Church Growth in Swedish Chicago: Extension and Transition in an Immigrant Community, 1880-1920

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As immigration from Europe to the United States swelled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the variety of religious traditions found in America multiplied. The immigrants' religious attitudes and behavior, both in their native countries and in their new homes, added an important dimension to their overall migration experience. Despite its importance, the religious aspect of American immigration has received uneven treatment by historians. Too often, American religious history and American immigration history are treated as separate categories of analysis, when in fact, the two are firmly linked and often intertwined.[1]

Oscar Handlin certainly recognizes this relationship; in stressing the disorienting effect of immigration upon individuals, he argues that the immigrants' religion added a dimension of continuity to their otherwise uprooted lives. To Handlin, immigrant churches in the United States were an extension of their old-world roots, conservative and backward-looking.[2] Timothy L. Smith believes immigrant churches contributed to the preservation and the revision of inherited religion. He writes that "Immigrant congregations served diverse family, group, and individual interests. They were not transplants of traditional institutions but communities of commitment and, therefore, arenas of change."[3] Furthermore, these communities sharpened the boundaries between the committed and the non-committed, within and among immigrant groups. Although these historians emphasize different points of interpretation, they both further the idea that immigration intensified religious belief. As Smith notes, "Migration was a theologizing experience."[4]

Over half a million immigrants found their way to Chicago by the turn of the century, bringing with them a variety of customs and beliefs. Chicago became a composite of European-born groups who, along with their children, dominated the city's population. As the population of Chicago grew from 503,185 in 1880 to 2,701,705 in 1920 and its area spread to cover over 198 square miles, the people who settled the city created a vast array of new institutions.[5] Particularly important among these institutions were the churches, which Chicagoans believed lended credibility to their city. The city's explosive growth caused some critics to claim that Chicago had left its morals behind. Chicago hosted the World's Parliament of Religion in 1893 as a balance to the World Columbian Exposition's more secular emphasis. In 1897, the *Chicago Tribune*

asserted the respectability of Chicago as measured by the number of religious associations and institutions which, it claimed, led the country.

Carping critics who have found satisfaction in denouncing the rowdyism and ungodliness of Chicago may now hold their peace and hide their diminished heads, for, lo! the Queen City of the lakes outdoes all other cities in the number and variety of its religious and educational institutions.[6]

The Tribune's use of religious institutions as a gauge to measure the overall morality of Chicago reflects the importance which the city's inhabitants attached to these institutions, as well as the way in which many nineteenth-century Americans defined morality. Religious organizations and the institutions which they spawned created a civilized environment for a city with a reputation for lawlessness. An important ingredient of religious institution-building, largely ignored by the Tribune, was the ethnic context from which many churches arose.[7] Ethnic churches played an important role in Chicago's growth and expansion. In a city speckled with a variety of ethnic enclaves, churches became points of connection for like-minded immigrants. Ethnic churches provided an institutional mediation between immigrants and their urban environment.

As Swedes settled in new, suburban neighborhoods of Chicago, they replicated religious variations in a number of out-lying regions, extending the Swedish community throughout the Chicago area. Through their churches, these immigrants created concrete networks of affiliation that gave many of them a much-needed sense of relationship with other Swedish immigrants. Once created, Swedish churches and denominations became sub-communities to which immigrants attached strong loyalties. In this essay, I will explore how Swedish religious trends in both Sweden and the United States were translated into actual immigrant behavior in Swedish Chicago. I will use the Augustana Lutheran and Covenant churches in Chicago as case studies to examine how Swedes built and used their churches, and how those churches created an institutional context for movement within the city. Swedish churches in Chicago allowed immigrants to maintain strains of their own ethnicity in a heterogeneous city and assisted them in the process of adapting to life in Chicago. Even as they aided in the adjustment process, by 1920 the churches also mirrored the transition of the Swedish community in Chicago: an American-born, English-speaking generation of Swedish offspring grew to outnumber the Swedish-born immigrants in the city, changing the character of the Swedish community.

I

The religious identification of Swedes in Chicago was rooted in the theological debates and social developments of nineteenth-century Sweden, manifested and adapted in the new land. The Church of Sweden, Lutheran in nature and

firmly linked with the Swedish State, served as the official interpreter of the Bible and gave visual evidence of the hierarchical nature of the relationship between laity, clergy, and crown. Pietistic influences which stressed personal devotion and relationship to God and a living faith originated in seventeenth-century Germany and posed a threat to the state church as they gained popularity in Sweden. The Crown issued the Conventicle Decree of 1726, the strongest of several such acts, which prohibited private religious gatherings and represented an early attempt by the state to retain control of religious thought and expression. Nevertheless, the church's position as religious authority did not go unchallenged. The *läsare* (reader) movement, made up of people who met to read and study the Bible in informal conventicles, increased in popularity in the early nineteenth century despite the decree prohibiting such meetings. Religious revivalism – aided by George Scott and Carl Olof Rosenius – spread in the 1830s and 1840s, gaining a widespread following and leading to the repeal of the Conventicle Decree in 1858. Revivalism had a democratizing effect upon Swedish society as it encouraged laypersons to take leadership positions in religious settings, undermining the hegemony and vertical relationships evident in the State Church.[8]

Altogether, the nineteenth-century social movements – the free church, labor and temperance crusades – provided an important step in the modernization of the Swedish state. Torkel Jansson argues that voluntary associations created by these social movements filled a potentially dangerous vacuum during Sweden's transition from feudalism to capitalism. The crucial point Jansson stresses is "the new idea of coming together regardless of given and fixed relations, the principle of voluntary contribution."[9] Sven Lundkvist points out that the free church, temperance and trade union movements gave ordinary people a political voice and promoted dialogue over revolution. The Swedish popular movements created a horizontal solidarity in the form of the congregation, lodge, or trade union, to replace the vertical relationships of the old society, such as master-servant, or priest-parishioner. Associations helped create a new value system by channeling "dissatisfaction in the struggle for power" and establishing collective goals of religious, moral, or political character.[10] The popular movements provided a new morality during a time of immense change. By 1920, the free church, temperance and trade union movements were nearly equal in strength, involving almost one-third of the Swedish population.[11]

