her to tell me the difficulty. After evading several questions, she finally said: "Please don't send my children to an American school, for as soon as they learn English they will not be my children any more. I know many children who as soon as they learn English become estranged from their parents. I want to send my babies to a school where they can be taught in the Italian language." . . . And even though we stifle our emotions as we see a mother plead for the privilege of keeping her children always hers, we still must consider how we can manage to bring them into a knowledge and appropriation of American life and thought in the face of such an attitude.

Constantine M. Panunzio
The Soul of an Immigrant, 1969

The Twentieth Century

The early years of Hitler's rise to power precipitated the exodus to America of thousands of middle and upper-class Jewish professionals. The uniquely painful assimilation of such refugee intellectuals is described by Martin Gumpert, an émigré physician and writer.

We have been preceded by millions, disappointed and hunted, rebellious and hungry for joy. They settled the coasts, drove their axes into the forests, navigated the streams, plowed the fields, founded cities and States, created liberty and power for themselves. . . .

We came late. We came laden with all the distress of a lost battle, with much doubt and false arrogance, with much useless and foolish ballast we valued even in the discard, with nothing but our naked life. Ignorant of the language and the country, penniless and presumptuous, we arrived with our needs and claims in America's moment of crisis. We thought we had much to give and soon saw ourselves more helpless than beggars, because we are not used to begging. . . .

. . . We are difficult arrivals. We do not know how to till the soil, we are no fellers of trees, and only a few of us are masters of a craft. We shelter libraries and phonograph records in our much too narrow rooms, and we cling fondly to the pleasures and arts amid which we have grown up. With every fiber we are still tied to the tragedy beneath which Europe is collapsing. . . .

What does one take along when one emigrates? In 1936 we still had our choice. There was a rumor that rooms over here were very small and wardrobes unnecessary. It takes a curious brand of heroism to surrender one's house furnishings voluntarily. One does not believe that it is possible to live on without one's books. The high transport charges could be paid in marks that would lose their value in any event as soon as one had left the country. . . . So long as the furniture trailed behind, there was a certain guarantee that one would not be completely at the mercy of the foreign land's barbarism, that the memories frozen into the pieces would not be wholly lost. . . .

Of course it feels good to have taken along shirts and suits and ties. Their cut may long keep the alien seal on the immigrant, but they relieve him of much worry. It is easy to change one's residence, but not one's appearance and one's everyday clothes. That external transformation can proceed but slowly. When the socks begin to show holes, when the first pair of shoes is bought, the first new hat acquired—these are way-stations in a mysterious metamorphosis that penetrates into every pore of one's being—until at last, after a long period of

contemplation and readjustment, one makes up one's mind to buy an American tie. He who can manage to wear an American tie is a citizen beyond doubt.

For the workaday man the miracle of America begins not with the Statue of Liberty but with the shirts, that have much shorter tails here than in Europe, and with the shoes, that are not placed outside the hotel door at night. . . .

Emigration represents a break and an impact fortunately realized by but a few. In the middle-class sense it represents a bankruptcy, a degradation; unless one happens to be an Einstein, one is deprived of all one's marks of rank and left only with the opportunity to regain them under completely changed circumstances. To adventurers this offers a tremendous fascination, the chance of their lifetime. But we are not adventurers; we are doctors and businessmen with readily checked inventories. . . .

. . . (Emigration) is not merely a matter of fighting against time but also against space. For space alters time concepts—not solely in a tangible realistic way. Journeying from Europe to New York, one has to set one's watch every day, and between Berlin and California a time chasm of ten hours has to be bridged. And there is more. The mail takes longer; the distance from home to the baker's is longer; twilight is shorter; the seasons have different durations. Population masses are arranged differently; the land is administered and provisioned under completely changed conditions; the growth of cities and countryside follows the stroke of another clock. America changes the sense of time. . . .

All this is not merely on the surface. A different system rules the work-day—a different regulation of work and leisure; one finds oneself caught up in an utterly different biological circuit. And it is precisely these things of which the ingenuous immigrant hardly grows aware that become of the greatest importance for his ability to adapt himself. It is not a matter of technical details but of hearts beating in a different rhythm. Patience, will-power and flexibility are necessary to adapt to the new metabolism cells that had begun to harden in Europe. . . .