The majority of church-going Swedes in America attended an Augustana Lutheran Church, the largest Swedish denomination established in the United States. The history of Swedish Lutheranism in America began in 1850 when Lars Paul Esbjörn founded the first such congregation in Andover, Illinois. Esbjörn, an ordained pastor in the Church of Sweden, had also been influenced by the *läsare* movement while still in Sweden, as had his co-workers, Ture Nilsson Hasselquist and Erland Carlsson. Their sympathy with pietistic and

liberal influences jeopardized their chances for promotion within the Swedish church system. That reason, combined with a belief in a divine call to serve Swedes who had resettled in the new land, spurred them to move to America. Although these men always served as defenders of the Lutheran tradition and doctrine, they faced vastly different conditions in America than in the well-established church system of Sweden. Esbjörn traveled to a number of frontier towns in the Middle West, organizing congregations, building churches, and making preaching tours. Hasselquist followed him to America, and eventually became the first president of the Augustana Synod in 1860. At the urging of Hasselquist and the Norwegian pastor in Chicago, Paul Andersen, Erland Carlsson answered the call to serve Immanuel Lutheran Church in Chicago – the first Swedish Lutheran congregation in the city. These men, trained and educated in the Swedish Church, founded a denomination which combined a Lutheran heritage and a strong allegiance to the Augsburg Confession with an independence from the Church of Sweden rendered by the frontier conditions in America.[12]

In 1851, Swedes had joined with other Lutherans to form the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Northern Illinois. This assembly of Germans, Norwegians and Swedes soon ran into conflicts over doctrine and education of the clergy. Dissention, coupled with the increasing migration of Scandinavians to the United States, led to the withdrawal of the Scandinavian conference and the formation of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod in North America in 1860. In 1870, the Norwegians withdrew from the Augustana Synod, leaving the Swedes in complete control. This denomination stood independently, supported by neither the Church of Sweden nor the other Lutheran churches in the United States. After 1856, American Lutherans received no more recruits from the educated Swedish clergy, nor was the Swedish Church tempted to help the plight of those who had deserted their homeland. The Augustana Synod recruited their members in much the same manner as did their free church counterparts, and educated their clergy at institutions of their own creation. As George Stephenson points out, "Nothing could be more unhistorical than to designate the Augustana Synod as the 'daughter' of the Church of Sweden. The founders, to be sure, brought with them the Augsburg Confession and the symbolic books, but even these took on new meaning...and in polity and practice the Augustana Synod has far more in common with Congregationalism and Presbyterianism than it has with European Lutheranism."[13]

The Protestant Episcopal church was the only American denomination which stressed its similarity to the Church of Sweden. The St. Ansgarius Episcopal Church in Chicago, formed in 1849 and inspired by the Episcopal churches in the New Sweden colony in Delaware, was the first Swedish congregation in Chicago and the most successful Swedish Episcopal Church in mid nineteenth-century America. Although a very important part of the early

Swedish community in Chicago, the St. Ansgarius Church never found a strong following among the immigrants who arrived in the decades of large-scale migration after 1870. Moreover, the Episcopal denomination never shared the spontaneity of the other Swedish denominational movements. The Episcopal Church represented a movement in which the clergy took the initiative in forming congregations, and it never reached deeply into the roots of the Swedish people. Those who joined often did so as a reaction against the strong moralizing tone voiced by the other Swedish denominations.[14]

Both the Swedish Methodist and Baptist churches received financial support from the missionary funds of their American counterparts. While contributing to the early successes of these churches, this close relationship eventually challenged the independent status of the Swedish congregations. The Methodist and Baptist movements met with success in America and in Sweden. The Methodist missionaries to Sweden furthered the nineteenth-century revivalism there, and the first Swedish Methodist Church in America pre-dates the first Lutheran church. Baptists founded their first church in Sweden in 1848 and their first Swedish church in America in 1852. Of the two, the Baptists met with the greatest success with early Swedish immigrants, stressing congregationalism and revivalism. While revivalism was also present in the Methodist churches, the hierarchical nature of the Methodist church structure did not appeal to Swedes who were skeptical of church authority. In addition, some Methodists preached perfectionism which ran counter to the more Lutheran belief in the depravity of human nature. Both the Baptist and the Methodist efforts initially represented American denominations reaching out to Swedish immigrants. While these efforts met with a good measure of success, they could never challenge the hold of the Lutheran tradition on the Swedish people.[15]

Not all Lutherans, however, felt comfortable with the establishment of the Augustana Lutheran Synod. Many of those who considered themselves to be followers of Rosenius and inheritors of the Swedish *läsare* believed the Augustana synod replicated the stagnancy of the Church of Sweden. In an attempt to purify the Lutheran church, they formed loose mission societies and held informal prayer meetings similar in style to the conventicles in Sweden. These Mission Friends believed the "inner call" of a person to the ministry was adequate qualification for lay-ministers to practice and frowned upon the formality of the Lutheran worship service. In this setting, the Augustana Synod became the defender of traditionalism and the critic of spontaneous revivalism. Even the non-conformists needed to organize – if only to have the authority to license its own pastors – and in 1872 the Scandinavian Lutheran Mission Synod in the United States was organized under the leadership of a Dane, Charles Anderson. The formality increased with the formation of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Mission Synod in 1873 as part of the Synod of Northern Illinois, and in 1874, the formation of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran

Ansgarius Synod, part of the Lutheran General Synod. In 1885, these latter two synods united to form the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant in America, a separate denomination which adopted no formal creed, followed no established liturgy, nor believed in clerical vestments. C.A. Björk became the first president of the Covenant, a cobbler by training and preacher by profession.[16]

Not all Mission Friends were pleased with these denominational developments, claiming that the new unions usurped the authority of individual congregations. The leader of the disaffected, John G. Princell, refused to accept the Covenant Church. He believed that the most biblical form of Christian union was that of the local congregation.[17] Eventually, even Princell recognized the advantages of organizing and took part in the forming of the Swedish Evangelical Free Church in 1908. Overall, the Mission Covenant Church benefited from the new waves of Swedish immigrants arriving to the American shores. Its creation paralleled the Mission Covenant Church in Sweden, but it acted as a completely independent agent without an American counterpart.

II

The period from 1880 to 1920 was a time of great transformation in both Swedish and American societies. Although Sweden lagged a bit behind the United States, both countries became increasingly urban and industrial. Swedes who left for Chicago did so largely for the opportunities the city offered, opportunities which an over-populated Sweden could not match. A large proportion of Swedes who came to Chicago left small, rural areas. Even those who lived in Sweden's urban regions had not been exposed to the immense ethnic diversity of a city such as Chicago. During this period, Swedes built more than seventy-two churches in Chicago, creating a network of religious institutions that extended throughout the suburbanizing city. These churches proved to be an important source of voluntary affiliation for the maintenance of ethnic and religious identity. Churches became channels through which familiar theological debates and worship rituals could be continued. They provided a means of relational, ethnic identification and solidarity and used a language which Swedes could understand.[18]

Not all Swedish immigrants in Chicago belonged to Swedish churches, however. When comparing church membership statistics of the mainline Swedish denominations with the number of Swedish-born people in Chicago, membership in the churches ranged from 20.7% to 35.8% of the Swedish population. This figure drops significantly, however, when second-generation Swedes are included in the calculations. When compared with the population of Swedish-born and their American-born children in Chicago, church membership ranged from 11.7% to 17.3%.[19] (See Table I) Despite the fact that

the majority of Swedes did not belong to a church, the churches were among the strongest and largest ethnic institutions in Swedish Chicago and they held a significant place in the Swedish community. When Swedes moved to new areas of the city, they started new churches before they began other ethnic associations. Furthermore, many more people attended church than actually joined and some churches did not report their membership figures, thus the impact of the churches was greater than their membership statistics might indicate.

As churches provided aspects of continuity in lives which had undergone a great transformation in the move from Sweden to Chicago. they developed a character different from their counterparts in Sweden. Swedish churches in America were essentially voluntary associations, unlike the Swedish system where membership in the state church was automatic at birth. Although requirements for church membership varied from one denomination to the next, church members expressed values important to them simply by joining the church. The competitive church environment found among Swedes in Chicago also differed from the situation in Sweden. Swedish-speaking congregations could be found among the Lutherans. Baptists, Methodists, Covenanters, Episcopalians, Seventh-Day Adventists. and Free Church members. The Salvation Army also made great inroads among Chicago's Swedish population.[20] Many Swedish churches in America – especially those following the free church tradition – tended to be more lay-oriented and revivalistic than the Church of Sweden, giving the church a more democratic flavor. Churches became an amalgam of the Swedish theological developments, their American modifications, and the experience of living in America.

To focus the scope of the study, the next section will concentrate on the creation of Augustana Lutheran and Swedish Covenant congregations in Chicago from 1880 to 1920. In doing so, it does not deny the importance of other denominations nor the diversity of the Swedish community, even within the religious sphere. Rather, it attempts to analyze the patterns of church-building in two denominations with strong Swedish roots. created with little outside influence from American denominations. The Augustana Lutheran and Covenant churches held different places on the spectrum of Swedish religious expression. The Augustana churches defended the Augsburg Confession, stressed an educated clergy and formality of worship, and accepted infants as members through baptism. The Covenant churches were pietistic gatherings of confessed believers that rejected religious creeds, accepted lay-leadership within the church, and emphasized greater freedom in worship practices. They believed their denomination struck a balance between congregational autonomy and denominational unity. By 1920, these two church groups represented the largest denominations of Swedes in Chicago, with membership in the Covenant churches equaling 41.6% of the total Augustana Lutheran

membership for the same year. See Table I.) Despite their differences, both denominations followed similar patterns of church growth and development, creating a network of congregations which extended the Swedish community throughout the city of Chicago.

III

Both the Augustana Lutheran and the Covenant churches began their work with the establishment of a single mother congregation, from which denominational churches spread throughout the city. In 1880, the largest Swedish church of any denomination was the oldest Swedish Lutheran church in the city, Immanuel Lutheran Church, founded in 1853. In the 1880s Immanuel Lutheran Church remained the most influential and well-attended Swedish church in Chicago. By 1881, church membership reached a total of 1276, representing nearly 10% of Chicago's Swedish-born residents. This church, located on the corner of Sedgewick and Hobbie Streets, held a place in the Swedish community very similar to the local churches in Sweden. Swedes in Chicago looked to this church, and others like it, to perform sacred rituals in a familiar church setting and language. Immanuel's location, in the heart of the largest Swedish enclave on the near north side of the city, assured its prominence to the Swedish community as long as the Swedish population remained centralized in the area. When Swedes moved to new areas of the city, the church eventually followed. In 1918, Immanuel Lutheran Church of Chicago and the Evangelical Lutheran Bethel Church – started by the Augustana Lutheran Mission Board as an English mission in Edgewater in 1907 – made the momentous decision to unite and form one congregation.[21]

The internal operations of Immanuel Church from 1880 through 1917 reflect the institution's changing role in the community. As Table II clearly indicates, the decade from 1881-1890 represented the peak of parish activity, especially in terms of marriages and babies baptized and buried. During the 1880s, many young, single Swedes arrived in Chicago and found their mates in the Swedish churches. Many of these young people were married in the church. In addition, the large number of infants baptized during that decade indicates that the church community was made up of many couples of childbearing age. These immigrants looked to the church in times of joy and sadness – to bless their marriages, baptize their babies, and to bury their loved one – much as they had done in their native country. These rituals added a sense of continuity to their lives. Even at the peak of the church's activity, however, membership trends at Immanuel Lutheran Church began to change. Total church membership reached its all-time high in 1887: 1,558 communicant members and 767 non-communicant members belonged to Immanuel Church, for a total of 2,325 people.[22] That same year the church celebrated its thirty-fourth birthday, and from that point on, church membership and activity steadily

declined. At the ripe old age of thirty-four, Immanuel was already beginning to show its age.

Membership activity during the 1880s shows incredible fluidity in the congregation. From 1881 through 1890, 1,556 new communicant members joined Immanuel, 289 transferred in from other churches and 1,267 came in through confession of their faith. The church also lost members each year. In fact, records show that during this same period, 703 people were removed – probably to join other churches – 1,045 were simply dropped from the register, and 19 were excommunicated.[23] Despite the turnover of members, leadership in the church remained fairly consistent. From 1875 to 1909, C. A. Evald served as Immanuel Church's second pastor, succeeding Erland Carlsson. Known for his speaking ability, Evald emphasized "prayer meetings", "spiritual outpourings", and Bible classes, reflecting the pietistic tendencies found within the earliest Lutheran churches.[24]

Sunday school for children became an important way for immigrants to transmit Swedish values to their American-born children. Interestingly enough, Sunday school itself had no Swedish precedent. The heterogeneous ethnic and religious conditions of American society, however, encouraged Swedes to embrace this American institution as a means of passing on their inherited Swedish religious culture.[25] Attendance in Immanuel Church's Sunday school grew from 560 in 1881 to 715 in 1890. By 1892, Sunday school enrollment reached 1,200, and averaged 1,178 per year from 1892 to 1900. After that point, the drop in Sunday school attendance to 700 in 1916 reflected the aging of the church's population and the fact that fewer children lived in the vicinity of the church.