The situation of the immigrant who has had the misfortune of learning no English in school but only Latin and Greek is pathetic. He arrives in New York deaf and mute. The state into which he is translated is truly undignified and pathological.

To a man on an advanced intellectual level, loss of language is an almost insuperable shock. Waiters and children are able to gratify their speech functions with a small vocabulary. But to anyone who cares to translate subtle thoughts and desires into reasonable speech, who has a sense of responsibility for language, the infantile state into which he is forced is rather humiliating.

For a long time one is excluded from all discussion by the knowledge that one's speech is sheer torture to the ears of educated people and by the sorry privilege of having everything one says misunderstood. This long and painful process of

rehabilitation, this rebirth of the power of speech extending over a period of decades, if indeed it is ever achieved, is unquestionably one of the severest trials of emigration. . . .

. . . Europe is unforgettable. I am deeply moved whenever I think of the pine-trees and the calm, gloomy lakes of my native Brandenburg. My reminiscent eyes delight in the vision of its hundred towns with their fine old walls, their splendid decay. And stacked here in my room are the volumes full of wisdom and art that gave content and direction to my childhood and to my youth.

But I knew when I left Germany that it was for good. And I know it even better today, five years later. In Aachen, on the border, I flashed the ten-mark note I was allowed to take along. I did not look back. It was a journey out of a realm of shadow. All my gratitude and all my love and tenderness and yearning for my lost homeland I took with me into the beckoning freedom and space of a new world. Pale and leaden the sky hung over Germany and the smoke-stacks of the factories vanished into the mist. . . .

There are many among us émigrés who cannot bear the freedom of this country—neither its intellectual freedom nor even less its physical freedom. Every European suffers from a prison psychosis. Freedom makes us melancholy and insecure. So greatly did we long for the utopian place of freedom that now that we can no longer escape anywhere—because we have escaped—now we look about anxiously for the bars to our cage. . . .

Freedom is no paradise. It is filled with danger, and without aim or order it becomes chaotic anarchy. There is much chaos in America at this time. The land is not yet weighed down with the ties and experiences to which the old world owed its pseudo-security. This land of abundance still lacks many of the institutions which the impact of progress created over there. . . .

We, the émigrés, have arrived here in the hour of decision. We have our own urgent, wretched problems. We must earn our bread, learn the language, understand our environment. True, the longing and sadness in our breast are understandable. Our arrogance is not. We are, after all, rescued fugitives. We stand in an awakening world that heretofore was strange and closed to us. We have the good fortune to stand by the side of our friends instead of bearing the yoke of our enemies. Our place is here. We must today begin to build the roof that shall be our indestructible shield for the future. We must make greater sacrifices, must be bolder and more steadfast than our new neighbors. Only then can we salvage our past as Europeans.

Martin Gumpert
First Papers, 1941

After traveling from Fascist Italy to Stockholm to receive the Nobel Prize in physics, Enrico Fermi determined to settle with his family in America. His wife, Laura, whose Jewish ancestry made their flight imperative, was acutely aware of the problems of adapting to an alien culture.

"Wake up and dress. We have almost arrived. The children are already on deck."

In reluctant obedience to Enrico's peremptory voice, I emerged out of sleep and the warm comfort of my berth. It was the morning of January 2, 1939, and the "Franconia" was rolling placidly, with no hurry or emotion, bringing to its end a calm voyage.

On deck Nella and Giulio rushed to me, away from the watchful presence of their nurse.

"Land," Nella shouted; and Giulio extended a chubby finger in the direction of the ship's bow and repeated: "Land!"

Soon the New York skyline appeared in the gray sky, dim at first, then sharply jagged, and the Statue of Liberty moved toward us, a cold, huge woman of marble (copper), who had no message yet to give me.

But Enrico said, as a smile lit his face tanned by the sea:

"We have founded the American branch of the Fermi family."