As the Near North Side of Chicago diminished in importance as an area of Swedish settlement, so did the membership and activities of Immanuel Church. In 1892, 1,510 people belonged to the church; by 1900, the number had decreased to 1,319.[26] By 1917, the year before Immanuel and Bethel churches merged, membership at Immanuel dropped to 986, 63% of its all-time high in 1887. In 1919, the new united church purchased property at the corner of Elmdale and Greenview Avenues, in the Edgewater region of the city, not far from the heavily Swedish Andersonville area. The congregation moved into its new church in 1921, leaving the old Swedish enclave on the near north side behind.[27] The church, as a Swedish institution, had outlasted the community's needs. Conditions in the neighborhood had changed: Italians and blacks began to replace the Swedes who had moved to newer areas of the city. Although nearly 1,000 people remained on the membership register in 1917, the decision to move to Edgewater clearly showed that the old neighborhood no longer remained central to the church's operations.[28]

Established in 1868, the North Side Mission Church became the mother church to the rest of Chicago's Covenant Churches. The small congregation began as a mission society within Immanuel Lutheran church with the blessing

of its pastor, Erland Carlsson. Originally calling themselves "the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society of Chicago" they represented one of four such societies in the United States. In 1869, land was purchased and a building completed on North Franklin Street near Whiting Street, on the near North Side of Chicago. This congregation remained tied to the Lutheran church, and no one was permitted to preach the word of God unless he adhered to the Lutheran doctrine and the Augsburg confession, prerequisites to Lutheran affiliation. As time passed and the congregation grew, the Mission Friends took on their own distinctive characteristics, placing great emphasis upon a fellowship of believers and spiritual renewal. To push the split even further, the Immanuel Church barred Mission Friend colporteurs from its pulpit. In 1870, the North Side Mission Church became incorporated under the laws of the state of Illinois as the "Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Association of Chicago" and began licensing its first preachers.[29]

The Chicago Fire destroyed the church in 1871 and caused a major setback for the members of the North Side Mission Church. Not until 1873 was a new church building erected on the same site, however. By the early 1880s, attendance at the church grew rapidly as did the Swedish population in Chicago. The church's anniversary booklet, *The One Hundred Years*, notes that "Many of the new arrivals had recently been converted in Sweden but the unconverted also attended the church services which provided an opportunity for making friends and for social fellowship...The near North Side of Chicago had become a distinctly Swedish community between Chicago Avenue and Division Streets...There were large numbers of families with young children."[30] Growing attendance and the slight northward migration of the Swedes resulted in the erection of a larger church edifice in 1887 on the southwest corner of Market (Orleans) and Whiting Streets. On special occasions, the auditorium could seat 2,000 people, "which was said at the time of its completion to be the largest assembly place in America for Swedish people."[31]

In 1889, the first year the Covenant churches reported their membership figures, 500 people belonged to the North Side Mission Church. Church membership peaked in 1898 with 556 people, a number claimed to be about one-third the number which actually attended Sunday morning services. The Sunday School, always an important part of the church's mission, reached an attendance of 1,200 people in 1900. During the next two decades, however, church membership steadily declined, and by 1920, only 346 people belonged to the church.[32] Similarly to Immanuel Lutheran Church, the North Side Mission Church spawned new churches in new suburbs, but eventually fell victim itself to changing neighborhood demographics and a diminishment of interest among second-generation Swedes. *The One Hundred Years* made the following observation: "When [F. M. Johnson] began his ministry [in 1903], the Swedish people of the church neighborhood were moving away faster than they were moving in. This exodus continued to increase with the passing

years...Many members...joined other Covenant churches in Chicago or in more distant places."[33] In 1924, the North Side Mission Church, by then known as First Covenant, moved to the southwest corner at Albion and Artesian Avenues in West Ridge, an area located to the northwest of Andersonville. Neighborhood demographics mandated that the church relocate; another Swedish institution had outlived the Swedish residents in the area.

The North Side Church became an important source of leadership for Mission Friends throughout the Middle West of the United States and played an important role in the formation of the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America in 1885. The church became known as the mother church for its assistance in the starting new churches in Chicago and for the part its leaders played in the leadership of the denomination as a whole. C.A. Björk, the congregation's second full-time pastor, served the church from 1877 to 1894 while also serving as the first president of the Covenant as a denomination. He resigned as pastor when his job as president became a full-time, paid endeavor. Members such as A. F. Boring, C. G. Peterson, Otto Högfeldt, and John Hagstrom also served leadership positions in the independently-owned but denominationally-oriented publication, Missionsvännen. A number of church members formed the Swedish University Association real estate partnership in 1893, a "voluntary association organized...for the purpose of buying and selling the lands known as North Park Addition to Chicago, a subdivision...in Cook County."[34] This association attempted to build a Swedish Covenant colony on the outskirts of Chicago in conjunction with the establishment of a Covenant college – a necessary institution for the religious education of the Covenant clergy and for the general education of immigrants and their children. Although the colony was never the homogeneous environment envisioned by the Land Association, the school located there, known as North Park College, became a focal point for the denomination. In all of these endeavors, the North Side Mission church proved its important role as leader in the Covenant Church of America.[35]

IV

As the Swedish population in the city grew and spread into new suburbs, the number of religious institutions serving those people likewise increased. In the process, the power and influence of a single church such as Immanuel Lutheran or First Covenant transferred to a larger number of smaller churches. In 1880, four Augustana Lutheran churches and three congregations of Mission Friends existed in Chicago, located in the main hubs of Swedish population on the North, South, and Near West sides of the city. The membership in Lutheran churches alone numbered 2461, a figure representing 19% of the Swedish-born population in Chicago.[36] By 1920, Swedish Lutherans and Covenanters had built thirty-two churches in Chicago. (See Table III).