I turned my eyes down to examine my children. They seemed more thoroughly scrubbed and polished than children I had seen in America (on a previous visit). Their tailor-made coats and light-gray leggings were different from those of other children on the boat. On their curly heads the leather helmets we had bought in Denmark against the first northern rigors appeared alien. I looked at Enrico and at his markedly Mediterranean features, in which I could read the pride and the relief of one who has satisfactorily guided his expedition across land and sea, bearing all the responsibilities on his broad shoulders with an imperturbability that would have long been thrown off had it not been so deeply rooted in him. And I looked at the maid who had come along with us, . . . who could talk to none but us because she knew no English at all.

"This is no American family," I thought to myself. "Not yet." . . .

In the process of Americanization . . . there is more than learning language and customs and setting one's self to do whatever Americans can do. There is more than understanding the living institutions, the pattern of schools, the social and political trends. There is the absorbing of the background. The ability to evoke visions of covered wagons, to see the clouds of dust behind them in the golden deserts of the West, to hear the sound of thumping hoofs and jolting wheels over a mountain pass. The power to relive a miner's excitement in his boom town in Colorado and to understand his thoughts when, fifty years

later, old and spare, but straight, no longer a miner, but a philosopher, he lets his gaze float along with the smoke from his pipe over the ghost-like remnants of his town. The acceptance of New England pride, and the participation in the long suffering of the South.

And there is the switch of heroes.

Suppose that you go to live in a foreign country and that this country is Italy. And suppose you are talking to a cultivated Italian, who may say to you:

"Shakespeare? Pretty good, isn't he? There are Italian translations of Shakespeare, and some people read them. As for myself, I can read English and have read some of Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare; the dream in mid-summer; Hamlet, the neurotic who could not make up his mind; and Romeo and Giulietta. Kind of queer ideas you Anglo-Saxons have about Italians! Anyhow, as I was saying, Shakespeare is pretty good. But all those historical figures he brings in . . . not the most important ones. . . . We have to look up history books to follow him.

Now you take Dante. Here is a great poet for you! A universal poet! Such superhuman conception of the universe! Such visions of the upper and nether worlds! The church is still walking in Dante's steps after more than six centuries. And his history! He had made history alive. Read Dante and you know history. . . ."

In your hero worship there is no place for both Shakespeare and Dante, and you must take your choice. If you are to live in Italy and be like other people, forget Shakespeare. Make a bonfire and sacrifice him, together with all American heroes, with Washington and Lincoln, Longfellow and Emerson, Bell and the Wright brothers. In the shadow of that cherry tree that Washington chopped down let an Italian warrior rest, and let him be a warrior with a blond beard and a red shirt. A warrior who on a white stallion, followed by a flamboyant handful of red-shirted youths, galloped and fought the length of the Italian peninsula to win it for a king, a warrior whose name is Garibaldi. Let Mazzini and Cavour replace Jefferson and Adams, Carducci and Manzoni take the place of Longfellow and Emerson. Learn that a population can be aroused not only by Paul Revere's night ride but also by the stone thrown by a little boy named Balilla. Forget that a telephone is a Bell telephone and accept Meucci as its inventor, and remember that the first idea of an airplane was Leonardo's. Once you have made these adjustments in your mind, you have become Italianized, perhaps. Perhaps you have not and never will.

Laura Fermi
Atoms in the Family, 1954

Since the 1940's Puerto Ricans have emigrated to the United States in increasing numbers, settling in urban ghettos vacated by

earlier immigrants. The effect of the "culture of poverty" on men such as Simplicio Rios—a young Puerto Rican whom Oscar Lewis interviewed for his monumental study *La Vida*—constitutes a profound challenge to the future of the land of liberty.

We Puerto Ricans here in New York turn to each other for friendship. We go out on Fridays because that's the beginning of the weekend. A whole bunch of us Puerto Ricans go out together. Because as far as having friends of other races goes, the only one I have now is an American Negro who owns a bar.

Lots of people here have relatives in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, well, all over. So they often spend the weekends out of town. Others go to dances or to the beach. That's what we mostly do for entertainment in summer, have picnics at Coney Island. A big group of us Latins go together. Coney Island is full of people—all sorts mixed together. There you will find white and black Americans. But many other beaches are different; they don't want Negroes or Puerto Ricans. . . .