Although membership at Immanuel Lutheran Church and First Covenant Church declined after the 1890s, the churches were not dead institutions. Their lives continued to flow through the new churches their members helped create throughout the Chicago area. The creation stories of these daughter churches are quite similar: the mother churches helped seed them, sometimes with financial aid and often by supplying the core of charter membership. In 1868, Immanuel Church helped the new Salem Lutheran Church – located in a Swedish enclave on the South Side – with the gift of three lots, valued at $1,000. A number of Immanuel's members who lived in the area transferred their membership to the Salem Church, helping establish the new congregation.[37] Bethlehem Lutheran Church in Englewood, incorporated in 1876, was located in an up-and-coming Swedish enclave. Membership grew steadily until 1916.[38] Johan Forsberg, an important organizing force for Bethlehem Lutheran Church, wrote the following about the formation of the congregation:

> Englewood was then a suburb of Chicago and quite a number of Swedish people had settled there. Among them was a family named Anderson. Mr. Anderson was a painter and was known as Painter Anderson, his given name I have forgotten. The Anderson Family had built a fine big home and were very good friends of the pastor of the Immanuel congregation, Pastor Erland Carlsson. The Andersons invited Pastor and Mrs. Carlsson to come and have afternoon coffee with them, and before Pastor Carlsson was ready to leave he suggested that they have general prayer, and the neighbors were invited to come in and take part. A goodly number came, in fact so many that the large home could hardly accommodate them all.[39]

After that meeting, Erland Carlsson asked Johan Forsberg to begin pastorate work in the Englewood area. A number of early members became personally involved in the erection of a church structure. As Forsberg later surmised, "We have here a concrete example of what God had done and can do through the coffee cup in the mission work."[40]

Trinity Swedish Lutheran Church was founded in Lake View, located to the north of Chicago, in 1883. In the 1880s, developers subdivided the neighborhood and residents began to migrate there from the city. Swedes came to dominate the area around the intersection of Belmont and Clark Streets, stamping it with a distinct Swedish flavor. Immanuel Lutheran Church began a Sunday school mission in the area which provided the groundwork for the new Trinity congregation. From a membership of only 24 in 1883, Trinity Lutheran Church grew to 953 members in 1920, rivalling but not quite reaching the numbers of Immanuel Lutheran Church.[41] C. A. Evald, pastor at the Immanuel Lutheran Church, presided over the organizational meeting in 1883. Services began in private homes and the Sunday School met at a carpenter's

workshop.[42]

The founders of Trinity Lutheran Church, in a letter to the Immanuel congregation, explained their need for a new church. This letter described first-hand the close relationship between the two congregations and the attitude in which the new church was created. The letter, eloquently drafted by Johan A. Enander, secretary of the new congregation and editor of Hemlandet, the newspaper of the Augustana Lutheran Church, reflected the sense of destiny with which the founders viewed their steps. After addressing the Immanuel Church with the traditional religious greeting of "grace and peace", the letter quoted appropriate Old Testament verses: "The Lord our God be with us as he was with our forefathers; may he never leave us nor forsake us. May he turn our hearts toward him, that we may conform to all his ways, observing his commandments, statutes, and judgments, as he commanded our forefathers."[43] The founders of Trinity Church believed they continued a long tradition of faith in their new community.

The letter drafted by Enander emphasized that the formation of this new church was not initiated in a spirit of competition or disenchantment with the Immanuel Church:

> From the beginning, we would like to clarify that within this motivation there was not the least bit of dissatisfaction with our mother church in Chicago or her beloved pastor, nor the slightest "separation" in the negative sense of the word...The motivation for this step, which we will take with the knowledge and approval of the mother church, is the same as was made effective by the other Swedish Lutheran Churches built in different parts of the city of Chicago and its suburbs. As a consequence of the not insignificant distance from the church at Sedgewick Street which exists for many of the members belonging to Immanuel Church who live in this place, they – especially in wintertime – united with no small amount of difficulty to visit worship services and the other regular meetings which they desired. These difficulties were certainly not bigger than they could overcome, they who possessed a real need to hear God's word and in addition were gifted with health and power; but here, as in other places where our fellow countrymen are living, a sound mission work in Christian and churchly spirit is needed, and we seriously doubt that such can come to stand with a less organized congregation...Our so-named work shall carry on.[44]

This exhortation reflected the practical spirit in which these Swedes carried out God's purpose in their lives. It also conveyed the caution with which they took their steps, warding off potential or real criticism by their carefully-chosen words. The members went on to ask that Immanuel Church provide financial

assistance as it had to other new congregations in Chicago. The letter closed with a final decree: "Although we hereby announce that we intend to build our own church in Lake View, we feel this is not in the least extent observed as an immediate withdrawal out of Immanuel Church..." The letter was dated January 26, 1883, and signed in Lake View, Cook County, Illinois by eighteen men who would provide the backbone of leadership for the new church.[45]

Membership statistics show that fifty-five charter members joined the church – twenty-four of whom were communicant members. An examination of the actual list of charter members reveals that the twenty-four communicant members consisted of twelve adult couples, and the remaining thirty-one members were their children. Undoubtedly, Trinity Lutheran Church was in part created as an institution to preserve family values and ethnic community in an up-and-coming Swedish enclave.[46] The task of church-building was not something these people had experienced in Sweden, but they adapted to the fluid surroundings of the newly-subdivided Lake View by creating their own niche there. Although the actual numbers never reached those of Immanuel Church at its peak, membership and church activity was the largest of any Swedish church in Lake View. Consistent leadership and neighborhood growth mutually reinforced each other and allowed for Trinity Church to thrive.

The scenario played out at Trinity Lutheran Church also took place in a number of suburban Swedish Lutheran churches. Ultimately, the key factor in a church's success was the demographic makeup of the neighborhood in which it was located, especially in the years before 1920 when Swedish remained the primary language of the church. As long as new Swedes moved into an area, the Swedish Lutheran church there continued to grow and thrive. When the Swedish presence in a particular city declined, so did church membership, and some churches did not continue to grow beyond their first two decades. The average age at their peak for Lutheran churches established before 1900 whose membership peaked before 1920 was 28.5 years.[47] For the churches established from 1880 to 1920 which peaked before 1930, the average age they reached their peak membership was 25.13 years.[48] A corollary to this same trend also held true: Swedish churches could not grow in an area until they were demographically supported by incoming Swedes. For example, the Ebenezer Lutheran Church, established in 1892 in the region of the city which came to be known as Andersonville, remained quite small for the first 10 years of its existence. Started with a membership of 28, by 1902 the total number of church members had only reached 56. Ten years later that number had grown to 770, and by 1930, when Andersonville was a thriving Swedish community in Chicago, membership at Ebenezer reached 1,259 people. By that time, Ebenezer superceded Trinity Church in Lake View as the city's largest and most active Swedish Lutheran Church.[49]

The creation of the Covenant churches occurred in much the same manner

and followed the same trends as did the Augustana Lutheran churches: meetings began in people's homes or in other non-Swedish churches until the congregation could afford to build its own church. The biggest difference between the two denominations was that the Covenant churches were more lay-oriented than their Lutheran counterparts, believing more strongly in the importance of the congregation and in the informality of the gatherings.[50] The surviving minutes from the organizational meeting of the Mission Covenant Church in Moreland, located in a growing part of western Chicago known as Austin, recorded that on July 25, 1890, "several of Jesus's believers assembled at Leonard Larson's, 4735 Ohio Street, to confer about the Christian Mission work in this area." The chairman and secretary were selected, and then "the meeting opened with the reading of God's word and prayer. After that, the decision was made to organize a congregation for God's kingdom and the congregation's name should be 'Svenska Evangeliska Missions-församlingen i Moreland'". Once the decision was made, the "brothers N. Anderson, A. Lindholm, and Victor Franson were voted as trustees. It was also decided to register the church under Illinois State Laws." And so a new suburban Swedish church was born on the outskirts of the city of Chicago. With a word of prayer, guidance from the Bible, and a united sense of purpose, these pietistic Swedes created one of Chicago's many ethnic churches.[51]

The Swedish Mission Covenant Church in Edgewater began in 1907 as a Sunday school mission of the North Side Mission Church. A new, respectable community on the north side of the city, Edgewater bordered the Andersonville community on the east. The area grew after the turn of the century, especially when elevated train service extended its operations to Howard Street in 1907. As Swedes became more economically secure, many relocated to Edgewater from areas farther south in the city, and the composition of the church reflected that success. In 1909, Swedish Covenanters formally organized the church in Edgewater. In 1913, membership numbered 191; in 1920 it reached 251.[52]

When Swedes moved to Edgewater, as in other suburbs of Chicago, they brought their institutional affiliations with them. A sample of 143 membership transfer certificates collected from 1909 to 1921 clearly demonstrates that the majority of individuals transferring their membership to the Mission Church in Edgewater came from other Covenant churches in the city. These certificates give a clear account of the network that connected Swedish Covenant churches throughout the city.[53] (See Table IV.) Fully 80% of the certificates of transfer originated from other Covenant churches in Chicago. The mother church – First Covenant Church – supplied 15.4% of these members, but this number did not represent the largest proportion of transferees. On the contrary, the Lake View Covenant Church – itself a spin-off congregation – proved to be the real mother church for the Edgewater congregation supplying 30.1% of the members who transferred to the new church. Whether the move to Edgewater

represented a second or a third move within Chicago, the movement took place within a Covenant context. Several people (3.5%) even kept their Covenant Church affiliation as they moved to Chicago from Michigan, Wisconsin, or southern Illinois, and another 3.5% of the sample transferred from Covenant churches in Sweden. Although residential movement for the Swedish immigrant was commonplace, it was not haphazard.

Thus, the pattern found in the Covenant churches was the same as in the Augustana Lutheran churches: institutional development followed population movement into Chicago's new suburbs. As long as Swedes remained in the area, these Swedish-speaking churches flourished. Ethnicity remained an important part of Swedish identity, but the ethnic institutions themselves could not sustain all of the immigrants' needs, nor could they hold the Swedes in a particular area of the city. Much greater trends would lure the Swedes to new areas: rapid population growth in older areas of Chicago, the increasing ethnic diversity of the city, improved transportation networks, and the dispersal of jobs to newer and more scattered areas of Chicago. Suburbs beckoned newcomers with opportunities for home ownership and increasingly easy access to jobs, and the move there reflected the upward mobility of the Swedish community. The churches – institutions created by the Swedish immigrants and entirely dependent upon their support – followed the people. As a member of the Mission Church in Humboldt Park remembered: "The area around Humboldt Park had [by 1879] become part of the city, and the streets were laid out...More and more people moved west, therefore it also became necessary to move the [mission] work."[54] Churches provided a context for immigrant mobility.

The Covenant and the Lutheran churches, as well as the other Swedish denominations, became sub-communities of the Swedish population in Chicago, and more expansively, in the United States. At the same time, they reflected the transition that was occurring in the larger Swedish community. New immigration from Sweden – halted during the First World War – never resumed the proportions of immigration in the 1880s and the early 1900s. For the first time since 1850, when Swedes were first registered on the city's census, the Swedish-born population in Chicago actually declined by 7% from 1910 to 1920. During this same decade, church-building among Swedish Lutherans and Covenanters declined significantly. (See Table III.) The English language began to make some inroads among some church organizations, especially those geared toward the youth, but the fact that Swedish remained the dominant language of the churches limited the churches' appeal to the immigrants' American-born children.[55] As immigrant institutions, the church population reflected an overall aging of the Swedish immigrant population. Swedish churches needed a new agenda if they churches were to continue to thrive in the post-immigration period.[56]

The 1880-1920 period was an era of institution-building. The burgeoning

population of Chicago spilled over into new areas of the city which had once been empty prairie. These regions became urbanized: they were subdivided in an organized fashion according to a carefully-surveyed grid system. After the subdivision came the peopling. Farmland gave way to city streets and empty lots, which soon became dotted with new houses, shops, and significantly, churches. The people who moved to these areas began to recreate it in ways which made sense to them. They were not farmers living on scattered farms; they were city-dwellers who created multi-faceted, personal communities. They lived in close proximity to one another, and they created institutions which helped preserve what they deemed important in their lives and which created a civilized environment in the wild outskirts of Chicago. To the shapeless prairie they added form – the form of a community they understood – and to that form they added substance, devising ways to remember and incorporate their Swedish beliefs and traditions while living and working in an American city.