I would like to work for the equality of Negroes and whites although I can't say that racial prejudice has really screwed me up much. But I don't agree with this business of the Negroes fighting. . . . I wouldn't get mixed up in those fights; they are Americans and understand each other. I'd let myself be drawn into something like that only if it was the Puerto Ricans who were in it. We have nothing to do with this business, so there's no need to get involved in fights.

If it were in my power to help the Puerto Ricans any way I chose, I would choose a good education for them, for the little ones who are growing up now. I would like them to have good schools where they would be taught English, yes, but Spanish too. That's what's wrong with the system up here—they don't teach Spanish to our children. That's bad, because if a child of yours is born and brought up here and then goes back to Puerto Rico, he can't get a job. How can he, when he knows no Spanish? It's good to know English. But Spanish is for speaking to your own people. That's the problem the children of Puerto Ricans have up here. They understand Spanish but they can't speak or write it.

A good education would help them to get jobs. Because sometimes Puerto Ricans come here to get a job and they can't find one. They want to work and earn money but don't have any schooling at all. They find themselves in a tight spot and maybe they have school children to support, so they'll accept any job that comes their way, usually the worst ones. That's one cause for the delinquency there is among us.

Another thing I would like to work for is better housing. Puerto Ricans can't get good apartments here because the landlords begin raising the rent. They don't want us because they say we're dirty and messy. All pay for what a few of us do. What happens is that when a Puerto Rican rents a place he cracks

the plaster on the walls by driving nails to hang pictures. And then he paints the different rooms different colors. Americans don't like that. So if a Puerto Rican goes to look for an apartment in a pretty part of the city, he finds they charge a hundred and fifty or two hundred dollars rent. How can we pay that? A Puerto Rican here barely earns enough to pay for rent and food.

It's easy enough for married couples without children to get apartments, but a family with three or four children has trouble. Nobody wants to rent to them. And we Puerto Ricans usually do have children. So we have to look for months and then settle for the worst, for apartments full of rats and crawling with cockroaches. The more you clean, the more they come. There are more rats than people in New York, where we Latins live, I mean. . . .

When they see the way we live here, many Americans get the idea that we came over like the Italians and the Jews did. They have to come with a passport, see? They think we are the same. That and their racial prejudice are the things that make me dislike Americans. Whites here are full of prejudice against Latins and Negroes. In Puerto Rico it isn't like that. You can go any place a white man can, as long as you can pay your way. And a white man can sit down to eat at the same table as a Negro. But not here. That's why the United States is having so many troubles. That's why I say I don't like Americans. What I like is their country. The life here, the way, the manner of living.

Simplicio Rios
Interview by Oscar Lewis, 1965

"The New Colossus"

Less than one hundred years ago Emma Lazarus wrote "The New Colossus" as a tribute to the Statue of Liberty. Since then her poem has become so well known that many Americans can recite the last lines from memory.

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glow world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Emma Lazarus
"The New Colossus," 1883

For sources on Appendix A see Oscar Handlin,
Statue of Liberty (New York: Newsweek, 1971).

The New Colossus.

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"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she,
 With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
 Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
 The wretched refuse of your teeming shore;
 Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
 I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Emma Lazarus.

November 2nd 1883.

APPENDIX B

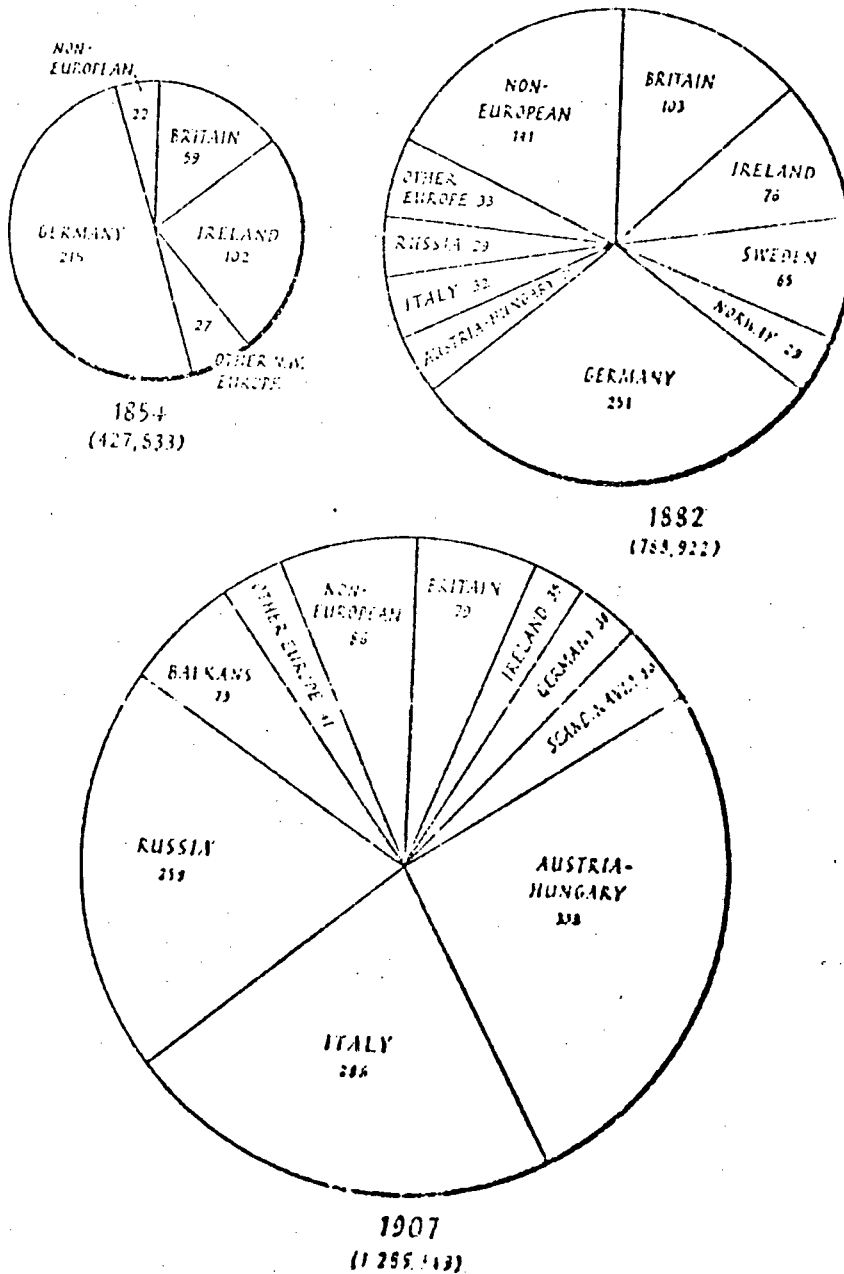


Diagram 1 American immigration: three peak years (figures within circles in 1000's)