Notes

[1] For an account of how historians of American Christianity have incorporated immigration into their writing, see Jay P. Dolan, "Immigration and American Christianity: A History of Their Histories," in *A Century of Church History: The Legacy of Philip Schaff*, ed. Henry W. Bowden (Carbondale, 1988), pp. 119-147.

[2] See Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston, 1951).

[3] Timothy L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *American Historical Review* 83(1978), 1155-85, p. 1178.

[4] *Ibid*. p. 1175. Also see Timothy L. Smith, "Religious Denominations as Ethnic Communities: A Regional Case Study," *Church History* 35 (1966) 207-26. In Jay P. Dolan "The Immigrants and Their Gods: A New Perspective in American Religious History," *Church History* 57 (1988), 61-72, Dolan argues that immigrants of a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds experienced a very personal God. John Bodnar stresses religious divisions within immigrant groups in John Bodnar, *The Transplanted* (Bloomington, 1985).

[5] *The People of Chicago: Who we are and Where we have been* (Chicago, 1970), pp. 17, 30.

[6] "Chicago the Culmination of the Religious Movement of the 19th Century," *Chicago Tribune*, December 12, 1897, p. 41. Also see Herbert L. Witsee, "Religious Developments in Chicago, 1893-1915" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1951).

[7] A 1916 study of religious groups in the United States claimed that 132 of the 200 denominations studied reported all or part of their congregations used a foreign language. Nationally, a total of 42 languages were used in American churches. See Dolan, "Immigration and American Christianity: A History of Their Histories", p. 125.

[8] For a more complete discussion of theological developments and debates, see Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago, 1962), pp 1-174. Also see Franklin D. Scott, *Sweden: The Nation's History* (Minneapolis, 1977).

[9] Torkel Jansson, *Adertonhundratalets associationer: forskning och problem kring ett sprängfullt tomrum eller sammanslutningsprinciper och föreningsformer c:a 1800-1870* (Uppsala, 1985), p. 270.

[10] Sven Lundkvist, *Folkrörelserna i det svenska samhället: 1850-1920* (Stockholm, 1977), p. 226.

[11] Lundkvist, p. 227.

[12] George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration: A Study of Immigrant Churches*, (Minneapolis, 1932), pp. 149, 150, 151, 163; For an overview of the formation of the Augustana Lutheran Synod, see G. Everett Arden, *Augustana Heritage: History of the Augustana Lutheran Church*, (Rock Island, 1963); and Oscar N. Olson, *The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: Pioneer Period 1846 to 1860* (Rock Island, 1950). Also see Emory Lindquist, *Shepherd of an Immigrant People: The Story of Erland Carlsson* (Rock Island, 1978).

[13] Stephenson, pp. 176-177.

[14] See Ulf Beijbom, *Swedes in Chicago: A Demographic and Social Study of the 1846-1880 Immigration* (Växjö, 1971), pp. 51-52; and Stephenson, pp. 210-222.

[15] See Stephenson, pp. 246-263.

[16] For a comprehensive study about the formation of the Evangelical Covenant Church in America, see Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit*. Also see David Nyvall, *The Swedish Covenanters: A History* (Chicago, 1930); George Stephenson, pp. 264 to 292; and Dale Weaver, *Evangelical Covenant Church of America: Some Sociological Aspects of A Swedish Emigrant Denomination 1885-1984* (Lund, 1985).

[17] Princell wrote extensively in the Swedish religious newspaper *Chicago Bladet*, edited by John Martenson. In it, Princell castigated the formation of the Covenant denomination as "spiritual adultery" and "spiritual communism", expressions relating more to protecting congregational independence than to any Marxist ideology. His comments led the delegates at the Covenant's organizational meeting to ban Princell from addressing the group. See

Protokoll, Svenska Evangelisk Missions-Förbundet. 1885: translations by Fred O. Jansson of 1885-1889 yearbooks available in Covenant Archives. Also see Olsson, pp. 314, 315; Karl A. Olsson, *Into One Body...By the Cross* (Chicago, 1985), pp. 3-181; and Frederick A. Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York, 1979).

[18] For more information about the Swedish immigrants in Chicago prior to 1880, see Beijbom, *Swedes in Chicago*. Also see Ulf Beijbom, "Swedish-American Organizational Life," Harald Runblom and Dag Blanck, eds., *Scandinavia Overseas. Patterns of Cultural Transformation in North America and Australia* (Uppsala, 1986), pp. 52-81.

[19] Statistics derived from the *Protokoll* for the Augustana Lutheran, and Swedish Baptist, Methodist, and Covenant Churches. Free church statistics are not available for this period. Chicago population figures drawn from *The People of Chicago*.

[20] The history of the Scandinavian Salvation Army is a story unto itself. See Edward O. Nelson, "Recollections of the Salvation Army's Scandinavian Corps", *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly*, 39:4 (October, 1978), pp. 257-276.

[21] *Abounding in Thanksgiving: Immanuel Lutheran Church, A Member of the Illinois Synod Lutheran Church in America*, Printed in commemoration of the 125th Anniversary, 1853-1978, (Chicago, 1978). For the best treatment of the early history of the Immanuel Lutheran Church, see Lindquist, *Shepherd of an Immigrant People*.

[22] Statistics and internal church activity compiled from *Protokoll*, (Moline, 1883) and (Rock Island, 1884-1893).

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Abounding in Thanksgiving*, p. 14.

[25] See Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution 1790-1880* (New Haven, 1988).

[26] Membership statistics and church activity documented in *Protokoll*, 1893-1894; *Referat öfver Evangelisk Lutherska Augustana Synodens Årsmöte* (Rock Island, 1895-1920); and *Abounding in Thanksgiving*, p. 14.

[27] *Abounding in Thanksgiving*, pp. 15-18.

[28] *Referat*, 1912-1918.

[29] See Philip J. Anderson, " 'Once Few and Poor...': A Brief History of the Early North Side Chicago Covenant Churches," pp. 4-12, in *North Side*

Centennial Celebration, 1885-1985 (Chicago, 1985); *The One Hundred Years: Diamond Jubilee Book. First Mission Covenant Church of Chicago*. (Chicago, 1944), [No page numbers given in booklet]; and Oscar Theodore Backlund, "Survival Factors of Mission Covenant Churches in Chicago," (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1935).

[30] *The One Hundred Years.*

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Statistics *from Protokoll: SEMF*, 1885-1920.