American Revolution 1776-1779

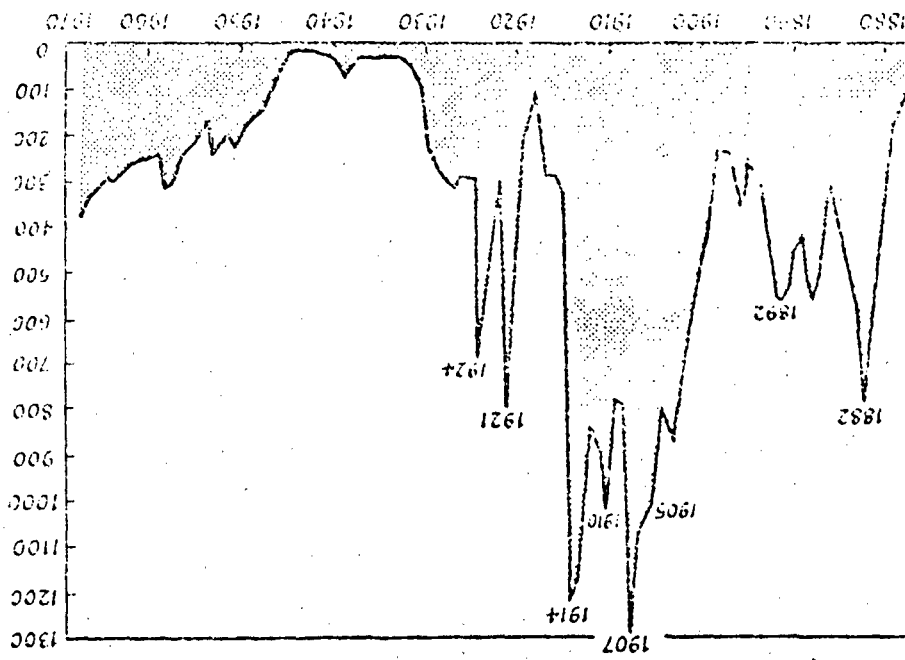
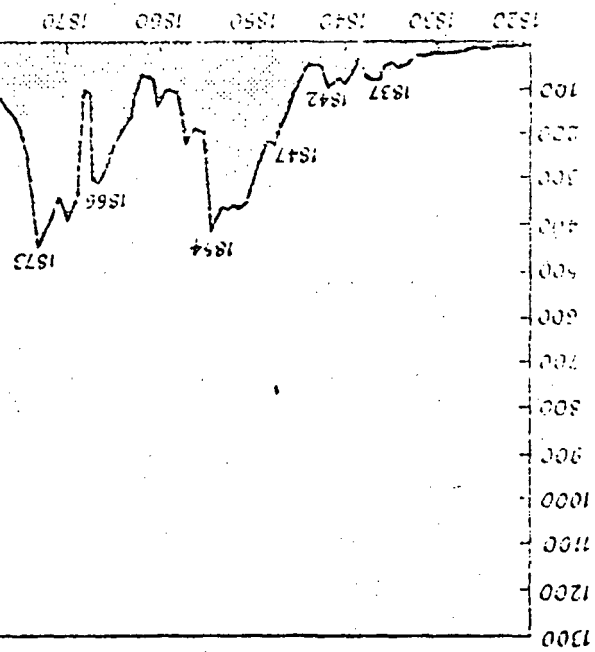
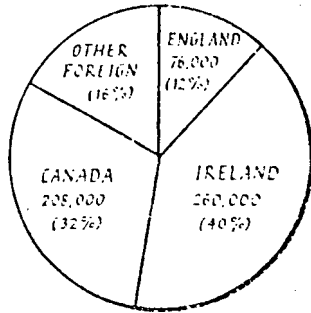
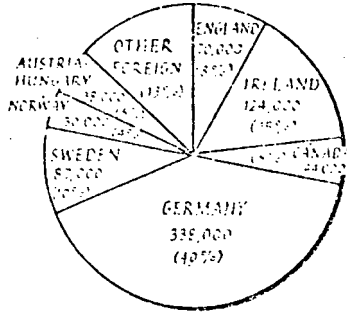


Diagram 2

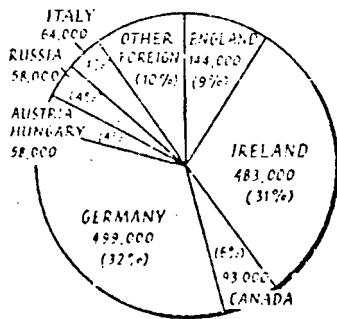




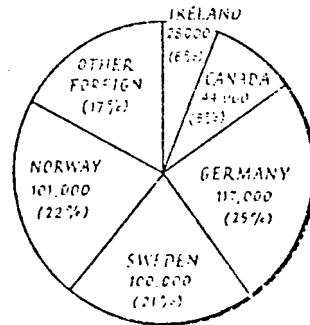
MASSACHUSETTS
657,000 foreign
in 2,239,000
(29%)



ILLINOIS
842,000 foreign
in 3,826,000
(22%)