[33] *The One Hundred Years.*

[34] *Abstract of Title*. North Park Addition to Chicago for the Swedish University Association (1896 to 1920). See also Anita R. Olson, "North Park: A Study in Community" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Northwestern University, 1985), pp. 14 and 15.

[35] See Olsson, *By One Spirit*. pp. 349-350, 372.

[36] *Protokoll Hållet vid Skandinaviska Evangeliska Lutherska Årsmote* (Moline, 1881); and *The People of Chicago: Who We Are and Where We Have Been*. (Chicago, 1970).

[37] *Abounding in Thanksgiving*, pp. 11-12; *Protokoll*, 1882-1894; *Referat*, 1895-1921.

[38] *Protokoll*, 1881-1894. *Referat*, 1895-1921.

[39] As recounted in *Bethlehem 1875-1950*, (Chicago, 1950), p. 10.

[40] *Bethlehem 1875-1950*, p. 10.

[41] *Protokoll*, 1804; *Referat*, 1921.

[42] *Minnes-skrift: Svenska Evangeliska Lutherska Trefaldighetsförsamlingen i Chicago, Illinois*,(Rock Island, 1908), p. 7.

[43] I Kings 8: 57, 58. This letter appears in the minutes of the first congregational organizational meeting which met January 26, 1883. These minutes and the letter are reprinted in *Minnes-skrift*, pp. 7-9.

[44] *Minnes-skrift*, pp. 8, 9.

[45] *Minnes-skrift*, p. 9.

[46] *Minnes-skrift*, pp 14.

[47] The Lebanon Lutheran Church was not included in this figure. Established in 1896, membership peaked only 8 years later with 90 members, an unusually short period of time.

[48] *Protokoll* 1880-1894, *Referat* 1895-1921, *Referat Illinois-Konferensens*. 1921-1930.

[49] *Protokoll* 1893-1894, *Referat* 1895-1921, *Referat Illinois-Konferensens*. 1921-1931.

[50] The following sources reveal the similarity in the patterns of church-building: *The Evangelical Covenant Church of South Chicago 75th Anniversary Services*, (Chicago, 1958); *The Evangelical Covenant Church of South Chicago. 90th Anniversary*, (Chicago, 1973); *Sixty Years for Christ, 1877-1937: Swedish Evangelical Mission Church of Douglas Park*, (Chicago, 1937); *Sixty-seven Years of Yesterdays and Dedication: Mission Covenant Church, Blue Island Illinois*, (Chicago, 1961); *The Golden Jubilee of the Mission Covenant Church, Blue Island, Illinois*, (Chicago, 1944); *Seventy-fifth Anniversary Booklet: Lake View Mission Covenant Church*, (Chicago, 1961); *Calvary Covenant Church: Fiftieth Anniversary*, (Chicago, 1956); *Grace Covenant Church Fifteenth Anniversary*, (Chicago, 1976).

[51] *Protokoll-Bok öfver Svenska Evangeliska Missionsförsamlingen i Moreland, Illinois*, Volume I, July 25, 1890. Manuscript collection, Covenant Archives.

[52] Philip J. Anderson points out that this church earned a reputation among Covenanters in Chicago as the "silk stockings" church in his essay "'Once Few and Poor'"; also see Ernest W. Burgess, *Community Fact Book* (Chicago, 1984), page 193; *Protokoll: SEMF*, 1907-1921.

[53] Certificates of Membership Transfer to the Mission Covenant Church in Edgewater, 1909-1921, Manuscript Collection of the Covenant Archives.

[54] *Minnesskrift öfver Svenska E. Lutherska Missions-församlingen vid Humboldt Park*, (Chicago, 1909), pages 11, 12.

[55] The Illinois Conference of the Augustana Lutheran Synod adopted English as their official language in 1921; the Covenant church did not adopt English until 1929.

[56] For more about these transitions, see Stephenson, pp. 458-456; Sture Lindmark, *Swedish America, 1914-1932: Studies in Ethnicity with Emphasis on Illinois and Minnesota* (Chicago, 1971); Philip J. Anderson, "The Covenant and the American Challenge: Restoring a Dynamic View of Identity and Pluralism," in *Amicus Dei: Essays on Faith and Friendship Presented to Karl A. Olsson On His 75th Birthday*, ed. Philip J. Anderson (Chicago, 1988), pp. 109-147; John E. Kullberg, "Age Distribution in the Covenant," *Covenant Quarterly* 1 (194[illegible]), 33-37; and Lorraine R. Oblom, "Determining Factors in the Growth of the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America," *Covenant Quarterly* 3 (1943) 25-33.

Table I. Membership in Chicago's Swedish Churches 1880-1920

Membership Figures in Selected Denominations

Denomination	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Augustana Lutheran	2461	4231	5784	9776	11056
Mission Covenant	-	871	1719	2503	4596
Swedish Baptist	208	2091	2390	2897	3018
Swedish Methodist	715	1705	2154	2563	2307
Total Membership	3384	8898	12047	17739	20977

*Membership as Percentage of Swedish Stock**

	1890	1900	1910	1920
Augustana Lutheran	6.8%	5.6%	8.4%	9.1%
Mission Covenant	1.4%	1.7%	2.1%	3.8%
Swedish Baptist	3.4%	2.3%	2.5%	2.5%
Swedish Methodist	2.7%	2.1%	2.2%	1.9%
Total Membership	14.3%	11.7%	15.2%	17.3%
Total Swedish Stock	62235	103220	116740	121326

*These numbers include Swedish-born and their American-born children.

Table II. Immanuel Lutheran Church Parish Activity 1881-1917

Numbers per year	1881-1890	1892-1900	1901-1910	1911-1917
Couples married	118.4	56.11	44.3	44.0
Baptisms	232.0	130.6	61.8	53.3
Adult funerals	15.9	16.1	17.4	17.4
Children's funerals	21.5	6.2	1.2	0.6
Students confirmed	62.0	80.0	81.0	41.3

Table III. Augustana Lutheran and Mission Covenant Churches established in Chicago 1880-1920

	Pre-1880	1880-1889	1890-1999	1900-1909	1910-1920
Augustana Lutheran	4	5	7	8	2
Mission Covenant	3	8	5	4	0
Totals	7	13	12	12	2

Total Churches Established up to 1920: 46

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