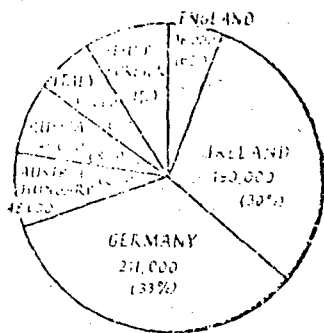


NEW YORK
1,571,000 foreign
in 6,003,000
(26%)

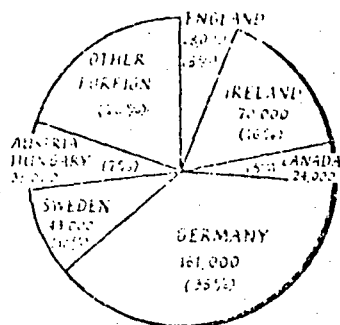


MINNESOTA
467,000 foreign
in 1,310,000
(36%)

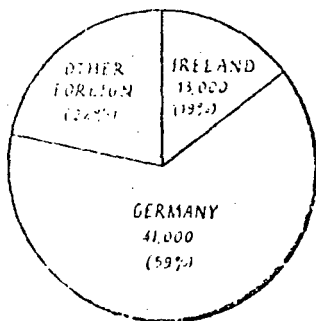
Diagram 6 Foreign-born in states, 1890



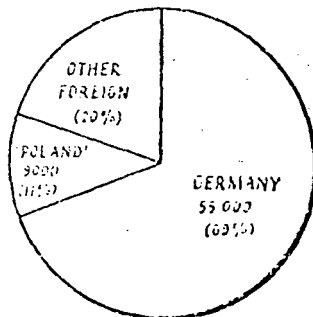
NEW YORK CITY
640,000 foreign in
1,519,000 (42%)



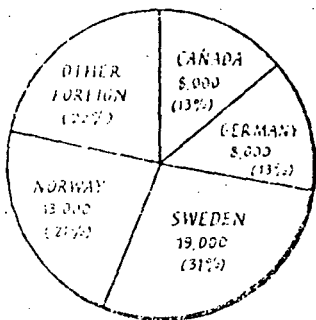
CHICAGO
451,000 foreign in
1,100,000 (41%)



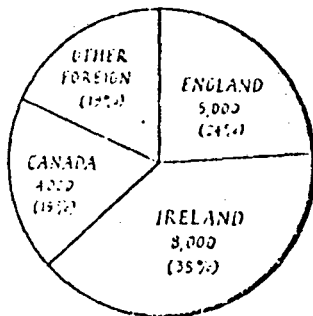
BALTIMORE
62,000 foreign in
431,000 (16%)



MILWAUKEE
50,000 foreign in
204,000 (39%)

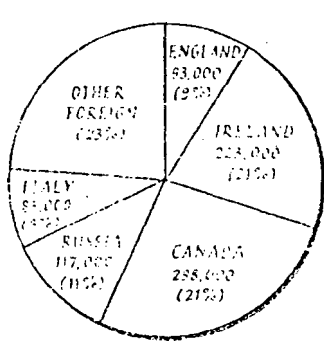


MINNEAPOLIS
51,000 foreign in
165,000 (31%)

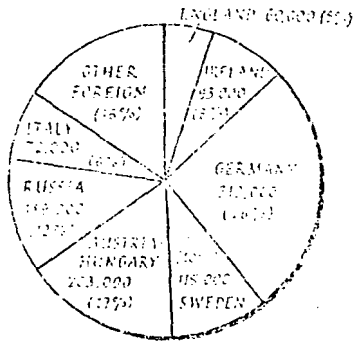


LAWRENCE, MASS.
21,000 foreign in
45,000 (47%)

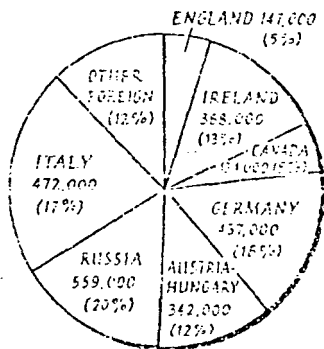
Diagram 7 Foreign-born in cities, 1890



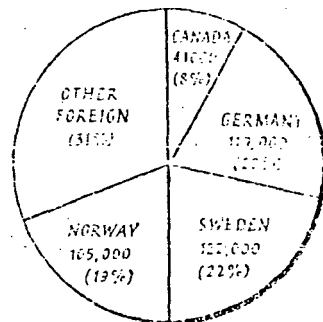
MASSACHUSETTS
1,059,000 foreign
of 3,356,000
(31%)



ILLINOIS
1,205,000 foreign
of 5,639,000
(21%)



NEW YORK
2,748,000 foreign
of 9,114,000
(30%)



MINNESOTA
544,000 foreign
of 2,076,000
(26%)

Diagram 8 Foreign-born in states, 1910

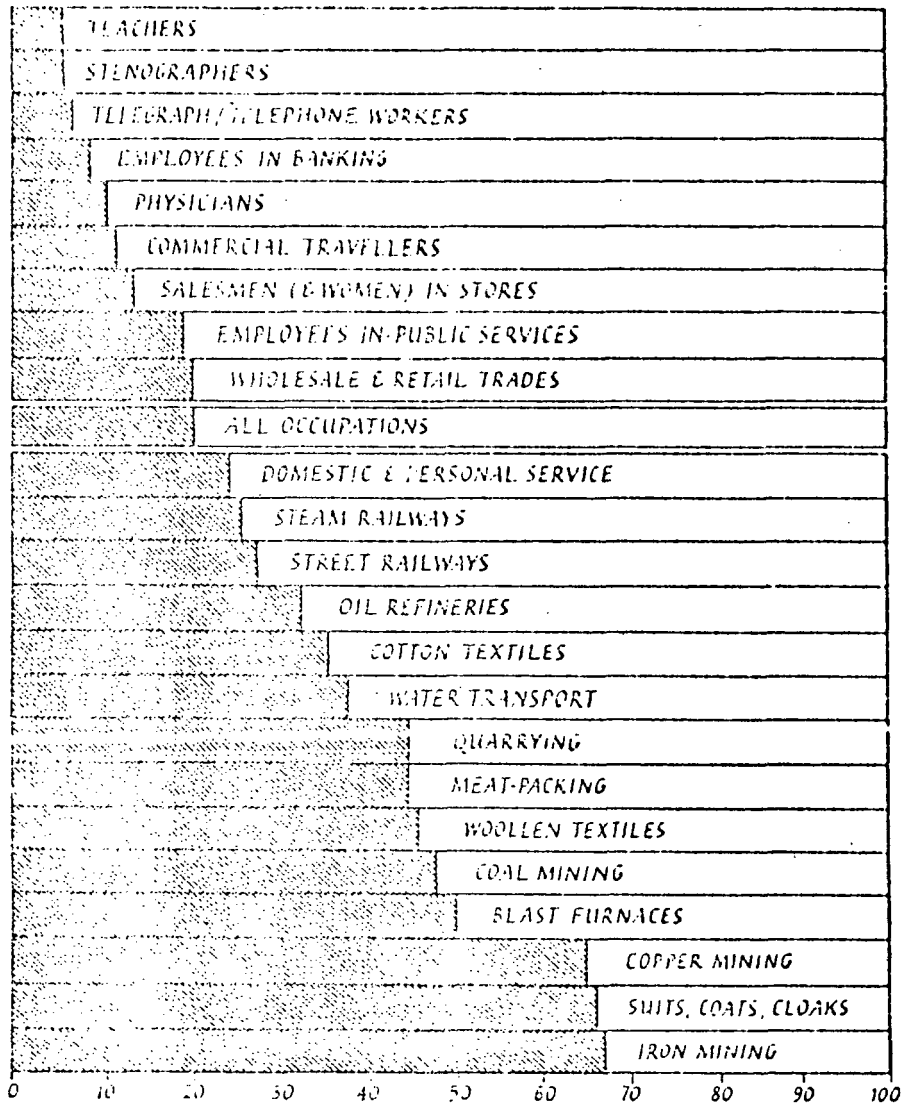


Diagram 10 Percentage of foreign-born workers, 1910

These diagrams are taken from F. J. Brown and J. S. Roubek, One America (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949).

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